Mr BAYLE's
Hiſtorical and Critical
DICTIONARY.

THE SECOND EDITION.

To which is prefixed,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

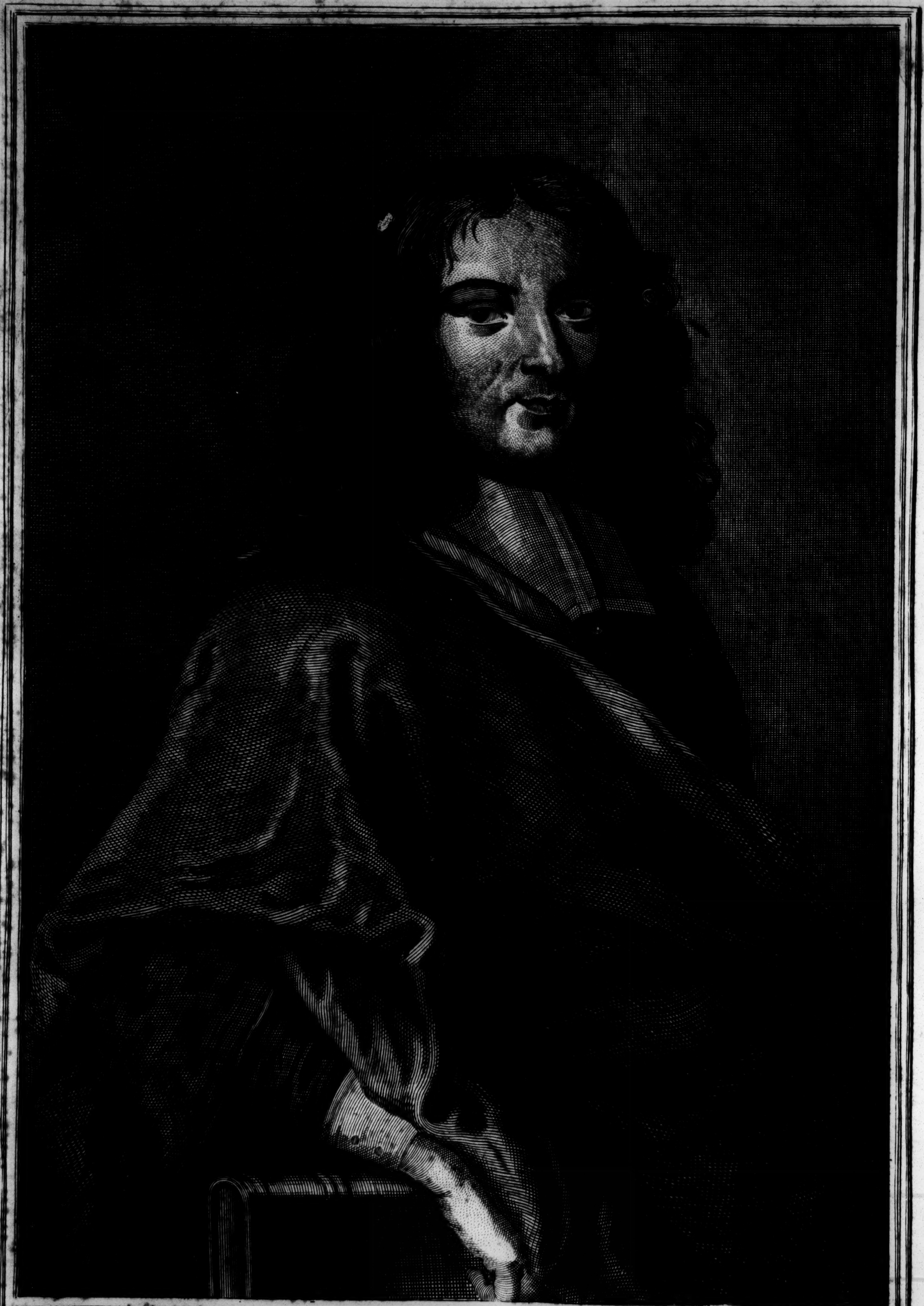
BY

Mr DES MAIZEAUX,

Fellow of the Royal Society.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

A——Bi.



Bœlius hic ille est cujus dum scripta vigebunt
Lis erit, oblectent, erudiant ne magis.

Jam.ˢ Smith Sculpsit 1733.

THE DICTIONARY Hiſtorical and Critical OF Mr PETER BAYLE.

THE SECOND EDITION,

Carefully collated with the ſeveral Editions of the Original; in which many Paſſages are reſtored, and the whole greatly augmented, particularly with a Tranſlation of the Quotations from eminent Writers in various Languages.

To which is prefixed,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

BY

Mr DES MAIZEAUX,

Fellow of the Royal Society.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

A——Bi.

LONDON:
Printed for J. J. and P. KNAPTON; D. MIDWINTER; J. BROTHERTON; A. BETTESWORTH and C. HITCH; J. HAZARD; J. TONSON; W. INNYS and R. MANBY; J. OSBORNE and T. LONGMAN; T. WARD and E. WICKSTEED; W. MEADOWS; T. WOODWARD; B. MOTTE; W. HINCHLIFFE; J. WALTHOE, *jun.* E. SYMON; T. COX; A. WARD; D. BROWNE; S. BIRT; W. BICKERTON; T. ASTLEY; S. AUSTEN; L. GILLIVER; H. LINTOT; H. WHITRIDGE; R. WILLOCK.
MDCCXXXIV.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO

The Right Honourable

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,

Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, One of His Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council, and Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter.

SIR,

GREAT Writers, who employ themſelves for the inſtruction or entertainment of the World, naturally claim, what they ſeem naturally to merit, the favour and countenance of Great Men. Whoſoever contributes, eſpecially with ſucceſs, to enlarge the Underſtandings of Men, and to mend their Hearts, is entitled to the Friendſhip and Protection of the Governors of Men, I mean of ſuch as would truly anſwer the noble end of Government; who, if they purſue their duty, and conſult the honour and improvement of human nature, will chearfully and generouſly promote whatever has that good tendency. And they who practiſe different Politics, by cramping the human Soul, poſſeſſing it with falſe awe, and debaſing it through Darkneſs and Ignorance, do not deſerve, but rather diſgrace and forfeit, the glorious and endearing title of Magiſtrates and Protectors.

TRUE and extenſive Knowledge never was, never can be, hurtful to the Peace of Society. It is Ignorance, or,

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which is worſe than ignorance, falſe Knowledge, that is chiefly terrible to States. They are the furious, the ill taught, the blind and miſguided, that are prone to be ſeized with groundleſs Fears, and unprovoked Reſentment, to be rouſed by Incendiaries, and to ruſh deſperately into Sedition and acts of Rage.

SUBJECTS that are moſt knowing and beſt informed, are ever moſt peaceable and loyal. Whereas the Loyalty and obedience of ſuch, whoſe underſtandings extend not beyond Names and Sounds, will be always precarious, and can never be thoroughly relied upon, whilſt any turbulent or artful men can, by dinn and clamour, and the continual application of thoſe Sounds, intoxicate, and inflame them even to madneſs, can make them believe themſelves undone though nothing hurts them, think they are oppreſſed when they are beſt protected, and can drive them into riots and rebellion, without the excuſe of one real grievance. It will always be eaſy to raiſe a miſt before eyes that are already dark: and it is a true obſervation, "that it is an eaſy work to govern Wiſe Men; but to "govern Fools or Madmen, is a continual ſlavery."

IT is from the blind zeal and ſtupidity cleaving to Superſtition, 'tis from the Ignorance, Raſhneſs, and Rage attending Faction, that ſo many, ſo mad, and ſo ſanguinary evils have afflicted and deſtroyed Men, diſſolved the beſt Governments, and thinned the greateſt Nations. And as a people well inſtructed will certainly eſteem the Bleſſings which they enjoy, and ſtudy public Peace, for their own ſake, there is a great merit in inſtructing the people, and in cultivating their Underſtandings. They are certainly leſs credulous in proportion as they are more knowing, and conſequently leſs liable to be the Dupes of Demagogues, and the property of Ambition. They are not then to be ſurprized with falſe cries, nor animated by imaginary Danger; and wherever the Underſtanding is well principled and informed, the Paſſions will be tame, and the Heart well diſpoſed.

They therefore who communicate true Knowledge to their ſpecies, are true Friends to the World, Benefactors to Society, and deſerve all encouragement from thoſe, who preſide over Society, with the applauſe and good wiſhes of all men. Such a public friend and benefactor was Mr BAYLE. Truth and Knowledge were his miſtreſs, and the purſuit of his life, and he ſtudied to engage all men in that purſuit. A curious ſearcher of error he was, a conſtant champion againſt falſhood, impoſture, and all diſhoneſt arts; zealous for public tranquillity, and a foe to all who diſturbed it; wonderfully qualified for his great undertaking, by an acuteneſs and penetration never exceeded by any Writer ancient or modern, and with ſuch an accumulation of various, curious, and ſolid Learning, as perhaps was never equalled by any Writer whatſoever; a great Philoſopher, a great Linguiſt, an univerſal Hiſtorian and Critic, vaſtly skilled in Divinity and Controverſy, and a nice reaſoner upon tranſactions of States, and the arts of Stateſmen.

Many enemies it is true he had; and what other Great Man ever wanted ſuch? their Greatneſs only is what often produces them. It was therefore no wonder that the outcry and clamour againſt him was ſo loud and many-mouthed, even for his moſt excellent performances. This comfort however attends his memory, and it is likely he foreſaw it and enjoyed it in his lifetime; that all that clamour is now dead, and theſe excellent performances remain, and are likely for ever to remain. What his own admirable talents and many ſolid defences could not do, time and the infinite merit of his works, and the force of truth have done, ſilenced his adverſaries, and almoſt made it forgot that he ever had any. This muſt be a pleaſing reflection to all lovers of Truth and of great Merit greatly traduced, and ſpitefully uſed, to ſee ſuch traducers ſunk into oblivion, and ſuch merit covered with luſtre.

I could, Sir, with your leave and patience, illuſtrate the fate of Mr BAYLE by ſimilar inſtances; but that

that I would no more offend you with the appearance of Flattery, than I would provoke others to charge me with the imputation of deſigning, and you of encouraging it. Permit me only to ſay, that as this great and applauded Work is like to laſt, Poſterity (for Poſterity will judge without anger or envy) will not think it unnatural to ſee the name of SIR ROBERT WALPOLE prefixed to the GRAND DICTIONARY of MR BAYLE; and if by this way (this only way) I can purchaſe permanence to my own humble name, it is an Ambition which I hope merits pardon. The greateſt that I have in the world is to be owned by you, Sir, as what I ſtrictly am, with all Devotion and unbounded Reſpect,

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SIR,

Your moſt Dutiful,

and moſt Obedient

Humble Servant,

P. DES MAIZEAUX.

ADVERTISEMENT CONCERNING This Second Edition.

IF the repeated Editions of a voluminous book be a proof of the Approbation of the Public, we may affirm that no book has been more generally eſteemed than Mr Bayle's Dictionary. Beſides the editions of 1697 and 1702, which he publiſhed himſelf, it was printed at Geneva in 1715, at Rotterdam in 1720, at Amſterdam in 1730, and is juſt now reprinted in France: ſo that there have been ſix impreſſions of it in ſix and thirty years; an honour which perhaps was never done to any other book of ſuch a bulk. To theſe editions may be added the Engliſh Tranſlation, publiſhed in 1710: for the Tranſlation of a book is in reality a new Edition of it in another dreſs; and does ſo much the more credit to the work, as it is the effect of the earneſt deſires of the curious and inquiſitive, who do not underſtand the original.

That Tranſlation was done from the edition of 1702, the moſt compleat then extant: but Mr Bayle having left behind him ſeveral Articles, which he deſigned for a Supplement to his Dictionary, they were inſerted in the new edition printed at Rotterdam in 1720. But this edition being full of errors of the preſs, and interpolated in many places, theſe defects were corrected in the Amſterdam edition of 1730, in which ſome learned men were employed. They alſo improved it in ſeveral other reſpects, of which they give us the following account.

I. “ We have, ſay theſe Editors, collated it with the Editions of 1697 and 1702, and particularly with Mr Bayle's own Copy of the edition 1702, in which are ſeveral additions and corrections written with

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“ his own hand. By this means ſeveral expreſſions, and whole phraſes
“ have been reſtored which had been omitted, changed, or adulterated
“ in the preceeding edition.

II. “ The Articles of the Supplement, or poſthumous Additions, have
“ been compared with Mr Bayle's Original Manuſcript; by the help of
“ which the text has been reſtored to its purity, and all ſpurious inſertions
“ ſtruck out.

III. “ The ſeveral quotations from celebrated Authors, in the Greek,
“ Latin, and other languages, have been carefully reviſed and corrected.

IV. “ Some paſſages, or citations, which were wanting in the
“ edition of 1720, and had been only referred to, have been ſupplied.

V. “ The Articles which were miſplaced, or put at the end of the
“ fourth volume, are placed in their proper order.

VI. “ Some Critical Remarks, which had been communicated to the
“ Bookſellers, and printed at the end of the ſaid fourth volume, have
“ been inſerted in the Articles they belonged to; but they are diſtinguiſhed
“ from Mr Bayle's text, being preceeded by a Greek letter for
“ a reference and by this mark §, and ending with the words,
“ REM. CRIT.

VII. “ At the end of the fourth volume is added a piece printed at
“ Paris in 1706, intitled *Critical Remarks upon the new edition of Moreri's*
“ *Hiſtorical Dictionary, publiſhed in* 1704. Mr Bayle reprinted this piece
“ in Holland, and prefixed to it a long Preface, which contains excellent
“ inſtructions towards perfecting Moreri's Dictionary. He likewiſe
“ joined to it ſeveral hiſtorical and critical Obſervations, which are to the
“ ſame purpoſe, and where he ſhews the errors in fact, and the falſe
“ reaſonings of the Author of theſe remarks. But though he ſaw that
“ this Critic had taken almoſt all his remarks upon Moreri, from his Hiſtorical
“ and Critical Dictionary, without citing it, he never reproaches
“ him with this piece of Plagiariſm, but contents himſelf with vindicating
“ ſome paſſages which this Cenſor had miſunderſtood, or had criticized
“ without reaſon. Mr Des Maizeaux has been leſs indulgent in the
“ Obſervations which he has added to thoſe of Mr Bayle: he has reſtored
“ to Mr Bayle all the critical remarks which this Critic had borrowed
“ from his Dictionary, and had given as his own. Neither has he
“ ſpared him for his boldneſs in advancing certain facts without proofs, as
“ well as for his looſe, equivocal, and ſophiſtical manner of arguing.
“ But as the deſign of that ſmall work is to contribute towards perfecting
“ Moreri's Dictionary, Mr Des Maizeaux had taken a particular care to
“ point out the corrections that have been made in the late editions, of
“ the paſſages cenſured by this Author. Future Editors will ſee at one

“ view, what has been already corrected, and what ſtill remains to be
“ rectified with reſpect to thoſe paſſages. It does not appear that the
“ late Reviſors of Moreri were acquainted with theſe *Critical Remarks*;
“ at leaſt it is certain that they have not ſeen Mr Bayle's Preface and
“ Notes. Mr Bayle would not put his name to them, which is the rea-
“ ſon why this piece has been hitherto ſo little known.

VIII. “ To this edition is prefixed the *Life of Mr Bayle*, by Mr Des
“ Maizeaux.”

In this new Engliſh edition of Mr Bayle's Dictionary, we have followed the improved edition of the original, laſt mentioned; which conſequently contains all his poſthumous Additions and Corrections. The Readers will alſo find in the laſt Volume the *Critical Remarks upon Moreri's Dictionary*, with Mr Bayle's Preface and Notes to it, and Mr Des Maizeaux's Obſervations: Alſo, Mr Bayle's *Reflections on a Pamphlet, intitled, the Judgment of the Public concerning Mr Bayle's Critical Dictionary*, (firſt inſerted in the edition of 1720): and an *Hiſtorical Diſcourſe concerning the Life of Guſtavus Adolphus, King of Sweden.* Mr Bayle deſigned to write a compleat Hiſtory of that great Prince; but has left the work unfiniſhed; however, as far as it goes, it is an excellent piece of hiſtory, and one may eaſily ſee that it comes from a maſterly hand. It has been but lately publiſhed, and has not been yet inſerted in any edition of Mr Bayle's Dictionary. We therefore preſume the readers will be glad to ſee it at the end of the laſt Volume, where it may, in ſome meaſure, ſupply the want of the Article of the great GUSTAVUS, which is not to be found in the Dictionary.

Beſides theſe Pieces, which were not in the firſt Engliſh edition, this ſecond edition has ſeveral other advantages.

I. The Tranſlation is much more exact and correct, and is carefully reviſed and compared with the original.

II. It has been collated with the original editions of 1697 and 1702, when any doubt has ariſen concerning the genuine reading of a word, a date, &c.

III. Several errors of the preſs which had crept into the edition of 1730, eſpecially in the paſſages of ancient Authors, have been corrected.

IV. The citations from eminent Writers in various languages, are tranſlated into Engliſh, excepting when Mr Bayle himſelf has fully expreſſed the ſenſe of them.

V. The

V. The *Life of Mr Bayle* has been reviſed, corrected, and enlarged by the Author; and ſome of the Corrections and Additions are very conſiderable. As ſoon as this work came out, it was tranſlated into High-Dutch by the learned Dr Köhl, and printed at Hamburgh in 1731, in 8vo: and it has been reprinted at Paris in 1733, in two Volumes in 12mo. But Mr Des Maizeaux was not concerned in theſe Editions, which however ſhew that the public entertained a very favourable opinion of that work. Some people may poſſibly imagine that Mr Des Maizeaux, has inſiſted too long on Mr Bayle's diſputes, and could have wiſhed that he had only given the particulars of his life: but indeed what is the Hiſtory of the life of a Philoſopher, but an account of his works, opinions, and diſputes? Theſe are the battles and bright actions of ſuch Heroes. Beſides, the knowledge of ſuch books and pamphlets as do not ſeem to concern the Engliſh reader, will be found neceſſary for the better underſtanding of numberleſs paſſages of Mr Bayle's Dictionary, wherein they are mentioned or referred to; ſo that this part of his Life is, as it were, a key, or an explanatory introduction, to them.

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PREFACE

PREFACE

TO THE

Firſt French Edition.

I HAVE a thouſand things to offer in this Preface; but as I cannot do it without running into an exorbitant length, which would diſcourage the Readers, I rather chuſe to give my ſelf ſome conſtraint, than offend their niceneſs. I ſhall therefore confine my ſelf to five or ſix particulars.

I. Why this work is not formed upon the plan publiſhed in 1692. [*See that Plan at the end of the laſt Volume.*]

I declare firſt, that this work is not what I promiſed in the Project I publiſhed of a Critical Dictionary in the Year 1692. The objection I had beſt obviated and anſwered, is that which was chiefly inſiſted on, to condemn the plan I deſigned to purſue; and perhaps it appeared very ſtrong to a great many readers, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they obſerved I very much inlarged on it's confutation. But let the cauſe be what it will, I did not think it prudent to oppoſe the general taſte; and ſince it has been univerſally concluded, that the greateſt part of the faults I mentioned in the articles of the Project were of little importance to the public, reaſon required I ſhould give over my undertaking. My deſign was to compoſe a Dictionary of errors: the perfection of ſuch a work conſiſts in obſerving all miſtakes, great or ſmall; for doubtleſs it would be a perfection in a Geographical Dictionary, and in a Map, to ſpecify every town and village. Seeing therefore the beſt way of executing my project muſt be the moſt expoſed to the complaints of the public, as it would have multiplied inſignificant obſervations, there was a neceſſity for me to alter my deſign; and I could not but believe, that according to the prevailing taſte of the age, there was a real imperfection in the very plan of my enterprize, which could never be cured by the execution. If I conteſt any thing with thoſe who ſay, that the greateſt part of the errors I have cenſured in my Project are of no conſequence, 'tis their ſuppoſing that they are not all of that nature; for I maintain, that none of them is important, and that though, generally ſpeaking, they are like thoſe that have been obſerved by great Critics (1), yet they can contribute nothing to the public good. The fate of mankind does not depend upon them. A narrative abounding with the groſſeſt ignorance is as proper to move the paſſions, as hiſtorical exactneſs. Let ten thouſand ignorant people hear you preach that Coriolanus's mother obtained of him, what "he refuſed "the ſacred College of Cardinals and the Pope himſelf, who went to meet "him (2)," you will give them the ſame idea of the power of the Holy

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(1) *If you conſider Scaliger's remarks upon Euſebius's Chronicle, you will find that his corrections conſiſt in ſhewing, that a time, a place, a man's name,* &c. *have been miſtaken.*

(2) *'Tis affirmed in the* Recueil des bons contes & des bons mots, *printed in the year* 1693. p. 123. *of the Dutch edition, that this was actually preached.*

Virgin, as if this was no blunder. Tell them, " 'Tis ſtrange, Chriſtians, " that you ſhould not be moved to ſee our Saviour JESUS CHRIST " hanging upon the croſs, all bruiſed with blows, when the emperor Pompey was moved with compaſſion, upon ſeeing Pyrrhus's elephants pierced " with arrows (3);" you will produce the ſame effect, as if what you ſay of Pompey was true. 'Tis therefore certain, that the diſcovery of errors (4) is not important or uſeful to the proſperity of the State, or of private perſons. Obſerve now in what manner I have changed my plan, the better to hit the taſte of the public. I have divided my compoſition into two parts: one is purely hiſtorical, and gives a ſuccinct account of matters of fact: the other is a large commentary, a miſcellany of proofs and diſcuſſions, wherein I have inſerted a cenſure of many faults, and even ſometimes a train of philoſophical reflections; in a word, there is variety enough, to preſume that all ſorts of readers will find ſomething or other that will pleaſe them.

THIS new œconomy has broke all the meaſures I had taken; moſt of the materials I had collected were of no uſe to me, and I was forced to work upon a new foundation. My principal deſign was to obſerve the faults of Moreri, and of all other Dictionaries like his. In ſearching for proofs neceſſary to expoſe thoſe faults, and rectify them, I found, that many authors, both ancient and modern had committed the ſame miſtakes. And as Moreri is much more faulty in what concerns Mythology, and the Roman families than in modern hiſtory, I had particularly made collections upon the heathen gods and heroes, and the great men of ancient Rome. The work I propoſed to publiſh, would have contained abundance of articles, like thoſe of ACHILLES, BALBUS, and CRASSUS, in my Project. All theſe vaſt collections are become uſeleſs, becauſe I was informed that theſe ſubjects pleaſed few people, and that a volume in folio, the greateſt part of which ſhould run only upon ſuch things, would be left to grow mouldy in the bookſellers ware houſes. It will appear that I have had a regard to this information: but few articles of this kind will be found in my two Volumes; nor would they perhaps have been there, had they not been wholly compoſed before I was fully informed of the taſte of the readers.

II.
WHY this work could not be compoſed in a little time.

This is one of the reaſons that have retarded the publication of this work: many others have contributed to it. I reſolved at firſt to ſay nothing that has been already ſaid in other Dictionaries, or at leaſt to avoid as much as poſſible the repetition of facts that are to be found in them; whereby I deprived myſelf of all the materials that were moſt eaſy to be collected, and employed. Nothing can be more eaſy for the authors of an Hiſtorical Dictionary, than to talk of Popes, Emperors, Kings, and Cardinals; or of the Fathers of the church, of Councils, and Heretics; or of great lords, cities, provinces, &c. 'Tis therefore a great diſadvantage to lay aſide thoſe ſubjects, as one muſt do every moment, if he propoſes to avoid the articles that are in Moreri's Dictionary. If you deſign to give the ſame articles, you muſt confine yourſelf to the things that he has omitted: the difficulty of ſeparating them from others in the originals you conſult is not ſmall; but that of connecting them together, after the chaſms occaſioned by this ſeparation, is much greater. Notwithſtanding all theſe Difficulties, I reſolved to give an account of moſt of the perſons mentioned in the Bible; but I was informed that a particular Dictionary upon theſe ſubjects would quickly come out at Lyons (5). What remained to be done, was to collect what has been ſaid by the Rabbis concerning thoſe perſons; but underſtanding that the late Mr d'Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale was printing at Paris, I gave

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(3) *'Tis affirmed in the* Futetieriana, *pag.* 127. *of the Bruſſels edition that Furetiere heard this preached in Flanders.*

(4) *I only mean errors in point of fact, and I except thoſe that concern religion. As to the former, I do not pretend to make any exception.*

(5) *'Tis intituled,* Le Dictionaire de la bible. *'Tis a Folio book printed, according to the title-page, in* 1693, *and written by M. Simon, prieſt, and doctor of divinity.*

over this deſign (6). Notwithſtanding the ſame difficulties, I would have compoſed the articles relating to church-hiſtory, had I not conſidered that Mr du Pin furniſhed the readers of Dictionaries, with all they could deſire. His work is adapted both to the learned and unlearned. The Dutch editions have made it very common, and all the curious buy it and read it. I had not, therefore, been excuſable, had I mentioned the ſame things that are to be found there: muſt one buy the ſame hiſtories twice? I rather choſe to abſtain from ſo fruitful a ſubject, and eaſy to come by, than to repeat what may be more conveniently learned elſewhere.

I found myſelf ſtreightened in other reſpects. This work was hardly begun, when I heard an Engliſh tranſlation of Moreri's Dictionary was printing at London, with abundance of Additions; and that a large ſupplement to the ſame work was preparing in Holland. Hereupon I thought myſelf obliged not to treat of the illuſtrious men of Great Britain: I concluded, that out of the Engliſh edition, they would be inſerted in the ſaid ſupplement, and that the ſame thing would be bought twice, unleſs I prevented it by depriving myſelf of ſo copious a matter, and ſo proper to recommend a Dictionary. For the ſame reaſon I laid aſide my enquiry after the illuſtrious men who have flouriſhed in the United Provinces (7); and ſaid very little concerning the hiſtory or geography of this State. I did not doubt but the ſupplement, printed in Holland, would give a large and exact account of all theſe things, and likewiſe that it would fully treat of all the tranſactions of Europe in our days. This prevented my touching upon thoſe modern hiſtories. On the other hand, I heard that a new edition of Moreri's Dictionary was going to be publiſhed at Paris, with great additions. This made me reſolve to ſuppreſs a great many things, and put a ſtop to my enquiry into many ſubjects, which I could handle but imperfectly, in compariſon of thoſe who were engaged in this new edition: they are upon the ſpot, and at hand to conſult libraries, and learned men. I ought therefore to leave them this taſk entire, and not give them the diſpleaſure of running lightly over a ſubject, that will be read more eagerly when ſet off by them in it's full luſtre, before others touch upon it.

But beſides theſe new editions, and new ſupplements of Moreri's Dictionary, other things have much ſtreightened me. Mr Chappuzeau has been a long time about an hiſtorical Dictionary in which we ſhall certainly find, amongſt abundance of other ſubjects, what concerns the ſituation of nations, their manners, religion, government, and what concerns the royal families, and the genealogies of great men (8); and particularly you will find in it at large, all the electors, princes, and counts of the empire; their alliances, intereſts, and principal actions. And by that means, you will ſee the northern countries, and the reſt of Proteſtant Europe. I thought, therefore, that I had better be ſilent upon thoſe great ſubjects, than expoſe the reader to the diſagreeable neceſſity of purchaſing the ſame things twice. Nay, I have found myſelf confined with reſpect to the learned men of the XVIth century; for I knew that Mr Teiſſier was printing, with new additions, the commmentaries he has ſo curiouſly compiled upon the Elogies taken from Thuanus (9). I was afraid, in ſpeaking of thoſe learned men, that the facts mentioned by me, would be the ſame with Mr Teiſſier's; and that thought has often determined me to ſuppreſs my collections.

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(6) *I had already compoſed the articles of* ADAM, EVE, CAIN, ABEL, ABRAHAM, *&c. which I give in this Work.*

(7) *I have only mentioned ſome, whoſe Lives or Funerals Orations I had already by me.*

(8) *See the Plan of his Dictionary, which he publiſhed in the Year* 1694.

(9) *That ſecond edition came out in* 1696.

I do not enumerate theſe particulars, in order to enable my friends to make my apology againſt thoſe who ſhall deſpiſe my Dictionary, and ſay, "was ſo much time to be conſumed in the compoſition of ſuch "a Work? the faults of it might be excuſed, if the author had ſpent "only a few months in making it: but ſo poor an effect of ſo long a "labour deſerves no indulgence. Slowneſs is never tolerable, but when it "produces a maſter-piece (10)." My friends might anſwer, that the moſt diligent writers would be hard put to it, to make their compilations with greater ſpeed, if they abſtained from the moſt copious and eaſy ſubjects, and avoided mentioning what ſome have compiled, and what they foreſee will be compiled by others. But I do not deſire that theſe ſhould be alledged in my favour. What I have ſaid, is only deſigned to reſolve ſuch queſtions as theſe; "Why ſo many great men are wanting in my "book? why it contains ſo many unknown perſons, and obſcure names? "why it is ſo barren in ſome reſpects, and profuſe in others? could the "author be ſo miſtaken, as to pretend to be able to do what Pliny thought "extremely difficult? &c (11)." Let the queriſt be referred to the account I have given above, and he will find the ſolution of all theſe doubts.

I freely own, that laborious and diligent authors will have reaſon to look upon me as a ſlow Writer. I have ſpent above four years in the compoſition of theſe two volumes (12). Beſides, they are intermixed with long Paſſages, which coſt me no pains; nothing of what I have ſaid of my own, beſpeaks an author that reviſes his work, or corrects his firſt thoughts, and the firſt diſpoſition of his words. And therefore, if any one thinks I have been too ſlow, I ſhall not wonder at it: I am ſenſible and aſhamed of it, and I ſhould be ſtill more aſhamed, were it not that my health frequently interrupted, requires ſome regard, and does not permit me to perform what ſtrong and laborious men can do. I know, moreover, that the ſlavery of quoting, which I have ſubmitted to (13), makes me loſe much time; and that the prodigious ſcarcity of books, very neceſſary to my deſign, ſtopped my pen a hundred times a day. Such a work as this requires the moſt numerous library in the world; whereas I have very few books (14). Shall I dare to own it? The ſtile is another cauſe of my ſlowneſs: it is very incorrect, and not free from expreſſions either improper, or which begin to be obſolete, or even from barbariſms. I confeſs I am, in theſe reſpects, without ſcruple: but, on the contrary, with regard to other things, which give more trouble (15), I am ſcrupulous, even to ſuperſtition. The greateſt maſters, the moſt illuſtrious members of the French Academy, diſpenſe with theſe ſcruples, and we have but three or four writers, that are not cured of them. It is, therefore, a great mortification to me, not to be able to get above thoſe niceties, which coſt much time, and often ſpoil the lively and natural agreeableneſs of the expreſſion, when it is corrected by this Rule. I am ſo unable to ſhake off this heavy yoke, that in caſe this Dictionary be reprinted, it will certainly be my principal care to correct, according to the rigorous rules of our French Grammarians, all the inaccuracies in the language, which ſtill remain in this edition (16). They are not a few; for during the firſt year I was employed in this Work, I did not ſo much mind ſcruples of this ſort; ſo that there are a great many articles which offend the ſuperſtitious rules I have now mentioned: they were compoſed at that time, and I had not the leiſure to new-mould them, when I was obliged to ſend them the preſs. Such like faults may be found all the work over,

(10) Diu parturit leæna catulum, ſed leonem. *The lioneſs goes long with young, but at length brings forth a lion.*

(11) Res ardua vetuſtis novitatem dare, novis auctoritatem, obſoletis nitorem, obſcuris lucem, faſtidiis gratiam, dubiis fidem. *It is a difficult matter to give the grace of novelty to things old, authority to things new, elegancy to things obſolete, light to things obſcure, favour to things contemned, and credit to things doubtful.* Plin. in Præf. Nat. Hiſt.

(12) *I began this work in* July, 1692, *and made an end of it in* Octob. 1696.

(13) *I quote the pages, even when I refer to other places of my Dictionary.*

(14) *Some perſons have very obligingly lent me ſome books, for which I am very thankful. I would willingly publiſh here the names and merits of thoſe, who have done me that favour, were I not afraid of offending their modeſty.*

(15) *As to avoid equivocal expreſſions, verſes, the uſe of particles in the ſame ſentence which may refer to different parts of it,* &c.

(16) *Note, that I found it impoſſible to perform this promiſe in the ſecond edition, the printers did not give me the neceſſary time to reviſe my firſt work, and to prepare the new, that is, the additions which have been very numerous.*

occaſioned either by my being ſo attentive to other matters, that I have overlooked them in correcting the proofs; or by the printer's not being able to allow me the neceſſary time to mend what I did not like. The uſeful advices I have received from Mr DRELINCOURT (17), and his juſt and elegant corrections, which I have taken care to write in the margin of my copy, will be of infinite uſe to me in reviſing that edition.

This is what I had to repreſent to thoſe who might think it ſtrange that my Dictionary coſt me ſo much time. But I muſt not neglect thoſe, who might believe I have made too much haſte. There are many who will be ſurprized to ſee two ſuch great volumes in Folio, finiſhed in leſs than five years. Many authors do not perfect a little book under a year, whether they look upon thoſe thoughts and expreſſions as mean, which they produce without a long meditation; or whether their buſineſs calls them frequently from their ſtudies; or whether a natural lazineſs, or too ſcrupulous an obedience to the precept they have learned at ſchool, *interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis*, engage them often to interrupt their labour. Thoſe gentlemen are eaſily prejudiced againſt a work that has not coſt much time; and they think it has not, unleſs a hundred printed ſheets have taken up three or four Years. They will apply to me, doubtleſs, the *canis feſtinans cæcos edit catulos*, and will be confirmed in their prejudice, by reading the particulars above-mentioned. They will abate from the labour ſpent upon things, all the time I have beſtowed upon avoiding verſes (18), and to the unity of relatives. They know it is a long and painful taſk, and that nothing requires more patience than a good ſeries of citations. They will not allow, that under pretence of having inſerted a great deal of foreign matter in this work, I may ſay I have enlarged it in a little time, without making much haſte. For, will they ſay, a juſt application of vaſt numbers of paſſages is a more laborious work, than a long train of reaſonings and reflexions (19). Theſe paſſages muſt be ſought out, they muſt be read with attention, they muſt be pertinently placed, and connected with your own thoughts, and with one another. It is impoſſible to make a quick progreſs, and do this perfectly well. I grant them this, but I intreat them not to apply to me the *canis feſtinans*, &c. before they have read my work. Prejudices are deceitful, and if they would have favourable ones, I will tell them that I remember Cato's Diſtich as well as they, *interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis*, &c. but that I very ſeldom make uſe of it. Diverſions, collations, journies into the country, viſits, and ſuch other recreations, neceſſary to a great many ſtudious men, as they ſay, are not my buſineſs: I loſe no time in them. Nor do I ſpend it in domeſtic cares, making intereſt for preferments, ſollicitations, or other affairs. I have been happily delivered from a great many occupations not very ſuitable to my humour, and I have had the greateſt and moſt charming leiſure that a man of letters could deſire. By this means an author makes a great progreſs in a few years; his work may receive conſiderable additions every day, and that without a negligent performance.

III. SOME Reaſons for quoting authors as I have done.

I doubt not but the method I have taken in quoting the paſſages of authors, will be cenſured. Many will ſay, I was reſolved to compile a large book with little expence: I have often cited very long paſſages; ſometimes I give the ſenſe of them, and then I ſet them down in Greek and Latin. Is not this multiplying things without neceſſity? was it neceſſary to tranſcribe a long quotation of a modern book, which is to be had in every bookſeller's ſhop? was it neceſſary to quote Amyot in his old French? to

(17) *Profeſſor of Philoſophy at Leyden. See what has been ſaid of his perfect knowledge of the French tongue, in the article* DRELINCOURT *remark* [C]. *He has alſo furniſhed me with ſeveral learned obſervations. Obſerve, that for the reaſon alledged in the preceeding marginal note, I could make very little uſe of them, no more than of the others which I had marked in the margin.*

(18) *The French proſe is full of verſes, unleſs one takes an extraordinary care to avoid that fault.*

(19) *See the remark* [*D*], *of the article* EPICURUS.

to give a good anſwer to thoſe critics, I do not think it neceſſary to deny that their objections are ſpecious. I confeſs they are plauſible, and they kept me in ſuſpence a long while; but at laſt more ſpecious reaſons determined me to the method I have taken. I conſidered that ſuch a work as this was to be inſtead of a library to a great many people. Many, that are lovers of learning, have not wherewithal to purchaſe books; others have not leiſure to conſult the fiftieth part of the volumes they buy. Thoſe who have leiſure enough, would be very unwilling to riſe every moment, to ſeek out the information they are referred to. They had rather find in the book they have before them, the very words of the authors, that are brought as evidences. If a man wants the edition cited, he loſes a great deal of time; for it is not always eaſy to find in one's edition, the page that an author cites in his own. And therefore out of a regard to the readers who have no books, and to the occupations, or lazineſs of thoſe that have libraries, I have taken care to ſhew them at once hiſtorical facts, and the proofs of them, with many diſcuſſions and circumſtances, that their curioſity might be fully ſatisfied. And becauſe many frauds are committed in the citations of authors, and thoſe who honeſtly abridge a paſſage, do not always expreſs the whole force of it, it is incredible how much judicious perſons are grown miſtruſtful. I may juſtly ſay, that it is a ſort of raſhneſs on a thouſand occaſions, to believe what is attributed to authors when their own words are not quoted. For which reaſon I was willing to ſet the reader's mind at reſt; and to prevent his ſuſpecting any fraud in my report, I make every witneſs ſpeak in his native language; and inſtead of imitating Caſtelvetro, who finiſhed his citations with *& cætera*, even before he had tranſcribed the neceſſary paſſage, I have ſometimes lengthened that paſſage both at the beginning and at the end, that the thing in queſtion might be underſtood, or ſomething elſe occaſionally learnt. I know this would be abſurd in a ſhort moral treatiſe, in a piece of eloquence, or in an hiſtory; but it is not ſo in ſuch a compilation as this is, in which I propoſe to relate facts, and then to illuſtrate them with commentaries. Such a method would be blameable, if inſtead of one volume it made two; or inſtead of a pocket-book, it produced a book in Folio or in Quarto. But the queſtion being only, whether a volume in Folio ſhall be longer or ſhorter by ſome ſheets, it is not worth the while to conſtrain one's ſelf. Had it but 250 ſheets, it would no more have the advantages of a little book, than if it contained 330 ſheets; for it muſt be well obſerved, that theſe large books are not made to be read page by page. They would coſt ſomewhat leſs, if they contained but 200 ſheets, will ſome ſay: I anſwer, that if a bookſeller went upon ſuch a rule, he would never print a work conſiſting of many volumes, though they contained nothing but ſolid thoughts without a ſyllable too much; for they would ſtill be too dear for thoſe that are in low circumſtances. The trouble of tranſlating Amyot, or Vigenere, into new French, would have been of no ſervice; it ſuffices that my reader can underſtand the facts they relate.

WHY Brantome and ſuch like authors are often quoted in this Dictionary.

Men of a grave and ſevere character will particularly blame the citations out of Brantome or Montaigne, that contain actions and reflexions two free and gallant. I muſt ſay a word or two to this. Some perſons of merit, who were concerned for the intereſts of the bookſeller, concluded, that ſo large a book as this, ſtuffed with Greek and Latin quotations in ſeveral places, and full of diſcuſſions little diverting, would frighten the readers who are not men of letters, and weary the learned; that therefore it was to be feared the ſale would quickly fall, if the curioſity of thoſe who do not underſtand Latin was not excited by ſome other things. I was made ſenſible, that a work, which is bought only by the learned, ſeldom pays the printer, and that if any profit is to be made by an impreſſion, 'tis when a book can equally pleaſe the learned, and thoſe that have no learning; that it was therefore neceſſary for the ſake of my bookſeller, ſometimes to relate what authors who take ſome liberties have publiſhed; that the uſe of ſuch materials is like the liberty a man takes to write his own life; in ſome perſons, 'tis a ſign of arrogance (20), in others a juſt confidence in their virtue (21); and that I might juſtly place myſelf in the number of the latter; laſtly, that if I was too averſe to comply with this advice, I ſhould at leaſt ſuffer others to furniſh the bookſeller with ſuch memoirs, and even ſometimes with dogmatical reflexions that might excite attention. I promiſed them to have ſome regard to thoſe remonſtrances, and added, that I had no right to oppoſe their ſupplements; that I had left to the bookſeller a full authority to inſert, even without conſulting me, the memoirs his correſpondents and friends ſhould ſend him; and that I could wiſh they would do with reſpect to the whole book what they ſeemed to be willing to do in ſome places, that is, make ſuch additions, leave out ſuch things, and diſpoſe of my compilations as they ſhould think fit. 'Tis certain I always wiſhed to have no other ſhare in this work, than the care of compiling: I ſhould have been glad if others would have taken the pains to give a form to the materials, and to enlarge and ſhorten them; and I was well pleaſed when the perſons I ſpeak of aſſured me they would remember our converſation, which is a thing I deſire my readers to take notice of. As for the philoſophical reflexions which ſometimes have been carried pretty far, I think I need not make an excuſe for them; for ſince they only tend to convince man, that the beſt uſe he can make of his reaſon, is to ſubmit his underſtanding to the obedience of faith, they ſeem to deſerve the thanks of the faculties of Divinity.

IV.
REMARKS on my being ſo bold as to criticize many authors.

I have but two or three words to ſay upon a thing which ſeems very important. I have related the errors of a great many perſons ſomewhat freely. Is not this a raſh and preſumptuous attempt? The anſwer to this queſtion would be very long, if I did not refer the readers to what I have ſaid upon it in my project (22). I intreat them to have recourſe to it. I only add, that without exceeding the bounds of humility, a man may obſerve ſome faults in the books of famous men, and yet have a profound admiration for them. When ſubaltern officers, or even common ſoldiers, ſay freely that their generals have committed ſome faults in the courſe of a campaign, they are ſometimes in the right; but they do not pretend to be better qualified than they to command an army; they acknowledge themſelves infinitely inferiour in capacity as well as in rank (23). That is my caſe. I further add, that when the queſtion is concerning a thing that is diſadvantageous to the memory of a man, I do not warrant the truth of it; I only relate what others ſay, and I quote my authors. 'Tis therefore to them, and not to me, that a man's relations ought to addreſs their complaints. A modern hiſtorian has declared in a preface, “That thoſe who have preſcribed the inviolable “laws of hiſtory (24), muſt be applied to, to give an account of thoſe laws, “if any one is diſſatisfied with them; and not the hiſtorians, who ought “indiſpenſably to obey; all the glory they can hope for conſiſting in the “execution of their orders.” My cauſe is ſtill more favourable, ſince I only tranſcribe the authors already printed. Of the two inviolable laws of hiſtory mentioned by that hiſtorian, I have religiouſly obſerved that which commands

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(20) Plerique ſuam ipſi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam arrogantiam arbitrati ſunt. *Moſt people have been of opinion, that for a man to write his own life, is rather a mark of a juſt confidence in his virtue, than of his vanity.* Tacit. in vita Agricolæ. cap. 1.

(21) *See the remarks of the articles* VAYER *and* VIRGIL.

(22) *Numero* 6.

(23) *Conſult this verſe of Horace.* Quum de ſe loquitur non ut majore reprenſis. *Sat.* 10. *lib.* 1. *v.* 55.

(24) Ne quid veri non audeat, ne quid falſi audeat. *Cicer. The words of Cicero, in his ſecond book de Oratore, fol. m.* 74. A, *are* Quis neſcit primam eſſe hiſtoriæ legem, ne quid falſi dicere audeat, deinde ne quid veri non audeat? *Who does not know that the firſt law of hiſtory is, not to dare ſay any thing that is falſe, and to dare ſay every thing that is true.*

commands to ſay nothing that is falſe; as for the other, which bids us venture to ſay all that is true, I cannot boaſt that I have always obſerved it. I believe it ſometimes inconſiſtent, not only with prudence but alſo with reaſon.

I would not have it thought that I glory to have ſaid nothing but truth. I only can warrant my intention, and not my ignorance. I advance nothing as truth, when I am perſuaded that it is a falſity (25); but how many things are there which I have not apprehended, or the ideas whereof have been confounded with one another during the compoſition? How often does it happen that our pen betrays our thoughts? We intend to put down a figure, or a man's name; and ſometimes for want of attention, or even by too much attention to other things, we write another? And therefore I make no doubt, that beſides my omiſſions, which are many, I have committed many faults. I ſhall think myſelf obliged to thoſe, who will be ſo kind as to rectify me: and had I not relied upon the good advices of intelligent and equitable readers, I ſhould have kept this work many years in my cloſet, according to the advice of the ancients (26), in order to correct it, and render it leſs unworthy of the public view: but conſidering I had materials left for two other large volumes, I haſtened the publication of it. I eaſily underſtood that I ſhould be more uſefully and ſeaſonably aſſiſted, when the public ſhould know what I want, and wherein I am wanting. I hope that with thoſe helps the continuation of this work will be more perfect than otherwiſe it would have been. I ſhall immediately go about it whilſt age will permit me (27). I ſee nothing wherein I can better and more pleaſantly employ the leiſure I am bleſs'd with, a leiſure which ſeems to me preferable to all things (28), and which has always been earneſtly wiſhed for by the true lovers of ſtudy and learning; for how many men impatiently long for the time, in which they may ſay,

> Me jam fata meis patiuntur ducere vitam
> Auſpiciis, & ſponte mea componere curas (29)?
>
> *At laſt kind fate has ſuch indulgence ſhown,*
> *That now my life and labours are my own.*

Beſides I think I may reaſonably ſay, that what I am going upon will be more conſiderable, by the nature itſelf of the materials, than what I offer at preſent. Chance and ſurprize had a greater ſhare in it than a deliberate choice: the thing is this. I put off as long as I could the compoſition of the articles that ſeemed the moſt curious and of the greateſt importance. I daily hoped for more materials, and new helps, and in the mean time I was preparing other things; whereby it happened on one hand, that the articles I compoſed took up a great deal of room; and on the other, that the materials for thoſe I had put off were hugely multiplied. I could not therefore inſert them in theſe two volumes, without prodigiouſly ſpoiling the proportion that is to be obſerved betwixt the letters of the alphabet. This obliged me to keep them till another time; for I cannot prevail with myſelf to ſay but little upon a large ſubject, when I can ſay a great deal. Therefore I rather chuſe to be ſilent altogether, than to enter upon it. The proportion I have obſerved betwixt the letters of the alphabet, has been the reaſon of my referring ſome articles from one letter to another. The preference was therefore to be given to the articles I had promiſed; which was the reaſon why the letter for which they were deſigned had it's com-

(25) *This ought to be underſtood of what I advance of my own; and of the great care I have taken faithfully to relate what I think to be the true ſenſe of the authors quoted by me.*

(26) Nonumq; prematur in annum. *Horat. de arte poet. Keep it long by you and improve it ſtill.* Creech.

(27) Dum ſupereſt Lacheſi quod torqueat, & pedibus me Porto meis nullo dextram ſubeunte bacillo, *Juven. ſat.* 3. *ver.* 27.
While I walk upright, and old age is green,
And Lacheſis has ſomewhat left to ſpin.
Dryden.

(28) Nec otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto. *Horat. Epiſt.* 7. *lib.* 1.
Nor wou'd I ſell my freedom and my eaſe,
For rich Arabia or the richer ſeas.
Creech.

(29) *See Virg. Æneid. lib.* 4. *ver.* 340.

pleat extent, before thoſe could be made ready, which were to be very long. I wiſh my Readers may call this to mind, if at any time they ſhould wonder not to find an account of certain perſons in this work.

V. What courſe I have taken with reſpect to Moreri's Dictionary.

Here I ought to declare what courſe I have taken, with reſpect to Moreri's Dictionary. I. There are many ſubjects that I have paſſed over in ſilence, becauſe they are treated at large in his Dictionary. II. When I have given the ſame articles, I have been determined to it, either becauſe he was ſhort in his account, or becauſe having by me the lives of ſome eminent perſons, I was able to give a compleat narrative, or becauſe out of many ſeparate and curi[illegible] things, I could make a pretty large Supplement. In each of theſe thre[illegible]es, I have induſtriouſly avoided the facts he has mentioned: but it was impoſſible to do it ſo abſolutely in the ſecond, as in the other two; for in abridging an exact narrative of the life of a great man, it is neceſſary to give a ſeries of his actions in order, and to make articles well connected, and in ſome ſort all of a-piece. Was it poſſible to do ſo, if I had abſolutely omitted every thing that has been already ſaid of that perſon? Therefore in a very few articles of this kind, it will be poſſible to aver that Moreri's Dictionary had related ſomething, that will be found intermixed with many new facts that I relate. But as this ſeldom happens, and that in inconſiderable points, I needed not have made this obſervation; and I only do it through a ſtrong habit of avoiding univerſal propoſitions, and having a regard in ſome caſes to the ſmalleſt exceptions: beſides, there are ſome occaſions in which a man can't be too cautious to prevent cavils. III. If I advance any fact that I have only from Moreri's compilation, I very carefully cite it. I miſtruſt it very much; and therefore I am reſolved to run no risk upon ſuch a ſecurity; I abandon it to the critics, it muſt anſwer for itſelf. IV. When I don't cite that writer, and yet I relate any thing that is to be found in his work, 'tis a certain proof I have it from another author. I could ſwear I have not ſtollen a word or a ſyllable from him: I quote him as often as I take the leaſt word from him, which very ſeldom happens; and I never omit citing him, but when I have diſcovered the things by as painful ſearches as if he had never mentioned them. V. I refer the reader to him for facts that are in the leaſt conſiderable. It would be an abſurd thing to make references for the day of a birth, the name of a native place, *&c.* for ſuch references would take up more room in a page than the things referred to, and would juſtly diſguſt the readers. VI. I have not pitched upon this method for fear of being accounted a plagiary. This had been a pannic and a very ridiculous fear; for no one has hitherto carried his extravagance ſo far, as to accuſe of plagiariſm ſuch as relate events that another has related, whilſt they derive them from the fountain-head, and uſe neither the turn, nor the order, nor the expreſſions of another; nor is it likely that it ſhould come into any one's head for the future, to give ſo abſurd a definition of plagiariſm; for it would lead us to this utmoſt point of impertinence, viz. that the moſt excellent hiſtorian, who ſhould undertake to write the life of Charles V, would neceſſarily be the plagiary of the moſt wretched chronicler, that collected rhapſodies upon the actions of this great prince. VII. I have put by themſelves, in a Remark, the errors I have imputed to Moreri. VIII. I have not touch'd upon thoſe that are found in the articles given by him, and not by me, though they are not leſs conſiderable, nor leſs frequent in theſe articles than in thoſe I have given. IX. I have followed the edition of Lyons 1688, which is the fifth and laſt that was printed in France. I am not ignorant that the Dutch editions are much better;

but I thought it neceſſary to proportion my corrections to that, for the ſake of a great many people, who only make uſe of the editions printed in France, and who ſtill ſeek and purchaſe them preferably to the ſixth and ſeventh (30).

From all this it reſults, that my Dictionary is not deſigned to leſſen the ſale of the other; on the contrary it will increaſe it, and make the reading of it more uſeful.

For the ſake of youth, who want to have their judgment formed, and to be made ſenſible of the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs, I have taken notice of the leaſt faults of Moreri in the ſubjects we both handle: as for the miſtakes that are in other places, I don't meddle with them, as I have ſaid before. I don't deſire that the contempt this may create [illegible]s labour, ſhould leſſen the acknowledgment that is due to him. I am of Horace's opinion with reſpect to thoſe who ſhew us the way (31): the firſt writers of Dictionaries have committed many faults, but they have done great ſervices, and deſerve a glory, of which they ought not to be deprived by their ſucceſſors. Moreri took great pains, his performance has been of ſome uſe to every body, and afforded ſufficient inſtructions to a great many. It has brought light into ſeveral places, where other books would never have done it, and where an exact knowledge of circumſtances is not neceſſary. It continues to diſperſe it into all parts, and with greater purity ſince the two Dutch editions. They are infinitely better than thoſe of France; for they have been reviſed by one of the ableſt authors of our age: I mean M. **Le Clerc**, whoſe profound learning, ſupported with a juſt and penetrating wit, and an exquiſite judgment, is admired by all Europe. He has corrected a vaſt number of faults and has made excellent additions; and no body could be better qualified to perfect this great work, if nobler and more important occupations would allow him to undertake that taſk. I can't bear the unjuſt caprices of thoſe who complain of the frequent editions of Moreri, and look upon the Bookſellers that undertake them as public poiſoners.

VI.
WHY the Author has prefixed his name to this work.

Thoſe, who ſhall ſee my name in the title-page of this book, and who know that during the time it was printing, I ſaid on all occaſions I would not prefix it, deſerve I ſhould ſay ſomething about it in this Preface. I have not only ſaid this on an hundred occaſions, but I have writ the ſame to ſeveral perſons; and many people know that all my friends have ſtrongly oppoſed my reſolution, and that the innumerable arguments, which the fruitfulneſs of their genius, and their generous goodneſs ſuggeſted to them, could gain nothing upon me. I don't blame thoſe who put their names to their works, but I have ever had a ſecret antipathy againſt it. There is no reaſon to be given of antipathies any more than of taſtes; and yet I might ſay that reflection has confirmed this natural diſpoſition. That wiſe indifference, ſo much celebrated by the ancient philoſophy, has always pleaſed me. That illuſtrious man, who laboured more to be a good man than to be thought ſo (32), who was always concerned how to practiſe virtue, but never to be praiſed for it, ſeemed to me long ago an excellent model; and never any cenſure appeared more judicious to me, than that which was paſſed upon ſome Philoſophers who put their names to thoſe pieces in which they condemned the deſire of praiſe (33). In effect, why do you blame thoſe that run after reputation, if you proclaim to the publick that you don't condemn ſuch a weakneſs? Purſuant to theſe notions, nothing ſeemed to me more noble than to ſhew in all the ſervices that are done to the public, the ſame diſintereſtedneſs that the Goſpel preſcribes in works of charity. Theſe were the maxims that moved me to ſuppreſs my name at the beginning of my Dictionary.

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(30) *Theſe are violent Papiſts, who have been told that Moreri's zeal has often been check'd in the Dutch editions.*

(31) Hoc erat, experto fruſtra Varrone Atacino, Atque quibuſdam aliis, melius quod ſcribere poſſem, Inventore minor: neque ego illi detrahere auſim Hærentem capiti multa cum laude coronam. *Horat. ſat.* 10. *lib.* 1. *ver.* 46.

In ſatyrs I which Varro try'd in vain.
And others too may have a happy ſtrain,
Yet then Lucilius leſs I freely own,
I wou'd not ſtrive to blaſt his juſt renown,
He wears and beſt deſerves to wear the crown.
Creech.

(32) Vir bonus eſſe quam videri malebat. *He rather choſe to be good than to be thought ſo. See the remark* [H] *in the article* Amphiaraus; *and the remark* [L] *in the article* Cæsar.

(33) Cicero *relates the thing, but is none of thoſe who blame it.* Ipſi illi philoſophi etiam in illis libellis quos de contemnenda gloria ſcribunt, nomen ſuum inſcribunt; in eo ipſo in quo prædicationem nobilitatemque deſpiciunt, prædicari de ſe ac nominari volunt. *Even theſe philoſophers have put their names to the books which they wrote concerning the contempt of glory; and deſire applauſe and fame by thoſe very books wherein they pretend to deſpiſe both. Cicero pro Archia poëta fol. m.* 164. D. *See alſo* Cicero. Tuſcul. quæſt. lib. 1. fol. 247. D. & *Valerius Maximus.* lib. 8. cap. 14. n. 3. in ext.

But I ſhall not be believed by Detracters; they will think that my ſcruples were grounded upon the little honour that is to be got by appearing at the head of a large compilation, which they will call *A common ſhore of Collections, a Rhapſody of a Tranſcriber*, &c. Of all the employments, will they ſay, that can be had in the Common-wealth of Learning, there is none ſo contemptible as that of compilers: they are the drudges of great men. Indeed they are not uſeleſs: "Such people, ſaid Scaliger (34), are the "drudges of learned men, they bring us all our materials; it is a great "help to us, ſuch men are neceſſary". But are not the vileſt profeſſions neceſſary? and does their uſefulneſs retrieve them from their ſordidneſs? There is therefore more vanity than modeſty, in declining the reputation of a drudging author, and endeavouring to get out of the claſs of thoſe writers, whoſe productions are not ſo much the work of their minds, as the work of their bodies, and who carry their brains upon their ſhoulders. The detracters may believe what they pleaſe, there is no reaſoning againſt them; and therefore I ſhall only ſay it is not through inconſtancy, but in obedience to the ſupreme authority, that I have done what I have ſo often ſaid I would not do. It was thought neceſſary, to compoſe the difference of ſome Bookſellers, that I ſhould name myſelf. Without this the Sieur Reinier Leers could not have obtained the licence which he thought he had an indiſpenſible occaſion for: I therefore pay a blind obedience; and for that reaſon ſhould not fear even the rigorous tribunal of Cato the Cenſor himſelf (25).

I have few words to add concerning my *Errata*, and two or three other ſmall matters.

I comprehend under the word *Errata* my Additions and Corrections. If it was compleat it would contain more pages than it does. I do not lay them all to the Printer's charge, how much ſoever they exerciſe our patience, eſpecially when they do not correct all that has been marked in the margin of the proofs. I have had experience of that fatality which attends the trade, and I forget it as much as I am able, *animus meminiſſe horret*. I however take part of the blame myſelf, but I beg of thoſe who ſhall criticize me, to look carefully over my *Errata*. I beg of them alſo, when they ſhall find any thing that is wrong, to ſee whether it be not in the authors quoted by me; for if my tranſlations be not literal, they are at leaſt faithful as to the ſenſe: they muſt therefore contain an irregularity, when my authors have ſpoken or thought confuſedly.

If any think they have been groundleſly criticiſed in this Dictionary, and if they publiſh any piece in their juſtification, wherein they ſhall uſe the right of repriſals, I preſume they will not take it amiſs, that inſtead of interrupting my work, to anſwer them, I take the reſolution of referring all this to the continuation of this Dictionary. I ſhall ingenuouſly confeſs my errors, and retract them without having recourſe to cavilling, as is the common practice. I am ſometimes more poſitive than I ſhould be: but at the bottom I then only propoſe doubts; and if I ſpeak in another ſtrain, it is that I may the better excite the learned to afford me their inſtructions, and concur more zealouſly in the illuſtration of things.

I have almoſt every where followed the orthography of the learned; but I have placed the letter *y* in the Articles as if it was *i*. This has not been done in the Index, but I perceived it too late.

The 23d of *October*, 1696.

ADVERTISEMENT

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(34) In Scaligeranis, voce *du Maine*, p. m. 148.

(25) Ποστούμιον Ἀλβῖνον, ἱστορίαν Ἑλληνιστὶ γράψαντα, καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτούμενον, ἐπέσκωψεν, εἰπὼν δοτέον εἶναι τὴν συγγνώμην εἰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ψηφισαμένων ἀναγκασθεὶς ὑπέμεινε τὸ ἔργον. *Plut. in Catone* [illegible] *Albin*[illegible] *who wrot*[illegible] *ries i*[illegible] *and de*[illegible] *Readers to* [illegible]*cuſe his inaccuracies; ſaying, that he ought to be excuſed if he had been obliged to write in Greek by a decree of the Amphictyons.*

ADVERTISEMENT

CONCERNING THE

Second French Edition.

THE firſt thing I am to acquaint the Readers with, is, that moſt of the remarks they have ſeen above (1), ſuit with, and ought to be applied to this ſecond edition.

I acquaint them in the ſecond place, that I have been very ſorry that a great many concurring circumſtances, with which it would be to no purpoſe to acquaint them, have put me under a neceſſity of joining to what had already been publiſhed, the new articles I was preparing. I knew that this might offend thoſe who have bought the firſt edition; but at laſt I hoped they would be ſo good as to accept of my excuſes.

They had no reaſon to imagine that the ſecond edition ſhould be no ways preferable to the firſt; for they muſt needs believe that I would correct all the errors which I could obſerve, and that the additions and corrections which were at the end of each volume would be inſerted in their proper places. That alone muſt give the preference to the ſecond edition, and diſpleaſe thoſe who had bought the other. It was therefore impoſſible not to diſoblige them in ſome degree. The queſtion then in that reſpect was only concerning doing ſo more or leſs; but on the other hand we were to give an intire ſatisfaction to thoſe who had not as yet purchaſed the book, but wanted to have it. They would have been very diſcontented if I had divided my work into two alphabets. One might probably preſume that the number of the latter was greater than that of thoſe who had already purchaſed the firſt edition. Long experience has taught us that alphabetic works of this ſort are frequently reprinted, even when they are very defective. We were therefore reduced to this alternative, either not altogether to pleaſe a certain number of people, or to give intire ſatisfaction to a much greater number: reaſon then required that we ſhould chuſe the laſt.

There was a middle way we might have taken: to wit, to print the additions apart, and likewiſe to inſert them in the ſecond edition. They who had not as yet bought it, would by this means have had the whole work under one alphabet; and they who had purchaſed it before, would have only been obliged to procure the additions, and would have found the inconvenience of two alphabets more tolerable than paying twice for the ſame thing. I ſhould have made choice of this expedient, if I had thought the additions would have been ſo large as they have proved; but when this ſecond edition was begun, I fancied they could not amount to more than a

(1) *In the preface of the firſt edition.*

very few ſheets, and that it would not be worth the while to print them by themſelves. It proved quite otherwiſe during the courſe of the impreſſion; but the opportunity of taking that middle way was loſt, before we had reaſon to think that the additions would be ſufficient to fill a volume. More care ſhall be taken of this, if this ſecond edition ſhould be followed by any more; for in that caſe we ſhall take our meaſures, ſo that every one may have it in his power to buy ſeparately what ſhall be added.

If this excuſe is not ſufficient I will give another. The public ought to be ſo accuſtomed to frequent editions of Dictionaries, corrected and enlarged in every impreſſion, that it would be unreaſonable to take it amiſs that I have followed a cuſtom authorized by ſo many examples. I might produce a great many, but I content my ſelf with alledging Moreri's Dictionary, which has paſſed thro' nine editions in the ſpace of twenty five years, always with new additions and corrections. The ninth will doubtleſs be followed by many more, on the ſame footing, both in France (2) and in Holland. I ſhould not deſire to be pardoned if I was guilty of ſo many relapſes; but methinks the public ought to think me ſufficiently juſtified this firſt time, eſpecially ſince I have no deſign of doing ſo any more.

Let us ſay ſomething concerning this ſecond edition. It is not twice as large as the firſt, but it does not want much of it; and if it be not exempt from the faults of the firſt as much as it ſhould be, and as much as I deſired, it is however leſs faulty. As I was reviſing the firſt edition, I have found many miſtakes that proceeded from the negligence of the Printers. They have been rectified, as alſo many others, moſt of which were occaſioned by the authors quoted by me, whom I could not rectify, becauſe I had not by me the books neceſſary for it. There are ſome faults which I ſhould not have mended, had I not been informed of them; they will be eaſily diſcerned, for I have carefully mentioned the authors of the advices, illuſtrations, or ſupplements, that have been communicated to me (3). After all, I am not without great fears that there are more faults remaining than I have removed; 'tis the fate of Dictionaries to arrive ſlowly and by degree at perfection. Abundance of things are wanting to them when they firſt come out, which time gives them by ſlow degrees. Be it how it will, I have been ſo diſſatisfied with my firſt edition, in bringing it to the teſt of examination, that I diſown and diſclaim it (4), and will be anſwerable only for the things I have cauſed to be reprinted out of it: I expect from the readers equity, that if they will reprove me, they will take care to obſerve whether the paſſage they think faulty is to be found in the ſecond edition. I likewiſe earneſtly deſire them to examine whether the paſſage found fault with, be not corrected in the Errata, or in the Additions placed at the end of theſe three volumes.

There are ſome corrections that I have made, as it were *ex officio*, and in conſequence of an engagement of which the public was informed (5). I have done it with all imaginable care, and with the ſtrongeſt intention to ſatisfy the diſcontented. To this purpoſe I have ſtruck out of the article of DAVID every thing that could give offence. This is the greateſt ſuppreſſion that has been neceſſary: the others are not conſiderable, either for their number, nor their length. We have been able to amend all the reſt at the expence of ſome few words, or few lines; and chiefly by means of four Explanations which are at the end of this work.

I ſhall ſay but little of the Additions, not being willing to prepoſſeſs any body: let every one judge of them as they ſee cauſe. But I will not diſſemble, that the trouble they have given me has not permitted me to cor-

(2) *The Literary news from Paris acquaint us that Mr Vautier is employed in a new edition of Moreri; and not only deſigns to augment and correct it, but alſo to new mould it. He is very capable of ſucceeding in it. It was he who gave the edition of Paris* 1699.

(3) *Either in general, or by naming the perſons, or placing aſteriſms or points inſtead of their names, when I knew or thought they would not be named. There are few exceptions to this.*

(4) *This ought particularly to be underſtood of the copies that were reprinted, the proofs whereof I did not reviſe. The Printers have committed great miſtakes in thoſe copies.*

(5) *In a* Letter concerning what paſſed in the Conſiſtory of the Walloon church of Rotterdam, in relation to the Critical Dictionary. *That Letter is inſerted in the* Life of Mr Bayle, *under the year* 1698.

rect the articles of the firſt edition with all the ſeverity and diligence I deſigned. It is very difficult for an author, whilſt the preſs goes on without any interruption, to do theſe three things; to reviſe two large volumes in folio, to inlarge them above one third part, and to correct the proofs.

Some Additions require that many places ſhould be mended and new moulded, to prevent contradicting one's ſelf, and writing nonſenſe. To correct a Dictionary well, a man ſhould never enlarge it; for it is with theſe works, as it is with towns and fruits. A town ſeldom receives a juſt ſymmetry and proportion, whilſt greater care is taken to enlarge it, than to repair the old houſes. Such an increaſe ſerves rather to ſhew it's diſproportions, and irregularities, than to remove them. And as for fruits, it is well known they never ripen, 'till they ceaſe to receive new juices. Such is the common fate of compilations. When they are reprinted, a greater care is taken to add new things, than to put the old ones in a better condition. An author is weary of the old ones he has read ſo often, and finds in the others the charms of novelty, which take up all his attention. This produces an ill effect; moſt of the old faults remain, and new ones are added to them.

Having been adviſed by ſeveral people not to ſuffer the Project or plan which I publiſhed in the year 1692, before ſome eſſays of this Dictionary, to be loſt; I have reprinted it at the end of the diſſertations which are in the laſt volume.

There are certain things of which I have ſaid in ſundry places, that I did acquaint my Readers with them once for all. It may happen that they will never light upon theſe paſſages, books of this kind not being uſually read through, from the beginning to the end: I have therefore been adviſed to mark here the places where I give any general advertiſements. For this purpoſe I believe it will be ſufficient to refer to the following articles: ANAXAGORAS, in the text at the end; ARISTANDER, Remark [*B*]; BEME; CAMDEN, Remark [*D*]; CARNEADES, Remark [*B*]; GOMARUS, Remark [*B*]; GOURNAI, Remark [*D*]; HAILLAN; MAHOMET II; PRIOLO.

OBSERVATIONS concerning the Index.

Several people have deſired me to place good Indexes at the end of the work. I agree that there are but few books where they are more neceſſary than in this. I had laid down pretty good plans, and perhaps I might ſay that there are few people more proper to execute them, than ſuch as have laboured a long while in making vaſt compilations; for if they have been at the pains to verify the paſſages (6), they muſt have been obliged to turn to the indexes every moment; they have been diſappointed there a thouſand and a thouſand times: they have thereby found their defects, and learned what is neceſſary in order to ſhun them. Poſſibly therefore I could have compoſed a good index; but I neither had the time, nor the patience, which ſo tedious and tireſome a taſk requires. Nay, I did not think it proper that the perſon, who was employed to make one, and who would have been able to have executed very exactly any plan that could have been laid down to him, ſhould engage himſelf in the detail which ſome readers deſired. They would have a particular index of authors cited, cenſured, or corrected, and ſo of an hundred things beſides. I conſidered that ſuch indexes would be ſo long, that they would diſguſt many people. I know by my own experience, and by that of many others, that articles of an index, filled with half pages of cyphers, are hardly of ſervice to any body; for where are the people, who in order to find out one paſſage, will give themſelves the trouble to conſult twenty? in an index of

(6) *Which I have done as often as I could, and always when I had a ſufficient number of books.*

of Salmaſius's (7), the article of PLINY contains above three columns of cyphers, that of STRABO two, and that of THEOPHRASTUS near three. Of what uſe can this be to a reader? will he be ſtupid enough to employ a whole day to try his chance in this incredible quantity of pages quoted? the way to remedy this, would be to take notice that Pliny is quoted for ſuch and ſuch a thing, but if you do not make a new alphabetical diſtribution, the ſight of two or three pages, filled only with one name, will diſguſt every body. Now this alphabetical diſtribution, of what concerns each author that has been quoted, is a taſk for a gally-ſlave. Beſides, do we not know that there are hardly four readers among an hundred, who mind whether the index is good or not? moſt people never look into it: we ſhould therefore undertake a moſt fatiguing taſk, which would be of uſe only to very few. It is for theſe and many other reaſons, that I thought it would be ſufficient to give the index, which you will find at the end of this work, and to add only another index, which contains nothing but a liſt of the articles. Be pleaſed to obſerve, that the index doth not contain the names of all the authors which I have quoted; and when they are contained in it, all the paſſages where they are quoted, are not ſet down. People will therefore deceive themſelves if they reaſon thus, a certain author does not appear in the index, or appears but thrice, therefore he has not been quoted, or he has been quoted only three times.

The chief reaſon which made me reſolve not to execute all the plans of indexes which I had conceived, was, that I thought a word of advice would ſupply all defects. Let the few readers who make uſe of that part of a book, only obſerve what follows.

When they meet with any thing worth remembering, they need only ſee whether it be in the table; and if it be not, it is but marking it themſelves in the margin of the table, under the word which they think moſt convenient, or on a paper by itſelf. It is the method that is taken by thoſe who find the tables of books defective, and deſign to prevent the damage they might receive by them.

Having received too late the memoirs for the article of the town of ETAMPES, and for thoſe of FEVRET, and the houſe MINUTOLI, which has afforded Cardinals, and many illuſtrious perſons of all ranks, I could not make uſe of them. I have alſo received too late an article ready made, and very well drawn up, viz. that of RALPH Archbiſhop of Bourges, ſon of Ralph, Count and Lord of Turenne.

It would not have been proper, methinks, to place all theſe articles in the Addenda, which are at the end of each volume (8). Very few people read theſe ſorts of Addenda, and no body approves that they ſhould fill many pages. I am ſo much perſuaded that they are but little conſulted, that I here once more beg of my readers not to condemn me upon any account, before they have examined my Addenda, where many things are corrected. I deſire them likewiſe, particularly to conſult there the additions to the articles BRUN (9), and BUDÆUS, in which I mention the ancient nobility of theſe two families; the addition to the article FONTEVRAUD, and to the article LEO X (10), and the article VERSORIS, which I give entire in the Addenda to the laſt volume (11).

I have nothing to ſay to thoſe, who complain that my work does not afford them a ſufficient number of things that ſuit with their taſte. It is the unavoidable fate of miſcellaneous writings. Each reader finds in them too much of one thing, and too little of another. Thoſe who love ge-

nealogies

(7) *Salmaſius in the Index of authors quoted in his* Exercitationes Plinianæ.

(8) *Theſe four articles have been inſerted in their proper places in this new edition.*

(9) *The Plenipotentiary of Spain at the peace of Munſter.*

(10) *I give there two Letters of this Pope, which were never printed, and are very curious.*

(11) *All theſe Additions have been inſerted in their proper places in this edition.*

nealogies do not find enough of them: thoſe who do not love them think there are too many. Thoſe who delight in Philoſophical reaſonings, would have more of them; and thoſe who do not like them, would not have ſo many. Some wiſh I had not given the articles of ſo many Miniſters; others wonder I have omitted ſo many. I deſire them all to call to mind this ſaying of Pliny, "Let us forgive others their inclinations, that they "may forgive ours (12)." I ſhall quote upon this, a fine Paſſage of Scioppius (13).

If I have ſpoken of one family, rather than of another equally or more conſiderable, it was without any reſpect of perſons; the only reaſon of it was, that I had materials for ſome and not for others.

A particular anſwer is due to thoſe who have found fault with me for ſpeaking ſo little of great warriors: two things made me ſo barren in this reſpect; one is, as I have ſufficiently ſaid (14), that I have avoided falling in with the ſubjects of other Dictionaries, both as to the preſent and future editions. Moſt of the ancient and modern Generals of armies are to be found in Moreri; eſpecially the Conſtables, Admirals, and Mareſchals of France, &c. Theſe articles coſt only the pains of tranſcribing Father Anſelme. I was perſuaded, that all the famous northern and German warriors, would appear at large in Mr Chappuzeau's Dictionary. I did not therefore think it neceſſary to turn my thoughts that way. But I had ſtill a ſtronger reaſon, which was this: I did not find myſelf in a capacity to give the articles of great captains, ſuch as I ſhould have deſired. Father Anſelme's performance is a good and uſeful work, and required an incredible patience and very labourious enquiries, but it cannot ſatisfy the reader's curioſity. It is next to nothing to know that in ſuch a year a general took or relieved a town, or won a battle, &c. The reader is beſides willing to know what was his character; whether he excelled in courage, as Marcellus, or in prudence as Fabius Cunctator; whether he was better qualified to conquer, than to preſerve his conqueſts; whether his fiery and quick temper dazzled him in a battel, or whether he remained ſedate in the greateſt danger; by what wiſe and happy expedient he gained a battle that was almoſt loſt; by what fault he was overcome on ſuch an occaſion. The readers are alſo willing to know, whether in reality he got the victory, as the writers of his party affirm, or whether he loſt it, as the Writers of the other ſide maintain. Theſe diſputes are innumerable (15). I ſhould think myſelf obliged to diſcuſs them, and to compare the relations of both ſides, that by eſtabliſhing as a principle, the facts in which they agree, whether in relation to the battle or to it's conſequences, we might there, by way of induction, arrive at ſome ſort of certainty.

For example, if I ſpoke of the Mareſchal de Luxembourg, I would obſerve the character that diſtinguiſhed him from other generals, and be particular upon the occaſions in which he diſcovered what he excelled in, and in what his talents was but indifferent. I would avoid the miſtakes and omiſſions which I find about him in Moreri's Dictionary. I would not ſay that he "defeated the armies of Holland near Bodegrave, in 1672," that he took Bodegrave (16) in 1673, that he raiſed the Siege of Charleroi in 1674. For the firſt of theſe three facts (17) is an inexcuſable hyperbole, and the two others are wholly chimerical. I would not ſay, that in 1673 "he made his way through the enemy's army of ſeventy thou"ſand men, though he had but twenty thouſand:" it is an hyperbole that would not be excuſed in a poet. I would not ſay, that in 1678

(12) *Compare what is ſaid in the remark* [F] *of the article* POQUELIN.

(13) Unde Seneca: non eſt, quod mireris, ex eadem materia ſuis quemque ſtudiis apta colligere. In eodem prato bos herbam quærit, canis leporem, ciconia lacertum. Cum Ciceronis libros de republica prehendit hinc philologus aliquis, hinc grammaticus, hinc philoſophiæ deditus, alius alio ſuam curam mittit. Et Plinius cum dixiſſet multos eſſe, quos ea quibus nos capimur & ducimur, partim ut inepta, partim ut moleſtiſſima offendant: *Demus*, inquit, *alienis oblectationibus veniam ut noſtris impetremus*. Sciopplus, Elem. Philoſ. Stoicæ moralis, cap. 152. fol. 147. *Therefore Seneca ſays: You need not wonder that every man from the ſame matter chooſeth what moſt ſuits his own ſtudies. In the ſame meadow the ox ſeeks for graſs, the dog for a hare, and the ſtork for a lizard. When a philologiſt, a grammarian, and a philoſopher, take up each of them Cicero's Treatiſe on government, they all apply their attention different ways. And Pliny, after obſerving that many people look upon thoſe things with which we are delighted, either as trifling or diſagreeable, ſays,* Let us excuſe other people's inclinations, that we may obtain excuſe for our own.

(14) *In the preface to the firſt edition.*

(15) *The original cauſe of it is frequently this: That for political reaſons they uſe the name of Victory in the firſt relations of a battle, that are ſold about the ſtreets. This appellation takes root, tho' it ſhould be only a tranſient one: it is like a Chriſtian name, which remains to the laſt.*

(16) *Note, that Bodegrave is but a village.*

(17) *See the article* BODEGRAVE.

" he beat the Dutch army at St Denys, near Mons; but I would examine the queſtion who won the battle. I would not ſay, that in 1692 " he took " the enemy's cannon and baggage, &c. at Steinkerke;" it being a fact manifeſtly confuted by the very relation he gave of this battle, and which was immediately printed in France. I would not omit the rebellion he perſiſted in from the year 1649, to the Pyrenean treaty. I would not omit his campaign of Philipſburg (18), under pretence that he was mortified upon that account. I would not omit his impriſonment in the Baſtille, and would endeavour to dive into the ſecrecy of the proceedings of the Chamber of the Arſenal againſt him. This is the more requiſite for the honour of his memory, becauſe there went ſtrange and very ridiculous reports concerning his proceſs. I would examine what ſo many people imagine, though perhaps without much reaſon, that he would have done greater ſervices to France in his laſt campaigns, if he had not preferred his particular intereſt of keeping up the war to the public good, or if his orders had not been too limited. Thoſe men pretend that he headed the army, juſt as the Pope's legates headed the Council of Trent; that is, he was to wait every poſt for a new inſpiration. Laſtly, I would endeavour to find a true medium as to his morals, betwixt his funeral oration, and ſome pieces that have been printed (19).

Every body will be ſenſible, that ſince I am not in a capacity of filling up a plan of this nature, I am very excuſable for not touching upon ſuch articles.

I forgot to mention, in the preface of the firſt edition, one of the reaſons why I quote long Latin paſſages; which is, that many perſons who read my book are but little acquainted with French, but they are well ſkilled in Latin, and ſo by the help of the citation they can perfectly underſtand my meaning.

Such as will give themſelves the trouble to caſt their eyes upon the margins of this Dictionary, are deſired to remember, that the quotations I have marked with a figure, are thoſe which I have found in the authors, whoſe paſſages I relate. I am not anſwerable for them.

The 7th of December, 1701.

(18) *In* 1676.

(19) *I do not mean all; for moſt of them are ſo ſilly and impertinent ſatires, and ſo plainly calumnious, that they ought not to be credited.*

"he beat the Dutch army at St Denys, near Mons; but I would examine the queſtion who won the battle: I would not ſay, that in 1692 "he took "the enemy's cannon and baggage, &c. at Steinkerke;" it being a fact manifeſtly confuted by the very relation he gave of this battle, and which was immediately printed in France. I would not omit the rebellion he perſiſted in from the year 1649, to the Pyrenean treaty. I would not omit his campaign of Philipſburg (18), under pretence that he was mortified upon that account. I would not omit his impriſonment in the Baſtille, and would endeavour to dive into the ſecrecy of the proceedings of the Chamber of the Arſenal againſt him. This is the more requiſite for the honour of his memory, becauſe there went ſtrange and very ridiculous reports concerning his proceſs. I would examine what ſo many people imagine, though perhaps without much reaſon, that he would have done greater ſervices to France in his laſt campaigns, if he had not preferred his particular intereſt of keeping up the war to the public good, or if his orders had not been too limited. Thoſe men pretend that he headed the army, juſt as the Pope's legates headed the Council of Trent; that is, he was to wait every poſt for a new inſpiration. Laſtly, I would endeavour to find a true medium as to his morals, betwixt his funeral oration, and ſome pieces that have been printed (19).

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The 7th of December, 1701.

THE

LIFE

OF

Mr BAYLE.

BY

Mr DES MAIZEAUX,

Fellow of the Royal Society.

A Letter from Mr Des Maizeaux *to Mr* De la Motte; *who engaged him to write the Life of Mr* Bayle, *which was prefixed to the laſt edition of his Dictionary, printed at Amſterdam in the year* 1730.

SIR, London, *Dec.* 13, 1729.

I Have at length finiſhed the taſk you was pleaſed to preſcribe me; but I am very much afraid that the performance will diſcover the ſhortneſs of the time in which I was obliged to compoſe it, and that my zeal to obey your commands, has thrown me into a precipitation prejudicial to my deſire of doing well. Tho' my materials were ready long ago, that was not enough; it was neceſſary to range and reduce them into order, which was no ſmall matter. I am fully perſuaded that you are too much my friend, not to be ſatisfied with my endeavour, and that you will excuſe the defects of this piece, on account of my eagerneſs to gratify your deſire. But tho' a friend regards principally the good intention, the public conſiders only the performance. It is impoſſible but being ſo hurried, I muſt have ſometimes too much contracted what ought to have been enlarged, and too much enlarged what ought to have been contracted. The ſtile likewiſe is very incorrect, and I do not even know but I have been guilty of ſome inconſiſtencies: for having ſent you the ſheets as faſt as I compoſed them, I have not as yet ſeen the work entire, and conſequently could not compare the ſeveral parts together. I could wiſh the public were apprized of this, which might incline the reader to excuſe my faults: and ſince you are the occaſion of the evil, you are in ſome ſort obliged to apply the remedy. Be ſo good, therefore, as to join to it a ſhort Advertiſement, which may ſerve as an apology for me. But above all things, do not forget to take notice, that when you engaged me to write theſe Memoirs, the impreſſion of the Dictionary was finiſhed, and they had actually begun to print the Index.

But after having ſhown my performance in it's worſt light, you may likewiſe ſet it off by ſhowing it's fair ſide. However defective the form may be, you may, Sir, ſpeak with aſſurance of the matter, ſince that is none of mine. I had very good materials to go upon. After the death of Mr Bayle, the Earl of Shaftsbury, his friend, deſired me to communicate to him all that I could gather concerning his life and writings. I addreſſed myſelf immediately to Mr Basnage, who furniſhed me with a great many particulars, which I inſerted in the account my Lord Shaftsbury had deſired of me, a very imperfect Engliſh tranſlation of which was publiſhed in 1708. Mr Baÿze acquainted me alſo with ſeveral circumſtances relating to Mr Bayle's youth. He was his relation. I might likewiſe name Mr De la Riviere, Mr Abbadie, Mr Huet, *&c.* Mr Bayle's *Letters*, which I have publiſhed, were of infinite ſervice to me. Laſtly, I had a ſure guide to fix the dates of his journies, of his ſtudies, of the compoſition and impreſſion of his works, and of the different circumſtances he was in during the firſt forty years of his life. This guide is Mr Bayle himſelf, who has left us an hiſtorical and chronological journal of his life, under the title of *Calendarium Carlananum*. For this journal I am obliged to Mr Marais, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, who was pleaſed to ſend along with it ſuch illuſtrations as I wanted. I am alſo indebted to him, for the Letters which relate to the Queen of Sweden, and for ſome other important pieces which you will find in this work.

I have joined to Mr Bayle's Life three ſmall pieces, which will ſerve for vouchers, and may be placed at the end by way of appendix. The firſt is the *Calendarium Carlananum*; the tranſlation of it explains what is either expreſſed very briefly, or by abbreviations in the original. The ſecond is the *Ordonnance* of Mr De la Reynie, Lieutenant-General of the Police, at Paris, containing a condemnation of the *Critique Generale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme de Mr* Maimbourg; there is ſomething very ſingular in it. The third contains the *Acts of the Conſiſtory of the Walloon Church of Rotterdam, concerning Mr Bayle's Dictionary*; in which is to be found, the whole procedure of that conſiſtory, together with Mr Bayle's declarations: this piece has not as yet been publiſhed.

Out of all this, Sir, you may chooſe what you think proper for your advertiſement. I think you cannot avoid naming the perſons who have furniſhed me with memoirs. This is an acknowledgment which is due to them. But I can ſafely rely upon you in this matter, my intereſts cannot be in better hands. It therefore only remains, that I beg the continuance of your friendſhip, and that I aſſure you of the great devotion with which I ſhall always be,

BRITISH

SIR,

Your very humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

P. DES MAIZEAUX.

THE LIFE

OF

Mr *BAYLE.*

1647. MR (*PETER*) *BAYLE*, was born at Carla, a ſmall town in the county of Foix, betwixt Pamiers and Rieux, on the 18th of November 1647. His Father, deſcended from a good family, originally of Montauban, was named *JOHN.* He was miniſter of Carla, and married *Jane de Bruguiere*, whoſe mother was of the family of Ducaſſe; ſo that Meſſieurs Bayle were related to two families of diſtinction in the county of Foix, Ducaſſe, and Chalabre of which that of Bruguiere is a branch. He had two brothers; one elder called *JACOB*, who was colleague to his father, and a younger, named *JOSEPH*, and ſirnamed *du Peyrat*, from an eſtate belonging to the family.

Mr Bayle diſcovered from his infancy, a ſubtile and lively genius, an eaſy and quick conception, and a very extraordinary memory; and all theſe were attended with another talent, abſolutely neceſſary to the improvement of theſe excellent qualities, a ſtrong deſire after knowledge and inſtruction. He would frequently aſk queſtions of his parents, and wait for their anſwers with the utmoſt eagerneſs and attention, and would not be ſatisfied with ſuch as they gave him, 'till he fully comprehended them, and what he learned in this domeſtic ſchool he never forgot. His father cultivated theſe happy diſpoſitions with the utmoſt care. After having taught him Latin, he made him ſtudy the Greek language at the age of twelve 1660. years and a half (1), and for ſome years improved his knowledge of both theſe languages, by the reading of the beſt authors. But at laſt the functions of his miniſtry taking up a great deal of his Time, and finding his ſon capable of a greater progreſs than he could poſſibly make under him, he took the reſolution of ſending him to the Academy of Puylaurens. Mr Bayle arrived there in the month of February 1666. 1666 (2). He was then in his nineteenth year; but neither the paſſions which ordinarily have the ſway at that age, nor his abſence from his parents, could in the leaſt weaken the ſtrong paſſion he had for letters: he made even the hours that are given to recreation ſubſervient to it; and while the other ſcholars were engaged in the amuſements which are ſo dear to youth, he uſed to retire to his chamber, and there devote himſelf to the pleaſures ariſing from ſtudy.

In the month of September following (3), he took the opportunity of the vacation to make a viſit to his father. But even this ſeaſon which is deſigned for diverſion, was to him a time of labour: he applyed himſelf ſo cloſely to his ſtudies, that he fell ſick; and hardly was he recovered, when giving himſelf up a-new to this favourite paſſion, he ſickened again, and in this manner by frequent relapſes he was detained 1668. at Carla, above eighteen months. After this he was ſent to Saverdun (4), to the houſe of Mr Bayze, who had married his aunt Paula de Bruguiere. The deſign of this journey was for the change of air, and to divert him from ſtudy, but unluckily he found books there. Mr Rival, miniſter of Saverdun, had a large collection of them, which was ſuch a temptation to young Bayle, as almoſt coſt him his Life. His continual ſtudy threw him into a dangerous fever, which held him a long time, and of which he with great difficulty recovered. As ſoon as he was in a condition to go abroad, they removed him to a country houſe of Mr Bayze's, ſcituate upon the banks of the Auriege, which makes the place very agreeable. The remembrance of the happy moments he ſpent near that river, was the occaſion of his conſecrating an article to it in his Dictionary (5).

(1) *June* 29, 1660.

(2) *Febr.* 12, 1666.

(3) *Sept.* 9.

(4) *May* 29, 1668.

(5) *See the Article* AURIEGE.

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When he was perfectly recovered, he returned to Carla (6), and ſoon after to Puylaurens (7), to proſecute his ſtudies. He reſumed them with new vigour, and, together with his academical exerciſes, he read all ſorts of books that came in his way, not even excepting books of controverſy: but Plutarch and Montaigne were his favourite authors. The long ſtay he had made at home with his father, before he went to the academy, and his frequent indiſpoſitions afterwards, had ſo much retarded his ſtudies, that he did not begin his Logic, 'till he was one and twenty. So that it is not without reaſon, that he complains in one of his books (8), that he begun his ſtudies late.

(6) *Sept.* 28.

(7) *Nov.* 5.

(8) In a pamphlet intituled, *Reflexions ſur un imprimé qui a pour titre, Jugement du public ſur le Dictionaire Critique*, §. 19. p. 8. That is, *Reflexions on a Pamphlet intituled, The Judgment of the Public, concerning the Critical Dictionary:* which ſee at the end of the laſt volume.

1669.

He redoubled his application to make up the time he had loſt; and the progreſs made at Puylaurens, not being in his apprehenſion ſufficiently quick, he reſolved to leave that academy in order to go to Toulouſe, one of the moſt celebrated univerſities in France. He arrived there in the month of February 1669 (9); and taking lodgings in a private houſe, attended the philoſophical lectures, which were read in the Jeſuits college. There was nothing very extraordinary in this. The Proteſtants often ſent their children to ſtudy under the Jeſuits, though this had been forbidden by the ſynods. Mr Bayle's ſtay at Toulouſe, however, had very melancholy conſequences for his family, here he changed his religion. The books of controverſy which he had read at Puylaurens, had already ſhaken him; and his doubts were increaſed at Toulouſe, by ſome diſputes he had with a prieſt, who lodged in the ſame houſe with him. He thought his opinions were falſe, becauſe he could not anſwer all the arguments that were objected to him; and, a month after his arrival at Touloufe, he embraced the Roman Catholic religion (10). He was matriculated, and the next day reſumed the ſtudy of Logic.

The news of his change was in the utmoſt degree afflicting to all his relations, and particularly to his father, who loved him tenderly. Mr Bertier, biſhop of Rieux, rightly judging, that after this ſtep young Bayle had no reaſon to expect any aſſiſtance from his relations, generouſly took upon himſelf the charge of his maintenance. Mr Bayle makes a grateful acknowledgment of it in a letter which he wrote in the year 1693, to Mr Pinſon, Advocate of the Parliament of Paris [*A*].

They valued themſelves very much at Toulouſe upon this acquiſition of a young man of ſo great hopes, and whoſe merit was heightened by his being ſon to a miniſter. When it came to his turn to defend Theſes publickly, it was reſolved that the ſolemnity ſhould be performed in a ſplendid manner. The moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons, both of the clergy, parliament, and city, aſſiſted there: there had never been ſeen in that univerſity ſo auguſt and numerous an audience. The theſes were adorned with the picture of the Virgin (11), to whom they were dedicated, and this picture was accompanied with ſeveral emblematical figures, repreſenting the converſion of the reſpondent. The perſpicuity, the penetration, and the modeſty, with which he anſwered his opponents, procured him an univerſal applauſe.

(9) *Febr.* 19.

(10) *Mar.* 19.

(11) *Holding the child* Jesus *in her arms.*

Mr Ros de Bruguiere, one of his uncles by the mother's ſide, who was married to a Roman Catholic lady, being at Toulouſe when Mr Bayle defended his theſes, carried a copy of them to Carla, which Madam Ros de Bruguiere hung up as an ornament in her chamber. Mr Bayle's father being come to viſit Mr Ros de Bruguiere, they acquainted him in what manner his ſon had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the public diſputation, the honours which had been done him, and the applauſe he had received. The good man heard this with pleaſure, and ſeemed for a moment to have forgot the grief with which his ſon's change of religion had afflicted him. But Madam Ros de Bruguiere having ſhewed him the theſes, as ſoon as he ſaw the figure of the Virgin, with theſe words, *VIRGINI DEIPARÆ* (12), he was ſeized with ſuch indignation, that he made an effort to get near it; but was ſtopped leaſt he ſhould

(12) *To the Virgin Mother of God.*

[*A*] *Mr Bayle makes a gratefull acknowledgment of it in a Letter he wrote to Mr Pinſon in* 1693.] What follows had been publiſhed in the *MENAGIANA*: *Mr Bayle is ſon to a miniſter. The biſhop of Rieux, who had contributed to his converſion, made him ſtudy at Toulouſe, at his own charges; but after he had finiſhed his ſtudies, he joined himſelf again to that ſect which he had left.* Theſe expreſſions appeared too general to Mr Bayle. He complained of them to Mr Pinſon. "The manner, *ſays he* (*a*), in which Mr Menage has "ſpoke concerning me is a little too looſe, and apt "to give falſe ideas; every body, from theſe words, "will imagine, that I went through all my ſtudies "under the protection, and by the liberality of the "biſhop of Rieux: the whole of the matter is this. "After I had finiſhed the ſtudies of Grammar, Latin, and Rhetoric, partly under my father's care, "partly at the academy of Puylaurens; I began to "ſtudy Philoſophy at that academy, and continued "to do ſo only about four or five months. Afterwards I went to Toulouſe full of doubts concerning my religion, ocaſioned by the reading of books "of controverſy. I chanced to lodge in the ſame "houſe with a prieſt, who, by his diſputes with me, "increaſed them, and at laſt perſuaded me that I "profeſſed a falſe religion. I ſeparated from it, and "continued the ſtudy of Philoſophy in the Jeſuits "college at Toulouſe. The biſhop of Rieux, in "whoſe dioceſe I was born, hearing of my change "and the indignation of my family againſt me, and "beſides, that I was ſtudious, of blameleſs morals, "and had ſome meaſure of genius, honoured me "with his protection, and gave me money to pay my "board, for I received none from home becauſe of "my father's diſpleaſure. Thus I finiſhed my ſtudy "of Philoſophy: that is to ſay, I ſtaid at Toulouſe "18 months, after which the impreſſions of my education having regained the aſcendant, I thought "myſelf obliged to return to the religion in which I "was born, and went to Geneva where I proſecuted "my ſtudies. I do not ſay this, as if I were aſhamed of the favours of that great prelate, I ſtill retain "the remembrance of them with reſpect, and with "the utmoſt gratitude. But ſtill we are bound, both "on our own account and that of the public, to prevent peoples forming falſe, extravagant, and hyperbolical ideas of things, *&c.*"

(*a*) *This Letter was never printed before.*

1670. have tore it to pieces in the tranſport of his grief. He left the houſe with precipitation and ſhed a flood of tears, proteſting that he would never return thither, while ſo ungrateful an object preſented itſelf to his ſight.

In the mean time, the catholics, not content with having gained young Bayle, formed a deſign of bringing over the whole family; and for this purpoſe they thought it proper to begin with the elder brother. The biſhop of Rieux laid his commands on Mr Bayle to write to him, and at the ſame time aſſured him, that if he could only perſuade him to come to Toulouſe his converſion was ſure. Mr Bayle believing ſincerely that he had embraced the right ſide, and bearing a great affection to his brother, wrote him the following Letter (1).

My very dear Brother,

“THE great affection that I have for you, and the paſſionate deſire I have for your happineſs, won't permit me to omit any occaſion of procuring your welfare. I find myſelf under a neceſſity of begging of you, in the moſt earneſt manner, to come and paſs a few days in this city, that I may have an opportunity of talking to you of ſeveral matters, which are of the utmoſt importance to you, both with regard to this life, and that which is to come. I perſuade myſelf, that if I had the liberty of diſcovering to you the ſtate of things as they really are, and the favourable diſpoſition in which they are at preſent, I ſhould be able to make ſome impreſſion upon your mind, and make you confeſs that the ſupreme wiſdom, which governs the world, has laboured in a very particular manner in directing the motion of ſo many ſprings; and that as it doth nothing that is not conducive to the advancement of it's own glory and our ſalvation, it has been pleaſed, by bringing together ſo many different things, which all ſeem to conſpire for your advantage, to endeavour the moſt happy and glorious change, which can poſſibly be wrought in my father's mind, and in your's.

“You will without doubt ſay that all theſe are myſteries which you do not at all underſtand, that they are riddles to you; but I aſſure you that if I had but a little converſation with you on this ſubject, you would eaſily comprehend my deſign, and would ſee as clear as day, what good foundation I had for aſſuring you, that this diſpoſition which has ordered ſuch a number of things, in which you have a great concern, is ſo favourable to you, that there is all the reaſon in the world to hope ſomething ſupernatural from it.

“I ſhall not explain myſelf more clearly upon this ſubject, becauſe I hope that you will not refuſe me the favour I deſire of you of coming to ſee me as ſoon as poſſible, and then we ſhall have an opportunity of talking more at large about it, in the private converſations we ſhall have together. Come therefore, my dear brother, if it be poſſible, before the end of this week; come and ſatisfy the impatience of one who languiſhes for you, and ardently deſires that you would put yourſelf in a condition of being happy. I aſſure you that you ſhall not repent your coming, what I have to ſay being of ſuch a nature as is proper to ſatisfy a ſolid and reaſonable mind ſuch as your's.

“And ſurely I ſhould wrong you, if I believed that you were ſick of an incurable diſtemper, to ſuch a degree too as to approve of nothing but what is agreeable to your own notions. I entertain a better opinion of you, and thoſe who know you make no difficulty of believing, that a perſon of ſo good a natural diſpoſition, and of ſuch probity as you profeſs, may be brought to reliſh any reaſonable opinion, however ſtrange it may appear at firſt ſight, and however ſtrong your prejudices may be to the contrary. Upon this foundation I aſſure myſelf, that what I have to ſay to you will not diſpleaſe you, nor ſtartle you ſo far as to make you capable of altogether ſhutting your ear againſt whoſoever ſhall deſire to talk to you about it.

“If I had addreſſed myſelf to a great many people, and begged of them the favour of a hearing which I deſire of you, it might indeed happen that they would preſently ſuſpect and diſtruſt me, and condemn all I ſhould be able to ſay to them: but as for you, I believe you are not capable of condemning me without hearing me; and if it was only out of curioſity, methinks you will be deſirous to know what this matter may be, and that you will ſuſpend your judgment 'till you know what it is: in which I can obſerve nothing in your mind but a diſpoſition to do well.

“I ſhould want no more, to give me a foundation for good hopes, than to be aſſured that you are reſolved to form this concluſion, which is founded upon a truth confirmed in the moſt inconteſtable manner, by the experience of all ages; to wit, that in matters of religion, all innovations are moſt pernicious, and that a private perſon who pretends, by his own authority, to ſet himſelf up for a Reformer, can be thought no other than a factious perſon, a ſchiſmatic, a ſower of tares, and, in ſhort, a perſon filled with pride, obſtinacy, and envy. And indeed what probability is there, that God ſhould ſuffer the Chriſtian Church to fall to ruin and deſolation, that he ſhould hide his light from it, and deprive it of his illumination; while, in the mean time, he inveſts a private perſon, with ſo extraordinary an abundance of his grace, that he

(1) *This Letter is dated the 15th of April 1670. I have the original in my hands. The direction is* To Mr Bayle, the ſon, Miniſter of Carla, at Carla.

1670. ſhall become the reſtorer of truth, a light to guide into the right path thoſe who go aſtray; and, in ſhort, the chanel and vehicle, the baſe and pillar, of true faith; ſo that one might ſay of him, as the poet ſays of a young prince who ſeemed to be born for the glory of that age,

Hunc ſaltem everſo juvenem ſuccurrere ſæclo
Ne prohibete (1).

“ In truth we muſt be both raſh, imprudent, and blind, to ſuffer ourſelves to be perſuaded of ſuch chimera's. It is much more agreeable to the order of God's providence, and to the care which the Holy Ghoſt takes of the faithful, in governing the church, by the communication of his divine aſſiſtance, which he beſtows upon the vicegerents of the ſon of God upon earth, that the church ſhould inſtruct, correct, and reform, private perſons, and the abuſes which they may have ſuffered to creep into their conduct, and cure them of their errors, rather than that private perſons ſhould reform the church and ſet it to rights again. For as it would be very fooliſh to maintain, that God, when he intended to preſerve ſome perſons from the waters of the flood by whom he might reſtore the human race, ſhould drown thoſe who were in the ark of Noah, and at the ſame time ſhould raiſe up I don't know what perſon, who had ſaved himſelf and his wife in ſome cavern, or who had eſcaped the fury and inclemency of the waves in I don't know what inviolable ſanctuaries: ſo it is as extravagant, and without foundation, to pretend that the Holy Spirit, in order to accompliſh his deſign of preſerving always a little of the leaven of faith from the ravages of infidels and heretics, has ſuffered the church, which is his ſpouſe, to fall into idolatry, ſuperſtition, and error, and has drawn out Luther and Calvin from the obſcurity of a cell, or the corner of a chapel, to propagate the faith, reſtore it to it's rights, and raiſe it up from under it's ruins.

“ Indeed one might think, tho' without the leaſt appearance of reaſon or truth, that God would preſerve theſe two men to propagate the goſpel, during that general corruption which they ſuppoſe to have ſpread over the whole face of the church, becauſe they had preſerved themſelves pure and clean from all thoſe diſorders and pretended abominations; as he preſerved Lot and Noah, as a reward for their not having polluted themſelves with the vices of the ages in which they lived. But to entertain any ſuch thought, one muſt be altogether ignorant of things the moſt univerſally known, ſince it is notorious, that theſe two great ſticklers for Reformation were altogether abandoned and immerſed in vice (2); not to obſerve that they ſet out in an extremely criminal manner, that is to ſay, that they began by violating thoſe vows, of which both piety and juſtice required the ſtricteſt obſervance (3).

“ Theſe, dear brother, are the reflexions with which I would have you fortified, when you ſhall come to this town, for aſſuredly you will thereby become more apt to receive inſtruction. Beſides all this, the precarious and weak condition of your whole party, which exiſts in this kingdom only by toleration, and becauſe the King is not in the humour of extirpating you, makes me fear on your account every time I think of it. And indeed to ſubſiſt only becauſe the fancy of a prince, who may do whatever he pleaſes in this matter, doth not incline him to ſuſpend his concourſe by which you are preſerved, is it not to be expoſed to deſtruction every hour of the day, ſince there is not one in which the humour of a prince may not paſs from one extremity to another.

“ I have therefore great reaſon to wiſh, that you would imitate the Phariſees and Saducees who came to John's baptiſm, of whom he aſked who had perſuaded them to fly from the wrath to come? I hope one day we ſhall be able, through the grace of the Holy Ghoſt and the bleſſing of God, to aſk you a like queſtion, which would be both very agreeable and advantageous for you. For this I pray to the ſovereign Lord of all things, and would willingly beſtow the laſt drop of my blood to procure your ſalvation. This I ſay not only on your account in particular; but likewiſe on the account of my father, mother, ſecond brother, and all my relations: too happy, if, like another Joſeph, I could be the inſtrument of ſaving all my family! Adieu, my dear Brother: reflect on what I have ſaid to you, and come as ſoon as poſſible, to know what he would ſay to you who is your moſt humble, moſt obedient, and moſt affectionate ſervant. You will ſee the accompliſhment of that which St Paul ſays; *he who ſeeks after the kingdom of God and his righteouſneſs, all other things ſhall be added unto it* (4).”

This letter made no great impreſſion upon Mr Bayle's elder brother, with regard to religion. He was equally inſenſible to the flattering hopes it gave him, and to the common-places of controverſy it oppoſed to him: but he was very much alarmed by ſome expreſſions, which made him fear leaſt his brother, together with the Roman Catholic religion, had imbibed that ſourneſs of ſpirit, with which it inſpires it's devotees. His father, more indulgent, attributed them to ſome buſy prieſt who had

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(1) Virgil. Georg. lib. i. v. 500, 501.

(2) *See Mr Bayle's* Critique Generale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme. Lettre xi. § 8; *and in the* Critic. Diction. *the Articles* CALVIN *and* LUTHER, *where you will find a defence of theſe two Reformers.*

(3) *See* Critique Generale, &c. Lettre ix.

(4) *Theſe words are not of St Paul, but of* JESUS CHRIST; *Goſpel of St Math.* Chap. vi. ver. 33.

1670. dictated the letter. He ſaid that he ſaw nothing of his ſon in it, and that he hoped to ſee him very ſoon return into the good way.

Mr Naudis de Bruguiere, his couſin-german, a young gentleman of a great deal of wit and penetration, was at this time at Toulouſe. He lodged in the ſame houſe with Mr Bayle. They diſputed frequently about religion; and after warmly puſhing the arguments of each ſide, they uſed to examine them cooly over again. Mr Naudis was well acquainted with his religion: the ſtrict friendſhip that was betwixt them baniſhed all bitterneſs from their debates, and rendered them more free and more impartial. Theſe familiar diſputes, which ſeemed to be entirely accidental, frequently embaraſſed Mr Bayle, and made him ſuſpect ſeveral opinions of the church of Rome, inſomuch that he ſometimes inwardly condemned himſelf for having embraced them without being ſufficiently acquainted with them. For he looked upon examination in matters of religion, to be an indiſpenſible duty, being the only means to aſſure one's ſelf of the truth, and conſequently of knowing the will of God, and of putting one's ſelf in a condition of following it. He was the more confirmed in theſe ſentiments by obſerving, that whatever ſubmiſſion the church of Rome exacts, it was notwithſtanding by the way of examination, that they thought fit to bring about his converſion.

About the ſame time Mr de Pradals de Larbon came to Toulouſe. He was one of thoſe men, who by their wit, gaiety, and manners, at firſt ſight gain the affection of all who ſee them. Accordingly he was very much careſſed by perſons of the greateſt diſtinction in that province. Mr Bayle, the father, had deſired him to viſit his ſon as oft as he went to Toulouſe: he hoped that Mr Pradals would very ſoon gain the confidence of the young Bayle; and in fact he ſucceeded ſo well, that Mr Bayle one day confeſſed to him, that he believed he had been a little too haſty in the new party he had choſen, and that now he found ſeveral doctrines in the Romiſh religion, which appeared to him contrary both to reaſon and ſcripture. Mr de Pradals, charmed with this confeſſion, preſently communicated it to Mr Bayle's family, to their inexpreſſible ſatisfaction. They preſently reſolved to ſend his elder brother to him, and begged of Mr de Pradals to manage their interview. Mr Bayle's eldeſt brother being gone to Toulouſe with Mr de Pradals, the latter invited young Bayle to dine with him, as it was his cuſtom to do. After ſome diſcourſe, when the ſervants had retired, Mr Bayle the elder, who was in a cloſet, came out and ſhewed himſelf to his brother. All that joy, grief, and ſurprize have moſt ſtrong at once ſeized the young Bayle, ſo that he was not able to utter a word, he threw himſelf at his feet, and burſt out into tears. Mr Bayle, the elder, could not refrain his, and raiſing him up he ſpoke to him in ſo tender a manner, that the young Bayle diſcovered the bottom of his heart to him, by telling him how impatient he was to leave Toulouſe, and renounce the errors which had ſeduced him. In the mean time, as his eſcape would certainly incenſe, the biſhop of Rieux and the Jeſuits, they thought it neceſſary to take ſome precautions, which delayed Mr Bayle's departure for ſome days. It was in the month of Auguſt 1670, that he put this deſign in execution.

He departed ſecretly from Toulouſe (1), where he had ſtaid eighteen months, and retired to Mazeres in the Lauragais, to a country houſe of Mr du Vivié, ſix leagues from Toulouſe, and three from Carla. His elder brother came there the day after, with certain miniſters of the neighbourhood; and the next day (2), Mr Rival, Miniſter of Saverdun, received his abjuration in preſence of his elder brother, of Mr Guillemat Miniſter of Mazeres, and of Mr Rival Miniſter of Calmont and nephew to the miniſter of Saverdun. The very ſame day they made him ſet out for Geneva [*B*].

(1) *Aug.* 19.

(2) *Aug.* 21.

[*B*] *Mr Bayle has himſelf given us the hiſtory of his change of religion, and of his return to the proteſtant church.*] "The truth of the matter is (*a*), that Mr Bayle, while he ſtudied philoſophy in the Academy at Puylaurens, did not confine himſelf ſo cloſely to what was dictated by his profeſſor, as not likewiſe to read ſome books of controverſy, not with the diſpoſition with which moſt people do ſo, I mean to confirm himſelf in his preconceived notions, but to examine agreeably to the great Proteſtant principle, whether the doctrine he had been taught from his infancy was true or falſe: which requires that we ſhould hear both parties. Upon this account he was curious to ſee the arguments of the Roman Catholics in their own writings. He found ſo ſpecious arguments againſt the doctrine which denies that there is any living judge upon earth, to whoſe deciſions private perſons are obliged to ſubmit, when there ariſe diſputes about matters of religion, that not being able to anſwer theſe objections to himſelf, and much leſs to defend his principles againſt ſome ſubtile controverſiſts with whom he diſputed at Toulouſe, he thought himſelf a ſchiſmatic, and out of the way of ſalvation, and bound to join himſelf again to the ſtock, from which he looked upon the Proteſtant communions as branches lopped off. Being re-united to it he continued the ſtudy of philoſophy (*b*), in the college of the Jeſuits, as do almoſt all who ſtudy in Roman Catholic countries, of whatſoever quality and condition they be. But the exceſſive worſhip he obſerved was paid to creatures, appearing very doubtful to him, and philoſophy having given him a more perfect knowledge of the impoſſibility of tranſubſtantiation, he concluded that there muſt have been ſome ſophiſtry in the objections, which had overcome him; and upon making a new examination of the two religions, he recovered that light of which he had loſt ſight, and followed it without regarding a thouſand temporal advantages, of which he deprived himſelf, nor a thouſand inconveniencies which appeared to him inevitable in doing ſo."

(*a*) Chimere de la Cabale de Rotterdam demontrée p. 139. & ſuiv.

(*b*) *He had not then ſtudied above four or five months in philoſophy. See* la Chimere demontrée, p. 151. *and the Letter to Mr Pinſon, above,* Rem. [A.]

He arrived there the ſecond of September; and reſumed the courſe of his ſtudies. 1670.
He had been taught the peripatetic philoſophy by the Jeſuits, and as he underſtood it well he defended it with a good deal of warmth (1). Yet notwithſtanding he thought himſelf obliged to examine the Carteſian philoſophy, which was taught at Geneva; and it was not long before he preferred the reaſonable principles of the new philoſophy, to the vain ſubtilties of the followers of Ariſtotle. A perſon of Mr Bayle's merit could not fail of being ſoon diſtinguiſhed at Geneva. The reputation he obtained there, made Mr de Normandie, Syndic of the Republic, deſire him to take the charge of his childrens education (2). Mr Baſnage, who ſtudied at that time in Geneva, lodged with Mr de Normandie, and it was there Mr Bayle became acquainted with him, and formed that union which continued to his death. Mr Bayle likewiſe contracted a friendſhip with Mr Minutoli, which he ever after cultivated by a correſpondence, that neither the length of time, nor diſtance of place, ever made him neglect. He was likewiſe intimately acquainted with Meſſieurs Pictet and Leger, who have been Profeſſors of Divinity in the Academy of Geneva; and acquired in a very particular manner the eſteem and affection of many perſons of eminence, both in the State and in the Church: ſuch as Mr Fabry, the Syndic; Meſſieurs Turretin, Meſtrezat, Bourlamachi, Sartoris, *&c.*

Some time after the place of one of the regents of the College becoming vacant, they caſt their eyes upon him to ſupply it. Upon this he ſet himſelf to look over the ancient Latin and Greek authors; but, after conſidering the matter maturely, he could not bring himſelf to a reſolution of teaching a Form, and ſo he neglected this ſort of eſtabliſhment.

Mr Bayle had not been two years at Geneva, when the Count de Dhona, Lord 1672.
of Copet, a Barony in the Pays de Vaud, two leagues diſtant from Geneva, deſired Mr Baſnage to find him out a tutor for his ſons. Mr Baſnage named Mr Bayle to him as a perſon extremely fit for that buſineſs. At the ſame time, he ſpoke of it to Mr Bayle, who at firſt had ſome reluctance to undertake the taſk propoſed to him. He could not reſolve to quit the delights of Geneva, and bury himſelf in the country. However at laſt he went thither (3), and employed himſelf in the education of the young Counts de Dhona: Alexander, who was governour and afterwards miniſter of ſtate to the King of Pruſſia; Frederic ſirnamed Ferraſſieres, who was a lieutenant-general in the Dutch ſervice, governor of Mons, and was killed in the action at Denain (4); and Chriſtopher, who aſſiſted on the part of the King of Pruſſia, as elector of Brandenburg, at the coronation of the Emperor Charles VI, and who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many other offices both civil and military. He continued two years with this family, and during that time he endeavoured to divert himſelf in his ſolitude, by a commerce of letters, which he carried on with Mr Minutoli, and with Mr Conſtant who afterwards filled the higheſt ſtations in the Academy of Lauſanne. The letters he wrote to them turned upon every thing that came to hand, philoſophy, literature, or political news which he loved paſſionately (5): he owns that he wrote without attaching himſelf to any regular connexion of thoughts (6). This commerce however was not capable of hindering his being tired of Copet, ſo he reſolved to leave that place. He informed Mr Baſnage, who had returned to France, of his deſign and begged his good offices. Mr Baſnage acquainted him, that a relation of his who was ſtudying at Geneva, was ordered to return to Rouen; he deſired Mr Bayle to accompany him, and flattered him with the hopes of procuring ſomething advantageous for him in that city (7). Mr Bayle received this news with great ſatisfaction; the only difficulty was to find ſome pretext for leaving the Count de Dhona. He made uſe of the following, which could not fail to prevent the Count's oppoſing the loſs he was a going to ſuſtain; he told him that his father, who was dangerouſly ill, had laid his commands upon him to come to him without delay.

Accordingly he left Copet, the twenty ninth of May 1674, after having provided 1674.
his pupils with another perſon capable of inſtructing them (8). He made no longer ſtay at Geneva than was neceſſary to ſee his friends; and arrived at Rouen with Mr Baſnage's relation on the fifteenth of June. Soon after he was appointed tutor to a merchant's ſon, and lived in the houſe with him; this was the poſt which Mr Baſnage had provided for Mr Bayle. This merchant had a country-houſe near Rouen, where Mr Bayle was obliged to go and ſpend five or ſix months with his pupil. He found this retirement as diſagreeable as that of Copet had been, and he had recourſe to the ſame remedies; he wrote letters to his relations and friends, and even compoſed ſome ſmall pieces. When Mr Minutoli preſſed him to ſend them to him, he deſired to be excuſed. "It "is a ſufficient ſatisfaction to me, (ſays he in a letter which he wrote to him (9), "that you are not ignorant how conſtant a correſpondent I was, during my ſolitude "in Normandy: and this being a ſufficient proof that you are always in my thoughts, "I won't give you the trouble of reading a confuſed medley of indigeſted thoughts, which "my chagrin has made me put in writing." Being returned to Rouen in the beginning of the winter, the ſole advantage he found there, was the benefit of frequent converſations with Mr Baſnage the father, Mr Bigot, Mr de Larroque, and ſome other perſons of diſtinguiſhed learning and merit. He only paſſed the winter there,

(1) Chimere de la Cabale de Rotterdam demontrée, *&c.* pag. 144, 145.

(2) *He went to live with Mr Normandie, Nov.* 21.

(3) *May* 23, 1672.

(4) *July* 24, 1712.

(5) *See in* Mr Bayle's Letters, *printed at Amſterdam in* 1729; *the letter to Mr Minutoli of the* 27*th of* Feb. 1673. p. 24.

(6) *Letters to Mr Minutoli of Jan.* 31, *and of May* 2, 1673. *pag.* 20, 25, 26. *and of March* 8, 1674, *pag.* 37, 38.

(7) *Letter to Mr Minutoli, of May* 17, 1674, *pag.* 52.

(8) *Mr Manget, who has acquired a great reputation by ſeveral works relating to phyſic, which he has publiſhed.*

(9) *Letter of March* 17, 1675, *pag.* 66.

for finding that his pupil had no diſpoſition to Letters, he acquainted his relations with it, and left him.

1675. His utmoſt ambition was to be at Paris. The arts and ſciences which flouriſhed there, the great number of excellent libraries, the conferences which were weekly held on all ſorts of ſubjects, in the houſes of ſeveral learned men, where they with pleaſure received all who deſired to aſſiſt at them, were ſuch powerful attractives to Mr Bayle, that he could not reſiſt them. He deſired his friends to procure for him ſome eſtabliſhment there, to enable him to live in that great city. They propoſed that he ſhould take the charge of a young gentleman who was expected there from the country, and Mr Bayle left Rouen, the 1ſt of March 1675, in order to go to Paris. There he did not indeed find the young gentleman his friends had deſigned for him, but by the recommendation of the Marquis de Ruvigny, he was choſen tutor to Meſſieurs de Beringhen, brothers to Mr de Beringhen counſellor in the parliament of Paris, and to the Ducheſs de la Force. He entered to this charge the 3d of April a month after his arrival at Paris.

While he was ſtill in Normandy his mother had let him know, that ſhe paſſionately deſired to have his picture. He could not refuſe her that ſatisfaction, and employed Ferdinand, a famous painter, whom a Preſident of the Parliament, had at that time invited to Rouen. He ſent her this picture after he came to Paris, and along with it a letter ſo tender, ſo full of reſpect, and which ſhows ſo well the diſpoſition of his mind, that I think it well deſerves a place in theſe Memoirs. It is as follows (1).

(1) *This Letter is dated April* 16, 1675. *The direction is* To Mademoiſelle de Bayle at Carla.

Madam,

“ I Had reſolved to ſend you at the ſame time a portrait of my heart, as well as of
“ my face: but not being able to find words ſtrong enough to expreſs the
“ greatneſs of my affection and reſpect for you, rather than my heart ſhould ſuffer
“ by my not being able to do it juſtice, I have choſen to ſend you the work of the
“ painter alone. I flattered myſelf, that it would have been as eaſy for me to repre-
“ ſent what paſſeth in my mind, as it has been to him to give a juſt repreſentation of
“ my features; I already fancied, that a thouſand proper and ſignificant words
“ ſtrove, which ſhould firſt preſent themſelves for that purpoſe. But when I came to
“ try it, I found that my imagination was not able to furniſh me with any thing
“ that I wanted, and ſo I was obliged, much contrary to my inclination, to abandon
“ my enterprize.

“ In order to ſupply this defect, fancy to yourſelf, my very good Mother, the thing
“ on earth which is the moſt grateful, the moſt affectionate, and the moſt reſpect-
“ ful, and you will have an idea of what I am with regard to you, and of what
“ I am not able to expreſs in words. It is a great ſatisfaction to me, that you have
“ ſo much deſired to have my picture, and it would be ſtill a greater, if you would
“ be perſuaded that I am not to blame, that you have waited ſo long for it. If I
“ cannot have yours, at leaſt I ſhall have you always painted in my heart, on which
“ you are impreſſed as a ſignet.

“ May the good God, who has always diſplayed his mercies to us, ſtill more
“ and more favour our family, and grant to you, my much honoured Mother, a long
“ life, free from cares, grief, and ſickneſs; and to me ſuch a ſhare of his protection,
“ as may make you taſte thoſe joys and pleaſures, which uſually ariſe from the
“ happineſs of perſons who are dear to us.

“ I am indeed of a diſpoſition neither to fear bad fortune, nor to have very ardent
“ deſires for good. Yet I loſe this ſteadineſs and indifference, when I reflect that
“ your love to me makes you feel every thing that befals me. It is therefore from
“ the conſideration that my misfortunes would be a torment to you, that I wiſh
“ to be happy: and when I think that my happineſs would be all your joy, I ſhould
“ be ſorry my bad fortune ſhould continue to perſecute me; tho' as to my own
“ particular intereſt, I dare promiſe to myſelf that I ſhall never be very much
“ affected by it. I am with the moſt ardent affection, Madam my much honoured
“ Mother, Your, &c.”

Mr Baſnage was at this time at Sedan, where he finiſhed the ſtudy of Divinity. Mr Bayle communicated to him all the literary news he could meet with, and Mr Baſnage uſed to read his letters to Mr Jurieu, Miniſter, and Profeſſor of Divinity in the Academy of Sedan. As Mr Jurieu will be mentioned more than once in theſe Memoirs, I ſhall begin here to give his character. He had a good deal of ſagacity, a fruitful imagination, and wrote both well and with eaſe. Tho' in many things he departed from the ſentiments of the Reformed, he did nevertheleſs ſet up for a rigorous defender of Orthodoxy [C]. Being preſumptuous he would domineer every where, and his

[C] *Tho' in many things, he departed from the ſentiments of the Reformed, he did nevertheleſs, ſet up for a rigorous defender of Orthodoxy.*] He had publiſhed in the year 1670 an Anſwer to a book concerning the re-union of Chriſtians, written by Mr Dhuiſſeau, Miniſter of Saumur: this anſwer was condemned by the ſynod of Saintonge, as containing heretical propoſitions. He afterwards compoſed a diſſertation on the neceſſity of Baptiſm, wherein he defended one of the errors of the Church of Rome; and it was with pride could not bear thoſe, whoſe merit he looked upon as either capable of equalling or obſcuring that which he thought himſelf poſſeſſed of. His attachment to his friends was meaſured by the deference they paid to him. To fail in that deference which he exacted, was ſufficient to raiſe his indignation, and make him an implacable enemy. By this imperious and turbulent ſpirit he brought diſcord wherever he went, and rendered himſelf odious to all the world. It was upon this account he had been obliged to quit the churches of Mer and Vitry, and had brought upon himſelf a great many mortifications at Sedan, where notwithſtanding he had a very conſiderable party. 1675.

At this time Mr Baſnage having got notice, that the Academy of Sedan deſigned to appoint a ſucceſſor to Mr Pithois, one of their Profeſſors of Philoſophy aged eighty years, he acquainted Mr Bayle with it, and adviſed him to take advantage of that opportunity to procure to himſelf a laſting and honourable eſtabliſhment. Mr Bayle made him the following anſwer, the ſame day on which he took the charge of Meſſieurs de Beringhen. “I never receive any of your letters, ſays he (1), without receiving at the ſame time, proofs of your friendſhip, nay of a friendſhip always watchful of every thing that can be of advantage to me. The great age of your Profeſſor would be a favourable conjuncture, if I was in a condition of making uſe of your good offices. But, dear Sir, I muſt acquaint you, that ever ſince I left Geneva I have done nothing elſe but forget, and want of culture has ſo blunted my mind, that I do not know if by a return to ſtudy, I ſhould be able to ſet myſelf to rights again. Without doubt that poſt is a hundred times better than this which I am going to have, for after all, the character of preceptor is become ſo contemptible almoſt every where, that no perſonal merit can ſave a man from that general diſeſteem with which it is attended, therefore it is with the greateſt reluctance that I once more venture into that tireſome road. I do not know but I might have brought Mr de Beringhen to allow me thirty piſtoles if I had higgled with him: but my natural modeſty, my diſintereſtedneſs, and the advice of my friends, having inclined me to leave myſelf entirely to his diſcretion, and to aſſure him that I would be ſatisfied with whatever he ſhould pleaſe to allow me, I ſhall only have two hundred livres. I muſt be upon the watch, and had it not been for a troubleſome delicacy, which obliged me not to depart from the laws of civility, I might have retracted with conſiderable advantages towards repairing my bad fortune. I am a fool, you will ſay, for not having done ſo: I own it, and it is the ſhame of appearing fickle, which has been the cauſe of my folly.”

(1) *Letter of April* 3, 1675, *p.* 581, 582, *of the fourth Volume of the* Miſcellaneous Works of Mr Bayle.

The diſagreeable ſituation that Mr Bayle was in redoubled Mr Baſnage's zeal, and made him act with more vigour in his favour. He deſired Mr Jurieu to employ his intereſt for him, and Mr Jurieu promiſed to ſerve him to the utmoſt of his power. He found himſelf ſo much the more diſpoſed to do ſo, that he was afraid leaſt Mr Brazi, who was the other Profeſſor of Philoſophy, and whom he hated, ſhould have intereſt enough to get his ſon choſen in the place of Mr Pithois. So that it was not ſo much from the eſteem he had for Mr Bayle, as (2) “to flatter his darling paſſion, which was the deſire of domineering. His party in the Academy was not ſo ſtrong as he could have wiſhed, and in caſe the oppoſite party had ſucceeded in their deſign of giving the chair of Philoſophy to Mr Bayle's competitor, Mr Jurieu foreſaw nothing but ſorrow and bitterneſs to himſelf, ſo that whoever had chanced to have been recommended to him, he would have left no ſtone unturned to eſtabliſh him, in order to exclude a competitor of whom he was afraid.”

(2) Letter concerning the ſmall books wrote againſt the Cabale Chimerique, pag. 4, 5.

Mr Baſnage having made ſure of Mr Jurieu, repreſented to Mr Bayle how much what he propoſed to him was preferable to his preſent condition, and preſſed him to yield to the deſires of his friends. But he continued ſtill to excuſe himſelf, as not being ſufficiently qualified, and promiſed however to look over his Philoſophy and ſee what progreſs he could make in five or ſix months ſtudy. “I admire you continually, ſays he (3), you and that generous beneficent diſpoſition of yours, and that indefatigableneſs to ſerve thoſe you love. I agree with you, that the title of preceptor is unworthy of a gentleman, and that I ought to get rid of it as quickly as poſſible. I know on the other hand, that the character of Profeſſor of Philoſophy is much more honourable, and not ill ſuited to my fortune and ſituation: your preſſing me on that ſcore therefore appears to me perfectly well judged, and to flow from the moſt ſincere friendſhip in the world. But, dear Sir, the miſfortune is, you lay your account to find me the ſame perſon you knew at Geneva: then indeed I could diſpute indifferently well; I came freſh from a ſchool, where I had been well inſtructed in all the ſcholaſtic chicanry, and I may ſay, without vanity, that I was no bad proficient in it. But the matter is quite altered now. You know, Sir, that the propoſal of teaching a Claſs, which was

(3) *Letter of May* 5, 1675, *in his* Works, *laſt cited, p.* 592, 593.

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much difficulty, he was perſuaded to ſuppreſs that piece. They found it no leſs difficult to make him ſtrike ſome heretical propoſitions out of his *Apology for the Morals of the Reformed* (a). Notwithſtanding this, he combined with ſome other divines to perſecute Mr Pajon, Miniſter of Orleans, who had a particular ſyſtem concerning Grace, tho' at bottom it agreed with the doctrine of abſolute predeſtination, and final perſeverance, which was taught by the reformed churches in France (b).

(a) *This book was publiſhed in the year* 1674.

(b) *See* Reponſe à l'Apologie, de Mr Jurieu, *by Mr de Bauval*, p. 10.

1675. “was made me, ſent me back once more to ſtudy the Claſſics, and that I began to neglect Philoſophy, that I laid aſide Mr Des Cartes for Homer and Virgil, and that by going to Copet I loſt two years there, without ſtudying either languages or any ſort of ſcience, but Philoſophy leſs than any thing. I have continued on this footing ever ſince my return to France, and as I eaſily loſe my ideas, I find myſelf reduced to ſuch a condition at this preſent time that I write to you, that I do not ſo much as know the firſt elements of Logic. I know that a year employed in the manner I told you of in a former letter, in ſtudying night and day, in diſputing, defending theſes, *&c.* would bring me in wind again, and give me courage to give defiance to all aſſailants. But here is the point. Where ſhall I find this year, and where ſhall I find the means to employ it ſo? in my preſent ſtate, I cannot promiſe to have it in my power to ſtudy a quarter of an hour without a thouſand interruptions. I have not one book of Philoſophy, and it is impoſſible for me to make acquaintances, the few people I know are of ſo difficult acceſs, that I call upon them three or four times without finding them, nay I do not ſo much as know if they have thoſe books which will be neceſſary for me. In fine, dear Sir, my rivals cannot be ſo far behind in Philoſophy, nor in ſo bad a ſituation to prepare themſelves for the engagement, as I find myſelf in at preſent. I am vexed to the laſt degree, and am ready to curſe my ſtars, that I am not able to anſwer the advances you made in my favour. I honour and admire Mr Jurieu, and ſhould deſire earneſtly to be near him, that I may improve by his great and incomparable talents, and I find myſelf unable to expreſs my gratitude, for his generous inclination to ſerve me, upon your recommendation. What ſhall I ſay more to you, dear Sir? I am going to look over my Philoſophy, to buy or borrow ſome good ſyſtem, and ſtudy as much as the noiſe and clamour of two fooliſh ungovernable boys, whom I have upon my hands from morning to night, will permit me to do; and according to the progreſs which I ſhall be able to make, I will reſolve upon a journey to Sedan, with great pleaſure, five or ſix months hence. If it was only to ſee Sedan, I would reſolve to make this journey, for there can be no hurt in it. Dear Sir, I ſhould die with grief, if you had engaged yourſelf for me, and I did not engage myſelf to diſengage you. My friendſhip to you would make me run into any thing, rather than endure that you ſhould not get out of this affair, in which you have involved yourſelf on my account. But once more, dear Sir, pray conſider that you cannot depend much upon the progreſs which I ſhall make in Philoſophy, by a ſtudy ſo interrupted, and attended with ſo many vexations and ſo diſturbed as mine will be.”

This letter ſurprized Mr Jurieu extremely; he conſidered Mr Bayle's excuſes as mere ſhifts, and owned that he could not tell what to make of it. The truth was Mr Bayle had a ſecret reaſon, which made him averſe from going to Sedan. He was afraid leaſt his change of religion, which was a ſecret to every body in that country but Mr Baſnage, ſhould come to be diſcovered, and that occaſion might be taken from the Arret againſt the Relapſe [*D*], to give him trouble, and to diſtreſs the Reformed at Sedan. Mr Jurieu therefore ſuſpecting that there was ſome other reaſon than that which Mr Bayle pretended in his letter, would needs know what it really was that kept him back; Mr Baſnage could not help letting him into that affair, and Mr Jurieu was of opinion that this ought not to hinder his coming, ſince they two being the only perſons who knew any thing of it, he ran no hazard. Whereupon Mr Baſnage removed Mr Bayle's fears, and ſome time after having wrote to him that the election of a new Profeſſor approached, and that there was no time to be loſt, he ſet out from Paris the 22d of Auguſt in order to go to Sedan.

As ſoon as he arrived there (1), Mr Baſnage procured him the acquaintance of ſeveral of his friends who were of the party which oppoſed Mr Jurieu, and particularly of Mr du Rondel, Profeſſor of Eloquence. They promiſed to do him juſtice. Mr Bayle ſoon found the occaſion he had for their protection. He had three competitors, and all poſſible means were uſed to ſet him aſide, becauſe he was a ſtranger and his competitors were natives of Sedan. But at laſt it was left to be determined

(1) *He arrived at Sedan Auguſt* 31.

[*D*] *The arret againſt the relapſe.*] They called Relapſe thoſe of the Reformed, who after having embraced the Roman Catholic religion, abandoned it, and returned to the proteſtants. From the year 1657 they began to diſturb ſome of the Reformed under pretence, that they were Relapſe, but this was without any expreſs order from court (*a*). The firſt declaration which appeared againſt them was given in the month of April 1663, importing that they ſhould be puniſhed according to the rigour of the Ordinances; an expreſſion which properly ſpeaking meant nothing, becauſe no Ordinance had as yet defined the puniſhment of this new crime. They did not fail, notwithſtanding, to take advantage of this declaration to diſtreſs the Reformed: they even pretended that it had a retroactive force; which having cauſed infinite diſorders, the King found himſelf obliged to publiſh an Arret in the month of September 1664, forbidding the extending of it to any thing which had paſt before it was regiſtred by the parliaments. In the mean time, that prince not being ſatisfied with the looſe and indefinite terms of his firſt declaration, publiſhed another in the month of June 1665, in which he condemned the relapſe to perpetual baniſhment. Mr Bayle came under this ſecond declaration, which ſtill appearing too moderate, was at laſt followed by a third in the month of May 1679, whereby it was declared, that the Relapſes ſhould be condemned to an amende honourable, be baniſhed for ever out of the kingdom, and have their eſtates confiſcated (*b*). The fear Mr Bayle was under of being known and puniſhed as a relapſe, made him deſire his friends to change the ſpelling of his name in the directions of their letters, and to write *Bele* inſtead of *Bayle* (*c*).

(*a*) *See the* Hiſtory of the Edict of Nants. *Tom. iii. p.* 66, 132, 230. 428.

(*b*) *See the ſame* Hiſtory *Vol. iii. p.* 520, 582. *and the* collection of Edicts, declarations, &c. *which is at the end of that vol. p.* 109, 151. *And vol. iv. p.* 18, 374, *and the* collection of Edicts, &c. *of that vol. p.* 7, 106.

(*c*) *See the letters to Mr Minutoli of March* 17, 1675, *pag.* 74, *and of Feb.* 6, 1676. *p.* 103.

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determined by a diſpute. The candidates agreed to make their Theſes without books or preparation, betwixt ſun riſing and ſun ſetting. The ſubject aſſigned them was *Time*. They ſhut themſelves up upon the 28th of September, to compoſe them; and Mr Bayle defended his Theſes publickly upon the 23d and 24th of October, in the afternoon. He diſputed with ſuch clearneſs, accuracy and force, that notwithſtanding the intereſt and intrigues of his rivals, the moderators of the Academy adjudged him the victory. Theſe particulars are to be found in the letters which he wrote to Meſſieurs Conſtant and Minutoli [*E*].

He was received Profeſſor on the 2d of November: he took the uſual oath upon the 4th, and began his public lectures upon the 11th.

Soon after he was informed that the Academy of Geneva had choſen Mr Minutoli Profeſſor of Hiſtory and Belles Lettres: it was Mr Minutoli himſelf who informed him of it, not omitting a detail of the examination he had undergone, and of the oppoſition he had met with. Mr Bayle made his compliments to him upon this new promotion, and thanked him for the particular account he had given him of it. “The circumſtances, ſays he (1), of your glorious eſtabliſhment, in the place of Profeſſor, with which you have acquainted me, have been infinitely agreeable; for tho' I knew in general that you had given very diſtinguiſhing proofs, both of your genius and learning, and that I had from thence already conceived an incredible ſatiſfaction yet the order and detail of it, which you have given me, have redoubled that pleaſure: for we Philoſophers love method in every thing, and without it nothing has charms for us. I ſay this, Sir, to give you hopes of not being henceforth expoſed to my irregularities, and that I ſhall not any more overwhelm you with a confuſed heap of thoughts and words, as I have done formerly. My new degree inſpires me with the ſpirit of method, and you will be ſenſible of it, or no body will. But who could have thought that you ſhould have met with ſuch oppoſition in your own country. No body was ſurpriſed here that all ſort of means were uſed to ſet me aſide from the Profeſſor's chair, for I was a ſtranger and my antagoniſts were natives of the place; on the contrary, people were ſtrangely ſurpriſed that I found any friends at all: but ſurely there is room for wonder, that all your country men did not without heſitation join in your promotion, which will be ſo advantageous and glorious to the Academy.”

(1) *Letter of April* 4, 1676, *p.* 104.

Whatever oppoſition Mr Bayle found at his coming to Sedan, his merit ſoon engaged the love and eſteem of every body. The Count de Guiſcard, Governour of Sedan, invited him frequently to his houſe, that he might enjoy his converſation. Mr du Rondel who was afterwards Profeſſor of the Belles Lettres at Maeſtricht, gave him his friendſhip, and continued it to his death. Even Mr Jurieu was ſo touched with Mr Bayle's fine qualities, and was ſo charmed with the ſweetneſs of his temper, his modeſty, and his integrity, that he opened his heart to him, perhaps more than he thought himſelf capable of to any one. He has acknowledged this publickly in 1691, at a time when he had ſhamefully broke with him, and was labouring to ruin him. “This man, ſays he (2), was recommended to us, to fill a chair of Philoſophy then vacant in the Academy of Sedan, where I had the honour to be Profeſſor of Divinity, and one of the Moderators of the Academy. One of his friends gave him the character of a young man of great genius, good learning, and very capable of making thoſe ſciences flouriſh, which he ſhould be called to cultivate. We were not deceived in this. He came and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in all the public exerciſes of his examination. But his friend and he not thinking it proper to make a ſecret to me of his revolt and long ſtay among the Jeſuits of Toulouſe (3), I was embaraſſed to the laſt degree becauſe of the Arret againſt the Relapſes. However as I, upon his proteſtations, believed that he was ſincere in his return to us, we reſolved to keep that matter ſecret and to proceed. He was ſeveral years in the Academy, behaving himſelf decently, and neither doing or ſaying any thing that gave offence. The beauty of his genius and “his

(2) Apologie pour Mr Jurieu, *p.* 24. *col.* 1.

(3) *Mr Bayle never lived with the Jeſuits.*

[*E*] *Theſe particulars are to be found in the letters which he wrote to Meſſieurs Conſtant and Minutoli.*] “It is about four months ago, ſays he to Mr Conſtant (*a*), ſince I left Paris, being invited to come hither, to be a Profeſſor of Philoſophy. Upon my arrival I found matters ſo embaraſſed with little academical intrigues, that I was obliged to wave my Invitation, and ſubmit to the hazard of a Diſpute. I expoſed my ſelf to it, and God ſo aſſiſted my ignorance, whether by ſtrengthening my weakneſs, or by oppoſing antagoniſts to me no ſtronger than my ſelf, that at laſt I gained the victory. I take the liberty of ſending you the only remaining copy of my Theſes, they are theſe cooked up in haſte, which we agreed to make, without books or preparation, betwixt ſun riſing and ſun ſetting, to prevent the tricks which auxiliary troops might have play'd, if we had been allowed to compoſe them in our own chambers. Unluckily for us, the ſubject was very difficult.” See how he ſpeaks of the matter to Mr Minutoli. “Several reaſons, (ſays he (*b*), having determined me to comply with an invitation, which was given me to accept of a Profeſſor of Philoſophy's place, I left Paris, about the end of Auguſt laſt, and came hither, where I have been obliged in a hurry, to rally my ſcattered ideas of Philoſophy, and to enter the liſts with three rivals, who had kept themſelves always in wind. I leave it to you to judge of my anxiety upon that occaſion. At laſt whether by good fortune or the ignorance of my competitors I have been received Profeſſor; and am obliged to labour like a galley-ſlave, having a courſe to compoſe from day to day, beſides giving five hours a day to my ſcholars. Theſe are drudgeries which have ſtunned me, and it is only becauſe one may be accuſtomed to any thing, that I now begin to breathe.”

(*a*) *Letter of December* 17 1675, *p.* 97. 98.

(*b*) *Letter of Febr.* 6, 1676, *p.* 100.

1675. “ his honourable principles attached me ſo to him, that I loved him better than
“ ever I did any perſon, I confeſs it.”

The compoſition of his Courſe of Philoſophy employed him during two years:
it was an additional labour which filled up all the intervals of his Academical functions,
1677. and left him no time to write to his friends. “ I have not been able, ſays he to
“ Mr Minutoli (1), to anſwer your fine letter of the 1ſt of April, otherwiſe than by a
“ line or two, becauſe of the fatiguing buſineſs which has entirely taken me up theſe
“ two years, I mean the multitude of exerciſes I was obliged to make for my
“ ſcholars, and the compoſition of my Courſe. I am now, thank God, freed from
“ that terrible drudgery. I have finiſhed my Courſe, my Theſes for the Maſter of
“ Arts degree are defended, and now at laſt it is Vacation.”

But ſtill a long time after this, the vacations were the only time, in which he
1678. could have any relaxation. The reviſal of his courſe, the additions which he made
to it, together with his public and private lectures, left him no leiſure. This is the
account he gives to Mr Minutoli in another letter (2).

1679. Mr Ancillon, Miniſter of Mets, had made him a preſent of a book of Mr Poiret,
printed at Amſterdam in 1677, intituled *Cogitationes Rationales de Deo, Anima, & malo*;
and had deſired him to make Remarks upon it. Mr Bayle in the year 1679, ſent
him a piece in latin, containing the difficulties which had occurred to him, in reading
it through. He ſent along with it, a Letter of thanks, wherein he excuſed himſelf
that his affairs had not permitted him to comply with his deſire ſooner, nor to give
that force and regularity to his objections, which he could have wiſhed. Mr Ancillon
communicated this piece to Mr Poiret, who wrote an anſwer to it, which he ſent
to Mr Ancillon, together with a Letter wherein he thanked him for exciting an
adverſary againſt him who ſhowed ſo much accuracy, judgment, penetration and
politeneſs. Mr Poiret inſerted theſe objections of Mr Bayle's, together with his own
anſwers to them, in a new edition of his book, printed at Amſterdam in 1685,
and thereto joined the two letters, which I have now mentioned (3). This ſmall
piece ſhows that Mr Bayle was throughly acquainted with the moſt ſublime
points of Philoſophy. Mr Poiret extricated himſelf but indifferently from ſome of
his Objections (4).

Mr Bayle took advantage of the harveſt vacation to make a tour to Paris, and from
thence he went to Rouen, to wait upon Mr Baſnage (5).

1680. The affair of the Duke of Luxembourg, at that time made a great noiſe. He had
been accuſed before the Chamber of Poiſons, of impieties, ſorcery, and poiſonings,
and had ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner: but he was declared innocent, and the proceſs
againſt him was ſuppreſſed. Mr Bayle who had learnt a great many particulars
concerning this matter, when he was at Paris, diverted himſelf in compoſing an
Harangue, wherein the Mareſchal pleads his cauſe before his Judges, and vindicates
himſelf from having made a compact with the Devil, that he might, 1. enjoy all
the women he had a mind to. 2. That he might always be ſucceſsful in war. 3.
That he might gain all his law ſuits. 4. That he might always enjoy the King's
favour. The harangue is divided into theſe four points: it contains a very ſmart
ſatire upon the Mareſchal, and ſeveral other perſons. Mr Bayle afterwards compoſed
under another name a criticiſm upon this harangue, ſtill more ſatirical than the ſatire
it ſelf. He ſent theſe two pieces to Mr Minutoli, and deſired him to give him
his opinion of them: and in order to engage him to do it with more freedom, he did not
tell him who was the author of them. “ I ſend you (ſays he) (6), a copy of a
“ Harangue, which ſome body has compoſed in the name of the Duke of Luxenbourg,
“ to take an opportunity from thence to give us part of his Life. If I have
“ time, I will get copyed for you a ſort of criticiſm upon this harangue. You
“ will oblige me by giving me your opinion of both theſe pieces; for a friend of
“ mine at Paris, who is acquainted with the author of the ſecond of them,
“ and who poſſibly out of prejudice in favour of his friend, inclines to think that
“ the harangue is good for nothing, has obliged me to promiſe to write him my
“ ſentiments of both the one and the other. But as I have not leiſure, and
“ beſides as you are more capable than I to examine works of this nature, in
“ order to ſhow their ſtrong and weak ſide, I beg, Sir, that you will beſtow a
“ few hours upon them. By this means I ſhall ſatisfie my friend's deſire,and I am
“ ſure he will ſooner truſt to your judgment, than to mine; for he knows
“ how to value things, and would much rather that I ſhould pay him out of your
“ pocket that out of my own.”

About this time, Father de Valois, a Jeſuit of Caen, concealed under the name of
Louis de la Ville, publiſhed a book at Paris, intituled, *The Sentiments of Mr Des
Cartes concerning the Eſſence and Properties of Body, repugnant to the doctrine of the
Church, and agreeable to the errors of Calvin on the ſubject of the Euchariſt* (7). The author
not ſatisfied with oppoſing the authority of the Council of Trent to the Carteſians, attacks
them likewiſe by way of argument, and endeavours to confute the reaſons made uſe
of by Meſſieurs Clercelier, Rohault, and Father Malebranche, to prove that extention
is the eſſence of matter. Mr Bayle read this work and found it very well done. He
judged that the author had inconteſtably proved the point in queſtion, to wit, that

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(1) *Letter of the 29th of Auguſt, 1677. pag.* 130.

(2) *Letter of the 15th of Dec.* 1678, *pag.* 140.

(3) *Mr Bayle's letter is dated April* 13, *and Mr Poiret's Auguſt* 14, 1679.

(4) *See the letter to Mr Des Maizeaux of July* 3, 1705. *p.* 1027.

(5) *Letter to Mr Minutoli of the 1ſt of January*, 1680. *p.* 153.

(6) *Letter of the* 24, *of March* 1680. *p.* 162, 163. *See likewiſe the letter of the 1ſt of January* 1681. *p.* 169.

(7) Sentimens de Mr Des Cartes touchant l'eſſence & les proprietez du Corps, oppoſez à la Doctrine de l'Egliſe, & conformes aux erreurs de Calvin ſur le ſujet de l'Euchariſtie.

1680.

Mr Des Cartes's principles were contrary to the faith of the Church of Rome, and agreeable to the doctrine of Calvin; which at bottom, ſays Mr Bayle in a letter to Mr Minutoli, was no hard matter to do (1). As Mr Bayle had a mind to make his ſcholars defend philoſophical Theſes, he compoſed a Diſſertation on this ſubject, wherein he defended Mr Des Cartes's principle, and at the ſame time reſtored the arguments of theſe Philoſophers which had been attacked by Father de Valois, to their full force, and deſtroyed all the exceptions and ſubtilities of that Father. He endeavours principally to prove that the penetrability of matter is impoſſible.

(1) *Letter of the 24 of March 1680, p. 165.*

In the month of December 1680, there appeared one of the largeſt Comets that was ever ſeen. People, that is to ſay almoſt every body, were ſeized with fright and aſtoniſhment. They had not as yet got the better of the ancient prejudice, that Comets are preſages of ſome fatal event. Mr Bayle, as he informs us himſelf (2), was inceſſantly teized with the queſtions of a great many people, who were alarmed at this pretended bad omen. He endeavoured to remove their fears as much as poſſible, but he found that he gained but little upon them by philoſophical reaſonings; they ſtill made anſwer that God ſhows us theſe great Phænomena's, to give warning to ſinners to prevent by their repentance the judgments which hang over their heads. He believed therefore that it would be to no purpoſe to reaſon any more with them, except he could find out ſome argument which would prove that it was inconſiſtent with God's attributes to appoint Comets for that purpoſe. Upon examining throughly that matter, he ſoon bethought himſelf of the following theological argument, to wit, *That if Comets were preſages of evil, God muſt have performed miracles to confirm idolatry in the world.* He did not remember to have met with this argument, either in books or converſation: ſo that the novelty of it made him think of writing a Letter on that ſubject, which might be inſerted in the MERCURE GALANT. He began to write it upon the 11th of January 1681, and endeavoured to keep within the bounds of a Letter; but the abundance of matter would not allow him to be ſo ſhort, he was therefore obliged to conſider this letter as a work which muſt be printed by itſelf. After this he no longer affected brevity, but enlarged upon every thing as he found occaſion; without loſing ſight however of Mr de Viſé, author of the MERCURE GALANT. He reſolved to ſend this letter to him, and to deſire him to give it to his printer, and obtain either a licence from Mr de la Reynie, Lieutenant-general of the Police, if that would be ſufficient, or the King's Priviledge, if nothing elſe would do. Accordingly he ſent it to him the 27th of May. Mr de Viſé kept the manuſcript ſome time without knowing the author's name; and when he was wrote to about it, he anſwered that he was told by a perſon to whom he had given it to read, that Mr de la Reynie would never take the conſequences of printing it upon himſelf, and that it would be neceſſary to obtain the approbation of the Doctors, before a Royal Privilege could be applied for, which was a troubleſome long and tedious taſk he had no leiſure to engage in. The manuſcript was got back, and Mr Bayle gave over all thoughts of printing his letter concerning Comets at Paris. But as he at firſt compoſed it with this view, he had aſſumed the ſtile of a Roman Catholic, and had imitated Mr de Viſé's manner and encomiums upon the adminiſtration of affairs. This conduct was then abſolutely neceſſary to thoſe who had a mind to print any thing at Paris, and he thought that to imitate the MERCURE GALANT in ſome things, would render it more eaſy to obtain either Mr de la Reynie's licence, or the Royal Privilege. It was upon this account likewiſe, that he feigns that the letter was wrote to a Doctor of the Sorbonne.

(2) *See the Advertiſement concerning the 3d Edition of the* Penſées diverſes, ſur la Comete, &c.

1681.

The Reformed in France were at this time in a melancholy ſituation. The Court had for a long time laboured their deſtruction. They ſtript them by little and little of all their privileges, and no year paſſed without ſome infringement of the Edict of Nants. At laſt they reſolved to ſuppreſs their Academies. There was ſome reaſon to hope that they would ſpare the Academy of Sedan. The principality of Sedan had been a ſovereign ſtate until the year 1642. The Duke of Bouillon ſurrendered it to Lewis XIII, who agreed to leave all things there in the condition he found them. Lewis XIV confirmed this treaty, and it was a-new granted that the Proteſtant Religion ſhould be maintained there with all the rights and privileges of which it was then poſſeſſed. But all theſe advantages could not ſave the Academy. Nay Lewis XIV ordered that it ſhould be the firſt that ſhould be diſſolved. The Arret was paſſed on the 9th of July 1681, and notified the fourteenth of the ſame month.

There was at this time at Sedan a young gentleman from Rotterdam, named Mr Van Zoelen, a relation of Mr van Zoelen, who was afterwards Burgomaſter of that city. This young gentleman (3) had lodged at Sedan with Mr Bayle, and had improved himſelf in his ſtudies by frequent converſations with him. He had conceived ſo ſtrong a friendſhip for his Profeſſor, that upon the ſame day on which the Arret for the ſuppreſſion of the Academy came there, he reſolved to ſend a copy of it to Mr Paets, a relation of his, who was one of the Counſellors of the city of Rotterdam, a very learned man, and a patron of men of letters. He acquainted Mr Paets, at the ſame time that he ſent him the Arret, that Mr Bayle was without employment; he gave a very good character of him, and received an anſwer wherein Mr Paets declared a very great inclination to ſerve him. Mr Bayle upon this wrote to Mr Paets a letter of thanks,

(3) Chimere de la Cabale de Rotterdam démontrée. preface p. clxij. clxiii.

1681. for the favourable ſentiments he had of him, and begged the continuance of his favour. Mr Paets, together with a great deal of wit and penetration, had a ſtrong paſſion for the ſciences, particularly for Philoſophy. His merit had acquired him a great authority, and would have gained him ſtill more had it not been for the diviſions which then prevailed in the Republic. He was conſidered as the head of the party which oppoſed the family of Orange (1); and upon this account he found ſome difficulty to get into the Magiſtracy again, after his return from being Embaſſador extraordinary in Spain (2). He notwithſtanding triumphed over their jealouſy, and the Magiſtrates of Rotterdam had ſo great deference for his counſels, that they were guided in all their deliberations by him.

Mr Bayle at the ſame time endeavoured to procure an eſtabliſhment at Rotterdam for Mr Jurieu, and engaged Mr van Zoelen to recommend him to Mr Paets. Mr van Zoelen left Sedan in order to ſollicit theſe matters in perſon at Rotterdam, and inſiſted ſo ſtrenuoſly with Mr Paets, that he was pleaſed to uſe his intereſt likewiſe for Mr Jurieu (3).

Mr Bayle ſtaid ſix or ſeven weeks at Sedan after the ſuppreſſion of the Academy, waiting for letters from Holland. But at laſt not receiving any, he grew impatient and left Sedan the 2d of September, and arrived at Paris the 7th of the ſame month, uncertain as yet whither he ſhould go to Rotterdam or to England, of if he ſhould continue in France (4). Before his departure the Count de Guiſcard uſed all his endeavours to perſuade him to embrace the Popiſh religion. He propoſed great advantages to him, but all to no purpoſe (5). At length when he was ready to ſet out for Rouen, and from thence to paſs over to England, he received an anſwer from Mr Paets acquainting him that the city of Rotterdam had given him a ſalary with the right of teaching Philoſophy. Mr Paets added that Mr Jurieu's buſineſs was in a fair way. Upon this he left Paris the eighth of October, and upon the thirtieth arrived at Rotterdam, where he was very kindly received by Mr van Zoelen's family, and by Mr Paets (6).

Mr Jurieu followed Mr Bayle very ſoon after; but before he was well ſettled at Rotterdam, he was guilty of ſome raſh and blunt actions, which very much provoked Mr Paets againſt him, and which he pardoned only upon Mr Bayle's account (7). The town of Rotterdam erected an ILLUSTRIOUS SCHOOL in their favour; Mr Jurieu was appointed Profeſſor of Divinity; and Mr Bayle Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Hiſtory, with five hundred guilders of yearly appointments. Upon the 5th of December, he delivered his Inaugural Oration with univerſal applauſe; and on the 8th he read his firſt lecture of Philoſophy to a great number of ſcholars.

1682. A little while after he gave his Letter concerning Comets to Mr Leers, a bookſeller in Rotterdam, and a man of ſenſe and merit, in order to have it printed. And as he took all manner of precautions not to be thought the author of it, he changed nothing either in the ſtile of a Roman Catholic which he had aſſumed, nor in his imitation of the manner and panegyrics of the MERCURE GALANT. He thought that this ſtrain would be very proper to prevent peoples thinking, that this Letter was wrote by one who had left France for his Religion. While they were printing it he added many things that were not in the copy which he had formerly ſent to the author of the MERCURE GALANT (8). The impreſſion was finiſhed on the 11th of March 1682, and it appeared under the following title: *A Letter to Mr L. A. D. C. Doctor of the Sorbone. Wherein it is proved by many arguments, both Philoſophical and Theological, that Comets are not preſages of evil. With ſeveral moral and political reflexions and hiſtorical obſervations. Together with a confutation of ſome vulgar errors. Printed at Cologne by Peter Marteau,* MDCLXXXII (9).

To conceal himſelf the better, Mr Bayle prefixed to it a Preface or Advice to the Reader under the character of a perſon publiſhing this Letter without knowing the author of it. In this preface, after taking notice of ſeveral reaſons which induced him to make it public, he adds likewiſe the following: “I have been confirmed in this deſign by a yet ſtronger reaſon than any of theſe. I have it from very good authority, that the Doctor of the Sorbone to whom this Letter was written, is preparing a very exact and elaborate anſwer to it, and there would be great reaſon to fear, conſidering his indifference for the character of an author, that he would content himſelf with writing only for his friends uſe, if we did not by publiſhing this Letter which he has received from him, engage him to impart to the public the learned and fine reflexions he no doubt has made upon ſeveral important ſubjects; ſuch as the conduct of providence with regard to the ancient Heathens: the queſtion, *Whether God has wrought miracles among them, tho' he knew that they would thereby become more idolatrous*: the queſtion, *Whether God has ſometimes appointed preſages among infidels*: the queſtion, *Whether an effect purely natural can be a certain preſage of a contingent event*: the queſtion, *Whether Atheiſm be worſe than Idolatry, and if it be neceſſarily the ſource of all ſort of crimes*: the queſtion, *Whether God would rather chooſe that men ſhould be without any knowledge of a God, than that they ſhould be engaged in the abominable worſhip of idols*; and upon many others, concerning which ſo great and learned a divine may have very inſtructive thoughts, and which well deſerve to be made public.

But

(1) *He was brother-in-law to Cornelius de Wit.*

(2) *See the* London Gazette *of the 4th of October* 1675, *article from the Hague of the 8th of October.*

(3) Chimere demontrée *preface, p.* clxiii *and the following.*

(4) Ibid. p. clxviii. *and Letter to Mr Minutoli, of the* 17*th of September* 1681 *p.* 172.

(5) Cabale Chimerique, *p.* 172.

(6) Chimere demontrée, *preface p.* clxix.

(7) Ibid. p. clxix, clxx.

(8) *Preface to the 3d edition.*

(9) Lettre à Mr L. A. D. C. Docteur de Sorbone. Où il eſt prouvé par pluſieurs raiſons tirées de la Philoſophie & de la Theologie, que les Cometes ne ſont point le preſage d'aucun malheur. Avec pluſieurs Reflexions Morales & Politiques, & pluſieurs Obſervations Hiſtoriques; & la refutation de quelques erreurs populaires. A Cologne chez Pierre Marteau, 1682.

But notwithſtanding all theſe diſguiſes, it was very ſoon known that Mr Bayle was the author of the Letter concerning Comets. Mr Leers had ſhown the manuſcript to Mr Paets, and told him from whom he had it; and Mr Paets made no ſecret of it to his friends (1); nay he thought he did the author a piece of ſervice, by diſcovering him (2). Mr Jurieu by this means came likewiſe to know it, either immediately from them, or from others to whom they had told it, and having ſpoke of it to Mr Bayle, with a kind of reproach that other people knew this ſecret while he was ignorant of it; Mr Bayle told him how every thing had paſſed, and ſatisfy'd him as to ſome points in the book (3), Mr Jurieu ſpoke of it with applauſe (4): but at the bottom he bore with impatience, the honour that Mr Bayle acquired by it; jealous as he was of the honour done his friends.

Madam Paets died at this time, and gave a proof of her eſteem for Mr Bayle, by leaving him a legacy of two thouſand guilders to buy books. Mr Bayle always preſerved a grateful remembrance of this generous gift, as we will afterwards obſerve.

Mr Maimbourg had juſt publiſhed his *Hiſtory of Calviniſm* (5). This work treated of very important matters: a judgment was to be made concerning the ſpirit and conduct of the Reformed in France, from the time of their ſeparation from the Church of Rome. Mr Maimbourg had employed all the art he was maſter of, to draw both the contempt and hatred of the Catholics upon them. Mr Bayle, full of indignation at the diſingenuity and pernicious deſign of this author, reſolved to refute his Hiſtory, and took the opportunity of Eaſter Vacation to ſet about it. He wrote his anſwer by way of Letters, but did not think it neceſſary to follow his adverſary ſtep by ſtep. He was of opinion that in order to undeceive the public, and ſhow how little Mr Maimbourg ought to be regarded, it was ſufficient to make ſome general obſervations on his Hiſtory, which even ſuppoſing the truth of the facts it relates, might diſcover his malice, violence, and the cruel and barbarous principles, with which he endeavours to inſpire his readers. Mr Bayle diverted himſelf with ſeveral particulars of the life and diſputes of this writer, and gave a very juſt tho' by no means advantageous picture of them (6). "It was not "a ſour and moroſe criticiſm, but an ingenious ſort of raillery, full notwithſtanding "of good ſenſe and reaſon, and more proper to embaraſs or confound an adver-"ſary, than grave and ſerious arguments."

He began to write theſe Letters on the 1ſt of May, and finiſhed them on the 15th of the ſame month, ſo that this work tho' pretty bulky (7), was compoſed in the ſpace of 15 days, as he himſelf acquaints us in the laſt Letter. He took all poſſible precautions to conceal his being the author of them. In the Advertiſment prefixed to them, he makes the bookſeller ſay, that this collection of letters having fallen into his hands, he thought himſelf bound to publiſh them without delay; and that he was deſired to acquaint the reader, that they were really wrote by a country Gentleman of the Province of Maine, and ſent to his friend according to their dates. He would not even have them printed at Rotterdam, and having occaſion to go to ſee Amſterdam, he carried his manuſcript along with him, and gave it to Abraham Wolfgang, a bookſeller there, upon the 30th of May. This book appeared in the beginning of July, with the following title: *A general Criticiſm on Mr Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm. At Ville Franche by Peter le Blanc.* M. DC. LXXXII (8). Mr Bayle received the copies of it, on the 11th of that ſame month.

This work was approved of, not only by the Reformed, who were ſo well defended in it from Mr Maimbourg's attacks, but even by the judicious and moderate among the Catholics. A great many copies of it found their way into France, and were eagerly ſought after. The Prince of Condé, a prince who was very capable of judging of the merit of books, could never be tired with reading it. It is true indeed he did not love Mr Maimbourg. That hiſtorian to pleaſe the court, whoſe penſioner he was, had affected not to take any notice of his Highneſs, while he made panegyrics upon all his anceſtors. Mr Bayle did not fail to expoſe him upon this account (9), and the Prince took it well. This work touched Mr Maimbourg to the quick: the general approbation with which it was received troubled him extreamly. He applied ſeveral times to Mr de la Reynie, to procure a condemnation of it. But that magiſtrate having read it with pleaſure, and not being diſpleaſed that Mr Maimbourg had been mortified, put him off from time to time. At laſt he addreſſed himſelf to the King, and obtained an order from his Majeſty, directed to Mr de la Reynie, commanding the *General Criticiſm on Mr Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm*, to be burnt by the hand of the hangman; and forbidding all printers and bookſellers to print, ſell, or publiſh that book on pain of death. Mr de la Reynie obeyed the order, and put in his Sentence whatever Mr Maimbourg pleaſed: one may eaſily diſcover in it the ſtyle of an author, and of an enraged author too (10): but to revenge himſelf againſt Mr Maimbourg, he got above 3000 copies of that ſentence printed, and poſted them up all over Paris, which incited the curioſity of the public to ſuch a degree, that every body would needs have the criticiſm on Mr Maimbourg.

(1) Chimere de montrée, *preface p.* clxxi.

(2) Cabale chimerique, *pag.* 206.

(3) *Preface* ubi ſupra, *pag.* clxxi.

(4) Chimere demontrée, pag 207.

(5) Hiſtoire du Calviniſme.

(6) Eloge de Mr Bayle *by* Mr de Bauval.

(7) *It was a volume in* 12° *of* 339 *pages in a ſmall character.*

(8) Critique générale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme de Mr Maimbourg. A Ville Franche chez Pierre le Blanc. 1682.

(9) *Letter* xix *p.* 268, 269.

(10) *This Sentence is to be found at the end of theſe Memoirs.*

1682. This work was ſold off in Holland, almoſt as ſoon as it appeared; and in the month of Auguſt, Mr Bayle prepared a new edition of it. He enlarged it one half, and added a preface to it, wherein he again endeavours to deceive the reader and put him upon a wrong ſcent. This edition was printed off about the end of November, and he received copies of it, on the 29th of that month.

They ſought for a long time in France, among the beſt pens of the Proteſtant party for the Author of the Criticiſm on Mr Maimbourg; and at laſt fixed upon Mr Claude, who at that time glorioſly defended the cauſe of the Reformed. Even Mr Bayle's friends, who knew that he was the author of the Letter concerning Comets, never dreamt of aſcribing this Criticiſm to him, becauſe of the difference of the ſtile, and it was a mere accident which diſcovered it, as he tells us himſelf, to ſhow that there is nothing more uncertain than conjectures drawn from the conformity or difference of ſtile, in order to diſcover the author of a book. “I know by experience, ſays he (1), that all the Writings of a man do not reſemble one another. The *General Criticiſm of Father Maimbourg*, was publiſhed ſoon after the *Thoughts concerning Comets*; yet no body ſeemed to ſuſpect that theſe two books came from the ſame hand. The firſt edition of the Criticiſm was ſold off, before any body ſo much as ſuſpected the true author. And tho' the ſecond edition poſſibly might have diſcovered him better, yet in all probability, if it had not been for a mere accident he had remained ſtill unknown. The accident was this. The author having writ an anſwer to an Anonymous Letter which his bookſeller had ſent him, forgot to deſire the bookſeller not to deliver the original of the anſwer but a copy. This Anonymous perſon being a friend of Mr Claude, the ſon, ſhewed him my Letter and aſked if he knew the hand. Mr Claude having told him whoſe it was, there wanted no more to put the author under a neceſſity of making a ſecret of it no longer. The matter could never have been diſcovered by the conformity of ſtile. For although the author did not at all intend it, he wrote the Criticiſm on Maimbourg in a ſtile very different from that of the *Thoughts concerning Comets*.”

Mr Jurieu likewiſe wrote an anſwer to Mr Maimbourg, but more full and circumſtantial. It appeared in 1683, under the title of *A Parallel between the Hiſtory of Calviniſm and that of Popery: Or an Apology for the Reformers, the Reformation, and the Reformed: in four parts: In anſwer to a Libel intituled, The Hiſtory of Calviniſm by Mr Maimbourg* (2). This book was well written; the author refuted Mr Maimbourg with a great deal of force: but one could not find there that eaſy and natural turn, thoſe lively and poignant reflexions, that manner of expoſing the faults of an adverſary without bitterneſs, and of treating matters of controverſy without paſſion; which was the diſtinguiſhing character of the *Critique Generale*. Every one was preſently ſenſible of this difference. Even the Catholics, notwithſtanding the prejudices of their religion, could not help applauding Mr Bayle's book, while at the ſame time they affected to deſpiſe that of Mr Jurieu. “The Criticiſm on Father Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm is a fine book, ſaid Mr Menage (3) and he himſelf could not help eſteeming it. He confeſſed this to me, tho' ordinarily he affected to ſpeak of it as a book which he had not read. Excepting what relates to religion, I find every thing Mr Bayle ſays very lively and very judicious. I had a mind to read what Mr Jurieu has done on the ſame ſubject; there is a great difference betwixt them. Mr Bayle writes like a gentleman, and Mr Jurieu like a bigotted old woman, his book is nothing but a wretched repetition of the dulleſt things alledged by du Moulin, and the reſt of them againſt the Catholic religion.” The different eſteem ſhowed to theſe two books, infinitely diſpleaſed Mr Jurieu. He looked upon Mr Bayle as his rival, and could not forgive him for carrying away all the ſuffrages. This accident ſowed the ſeeds of hatred and jealouſy in his mind (4).

Amongſt the other men of Letters with whom Mr Bayle contracted a friendſhip at Sedan, we ought to number Mr Fetizon, a young Miniſter and a native of that town. He had left Sedan, and was gone to exerciſe his Miniſtry in Champagne, in Mr de Briquemau's family (5). He wrote to Mr Bayle that he had compoſed by way of dialogue an Apology for the Reformed, with regard to the civil wars of France. Mr Bayle deſired to ſee the book, and Mr Fetizon ſent it him, and dedicated it to Philaretus, that is to Mr Bayle himſelf. Mr Bayle found that it deſerved to be publiſhed and cauſed it to be printed (6). It appeared in the beginning of the year 1683, under this title; *An Apology for the Reformed; wherein a juſt idea is given of the civil wars in France, and of the true foundations of the Edict of Nants. Being a curious dialogue betwixt a Proteſtant and a Catholic* (7). PATRICIUS, the Roman Catholic, alledges the ſtrongeſt and moſt odious things that have been ſaid againſt the Reformed with regard to the civil wars, and doth not forget the common accuſation, that they are animated by a ſpirit of faction and rebellion; and that they maintain principles oppoſite to the abſolute power of princes. EUSEBIUS, the Proteſtant, juſtifies them for taking up arms in defence of their religion, their lives, and the rights of the houſe of Bourbon; and ſhews, even by the teſtimony of Lewis XIII, that they have always been faithful to their lawful princes, and that their principles are ſo far from being oppoſite to the ſovereign power of princes, that they tend to eſtabliſh and

confirm

(1) Cabale Chimerique, pag. 204, 205.

(2) L'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme & celle du Papiſme miſes en parallele; ou Apologie pour les Reformateurs, pour la Reformation, & pour les Reformez: diviſée en quatre parties: contre un Libelle intitulé Hiſtoire du Calviniſme par Mr Maimbourg. *It was printed in two Volumes in 4°, and in four in 12°.*

(3) Menagiana, *Tom. ii. p.* 22, 23, *of the Paris Edition*, 1694.

(4) *See Mr de Bauval's* Lettre ſur les differens de Mr Jurieu & de Mr Bayle, *pag.* 1 *and* 2.

(5) *Mr de Briquemau's eſtate ſituate upon the river of Aiſne, was called St Loup. Mr de Briquemau being afterwards obliged to leave France upon account of his religion. The Elector of Brandenburg made him Governour of Lipſtadt in the country of Cleves.*

(6) *At the Hague, by Abraham Arondeus, in* 12°.

(7) Apologie pour les Reformez, où on voit la juſte idée des Guerres Civiles de France: & les vrais fondemens de l' Edit de Nantes. Entretiens curieux entre un Proteſtant & un Catholique.

1682.

confirm it; whereas, on the other hand, the Roman Catholics make that authority dependant on the people or on the Pope.

About the end of the year 1682 Mr Bayle was ſtrongly ſollicited to marry. The match propoſed to him was advantageous. She was a beautiful young lady, of very good ſenſe, good nature and prudence, was entirely at her own diſpoſal, and had at leaſt fifteen thouſand crowns (1). Mademoiſelle du Moulin, grandchild of the famous Peter du Moulin, ſiſter to Mrs Jurieu, and afterwards wife to Mr Baſnage, had ſet this affair in motion, and had put it in ſo good a way, that there remained no difficulty except on Mr Bayle's ſide. He had always appeared very averſe to marriage: the cares and troubles of a family did not ſeem to him to ſuit a man of letters, a Philoſopher who makes all his happineſs conſiſt in ſtudy and meditation. Beſides, as he contented himſelf with what was neceſſary, riches appeared to him rather an incumbrance than a happineſs. Mademoiſelle du Moulin ſpared no pains to make him change theſe ſentiments, and to engage him to make uſe of theſe advantages, which in a manner offered themſelves; but ſhe was unſucceſsful.

1683.

The Year following Mr Bayle gave a new edition of his Letter concerning Comets, fuller and more exact than the firſt. The impreſſion of it was finiſhed the ſecond of September 1683, and he received a hundred and twenty copies of it from the bookſeller to ſend to his friends. He ſuppreſſed the title of the firſt edition, and ſubſtituted the following: *Divers Thoughts written to a Doctor of the Sorbonne, upon occaſion of the Comet which appeared in the month of December*, 1680. *At Rotterdam, by Reinier Leers*, MDCLXXXIII (2). He likewiſe ſuppreſſed the long preface of the foregoing edition, and inſtead of it inſerted an advertiſement in the bookſeller's name, pointing out the advantages of this ſecond edition beyond the preceding.

About this time ſome of Mr Bayle's Friends ſent him ſome pieces of controverſy which they had compoſed, and deſired him to get them printed if he thought proper. The firſt which he received was a Confutation of the Memorial drawn up by the Aſſembly of the Clergy of France in 1682, wherein they propoſed and approved of ſeventeen Methods, or different manners of diſputing againſt the Reformed. This Confutation was wrote by Mr Baſnage, at that time miniſter of Rouen. It was accompanied with a Letter to Mr Bayle, in the name of a friend to the author, which contained ſeveral curious particulars relating to that Aſſembly of the Clergy (3). This work came out under the title of *An Examination of the Methods propoſed by the Aſſembly of the Clergy of France in the year* 1682 (4). Mr Baſnage had deſired that the manuſcript might be communicated to Mr Jurieu, and Mr Jurieu prefixed his approbation to the book. The other pieces which were ſent to Mr Bayle, were in anſwer to a book of Mr Brueys Advocate of Montpellier. Mr Brueys had diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the Reformed by a confutation of a book of Mr Boſſuet, Biſhop of Condom, and afterwards of Meaux, entituled *An Expoſition of the doctrine of the Catholic Church*. But he afterwards changed his Religion, and according to the common practice of new converts, he wrote againſt the party which he had left. His book appeared in 1683 with the following title, *The reaſons which have given occaſion to the ſeparation of the Proteſtants, examined without prejudice, according to the Council of Trent, the Confeſſions of Faith of the Proteſtant Churches, and the holy Scripture* (5). It was wrote in a mild and inſinuating manner, and had an air of diſintereſtedneſs, very proper at firſt ſight to catch weak and ſuperficial minds: it was thought neceſſary that it ſhould be anſwered. Mr Jurieu, who had written a Tract entituled, *Preſervatif contre le changement de Religion*, in anſwer to the biſhop of Meaux's book, publiſhed a continuation of it againſt this piece of Mr Brueys. Mr de Larroque, ſon to the Miniſter of Rouen, who had been received into the Miniſtry in one of the laſt Synods, did likewiſe enter the liſts. He wrote an anſwer to Mr Brueys, and ſent it to Mr Bayle, who preſently put it to the preſs. The title of it is, *The Proſelyte abuſed: or Mr Brueys's falſe views in his examination of the ſeparation of Proteſtants* (6). It has an epiſtle dedicatory prefixed, *To Mr *** Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Hiſtory at Rotterdam*, wherein Mr Larroque gives an account of the compoſition, deſign, and plan of this work. Mr Bayle would not ſuffer his name to appear before the dedication, though it was eaſy to thoſe who knew Holland, or had any commerce with men of Letters, to ſee that it was addreſſed to him. He has ſpoke very advantageouſly of Mr Larroque's book. "It is (ſays he (7), the firſt eſſay of a young author full of wit, who follows his adverſary very cloſe, and ſhows him that he has made groſs blunders. "He ſometimes makes uſe of raillery, which is ſomewhat ſtrong indeed, yet at the "ſame time delicate; and he acquits himſelf very well likewiſe in point of erudition."

Mr Lenfant, who at that time ſtudied Divinity at Geneva, wrote likewiſe againſt Mr Brueys. But being informed that ſeveral learned men were employed on the ſame ſubject, he would have ſuppreſſed his anſwer, if Mr Bayle and Mr Jurieu had not preſſed him to finiſh it, and make it public (8). After he had made ſome ſtay at Geneva, he went to Heidelberg, from whence he ſent Mr Bayle his manuſcript, and deſired him to make what alterations in it he ſhould think proper. Mr Lenfant did not chooſe to enter into the detail of the diſpute, but contented himſelf

(1) *Letter of Mademoiſelle du Moulin to Mr Bayle, of the 12th of December 1682. In Mr Bayle's Letters, pag.* 193.

(2) Penſées diverſes, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne à l'occaſion de la Comete qui parut au mois de Decembre 1680. A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers, 1683.

(3) *It is intituled*, Lettre ſur la derniere Aſſemblée du Clergé A. M. B. A. R. *that is to ſay*, à Mr Bayle à Rotterdam.

(4) Examen des Methodes propoſées par Meſſ. de l'Aſſemblée du Clergé de France en l' Année 1682. *It was printed at Rotterdam by Pierre de Graef, but the title bears* à Cologne chez Pierre Marteau, *in* 12°.

(5) Examen des raiſons qui ont donné lieu à la ſeparation des Proteſtans, fait ſans prevention ſur le Concile de Trente, ſur la Confeſſion de Foi des Egliſes Proteſtantes, & ſur l'Ecriture ſainte.

(6) Le Proſelyte abuſé: ou fauſſes vuës de Mr Brueys dans l'examen de la ſeparation des Proteſtans. *At Rotterdam for Reinier Leers*, 1684, *in* 12°.

(7) Nouvelles de République des Lettres, *March* 1684, *p. m.* 101. *See likewiſe the Letter to Mr Lenfant of the 26th of November* 1683, *pag.* 204.

(8) *See the Letters to Mr Lenfant of the 8th of September and 26th of November* 1683, *pag.* 201, *and the following.*

1683. himſelf with reaſoning upon general principles. His book appeared about the beginning of the year 1684, with this title, *General conſiderations on Mr Brueys's book, intituled, An Examination of the reaſons which have given occaſion to the ſeparation of Proteſtants, and occaſionally upon all thoſe of the ſame character* (1). There was an advertiſement added to it, wherein after ſhowing how people might be deceived by Mr Brueys's book, and the neceſſity there was of anſwering it, they aſcribed his change of Religion meerly to worldly motives, and even attacked his Morals. This advertiſement was followed by a long *Letter of the Author to a friend, upon ſending him his manuſcript*, that is to ſay, to Mr Bayle. Mr Lenfant there gave the character of Mr Brueys's book, and pointed out a great many weak places in it. This anſwer is written with a great deal of wit, judgment, and moderation, qualities which reign in all Mr Lenfant's writings.

1684. Mr Bayle was always very curious in gathering thoſe ſorts of pieces which are called *Fugitives*, becauſe they diſappear almoſt as ſoon as they come out. The only way to preſerve them, is to gather as many of them together as will make a volume. This Mr Bayle did, with regard to ſeveral pieces relating to Des Cartes's Philoſophy. He publiſhed them under the title of *A collection of ſome curious pieces relating to Mr Des Cartes's Philoſophy. At Amſterdam, by H. Deſbordes*, MDCLXXXIV (2). He wrote a preface to them, wherein he gave the hiſtory of theſe pieces, and lamented the ſlavery of the writers in France. "It would be a great misfortune for the whole Re-"public of Letters, ſays he, if they were every where as formal and captious with re-"gard to the printing of books, as they have been in France for ſome time paſt, where "the Inquiſition, which they are eſtabliſhing there apace, prevents the publication of "many fine pieces, and diſcourages the beſt writers. And who would not be diſcouraged "to ſee thoſe people, who are appointed to licenſe books, keep a manuſcript for three "or four years without looking into it, and then diſapprove every thing there that "diſcovers a mind elevated above ſlavery and vulgar opinions? What mortification for "an author, who never thinks the preſs can go faſt enough upon his works, after "a delay of three or four years, to find himſelf commanded to ſuppreſs what he "thinks is moſt valuable in his writings, if he would not rather chuſe to ſee them "condemned to eternal ſilence, by being refuſed the Royal Privilege?" This Collection contains, I. A ſort of Concordat, entered into betwixt the Jeſuits and the Fathers of the Oratory, by which theſe laſt oblige themſelves neither to teach Des Cartes Philoſophy, nor the doctrine of Janſenius. II. Remarks upon this concordat. III. An Explanation concerning Mr de la Ville, or rather Father de Valois's book (3). This piece was wrote by Mr Bernier, ſo well known by his Voyages, and his Abridgment of Gaſſendus's Philoſophy. Father de Valois had placed him in the liſt of the new Philoſophers, who deſtroy the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, by maintaining that the eſſence of matter conſiſts in extenſion. His book made a great noiſe in France, and alarmed all the Carteſians. Mr Regis, who held conferences at Paris, was obliged to give them over. Mr Bernier was afraid for himſelf, and publiſhed this explanation, wherein he endeavours to reconcile the principles of his own philoſophy, with the deciſions of the church. This collection likewiſe contains, IV. An anſwer of Father Malebranche to Father de Valois, who had ſhewed great animoſity againſt him, and particularly endeavoured to raiſe ſuſpicions of his orthodoxy. This anſwer was followed by a Memoir, explaining the poſſibility of Tranſubſtantiation. V. The Theſes which Mr Bayle had made his ſcholars defend, in 1680: *Diſſertatio in qua vindicantur à Peripateticorum exceptionibus rationes quibus aliqui Carteſiani probarunt eſſentiam corporis ſitam eſſe in extentione.* Mr Bayle joined ſome Philoſophical Theſes to this Diſſertation, where he maintains, among other things, that place, motion, and time, have not as yet been defined in an intelligible manner. VI. A piece which had been printed at Paris, under the title of *Meditations concerning Metaphyſics, by Willian Wander* (4). The Abbé Lanion is the author of it (5). It contains the ſubſtance of the Carteſian Metaphyſics, and the moſt valuable things in Des Cartes's Meditations. Nay every thing here ſeems even better digeſted, than in Des Cartes's book, and the author appears to have penetrated further than that Philoſopher. This is Mr Bayle's judgment of it.

Mr Bernier's Explanation was refuted in a book printed at Paris in 1682, entituled, *The Philoſophy of Des Cartes repugnant to the faith of the Catholic church, together with a refutation of the pamphlet lately printed in defence of it* (6). The pamphlet mentioned in this title, is Mr Bernier's performance. The author of this book ſays, that having ſeen Mr de la Ville's treatiſe, he found that the author had very ſucceſsfully attacked the Syſtem of the Carteſians on the ſubject of the eſſence of matter, but that their opinion concerning it's accidents and qualities had not been refuted. So that he thought it neceſſary to handle this laſt point, and to add to it a new diſcuſſion of the firſt, to make the work compleat. He divides his book into two parts. In the firſt he ſhows, "That if the "eſſence of the body conſiſts in actual extenſion, the body of JESUS CHRIST cannot "be really and actually in the Euchariſt, ſince a thing cannot exiſt without it's eſſence, "but it muſt be there only figuratively, that is, purely in imagination and thought, "or in imaginary apprehenſion, which makes us believe it preſent where

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(1) Conſiderations générales ſur le livre de Mr Brueys, intitulé, Examen des raiſons qui ont donné lieu à la ſeparation des Proteſtans, & par occaſion ſur ceux du meme caractere. *At Rotterdam, for Reinier Leers*, 1684.

(2) Recueil de quelques pieces curieuſes concernant la philoſophie de Mr Deſcartes. *A Amſterdam chez Henry Deſbordes*, 1684.

(3) *See above, pag.* xiii.

(4) Meditations ſur la Metaphyſique, par Guillaume Wander.

(5) *See* Reſponſe aux Queſtions d'un Provincial, *Tom. I. chap. xxvi. pag.* 223, 224.

(6) La Philoſophie de Mr Deſcartes contraire à la Foy Catholique. Avec la Refutation d'un Imprimé fait depuis peu pour ſa défenſe.

1684.

"it is not:" and in the ſecond, he proves "That by eſtabliſhing, as Des Cartes doth, "that there is nothing in the ſubſtance but the ſubſtance itſelf, and that the qualities "and accidents which we fancy to exiſt in it, are only ſimple appearances that "abuſe our ſenſes, and make them believe that there is ſomething really exiſting "in the ſubſtance, which doth not exiſt there, but only in our thoughts; we deſtroy "the doctrine of the Church, which teaches us that in the Euchariſt, the ſubſtance "of the bread and wine being deſtroyed, and quite changed into the body and "blood of JESUS CHRIST, the accidents, which were in it, remain ſtill, which "neceſſarily ſuppoſeth that the accidents are really diſtinct from the ſubſtance, and "can exiſt without it." This book is very little known. Mr Bayle doth not mention it, poſſibly becauſe it never came to his knowledge, and I take notice of it here only becauſe of the relation it has to this Collection which Mr Bayle had publiſhed.

The manner of acquainting the public by way of Journal, with what paſſeth in the Republic of Letters, is one of the fineſt undertakings of the laſt age. The honour of it is due to Mr de Sallo, Eccleſiaſtic Counſellor in the parliament of Paris, who publiſhed the *Journal des Sçavans* in the year 1665. This work was received every where with applauſe, and was imitated in Italy and in Germany. Mr Bayle was ſurprized to ſee that in Holland, where there were ſo many learned men, ſo many bookſellers, and ſo great a liberty of the preſs, no body had as yet thought of publiſhing a Literary Journal. He had been ſeveral times tempted to do it, but conſidering that a work of this kind requires a great deal of time and application, he had laid aſide that deſign. In the mean while there appeared about the end of the month of February 1684, a Journal printed at Amſterdam by Henry Deſbordes, with the title of *Mercure Sçavant du mois de Janvier* 1684. This was an attempt of the Sieur de Blegny, a ſurgeon of Paris, a man fertile in projects, of which take the following inſtances. Having obſerved that ſeveral people held conferences on Philoſophy, and other ſciences, he would needs pretend to do the ſame, and erected an *Academy of new diſcoveries* in his own houſe. He read private lectures to the Surgeons apprentices, under the name of a Courſe of Surgery; and to the Apothecaries apprentices by the name of a Courſe of Pharmacy: he even undertook to give a Courſe of Periwigs for the Periwig-makers apprentices. Every body was admitted to them for a certain price. He meddled likewiſe in phyſic, and came at laſt to take the titles of "Counſellor, Phyſician, "Artiſt in ordinary to his Majeſty and to the Dauphin, and overſeer, by his "Majeſty's command, of enquiries and examinations of new diſcoveries in Phyſic." In 1679 he undertook a ſort of Journal, intituled, *New Diſcoveries in all the parts of Phyſic* (1). He publiſhed it monthly; but his abuſive manner of treating ſeveral perſons of merit, produced an Arret of the Council, which put a ſtop to it in 1682. The Sieur de Blegny not daring to print his Journal in France, turned his eyes towards Holland, and choſe Mr Gautier, a phyſician of Niort who lived at Amſterdam, for his partner in this project, and furniſhed him with the materials. This new Journal contained no extracts of Books, but ſeveral ſmall pieces generally on ſubjects relating to phyſic. It contained likewiſe ſongs ſet to muſic, poetry, and political news. And he was more abuſive in it than he had formerly been in his Journal of Phyſic.

A work ſo ill conceived and ſo ill executed, piqued Mr Bayle and made him re-aſſume his former deſign of publiſhing a Journal. Mr Jurieu preſſed him ſtrongly to undertake it. He was glad to have a ſure hand to write panegyrics on all the books he ſhould publiſh (2). Mr Bayle yielded to his ſollicitations, and began to ſet about his Journal the 21ſt of March 1684. Upon the 4th of April he made an agreement with the Sieur Deſbordes for the impreſſion, and reſolved to publiſh it once a month, under the title of *News from the Republic of Letters* (3); and to begin with the month of March. The *Mercure Sçavant* was publiſhed only for the months of January and February: whereupon ſeveral people fancied that Mr Bayle was the author of it; which obliged him to diſown it in expreſs terms (4). The News from the Republic of Letters, for the month of March, did not appear 'till the 27th of May, and thoſe of the month of April 'till the 2d of June: but he laboured ſo hard, that the Journal of July was publiſhed in the beginning of Auguſt, and ſo on, the News of every month appearing in the beginning of the following. In the preface he gives an account of the plan which he had laid down, which did not differ much from that of the other Journaliſts. He divided every Journal into two parts; the firſt contained large extracts, and the ſecond a catalogue of new books, accompanied with remarks. This laſt part of his plan gave him occaſion to mention a much greater number of books, and to make a great many Pieces known to the public, of which he did not think it proper to give an extract. He embelliſhed his extracts with a thouſand curious and entertaining particulars concerning the hiſtory of authors, their works and controverſies; and with many ingenious and delicate reflexions. He did not write only for the learned: he intended likewiſe to pleaſe and be of uſe to the polite world (5). In a word, every thing was lively and animated in his extracts; "he had the art of giving a gay

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(1) Nouvelles Decouvertes danstoutes les parties de la medecine.

(2) Chimere demontrée, *preface, p. clxxvii.*

(3) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres.

(4) *In an advertiſement which he publiſhed at the end of the* Nouvelles *for the month of May, of the firſt edition, and which he repeated on the reverſe of the title page, in the following editions.*

(5) *See the Letter to Mr le Clerc of the 18th of June 1684. p. 213, and the following.*

1684. “ turn to all ſorts of ſubjects, and of giving the readers a notion of a book in “ very few words, without fatiguing them either with a bad choice, or with “ dull and tireſome reflexions. He was wiſe and reſerved in judging of the “ merit of books, neither deſiring to ſhock authors, nor to expoſe himſelf by proſtituting his commendations (1).” People were of opinion that at firſt he praiſed too much, and this obliged him to be more ſparing of his applauſe (2). He received advice with pleaſure, and knew how to profit by it. This work was received with univerſal applauſe. Mr Bayle had flattered himſelf that it would not be prohibited in France, it was forbidden however, but this prohibition could not hinder a great many copies of it from paſſing there every month. Every body read it with eagerneſs.

The States of the Province of Frieſland, to whom Mr Bayle was known by his *Letter concerning Comets* (3), on the 29th of March, appointed him to be Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Franeker, with a ſalary of nine hundred gilders. This reſolution was communicated to him by a letter of the 21ſt of April, which he received on the 9th of May. He wrote an anſwer to it next day, deſiring to be allowed ſome time to conſider of it; and upon the 9th of June wrote them a letter of thanks, but declined accepting that place, though the ſalary was near double what he had at Rotterdam.

While Mr Bayle was deliberating about this invitation to Franeker, he had an account (4) of the death of his brother Joſeph, a young gentleman of great merit. After he had begun the ſtudy of Divinity at Puylaurens, he went to Geneva in 1682 to finiſh it, where he continued above a year. From thence he went to Paris, where he was invited (5) to be governour to Mr Duſſon, ſon to the Marquis de Bonac (6). He died there the 9th of May 1684, regretted by all who knew him (7). He had a great deal of wit and penetration, together with a great ſhare of piety and modeſty. He was learned and laborious, and was likely to make a very conſiderable Figure in the Republic of Letters. Mr Bayle loved him tenderly, and was no leſs beloved by him. He was ſenſibly afflicted with his death. “ I am “ infinitely obliged to you (ſays he to Mr Lenfant (8), for the ſhare you have taken “ in the loſs of my poor brother, every body wrote and ſpoke of him very advantageouſly to me. I loved him dearly, and he loved me, if poſſible, ſtill more. “ Praiſe be to God, who has been pleaſed to take him out of this world, and to “ deprive me of the comfort I expected from him: you have loſt a good friend “ who had the utmoſt eſteem for you; ſo that you have had ſome intereſt in lamenting his Death.”

There appeared about this time a third edition of the *General Criticiſm on the Hiſtory of Calviniſm.* The ſecond edition had been reprinted at Geneva, but notwithſtanding this, it was very ſoon out of print. In the advertiſement to this third edition Mr Bayle ſays, that being convinced that this would be the laſt time of printing that book, he would very willingly have brought it as near perfection as poſſible, by making ſome neceſſary additions and alterations; but that he durſt not venture to do ſo, leaſt he ſhould diſoblige thoſe, who had already bought the two former editions, who frequently complained of new editions reviſed, corrected, and augmented, becauſe they diſguſt people at the former editions, and make them regret their having laid out their money upon them. Upon this account he had managed matters ſo, that this edition did not differ much from the preceding, and he acquainted all thoſe who had the ſecond, that they might be contented with it, and that this edition ought not to tempt them. Not that this (adds he) is not leſs faulty than the two former, but it is not ſo to ſuch a degree as to deſerve notice. But we muſt not underſtand this ſtrictly: this third edition contains many conſiderable additions and alterations. He likewiſe made ſome change in the order of the Letters, but above all he was at particular pains to correct the ſtile, by ſtriking out all ambiguous expreſſions and rhymes. He upon this occaſion obſerves how difficult it is in writing French to avoid verſes, jingling of words, and phraſes wherein one word may relate to different parts of the ſentence, and ſo cauſe double meanings.

1685. In the beginning of the year 1685, he publiſhed a continuation of the *Critique Generale,* under the title of *New Letters of the author of the General Criticiſm on the Hiſtory of Calviniſm of Mr Maimbourg. Part I. wherein ſeveral paſſages which have been found fault with, as containing contradictions, falſe reaſonings, and other miſtakes of that ſort are juſtified, and ſeveral curious matters relating to this ſubject are occaſionally handled. At Ville Franche by Peter le Blanc, MDC LXXXV* (9). To theſe New Letter ſa long preface, or advice to the readers, is prefixed, wherein Mr Bayle takes notice that after having, with much difficulty, conſented to their being put to the preſs, he had been frequently tempted to put a ſtop to the impreſſion, when he conſidered how rare it was for an author, who ventures to publiſh a continuation of a book which has been well received, not to miſcarry. “ Theſe continuations (ſays he) make people almoſt always ſay, that the “ author has not held out, that he ought to have reſted where he was, that he “ ought to have known his ſtrength better, and that he was much in the wrong “ to run the hazard of leſſening the opinion the public had conceived of him.” He

(1) Eloge de Mr Bayle, *by Mr de Bauval.*

(2) *See the Advertiſement prefixed to the Month of Auguſt* 1684.

(3) *See the Advertiſement before the* Addition to the divers Thoughts concerning Comets.

(4) *The* 16*th of May.*

(5) *Letters to Mr Minutoli of the* 9*th of July,* 1682, *pag.* 183; *and of the* 15*th of July* 1683 *pag.* 197, 198.

(6) *See the Article* Auriege.

(7) *See a Letter of the Count de Dhona to Mr Bayle, of the* 28*th of September,* 1684, *pag.* 227, 228.

(8) *Letter of the* 8*th of Auguſt* 1684. *pag.* 219, 220.

(9) Nouvelles Lettres de l'auteur de la Critique Générale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme de Mr Maimbourg. Premiere partie, où en juſtifiant quelques endroits qui ont ſemblé contenir des contradictions, de faux raiſonemens & autres mépriſes ſemblables; on traite par occaſion de pluſieurs choſes curieuſes, qui ont du rapport à ces matieres. A Ville Franche chez Pierre le Blanc, 1685.

ſhows that people are ſometimes in the right in judging ſo, but that for the moſt 1685. part they are very much in the wrong, and that when the continuation of a book is leſs eſteemed than what went before it, is not ſo much the fault of the author as of the readers. But ſince the misfortune is not the leſs upon this account, he concludes that excepting a few privileged authors, all others ought to be afraid of the compariſon which people will make betwixt their works, if the firſt has had the good fortune to pleaſe. He adds that no body ever had more reaſon to be apprehenſive of this compariſon than himſelf, and takes notice of ſeveral circumſtances which luckily concurred to procure a good reception to the *General Criticiſm on the Hiſtory of Calviniſm*, which did not now ſubſiſt in favour of theſe *New Letters*. But that at laſt he had ſuffered them to be made public, with a reſolution of looking with perfect indifference upon the opinion the public might have concerning them. Mean while he acquaints the reader that he will find in the ſecond Volume ſeveral paſſages which have not all the gravity, which poſſibly he may expect in that book; nay that he may poſſibly be of opinion, that ſome of them are too much a-kin to trifling. For this reaſon he declares that he doth not pretend here to write for the learned, but for a great many people who love reading, and not being deep ſcholars, want, properly ſpeaking, only an innocent amuſement whereby they may learn ſomething, but with little trouble. They who would judge of this book, ſays he, ought to remember that this was the intention of the author. We have only the firſt part of this work: Mr Bayle intended to publiſh two parts more, and had even begun to compoſe them, but did not finiſh them. “ It was originally intended (ſays he) that this firſt part
“ ſhould be followed by two others, the firſt of which was to have ſatisfied thoſe
“ who had ſaid, that ſeveral things which deſerved great conſideration had been too
“ briefly handled in the *General Criticiſm*, ſuch as the Conference of Poiſſy, the
“ firſt riſing in Arms, the Verſion of the Pſalms, &c. and the ſecond was to have
“ explained ſome difficulties in the controverſy. But though ſomething has been
“ prepared a good while ago, for both the one and the other of theſe parts, yet
“ in all appearance other buſineſs will hinder the author to finiſh them.”

Mr Bayle ſent a copy of this book to Mr Lenfant, and aſſured him that he might let him know the faults in it without fearing to diſpleaſe him. “ I deſire (ſays
“ he (1), you will accept of a copy of the Continuation of the *Critique Generale*. . . . .
“ I am not at all pleaſed with this laſt book, and you will oblige me if you will
“ ſincerely ſhow me it's faults. Do not be afraid that you will in the leaſt diſpleaſe
“ me by doing ſo. My friends cannot oblige me more than by telling me frankly
“ the faults they find in my ſmall productions. I have been tried in this mat-
“ ter, and I can ſay from experience that their cenſures do not in the leaſt of-
“ fend me.”

This Continuation had not the ſame ſucceſs with the *Critique Generale*. All that Mr Bayle had ſaid in the Preface, to ſhow the difference betwixt theſe two pieces, and to give a juſt idea of this laſt, was to no purpoſe. No notice was taken of it. Neither would people underſtand what he had ſaid in the ninth Letter concerning the rights of an erring Conſcience, and concerning innocent Errors; though he had taken all poſſible precaution to explain himſelf fully on theſe heads. He complained of this ſix months after in the *News from the Republic of Letters*, upon occaſion of ſome reflexions of Father Malebranche's concerning the careleſneſs of readers. “ It
“ muſt be confeſſed (ſays he (2), that the generality of readers are ſtrange ſort of people,
“ one may take the trouble of acquainting them with a thouſand things, one may re-
“ commend this and the other thing to them in the moſt humble manner, they will ne-
“ vertheleſs follow their own humour and cuſtom. Good ſtories have been made con-
“ cerning the uſeleſs precautions of mothers and huſbands: I am ſurpriſed that no body
“ has given us a hiſtory of the uſeleſs precautions of authors. I know one whoſe book
“ has not been publiſhed above ſix months, who omitted nothing to ſecure him-
“ ſelf from raſh judgments; his preface had given very eſſential advices, and in thoſe
“ places where he diſtruſted his readers, he had expreſly warned them that they would
“ certainly miſtake him, if they did not carefully examine the whole ſeries of his
“ reaſoning; he had even carried his precautions ſo far as to print his real ſen-
“ timents in large letters, and to threaten the readers in ſome ſort, that if they
“ committed any miſtakes there, they ſhould be inexcuſable. All this ſignified nothing,
“ he has been informed, that notwithſtanding all his care, even people whoſe pro-
“ feſſion it was to know theſe things, have fallen into thoſe miſtakes which he had
“ been at ſo much pains to warn them of.”

Mr Bayle began the ſecond year of his *News from the Republic of Letters*, that is to ſay, the month of March 1685, by an addition to the title, which made it no longer an anonymous work; he added theſe words, *By Mr B . . . Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Hiſtory at Rotterdam* (3). He added likewiſe an Advertiſement, wherein he ſays that he thought himſelf obliged to let the public know diſtinctly the place where this Journal was compoſed, that they might ſee that the Magiſtrates of Rotterdam honour the Muſes with their protection, and that this work was compoſed by one of the Profeſſors whom they had ſettled in their *New Illuſtrious School*; and declares, that

(1) *Letter of the 2d of April, 1685. pag* 237.

(2) *July* 1685. *Art. viii. p. m.* 780, 781.

(3) Par le Sieur B... Profeſſeur en Philoſophie & en Hiſtoire à Rotterdam.

1685. that though he doth not dedicate it in the ordinary forms, he doth nevertheleſs entirely conſecrate it to them. He expreſſed himſelf in a ſtill ſtronger manner, in an article of the month of March, where he is giving the extract from a book, wherein it was obſerved, that the town of Rotterdam had always favoured the Belles Letters. “What this city did three years ago, adds Mr Bayle (1), is a very evident proof of their love to the Sciences. It is eaſy to obſerve that I mean the ILLUSTRIOUS SCHOOL, which the honourable Magiſtrates of Rotterdam generouſly founded in 1681. If the public ſhall receive any inſtruction, or uſeful amuſement from theſe *News from the Republic of Letters*, they will be obliged for it to thoſe gentlemen, ſince it is to them that I owe the ſweet tranquillity which enables me to ſupport this laborious taſk. It is under the protection of this glorious Senate that theſe collections are compoſed, *ille nobis hæc otia fecit*, and I am very glad to find here ſo natural an occaſion, of teſtifying my gratitude, and of declaring, that if the public has any good opinion of this work, I conſecrate it entirely to the glory of this city.”

Upon the eighth day of May, 1685, Mr Bayle was informed that his father died upon Saturday the 30th of the preceeding March. This was very afflicting news to him, but his grief was redoubled, when he heard that his elder brother was in priſon upon account of religion. The Biſhop of Rieux did not know what was become of Mr Bayle, 'till the time in which the *General Criticiſm on the Hiſtory of Calviniſm* made a noiſe in France, and it was known that he was the author of it.

This Book renewed their vexation for his eſcape from Toulouſe, and his return to the Reformed Religion. They had endeavoured ſeveral times to revenge themſelves upon his brother, but that miniſter, by his wiſe and prudent conduct, had ſtill eſcaped the purſuits of his enemies. At laſt they applied to Mr de Louvois, a violent and revengeful man, who at this time was the author of unheard of cruelties againſt the Reformed in ſeveral provinces. Mr de Louvois had taken offence at ſeveral ſtrokes in the *General Criticiſm* concerning the conduct of the French Court with regard to the Reformed, and ſo gave orders that Mr Bayle, the Miniſter of Carla ſhould be ſeized. They ſent a great number of public officers to his houſe, who dragged him out of his cloſet, and carried him to the priſon of Pamiers, upon the 11th of June. From thence he was removed to Bourdeaux, on the 10th of July, to the Chateau Trompette, and confined in a ſtinking and infectious dungeon. They uſed all their efforts to make him change his religion, but neither their promiſes, their threats, nor their outrages, were capable to ſhake him. He ſhowed a conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs which aſtoniſhed his perſecutors, and praiſed God who had called him to ſuffer for the truth. But the delicacy of his conſtitution could not bear ſuch barbarous uſage: he died the 12th of November, after five months impriſonment. In this manner he “crowned (2) that piety which he had ſhewed during the whole courſe of his life, by an heroic death, which was admired even by thoſe who had done every thing in their power to make him die a Papiſt, and over whoſe attacks he triumphed gloriouſly.” He was well verſed in ſacred and prophane hiſtory, and in the knowledge both of ancient and modern authors. His zeal for his religion was attended with mildneſs and wiſdom. Although he had a very lively ſenſe of the many injuries done to the Reformed, yet he ſtill preſerved an inviolable fidelity to the King's perſon, and a perfect ſubmiſſion to his commands, being perſuaded that a Chriſtian ought to oppoſe nothing to his ſovereign, but ſupplications and tears (3).

Mr Paets was at this time in England, on the affairs of the States, and as the queſtion about Toleration was then very much debated there, he wrote a Latin Letter, on the 12th of September, upon that ſubject to Mr Bayle, which Mr Bayle got printed at Rotterdam, under the following title: *H. V. P. ad B***** (4) *de nuperis Angliæ motibus Epiſtola, in qua de diverſorum à publica Religione circa divina ſentientium diſſeritur Tolerantia.* In this letter, Mr Paets begins with admiring that change, which had been made in the minds and opinions of the Engliſh, with regard to James II. He praiſed that prince for not diſſembling his Religion at his acceſſion to the crown; and hoped that he would faithfully obſerve the promiſe he had made to his Proteſtant ſubjects, of allowing them the peaceable enjoyment of their Religion. The reſt of the Letter is employed in confuting thoſe who maintain, that Princes ought not to ſuffer any Religion but one in their dominions, and that ſubjects ought not to ſubmit to any Prince but of their own Religion. He ſhews that nothing is more oppoſite to the ſpirit of primitive Chriſtianity, than a ſpirit of perſecution, and after having examined the reaſons adduced by Politicians and Divines againſt Toleration, he attacks the infallible authority arrogated by the Church of Rome. In a Poſtſcript he clears up and confirms ſome things he had ſaid in the Letter, and ſhews that it would be eaſy to reduce all the Sects among Proteſtants into one ſociety. Mr Bayle being of opinion that this Letter was very fit to inſpire ſentiments of mildneſs and moderation, thought proper to tranſlate it into French. This tranſlation appeared in the month of Auguſt.

(1) Art. viii. pag. m. 312.

(2) Cabale Chimerique, pag. 313.

(3) *See his Diſcourſe to Mr Dagueſſeau, Intendant of the Generality of Montauban, and his anſwer to the Conſiſtory of Mazeres, in the* Hiſtoire de Mr Bayle & de ſes Ouvrages, *printed at Amſterdam* 1716, *pag.* 98, *and the following.*

(4) *That is,* Hadriani Van Paets ad Bælium.

1685.

Auguſt. It was likewiſe tranſlated into Dutch. Mr Bayle gave an abſtract of it in his Journal of the Month of October 1685; and Mr Paets being dead after the impreſſion of that article, he in a new edition added a few words, by way of elogy upon that great man. “ This is not the firſt time, (ſays he (1), that the illuſtrious Mr “ Paets, author of the Letter of which we have been ſpeaking, has reaſoned “ ſtrongly upon the ſubject of Toleration. There are ſome other Letters of his “ upon this ſubject, in the Collection of the *præſtantium ac eruditorum Virorum* “ *Epiſtolæ*, printed firſt in Quarto, and reprinted in Folio at Amſterdam, in the “ year 1684. Theſe are beautiful monuments of his eloquence, and of the ſtrength “ of his judgment. He could have eaſily produced many more conſiderable than thoſe, “ if he had pleaſed to become an author, for he was a great Divine, a great Lawyer, “ a great Politician, and a great Philoſopher, he had a very happy conception “ of things, and a ſurprizing penetration; never did man reaſon more ſtrongly, “ or give a greater air of dignity to what he ſaid: but he was born for greater “ employments than that of an author. The extraordinary embaſſy to Spain, which “ he performed ſo advantageouſly for his country, at that time in a conſternation “ upon account of the great ſucceſs of the French arms, ſhewed what he was capable of in affairs of State. What a loſs is it to the public, that ſo great a man “ did not live longer! hardly had he arrived to his 55th year, when he died “ upon the 8th of October of the preſent year 1685; deſerving all manner of “ praiſe as much upon the account of his intrepidity, probity, generoſity, integrity, “ and all the other qualities of a gentleman, as upon the account of his great genius “ and profound erudition. It is in quality of Journaliſt of the Republic of Letters, “ that I am obliged to give this account of him. But what ſhould I not be obliged “ to ſay, if I were to ſpeak agreeably to thoſe ſentiments of gratitude, which fill “ my ſoul for the favours I have received from this illuſtrious perſon?”

(1) *Art. ii. p.* 1093, 1394, *of the third Edition.*

Mr Bayle at this time was engaged in a diſpute with Mr Arnauld, upon Father Malebranche's account. This Doctor in his *Philoſophical and Theological Reflexions on the New Syſtem of Nature and Grace* of Father Malebranche, had vehemently oppoſed his opinion, viz. “ That all pleaſure is a good, and renders the perſon “ who enjoys it actually happy.” Mr Bayle, in making an extract of this work of Mr Arnauld, had declared himſelf for Father Malebranche. “ There is no-“ thing, (ſays he (2), more innocent, or more certain, than to ſay that all pleaſure “ renders the perſon happy who enjoys it, for the time in which he enjoys it, “ and that notwithſtanding this, we ought to ſhun thoſe pleaſures which attach us “ to the body..... But ſome will ſay it is virtue, it is grace, it is the love of “ God, or rather it is God alone who is our happineſs. I agree that he is ſo in “ quality of inſtrument or efficient cauſe, as the Philoſophers ſpeak; but in quality of “ a formal cauſe, it is the pleaſure, it is the ſatisfaction we enjoy, which conſtitutes our “ happineſs.” He had obſerved before, that “ thoſe who had in any ſort under-“ ſtood Father Malebranche's doctrine concerning the pleaſure of the ſenſes, would no “ doubt be aſtoniſhed that any body ſhould find fault with him on that account; “ and that if they did not remember that Mr Arnauld had made oath of his ſin-“ cerity, in the preface to this laſt book, they would be ready to think that he “ had only cavilled with his adverſary, in order to render his morals ſuſpected.” Mr Arnauld who eaſily took fire, publiſhed a Piece intituled, *An Advice to the Author of the News from the Republic of Letters* (3), wherein he complained of this reflexion of Mr Bayle, and maintained that he had not only well underſtood, but likewiſe well confuted Father Malebranche's opinion. Mr Bayle gave the ſubſtance of this book in the Journal of December, and promiſed to make uſe of the vacation to examine it carefully. Accordingly he ſet about it, and the impreſſion of his Anſwer was finiſhed upon the 25th of February: it was intitled, *An Anſwer of the Author of the News from the Republic of Letters, to an Advice which has been given him, concerning what he had ſaid in favour of Father Malebranche about the pleaſure of the ſenſes* (4). Mr Arnaud did not give up the point, he wrote a Reply under this title, *A Diſſertation concerning the pretended happineſs ariſing from the pleaſure of the ſenſes, to ſerve for a Reply to an Anſwer which Mr Bayle has made to juſtify what he had ſaid in his News from the Republic of Letters of September* 1685, *in favour of Father Malebranche againſt Mr Arnauld* (5). Mr Bayle would have anſwered this Reply, if he had not been ſick when it appeared, and he thought it would be too late to refute it when his health allowed him to write. However he afterwards did deſign to anſwer it, and fully to diſcuſs that ſubject [*F*]. Notwithſtanding he has only ſaid a word or two about it in one of his works (6).

(2) Nouvelles *of the Month of Auguſt,* 1685, *Art. iii, pag. m.* 876.

(3) Avis à l'Auteur des Nouvelles de a Republique des Lettres.

(4) Reponſe de l'Auteur des Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres à l'Avis qui lui a été donné ſur ce qu'il a dit en faveur du P. Malebranche touchant le paiſir des ſens, &c. *at Rotterdam chez Pierre de Graef.* 1686, *in* 12ᵐᵒ.

(5) Diſſertation ſur le pretendu bonheur du paiſir des ſens, pour ſervir de replique à la Reponſe qu'a faite Mr Bayle pour juſtifier ce qu'il a dit dans ſes Nouvelles de la Republique de Lettres du mois de Septembre * 1685, en faveur du P. Malebranche contre Mr Arnauld. *Printed at Cologn (Rotterdam)* 1687, *in* 8ᵛᵒ.

* *He ought to have ſaid* du mois d'Aout.

(6) Critical Dictionary, *Article* EPICURUS, *Rem.* [G].

Mr Bayle

[*F*] *Mr Bayle did afterwards deſign to anſwer Mr Arnauld, and to diſcuſs that ſubject fully.*] This appears by a Letter publiſhed by the Abbé Archimbaut, in his *New Collection of ſcarce pieces of Hiſtory and Literature, &c* (*a*). As this Letter was never printed except in that Collection (*b*), which is now pretty ſcarce, I thought it would not be unacceptable to the reader to find it here. It was wrote in the year 1694.

“ Sir,

“ I can aſſure you, that before Mr Abbadie had the “ leaſt thought of writing that book which they have “ reprinted in France (*c*), I had a diſpute with “ Mr Arnauld, which only lies dormant at preſent, “ concerning our ſenſations. Mr Arnauld has pub-“ liſhed a fine *Diſſertation* againſt me, *On the pre-“ tended happineſs ariſing from the pleaſure of the ſenſes.*

“ It

(*a*) Nouveau Recueil de pieces fugitives d'Hiſtoire & de Literature, &c.

(*b*) Tom. iii. p. 64, & ſeq.

(*c*) L'Art de ſe connoitre ſoy meme, *which they had reprinted at Lyons.*

1685. Mr Bayle having obſerved in the Journal of September 1685 (1), that there were a great many errors in the Treatiſe concerning anonymous Authors, publiſhed by Mr Deckher, Advocate in the Imperial Chamber of Spire; Mr d'Almeloveen, who deſigned to publiſh a new edition of this work, deſired him to read it, and to point out to him the faults he ſhould find in it. A learned man called Mr Vindingius had before this time wrote a letter to Mr Deckher, which had been printed with the ſecond edition of this book, wherein he corrected ſome miſtakes of the author, and furniſhed him with ſome ſupplements: but neither was this letter free from faults. Mr Bayle corrected both the one and the other, and added a diſcovery of ſeveral anonymous authors, in his anſwer to Mr d'Almeloveen's letter. He concludes by ſaying that he could have furniſhed him with more ample and more curious remarks, if he had time to conſult his papers and his friends, and if he had not been afraid of offending authors, who had a mind to be concealed. This letter was written upon the 6th and 7th of March 1686; and Mr d'Almeloveen joined it to a new edition of Mr Deckher's book, printed at Amſterdam with this title: *Johannis Deckherri Doctoris & Imperialis Cameræ Judicii Spirenſis Advocati & Procuratoris, de Scriptis adeſpotis, pſeudepigraphis, & ſuppoſititiis Conjecturæ. cum Additionibus Variorum. Editio Tertia altera parte auctior.* Mr Bayle mentions it in his new Journal of April 1686 (2), and takes notice of ſome errors of the preſs in his letter.

1686. The cruel Perſecution of the Reformed in France had very ſenſibly touched Mr Bayle, but he was quite overcome with grief, when he heard that in the month of October 1685, they had revoked the Edict of Nantes, which was the pledge and ſecurity of their rights and liberties; and that they had ſent Dragoons into their houſes, who lived there at diſcretion, and committed all ſorts of diſorders and violence to force them to embrace the Romiſh Religion. Some among them ſubmitted outwardly, and others fled to foreign countries, that they might ſerve God there according to the dictates of their conſcience. In the mean while the Miſſionaries and Popiſh writers, notwithſtanding all this, impudently denied that any violence had been uſed towards them, and there was hardly two or three of them, who confeſſed the quartering of the troops upon them, which the Proteſtants called the *Croiſade Dragonne*, the Converſions *à la Dragonne*, or ſimply the *Dragonnade*. Mr Bayle made ſeveral reflexions on this ſubject in his *News from the Republic of Letters*, with a great deal of wiſdom and caution. But at laſt, the ſight of ſo much injuſtice, ſo many cruelties and frauds, put him quite out of patience: being ſeized with an infinite number of books wherein nothing was talked of but the immortal Glory which Lewis the Great had acquired by deſtroying Hereſy, and rendering *France entirely Catholic*, he publiſhed in the month of March 1686, a little book entituled, *A Character of France entirely Catholic under the reign of Lewis le Grand* (3). But that he might not be ſo much as ſuſpected to be author of it, he feigned in the title that this book was printed at St Omer, and added an advertiſement wherein the bookſeller ſaid that the manuſcript had been given him by a Miſſionary lately returned from England, who had adviſed him to print it, being perſuaded that it would be a proof of the rage of the Heretics.

This ſmall piece is compoſed of three Letters. The ſecond which makes the body of the book, is written to a Canon by a Refugee at London, who had been his friend. It is a very ſtrong and ſevere cenſure of the conduct of France with regard to the Reformed. All the Catholics in France are here accuſed of having been concerned in the perſecution: a hidious picture of the Church of Rome is here drawn; treachery and violence (ſays he) are its diſtinguiſhing characters: the pretended Converters are reproached with their ridiculous artifices, and their low and groſs cheats: the injuſtice of the Arrets is complained of, and particularly of that which allowed children of ſeven years of age to make choice of the Catholic Religion: the falſity of the reaſons alledged in the Edict by which that of Nantes was revoked are ſhown: the dragooning is deſcribed in very lively colours: the oaths of Catholics, conſidered as ſuch, are repreſented as a meer farce: their pretended zeal is ridiculed: the ruin of the Chriſtian Religion is laid to the charge of the Catholic Clergy:

(1) *Art. vii. p. m.* 1013.

(2) *Art. I. Of the Catalogue of new Books, p. m.* 460.

(3) Ce que c'eſt que la France toute Catholique ſous le Regne de Louis le Grand.

“It is an Anſwer to a Defence which I had publiſhed of an article of my *News from the Republic of Letters*, wherein I had ſided with Father Malebranche, againſt Mr Arnauld: I had maintained, that the pleaſures of the ſenſes are altogether ſpiritual and incorporeal beings or modifications, and that there is no pleaſure, how groſs ſoever or brutiſh, which in it's own nature may not be a modification of the pureſt of all created ſubſtances. So that if ſome pleaſures are at preſent criminal, it is only by accident, upon account of the occaſions in which they are taſted, that is to ſay, becauſe they are the conſequences of an act of the will, which we know to be forbidden by God. But this doth not relate to the nature itſelf of the modifications of the mind, but is only an accidental relation, or *ex inſtituto*, which ariſes from the laws which God has revealed to man, either by his word, or by reaſon. From whence it follows, (and I think that I even took notice of this conſequence), that the pleaſures of taſte, of ſight, and of touch, may be communicated without the intervention of any corporeal organ, or that the eye may be indifferently the organ of the pleaſures either of taſte or of hearing, as it is *ex inſtituto* of thoſe of ſight. I was ſick when Mr Arnauld anſwered me, and before I recovered, the ſubject of our diſpute was forgotten, ſo I have not to this day made any reply to him; but I will ſet about it when a proper occaſion offers, and will ſhow that it is impoſſible to maintain the ſpirituality of our ſouls, without admitting my principle.”

Clergy: the conduct of the Converters is compared with that of the Pagan perſecutors: the Catholics are accuſed of having rendered Chriſtianity odious to all other Religions; and he maintains that the laws of humanity, and that general benevolence which we owe to all mankind, would oblige an honeſt man to inform the Emperor of China of what has lately paſt in France, and acquaint him that the Miſſionaries, who at firſt only deſire a Toleration, did really intend to become maſters, and that he could not rely on the fidelity of their Proſelytes; and concludes by ſaying that Prieſts and Monks carry diſcord, ſedition, and cruelty, wherever they go. This is a general view of this Letter.

The reader will no doubt be glad to ſee Mr Bayle's judgment of it in his Journal. “They will poſſibly find (ſays he (1), too much fire here, and too great flights of fancy, but the beauty of the thoughts, and their ſolidity in the main, as to the facts, will very likely make them excuſe what is exceſſive in it. Certainly there is enough ſaid to the Converters in France to cover them with the higheſt confuſion, if people of their trade could bluſh at any thing. The turn and vivacity which goes through the whole of it, will make few readers think it long, though it were really ſo.”

In this manner Mr Bayle ſpeaks of it, pretending not to know the author. The Canon being piqued by this letter, ſends it to another Refugee at London, who was a friend of the author's, and deſires him to give him his opinion of it. He aſſures him that he will give thanks to God, for having bleſt the gentle and charitable methods which had been uſed againſt a Religion which had rebelled both againſt God and the Church, and that he will ſtrive by his prayers to obtain for him the grace of converſion. He afterwards deſires him to read St Auguſtin's Letters, which (ſays he) ſhow the injuſtice of the complaints of the Reformed, and unanſwerably juſtify the means which had been uſed, in order to reclaim them. This Letter is the firſt of the three. In the third the Refugee anſwers to the Canon, with a great deal of mildneſs and moderation. He condemns the ſallies and hyperbolical expreſſions of his friend, and confeſſes that there were an infinite number of good people in France, and even Prieſts and Monks, who had generouſly ſympathized with the miſeries of the Reformed, and had done them good offices; and that his friend was to blame in ſaying, that he had not found one good man in France: but with regard to the Converters, he abandoned them to all the ſtrokes of his friend's pen, and to the utmoſt extent of his invectives, together with all the Catholic Writers, who had denied that any violence had been uſed towards the Reformed. He aſks ſome pretty lively queſtions on this ſubject, and ſays that having repreſented to his friend the great number of honeſt men they had found among the Catholics in France; in anſwer to this he had maintained, that theſe honeſt men had acted in this matter not as Catholics, but as Frenchmen; and that we ought to depend more upon a perſon, conſidered as having been inſtructed in the laws of civility and honour practiſed in France, than upon one conſidered as having been inſtructed in the Catechiſm of his Religion by his pariſh Prieſt. He adds, that he laughed at this diſtinction, but that his friend had ſhown him ſome ſheets of a manuſcript, tranſlated from the Engliſh, containing the ſame thought. “There is here, (ſays he (2), a learned Preſbyterian and good Philoſopher, who has wrote a Philoſophical Commentary upon theſe words of the parable, *compel them to come in*, which is not as yet printed. They are at preſent tranſlating it into our language. They have lent me ſome ſheets of it, which I have read with great pleaſure. The Engliſh have the moſt profound genius, and are the moſt given to meditation, of any people in the world. I do not believe that ever it was more ſtrongly proved, that all conſtraint in religious matters is criminal and contrary both to reaſon and ſcripture. St Auguſtin, and the two Letters to which we are referred are here quite deſtroyed, and they ſhew him that if he had not argued better againſt the Heretics of his time, than he has done for the Perſecutors, the Councils who have condemned Pelagius upon the report and opinion of St Auguſtin, muſt have been very eaſily ſatisfied or put out of humour. I will haſten the tranſlation and impreſſion of this Book, as much as poſſible. I am convinced that a great many Catholics will approve of it, notwithſtanding the prevailing ſpirit of thoſe of your cloth.”

The book here promiſed is entitled, *A Philoſophical Commentary on theſe Words of JESUS CHRIST*, compel them to come in. *Wherein it is proved, by ſeveral invincible arguments, that there is nothing more abominable than to make converts by compulſion. With a confutation of all the ſophiſms of the advocates for conſtraint, as alſo of St Auguſtin's Apology for Perſecution. Tranſlated from the Engliſh of Mr John Fox of Bruggs. By M. I. T. At Canterbury, by Thomas Letwel*, MDCLXXXVI (3). Mr Bayle inſerted this title in his Journal of the Month of Auguſt 1686 (4), and added, “In the Journal of laſt March, *pag.* 345, we ſpoke of the piece entituled, *Ce que c'eſt que la France toute Catholique*, which is a ſmall treatiſe wherein they promiſe the publication of this Commentary. It will no doubt be a Commentary of a new kind. We had the title of it ſent us from beyond ſea two days ago, and they promiſe to ſend us the work itſelf very ſoon. We will then ſee whether it be ſo

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(1) Nouvelles *of March* 1686, *Art. iii, of New Books, p. m.* 346.

(2) Ce que c'eſt que la France toute Catholique, pag. 125.

(3) Commentaire philoſophique ſur ces paroles de Jeſus-Chriſt, *contrain les d'entrer*; où l'on prouve par pluſieurs raiſons démonſtratives, qu'il n'y a rien de plus abominable que de faire des Converſions par la contrainte, & où l'on refute tous les Sophiſmes des Convertiſſeurs à contrainte, & l'Apologie que St Auguſtin a faite des perſecutions. Traduit de l'Anglois du Sieur Jean Fox de Bruggs. Par M. J. T. A Cantorbery, chez Thomas Litwel 1686.

(4) *Art. ii. of the New Books, p. m.* 961.

1686. “dreadful a ſtroke to the whole Tribe of Converters, as they would make us believe in the letter of advice we have had about it.” But all this was only a feint. The book was printing at Amſterdam for Wolfgang, who had printed *La France toute Catholique*. The impreſſion was finiſhed in the month of October, and Mr Bayle mentions it in his *Journal* of the month of November (1).

This work is divided into three parts. In the firſt, Mr Bayle refutes the literal ſenſe of theſe words *Compel them to come in*; and as this is not a theological or critical Commentary, but a philoſophical one, that is to ſay, a work of pure reaſoning, he lays it down in the beginning as a principle, “that natural reaſon, or the general principles of our knowledge, are the fundamental and original rule of all interpretation of ſcripture, eſpecially in what regards to manners;” what comes to the ſame thing, that every particular doctrine, whether advanced as agreeable to Scripture, or propoſed in any other manner, is falſe when it can be refuted by the clear and diſtinct notions of natural reaſon, eſpecially if it regards morality: and he ſhews that all Divines, not even excepting the Roman Catholics, agree to this maxim. After having eſtabliſhed and proved this principle, he ſhews that the literal ſenſe of theſe words is falſe, I. Becauſe it contradicts the moſt clear and diſtinct notions of our reaſon. II. Becauſe it is contrary to the ſpirit of the Goſpel. III. Becauſe it totally overturns morality, both divine and human; confounds virtue and vice, and by that means opens a door to all imaginable confuſion, and tends to the univerſal ruin of ſocieties. IV. Becauſe it furniſheth Infidels with a very lawful pretence of hindering the preachers of the Goſpel to enter into their dominions, and of driving them out wherever they are found. V. Becauſe it contains a general command, the execution of which muſt needs be attended with many crimes. VI. Becauſe it takes away from the Chriſtian Religion, a ſtrong proof againſt falſe Religions, particularly againſt Mahometiſm, which was eſtabliſhed by perſecution. VII. Becauſe it was unknown to the Fathers of the Church in the firſt three Centuries. VIII. Becauſe it renders the complaints of the primitive Chriſtians, againſt the Pagan perſecutions, vain and ridiculous. IX. And laſtly, becauſe it would expoſe true Chriſtians to continual oppreſſion, without leaving them any thing to alledge, in order to put a ſtop to it, but the doctrines themſelves in diſpute betwixt the perſecuted and perſecutors, which is only a pitiful begging of the queſtion, that would not prevent the world's becoming a continued ſcene of ſlaughter and cruelty.

In the ſecond part, Mr Bayle anſwers the objections which might be raiſed againſt him, which he reduces to the following: I. “That force is not uſed in order to conſtrain the conſcience, but to awaken thoſe who refuſe to examine.” He refutes this plea, and examines what it is they call *obſtinacy*. II. “That the literal ſenſe is rendered odious, by our judging of the ways of God by the ways of men: and that though men are capable of judging wrong, when they are actuated by paſſion, yet it doth not follow that God may not make uſe of this means to accompliſh his work in the wonderful conduct of his providence.” Mr Bayle ſhews how falſe this thought is, and what are the common effects of perſecution. III. “That things are maliciouſly exaggerated, when the conſtraint commanded by JESUS CHRIST is repreſented under the notion of ſcaffolds, wheels, and gibbets, whereas we ought only to mention fines, and baniſhments, and other ſuch ſmall inconveniencies.” He ſhews the abſurdity of the excuſe, and that ſuppoſing the literal ſenſe, capital puniſhments are more reaſonable than the chicanries, impriſonments, baniſhments, and quartering of Dragoons, which they had made uſe of in France. IV. “That we cannot condemn the literal ſenſe, without, at the ſame time, condemning the laws which God eſtabliſhed among the Jews, and the conduct of the Prophets upon ſome occaſions.” Mr Bayle ſhews that ſeveral things were permitted, or even commanded by the Old Law, for reaſons which were peculiar to the Jewiſh Commonwealth, and which have no place under the Goſpel. V. “That Proteſtants cannot find fault with the literal ſenſe of conſtraint, without condemning the moſt wiſe Emperors and Fathers of the Church, and without condemning themſelves, ſince they in ſome countries do not ſuffer other Religions, and have ſometimes puniſhed Heretics with death, Servetus for example.” Mr Bayle blames the conduct of the ancient Chriſtian Emperors, who have been guilty of Perſecution; and cenſures the Non-Toleration of Proteſtant Princes, except when it is an act of policy, neceſſary for the good of the State. On this account, he maintains, that it is lawful to make laws againſt Popery, becauſe it teacheth perſecution, and has always practiſed it when it had the power. “The puniſhment of Servetus, (adds he), and of a very few others of that ſort, who erred in the moſt fundamental doctrines, is at preſent looked upon as a hideous blemiſh on theſe early days of our Reformation, and as ſad and deplorable remains of Popery, and I do not at all doubt, that if the Magiſtrates of Geneva had at preſent ſuch a proceſs before them, they would carefully abſtain from ſuch violence.”

(1) *Art. iii. of the Catalogue of New Books, p. m.* 1347. *and the following.*

The ſixth objection is, "That the opinion of Toleration cannot fail to throw a State into all ſorts of confuſion, and to produce a horrible medley of Sects, which deform Chriſtianity." Mr Bayle draws a proof of his own opinion from this objection: for if a multiplicity of Religions be hurtful to a State. "It is only, (ſays he (1), becauſe the one will not tolerate the other, but ſwallow it up by perſecution. *Hinc prima mali labes*, this is the origin of the evil. If every one of them, adds he, enjoyed the Toleration which I plead for, there would be the ſame concord in a State, divided into ten Religions, that there is in a City wherein the different ſorts of mechanics ſupport one another. All the differences it could produce, would be an honeſt emulation which ſhould moſt ſignalize itſelf in piety, good morals, and in knowledge; every one would ſtrive to prove itſelf the moſt beloved of God, by ſhewing a ſtronger attachment to the practice of good works; nay they would even ſtrive which ſhould ſhow the greateſt love to their country, if the Sovereign protected them all, and kept an equal ballance among them by his equity: now it is evident that ſo beautiful an emulation would produce infinite advantages, and conſequently that Toleration is the moſt proper means in the world to bring back the Golden Age, and to make a conſort and harmony of many voices and inſtruments of different tones and notes, as agreeable at leaſt as the ſingle harmony of one voice. What is it then that prevents this beautiful concert, formed of voices and tones ſo different from one another; it is, that the one of the two Religions wants to exerciſe a cruel tyranny over the minds, and force the others to ſacrifice their conſciences to it; it is that Princes foment this unjuſt partiality, and lend the ſecular arm to the furious and tumultuous paſſions of a herd of Monks and Clerks: in a word, theſe diſorders proceed not from Toleration, but from Non-Toleration." He afterwards ſhows in what ſenſe Princes ought to be the *nurſing Fathers of the Church.* The ſeventh objection is, "That conſtraint in the literal ſenſe cannot be denied, without introducing a general Toleration." Mr Bayle acknowledgeth that this conſequence is juſt, but denies that it is abſurd. He ſhews that no inconveniencies would follow from tolerating not only the Jews, but if it were neceſſary, the Mahometans and Pagans, and much more the Socinians. He examines the reſtrictions of thoſe who plead for a partial Toleration; and after making ſome remarks on what is called *Blaſphemy*, he concludes, that Servetus was unjuſtly puniſhed as a Blaſphemer.

The 8th and laſt Objection is, "That conſtraint in the literal ſenſe is rendered odious by falſly ſuppoſing, that it authoriſes the perſecution of the Truth." Mr Bayle anſwers that the conſequence is juſt; and that if we admit the literal ſenſe, Heretics will have the ſame right to perſecute the Orthodox, that the Orthodox pretend to have to perſecute the Heretics. In order to prove this, he lays it down for a principle, that men are always obliged to follow the dictates of their conſcience; that they always ſin when they do not follow them, though they may likewiſe ſometimes ſin by following them. That principle is founded on this Maxim, *that whatever is done contrary to the dictates of the conſcience is a ſin*; from whence it follows, that whoever doth an action which his conſcience tells him is bad, or who omits doing what his conſcience tells him he ought to do, offends God and neceſſarily commits a ſin. So that if God had commanded, by a poſitive law, that every man who knows the truth ought to employ fire and ſword to defend it; all thoſe to whom this law ſhould be revealed, would be indiſpenſably obliged to obey it. But ſince a Heretic is perſuaded that his opinions are true, he is therefore obliged to do that for his errors, which God ſhould have commanded to be done in defence of the truth; and conſequently Heretics would be authorized to perſecute the Orthodox, whom they look upon as maintainers of error, if it was true that God had commanded to perſecute error. He confirms this proof by diſtinguiſhing betwixt abſolute truth and ſeeming truth. He ſays that as we have no certain mark whereby to diſcern whether what ſeems to be truth to us, be abſolutely ſo; when it happens that errror is cloathed in the dreſs of truth, we owe it the ſame reſpect that is due to truth; and that conſidering the weakneſs of man, and the ſtate in which he is placed, the infinite wiſdom of God has not permitted that he ſhould require of us rigorouſly the knowledge of abſolute truth, but that he has laid a burthen upon us proportioned to our ſtrength, which is to enquire after the truth, and to ſtop at that which ſeems to be ſuch after a ſincere enquiry, to love this ſeeming truth, and to conform ourſelves to it's commands how difficult ſoever they may be.

In the Preface intituled *A preliminary Diſcourſe containing ſeveral remarks diſtinct from thoſe in the Commentary* (2), the author ſays that he compoſed this work, at the deſire of a Refugee, who is the author of *France entirely Catholic*; and that having wrote it in order to it's being tranſlated into French, and upon occaſion of the perſecution of the Proteſtants in France, he had not quoted any Engliſh books in it, but had confined himſelf to ſuch as were very well known to the French Converters. Here he attacks a-freſh the ſpirit of perſecution, and confutes ſome Catholic Controvertiſts with a great deal of force and vehemence. "The Author (ſays Mr Bayle,

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(1) Commentaire Philoſophique, &c. Part. II, cap. 6. pag. 363, 364.

(2) Diſcours preliminaire qui contient pluſieurs remarques diſtinctes de celles du Commentaire.

1686. “ſpeaking of this work in his Journal (1), has prefixed to his book a long preliminary Diſcourſe, which may be juſtly called a *Philippic Oration*. The definition which he there gives of a Converter is almoſt as cruel as the thing defined; all the reſt is very much in the ſame ſtrain.” Before this diſcourſe there is an advice to the reader, wherein the bookſeller promiſes to publiſh ſpeedily a third part, containing a Refutation of the reaſons whereby St Auguſtin juſtifies perſecution.

The *News from the Republic of Letters* procured Mr Bayle the eſteem not only of particular perſons, but likewiſe of ſeveral illuſtrious ſocieties. The French Academy, to whom he had preſented his Journal, thanked him in a Letter wherein he was aſſured that they had been unanimous in acknowledging his merit, and the uſefulneſs of the preſent he had made them (2). The Royal Society in England wrote him a Letter wherein they ſay (3), *That having obſerved his particular care in collecting every thing curious that happened among men of letters, and the fine genius he diſcovered in his Journal*, they were deſirous of holding *a fixed and certain correſpondence* with him, from which *they might reap common advantages*. They add, that *as the firſt mark of their eſteem for him*, they had ſent him *the Natural Hiſtory of Fiſhes*, by Mr Willoughby, reviſed and augmented by Mr Ray. He received likewiſe very civil letters from the Society of Dublin (4). It conſiſted of a number of learned and curious gentlemen who had formed themſelves into a body, in order to contribute to the advancement of arts and ſciences: but it continued only a few years.

On the other hand, his Journal engaged him in ſome diſputes; and occaſioned ſome complaints which he ſatisfied either by explaining himſelf, or by fairly correcting the miſtakes he had made by following ſome unexact Memoirs which had been communicated to him. But he was cenſured in one particular, which gave him a great deal of uneaſineſs, not ſo much upon account of the manner of the complaint, as becauſe it concerned a crowned head. This is one of the moſt memorable events of Mr Bayle's life, and deſerves that I ſhould here publiſh all the pieces which relate to it.

In the Journal of the Month of April 1686 (5), he took notice of a printed paper that was handed about under the name of Queen Chriſtina of Sweden. It was an anſwer to a letter of the Chevalier de Terlon, wherein that Princeſs condemned the perſecution in France. “It is very probable (ſays he) that all the Confeſſionaries in France would be ſevere to the Queen of Sweden, if it were true that ſhe had anſwered the Chevelier de Terlon in the manner contained in the Letter which is handed about, wherein ſhe loudly condemns the conduct of France, with regard to the late converſions, and eſpecially when ſhe conſiders the behaviour of the Clergy of France, againſt the head of the Church. There are a great many Proteſtants who cannot believe that a Princeſs who profeſſeth the Catholic Religion, has wrote ſuch a Letter.” Mr Bayle was deſired to give this Letter a place in his Journal, and he inſerted it in that of the Month of May (6). It is as follows:

“SINCE you deſire to know my ſentiments concerning the pretended extirpation of Hereſy in France, it is with great pleaſure that I acquaint you with them, upon ſo important a ſubject. As I pretend neither to fear nor to flatter any perſon, I will freely own to you, that I am not well perſuaded of the ſucceſs of this great undertaking, and that I cannot rejoice upon that account, as for a thing that will be of great advantage to our holy Religion. On the contrary, I foreſee a great many ill conſequences, which will follow upon ſo ſtrange a proceeding.”

“Tell me ingenuouſly, are you well perſuaded of the ſincerity of thoſe new Converts? I wiſh indeed that they may obey God and their Prince ſincerely; but I fear their obſtinacy, and I would not be accountable for all the profanations which will be committed by theſe Catholics, compelled by Miſſionaries who treat our holy myſteries very licentiouſly. Soldiers are ſtrange Apoſtles, I imagine they are fitter to kill, raviſh, and plunder, than to perſuade. Accordingly, the accounts we have, and of which we cannot poſſibly doubt, inform us that they acquit themſelves of their miſſion very much after their uſual manner. I pity people who are abandoned to their diſcretion: I lament the ruin of ſo many families, ſo many good people reduced to beggary, and I cannot look upon what paſſeth in France at preſent without being moved with compaſſion. I am ſorry that theſe unhappy people were born in error, but methinks they deſerve pity rather than hatred; and as I would not for the empire of the world ſhare in their error, ſo neither would I be the cauſe of their miſeries.

“I conſider France at preſent as in the condition of a ſick perſon, from whom they cut legs and arms to cure a diſtemper which a little patience and gentle management would have entirely removed. But I am much afraid leaſt that diſtemper encreaſe and at laſt turn incurable; that this fire concealed under the aſhes ſhould one day blaze out more fiercely than ever, and leaſt Hereſy, under a maſque, ſhould thereby become more dangerous. Nothing is more commendable than the

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(1) November, ubi ſupra, pag. 1348, 1349.

(2) *Letter from Mr Benſerade, of the 18th of May* 1685, p. 242.

(3) *Letter from Mr Hoskins, Secretary to the Royal Society, of the 13th of May* 1686, p. 256.

(4) *Letter from Mr Smyth, Secretary to the Society of Dublin, of the 1ſt of December*, 1686, *pag.* 272.

(5) *Art.* vi, *of the New Books, p. m.* 472.

(6) *Art.* iv, *pag.* 529, *and the following.*

“ deſign of converting Heretics and Infidels. But the manner in which they chooſe to go about it is very new. And ſince our Lord did not make uſe of that method to convert the world, it cannot be the beſt.

“ I admire and cannot comprehend this zeal and theſe politics, they are out of my reach, and I am even glad that I do not comprehend them. Do you believe that this is a time to convert Huguenots, to make them good Catholics in an age, in which the moſt notorious attempts are made in France upon the reſpect and ſubmiſſion which is due to the Church of Rome, which is the ſole and ſure foundation of our Religion, ſince it is to her our Lord has made that glorious promiſe, *that the gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt her?* Nevertheleſs the ſcandalous liberty of the Gallican Church was never puſhed nearer to rebellion, than it is at preſent. The late propoſitions, ſigned and publiſhed by the Clergy of France, are ſuch as have given too much ground of triumph to Hereſy, and I fancy its ſurpriſe muſt have been very great, to ſee itſelf perſecuted by thoſe whoſe doctrines and ſentiments are ſo agreeable to its own upon this fundamental article of our Religion.

“ Theſe are the ſtrong reaſons which hinder me from rejoicing at this pretended extirpation of Hereſy. The intereſt of the Church of Rome is without doubt as dear to me as my life; but it is upon account of that very intereſt that I ſee what paſſeth with grief, and I own to you likewiſe that my love to France is ſuch as makes me lament the deſolation of ſo fine a kingdom. I wiſh with all my heart that I may be miſtaken in my conjectures, and that all may terminate in the greater glory of God, and of the King your maſter. And I aſſure myſelf that you will neither doubt of the ſincerity of my wiſhes, nor that I am.”

In that ſame month (1) he ſaid; “ We have been aſſured by very good hands that Queen Chriſtina did write the Letter which we have inſerted above.” And in that of the month of June (2) he ſays again: “ What we hinted at in our laſt month is confirmed to us from day to day, that Chriſtina is the real Author of the Letter concerning the Perſecutions in France, which is aſcribed to her. It is a remainder of Proteſtantiſm.”

(1) *Art. i. of the new books, pag. m.* 522.

(2) *Art. vi. of the new books, p. m.* 726.

Some time after Mr Bayle received the following letter:

Sir,

“ I HOPE you will not take it amiſs that I give you a little advice, which in proceſs of time may be of ſome uſe to you, as you will ſee. You are a man of wit, and people who read your *News from the Republic of Letters*, if they have the leaſt taſte, confeſs you have an infinite deal of it: But, Sir, may not one be a man of wit without abuſing people, and bringing one ſelf into trouble? And ought you, who know ſo many things, to be ignorant of the reſpect due to crowned heads; and that theſe are ſacred things, which are not to be touched without danger of the thunderbolt? I ſay this with relation to the Queen of Sweden, of whom you have taken the liberty of talking very licentiouſly in your Journal, upon occaſion of a Letter which has been printed under her name. You mention it in four different paſſages, but the laſt of them ſurely proceeds from a genius which has ſoared a little higher than became it.

“ Although you had added to the illuſtrious name of *Chriſtina* at leaſt the title of *Queen*, you would have done nothing but your duty. Do not tell me that great Hiſtorians, ſuch as you are, treat the greateſt Monarchs in the ſame manner, and that they ſay without ceremony Louis the XIVth, and James the IId, in ſpeaking of the Kings of France and of England. The numbers XIVth, and IId, carry with them a ſort of diſtinction, and in ſome ſort correct the liberty of that expreſſion. But who would ſay, for example, *Lewis has taken it into his head to convert the Proteſtants, by a miſſion of Dragoons*; or, *James endeavours by gentle methods to re-eſtabliſh, if poſſible, his own Religion in his kingdom*; that would be a very ridiculous manner of ſpeaking. It is not leſs ſo, Sir, to ſay as you have done in your Journal for the month of June laſt, page 726, *It is confirmed that Chriſtina is the true Author &c.* in ſpeaking of one of the moſt illuſtrious Queens that has been, or perhaps ever will be, in the univerſe. You ought ſurely to have accompanied that name with ſome title, not only becauſe of the reſpect you owe to ſo great a Princeſs when you mention her Majeſty, but even in conformity to the ſtile of thoſe who pique themſelves upon being good writers.”

“ But ſtill this is not what is moſt faulty in that paſſage of your Journal. The worſt is two or three words, with which you conclude this Article: *It is a remainder*, ſay you, *of Proteſtantiſm.* You had done well not to have ſaid this. Your great inclination to play the wit has hurried you on; but you have deceived yourſelf; there is no wit in it, there is only inſolence. No body talks at that rate of a Queen who profeſſeth with ſo much zeal, and in ſo edifying a manner, a Religion quite oppoſite to Proteſtantiſm; who has ſacrificed every thing for it, and who in all her actions contradicts what you have ſaid, that there is in her Majeſty any remainder of your Religion. To be convinced of this, one need only read that very Letter which you mention in your Journal, or a great many

“ others

1686. “ others which ſhe has wrote on the ſame ſubject. She is not indeed a Catholic after the manner of France, ſhe is one after the manner of Rome, that is to ſay, after the manner of St Peter and of St Paul. Therefore ſhe doth not approve of theſe perſecutions, becauſe in reality this manner of converting Heretics, had not it's original from the Apoſtles.

“ For the reſt, all that I ſay to you here I ſay from myſelf, and becauſe my duty obligeth me to do ſo, being one of the Queen's ſervants. If her Majeſty happens to read your Journal, I do not know what ſhe will ſay, or what ſhe will do: but believe me, Sir, whatever protection you may boaſt of from the magiſtrates of the city of Rotterdam, that would not ſave you from the reſentment of ſo great a Princeſs, if ſhe ſhould undertake to do herſelf juſtice. And the magiſtrates of Rotterdam are too juſt and reaſonable to undertake to protect upon ſuch an occaſion.

“ Her Majeſty doth not diſown the Letter which has been printed under her name, and which you have inſerted in your Journal. There are only the words *I am* with which it concludes, which are not her Majeſty's. A man of wit, as you are, ought to have taken notice of this, and to have corrected it. So great a Queen cannot make uſe of that expreſſion, except to very few perſons, and Mr de Terlon is not of that number. This ſingle circumſtance is ſufficient to prove that the printing of this Letter was no contrivance of the Queen, as all the world knows. If you have a mind to mention it in your Journal, you may; but no rallery on this ſubject, as you have taken the liberty to do in the month of April, page 472: make uſe of this advice, and believe that in this I am truly, Sir, your very humble ſervant.

“ P. S. I do not ſubſcribe my name, becauſe is it not neceſſary, and beſides my Letter requires no anſwer. When it ſhall be proper to make myſelf known to you I will do it: but it is your buſineſs to amend, if you think proper.”

Mr Bayle juſtified himſelf in an Article of the Journal for the month of Auguſt (1), intituled, *Reflections of the author of this Journal upon a Letter which has been ſent him concerning what he has ſaid of the Queen of Sweden* (2). His anſwer is as follows:

“ The writer of this Letter doth not put his name to it, and neither tells us the time when, nor the place from whence, he writes. He only acquaints us that *all that he has written is only from himſelf*, and that his duty obliged him to do ſo, *being one of the Queen's ſervants.* Let us ſee what it is he complains of, and ſince it concerns a crowned-head, let us not imagine that the bitterneſs and paſſion he expreſſes, ſhall hinder us from juſtifying our conduct very cooly.”

“ He complains firſt, *That I did not add the title of Queen to the illuſtrious name of Chriſtina in my laſt month of June, page 726.* But I am very ſure that no body who judges equitably will be of opinion, that in this I have been wanting in the reſpect due to that great Princeſs. She has rendered her name ſo famous, that my expreſſion in that paſſage ought not at all to be thought equivocal. To name perſons by their names only, without adding ſome title, is ordinarily indeed either a mark of contempt, or of familiarity; but this is by no means a general rule, for there are ſome perſons whoſe names alone excite the ideas of their great elevation, and in this caſe it is quite indifferent whether we give them their principal titles, or omit them. There is no harm in giving them, it is a ſuperfluous addition which at worſt can do no hurt. Neither on the contrary is there any harm in not giving them, it is an omiſſion of no conſequence. Crowned-heads are of this number, and hence it is that we ſay more frequently both in converſation and in hiſtory, *Francis I. Charles V. Henry IV. Philip II.* than *King Francis the Iſt, The Emperor Charles V, &c.* It is ſuppoſed that the rank to which God has raiſed theſe Princes makes it impoſſible for a reader to imagine that their titles are omitted out of want of reſpect, and therefore the ſhorter expreſſion is made uſe of without ſcruple. I know very well, as the author of the Letter obſerves, that the number *firſt*, which is added to the name of *Francis*, carries with it a ſort of diſtinction; but this very inſtance ſhows, that in caſe the name of *Francis* alone contained a diſtinction, it would not be neceſſary to add the number *firſt*. Thus we ſay every day, that *Alexander* was a diſciple of Ariſtotle, that *Soliman* made himſelf maſter of Hungary. One has no occaſion to ſay either that the firſt was King of Macedon, or that the ſecond was Grand Signior, or to add the ordinal number which belongs to them. Our moſt exact writers would ſay without ſcruple *Conſtantine, Theodoſius, Juſtinian, are the true authors of ſuch a law.* Or if we deſire an example nearer home, who has not ſaid or wrote, either during the life of Guſtavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, or after his death, *Guſtavus did this or that?* and whence comes it that in ſpeaking of him it is not neceſſary to add the title of King, nor the ordinal number which belongs to him in the ſucceſſion of the Kings of Sweden? It is becauſe he has rendered the name *Guſtavus* ſo famous, that he is ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed by it alone. This is the very caſe in queſtion. The Queen of Sweden, his daughter, has given ſuch a luſtre to the name of *Chriſtina*, that the naming of it alone is ſufficient to awaken all the ideas of her royalty, great qualities, and actions. As therefore it ſhows no want of reſpect to the father to call him ſimply *Guſtavus*, ſo it is no want of reſpect to the daughter, to name her ſimply *Chriſtina*; but on the contrary, it is giving to underſtand that they deſerve theſe names by way of excellence, and that their very names contain their panegyric. 1686.

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(1) *Art. ix. pag. m. 952, and the following.*

(2) Reflexions de l'Auteur de ces Nouvelles ſur une Lettre qui lui a été écrite touchant ce qu'il a dit de la Reyne de Suede.

“The ſecond complaint turns upon my having ſaid, that this Queen's Letter againſt the perſecution in France *is a remainder of Proteſtantiſm*. This is very violently complained of. But this proceeds from not having ſufficiently underſtood the force of theſe words. They have imagined that I intended to inſinuate that this Princeſs had not ſincerely renounced the Proteſtant Religion; which is what never entered into my thoughts. It is not neceſſary to a ſincere renunciation of a Religion, that we ſhould diveſt ourſelves of every thing we have learned in it, and approve every thing that is taught in the communion which we embrace. I ſhould think people very unjuſt, who ſhould ſuſpect the ſincerity of a Roman Catholic, who after having joined in communion with the Proteſtants, ſhould declare that in ſome particulars the Church of Rome ſeemed to him to have the advantage of the Proteſtant, ſuch as in the celibacy of the Clergy, in the obſervation of Lent, and in the faſting on Fridays and Saturdays. One would have reaſon to believe that theſe were *remainders of Catholiciſm*; but one might ſay ſo and believe at the ſame time, that he had ſincerely abjured his *Catholiciſm*, and embraced *Proteſtantiſm*, as the only Religion which leads to ſalvation. It is therefore judging of things without underſtanding them to give my words the ſenſe which he gives them. The true ſenſe they ought to have, is the following.

“That if the Queen of Sweden diſapproves of the conduct of thoſe employed in the pretended converſions in France, it is owing to the principles of the Religion in which ſhe was inſtructed before her journey to Rome, and not to the new inſtructions ſhe has received in that country. It is not at Rome that one can learn to find fault with perſecution. On the contrary, it is the general ſpirit of *Catholiciſm* to extirpate all ſects; for they have not only made public rejoicings at Rome for what has been done in France; not only has the Pope applauded it in full Conſiſtory, and by his Briefs, but likewiſe all the Catholics in Europe have ſhown their approbation of it, at leaſt by their ſilence. How then could the Queen of Sweden have the principles ſhe has, if ſhe had not brought them from her own country? It is (ſays the author of the Letter) *becauſe ſhe is not a Catholic after the manner of France, but after the manner of Rome, that is, of St Peter and St Paul.* But this is what I have called *a remainder of Proteſtantiſm*, and ſo this author and I have really the ſame thought.

“The laſt thing he finds fault with, is that I did not ſtrike out the words *I am*, out of the copy of the Letter which I inſerted in my Journal. *There is only this word* (ſays he) *which is not her Majeſty's. So great a Queen cannot make uſe of that expreſſion except to very few perſons, and Mr de Terlon is not of that number. This ſingle circumſtance is ſufficient to prove that the printing of this Letter was no contrivance of the Queen, as all the world knows.* To this I anſwer, that I did not think that I could with juſtice ſtrike out this Concluſion, *I am*, becauſe by doing ſo, I ſhould give people reaſon to ſuſpect that I had ſuppreſſed a mark of forgery in that Letter, in order to make it appear more probable to the public, that it was written by the Queen of Sweden. Moreover, there has lately fallen into my hands a copy of a letter, wherein that Princeſs declares, that ſhe is ſurprized and diſpleaſed at the publication of the other, though ſhe ſtill continues in the ſame ſentiments. The curious will be glad to ſee this ſecond Letter here at length, but the law of nations doth not allow me to give them that ſatisfaction. There is a great difference betwixt theſe two things, the inſerting a piece which is in every body's hands, and is already printed; and the inſerting a piece which has never been printed. We muſt, with regard to manuſcripts, either wait for the conſent of thoſe who have a right to them, or have reaſon to believe that they are entirely indifferent what uſe people make of them.”

Mr Bayle's unknown correſpondent was not entirely ſatisfied with this anſwer, and wrote him the following Letter:

“Sir,

“THE Queen has ſeen the anſwer you have made to my Letter, and I muſt do you juſtice on the one ſide, if you have been to blame on the other. Her Majeſty doth not think that it is to be wanting in the reſpect which is due to her, to name her ſimply *Chriſtina*. She has indeed rendered that name ſo illuſtrious, that it has now no need of any other diſtinction, and the moſt noble and auguſt titles which could be joined to it, could add nothing to the luſtre which it has already acquired in the world. I was of opinion that it was not a proper expreſſion, with regard to a prince, while he is ſtill living; but I have been miſtaken; perſons of ſuch elevated rank, and ſo full of glory, as the

1686. “ great *Chriſtina*, have rules peculiar to themſelves, and their names alone are ſufficient to fill the minds of men with that reſpect and veneration which the titles of others excite. You have got the better in this, Sir, and I ſubmit.

“ BUT the caſe is quite otherways with regard to the word *Proteſtantiſm*, which has eſcaped you ſomewhat unſeaſonably; and which you employ all the ſubtilty of your wit to juſtify. You ought to follow my example, and own that you have been to blame. The Queen, who is pretty well ſatisfied with all the reſt of your excuſes, is not at all ſo with regard to this part of your juſtification. One ought not to ſeek for evaſions before a genius like her's. When one has offended her, the ſhorteſt and ſafeſt way is to confeſs it; and after all, a genius ſuch as your's, ought to have ſuggeſted ſomething more worthy of her Majeſty, than the reaſons you have brought in your defence. Not that any thing you can ſay of her, is capable of giving her the leaſt uneaſineſs. So great a Queen cannot but equally deſpiſe the praiſes and calumnies of people of a certain kind: but ſhe is born to do juſtice, and you might have boaſted that you are the only perſon in the world who has offended her with impunity, if you had not taken the courſe you have done, I mean that of juſtifying yourſelf.

“ But you muſt do it effectually, Sir, and retract fully and diſtinctly what you have ſaid, if you deſire to give an entire ſatisfaction. The Queen at leaſt has a mind that you, together with all the world, ſhould know that ſhe owes nothing to the Proteſtant Religion; and that if God permitted that ſhe ſhould be born in it, ſhe renounced it as ſoon as ſhe arrived at the years of diſcretion, and that without having the leaſt thoughts of returning to it: that ever ſince that time the Catholic Religion has appeared to her to be the only one, and the true one, and that it was in conformity to it's holy maxims, and not to thoſe of the Proteſtants, that her Majeſty has in her Letter condemned the method uſed in France in the converſion of the Huguenots, and the Pope has rendered to that Letter the juſtice it deſerved.

“ You have no reaſon to ſay, as you do, that you are treated with too much *bitterneſs* and *paſſion* in the Letter which I wrote to you; on the contrary I am of opinion that you owe me thanks, and that you might poſſibly have had a great deal more reaſon to complain, if I had not wrote to you. And I would have you know that I am one of the leaſt of the Queen's ſervants, and that there are in this Country a great many perſons who are proud of being in her Majeſty's intereſt, and who will talk to you in a very different manner than I have done, if you do not take more care for the future.

“ I have ſaid nothing to you concerning the word *fameuſe*, which you have once more made uſe of in ſpeaking of the Queen (1), and which has not been agreeable to her Majeſty. I know that this word has not altogether the ſame ſignification in French, which it has in Latin and in Italian, and that we uſe it more frequently in a good than in a bad ſenſe. But one ought above all things to avoid theſe ambiguities in ſpeaking of crowned heads; with regard to whom you know the Proverb ſays we ought to employ only golden and ſilken words. And eſpecially with regard to ſuch a Queen as we now ſpeak of; concerning whom we may boldly ſay, and without fear of offending others, that ſhe has no equal; I ſay ſo even in point of rank, for other Queens are properly ſpeaking only the firſt ſubjects of their huſbands or ſons; but the great Chriſtina is a Queen in a manner ſo noble and elevated, that ſhe knows no ſuperior but God.

“ This, Sir, is what I had farther to ſay to you, and is all the reply I can make to your's. I hope you will continue to make uſe of my advice, and that time may diſcover that I am more than you can imagine, Sir, your very humble ſervant.

“ *P. S.* I had forgot that in your Journal of the Month of Auguſt, you ſpeak of a ſecond Letter of the Queen, which has fallen into your hands, and which you make ſome difficulty of publiſhing. Her Majeſty would be curious to ſee that Letter, and you will do a thing agreeable to her Majeſty, if you ſend it to her. You might even make uſe of that opportunity to write to her Majeſty. Take this advice; it may be of ſome ſervice to you: do not neglect it. But I muſt acquaint you that if you follow it, you muſt by no means make uſe of the title *Sereniſſime* to the Queen. It is a little too common for her, and her Majeſty will not have it. You muſt only direct your Letter; *A ſa Majeſté la Reyne Chriſtine, à Rome.*

Mr Bayle took the hint that was given him, and on the 14th of November wrote the following Letter to Queen Chriſtina:

(1) *Mr Bayle did not make uſe of this word: He only ſaid that Chriſtina* avoit rendu ſon nom ſi FAMEUX, *(had rendered her name ſo famous)* &c. *the ſame expreſſion which he afterwards uſed ſpeaking of Guſtavus Adolphus.*

“ Madam,

“ I SHOULD not have taken the liberty of writing this Letter to your Majeſty, if a perſon who has the honour of being in your Majeſty's ſervice had not adviſed me to do ſo, and to ſend to your Majeſty a copy of a Letter which has fallen into my hands. I hoped, Madam, that an advice of this ſort would juſtify my boldneſs, and I thought it my duty to make uſe of this occaſion of teſtifying my moſt profound reſpect to the moſt illuſtrious Queen in the world. I am ignorant of the name of the perſon who procures me this great honour. He has not thought fit to make himſelf known to me by any other title than that of *one of your Majeſty's ſervants*; and I muſt do him the juſtice to teſtify that his zeal for your Majeſty's intereſts is very ſuitable to the title he aſſumes.

“ It is by him that I have been informed that there are ſome things in the *News from the Republic of Letters*, which did not ſeem agreeable to that reſpect which all the world owes to your Majeſty, not only upon account of your Majeſty's heroic and extraordinary qualities, but likewiſe upon account of the ſublime rank, in which, from your birth, God has placed your Majeſty. As I was ſenſible of my innocence, I was ſeized at once with the moſt inexpreſſible ſurprize, and the moſt unſufferable grief, when I found that my words were interpreted in a manner ſo contrary to my genuine intention; and to every thing that common ſenſe ought to dictate to every rational creature. For is there any perſon, Madam, who has the ſmalleſt degree of knowledge or reaſon, who is ignorant of that almoſt infinite glory which ſurrounds your Majeſty, and of the profound homage which is due to your Majeſty from all the world; and if any perſon has been capable of forgetting this duty, what ſhame ought not he to feel upon that account? I proteſt to your Majeſty, that ever ſince I was able to read I have known that your Majeſty is the admiration of the univerſe, and that there is not any one perſon in the whole Republic of Letters who is more thoroughly ſenſible of, and more charmed with the juſt encomiums which have been given to your Majeſty by all the learned world. I can with truth affirm that I can ſtill repeat all the paſſages of *Alaric* (1) which relate to your Majeſty, whoſe auguſt name ſhines from all quarters. So that I would be the fartheſt in the world, from either ſaying or thinking any thing which I apprehended to be contrary to the reſpect which is due to ſo great a Queen. My ſorrow therefore was exceeding great, when I underſtood that ſome perſons, who have the honour to ſerve your Majeſty, had judged me guilty. I immediately endeavoured to juſtify myſelf, and I am informed that your Majeſty has been pleaſed to declare, that you are ſatisfied in the main with my defence. This is my greateſt conſolation; and I am very much perſuaded, that it will not be more difficult for me to demonſtrate my innocence entirely, when it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty to lay your commands upon me.

“ The ſecond Letter which I received upon this ſubject, acquaints me with a thing which your Majeſty deſires I ſhould make public. It is, that your Majeſty renounced the Religion in which you was born, *as ſoon as you attained the years of diſcretion.* If your Majeſty command me I will alſo publiſh this new explanation; but I was of opinion, that ſince I have done myſelf the honour, by the advice of one of your ſervants, to ſend to your Majeſty the copy of a Letter, and at the ſame time to pay to your Majeſty my moſt humble homage, it was my duty to wait for your Majeſty's commands. I moſt humbly beg that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to pardon all that may have eſcaped me, which has given occaſion to judge amiſs of my intentions; and I proteſt to your Majeſty with the utmoſt ſincerity, that my ſtrongeſt paſſion is to teſtify to all the world the admiration, veneration, and profound ſubmiſſion, with which I am, &c.”

The Queen upon the 14th of December 1686, wrote to him the following anſwer:

Mr Bayle. I have received your excuſes, and am willing that you ſhould know by this Letter that I am ſatisfied with them. I am obliged to the zeal of the perſon, who gave you occaſion of writing to me; for I am very glad to know you. You expreſs ſo much reſpect and affection for me, that I pardon you ſincerely; and I would have you know, that nothing gave me offence but that remainder of Proteſtantiſm, *of which you accuſed me. I am very delicate on that head, becauſe no body can ſuſpect me of it, without leſſening my Glory, and injuring me in the moſt ſenſible manner. You would do well if you ſhould even acquaint the public with the miſtake you have made, and with your regret for it. This is all that remains to be done by you, in order to deſerve my being entirely ſatisfied with you.*

(1) *Scudery has compoſed a pompous Panegyric on Queen Chriſtina, in the Xth Book of his Poem called* Alaric ou Rome Vaincuë.

1686. *As to the Letter which you have ſent me, it is mine without doubt, and ſince you tell me that it is printed, you will do me a pleaſure if you ſend me ſome copies of it. As I fear nothing in France, ſo neither do I fear any thing at Rome. My fortune, my blood, and even my life are entirely devoted to the ſervice of the Church; but I flatter no body, and will never ſpeak any thing but the truth. I am obliged to thoſe who have been pleaſed to publiſh my letter, for I do not at all diſguiſe my ſentiments. I thank God they are too noble, and too honourable to be diſowned. However, it is not true that this Letter was written to one of my Miniſters. As I have every where enemies, and perſons who envy me, ſo I in all places have friends and ſervants; and I have poſſibly as many in France, notwithſtanding of the court, as any where in the world. This is purely the truth, and you may regulate yourſelf accordingly.*

But you ſhall not get off ſo cheap as you imagine. I will enjoin you a penance; which is, that you will henceforth take the trouble of ſending me all curious books that ſhall be publiſhed in Latin, French, Spaniſh, or Italian, on whatever ſubject or ſcience, provided they are worthy of being looked into. I do not even except Romances or Satires; and above all if there are any books of Chymiſtry, I deſire you may ſend them to me as ſoon as poſſible. Do not forget likewiſe to ſend me your Journal. I ſhall order that you ſhall be paid for whatever you lay out, do but ſend me an accompt of it. This will be the moſt agreeable and important ſervice that can be done me. May God proſper you.

CHRISTINA ALEXANDRA.

1687. It now only remained that Mr Bayle *ſhould acquaint the public with the miſtake he had made and with his regret for it, in order to merit thatOunceſs's entire ſatisfaction.* This he did in the beginning of his Journal of the month of January 1687. “ We have been informed to our incredible ſatisfaction, ſays he, that the “ QUEEN OF SWEDEN having ſeen the ninth Article of the Journal of Auguſt “ 1686, has been pleaſed to be ſatisfied with the explanation which we gave there. “ Properly it was only the words *remainder of Proteſtantiſm*, which had the misfortune “ to offend her Majeſty; for as her Majeſty is very delicate on that ſubject, and deſires “ that all the world ſhould know, that after having carefully examined the different “ Religions, ſhe has found none to be true but the Roman Catholic, and that “ ſhe has heartily embraced it, it was injurious to her glory to give occaſion “ for the leaſt ſuſpicion of her ſincerity. We are therefore very ſorry that we have “ made uſe of an expreſſion, which has been underſtood in a ſenſe ſo very different “ from our intention, and we would have been very far from making uſe of “ it, if we had forſeen that it was liable to any ambiguity: for beſides the reſpect “ which we, together with all the world owe to ſo GREAT A QUEEN, who has “ been the admiration of the univerſe from her earlieſt days, we join with the utmoſt “ zeal in that particular obligation which all men of letters are under to do “ her homage, becauſe of the honour ſhe has done the ſciences by being pleaſed “ thoroughly to examine their beauties, and to protect them in a diſtinguiſhing “ manner.”

Thus Mr Bayle extricated himſelf out of this affair with honour, and had the addreſs not only to appeaſe a provoked Queen, but likewiſe to procure marks of her favour. She very ſoon had the unwelcome news of his not being able to perform the *penance* ſhe was pleaſed to *impoſe* upon him. He ſunk under the weight of an inſupportable labour. Beſides his public and private lectures, he was employed in compoſing his Journal, a taſk which alone required the labour of many perſons. The Compoſition of his *Philoſophical Commentary* quite exhauſted his ſtrength. On the 16th of February 1687, he was ſeized with a Fever, which hindered him from finiſhing the Journal for that month. But as he hoped that this indiſpoſition would be attended with no bad conſequences, he gave notice on the back of the title page, “ That ſore eyes and a ſlight fever, which had left him ſeveral times, and returned “ as ſoon as he attempted to reſume his ſtudies, did at laſt oblige him “ to publiſh the Journal for this month incompleat, and to acquaint the public “ likewiſe that the Journal for the month of March ſhould appear very ſoon.” But his Fever, attended with a head-ach, encreaſed to ſuch a degree that he was obliged to give over that work. He engaged Mr de Beauval to continue it, and Mr de Beauval began that Continuation, which was printed at Rotterdam by Mr Leers, with the month of September 1687, under the title of *The Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned* (1). “ Ever ſince the month of April laſt, ſays he in the “ preface, the Author of the *Republic of Letters* having being indiſpoſed, and afflicted “ with pains in his head, which Mr Balzac would call the pangs of his beautiful “ productions, propoſed to me that I ſhould continue his work, which he was “ by this means forced to give over. I confeſs that poſſibly being flattered by my “ vanity upon the account of his having ſingled me out upon ſuch an occaſion, “ I accepted the taſk without making all the reflexions that ſuch an undertaking “ deſerved. I believed that his choice would ſupply both the place of merit, and “ of excuſe with the public, and ſo reſolved to make ſome attempts at leaſt. Since “ I have entered into this detail, adds he, people would no doubt likewiſe know

(1) Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans.

“why I have not continued this work under the ſame title, that Mr Bayle made 1687. uſe of. I own that this would have been more natural: but my particular attachments to Rotterdam, the great plenty of the beſt books which are to be had at Mr Leers's, together with ſome other reaſons which it is not neceſſary to mention here, made me think it more proper to change it. After all I thought it beſt to treat the public as we do thoſe who are afflicted with the loſs of a perſon very dear to them, whom we muſt never carry to thoſe places, which may bring to mind, or awaken the ideas of the object of their grief. The public would have always in the *News from the Republic of Letters*, ſought after the illuſtrious Author who gave them birth, and the ſame title ill ſuported, would only have ſerved to redouble their ſorrrow for the loſs of ſo inimitable a perſon.”

In the mean time, the Sieur Deſbordes, who had printed the *News from the Republic of Letters*, cauſed them to be continued by Mr Larroque, and ſome other perſons, until the month of Auguſt of the ſame year 1687, and Mr Barin, a French Miniſter, compoſed them without any aſſiſtannce from the month of September to the month of April 1689.

We have ſeen what pains Mr Bayle was at, that he might not be thought the author of the *Philoſophical Commentary*. He endeavoured even to deceive his friends, “Theſe gentlemen at London, ſays he to Mr Lenfant (1), have a ſtrange itch of printing. The public aſcribe to them a *Philoſophical Commentary* on theſe words of St Luke *compel them to come in*, wherein under pretence of attacking Popiſh perſecution they aim at eſtabliſhing a toleration for the Socinians.” He feigned that this *Commentary* came from London, becauſe ſome Miniſters among the Refugees, who lived there at this time, were thought to be great friends to Toleration, and had even rendered themſelves ſuſpected of Socinianiſm. Notwithſtanding all this he was ſtill ſuſpected to be the author of it. To put a ſtop to this ſuſpicion he publiſhed on the back of the title-page of the Journal for the month of April 1687 (2), that “certain perſons, ill-diſpoſed towards the author of the *General Criticiſm on Mr Maimbourg*, having affected to aſcribe to him the *Philoſophical Commentary* on the words *compel them to come in*, he thought himſelf obliged to complain of this bad office, and to declare that he will look upon all perſons as perſecutors with regard to him, who ſhall continue to ſpread abroad a conjecture ſo oppoſite as this is to all the rules of Criticiſm. One might as well, adds he, aſcribe Voiture's Letters to Balzac, or thoſe of Baudius to Blondel.”

The Philoſophical Commentary did not pleaſe Mr Jurieu; and how was it poſſible for him to reliſh a book wherein mildneſs, moderation, or, to ſay it in one word, Toleration, was ſo ſtrongly eſtabliſhed. He undertook to refute it, and gave to his anſwer the following title, *The rights of the two Sovereigns in matters of Religion, Conſcience, and the Prince. In oppoſition to the indifferency of Religions and univerſal Toleration, againſt a book intituled a Philoſophical Commentary on theſe words of the Parable, Compel them to come in* (3). He ſets out under the character of a novice in writing, who in obedience to the *commands* of a friend, and out of *vexation* at that book, *was a going to be an author in ſpite of nature and himſelf*. Afterwards he gives his friend his opinion concerning the Commentary, *That it is an original and not a tranſlation. That it is of French and not of Engliſh extraction.* He adds, *That it is not the work of one ſingle perſon.* “This appears, ſays he, to be the work of a cabal, and a conſpiracy againſt the truth; nothing is more unequal than the ſtile of it. In the firſt part the expreſſions are clear and pretty ſtrong, but there are paſſages in the ſecond where one finds a confuſion, and obſcurities which do not ſeem to proceed from the ſame genius that wrote the firſt. The pretended Tranſlator affects ſometimes to make uſe of old French words, which are not now in uſe among good writers; but his fraud is a little too groſs, for elſewhere he ſhows that he underſtands French well enough to write more correctly.” But in the advice to the reader he affirms downright *That the authors of the Philoſophical Commentary are French Divines, and conſequently Refugees.* When Mr Jurieu wanted afterwards to lay the compoſition of this book as a crime to Mr Bayle's charge, Mr Bayle always brought him back to this declaration, that it is the work of certain French Divines. Obſerve how he endeavours to ſoften this falſe judgment in a ſatirical piece which he publiſhed againſt a great many French Miniſters, and particularly againſt Mr Bayle, in the year 1691. “In the year which followed our diſperſion, ſays he (4), there appeared a wicked book intituled, *The Philoſophical Commentary, &c.* wherein the pernicious doctrine of the indifferency of Religions and Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion is maintained in ſo raſh and bold a manner, as even goes the length of inſolence. I can truly ſay that this book wounded and ſtruck me in a very ſenſible manner. One could eaſily gueſs from the third volume of the General Criticiſm, whence it had it's original. But the ſtile, and many other circumſtances, made us believe that it was the work of a cabal, and publiſhed by ſeveral perſons in concert.”

Mr Bayle had finiſhed the third part of his Philoſophical Commentary, and given it to the Printer before he fell ſick. The impreſſion of it was finiſhed before the end of February, but he did not receive any copies of it 'till the 20th of June.

(1) *Letter of the 3d February, 1687. pag. 281, 282.*

(2) *There are ſome Copies where this is not to be found,*

(3) Des Droits des deux Souverains en matiere de Religion, la Conſcience & le Prince. Pour détruire le dogme de l'indifference des Religions & de la tolerance univerſelle, contre un Livre intitulé Commentaire Philoſophique ſur ces paroles de la parabole, Contrains-les d'entrer.

(4) Apologie du Sieur Jurieu, *p.* 4. *col.* 2.

1687. It is intitled, *A Philoſophical Commentary on theſe Words of JESUS CHRIST,* compel them to come in. *Part the third. Containing a refutation of the Apology which St Auguſtin has made for thoſe who uſe violence in making converts. At Canterbury, by Thomas Litwel,* 1687 (1). Here two Letters of St Auguſtin are refuted, the one wrote to a Donatiſt Biſhop named Vincentius, who had let that Father know how much he was ſurprized at his inconſtancy, having formerly been of opinion that the authority of the ſecular power ought not to be made uſe of againſt Heretics, but only the word of God and perſuaſion; whereas now he maintained quite the contrary. The other is addreſſed to Bonifacius, who was a Tribune in Africa, wherein St Auguſtin pretends that it is lawful to employ the ſecular arm to deſtroy Heretics. The Archbiſhop of Paris had ordered theſe two Letters to be printed in 1685, with a long Preface intitled, *The Conformity of the conduct of the Church of France in reclaiming the Proteſtants, with that of the Church of Afric to bring the Donatiſts into the Catholic Church* (2). This is likewiſe the title of the whole book. Mr Bayle had refuted ſome paſſages of this Preface in his preliminary Diſcourſe. He doth not here confine himſelf to the two Letters which I have mentioned, but likewiſe anſwers what St Auguſtin has ſaid on this ſubject in ſome other Letters.

As ſoon as he had ſeen Mr Jurieu's anſwer, he wrote a letter to his Bookſeller, dated from London the $\frac{20}{30}$th of May 1687. “ If you have (ſays he) ſtill time “ enough, (and it is no matter though you have already ſold ſome copies) I de- “ ſire you to publiſh what follows at the beginning of the third part.” He ſays afterwards, that he has juſt read the treatiſe *Of the rights of the two ſovereigns, &c. againſt a book intitled a Philoſophical Commentary, &c.* and that he finds it an unſucceſsful and very weak attack on that Commentary. “ The author, (adds he) owns in “ the beginning, that in ſpite of himſelf and of nature, his Chagrin, and the “ deſire of one of his friends, are going to make him an author. One “ muſt have very little judgment to make ſuch a confeſſion. Chagrin ought to “ have no ſhare in the compoſition of any work. . . . . . His performance is “ faulty in thoſe very places which moſt eſſentially require ſolidity, ſince it goes “ entirely upon a falſe ſtate of the queſtion, ſo that he fights againſt a ſhadow, “ I mean againſt an opinion which he falſely imputes to me. He is at prodi- “ gious pains to prove that men frequently ſin and offend God, while they act “ according to the light of their conſcience. Who denies that? have not I “ ſaid ſo very diſtinctly in more places than one? he accuſes me likewiſe of intro- “ ducing an indifferency of Religions, whereas on the contrary, there never was “ any doctrine more oppoſite to that indifferency, than this which lays it down “ as a principle, that we ought always to act according to our conſciences. Fal- “ lacies of the ſame ſort prevail in the paſſage where he treats of the legiſlative “ power of Sovereigns in matters of Religion. As for quotations from the ſcripture, “ they are very frequent in his book, but for the moſt part miſunderſtood, and “ in the manner of St Auguſtin. To conclude, this author has officiouſly meddled “ with a ſubject he doth not underſtand, and has through the whole been guilty “ of the fallacy of not proving what was the point in queſtion.”

Mr Bayle's indiſpoſition ſtill continuing he reſolved to try a change of air, and drink the waters of Aix la Chapelle. He left Rotterdam upon the eighth day of Auguſt, and went to Cleves, where he arrived the 13th of that month. Next day he went to lodge at the houſe of Mr Ferrand, Miniſter of the Caſtle of Cleves, and continued there 'till the 15th of September, on which he paſſed to Bois le Duc, and from thence to Aix la Chapelle, in company with Mr Pielat, Miniſter of Rotterdam, and Mr Farjon, Miniſter of Vaals. He returned to Rotterdam upon the 18th of October: but he was obliged to repoſe himſelf for ſome months longer; as he writes to Mr Conſtant in a Letter of the 22d of March 1688. “ It is more “ than thirteen months (ſays he (3), ſince I fell ſick, and all the while have “ only lingered and languiſhed, and I now only begin at the return of this ſpring, “ to be able to take a little literary exerciſe. After my return from Aix la “ Chapelle, where I had been to drink the waters, I found your ſon here. . . . . “ but unluckily for me, I was not able to ſpeak much without bringing upon me “ a return of my ſlow Fever, and this has been my continual misfortune during “ my illneſs: if I entered never ſo little into converſation, I was the worſe for “ it.” He gives Mr Lenfant a more particular account in a Letter of the 20th of July. “ You do me a great deal of honour (ſays he (4), remembering, as “ you are pleaſed to do, a perſon in a manner dead to the world, and blotted “ out of the memory of the living. . . . . . . I have made a Journey to Cleves, “ another to Aix, and upon my return hither, I have, during the whole winter, “ immerſed myſelf in the greateſt Quietiſm imaginable, without either reading or “ writing. At laſt, after I thought myſelf ſufficiently repoſed, I re-aſſumed my “ Philoſophical Lectures, firſt my public only, and afterwards likewiſe my pri- “ vate ones; but with regard to other matters, I obſerved and do ſtill keep myſelf “ in a full and abſolute inaction. . . . . I have not as yet returned to my “ books, nay I do not ſo much as run through the Literary Journals; and

(1) Commentaire philoſophique ſur ces paroles de Jeſus Chriſt, *contraines d'entrer:* troiſiéme Partie contenant la Refutation de l'Apologie que St Auguſtin a faite des Convertiſſeurs à contrainte. A Cantorbery, chez Thomas Litwel 1687.

(2) Conformité de la Conduite de l'Egliſe de France pour ramener les Proteſtans, avec celle de l'Egliſe d'Afrique pour ramener les Donatiſtes à l'Egliſe Catholique.

(3) *Letters &c. ubi ſupra, p.* 283, 284.

(4) *Ibid. pag.* 285, 286.

"out of fear of being tempted to break this agreeable charm of indolence, very "ſeldom viſit the bookſellers, ſo that I am quite ignorant what new things they "have got. I only hear by chance ſometimes that this or the other book is "come out." 1687.

All the men of letters were afflicted at Mr Bayle's illneſs: and they were overjoyed to hear of his recovery. Mr du Tot de Ferrare, a Counſellor in the Parliament of Rouen, a man of great worth, and a great maſter in the lapidary ſtile (1), teſtified his joy upon that occaſion, by the following beautiful inſcription:

(1) *See his Elogy in the* Memoires pour l'Hiſtoire des Sciences & des beaux Arts, *December* 1704, *Art. iv. p.* 440. *and the following of the Dutch Edition.*

In
Doctiſſimi Bælii
Sanitatem reſtitutam

SOTERIA.

QUÆ TE MORI VETAT GLORIA,
ÆGROTARE PROHIBET.
OMNIBUS CARUS ET UTILIS
SCRIPTORES
CRITICA FACE ELUCIDASTI,
CENSORIA NOTA EMENDASTI.
QUÆSITOR URNAM MOVENS
MAGNUM IN NOMEN ITUROS
ÆTERNITATI
PRONUBA MANU DICASTI.
LABORIBUS TUIS ALIENOS ABSUMIS,
DELICIIS NOSTRIS NUSQUAM ABSUMENDUS.
IN HOC VENERANDUS
QUOD NEMINEM CONTEMPSISTI:
IN HOC VERENDUS
QUOD NEMINEM FORMIDASTI:
DIGNUS QUI VERITATIS ANNOS EXÆQUES.
QUI LABANTEM SUSTENTAS COGNATAM VERITATI
LIBERTATEM.
NON AD UNIUS UTILITATEM REGIONIS NATUS,
ITA EXILIUM TOLERAS
UT VIDEARIS OPTASSE:
ITA CUNCTOS EMINUS COMINUS REFICIS,
UT VIX CREDARIS ULLIBI ABESSE.
THEATRUM ERUDITIONIS CIRCUMDUCTILE
FACTUS EST ORBI.
SUBSELLIA QUÆ DICENDO FATIGARE NON POTES,
TE SILENTEM FERRE
TE QUIESCENTE QUIESCERE
NE SPERA.

VALE, VIVE, SCRIBE.

ENCÆNIA RENOVATÆ FACUNDIÆ
FAUSTIS LITERATORUM ACCLAMATIONIBUS
CELEBRANTUR.

1688. Mr Bayle had once a deſign to leave Rotterdam. The death of Mr Paets, and the violent temper of Mr Jurieu, had made him weary of it: accordingly he deſired the famous Mr Abbadie, who was then at Berlin, to procure him ſome eſtabliſhment in that City. He knew that the Elector of Brandenbourg gave a generous protection to the French Refugees; and beſides he had ſeveral friends at Berlin. Mr Abbadie upon this addreſſed himſelf to the Ducheſs of Schomberg, who

1688. who being well acquainted with Mr Bayle's merit, expreſſed a great ſatiſfaction at his deſign of coming to Berlin, and promiſed to engage the Marechal to ſpeak of it to the Elector. But that great Prince fell ſick about this time, and his death (1), a little after, put a ſtop to the effects of that Lady's good inclinations towards Mr Bayle.

Mr Bayle publiſhed the following Advertiſement, under the name of the bookſeller, on the reverſe of the title-page of the News from the Republic of Letters, for the month of October 1687. "We have received a Letter dated from London, "by which we are informed that John Fox of Bruggs is the real name annagrammatized of the author of the *Philoſophical Commentary*, and that he will very "ſoon give us occaſion to ſpeak of the anſwer, which he has in the preſs, to "the treatiſe *Of the rights of the two Sovereigns*." This was in order to prepare the public for a continuation of the *Philoſophical Commentary*, which he deſigned to publiſh very ſoon. In effect, it appeared ſoon after under this title: *A Supplement to the Philoſophical Commentary upon theſe words of JESUS CHRIST*, compel them to come in. *Wherein, among other things, the only refuge that was left to the adverſaries is quite deſtroyed, by demonſtrating that Heretics have an equal right with the Orthodox to perſecute. Something is likewiſe inſerted concerning the nature and origin of error. At Hamburg, for Thomas Litwell* 1686 (2). The author in a long Preface acquaints us, that having heard of a book intituled *The true Syſtem of the Church* (3), wherein his opinion concering Toleration, and the rights of conſcience were attacked, and alſo that the treatiſe *Of the Rights of the two Sovereigns*, was not the firſt eſſay of a young author, but the work of one who had appeared frequently in print, he had reſolved to anſwer them both, and to divide his book into three parts. The firſt to contain ſome additions which ſeemed to him very proper for ever to ſilence all the advocates for conſtraint. The ſecond to contain an anſwer to three chapters of the *true Syſtem of the Church*, wherein a doctrine contrary to his is maintained, and an anſwer to all the objections of the author *of the Rights of the two Sovereigns*, and likewiſe to every thing that he has advanced directly in favour of his opinion. He adds, that he had laboured ſo diligently in the execution of this deſign, that he had finiſhed it before the end of December 1687, and had ſent the manuſcript to the printer: but having found afterwards that this work would be too bulky, he thought himſelf obliged to ſuppreſs the two laſt parts, and accordingly "he had ordered the bookſeller to put a ſtop to the impreſſion, and "it had happened very luckily that they were not as yet come to what he had "ſaid concerning the affairs of England, the Penal Laws, and the taking away "of the Teſt, &c. ſubjects which were not then ſeaſonable, conſidering the turn "that things were likely to take." He aſſigns ſeveral cauſes of the encreaſe of the bulk of his book, and among the others the following: "It has proceeded "partly (ſays he) from this, that the gentlemen who tranſlated my Engliſh Original, could not as they pretended, ſtrip it of it's native dreſs without making uſe "of a diffuſed ſtile; they have likewiſe diverted themſelves by mixing a great "many different things together, ſometimes following one ſyſtem and at other times "another, ſometimes imitating the manner of thinking of certain authors, and not "their ſtile, and at other times the ſtile of others, and not their manner of thinking; "deſigning by this means to make a medley of it, which has cauſed the Readers, "as they pretend, to aſcribe my Commentary to a good many different people, "without ever gueſſing at them or me, though my name was only concealed under an Anagram, which deviated but very little from the rules. "And they make a diverſion of concealing themſelves ſo ſucceſsfully, and of putting the ſearchers after the fathers of anonymous and pſeudonymous books up"on a wrong ſcent." The reſt of the Preface is employed in ſhewing from a paſſage of the *true Syſtem of the Church*, that the writer of it agrees entirely with Mr Bayle's opinion, and conſequently that Mr Bayle is orthodox, and that it is therefore this writer's buſineſs to anſwer himſelf, and to anſwer the author of the *Rights of the two Sovereigns*. In this manner Mr Bayle makes Mr Jurieu, who is author of both theſe books, contradict himſelf. He adds afterwards ſome reflexions which ſerve to confirm what he has ſaid in this *Supplement*.

At this time Mr Leers was printing Mr Furetiere's *Dictionary*; and the author having died while it was in the preſs, the Bookſeller deſired Mr Bayle to write a *Preface* to it. It is an excellent piece.

1689. In the beginning of the year 1689, there appeared a pamphlet entituled, *An Anſwer of a New Convert to a Letter from a Refugee, by way of ſupplement to Father de Ste. Marthe's book intituled, An Anſwer to the complaints of the Proteſtants. According to the copy printed at Paris by Stephen Noel in the place de Sorbonne* 1689 (4). Father de Ste. Marthe, a Benedictin of the Congregation of St Maur, had publiſhed at Paris in 1688, a book intituled *An Anſwer to the Complaints of the Proteſtants concerning the pretended perſecution in France. Wherein the opinion of Calvin, and of the moſt famous Miniſters concerning the puniſhment due to Heretics, is ſhewn* (5). Here he pretended that the Reformed complained without reaſon of the rigour that had been exerciſed againſt them, ſince they muſt have been uſed with much greater

(1) *He died the 9th of May* 1688.

(2) Supplement du Commentaire Philoſophique ſur ces paroles de Jeſus-Chriſt, *contraintes d'entrer*. Où entre autres choſes l'on acheve de ruiner la ſeul échapatoire qui reſtoit aux adverſaires, en demontrant le droit égal des Hérétiques pour perſécuter à celui des Orthodoxes. On parle auſſi de la nature & origine des erreurs. A Hambourg pour Tho. Litwel, 1688.

(3) Le vrai Syſtême de l'Egliſe. *This Book appeared in* 1686.

(4) Reponſe d'un Nouveau Converti à la Lettre d'un Refugié. Pour ſervir d'addition au livre de Dom Denys de Ste. Marthe, intitulé, Réponſe aux Plaintes des Proteſtans. Suivant l'Imprimé à Paris chez Etienne Noel, à la place de Sorbonne, 1689.

(5) Réponſe aux plaintes des Proteſtant touchant la prétendue perſecution de France. Où l'on expoſe le ſentiment de Calvin, & de tous les plus celebres Miniſtres, ſur le peines dûës aux Hérétiques.

ſeverity, if they had put the laws of the firſt Chriſtian Emperors in execution, or followed the maxims of the Reformers themſelves, who teach that Heretics ought to be put to death. He reproached them likewiſe for taking up arms in defence of their Religion, and accuſed the Proteſtants in general of being fond of Independency, and enemies to Monarchy. The *Anſwer of a new Convert*, which ſerves for a ſupplement to this piece, is dated from Paris the 20th of December; and the *Letter of a Refugee* is dated from Amſterdam the 6th of the ſame month. The Refugee, who had retired to Holland after a tedious impriſonment, puts the new Convert in mind of the diſputes they had formerly had, particularly concerning the burning of Servetus, and the riſing in arms of the Proteſtants. He ſays that his friend always referred him to Father de Sainte Marthe's book; and adds, that inſtead of engaging himſelf in diſcuſſing all theſe facts, “he choſe rather to employ his time in prayer, “and in meditation on the glorious promiſes which God has made to the Reformed “in the Apocalypſe.” But that ſince his arrival in Holland he has had an opportunity of conſulting ſome of the moſt learned men of the party, who had furniſhed him with the four following anſwers with regard to the affair of Servetus. “I. That at worſt it was only a fault of particular perſons, the party not having “in the leaſt meddled in that proceſs. II. That if ſome Doctors have formerly “wrote in juſtification of ſuch proceedings, they have made no proſelytes; and “that it is a long while ſince they have been cured of theſe violent ſentiments “among the Reformed. III. That the doctrine which ſome people might have had “on this ſubject, concerned ſo ſmall a number of Heretics, that it ought not to “ſerve for a recrimination to thoſe, whoſe cruelties are ſo general. IV. And laſtly, “That the practice of the Reformed ſufficiently juſtifies them; for ſince Ser“vetus's time we do not find that they have puniſhed the Socinians who have been “among them, or that they have ever extended Calvin's Theory to the Papiſts.” And as to what regards ſubjects taking up arms upon account of Religion, he ſays that very learned and very pious men have aſſured him that it is lawful, when ſubjects have no other intention by it but to procure themſelves the liberty of following the light of their conſcience, being ready to ſhow their fidelity to their Prince in all other matters: and therefore that the Reformed ought not to be aſhamed of what their anceſtors may have ſaid or done in that reſpect. He ſends him the two laſt *Paſtoral Letters* of Mr Jurieu, and exhorts him to return to the Proteſtant Church. “You cannot chooſe a more proper time, ſays he, to go out from the midſt “of ſpiritual Babylon. You may poſſibly ruin yourſelf by continuing in it, in time as “well as to all eternity; and the great ſucceſs with which God has already favoured the “holy and heroic expedition of the moſt accompliſhed Prince who is at preſent “upon earth, ſhows us that the time is at laſt come when the true Church ſhall “enjoy a flouriſhing proſperity. You underſtand me, you know that I do not “only mean that all goes ill for you in England, but likewiſe that God has ſtruck “your Kings, and above all the Pope, with the moſt extraordinary ſtupidity “that ever was known, and the moſt fruitful in blunders.”

The new Convert begins his anſwer by criticizing one of the Paſtoral Letters, and afterwards examines the four anſwers which the Refugee had been furniſhed with, concerning Servetus. He reduces them to theſe four queſtions. “I. Whether “the puniſhment of Servetus proceeded from the ill humour of a particular perſon, or “if it was not generally approved of by the Proteſtants? II. Whether the Pro“teſtants now have different ſentiments from thoſe of the laſt age concerning the “puniſhment of Heretics? III. Whether the doctrine of the Reformers concerning “the puniſhment of Heretics, can be juſtified by ſaying that it only concerned a ſmall “number of Heretics, in compariſon of the great number of erroneous people whom “the Catholic Doctors think puniſhable? IV. Whether the practice of the Cal“viniſts with regard to the puniſhment of Heretics can juſtify the doctrines of their “divines upon that ſubject.” The new Convert anſwers in the negative to all theſe queſtions; and in refuting the ſecond, he refutes at the ſame time what Mr Bayle in his *General Criticiſm*, and Mr Jurieu in his *Apology for the Reformation*, had anſwered to Mr Maimbourg, upon the ſubject of Servetus; and what Mr Rou, in his *Seduction éludée*, had anſwered to the Biſhop of Meaux upon the ſame head. Hitherto he preſerves a good deal of moderation; but he attacks the Proteſtants with great violence in the ſequel of this pamphlet, intituled, *Reflexions on the Civil-Wars of the Proteſtants, and the preſent Invaſion of England* (1). He ſays that the Revolution in England has not at all ſurpriſed him, ſince he knows what that Religion is capable of, which is wont to ſtir up people to Rebellion. He adds that this event is an apology for the conduct of thoſe Princes who have purged their kingdom from ſuch a ſect; and that the quickneſs of this change, which the Proteſtants boaſt of, is a proof that the ſpring of this affair was not their fear of being oppreſſed by the Catholics; that King James was dethroned for no other reaſon than becauſe he would not eſpouſe the paſſions of the enemies of France, who were envious of her proſperity, but that all the Leagues formed againſt Lewis XIV ſerved only to increaſe his glory, and to heighten the idea of his formidable power. He maintains that the Catholic Princes have given greater examples of Toleration than the Proteſtants;

(1) Reflexions ſur les guerres civiles des Proteſtans, & la preſente invaſion de l'Angleterre.

1689. teſtants; and inſults the whole body of the Refugees upon the account of the lofty hopes of ſome among them whom he repreſents as waiting, like the Jews, for a Meſſiah who ſhall conquer all the Popiſh Kings, and enter Rome in triumph. He taxes the French Proteſtants with vanity in conſidering their party in France as the whole Proteſtant party, and the ruin of their Churches as the ruin of the Proteſtant Religion. He accuſeth them of feeding themſelves with viſions, dreams, and chimerical interpretations of the Apocalypſe, as if the Edict of Nants had been the deſign and principal object of the inſpired Oracles in that ſacred book. And laſtly he accuſeth them of being animated by a *ſpirit of Rebellion and of Satire*, and of being ſeized with an *inveterate and incurable diſeaſe, of rebelling againſt their lawful Sovereigns on the one hand, and on the other of filling the whole world with the moſt infamous calumnies, that ever were imagined*. To this little book is prefixed an Advertiſement of the Dutch Bookſeller, wherein it is ſaid that the author of this Anſwer had ſent it from Paris in 4to to the author of the Letter: that it was not doubted but Mr Peliſſon had a conſiderable ſhare in it, though the ſtile of it is different from his, becauſe the Letter which gave occaſion to it, was written to one of his intimate friends. It is added, that a very learned author was labouring inceſſantly at an Anſwer to it, wherein the public would ſee the moſt delicate queſtions in Morality, eſpecially with regard to theſe times, treated in the moſt agreeable and exact manner, and that it was hoped it would be publiſhed in a few months.

Mr Bayle mentions this piece in one of his Letters to Mr Rou. “ They have criticiſed both you and me at Paris lately, ſays he (1), but not ſo ſeverely as they “ have done Mr Jurieu, in an *Anſwer of a new Convert, &c.* which they pretend “ is wrote by a Diſciple or Proſelyte of Mr Peliſſon. If Mr Peliſſon has any “ ſhare in it, he muſt needs have given credit to a very falſe report, which might “ poſſibly even have reached his ears, that I am the author of a Letter which was “ printed at Amſterdam in anſwer to his *Chimera's of Mr Jurieu* (2), for Mr Peliſſon has ſpoken very civilly of me in his laſt book; whereas this *New Convert* treats me harſhly. The piece I am talking of, is ſhort and indifferently “ wrote; but very injurious to the party. They have reprinted it in this Country.” Mr Bayle gives this account of it from the bookſeller's advertiſement; but all that was ſaid of it there was a mere feint. This piece was not printed at Paris, and the Anſwer which the bookſeller promiſed, never appeared.

If we conſider this performace as a continuation of the *Philoſophical Commentary*, we will be ready to believe that Mr Bayle is the author of it. It is natural to ſuppoſe that having ſeen with grief that his *Commentary*, which was deſigned to attack the perſecutions of the Church of Rome, had been repreſented by the Miniſters as a pernicious book; he may have made uſe of the way of recrimination in the perſon of a new Convert, to force them to declare for Toleration, or to give up the cauſe to the Catholic writers. Beſides it is plain, that the author of it ſtrikes particularly at Mr Jurieu, the principal advocate for conſtraint in religious matters, he laughs at his Interpretations of the Apocalypſe, and the chimerical hopes with which he fed the Refugees. He has him likewiſe in view in a ſort of digreſſion, which we find at the end of it, under the title of *Reflections on the Civil-Wars of the Proteſtants, &c.* as it would be eaſy to ſhow.

However, in Holland this piece was thought to be Mr Peliſſon's (3). They were the more eaſily perſuaded of this, becauſe it was known that he had laboured much in the Converſions, and had publiſhed ſome treatiſes of Controverſy, under the title of *Reflexions ſur les differens de la Religion*. Mr Jurieu aſcribed this *Anſwer* to him without heſitation [G]; and as the Proteſtants were charged with maintaining

[G] *Mr Jurieu aſcribed this Anſwer to him without heſitation.*] In one of his *Paſtoral Letters*, which contains ſome *Reflexions upon the Libels which came from France on occaſion of the affairs of the preſent time*; after having ſpoke of the books which were publiſhed in France againſt the Proteſtants, he adds (*a*), “ We ſee lately publiſhed a Libel under the “ title of *An Anſwer of a new Convert to a Letter* “ *from a Refugee, to ſerve for a Supplement to Dom* “ *Denis de St Marthe's book* (*b*). Theſe gentlemen “ may pretend to hide themſelves under feigned “ names, they are always found out. We have no “ new Convert who can write in that manner, and “ with that force upon the ſubject. One muſt be “ confirmed in a ſpirit of perſecution, and full of “ the old leaven to write ſo. Be not therefore deceived “ in this matter, it is not a new Convert (*c*) but an “ old ſcholar of the Jeſuits, who has made great pro“ficiency in that ſchool.” Mr Huet, a Miniſter and a Refugee, who lived at this time at Dort, and who afterwards went to the Hague, wrote an Anſwer to this piece which was very much eſteemed. It came out under this title: *A Letter written from Swiſſerland to Holland, to ſupply the place of an Anſwer which has been promiſed to a certain book publiſhed by Mr Peliſſon, under the name of a new Convert, &c* (*d*). But as he maintained a political Toleration, and in defending what Mr Bayle had ſaid concerning the puniſhment of Servetus he had given up Mr Jurieu, the latter was ſo piqued at it, that he accuſed him before the Synod of Leyden (*e*) which was compoſed of his creatures, and got him ſuſpended from his Miniſtry. He inveighed afterwards againſt him in his Libels, and particularly in his *Tableau du Socinianiſme*, where he endeavours to eſtabliſh perſecution (*f*). However it was not Mr Huet he aimed at; Mr Bayle was the perſon he really had in view. By procuring a condemnation of Mr Huet's opinion concerning Toleration, he wanted to render Mr Bayle odious, whom he looked upon as the author of the *Philoſophical Commentary*. He durſt not attack him, and ſo he vented all his ſpleen upon Mr Huet, and ſacrificed him to his rage. He himſelf has let us into this ſecret, in recounting hisároueſs againſt the Heterodox, with all the ill nature he was maſter of. “ A little while after, ſays he (*g*), the *Philoſophical* “ *Commentary* appeared. And it was the labour of “ this book that had almoſt cracked his brain. I

(1) *Letter of the 24th of February* 1689, *p.* 301.

(2) *It is a piece conſiſting of* 8 *pages in* 4°, *intituled* Reponſe à l'Auteur des Chimeres de Mr Jurieu.

(3) *Mr Peliſſon diſowned it in the* Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, *February* 1690, *p.* 276.

(*a*) Paſtoral Letter *of the* 1*ſt of April* 1689, *pag.* 117. *cap. i. of the* 4to *edition.*

(*b*) Reponſe d'un Nouveau Converti à la Lettre d'un Refugié pour ſervir d'addition au livre de Dom Denis de Ste Marthe.

(*c*) *Mr Peliſſon had embraced the Romiſh Religion in* 1670.

(*d*) Lettre écrite de Suiſſe en Hollande pour ſupléer au defaut de la Réponſe que l'on avoit promiſe de donner, à un certain Ouvrage que Mr Peliſſon à publié ſous le nom d'un Nouveau Converti, &c.

(*e*) *In the month of May* 1691.

(*f*) *See the Letters to Mr Lenfant of the* 25*th of May, and to Mr Conſtant of the* $\frac{16}{26}$ *of July* 1690, *with the Remarks, pag.* 321, 322, 325, 326.

(*g*) Apologie du Sieur Jurieu, *pag.* 24. *col. ii.*

1689. maintaining that it was lawful to make uſe of the ſword to puniſh Heretics, he ſays the world would ſoon ſee what would be their conduct in that reſpect. "The firſt "part of this work, ſays he, is employed to prove that even according to our "own principles it is lawful to perſecute Heretics, and to purſue them even unto "death. God forbid that ever we ſhould go to that extremity. But at leaſt we de-"ſire this author to remember this, if we ſhould one day be in a condition of "humbling and depreſſing his party. If it is lawful to kill Heretics and idola-"trous Chriſtians, with much more reaſon it muſt be lawful to mortify them without "forcing their conſciences, by all means which may make them reflect upon their "blindneſs. Time will ſhow which party will henceforth have moſt occaſion for "the moderation of the other."

These threatnings were founded upon Mr Jurieu's prophetical Syſtem [*H*]. He had diſcovered in the Apocalypſe, that the perſecution of the Reformed in France ſhould ceaſe in 1689, and that the Reformation ſhould be eſtabliſhed over all the Kingdom by the King's own authority. The ſigns and wonders, (ſays he), that are to be the forerunners of theſe great events, are already ſeen in France [*I*]. If any one doubted of theſe pretended miracles, he ranked them with the impious and prophane [*K*]. It was upon this ſcore that Mr de Bauval fell under his indignation (1), and that Mr Bayle raiſed a-freſh all his animoſity and reſentment (2). But the event ſhowed him that he was miſtaken, and then he perſuaded himſelf that the Reformation could not be re-eſtabliſhed in France otherwiſe than by force of arms [*L*]. This

(1) *Bauval*, Réponſe à l'Avis de Mr Jurieu, *p.* 33, 34, 39, 40.

(2) *Idem*, Lettre ſur les differends de Mr Jurieu & de Mr Bayle, *p.* 2.

"then found that the evil was paſt remedy, but "I could not reſolve to break with him entirely, I "ſatisfied myſelf with renouncing what they call "openings of the heart, and confidences of friendſhip. "I believed he was ſtill an honeſt Pagan (*b*); In pur-"ſuing the condemnation of his abominable doc-"trine of the Rights of an erring Conſcience in "our ſynods, a ſmall remain of regard for my for-"mer friendſhip made me ſpare his name: eſpecially "ſeeing there was another name for which I had "leſs conſideration, under which I might carry on "my purſuit."

(*b*) *See the* Chimere démontrée, *preface pag. clxxvii and the following.*

[*H*] *Theſe threatenings were founded upon Mr Jurieu's prophetical Syſtem.*] He had publiſhed in 1686 a book intitled, *The Accompliſhment of the Prophecies, or the approaching deliverance of the Church. A work wherein it is proved that Popery is the kingdom of Antichriſt; that this kingdom is not far from its ruin, and that this ruin is to begin very ſoon. That the preſent perſecution cannot continue above three years and a half: after which the deſtruction of Antichriſt ſhall begin, which will be continued 'till the end of this Century, and be finiſhed in the beginning of the next. And at laſt the reign of Jeſus Chriſt upon earth ſhall come.* Here he propheſied that the *perſecution* of the Reformed in France, *could not laſt above three years and a half.* That *the Reformation ſhould be eſtabliſhed by Royal Authority, and that France ſhould renounce Popery,* and *the Kingdom ſhould be converted.* He added *that providence intended to raiſe that Kingdom very high*; that *it ſhould arrive to the height of glory, by building its greatneſs on the ruins of the Papal Empire*; and that *the general Reformation of France ſhould be brought about without blood* (*i*). Mr Jurieu ſpoke with ſo much confidence and ſo deciſive a tone, that he was believed by a great number of the Reformed, both in France and in other Countries. We believe eaſily what we wiſh for, and a melancholy and afflicted condition augments our credulity. Several Refugees returned to France to wait there the accompliſhment of theſe great promiſes. It has been pretended (*k*) that all this was only an artifice, to engage the Reformed to make an inſurrection in France: but Mr Jurieu imagined really and ſincerely that he had *penetrated into the profound myſteries* of the Apocalypſe (*l*). He looked with admiration upon the prophecies of Drabitius, Cotterus, and Chriſtina Poniatovia, and almoſt equalled them to the writings of the ancient Prophets.

(*i*) *See Mr de Bauval* Réponſe à l'Avis de Mr Jurieu, *pag.* 25.

(*k*) *Brueys Hiſtoire* du Fanatiſme de notre tems, &c. *See in the* Critical Dictionary *the article* KOTTERUS, *Rem.* [*H*] *and* [*I*].

(*l*) Accompliſſement des propheties *dans* L'avis à tous les Chretiens.

[*I*] *The ſigns and wonders, ſays he, that are to be the forerunners of theſe great events are already ſeen in France.*] He conſidered as miracles the accounts they had from France at this time, that in Bearn and in the Cevennes, Angels had been heard ſinging pſalms in the air (*m*); that there was a ſhepherdeſs at Cret in Dauphiné who fell into extaſies, during which ſhe ſpoke many excellent and divine things, and foretold an approaching deliverance (*n*); that in Dauphiné many hundreds of children had extaſies of this Kind. "The ſpirit of God, (ſaid he (*o*), has "fallen upon the children of that province, in the ſame "manner in which it has fallen upon the ſhepherdeſs "in the neighbourhood of Cret. When that young "girl has ſeized upon, ſhe declared in the pre-"ſence of the judges, that the pains they were at "were to no purpoſe, that they might put her to "death, but that God would raiſe up other chil-"dren, who ſhould ſpeak better than ſhe: and this "has come to paſs in ſo wonderful a manner, that "the moſt blind are obliged to ſee the finger of "God in it. There are perhaps at this day in one "corner of Dauphiné, without reckoning thoſe in the "other provinces, two or three hundred children who "are ſeized with extaſies, who fall aſleep, and during "their ſleep declare the wonderful things of God, "pray in an excellent manner, exhort, threaten, pro-"miſe, ſing the Pſalms of David, and even foretel "things to come: and when they awake they re-"turn to their former ſimplicity. And what is ſtill "more, in the Vivarets the ſpirit of God has fallen "upon a whole people ſleeping and waking, with "ſigns and wonders, in ſuch ſort that ſince the be-"ginning of the world nothing has been ſeen like "it, or coming near it. The *relation* will inform "you of the particulars (*p*).

(*m*) Paſtoral Letter *of the firſt of December* 1686, *pag.* 49, *and the following.*

(*n*) *Letter of the firſt of Octob.* 1688, *pag.* 20, *and the following.*

(*o*) *Letter of the* 15*th of March* 1689, *pag.* 107, 108.

[*K*] *If any one doubted of theſe pretended miracles, he ranked them with the impious and prophane.*] In the Paſtoral Letter which I have juſt quoted, he treats them as blaſphemers, who oppoſe the ſpirit of God. "Beware, (ſays he (*q*), of that wicked ſpi-"rit of the world, which oppoſeth itſelf to the ſpirit "of God; and upon this occaſion ſometimes goes "even to blaſphemy. The raſhneſs of thoſe who "who have ridiculed the miracles of the ſhepherdeſs, "and of the heavenly voices, which have been heard "by ſo many faithful witneſſes, ſhall meet with the "juſt confuſion it deſerves. I wiſh that it may be a "ſaving ſhame, and that God may not lay this ſin "to their charge, but may grant them the favour "of ſeeing with their eyes, the things foretold by "theſe preceeding ſigns...... Happy are the wiſe, "who do not imitate thoſe raſh deciders....... "We do not fear the triumph of thoſe who ſeeing "the time approaching which is appointed for the "deliverance, inſult thoſe who hope for it. The "times and events are in God's hand: they come "to paſs when he thinks fitting. We may miſtake "in our reckonings, but God is not miſtaken in "his." He talked in this manner in the month of March 1689, having ſeen that nothing of what he had foretold had come to paſs.

(*p*) *This relation is a pamphlet of* 14 *pages in* 4to, *intitled* Lettre de Geneve contenant une Relation exacte des petits Prophetes du Dauphiné. Le 13 Fevrier 1689.

(*q*) Letter *of the* 15*th of March* 1689, *pag.* 108.

[*L*] *But the event ſhowed him that he was miſtaken, and then he perſuaded himſelf that the Reformation could not be re-eſtabliſhed in France otherwiſe than by force of arms.*] His *three years and a half*, which commenced at the revocation of the Edict of Nants, in October 1685, expired in the month of April 1689; and yet no change was ſeen in France with regard to Religion. This gave people ground to call his

1689. This was his laſt reſource, he turned all his views that way, and in his writings prepared the people for this great revolution [*M*]. He laboured to prove that the power of princes proceeds from the people, and that there is a mutual contract betwixt the Prince and people (1). He maintains that it is lawful to defend our Religion by force of arms (2). He likewiſe makes an apology for the Revolution of England, and for King William (3), who was violently attacked in ſeveral libels then publiſhed in France [*N*]. There appeared likewiſe ſeveral pieces on this ſubject compoſed by Refugees. There were likewiſe ſome perſons, who abuſing the liberty of the preſs they enjoy in Holland, publiſhed romantic and ſatirical pieces againſt Lewis XIV, againſt King James, and againſt the Queen his conſort: but theſe libels were only reliſhed by the mob, and the greateſt part of them were not written by Refugees.

(1) Paſtoral Letters *of April* 15, *and May* 1, 1689.

(2) *Letter of Jan.* 1, 1689.

(3) *Letter of May* 15, 1689.

In the heat of this war of political and ſatirical authors, there appeared towards the end of the month of April 1690, a book entituled, *An important advice to the Refugees, on their approaching return to France. Given for a new year's gift to one of them in* 1690. *By Mr C. L. A. A. P. D. P. At Amſterdam by James the Cenſor*, 1690 (4). This book was wrote in form of a Letter to a friend, dated from Paris the firſt of January 1690. In the beginning the author rallies the Refugees upon the hopes they had conceived of ſeeing very extraordinary events in 1689. "You "ſee, (ſays he), the year 1689 expired without any thing happening very extraordi"nary. You promiſed yourſelves mighty and wonderful things that year; that it "ſhould be fatal to the Romiſh Church in general, and more fatal ſtill to France, "that we ſhould ſee nothing but great criſes of affairs, wonderful Revolutions, and "in ſhort every thing moſt ſuiting a climacteric year of the world. You have "ſeen on the contrary every thing go on ſo naturally, ſo ſmoothly, and ſo alto"gether of a piece, that it would be hard to find in Hiſtory a firſt campaign of "ſo general a war as this, in the greateſt animoſity of the parties concerned, "wherein ſo few remarkable things have fallen out, as in the year 1689. At leaſt "it is certain, that the thing which you looked upon as the moſt infallible, I mean "your re-eſtabliſhment, has not happened. I do not ſay this, (adds he), to inſult "you, God forbid; you know my ſentiments: you are not ignorant that I always "diſapproved the uſage you have met with, and I am exceedingly ſorry that "France has deprived itſelf of ſo many honeſt people, and ſo many perſons of "merit, who have been obliged to ſeek ſhelter in foreign Countries. So that if I "obſerve with pleaſure that the year 1689 has not anſwered your Predictions, it "is by no means becauſe of the loſs you thereby ſuſtain, but becauſe we ought "to be glad for the ſake of reaſon and good ſenſe, that the ſuperſtitious confidence "in chimerical calculations, and popular credulity, are belied by ſuch palpable ex"periences, which may weaken them as much as they would have been confirmed by "events which you expected." After this he congratulates his friend upon the favourable diſpoſition in which the King of France was ſaid to be with regard to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Reformed, and aſſures him that in general the moſt reaſonable part of the three eſtates of the kingdom would approve of allowing them an honeſt liberty. "But allow me, (continues he), to give one advice to you, and "all your brethren Refugees wherever diſperſed, which is to perform a ſort of Qua"rentine before you ſet a foot into France, in order to purify you from the bad air "you have breathed in the places of your exile, and which has infected you with "two

(4) Avis important aux Refugiez ſur leur prochain retour en France. Donné pour Etrennes à l'un d'eux in 1690. Par Monſieur C. L. A. A. P. D. P. A Amſterdam chez Jaques le Cenſeur, 1690.

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his predictions chimerical, and to laugh at the credulity of thoſe who had given credit to them. He therefore found himſelf under a neceſſity of abandoning what he had ſaid concerning the manner in which the Reformation ſhould be eſtabliſhed in France. According to his firſt ſcheme, that Reformation was to be brought about without violence, without *effuſion of blood, by the King's own authority*: but the revolution in England, and the confederacy of ſo many Princes againſt France, made him believe that it ſhould triumph there by way of conqueſt (*r*); and he declared "that he firmly believed that God "had raiſed up King William to execute his great "deſign of abaſing and humbling the perſecutors in "France (*s*)." He would needs lend a helping hand himſelf. "After ſeveral nights meditation he con"trived a ſort of pontons, by means of which they "might land as many troops as they had a mind "in France without much difficulty, and in ſpite "of the Militia that might be upon the coaſt (*t*)."

[*M*] *In his writings he prepared the people for this great revolution.*] He made ſeveral reflexions upon the ſtate of affairs in his *Paſtoral Letters*, wherein he ſet forth the wonders of providence, in the preſent ſituation of Europe, and particularly of England (*u*). He exhorted the Reformed in France to be firm and unſhaken, and promiſed them a ſpeedy deliverance. He gave over writing *Paſtoral Letters* in the month of July 1689, and in the month following he publiſhed a new work, which came out monthly under this title, *Les ſoupirs de la France Eſclave qui aſpire après la liberté*. The deſign of this work was to ſhew that the ancient liberties of France were loſt, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary to reform the government of it, and change it into an Ariſtocracy.

(*r*) Chimere demontrée, p. lvi, lvii.

(*s*) Paſtoral Letter *of July* 1, 1689, *pag.* 173, *col.* 2.

(*t*) Chimere demontrée, p. lviii, lix.

(*u*) *See the* Paſtoral Letters *of the* 15*th of February, pag.* 93, *of the* 1*ſt of March, pag.* 102, *and of the* 15*th of March, pag.* 107 *of the year* 1689.

[*N*] *The Revolution in England, and King William were violently attacked, in ſeveral libels publiſhed in France.*] Mr de Viſé, beſides what he publiſhed monthly in his *Mercure Galant*, put out likewiſe every month a volume concerning the preſent ſtate of affairs (*x*). Mr le Noble publiſhed alſo ſeveral libels. Father de Ste. Marthe publiſhed a book, intituled, *Dialogues concerning the Prince of Orange's enterprize upon England, wherein it is proved that this action fixeth upon the Proteſtants the character of Antichriſtianiſm, with which Mr Jurieu reproacheth the Church of Rome. Paris*, 1689. And no leſs a man than the famous Mr Arnauld would needs engage in this affair, in a piece intitled, *The true Picture of William Henry of Naſſau, a new Abſalom, a new Herod, a new Cromwell, a new Nero.* Mr Jurieu refuted this laſt, in a book printed at the Hague 1689, under the title of *An Apology for their moſt Serene Britannic Majeſties againſt an infamous Libel, entitled The true Picture of William Henry of Naſſau, &c.*

(*x*) Sur les Affaires du tems.

" two very dangerous and hateful diſtempers, the one is a ſpirit of ſatire, the other " a ſort of republican ſpirit, which tends to nothing leſs than to introduce Anarchy " into the world, the greateſt plague of civil ſociety. Theſe are two points upon " which I take the liberty to ſpeak to you as a friend."

Concerning the firſt point, which regards *ſatirical writings*, he makes bitter complaints of the many Libels full of calumnies and ſcandalous ſtories which were ſpread abroad every where, and wherein the Refugees ſeem, ſays he, to breathe nothing but vengeance. He lays them to the charge of the whole body of the Refugees, becauſe they had not in a public manner diſowned them. He even goes back as far as their anceſtors, and accuſeth them of having firſt introduced the licence of diffamatory Libels. He maintains that this ſatirical rage is an infallible mark of Hereſy; and ſhows how much ſlander is contrary to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity. He puts the Refugees in mind of the patience of the primitive Chriſtians, and oppoſeth to the licentiouſneſs of their pens, the moderation of the Engliſh Catholics, who were Refugees in France, and of the French writers. He doth not ſpare the Emperor nor the Pope himſelf upon the account of their being enemies to France. In the mean while, he repreſents himſelf as full of love, charity, and compaſſion for the Refugees; and proteſts that he ſpeaks to them in this ſtrong manner for no other reaſon but to perſuade them to reform, and to diſavow their ſatirical Libels in a public manner. In this manner he ſoftens the bitterneſs of his reproaches and inſults. He proceeds to their *ſeditious writings*, and under this claſs comprehends all thoſe wherein it is maintained " That princes and their ſubjects engage themſelves to one another " mutually, and by way of contract to the obſervation of certain things, ſo that if " the Prince fail in the performance of what he has promiſed, the ſubjects are thereby " freed from their oath of allegiance, and may transfer their homage to new " maſters, whether the whole people diſapprove the breach of promiſe of thoſe princes, " or the moſt numerous and moſt conſiderable part of them agree to it." He pretends that it is on this principle that the Reformed have ſupported all their civil wars, and founded their ſeditious maxims. He attacks this doctrine ſmartly, and makes uſe of that manner of arguing which they call *reductio ad abſurdum*, and maintains the abſolute power of Princes with a great deal of warmth. He heaps together all the reproaches which Mr Arnauld in his *Apology for the Catholics*, and other Controvertiſts have thrown upon the Proteſtants, on account of the principles of Buchanan, Junius Brutus, and Pareus; and exhorts the Refugees to do ſomething to ſhow that they are not infected with theſe political Hereſies. He chargeth the Preſbyterians with the death of King Charles I, and reproacheth the Church of England with abandoning the ſound doctrine of ſubmiſſion due to Princes, and embracing the Preſbyterian opinion of the lawfulneſs of bringing Kings to juſtice; and in a word, he repreſents the Proteſtants, and in particular the Refugees, as ſeditious perſons, who bring Rebellion and Anarchy every where; and declares that Princes cannot rely upon their fidelity.

All theſe invectives are followed by a ſort of digreſſion, which he intitles *Reflexions on the irruption of the Vaudois.* He owns that the Vaudois have been unjuſtly treated, but maintains that they are inexcuſable for having entered their own Country in a hoſtile manner, and made war upon their Prince; and from thence he takes occaſion to return to the abſolute power of Princes. After this follows the *Concluſion.* " Now you ſee, ſays he, in what conſiſts the *Quarentine* which your beſt friends " among the Catholics deſire you would perform before your return to France, it " is to proteſt in the moſt public manner, either that you never approved of thoſe " ſcandalous and ſeditious Libels, which your authors have publiſhed by heaps, or " that you ſincerely repent your having done ſo, and are extreamly ſorry that " you were ignorant of their evil tendency, or that you had not the courage to " declare againſt them." He once more returns to this ſubject, and afterwards makes ſeveral reflexions on the Campaign of 1689, tending to extol the greatneſs of France, and the glory of Lewis XIV. From thence he paſſes to the Revolution in Siam, which was very acceptable to the Hollanders, becauſe of the check it gave to France. He ſays that the Controverſies of the Proteſtants had grown worſe theſe four or five years paſt, eſpecially with regard to their civil wars; and he ſets in oppoſition the fidelity of the French Catholics to Henry IV, to that of the Engliſh Proteſtants to James II. He allows his friend to publiſh this Letter, and make what alterations in it he ſhall think proper. He concludes with a very devout prayer, and with wiſhes for the converſion of his friend to the Catholic Religion; but " if the hour, ſays he, for that happy change is not as " yet come, may heaven grant that you at leaſt may be endowed with the ſenti- " ments which every honeſt man ought to have for his country."

If one compares this *Advice to the Refugees*, with that part of the *Anſwer of a new Convert to a Letter from a Refugee*, intituled, *Reflexions concerning the Wars of the Proteſtants*, he will find a great conformity betwixt them; the ſame ſentiments, the ſame reproaches, the ſame inſults. The one is only in a manner the prelude or ſketch of the other. They both purſue the ſame deſign, and follow the ſame plan, but in a manner different enough to make us doubt, whether theſe two pieces

1690. come from the ſame hand. In the *Advice* the ſubject is treated more at length, is more embelliſhed, and more engaging; the ſtile is more correct, more lively, and more vehement.

To this book is prefixed a Preface, the author of which, a Refugee at London, is as zealous a Proteſtant, as the writer of the Letter appears to be a zealous Catholic. He ſays that this piece ſurprized him extreamly from the very beginning of it: that it was the performance of one of his old friends, an Advocate by profeſſion, but who had employed himſelf more in reading books of Controverſy than at the bar: that he muſt do him the juſtice to own that he had loudly condemned the *Dragoonings*; and that he could not imagine why he had made choice of him to be the depoſitary of a heap of indignities thrown out with the utmoſt bitterneſs, both againſt the whole body of Proteſtants, and likewiſe againſt thoſe who had ſought out of France, their cruel ſtep-mother and not properly ſpeaking their country, a ſanctuary where they might ſerve God according to the purity of the faith. “ The “ ground, ſays he, of this ſo ſevere and ſo extravagant behaviour, and ſo con- “ trary to the equity and moderation which I have always obſerved in him, is “ firſt, that the Refugees being in a place where they are at liberty to complain “ of the barbarous treatment perfectly worthy of the Religion of Antichriſt, as “ well as unworthy of all ſort of Humanity, which they had ſuffered in their own “ country, had publiſhed their complaints againſt France in a pretty lively manner: “ and in the next place, that the Proteſtants of England and Scotland have not “ been ſo ſimple, after ſo long experience as they have had of the treachery and “ cruelty of the Church of Rome, to ſuffer themſelves to be led like ſheep to the “ ſlaughter, but had rather choſen according to the laws and liberties of their country “ to ſhake off the yoke, and free themſelves from ſlavery, and receive the Deli- “ verer whom God had raiſed up to them, as he did frequently to the people “ of Iſrael in the time of the Judges.” He adds that he was reſolved to make this old friend of his ſuch an anſwer as ſhould make him repent his having ſo highly and maliciouſly provoked him; but that the public would be better acquainted with the juſtice of his reſentment, if they ſaw this piece ſuch as he had received it: that he had ſtruck out a great many paſſages which breathed an unheard of rage, and had only retained certain paſſages which he deſigned to examine and to confute exactly in the anſwer which he was preparing. He gives the plan of this anſwer, and adds that in the mean while, he had thought it proper to publiſh this piece that his brethren might know in what light ſome people conſidered them, and what envenomed reflexions were made againſt them; hoping that ſome body would undertake their Apology, and confine himſelf to theſe two general heads, the *ſatirical writings* and the *ſeditious writings*, while he would canvaſs the other articles particularly, and leave nothing without a full and ſtrong anſwer. He invites the author of the *Letters concerning the preſent ſtate of affairs* (1) to do this, and ſays that he is ſo much the more intereſted in this matter, that he is one of thoſe writers who are accuſed as ſatirical. “ It will be, adds he, very eaſy to vindicate our Refugees, “ for I have been aſſured, by ſome of my friends in Holland to whom I wrote “ on that ſubject, I. That the pieces wherein they pretend to give an account of “ amorous adventures, and wherein perſons of the firſt quality are defamed, were “ compoſed by Papiſts, before there were any Refugees in that country. II. That “ the news writers who have given France the greateſt cauſe of complaint, are not “ Refugees, nay ſome of them are not ſo much as Frenchmen.” He gives an account of the alterations he has made in the performance of his friend, and concludes with a Panegyric on *King William the favourite of God*. “ One, ſays he, may “ juſtly give him that title, and apply to him what the ſcripture ſays of David, “ that God has found him a man according to his own heart, has led him by the “ hand, and placed him upon the throne, with this advantagious difference, that “ whereas David was not put in poſſeſſion of the crown of his father-in-law who “ was rejected by God 'till ſome time after his death, God has anticipated that “ favour to King William, having beſtowed upon him the crowns of his father- “ in-law even while he was ſtill alive.” He adds that the Princes who are the greateſt enemies of the Proteſtant Religion, *that the Auguſt Houſe of Auſtria whoſe zeal for the Catholic Religion is ſufficiently known, and all the Catholic Princes in Germany, had applauded that happy Revolution*: and that it was viſibly a miraculous work of Providence, which had confounded both the counſels of France and of James II, ſince of a thouſand means which they had in their power of giving a powerful check to to that enterprize, they had preciſely choſen that conduct which rendered it infallible.

The *Advice to the Refugees* was printed ſecretly at the Hague, and was preſently anſwered by ſeveral hands. Mr Tronchin du Breuil vindicated the Refugees in his *Letters concerning the preſent ſtate of affairs* (2). Mr de Bauval in his Journal (3) ſhowed the injuſtice and unreaſonableneſs of this author's complaints: and Mr Coulan, a Miniſter and Refugee at London (4), anſwered him more fully in a treatiſe intituled: *A Defence of the Refugees againſt a book intituled An Advice, &c* (5). We may ſee Mr Bayle's judgment of theſe Anſwers, in a Book he publiſhed in 1692. Af-

(1) Lettres ſur les matieres du tems.

(2) *Letter of the 1ſt and 15th of May; of the 1ſt of June; and of the 1ſt of September* 1690.

(3) Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, *April* 1690. *Art. x. pag.* 364.

(4) *Anthony Coulan born at Alais on the 10th of October* 1667. *He died at London the 23d of September* 1694.

(5) La Defenſe des Refugiez contre un Livre intitulé, Avis, &c. *At Daventer in* 1691 *in* 12°. *pag.* 157.

(1) Projet & Fragmens d'un Dictionaire Critique, *pag.* 110.

1690. ter having pointed out the *Advice to the Refugees*, he adds (1), "I mean that ſort of ſermon wherein we are accuſed of a pretended proneneſs to libelling and civil-wars, with as much vehemence as ever a Miniſter ſhowed in a faſt-day ſermon, when he lays the breach of the whole Decalogue to the charge of his hearers. And ſince this occaſion offers, adds he, it will not be unſeaſonable to obſerve here, that the violent reproaches of this declaimer have produced a good effect. They are not perhaps the cauſe that thoſe wretched little ſatirical books do not come ſo thick among us as before; but at leaſt it is certain that they have obliged the beſt writers of the party to inform the Public, that it is without reaſon that people pretend to make the whole body of the Refugees accountable for theſe ſorry books: ſo that we ſhall have cotemporary evidence to lateſt poſterity to clear us from the malicious imputations, which ſome people endeavour to fix upon our cauſe. Let no body alledge, that the excellent writers who have diſclaimed them, have done it in an anonymous way; for ſince they have anſwered for the whole body, without any perſons entering a complaint againſt their declaration, this proves that the whole body acquieſces in it. Add to this that the name of the perſon who writes every fortnight in ſo ingenious and judicious a manner concerning the preſent ſtate of affairs, is now known to every body. And as to the author of the inimitable Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, is there any body who doth not know his name? . . . . . And with regard to the perſon who has lately given us the Defence of the Refugees againſt the *Important Advice*, he is no doubt very worthy of credit in what he advances as from his brethren. He fully anſwers all the reproaches which concern this ſatirical ſpirit, and ſets forth his opinion on the other point with a great dexterity of wit. All things well conſidered, it muſt be owned that though a diſavowal which had preceded the ſevere reproaches of the adverſary, and had been made by perſons appointed for this purpoſe by the Synods, would have been both more honourable and more authentic, yet nevertheleſs none but extravagant cavillers can henceforth renew theſe accuſations." Some other Anſwers were likewiſe made to this piece [O].

(2) *P.* 418.

Mr de Bauval in his Journal for the month of May 1690 publiſhed an extract of a Letter from the author of the *Advice to the Refugees* (2). "I confeſs, ſays that author, that I was ſurprized to ſee my performance made public. I did not truſt my friend with it for that purpoſe, eſpecially there being ſeveral things in it which I cannot approve of. I mean the paſſages wherein I ſpeak of the manner in which you have been treated in France. You know very well that though I had thought in the manner he makes me ſpeak, I would not have been ſo imprudent as to ſay ſuch things in the middle of Paris. I ſhall perhaps ſend it to you very ſoon reprinted with the neceſſary alterations." And in the month of February 1691 he publiſhed an Extract of a Letter from Paris which gave an account that this work was in the preſs. "They are actually reprinting, ſays the writer of this Letter (3), the *Advice to the Refugees*, with the King's Licence, the author who had kept himſelf concealed upon account of ſeveral things which could not fail to irritate the Archbiſhop of Paris and Father de la Chaize, has found means of making his peace by adding ſome things, and taking away what might give them offence." In fact, it was reprinting at Paris, with the King's Licence dated the 20th of October, and the firſt two ſheets of it appeared in Holland in the month of March following (4). They ſuppreſſed the Preface of the firſt edition, and ſubſtituted the following *Advice to the Reader:* "This piece having been ſent by the author into foreign parts to one of his friends, it has been printed there with ſeveral alterations contrary to his intention. This obliges him to reprint it in France in it's true and natural form. He proteſts ſincerely that he had no other intention in writing this, but to do his duty by acquainting thoſe in whom he intereſts himſelf, with certain important truths which they do not ſufficiently reflect upon, and that he has been ſo far from regarding either favour or hopes from the court, that he has even avoided being known to it, concealing himſelf for this good action with as much care as others do for bad ones." But this edition was interrupted by the death of the Bookſeller: they ſet it on foot again a few months after, and the Impreſſion was finiſhed upon the 9th of December 1692, with a new Licence dated the 19th of September, the preamble of which is as follows: "Our well-beloved Mary Magdalen Guellerin, widow of Gabriel Martin, late Printer and Bookſeller in our good City of Paris, having "remonſtrated

(3) *Pag.* 279, 280.

(4) *Jurieu*, Laſt Conviction, *pag.* 19. *col.* 2. *and the* Chimera demonſtated, *pag.* 267, 309.

[O] *Some other Anſwers were likewiſe made to this piece.*] Mr Nizet, Advocate and Profeſſor of Law at Maeſtricht, publiſhed, in 1690, *A ſhort Anſwer to the Advice to the Refugees (a).* Mr Abbadie confined himſelf to what related to the Revolution in England, and printed at London in 1692, *A Defence of the Britiſh Nation; Wherein the Rights of God, of Nature, and of Society, are clearly eſtabliſhed, with relation to the Revolution in England, againſt the author of the Advice to the Refugees* (*b*). Mr de Larrey made a full and large Anſwer to it under this title: *An Anſwer to the Advice to the Refugees, By M. D. L. R. At Rotterdam for Reinier Leers, M. DCC. IX (c).* This work he was deſired to undertake by Mr Leers, who having a mind to publiſh a new edition of the *Advice to the Refugees*, engaged him to write this Anſwer to it, to be publiſhed along with it. He reprinted the *Advice* from the Paris edition, with the ſame date, and under the ſame Printer's name. But he reſtored the Preface which they had ſuppreſſed at Paris. The *Advice* and Mr Larrey's *Anſwer* make two volumes in 8vo.

(*a*) Reponſe ſommaire au Livre intitulé Avis important aux Refugiez ſur leur prochain retour en France. Par Monſieur G. N. A. à M. *Maeſtricht* 1690.

(*b*) Defenſe de la Nation Britannique; où les Droits de Dieu, de la Nature, & de la Société ſont clairement établis, au ſujet de la Revolution d'Angleterre, contre l'auteur de l'Avis aux Refugiez.

(*c*) Reponſe à l'Avis aux Refugiez, par M. D. L. R.

1690. "remonſtrated to us, that by our Letters of the 20th of October 1690, ſigned *le Petit*, and ſealed, we have given permiſſion to the Author of a book intitled, *An important Advice to the Refugees upon their approaching return to France*, to print, ſell, and diſtribute the ſaid work throughout all our Kingdom for the ſpace and term of ten years, which Author has yielded his right to the ſaid deceaſed Gabriel Martin, huſband to the petitioner; but having affected to continue unknown to the public, he made a difficulty of allowing the ſaid privilege expeded in his name, to be inſerted in the Regiſters of the ſociety of Bookſellers of our City of Paris, which together with the ſickneſs and death of the late Gabriel Martin, has interrupted the impreſſion of the ſaid work which was already begun, and will retard it ſtill if we are not pleaſed, in conſequence of the agreement made with the foreſaid Author, and with his conſent, to allow the ſaid privilege to be regiſtred in the name of the petitioner. For theſe reaſons deſiring to ſhow favour to the ſaid petitioner, we have permitted and allowed, and by theſe preſents we do permit and allow the impreſſion of the ſaid book to be continued, &c."

1691. No body in Holland now talked any longer of the *Advice to the Refugees*; this book was quite forgot (1), when Mr Jurieu took it into his head all of a ſudden, in the month of January 1691, to ſend word to Mr Baſnage that he looked upon Mr Bayle as the author of that libel, and that he muſt go out of the ſeven Provinces. Mr Baſnage endeavoured to make him take other ſentiments, but he gave no ear to him. Mr Bayle told Mr Baſnage that he had formerly intended to anſwer this book, and that in order to convince Mr Jurieu of his miſtake, he was going to ſet about it again. At the ſame time he deſired Mr Baſnage to aſſure Mr Jurieu that he was ready to confer with him on this ſubject, and to ſatisfy all his doubts (2). All this did not appeaſe Mr Jurieu. The hatred which he had of a long time conceived againſt Mr Bayle was changed into rage: he imagined that he had found a proper occaſion of defaming him. Nay if it had been in his power he would have likewiſe taken away his life. "Since it was not in my power, (ſays he (3), to get all the puniſhment which he deſerved inflicted upon him, I reſolved at leaſt to expoſe him to public infamy." It was with theſe diſpoſitions that Mr Jurieu ſet about an *Examination* of the *Advice to the Refugees*, wherein in the beginning he endeavours to diſcover the author. After having praiſed the compoſition of the book, he undertakes to ſhew that the author of the book and of the preface, are one and the ſame perſon: that this author is a Proteſtant, and lived in Holland; and that the Preface which he wrote in order to conceal himſelf had diſcovered him. In fine, he characterized him in ſuch a manner, that one might eaſily ſee that he wanted to point out Mr Bayle, though he did not run the hazard of naming him. But when he comes to give the reaſons that could have induced Mr Bayle to write this piece, he found himſelf extremely embaraſſed. "What (ſays he (4), could be the deſign of this author? was there ever ſo whimſical a deſign? what view could he have? At firſt I fancied he was one of our Sceptics who deſigned only to divert himſelf with truth, and defend both ſides of the queſtion; firſt to make a book againſt us, and afterwards to deſtroy it by another for us, to ſhew that Truth as well in facts as in matters of right lies in the well of Democritus; that one may doubt of every thing, affirm, defend, and attack every thing. And I am ſtill of opinion that a little of this has entered into his views. I believe he would have kept his promiſe if ſo much noiſe had not been made, we ſhould have had a ſorry confutation, for in it he would have ſpoke againſt his inclinations, and his maxims; whereas here he ſpeaks his real ſentiments."

After this Mr Jurieu undertakes to diſcover the real intention of the Author. He ſays that this Author, "being extremely fond of the independant and abſolute power of Princes, and ſeeing that for ſome years paſt they had wrote againſt his idol the King of France pretty freely; and being above all full of indignation againſt the Revolution in England and the dethroning of King James, he had at length loſt all patience, and could no longer refrain from writing an apology for the King of France, and for King James (5): and that it was upon this account that he was obliged to ſcreen himſelf under the maſk of a bigotted Papiſt, and of a violent hater of the Proteſtant Religion (6)." He confeſſeth that this maſk would have kept him in ſuſpence had it not been for the Preface (7)." However he did not believe that this Author was ſo animated againſt the Proteſtant Religion as he pretended to be. "We do him the juſtice, (ſays he), to believe that he is not ſo malicious againſt the Proteſtant Religion as he would make himſelf appear to be, and that his raving againſt us is a part of the comedy, that he may under that deep diſguiſe defend both the King of France, King James, and arbitary power (8)." He did not even believe that any motive of intereſt had engaged him to write in favour of theſe Princes. "We muſt, (ſays he), do him this juſtice, that intereſt could have no ſhare in theſe appearances of zeal. For he had no deſign of making a merit of

(1) Cabale Chimerique, *pag.* 198, 353. *Laſt Conviction. pag.* 35. *col.* 1. Chimera demonſtrated, *pag.* 351, 352.

(2) *MSS. Memoirs of Mr Baſnage. See likewiſe the* Chimera demonſtrated, *pag.* 351, 352.

(3) Apology for Mr Jurieu, *p.* 25. *col.* 1.

(4) Examen d'un Libelle &c. *pag.* 36, 37.

(5) Ibid. *pag.* 38.

(6) *P.* 39, 40, 41.

(7) *P.* 40.

(8) *P.* 40, 41.

“ this work with theſe powers, ſince he has taken all manner of precautions not 1691.
“ to be known (1).”

But he did this juſtice to the author, only to make him appear the more like Mr Bayle. He did the ſame thing in ſpeaking of the *Advice*. At firſt he ſaid of this book all that he thought of Mr Bayle, whom he had in view. He found the *ſtile of it flowing, eaſy, and lively*; that *his figures were natural, his metaphors happy, his ornaments well choſen and well placed*; that *it engages the reader by a ſecret charm*; that *it was filled with agreeable literature*, and that *his learning was mighty well diſpoſed* (2). All this agreed to Mr Bayle in the opinion of the public. Afterwards he ſays that this Author ſtrikes *blow after blow to overthrow his adverſary, and ſets forth with a great deal of art, and in a very narrow compaſs, all the ſtrongeſt things that had ever been advanced* againſt the Reformed; that *his book was the moſt dangerous piece that had been wrote againſt them ſince the Reformation*; *ſhowing the Reformation in the moſt hideous light* (3): becauſe all this was ſtill neceſſary to his deſign, which was to render Mr Bayle odious. But when he came to anſwer the book, and was much heated, he forgot all his former deſcription of it, it was then a piece *ſo extravagant at the bottom that it required neither ſyſtem, principles, nor reaſon* to compoſe ſuch another. A work which was *all outſide and nothing within*; *a little figure of wax-work well poliſhed and well dreſſed, well furniſhed with red and white, but within had neither fleſh, bones, nor nerves*; *there was nothing in it but two very meagre difficulties which the author had plumped up by the fertility of his imagination, and out of the treaſure of his common-place books* (4): *two poor difficulties*, all *the reſt* being *mere gilding, embroidery, invectives, idle ſtories, reproaches, trifles, and reflexions nothing to the purpoſe, and which proved nothing* (5): *a piece wherein there was no ſyſtem* (6), *a pretty little collection from the Polyanthea and pure pedantry* (7); in fine, a work *wrote with ſo little wiſdom and ſolidity, that the Author muſt have conſidered mankind as brutes, who ſuffer themſelves to be led by the noſe or by the ears* (8). His judgments were entirely regulated by his paſſions. He repreſented the *Advice* as a formidable work, that he might with the greater probability aſcribe it to Mr Bayle; and he accuſed Mr Bayle of having made an apology for the King of France and for King James, becauſe at that juncture nothing was more proper to incenſe the public againſt him.

About this time there was at Geneva one Goudet, a Merchant, who had but little buſineſs indeed, but was a great Projector. He took it in his head to adjuſt the differences of Princes, and become the pacificator of Europe. He compoſed a book entitled, *Eight Dialogues, wherein Irene and Ariſtus lay down meaſures for putting an end to the preſent war by a general peace* (9). Theſe Dialogues contained a Project of Peace, wherein Mr Goudet aſſigned to the Princes and States of Europe the Territories they were to poſſeſs. France for inſtance, was to keep Franche-Comté, their conqueſts in Flanders, and Luxembourg; but muſt reſtore all that they had conquered in Catalonia from the peace of the Pyrenees, and in Germany from the peace of Nimeguen, excepting Straſburg. She muſt likewiſe demoliſh Mont-Royal, Fort-Louis, Hunniguen and Fribourg; and in equivalent our projector gives her the City of Mons and all Hainault, and ſome other territories which lay convenient for her. He gives her likewiſe Lorrain, and the Duke of Lorrain was to have Servia and Bulgaria, and Belgrade for the capital of his new Dominions: but afterwards he changed this article, and gave him Brabant and the reſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands. France was to reſtore to the Swiſs the Town of Fribourg and the fortreſs of Hunninguen, after they were demoliſhed; and the Emperor was to yield to them the four Foreſt Towns, together with the Briſgau and the Suntgau. He gives up likewiſe to France the principality of Orange, the County of Avignon, and the Venaiſſin; and in exchange he gives to the Prince of Orange the Baillywic of Gex, and to the Pope an annual tribute of fifty thouſand Crowns to be paid by the Duke of Savoy, in conſideration of which this Duke was to have Caſal and Pignerol. He grants likewiſe to the Proteſtants in France a perpetual Edict, which ſhould ſecure to them the ſame liberty of conſcience which the Catholics enjoy in Holland: but they were not to be allowed to write againſt the Church of Rome. The Dutch were to have all the commerce of the Indies, and France was to demoliſh certain places in the Low-Countries, which might give them umbrage. He would have King William to be acknowledged King of England, and King James made King of Jeruſalem and of all Paleſtine. The Chriſtian Princes were to unite to deſtroy the Ottoman Empire. The Elector of Bavaria was to be Emperor of Conſtantinople, and Count Tekely was to have Belgrade and the Provinces of Servia, Bulgaria, Boſnia, Raſcia, Moldavia, and Walachia. Theſe two laſt were to be Tributaries of Poland. He gives alſo to France, Egypt, a part of Syria, and the Iſle of Rhodes, and “ the
“ advantages that will ariſe from thence, (ſaid Mr Goudet (10), is, that by this
“ means at the expence of the Infidels, there will be employment found in remote
“ countries for the unquiet and reſtleſs temper of the French, who can hardly
“ be at eaſe themſelves or ſuffer other people to be ſo, which is not of ſmall conſe-
“ quence to the general intereſt.” To render this peace perpetual, the Princes of Europe

(1) *P.* 69.

(2) *P.* 5, 6.

(3) *P.* 7.

(4) *P.* 91, 92.

(5) *P.* 97, 98.

(6) *P.* 180.

(7) *P.* 210.

(8) *P.* 98.

(9) Huit Entretiens où Irene & Ariſte fourniſſent des idées pour terminer la preſente guerre par une Paix generale.

(10) *Second Dialogue &c. p.* 27, 28.

1691. Europe were to give every year to the Swiſs ſix hundred thouſand crowns to maintain 40000 men, who ſhould be always ready to pour in upon any one who ſhould endeavour to diſturb it; and theſe troops in caſe of need were to be joined by 30000 men whom the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire were to keep on foot.

Mr Goudet admiring the ſublimity of his genius in this project of peace which he had formed, communicated it to every body whom he could perſuade to read it. He entertained the French Reſident with it, who made a jeſt of it (1). But this did not diſcourage him. Knowing that Mr Minutoli, to whom he was related, was a friend of Mr Bayle; he deſired him to ſend this ſcheme of a peace to Mr Bayle, “in order to have his judgment of it, as well as that of many other illuſtrious perſons in foreign countries (2).” In the month of September 1690, Mr Minutoli ſent the firſt ſix dialogues to Mr Bayle, without naming the Author, and told him at the ſame time, “that if they did not deſign to take a particular care of the intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and of his dear brethren the Refugees in this ſcheme, he would not have ſo much as looked into it, but that the perſon who was concerned in it had aſſured him that the ſequel would ſatisfy all the ſcruples he could have on that head (3).”

The article concerning the Refugees was reſerved for the ſeventh Dialogue, which was not ſent to Mr Bayle. Mr Minutoli deſired him to communicate the ſix firſt to Baron Groeben, Governor to Prince Louis, brother to the Elector of Brandenbourg; to Dr Burnet, Biſhop of Saliſbury; to Mr Hulſt, the State's Reſident at Bruſſels; to Mr Fremont d'Ablancourt, and to Mr de Bauval: and in general he deſired him to put it into the hands of as many ingenious men and Miniſters of State as poſſible, and to acquaint him with their opinion of it (4). Mr Bayle cauſed ſome tranſcripts to be made of it, and ſent them to the perſons named by Mr Minutoli. They did not think very advantageouſly of it. “Beſides that they did not eſteem it well wrote, they found in it chimeras and notions of a Platonic Commonwealth, and of that Chriſtian Republic of which Mr de Sulli has preſerved the plan (5).” Mr Bayle did not read it, for beſides the great averſion he had to the reading of manuſcripts, his other affairs, and the indifferent character which was given of it by the perſons who had read it, made him neglect it entirely (6). He acquainted Mr Minutoli with their judgment of it, and added, “that the author might lay it down as a thing certain, that any plan of a general peace, which did not ſtrip France of all that ſhe had conquered for ſome years paſt, and which did not weaken her to ſuch a degree as to make her neighbours no longer jealous of her, would be rejected (7).” While they were making copies of this piece, Mr Bayle chanced to go into Mr Acher's ſhop, a Bookſeller in Rotterdam, who “(8) deſired him to caſt his eyes upon a manuſcript which had been ſent him and give him his opinion of it, and tell him whether it was a piece which would ſell. Mr Bayle preſently upon looking into the firſt page of it knew it, and ſaid aloud, in preſence of ſeveral Refugees who were in the ſhop, that it was a piece which he had given to be copied, and appeared to be vexed, becauſe he was afraid that the copier had taken it into his head to give it to the preſs; for he had only been deſired by his friend at Geneva, to ſhow it in manuſcript, and to get the opinion of good judges concerning it, that the Author might alter it according to the different views which might be ſuggeſted to him. . . . . . But Mr Acher made him eaſy on that head, by telling him that the perſon from whom he had the copy, would part with it to no body but to Mr Bayle; and as he believed that Mr Bayle had the diſpoſal of it, he deſired that he would procure him the publication of it. Mr Bayle anſwered that he had received no order to get that piece printed, but that if this ſhould be reſolved upon, and the choice of the Printer be left to him, he would prefer him to any other. He appeared very grateful for this.”

“(9) Some time after Mr Minutoli wrote to Mr Bayle, that the Author was preparing to publiſh the firſt ſix Dialogues at Lauſanne, while in the mean time he was finiſhing the two others. Mr Bayle told this to Mr Acher, who did not think fit to alter his deſign upon that account, ſince it was not likely that an Edition in that country could hinder the ſale of one in Holland, which would be more beautiful and more eaſily ſent every where than that of Switzerland. He propoſed therefore only to oblige Mr Acher, that they ſhould ſend him the ſheets of the Lauſanne edition as they came from the preſs, there being a Bookſeller at Rotterdam who would reprint them. They agreed to this propoſal, and poſt after poſt Mr Minutoli made Mr Bayle hope that they would ſend him the ſheets with the Author's corrections. He acquainted him that the work would be conſiderably enlarged, and that the form of it would be almoſt wholly changed for the better; that the author inſiſted particularly on a Guarrantee, and had put the article concerning the Refugees on ſuch a footing as had been approved of by ſeveral of them. As the ſheets did not come, Mr Minutoli deſired Mr Bayle to keep the Bookſeller in hopes. . . . .

(1) *Extract of a Letter from Geneva &c. in the* Chimere demontrée, *p.* 204.

(2) *Letter from Mr Minutoli to Mr Jurieu,* ibid. *p.* 194.

(3) Cabale Chimerique, *p* 5, 6, *of the ſecond Edition.*

(4) Ibid. *p.* 20. *and the following.*

(5) *P.* 13, 14.

(6) *P.* 7, *and the following.*

(7) *P.* 20, 77.

(8) *P.* 16. *and the following.*

(9) *P.* 18, 19.

“(1) During this delay of the ſheets, Mr Acher told Mr Bayle from time to time, that he would not print this project until he knew whether it might not give offence. Mr Bayle always told him, that he would do well to give it to read to any body he pleaſed, and Mr Acher having ſaid that he would be directed by him in that matter, Mr Bayle anſwered him, that he need not do ſo, that he had not read it, and would not read it while it continued in manuſcript. He even told him plainly the opinion of Meſſieurs d'Ablancourt and Bauval, and of ſome others who had read it. This did not diſcourage him, for Mr Jurieu's propheſies (which he had printed) had taught him by experience, that the moſt chimerical books, are the very beſt for the Printer . . . . At laſt (2), when Mr Bayle could not tell what to make of this delay of the ſheets, he was informed, in the time of the ſiege of Mons (3), that there were copies of the firſt edition at the Hague. This made him adviſe the Bookſeller to give over the thoughts of printing the Project of Peace, and ſo much the more becauſe the ſiege of that place, which ever way it turned, would change the ſtate of affairs: and he found that he had already taken that prudent reſolution.”

Mr Jurieu's book againſt the *Advice of the Refugees*, and againſt Mr Bayle, was actually in the preſs, when the firſt ſix dialogues concerning *the Project of Peace*, printed at Lauſanne, came into his hands. He was quite a ſtranger to this work. (4) “Mr Minutoli, in his letters to Mr Bayle, had never particularly named Mr Jurieu as one of the perſons to whom he ought to ſhow the manuſcript. He believed no doubt that it was not neceſſary to do ſo, having heard of their intimate acquaintance, and as he deſired his friend to ſhew it to judicious perſons in general, he took it for granted that Mr Jurieu would ſee it among the firſt. Mr Bayle would not have failed to have ſhewn it to him at firſt, tho' his friend had not particularly deſired him to do ſo; but he was afraid leaſt Mr Jurieu ſhould have thought it was with a deſign to affront him, if he had deſired him to read a project of peace, wherein they had departed ſo far from his ſyſtem. For Mr Bayle ſaw plainly from Mr Minutoli's firſt letter, that according to this project, the religion of the Proteſtants was not to be the national religion in France. As Mr Bayle had never reliſhed Mr Jurieu's Syſtem, and poſſibly had talked with too much liberty of it before ſome of his ſpies, he had already incurred his ſecret hatred; ſo that he had reaſon to fear, that in ſo delicate an affair, as the glory of having given true or falſe predictions concerning great events, the ſmalleſt matter ſhould pique him, and might be taken, eſpecially coming from ſuch a hand, for an inſult.”

Mr Jurieu was, in fact, extremely irritated at this *Project of Peace*: but he grew quite outrageous when he underſtood from Mr Acher, that this work had been long before ſent to Mr Bayle, and was told what had paſſed between Mr Bayle and him concerning the manuſcript. Being always full of wild dreams, and become quite furious againſt Mr Bayle, he built upon this a ſyſtem a thouſand times more chimerical than the chimerical Project of Peace itſelf. He prefixed to his *Examination of the Advice to the Refugees* (5); an *Important Advice to the Public* (6), wherein he declared that all that he had ſaid “concerning the deſign of the author of the *Advice to the Refugees*, was only the effort of a perſon groping his way in a dark place. It is true, adds he, that I muſt have been blind, and at preſent I can hardly imagine how I could fail of diſcovering the whole myſtery at firſt ſight. (7) . . . . . They who are under ſuſpicion, and are juſtly ſo, could find no better means of juſtifying their friends, than by aſking, *cui bono?* and I confeſs that this difficulty raiſed a ſcruple even in me, which did not indeed make me in the leaſt doubt from whence the book came, but which however embaraſſed me: when at laſt God, whoſe pleaſure it is that myſteries of iniquity ſhould be diſcovered, has permitted that another unexpected diſcovery ſhould give more light into it. The public muſt know then, that this is not the work of a private perſon who deſigned to defend the authority of Princes. They who have imagined ſo, have been miſtaken (8). This is the work of a Cabal which extends from ſouth to north, and has its center at Paris and at the Court of France (9).” He added, “That there was a French party at Geneva, which was hatched under the wings of the Reſident of France; that this party conſiſted of perſons of all ranks and characters; and that this cabal kept a correſpondence with another in Holland entirely in the ſame intereſts (10). That they both had the ſame view, which was to relieve France from her preſent diſtreſs, by a peace as advantageous as ſhe could wiſh for: that their deſign was to diſunite the Allies, to raiſe a ſpirit of rebellion in ſubjects againſt their Sovereigns, which would force the Allies to receive peace upon any condition: and in fine, that theſe two parties did nothing but in concert with the Court of France, and by her direction (11).” That in conſequence of the views and inſtructions of the Court of France, Mr Bayle, who was the head of the northern cabal, had wrote the *Advice to the Refugees*; and Mr Goudet, agent for the ſouthern cabal, had compoſed the *Dialogues concerning a Peace*, which were drawn up by the Reſident of France, and corrected at Verſailles; that Mr Bayle had undertaken to get them printed at Rotterdam, in order to ſpread them the more eaſily over all Europe, and particularly in Holland and in England (12). After this he calls Mr Bayle an *Impious*

(1) P. 22, 23.

(2) Ibid. p. 24.

(3) *Mons capitulated on the 9th of April 1691, after 16 days open trenches.*

(4) The Chimericalneſs of the Rotterdam Cabal demonſtrated &c. p. 194, 195. *in the Note.*

(5) Examen de l'avis aux Refugiez.

(6) Avis important au Public.

(7) Avis important au Public, p. 3, 4.

(8) Ibid. p. 5.

(9) Ibid. p. 7.

(10) Ibid. p. 7, 8, 9.

(11) Ibid. p. 42, 43.

(12) P. 37, *and the following.*

1691. *and prophane perſon, without honour or religion, a traitor, a deceitful man, an enemy to the State; a perſon to be deteſted and deſerving corporal puniſhment.*

In the mean while he owned that this accuſation concerning the *Advice to the Refugees*, was founded on ſimple *preſumptions* only. "It may be, ſays he (1), that "ſome people who would appear to be diſintereſted, will ſay that this is to puſh "people too fiercely, and to expoſe them to the public hatred without having ſufficiently convicted them . . . . . but when the public ſecurity is concerned, muſt "we wait for conviction, are not diſaffected perſons diſcovered by ſtrong preſumptions, that we may be upon our guard againſt them?" It is very ſingular, that while he was accuſing Mr Bayle of a deſign to ruin the Proteſtants; ſome confeſſions eſcaped him which deſtroyed this accuſation. "The Author, ſaid he (2), believed that at laſt this would do them no more hurt than an hundred other libels "which have been wrote againſt them: that this would be forgot like the reſt, "and that for the preſent it would be of uſe to France, and by accident to the "Proteſtants themſelves, becauſe it would contribute to diſſolve the confederacy, "and to bring about a peace." And with regard to the *project of peace*, after having repreſented it as a piece concerted with the court of France, and capable of diſ-uniting the allies, he ſaid *that it was a performance ſo full of chimeras that one muſt be a chimerical man who would ſet about the anſwering of it* (3). But theſe reflexions which were ſufficient to have opened the eyes of a diſintereſted perſon, made no impreſſion on Mr Jurieu: he did not want to vindicate Mr Bayle, he wanted to find him guilty. He likewiſe attacked Mr Bauval. He accuſed him of having forged the Letter which he had inſerted in his Journal, wherein it was ſaid that they were reprinting the *Advice to the Refugees* at Paris (4). But as the firſt ſheets of this new edition had been ſeen in Holland, he pretended that this was an artifice they had contrived to ſcreen themſelves from ſuſpicion; and that the Royal Licence, printed in the firſt ſheet was forged.

His book againſt the *Advice to the Refugees* appeared (5) under this title: *An Examination of a Libel againſt Religion, the State, and the Revolution of England, intituled An important Advice to the Refugees upon their approaching return into France* (6). There was prefixed to it *An important Advice to the public*, as we have already obſerved.

As ſoon as Mr Bayle had read this *Advice to the public*, "he went to the grand "Schout of Rotterdam, and told him that if his accuſer would go to priſon with "him, and undergo the puniſhment which he ſhould deſerve, in caſe Mr Bayle "was found innocent, he was ready to go there (7)." He likewiſe informed two of the chief Magiſtrates of Rotterdam, and two or three other gentlemen at the Hague, diſtinguiſhed by their merit and employments, of Mr Jurieu's accuſations, that theſe accuſations were falſe, and that he deſired nothing of the State but that they would not condemn him without a hearing (8). Poſſibly he would have done well to have gone no further. Mr Jurieu would never have had the confidence to appear before a Magiſtrate with him. He had no legal proof to alledge, they would have ridiculed his preſumptions, and he would have been declared a falſe accuſer. But as he had publickly accuſed Mr Bayle of being the head of a Cabal or conſpiracy againſt the State, Mr Bayle thought himſelf obliged to juſtify himſelf in the ſame manner. He intitled his Anſwer (9), *The chimerical Cabal: or a Refutation of a fabulous Story which has been lately publiſhed with a malicious intention concerning a certain project of peace, in the Examination of a Libel, &c. intituled An important Advice to the Refugees on their approaching return into France* (10).

In the beginning Mr Bayle gives an account of all he had done with regard to the *project of peace*, agreeably to what we have related above. He takes notice of all the falſhoods in Mr Jurieu's narration, and of all the extravagancies he had been guilty of in this matter. As to the *Advice to the Refugees*, which made the ſecond article of his Accuſation, he ſays he had at firſt deſigned to handle that ſubject in a particular treatiſe; but conſidering that this work might encreaſe under his hand, and not appear ſoon, he thought it would be beſt in the mean while to give this *prelude of an Anſwer*. He agreed with Mr Jurieu that the *Advice to the Refugees* was the work of a Proteſtant: but he undertook to ſhow by the ſtrongeſt preſumptions that it muſt have been written in France; and ſo he refuted all the ſuppoſitions which Mr Jurieu had made to prove that it had been compoſed in Holland, and that if the author was at Paris, he would diſcover himſelf. He ſhows the difference betwixt that author's manner of writing and his own. He refuted all the characters by which Mr Jurieu had pretended to point out the author of the *Advice* in order to conclude that it was Mr Bayle. He ſhowed how ridiculous his remarks and chicanery were concerning the new edition of that piece, which they were printing at Paris; and that Mr Jurieu's preſumptions gave him no right to arraign him publickly as a traitor, an impious perſon, and guilty of high-treaſon both againſt God and man; and proved that in order to make him appear guilty he had made uſe of deceit, treachery, and the blackeſt malice. He ſhowed that the characters which Mr Jurieu fixed upon the author of the *Advice*, offered preſumptions incomparably more ſtrong that Mr Bayle was not the author of it, than all that

(1) *Ibid. pag.* 110, 111.

(2) *Ibid. pag.* 57.

(3) *Ibid. pag.* 80.

(4) *See above, pag.* xlvi, xlvii.

(5) *About the end of the month of April* 1691.

(6) Examen d'un Libelle contre la Religion, contre l'Etat, & contre la Revolution d'Angleterre, intitulé Avis important aux Refugiez ſur leur prochain retour en France.

(7) Cabale Chimerique, *pag.* 94. *of the firſt edition.*

(8) *Ibid. pag.* 207, 208.

(9) *It was dated the 8th and 13th of May* 1691.

(10) La Cabale Chimerique: ou Refutation de l'Hiſtoire fabuleuſe qu'on vient de de publier malicieuſement touchant un certain Projet de paix, dans l'Examen d'un Libelle, &c. intitulé Avis important aux Refugiez ſur leur prochain retour en France. *A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers,* 1691, *in* 12°.

1691.

that he had alledged to prove that he was. Laſtly he re-capitulates Mr Jurieu's accuſations, and reduced them to twenty five Articles, the eighteenth of which was (1), *That Mr Bayle made hardly any ſecret of his Atheiſm, that he did not edify the public by any act of Religion; that he was without Religion, and without love to God, ſo that his ſupreme deity was called Lewis* XIV. “Here, adds Mr Bayle, are eighteen Articles, out of which I am ſure my adverſary will never extricate himſelf. The laſt alone is ſufficient to employ him for his whole Life, without drawing any thing but matter of confuſion to himſelf from it. I wait with a great deal of impatience 'till he ſhall come that length. It is ſo capital a point, that he muſt either conquer or die. He muſt prove it, either by my writings or by credible witneſſes, or by avouching by unqueſtionable ſigns, that God has conferred upon him the gift of prophecy to ſuch a degree, that he ſees all that paſſeth in peoples hearts. . . . . . . Paſſion has blinded him in ſuch a manner that he could not ſee, that though his cauſe had been good, he would have ruined it by the great number of facts with which he has loaded it. For though he ſhould ſucceed in all the reſt of the articles, if he failed in the laſt could he juſtly eſcape hanging? is not Atheiſm puniſhed capitally every where? and ought not an accuſer who is convicted of falſe evidence, to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment which the perſon accuſed would have undergone, if he had been found guilty. . . . . I repeat it once more, an accuſer who embaraſſeth himſelf ſo ſtupidly and fooliſhly excites rather our pity than our anger. Who would not laugh to ſee a Miniſter undertake to prove, that a man who in the ſight of the world communicates four times a year, and is frequently preſent at the public prayers, and at the beſt part of the ſermon, doth not perform *any religious act?* I will ſhow him that my pretended impiety conſiſts only in my not having applauded his falſe miracles, falſe prophets, and pretended revelations; and I will never be aſhamed of having contributed to ſtop my fellow Refugees upon the brink of Fanaticiſm, and of having indirectly hindered Mr Jurieu himſelf from puſhing his chimeras ſtill further (2).” To theſe eighteen articles he added ſeven more, and “(3) declared that all that Mr Jurieu could write before he had proved theſe twenty five articles would be loſt labour, and that his honour would not be at all ſalved by proving ſome of them only; for if he ſhould fail in others, he would ſtill be convicted as a public calumniator, in a matter where life and fame are concerned; and conſequently his Miniſtry would be thereby ſo much diſhonoured that he would be a reproach to the Proteſtant Church if they did not depoſe him.”

As this was not one of thoſe diſputes which ariſe among men of letters, about points of erudition or ſcience, but an affair wherein honour and even life was concerned, if the treaſon againſt the State had been proved; Mr Bayle did not think himſelf obliged to keep any terms with his accuſer, he unmaſked him ſo ſucceſsfully, that even Mr Jurieu's pride and arrogance were not able to ſtand ſo rude a ſhock. He had recourſe to the civil power, and preſented to the *Venerable Burgomaſters* of Rotterdam a Petition wherein he drew his own picture to the life. It is as follows:

The Sieur Jurieu, who has had the honour for ſo many years and by ſo many labours to defend the cauſe of God, prays for juſtice from your Lordſhips, againſt a horrible Libel compoſed by the Sieur Bayle, wherein the ſaid Bayle calls him rogue, villain, impoſtor, calumniator, and wicked man; and calls the Princes who have ſhaken off the yoke of Popery flagitious men, and aſſaſſinators, and ſays many other infamous things againſt the Reformation. The Sieur Jurieu implores protection for his innocence, and that the ſaid book may be prohibited, lacerated, and torn to pieces; the author puniſhed as ſuch atrocious injuries deſerve; and that the Sieur Jurieu may be permitted to defend himſelf publickly, he promiſing to do ſo with modeſty and chriſtian moderation; and that the Sieur Bayle may be forbid to compoſe any more books againſt the Sieur Jurieu.

“This is, ſays Mr Bayle (4), one of the moſt violent and at the ſame time the moſt burleſque piece that was ever ſeen. To deſire that an accuſer of high-treaſon both againſt God and man ſhould be allowed to write againſt the party accuſed, and that the latter ſhould be forbid to write againſt his accuſer; muſt not one be out of his wits to offer ſuch a petition? A Gentleman who ſhould deſire his Prince to give him leave to fight in ſingle combat with his adverſary, after tying him hand and foot to a tree, would not be ſo ridiculous. But his aſſurance in accuſing Mr Bayle before theſe gentlemen, of having in his *Cabale Chimerique* called the *Princes who have ſhaken off the yoke of Popery, flagitious men and aſſaſſinators, and of having ſaid ſeveral infamous things againſt the Reformation*, is ſuch a furious calumny, that tho' he ſhould meet with no other diſgrace in this proceſs, but the being convicted of having advanced ſuch a falſhood in ſuch a petition, he would have good reaſon to repent of his notable accuſation.”

The Burgomaſters of Rotterdam acted a part agreeable to their equity and wiſdom. “They exhorted both Mr Bayle and Mr Jurieu to make up matters as ſoon as poſſible; and forbad them to write any thing againſt each other, which ſhould not firſt be examined by Mr Bayer, Penſionary of the city. They prohibited likewiſe the publication of any more anonymous libels, ſuch as had appeared at Rotterdam

(1) *Ibid. pag.* 283. *and the following.*

(2) *Ibid. p.* 286.

(3) *Ibid. p.* 294, 295.

(4) Chimere demontrée, *pref. pag.* lxv, lxvi.

1691. “ againſt the *Cabale Chimerique* (1).” We ſhall ſoon have an occaſion of ſpeaking of theſe libels.

What Mr Jurieu had wrote concerning the pretended Cabal of Geneva, drew upon him both the indignation and contempt of that whole City. One of the Syndics wrote what follows on this ſubject to a friend of his in Holland (2): *I can aſſure you, Sir, that people in this Country have been very much offended at Mr Jurieu's manner of writing, and that he has loſt his reputation among all men of honour and good ſenſe. One cannot imagine what could make him write in the manner he has done againſt this City. What he has ſaid is abſolutely falſe, and entirely his own invention. All that is true in the matter is, that one Goudet, a Merchant, has taken upon him to write certain projects of peace &c.*

See likewiſe what a private Gentleman writes from thence (3): “ We cannot but “ look with indignation upon a man, who, filled with the moſt deadly poiſon, “ bites without diſtinction every thing that comes in his way, friends and foes, “ not ſparing even Sovereign States. What have the Magiſtrates of Geneva done “ to him that he ſhould endeavour to embroil them with their people, and ſet “ them at variance with all the Proteſtants and the Allies? but all that I can ſay “ to you on this ſubject is, that every body here has looked upon his calum- “ nies with the utmoſt contempt.”

Mr Minutoli wrote a letter to Mr Jurieu on the ſame ſubject in very ſtrong terms. *I do not know,* (*ſays he* (4), *whether our Government, and ſo many perſons of diſtinction, ſo unworthily treated in a point which concerns ſo deeply both their conſcience and honour, will not endeavour to give you the moſt mortifying proofs of their juſt reſentment; but I am very certain that I muſt have forgot all the rules of juſtice, if I did not at preſent appear in favour of Mr Bayle, who by the accident which I will tell you, was brought by me only into that affair, which you are pleaſed to lay to his charge as a great crime.* He proceeds to give a detail of all that had paſſed betwixt Mr Bayle and him concerning the project of peace; which agreed in every circumſtance with the account Mr Bayle himſelf had given of it in his *Cabale Chimerique*, and which I have before related. He reproached Mr Jurieu with having upon ſome frivolous conjectures, placed both Mr Bayle and him in his pretended Cabal. *Tell me upon your conſcience,* (*ſays he*), *how would you take it, if any body upon ſuch preſumptions, which they might have againſt you, ſhould preſently, without farther examination, in a public mannner accuſe you and your friends as perſons without Honour, Faith, or Religion?* He exhorted him to acknowledge his fault, and not to oblige him to make this Letter public for Mr Bayle's juſtification.

Mr Jurieu received likewiſe Letters from ſome friends he had at Geneva, adviſing him not to give any credit to the ſtory of the Geneva Cabal, and not to conſider the project of peace as a ſerious matter (5). But this did not hinder him to publiſh without the knowledge, and contrary to the prohibition of the Magiſtrates, a piece intitled, (6) *New Convictions of the Author of the Advice to the Refugees. Together with the Nullity of his Defences. By a friend of Mr Jurieu. Part the firſt.* He wrote under the name of a friend, that by this diſguiſe he might not come under the Magiſtrates prohibition. He maintained in it all that he had before ſaid concerning the Cabal at Geneva, and the project of peace. This firſt part was ſoon followed by a ſecond, intitled, *The laſt Conviction of the Sieur Bayle, Profeſſor of Philoſophy at Rotterdam, concerning the Advice to the Refugees, which may ſerve for a Factum in the complaint laid before the State* (7). In this laſt piece, he no longer talks of the dangerous Cabal which extended itſelf from North to South, which had its center at the Court of France, and whoſe intention was to raiſe an inſurrection in Holland and in England to confound all the Deſigns of the Allies, and by this means to procure an univerſal Monarchy to France, and conſequently to ruin the Proteſtant Religion. He ſaw that he had thereby made himſelf both contemptible and ridiculous; he therefore changed the ſtate of the queſtion, and only accuſed Mr Bayle of *having had an intention to publiſh without the knowledge of the State, A Project of Peace contrary to their intentions and intereſts* (8). With regard to the *Advice to the Refugees* he only repeated and amplified the accuſations which he had already brought againſt Mr Bayle: and inſtead of juſtifying himſelf from the falſhoods and calumnies which Mr Bayle had reduced to twenty five articles, he gave a looſe to abuſe and invectives. He had even the boldneſs to deny that the Magiſtracy had forbid him to write, as they had done Mr Bayle. “ Surely, (ſaid “ he), one muſt have a very bad opinion of the Adminiſtration both of this City “ and of the State, to believe that they have put a man accuſed of treaſon againſt “ the State, upon the ſame footing with one who through his zeal for the State “ has brought a complaint againſt him. It would not be at all juſt to take the “ right of defending himſelf from a man who has been ſo violently attacked, as “ Mr Jurieu has been. He is obliged for the edification of the Church to vindicate his name wherever his works have carried it (9).” However as it was very certain that they had been both alike forbidden to publiſh any thing which had not been examined by Mr Bayer (10): this Magiſtrate on reading that part of

(1) Chimere demontrée, *p.* 4.

(2) Ibid. *Preface*, *p.* xxxv, xxxvi.

(3) Ibid. *p.* xxxvi, xxxvii.

(4) *Letter from Mr Minutoli to Mr Jurieu of the* $\frac{29}{19}$*th of May* 1691. *In the* Chimere demontrée &c. *p.* 189, 190.

(5) Ibid. *Preface*, *p.* xi, xii.

(6) Nouvelles Convictions contre l'Auteur de l'Avis aux Refugiez. Avec la nullité de ſes juſtifications. Par un Ami de Mr Jurieu. Premiere Partie.

(7) Derniere Conviction contre le ſieur Bayle, Profeſſeur en Philoſophie à Rotterdam au ſujet de l'Avis aux Refugiez, pour ſervir de Factum ſur la plainte portée aux Puiſſances de l'Etat. *Both parts together contain* 36 *pages in* 4°, *in two columns ſmall character.*

(8) Laſt Conviction &c. *p.* 15, *col.* 1.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Chimere demontrée, *p.* 215, 216, *and Preface*, *p.* lxiv.

the Factum, was extremely ſurprized at Mr Jurieu's aſſurance in maintaining the contrary (1).

Before the publication of Mr Jurieu's *laſt Conviction*, there appeared ſeveral anonymous libels againſt the *Cabale Chimerique*, wherein his accuſations were repeated and even improved by new calumnies. Of this kind were the *Letter to Mr Bayle, Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Hiſtory in Rotterdam, concerning the Cabale Chimerique* (2). It was a violent declamation wrote by a Miniſter, one of Mr Jurieu's Creatures. *General Remarks on Mr Bayle's Cabale Chimerique, with a firſt and ſecond Continuation of theſe Remarks* (3). At firſt theſe *Remarks* were aſcribed to Mr Bazin de Limeville, a Refugee at Rotterdam (4), but he proteſted that he was no ways concerned in them (5), and it was afterwards known that they were written by Mr Robethon. Mr Bayle publiſhed under the name of a friend, a pamphlet of twelve pages, intitled *A Letter concerning the little books publiſhed againſt the Cabale Chimerique* (6), wherein he informed the Public of his reaſons for not anſwering theſe libels. He ſaid that the prohibition of the Magiſtrate had made him ſuppreſs the anſwer which he had promiſed in his *Cabale Chimerique*; and that all the world was convinced that Mr Jurieu had broke the promiſe which he made to the Burgomaſters, by publiſhing his pretended *New Convictions*. He added that he intended to anſwer Mr Jurieu's laſt libel, but that he did not think it proper to ſpend his time in anſwering a great many other pieces which only repeated the ſame things, or commented on ſome miſtaken or mutilated paſſage of the *Cabale Chimerique*, and advanced falſhoods with equal boldneſs and malice. He gives ſome examples of this, taken from the two pieces juſt now mentioned. The Miniſter who was Author of the letter to Mr Bayle thought fit to reply. He publiſhed a pamphlet of twenty one pages, intitled *A ſhort Refutation of a Letter written in favour of the Sieur Bayle in defence of his Cabale Chimerique* (7). He believed that Mr Bauval was author of the letter concerning the little books. I will inſert here one of his accuſations, Mr Bayle's anſwer to it, and the accuſer's reply: this will be ſufficient to give a notion of theſe two pieces, and of the character of their author. The Miniſter after accuſing Mr Bayle of avarice adds (8), "when I ſpeak of your avarice I do not uſe this word in the ſtrict ſenſe. They ſay you do not love money with a deſign to hoard it up; I am willing to believe it ſince people ſay ſo. You love it notwithſtanding for the uſe you are pleaſed to make of it, with which I do not pretend to meddle. . . . . But, Sir, do you believe that the world doth not know why you diſcontinued your *News from the Republic of Letters!* we know indeed that the indiſpoſition which ſeized you, furniſhed you with a pretence. But we know likewiſe, that you pretended to be better paid for it than you had been formerly, and that the Bookſeller not being willing to agree to the augmentation you demanded, your agreement was at an end, and you diſcontinued the work upon that account. That is to ſay, your appetite increaſed in proportion with your reputation." Who could imagine that a fact could be alledged with ſo much confidence, without taking all the neceſſary precautions to be certain of its truth! However let us hear Mr Bayle. *I do not know, ſays he* (9), *what name to give to a falſhood of a certain declaimer, who has lately publiſhed as a thing certain, that Mr Bayle diſcontinued his* News from the Republic of Letters, *only becauſe the Bookſeller would not give him all that he demanded for the copy. The Bookſeller is ſtill alive: his name is Henry Deſbordes, he lives at Amſterdam, in the Kalverſtraet, one may be fully informed what truth there is in this, with all the eaſe in the world; yet here is a man, who without being at the pains of informing himſelf, which could have retarded the publication of his wonderful Letter only a day or two, dares to entangle himſelf publickly in an infamous falſhood, for which he may be covered with confuſion, if he is capable of any ſhame, by ſhowing Mr Deſbordes's own handwriting.* But this author was not to be put to the bluſh. He anſwered cooly (10), "We think ourſelves obliged to conſult Henry Deſbordes about the fact we advanced, concerning the interruption of the *News from the Republic of Letters.* We have ſpoke in the manner we have done on the teſtimony a printer, who at that time worked for the ſaid Deſbordes, becauſe he had no intereſt to diſguiſe matters, and we believed that he related things as they were. So we leave it as we found it, becauſe it is a matter of very ſmall importance in itſelf, and neither much helps or hurts the principal cauſe." This was the common cuſtom of thoſe writers of libels. They publiſhed upon hear-ſay the moſt infamous things they could pick up againſt Mr Bayle, and when they were convicted of falſhood, they ſaid that *they left them as they found them.* And in this they only followed Mr Jurieu's example, who filled his Factums with mere imaginations and falſhoods. It was in this manner that he repeated ſeveral times, that *Mr Bayle* had *lived with the Jeſuits at Toulouſe three years*; tho' he had never lived with them, and had ſtaid only eighteen months at Toulouſe, as we have already ſeen. He had his ſpies every where, who wrote or told him what paſſed, and for the moſt part very unfaithfully. We may well imagine, that his ſpies were the very ſcum of the Refugees. He had even ſome of them ſo ſcandalous, that his own creatures were aſhamed of it. One of his friends could not forbear writing to him, that he diſparaged himſelf by his correſpondence with a certain Mi-

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(1) *Letter to Mr Lenfant of the 24th of Auguſt* 1691. *p.* 390, 391.

(2) Lettre écrite à M. B. Prof. en Phil. & en Hiſt. à Rotterdam ſur la Cabale Chimerique.

(3) Remarques Generales ſur la Cabale Chimerique de Mr Bayle: I. & II. Suite *de ces* Remarques.

(4) Bauval *Copy of a Letter from Mr S.... concerning the General Remarks on the Cabale Chimerique, p.* 1. *and the following.*

(5) Entretiens ſur le grand ſcandale cauſé par un Livre intitulé la Cabale Chimerique, *p.* 157.

(6) Lettre ſur les petits Livres publiez contre la Cabale Chimerique.

(7) Courte Refutation de la Lettre écrite en faveur du S. B. pour la défenſe de ſa Cabale Chimerique.

(8) Lettre ecrite à Mr B. ſur ſa Cabale Chimerique, *p.* 27, 28.

(9) Lettre ſur les petits livres publiez contre la Cabale Chimerique, *p.* 6, 7.

(10) Courte Refutation de la Lettre écrite en faveur du S. B. pour la défenſe de ſa Cabale Chirique, *p.* 15, 16.

1691. niſter among the Refugees at London: Mr Jurieu anſwered him, *He is a knave, it is true; but he is orthodox:* whereupon he was commonly called the *orthodox knave.*

There appeared likewiſe another piece conſiſting of twelve pages, againſt Mr Bayle's Letter, with this title, *A Letter to Mr* *** *relating to a Libel intituled, A Letter concerning the little books publiſhed againſt the Cabale Chimerique* (1). The author aſcribes this Letter *concerning the little books, &c.* to Mr de Bauval, with more aſſurance than the author of the *Letter to Mr Bayle* had done. And indeed the ſame ſpirit was obſervable in both. Before theſe three pieces appeared, Mr de Bauval had publiſhed one of eight pages intituled, *A Copy of a Letter* written *to M. S. . . . concerning the author of the General Remarks on the Cabale Chimerique* (2). After ſome fine raillery upon the author of the *General Remarks*, whom he took to be Mr Limeville, he gives us Mr Jurieu's Petition, and ſhews how ridiculous it is. He made likewiſe ſome reflexions upon the unjuſt diſtinction that Mr Jurieu pretended ſhould be made betwixt him and Mr Bayle.

The firſt edition of the *Cabale Chimerique* being very ſoon ſold off, Mr Bayle publiſhed another corrected and very much enlarged. On the back of the title-page there is a ſhort advertiſement, wherein he deſires the reader not to make a judgment of that piece from the firſt chapters of it, in which he was forced to be dry, and could not avoid a detail of trifling particulars; but that they ſhould find what followed more lively and leſs tireſome, if they would give themſelves the trouble of reading it quite through. This edition did not appear ſo ſoon as the impreſſion of it was finiſhed. Mr Bayle put a ſtop to the ſale of it for a conſiderable time, becauſe the Burgomaſters of Rotterdam had forbidden all the Bookſellers in that City, to ſell any thing that ſhould be printed on this ſubject (3). But when he ſaw that Mr Jurieu publiſhed his Factums, he thought himſelf likewiſe intitled to publiſh the ſecond edition of his *Cabale Chimerique.* However, he did not mention in the title that it was printed at Rotterdam, or that it was a ſecond edition corrected and enlarged. As this title is ſomewhat different from the firſt, I will inſert it here: *The Chimerical Cabal: or a Refutation of the fabulous ſtories and calumnies which Mr Jurieu has lately maliciouſly publiſhed concerning a certain Project of Peace; and concerning a Libel intituled, an important Advice to the Refugees, upon their approaching return into France, in his examination of that Libel* (4).

In this edition Mr Bayle attacked Mr Jurieu very ſmartly with regard to the accuſation of Atheiſm. He inſiſted upon this article by all the conſiderations which could ſhow the importance of it; he called upon his accuſer, in a ſolemn manner, to prove it, he employed defiances, inſults, and, in a word, every thing that is moſt proper to put an adverſary under a neceſſity of producing his proofs (5). Mr Jurieu ſeeing himſelf ſo preſſed, addreſſed himſelf to his Conſiſtory, and promiſed to make good his accuſation: but he gave over this deſign a few days after, and offered only to be their Commiſſary, if they would furniſh him with ſome Memoirs, which ſurprized them extreamly (6). He had oftner than once harangued in the Conſiſtory againſt Mr Bayle with the utmoſt vehemence, and went even ſo far as to declare, That *he would no more be reconciled with him than with the Devil* (7). He endeavoured in vain to get the Acts of the Conſiſtory annulled, which amongſt other things contained *that Mr Jurieu had deſiſted from his accuſations againſt Mr Bayle, concerning Religion, and that he ſhould not carry the complaints he might have againſt him any where but to the Conſiſtory in the firſt inſtance* (8). In the mean while he publiſhed a piece intituled, *A ſhort review of the maxims of Morality and principles of Religion, of the author of the Thoughts concerning Comets, and of the General Criticiſm on Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm: To ſerve for an Information to the Eccleſiaſtical Judges, if they pleaſe to take cognizance of it* (9). He here alledges ſome paſſages of theſe two books, and endeavours to ſhow that they tend to irreligion. The ſame day that this piece fell into Mr Bayle's hands, he publiſhed one under this title: *The Declaration of Mr Bayle, Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Hiſtory at Rotterdam, concerning a Pamphlet lately publiſhed under the title of a Short Review of the Maxims of Morality &c* (10). Mr Bayle here ſhowed that Mr Jurieu changed the ſtate of the queſtion, he calls upon him anew to prove his accuſation of Atheiſm, and engages to juſtify himſelf from all Heterodoxy, as ſoon as this firſt and principal point is cleared. He adds ſeveral propoſitions extracted from Mr Jurieu's writings, to ſerve for a ſupplement to thoſe, a condemnation of which had been deſired from the Synod aſſembled at Leyden in the beginning of May 1691. "The *Short Review* having been diſtributed among "the members of the Conſiſtory, they reſolved to examine a cauſe of ſo much "importance: however they did not ground any prejudices againſt Mr Bayle's opi-"nions, either upon the diſcourſes, or writings of his accuſer. They prepared them-"ſelves to judge the matter in a regular manner; and Mr Bayle declared him-"ſelf always ready to ſhow his innocence, and it was not owing to him that "they did not come to a final determination (11), but they did not proceed in "the cauſe."

Some of Mr Bayle's friends ſided with him even ſo far as to write in his favour. Mr de Bauval publiſhed *A Letter concerning the differences between Mr Jurieu and Mr Bayle* (12), wherein he demonſtrated that Mr Jurieu could never juſtify his baſe uſage

(1) Lettre à Monſieur *** au ſujet d'un Libelle qui a pour titre, Lettre ſur les petits Livres publiez contre la Cabale Chimerique.

(2) Copie d'un Lettre écrite à M. S... touchant l'Auteur des Remarques Generales ſur la Cabale Chimerique.

(3) *Letter to Mr Minutoli of the 27th of Auguſt* 1691, *p.* 392.

(4) La Cabale Chimerique: ou Refutation de l'Hiſtoire fabuleuſe & des calomnies que Mr J. vient de publier malicieuſement touchant un certain Projet de Paix, & touchant le libelle intitulé Avis important aux Refugiez ſur leur prochain retour en France, dans ſon Examen de ce libelle. *A Cologne. chez Pierre Marteau,* 1691, *in* 12°.

(5) *P.* 337.

(6) Chimere demontrée, *p.* 14.

(7) Ibid. *p.* 30.

(8) *Letter to Mr Lenfant of the 24th of Auguſt* 1691, *p.* 389.

(9) Courte Revûe des Maximes de Morale & des principes de Religion de l'Auteur des Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes, & de la Critique Generale ſur l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme de Maimbourg: Pour ſervir de Factum aux Juges Eccleſiaſtiques, s'ils en veulent connoitre. *In* 4°. *pagg.* 8.

(10) Declaration de Mr Bayle, Profeſſeur en Philoſophie & en Hiſtoire à Rotterdam touchant un petit Ecrit qui vient de paroitre ſous le titre de Courte Revûë des Maximes de Morale &c. *In* 12°, *pp.* 24.

(11) Additions to the Thoughts concerning Comets &c. *p.* 15, 16.

(12) Lettre ſur les differens de Mr Jurieu & de Mr Bayle.

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uſage of Mr Bayle, whether we conſider the matter with reſpect to the conduct becoming a gentleman, or to our common obligations as members of civil ſociety. Afterwards he defends himſelf from Mr Jurieu's attacks. We have ſeen that this divine had accuſed him of forging the Extract of a Letter in his Journal, wherein it was ſaid that they were reprinting the *Advice to the Refugees* at Paris. He repeated this charge in his *Convictions*, and imputed likewiſe other crimes to him. He accuſed him of being the publiſher of the *Advice to the Refugees*, and of being *a man without Religion*. He maintained that the Extract of the Letter was forged. “We are certain, ſays he (1), that it is forged. And we defy thoſe Gentlemen to depoſite that Letter, from whence this Extract was taken, in the hands of four men of honour who ſhall be choſen on the one ſide and the other, who may examine from whence it came, when it was written, and what goes before and after that paſſage. We defy them to do this, ſays he, and if they do not do it, it will be a proof that the Letter is either forged, or written by a correſpondent who is in the ſecret, or contains things which will diſcover the myſtery. This is a challenge which we are very ſure they will not accept. They will not dare to do it.” Mr de Bauval accepted this challenge. He ſummoned him by a Notary to name two referees, and promiſed to name two others, to whom he would ſhew the Letter: but Mr Jurieu drew back, and could never be brought to this diſcuſſion which he had propoſed. Mr Bayle mentions this piece of Mr de Bauval in one of his Letters to Mr Minutoli. “Of all my friends, ſays he (2), there is none who has wrote any thing in my favour, except Mr de Bauval, Mr Baſnage's brother. Mr Jurieu hates him, at leaſt as much as he doth me, and brings him into all his Libels with a perfectly brutal rudeneſs; and at laſt joins him with me as author of the *Advice to the Refugees*. Mr de Bauval has therefore wrote a Letter of two ſheets and a half, concerning our differences, which rallies him in a very elegant and dexterous manner.” Mr Huet likewiſe publiſhed a piece in favour of Mr Bayle, intitled: *A Letter from a friend of Mr Bayle's to Mr Jurieu's friends* (3), wherein he takes to taſk ſeveral paſſages of the *New Convictions*, and of the *General Remarks*. This pamphlet is wrote with a great deal of good ſenſe and moderation.

Mr Jurieu raiſed as many complaints by his heterodox opinions, as he did by his violent and perſecuting ſpirit. Some churches petitioned the Synods to examine his books; they made up a liſt of hereſies and profane expreſſions contained in them [*P*], and ſent it to the Synod then ſetting at Leyden, under the title of *A Letter to the Miniſters and Elders, members of the Synod aſſembled at Leyden, the ſecond of May* 1691 (4). This accuſation together with the diſputes he had with ſeveral Miniſters in the Synods, obliged him to publiſh a piece intituled, *An Apology for the Sieur Jurieu, Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity, addreſſed to the Miniſters and Heads of the Walloon Churches in the Low Countries* (5): but inſtead of defending his doctrine here, he with a great deal of pride and oſtentation ſets forth the great ſervices he pretended to have done the Church; and after thus making his own panegyric, breaks out into railing and invectives againſt the Miniſters who had complained of him, and once more inveighs bitterly againſt Mr Bayle. It is here that he owns that *ſince it was not in his power to get him puniſhed as he deſerved, at leaſt he would expoſe him to public infamy* (6), and he makes grievous complaints of *the clemency of the State* (7). As Mr de Bauval's piece had touched him to the quick, he falls violently upon him; and tho' he had refuſed to abide by the terms of the challenge which he had given; he

(1) New Convictions, &c. *pag.* 10. *col.* 1.

(2) *Letter to Mr Minutoli of the 27th of Auguſt* 1691, *pag.* 395.

(3) Lettre d'un des Amis de Mr Bayle aux Amis de Mr Jurieu.

(4) Lettre à Meſſieurs les Miniſtres & Anciens qui compoſent le Synode aſſemblé à Leyden, le 2 de Mai 1691.

(5) Apologie du Sieur Jurieu, Paſteur & Profeſſeur en Theologie, adreſſée aux Paſteurs & Conducteurs des Egliſes Wallones des Pays-Bas.

(6) Apology for the Sieur Jurieu, *pag.* 25. *col.* 1.

(7) Ibid. *pag.* 24. *col.* 2.

[*P*] *The profane expreſſions contained in the writings of Mr Jurieu.*] Mr Jurieu having complained in 1690 that Mr de Bauval had taken all occaſions of introducing him in his Journal without the leaſt neceſſity; Mr de Bauval anſwered that this was an unjuſt complaint. “I have done it, ſays he (*a*), only once in treating of Toleration; and I have ſpared him on a thouſand occaſions. He would long ago have thundered againſt me, as he has now done, if I had not ſhunned him even when he came naturally in my way. Have I pointed out all the blunders which Mr de Meaux, and Father de Sainte Marthe have obſerved in his writings? Has not the one of them obſerved with great marks of aſtoniſhment that Mr Jurieu not being able to fix the time of the fall of Antichriſt * has given this reaſon for it; *that in matter of prophecies God doth not look ſo near?* And has not the other reproached him with a certain chapter † in the *Accompliſhment of Prophecies*, which has the following fine title, *Some things put in order which the Holy Ghoſt has put out of order, with regard to the viſions?* Have not others made violent out-cries againſt his *Religion of the Jeſuits?* After having recited there a *Motet* wherein the King of France is introduced ſaying to King James II, who had then abandoned his three kingdoms, *Sit thou on my right hand until I make thy enemies thy footſtool*, Mr Jurieu adds waggiſhly, *See what an admirable metamorphoſis here is! The King is become God the Father, the King of England is become God the Son; that this Trinity may be compleat I think we ſhould make a Holy Ghoſt of the Prince of Wales.* He had jeſted pretty much in the ſame manner when he found the following reſemblance between JESUS CHRIST and the Prince of Wales, *that as Joſeph the Virgin's husband, was not the true father of the firſt* JESUS, *James II, the Queen's husband, might poſſibly likewiſe not be father of the ſecond.*”

Theſe expreſſions ſo unedifying and ſo diſreſpectful to Religion, were complained of to the Synods. The Author of the *Anſwer to Mr Jurieu's ſecond Apology* (*b*) makes a particular article of them under the title of *Profane expreſſions of Mr Jurieu*, and gives many examples of them, and among others the following: *The Apoſtles did not imitate thoſe Jugglers, who immediately upon their arrival any where endeavour to perform ſome maſter-piece of their art, &c. The Diſciples of Ariſtotle muſt needs be much ſurpriſed to find that the Eternal Word has turned Carteſian in his old days* (*c*). Mr Saurin in his *Examination of the Theology of Mr Jurieu*, obſerves that we may add to this raillery the following, which very much reſembles it: *Can God perform this miracle? poſſibly they believe he cannot, and that now he is too old to do ſuch great and extraordinary works* (*d*).

(*a*) Réponſe à l'Avis de Mr Jurieu, *pag.* 26, 27.

* Accompliſhment of Prophecies, *tom. ii. cap.* 12. *1ſt Edit.*

† Ibid. *tom. ii. cap.* 2. *1ſt Edit.*

(*b*) Reponſe à un Libelle intituié, Seconde Apologie du Mr Jurieu.

(*c*) Réponſe à un Libelle, &c. *pag.* 19. & ſuiv.

(*d*) Examen de la Theologie de Mr Jurieu, *tom. i. pag.* 332.

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1691. he nevertheleſs maintained *that he had convicted him of being an accomplice in the Advice to the Refugees*, and of being *the principal actor in the comedy of the Paris edition* (1). Mr de Bauval publiſhed an *Anſwer to Mr Jurieu's Apology* (2) wherein he refuted his calumnies, and ſhowed how ridiculouſly he had boaſted that he was the pillar of the Church, and the champion of Orthodoxy. He called upon him once more to name his arbiters to decide the difference between them with all rigour: but he called upon him in vain. At laſt, ſeeing that he would make him no reparation, nor come to any explanation, he preſented a declaration to the Conſiſtory of Rotterdam, by which he *proteſted that he looked upon Mr Jurieu to be a calumniator and a wicked man* (3).

Mr Bayle publiſhed an anſwer to Mr Jurieu's laſt pieces under this title: *The Chimera of the Cabal of Rotterdam, demonſtrated by the* pretended Convictions *which the Sieur Jurieu has publiſhed againſt Mr Bayle* (4). This Anſwer is written under the name of a friend of Mr Bayle, and contains three parts: I. *The Chimera of the Cabal of Rotterdam, demonſtrated by the* New Convictions *publiſhed by a friend of Mr Jurieu; or a Letter from a Friend of Mr Bayle to Mr* * * *. It is a Refutation of the Factum or Caſe publiſhed by Mr Jurieu, in ſupport of his Cabal of the Project of peace. It concludes with the Letter which Mr Minutoli wrote to Mr Jurieu upon that ſubject. II. *General Remarks upon Mr Jurieu's Factum againſt Mr Bayle concerning the Advice to the Refugees.* He doth not here endeavour to refute particularly every thing that Mr Jurieu advances in his *Laſt Conviction*; but lays down a liſt of things to be proved by him, without which that piece could be of no force. III. A long *Preface, wherein the way to judge on which ſide the victory lies in this proceſs, is laid down.* Mr Bayle gives here an account of all the particulars of Mr Jurieu's accuſation, and of what had been done in conſequence of it. This accuſation is reduced to theſe three heads: *the Cabal of Geneva*; *the Advice to the Refugees*; *and the correſpondence with the Court of France.* Mr Bayle joined to it ſome *Reflexions on Mr Jurieu's Apology*, wherein he diſcovers ſeveral falſhoods which he had advanced, and amongſt others this; that Mr Bayle owed his eſtabliſhment at Rotterdam to him. Mr Bayle ſhows that it was quite the contrary. In the *Advice to the Reader*, he ſays that this book was compoſed a good while before, except the laſt ſheets of the Preface; and that it would have appeared a few days after Mr Jurieu's pretended *Convictions*, if the Printers had been as diligent as the Author. He gives an account of the contents of each part, and makes ſome reflexions upon Mr Jurieu's ſhameful conduct in this whole affair. Mr Bayle treats Mr Jurieu in this work with leſs ſeverity than he had done in the *Cabale Chimerique*, as he himſelf obſerves.

Mr Bayle much about the ſame time publiſhed, *Dialogues concerning the great ſcandal which had been given by a book intitled the Cabale Chimerique* (5). This piece contains five Dialogues. PHILODEMUS and AGATHO, the two dialogiſts, conſider Mr Jurieu as an eminent ſervant of God who has wore out his ſtrength in the ſervice of the Church; and are very much diſpleaſed that Mr Bayle has treated him ſo harſhly. They acquaint each other with the converſations they have had with ſome *Cabaliſts*; and repeat the arguments theſe *Cabaliſts* had advanced for Mr Bayle, and the manner in which they had anſwered them. It is a perpetual Irony, under which Mr Jurieu's picture is drawn, and Mr Bayle is vindicated on many different ſubjects.

The mortifications which Mr Jurieu had received at the laſt Synod (6), the neceſſity he found himſelf reduced to of preparing his defences for the next Synod, againſt the complaints which came from all quarters againſt his doctrine, and his grief to ſee that, notwithſtanding all his oppoſition, Mr Baſnage his brother-in-law was received Miniſter in ordinary to the Church of Rotterdam; all this together troubled him ſo much that he was ſeized with his uſual vapours in the month of September 1691 (7). He found himſelf unable to write, and there paſſed three or four months without any thing appearing in his diſpute with Mr Bayle. But at laſt his champion, the Author of the *General Remarks*, thought fit to publiſh a piece againſt the *Chimera of the Cabal, &c.* intituled, *The Philoſopher degraded. Which may ſerve for a third part to the General Remarks upon Mr Bayle's Cabale Chimerique* (8). Mr Bayle's friends adviſed him to neglect this piece: however he thought it neceſſary to anſwer it. He gives the following reaſons to Mr Sylveſtre for doing ſo. “If you had read, ſays he (9), the Libel which you deſire me not to anſwer, “I am ſure you would approve of my having made that Author ſenſible of his “inſufferable abuſes; and I have done this to nip in the bud a thouſand little “libels of this ſort which he prepares to give us, wherein he would not regard “the groſſeſt falſhoods, if I did not threaten to take him ſharply to taſk. And “indeed I thought I ſhould diſoblige Mr Sartre, if I ſhould oppoſe nothing but “ſilence to his teſtimony.” To clear up this fact, I muſt obſerve that Mr Jurieu in his *Short Review* publiſhed a Letter from London, wherein it was poſitively affirmed that a perſon *who had ſtudied with Mr Bayle at Puylaurens* (that is to ſay Mr Sartre a Refugee and Miniſter at London) had ſaid that Mr Bayle *was ſeduced to ſuch a degree that he turned Papiſt, and even went to ſtay at Toulouſe with the Jeſuits about three years*: that this perſon having wrote to him concerning his

(1) Ibid. *pag.* 26. *col.* 2.

(2) Reponſe à l'Apologie de Mr Jurieu.

(3) *See* Conſiderations upon two Sermons of Mr Jurieu, &c. *pag.* 36.

(4) Chimere de la Cabale de Rotterdam, demontrée par les *pretendues Convictions* que le Sieur Jurieu a publiées contre Mr Bayle. *A Amſterdam chez Henry Desbordes, dans le Kalverſtraet.* 1691.

(5) Entretiens ſur le grand ſcandale cauſé par un Livre intitulé, la Cabale Chimerique. *A Cologne chez Pierre Marteau.* 1691.

(6) *The Synod of Naerden, held in September* 1691, *ordered Mr Jurieu to produce his defences againſt an accuſation of Hereſy and Impiety, brought againſt him by five Churches.*

(7) *Letter to Mr Conſtant of 8th of October* 1691, *p.* 408.

(8) Le Philoſophe degradé. Pour ſervir de troiſiéme ſuite aux Remarques Generales ſur la Cabale Chimerique de Mr Bayle.

(9) *Letter of the 17th of December*, 1691, *pag.* 421, 422.

1691.

change of Religion, *had received a ſharp anſwer from him which beſpoke him a true Papiſt and already filled with the ſpirit of Jeſuitiſm:* that he ſaw him afterwards *at Geneva after he had left Toulouſe*, and that Mr Bayle *calling to mind this Letter and the Anſwer to it, made an apology for it, and begged of him not to mention that matter.* Mr Bayle denied all theſe circumſtances in his *Chimere demontrée*, except his change of Religion. He denied that he had ever *lived with the Jeſuits*; and called upon the Author to name the perſon who pretended that Mr Bayle had wrote a *ſharp Anſwer* to him, and afterwards had made *apologies* for it at Geneva: Upon this Mr Jurieu's emiſſary, author of the Letter, engaged Mr Sartre to write a Letter to Mr Bayle, wherein he owned that he had ſaid, that Mr Bayle "being at Puylaurens, had abſented himſelf; and that it was known ſome days after that he "had thrown himſelf into the Jeſuits Convent at Toulouſe; that he had wrote a "Letter to him on that ſubject, ſuch as a young man might be ſuppoſed to write "on ſuch an occaſion; and that he had received a very tart anſwer to it; and that "he had likewiſe ſaid, that about three years after he had ſeen Mr Bayle at Geneva, and that Mr Bayle ſignified to him that he would oblige him, by not "ſpeaking of what had paſſed at Toulouſe, becauſe it might do him hurt in the "deſign he had of making ſome ſtay at Geneva (1)." The Author of the *Philoſopher degraded* publiſhed an Extract of this Letter; but he ſuppreſſed the paſſage wherein Mr Sartre declared, "that he durſt not affirm, either that Mr Bayle had "received his Letter, or that he had anſwered it, and that ſeveral perſons who ſaw "the Letter which he received in anſwer to his, were of opinion that Mr Bayle "was not the Author of it (2)." However the Author of that Libel produced this Letter as a proof of what had been advanced againſt Mr Bayle, and to convict him of inſincerity. It was this properly that obliged Mr Bayle to anſwer this piece. His anſwer (3) is intituled, *An Advice to the little Author of the little Books, with relation to his Philoſopher degraded* (4). He there produced many inſtances of the unfairneſs, ſtupidity, and vain repetitions of this Author. He likewiſe diſcovered ſome falſhoods which this pretended Athour to prove from this Letter of Mr Sartre, and acquainted him that he had wrote to that Miniſter, and waited for his Anſwer; and that Mr Sartre had already aſſured him by a common friend, that he would clear up that matter in a manner which ſhould ſatisfy Mr Bayle.

We have ſeen that Mr Jurieu being preſſed by Mr Bayle to prove the accuſation of Atheiſm, which he had brought againſt him, had promiſed to his Conſiſtory to do it; and that afterwards he drew back, and only offered to furniſh them with ſome Memoirs on that affair; that without waiting for the orders of the Conſtory, he publiſhed his *Short Review*, which obliged Mr Bayle to publiſh a *Declaration*, wherein he ſhowed that Mr Jurieu had changed the ſtate of the queſtion; and at the ſame time called upon him to prove this principal article. Mr Jurieu anſwered nothing to theſe repeated challenges, and made no further ſtep before the Conſiſtory that year. But he would needs renew the proceſs as ſoon as the Conſiſtory was changed in the month of January 1692. "At firſt, ſays Mr Bayle (5), "he would not be conſidered as a party, but a little after he himſelf agreed that "he ought to take that character; he excepted againſt whomſoever he pleaſed. "And as I much about the ſame time addreſſed myſelf to the Conſiſtory to demand juſtice againſt the atrocious calumnies he had publiſhed againſt me, all "things looked as if we ſhould ſoon have this affair brought to an iſſue in form; but "the accuſer ſuffered ſeveral weeks to paſs without appearing, alledging from ſunday "to ſunday (6) divers excuſes. At length he acquainted the Conſiſtory that he would "be ready againſt a certain day. I was informed of it, and did not fail to appear, "but inſtead of entering upon the affair, my accuſer deſired that we ſhould be "referred to the Synod. He ſupported this by all the reaſons he could think of. "On the contrary I did all that was in my power to get the Conſiſtory to retain the judgment of the cauſe in the firſt inſtance before themſelves, and propoſed that they ſhould deſire ſome of the Miniſters of the neighbouring Walloon "churches, and ſome of the Miniſters of the Dutch churches at Rotterdam to join "with the Conſiſtory, and that they ſhould even deſire the Magiſtrates to appoint ſome of their body to aſſiſt at the diſcuſſion of this cauſe: but all my "demands were rejected by the plurality of voices; my adverſary obtained that "the affair ſhould be referred to the Synod. He went in perſon to the Synod "which met a few days after at Ziric-zée, but did not make the leaſt mention of "our proceſs, nay would not ſo much as agree that the proceedings of the Conſiſtory ſhould be laid before the Synod, although the Conſiſtory had commiſſioned "their deputies to do ſo."

About this time Mr Bayle, diſguiſed under the name of *Carus Larebonius*, publiſhed a treatiſe in Latin againſt Mr Jurieu's book intituled, *The true Syſtem of the Church:* and as there is no title to which the ear is more accuſtomed than that of the *Janua Linguarum reſerata* of Comenius (7). He intitled it, *Janua Cœlorum reſerata cunctis Religionibus; à celebri admodum viro Domino Petro Jurieu, Rotterodami verbi divini Paſtore & Theologiæ Profeſſore. Porta patens eſto. Nulli claudatur honeſto. Amſtelodami excudebat Petrus Chayer. M DC XCII, in 4to* (8). This work

had

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(1) *Letter from Mr Sartre to Mr Bayle of the 6th of October* 1691, *p.* 399, 400.

(2) Advice to the little Author of the little books, &c. *p.* 29, 30.

(3) *It is dated the* 11*th of December* 1691.

(4) Avis au petit Auteur des petits Livrets ſur ſon Philoſophe dégradé, 1692.

(5) Addition to the Thoughts concerning Comets, &c. *p.* 18, 19.

(6) *This is the ordinary day wherein the Conſiſtories meet.*

(7) *See in the Hiſt. and Crit. Dict. the Article* COMENIUS.

(8) The Gate of Heaven opened to all Religions, by the famous Mr Peter Jurieu Miniſter of the Goſpel and Profeſſor of Divinity at Rotterdam.

1691. had been compoſed long before this time; for he makes mention of it in his *Cabale Chimerique* as a piece that was then ready to be ſent to the preſs. "I know a "perſon, ſays he (1), who has a Latin Diſſertation ready for the preſs, intituled, "*Janua Cælorum reſerata*, wherein he ſhows that the *Syſtem of the Church* of this "Author is a ſpunge to the Reformation, takes away all manner of neceſſity for "it, and ſaves good people in all Religions." This was to attack Mr Jurieu in the moſt ſenſible part: this book was looked upon as the beſt he had written; and Mr Nicole thought it the only one of all his writings which deſerved an anſwer (2). Mr Bayle ſhows Mr Jurieu, that as great an enemy as he was to Toleration, he had here opened the gates of heaven, not only to all the ſects of Chriſtians, but even to Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans. This book being wrote in a language underſtood by all the Learned, mortified Mr Jurieu extreamly. He durſt not venture to anſwer it. But at laſt having publiſhed a piece in defence of his doctrine, intituled, *A ſecond Apology for Mr Jurieu: or an Anſwer to an anonymous Libel preſented to the Synods of Leyden, and Naerden under the title of A Letter to the Miniſters and Elders members of the Synod aſſembled at Leyden the 2d of May* 1691; he put at the end of it a kind of Advertiſement, wherein he affected to deſpiſe that book; and gave extracts of two Letters, written by perſons who talked very contemptibly of it, but who confeſs at the ſame time that they had not read it. The Authors of the *Letter* addreſſed to the Synod of Leyden (3), anſwered this Apology of Mr Jurieu in a piece intitled, *An Examination of Mr Jurieu's Doctrine which may ſerve for an Anſwer to a Libel intitled Mr Jurieu's ſecond Apology.* They do not let this pitiful artifice of Mr Jurieu paſs unobſerved. "There cannot be, ſay they, "a more diverting rodomontade than that of Mr Jurieu concerning the book in"tituled *Janua Cælorum reſerata*, wherein people who underſtand thoſe matters very "well, pretend that his *Syſtem of the Church* is for ever demoliſhed. He anſwers it by two extracts of Letters genuine or ſpurious; the Author of one of which ſays that he "had not read the book, and the other that he had read five or ſix ſections only, "which make but ten or twelve pages. This is a very ſlight way of getting off, and "it is taking people for dupes, to believe that the world will be ſatisfied with the "judgment of this unknown perſon, who poſſibly is Mr Jurieu himſelf. As "a Latin book is now out of his reach, and as he cannot grapple with it, he "makes the judgment of two perſons unknown a pretext for deſpiſing a work which "he is unable to anſwer." Mr Bayle had advertiſed in the beginning of the *Janua Cælorum reſerata*, that it is wrote in the ſcholaſtic ſtile (4). He likewiſe made uſe of their dogmatical method, which, together with the harſh ſtile, diſguſted a great many people from reading this book, and made it to be ſought after with leſs eagerneſs than his other writings; for otherwiſe one finds there the ſame clearneſs and force of reaſoning.

The Author of the *General Remarks*, appeared again upon the Stage, by publiſhing *Letters concerning the differences between Mr Jurieu and Mr Bayle, wherein the contradictions of the latter are diſcovered, which may ſerve for New Convictions* (5). Theſe Letters were five in number, they are dated from Copenhagen; but this did not hinder people from ſoon diſcovering the Author. He repeats in a new ſhape what had been wrote againſt Mr Bayle, and diſguiſeth or ſuppreſſeth what Mr Bayle had anſwered. Mr Bayle publiſhed on this occaſion a piece intituled, *New advice to the little Author of the little books. Concerning his Letters on the differences between Mr Jurieu and Bayle* (6). He ſets forth the reaſons why he doth not anſwer this Author, and only gives a ſpecimen of the falſe reaſoning, malice, and fraudulent diſguiſes with which his pamphlets are filled. He inſerted Mr Sartre's Anſwer to his Letter, wherein *he owned* that *by ſaying that after Mr Bayle's departure from Puylaurens it was known that he was gone to throw himſelf into the Jeſuits Convent at Toulouſe*; he only *meant that this was ſaid at Puylaurens, and believed by every body*; and with regard *to other little circumſtances of the time that there might be from Mr Bayle's going to Toulouſe to the time when he ſaw him at Geneva, and concerning the particular place where they firſt converſed together, that it was about three years or leſs . . . . . though his memory had failed him in this, it was a thing of very little conſequence either to the one or the other:* and with relation to the *Anſwer* which was wrote to him from Toulouſe he ſaid, that *ſince Mr Bayle did not agree that he had wrote it, he would not pretend to affirm it, being in no ways certain of the matter*; that is to ſay, he retracted all that he had advanced, and of which Mr Jurieu and his party had made a matter of triumph. To this piece Mr Bayle joined a *Letter of Mr * * * to the Author of the Advice to the little Author of the little books.* The Author of this Letter praiſeth Mr Bayle for having at his deſire ſuppreſſed the reflexions which he was going to ſend to the preſs, concerning the violent aſſault which Mr Jurieu had made upon the Author of the *Janua Cælorum reſerata*, in his ſecond Apology. He ſhows how mortifying that piece was to Mr Jurieu, and makes an ironical Apology for that Miniſter's anger. He likewiſe anſwers to the reproach which had been made to the Author upon account of his Latin. "It is very likely, ſays he (7), that "Mr Larebonius did not expect ſuch a reproach, not only becauſe he declared both "at the beginning and end of his book, that he had on purpoſe made choice of "the ſcholaſtic ſtile, but becauſe he did not think his adverſary was able to judge

of

(1) *Page* 163, 164 *of the 1ſt Edit. and pag.* 192, 193, *of the 2d Edit.*

(2) *See the Article* COMENIUS, *Rem* [*M*].

(3) *Mr Baſnage de Flottemanville, Mr de Bauval, &c.*

(4) Non tam ſtilo in Rhetorum ſcholis quam in Peripateticorum Lycæo obtinente.

(5) Lettres ſur les differens de Mr Jurieu & de Mr Bayle. Où l'on découvre les contradictions de ce dernier qui peuvent ſervir de nouvelles Convictions.

(6) Nouvel Avis au petit Auteur des petits Livrets. Concernant ſes Lettres ſur les differens de Mr Jurieu & de Mr Bayle. *A Amſterdam*, 1692.

(7) Nouvel Avis, &c. *p.* 65. *See alſo the Article* COMENIUS, ubi ſupra.

" of Latin ſtile, otherwiſe than a blind man judges of colours. It is as un-" reaſonable to find fault with an Author for making uſe of the ſtile of the " ſchools in a work of pure reaſoning, as it would be to deſire that one ſhould write " in elegant French a confutation of a parcel of ſorry Factums in which the Authors " had only laboured to invent lies and contradictions. How long is it ſince " people began to pique themſelves in point of ſtile in writings of proceſſes, in Caſes " and Inventories. Have the accuſer's libels been refuted with that care that is " taken in the compoſition of a work, which one would make worthy to " be read upon its own account? It was known that few people would take the " trouble to read refutations of this ſort; the reading of them was not neceſſary " to unprejudiced perſons, and the demonſtrations of Euclid would not be " able to convince thoſe who are prejudiced; this was known, and therefore care " was taken not to loſe time about ſtile." This friend ſays afterwards that if Mr Bayle would have taken his advice, he would have abandoned the Author of little Books to his bad genius, without daigning to give him a word of anſwer, and that he is ſorry to ſee that he continues ſtill to confute him. You may as much as you pleaſe, (ſays he), convict him of having reaſoned wretchedly, of having quoted falſely, and of repeating the ſame things without the leaſt regard to what has been anſwered to them; all this will not prevent his writing on, and rekindling the flame in proportion as he obſerves that time begins to extinguiſh it. He adds, that this Author had advanced many things which Mr Bayle ought to have expoſed, ſince he had put himſelf on the foot of anſwering him once more.

Mr Bayle prefixed an Advertiſement to this piece (1), wherein he owns that the greateſt part of his friends had adviſed him not to anſwer the Author of the Remarks on the Cabale Chimerique; and that if he had followed their opinion he would not ſeem to know that there were ſuch things in nature as theſe little libels, and that they had been ſorry that he had refuted ſome places of them: however as this is a matter where ſomething may be ſaid on both ſides, he had not altogether followed their advice, but had choſen a middle way, which was to publiſh ſomething to acquaint the public why he doth not more particularly anſwer the writings of this maker of Remarks. " The principal reaſons, ſays he, why I do " not engage myſelf in anſwers of this ſort are, I. That this Author doth nothing " but repeat the ſame things without taking any notice of the anſwers, which have " been made to them. II. That the public is already too much fatigued with " ſo many trifling diſcuſſions. III. That this Author falſifies ſo groſly the paſſages " which he endeavours to refute, that I have reaſon to think that the diſintereſted " readers themſelves will diſcover the frauds of this kind: but as I ſhould be to " blame if I expected to be believed in this matter upon my own word, it was " neceſſary to give ſome proofs of this; and for this purpoſe care has been taken " both in the firſt and ſecond Advice to the little Author, to ſhow by ſome ex-" amples what he is capable of in matter of falſe quotation and falſe reaſoning. " Beſides it has been neceſſary to deſire all the readers who would judge in this " matter, to confront the writings of both parties throughout: this is the reaſon " why, on the one hand, I anſwer ſomething to them, and on the other why I " do not anſwer all." Mr Bayle obſerved that this ſmall piece would have appeared ſooner, if he had not known that Mr Jurieu had a large Factum in the preſs which was much cried up by his emiſſaries after their uſual manner, and that to prevent his being obliged to go twice to the preſs, he had reſolved to delay the publiſhing of this ſecond Advice 'till he had by reading this piece ſeen whether it deſerved an anſwer, in which caſe he would have refuted it at the ſame time with this other piece. But as he was now informed that it would not appear for ſome time, he did not think it proper to delay the publiſhing of this New Advice any longer; and promiſed here beforehand that if it ſhould be worth while he would very ſoon demoliſh all the new machines of his accuſer.

This Factum appeared ſome time after under this title: *A Factum in form, or the proofs againſt the Author of the Advice to the Refugees diſpoſed according to the forms of the Bar: which ſhow that upon ſuch proofs criminals are condemned for capital crimes* (2). Mr Jurieu ſays in the advertiſement, that a diſtemper which had kept him very weak for eight months had hindered him from continuing to write againſt the Author of the *Advice to the Refugees*; but that others had ſupplied his place. He adds that this *Factum* was compoſed by an Advocate at Paris, excepting ſome chapters which he had added to it. There is nothing new in this piece but the form. Mr Jurieu's pretended *preſumptions* are here repeated, though a hundred times refuted; they are ranged under different heads, and accompanied with a commentary drawn from Mr Jurieu's Libels and thoſe of his adherents. Mr Bayle wiſely deſpiſed this piece, and would not ſo much as read it, as he acquaints Mr Minutoli. " Mr Jurieu, " (ſays he (3), has anew publiſhed a great *Factum*, or *Caſe*, againſt me, which no " body adviſeth me to read, (and I have taken this advice), wherein he only re-" peats his old chicanries without ſeeming at all to know that they have been fully " confuted. He has, as I am informed, brought over again the ſtory of the *Cabal*

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(1) *This Advertiſement is dated the 2d of June 1692.*

(2) Factum ſelon les formes, ou diſpoſition des preuves contre l'Auteur de l'Avis aux Refugiez, ſelon les regles du Barreau: qui font voir que ſur de telles preuves, dans les crimes capitaux, on condamne un criminel accuſé.

(3) *Letter of the 28th of Auguſt 1692, p. 445.*

1691. " *of Geneva* and the *Project of Peace*, without having the leaſt regard to what he " has wrote to you in acknowledgement of your innocence, nor to the confeſſion " of his moſt zealous partizans, that he was in the wrong to attack me on that " head, and that he ought to be ſatisfied with the other accuſation." Mr Jurieu's adherents wiſhed that he had confined himſelf only to the accuſation which related to the *Advice to the Refugees*: but they judged ſo only after they ſaw the event, and becauſe they found that all that he had advanced concerning the Cabal of Geneva, and the Project of a Peace was evidently falſe and chimerical.

This was the laſt piece which appeared on this ſubject. Mr Bayle's prudent ſilence put an end to this diſpute. He had refuted all Mr Jurieu's pretended *preſumptions*; and the writings of his partizans conſiſted only, as we have already obſerved, of heavy and tireſome repetitions, ridiculous reaſonings, and falſe interpretations of what he had written.

In the mean while people did not agree about the true Author of the *Advice to the Refugees*. It was aſcribed to Mr Peliſſon as ſoon as it appeared in France. Dr Wellwood, an eminent Phyſician at London, who publiſhed a weekly Paper called the *Obſervator*, but without ſetting his name to it, ſpeaks of it as Mr Peliſſon's in his Obſervator of the twenty ſecond of Auguſt 1690, ſix months before Mr Jurieu thought of aſcribing it to Mr Bayle. For it was not before the month of January 1691, that he began to ſay that he believed Mr Bayle was the Author of it, and the book which he publiſhed concerning it did not come out 'till near the end of April (1). " There comes very opportunely to my hand, (ſays Dr Wellwood (2), " a book that makes of late a great noiſe in the world, called *Avis aux Refugiez*, " Advice to the Refugees; written by a learned pen in France, deſignedly to throw " duſt on the carriage, and actions of the Proteſtants of Europe in general, with " relation to the late Revolution in England . . . . . . I both know the Author, " and can aſſure the reader, *that it was written at command of the late King James* " *and the French King, ſignified to the Author by the Archbiſhop of Paris*." Dr Wellwood's *Obſervator* having been tranſlated into French, and printed in Holland under the title of *A Hiſtory of the Times* (3). Mr Jurieu declaimed violently againſt this paſſage (4). He ſaid *that it was inſerted there to ſerve a turn, and contrived in the ſame manner as the forged edition, the forged licence, and the extract of the Letter from Paris in the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned*. " We were not much puzzled, " (adds he), to gueſs whence it came: it comes from the ſame perſon in England (5) " who is the only man there who denies that Mr Bayle is the Author of the *Advice*; " and who ſays every where that *the true Author will diſcover himſelf at Paris*. And " in the mean time he has thruſt this into a Journal in favour of his friends on " this ſide of the water, and at their deſire; nay it is not improbable, that this " has only been foiſted into the French tranſlation, for there is no ſort of falſhood of which thoſe Gentlemen are not capable." And after having treated Dr Wellwood in the moſt abuſive manner, he makes a ridiculous Apology to him (6). He repeats it likewiſe in the Advertiſement before his *Caſe in form*. " I am obliged to inform the public, (ſays he), that the harſh expreſſions which " are in the *Laſt Conviction* againſt the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Times*, ought " to be cancelled. At that time I did not at all know the Author of it. " I have been informed ſince that he is a very honeſt, and very learned " man."

Dr Wellwood in 1692, publiſhed an Apology for his *Obſervator*, under the title of an *Appendix*, wherein he juſtifies ſome paſſages of that work, and among others that which relates to the *Advice to the Refugees*. " This book, (ſays he (7), " had ſcarce appeared in France, and was not yet ſeen in England, when from " a worthy and noble perſon in France, ſince in chains for his Religion, I had an " account both of the book itſelf, of its being concerted with the French Court, " and that every body in Paris looked upon Monſieur Peliſſon as the Author of " it. In return of a letter of mine in anſwer to his, my friend told me, *that according to my deſire, he had employed one who was intimately acquainted with Monſieur* " *Peliſſon, to inquire of him the truth of that common report*: and that Monſieur Peliſſon " *was pleaſed to allow the perſon that ſpoke to him, to think him the author, though he would* " *not poſitively confeſs he was ſo*; *adding, that it was not fit for him, or for the King's ſervice,* " *to acknowledge that book publickly to be his, though he were the author of it*. In ſhort, this " worthy Gentleman gave me both his own and the univerſally received opinion at " Paris, that Monſieur Peliſſon was the author of the *Avis aux Refugiez*, and backed " it with a great many probable arguments, needleſs here to be mentioned. The " book itſelf appearing here in London a little after, I took occaſion to mention " what my friend told me about it, and withal, upon his information ſaid, *I believed* " *I knew the author*, meaning Monſieur Peliſſon, with whom I was a little acquainted " at Paris nine years ago.

Mr de la Baſtide (8) was likewiſe of opinion, that Mr Peliſſon was the author of the *Advice to the Refugees*. He ſaid ſo openly, and by that means drew upon himſelf the hatred of Mr Jurieu (9). Mr de la Baſtide's teſtimony was of great weight. He had lived in a cloſe friendſhip with Mr Peliſſon five and twenty years; he had been toge-

(1) Cabale Chimerique, *p.* 217, *of the 2d Edition.*

(2) Mercurius Reformatus, or the New Obſervator. *Vol. iii, Numb.* 7.

(3) Hiſtoire du Tems.

(4) Laſt Conviction &c. *p.* 34, *col.* 2.

(5) *Mr de la Baſtide.*

(6) *P.* 36. *col.* 1.

(7) An Appendix to Mercurius Reformatus, *p.* 13.

(8) *See his Elogy in the* Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, *December* 1704, *Art.* 14, *p.* 548.

(9) *See* Revue de l'Hiſtoire de Mr Bayle, *in the collection printed at Amſterdam in* 1716, *intitled,* Hiſtoire de Mr Bayle, & de ſes Ouvrages, &c. *p.* 182 *and the following.*

ther with him a Clerk to Mr Fouquet; and after Mr Peliſſon was confined in the Baſtille, he kept a regular intercourſe of Letters with him, on matters of controverſy: for even at that time Mr Peliſſon inclined towards the Catholic Religion. This cloſe friendſhip had made him acquainted with Mr Peliſſon's turn of wit and favourite expreſſions. Mr de la Baſtide was well acquainted with his works of controverſy, and had even anſwered ſome of them. When the *Advice to the Refugees* appeared he found ſo great a conformity betwixt it and Mr Peliſſon's writings, that he made no doubt of his being the Author of it. However he did not think it proper to write any thing on this ſubject during Mr Peliſſon's life: but after his death he compoſed a Diſſertation (1) to prove this conformity. "I propoſed, (ſays he), to put in writing ſeveral general and particular obſervations, which all taken together evidently ſhow, that the Author of the *Reflexions on the differences about Religion*, is likewiſe the Author of the *Advice to the Refugees*, and that this laſt piece is properly only a ſupplement, and, as it were, an appendix to the other." In his general obſervations he takes notice that Mr Peliſſon was very well acquainted with the Belles Lettres, and eccleſiaſtic and prophane Hiſtory: that he had ſtudied the Scripture, the Fathers, and the writers of Controverſy: that he was very well ſkilled in the Roman Law, and loved to make uſe of authorities from it on ſubjects of all ſorts, having frequented the Bar for ſome years: that being appointed to write the Hiſtory of the King, he collected every thing that was publiſhed, and made Memoirs and Obſervations on every thing that paſſed relating to affairs of State or of Religion: and in fine, that in his books of controverſy, we find apoſtrophes and frequent exhortations to the Proteſtants, elevations and prayers to God, and panegyrics on the French King: characters which all taken together agree to the Author of the *Advice*, and appear to agree to him alone. But to make this conformity more evident, in his particular obſervations he brings a great number of paſſages of *the Advice*, and compares them with parallel paſſages in the *Reflexions*, and particularly in the third volume of the Reflexions publiſhed in 1689, under the title of the *Chimera's of Mr Jurieu*. He ſhows for example, that near the end of that piece Mr Peliſſon inſults the Refugees upon account of Mr Jurieu's Prophecies, which aſſured them of a re-eſtabliſhment in France in the year 1689; and that the *Advice* begins with this very thing. In the *Reflexions* Mr Peliſſon had ſaid, that Mr Jurieu *pours out his gall and venom upon our times, againſt the moſt illuſtrious defenders and protectors of the truth in our days, without reſpect to rank or merit:* and in the *Advice, there is nothing,* (*ſays the Author*), *ſo auguſt or ſo eminent which you have thought worthy of your reſpect; crowned heads, which upon all accounts ought to be ſecured from the inſults of your diffamatory libels, have been the objects of the moſt enormous and furious calumny in many of your books.* In the one and the other, the Roman Law is frequently quoted; the authority of the greater number is inſiſted upon; the Prophecies of Drabitius, and the little Prophets of Dauphiné are ridiculed; the preſent ſtate of affairs in Europe is conſidered; and a great deal of pains is taken to proclaim the glory of Lewis XIV &c. With regard to the Preface, we may well imagine that Mr de la Baſtide doth not aſcribe it to the Author of the book itſelf. It did not appear natural to him that an Author ſhould not only anſwer himſelf, but likewiſe ſatirize his own work, and give a frightful idea of it.

Mr de la Baſtide concludes his Diſſertation, by anſwering a difficulty which naturally offered itſelf. "If one ſhould now aſk, (ſays he), why the Author did not name himſelf in this piece as he had done in others, that he might not loſe, amongſt thoſe of his own communion at leaſt, the merit of the wit, learning, and zeal which he ſeems to diſplay in it? beſides ſecret reaſons which we do not always diſcover, it appears pretty plain that it was not his intention to conceal himſelf entirely or for ever, but only to ſtand behind the curtain for ſome time, in order to know the opinion of the public concerning it. For we find that towards the end he ſays to the perſon to whom it is addreſſed, that he may *get it printed*, and only recommends it to him to be *cautious in uſing his name*; as if he would ſay, that it was not proper to name him openly, but he might allow people to gueſs at it. Being born a Proteſtant, and being nearly related and allied to ſeveral of the Refugees, it was natural that he ſhould have ſome reluctance to appear avowedly the Author of a piece which rendered them odious to the ſupreme powers, and ſeemed to ſhut the door againſt their re-eſtabliſhment. But in all likelihood his principal reaſon was, that having in ſeveral places of this piece dropped ſome pretty free ſentiments, and ſome pretty ſtrong expreſſions againſt the manner in which thoſe of our communion had been perſecuted, and this, whether by his not ſufficiently reflecting upon the conſequences of them, or that he might by this means the more inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the Proteſtants, the Archbiſhop of Paris, and the Jeſuits, made a complaint againſt him on that account, as was commonly reported. And it actually happened that an edition of the *Advice*, begun by Gabriel Martin, Printer or Bookſeller to Mr Peliſſon, was ſtopped and interrupted, though it had been undertaken by his order: and we have likewiſe ſeen that ſome time before his death, he got a new edition of

(1) *This Diſſertation was publiſhed in the collection intitled* Hiſtoire de Mr Bayle &c. *p.* 297 *and the following. Mr de la Baſtide gave me a copy of it which is more exact than that which is printed.*

1691. "it printed under his own direction; but not before he had ſuppreſſed or altered "the paſſages which had offended thoſe of his communion, and had added a ſhort "preface inſtead of that which was formerly prefixed to it."

It is true however that a ſhort while after the *Advice* was publiſhed, Mr Peliſſon wrote to Holland to be informed who was the Author of it, and endeavoured to oblige him to diſcover himſelf by the hopes of a conſiderable reward (1). This would ſuppoſe that the Author of it was unknown to him, and conſequently that it was not he who wrote the *Advice*. But Mr de la Baſtide might have anſwered, that Mr Peliſſon did this only to conceal himſelf the better, and beſides that this ſuppoſition is deſtroyed by the licence of the Paris edition, wherein it is ſet forth that the Author of the Advice *had obtained a licence dated the 20th of October 1690, but he affecting to remain unknown to the public, had made a difficulty of allowing the ſaid privilege to be regiſtered in his name in the regiſters of the ſociety of Bookſellers of Paris*: which proves that the Author's name was known at the Chancellor's Office, and ſo it was not neceſſary to write to Holland to be informed of it.

Mr Bayle tells us in one of his Letters written in the month of October 1690, that *the voice of the public* at that time *gave the Advice to the Refugees* to Mr de Larroque (2). Mr de Larroque left France in the month of February 1686, and went to Holland (3), and the year following he publiſhed *Critical Remarks* upon the firſt volume of Varillas's Hiſtory of Hereſy, which were well received. I have already mentioned his anſwer to Mr Brueys. After having made ſome ſtay in England and in Germany, he returned to Holland, and from thence into France in the month of June 1690 (4), that is, about a month or ſix weeks after the *Advice to the Refugees* was publiſhed, and embraced the Romiſh Religion. When I began to write Mr Bayle's Life in 1707, I deſired Mr Baſnage to give me ſome light in this matter, and he wrote to me what follows, concerning the *Advice to the Refugees* (5). "Since you deſire me to write to you with full confidence about what "concerns Mr Bayle; I do not think you ought to awaken the affair of the *Advice to the Refugees*: not that I at all ſuſpect that he was the Author of it. I have "not as yet departed from my firſt conjecture: which is that being intruſted with the "manuſcript, he had got it printed, and added a preface and ſome ſtrokes of his "own to it. Mr Hartſoeker has confirmed me in my conjecture, for he has aſſured me that while Mr de Larroque was a priſoner as Paris, he uſed frequently "to cite this piece as a production of his own: but as this is an odious ſubject, it "will be better to let it drop, than to ſet his enemies a clamouring again." He ſays likewiſe in a Memoir, which he ſent me ſome time after. "I always believed "(6), and I ſtill believe, that Mr Bayle was Author of the Preface, and that "the manuſcript was entruſted with him by Mr de Larroque, who changed his "Religion a ſhort while after, and who always claimed this work as his own. "This, if I am not miſtaken, is all the myſtery which made Mr Bayle's defences "ſo weak: he durſt not give his opinion of the book and of the Author who had "always been his friend." Mr Baſnage obſerves that Mr Larroque *always claimed this work as his own*; and in fact Mr Larroque always uſed to ſay, in ſpeaking of certain things, *I have ſaid*, or I *have proved this in my Advice to the Refugees*; and his friends have often told it as a literary anecdote, that he was the Author of this book. This is a fact atteſted by perſons very worthy of credit.

Here are two opinions, very oppoſite to one another, which notwithſtanding have each of them their followers. However there is ſtill a third, which ſeems to have moſt prevailed: many perſons aſcribe this work to Mr Bayle, though for very different reaſons. Some ground this belief upon Mr Jurieu's teſtimony, but what weight can we lay upon that? beſides he had ſo interwoven his pretended *Cabal of Geneva* with the affair of the *Advice to the Refugees*, that he could not be allowed afterwards to ſeparate them. The falſity of the one of theſe accuſations being well proved, neceſſarily deſtroyed the other. Notwithſtanding when he was convinced that the *Cabal* was only a Chimera, he nevertheleſs perſiſted in his accuſation concerning the *Advice to the Refugees*. But finding afterwards that this ſeparation was not favourable to him, he was not aſhamed to have again recourſe to the accuſation of the *Cabal*.

Others aſcribe that piece to Mr Bayle, becauſe they imagine they diſcover his ſtile in it. But this is preciſely what ought to make people believe that he is not the Author of it: for beſides that proofs drawn from the conformity of ſtile are very uncertain, the ſtile of it appears to be very different from that of Mr Bayle's other works: it is more pure, more flowing, and more regular. Mr de Larrey, who had well examined the *Advice to the Refugees*, and who was much inclined to aſcribe it to Mr Bayle, has not dared to decide. *For my part*, (*ſays he* (7), *I am not either ſufficiently perſuaded myſelf to undertake to perſuade others, nor bold enough to decide in a problematical matter.*

Laſtly, this piece is aſcribed to Mr Bayle upon the teſtimony of Adrian Moetiens, who printed it. It is ſaid that Moetjens told ſeveral perſons that Mr Bayle was the Author of it. For my part, having heard that Mr Louis, who corrected the proofs, confirmed Moetjens's teſtimony, I deſired him to give me ſome information

(1) Examen de l'Avis aux Refugiez, *p.* 24, 25. Chimere demontrée, *pref. p.* cxxi.

(2) *Letter to Mr Conſtant of the 24th of October* 1690, *p.* 339.

(3) *Letter to Mr Rou of the* 17*th of February* 1686, *p.* 251.

(4) *Letter to Mr Conſtant*, ubi ſupra, *p.* 339, 340

(5) *Letter of the* 19*th of Auguſt* 1707.

(6) *A Memoir MSS. of Mr Baſnage.*

(7) *In the Preface to his anſwer to the* Advice to the Refugees.

formation in this matter. He did not think fit to write me any anſwer: but he ſaid by word of mouth, to a perſon equally diſtinguiſhed by his merit and by his works, who did me the favour to deliver my letter to him (1), “That he knew “Mr Bayle's hand writing before he corrected that work, and that ſince that time “he has had ſeveral opportunities of being perfectly acquainted with it: that the “whole manuſcript from the one end to the other was wrote with Mr Bayle's own “hand, and that he preſerved a piece of it, which he cut from one of the ſheets “before he returned it to Moetjens.” This is all I have been able to learn of this matter. But though upon this one ſhould no longer doubt that Mr Bayle is the Author of that piece; yet it would ſtill be unjuſt to accuſe him of the pernicious deſigns and criminal views, which Mr Jurieu attributes to him. The circumſtances in which Mr Jurieu revived that book aggravated his accuſations. The perſecution had forced the Refugees to abandon their eſtates and the ſweets of their native country, and to retire into foreign parts: their wounds were ſtill ſore. In this condition we are impatient of reproof, and are provoked by raillery. We take every thing in bad part; we do not conſider the intention of the perſon who ſpeaks, and we make groundleſs applications of things. And yet it is the intention which ought to guide our judgments. It is by this that we diſtinguiſh an innocent raillery from a bitter reproach, and a wholeſome advice from a violent invective. Now it is not poſſible to imagine that Mr Bayle had an intention to blacken the whole body of the Refugees, or deſigned to make them odious to Princes, and to lay an invincible obſtacle in the way of their return. This were to bely his own character, conduct, and all his other books, wherein he has ſo well defended the Reformed and ſhewed himſelf ſo compaſſionate to their misfortunes. Beſides, the ſtrongeſt cenſures in the *Advice* related only to a very ſmall part of the Refugees, a handful of them who retired into Holland. They were the only perſons who wrote any thing. The Refugees in Switzerland, Germany, and England, had printed nothing (2). Mr Bayle was not ignorant of this, and therefore could not have them in view, no more than thoſe in Holland who did not write, and who even blamed the conduct of ſome of their brethren.

So that though Mr Bayle were the Author of the *Advice to the Refugees*, all that one could ſay concerning the motives that might have induced him to write this book, would only be, That he was vexed to ſee ſome people feed the minds of a great many of the Refugees with chimeras and apocalyptic viſions, which rendered them the jeſt of all Europe: That having an extream averſion to ſatire and calumny, he was full of indignation to ſee ſome Refugees write Libels againſt perſons worthy of regard, and even againſt crowned heads; that they had taken a cruel revenge on his brother upon account of the Criticiſm on Mr Maimbourg, and that for a much ſtronger reaſon there was ground to apprehend that they would revenge themſelves for theſe ſatirical writings, upon the Reformed who remained in France: That he knew that in that kingdom, Kings look upon themſelves as abſolute, and that no body there is allowed to ſay the contrary; and therefore he was willing to intimate that the writings of the Refugees againſt this abſolute power, ſerved only to render them odious and to hinder their return: That having been educated in the doctrine of the independent and abſolute power of Princes, a doctrine which was taught in the Reformed churches, we ought not to be ſurprized to ſee him attack the contrary opinion with ſo much vigour: That not being well acquainted with the affairs of England, he did not believe that the Eſtabliſhed Religion there was in any danger, and ſo he conſidered the Revolution as a political rather than a neceſſary action: That he had put on the maſk of a Roman Catholic, to give the more authority to his remonſtrances, to render them more lively, more touching, and more capable of making impreſſion: “That ſince the Author of the *Advice*, according to Mr Ju-“rieu's own confeſſion, deſigned *to put the Refugees in a condition of returning to* “*France*, which *was not the ſpirit of the French Papiſts* (3); he muſt needs, as “Mr Bayle obſerved (4), have had the intereſts of the Proteſtants more at heart “than thoſe of the Papiſts, ſo that what he ſays in the perſon of a bigotted Papiſt “muſt not be thought his own opinion, but the language of one who wanted to “ſupport the character under which he had diſguiſed himſelf: That this Author, “as Mr Bayle likewiſe ſaid (5), had only collected the old and new objections of “the moſt paſſionate and malicious Catholics, and the reflexions of flatterers upon “the events of the firſt Campaign, the envenomed reflexions which were thrown “upon the whole body of the Refugees for the faults of a few Authors, &c. and “all this only to give occaſion to a diſavowal of them which might be very uſe-“ful, and to an anſwer which might confound the malice of the perſecutors of “the Reformed and the vanity of flatterers, and might free the Refugees from “the ridicule which their prophecies had drawn upon them; a thing which proved “formerly very fatal to the Proteſtants who had fled out of the Emperor's domi-“nions (6).” To this we might add that Mr Jurieu who infatuated the Refugees with his prophecies, and who had publiſhed ſeveral pieces which the Author of the *Advice* called Libels; that Mr Jurieu, I ſay, whom our Author had principally

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(1) *Mr de la Chapelle, Miniſter of the Walloon Church at the Hague.*

(2) *We muſt,* ſays Mr Jurieu, *juſtify the Refugees who live at London, and thoſe ſcattered all over England; thoſe who live at Berlin, in Brandebourg, Heſſe, Switzerland, all over Germany, and at Geneva; for I do not hear that in all theſe places there appear any of thoſe little books which they call Libels. The province of Holland is the only place where all theſe pieces appear.* Examination of the Advice to the Refugees, *pag.* 67, 68.

(3) Examination of the Advice, *pag.* 13.

(4) Chimere demontrée, *preface, p.* cix, cx.

(5) Ibid. *pag.* cxi. cxii.

(6) *See the Article* Comenius, *Rem.* [*K*].

1692. cipally in view, had acquired a ſort of dominion over the Refugees [Q], ſo that it was not poſſible to obtain a diſavowal of thoſe writings of which they complained, otherwiſe than by intereſting the whole body. Even this expedient did not ſucceed: the Synods, who ought to have diſowned them, kept ſilence, no body daring to ſpeak through fear of being violently perſecuted by Mr Jurieu. We might likewiſe add, that moſt part of the reproaches which Mr Bayle puts in the mouth of a Catholic, had been refuted a thouſand times, and that Mr Bayle himſelf had anſwered them very ſucceſsfully in his Letters againſt Maimbourg: and laſtly that Mr Bayle intended

[Q] *Mr Jurieu had acquired a ſort of dominion over the Refugees.*] Here follow ſome of his exploits. He aſſumed the character of Inquiſitor of the Faith, and attacked ſeveral French Miniſters, moſt part of whom were Refugees in Holland. He accuſed them of Socinianiſm, and brought them before the Synods. All their crime was that they were men of moderate principles; for Toleration was, in his way of thinking, the greateſt of all Hereſies. It was upon this account that he cruelly perſecuted Mr Huet (*a*). He likewiſe accuſed as Heretics, or favourers of Heretics, Mr de la Conſeillere Miniſter of Hamburg, Mr Jaquelot, Mr Papin, &c. Mr Papin was a nephew of Mr Pajon, and had the ſame ſentiments with relation to Grace (*b*). He defended them againſt Mr Jurieu in a book intituled *Eſſays of Theology, &c.* Mr Jurieu reſolved to ruin him; and for a pretext choſe a little book of Mr Papin, intitled, *Faith reduced to its genuine principles, and confined to its juſt bounds* (*c*). This work was wrote with the ſame intention with that of Mr Dhuiſſeau (*d*), that is to ſay, to unite Chriſtians by bringing them back to the fundamental principles of Religion, and to inſpire them with a ſpirit of Toleration in controverted points. It was publiſhed without Mr Papin's knowledge. The Manuſcript was found *in the cloſet of a gentleman diſtinguiſhed by his rank and merit* (*e*), and put into Mr Bayle's hands, who added two pages in the beginning, and publiſhed it in 1687, with the aforeſaid title (*f*). Mr Jurieu got it condemned by a Synod, and perſecuted Mr Papin ſo violently, that he forced him to return to France, and throw himſelf into the arms of the Biſhop of Meaux. Mr Bayle mentions this in one of his Letters to Mr Minutoli. “ You know, ſays he (*g*), that Papin has changed “ his Religion: this he would not have done, if “ a confutation of a book of our falſe prophet “ which he wrote, had not expoſed him to the violent perſecution of that Fanatic, who not being “ able to deny the contradictions and ſophiſms of “ which Papin had convicted him, revenged himſelf “ by writing every where that they ſhould take “ particular care not to employ Mr Papin he being “ a dangerous Heretic, &c. Papin in vain ſought “ bread in Germany, Holland, and England; he “ there found every gate ſhut by the ſecret practices “ of his enemy, ſo that he was forced by hunger “ to return to France, where he put the Letters “ which Dr Burnet had wrote to him, in approbation of a little book intitled *Faith reduced to its* “ *due bounds*, into the hands of the Biſhop of “ Meaux.”

When Mr Jurieu found it impoſſible for him to accuſe people of Hereſy whom he hated, he endeavoured to make them ſuſpected by the Government, and repreſented them as ill affected perſons. He ſuſpected Mr le Gendre, Miniſter of Rotterdam, to be author of a piece againſt the little Prophets of Dauphiné, and upon this account he accuſed him before his Conſiſtory, *of entertaining correſpondence with France, and of being a ſecret enemy to the State*: but Mr le Gendre demanded ſatisfaction of him, and declared that he looked upon him to be *a calumniator and a wicked man*. This Declaration was put in writing, ſigned, and delivered to the Conſiſtory: Mr Jurieu ſhifted as much as poſſible, but Mr le Gendre preſſed hard upon him without giving any quarter, and he was forced ſhamefully to yield. His accuſation was torn to pieces in his preſence, and by his own conſent (*h*). His hatred extended even to the relations and friends of thoſe he hated, tho' they themſelves had never had any quarrel with him. He uſed to accuſe them to the Miniſters of State as traitors and ſpies of France. Without regard to Confidence, which is the bond of civil ſociety, he publiſhed in his Libels whatever was ſaid or wrote to him; and when he came to fall out with his friends, he uſed to employ againſt them whatever they had ſaid to him in confidence (*i*).

Here follow ſome more of Mr Jurieu's features. They are drawn by Mr de Bauval.

“ Mr Jurieu, ſays he (*k*), has brought trouble and “ diviſion every where. His hand has been againſt “ all men, and the hands of all men have been againſt him. Diſcord entered along with him into “ the Academy of Sedan. He divided it into parties “ and cabals. They who foretold what we had to “ expect from him by the firſt ſtep he took after “ he was ſettled in the miniſtry at Rotterdam, have “ not been miſtaken. He preached upon theſe “ words: *How beautiful are the feet of thoſe who* “ *bring tidings of peace*: and upon coming down “ from the pulpit, he brought a proceſs againſt his “ colleague for precedence; he had however the mortification to be worſted in this vain ſtruggle “ for preference. For ſome years paſt Mr Jurieu “ has put all in combuſtion among us. His vain “ and ambitious mind has carried war every where. “ *Bella gerimus nullos habitura triumphos.* He has “ divided the French nation, which the common “ misfortunes of their flight ought to have united; “ he endeavours, as it were, to canton his party. The “ animoſities which he ſows and nouriſheth with ſo “ much care, are ſo many barriers to keep them “ aſunder. He has aſſumed the character of Inquiſitor-General in order to acquire glory at the expence of his brethrens reputation. He acts as “ Univerſal Biſhop. He has armed the Churches “ againſt one another, and has debaſed and vilified “ the gravity and dignity of eccleſiaſtic aſſemblies, “ by the quarrels of which he has been the author. “ On the one hand, we have ſeen members of “ the Synods of Amſterdam and Leyden making “ complaints to the public, that theſe two Judicatories have at Mr Jurieu's inſtigation been “ guilty of injuſtice, and, what is worſe, of falſhood, from which they have not as yet been “ able to clear themſelves: and on the other hand, “ Mr Jurieu diſſatisfied with the Synod of Ziric-zee “ has addreſſed a pamphlet to the States full of complaints, wherein he accuſeth that Synod of *violence*, “ *oppreſſion, of all ſorts of exceſs, and of endeavouring to violate the fundamental laws of the liberty* “ *both of Church and State*. Nothing renders eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies more contemptible than ſuch “ mutual complaints, which leſſen and diſhonour them. “ Mr Jurieu is the original cauſe of all thoſe diſorders. He accuſeth, he lays about him on both “ hands: he declares that the advice of his friends, “ who deſire him to leave the world at reſt, are *the* “ *counſels of fleſh and blood* (*l*). He never takes “ up the pen but to write diffamatory Libels, and “ he no ſooner has laid down his arms than he takes “ them up again upon the firſt occaſion. He is always the aggreſſor and purſuer. He imploys fire “ and ſword to root out all who do not ſubmit to “ his deſpotic empire; he calls fraud and calumny “ to his aſſiſtance; and would willingly go under “ the ſtandard of Religion to extirpate, after the “ manner of the Interdict, all who refuſe to bend “ the knee before him. Surely Mr Jurieu has made “ many Refugees feel a new kind of perſecution “ poſſibly more ſenſible than that which drove them “ out of their native Country. He has robbed them “ of that repoſe which they ſought after in their “ exile: and to compleat their misfortunes and miſeries, they have found among their own countrymen an unjuſt Oppreſſor, who under other “ names makes them feel the iniquity of the furious “ zeal againſt which they had ſought a ſanctuary.”

(*a*) *See above, Rem.* [*G*].

(*b*) *See above Rem.* [*C*].

(*c*) La Foi reduite à ſes veritables principes, & renfermée, dans ſes juſtes bornes.

(*d*) *See the Rem.* [*C*].

(*e*) *Letter from Mr Papin to Mr Jurieu, inſerted in his* Paſtoral Letter to the faithful at Paris, Orleans, Blois, &c. *p.* 6. *col.* 1.

(*f*) *Preface of Mr Papin's book, intitled:* les deux voies oppoſées en matiere de Religion &c. *pag. xi, xii. of the Liege edit.* 1713.

(*g*) *Letter of the* 11*th of November* 1692, *pag.* 474, 475.

(*h*) *Bauval,* Conſiderations ſur deux ſermons de Mr Jurieu, &c. *pag.* 30, 31, *and* 37.

(*i*) *Ibid. pag.* 53, 54.

(*k*) *Ibid. pag.* 7.

(*l*) Apologie du Sieur Jurieu, *pag.* 25. *col.* 2.

tended to anſwer the *Advice* (1), and that they ought to have engaged him to ſet about it, inſtead of diverting him from it by outrageous accuſations.

This methinks is the judgment which an equitable and diſintereſted perſon might make concerning this piece, and concerning the deſign of the Author, ſuppoſing him to be Mr Bayle. However *Mr Bayle always proteſted to thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in his confidence, that he was not the writer of it; ſo that it muſt be ſtruck out of the catalogue of his works; at leaſt this is ſufficient to prevent its being alledged in proof againſt him, and ſince he conſtantly denied it, equity will not allow that it ſhould be quoted in evidence to blacken his memory.* Theſe are the very words of Mr de Bauval (2).

The accuſations brought againſt Mr Bayle had interrupted his literary labours. Study requires a perfect tranquillity. Mr de Bauval had in his Journal for the month of Novem. 1690 (3), advertiſed a work intitled: *A Project of a Critical Dictionary, which will contain a the correction of a great number of errors to be found both in Dictionaries, and in other books* (4). This, (ſaid Mr de Bauval) is the title of a book which a learned man deſigns to undertake. As he deſires to have the advice and opinion of the learned concerning his deſign, he is about to print a Preface in which he will give a diſtinct account of his Project.” This Author was Mr Bayle. He propoſed to publiſh this *Project* a few months after, and the impreſſion of it was begun in the month of December following. The Articles belonging to the three firſt letters were almoſt all prepared, and while theſe were printing Mr Bayle was to finiſh the others, together with the Preface. But Mr Jurieu's violent attacks obliged him to lay aſide this work after the firſt ſheet of it was printed, ſo that he laid down that Project very ſoon after he had formed it. More than a year paſſed before he took it up again, and at laſt when Mr Leers preſſed him to ſet about it, he was obliged to make uſe of the firſt ſubjects which chance preſented to him, till he had collected the books which were neceſſary to his deſign (5).

This work appeared in May 1692 (6), under this title: *A Project and Fragment of a Critical Dictionary* (7). Mr Bayle gives an idea of this Project in a long Preface, addreſſed to Mr du Rondel, Profeſſor of Belles Lettres at Maeſtricht. He ſays that he deſigned to compoſe a *Dictionary*, which ſhould contain all the falſhoods and errors of fact which are found in other Dictionaries, and a Supplement to their omiſſions under every Article. He promiſed likewiſe to make ſallies upon all ſorts of Authors as occaſion ſhould offer. After this he ſhows how uſeful ſuch a compilation would be. “Were it not to be wiſhed, (ſays he), that there was extant a *Critical Dictionary*, to which one might have recourſe in order to be ſure whether what we find in other Dictionaries, and in all ſorts of other books, be true? It would be a touchſtone of other books, and you know a gentleman who is a little affected in his ſtile who would not fail to name ſuch a work, *the Office of Inſurance of the Republic of Letters* ..... You ſee very well that if, for example, I ſhould be able to collect under the word SENECA, all the falſhoods that have been advanced concerning this famous Philoſopher, one needed only conſult that article to know what is to be believed of what one reads concerning him in any book: for if it is a falſhood, it would be taken notice of in this collection, and when one did not find a thing ſet down here as a falſhood, one might depend upon it as true: this inſtance is ſufficient to ſhow that ſuch a deſign well executed, would produce a very uſeful work, and very convenient for readers of all ſorts.” Mr Bayle added that he knew well enough what ought to be done in order to perform ſuch an undertaking perfectly, but that he knew ſtill better that he was not able to execute it: ſo that he would confine himſelf only to give a ſketch of it, which ſhould only contain a volume in *Folio*; leaving the continuation of it to perſons who have the requiſite abilities, in caſe this Project, rectified in every thing that ſhall be neceſſary, ſhould be thought worthy of the labours of the learned. But as he had foreſeen that even this ſketch would be extenſive enough to engage him in a very painful taſk, and that beſides he was very doubtful how he ſhould execute his project, he had reſolved to venture a few fragments of this work abroad, that he might before-hand know the taſte of the public, and be determined thereby either to purſue or abandon his deſign. Theſe *Fragments* contained the Articles of ACHILLES, ANTHONY ARNAULD, JANE OF ARRAGON, CORNELIUS BALBUS, of the Author concealed under the name of STEPHANUS JUNIUS BRUTUS, of CASSIUS in general, and in particular of SPURIUS CASSIUS VISCELLINUS, of L. CASSIUS LONGINUS, of C. CASSIUS LONGINUS, of T. CASSIUS SEVERUS, which gives him an occaſion of making *a digreſſion concerning diffamatory libels.* He placed there likewiſe the articles of L. CASSIUS HEMINA, of C. CASSIUS LONGINUS, of CATIUS, of COMENIUS, of ERASMUS, of the Marêchal de GUEBRIANT, of HIPPOMANES, of the DAY, of Madam DES LOGES, of the three ſiſters ANNE, MARGARET, and JANE SEYMOUR, of MARY TOUCHET, and of ZEUXIS. All theſe Articles were *perſonal* except thoſe of *Hippomanes* and of the *Day*, which Mr Bayle called *real*, becauſe they neither related to perſons nor places, and conſequently did not belong to Hiſtorical or Geographical Dictionaries (8).

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(1) *See the* Chimere demontrée, *p.* 307, *and the* Anſwer to Mr Jurieu's Apology, *by Mr de Bauval, p.* 8.

(2) Eloge de Mr Bayle.

(3) *P.* 136.

(4) Projet d'un Dictionaire Critique, où l'on verra la Correction d'une infinité de fautes repandues ſoit dans les Dictionaires, ſoit dans d'autres Livres.

(5) *See the Bookſeller's Advertiſement on the reverſe of the title of the* Projet & Fragmens &c.

(6) *The Bookſeller's Advertiſement is dated May* 5, 1692.

(7) Projet & Fragmens d'un Dictionaire Critique. *A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers* 1692. *In* 8°.

(8) *In the beginning of the Article* HIPPOMANES, *p.* 297.

1693. The plan of this new Dictionary was not reliſhed, though ſuch a work might have been very uſeful. Mr Bayle laid it aſide, but in the mean while he formed a deſign of another Dictionary which he forwarded with ſo much diligence, that the impreſſion of it was begun in the month of September 1693; notwithſtanding he had been frequently interrupted in it by the trouble Mr Jurieu gave him. He acquaints Mr Conſtant with this, in order to excuſe himſelf for not having wrote to him ſooner. "I have been, (ſays he (1), very much embaraſſed theſe three or four "months paſt by the machinations of my accuſer, who having intereſted the Dutch "Conſiſtory in his quarrel with me, has perſuaded them to examine my book con"cerning Comets, and to lay it before the Burgomaſters as a book filled with "dangerous and impious propoſitions, and that therefore it is not conſiſtent with "their duty to give a ſalary to a Profeſſor who entertains ſuch opinions. This "is the turn he has given it, after being diſappointed by the nullity and raſh"neſs of his other accuſations. I was obliged to make ſome viſits, to undeceive "people concerning the pretended hereſies in this book; and here one cannot "do in a fortnight what might be done elſewhere in an afternoon."

(1) *Letter of the 29th of June* 1693, *pag.* 510.

Mr Bayle attributed the diſgrace, which he fell under a ſhort while after, to the ſollicitations of theſe Miniſters: ſee in what manner he ſpeaks of it to Mr Minutoli on the fifth of November. "Our Magiſtrates, (ſays he (2), have depri"ved me of my place of Profeſſor, together with the ſalary of five hundred "gilders which was annexed to it, they have even revoked the liberty of teach"ing privately which they had granted me. This reſolution was taken by the plu"rality of voices on the thirtieth of October laſt; and laſt monday (3) the Burgo"maſters notified it to me in their chamber. All people of good ſenſe here "cry out againſt this injuſtice, and ſeveral of our Counſellors of the "longeſt ſtanding in their Offices, and of the greateſt abilities, oppoſed this "reſolution with all their might, but they were outvoted. If they had not laſt "year turned out ſeven or eight Burgomaſters or Counſellors of this City, in "order to put others in their places, this would not have happened to me. It "gives me comfort to ſee the general diſcontent of the City on this account, "the irregularity of their proceedings in this affair, and the unjuſt ground "of it. This ground is my *Various Thoughts concerning Comets*: the Dutch Mi"niſters have made the Burgomaſters believe that it contains dangerous matters, "and oppoſite to Chriſtianity. This I offered to refute; and I maintain, and will "prove it as clear as noon-day, that my book concerning Comets advances nothing "contrary either to our Confeſſion of Faith or to the Scripture. But however "this be, they have condemned my doctrine without allowing me a hearing, and "without aſking me if I agreed to the juſtneſs of the extracts, and to the ſenſe "which they give to my words; neither did the Magiſtrates give me any oppor"tunity of anſwering my accuſers. There was nothing ſaid either concerning the *Ad"vice to the Refugees*; or the *Project of a Peace*, which I intended to publiſh. This "would have been more odious."

(2) *Letter of the 5th of November* 1693, *pag.* 537, 538.

(3) *The 2d of November.*

In another Letter to him, he ſays (4); "You have very probably heard it re"ported in your country, that I loſt my place upon account of the *Advice to the "Refugees*. For the emiſſaries of you know who, being mortified to the laſt degree, "at the contempt which our Superiors ſhowed for his pretended information concern"ing the *Cabal* of Geneva, and for his repeated calumnious Factums relating to the ſaid "*Advice*, have ſpread it abroad every where that it was the accuſation about "that book which produced this effect. This is a manifeſt abſurdity, for they "would not have ſatisfied themſelves with taking away my liberty of teaching, "if they had founded their proceedings againſt me upon an accuſation of writing "a libel againſt the State. You may affirm it confidently that the only foun"dation of it was the complaint of the Dutch Conſiſtory againſt my book on "Comets; and moſt people are of opinion that they never read the book, and "ſome of them were againſt depriving me of my penſion. It was therefore only "upon account of my Treatiſe concerning Comets. The Dutch Conſiſtory being "almoſt wholly compoſed of perſons who neither underſtand French, nor any thing "elſe, except a few common places of Divinity; who beſides were ill affected to"wards me from my firſt arrival in this Country, becauſe my Patron who found"ed the *Illuſtrious School*, (the late Mr Paets, a great Republican) was very much "hated by them: this Conſiſtory, I ſay, only conſulted a Dutch tranſlation of "ſome paſſages out of my book, made by my accuſer, with the greateſt inſincerity "in the world."

(4) *Letter to Mr Minutoli of March* 1694. *pag.* 542.

Mr Bayle gave the ſame account, but with ſome further circumſtances, to his couſin Mr de Naudis, on the twenty eighth of December. As this Letter has not been printed, the reader no doubt will be glad to find it here.

"You muſt know that upon the thirtieth of October laſt my appointment of "five hundred livres, and the liberty of reading public and private Lectures, "were taken from me by the Council of this City, which is compoſed of four "and twenty perſons, whom they in Dutch call the *Vroedſchap*. The Burgomaſters "who are four in number, and choſen out of theſe twenty four, acquainted me with

“ with this reſolution, without telling me why they now took from me what they 1693.
“ granted me in 1681. I have been told that ſeveral members of the Council oppoſed
“ this act of injuſtice very vigorouſly, but the plurality of voices carried
“ it. Let us diſtinguiſh the real cauſe of this from the pretext.

“ The pretext with which they coloured their conduct, when they were ſpoke
“ to in private about it, and which was even alledged by ſome on giving their
“ votes the day on which I was deprived of my place, is, that the book concerning
“ Comets, which I publiſhed here in 1682, contains pernicious doctrines,
“ and ſuch as no Chriſtian Magiſtrate ſhould ſuffer to be inſtilled into youth. To
“ give more authority to this pretence, the authors of this plot had by a long
“ train of intrigues obtained that certain head-ſtrong Dutch Miniſters, great enemies
“ to ſtrangers and to the new Philoſophy, and of a violent and ſeditious
“ temper, ſhould take the book concerning Comets into their examination, and
“ determine that it contains unſound doctrine. All this was done in a very myſterious
“ manner, and without giving me the leaſt notice of it, and without
“ having the leaſt regard to my public declarations, which I have repeated a
“ hundred times to the Burgomaſters, Miniſters &c. in converſation, that I was
“ ready to ſhow that my Comets contained nothing contrary either to ſound reaſon, or
“ the Confeſſion of Faith of the Reformed Churches. A great number of people
“ of merit here are highly offended at this violent procedure, which is not practiſed
“ even in the Church of Rome: for there they hear an Author accuſed of
“ Heterodoxy, and admit him to explain or to retract his errors. This, dear
“ Couſin, ought to leſſen your regret for not having left France. You will be a
“ hundred times the better Proteſtant, if you only ſee our Religion where it is
“ under perſecution: you would be offended if you ſaw it where it is eſtabliſhed,
“ but let us come to the cauſe of my diſgrace.

“ You muſt know that a Republican Government has this peculiar to it,
“ that every City, nay every little Town is compoſed of two or more parties.
“ In Holland there are two every where: the one is very weak, but compoſed of
“ people of ſubſtance and honour; the other governs haughtily, and almoſt
“ conſtantly makes a bad uſe of its good fortune. I had upon coming into
“ this Country all my patrons, benefactors, and thoſe who received me with civility,
“ among the weaker party, which however was not then ſo weak as
“ now: I have always cultivated their friendſhip, and have never conformed myſelf
“ to the maxims of Courtiers. I have not endeavoured to make my court
“ to thoſe of the other party, which was growing more powerful every day, this appearing
“ to me baſe and mercenary. So that a ſudden ſtorm having above a
“ year ago happened in this City, which overwhelmed part of our Magiſtrates, and
“ others of this all-powerful party being put in their places, the balance could no
“ longer be preſerved, and to ſhow their power againſt thoſe who do not fall
“ down before them, and who keep up their correſpondence with their old friends,
“ they have turned me out of my place. And as doctrines pretended to be dangerous
“ to the youth was the pretext, they were obliged to take from me the
“ liberty of teaching in private as well as in public. By this means they have ſtopped
“ up both the ſources of my ſubſiſtance. I never received a farthing of my patrimony,
“ never had a humour of laying up money, and never was in condition
“ to ſave any. I depended upon my ſalary, which I believed I ſhould have enjoyed
“ for life: but now I ſee there is nothing certain in this world. You may
“ judge that I had great reaſon to be uneaſy about the time to come, in a Country
“ where living is very expenſive. But hitherto by the goodneſs of God I
“ have not felt any uneaſineſs, but have been perfectly reſigned to the will of
“ heaven.

“ You would be ſurprized if I ſhould finiſh my Letter without mentioning that
“ French Miniſter who has publiſhed ſo many libels and calumnies againſt me.
“ I can aſſure you that all theſe calumnies have fallen to the ground, and there
“ was nothing taken notice of but my book concerning Comets, printed near twelve
“ years ago. Beſides they were Dutch Miniſters who carried on this purſuit againſt
“ me in a clandeſtine manner. They have owed me a grudge for a long
“ time, becauſe they hated the friends and patrons which I had upon my firſt arrival
“ here, and being infatuated with Ariſtotle, whom yet they do not underſtand,
“ they could not hear Des Cartes named without ſwelling with rage.”

Mr Bayle was ignorant of the true cauſe of his diſgrace: his Judges did not think it proper to inform him of it. He never ſuſpected that it could proceed from any circumſtance relating to the ſituation of public affairs, however that was the occaſion of it. France victorious every where, began to be weary of the war. The efforts which ſhe had made to gain this ſuperiority over her enemies, had drained her both of men and money. Peace would have been advantageous to her, and ſhe took all poſſible ſteps to obtain it. In the year 1692 ſhe had found means to propoſe it to the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, by the Pope and ſome neutral Princes; but they did not give the leaſt ear to her propoſals. Seeing herſelf refuſed on that ſide, ſhe wanted to try what ſhe could do

1693. In the United Provinces, and employed Mr Amelot, her Embaſſador in Switzerland, to make her intentions known to ſeveral conſiderable perſons. She promiſed the States a ſtrong barrier to cover their country, a full and entire liberty of commerce, and all the other advantages they could deſire. Mr Halewyn, Burgomaſter of Dort, ſeduced by theſe great offers, entered into a ſort of negotiation with Mr Amelot, without the knowledge of the States. King William was informed of this, and Mr Halewyn was ſeized, together with his brother who was believed to be his accomplice. Mr Bayle mentions this in one of his Letters to Mr Minutoli. "No body knew certainly, ſays he (1), what was the crime of theſe gentlemen until their ſentence was publiſhed; for during the proceſs, every thing was managed with great ſecrecy. They have diſcovered that Mr Halewyn the Counſellor was entirely innocent; but his brother, the Burgomaſter of Dort, has been found guilty of holding correſpondence with Mr Amelot, the French Embaſſador in Switzerland, in order to negotiate a peace in this country. He confeſſed this, and pretended that it was the duty of every lover of his country to endeavour to put an end to ſo deſtructive a war; that he was not the only man who had given ear to the propoſitions of France; and that he had communicated all that he knew of this matter to a perſon to whom others had made the ſame propoſitions. However he has been condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and confiſcation of his eſtate. They have not printed with his ſentence all the anſwers and juſtifications, which had been inſerted in the minutes of it; and people are generally of opinion that he had no intention of betraying his country, and that he was as well affected to the Republic as thoſe who are againſt a Peace; the difference between them being only, that the one believes that the continuation of the war is advantageous, and the others that it is hurtful. But, unhappily for him, correſpondence with the enemy, and meddling in a treaty of peace without a particular commiſſion from the Sovereign Powers, is treaſon; and this makes diſintereſted people ſay that the puniſhment inflicted upon him is too gentle. You cannot imagine, adds Mr Bayle, the hopes which our prophet conceived from the impriſonment of theſe gentlemen. He hoped that all his pretended *Cabal of Geneva* would be diſcovered, and that you and Mr Goudet, and the Syndics whom he aimed at, that Meſſieurs Baſnage and I ſhould be involved in their depoſitions: and he already boaſted that he was the firſt, who had blown up the mine of that *wicked plot*, ſaid he, *of the project of peace, which was contriving in Switzerland*. But all his hopes, as uſual, where chimerical, and it appeared that we had thought of nothing leſs than of Mr Amelot and Meſſieurs Halewyn."

Mr Bayle's innocence in this matter did not hinder his feeling the effects of theſe ſecret negotiations: they were the cauſe of his diſgrace. All Mr Jurieu's intrigues among the Magiſtrates were fruitleſs. It is true he perſuaded the Dutch Miniſters to act in his favour againſt Mr Bayle; but their ſollicitations came to nothing. The Regency of Rotterdam had been changed in 1692, by order of King William, who turned out ſeven Magiſtrates who were Mr Bayle's protectors. However they who ſucceeded them had at firſt no bad intentions againſt him: they declared that they would do juſtice, and promiſed to hear his defences, if there ſhould be occaſion for it. But the ſecret practices of France, made King William call to mind the *Project of Peace* of which Mr Jurieu had made ſo much noiſe; and as the peace of Nimeguen had been brought about by ſpreading abroad ſuch pieces at Amſterdam and elſewhere, he thought they had a mind to make uſe of the ſame methods at Rotterdam. That great Prince, not having time to examine this ridiculous Project, was alarmed at the thoughts of a Peace, and imagined that there was, as Mr Jurieu pretended, a cabal to aſſiſt in bringing it about, of which Mr Bayle was the chief perſon who had as yet been diſcovered. He commanded the Magiſtrates of Rotterdam to deprive him of his place of Profeſſor and of the ſalary annexed to it, and this order was put in execution without either citing or hearing him, notwithſtanding the promiſes they had given him to the contrary. It is very certain that the *Advice to the Refugees* had no ſhare in this. King William did not regard the Refugees ſo much, as to trouble himſelf about the complaints they might have againſt that book. But the *Project of Peace* made him uneaſy, he was afraid of the conſequences of it (2). The Magiſtrates of Rotterdam, though better acquainted with this chimerical project, obeyed the orders of that Prince whoſe creatures they were: however they ſeem to have been aſhamed of their conduct, ſince they concealed the cauſe of it from Mr Bayle. It even appears that they, who were in the ſecret, deceived thoſe who were not, and made them believe that the book concerning Comets was the foundation of their ſentence.

Mr de Bauval bears Mr Bayle witneſs (3) "that he received this diſgrace with a philoſophical conſtancy, and even with too great indifference; eſpecially without uneaſineſs with regard to his fortune. He did not mind the gathering of riches, becauſe really he had no occaſion for them. His temperance and ſobriety ſupplied the place of every thing, ſo that having little he wanted nothing. He was not however reduced to indigence, very far from it. Neither did he make any ſtep to procure a new employment. He found himſelf more free and more at his

(1) *Letter of the 14th of September, 1693, p. 521, 522.*

(2) *This is taken from a Memoir of Mr Baſnage.*

(3) Eloge de Mr Bayle.

own diſpoſal, now he was releaſed from the tireſome labour of teaching and reading of lectures." Mr Bayle gives the ſame account in one of his Letters to Mr Minutoli, who had condoled with him upon his diſgrace. "I received it, ſays he (1), as becomes a Chriſtian Philoſopher, and I continue, I thank God, to poſſeſs my mind in great tranquillity. The ſweetneſs and repoſe I find in the ſtudies in which I have engaged myſelf, and which are my delight, will make me ſtay in this city, if I am allowed to continue in it, at leaſt, 'till the impreſſion of my Dictionary is finiſhed; for my preſence is abſolutely neceſſary in the place where it is printed. Moreover, being neither a lover of riches, nor honours, I ſhall give myſelf no trouble to procure an invitation elſewhere; and would not accept of it, though it ſhould be made to me. I am not ſo fond of the diſputes, cabals, and profeſſorial ſnarlings, which reign in all our Academies. *Canam mihi & Muſis.*" And indeed he was ſo charmed with this quiet and independent ſituation, that he refuſed very advantageous offers, and would not ſo much as make uſe of the liberty which the Regency were willing to allow him of teaching the ſons of ſome of the Counſellors who deſired it earneſtly. Mr Baſnage ſollicited him ſeveral times to give them this ſatisfaction, but in vain. The Count de Guiſcard, who was pleaſed to allow him his friendſhip at Sedan, deſired him to take the charge of his ſon's education (2). He offered him a thouſand crowns of appointment, and aſſured him that he had taken his meaſures ſo with the Court, that he ſhould enjoy a full liberty of conſcience: but Mr Bayle excuſed himſelf upon the neceſſity he was under of finiſhing his *Dictionary*, which was then in the preſs. 1693.

1694. Mr Jurieu's conduct ſufficiently ſhows that he thought it was lawful to hate his enemies and to perſecute them. But he ſaid that *his enemies were the enemies of God*; and declared ſolemnly that he thought it his duty to *tread under foot all human conſiderations, and to have no regard to the ties or friendſhips of this world when the glory of God was concerned.* In this manner he inveſted himſelf with the character of Defender of the Cauſe of God, that he might treat with indignity all thoſe who had the misfortune to fall under his diſpleaſure: and though nothing is more oppoſite to the maxims of the Goſpel than the hatred of our neighbour, he was not aſhamed to defend it in two Sermons: the one on theſe words of David, *ſhall not I hate thoſe who hate thee? I hate them with a perfect hatred* (3): and the other on theſe of Jeſus Chriſt, *love your enemies, and bleſs thoſe who curſe you* (4). Every body was offended to hear ſuch ſcandalous morality taught from the pulpit. Mr Bayle charged him publickly with it, in a looſe ſheet, intituled: *A new hereſy in Morality, concerning the hatred of our neighbour, preached by Mr Jurieu in the Walloon church of Rotterdam on ſunday the 24th of January, and on ſunday the 21ſt of February* 1694. *publiſhed for the information of all the Reformed Churches, and particularly of the French Churches gathered together in the different places of their exile* (5). In the beginning he ſets forth the doctrine which Mr Jurieu had preached concerning the love of our neighbour. "I ſhall not ſet down particularly, ſays he, all the pernicious maxims and propoſitions which have been extracted from theſe two laſt Sermons; but ſhall content myſelf with acquainting you that his doctrine in general may be reduced to what follows: I. That ſentiments of hatred, indignation, and wrath, are lawful, good, and praiſe-worthy, againſt the enemies of God; that is to ſay, as he explained it himſelf, againſt the Socinians, and other Heretics in Holland, againſt the ſuperſtitious and idolatrous, &c. II. That we ought to ſhow theſe ſentiments of hatred and indignation by breaking all communication with thoſe people, by not ſaluting them, and not eating with them, &c. III. That we ought not only to hate theſe peoples hereſies and bad qualities, but that we ought to hate their perſons and deteſt them. One of the objections which he made to himſelf, and which he rejected with an air of the utmoſt diſdain, was, that we ought to be at enmity with error and vice, but at the ſame time have charity for the perſon of the ſinner." Mr Bayle next takes notice of the falſe interpretation which this Miniſter had given of the Scripture in order to draw it to his purpoſe, the pernicious conſequences which may follow upon this doctrine, and how neceſſary it was that the Miniſters of the Walloon Churches ſhould ſtigmatize this pernicious morality, the tendency of which muſt be the throwing Holland into confuſion, and putting an end to its commerce. "For what muſt be the conſequence, ſays he, if the Reformed ſhould neither ſalute thoſe of another Religion, nor eat, nor trade with them? what muſt be the conſequence if they be allowed, and it be thought praiſe-worthy, to hate the perſons of all Papiſts, of all Arminians, Mennonites, &c. and if we are obliged by the Goſpel only to wiſh them ſpiritual bleſſings, without being obliged to procure them any temporal good, to draw them out of a ditch if we ſhould ſee them fall into it, to give them alms if we ſee them in want? could this country proſper upon ſuch principles? are not they therefore ſeditious, and tending to overturn the Government, as well as heretical? Is the perſon, who teaches them, ignorant that this is cenſuring with an aſtoniſhing boldneſs the ſupreme powers and the laws of the Government under which we live?

Mr Bayle

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(1) *Letter of the 8th of March* 1694, *p.* 541.

(2) *See the Article* GUISCARD. *Rem.* [*C*].

(3) Pſalm *cxxxix. v.* 21, 22.

(4) St Matt. *c. v. v.* 44.

(5) Nouvelle Hereſie dans la Morale, touchant la haine du Prochain, prêchée par Mr Jurieu dans l'Egliſe Wallonne de Rotterdam les Dimanches 24 de Janvier, & 21 de Fevrier, 1694. Denoncée à toutes les Egliſes Reformées, & nommément aux Egliſes Françoiſes recueillies dans les differens endroits de leur exil.

1694. Mr Bayle made too great haſte to publiſh this charge. He was blamed for doing ſo. Mr Jurieu was actually printing theſe two Sermons, and they were ready to be publiſhed. If he had waited for their publication, they would have furniſhed viſible proofs of his pernicious Morality. As ſoon as he ſaw this charge he ſuppreſſed them, and publiſhed a paper under the title of *Reflexions upon a Libel in a looſe ſheet, intitled, A new Hereſy in Morality, &c* (1), wherein he denied that he had preached the Doctrine he was accuſed of. Mr de Bauval took occaſion from this to ſet Mr Jurieu's morals in a full light, and to ſhow that this Miniſter's conduct was agreeable to his morality. This piece is intituled, *Conſiderations on two Sermons preached by Mr Jurieu, concerning the love of our neighbour: wherein the following curious queſtion is incidentally handled: If we are obliged to hate Mr Jurieu* (2). Mr de Bauval ſhowed very well that Mr Jurieu by ſuppreſſing thoſe ſermons furniſhed a proof that he had preached what he was accuſed of. "If the Morality contained in Mr Jurieu's ſermons, ſays he (3), has nothing ſcandalous in it, it is very ſurprizing that he has put a ſtop to the impreſſion of them. He might have contented himſelf with a denial of the Libel, without engaging himſelf further in the matter; but we know that they were in the preſs. The ſheets of them have been ſeen, and all of a ſudden he changed his reſolution. The reaſon which he gives for this interrupting and retarding of them, ſtrengthens the ſuſpicion inſtead of weakening it. *We are very well informed (ſays he) that theſe Gentlemen lie in ambuſh, and that they have prepared their batteries in order to find hereſies in theſe ſermons, and we do not think it proper at preſent to give them the pleaſure of an engagement, we will wait a little 'till their fire is ſomewhat ſpent.* But if Mr Jurieu is under no apprehenſions with reſpect to orthodoxy, far from ſuppreſſing his ſermons upon account of the menaces of theſe gentlemen, he ought to laugh at their preparations, and make all their batteries uſeleſs. Theſe gentlemen whom he aims at, are not Knights-errant to go about to fight with phantoms; and after all, the public, who is their common judge, would have vindicated Mr Jurieu, if they had cavilled him without reaſon. If they had offended the world by it, ſo much the worſe for them, it would have been at their own expence and at their own peril. As for Mr Jurieu, if his morals are ſound, the printing of his ſermons would have put theſe gentlemen to ſilence, and would have ſtifled all the murmurs they have raiſed on that ſubject. But it muſt be confeſſed that this ſo ſudden interruption of a deſign already begun, is ſo unlike Mr Jurieu, that he gives ground thereby to think that he has ſtopped the courſe of the impreſſion for no other reaſon but that his doctrine might not be expoſed to the inevitable cenſure of the publick. It is at leaſt a ſtrong preſumption, that the *Information* to the public ſtopped him ſhort, and that what ought to have been a further reaſon for haſtening the publication of his ſermons, has obliged him to put it off to an uncertain time. This prudence of waiting *'till theſe gentlemens fire was a little ſpent*, ſeems to be only an artifice to let the remembrance of theſe ſermons, which is at preſent too freſh and recent, paſs away, that by this means he may afterwards be at liberty with more impunity to give them a quite different form. If Mr Jurieu has taught, as he aſſures us he did, *that we ought to forgive our enemies: that we ought not to ſeek to revenge ourſelves: that we ought to ſuffer injuries patiently*, this is without doubt the doctrine of the Goſpel, he runs no hazard; but his irreſolution ſhows that he is embarraſſed, and is contriving ſome trick to ſave himſelf: for he promiſeth *either the ſermons or a treatiſe*. One would ſay he doth not know on which ſide to turn himſelf. A man has not all this uneaſineſs when he has only preached the morality of the Goſpel. There has been a clamour raiſed about theſe ſermons. It is therefore theſe very ſermons which ought to appear or nothing. A treatiſe on this ſubject will not decide the queſtion. Beſides, if Mr Jurieu has preached no other doctrine than what we have juſt now mentioned, from whence have thoſe rumours and the emotion of his audience proceeded? whence comes it that the Reformed Miniſters of Rotterdam have all with once voice diſapproved of his morality? we defy him to refer himſelf to their judgment. Whence comes it that ſome of his hearers have been ſo ſhocked and offended at him, that they have declared they will no longer hear him. While he went on in the common road, he found no ſuch commotions? But what is ſtill more, from whence ariſeth the difficulty which the Commiſſaries of his Conſiſtory make of granting him the approbation he deſired? How comes it about that they have not as yet found ſufficient evaſions and ſoftenings to make it ſafe for them to do ſo? This is a ſtrong preſumption that his morality ſtartled them. Otherwiſe they would have granted him their approbation without difficulty."

Mr Saurin agrees with Mr de Bauval in his ſentiments on this ſubject. That Divine declares, that "the moſt favourable thing that we can ſay of theſe two ſermons, is that all the good people who heard them were offended, and grieved in the higheſt manner; and that Mr Jurieu's friends were much mortified on account of them (4)." He ſays that Mr de Bauval had very well obſerved that it was a poor ſhift to pretend, as Mr Jurieu did, that he would not publiſh thoſe ſermons, becauſe his informers *were lying in ambuſh, and had prepared their batteries*

(1) Reflexions ſur un Libelle en feuille volante, intitulé Nouvelle Héréſie dans la Morale, &c.

(2) Conſiderations ſur deux ſermons de Mr Jurieu, touchant l'Amour du prochain: où l'on traite incidemment cette queſtion curieuſe: S'il faut haïr Mr Jurieu.

(3) Conſiderations on two Sermons of Mr Jurieu, &c. *pag.* 2, *and the following*.

(4) Examination of Mr Jurieu's Theology, &c. *Tom. ii. pag.* 808.

in order to find hereſies in them at any rate. He thinks that pretence very ridiculous. “ I admire, (ſays he (1), Mr Jurieu's bravery who boldly refuſeth to fight, becauſe he ſees the enemy ready to offer him battle: if we did not know from whence he is, we would be ready to think him of another Country than his own. To ſpeak ſeriouſly, Mr Jurieu could not ſay any thing more poor, or which gives more matter of triumph to his accuſers. Either he was afraid that thoſe Gentlemen would really find hereſies in his ſermons, or he was not. If he was afraid of it, he was conſcious of his guilt. If he was not afraid, he ought to have publiſhed his ſermons immediately, in order to convict his accuſers of calumny before the whole world.” Mr Saurin confirms this argument by ſeveral other reflexions, and afterwards ſpeaks of Mr de Bauval's piece. “ They have publiſhed, (ſays he (2), ſome *Conſiderations on Mr Jurieu's two Sermons*, wherein his *Reflections* are anſwered, and it is proved that he really preached the hatred of our neighbour, and that he cannot clear himſelf from it. Mr Jurieu (adds he) has made a Reply to this piece, in another intitled, *An Apology for the Synods, and for ſeveral good people who have been abuſed in Mr de Bauval's laſt Satire, intitled, Conſiderations on two Sermons &c* (3). One would think, (adds Mr Saurin), that while he makes an Apology for others, and for himſelf on ſome other points, he ought not to have forgot to have apologized for his doctrine concerning the hatred of our neighbour. It was this which ought principally to have been done in his laſt piece, and it was this which people of ſenſe, who are concerned for the glory of God, the purity of our morality, and for Mr Jurieu's reputation, wiſhed and expected to find there. But their hopes have been deceived. Mr Jurieu is very large on ſeveral other matters, but ſays not one word on this.”

It may be thought, perhaps, that I have inſiſted too long on this ſubject: but as it is not eaſy to imagine that rage could carry a Miniſter of the Goſpel ſo far as to preach the hatred of our neighbour, I thought it neceſſary to ſhow by good authorities that Mr Jurieu had really preached that deteſtable doctrine, and that Mr Bayle had good reaſon to accuſe him of it (4).

Mr Bayle publiſhed much about the ſame time a Book intituled, *An Addition to the various thoughts concerning Comets, or an Anſwer to a libel intitled, A ſhort Review of the Maxims of Morality and Principles of Religion of the Author of the Various Thoughts concerning Comets &c. to ſerve for information to the Eccleſiaſtical Judges, who may pleaſe to take cognizance of it. At Rotterdam by Reinier Leers. M.D.C.XCIV. In 12°* (5). He here gives the reaſons why he did not ſooner anſwer this libel. Mr Jurieu had made no anſwer to Mr Bayle's ſummons and defiances concerning his accuſation of Atheiſm, although he had brought it before the Conſiſtory; and had even deſiſted from it. He had afterwards publiſhed his *Short Review*, wherein he arraigns certain propoſitions out of the *Thoughts concerning Comets*, and out of the *New Letters againſt Maimbourg*, as dangerous, heretical &c. He had addreſſed himſelf to the Conſiſtory to get theſe Propoſitions condemned, and when they were ready to examine into that matter, he had deſired that it ſhould be referred to the Synod; and yet notwithſtanding he had ſuffered four Synods to paſs without mentioning it. This libel contained no objections againſt the book concerning Comets, which might not be anſwered by the book itſelf, and Mr Bayle deſigned to publiſh a new edition of it, with additions containing new proofs, new explanations, and new anſwers to all the objections, which could be made to what he had advanced. It was here that he deſigned to have anſwered the *Short Review*. But being informed in the month of February 1694, that Mr Jurieu had got a Committee to be appointed by his Conſiſtory to decide upon the Extracts which he had produced in that libel; ſo ſudden and unexpected a change made him fear ſome bad deſign, and obliged him to publiſh this anſwer. “ Mr Jurieu, (ſays he (6), has a mind to act a part in his own Conſiſtory, which hitherto he has not been able to act with regard to me. He will no longer be my Accuſer, he will be my Judge, and manage matters ſo that we ſhall henceforth hear no more of the accuſation of Atheiſm, but they will only examine whether there be any erroneous and dangerous Propoſitions in my writings, which may be puniſhed by Church cenſures. In all appearance he deſigns they ſhould judge without hearing me, and ſolely upon the credit of his extracts, and of the conſequences which he has drawn from them. Our diſpute therefore is now to appear before the Eccleſiaſtical tribunals, and that too upon a new foot. But as it may very poſſibly happen, that every thing ſhall paſs there without my having the leaſt knowledge of it, it is abſolutely neceſſary for me to have recourſe in this manner to a public Factum, which may ſerve for information to the Judges who deſire it, and may take away from thoſe who do not, all room for pleading ignorance. I will confine myſelf to ſhort obſervations, not only becauſe I deſire that the long Apology for my Comets, which will appear in the third Edition, may have the grace of novelty; but likewiſe becauſe I will not leave to thoſe who do not care to be informed, their common pretence in ſuch caſes, that the length of the piece diſcouraged them from ſetting about the reading of it.”

(1) Ibid. *p.* 812.

(2) Ibid. *p.* 827, 828.

(3) Apologie pour les Synodes & pour pluſieurs honeſtes gens, dechirez dans la derniere Satyre du Sieur de Beauval, intitulée, Conſiderations ſur deux Sermons &c.

(4) *In the poſthumous editions of the* Critical Dictionary, *there is a long digreſſion on this accuſation, in the article* ZUERIUS BOXHORNIUS.

(5) Addition aux Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes, ou Réponſe, à un Libelle intitulé, Courte Revuë des Maximes de Morales & des Principes de Religion de l'Auteur des Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes &c. Pour ſervir d'Inſtruction aux Juges Eccleſiaſtiques qui en voudront connoitre.

(6) Addition aux Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes &c. *p.* 25, 26. Nouvel Avis au petit Auteur des petits Livrets, *in the preface, and pag.* 46 *and the following.*

1694. He ſhowed that Mr Jurieu had miſrepreſented what is ſaid in the Thoughts concerning Comets, and drawn falſe and abſurd conſequences from it. For example. This Miniſter affirms that Mr Bayle in this book pretends that “God never performs prodigies and extraordinary things, in order to be preſages of what is to come, ſuch as earthquakes, extraordinary meteors, ſigns which are ſeen in the heavens and upon earth, apparitions, voices, births of monſters, floods; and that he maintains that all theſe things are brought about by natural and neceſſary cauſes, and that God doth not at all deſign by things of this ſort to foretel judgments, which he intends to inflict upon men, nor even to manifeſt his Deity.” But this is not at all Mr Bayle's opinion. What he maintains is, that *God never miraculouſly produces comets, earthquakes, inundations, monſters &c. with a deſign to threaten Infidels with the judgments which his juſtice is preparing againſt them; for he cannot perſuade himſelf that ſuch a conduct, which appears to him to be proper only to foment the abominable ſuperſtition of idolaters, is conſiſtent with our ideas of the goodneſs, juſtice, and ſincerity of God.* He doth not pretend to deny that God ever performs in any part of the world what we call *prodigies* or *preſages*; he ſays only that things which appear equally and indifferently among heathen nations and among the children of God, are not miraculous productions, appointed to threaten mankind. His doctrine tends to give us ſuch an idea of God, as affords a lively repreſentation of his wiſdom, goodneſs, and truth. It denies certain preſages indeed; but it is becauſe they would be injurious to theſe divine Perfections.

Mr Bayle likewiſe entered into a detail of Mr Jurieu's extracts, and diſcovered both his inſincerity, and his want of diſcernment and penetration. He refuted his objections concerning the Parallel between Pagan Idolatry and Atheiſm, concerning the morals of Atheiſts &c; and proved what he had advanced in his new Letters againſt Maimbourg, about the Rights of an erring Conſcience. He afterwards lays down the true ſtate of the queſtion betwixt him and his adverſary, and ſhews in what manner Eccleſiaſtical Judges, who ſhall take cognizance of this diſpute, ought to proceed. He ſubjoins a Petition to the Chriſtian Univerſities, wherein he deſires them to decide upon this repreſentation of his principles which he had made to them: and concludes by impeaching twelve propoſitions drawn out of the *Short Review*, as falſe, raſh, and impious.

This work broke all Mr Jurieu's meaſures, and reduced him to ſilence. This was no eaſy matter: but Mr Bayle had ſet his proofs in ſo evident a light, that it was not poſſible to make a reply. It was however only the work of a few days. “It coſt me ſo little trouble, (ſays he (1), that the three or four days which I beſtowed upon it, would have been too much, if I had thought fit to make a larger anſwer, but my reſolution of being ſhort, made it neceſſary to employ more time. I have deſtroyed that libel ſo as not leave one ſtone upon another. The public will ſee that my adverſary is ignorant of his own Religion, that he attacks what he has maintained in his other books, and that he denies the moſt evident truths: and which is worſt of all, his quotations are ſo unfaithful, that there is no ground to think that he erred ſincerely.”

An Officer, a friend of Mr Bayle, having let him know how much he deſired to ſee a reconciliation betwixt him and Mr Jurieu, Mr Bayle ſhowed him that it was impoſſible. “The nature of this quarrel is ſuch, (ſays he (2), as can admit of no reconciliation: there can only be what in your profeſſion is called a *ceſſation of all acts of hoſtility*. For the queſtion is, whether I have been in a Cabal which did conſpire both the ruin of Religion and of the Government, or not. He has accuſed me of this publickly, and I have ſhown him that this Cabal is the moſt ridiculous chimera, that ever was heard of. He has accuſed me of being the Author of a book called *An Advice to the Refugees*, wherein the diffamatory libels which are printed in this Country againſt the King of France, and the dethroning of King James are condemned; and I have ſhewn that all the proofs which he has alledged againſt me are impertinent. .... If he reconcile himſelf to me, he muſt own himſelf an infamous calumniator; and if I reconcile myſelf to him, I muſt acknowledge myſelf guilty. This is what renders our reconciliation impoſſible. For my part, I do not care for any reconciliation. It is ſufficient for me that the Government takes no notice of his accuſations: for while there is no proceſs againſt me, it is plain they laugh at his pretended proofs. For as to the place which they have taken from me, that was upon another account.”

1695. Mr Bayle continued to beſtow all his time in the impreſſion of his *Dictionary*. The impreſſion of the firſt volume was finiſhed in the month of Auguſt 1695 (3). The public prepoſſeſſed in Mr Bayle's favour, expected it with impatience, but Mr Bayle on the contrary was very much afraid of the reception it ſhould meet with. “If the public, (ſaid he to Mr le Duchat (4), has conceived any hopes or good opinion of my Dictionary, (of which I have reaſon to doubt, not knowing on what it can be founded,) I muſt expect many complaints; they will find themſelves diſappointed and villainouſly cheated, for I own ingenuouſly to you, that this work is nothing elſe but a confuſed compilation of paſſages tacked to

(1) Addition to the various Thoughts &c, *in the Advertiſement.*

(2) *MSS. Letter to Mr *** of the 29th of November* 1694.

(3) *See the Letter to Mr Conſtant of the 22d of Auguſt* 1695, *p.* 570.

(4) *Letter of the 9th of January* 1696, *p.* 576.

“ one another, and that nothing can be worſe ſuited to the delicate taſte of this age: “ but there is no remedy, *jacta eſt alea.*” 1695.

However the Bookſellers in foreign Countries, in conſequence of the taſte of the public, demanded ſo many copies, that the number which was printed of the firſt volume was not ſufficient to ſatisfy them; ſo that Mr Leers was obliged to print a thouſand more copies of the ſecond, and to reprint a like number of the firſt: this made ſome people imagine that there was a ſecond edition of the whole work publiſhed (1). Mr Bayle was not concerned in this re-impreſſion; and he complained that there were many errors in it (2). He could not correct the proofs of it; the impreſſion of the ſecond volume took him up ſo entirely that he had not even time to write to his friends. “ You would excuſe my ſilence (ſays he to Mr Conſtant (3), if you knew what a load “ of buſineſs I have upon my hands, occaſioned by the impreſſion of my Hiſtorical and “ Critical Dictionary. The Bookſeller is reſolved at any rate to finiſh it this year; “ ſo that I am obliged to furniſh him conſtantly with new copy, and every day to “ correct the proofs, wherein there are a thouſand errors; for my manuſcript is ſo “ full of raſures and references, that neither the Printers nor the Corrector of the “ preſs can find their way through ſuch a labyrinth: and another thing that re- “ tards me very much is, that not having all the books at hand which I have occaſion “ for, I am obliged to wait till they are procured for me, when any body in this “ city has them.” He complains likewiſe that the frequent returns of his head-ach made him loſe a great deal of time. “ I am very glad, ſays he (4) that your “ megrims have left you; mine would have done me the ſame favour, if it had “ been in my power to live without ſtudy, but obſtinate labour nouriſhes them, “ and makes them return very frequently. By this means I loſe many days in “ every month, which obligeth me afterwards to apply more cloſely to regain the “ time I have loſt.” 1696.

They had ſo advantageous an opinion of Mr Bayle's Dictionary in England, that a perſon of quality there, no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his genius than by his rank and the great poſts he enjoyed (5), deſired that this work ſhould be dedicated to him. He deſired Mr Baſnage to aſſure Mr Bayle that he would acknowledge it by a preſent of two hundred guineas. Mr Bayle's friends, and particularly Mr Baſnage, preſſed him very much to give this Nobleman that ſatisfaction, but in vain. He ſaid that he had ſo frequently made a jeſt of Dedications, that he would not expoſe himſelf by making one. This however was only a pretence to give a colour to his refuſal. The real ground of the long and obſtinate reſiſtance which he made upon this occaſion, was, that he would not flatter or praiſe any perſon who had any employment in the Court of a Prince of whom he thought he had reaſon to complain, and this Lord was at this time in the miniſtry (6).

1697. The impreſſion of the ſecond volume was finiſhed on the 24th of October, and the work came out under the following title: *An Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary by Mr Bayle. At Rotterdam by Reinier Leers. M.D.C.XCVII* (7). In the beginning of the Preface Mr Bayle acquaints the Reader, that this work is not what he promiſed in the *Project* publiſhed in 1692. His firſt deſign was, as we have obſerved, to publiſh the errors of Dictionaries, and other books, both great and ſmall. But being informed that a mere collection of errors would diſguſt the readers, and that they deſired ſomething hiſtorical, he was obliged to lay aſide that undertaking. “ See in what manner (ſays he) I have changed my plan, in order the better to “ hit the taſte of the public. I have divided my compoſition into two parts: one “ of which is purely hiſtorical; a ſuccinct narration of facts; the other is a large “ commentary, a medley of proofs and diſcuſſions, wherein you find a criticiſm “ of many errors, and ſometimes a long train of philoſophical reflexions; in a “ word, ſuch a variety as makes me hope, that in one place or other all ſorts of “ readers will find ſomething to their taſte.” He adds that this change had made the greateſt part of the materials he had prepared uſeleſs to him, and that this was one of the reaſons which had retarded the publication of this book. Another reaſon was, that he had carefully avoided every thing that is to be found in the Dictionaries already publiſhed, or which he foreſaw would be contained in thoſe promiſed by learned men. He had done the ſame with regard to Mr Du Pin's Bibliotheque of Eccleſiaſtical Authors, and to Mr Teiſſier's Additions to the Elogies of learned men, taken from Thuanus's Hiſtory. He would not put the reader under the neceſſity of buying the ſame thing twice: though in the mean time he had thereby deprived himſelf of all the materials which are moſt eaſily collected and digeſted. To theſe reaſons we may add the alteration which he made in the choice of the articles. At firſt he intended to give *real* as well as *perſonal* articles. But he was told that the former not being hiſtorical, would not be reliſhed; which deprived him once more of a great many materials. However, to prevent the loſs of the articles **Hippomanes** and of the **Day**, which had appeared in the *Project*, he placed them at the end of the work under the title of *Diſſertations.* He aſcribed likewiſe the delay of this work to the badneſs of his health, to the great exactneſs in his citations, to his want of the neceſſary books, and to the difficulties ariſing

from

(1) *See the Letters to Mr Conſtant of the* 4*th of July* 1697, *p.* 654, *and to Mr Coſe, July* 15 *of the ſaid year, pag.* 660, 661.

(2) *Letter to Mr le D.E.M.S. of the* 7*th of July* 1698, *p.* 712, *and the following.*

(3) *Letter of the* 31*ſt of May* 1696, *p.* 588, 589.

(4) Ibid. *p.* 591.

(5) *The Duke of Shrewſbury, Secretary of State.*

(6) *MSS. Memoir of Mr Baſnage.*

(7) Dictionaire Hiſtorique & Critique, par Monſieur Bayle. *A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers* 1697.

1697. from the ſtile, which requires great attention if we would prevent equivocal expreſſions, verſes, and falſe applications of relatives.

He offered all theſe conſiderations, in anſwer to thoſe who might think it ſtrange that he had ſpent above four years in compoſing theſe two volumes. But as others, on the contrary, might be aſtoniſhed that he had been able in that time to compoſe two ſuch large volumes in Folio, and might believe that he had made too much haſte; he obſerves that uninterrupted labour will go a great length in little time, and that he had loſt no time in the recreations which are very common among men of letters: “I remember as well as they (ſays he) the diſtich “of Cato *Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis &c*, but I very ſeldom make uſe of “it. Diverſions, games, collations, journies into the country, viſits, and ſuch other “recreations neceſſary to a great many ſtudious men, as they ſay, are not my buſineſs. “I loſe no time in them, nor do I ſpend it in domeſtic cares, making intereſt for “preferments, ſollicitations, or other affairs. I have been happily delivered from “a great many occupations which were not very ſuitable to my humour, and I “have had the greateſt and the moſt charming leiſure that a man of letters could “deſire. By this means an Author makes a great progreſs in a few Years. His “work will increaſe daily under his hand, though he be not careleſs in the compoſition of it.”

After this he gives his reaſons why he has quoted long paſſages of Greek and Latin Authors, and why inſtead of tranſlating them himſelf, he has frequently made uſe of the verſions of Amiot or Vigenere. He adds, that people of grave and ſevere characters may poſſibly find fault with him for his quotations from Brantome and Montagne, containing actions and reflexions of too gallant a nature; but that perſons of merit, who had the Bookſellers intereſt at heart, had been of opinion, that, in order to raiſe a general demand for this Work, it would be neceſſary that they who do not underſtand Latin, and do not trouble their heads with Philoſophical and Theological diſcuſſions, ſhould find ſome agreeable entertainment in it. He had been told that if he was too averſe from taking that advice, he ought at leaſt to allow others, to furniſh the Bookſeller with ſuch memoirs, and even ſometimes with dogmatical reflexions, which might excite ſome attention. That he had accordingly conſented that the Bookſeller ſhould inſert whatever memoirs ſhould be ſent to him: that with relation to the Philoſophical reflexions which ſometimes had been puſhed ſome length, he did not think it neceſſary to make any apology for them, for as they only tend to convince man that the beſt uſe he can make of his reaſon, is to ſubject his underſtanding to the obedience of Faith; they can't but deſerve the thanks of the Divines.

Next follow ſome remarks upon the liberty he has taken of criticizing the faults of ſome celebrated Authors, or of pointing out their defects. He declares that he has not the leaſt intention to diminiſh the reputation they have juſtly acquired, and that beſides for the moſt part he has only related the obſervations of others, and only copies from Authors already printed. “Of the the two laws of Hiſtory (ſays he) I “have religiouſly obſerved that which commands to ſay nothing that is falſe; as for “the other, which bids us venture to ſay all that is true, I cannot boaſt that I have “always obſerved that; I think it is ſometimes inconſiſtent not only with prudence “but alſo with reaſon.” In the mean while he was very far from believing that this work was free from faults. “I do not doubt (ſays he) but beſides my omiſſions, “which are many, I have committed many faults. I ſhall think myſelf obliged “to thoſe who will be ſo kind as to rectify me, and if I had not relied upon “the advice of intelligent and equitable readers, I ſhould have kept this work “many years in my cloſet, according to the advice of the Ancients in order to “correct it, and render it leſs unworthy of the public view: but conſidering that “I had materials left for two other large volumes, I haſtened the publication of “it. I eaſily underſtood that I ſhould be both more uſefully and more ſeaſonably “aſſiſted, when the public ſhould know what I wanted, and wherein I am wanting. I hope that with thoſe helps the Continuation of this work will be more “perfect than otherwiſe it would have been. I ſhall immediately go about it, while “age will permit. I ſee nothing wherein I can better or more pleaſantly employ “the leiſure I am bleſſed with, a leiſure which ſeems to me preferable to all things, “and which has always been earneſtly wiſhed for by the true lovers of ſtudy and “learning.”

He obſerves likewiſe how he has behaved with regard to Moreri's Dictionary. That he has paſſed over ſeveral ſubjects, becauſe they are to be found at ſufficient length in that work: that when he has given the ſame articles which are in Moreri, he has been determined to do ſo, either becauſe that Author gives a very ſhort account of them, or becauſe having the life of ſome illuſtrious perſon, he found himſelf able to give a compleat account of him; or becauſe he had as many detached and curious matters, as would make up a tolerable ſupplement: that he referred the readers to that Dictionary for facts of any importance: that when he gives the ſame Article with Moreri, he has put the errors he has found in this Author in a remark by themſelves; but has not touched thoſe which are to be met with in the articles that are not common to both, though they are neither leſs conſiderable nor leſs frequent in thoſe articles than in the others: from whence he concludes that his Dictionary is not deſigned to hurt the ſale of the other, but on the contrary will encreaſe it, and make the reading of it more agreeable.

This is the firſt and only work to which Mr Bayle has ſet his name. It was not his intention to do ſo: he had ſaid upon all occaſions during the courſe of the impreſſion, that he would not let his name appear in it, and he owns at the end of the preface that his friends had endeavoured in vain to make him change his ſentiment; but that at laſt he had been obliged to give his conſent that his name ſhould appear. "This doth not proceed from fickleneſs (ſays he) but it is in obedience to authority that I do what I have ſo often ſaid that I would not. It has been thought fit that I ſhould affix my name, in order to terminate ſome differences among the Bookſellers. Without this Mr Leers could not have obtained the privilege, which he thought was abſolutely neceſſary to him. I therefore pay a blind obedience." The occaſion of this difference was, that Mr Leers having applied to the States of Holland for a privilege, the Bookſellers who were concerned in the edition of Moreri oppoſed it, on pretence that Mr Bayle's Dictionary was a work of the ſame kind with that of Moreri, and that this concurrence had been forbid by the privilege which the States had granted to them, and that this would be a great loſs to them. And becauſe they knew that Mr Bayle would not put his name to it, they made uſe of that circumſtance to repreſent his Dictionary as a work which no body owned. The States notwithſtanding this granted a privilege to Mr Leers, but with this condition, that Mr Bayle ſhould affix his name in the title of it (1).

And indeed Mr Bayle's work has hardly any thing in common with that of Moreri. It is a Dictionary of a new and ſingular kind. An infinite variety runs through the whole of it. In the Text or body of the articles, he in a very exact and conciſe manner gives the hiſtory of the perſons he treats of, but he makes amends for this brevity in the Remarks which are ſubjoined to the text, and which are a ſort of commentary on it. He draws the characters of thoſe perſons, he clears up the circumſtances of their lives, and the motives of their conduct, he examines the judgment which has been, or may be made concerning them. He treats of the moſt important points of Religion, Morality, and Philoſophy. Nay ſometimes the Text ſeems to have been made for the ſake of the Remarks. He takes occaſion from the actions or ſentiments of an obſcure and almoſt unknown perſon, to inſtruct or agreeably to amuſe his reader. So that ſome Articles which ſeem to promiſe nothing at all, are frequently accompanied with the moſt curious matters. He acts throughout the part of an exact, faithful, and diſintereſted Hiſtorian, and of a moderate, penetrating, and judicious Critic. In the articles of the Philoſophers, he applies himſelf to diſcover their opinions, and to ſhow their ſtrong and weak ſides.

Being perſuaded that diſputes about Religion, which have been the occaſion of infinite diſorders in the world, proceed only from the too great confidence which the Divines of all parties have in their own underſtandings; he undertakes to humble them, and to render them more modeſt and moderate, by ſhowing that even ſo ridiculous a ſect as that of the Manicheans can raiſe ſuch objections to them concerning the origin of evil and the permiſſion of ſin, which it is impoſſible to anſwer. He even goes further, and maintains in general that human Reaſon is more capable of refuting and deſtroying, than of proving and building up: that there are no points either in Divinity or Philoſophy, againſt which it doth not raiſe very ſtrong difficulties, ſo that if we ſhould follow it, with a diſpoſition to diſpute, as far as it will go, we ſhould often find ourſelves reduced to very great ſtraits: that there are doctrines which are certainly true, to which it oppoſeth unanſwerable objections; that in this caſe we ought to have no regard to theſe objections, but acknowledge the narrow limits of human underſtanding, and oblige it to captivate itſelf under the obedience of faith, and that in this, Reaſon doth act inconſiſtently with itſelf, ſince it acts upon very reaſonable principles. He at the ſame time gives ſeveral examples of difficulties which Reaſon finds in the diſcuſſion of the moſt important ſubjects, and he doth this for the moſt part without deciding, and meerly as a reporter. He endeavoured to inſpire people with the ſame moderation with regard to hiſtorical facts. He ſhowed that ſeveral facts which no body has ever called in queſtion are very uncertain, or even evidently falſe: from whence it is natural to conclude, that we ought not lightly to give credit to Hiſtorians, but rather to ſuſpend our judgment 'till by a rigorous examination we are aſſured of the truth.

The public was agreeably ſurprized to find that this work ſurpaſſed the favourable opinion they had conceived of it. The Bookſellers at Paris obſerving the great demand there was for it, reſolved to reprint it, and deſired a Licence from Mr Boucherat, Chancellor of France. Mr Boucherat appointed the Abbé Renaudot, Author of the Paris Gazette, to examine it in order to ſee if it contained any thing againſt the Government, or againſt the Catholic Religion. This Abbé inſtead of confining himſelf to theſe two points, drew up a critical Memorial, wherein he ſays that this

(1) *This condition is expreſſed in the privilege.*

1697. work is full of *digreſſions*; that *one can find no ſyſtem of Religion in it*: that Mr Bayle *never cites the Fathers there but in order to turn them into ridicule*: that he maintains *Pelagianiſm and Pyrrhoniſm* throughout: that he *had in different places inſerted all the harſheſt things which have been ſaid or written theſe fifty years paſt againſt the Catholic Religion*: that he *every where makes panegyrics upon the Calviniſt Miniſters, filled with falſhoods*: that he *ſeeks all occaſions to render the reign of Lewis XIV odious with regard to the revocation of the Edicts, and the complaints of the Refugees*: that one might *obſerve every where in it a viſible affectation of collecting the moſt odious and infamous things againſt the perſons of late French Kings*; and that *he had purpoſely collected ſeveral fabulous ſtories in order to render Henry the Fourth's converſion ſuſpicious*: that *in the article of Francis* I, *there was a very injurious digreſſion againſt the King of England, to give ground for eſtabliſhing the poſſibility of the ſuppoſition of the Prince of Wales*: that *it was full of unſufferable obſcenities*: that Mr Bayle *was only acquainted with modern books concerning Religion, and with thoſe wrote by Heretics*: that *he had not the ſmalleſt knowledge of Hiſtory*; that *his knowledge in Antiquity and Literature was all drawn from extracts which he had taken from French Tranſlations*: that *he ridiculouſly compared the Moderns with the Ancients, and ſets up the Abbé de St Real as a rival to Cornelius Nepos, in treating of the merit of Pomponius.* “We may judge, ſays he, of the abi-
“ lities of a perſon who in an extract of the life of Pomponius Atticus, tranſlates
“ *librarii*, Bookſellers.” This example which the Abbé Renaudot produced of Mr Bayle's ignorance is a very notable proof of his own raſhneſs; for Mr Bayle had obſerved in the margin that *we ought to underſtand by that word the Copiſts and Binders according to the cuſtom of binding books at that time.*

We may ſee by this what weight this Abbé's judgment ought to have. He had negligently run through Mr Bayle's Dictionary, and ſaw every thing through the prejudices he had conceived againſt it. He was beſides naturally deciſive, raſh, violent, and paſſionate againſt the Proteſtants. He piqued himſelf upon his great reading and profound knowledge of antiquity; but they who have examined his works do not allow that his learning was equal to the opinion which he wanted that the public ſhould have of it. They have found a thouſand miſtakes in his tract concerning the *Origin of the Sphere*, and ſhowed that he has not ſo much as underſtood the Authors whom he has tranſcribed (1). However, upon his report, they refuſed the Licence which the Bookſellers of Paris deſired in order to reprint Mr Bayle's Dictionary, and even prohibited the importing it into France. This was what Mr Bayle wiſhed for (2). “I will tell you as a ſecret (ſays he to one of his friends (3),
“ that I am exceedingly glad that they have prohibited my Dictionary in France.
“ It is not becauſe the prohibition will the more excite peoples curioſity; for *ni-*
“ *timur in vetitum*. I have two other reaſons. The one is, that if they had allowed
“ it to be ſold there, the Bookſellers at Lyons would have counterfeited it, and com-
“ mitted a thouſand typographical errors. Their edition would have hindered the
“ ſale of that of Mr Leers, and would have multiplied the copies of a firſt edition,
“ which is always imperfect when a large work has been compoſed haſtily, and with
“ ſo little aſſiſtance of libraries as I have had. This prohibition makes me hope that
“ Mr Leers's ſole edition will ſell, and that he will be obliged to print a ſecond, in the
“ correction of which I will employ all my abilities, which are very ſmall I own, but
“ which however I will apply to better purpoſe, and I expect from your knowledge
“ and good advice how to direct myſelf aright in the correction. The other reaſon,
“ which ſtill is of more importance, is, that if my Dictionary had been allowed a
“ free admiſſion into France, my enemies in this country, who are a factious kind
“ of people, and very artful in giving a bad turn to things, would have inferred
“ from hence that my book contains nothing in favour of Proteſtants, or againſt
“ France: *A proof*, would they ſay, *of the criminal attachment, of which the Author*
“ *of it is ſuſpected, to the cauſe of the common enemy of the repoſe of Europe.* It
“ is therefore of advantage to me that my Dictionary has been prohibited; not-
“ withſtanding, though I wiſhed that this might happen, I have ſaid nothing in
“ it which can pleaſe our Viſionaries, When any thing came in my way relating
“ to the affairs of Europe, I have avoided ſaying any thing either *pro* or *con*: and
“ they even complain in England, that I have indirectly condemned the late Re-
“ volution, and that I have declared myſelf too much againſt the rights of the people,
“ in favour of the deſpotic power of Princes.”

Mr Bayle criticized Mr Jurieu in ſeveral places of his Dictionary: and in doing ſo he only followed his plan, which was to take notice of the errors in fact, or of the falſe reaſonings the Authors of whom he had occaſion to mention. “I have
“ ſometimes, ſays he (4), criticized my enemy with ſome force; he is enraged at this,
“ and ſearches for all poſſible means of revenging himſelf. When I firſt publiſhed
“ my Dictionary he ſet his emiſſaries a declaiming againſt it, pretending that it con-
“ tained impieties; and after all theſe ſnarlings, he has perſuaded his Conſiſtory to
“ examine it. I have all my defences ready, and I am not at all afraid, provided
“ they will, I do not ſay, exactly follow the rules of equity, but forbear only from
“ violating them ſhamefully and without meaſure.”

(1) *See Mr Des Vignoles's Remarks on this piece of the Abbé Renaudot in the* Bibliotheque Germanique, *Tom. v. Art. xi. pag.* 153, *and the following.*

(2) *See Letter to Mr Janiçon of the* 11*th of February* 1697, *p.* 625, 626.

(3) *Letter to M** of the* 13*th of May*, 1697, *p.* 642, 643.

(4) *Letter to Mr Conſtant, July* 4, 1697, *p.* 654.

Mr Jurieu's party finding themſelves ſuperior in the Conſiſtory of Rotterdam, he took that opportunity to have Mr Bayle's Dictionary examined there. In the mean while he publiſhed ſeveral extracts of anonymous Letters from Paris, London, Geneva, and from ſome towns in Holland, to decry this work. And indeed the Authors of theſe Letters ſaid a great deal againſt it, but moſt of them had not read it, and ſpoke of it only by hearſay. Mr Jurieu added the Abbé Renaudot's Memorial, and the extracts which Mr Bayle had given of the books of that Miniſter in the *News from the Republic of Letters*, "In order, ſaid he, to oppoſe the high encomiums which Mr Bayle has given to him and to his works there, to the criticiſms in the Dictionary." To all this he added ſeveral reflexions, wherein he repeated his ancient calumnies, and made new efforts to diffame Mr Bayle, and diſparage his Dictionary. In the mean time he owned that he had not ſo much as read the title of it (1). He intitled this compilation: *The Judgment of the public and particularly of the Abbé Renaudot, concerning the Sieur Bayle's Critical Dictionary* (2).

Mr Bayle upon this publiſhed a piece intitled: *Remarks on a Pamphlet, intitled The Judgment of the Public, &c* (3), wherein he ſays that his principal deſign in publiſhing this piece was to acquaint the public that he was preparing a defence, which would demonſtrate to all unprejudiced readers the injuſtice of his cenſures: but that this apology not deſerving the fate of looſe ſheets, which for the moſt part do not outlive the week in which they firſt appear, he kept it to be placed at the beginning or end of a book in *folio*. For the ſame reaſon, adds he, I refer to it almoſt every thing conſiderable that might be ſaid againſt that piece which is juſt publiſhed, and I confine myſelf to a few obſervations made in haſte. He takes notice in the beginning that the title of this piece of Mr Jurieu's is deceitful. "This Libel, ſays he (4), has a very improper title, it ought only to be intitled: *The Judgment of the Abbé Renaudot, commented upon by the publiſher*; for all the other judges are leſs than phantoms: they are inviſible beings, no body knows whether they are black or white. Therefore their opinion and a cypher are of the ſame value...... What manner of proceeding is this! to make the judgment of the public to conſiſt in ſuch pieces. I could produce a great many much ſtronger in my favour, if modeſty would permit: and beſides how many Letters could I produce, wherein my adverſary is repreſented both as a bad writer, and a bad man! but God forbid that I ſhould imitate him in the uſe he makes of what people write to one another in confidence. This is a conduct deteſted even by the Heathens themſelves."

He obſerves that Mr Jurieu out of all his evidences has mentioned only the one who was moſt exceptionable. "The Author of this pretended Judgment of the Public (ſays he (5), has not been very wiſe in the choice he has made. He conceals the names of all his witneſſes except one whom he ought principally to have concealed, a name odious and deſpiſed in all the countries which are at war with France. I will not take advantage of the prepoſſeſſion of the public: I will not conſider him with regard to his Gazette, which diſcredits him every where as a man who has got a habit of giving a malicious turn to lies. I will conſider him on his fair ſide.

"The Abbé Renaudot has the character of a very learned man, and of having a taſte ſo delicate that nothing is able to pleaſe him. One can therefore conclude nothing from his contempt of any thing: it is an equivocal proof. I have been likewiſe told that he is exceedingly devout. We need not therefore be aſtoniſhed, that he thinks ſome things too free, which at bottom do not go beyond the liberties which an honeſt man may allow himſelf, after the example of ſo many great authors." He adds, that with regard to the gay paſſages in his Dictionary, which are complained of as a little too licentious, he does not doubt but every body will be ſatisfied when they have ſeen the Apology he is preparing on this head: and he promiſeth to reviſe the article of David in ſuch a manner that it ſhall not any longer ſerve for a pretence for the declamations of his detractors. "I have declared (ſays he) upon all occaſions, and I here declare it publickly, that if there are any heterodox opinions in my work, I am the firſt who will deteſt them, and that I will throw them out in the ſecond edition. All that I want is to have them pointed out to me."

He next obſerves ſeveral falſhoods which the Authors of the extracts had ſpread concerning his Dictionary: he refutes Mr Jurieu's calumnies and malicious inſinuations; and ſhows how ridiculouſly he had boaſted that he had reduced him to live upon the penſion of a Bookſeller: he ſays that he had criticized him without affectation, and had treated him in the ſame manner with other authors, whoſe faults he had taken notice of; that he had done him juſtice when he had been cenſured by others without reaſon, and that it was not his fault that he had not had more frequent occaſions of juſtifying him; that what he had cenſured in ſome of his works, was not the ſame thing which he had formerly commended; that at firſt he had praiſed him ſincerely, and that afterwards he had criticized him for good reaſons, being better inſtructed.

With regard to Mr Renaudot, Mr Bayle contents himſelf with obſerving two or three falſhoods in point of fact contained in his Memorial, delaying a thorough examination

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(1) *I own to you that I have not read this book, nor even the title of it.* Jugement du public, &c. *p.* 28.

(2) Jugement du public, & particulierement de Mr l'Abbé Renaudot, ſur le Dictionaire critique du Sieur Bayle, *in* 4° *pp.* 47.

(3) Reflexions ſur un Imprimé qui a pour titre, Jugement du public, &c. *in* 4°, *pagg.* 16. *ſmall character, and in two columns.*

(4) Reflexions ſur un Imprimé qui a pour titre, Jugement du Public, &c. *p.* 1.

(5) Ibid. *pag.* 1, 2.

1697. mination of it 'till that Abbé ſhould declare himſelf the Author of it. “If I at any time do anſwer the Abbé Renaudot's Judgment (ſays he) it will only be after I ſhall know that he acknowledgeth it to be his, in the manner in which it is printed; for it is ſo full of miſtakes, falſhoods, and blunders, that I imagine it not to be agreeable to the original: ſome falſe pieces have poſſibly been added to it in copying. He had prejudiced a great many people, but men of judgment having read my Dictionary, quickly put an end to that prejudice. The Abbé himſelf is not ignorant of this, for he ſays in one of his Letters, *That I ought to be ſatisfied with the approbation of ſo many people.* And ſo I am. People were ſurprized to find ſo many idle things in his report. The only queſtion was, whether my book contained any thing which could ſhock either the Church of Rome or France. No body had aſked him whether I was acquainted with good Authors, or whether I equal the Moderns with the Ancients. If ſeveral of my readers have contradicted him on the head of my ignorance, I diſavow them: he has not ſaid enough on this head, I know a great many more circumſtances of it, and if he has a mind to draw my picture in this light, I will furniſh him with a good many memoirs.”

This diſpute went no further. Mr de Wit intereſted himſelf for the Abbé Renaudot, and made Mr Bayle promiſe not to write againſt him. Mr Bayle religiouſly kept his word; and was even ſo ſcrupulous that he was not pleaſed to ſee that I deſigned to inſert in Mr de St Evremond's Works, the anſwer which that celebrated writer had made to the Judgment of that Abbé. “As to what concerns (ſays he (1), the Apology which Mr de St Evremond did me the honour to write in my favour, as your friendſhip for me is already publickly declared, I do not know whether the Abbé Renaudot will not think me guilty of an indirect breach of the treaty which Mr de Wit had concluded between us, if any thing ſhould appear in a work reprinted by you concerning the fooliſh quarrel which that Abbé picked with me. You know that in my *Reflexions* on that Abbé's *Judgment*, I promiſed to examine and anſwer it more at large. He is exceedingly techy, and though he is very learned, yet he is afraid of literary diſputes. He is very well pleaſed with the liberty of criticizing by word of mouth, but doth not care to be obliged to come to diſcuſſions in writing. The late Mr de Wit, his particular friend, perſuaded me very earneſtly to peace, and was vexed at the *Reflexions* which I had publiſhed. Mr Leers, who is under many obligations to the Abbé, who doth him good offices upon all occaſions, received a Letter from him, wherein he ſignified that it would be againſt his inclination to enter into a diſpute of this nature. In ſhort out of deference to Mr de Wit, and complaiſance for Mr Leers, and in conſideration of the excuſes which the Abbé made for himſelf, I having a natural averſion to literary diſputes of a perſonal nature, conſented that Mr de Wit ſhould make us agree to forget what was paſſed, and make no more mention of this difference. I have kept my word very ſcrupulouſly; for there is not one word in the ſecond edition of my Dictionary which bears the leaſt mark of my remembrance of the Abbé's *Judgment*. I leave it entirely to your diſcretion, whether by inſerting Mr de St Evremond's anſwer, the Abbé would not have a pretence to ſay that what I have not done myſelf I have done by a friend, by thus renewing the memory of that quarrel.” Mr de St St Evremond had read Mr Bayle's Dictionary with a great deal of pleaſure: and he diverted himſelf by compoſing this anſwer, which contains very fine and delicate raillery (2).

1698. The firſt edition of Mr Bayle's Dictionary being almoſt ſold off, they thought of giving a ſecond. It was begun on the 26th of May 1698.

Mr Jurieu had publiſhed his pretended *Judgment of the Public*, in order to engage the Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies to condemn Mr Bayle's Dictionary. He got this libel preſented to the Synod, at this time ſitting at Delft; but the Synod took no manner of notice of it. The Conſiſtory of Rotterdam itſelf, acted with great moderation. They granted Mr Bayle a hearing, and communicated to him the remarks which they had made upon his Dictionary; they declared that they were ſatisfied with his anſwers, and exhorted him to acquaint the public with every thing that had paſſed on this ſubject. This he did in a looſe ſheet, intituled, *A Letter from the Author of the Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary to Mr D. E. M. S. concerning the proceedings of the Conſiſtory of the Walloon Church of Rotterdam, againſt this work* (3). It is as follows.

“Sir,

“I AM informed by your laſt Letter that a great many contradictory accounts have gone about concerning what paſſed in the Conſiſtory of the Walloon Church at Rotterdam, when the affair which I had before it concerning the Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary was ended there. All you could gather from ſo many different reports was, that I had promiſed to amend that work in a ſecond edition: but this not ſatisfying you, you deſire me to give you a more exact account of that matter, and this I ſhall now give you.

(1) *Letter March 7, 1702, p. 867, and the following.*

(2) *This ſmall piece was inſerted in the firſt edition of Mr de St Evremond's Works, printed at London in 1705, 2 Vols in 4°, and is to be found in all the following editions.*

(3) Lettre de l'Auteur du Dictionaire hiſtorique & critique à Monſieur le D. E. M. S. au ſujet des procedures du Conſiſtoire de l'Egliſe Wallonne de Rotterdam contre ſon Ouvrage.

"Be pleaſed therefore to know, Sir, that the Conſiſtory having thought it their duty to take my book into their conſideration, on account of the complaints which ſeveral perſons ſpread abroad concerning it, named a Committee to examine it. This Committee read it, took extracts and made remarks, and having made their report to the Conſiſtory, and all other preliminaries being regulated, ſo that there remained nothing to be done but to hear me, and then proceed to give ſentence, I was warned to appear before the Conſiſtory, and accordingly I came there upon the day appointed. The ſtate of the caſe in general being laid before me, together with the firſt article of particular extracts and remarks, I was aſked what I had to ſay in my defence. I anſwered that not knowing what ſhould be firſt conſidered in this affair, I had prepared only a very general diſcourſe. It conſiſted of theſe two points. Firſt, that I had a great many things to alledge in my juſtification on every one of the grounds of complaint; and ſecondly, that in order to ſpare the Conſiſtory the trouble of a long ſeries of tedious diſcuſſions, and to contribute more effectually to peace and edification; I choſe rather to change the things which had given occaſion for complaint in a ſecond edition, than to inſiſt upon the reaſons which I might advance to prove that all the noiſe which had been made was without foundation; that I had already acquainted the public with my diſpoſitions to correct my work, according to the advice which they ſhould be pleaſed to communicate to me, and that in particular I did declare to the Conſiſtory, that I would with the utmoſt docility and reſpect make uſe of what information they ſhould be pleaſed to give me; in a word, that if I had advanced any heretical or erroneous opinions (which I believed I had not done) I diſavowed and retracted them, as I had already declared in a piece printed three or four months ago (1).

"This anſwer being thought too general, I was told that they would communicate to me the remarks which the Conſiſtory had made on my Dictionary. Accordingly they were communicated to me by the Committee which they had appointed; they conſiſted amongſt other things of theſe five heads: I. The citations, expreſſions, and reflexions all over the work, which might offend chaſte ears. II. The article of David. III. The article of the Manicheans. IV. That of the Sceptics. V. The praiſes given to perſons who had denied either the being or providence of God. I anſwered two things as I had done before: in the firſt place, that I thought I had a great many reaſons to alledge in my juſtification on all theſe heads; and ſecondly, that notwithſtanding this, I was ready to ſtrike out of the book all the ſtumbling blocks which they had found there; I added that now that I knew, by the remarks of the Conſiſtory, what the things complained of were, I ſaw more clearly how to correct them, that I thought it a very eaſy matter to remedy every thing, either by ſuppreſſions, change of expreſſions, or by additions and explanations. That in particular, I would new-mould the article of David in ſuch a manner as nothing ſhould remain there which might give offence to pious ſouls. That with regard to the horrible doctrine of two Principles, that is to ſay, of Manicheiſm, I had ſufficiently declared how much I thought it abſurd, monſtrous, contrary not only to religion and piety, but likewiſe to the cleareſt notions of reaſon and ſound Philoſophy. That I would enlarge more upon this in the ſecond edition; and that if in quality of an hiſtorian I had thought myſelf obliged to recite the arguments of the Manicheans in their full force, I on the other hand was of opinion, that this was of no conſequence, and that I only enlarged on what the moſt orthodox of our Divines every day tell us in fewer words, viz. that the agreement of the holineſs and goodneſs of God with the ſin and miſery of man is an incomprehenſible myſtery, which we ought humbly to adore, being perſuaded that ſince it is revealed, it muſt needs be ſo, and that we are obliged to ſilence all the difficulties which our weak reaſon ſuggeſts to us. That I had ſufficiently declared on other ſubjects, and particularly with regard to the exiſtence of extenſion and motion, that I did not think it a reaſon to reject a doctrine becauſe I could not anſwer all the objections againſt it. That I would again examine the difficulties of the Manicheans, and that if could find anſwers, or if the reverend Miniſters of the Conſiſtory would furniſh me with any, I would put them in the beſt form I was capable of. I made the ſame anſwer with relation to the article of Pyrrho; and as to the praiſes beſtowed on the good morals of ſome Atheiſts, I promiſed an Explanation, which would ſhow how theſe facts which I have ſound in books, and which I was obliged by the laws of hiſtory to relate, ought not to give offence, and that in effect they do no hurt to the true Religion.

"The Committee having made a report of this Conference to the Conſiſtory, it was deſired that I ſhould give in writing what I had declared by word of mouth. Accordingly I preſented a memorial, wherein after having firſt touched upon the two general heads of my verbal anſwers, I proteſted that I never had deſigned to advance any propoſition as my own opinion, which was contrary to the Confeſſion of Faith of the Reformed Church, in which, by God's goodneſs, I was born,

(1) *In the* Reflections on a Pamphlet intitled The Judgment of the Public &c, upon the Critical Dictionary, §. iii. *pag.* 2.

1698. " and of which I made profeſſion. That if any ſuch propoſitions were to be found " in my work (which I did not at all believe) they muſt have crept in without my " obſervation, that I diſavowed and retracted them; that if I had in certain reſpects " taken a more than ordinary liberty of philoſophizing, it was becauſe I thought " that this would be readily excuſed in conſideration of the nature of my work, " wherein I ſuſtain both the character of Hiſtorian and Commentator, without pre- " tending to act the Dogmatiſt; that the pains which I have taken to make my " Philoſophical Reflexions ſubſervient to the confirmation of a fundamental doctrine " of our Church, and which we conſtantly oppoſe to the Socinians, viz. that we " ought to ſubject our underſtanding to the authority of God, and believe what " he has revealed to us in his word, although the principles of Philoſophy ſhould " not always be conforming to it: this, I ſay, made me hope that all my Proteſ- " tant readers would be rather edified than offended by my Commentaries; that " I was very ſorry that the event had not anſwered my expectation, and that " if I had foreſeen the conſequence of the liberty which I have taken, I would have " carefully abſtained from it; that to remedy what is paſt I would amend thoſe " paſſages in a ſecond edition, and that I would have great regard to the remarks " which the Conſiſtory had communicated to me. I added to this, the particular de- " clarations which I had made verbally to the Committee concerning the article of " David, that of the Manicheans &c.

" Upon this Memorial the Conſiſtory drew up an Act, with ſuch reflexions and " modifications as they thought proper, and this, Sir, was the amicable concluſion " of that matter. They ſignified their deſire that without waiting for the publica- " tion of the ſecond edition, which might be long a finiſhing, I ſhould publiſh " ſomething which might acquaint the public with the ſentiments which I had ſet " forth in my Memorial. I readily agreed to this, and I now acquit myſelf of " that promiſe; and it has not been owing to me, that I have not done ſo ſooner. " I am, Sir, yours."

Mr Jurieu being vexed that the Conſiſtory had not gratified his reſentment, uſed all his efforts to engage them to take this affair once more into their conſideration. The Conſiſtory had been changed in the beginning of the year 1698, he flattered himſelf that he ſhould find them more tractable. And indeed they did name a Committee, but did not think it proper to alter any thing in what had been already determined. They confined their examination to the making of ſome remarks upon the Letter which Mr Bayle had publiſhed. The Conſiſtory approved of their report, and declared that this piece had appeared later than they had expected (1); that Mr Bayle had not ſent a copy of it to the Conſiſtory; that the number of copies which he had printed was too ſmall; that Mr Bayle had not ſufficiently enlarged on what the Conſiſtory had required of him, and had not declared that he ſubmitted to it without reſerve: and that upon this account they might juſtly demand further ſatisfaction; but that they would be content to repreſent theſe things to him verbally, and to exhort him to correct the ſecond edition according to the remarks which they had communicated to him, and to make a good uſe of the advice which they had given him: that they would draw up a Memorial wherein they might add ſome new remarks; and that as Mr Jurieu had been very ill uſed by Mr Bayle in that work, Mr Bayle ſhould be exhorted to behave himſelf for the future with more moderation, both in the ſecond edition, and in the other books which he ſhould publiſh. " The Conſiſtory having ſeen with grief that ſo little regard had been " ſhewn to a Miniſter whoſe miniſtry and labours had been and ſtill were of ſingular " edification to the Church." A Committee was appointed to draw up this Memorial, and they were ordered to communicate it to Mr Bayle. They inſerted in it what related to Mr Jurieu. They added likewiſe ſome remarks; and amongſt other things they deſired Mr Bayle " to take care not to refute except upon very " good grounds, what our Divines have reported of certain wicked Popes, ſince " though he might alledge ſome conjectures in defence of theſe Popes, with re- " gard to certain facts, yet ſtrong reaſons might be offered for their condemnation, " and that it was unjuſt, without neceſſity, to ſide with ſeducers, who have done " ſo much hurt to the Church, and to endeavour to traduce our writers as raſh " accuſers." This affair ended here, and Mr Jurieu could not engage the Conſiſtory any farther to gratify the deſire of vengeance with which he was animated (2).

1699. In the year 1699 Mr Bayle publiſhed a third edition of his *Various Thoughts concerning Comets.* He ſuppreſſed the Advertiſement prefixed to the ſecond, and ſubſtituted another, in the beginning of which he tells us for what reaſon he had aſſumed the ſtile of a Roman Catholic in this work, both in treating of religious and political matters. He next obſerves upon what occaſion this book was compoſed, and the deſign which he had of printing it at Paris, together with the other particulars which we related above. He obſerves likewiſe that he had promiſed that this edition ſhould be enlarged with many new proofs and new anſwers to objections, yet notwithſtanding it was entirely the ſame with the ſecond, without ad-

(1) *The Conſiſtory had been employed in this affair from November* 3, 1697, *to January* 7, 1698. *Mr Bayle's piece was not publiſhed 'till ſix months after. It is dated July* 6, 1698.

(2) *The reader will find at the end of this* LIFE, *the* Acts of the Conſiſtory of Rotterdam, *with relation to Mr Bayle's Dictionary.*

dition or diminution. The reaſon which engaged him to add nothing to it, is (ſays 1699. he) that this work being already too like thoſe rivers which do nothing but wind about, he could not add new digreſſions to it without making it very tireſome to the reader: and that on this conſideration he had reſerved theſe additions for another volume, which ſhould be publiſhed when he had advanced a little further in the compoſition of his Critical Dictionary, about which he was ſtill employed. "What "makes me (ſays he) refer this to that time, is that having anew examined all "the objections that can be formed againſt the parallel which I have drawn betwixt "Paganiſm and Atheiſm, it ſeems to me, that they may be all ſolved by the "principles which I have laid down, and by applying the anſwers which I have "already made uſe of. There is therefore no occaſion to make haſte." This new edition was printed while he was reviſing and reprinting his Dictionary. When it was finiſhed he had nothing further to divert him from a labour which encreaſed every day, and which did not allow him the ſmalleſt relaxation. "I ſhould be "quite inexcuſable (ſays he to Mr Marais (1) for delaying ſo long to write to you, "if I were not more than ordinarily buſy, both in reviſing my *Dictionary*, of which "they are now printing a ſecond edition, and in correcting the proofs. It is with "much ado that I can perform both theſe taſks, and it is very happy for me "that my *Thoughts concerning Comets* being finiſhed, I have a little leiſure. I have "read over all the ſheets of it before they were printed, and though I have added nothing, but only made ſome ſmall alterations in the ſtile, it has made "me loſe a good deal of time." This Edition is in two volumes; and to the ſecond volume was joined a ſecond edition of the *Addition to the Various Thoughts concerning Comets*, which was firſt publiſhed in 1694.

About this time Mr le Clerc, concealed under the name of *Theodore Parrhaſe*, publiſhed a book intitled, *Parrhaſiana: or Various Thoughts on Critical, Hiſtorical, Moral, and Political Subjects*, in which there was an article that concerned Mr Bayle. He had maintained in his Dictionary, that the Manicheans could oppoſe to Chriſtian Divines difficulties concerning moral and phyſical evil, which it was not poſſible to ſolve by the light of reaſon. Mr le Clerc on the contrary maintained that Origen's Syſtem which has been abandoned by all Chriſtians, was ſufficient to take away all theſe difficulties, and refuted Mr Bayle's Manichean in the perſon of an Origeniſt; and concluded "that ſince a man of that ſort can reduce a Manichean to ſilence, what might not they do who ſhould reaſon infinitely better than "the diſciples of Origen (2)?" But he declared that by anſwering the Manichean objections, he did not pretend in the leaſt to hurt Mr Bayle, whom he did not at all ſuſpect to be a favourer of them. "I am perſuaded (ſays he (3) that he has "taken the philoſophical liberty, of diſputing both *pro* and *con* on many occaſions, "without concealing the ſtrength of either ſide, only to exerciſe thoſe who underſtand the ſubjects of which he treats, and not with an intention of favouring thoſe "whoſe reaſons he explains. One ought to conſider the difficulties he propoſeth, "as we do the objections which every body is allowed to make in a ſchool of "Divinity or Philoſophy; where the further one puſheth a difficulty, the more "honour redounds to thoſe who can ſolve it. This is a piece of juſtice which he "has a right to require of his readers, and which ought not to be refuſed him. "For my own part (ſays he) I grant it him with all my heart, but I think I have "a right to deſire in return, that I may be allowed to anſwer his objections, without any body's making odious applications to the perſon, of anſwers which regard "only the difficulties."

In the year following the Princeſs Sophia, Electreſs Dowager of Hanover, and 1700. her daughter the Electreſs of Brandenbourg, ſince Queen of Pruſſia, had the curioſity to take a tour through Flanders and Holland. Theſe Princeſſes, leſs diſtinguiſhed by their elevated rank than by their knowledge and ſublime parts, were the admiration of all Europe. They honoured the learned with their particular favour, loved to coverſe with them, and propoſed ſometimes very embaraſſing queſtions to them. Mr Bayle was perfectly well known to them by his works, their deſire of ſeeing Holland was heightened by the pleaſure of being perſonally acquainted with ſo celebrated a Philoſopher. After having travelled through Flanders, they had no ſooner arrived at Rotterdam than they ſent to deſire Mr Bayle to come to ſee them. But it being late, and Mr Bayle being in bed tormented with a violent head-ach, he made his compliments, acquainting them how ſorry he was not to be in a condition of paying his reſpects to them. Theſe Princeſſes next day went to the Hague without having ſeen Mr Bayle, who was detained at home by his indiſpoſition: but the Count de Dhona, having informed Mr Baſnage, who was gone to the Hague, of the deſire which their Highneſſes had to ſee Mr Bayle, Mr Baſnage gave him notice of it. He came, and was received by theſe two Princeſſes in a diſtinguiſhing manner. The Princeſs Sophia converſed with him a long time in private, ſhe aſked him many queſtions, and they entered upon very ſublime points. In the mean while Mr Baſnage entertained the Electreſs of Brandenbourg, who expreſſed a great deal of eſteem for Mr Bayle and his writings, which ſhe always carried about with her. They ſtaid with the Count de Dhona by their High-

2 neſſes

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(1) *Letter of September* 7, 1699, *p.* 763, 764.

(2) Parrhaſiana, *Tom. I, p.* 304.

(3) Ibid. *p.* 302, 303.

1700. neſſes order. Theſe Princeſſes deſired their company to Delft, but Mr Bayle not being able to wait upon them, they parted at the Hague (1).

1701. In 1701 there appeared a book intitled, *An Apologetical Diſſertation for the bleſſed Robert d'Arbriſſelles, founder of the Order of Font-Evraud, with relation to what Mr Bayle has ſaid of him in his Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary* (2). Mr Bayle, in ſpeaking of Robert d'Arbriſſelles, ſaid, that he had been accuſed of lying with ſome of his Nuns, that by irritating his paſſions, he might give the more glorious victory to his virtue. It is certain that Jeffery, Abbot of Vendôme and Cardinal, gave the bleſſed Robert notice of the reports which went about on that head, and rallied him upon this *new kind of martyrdom* which he had found out. Father de la Mainferme, a Monk of Fontevraud, undertook the defence of the founder of his Order; and Mr Bayle confeſſeth in his Dictionary, *that the reaſons of the Apologiſt ſeem very ſtrong*, and that *he doth not pretend to affirm what was reported of Robert*. This confeſſion gave occaſion to Father Souri, a Monk of the ſame Order (3), to examine this ſubject more accurately, and to place it in a new light. His Diſſertation is wrote in form of a Letter addreſſed to Mr Bayle. He praiſeth him for having given to underſtand that he did not believe what was ſaid concerning the bleſſed Robert to be true, and at the ſame time makes great encomiums on his Dictionary. "It is a long time ago (ſays he (4), ſince the Republic of Letters have been obliged to you, but this laſt ſervice which you have lately done to it, by your admirable Dictionary, has crowned them all. It is not enough to ſay that you have given us a book, you have given us an entire library. The novelty of the deſign, your diſcernment in hiſtorical facts, the exactneſs of your citations, that care and diſcreet attention which reigns every where in that prodigious work of advancing nothing that is falſe, and of daring to ſay what is true, according to the inviolable laws of a true Hiſtorian; all this makes me ſay that it would have been pity, if you had yielded to the temptation of ſuppreſſing ſo learned a work. As for me, an inconſiderable and private perſon, I received it, with a gratitude which I cannot expreſs to you, and I join with the common herd of readers at leaſt, in making the acknowledgments which the public owes to you upon account of the great diſcoveries you have therein made, and I ſhall make a good uſe of them.

"The difference of party is of no conſequence here, every one will be able to chooſe what is proper for him. You do not ſet a great value upon our Saints, but that prejudice doth not at all hinder you from being diſſatisfied at people's laying evident falſhoods to their charge, and we cannot ſufficiently acknowledge your juſtice and ſincerity in this reſpect. This love for truth deſerves that God ſhould one day give you the knowledge of all revealed truths.

"I feel in myſelf the ſame equity for your Reformers. I never reliſhed either the exaggerations or impoſtures of zealots; and ſtill leſs the bold aſſertions of Bolſec, an Author full of reſentment; how much ſoever we may be inclined to believe the ſcandals which are reported concerning your Patriarch, who has declared himſelf in ſo open a manner againſt the moſt ancient of Churches. It is not by impoſtures that he ought to be attacked, and the truth of my Religion which he endeavoured to deſtroy, had no occaſion for ſuch aſſiſtance. I do not believe, notwithſtanding their Heterodoxy, all that the Catholics ſay of your Doctors, except when they are ſupported by inconteſtable proofs, and neither doth my Catholiciſm impoſe upon me, as to the evil which the Proteſtants ſay of ours, when their reaſons are evident. I do not tell you this, Sir, to make you excuſe the more eaſily what I will take the liberty to remonſtrate to you, nor to ſet myſelf up as a model of ſincerity to a perſon who might ſerve for ſuch to others. Although I ſhould not act in this manner, the poor example of ſuch an obſcure man as I am, would not turn you out of your way, and you would ſtill thunder againſt the forgers of lies. That of which I treated here, which has been made concerning the bleſſed Robert d'Arbriſſelles, cannot fail *to belong to your Dictionary*; *for if it is true, your Dictionary may take hold of it, as it is hiſtorical*; *and if it is falſe, may take notice of it, as it is critical.*

"But I am very ſure you do not believe it to be true. You, Sir, own as much yourſelf....... *I do not pretend*, ſay you, *to affirm what is ſaid of him, for the reaſons of the Apologiſt ſeem very ſtrong.* But will you allow me, Sir, to ſay that poſſibly you have not ſufficiently, in this paſſage, condemned that falſhood, nor with ſo much vivacity as you have done others of that kind, which are only founded on HEARSAY."

This is the only thing which Father Souri would have deſired of Mr Bayle, for in other reſpects he is perfectly well ſatisfied with him. "Once more (ſays he (5), we have only gratefully to acknowledge, upon this occaſion, your equity and good taſte. Shall I dare however (adds he) to tell you that the entertaining part of this Article has made you in ſome meaſure forget your own maxims, and has hindered you from ſaying any more than the two favourable lines which I have juſt now cited? there never was a ſtory more worthy of your cenſure than

(1) *A MSS. Memoir of Mr Baſnage.*

(2) Diſſertation apologetique pour le bienheureux Robert d'Arbriſſelles, Fondateur de l'Ordre de Font-Evraud, ſur ce qu'en a dit Mr Bayle dans ſon Dictionaire Hiſtorique & Critique. *At Antwerp* (*Amſterdam*) *by Henry Desbordes. In* 12°.

(3) *See* Reponſe aux queſtions d'un Provincial, *Tom. I. chap.* lxvii, *pag.* 684.

(4) Diſſertation apologetique &c. *p.* 1, *and the following.*

(5) Ibid. *p.* 8, 9.

" than this. You have indeed a mind to divert your Readers, and you have your " reaſons for doing ſo; but it is not your deſign to divert them at the expence " of truth, and you have never loſt ſight of it, in what relates to us." 1701.

Mr Bayle gave an account of this piece in an addition to the Article **Fontevraud**. " This Apology (ſays he) is ſo well turned and ſo ſolid, that every " reaſonable man ought to acquieſce in it; and though I have ſufficiently declared " that I did not give the leaſt credit to the reports concerning the ſharing of " the bed &c, I declare again here, that in all the paſſages where I have ſpoke " of it without repeating this my opinion, I deſire it may be underſtood." Mr Bayle does Father Souri the juſtice he deſerved. " The civility (ſays he), the politeneſs, " the wit, and erudition of the Author, appear in it in a diſtinguiſhing manner, " and I am very ſorry that I do not deſerve the praiſes which ſo accompliſhed " a perſon has been pleaſed to beſtow by way of compliment upon me."

The ſecond edition of the *Critical Dictionary* was finiſhed on the twenty ſeventh of December 1701, and was publiſhed in the beginning of the year 1702. It was enlarged very near one half. This augmentation was contrary to Mr Bayle's intention. He only deſigned to make ſome additions to the Articles already publiſhed; and did not think of adding any new ones, he reſerved them for a ſeparate Alphabet, under the title of *A Supplement to the Critical Dictionary* (1). But the Bookſeller deſired that they ſhould be publiſhed in this ſecond edition, and Mr Bayle was obliged to conſent to it. This change gave him a great deal of uneaſineſs as he ſhows in the Preface. He diſtinguiſhed the additions in ſuch a manner that one might diſcern them at firſt ſight. He very carefully corrected the faults of the firſt edition, which he had either diſcovered himſelf, or which had been pointed out to him by his friends. He ſhowed his gratitude to thoſe who had furniſhed him with memoirs, and names them when he thought he could do ſo without offending them. In the mean while he owns that theſe additions had not allowed him to make the Articles of the firſt edition ſo correct as he could have wiſhed. " I muſt own (ſays he) that the trouble which they have coſt me, " has not permitted me to correct the Articles of the firſt edition, with all the ſe- " verity and all the diligence which I would have employed about them. It is " very hard, while the Printers work without ceaſing, for an Author to be able " to perform theſe three things, to reviſe two large volumes in Folio, to enlarge them " more than one third, and to correct the proofs." 1702.

In ſpeaking of the corrections which he had made in the firſt edition, he doth not forget thoſe which he had obliged himſelf to make. " There are (ſays he) a " ſort of corrections which I have made as it were *ex officio*, and in conſequence of " an obligation of which the public has been informed. I have behaved herein " with all poſſible care, and with a very ſtrong intention to give ſatisfaction to " thoſe who were offended. For this purpoſe I have ſuppreſſed every thing in the " article of David, which could give offence. This is the greateſt ſuppreſſion, " which has been neceſſary, the reſt are neither conſiderable for their number, or " their extent. We have been able to amend every thing at the expence of a few " words, or lines, and principally by means of four Explanations, which are placed " at the end of this work." Mr Bayle did, in fact, ſuppreſs every thing which the Conſiſtory of Rotterdam had diſapproved in the article of David: but even before this edition was compleated, ſeveral perſons having declared that they would not buy it, if that article was not publiſhed in the ſame manner as before, the Bookſeller was obliged to reprint it by itſelf (2) that they might join it to this new edition. Some of Mr Bayle's friends adviſed him to inſert in it the *Project* which he had publiſhed in 1692 together with ſome Eſſays of his Dictionary, and he accordingly placed it at the end of the Diſſertations in the laſt volume (3).

There is no book which ſtands more in need of a good Index, than Mr Bayle's Dictionary. Mr Leers took care to advertiſe in the beginning of the Project, that he would not forget this article, and Mr Huet compoſed a very exact one for the firſt edition: but Mr Leers foreſeeing that the printing of it would take up a long time, ſuppreſſed the one half of it, which disfigured it in ſuch a manner, that Mr Bayle thought he was obliged to inform the public of this in a ſhort advertiſement, which he placed at the end of the Index. The other half was preſerved, and given to the Author of the Index to the ſecond edition, who made the beſt uſe of it he could. But this new Index, conſidering the great number of additions was very imperfect. Mr Bayle here lays down a method of ſupplying that defect. He takes notice at the ſame time that having learned by experience the qualities which a good Index ought to have, he could have made ſuch a one, but that he had neither the time nor the patience which ſo tedious and toilſome a taſk required. He adds, that he had not even thought it proper that the perſon employed in compoſing the Index, ſhould engage himſelf in all the details, which ſome readers deſired, and gives his reaſons for it.

He next obſerves that ſome perſons might complain, that his Dictionary did not furniſh them with a ſufficient number of things to their taſte. He ſays that this is the inevitable fate of all books which contain a medley of many different things, and

(1) *See the Letters to Mr de la Monnoye, Auguſt* 19 1697, *p.* 665; *and to Mr Marais, October* 2, 1698, *p.* 727.

(2) *See Letter to Mr Pecher, Auguſt* 10, 1705, *p.* 1041.

(3) *See Letter to Mr Des Maizeaux, November* 1 1701, *p.* 839.

1702. and wherein there is a great variety. He declares that if he has made mention of one family rather than of another no leſs, or more conſiderable, he has done ſo without the leaſt reſpect of perſons, and only becauſe he had Memoirs concerning the one, and none concerning the other. Laſtly, he anſwers thoſe who had found fault that he had given ſo few articles of great Captains. He ſays that this proceeds not only from his having avoided to treat the ſame matters which are in other Dictionaries, but chiefly from his not being able to make theſe articles ſuch as he could wiſh. He gives an example of this, by ſhowing upon what plan he would compoſe the article of the Marêchal de Luxembourg, if he had the aſſiſtance and knowledge neceſſary to draw it up.

He joined four Explanations to this edition, in order to fulfil his engagements with the Conſiſtory of Rotterdam. He prefixed to them a general obſervation, wherein he gives the reaſons why he believed that no body would be offended with the liberty of philoſophizing, which he had ſometimes taken. In the firſt Explanation he juſtifies himſelf againſt thoſe who had found fault with him for having ſaid, that there had been ſpeculative Atheiſts and Epicureans, who had ſurpaſſed the Idolaters in the ſoundneſs of their morals; and ſhows that the conduct of theſe Atheiſts, could not do any hurt to the true Religion, nor give it the leaſt blemiſh. But he promiſeth to treat of this more at large in the continuation of his book concerning Comets. The ſecond Explanation relates to the objections of the Manicheans. He concludes it with the following ſix propoſitions, which contain the ſubſtance of his doctrine:

I. That it is the property of the myſteries of the Goſpel to be liable to objections which natural light cannot ſolve.

II. That Unbelievers cannot juſtly draw any advantage from this, that the maxims of Philoſophy do not afford ſolutions to the difficulties which they raiſe againſt the Myſteries of the Goſpel.

III. That the objections of the Manicheans, concerning the Origin of Evil and Predeſtination, ought not to be conſidered in general as attacking Predeſtination, but with this particular regard, that the Origin of Evil, the decrees of God concerning it, and the conſequences of it, are the moſt inconceivable myſteries of Chriſtianity.

IV. That it ought to ſatisfy every good, Chriſtian that his faith is founded on the teſtimony of the word of God.

V. That the ſyſtem of the Manicheans conſidered in itſelf is abſurd, indefenſible, and contrary to the ideas of order; that it is liable to retorſions, and is not able to remove difficulties.

VI. That in all events, adds he, no body can be offended at my confeſſions, unleſs he looks upon the doctrine of the moſt orthodox Divines as ſcandalous, ſince all that I have ſaid is a natural and neceſſary conſequence from their ſentiments, and that I have only laid down in a more prolix manner, what they teach more compendiouſly.

In the third Explanation he ſhows, that the objections of the Pyrrhonian Abbé againſt ſome doctrines of Chriſtianity, which he has related in his Dictionary, are of no force againſt our Religion. He firſt lays it down as a certain and inconteſtable principle, *That Chriſtianity is of a ſupernatural order, and that its analyſis is the ſupreme authority of God propoſing myſteries to us, not that we may comprehend them, but that we may believe them with all the humility which is due to the infinite Being, who can neither deceive nor be deceived.* From whence evidently follows, adds he, the incompetency of the tribunal of Philoſophy to judge of the controverſies among Chriſtians, ſince they ought only to be carried to the tribunal of Revelation. He draws the character of the Pyrrhonians, and ſhows that of all the Philoſophers who ought not to be allowed to diſpute concerning the myſteries of Chriſtianity, before they have admitted Revelation as the rule, there are none ſo unworthy of being heard as the followers of Pyrrho. In the fourth Explanation he examines the complaints of thoſe who had ſaid that his Dictionary contained obſcenities. He expreſſeth this accuſation in the following manner: "That the Author " relates hiſtorical facts which he has found in other authors, whom he carefully quotes, " which facts are filthy and obſcene, that he adds a commentary upon theſe hiſto- " rical narrations to illuſtrate them by teſtimonies, by reflexions, and by proofs, &c. " in which he ſometimes alledgeth the words of ſome authors, who have wrote " freely, ſome of them as Phyſicians or Lawyers, others as Gallants or Poets: " but that he never ſays any thing containing either explicitly, or even implicitly, " an approbation of impurity; that, on the contrary, he endeavours upon many oc- " caſions to expoſe it to our abhorrence, and to refute looſe morality." He afterwards proves by reaſons, by authorities, and by examples, that theſe ſorts of obſcenities, are not of the number of thoſe which we can reaſonably cenſure.

Mr Bayle made an addition to the article of Origen, upon occaſion of the *Parrhaſiana* of Mr le Clerc. "There are (ſays he) in that work ſome reflexions con- " cerning the diſpute between the Manicheans and the Orthodox. They are pre- " ceded by an obſervation as equitable as we could expect from a very honeſt man, " they are preceded, I ſay, by a judgment altogether agreeable to equity, truth, and " reaſon, concerning the views which I had in taking the liberty of relating the

“ objections of the Manicheans, and of confeſſing that natural light doth not furniſh “ Chriſtians with any means of ſolving them, whether we follow the ſyſtem of “ St Auguſtin, or whether we follow that of Molina, and of the Remonſtrants, or “ whether we have recourſe to that of the Socinians. Theodore Parrhaſe main- “ tains the contrary, and pretends that an Origeniſt is able *to ſtop the mouths of* “ *the Manicheans . . . . . If a man of this ſort* (ſays he) *can reduce a Manichean to* “ *ſilence, what might not they do, who would reaſon infinitely better than the diſciples of* “ *Origen?* We ſhall examin what he ſuppoſeth *an Origeniſt might ſay, after having* “ *read all the objections of the Manicheans.*” Mr Bayle reduceth the anſwer of the Origeniſt to theſe propoſitions: I. God has made us free to make way for virtue and vice, blame and praiſe, rewards and puniſhments. II. He damns no man ſimply for having ſinned, but for not having repented of his ſins. III. The phyſical and moral evils of mankind are of ſo ſhort a duration in compariſon of eternity, that we cannot conclude from thence that God is not a beneficent Being and a lover of virtue. It is in this laſt propoſition, ſays Mr Bayle, that all the ſtrength of the Origeniſt lies: the reaſon is becauſe he ſuppoſeth that the torments of Hell will not be eternal, and that God after he has judged that creatures, endowed with liberty, have ſuffered enough, will afterwards make them happy to all eternity. The eternal happineſs which will be beſtowed on them according to the Origeniſt, fully anſwers the idea of the infinite mercy, though it ſhould be preceded by even many ages of ſuffering; for many ages are nothing in compariſon of an infinite duration, and there is infinitely leſs proportion between the time in which this world ſhall exiſt and eternity, than there is between a minute and a hundred millions of years. Therefore we have no reaſon to wonder that God looks upon the miſeries which we ſuffer as almoſt nothing; he who alone has an adequate idea of eternity, and who looks upon the beginning and the end of our ſufferings, as infinitely more near to one another than the beginning and the end of a minute. We ought to reaſon in the ſame manner concerning vice and vicious actions, which with reſpect to God do not continue a great while, and which in the main do not change any thing in the univerſe. If an artiſt ſhould make a clock, which by being once wound up ſhould go exactly during a whole year, excepting two or three ſeconds, which ſhould not be equal when it is firſt ſet a going, could one ſay that this artiſt could not pretend to great ſkill or exactneſs in his work. In the ſame manner if God amends in one day for all eternity the diſorders which the bad uſe of liberty has occaſioned among men, can any body be ſurprized that he has not put a ſtop to them during the moment in which we ſhall exiſt upon this Earth.

Mr Bayle obſerves that a Manichean might anſwer,

I. That it is not conſiſtent with ideal or infinitely perfect goodneſs, to beſtow a gift of which we foreſee the bad effects, without preventing them, though it is in our power: it is the eſſential and diſtinguiſhing property of ideal goodneſs, that it diſpoſeth the being poſſeſſed of it to grant favours, which by the ſhorteſt, and moſt certain means which it can contrive, render the condition of the perſon who receives them happy. This ideal goodneſs eſſentially and neceſſarily excludes every thing which can agree to a malicious being; and it is certain that ſuch a being would be very ready to beſtow favours, the uſe of which he ſhould know would prove fatal to the perſons to whom he ſhould grant them. Now if we conſult this idea of goodneſs, we ſhall not find that God, an infinitely good principle, can poſtpone the happineſs of his creatures to ſeveral ages of miſery, nor beſtow free will upon them by the uſe of which he was very certain they would procure their own damnation. But ſuppoſing that the infinite goodneſs of the Creator allowed him to beſtow upon his creatures, a liberty of which they might as readily make a bad uſe as a good one, we muſt at leaſt allow that it would engage him to watch over their conduct in ſuch a manner, as not to ſuffer them actually to ſin. As to the reaſon alledged by the Origeniſt, that it it was neceſſary to beſtow liberty upon the creature, in order to make way for virtue and vice, blame and praiſe, rewards and puniſhments; we might anſwer, that this reaſon inſtead of being an argument why an infinitely holy and infinitely good Being ſhould give free-will to creatures, is, on the contrary, what ought to have hindered him from doing ſo. Vice and blame ought to have no place among the works of an infinitely holy cauſe, every thing there ought to be praiſe-worthy, virtue alone ought to appear here, and vice be entirely baniſhed. And as every thing ought to be happy under the government of a ſupream Being infinitely good and infinitely powerful; puniſhments ought to have no place there. Virtue, praiſe, and benefits, may very well exiſt, though vice, blame, and puniſhments have no other exiſtence than what they call ideal or objective. The Origeniſt owns that this will be the caſe when all creatures endowed with freedom of will ſhall enjoy an eternal happineſs, which ſhall ſucceed to ſome ages of ſuffering. If he anſwers, that theſe bleſſings could not be a reward if creatures had not been endowed with liberty, it might be replied, that there is no proportion between eternal happineſs and the good uſe that man makes of his free-will; and therefore the eternal happineſs which God beſtows on a good man cannot, properly ſpeaking, be conſidered as a reward, it is a favour, it is a free gift. It ought

1702. not therefore to be pretended, ſtrictly ſpeaking, that it was neceſſary to confer free-will upon men in order to their deſerving the happineſs of paradiſe, and obtaining it by way of reward.

II. Impenitence being nothing elſe but a bad uſe of our liberty, it comes all to the ſame thing, whether we ſay that God damns men only becauſe they do not repent, or whether we ſay that he damns them ſimply becauſe they have ſinned. It is true that, generally ſpeaking, it ſhows a merciful diſpoſition to be willing to remit the puniſhment to thoſe who are ſorry for their faults: but when one promiſeth pardon under condition of repentance to ſuch as he very certainly knows will not repent, properly ſpeaking he promiſeth nothing, and in this caſe he is as fully reſolved to puniſh them as if he had offered them no favour at all: if he had a mind in good earneſt to exempt them puniſhment, he would hinder them from being impenitent, which is very eaſy for God to do who has an abſolute power over our hearts.

III. The Origeniſts would not dare to determine the duration of theſe torments which preceed this eternal happineſs: for not only they are ignorant of it, but likewiſe they would be afraid of making them too ſhort, leaſt they ſhould be accuſed of looſing the reins to ſinners; or of making them too long, leaſt they ſhould not give a juſt idea of the mercy of God. They would not dare to make them, for example, either of a hundred or of a million of years. They do not therefore truſt to the want of proportion between the duration of a million of ages, and an infinite duration; and we do not ſee that it ſolves the difficulty to ſay that there is infinitly leſs proportion between the duration of the earth and eternity, than there is between a minute and a hundred millions of years. What can be affirmed of theſe hundred millions of years, may likewiſe be affirmed of as many millions of ages, as there are drops of water in the ocean; ſince there is no proportion between finite and infinite. Yet in the mean while one cannot conceive that the puniſhment of a creature, which ſhould be continued for a hundred millions of ages, is conſiſtent with the ſovereign goodneſs of the creator. This number of years, which is nothing in compariſon of eternity, ſeems notwithſtanding a very long duration conſidered in itſelf, and with regard to the perſon ſuffering. Now let us diminiſh this number as much as we will, we ſhall only thereby make a diminution of rigour, and we ſhall never arrive at the ſupreme goodneſs of God except by ſuppreſſing even the laſt minute of the pains of hell. We commend the ſkill of a Clockmaker when his clock fails only in two or three ſeconds in a year; but the exactneſs of an infinitely perfect artiſt excludes abſolutely all exceptions. His goodneſs, his holineſs, his wiſdom, &c. are abſolutely ſimple, and without the leaſt mixture of the contrary qualities, without the leaſt mixture which can be conceived, or which can be in the nature of things.

Mr Bayle obſerves that "though Origen could anſwer the objections of the Ma-"nicheans, it would not follow that therefore they could be much more eaſily an-"ſwered upon better and more orthodox principles: for all the advantage that he "can find in this diſpute, proceeds from falſities which are peculiar to him, he "giving on the one hand a great deal of power to free-will, and on the other "hand ſubſtituting eternal happineſs to eternal miſery which he doth not admit." By ſuppoſing that eternal happineſs will follow the torments which the damned ſhall endure for ſome ages, we take away the moſt embarraſſing argument of the Manicheans; for their ſtrongeſt argument is founded on the hypotheſis, that all men, except a few, will be damned to all eternity; which is the doctrine of all the ſects of Chriſtians, excepting the Socinians.

In 1701 there was printed at Paris a book intitled *Naudæana & Patiniana. Or Remarkable Particulars, taken from the converſations of Meſſieurs Naudé and Patin* (1). In works of this kind, they make uſe of the name of ſome celebrated author, to introduce a great many hiſtorical and literary particulars, which have a relation to the time in which he lived, and which they ſometimes even tranſcribe from his works. Theſe Collections would not be contemptible, if one could depend upon the facts which are related in them; but they ordinarily fill them with an infinite number of things which are either falſe or uncertain, or which want many eſſential circumſtances. To make them uſeful they ſhould be attended with a Commentary both to correct them and to ſupply what is defective. This Mr * * * did with relation to the *Naudæana*. He both made Corrections and Additions of which he gives an account in a ſhort preface. "All the world knows (ſays he) how greedily the *Ana* are at preſent "received. But neither is any body ignorant, that the little exactneſs which one "finds in them very much diminiſheth the pleaſure which the variety of matter "and liberty of ſentiments, inſeparable from books of this nature, might give the "readers. It is therefore to put people in mind of making them henceforth more "uſeful, that I have undertaken to add a ſort of Commentary to the pretended "*Naudæana*. The only thing which I propoſe to do here is to fix the chrono-"logy of the facts mentioned in it, to add ſometimes abſolutely neceſſary circum-"ſtances, and laſtly not to allow the Author to advance any thing, which is not ſup-"ported by the teſtimony of ſome other perſon worthy of credit." Mr * * * tells us that he had a deſign of making likewiſe Additions and Corrections to the *Patiniana*, but that certain reaſons had obliged him to confine himſelf to the *Naudæana*. Father

(1) Naudæana & Patiniana. Ou ſingularitez remarquables, priſes des Converſations de Meſſieurs Naudé & Patin.

1702. Father de Vitry, ſent the Additions to the *Naudæana* to Mr Bayle, and he publiſhed them at Amſterdam (1) with the *Naudæana* and *Patiniana*, under the title of a *Second Edition reviſed, corrected, and enlarged, with Additions to the* Naudæana *which are not in the Paris edition.* Mr Bayle added an Advertiſement to it in the name of the Bookſeller, wherein he ſays that this edition is incomparably preferable to that of Paris; that there were a great number of faults corrected in it, which diſfigured the proper names ſo much that they were ſcarce to be known; that they had brought together all the paſſages which related to the ſame perſon, and which were diſperſed all over the book in the Paris edition; and laſtly, what was much more conſiderable, they had given very curious and very neceſſary ſupplements, from a manuſcript ſent them from Paris.

1703. The ſecond edition of the Critical Dictionary had fatigued Mr Bayle. To divert himſelf he compoſed a book intitled *An Anſwer to the Queſtions of a Country Gentleman* (2). He ſays in the Preface, that in compoſing it he had propoſed to write a book of *a middle kind betwixt thoſe which employ our hours of ſtudy, and thoſe which we read only for amuſement.* In conſequence of this he goes lightly over certain matters which might have been treated in a more compleat manner, he paſſes quickly from one ſubject to another, in order to introduce the greater variety, and when it was neceſſary to enlarge upon ſome matters, he doth it in ſuch a manner that every chapter ſhows them in a different light. He obſerves that he might have employed certain thoughts and facts which have an eſſential connection with the things which he has treated of, but that he abſtained from doing ſo, to avoid repeating things which are commonly known. He doth not doubt but ſome readers will think that he has made too many quotations, but he ſhows that this is a groundleſs complaint. It is to go againſt the nature of things (ſays he) to pretend, that an Author in a work deſigned to prove and clear up facts, ſhould only make uſe of his own thoughts, or that at leaſt he ought to quote very ſeldom. Mr Bayle adds, "That this book is not written in the taſte which has prevailed for ſome years paſt, and of which poſſibly the public begins already to be tired. It is not a collection of miſcellaneous thoughts, or of maxims or characters, ſmart repartees or merry tales. What is it then? It would poſſibly (anſwers he) be pretty difficult to define it, and I leave it to every reader to do it for himſelf; I ſhall only obſerve that this work has ſome reſemblance to thoſe books which appeared in ſo great number in the XVIth Century under the title of *Diverſæ Lectiones*, or ſome other title to the ſame purpoſe."

This work contains an agreeable and inſtructive variety of hiſtorical, critical, and literary diſcuſſions. One finds there likewiſe ſome philoſophical remarks and ſome political obſervations. As ſoon as this book appeared in Holland, one of my friends informed me that it was written by Mr Bayle. I deſired to know of Mr Bayle if this was true, and he made me the following anſwer. "I do not wonder (ſaid he) that you have been told that I am the Author of a new book intitled, *An Anſwer to the Queſtions of a Country Gentleman.* Every body here will have it that I have wrote it, and if I were ambitious I would contradict this report, for this work is not very proper to give a man a great reputation. It is a heap of little obſervations, which can only pleaſe thoſe who do not even neglect literary curioſities, and do not, after the manner of the generality, look upon them as trifles (3)." Some time after this I deſired him to inform me whether this book would have any continuation, and told him the opinion of ſome people about it. "I will not here repeat (anſwered he (4), what I think I told you very plainly, that I renounce all intereſt in the *Anſwer to the Queſtions of a Country Gentleman.* I know however that the Bookſeller has no intention of publiſhing any other part to it. I mean that there is no fixed reſolution or plan laid down in this matter, and there is nothing of that kind in the preſs. Thoſe people are no doubt in the right who ſay that it doth not ſufficiently intereſt the public, but they ought to conſider that an Author cannot intereſt the public, except he diſcuſſes queſtions which concern the honour and glory of a whole people, or of a whole Religion, or at leaſt if he doth not treat of ſome important doctrine of morality, or politics. All the other ſubjects with which men of letters fill their books, are uſeleſs to the public, and we ought to conſider them as only frothy nouriſhment in themſelves, but which notwithſtanding ſatisfy the curioſity of many Readers according to the diverſity of their taſte. What is there, for example, leſs intereſting to the public than the *Bibliotheque choiſie* of the Sieur Colomiés, which however is a work that has been looked upon as excellent in its kind, and which almoſt charms thoſe who are fond of literary particularities? I could name many other books to you which are read, though they contain nothing that intereſts the public."

1704. In 1704 Mr Teiſſier publiſhed at Berlin, *New Additions to the Elogies of learned Men. Extracted from Thuanus's Hiſtory. Tom. III.* (5). Mr Bayle had in his Dictionary criticiſed ſeveral paſſages in the two firſt volumes: Mr Teiſſier in this volume agreed that ſome of Mr Bayle's remarks were well founded, and undertakes to defend the other paſſages which had been cenſured. But in the mean time expreſſed

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(1) *By Francis vander Plaats* 1703.

(2) Réponſe aux Queſtions d'un Provincial. *A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers* 1704.

(3) *Letter November* 9, 1703, *p.* 936. *See likewiſe the Letter to Mr Marais, Auguſt* 4, 1704, *p.* 1001.

(4) *Letter February* 8, 1704, *p.* 951.

(5) Nouvelles Additions aux Eloges des Hommes ſçavans tirez de l'Hiſtoire de Mr de Thou. Tome troiſiéme.

1704. a great eſteem and reſpect for Mr Bayle. “I am obliged to him, (ſays he (1), for taking the trouble of reading this work, and pointing out to me the paſſages in which I have been miſtaken; the other Authors whom he has criticiſed ought with me to expreſs their gratitude, and acknowledge that he has done great ſervice to the Republic of Letters, by diſcovering their errors.” Mr Teiſſier ſeemed even to be diffident of the juſtneſs of his anſwers. “I do not know (ſays he) if I have well maintained my cauſe, for I have to do with a formidable adverſary, I mean with a Critic of vaſt erudition, exquiſite judgment, extreme exactneſs, and who has ſignalized himſelf by ſeveral victories which he has obtained over the greateſt Heroes of the Republic of Letters.”

Mr Bayle anſwered Mr Teiſſier in a Memoir inſerted in the *Hiſtory of the works of the Learned* (2). He ſays that two reaſons made him haſten the publication of this Memoir: the one to ſhow Mr Teiſſier how ſenſible he was of his politeneſs, and the eſteem he had for his work; and the other to prevent the conſequences which might be drawn from Mr Teiſſier's anſwers. “It would (ſays he) be a very bad prejudice againſt my whole Dictionary, if among the Critical Obſervations which relate to Mr Teiſſier's Additions, there were ſo many of them ill grounded as he pretends. I therefore thought myſelf bound to diſcuſs ſome of them, in order to put every reader in a condition to judge of the diſpute.” He ſhows afterwards that Mr Teiſſier imputes to him things which he had not ſaid; that he would make him accountable for what is advanced by the Authors he quotes; that he ſometimes has expreſſed himſelf inaccurately, and given occaſion to people to miſtake his ſenſe; and that if he in order to ſupport his opinion has quoted Authors who in effect ſay the ſame thing that he has done, Mr Bayle has cited others to eſtabliſh his ſide of the queſtion, who are of greater weight and authority. He concludes with excuſing the errors which Mr Teiſſier may have fallen into. “This (ſays he) is what I have to offer in defence of my remarks. I leave it to ~~by~~ my readers to judge, whether they are juſt or not; but I declare at the ſame time, that although they ſhould decide in my favour, they will notwithſtanding be obliged to think Mr Teiſſier very excuſable, ſince he has followed Authors who muſt needs have appeared well informed about theſe matters. No body can be more perſuaded than I am that my ſmall obſervations will do no prejudice to his work; and no body is more intereſted than I am to baniſh from the Republic of Letters, that falſe and pernicious maxim, that a book cannot be worthy of eſteem if it is not without errors. Matters do not go ill with ſome ſorts of books, eſpecially with Dictionaries, if there are but ſeven or eight things to be corrected in every page taking one with another.”

Mr Bayle likewiſe made uſe of Mr de Bauval's Journal to defend himſelf againſt the attacks of an anonymous writer (3), who had publiſhed a book at Paris intitled, *The Diſtinction and Nature, Good and Evil: a Treatiſe wherein the error of the Manicheans, the ſentiments of Montagne, Charron, and of Mr Bayle, &c. are cenſured* (4). This piece had been highly commended in ſome books printed at Paris, and they had even ſaid that Mr Bayle could not avoid anſwering it. Mr Bayle ſent for it, and after having examined it found that it required no anſwer with reſpect to thoſe who knew what he had ſaid concerning the Manicheans, and that a ſhort Memoir would be ſufficient for thoſe who did not know it. All that he had to do, was to ſhow that this anonymous Author had entirely miſtaken the ſtate of the queſtion, or at leaſt had pretended to miſtake it. In this Memoir (5) Mr Bayle obſerved that what this Author had ſaid of his own, or had borrowed from St Auguſtin tended only to ſhow. “I. That the ſyſtem of two principles is falſe, abſurd, and evidently contrary to the ideas of the infinitely perfect Being. II. That this ſyſtem is particularly abſurd, ridiculous, and abominable in the details, to which the Manicheans had deſcended.” But theſe two propoſitions were no part of the matter in debate. Mr Bayle had expreſly agreed to them, and conſequently there was no occaſion to prove them to him. He had only maintained that the hypotheſis of two principles, how falſe and impious ſoever, yet attacks the other hypotheſis with objections which natural light cannot ſolve. This was the only thing that this Author ought to have engaged with, and yet it is preciſely what he had neglected to do. He had ſatisfied himſelf with acting offenſively againſt the principles of the Manicheans, inſtead of ſtanding upon the defenſive, and repelling the attacks which the Manicheans might make againſt the moſt orthodox Chriſtians. The buſineſs here was not to make thruſts, but to parry thoſe which were made. In this manner Mr Bayle ſhows that this Author not having touched the Manichean objections, he did not think himſelf intereſted in the diſpute, and that it was enough that he had informed the public why he did not anſwer him.

This anonymous author had pretended that it was eaſy to deſtroy the ſyſtem of two principles by maintaining with St Auguſtin that evil is not a being but a ſimple privation: Mr Bayle owns that this being once proved would ſolidly refute the Manicheans in as far as they affirm that evil is a ſubſtance; but that a Manichean might eaſily get out of this difficulty, by ſhowing that this is only a diſpute about words, and a miſunderſtanding betwixt St Auguſtin and his adverſaries.

(1) Nouvelles Additions, &c. *in the Advertiſement.*

(2) *May 1704, p. 200, and the following.*

(3) *This anonymous writer was a Carthuſian of Paris, named Dom Alexis Gaudin. He was nephew to Abbé Gaudin, Canon of Nôtre Dame.*

(4) La Diſtinction & la Nature du Bien & du Mal. Traité où l'on combat l'erreur des Manichéens, les ſentimens de Montagne & de Charron, & ceux de Monſieur Bayle, &c. *Printed at Paris in 1704, in 12°.*

(5) Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, *Auguſt 1704, p. 369, and the following.*

ſaries. He concludes by telling this anonymous Author, that if he thinks it proper to treat this diſpute in a regular manner, he muſt begin anew, ſince he is not one jot further advanced in it than he was when he firſt ſat down to write: but that if he has nothing to advance but what he finds in St Auguſtin he had better be ſilent. "Theſe arguments (adds he) are able without doubt to ſet the abſurdities of the Manichean ſect in a very ſtrong light, but this is not the affair in hand; the queſtion here is only how to defend, and not at all how to attack; nay it would not be ſufficient to confound the impieties of the Manicheans by objections; one muſt enter into a diſpute wherein we might get the better of adverſaries who would not give ſuch advantages as they did with whom St Auguſtin had to do; we ought to imagine ourſelves to be engaged with Sceptics, who being diſguſted with the hypotheſis of the two principles, reject it, and yet will not embrace the other 'till we have freed it from the difficulties with which it is encumbered. In a word, we muſt ſhow by the light of nature that there is a cloſe connection betwixt the crimes and miſeries of mankind, and the ideas of an infinitely holy, infinitely powerful, and infinitely free being." The anonymous Author having no mind to engage in ſuch a tickliſh diſcuſſion, choſe to be ſilent.

Mr Bayle at laſt fulfilled the promiſe which he had ſo often made of publiſhing a defence of his *Thoughts concerning Comets*. He began it in the month of November 1703, and reſolved not to give over 'till he had finiſhed it (1). The impreſſion of it was begun in the month following (2), and the book appeared in the month of Auguſt 1704, under this title: *A Continuation of the Various Thoughts written to a Doctor of the Sorbonne, on occaſion of a Comet which appeared in the month of December 1680. Or, An Anſwer to ſeveral difficulties propoſed to the Author by Monſieur* *** (3). In the Advertiſement Mr Bayle, ſays that though he had promiſed this work ſeveral times for ten years paſt, he had not made great haſte to publiſh it, for ſeveral reaſons which he relates: "So that when he all at once took the reſolution of compoſing it, he had found nothing prepared for that purpoſe, and was obliged to awaken, or call very far back, his thoughts on this ſubject, ſo that the materials were brought together and made uſe of at the ſame time. There was only one thing in the Various Thoughts (adds he) which determined me to write an apology, to wit, the parallel betwixt Atheiſm and Paganiſm; but being thus obliged to take up the pen in my own juſtification, I thought myſelf bound to ſatisfy ſeveral difficulties which had been propoſed to me concerning other parts of the work, and I perſuaded myſelf that it was neceſſary to obſerve the ſame order in my anſwers which they had done in their objections, in which they had followed the order of my chapters. I have followed this method to the end of the firſt volume, but I was obliged to lay it aſide in the ſecond, to prevent engaging myſelf in a labour much larger than I had propoſed. I have therefore inſerted nothing in the ſecond volume but what regarded the parallel of Paganiſm and Atheiſm, and notwithſtanding I have not been able to go through that ſnbject. There are ſome objections ſtill left undiſcuſſed on this ſubject which I have reſerved for a third volume (4)."

Mr Bayle next makes a remark which he thought very eſſential. "I beg of the reader (ſays he) carefully to remember that this long diſpute, wherein I have maintained that Paganiſm is at leaſt as bad as Atheiſm, is a queſtion entirely indifferent to the true Religion. The intereſts of Chriſtianity are ſo ſeparated from thoſe of Pagan Idolatry, that it can neither loſe nor gain by Idolatry being thought either as bad or worſe than no Religion. This diſpute therefore is of the nature of thoſe problems, wherein one may indifferently chooſe which ſide he pleaſeth, and orthodoxy not be concerned in the matter. It has been always left to peoples choice to maintain that Arianiſm is worſe than Sabellianiſm, or that it is not; that the Neſtorian hereſy is more or leſs pernicious than the Eutychian, and ſo of ſeveral other queſtions, wherein they who are miſtaken cannot be accuſed of doing the leaſt hurt to the faith, provided they adhere to the deciſions of the ancient Councils &c." He in the next place obviates ſome objections, and makes ſome remarks to clear up this ſubject. We have ſeen that he had promiſed to anſwer at length in this work a piece of Mr Jurieu called the *Short Review*: he gives us here the reaſons why he has not done ſo. "When I publiſhed (ſays he) in 1694 an addition to my Various Thoughts, to anſwer in a few words a pamphlet intitled the *Short Review &c.* I promiſed a full refutation of it, yet notwithſtanding I have taken no notice of it in this work, for I find that my preliminary anſwer has been more than ſufficient."

The principal objections diſcuſſed in the firſt volume of this *Continuation* of the Thoughts concerning Comets, relate to the following ſix queſtions. I. Whether the conſent of all nations, in acknowledging a Deity, be a certain and demonſtrative proof of the exiſtence of a God. II. Whether there be any certainty in Aſtrology. III. If the Pagan Religion taught the practice of virtue, or of good morals. IV. If all things were made for man. V. If Hiſtorians ought to relate things incredible and ſuperſtitious. VI. If the Polytheiſm of the Pagans has been exaggerated. The

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(1) *Letter to Mr Des Maizeaux, November 9, 1703, pag. 936.*

(2) *See Letter to Mr Minutoli December 16, 1703. p. 940.*

(3) Continuation des Penſées diverſes, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne à l'occaſion de la Comete qui parut au mois de Decembre 1680. Ou Réponſe à pluſieurs difficultez que Monſieur *** a propoſées à l'Auteur. *A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers, 1705, 2 Vols in 12°.*

(4) *Mr Bayle never wrote this third volume.*

1704. ſecond volume is employed in ſhowing that he had reaſon in his Thoughts concerning Comets to ſay, *That Atheiſm is not a greater evil than Idolatry.* Mr Bayle points out the writers whom he had already alledged in that work, and cites ſeveral others, among which are Fathers of the Church, and Catholic and Proteſtant Doctors, who have affirmed that there are things as bad or worſe than Atheiſm, or who have even declared that Idolatry is worſe than Atheiſm, and who have notwithſtanding never been expoſed to eccleſiaſtic cenſures upon that account. From hence he concludes that he was intitled to maintain the ſame opinion, and that if many writers have been of a contrary ſentiment, this only proves that the queſtion in debate is of a problematical nature, and left to every body's diſcretion, and concerning which every body is at liberty to chooſe either ſide without prejudice to orthodoxy.

He likewiſe here examines the queſtion (1), *Whether a ſociety entirely compoſed of true Chriſtians, and ſurrounded by other nations either of Infidels, or of worldly minded Chriſtians, ſuch as all the nations where Chriſtianity prevails are at preſent, and have been for a long while, would be able to preſerve itſelf,* and declares himſelf for the negative. Upon this occaſion he acquaints us with the notion which a learned man had formed to himſelf of Chriſtianity. "I was acquainted (ſays he (2), with a "learned man, who fancied that Jeſus Chriſt had not propoſed his Religion as a "thing which could ſuit with all ſorts of perſons, but only with a ſmall number "of the wiſe. He founded his notion upon this, that a whole nation which ſhould "practiſe exactly all the rules of Chriſtianity, would not be able to preſerve itſelf "againſt the invaſions of its neighbours. Now it could not be the intention of "God, that an entire ſociety ſhould be deprived of all the human means of preſerving itſelf independant of other people. This man would therefore perſuade "me, that as the Stoic Philoſophy which was impracticable for a whole ſociety "was deſigned only for exalted minds, ſo the Goſpel in like manner was only "appointed for *Aſcetics*, for choſen perſons capable of abſtracting themſelves "from the world, and of devoting themſelves, in caſe of neceſſity, to the ſolitude of the moſt frightful deſarts. In a word (ſaid he), we ought to conſider "the Goſpel only as a model of the utmoſt perfection, propoſed to thoſe to "whom nature ſtrengthened by Grace ſhould give a reliſh for the moſt refined "ſpirituality. Thus St Benedict, St Dominic, St Francis of Aſſiſe, and other "founders of orders, have laid down rules and obſervances, not for all mankind, but for interior and ſpiritual Chriſtians the number of which is very ſmall. "I anſwered this learned friend that he was evidently miſtaken, ſince it is plain "by reading the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles that the law of JESUS CHRIST is propoſed to all ſorts of people, of what ſex and condition ſoever, not as a choice "which they are left at liberty to make or not, but as the only means of avoiding "eternal damnation."

This book engaged Mr Bayle in ſome diſputes. He had curſorily criticiſed the ſyſtem of Dr Cudworth and Dr Grew concerning *plaſtic and vital natures.* Theſe Gentlemen ſuppoſe that theſe are immaterial ſuſtances, endowed with a power of forming plants and animals, without knowing what they do. Mr Bayle obſerved (3), that thereby theſe Gentlemen, without thinking of it and contrary to their intentions, had weakened the moſt ſenſible argument we have for the Being of God taken from the admirable ſtructure of the univerſe, and gave an opportunity to the Stratonicians to elude it by retortion. For if God could give to a plaſtic nature the faculty of producing the organization of animals, without its having the idea of what it doth; they will conclude from hence that the formation of the regularity which we obſerve in the world, is not inconſiſtent with want of knowledge, and ſo the world may be the effect of a blind cauſe.

Mr le Clerc had adopted this hypotheſis, and thought himſelf obliged to defend it (4). He was offended that Mr Bayle had ſaid that it gave ground to elude by way of retortion one of the arguments which moſt embaraſſeth the Atheiſts. He complained that this remark would raiſe very diſadvantageous notions of the Religion and of the abilities of Dr Cudworth and Dr Grew, and that he found himſelf intereſted in this matter. He ſays that if Mr Bayle had ſufficiently underſtood their opinion, he would have ſeen that it gives no handle to Atheiſts, becauſe the plaſtic and vital natures which they maintain, are only inſtruments in the hand of God, that they have no power but what God has given them, that God governs their actions, that they are inſtrumental cauſes, produced and employed by the principal; and that we cannot ſay that a building was made without art, becauſe not only the hammers, the rules, the ſquares, the compaſſes, the axes, the ſaws, but even the hands of men which made uſe of theſe utenſils, are things deſtitute of intelligence: it is ſufficient that the mind of the Architect has conducted all theſe, and employed them to accompliſh his deſigns. It is evident then, adds he, that Atheiſts, who deny the exiſtence of the intelligent cauſe which has guided and regulated the formation of all things, cannot retort the argument which theſe two Philoſophers have oppoſed to them.

Mr Bayle anſwered (5), that he had not the leaſt intention of doing prejudice either to the orthodoxy or the learning of theſe Gentlemen, and that he had even taken care

(1) Continuation of the Various Thoughts &c. *Tom. ii. pag.* 598.

(2) *Ibid. pag.* 602, 603.

(3) *Ibid. Tom. i. p.* 90, 91.

(4) Bibliotheque choiſie, *Tom. v. Art. iv. pag.* 283, *and the following.*

(5) Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, *Auguſt* 1704, *Art. vii. pag.* 380, *and the following.*

care to prevent any ſuch thought. He adds, that the defect he had found in their hypotheſis, was not peculiar to them: that almoſt all the Philoſophers, both ancient and modern were in the ſame caſe. He ſhows that if theſe Gentlemen had conſidered their plaſtic natures as ſimple inſtruments in the hand of God, they would have fallen into all the inconveniences of the Carteſian hypotheſis which they deſigned to avoid; ſo that it muſt be ſuppoſed that they believed them to be active principles, which do not require being puſhed on and directed without interruption, but that it is ſufficient, that God ſet them in their proper places, and watch over their conduct, in order to ſet them right when it is neceſſary. Now this being granted, he maintains, that there is room for a retortion. For when we bring the order and ſymmetry of the world as a proof of the exiſtence of God, we ſuppoſe that in order to produce any regular work, the agent muſt have an idea of it: while according to Dr Cudworth the plaſtic natures which produce plants and animals have no idea of what they do. If it be anſwered, that they were created by a Being who knows all things, and that they only execute his idea's, the Stratonician will reply that if they execute them in quality of efficient cauſes, this is as incomprehenſible as the thing objected againſt, ſince it is as difficult to execute a plan which we do not know, but which another knows, as it is to follow a plan which is known by no body. Since you allow, will the Stratonician ſay, that God can give to creatures a faculty of producing excellent works without the leaſt knowledge; you ought likewiſe to own, that there is no neceſſary connexion between the faculty of producing excellent works, and the idea of their eſſence, and of the manner of their production; and conſequently you ought not to pretend that theſe two things cannot be ſeparated in nature, and that nature may not have of itſelf, what theſe plaſtic beings have, according to you, by the gift of God. To abridge this diſpute Mr Bayle reduced it to this queſtion of fact: *Have theſe Gentlemen taught that plaſtic and vital natures are only paſſive inſtruments in the hand of God?* Mr le Clerc (ſays he) ſeems to affirm it, by his example of an Architect who erects a very regular building, though all the tools of which he makes uſe be void of underſtanding. It is evident, added Mr Bayle, that with regard to the Architect, all his tools, and even his hands, are meerly paſſive inſtruments, which only move in as far as he puſheth them. If the plaſtic and vital natures be in the ſame caſe, I confeſs there is no retortion to be feared, but on the other hand God alone in this caſe will be the next and immediate cauſe of all generation; which would be to admit the Carteſian doctrine, which they meant to reject. 1704.

Mr le Clerc replied (1) that Dr Cudworth did not look upon the plaſtic natures to be paſſive inſtruments; that they are under the direction of God, who conducts them, though we do not know in what manner; that though they act regularly, yet it is under the direction of God, who intervenes as he thinks fit, and when he thinks fit; that the ſole difference which is between their action and the faculty of beaſts, who do ſeveral things in a regular manner when men conduct them, tho' they do not know what they do, is, that we do not know how God intervenes, and that we ſee how men act. But however this be, adds he, the Atheiſts cannot retort Dr Cudworth's argument againſt him, becauſe God is Author of the order in which the plaſtic nature operates; and that according to the Atheiſts notions, matter moves of itſelf without any cauſe which regulates it, or which has given it a power of moving regularly. If any body ſhould ſay that it has it of itſelf, that would not be to retort the argument, this would be to make a ſuppoſition, which it would be eaſy to overturn.

Mr Bayle again replied (2), and began with ſtating the queſtion anew. He ſaid that the retortion was founded on this, that, if we ſuppoſe that there are beings which have the faculty of organizing animals without knowing what they do, we cannot refute thoſe who ſay that the world may have been produced without the operation of an intelligent cauſe. It would be to no purpoſe to anſwer to them, that theſe beings have received this faculty from an intelligent cauſe: for by making this anſwer we would ſtill own the compatibility of the power to organize matter with want of underſtanding, and conſequently would confute ourſelves. Mr Bayle next examines Mr le Clerc's Reply. He owns that a creature without underſtanding may under the direction of God do certain things as regularly as a cauſe endowed with underſtanding; but that in that caſe this creature would be only a paſſive inſtrument in the hand of God. And ſo the plaſtic natures of Dr Cudworth cannot be the efficient cauſe of organization, but at moſt the inſtrument. They are no more capable of diſcernment in the firſt moment of conception, than in all the other moments which follow until the organization is compleated; it is neceſſary therefore that God apply and direct them without interruption from the beginning to the end: from whence it neceſſarily follows, that they are only paſſive inſtruments in his hands, and ſo Dr Cudworth cannot avoid the retortion, except by ſuppoſing what the Carteſians ſuppoſe. The example of beaſts, adds he, confirms the difficulty; for if we conſider all the ſervices which we draw from them, we ſhall find that in all things wherein their knowledge doth not ſerve them for a guide, they muſt be puſhed or directed as if they were pure machines.

(1) Bibliotheque choiſie. *Tom. vi. Art. vii. pag.* 422, *and the following.*

(2) Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, *December* 1704, *Art. xii. pag.* 540, *and the following.*

1704. Mr le Clerc had ſaid, that Madam Maſham, Dr Cudworth's daughter, had wrote him a letter, wherein *ſhe complained with reaſon of Mr Bayle's proceeding with regard to her father*; and that ſhe had allowed him to print it, but that he did not think it proper to do ſo; becauſe poſſibly Mr Bayle might change his opinion when he had better underſtood Dr Cudworth's ſyſtem. Madam Maſham had been prejudiced againſt Mr Bayle: but he appealed to what he had at firſt anſwered to Mr le Clerc, and added that if this Lady, who was very learned, would be pleaſed to examin the matter, ſhe would find that ſhe had been miſinformed. And in fact when ſhe had ſeen Mr Bayle's explanations, ſhe deſired Mr le Clerc to ſuppreſs the Letter which ſhe had wrote to him (1).

Mr le Clerc ſtill maintained that Dr Cudworth gave no room for retortion. He ſaid (2), that the conception of a deſign, ſuch as that of forming animals, is incompatible with a want of knowledge in the firſt cauſe; but that it is not ſo as to the ſecond cauſes, which act under the direction of this firſt cauſe: that it is not neceſſary that God ſhould direct and puſh them continually as we do paſſive inſtruments, and "(3) that he had proved this by the uſe which men make of beaſts; whoſe organs they do not move, which act notwithſtanding in a regular manner, in order to produce a certain effect, which they are entirely ignorant of. They are not puſhed, as Mr Bayle ſays, in the ſame manner as if they were pure machines, ſince they move their own members. For example, can one ſay that a dog, who being placed in a ſort of wheel turns it about by going in it, and by this mean turns a ſpit and what is tied to it, is employed in the ſame manner as a jack? the jack is ſet a going merely by weights, but we do not give motion to the limbs of the dog; it is he himſelf who moves them, and though we ſhould put in his place any ſort of machine it would never produce the ſame effect. I own, adds he, that I cannot tell in what manner God applies himſelf to matter and directs the immaterial forming natures, without being author of all their actions; but we cannot reject this opinion as abſurd, after the direct proofs which have been brought of it. Otherwiſe we muſt reject every thing of which we have not compleat or adequate ideas, which would be to fall into a ridiculous Pyrrhoniſm." As to what Mr Bayle had ſaid that he preferred the ſyſtem of occaſional cauſes to all others, becauſe it ſeemed to him to be the moſt proper to eſtabliſh the being of God; Mr le Clerc declared that he would not engage in any diſpute on that ſubject. "I only thought (ſaid he (4), that after having propoſed Dr Cudworth's opinion as probable, I was obliged to ſhow that Mr Bayle was in the wrong to ſay that it made way for the Atheiſts to deſtroy, by a retortion, the ſtrongeſt argument which can be produced againſt them, and which is drawn from the order of the univerſe. After having done this, I have no more to add upon this ſubject. I will not enter into perſonal matters, nor penetrate into deſigns, which cannot be diſcovered, without vexing thoſe who might be ſuſpected of them."

Mr Bayle recapitulated this diſpute, and examined it more thoroughly (5). He obſerved that Dr Cudworth's hypotheſis, to wit, that God has the idea of the organization of animals, doth not in the leaſt leſſen the incomprehenſibility and impoſſibility of his ſuppoſition that the true efficient and immediate cauſe of organization knows nothing at all; and that the Stratonicians may make uſe of the ſecond hypotheſis in order to conteſt the other: that they will ſhow him that theſe two things appear equally impoſſible, the one that the inventors of a machine know nothing, the other that they ſhould cauſe it to be executed by perſons who have no idea of it. Mr Bayle adds, that the example of a dog who is the cauſe of a ſpit's turning about, was out of the caſe which he had propoſed: for he had not ſaid, that we are obliged to *puſh and direct beaſts* in the ſervices which we receive from them, but only that *in all caſes in which their knowledge doth not ſerve them inſtead of a guide, we muſt puſh them or direct them, as if they were pure machines.* "(6) A dog placed in a ſort of wheel is not ignorant that he muſt walk, and that he will be beaten if he ſtops; is not he threatened and even beat every time he interrups his action? He is not therefore without a certain kind of knowledge which ſerves to direct him, he ſees the objects which are round about him, he is afraid, and he acts by this fear, or by ſome other paſſion upon his *locomotive* faculty; and in the ſituation in which he is placed he cannot move himſelf, without at the ſame time moving the wheel round its center, and by that means turning the ſpit. It is not therefore neceſſary to puſh him or *make him move his legs*, it is ſufficient to excite ſome ſentiment or paſſion in him which may make him move. Let us obſerve, continued Mr Bayle, that the motion which he gives to himſelf is continually under the direction of another cauſe. It is not a motion which makes him go from place to place. The dog continues ſtill in the ſame place although he never ceaſeth to move. From whence proceeds this? It is becauſe his motion is continually determined by the diſpoſition of the wheel to be ſuch as it is. Here therefore is an example which proves that in all caſes wherein the knowledge of beaſts doth not ſerve them for a guide, we muſt either puſh or direct them, if we want to make them ſerve for

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(1) *See Letters to Mr Coſte of the 30th of April, and the 3d of July,* 1705, *p.* 1017, *and the following.*

(2) Bibliotheque choiſie, *Tom. vii. Art. vii. pag.* 281, *and the following.*

(3) *Ibid. pag.* 286, 287.

(4) *Ibid. pag.* 288.

(5) An Anſwer to the Queſtions of a Country Gentleman, *Tom. iii. chap. clxxix, and the following.*

(6) *Ibid. chap. clxxxi. p.* 1279, 1280.

" any purpoſe. All muletiers and coachmen will confirm this. A coach-" man may be at reſt when his horſes know the way, or content himſelf with taking " notice when they do not do their duty; but when they are ignorant that they " muſt change their road, he is obliged to be active in order to give them the " neceſſary direction." Mr Bayle added, that as to the *direct proofs which had been brought* of the exiſtence of plaſtic natures, he did not believe them to be ſo ſtrong that one muſt either be a Sceptic, or embrace that opinion; but that he would not enter upon that enquiry.

The concluſion of Mr le Clerc's laſt Reply gave Mr Bayle occaſion to ſay (1), that Mr le Clerc " had not ſufficiently reflected upon a thing which may be " eaſily known, to wit, that the ſame zeal which inclines one man to maintain " that a reaſon has a great deal of ſolidity for the exiſtence of God, may incline " another man to maintain that it is weak and dangerous. Theſe two men may " have the ſame intention, they differ only in their judgment about the quality of " an argument. They ought both therefore, ſaid Mr Bayle, to abſtain from all " ſuſpicious expreſſions, to abſtain, I ſay, not by ſaying that they will abſtain from " them, for this doth not fail to ſtrike home, but by a perfect ſilence. Equity ought " immediately to preſent itſelf to their mind, and hinder them from ſaying any " thing which may be agreeable to the malice of their readers. The warmeſt de-" fenders of orthodoxy have always preſerved to themſelves the liberty of examining " the arguments for the exiſtence of God, and for any other article of faith, and " of rejecting ſuch as they thought weak." He ſhows that in the Church of Rome they acknowledge a difference betwixt conteſting a doctrine, and conteſting ſome of the reaſons brought to prove it; and that this liberty is ſtill greater among Proteſtants. " But be it as it will, continued he (2), you will eaſily obſerve that the " diſpute about Dr Cudworth's plaſtic natures doth not intereſt Religion. It is an " hypotheſis lately invented which has very few followers. Whether it doth or doth " not furniſh the Atheiſts with a pretence to chicane, is of ſmall importance. This " doth not in the leaſt hurt the many victorious arguments, which this learned Eng-" liſhman has made uſe of and illuſtrated in a wonderful manner againſt Atheiſm. " The ſyſtem of the Peripatetics has been in the ſame caſe with theſe plaſtic na-" tures during many ages and is ſo ſtill: ſo that the diſpute of which I am ſpeaking " only concerns two private perſons, is only a queſtion of Logic, and of Na-" tural Philoſophy. All the queſtion is whether Mr Bayle has reaſon to ſay that " a certain retortion can be made, or if Mr le Clerc has reaſon to maintain the " contrary, and has not given occaſion to his readers to diſcover the embarraſſing " conſequences and defects of his plaſtic natures."

Mr le Clerc took this matter very differently. " When Mr Bayle (ſaid he (3), " accuſed Dr Cudworth of giving a handle to the Atheiſts to retort ſome of the " arguments which are brought againſt them; I at firſt believed that it was be-" cauſe he did not ſufficiently underſtand Dr Cudworth's ſyſtem, for in fact he " did not underſtand it . . . . . but as I have ſeen that he would receive no explana-" tion upon that ſubject, after I had explained it to him thrice, I no longer doubted " that he ſaid this with a deſign to excuſe the Atheiſts, as he doth in his " *Thoughts concerning Comets*, and in the *Continuation*. . . . . Being vexed, as it " ſeems, to ſee Dr Cudworth triumph over the Atheiſts in a very glorious and ad-" vantageous manner for Chriſtianity, and not daring to deny this, he thought it " was neceſſary at any rate to blacken that great man's manner of philoſophizing, " by accuſing him of furniſhing arms to thoſe who deny the being of a God." Mr le Clerc afterwards ſays that all the difficulty is now reduced to this one propoſition: " Whether there can exiſt an immaterial ſelf-acting nature, which forms " in miniature, by a faculty which it has received from God, machines ſuch as " the bodies of plants and animals are, without having an idea of them." He maintained that this is poſſible, ſtill ſuppoſing that the creator of this nature has in himſelf perfectly clear ideas of what it doth; without which it would be impoſſible for a blind nature to act with order. But that it doth not follow from hence, that this nature is a merely paſſive inſtrument in the hand of God, becauſe according to the ſuppoſition it is a ſelf-acting nature. He alledged the example of beaſts, which men employ as active inſtruments to draw loaded carriages, and to turn milſtones in a certain order; without knowing either what they do, or why they do it, or whether they obſerve any order or no. He related likewiſe the principal actions of birds, and ſaid that how admirable ſoever thoſe actions are, yet they were performed without knowledge; ſince otherwiſe we ſhould be obliged to conclude that theſe animals have a great deal more wit, and reaſon infinitely better than man, which would be very abſurd. He owned that he had not a clear idea of theſe plaſtic natures, that he did not know how God applies them to matter, nor how he directs them without being author of their actions: but that he had a very clear idea of an active inſtrument which is Author of it's own actions, and yet doth not know what it doth, becauſe he ſaw that beaſts were in many reſpects inſtruments of this nature, and that this was the ſubject in queſtion. He added, that we ought not, as Mr Bayle did, to take out one propoſition from Dr Cudworth's ſyſtem, as if he had advanced only that, and give it up to the Atheiſts to be retorted: that

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(1) *Ibid. chap. clxxxii. pag.* 1286, 1287.

(2) *Ibid. pag.* 1290, 1291.

(3) Bibliotheque choiſie, *Tom. ix. Art. x. pag.* 361, 362.

1704. that Dr Cudworth had not maintained in general, that what has no idea of order can act with order; but that an infinitely powerful Being who has an idea of order may create other Beings which have it not, and who notwithſtanding obſerve it; becauſe he may give them a certain activity which they can only exerciſe in the manner which he thinks fit, and apply them to matter upon which they act of themſelves, although we do not know how. After having thus explained Dr Cudworth's opinion, he ſays that he will not “ ſtay here to refute particularly all Mr Bayle's “ ſimilies, which are not at all juſt, which make us forget the ſtate of the queſtion, “ and which turn only upon confuſed ideas which he perplexeth with a deſign to “ favour the Atheiſts. Neither will I take up time (adds he) in expoſing his weak “ reaſonings, to ſhew that he has not underſtood me, and has not ſufficiently “ taken notice with what view I have ſpoken. This would be to tire the reader, “ and one could not avoid troubleſome repetitions and fatiguing diſcuſſions of “ trifles.”

Mr Bayle conſidered his laſt Anſwer as the end of this diſpute, and contented himſelf with making ſome reflexions on Mr le Clerc's reply. “ We may hence- “ forth (ſays he (1), look upon the plaſtic natures of Dr Cudworth as at an end. “ Not that Mr le Clerc doth not ſtill make a great noiſe about it, but he only paraphraſeth what he has already ſaid, and leaves my replies in their full force. It is “ not neceſſary therefore to ſupport them by any new remark; it will be ſufficient to “ deſire the readers to compare them with his laſt piece.” He obſerves that Mr Leibniz had acknowledged the juſtneſs of the retortion of the Stratonicians. “ But let “ us not talk any more of retortion, adds he; Mr le Clerc obviates this ſufficiently “ by the neceſſity which he ſuppoſeth there is, that God ſhould intervene in the “ work of theſe plaſtic natures. It has been proved to him, that an interrupted direction would not be ſufficient, from whence it follows that God directs them “ without intermiſſion, which ſhows that they can only be reckoned an inſtrumental “ cauſe. Now in this caſe there is no ground for further diſpute; for Mr Bayle always laid down this alternative, that either the retortion of the Stratonician muſt “ take place, or the plaſtic natures are not the true efficient cauſe of the organization of “ the fœtus. The conſequence which ought to be drawn from Mr le Clerc's anſwer “ is, that they are only an inſtrument in the hand of God, whether he directs them “ immediately, or whether he place them like a ſpring in a machine, the form of “ which is the permanent cauſe of the direction of all the pieces, or whether “ he makes uſe of ſome other determination equivalent to this. Let no body “ object that they are endowed with activity, for this doth not hinder them from being “ a mere inſtrument.” He ſays, that he had ſhown that Mr le Clerc could receive no advantage from the example of beaſts, and that to ſuppoſe, as he did, that birds perform many things with a wonderful regularity, tho' they are neither directed by their own knowledge, nor by the laws of mechaniſm; is to bring back the occult qualities of the Schoolmen. “ It would be (adds he (2), a ſort of inhumanity to puſh “ Mr le Clerc any farther: he himſelf owns that he is embaraſſed, which is a ſign “ that he is reduced to the laſt extremity. He is therefore ſufficiently puniſhed, “ eſpecially if we conſider, that being infatuated with his plaſtic natures, he has expoſed himſelf to the ridicule of all the modern Philoſophers. They cannot comprehend how a man who has ſhown a good taſte in other things, ſhould chuſe rather to fall into the moſt abſurd galimatias, than to part with his conceit.” He ſays that he was perſuaded, that if Dr Cudworth had foreſeen the conſequences of his Syſtem, he would have reformed it; and that if he had been alive when Mr le Clerc's firſt Anſwer was publiſhed, he would have been very much ſurprized to ſee his honour intereſted where there was ſo little occaſion for it: that Mr Bayle's obſervation concerned Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and ſuch ſuperior genius's, as well as Dr Cudworth and Dr Grew: that the laſt named gentleman gave himſelf no trouble about it, although Mr le Clerc had in a manner provoked him to it. “ Dr “ Cudworth (ſays he (3), would have been no leſs indifferent about an objection “ in which he was no more concerned than almoſt all mankind, and would have “ no doubt ſuſpected that this was only made a pretext to ſerve for the beginning of a quarrel. He would have imagined that there was a *ſnake in the graſs*, “ ſome old leaven, ſome abſceſs which had been forming itſelf a great while, “ and which muſt needs break at laſt.” Mr Bayle adds that knowing how touchy Mr le Clerc was, he had treated him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, and had abſtained from reproaching him with not underſtanding Dr Cudworth's Syſtem: that Mr le Clerc to cloak his inability to anſwer his arguments had treated them as trifling: in a word that the victory obtained over him on the ſubject of the plaſtic natures had ſo confounded him, that he was beſide himſelf whenever he returned to that ſubject, and that he had looſed the reins to calumny; “ like pariſh Prieſts “ who cry out *Heretic*, if any of their pariſhioners though agreeing in the main “ to the truth of their doctrine, do not agree about the force of the reaſons they “ make uſe of to prove it.”

Thus ended the controverſy which Mr Bayle had with Mr le Clerc concerning the plaſtic natures of Dr Cudworth.

(1) Anſwer for Mr Bayle to Mr le Clerc concerning the 3d and 10th Articles of the 9th Tome of the Bibliotheque choiſie, *pag.* 31.

(2) *Ibid. pag.* 34.

(3) *Ibid. p.* 35, 36.

About

1705. About the end of the year 1705, Mr Bayle publiſhed at the ſame time the ſecond and third volumes of his *Anſwer to the Queſtions of a Country Gentleman.* In the Preface to the ſecond volume he obſerved that there is this difference betwixt theſe volumes and the firſt, that the firſt contained a great variety of literary and hiſtorical particulars, and few matters of reaſoning, and theſe on the contrary contained a great deal of reaſoning, and little variety of literary and hiſtorical articles. “ I have not heard (adds he) that any body complained that there was too “ much reaſoning in the firſt part, and many have been heard to complain that “ there was not enough of it there, I have therefore thought it proper to change “ the proportions, by allowing the greateſt ſhare in the continuation of this work “ to what was only an acceſſory in the firſt volume.” The plan of this book furniſhed him with a natural occaſion of introducing all ſorts of ſubjects: he took this opportunity of examining ſome pieces which had been lately publiſhed, wherein he found himſelf intereſted.

Dr King, Biſhop of Londonderry, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Dublin, had publiſhed a treatiſe concerning the Origin of Evil (1): Mr Bayle examined his principles, but not having the book, and conſidering that it would have been difficult to find it in Holland, he confined himſelf to ſome general obſervations upon the long extracts which Mr Bernard had given of it in his *News from the Republic of Letters* (2). Dr King had compoſed this work in order to ſolve the difficulties which the Manicheans raiſe in Mr Bayle's Dictionary on the ſubject of phyſical and moral evil. Experience teacheth us that man is not only ſubject to diſeaſes, pains, troubles, and ſundry other miſeries, but he is likewiſe liable to commit an infinite number of crimes. The queſtion is how to reconcile theſe facts with the common notions of the ſovereign goodneſs and ſovereign wiſdom of the infinitely perfect Being. Dr King had a great deal of penetration, and a very nice judgment. His penetration made him comprehend the whole extent and conſequences of the difficulty; he made uſe of new principles to ſolve it. He maintains that God's end in creating the univerſe, was not to procure to himſelf glory, as the generality of Divines affirm, but to exerciſe his power, and communicate his goodneſs: that it is not true that the earth was made for man, that it is the ignorance or pride of man which inſpires him with this chimerical imagination; that the quantity of happineſs in the world is greater than the miſery to be found there, an evident proof of which we have in the horror which all men have at death, and their violent deſire for life, even when they are overwhelmed with the miſeries, of which they moſt bitterly complain; that man being created of matter, becomes neceſſarily ſubject to diſeaſes, grief &c; but that pain and paſſions are uſeful for the preſervation of the body, ſince they warn it of what might deſtroy it; that the evils are ſo connected with the good that they are inſeparable; that theſe are inconveniencies which are neceſſary conſequences of the laws of nature; that phyſical evil is as neceſſary in the univerſal Syſtem of Beings, as the equality of the diameters is eſſential to a circle; and that theſe neceſſary evils do not at all intereſt the goodneſs of God.

(1) De origine mali. Authore Gulielmo King, S. T. D. Epiſcopo Derenſi. Dublinii, 1702, in 8°. *It was reprinted at London the ſame year.*

(2) *Months of May and June* 1703.

But the great difficulty regards moral evil, that is, the bad choices of man, the bad determination of his will, and in a word, all that is called vice. In order to ſolve it, Dr King has recourſe to the ordinary ſolution, to wit, free-will; but he gives a notion of it very different from that of other Divines. He makes it to conſiſt in the power of chooſing, independently of the other faculties of a free agent, and of the quality of objects; ſo that this power is not determined by the goodneſs of objects, but the objects are rendered good and agreeable by its choice and determination. This perfect independence is the ſource of mens happineſs, ſince it makes him maſter of his determinations, and diſpoſer of his fate. Conſequently God would have diſturbed the happineſs of the firſt man in its ſource, if he had not left him at liberty to chuſe what he ſhould pleaſe. It was neceſſary therefore that man ſhould be capable of making a bad choice, and falling into ſin. God could only hinder the bad uſe of liberty in the three following manners. I. By not creating any Being endowed with liberty. II. By making uſe of his almighty power to prevent free agents from abuſing their liberty. III. By carrying man to another habitation, where he ſhould find no occaſion which could incline him to make a bad choice. But if none of theſe three be practicable, we muſt conclude, that the permiſſion of ſin is not blameable. Now 1. If God had created no Beings endowed with liberty, the world muſt have been a pure machine, incapable of any action; for matter is moved, but doth not move itſelf. Beſides, God has created the world to exerciſe his virtues, and to pleaſe himſelf in his work. Now the more a creature is like to him, and the more ſelf-ſufficient it is, the more agreeable it muſt needs be to him. But we cannot make any doubt that a creature which moves of itſelf, which is pleaſed in itſelf, which is capable of receiving and acknowledging a favour, is more excellent, and muſt pleaſe him who made it, more than one which is not capable of acting, feeling, and of acknowledging a favour. 2. If God ſhould interpoſe his almighty power, to prevent the bad uſe of liberty, greater inconveniencies would ariſe from thence, than from the abuſe itſelf which we can make

1705. of this liberty. It requires no leſs power to hinder the exerciſe of liberty, than to ſtop the courſe of the ſun, and beſides it would be neceſſary, that God ſhould entirely change his manner of acting with free agents, which is to keep them in their duty by the motives of rewards and puniſhments. It would deprive us of what is moſt agreeable to us in our determinations, which is to be perſuaded that we had it in our power not to determine ourſelves. It were to deprive God of the exerciſe of one of his moſt excellent virtues, to deſire that he ſhould interpoſe his power in order to hinder all the evil determinations of the will, in which his wiſdom is exerciſed in the moſt excellent manner, and in which it ſhines with a particular luſtre. III. As to the third manner of hindering the bad uſe of liberty, this were to deſire that God ſhould entirely deſtroy human nature, which was created to dwell upon the earth and no where elſe. It is true that good men ſhall be afterwards carried to another place, where they ſhall continue to all eternity, but that is only after they have been prepared upon earth, like wild ſtocks in a nurſery before they are tranſplanted in order to bear fruit elſewhere.

Thus Dr King anſwered the objections founded upon phyſical and moral evil. As he ſuppoſeth that his adverſaries do not admit a Revelation, he makes uſe only of principles drawn from natural reaſon. Mr Bayle did not think that his ſyſtem took away the difficulties, and refuted it by ſeveral arguments which he lays down with great accuracy and force.

Mr Bernard furniſhed Mr Bayle with another article of great importance. He gave a critical Extract of the *Continuation of the Thoughts concerning Comets* (1), and attacked Mr Bayle upon the queſtion whether the general conſent of nations be a proof of the exiſtence of God, upon the parallel of Atheiſm and Paganiſm, and upon the queſtion whether a ſociety entirely compoſed of true Chriſtians, ſurrounded with other nations either of Infidels or worldly Chriſtians, could be able to maintain itſelf. Every body was ſurprized that Mr Bernard who had always lived upon a footing of friendſhip with Mr Bayle, ſhould affect to enter into a controverſy with him; and it was thought that being ſuſpected of Arminianiſm, he wanted by this means to ingratiate himſelf with the Orthodox. However he uſed Mr Bayle with great reſpect. “As I am perſuaded (ſaid he (2), that Mr Bayle ſearcheth after truth ſincerely, I am ſure without having conſulted him, that he will not be diſpleaſed that I propoſe ſome difficulties to him in this Extract, as they ſhall offer themſelves to my mind, not forgetting in the mean while the rules of good manners, and the eſteem, and reſpect, which I have for his perſon and merit.” Mr Bayle in the ſecond volume of his *Anſwer to the Queſtions of a Country Gentleman*, anſwered at large Mr Bernard's objections concerning the general conſent of nations. In the third volume, he examined what related to himſelf in a book of Mr Jaquelot's intitled, *The Conformity of Faith with Reaſon, in anſwer to the principal difficulties diſperſed in Mr Bayle's hiſtorical and critical Dictionary* (3). Mr Jaquelot had left the Hague in order to go to Berlin, where he was Chaplain to the King of Pruſſia. He then declared himſelf openly for Arminianiſm; which he durſt not have done in Holland, while under the authority of the Walloon Synods. In 1697 he had publiſhed a large volume intitled, *A Diſſertation concerning the Exiſtence of God, wherein that truth is demonſtrated, by the univerſal hiſtory of the moſt ancient times; by a refutation of the Syſtem of Epicurus and Spinoſa; by the characters of Divinity which are obſervable in the Jewiſh Religion, and in the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity: Containing likewiſe convincing proofs of the Revelation of the ſacred writings* (4). Mr Bayle in quoting this book in his Dictionary (5), made uſe of an expreſſion which infinitely diſpleaſed Mr Jaquelot. “(6) He loſt all patience when he obſerved that Mr Bayle in quoting his Diſſertation concerning the Exiſtence of God, had only given it the title of a *fine Book*. He made loud complaints of this, and ſpread them abroad every where. It is true indeed that he durſt not own that they were grounded on Mr Bayle's having made uſe of the poſitive *fine* inſtead of the ſuperlative *very fine*, or of ſome ſublime epithet. He pretended that he had uſed the term *fine* ironically. As ſoon as Mr Bayle was informed of this he ſent a common friend, to proteſt to him that he had made uſe of that epithet in its natural ſignification, and it is certain that he employed it in ſpeaking of another book concerning which no body will ſuſpect that he would pretend to ſpeak ironically (7). Several people from that time foretold that Mr Jaquelot would write againſt Mr Bayle with all the animoſity of a bitter enemy, that he would conceal his reſentment a little in his firſt attack, becauſe he knew that the reply would give him a large field for it.” Accordingly Mr Jaquelot *declared* in his Preface, *that he had no intention of attacking either Mr Bayle's perſon or his morals. I eſteem*, ſaid he, *his erudition, his genius, his penetration, and all the fine talents which diſtinguiſh a man in the learned world. I ſay once more*, adds he, *I have no deſign to dive into his intentions: I leave them to be judged by God and his own conſcience. He declares that he propoſeth theſe difficulties with no other view than to obtain an anſwer to them.*

The greateſt part of this work is only a repetition of what Mr Jaquelot had ſaid in his Diſſertations concerning the Exiſtence of God, and concerning the Meſſiah (8). What relates to Mr Bayle may be reduced to theſe three heads. I. The liberty of in-

(1) News from the Republic of Letters, *February and March* 1705.

(2) News &c. *February* 1705, *p.* 125.

(3) Conformité de la Foi avec la Raiſon: ou defenſe de la Religion, contre les principales difficultez repanduës dans le Dictionaire hiſtorique & critique de Mr Bayle. *At Amſterdam* 1705.

(4) *It is a book in* 4° *of* 705 *pages. See Mr Bayle's opinion concerning it in a letter to the Abbé du Bos, December* 13, 1696, *p.* 607, *and the following.*

(5) *In the Article* PERGAMUS, *a City in Aſia. Rem.* [C] *letter* (*ſ*).

(6) Entretiens de Maxime & de Themiſte, ou Réponſe à l'Examen de la Theologie de Mr Bayle par Mr Jaquelot, *p.* 14, 15.

(7) *It was a book of Mr Baſnage.*

(8) *The* Diſſertation concerning the Meſſiah *appeared in* 1699.

difference. II. The Origin of Evil. III. The objections which the Pyrrhonians may raiſe againſt ſome doctrines of revealed Religion. Mr Bayle obſerves upon this that the title of Mr Jaquelot's book is deceitful, becauſe it makes people think that it is entirely deſigned to refute Mr Bayle, whereas what concerns him makes only the ſmalleſt part of it. He finds another much more eſſential fault in it. “There is no reader (ſays he (1), who upon ſeeing this title will not judge that Mr Bayle has attacked Religion, while all that he has done is to ſhow that the philoſophical objections againſt what Theology teacheth concerning the Origin and Conſequences of Sin, are ſo ſtrong that our reaſon is too weak to ſolve them, ſo that we ought to behave ourſelves in the ſame manner with regard to the myſtery of predeſtination, as with regard to the other myſteries of the Goſpel; that is to ſay, believe them upon the authority of God, though we can neither comprehend them, nor reconcile them to the maxims of Philoſophers. If he has diſperſed ſome other difficulties in his Dictionary, they are all of the ſame kind.” Mr Bayle adds that if this be to attack Religion we muſt affirm that the moſt orthodox Divines do likewiſe attack it, when they ſay that the Trinity, the Incarnation, Predeſtination, and ſtill more particularly the Origin of Evil, are myſteries which our reaſon cannot comprehend, but which it ought to believe, ſubmitting itſelf to the authority of God who has revealed them. He quotes a great many divines in proof of this, who all with one voice except againſt reaſon, and do not aſk its aſſent when the queſtion is about revealed articles of faith. He cites particularly Mr Jurieu, who in vain implored the aſſiſtance of reaſon to ſolve the difficulties which preſented themſelves to his mind. “When I turn my eyes (ſays Mr Jurieu (2), upon the world, upon hiſtory, upon events, I find abyſſes there in which I loſe myſelf, I find difficulties there which overwhelm me. It is true that I ſee God who created all things good at the beginning. Man at coming out of the hands of God was juſt, pure, and holy. But preſently I find God abandoning this creature whom he had juſt placed in the world, and ſuffering him to fall into ſin; ſin whoſe effects were to be ſo fatal and terrible . . . . . (3) I find in the conduct of God things which are incomprehenſible to me, I can ſcarce reconcile his hatred of ſin with his providence . . . . (4) Is there any body ſo inſincere as to ſay that he finds no difficulty in this, and that he can eaſily reconcile this with God's infinite hatred of ſin? if God hates ſin infinitely, why did not he prevent it ſince he foreſaw it? why has he made creatures which other creatures may abuſe? why has he created men when he knew they would damn themſelves? why doth not he ſtop theſe men in their criminal courſes? why doth not he ſtop the moſt part of men in thoſe courſes which lead them to hell? he could have ſaved a million of perſons, and have ſuffered only one to be loſt. On the contrary, he ſaves but a hundred, and ſuffers a million to be loſt. This poſſibly proceeds from his want of power in this matter: but who can reſiſt his will, and ſince he ſaves a hundred perſons, why could not he, by the ſame means, ſave millions? . . . . . Could it be ſaid, that a King had the utmoſt averſion to the miſeries and calamities of his people, who foreſeeing that three fourths and a half of them were about to deſtroy themſelves, and throw themſelves down a precipice, ſhould open the road to them, make an eaſy way for them, and ſuffer them to run headlong tho' he could prevent it . . . . (5) The common ſenſe of all men leads them to believe, that he who could have hindered the fall of the firſt man as eaſily as he has permitted it, and who has opened all the ways in which men have gone aſtray, tho' he could have ſhut them ſo eaſily, may be conſidered as author of the evil which he ought to have prevented according to his principles, and the hatred which he bears to evil, and which he could have hindered without the leaſt trouble . . . . (6) It is to no purpoſe to ſay that God, before he had decreed any thing concerning the event, foreſaw that man, placed in theſe circumſtances, would fall, and that all his poſterity would be loſt: this doth not at all leſſen the difficulty. For I could ſtill anſwer: ſince God foreſaw that Adam, placed in thoſe circumſtances, would damn himſelf and an infinite number of millions of men, by his free-will, and yet notwithſtanding placed him in thoſe ſad circumſtances, it is evident that he is the author of all evils . . . . And if we would ſpeak ſincerely, we would confeſs that we can anſwer nothing for God, which can ſilence human reaſon . . . . (7) To conclude, I maintain that there is no ſafe medium betwixt the God of St Auguſtin, the God of Epicurus who was idle, or the God of Ariſtotle who meddled with nothing lower than the ſphere of the Moon. For if we own a general Providence which extends itſelf to all things, in whatever manner we conceive it, the difficulty recurrs, and when we think we have ſhut one gate it comes in at another.”

1705.

Such were the ſentiments of Mr Jurieu in 1686. He ſpeaks in no leſs ſtrong a manner in a piece publiſhed ten years after. “To what a height of blindneſs, ſays he (8), muſt one be arrived to affirm that we ſhould gain our cauſe before the tribunal of reaſon in the matter of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Satisfaction, the ſin of the firſt man, the eternity of puniſhments, and the reſurrection of the body? they who ſay ſo, cannot believe it: I ſhall never be perſuaded that they

ſpeak

(1) Anſwer to the Queſtions of a Country Gentleman, *Tom. iii, chap.* cxxix, *p.* 642, 643.

(2) A Judgment concerning the rigid and looſe methods of explaining Providence and Grace, *p.* 28, *of the Edition in* 1686.

(3) Ibid. *p.* 63, 64.

(4) P. 92, 93.

(5) P. 99.

(6) P. 100, 101.

(7) P. 105.

(8) La Religion d'un Latitudinaire, *p.* 383, 384.

1705. “ ſpeak ſincerely. For all the falſe lights of reaſon rebel againſt theſe myſteries. And
“ theſe falſe lights are of ſuch a nature that there is no diſtinguiſhing them from
“ the true, otherwiſe than by the light of faith.”

This is preciſely and in a few words all that Mr Bayle has put in the mouth of the Manicheans in his Dictionary. All his objections concerning the Origin of Evil are contained in theſe of Mr Jurieu: they all tend to ſhow, that there is no hypotheſis which is able to ſolve the difficulties which our reaſon offers againſt the providence of God with regard to evil, and that conſequently we ought to hold by revelation alone. Things being ſo, Mr Bayle aſks, why Mr Jaquelot never thought of aſſiſting Mr Jurieu in his difficulties, which oppreſs him ſo ſorely that he ſeems to groan under the weight of them; and why he thought himſelf obliged to take up his pen againſt Mr Bayle, ſince he kept ſilence ſo long with regard to Mr Jurieu, who however has ſaid the ſame things?

Mr Bayle next comes to the three principal points which related to him. Mr Jaquelot reproached him with having uſed all his efforts to deſtroy free-will, thereby to give the greater force to his objections; and to ſhow that man was unjuſtly puniſhed for crimes which he was neceſſarily and inevitably obliged to commit. Mr Bayle anſwers that he had neither denied nor affirmed any thing expreſly concerning free-will: that he took care not to engage himſelf in a preliminary queſtion which would for ever keep the principal one in ſuſpence. It is a ſubject ſo embarraſſing and fruitful in diſtinctions and equivocations, that diſputants have endleſs reſources, and that it frequently happens that they fall themſelves into contradictions: and that in fine he allowed him to chooſe whatever hypotheſis he ſhould think fit, and to go as far as Pelagianiſm if he pleaſed, which is almoſt the only poſt wherein we can make uſe of the liberty of indifference to advantage.

Before he touches upon the queſtion concerning the origin of Evil, Mr Bayle obſerves that the queſtion between Mr Jaquelot and him doth not concern any article of Faith, and that they are perfectly agreed in the ſubſtance of the doctrine. The matter in debate here is only whether our reaſon can comprehend the real and effectual agreement which is betwixt the Attributes of God, and the ſyſtem of Predeſtination, and whether it can ſolve the difficulties which conceal that agreement from us, and whether reaſon can not only convince, but likewiſe enlighten our minds upon this ſubject. Mr Jaquelot takes the affirmative with the rational Divines, and Mr Bayle takes the negative agreeably to the hypotheſis of the firſt Reformers, and their followers. He then obſerves what Mr Jaquelot ought to have done in order to ſucceed in his deſign: he ought to have proved that the perfect agreement between the theological doctrine concerning ſin, and a certain number of philoſophical maxims, can be ſhown to our reaſon; and he lays down ſeven theological propoſitions on the one ſide, and nineteen philoſophical maxims on the other, which muſt be reconciled together in order to ſhow the agreement betwixt Faith and Reaſon.

Mr Jaquelot is of opinion, that all the difficulties concerning moral evil may be ſolved by means of free-will, which according to him conſiſts in “ the power which “ man has over his actions, ſo that he doth what he will, becauſe he will do it, “ ſo that if he did not will to do it, he would not do it, and would even do the “ contrary.” A being, ſays he, which is poſſeſſed of this liberty is the moſt excellent, and moſt perfect of all created beings: the power of making a good or bad uſe of his underſtanding, and the command over his actions, are ſurely the things in which man approacheth the neareſt to the Deity: God having formed this univerſe for his glory, that is to ſay, that he might be known in his works, and that he might receive from his creatures that adoration and obedience which is due to him, it was only a free Being that could contribute to this deſign; the adoration of a creature not indowed with liberty could not contribute more to the glory of the Creator, than a machine in human ſhape which ſhould bow down before him by virtue of ſprings, or a ſpeech in his praiſe, pronounced by an automaton. God loves holineſs. But what virtue could there be in this, if man was as neceſſarily determined by his nature to follow good, as the fire is determined to burn? Nothing therefore but a free creature could execute God's deſign. Mr Jaquelot concludes from hence, that although a free creature may abuſe its free-will, yet a free agent is ſomething ſo elevated and ſo noble, that its excellence and value far exceed the worſt conſequences which can flow from the abuſe which he could make of it.

Mr Bayle anſwers, that if Mr Jaquelot's principles be true, the love which God neceſſarily has to virtue would deſerve no praiſe: the holineſs of Saints and Angels would be only a mechanical holineſs, and the Devils would deſerve no blame for their hatred againſt God, ſince it is not in their power to do otherwiſe. He adds, that ſince it is one of the moſt ſublime perfections of God, that he is ſo determined to love what is good, that it implies a contradiction to ſuppoſe that he may not love it; a creature determined to good, would be more conformable to the nature of God, and conſequently more perfect than a creature which has an equal power of loving vice and hating it. Mr Jaquelot ſaid, that the ſtate of the bleſſed was a ſtate of recompence, in which their underſtanding was ſo purified that it always inclined their liberty to good, and never tempted them to evil. That is to ſay, that they ſhould always enjoy free-will, yet notwithſtanding they would never turn aſide to evil. Now ſince he declares that this ſtate is a ſtate of recompence, he muſt conſider it as a more excellent and more perfect ſtate than that in which we live. It was therefore in the power of God to have conſtantly and invariably united in man liberty and the practice of virtue. And in this caſe, all the value that liberty gives to the worſhip and obedience which we pay to God, would be found upon earth as it is in Paradice. Conſequently the glory and holineſs of God have no need of free Beings left to the bad uſe of their liberty, ſince they might be confined to a good uſe of it without being thereby leſs free. Mr Jaquelot would have more reaſon to magnify the advantages and prerogatives of liberty, and to make it be eſteemed the moſt extraordinary favour which a creature can receive, if it had ſerved only to render mankind happy. But God having foreſeen that this wonderful gift would be the inſtrument of mens damnation, he could not beſtow it upon them out of a principle of goodneſs. The preſent was too dangerous, and he would not have raiſed them ſo high, except in order to make their fall the greater. He would have done them a greater favour, if he had recalled a gift which has been ſo fatal to them.

Mr Bayle makes a ſtill ſtronger anſwer to Mr Jaquelot. All Divines agree, and Mr Jaquelot with them, that the operation of Grace doth not in the leaſt prejudice free-will, and that God, who is the maſter of hearts, infallibly directs mens liberty as he pleaſeth, without violating the laws of this liberty. From whence it evidently follows, that God by confirming man in a good choice, and by infallibly directing him to good, doth no prejudice to his free-will, and that by finally preſerving him from ſin, he doth not deprive him of this ſo precious liberty with which he had inveſted him. If it be neceſſary that men ſhould have it in their power to ſin, it is not at all ſo that they ſhould actually ſin, and God can prevent their doing ſo without prejudicing their liberty. Notwithſtanding, God far from diſpoſing man conſtantly to good, conſtitutes him in ſuch a manner, and places him in ſuch circumſtances in which he has foreſeen that he will ſuccumb, and has endowed him with a faculty of which he knew very well that he would make a bad uſe. So that though we allow man even an unlimited liberty the difficulty ſtill recurrs, to wit, whether the permiſſion and foreſight of ſin, are conſiſtent with the goodneſs and holineſs of God. Mr Bayle makes uſe of ſeveral other arguments to prove that whatever ſide we embrace, we can never make uſe of free-will to ſolve the difficulties concerning the origin and conſequences of moral evil; and ſhows that Mr Jaquelot has been obliged to cover himſelf with the ſame intrenchment that the maintainers of Predeſtination make uſe of. He ſhows the terrible conſequences of this anſwer of Mr Jaquelot, to wit, that ſince the permiſſion of ſin was neceſſary to the manifeſtation of God's glory, it was juſt and agreeable to all the divine perfections. He examines Mr Jaquelot's hypotheſis concerning phyſical evil, and the idea which he gives of the eternal pains of hell.

The third point of the diſpute between Mr Bayle and Mr Jaquelot relates to the objections which Pyrrhoniſm may raiſe againſt ſome doctrines of revealed religion. In the *Critical Dictionary* under the article PYRRHO we find the recital of a diſpute between a Pyrrhonian Abbé and a Roman Catholic Abbé. The principle in which they both agree is, that the myſteries of the Church of Rome, the Trinity, the Incarnation, Tranſubſtantiation, the fall of Adam, and original Sin, are doctrines undoubtedly true. From this ſuppoſition, acknowledged by both diſputants, the Pyrrhonian Abbé infers, that evidence is not the certain criterion of truth, ſince there are ſeveral evident propoſitions which are falſe if we admit the truth of myſteries. Mr Jaquelot pretends that Mr Bayle by this wanted to prove that the Trinity and the hypoſtatical union imply a contradiction; and he defends theſe two myſteries by relating what the Divines ſay upon theſe ſubjects. But Mr Bayle ſhows him that he has miſunderſtood the Pyrrhonian Abbé. The deſign of his objections is only to ſhow that theſe doctrines are oppoſite to evident propoſitions, and that they deprive us of the certainty which we found upon evidence. Mr Jaquelot ought to have proved that this is falſe, and ſhewed that this example of the faſhood of evident propoſitions, gives no ground to the Pyrrhonians to diſtruſt propoſitions which appear the moſt clear to us. But he miſtakes the matter, and raiſeth up a phantom in order to fight with it. He takes it to be the ſame thing, to own that the myſteries of the Goſpel ought to be believed though our reaſon cannot comprehend them, and to endeavour to ruin Religion by pretending that it is always contrary to reaſon. Mr Bayle wonders that ſo penetrating a genius has not obſerved that the queſtion was not to explain the difficulties of our myſteries; the objection ſuppoſeth them true, ſince from hence it is concluded that evidence is not the certain criterion of truth. All that Mr Jaquelot had to do was to deſtroy this conſequence.

1705. This diſpute did not hinder Mr Bayle from doing juſtice to Mr Jaquelot's merit. He owned that he had a fine genius, a great deal of penetration, and a lively and perſuaſive ſtile, that he had joined the ſtudy of modern Philoſophy to that of Divinity, and had ſignalized himſelf in works of reaſoning.

Mr Bayle likewiſe defended the anſwer which he had made in his Dictionary to Mr le Clerc's Origeniſt. The latter had given ſome new explanations in his Reply (1), to ſhow that the ſyſtem of the Origeniſt takes away the difficulties of the Manichean, who maintained that it was impoſſible to reconcile the permiſſion and conſequences of ſin with the ideal or ſovereignly perfect goodneſs of God. In order to prove this Mr le Clerc obſerved,

I. That God, who produced man from nothing, was not obliged to create him ſo perfect that it ſhould be impoſſible for him to deviate from his duty; that it is a great proof of his goodneſs that he gave him the means of being happy by obſerving the rules preſcribed to him, without being under any neceſſity of violating them.

II. That they exaggerate the damage which liberty has done to men, and which they might have avoided, if he who created them had made them of ſuch a nature that they could not have departed from their duty.

III. That in order to prevent the bad uſe which man might make of his liberty, and to guide him to happineſs, the divine goodneſs has been pleaſed to propoſe to him eternal rewards, and unlimited puniſhments in the Goſpel: and that it is his own fault if he doth not avoid thoſe puniſhments and obtain theſe rewards.

IV. God knew what would come to paſs; but he was not obliged to make uſe of his almighty power, in order to prevent the evil which he foreſaw would happen by the fault of man, becauſe this evil is of a very ſhort duration in itſelf, and in all its conſequences, and occaſions no diſorder in the univerſe which God is not able to redreſs in a moment, and which he doth not at laſt redreſs for all eternity.

V. The inconvenience of paſſing through evil before the enjoyment of all the effects of the divine bounty, proceeds from the nature of man, which could not exiſt in the degree of imperfection where it is placed, without being liable to what has happened.

VI. God who foreſaw that man would fall, doth not damn him becauſe he falls, but only becauſe having it in his power to riſe again, he doth not riſe, that is to ſay, he freely retains his bad habits to the end of his life.

VII. That this is already a very conſiderable degree of mercy, ſince no body is damned except for his own fault, and that it is in our power to take advantage of this goodneſs of God, to amend our faults, and avoid the pains of a future ſtate.

VIII. God has beſtowed many other marks of his goodneſs upon men. He has endowed them with a thouſand excellent qualities; and ſurrounded them with a thouſand ſenſible goods, which they taſte with a great deal of pleaſure, which make them in love with life; he hath put it in their power to make themſelves happy after death, and he gives without delay eternal happineſs to thoſe who repent of their faults, and is ſatisfied by making the impenitent paſs through moderate puniſhments, before he puts them in poſſeſſion of eternal happineſs.

IX. God has conſidered the miſeries of mankind as nothing, in compariſon of the happineſs which he deſigns to beſtow upon them. The duration of the evils which they ſuffer here below, and in the other world, are nothing when compared to eternity. If the Manichean ſhould ſay, that, according to this principle, a certain number of ages, how great ſoever we ſuppoſe it, not having any proportion to infinite duration, torments for many millions of years may be as conſiſtent with the ideas of goodneſs, and would be as nothing, no leſs than thoſe which ſhould continue only one day: the Origeniſt will anſwer that ſince there is no proportion betwixt finite and infinite, however long you ſuppoſe the torments of a creature, ſince they are to have an end, neither will there be any proportion betwixt God's ſeverity and his goodneſs. He will add, that he doth not determine the length of the puniſhments; they ſhall be longer or ſhorter as juſtice ſhall require. The duration of puniſhments ſhall be ſhorter when they are more ſevere; and there ſhall be as great a variety of puniſhments, as there hath been of ſins. That the arguments againſt puniſhments for ſeveral ages, do not concern the Origeniſt; becauſe he is not of opinion that they ſhall continue ſo long, though he cannot preciſely determine their duration.

X. What has been ſaid above may be equally applied to moral and phyſical evil, or to the vices and to the ſufferings of men.

Mr Bayle anſwered (2).

I. That the principle which they lay down, to wit, that it is not contrary to the ideas of goodneſs that one creature ſhould be more perfect than another, is very true; and therefore that men have no reaſon to complain that they want that perfection which conſiſts in not departing from ones duty. But neither is this the foundation of the objections. They are founded on this, that God has permitted that they ſhould actually depart from their duty; and that they ſhould actually feel the evils of which their nature was created ſuſceptible. This, ſays he,

(1) Bibliotheque choiſie, *Tom. vii. art. viii, p.* 330, *and the following.*

(2) An Anſwer to the Queſtions of a Country Gentleman, *Tom. iii. ch. clxxii, and the following.*

he, is what doth not appear agreeable to the ideas of goodneſs, even granting what the Origeniſt remarks, that if men obſerved the rules which God has preſcribed to them, and which he is under no unſurmountable neceſſity of violating, he ſhould be happy. We cannot conceive that the goodneſs of a father is ſuch as it ought to be, when he makes the happineſs of his children depend upon a condition which he knows very well that they will not fulfil, and which he permits them not to fulfil, though he could eaſily procure them ſure and infallible means of fulfilling it.

II. The objection is not founded on man's not being immutably determined to good. A creature is eſſentially mutable, and ſo it would be abſurd to aſk why it was not immutable. The queſtion is only, why he was permitted to turn to evil? The conſequence from the act to the power is neceſſary, but from the power to the act is not at all ſo. The diſpute therefore doth not turn upon the poſſibility of change, but upon the actual change from good to evil. Now God could hinder this without doing any prejudice to free-will. It may be ſaid that God was not obliged to prevent it: but by this the ſtate of the queſtion is changed; for when the Orthodox undertake to ſatisfy the difficulties of the Manicheans, the queſtion is not always concerning God conſidered as juſt; but frequently concerning God conſidered as good. So that though God conſidered as juſt, is not obliged to give his creatures any thing but what he has promiſed them by way of reward, he is obliged, conſidered as good, to make them uſeful preſents, that is to ſay, it is of the eſſence of goodneſs to give good gifts. It is not beſtowing a good preſent, to give a thing which one knows will be fatal to the perſon who ſhall receive it.

III. God knew that his promiſes and threats would not hinder men to damn themſelves, and that a hundred other aſſiſtances, which he doth not beſtow upon them, would have conducted them to happineſs, without prejudice to their free-will. How can we reconcile ſuch a foreſight with the ideas of goodneſs? Is it not very evident that a real benefactor chooſeth the moſt ſure means which he knows, and ſlights thoſe which he knows to be uſeleſs?

IV. Would any body praiſe the goodneſs of a Prince who ſhould ſuffer diſorders to reign in his dominions, becauſe at laſt he could apply a remedy to it? Is it poſſible not to obſerve that ſuch a Prince would then apply a remedy not only to the faults of his ſubjects but to his own, and that he had at leaſt for ſome time ceaſed to be good, ſo that we might find in him a viciſſitude of goodneſs and wickedneſs?

V. Our nature was made ſubject to ſin, this is certain; but doth it follow from hence that it was neceſſary that we ſhould ſin? Not at all. The goodneſs of God was therefore at entire liberty not to permit Adam, who was ſubject to ſin, to ſin actually; and it is in vain to inſinuate that God would have acted contrary to the nature of things, if he had freed men from an inconvenience to which they are ſubject, that is to ſay, into which it was poſſible they might fall. But was it not likewiſe poſſible that they ſhould not fall into it?

VI. One doth not leſs will a thing when he renders the event of it infallible, than when he renders it neceſſary. Now the cauſes of the damnation of the reprobate, and conſequently their damnation was rendered infallible, ſince they were placed in conjunctures in which God foreſaw that they would ſin during their whole lives, and in which he had decreed not to give them any aſſiſtance. He therefore created them for ſin, and for the pains of hell; and if this objection be ſtrong againſt the Predeſtinarians, it muſt likewiſe be ſo againſt an Origeniſt.

VII. That it is a conſiderable degree of mercy, to ſee a man abuſe his free-will for fifty or ſixty years, without any aſſiſtance from Grace, when it is known that this abuſe will damn him, is what the ideas of our reaſon do not ſhow us. They ſhow us in the moſt evident manner, that goodneſs inclines to aſſiſt not only thoſe who have not ſufficient ſtrength to free themſelves from danger, but likewiſe thoſe who having the neceſſary ſtrength and ſkill, do not make uſe of it.

VIII. The pleaſures of this life are mixed with ſo many miſeries, that they cannot come up fully to the character of ideal goodneſs. As to that innumerable multitude of impenitents, who after a rigorous purgatory paſs to the abode of the bleſſed, we cannot in their lot ſee the marks of ideal goodneſs. Here is a repreſentation of the conduct which Origen attributes to God. A Prince deſigns to make a Gentleman his favourite. He finds him ſubject to great faults, he has infallible means of correcting them, yet doth not make uſe of them. He contents himſelf with making uſe of promiſes and threats, which he knows will produce no good effect. The young man is hurried along by his wicked inclinations, notwithſtanding the promiſes and threatnings of his Prince, he is baniſhed, and very ſeverely puniſhed, but at laſt he is called back to Court, and for the remainder of his life he enjoys the place of favourite. Can ſuch a Prince be ſaid to be eminently good? If we love any perſon, if we are good to him, we ſave him, as much as we are able, from the misfortune of committing faults, eſpecially when they are to be followed by puniſhment; and the only manner of juſtifying people who expoſe their friends to any trouble or puniſhment is, that they cannot by any other means correct their vices. But this is not the preſent caſe, ſince we ſuppoſe a King who has effectual means of correcting this Gentle-

1705. man's faults, and yet inſtead of making uſe of them, has recourſe to methods which he knows will be to no purpoſe.

IX. The bounds which are ſet to the duration of the pains of the next life, the degrees and varieties which are ſuppoſed to be in them, are all very proper to prove that the marks of God's goodneſs are infinitely more apparent in the condition of men than the marks of his hatred, and that they have incomparably more reaſon to praiſe the bounty of their Creator, than to complain of his ſeverity. Yet notwithſtanding, infinite goodneſs, which ought to be pure without the leaſt mixture of the contrary quality, ideal goodneſs, in a word, doth not appear in the hypotheſis of Origen: it eſcapes us even tho' we ſoften it after that manner. Would a father who has a moderate love for his children, deſire that the great eſtabliſhments which he deſigns for them, ſhould be preceded by a permiſſion of committing faults, and by a puniſhment of theſe faults, tho' only for ſome days? Would he deſire this, if he could render them equally happy without this preliminary? Few people would deſire to buy the favour of a Prince, at the price of being put to the torture three times a week for ſix months. We ought not to imagine that the torments of hell are ſmall, under pretence that they continue poſſibly only fifty or ſixty years. This term, it is true, is nothing in compariſon of eternity. But it is of a frightful length with regard to human ſenſibility. If one ſhould ſay to a perſon afflicted with the Gout, “ the horrible pains which you ſuffer, ſhall only laſt “ fifty days together, and after that you ſhall enjoy health for fifty years,” he would make him quite deſperate.

X. What the Origeniſt has replied, cannot be equally applied to moral and phyſical evil. Our ideas do not diſcover any equality betwixt theſe two ſorts of evils: they judge a father incomparably more to blame, who doth not hinder his children, when it is in his power, from committing a crime, than a father who allows them to eat what may be prejudicial to their health.

Some perſons of Quality in England had uſed all their efforts to draw Mr Bayle out of his ſolitude and to bring him over to England. They deſired that he would live with them as a friend, that they might have the benefit of his hours of recreation. I ſhall only name the Earl of Huntington, who together with a great deal of learning was poſſeſſed of all the accompliſhments of a gentleman (1). He offered him a yearly penſion of two hundred pounds ſterling for life, with all the liberty and conveniencies which he could wiſh for. He was likewiſe invited to the Hague. 1706. The Earl of Albemarle paſſionately deſired that he would come and live with him (2). Baron Walef went to Rotterdam to propoſe it to him, and redoubled his inſtances in a letter which he wrote to him. “ If your friends (ſays he (3), en- “ deavour to perſuade you to refuſe the propoſition which I have had the honour to “ make to you, their friendſhip muſt needs be intereſted, and they can have no “ other motive in doing ſo, but their deſire of poſſeſſing you at Rotterdam. Have “ not you ſufficiently honoured that City with your preſence, and has not the Metro- “ polis of Holland, with all its advantages, a right to invite you to prefer it to a place “ deſigned for commerce? I will not mention here the great eſteem which every body “ has for you, nor the regard they will pay to your merit. I know your indifference on “ this head. But together with the friendſhip of a noble Lord who has an infinite eſteem “ for you, you will find libraries and walks proper to nouriſh, and agreeably to en- “ tertain your Philoſophy. Allow me, Sir, to make uſe of your own arms. You “ have with your ordinary eloquence ſhown how much a man of Letters ought to pre- “ fer an abode in a metropolis to that of inferior towns (4). Either renounce your “ own ſentiments, or grant us the favour which we deſire of you. I will not “ repeat what my Lord Albemarle has deſired me to ſay to you. You will find “ in his family a life more agreeable than I can deſcribe to you. As much as you “ excel other men by your profound knowledge, and the ſublimity of your genius, “ ſo much he excels by his generous and beneficent mind, by his probity, by that “ equality of temper, which is one of the greateſt charms in life, and which is ſo “ rarely to be met with among the Great. . . . . . Preſerve, on account of your friends, “ a health which you ſpare ſo little with regard to yourſelf, and prevent in a calm and “ certain retreat the infirmities inſeparable from an old age ſo worthy of reſpect as “ yours is.” My Lord Albemarle likewiſe wrote to him, and confirmed all that Baron Walef had told him by his direction. “ I wiſh with all my heart (ſaid “ he (5), that I could find ſome expreſſion able to perſuade you to grant me the “ favour I deſire of you. I will endeavour to live with you in ſuch a manner that “ you ſhall not repent the choice which you ſhall make, by leaving you a full “ liberty without the leaſt conſtraint, as much as you can poſſibly enjoy at preſent. “ This you may depend upon.”

Mr Bayle anſwered Baron Walef, that it was very unhappy for him that his preſent ſituation was ſuch as neceſſarily obliged him to continue in it. “ Providence (adds “ he (6), orders the deſtiny of ſome perſons in ſuch a manner, that when they “ would be glad to enjoy a certain happineſs, it doth not preſent itſelf to them, “ and when it preſents itſelf, they are no longer in a capacity of enjoying it. This “ is my fate. I conſider myſelf as a worn out old man, my conſtitution is ſo weak, “ that I cannot eſcape being ſick or very much indiſpoſed, if I depart in the leaſt

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(1) *This Nobleman died young and unmarried March 2, 1705.*

(2) *He propoſed to entruſt him with the education of his ſon, when he ſhould be of an age to profit by his inſtructions.*

(3) *Letter February 9, 1706, p. 1065.*

(4) *See the* Anſwer to the Queſtions of a Country Gentleman, *Tom. i, chap. i.*

(5) *Letter February 11, 1706, p. 1067.*

(6) *Letter February 12, 1706, p. 1068, 1069.*

“ from a regularity of life, which a long habit has made neceſſary to me. I have 1706.
“ not adviſed with any of my friends; for, in examining by myſelf, the reaſons which “ I had the honour to repreſent to you, and which you oppoſed with all the wit “ and eloquence imaginable; I have found it too certain, that removing from “ hence will not be at all proper for me . . . . Good fortune comes to me too late. “ If ſhe had offered herſelf ſooner, ſhe would have made me the moſt contented man “ in the world: I would with all imaginable ſatisfaction have complied with the “ reaſons which perſuade me that living in a metropolis is advantageous to a man of “ Letters. Would to God that about the year 1690, or a little before or after, ſo “ agreeable and honourable an offer as my Lord Albemarle has been pleaſed to make “ me, had come in my way! This would have been the height of my wiſhes, and “ the ſure means of obtaining much knowledge, and many degrees of wit, and abi- “ lities which I want, and which I ſhall never enjoy.” Mr Bayle wrote to the Earl of Albemarle at the ſame time to thank him for the honour he was pleaſed to deſign for him, but we have not been able to recover this letter.

Mr le Clerc flattered himſelf that Mr Bayle would acknowledge that his Origeniſt had taken away all the difficulties of the Manichean, but ſeeing him perſiſt in maintaining the contrary, he concluded from thence that Mr Bayle had pleaded his own cauſe, and intitled his anſwer, *A Defence of the Goodneſs and Holineſs of God, againſt the Objections of Mr Bayle* (1). “ When (ſays he (2), I read the objections made “ by Mr Bayle in the firſt edition of his Critical Dictionary, againſt the goodneſs “ and holineſs of God, and which he maintains no Chriſtian Divine can anſwer; I “ believed it only a ſort of trial of wit, and that he had for his diverſion cut “ out a little work for our Divines . . . . I continued in this opinion, until I had “ ſeen the laſt two volumes of his *Anſwer to a Country Gentleman*, wherein he ſeriouſly “ maintains the cauſe of the Manicheans againſt the goodneſs of God . . . . . . (3) But “ ſince he thinks himſelf bound in honour to maintain a Theſis oppoſite to the whole “ Chriſtian world, which he defies methinks in a very odious and very inſulting man- “ ner; he will be pleaſed to excuſe us, if, in our turn, we maintain a Theſis, which not “ only honour, but likewiſe the love of truth and conſcience obliges us to defend. I “ flattered myſelf, that poſſibly he would of himſelf acknowledge the goodneſs and “ holineſs of the conduct of God, after the opportunity which I had given him of “ getting out of this ugly affair without hurt to his reputation; by owning that he “ was convinced, and making an end of the diſpute by thanking thoſe who had re- “ moved his difficulties, as is the cuſtom in the Divinity and Philoſophy ſchools. But “ as he has done quite the contrary, and pretends that we have not ſolidly anſwered “ him; it is neceſſary to let him ſee that we are not afraid of his arguments, and that “ we, without ſparing him any longer, ſhow how ridiculous they are.”

Mr le Clerc having thus aſſumed the character of Defender of Religion, attacked by Mr Bayle, begins by recapitulating the whole diſpute; and, laying aſide the perſon of an Origeniſt, anſwers Mr Bayle's difficulties in his own name. He declares that he has no other Confeſſion of Faith but the New Teſtament, and that this is the only book which he thinks himſelf bound to defend. But as the ſtrongeſt objection of the Manicheans is founded upon the eternity of puniſhments, which ſeems ſo clearly revealed in the Goſpel; after having rejected the opinion of Origen he lays down his own. “ For my part (ſays he (4), I would anſwer that we are not well ac- “ quainted with the nature of the torments of the next life, that we do not know “ whether at firſt there may not be divers very ſenſible puniſhments, differing not- “ withſtanding according to the greatneſs of ſins, and whether God putting an “ end to theſe violent puniſhments, will not be ſatisfied to deliver over thoſe who “ have obſtinately abuſed his grace, to the remorſe of their own conſciences, which “ will reproach them with their faults, and will add to their grief by the reflexion “ that they have loſt a happineſs which they ſhall know that others enjoy. This “ poſſibly will be *the worm which never dieth, and the fire which is never quenched.* “ And in this I do not ſee that there is any thing but what is moſt juſt. Sinners “ might have avoided theſe puniſhments by repentance, and yet they have neglected “ to do it. They deſerve ſome puniſhment on this account.” Mr le Clerc determines nothing concerning the duration or the circumſtances of theſe puniſhments: he nevertheleſs ſays, that probably the condition of the condemned will be tolerable. But he doth not pretend to advance all theſe conjectures as certain and evangelical doctrine, he only means to ſhow that we may find a very reaſonable ſenſe in the words of JESUS CHRIST relating to the pains of the next life. He adds that others may poſſibly be more happy in their conjectures, yet in the mean while he is perſuaded that there is nothing in the conduct which he attributes to God, inconſiſtent with his infinite goodneſs; but that if there be any thing in what he has advanced which is unworthy of the juſtice and goodneſs of God, he is very certain that God will not do it. This is (continues he), what I called reaſoning infinitely better than Origen, for Origen aſſures us of what he knows nothing of, as if he knew it, when he affirms that the pains of the damned ſhall not be eternal. However he looks upon Origen's opinion as tolerable, and infinitely better (ſays he) than the ſide Mr Bayle chooſes, by departing from it to accuſe God of being neither good nor holy.

(1) Défenſe de la Bonté & de la Sainteté divine, contre les Objections de Mr Bayle.

(2) Bibliotheque Choiſie, *Tom. ix, Art. iii, p.* 103, *and the following*.

(3) Ibid. *p.* 106, 107.

(4) Ibid. *p.* 143.

1706. He endeavours next to ſhow that Reaſon cannot deceive us, if we make a right uſe of it; that it ſerves to prove the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, and to make us underſtand the ſenſe of the Holy Scripture: that there are in Divinity, as well as in Philoſophy, ſeveral things which reaſon cannot comprehend, but theſe things are never contrary to reaſon, and we ought not to reject them becauſe we do not comprehend them: that therefore we ought never to oppoſe the light of Revelation to the light of Reaſon, nor ſuppoſe that they may contradict one another, unleſs we reject either the one or the other, and unleſs we throw ourſelves headlong into Pyrrhoniſm, ſince truth cannot be contrary to itſelf: from hence he concludes, that Mr Bayle, who maintains that we ought to renounce our common notions of goodneſs and holineſs, cannot, if he reaſons conſequentially, believe that God is good and holy; and that he doth not ſacrifice his reaſon to faith, but deſtroys reaſon by itſelf, and involves Revelation in the ſame fate, while he endeavours to ſkreen himſelf by pretending to humble his reaſon, ſpeaking in the ſtile of the vulgar Divines, whom he ridicules.

In anſwer to Mr le Clerc, Mr Bayle publiſhed a piece intitled *An Anſwer for Mr Bayle, to the III and XIII articles of the IX volume of the Bibliotheque choiſie* (1). “I eaſily believed, (ſays he (2), that Mr le Clerc would be out of humour upon the defeat of his Origeniſt, and of the plaſtic natures, but I did not imagine that he would be enraged to ſuch a degree, as not to reflect upon the irregularity of the conduct which he ſhould chooſe. It is not therefore without ſurpriſe that I have obſerved the manner of revenging himſelf, which he has thought fit to take; but inſtead of being angry with him, I have had a real compaſſion for him on this account. One cannot without pity ſee a man, who enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of glory in the Republic of Letters, ſo touched with ſo trifling a check. He ought to have comforted himſelf by reflecting upon his other exploits, in which he has had better ſucceſs, or at leaſt not to have abandoned himſelf to ſuch a chagrin, as ſhould make him declaim in a manner altogether unworthy of a man of honour and good ſenſe. He has pretended to dive into Mr Bayle's heart, he has accuſed him of horrible deſigns, he has repeated his accuſations a hundred times over, ſtill in a looſe manner, ſtill without the leaſt ſhadow of proof, ſtill without regard to the clear and diſtinct declarations, which are to be found in a thouſand places of Mr Bayle's writings.” He obſerves, that the Republic of Letters would be a perfect anarchy, if it were allowed to attack our adverſaries under pretence that they conceal bad deſigns in the bottom of their hearts; and he adds, that this conduct doth not at all become Mr le Clerc, who has ſo well deſcribed thoſe who in order to render their adverſaries odious, cloak themſelves under the pretence of the intereſt of religion. “Doth it become him, after this, (ſays he (3), to declaim as he has done againſt Mr Bayle, juſt when he ſaw that he could no longer ſuſtain the ſhock in the lawful methods of diſpute? Doth it become him to give himſelf airs of being eaten up with zeal for the houſe of God? This zeal which has come ſo late, would never have appeared, if Mr Bayle had renounced his remark upon Dr Cudworth, and if he had not refuted the reaſons of the Origeniſt.” He oppoſeth to this conduct of Mr le Clerc, the complaints which he had formerly made againſt thoſe who accuſed Grotius of favouring Socinianiſm, becauſe he gave to ſome paſſages of ſcripture a ſenſe different from that of the common orthodox writers of controverſy, and who from thence had concluded that he deſigned to ſap the foundations of Chriſtianity. “No body (ſaid he (4), cried out with more vehemence againſt ſuch accuſations than Mr le Clerc. With how good a grace therefore doth he now ſay, that Mr Bayle writes an apology for Atheiſts, and intends to deſtroy religion? Is this pretended apology any thing elſe than his having rejected a bad argument?” He adds, that Mr le Clerc has been obliged ſeveral times to defend himſelf againſt the accuſation of Socinianiſm, with which he continues ſtill charged.

Mr Bayle afterwards lays down the ſubſtance of his doctrine on the ſubject in queſtion, and reduces it to theſe three propoſitions (5):

“I. The light of Nature and Revelation teach us clearly that there is only one principle of all things, and that this principle is infinitely perfect.

“II. The manner of reconciling the moral and phyſical evils of man, with all the attributes of this ſole infinitely perfect principle of all things, ſurpaſſeth the light of Philoſophy; ſo that the Manichean objections leave difficulties which human reaſon cannot ſolve.

“III. Notwithſtanding of this, we ought firmly to believe what the light of Nature and Revelation teach us concerning the unity and infinite perfection of God, as we believe by faith, and in ſubmiſſion to the divine authority, the Myſtery of the Trinity, the Incarnation, &c.

Mr Bayle adds, that he will without all doubt be thought orthodox in the firſt and third propoſitions; and that if he be attacked on the ſecond, Luther and Calvin, and the whole body of the Proteſtant churches, and even almoſt the whole Chriſtian world, muſt be attacked at the ſame time. He is perſuaded that no body will ever be able to prove, that theſe three propoſitions are not what he has conſtantly taught in his writings, or prove that if he has eſtabliſhed them in ſome paſſages, he has maintained propoſitions contrary to them in ſome others.

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(1) Réponſe pour Mr Bayle au ſujet du III & du XIII articles du IX Tome de la Bibliotheque choiſie. *This piece is dated* April 25, 1706.

(2) Réponſe pour Mr Bayle, *p.* 1.

(3) *Ibid. pag.* 5.

(4) *Ibid. pag.* 7.

(5) *Ibid. pag.* 18.

He next makes ſome general Remarks on the dogmatical part of Mr le Clerc's piece, not being willing to enter into a more minute criticiſm which would have led him too far. “I will ſuppreſs (ſays he (1), a great many remarks which would ſhow where Mr le Clerc has miſunderſtood me, where he diſguiſeth the ſtate of the queſtion, where he complains, without reaſon, that I have not underſtood him, where he diſcovers chimerical contradictions, where he takes the liberty of diſtinguiſhing into two ſpecies where there is but one, where he ſuppreſſeth what is inconvenient for him, and adds what is convenient, &c.” Mr le Clerc charged Mr Bayle with *accuſing God of being neither good nor holy*. “What horrible calumny! (cries Mr Bayle (2), what malicious impoſture! or at leaſt what want of diſcernment! but who will be perſuaded that ſo learned a man as Mr le Clerc has erred through ſtupidity, and by not being able to diſtinguiſh here betwixt two things evidently different? the one is to ſay that God is infinitely good and holy, though our reaſon doth not know the manner in which this goodneſs and holineſs is reconcilable with the miſery and ſins of men; Mr Bayle has ſaid no more than this; the other is to accuſe God of being neither good nor holy; Mr Bayle has never done any thing like this.”

Mr Bayle doth not meddle with Origeniſm, he pretends that Mr le Clerc hath ſaid nothing new on this ſubject, and that he has made no reply to the reaſons of his adverſary; ſo that they remain in all their force, and it is ſufficient to deſire the reader to compare the pieces on both ſides to be convinced of this. Neither doth he regard what Mr le Clerc had ſaid concerning the excellence and uſe of Reaſon. He only obſerves that the reſult of the Manichean controverſy, which we have recited, was always that we ought from thence to infer the neceſſity of captivating our underſtanding under the authority of God; and that this is a principle common to all Chriſtians who admit the myſtery of the Trinity, and certain others. “Mr le Clerc (adds he (3), propoſeth ſeveral difficulties againſt this, as if the moſt frightful Pyrrhoniſm were inevitable, in caſe revealed truths were not conformable to our common notions. All that I have to ſay againſt this is, that the Unitarians have of a long time made theſe objections, and the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans, and the Reformed have refuted them.” He defies Mr le Clerc to dare to ſay, that he himſelf has not departed from our common notions, by acknowledging in the Deity three perſons really diſtinct, coëſſential, and conſubſtantial, and conſequently that it is his buſineſs to anſwer the difficulties which he propoſeth againſt the common principle of Divines, to the confirmation of which Mr Bayle has made the whole preſent diſpute ſubſervient.

Mr Bayle draws a parallel betwixt his opinion and that of Mr le Clerc, to the end that all the world (ſays he (4), may judge whether Mr le Clerc had cauſe to intitle his Reply, *A Defence of the Goodneſs and Holineſs of God, againſt Mr Bayle's objections*. He makes a ſuppoſition that Mr le Clerc and he are diſputing with a diſciple of Zoroaſter about the unity of the principle of all things. Mr Bayle (ſays he) ſhall begin the attack, and force the enemy in all his entrenchments. But the difficulty doth not lie there: the queſtion is how to reſiſt the Zoroaſtrian when he ſhall attack in his turn, and ſhall labour to prove that ſin and its conſequences are not conſiſtent with the idea of one infinitely perfect and holy Being. Mr Bayle will ſtop him ſhort at once, by declaring that he doth not admit our ideas of goodneſs and holineſs in general, as the rule of the goodneſs and holineſs of God: and by oppoſing his ſyſtem to him, which is conformable to the principles of the moſt orthodox Divines, he will defend with ſucceſs the following Theſis: “God is infinitely good and holy, though our knowledge is too confined to be able to reconcile his goodneſs and holineſs with the miſeries and crimes of mankind in this life, and with the crimes and eternal torments of the greater part of mankind in the life to come”. But Mr le Clerc, who will grant to his adverſary that the common notions, that is to ſay, the ideas which we have of goodneſs and holineſs in general, ought to ſerve us for a rule whereby to judge of the goodneſs and holineſs of God, will be obliged to depart from the opinion of other Chriſtians, at firſt by denying, with Origen the eternity of hell torments; and not finding even this poſt tenable, he will be forced to betake himſelf to conjectures, and reduce the goodneſs and holineſs of God to a problem, the ſolution of which we ſhall only learn in the other world. Upon this Mr Bayle obſerves that Mr le Clerc has fallen preciſely into the caſe on which he founded his accuſation. For according to him Mr Bayle's great crime is, that he believes that no Chriſtian ſyſtem can ſolve the objections of the Manicheans againſt the goodneſs and holineſs of God: now Mr le Clerc is perſuaded of the ſame thing, ſince on the ſubject of the eternity of puniſhments, he abandons all the ſyſtems of Chriſtians, and even that of Origen, and only intrencheth himſelf in *may be's* and probabilities. From hence it follows that according to Mr le Clerc there is no Chriſtian ſyſtem which can ſolve the objections of Manicheiſm againſt the goodneſs and holineſs of God: “This nevertheleſs (adds he (5), is the ſole foundation of his accuſation againſt Mr Bayle: he has therefore wounded himſelf by the ſtroke which he aimed at him. He has from this ground of accuſation drawn ſeveral falſe conſequences, I mean the calumnies which he has raiſed againſt

“Mr Bayle.

(1) *Ibid. pag.* 20.

(2) *Ibid. pag.* 22.

(3) *Ibid. pag.* 29.

(4) *Ibid. pag.* 40, *and the following*.

(5) *Ibid. p.* 68.

1706. “ Mr Bayle. He has ſaid that they who maintain that we cannot anſwer the Manichean objections, attack the goodneſs and holineſs of God, and accuſe him of being neither good nor holy, and that they cannot be admitted to profeſs that they believe him both good and holy, for having no reaſon to believe him ſo, they fall into a manifeſt contradiction &c. Theſe conſequences, and all the reſt which I do not particularize here, fall equally upon the accuſer and the accuſed. This can admit of no diſpute.”

Mr Bayle, to put an end to this debate, offered (1) to Mr le Clerc that he would ſubmit to the deciſion of the Faculties of Divinity at Leyden, Utrecht, Franeker, Groningen &c. He propoſeth to him to draw up a Petition to be preſented to theſe Faculties, in which he ſhould ſpecify the puniſhment which he deſired they would inflict upon the perſon who ſhould loſe his cauſe. That Mr Bayle ſhould ſign that petition jointly with him, and that Mr le Clerc ſhould join to it ſuch propoſitions as he ſhall draw out of Mr Bayle's writings, and that he ſhould communicate them to him, and that in caſe they are to be found in ſo many words in his works, and without any eſſential mutilation, he will ſubſcribe them. The Faculties of Theology will know by this petition and thoſe extracts, that what is deſired of them is that they may be pleaſed to determine the following queſtion: *Are the propoſitions extracted from Mr Bayle's books, good proofs of Mr le Clerc's accuſation againſt him? Mr le Clerc pretends that they are, and Mr Bayle denies it, and likewiſe maintains that they contain nothing contrary to the Confeſſions of Faith of the Reformed Churches in France and the Low-Countries.* But as Mr le Clerc, adds he, declares that before he examined the ſecond and third volumes of the *Anſwer to a Country Gentleman*, he conſidered Mr Bayle's objections as a trial of wit only, and that they did not prevent his believing him orthodox; Mr Bayle is of opinion that in order to leſſen the trouble of theſe Profeſſors, it will be ſufficient if the Faculties of Divinity ſhall take the trouble of examining thoſe two volumes. It would likewiſe (adds he) take away the greateſt part of their trouble, if Mr le Clerc would mark the pages from whence he ſhall extract his propoſitions, and if Mr Bayle would likewiſe mark the pages omitted by his accuſer, the knowledge of which he ſhall think neceſſary to inform his judges more fully of the ſtate of the queſtion.

Mr Bayle's enemies were not content to repreſent him as a man who endeavoured to deſtroy Religion, they ſtrove to make him paſs for an enemy to the State. This was to imitate Mr Jurieu pretty exactly. But as Mr Bayle's ſentiments were too well known in Holland, for ſuch an accuſation to make any impreſſion upon reaſonable people, his enemies thought it would be better to endeavour to ruin him in England, where they expected to find leſs difficulty. They left no means uneſſayed to prejudice the Earl of Shaftſbury againſt him. But they were diſappointed in their attempts upon this noble Lord: he was too well acquainted with Mr Bayle, with whom he had entertained a cloſe friendſhip, during the ſtay which he had made at Rotterdam. He perceived the motives of this accuſation, and diverted himſelf with it among his friends. They wrote likewiſe to the Earl of Sunderland, aſſuring him that Mr Bayle had conferences with the Marquis d'Allegre, a priſoner of war, when he paſſed through Holland on his way to England. They added, that Mr Bayle ſpread every where principles favourable to Monarchy and abſolute Power, that he continually extolled the grandeur of France, and talked contemptibly of the power of the Allies, and of the great actions of their Generals &c. My Lord Sunderland being of a warm and impetuous temper, and having as great an averſion to the principles which they attributed to Mr Bayle, as he had a paſſion for the humbling of France, and the glory of the Engliſh General, never ſpoke of Mr Bayle without tranſports of indignation and wrath. I endeavoured to undeceive him, but without ſucceſs, his prejudices were too ſtrong. I own this alarmed me. I was afraid leaſt he ſhould perſuade the Court to complain to the States of Holland, who conſidering the ſituation of affairs at this time, could refuſe nothing to England; and leaſt upon ſuch powerful repreſentations they ſhould order Mr Bayle, a perſon without great intereſt, to depart out of the Seventeen Provinces. This in all appearance was what his enemies aimed at. I had recourſe to my Lord Shaftſbury, and acquained him with Mr Bayle's danger. This Lord promiſed to ſpeak to my Lord Sunderland, but at the ſame time told me, that it were to be wiſhed that to ſtop the mouths of his enemies, Mr Bayle ſhould take occaſion in ſome of his works to mention the ſucceſs of the arms of the Allies, which were principally owing to the activity of the Engliſh Miniſtry, and the conduct of the Engliſh General. He added, that this might be done without affectation, and without departing from the character of an hiſtorian, and ſignified to me that I would oblige him by inſinuating this to Mr Bayle as from myſelf.

I thought myſelf bound to acquaint Mr Bayle with what had paſſed, and with the converſation which I had had with my Lord Shafteſbury. He anſwered me (2), that Dr Sylveſtre had before informed him that my Lord Sunderland was out of humour with him on account of pretended conferences which he had with the Marquis d'Allegre: but that this was *the moſt notorious falſhood that could be imagined.* As to the other ground of accuſation, which was the chief cauſe of my Lord Sunderland's diſpleaſure,

(1) *Ibid. pag.* 72, *and the following.*

(2) *Letter July* 23, 1706, *p.* 1096, *and the following.*

pleaſure, Mr Bayle ſaid, “ that he defied his moſt inveterate enemies to find in his works “ the leaſt ſhadow of affectation of ſpeaking advantageouſly of the King of France, his “ Miniſters or Generals, or to the prejudice of the Allies : for (adds he) we muſt not “ reckon here the Thoughts concerning Comets, a book which as I have advertiſed “ before the third edition, was compoſed with a deſign to be printed at Paris, &c. “ It is well known that the Abbé Renaudot alledged this amongſt other reaſons to “ hinder my Dictionary from paſſing into France, that it contained things againſt “ the State.” Mr Bayle by no means approved the advice which had been given him, as the moſt proper to deſtroy his enemies calumnies. Being incapable of flattering on views of intereſt or even of praiſing unſeaſonably, he conſidered what was propoſed to him in that light, and declared that ſuch a conduct was very unſuitable to him. “ However (ſays he), the plan which you lay down for me as “ what would diſarm my enemies, is the advice of a good friend, and I return you “ moſt hearty thanks for it, but I find it impoſſible for me to comply with it. It would “ be very unſuitable for me at the age of fifty nine years, which with regard to the “ weakneſs of the conſtitution that nature has given me, is a more infirm old age “ than ſeventy or ſeventy five in other men ; who beſides have ſtruggled more “ than theſe ſix months paſt with a weakneſs in my lungs, a hereditary diſtemper “ of which both my Mother and Grandmother died, and which conſequently doth “ not permit me to propoſe to make a long ſtay in this world : it would be very un- “ ſuitable for me, I ſay, to write like a Courtier and flatterer of men in power. “ My enemies would rejoice to have ſuch an inequality of conduct to reproach me “ with.”

Mr Bayle wrote likewiſe to the Lord Shaftſbury (1), wherein he thanked him for theſe new marks of his goodneſs : and proteſted that it was falſe that he had had conferences with the Marquis d'Allegre ; that he had not ſo much as known, any other ways than by the news papers, that the Marquis had been in Holland, and was gone over to England. He added, that no body knew his principles concerning government better than my Lord Shaftſbury, ſince he had the honour to converſe with his Lordſhip more than once on that ſubject. He prayed that he would undeceive the Lord Sunderland. My Lord Shaftſbury did it with ſucceſs. He repreſented to him that Mr Bayle being confined to his cloſet, and entirely taken up with his books and his works, did not in any ſort meddle with affairs of State, that neither his genius nor his talents lay that way, and that theſe accuſations proceeded only from the animoſity of certain authors who had had diſputes with him, and endeavoured to render him odious. My Lord Sunderland at laſt found that he had been impoſed upon, and did Mr Bayle juſtice. My Lord Shaftſbury immediately informed him of this, and Mr Bayle in return teſtified (2) how ſenſible he was of the generous attention my Lord had ſhewn to his intereſt, and how joyful he was to learn “ that the calumnies whereby his ene- “ mies had prejudiced my Lord Sunderland againſt him, were happily diſſipated by “ his Lordſhip's means.”

About this time Mr Bayle received a little book, printed at Paris, intitled, *Critical Remarks on the new edition of Moreri's Hiſtorical Dictionary, publiſhed in* 1704 (3). The Author (4) had drawn almoſt all his remarks from Mr Bayle's Dictionary, and had given them for his own, yet notwithſtanding this he ſometimes criticized him. Mr Bayle thought that this Piece deſerved to be known in Holland, and to make it more uſeful he thought fit to reprint it (5) with Notes to clear up ſeveral facts which the author had either miſtaken, or had not related with ſufficient exactneſs. He even pointed out the faults of his ſtile, and his ambiguous or equivocal expreſſions ; and laſtly, added a long Preface for the inſtruction of thoſe who ſhould publiſh any after editions of Moreri. The relation which this ſmall piece has to Mr Bayle's Dictionary, engaged one of my friends (6) to deſire it of me, that he might add it to the fourth edition of this Dictionary. I ſent it to him, together with ſome Obſervations, wherein I marked the places which the author had borrowed from the Critical Dictionary, and where I diſtinguiſhed the errors which he takes notice of in Moreri, and which are corrected in the later editions, from thoſe which ſtill remain to be corrected in the edition of 1725.

Mr Bayle at the ſame time publiſhed a fourth volume of his *Anſwer to the Queſtions of a Country Gentleman* (7). He ſays in the Preface, which is dated November 25 1706, that this fourth volume might have appeared much ſooner, if the preſſes of his Bookſeller had not been employed in large works, which had been begun long before, and which it much concerned him to finiſh. The five firſt ſheets of it were printed before the beginning of April. The principal and largeſt part of this volume relates to Mr Bernard's Criticiſm upon the ſecond volume of the *Continuation of the various Thoughts*, and turns upon the parallel betwixt Atheiſm and Paganiſm, and upon the queſtion “ Whether Chriſtianity be proper to maintain Societies ? ”. Mr Bayle flatters himſelf that his readers will find here ſuch a variety of arguments, authorities, and hiſtories, as will not allow them to be tired. “ They ought not to fear, (ſays he) “ that becauſe this is an anſwer to Mr Bernard, they will find nothing intereſting in “ it. Every thing here is as dogmatical, and diſengaged from perſonal diſputes, as “ if neither Mr Bernard, nor any other particular perſon had been in view.”

(1) *Letter July* 23, 1706, *p.* 1100, *and the following.*

(2) *Letter October* 29, 1706, *p.* 1123, *and the following.*

(3) Remarques critiques ſur la Nouvelle Edition du Dictionaire hiſtorique de Morery, donnée en 1704.

(4) *The Abbé Tricauld, now Canon of the Abbey of Ainay at Lyons.*

(5) *At Rotterdam in* 1706.

(6) *Mr de la Motte.*

(7) *At Rotterdam by Reinier Leers,* 1707.

1706. Mr Bernard had likewiſe made critical Extracts of the firſt and ſecond volume of the Anſwer to a Country Gentleman (1): Mr Bayle ſays, that he could have wiſhed to have inſerted in this fourth volume an Anſwer which he had made to theſe Extracts. " This Anſwer, adds he, has been finiſhed a good while ago, and treats of " matters no leſs curious than important. In a word, it is ſuch as might render an " Author impatient to have it publiſhed. Nevertheleſs he had been obliged to reſt " content, that the publiſhing of it ſhould be referred to the volume which is to follow " this." This fifth volume did not appear till after Mr Bayle's death, and he did not live to reviſe, correct, and enlarge it as he could have done. Notwithſtanding he handles ſeveral important queſtions in it, and examines ſeveral hiſtorical facts with a ſcrupulous exactneſs.

Mr le Clerc did not leave Mr Bayle's laſt Anſwer without a Reply. He repeated his accuſations with a great deal of vehemence (2); he maintained that Mr Bayle had not anſwered his principal difficulties, and that what he had objected againſt him in his laſt piece was vain and frivolous. Mr Bayle had offered to ſubmit the deciſion of their difference to the Univerſities in Holland: Mr le Clerc anſwered, that he had a much eaſier and more honourable way, which was, ſaid he, to deſire an approbation of his Dictionary, his Thoughts concerning Comets, and the Anſwers to the Queſtions of a Country Gentleman, in which theſe Univerſities ſhould declare, that they find nothing in them contrary to their ſentiments, particularly in the articles and chapters concerning the Manicheans, and Predeſtination. If they grant him ſuch an approbation (adds he) I will ſay that I was to blame in denying that he is of their opinion.

Mr Bayle replied in a book intitled *Dialogues betwixt Maximus and Themiſtus: or an Anſwer to what Mr le Clerc has wrote in his Xth volume of the Bibliotheque Choiſie, againſt Mr Bayle* (3). Maximus and Themiſtus examine and criticize each in his turn Mr le Clerc's piece. They labour to defend Mr Bayle's principles, and to ſhow that Mr le Clerc has drawn falſe conſequences from them. They complain that he frequently diſguiſeth the ſtate of the queſtion, and takes no notice of the moſt ſtrong and moſt convincing things which have been anſwered to him. We ſee that this diſpute had degenerated into reproaches of Author againſt Author, and had become in a manner perſonal. Theſe reproaches were attended with many harſh and provoking expreſſions. The learned and ingenious Lord Falkland (4) ſaid, that there ought to be no more ſharpneſs in a book of controverſy than in a billet-doux. This maxim concerns Philoſophers no leſs than the Controvertiſts; or rather all the Learned ought to be Philoſophers in this reſpect: but when an Author ſees that his perſon, his honour, and reputation are attacked, it is very hard for him to contain himſelf. He thinks himſelf obliged to repel theſe injuries, and in his turn to wound his enemy in the moſt ſenſible parts.

The attacks which were made upon Mr Bayle from all quarters, gave Mr Jurieu freſh courage. He thought the occaſion favourable, and that he ought to make uſe of it. He publiſhed a little book intitled, *The Philoſopher of Rotterdam accuſed, attainted, and convicted* (5). He repeats here his old accuſations againſt Mr Bayle, though they had been refuted in a manner which had reduced him to ſilence. He beſtows great encomiums on Meſſieurs Jaquelot and Bernard, whom he had perſecuted on ſuſpicion of Hereſy: he treats Mr le Clerc in the ſame manner, whom he mortally hated. But theſe gentlemen had wrote againſt Mr Bayle, he brings them in evidence againſt him, and he would not diſcredit his own witneſſes. In the mean while he could not help mixing ſome ſtrokes of ſatire with theſe panegyrics, he maliciouſly hints at their former diſgraces and heterodox opinions. But he made uſe of a cunning ſhift in doing this. He related under the name of Mr Bayle and of his friends, the reaſons which might be alledged againſt admitting theſe three witneſſes, and joins himſelf with them. " He is very diverting (ſays he (6), and his friends with him, in the re-" proaches which they throw out againſt theſe witneſſes. The Rotterdam Divine " is conceited, fond to diſtraction of his own productions, vaſtly in love with ſu-" perlatives, and diſcontented with the bad reception of his works. Mr Jaquelot " has been piqued upon hearing that Mr Bayle had ſpoke with ſmall eſteem of " his book concerning the exiſtence of God. Beſides he is a man more than ſuſpected, " and has not extricated himſelf with honour out of certain affairs. Another has " been cenſured by the Synods. The third is a Pelagian and Socinian, convicted " of hereſy and impiety." Mr Jurieu is at much pains to find ſome difference betwixt his principles and thoſe of Mr Bayle. We may judge with what ſucceſs by the account he gives of his own ſyſtem, which he reduceth to theſe three points (7): " I. That God could have no other end in his works, in his decrees, in his pro-" vidence, than his own glory; from which it follows that all the diſpoſitions of " the divine providence are juſt, wiſe, and reaſonable, how hard ſoever they appear " to the fleſh and oppoſite to the intereſt of the creatures. II. That there is nothing " in man, or in human things, like what is in God; the names of *Being*, *Subſtance*, " *Thinking-ſubſtance*, *Will*, *Underſtanding*, *Liberty*, *Right*, *Juſtice*, and ſuch like, are all " equivocal, and do not ſignify in God what they ſignify in man, ſo that it is in " vain to compare the conduct and rights of God with regard to man, with the

(1) News from the Republic of Letters, *January* 1706, *art. iv. p.* 49, *and February, art. ii. p.* 153.

(2) Bibliotheque Choiſie, *Tom. x. art. viii, p* 364, *and the following.*

(3) Entretiens de Maxime & de Themiſte: ou Réponſe à ce que Mr le Clerc a écrit dans ſon x Tome de la Bibliotheque Choiſie contre Mr Bayle. *At Rotterdam, by Reinier Leers,* 1707.

(4) *Killed at the Battle of Newbury September,* 20, 1643.

(5) Le Philoſophe de Rotterdam accuſé, atteint, & convaincu. *The title bears that it is printed at Amſterdam, but the Printer's name is not mentioned.*

(6) Le Philoſophe de Rotterdam, &c. *p.* 39, 40.

(7) *Ibid. pag.* 113, *and the following.*

" rights of men with regard to one another; and all arguments drawn from thence " are ſophiſms, being founded on compariſons betwixt things not to be compared together, to wit, God and the creature, and the rights of God and thoſe of man. " III. But what *puts an end* to all *diſpute*, is *the ſovereign right which God has over* " *his creatures*: that *power without bounds*, ought to ſilence man, with regard to every " thing that troubles him, or ſtartles his reaſon in the conduct of providence; and " conſequently this utterly confounds all the prophane and impious difficulties which " the Author of the Dictionary furniſheth to the Manicheans and Paulicians, and " which he diſplays in ſo pompous a manner."

Mr Jurieu ſhows that St Paul had foreſeen and mentioned theſe difficulties in his Epiſtle to the Romans (1), and that he anſwers them by ſhowing that the ſovereign right which God has over his creatures ought to ſilence Reaſon. Mr Jurieu obſerves that St Paul concludes the diſpute with this beautiful and ſublime exclamation, *O the depth of the riches both of the wiſdom and knowledge of God! how unſearchable are his judgments, and his ways paſt finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counſellor?* " It is as clear as the ſun (adds Mr Jurieu (2), that by " theſe words the Apoſtle deſigns to rebuke the raſhneſs of thoſe pretenders to learning, who demand that all difficulties ſhould be ſolved by the way of human Reaſon " and of their philoſophical axioms, and that we ſhould confeſs that human reaſon " is incompatible with Divine Revelation, as if what is above reaſon muſt needs always be againſt reaſon." It is plain that Mr Jurieu had Mr Bayle in view here; but neither doth he forget Mr le Clerc and Mr Jaquelot. " We muſt confeſs likewiſe (adds he), that this pious exclamation of St Paul ſhows the error of thoſe " Divines, who would reconcile Reaſon and Revelation by Pelagian maxims. Surely, " if it be true, as theſe Gentlemen pretend, that in order to get out of this labyrinth " we need only ſuppoſe man abſolute maſter of his free-will and of his actions, this " exclamation *O the depth &c*, and *how unſearchable are his judgments &c*, appears " neither very well grounded, nor very neceſſary. For there is no difficulty left, " when we ſay, that God has forſaken man becauſe he made a bad uſe of his free " will." Here he only repeats what he had a little before ſaid in a more ſtrong manner and more at large. " I would willingly know (ſays he (3), why ſo many divines " are afraid of this hypotheſis, (*of the ſovereign right of God over his creatures*); and " chooſe rather to cry up the dignity of a free creature, and the excellence of liberty. " This is good; but it is of no uſe in this queſtion, and beſides it leads to Pelagianiſm. By ſhutting one gate, as we imagine, againſt the impieties of the Manicheans and Pyrrhonians, we open another, or at leaſt leave another open; for we " are under a neceſſity of owning, that God is the Author of that free-will which he " has beſtowed upon man, and that he is maſter of it to ſtop the courſe of its " diſorders when he thinks proper. So that we ſhall never be able to ſtop the mouths " of the prophane by this means."

This is preciſely what Mr Bayle had ſaid: however he did not think fit to take any advantage from this piece; he did not think it worthy of his notice. He had before ſufficiently ſhown the conformity of what he had advanced, with Mr Jurieu's doctrine.

Mr Jaquelot had not begun his diſpute with Mr Bayle to make an end of it ſo ſoon, he returned once more to the charge; but inſtead of confining himſelf to the three eſſential heads of this controverſy, he digreſſed to other matters which either entered only incidentally into it, or which had not indeed the leaſt relation to it. He however by this means purſued his deſign, which was to repreſent Mr Bayle as a perſon who attacked Religion. He intitled his Reply, *An Examination of Mr Bayle's Theology, diſperſed in his Critical Dictionary, in his Thoughts concerning Comets, and in his Anſwers to a Country Gentleman; wherein the Conformity betwixt Faith and Reaſon is defended againſt his Anſwer* (4). Mr Bayle gave the following judgment concerning this performance in a letter to one of his friends (5). " I will tell you in confidence that Mr Jaquelot's " book is full of malice, inſincerity, and weak reaſoning. He departs as well as I " from the common notions of goodneſs and holineſs, and conſequently he is wounded " by all the thruſts Mr le Clerc has made againſt me. I ſhall not fail to make this obſervation which will embaraſs my accuſer; for he is Mr Jaquelot's friend, and even " reviſed his manuſcript." Mr Bayle anſwered Mr Jaquelot by way of Dialogue, as he had done Mr le Clerc. This Anſwer is intitled, *Dialogues betwixt Maximus and Themiſtus: or an Anſwer to Mr Jaquelot's Examination of Mr Bayle's Theology* (6). Mr Bayle in the beginning obſerves, that he might neglect the firſt three hundred and four pages of Mr Jaquelot's Reply which conſiſts of four hundred and ſeventy two, becauſe they do not concern the main point in the preſent controverſy. The diſpute had been reduced to theſe three points. I. The liberty of indifference. II. The Origin of Evil. III. The objections which Pyrrhoniſm might found upon ſome doctrines of Revealed Religion. With regard to the firſt, Mr Bayle obſerves that it is not neceſſary to inſiſt upon it. " Mr Jaquelot, ſays he (7), ought to have abandoned it entirely in his Reply, ſince " Mr Bayle had given him a carte blanche, that is to ſay, had allowed him to ſhow " himſelf intirely Pelagian, ſince he had attacked him concerning the Origin of Evil, " without ſuppoſing any other principle but the liberty of indifference. Mr Jaquelot notwithſtanding

(1) *Chap.* ix *and* xi.

(2) Le Philoſophe de Roterdam &c. *pag.* 128, 129.

(3) Ibid. *pag.* 118, 119.

(4) Examen de la Théologie de Mr Bayle, répanduë dans ſon Dictionaire Critique, dans ſes Penſée ſur les Cometes, & dans ſes Réponſes à un Provincial; où l'on defend la Conformité de la Foi avec la Raiſon, contre ſa Réponſe.

(5) *Letter to Mr la Croze of the 25th of October* 1706, *p.* 1121.

(6) Entretiens de Maxime & de Themiſte: ou Réponſe à l'Examen de la Theologie de Mr Bayle, par Mr Jaquelot.

(7) Entretiens de Maxime & de Themiſte &c. *p.* 4, 5.

1706. "notwithſtanding (adds he), has re-handled this queſtion as a matter of great importance; Whether man is poſſeſſed of this liberty or not. His great itch for reaſoning in the Arminian way has occaſioned this. He ſhows the ſame impatience which new converts do, who preſently publiſh the motives of their converſion."

Mr Bayle reproacheth Mr Jaquelot with five faults. I. That he has attacked Mr Bayle's doctrine, without ſeeming to know that it is the ſame with that of the Reformed, and afterwards ſeems to believe it to be very different from it. II. That he believes that the ſame doctrine is innocent or blameable according to the different intentions of thoſe who teach it. Mr Bayle had ſhown that Mr Jurieu had taught, before him, that no ſyſtem could ſolve the objections which may be made againſt the fall of Adam and its conſequences, and that he had laid down the ſame difficulties which Mr Bayle has done. Mr Jaquelot had been aſked why he did not ſooner attack this doctrine, which as he imagines tends to make God author of ſin, and to deſtroy Religion. To this Mr Jaquelot here anſwers (1), that he did not write againſt Mr Jurieu, *becauſe he believed him ſincere in his Syſtem*, and that he had *not directly ſtruck at any of the fundamentals of Religion:* but that he thought fit to refute Mr Bayle, becauſe he believed him ill perſuaded of the Syſtem eſtabliſhed by the Synod of Dort, and ill affected towards the principles of Religion. Mr Bayle thinks this a very extraordinary diſtinction. No body (ſays he) has ever thought of diſtinguiſhing things of this ſort. It has been always believed that if two Authors maintain the ſame doctrine, it was impoſſible to refute the one without refuting the other. He puts Mr Jaquelot in mind of his declaration in the preface to his firſt book, *that he had no intention of attacking either Mr Bayle's perſon or morals, or of diving into his intentions*, which declaration he had repeated in the body of the book in theſe words: *I do not at all deſire to dive into this Author's ſecret views...... let us forbear raſh judgments* (2). But in his ſecond book he continually affirms that Mr Bayle has very bad intentions. Mr Bayle aſks him whence he has got this new light, and aſcribes this change in his conduct to his being irritated by the bad ſucceſs of his attack. He adds that Mr Jaquelot, even when he was writing his Reply, having foreſeen that the heat of the diſpute and the neceſſity of having pretexts, would oblige him to repeat his raſh judgments a thouſand times over, had formally diſavowed them and made a ſort of retractation. *I only wiſh*, ſays he (3), *that the reader may remember that I do not pretend to ſpeak either of Mr Bayle's perſon or his morals.... The title of this chapter*, ſays he ſome pages after (4), *ſufficiently ſhows that I do not deſire to ſpeak either of Mr Bayle's intention or of his morals.*

The third fault with which he reproacheth Mr Jaquelot, is, that he affirms that Mr Bayle deprives man of all ſort of liberty. To this it had been already anſwered, that Mr Bayle had neither affirmed or denied any thing on that ſubject, and that a diſcuſſion of that queſtion was uſeleſs, becauſe Mr Bayle had agreed to diſpute with him as a Pelagian. He had attacked him all along, even ſuppoſing the liberty of indifference, and by ſhowing that this liberty doth not at all weaken the Manichean objections. Mr Bayle therefore was not concerned to refute it, and yet he could have done it without deſtroying all ſort of liberty, ſince the Contra-Remonſtrants who reject the liberty of indifference, neverthelelſs maintain that man acts freely ſince he acts voluntarily and deliberately. Now Mr Bayle never undertook to deprive man of this kind of liberty. He next ſhows what might have deceived Mr Jaquelot, and led him aſide from the true ſtate of the queſtion.

The fourth fault of Mr Jaquelot is, that he attacks Mr Bayle concerning the Conformity of Faith with Reaſon, and yet ſays at bottom the ſame thing that he has done. People believed upon reading the title of his firſt book, *The Conformity of Faith with Reaſon, &c.* that he had undertaken to ſhow this conformity according to the plan laid down in the Anſwer to a Country Gentlemen, which is in ſubſtance this "(5) We muſt ſhow that we not only have philoſophical maxims agreeable to our Faith, but likewiſe that the particular maxims which are objected to us as not conformable to our Catechiſm, are really conformable to it in a manner which may be diſtinctly conceived..... (6) This Conformity requires not only that your Theſis be agreeable to ſeveral philoſophical maxims, but likewiſe that it be not ſucceſsfully attacked by any other maxims of reaſon. Now it will be ſucceſsfully attacked by them, if you cannot defend yourſelf otherwiſe than by unintelligible diſtinctions, or by excuſing yourſelf on account of unfathomable depth of the ſubject." It was eaſy for Mr Jaquelot (adds he) to perceive, even before he read the above plan, that it is this which is wanted when we deſire a proof of the Conformity of Faith with Reaſon. But he has been very far from writing upon this plan. "When I ſpeak of the Conformity of Faith with Reaſon (ſays he in his firſt book (7), I mean that we ought not to renounce our Reaſon, in order to embrace Religion. For though there be Myſteries in Religion which Reaſon cannot ſufficiently comprehend, it doth not follow from this that thoſe myſteries are contrary to reaſon. In the ſame manner it doth not follow that the infinite diviſibility of body and motion, are contrary to Reaſon, though Reaſon cannot anſwer the difficulties which may be objected againſt theſe propoſitions." It is obſerved

(1) Examen de la Theologie de Mr Bayle, *p.* 66, 67.

(2) Conformité de la Foi avec la Raiſon &c. *p.* 222.

(3) Examen &c. *p.* 60.

(4) Ibid. *p.* 78.

(5) Réponſe aux Queſtions d'un Provincial, *Tom. iii*, *p.* 685.

(6) Ibid. *p.* 687.

(7) Examen &c. *p.* 287.

obſerved, that if Mr Jaquelot hath nothing elſe to advance he has attacked Mr Bayle very groundleſsly, ſince Mr Bayle never ſaid that we ought to renounce our Reaſon in order to embrace Religion, and on the contrary has repeated a thouſand times, that we cannot act more agreeably to reaſon, than in preferring the authority of the Scripture to the philoſophical maxims which ſet themſelves in oppoſition to our myſteries. Thus he ſhows that it is in vain for Mr Jaquelot to pretend to make a difference betwixt his doctrine and that of Mr Bayle, and that it appears by the ſtate of the queſtion laid down by Mr Bayle, that Mr Jaquelot and he do not really differ in their ſentiments.

The fifth fault he finds with Mr Jaquelot is, that he has undertaken an accommodation which was not at all neceſſary. He declares that it is his intention to ſhow that we ought not to renounce our Reaſon in order to embrace Religion. Now all the world knew that they who admit the Trinity, and the other myſteries of the Goſpel, believe themſelves very reaſonable, and that far from renouncing their reaſon, they found their belief upon philoſophical axioms, which are in the higheſt degree evident and certain. They found their belief on this, that God can neither deceive nor be deceived, and conſequently that what he ſays ought always be believed; and they employ Reaſon to find out the true ſenſe of Scripture. Every body likewiſe knew, that it is not a juſt cauſe of rejecting a doctrine, becauſe it is liable to great difficulties; and that the pre-eminence of the divine nature doth not allow us to ſubject it to the ſame duties by which men are tied to one another. All theſe truths are commonly known, and it is not this we expect from thoſe who promiſe to ſhow the Conformity of Faith with Reaſon. We expect that they ſhould ſhow that our theological ſyſtems are united with Reaſon by theſe very maxims, which it furniſheth to the enemy, and on which the objections are founded; and that the ſolution which they give ſhall diſcover the medium by which theſe philoſophical maxims and theological hypotheſes are connected together. But this is what Mr Jaquelot hath not done. He has been ſo frighted at the plan of reconciliation which was pointed out to him, betwixt ſeven theological propoſitions and nineteen philoſophical propoſitions, that he has not had the courage to approach them: he has only pretended that theſe nineteen propoſitions "are falſe maxims, which ought not at all to be made uſe "of in the preſent queſtion (1)." Mr Bayle had owned that we ought to renounce the common notions of goodneſs and holineſs in judging of the providence of God with regard to evil. This confeſſion had diſpleaſed ſeveral people. It is upon this that Mr le Clerc grounds his accuſation againſt Mr Bayle of deſtroying religion. But ſince Mr Jaquelot likewiſe refuſes our common notions, and affirms that the damned will ſuffer eternally, he ought to think himſelf involved in Mr le Clerc's accuſation, as an accomplice in the pretended impieties of Mr Bayle. From this he draws another proof, that nothing could be more deceitful than the title of Mr Jaquelot's firſt piece: *The Conformity of Faith with Reaſon*; *or a Defence of Religion, againſt the principal difficulties diſperſed in Mr Bayle's Dictionary*. To rectify this title, we ought to change it as follows: *The imperfect Conformity of Faith, with ſome maxims of Reaſon*; *or a diſpute with Mr Bayle, wherein it is acknowledged that the philoſophical maxims, which he believed to be irreconcileable with our ſyſtems of Divinity, are really ſo.* After this follows an examination of the five principles which Mr Jaquelot ſubſtitutes to the common notions which he has rejected, and it is ſhown that they are not ſufficient to ſatisfy reaſon. It is obſerved, that Mr Jaquelot, not being able to anſwer the difficulties which Mr Bayle had raiſed againſt his firſt work, had no other reſource than to invent a new Syſtem, under favour of which he might get rid of theſe objections which it was not poſſible for him to evade, if he had continued in his firſt principles. Mr Bayle ſhows, that by this new Syſtem Mr Jaquelot retracts all that he had ſaid in his firſt book, in juſtification of the permiſſion of ſin, on pretence that the glory of God is intereſted in it. He examines this new Syſtem, and proves that it is of no uſe in the ſolution of the difficulties in queſtion. He maintains, that it evidently follows from Mr Jaquelot's ſyſtem, that God has willed ſin, and is, properly ſpeaking, the cauſe of it. He proves that this Miniſter has in vain pretended, that free-will ſolves all the difficulties touching the origin of evil. He refutes his doctrine concerning the permiſſion of evil, and alſo what he anſwered concerning phyſical evil, and Pyrrhoniſm, and gives an anſwer to ſeveral remarks which he had made on the third volume of the Anſwer to a Country Gentleman. Laſtly, he gives the reaſons why he had not examined the firſt 303 pages of Mr Jaquelot's reply, and had contented himſelf with making a few obſervations, which regard principally the collection of difficulties which he had drawn out of the Critical Dictionary, and to which he had joined ſome reflexions.

In this work Mr Bayle complains that Mr Jaquelot has made no anſwer to a great many embarraſſing difficulties; that he abounds in ſhifts and diſguiſes; that he treads ſincerity under foot, in order to follow the motions of perſonal hatred; that he wants only to chicane and conceal difficulties; that he mutilates the paſſages which he quotes from his adverſary, and affects to talk contemptibly of his book: he obſerves that he is ſometimes ſo confounded that he attacks his own principles; that he abandons himſelf too much to his preſumption; that he is

(1) Pag. 317.

too proud to acknowledge that he ever has been miſtaken, &c. This ſtile was not natural to Mr Bayle: he uſed to diſpute without departing from the bounds of moderation. On the contrary he uſed to diſſemble or excuſe the faults of his adverſaries, and ſoften his criticiſms with a thouſand polite and obliging ſtrokes. But he was ſoured and piqued by ſeeing that his perſon rather than his ſentiments was attacked, and that nothing was omitted in order to draw the indignation of the public upon him. This manner of proceeding ſeemed very unreaſonable to diſintereſted perſons. Mr de Bauval complained of it. "If Mr Bayle (ſays he (1), has "had ſecret and dangerous deſigns againſt Religion, that is Mr Bayle's particular "concern, the public are not intereſted in it. They who only ſeek after truth, will "not be at much pains to examine whether the accuſations againſt Mr Bayle be "well founded or not. They will mind only the principle cauſe. Now it is re"markable that his antagoniſts attack him alone on this head, though it is certain "that almoſt all the Roman Catholics, and the greateſt part of the Proteſtants "loudly maintain the ſame thing [*R*]. Why ſhould they ſingle him out, and fall "ſo

(1) Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned. *December* 1706. *p.* 544.

[*R*] *The greateſt part of the Proteſtants loudly maintain the ſame thing.*] They who undertook to confute Mr Bayle upon Arminian principles, durſt not deny that his doctrine was the ſame with that of the Reformed. They ſaved themſelves only by ſaying that he had bad intentions. They in the mean while attacked the opinion of the Reformed, and pretended that it was liable to Mr Bayle's objections, Mr Jaquelot ſeeing that Mr Jurieu had declared, that it was in vain to exalt the free-will of man, and that this hypotheſis was not capable of ſolving difficulties (*a*), made an addition to his laſt book, in which he chargeth Mr Jurieu's ſyſtem with all the conſequences of the Manicheans. Thus Mr Bayle's adverſaries refuted one another, and in their turns adjudged him the victory. "I cannot imagine, ſays Mr Jaquelot (*b*), how a Di"vine, who has well underſtood Mr Bayle's objecti"ons againſt the hypotheſis of thoſe who for all an"ſwer content themſelves *with impoſing ſilence on* "*reaſon*, doth not perceive that it will follow from "this method of arguing, that human reaſon may be "convinced, by good and neceſſary conſequences, "that *God is the cauſe of evil, and the author of ſin.*" He declares that "(*c*) all they who will not abandon "the hypotheſes on which Mr Bayle has founded his "difficulties, are indiſpenſibly obliged to ſhow the "falſhood of his conſequences, and of his objecti"ons, in a manner capable of ſatisfying the conſcience "of a knowing and reaſonable man. Otherwiſe it "is pure obſtinacy, and a falſe honour, to reſolve to "continue in principles from which ſuch horrible "conſequences are drawn." Mr le Clerc approved of this judgment. "Mr Jaquelot obſerves very well "(ſays he (*d*), that if we grant to Mr Bayle, that "Reaſon cannot make a good reply to the conſe"quences which he draws againſt Religion, from "the doctrine of abſolute Predeſtination, this is "to own, that theſe conſequences are fairly drawn, "and conſequently that the doctrine is falſe. We "muſt allow this or renounce all Logic." Mr le Clerc adds, "that the political intereſt which ſome "people had formerly in maintaining Abſolute Pre"deſtination having ceaſed, it was high time to "renounce a doctrine, from which they ſee con"ſequences are drawn which they own they cannot "anſwer."

On the other ſide, Mr la Placette, not content with Mr le Clerc's and Mr Jaquelot's hypotheſes, thought himſelf obliged to anſwer the Manichean objections by the principles of the Calviniſts. But as he was a man of great moderation, he carried his regard for Mr Bayle ſo far as not to name him. His book is intitled *An Anſwer to two objections which are oppoſed on the part of Reaſon to what faith teacheth us concerning the origin of evil, and the myſtery of the Trinity &c* (*e*). "Some diſtinguiſhed authors, (ſays he (*f*), "have undertaken to anſwer theſe objections, eſpeci"the firſt which is the moſt plauſible. But as they "have built upon principles which do not appear to "me to be at all ſolid, and which are not even uni"verſally acknowledged; it were to be wiſhed "that ſome other would undertake this taſk, and "examine theſe objections by comparing them "with more ſolid and leſs conteſted principles." Mr le Clerc ſpeaking of this work of Mr la Placette, obſerved (*g*) "that it was compoſed before Mr Bayle's "death, but luckily it was not publiſhed during his "life. If Mr Bayle had ſeen it, ſays he, I am ſure, con"ſidering his humour, that he would have ſheltered "himſelf under the reputation of this Divine. He "would have ſaid, that he was ready to ſubſcribe "this book, without changing his opinion, and "would have pretended to be as orthodox as Mr la "Placette, to whom on other accounts no body will "compare him." Was not this to confeſs, that Mr Bayle's principles were agreeable to thoſe of this learned and judicious Divine?"

Mr Naudé in 1708 publiſhed a book intitled, *The ſovereign perfection of God in his divine attributes, and the perfect integrity of the Scripture taken in the ſenſe of the ancient Reformers, defended by right reaſon againſt all the objections of Manicheiſm diſperſed in Mr Bayle's writings* (*h*). In this work Mr Naudé oppoſeth the ſyſtem of the Supralapſarians to the Manichean objections, being perſuaded that this is the only hypotheſis whereby they can be ſolved. So he is very far from approving of the hypotheſis of Dr King, Mr le Clerc, and Mr Jaquelot; nay he even refutes them with a great deal of vivacity, and at length endeavours to ſhow that Mr Jaquelot has not ſolidly anſwered Mr Bayle. He moreover maintains, that Mr Bayle has triumphed over Mr Jaquelot and Mr le Clerc. "Mr Jaquelot, ſays he (*i*), fol"lowing a ſyſtem merely of human invention, en"deavours to juſtify God from the blame of being "in any ſort the author of ſin. But he acquits him"ſelf very indifferently, ſince by drawing conſe"quences which neceſſarily follow from his doctrine, "we muſt conclude that God is the author of ſin, "whatever Mr Jaquelot can ſay to the contrary, and "Mr Bayle's laſt work (*k*) has proved this in an in"conteſtable manner. Beſides, he makes God au"thor of ſin in a much more odious manner. He po"ſitively denies doctrines founded on a hundred paſ"ſages of Scripture, he therefore gives it the lie, "which alone is ſufficient to pluck up Chriſtianity "by the roots. Moreover Mr Jaquelot frequently "contradicts himſelf, and frequently contradicts "right reaſon. All Chriſtians therefore notwith"ſtanding his anſwer are reduced to the ſtraits to "which Mr Bayle pretends to have puſhed them. "Mr le Clerc with his Origeniſm, adds Mr Naudé, "is ſtill more unſucceſsful than Mr Jaquelot, ſince "he more formally contradicts the Scripture, and "falls likewiſe under the ſame inconveniencies. So "both the one and other have been entirely defeated "by this laſt book of Mr Bayle. I deſire to be "judged in this by thoſe who have been ſpectators "of the combat.'

The reader will perhaps not be diſpleaſed to hear Mr Baſnage's judgment of this diſpute. "Two "pieces ſays, he in a letter to me (*l*), have lately ap"peared againſt Mr Bayle, one by Mr la Placette, "the other by Mr Jaquelot, which I have not ſeen. "Methinks they may be eaſily ſet to combat one "againſt the other. If a man be a Predeſtinarian in "the terms of the Synod of Dort, he will look upon "the anſwers of Meſſieurs le Clerc, Bernard, and Ja"quelot as bad: and the Arminians imagine that he "cannot be well anſwered by the ordinary ſyſtem. "One cannot ſay that he is well anſwered whatever "ſyſtem they take. For on the contrary, each party "pretends

(*a*) *See above, p. cx.*

(*b*) Addition à l'Examen de la Theologie de Mr Bayle, &c. p. 475, 476.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 478.

(*d*) Bibliotheque choiſie, *Tom. xi. p.* 412, 413.

(*e*) Réponſe à deux Objections, qu'on oppoſe de la part de la Raiſon à ce que la Foi nous apprend ſur l'origine du mal, & ſur la myſtere de le Trinité, &c. *printed at Amſterdam in* 1707.

(*f*) Réponſe à deux Objections, &c. *Preface fol.* *3.

(*g*) Biblioth. choiſie, *Tom. xiii. p.* 415, 416.

(*h*) La ſouveraine perfection de Dieu dans ſes divins attributs, &c. *printed at Amſterdam in* 2 *Vol. in* 12mo.

(*i*) La ſouveraine perfection de Dieu, &c. *Pref. pag. xxxiv, xxxv.*

(*k*) Entretiens de Maxime & de Themiſte, &c.

(*l*) *Letter of the* 19*th of Aug.* 1707.

“ſo bitterly upon him alone, why do they make no account of the great multitude of Divines who are on his ſide? This is one of the principal points in the diſpute betwixt him and his adverſaries, on which however they have inſiſted very little. Methinks this is what they ought to have principally laboured: otherwiſe they may be ſuſpected of having deſigned leſs to defend Religion, than to revenge themſelves againſt Mr Bayle.”

Mr Bayle for above ſix months had been ill of a decay of the lungs, which weakened him ſenſibly. As this was a hereditary diſtemper he judged it mortal, and his friends could not perſuade him to take any remedy. He ſaw death approaching without either fearing or deſiring it. He laboured conſtantly, and with the ſame tranquillity of mind as if death had not been ready to interrupt his work. In a Letter of thanks which he wrote to my Lord Shaftſbury, he gave an account both of his occupations and of his illneſs. “I ſhould have thought (ſays he (1), that a diſpute with Divines would have put me out of humour, but I find by experience that it ſerves for an amuſement to me in the ſolitude to which I have reduced myſelf. For as my diſeaſe is a diſorder in my lungs, nothing pains me more than ſpeaking. I therefore neither make nor receive viſits, but I divert myſelf with anſwering Mr le Clerc and Mr Jaquelot, whom I find conſtantly guilty of inſincerity.”

His Anſwer to Mr le Clerc was already printed, and the larger part of his Reply to Mr Jaquelot: he had anſwered every thing that was conſiderable in the laſt book which the latter had publiſhed, and there was nothing left to be done but to make ſome remarks, which he reſerved for the end of it, when death prevented him. Mr Leers wrote what follows to me on that ſubject. “(2) Mr Bayle died with great tranquillity, and without any body with him. The evening before his death, after having ſtudied all day, he gave my Corrector ſome copy of his Anſwer to Mr Jaquelot, and told him that he was very bad. Next day at nine of the clock in the morning his landlady entered his chamber, he aſked her, but with a dying voice, if his fire was kindled, and died a moment after, without Mr Baſnage, or me, or any of his friends with him.” He died the twenty eighth of December 1706, aged fifty nine years one month and ten days. He had at firſt made a Will in favour of Mademoiſelle Bayle, his niece, his eldeſt brother's daughter; but ſhe having died in the month of October, the ſame year, he made another at Toulouſe, whereby he appointed Mr de Bruguiere, his couſin by the mother's ſide, his heir. He bequeathed to him ten thouſand gilders in money, and all his manuſcripts, excepting the Articles which he had compoſed for a Supplement to his Dictionary, which he gave by way of legacy to Mr Leers. He left all his books of Theology and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory to Mr Baſnage his Executor; and the reſt to Mr Paets, Treaſurer of the Admiralty of Rotterdam, as a teſtimony of his gratitude for the favours which he had received from that honourable family. He left likewiſe to Mademoiſelle Paets a golden medal of which the Count de Dhona had made him a preſent (3). He was buried in the French Church at Rotterdam: he had left a hundred guilders to the poor of that Church.

He was univerſally lamented. The *Journal de Sçavans* expreſſed the ſentiments of the public by ſaying, *that the year could not conclude with a more ſenſible loſs to the Republic of Letters* (4). A great many perſons of diſtinction honoured him with their friendſhip. His friends in France were, the Duke of Noailles, the Count de Guiſcard, the Marquis de Bonrepaux, the Marquis de Bonac, the Marquis de Bougi, Monſieur and Madame de la Sabliere, Mr du Frêne, Counſellor of the Parliament of Mets, Mr Brodeau d'Oiſeville, Counſellor of the ſame Parliament, and afterwards Lieutenant-General at Tours, Mr Thomaſſin de Mazaugues, Counſellor of the Parliament of Aix, the Abbé Bignon, Father Malebranche, both the Fathers Lamy, the Abbé Nicaiſe, the Abbé du Bos, Father de Vitry, Father Sagaens, Meſſieurs Claude, Mr Bayle, Profeſſor at Toulouſe, Mr Rainſant and Mr Oudinet, Keepers of the King's Cabinet of Medals, Mr Charles Perrault, Mr de Benſerade, Mr Menage, Mr de Longepierre, Mr de la Monnoye, Mr Marais, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, Mr de Fontenelle, Mr Lancelot, Mr Simon de Valhebert, Mr Naudis de Bruguiere, Mr du Faï, Mr Janiçon, Advocate in the Council at Paris, Mr de Larroque &c. In England: The Earls of Shaftſbury and Huntington, Dr Burnet, Biſhop of Saliſbury, Mr Juſtel, Meſſieurs de la Riviere and Dubourdieu, who had been Miniſters at Toulouſe and at Montpellier, Mr Abbadie, Mr Cappel, Profeſſor at Saumur, Mr le Vaſſor, Mr de la Touche, Meſſieurs Sylveſtre, Buiſſiere, Baÿze, Pujolas, Coſte &c. In Germany: The Counts of Dhona and Reckheim, Meſſieurs Leibniz,

(1) *Lotter of the 29th of October 1706, p. 1124. See likewiſe a Letter to Mademoiſelle Baricave of the 28th of October 1706, p. 1122, 1123.*

(2) *Mr Leers's Letter, January 18, 1707.*

(3) *See Letter to Mr Ancillon Auguſt 13, 1702, p. 915.*

(4) Journal des Sçavans, *January 1707, p. 207, of the Dutch Edition.*

“pretends that the other miſtakes and wanders from the point, and is not able to ſuſtain the weight of Mr Bayle's objections. It is not two different ways which they take to arrive at the ſame end, but two oppoſite roads, of which the one takes to the right and the other to the left, and each maintains that his own road is the only true one. Add to this, that Mr Bayle has obliged Mr Jaquelot to declare himſelf Arminian, after having eaten the bread of the Orthodox for eighteen years, and after having made ſolemn proteſtations in our Synods that he was not ſo. Mr le Clerc has been obliged to quit the eternity of puniſhments; he has abandoned the doctrine both of the Ancients and Moderns, without being able to juſtify Providence, or ſolve the difficulties which remain ſtill. For beſides moral evil, there are abundance of phyſical evils which give ground for the complaints and objections of men.”

1706. Leibniz, Thomaſius, Budæus, Lenfant, la Croze, le Duchat, de Larrey &c. In Italy: Mr Magliabecchi, Library Keeper to the Great Duke of Tuſcany. In Switzerland: Mr Conſtant, Mr Spon &c. At Geneva: Madam Windſor, Meſſieurs Minutoli, Bourlamachi, Chouet, Turretin, Leger, Pictet &c. In Holland: The Count de Friſen, the Earl of Albemarle, Mr Le-Leu de Wilhem, the Marquis de Bougi, Mr Paets, Mr de Wit, Mr Grævius, Mr d'Almeloveen, Mr le Moine, Profeſſor at Leyden, Mr Fremont d'Ablancourt, Mr Baſnage, Mr de Bauval, Mr Baſnage de Flottemanville, Mr Huet, Mr du Rondel, Profeſſor at Maeſtricht, Mr Drelincourt, Profeſſor at Leyden, Mr Regis, a Phyſician at Amſterdam, Mr Rou &c. In Flanders: The Counteſs de Tilly, Baron le Roy, Baron de Walef &c.

In his youth he had been at great pains to take extracts from, and make obſervations on, the books which he read. He had likewiſe then compoſed, or ſketched out, ſome books. His collections were of great uſe to him when he wrote for the public. He then had hardly any thing more to add to them; his memory was ſufficient to point out the ſources which he had occaſion for. The following is a liſt of the principal Manuſcripts which were found among his papers.

Diſſertationis ſuper Virgilii & Homeri poëmatis nuper à quodam Gallo compoſitæ refutatio: inchoata 9 *Decembris* 1671 (1). It is againſt Father Rapin.

Amico ſuo chariſſimo ac plurimum colendo Jacobo Abbadie Epiſtola ſuper quæſtione, an Deus poſſit ſapientiori perfectiorive modo ſe gerere quam de facto ſe geſſit (2).

Bælius Fetizoni, vel Reſponſio Bælii ad Obſervationes Fetizonis ſuper Epiſtola prædicta (3).

Collectanea quædam ad Chronologiam, Geographiam, & Hiſtoriam pertinentia (4).

Lectiones Hiſtoricæ (5). Theſe Lectures compoſe a body of Hiſtory from the Creation down to the Roman Emperors. The errors in Chronology of Authors are obſerved here, and the moſt difficult points in Hiſtory are explained.

Lectiones Philoſophicæ (6). Theſe Philoſophical Lectures are mixed with ſeveral ſtrokes of erudition. Spinoſa is confuted in them in a very lively manner.

Curſus Philoſophicus (7). This Courſe of Philoſophy is divided into four parts; Logic, Moral Philoſophy, Phyſics, and Metaphyſics. Mr Bayle compoſed it for the uſe of his Scholars, and explained it in his public Lectures. He there recites the opinions of the moſt famous Philoſophers both ancient and modern, and points out their ſtrong and weak ſide.

“An Abridgment of Plutarch's Lives of Illuſtrious Men, formed on Amiot's Verſion, with collections or extracts from the Roman Hiſtory, which ſerve to connect the lives of the illuſtrious Romans.” So that by filling up the chaſms which are in Plutarch, from the other Hiſtorians, Mr Bayle has compoſed a compleat Syſtem of Roman Hiſtory.

“An Hiſtorical Index.” This is a collection of every thing either curious or remarkable in Hiſtory, which Mr Bayle met with in the courſe of his reading. It begins from the year 1672. The ſubjects are diſtinguiſhed by chapters, and ranged in alphabetical order. For example, under the letter A he treats of the Antiquity which the Egyptians and other people boaſted of: and of the remarkable things relating to the Empire of Germany (8). Under the letter B he deſcribes ſome memorable Battles; and the honours paid to Beaſts. Under the letter C he deſcribes ſingular Ceremonies which were uſed upon different occaſions, and particularly thoſe which relate to the keys of cities. He relates in what manner great men have given an account of affairs with which they were charged &c. There are likewiſe in this volume, ſome ſeparate collections relating to Chronology and Hiſtory.

Judgments, or a Journal of Literature (9). “This collection contains critical reflexions on the books which he had read, and thoſe which had been communicated to him by letter or by word of mouth.

“Letters concerning the diſpute betwixt Girac and Coſtar, and ſome other letters on various ſubjects (10).”

“An Harangue by the Duke of Luxembourg to his Judges, and a Letter concerning the ſaid Harangue (11).”

“A Letter concerning Hiſtorical Phyrrhoniſm.”

“A Letter in juſtification of the Reformed, concerning their firſt riſing in arms.”

“An Hiſtorical and Critical Letter concerning the Conference at Poiſſy.”

Theſe three Letters were deſigned as a continuation to the New Letters concerning Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm (12).

“An Hiſtorical Diſcourſe concerning the Life of Guſtavus Adolphus, King of Sweden.” There are only the two firſt chapters of it, but they are very long. They were compoſed after the year 1683, for he mentions the laſt ſiege of Vienna by the Turks. The firſt chapter contains Guſtavus's actions unto the Treaty concluded with Poland 1629, ſome time before he entered Germany in order to make war againſt the Emperor Ferdinand II. The ſecond treats of the origin of the houſe of Auſtria, and of the various fates which it hath undergone. It contains the characters of the late Emperors, and ſhows that Ferdinand brought all his misfortunes upon himſelf, and deſtroyed the power of the Houſe of Auſtria, by giving himſelf up to the councils

(1) A Confutation of a Diſſertation on Virgil and Homer, lately wrote by a certain French Author: begun December 9, 1671.

(2) A Letter to Mr Abbadie on the Queſtion, *Whether God could act in a more wiſe and a more perfect manner than he has done.*

(3) An Anſwer to Mr Fetizon's Obſervations on the foregoing Epiſtle.

(4) Collections relating to Chronology, Geography, and Hiſtory.

(5) Hiſtorical Lectures.

(6) Philoſophical Lectures.

(7) A Courſe of Philoſophy.

(8) Allemagne.

(9) Jugemens ou Journal de Literature.

(10) Lettres ſur la querelle de Girac & de Coſtar.

(11) *See above An.* 1680, *p.* xiii.

(12) *See above, An.* 1685, *p.* xxii.

of Spain, and by cruelly perſecuting the Proteſtants. This chapter contains an account of the tranſactions in Germany, and in Bohemia, 'till the year 1620. It is pity Mr Bayle did not finiſh this work: but imperfect as he has left it, and as neglected as the ſtile is, one may ſee that it comes from a maſterly hand. It is filled with fine and judicious reflexions, and lively and bold ſtrokes both concerning perſons and things. It may ſerve for a model to Hiſtorians.

The new articles which Mr Bayle had prepared for a Supplement to his Dictionary, and which he bequeathed to Mr Leers, are not many. He himſelf ſaid, that *this Supplement was but little advanced, and that he was diſguſted at that ſort of labour, ſince he had for ſome years been employed in works of reaſoning* (1). He had promiſed that theſe new articles ſhould not be incorporated with the new edition of his Dictionary, and that they ſhould be printed and ſold a-part, that the public might not be obliged to buy the ſame thing twice (2): but Mr Leers having left off buſineſs his ſtock fell into the hands of two bookſellers, who, without regard to Mr Bayle's intentions, cauſed it to be inſerted in their edition of the Dictionary printed in 1720. And what is yet more eſſential, they disfigured this edition by the alterations they made in it: they have even ſometimes puſhed their boldneſs ſo far as to change Mr Bayle's ſtile, and to father entire periods upon him. They had maimed and mutilated in the ſame manner the new edition of the *Philoſophical Commentary*, printed by the ſame Bookſellers at Rotterdam in 1713; but they have followed Mr Bayle's original edition in the collection of his *Miſcellaneous Works*, which contain, in four volumes in *folio*, all the works which he publiſhed (excepting his Dictionary) and ſome poſthumous pieces (3).

(1) *Letter to Mr Des Maizeaux September* 21, 1706, *pag.* 1114.

(2) *See Letter to Mr Minutoli, January* 2, 1702, *pag.* 843, *and Letter to Mr Marais, March* 6, *of the ſaid year, pag.* 859.

(3) *The poſthumous pieces are his* Courſe of Philoſophy *in Latin, together with a French Tranſlation, and the* Fragment on the Life of Guſtavus Adolphus.

They uſed *Mr Bayle's Letters* no better, which I ſent to theſe Bookſellers, and which they printed in 1714. They preſumed to make ſeveral alterations and caſtrations in them. They added Notes to them filled with groſs blunders in point of Literature, baſe and malicious inſinuations, and calumnious reflexions on ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and did not even ſpare Mr Bayle himſelf. I reſtored theſe Letters according to the originals, in an edition publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1729, and I joined what explanations I thought neceſſary to them.

Mr Bayle had a lively, ſhining, and fruitful imagination, a great deal of diſcernment and penetration; a natural and bold ſtile, but not very correct. His converſation was lively, chearful, and the more agreeable that it was always uſeful. His memory was happy and faithful, and ſeaſonably furniſhed him with every thing he had entruſted to it. He diſputed without heat, and without aſſuming a dictating tone: and we may obſerve from his writings, that far from giving offence he was on the contrary rather too much inclined to praiſe. He was faithful and conſtant in his friendſhip, and never was any body more ready to do good offices or more diſintereſted than he. Far from being greedy of preſents, it was with difficulty that he accepted of thoſe which he could not handſomely refuſe [*S*]. Having a ſtrong paſſion for truth he was exceedingly ſenſible of any aſſiſtance which was given him in the diſcovery of it, and made uſe of theſe helps with the utmoſt gratitude. He abhorred all ſort of fraud and inſincerity.

Being a true Philoſopher he was without oſtentation in his manners, without ambition, and gave himſelf no airs of ſuperiority over any perſon. He was ſober even to frugality, being indifferent about all pleaſures but thoſe of the mind, he ſeemed to know the paſſions only to talk of them, and not to feel their effects. Modeſt even to ſcrupulouſneſs, he would have for ever concealed his name, if it had been in his power to do it, and it was not owing to him that the public ever ſaw his picture.

[*S*] *Far from being greedy of preſents, it was with difficulty that he accepted of thoſe which he could not handſomely refuſe.*] What follows is a proof of this, which I thought not unworthy of the curioſity of the public. The late Earl of Shaftsbury having obſerved that Mr Bayle had no watch, bought one when he went over to England, with an intention of making him a preſent of it when he ſhould return to Rotterdam. The difficulty was how to make him accept of it. He took it frequently out of his pocket when they were together, as if to ſee what a clock it was, but Mr Bayle took no notice of it. At laſt one day he took it in his hand, and after having examined it, could not help ſaying that he thought it a very fine one. My Lord Shaftsbury laid hold of that opportunity of offering it to him. But Mr Bayle with great confuſion, and piqued that my Lord ſeemed to have taken what he ſaid without deſign, as an indirect manner of aſking his watch of him, excuſed himſelf in the moſt earneſt manner and with great emotion. They diſputed a long time. And my Lord Shaftsbury could not perſuade him to accept of it, 'till he had aſſured him that he had brought it from England purpoſely for him, and proved this by ſhowing him his own watch.

Some years after, that Lord told me that he deſigned to ſend Mr Bayle ſome Greek and Latin books, printed in England, and deſired me to draw up a catalogue of thoſe which would be moſt acceptable to him. I ſecretly acquainted Mr Bayle with this, that he might let me know what he had moſt occaſion for. But he would not do it. 'It is " not at all neceſſary, ſaid he (*a*), to give my Lord " Shaftsbury any liſt of books. I moſt humbly thank " him for the favour he deſigns for me: I have a " ſufficient token from him of a fine watch which " he was pleaſed to force me to accept of. At that " time I thought it a very uſeleſs piece of furniture, " but at preſent it is become ſo neceſſary to me, " that I could not now be without it, ſo that I " every moment feel how much I am obliged to " my Lord for ſo fine a preſent."

(*a*) *Letter of the* 3*d of April* 1705, *pag.* 1014, 1015.

We may by this inſtance ſee what judgment ought to be made of thoſe who have affirmed that he was a penſioner of the Court of France, &c.

1706. Picture [T]. He was jealous to exceſs, and poſſibly to weakneſs, of the glory of his Country, and ſuffered with impatience that it ſhould be attacked, and ſecretly deſpiſed thoſe who had not the ſame opinion of it which he had.

The fruitfulneſs of his imagination and the vaſt extent of his knowledge frequently threw him into digreſſions, which notwithſtanding he had the art to render uſeful and even neceſſary to the conſequences which he wanted to draw. His penetration made him at firſt ſight perceive all the different ſides of the moſt abſtruſe ſubjects; he diſcovered all their principles, and unfolded all their conſequences. The difficulties which he found in them made him very reſerved in his judgments, and frequently left him only reaſons for doubting. This caution made ſome people accuſe him of Pyrrhoniſm. But if it is to be a Pyrrhonian to doubt of things doubtful, ſhould not all men be Pyrrhonians?

It has been complained that he has taken a little too much liberty in his Dictionary, and that he has taken great freedoms with regard to the female ſex. Theſe however are only quotations from Authors which are in every bodies hands, and which are generally eſteemed. Mr Bayle being leſs touched with ſtrokes of this kind, than probably thoſe are who condemn him, was not ſhocked at the ſtile of theſe writers. He conſidered their coarſe and unpolite expreſſions as the language of undiſguiſed nature, or, if you will, as innocent liberties, and mere ſports of wit, becauſe they excited no diſorders in his breaſt. His manners were always ſo pure and regular, that his moſt violent enemies never reproached him with any thing on that head. But in this as in all other things he was not ſcared at the appearance of vice, becauſe he had a ſolid love for virtue. No body ought to conclude any thing againſt Mr Bayle's Religion, from his having related in his Dictionary the difficulties which may be raiſed againſt ſome important doctrines. The laws of diſpute required that he ſhould make a faithful report on both ſides of the queſtion. But it is plain that he had no intention of deſtroying theſe doctrines, becauſe the arguments which he has recited in their favour are ſtronger than thoſe which he oppoſeth to them. Mr Jaquelot himſelf owns this in his *Anſwer* to the *Dialogues of Maximus and Themiſtus*, which is one continued invective againſt Mr Bayle. "Libertines (ſays he (1), who ſhall read this Philoſopher's works, with underſtanding ſufficient to comprehend what they read, may eaſily diſcover that he has advanced reaſons for the Exiſtence of God, and the ſpiritual nature of the Soul, incomparably ſtronger than thoſe with which he has furniſhed Pagans and others to oppoſe theſe important truths." He repeats this likewiſe in the Preface. *Mr Bayle (ſays he* (2), *reaſons with a great deal more force and evidence when he eſtabliſheth the Exiſtence of God, than when he propoſeth the difficulties with which he furniſheth Simonides againſt this truth. . . . . . We ought to make the ſame judgment of the ſpirituality of the ſoul, if we read with application what he ſays of it, pro and con: and conſequently to receive* the Exiſtence of God, *and* the Spirituality of the Soul, *the two foundations of Religion, as principles very agreeable to Reaſon.* But even they who do not approve of Mr Bayle's ſentiments, admire the beauty and fertility of his genius, and the extenſiveneſs of his knowledge; and they who do not do him this juſtice, and who affect, or pretend, to deſpiſe him, that they may raiſe themſelves by debaſing him, do not ſo much diſparage Mr Bayle as their own diſcernment,

(1) Réponſe aux Entretiens de Mr Bayle &c. *p.* 256, 257.

(2) *Pref. fol.* * 5.

[T] *It was not owing to Mr Bayle that the public ever ſaw his Picture.*] It was deſired of him in the moſt earneſt manner, in order to be engraved and prefixed to the Engliſh Tranſlation of his Dictionary: but he anſwered that *could not reſolve to ſit for his picture, nor to allow it to be placed before his book:* that it was not in his power to *conquer that reluctance,* and *he begged them to pardon that weakneſs, if they ſhould be pleaſed to call it ſo* (*a*). The picture which he ſent to his Mother was deſigned to remain in the family, and we are obliged for its being made public to Mr Marais, an Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, and to Madam de Merignac a Lady of diſtinguiſhed merit, and a great admirer of Mr Bayle's memory and writings. They did not know that Mr Bayle had ever been drawn; but the Letter which he ſent to his Mother along with his picture (*b*), falling into Mr Marais hands after the death of Mr Bayle, they had notice that this picture was at Montauban, in the houſe of one of Mr Bayle's relations. Madam de Merignac got a copy of it, which ſhe gave at her death (*c*) to Mr de Francaſtel under-library-keeper to the Mazarine College, and Mr Marais cauſed a copy to be made from it. Theſe are the only two copies of it, which are at Paris. The Univerſity of Francfort on the Oder, deſired a third from Mr Marais, in order to be placed in a Hall where they had already collected eighty two portraits of famous men. Mr Bayle appears in it of a brown complexion, with lively features and very fine eyes. One eaſily diſcovers there his wit and vivacity. Some prints have been engraved at Paris from this picture. One of them was engraved by order of Madam de Merignac and Mr Marais. Mr Marais deſired Mr de la Monnoye to write ſome verſes to be placed under that print, and he compoſed the following Latin Diſtich:

Bælius hic ille eſt, cujus dum ſcripta vigebunt
  Lis erit oblectent, erudiant ne magis.

Such were Bayle's looks, whoſe writings juſtly boaſt
We know not if they pleaſe or profit moſt.

Another was engraved to be placed before the Geneva Edition of his Dictionary printed in 1715, where we find the following French verſes of Mr de la Monnoye, which are an imitation of the above Latin ones:

Tel fut l'illuſtre Bayle, honneur des beaux eſprits,
Dont l'élegante plume, en recherches fertile,
Fait douter qui des deux l'emporte en ſes Ecrits,
  De l'agréable, ou de l'utile.

(*a*) *Letter to Mr Des Maizeaux of the 3d of Apr.* 1705, *p.* 1013; *and of the 3d of July, p.* 1024.

(*b*) *See above, in the year* 1675, *pag.* ix.

(*c*) *This Lady died November* 11, 1712 *Her name was Magdalen Felix d'Oſtrel, ſhe was of a family of diſtinction in Flanders, and widow to Mr de Merignac.*

ment, and diſcover more preſumption than knowledge. It is common to find men of great learning with little genius, of much wit with little erudition, much ſolidity without any thing agreeable: but it is rare to find one who has ſo perfectly united all theſe qualities as Mr Bayle has done. This made Mr de Saint Evremond ſay (3),

Qu'on admire le grand ſavoir

L'erudition infinie

Où l'on ne voit ſens, ni génie,

Je ne ſaurois le concevoir:

Mais je trouve BAYLE *admirable*

Qui profond autant qu'agréable,

Me met en état de choiſir

L'inſtruction, ou le plaiſir.

While ſome the ſoph profound admire,
Tho' wanting ſenſe, and wit, and fire,
BAYLE ſtands my favourite confeſt,
Whoſe ſoul, with every talent bleſt,
Diſplays in his ſtill various page,
The chearful wit and learned ſage.

The end of the Life.

APPENDIX.

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(3) Mr de St Evremond's Works, Letter to Mr Des Maizeaux, *Tom. v. p.* 377. *Edit. of Amſterdam,* 1726.

APPENDIX.

CALENDARIUM CARLANANUM.

An Hiſtorical and Chronological Journal of the Life of Mr Bayle.

Anni Æræ Christ.	Epocha nativit.		Years of the Chriſtian Æra	Epoch of my birth.	
	18. *Nov.* 1647.			The 18th of November 1647.	
	Anni Ætat.			Years of my age	
1660, 29. *Jun.*	13. *curr.*	Initium ſtud. *L. G.*	1660, June 29.	13 current	I began to learn Greek.
1661, *Fer.* 1. *ſive Domin. die* 25. *Decembr.*	15. *iniens.*	I^{a}. Synaxis.	1661, on Sunday Decemb. 25.	15 near the beginning.	I for the firſt time received the Holy Communion.
1666, *Fer.* 6. *die* 12. *Febr.*	19. *curr.*	*I^{a}. Profectio ex Lare paterno PdlRm; ubi aſcript. I^{a}. Claſſ. 3°. Non. Maij, ſub Virodunenſi Clepoin.*	1666, on Saturday February 12.	19 current	I left my father's houſe and went to Puylaurens where I entered to the firſt claſs. Mr Clepoin of Verdun, was my Regent.
1666.		*Excurſio in triduum Caſtra.*	1666,		I made a Journey of three days to Caſtres.
1666 *die* 9. *Sept.*	19. *curr.*	*Reditus Carlan.*	1666, September 9.	19 current	I returned to Carla.
1668, *die* 29. *Mai.*	21. *curr.*	*Profectus Saverd. & manſio uſque ad* 4 *Kal. Oct. proximas.*	1668, May. 29.	21 current	I went to Saverdun where I ſtaid 'till the 28th of September following.
1668, *die lunæ* 5. *Novemb.*	21. *adfectus.*	*Egreſſus Carlan. & profectus Pdlrm. manſio uſque ad d.* 19. *fer.* 3. *menſis Febr.* 1669.	1668, Monday November. 5.	21 near the end.	I left Carla and went to Puylaurens where I continued till Tueſday February 19, 1669.
		Logicus.			I began the Study of Logic.
1669, *die Feb.* 19.	22. *curr.*	*Advent. TLSm.*	1669, February 19.	22 current	I arrived at Toulouſe.
1669, *die* 19. *Mart. fer.* 3.	22. *curr.*	*Tranſit. ad def. ſub Ignat . . . no cognomine: poſtera die iterum Logicus, ſub Ignat . . no cognomine urbi quæ ſedes Imper.* (1)	1669, Tueſday March 19.	22 current	I changed my Religion . . : . Next day I reſumed the Study of Logic.
1670, *die* 19. *Aug. fer.* 3.	23. *curr.*	*Profect. ex TLSm. & advent. ad villam D. del Viviê ad Mazer.*	1670, Tueſday Auguſt 19.	23 current	I left Toulouſe and came to a Country ſeat of Mr du Vivié near Mazeres.
1670, *die* 21. *Aug.*	23. *curr.*	*Redit. ad patern. Leg. intra privat. par. moderante Rivall. Saverd. Teſt. Fratre, Guillemat. & Rivall. reſpectivè Eccleſ. . . bus Carlan. Mazer. Calmon.*	1670, Auguſt 21.	23 current	I returned to the Reformed Religion, and made a private abjuration of the Romiſh Religion in the hands of Mr Rival Miniſter of Saverdun; in preſence of my Brother the Miniſter of Carla, of Mr Guillemat Miniſter of Mazeres, and of Mr Rival Miniſter of Calmont.
1670; *die* 21. *Aug.*	23. *curr.*	*Profect. Lemann. advent. die* 5. 7$^{br.}$ *fer.* 3.	1670, Auguſt 21.	23 current	I ſet out for Geneva, where I arrived on Tueſday September 5.
1670, *die* 21. *Nov.*	23. *adfec.*	*Ingreſſ. apud Dm. Neuſtriæ cognom.*	1670, November 21.	23 near the end.	I entered to the houſe of Mr de Normandie.
1672, *die* 23. *Mai.*	25. *curr.*	*Tranſitus Copet . , n9. apud Don. Comit.*	1672, November 21.	25 current	I went to Copet to live with the Count de Dhona.
1674, *fer.* 3. *d.* 29. *Mai.*	27. *curr.*	*Profect. ex Copet. & iter in Neuſtr. apud D. Rip. advent. eò* 15. *Jun. proxim.*	1674, Tueſday May 29.	27 current	I left Copet and went to Normandie to live with Mr Rip. I arrived there the fifteenth of June following.
1675 *Kal. Mart.*	28. *curr.*	*Egreſſ. Roth. ad Urbem: inibi ingreſſ. apud Dm. Ber . . gb.* 3. *apr. prox.*	1675, March 1.	28 current	I went from Rouen to Paris, where I entered to Mr de Beringhen's family, the 3d of April following.
1675, *fer.* 3. *die Aug.* 27.	28. *curr.*	*Iter Sed. advent. ultima Aug. die proxim.*	1675, Tueſday Aug. 27.	28 current	I ſet out for Sedan where I arrived on the laſt day of Auguſt.
1675, *die* 28. *Sept.*	28. *curr.*	*Incluſ. cum rival. ad comp. Theſ. quæ prop.* 22. *Octo. &* 23. *poſt merid.*	1675, September 28.	28 current	I was ſhut up with my Competitors to compoſe my Theſes which I defended on the 22d and 23d of October in the Afternoon.
1675 *die* 2. *Nov.*	28. *adfec.*	*Recept. à curat. &* 4 *Nov. prox. Sacramenti præſt. ad ſpartam Philoſoph. quæ* 14 *Jul.* 1681. *interdict. diplom. regio.*	1675, November 2.	28 near the end	I was received by the Moderators of the Academy, and on the 4th of November I took the oath as Profeſſor of Philoſophy. The Academy was ſuppreſſed by a Royal Edict July 14, 1681.
1675, *fer.* 2. *Nov.* 11.	28. *adfec.*	*I. Exercit. in audit.*	1675, Monday November 11.	28 near the end	I began my Public Lectures.

(1) We have not been able to diſcover the meaning of theſe words: *Sub Ignat . . no* (Ignatiano) *cognomine Urbi quæ ſedes Imperii.*

ANNI ÆRÆ CHRIST.	ANNI ÆTAT.		YEARS OF THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.	YEARS OF MY AGE.	
1681, *fer.* 3. *d.* 2. *Sept.*	34. *curr.*	*Profect. Sed. in urbem, advent. die* 7. *prox.*	1681, Tueſday September 2.	34 current	I leſt Sedan for Paris, where I arrived on the 7th.
1681, *fer* 4. *d.* 8. *Oct.*	34. *adſ.*	*Profect. Urbe Rott. vocat. juſſu D. Pa...*	1681 Wedneſday October 8.	34 near the end	I leſt Paris for Rotterdam where I was invited by Mr Paets.
1681, *fer.* 5. *d.* 30. *Oct.*	34. *adſ.*	*Advent. Rott.*	1681, Thurſday October 30.	34 near the end	I arrived at Rotterdam.
1681, *fer.* 6. *d.* 5. *Dec.*	35. *ineunt.*	*Or. inaug. ob Prof. ppb. & biſt. in Scb. ill. recens erect.*	1681, Friday December 5.	35 near the beginning.	My inaugural Oration at entering to my charge of Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Hiſtory, in the Illluſtrious School lately founded.
1681, *fer.* 2. *d.* 8. *Decem.*	35. *ineunt.*	*I. Lect. ppb.* 1682,	1681, Monday December 8.	35 near the beginning.	My firſt Philoſophical Lecture.
1682, *fer.* 4. *d.* 11. *Mart.*	35. *curr.*	Epiſt. de comet. *abſol. impreſſ. Ium. compoſ.* 11. *Januar.* 1681. *miſſa in Urb.* 27. *Mai. inſeq.*	1682, Wedneſday March 11.	35 current	The Impreſſion of the *Letter concerning Comets* was finiſhed, it was compoſed January 11, 1681, and ſent to Paris the 27th of May following.
1682, *fer.* 3. *d.* 31. *Mart.*	35. *curr.*	*Nunc. à D. J. Dam. Pa... paulo ante defunctam legaſſe duo m. Lb. Biblioth.* 9.	1682, Tueſday March 31.	35 current	I was informed by Mr J. that Madam Paets, lately dead, had leſt me a Legacy of two thouſand gilders to buy books.
1682, *fer.* 6. *die* 1. *Mai.*	35. *curr.*	*Incboata* Crit. G. de l'Hiſt. du C. *abſol.* 15. *d. poſt. tradita* 30. *Maii Wolſa. accepta ab illo die* 11. *Jul. dedit libr. in L.*	1682, Friday May 1.	35 current	I began the *General Criticiſm of the Hiſtory of Calviniſm*; I finiſhed it on the 15th of the ſame month, and on the 30th I gave it to Wolfgang, from whom I received it printed on the firſt of July at which time it was publiſhed.
1682, *menſe Aug.*	35. *curr.*	*Viſa, emend. & aucta. accepta edit.* 2ª. *die lunæ* 29. *Nov. dedit libr. in L.*	1682, In the month of Auguſt.	35 current	I reviſed, corrected, and enlarged that work, and received a ſecond edition of it, when it was publiſhed on Monday November 29.
1682, *menſ. Oct.*	35. *exeunt.*	*Accepta à D. Fetiz. m.s.* Apolog. pro bell. civil. *quam mibi ſub.* nõie Philar. *d. d. & c. impreſſ. Hag. accepta die* 21. *Feb.* 1683.	1682, In the month of October.	35 near the end	I received from Mr Fetizon the M. S. of his *Apology for the Civil-Wars*, which he dedicated to me under the name of *Philaretus*, and which was printed at the Hague, from whence it was ſent to me February 21, 1683.
1683, *fer.* 4. *die.* 2. *Sept.*	36. *curr.*	*Abſol.* 2ª. *edit.* Ep. ad. D. S. contra præ. Com. *dedit Typog.* 120. *Exempl.*	1683, Wedneſday September 2.	36 current	The impreſſion of the ſecond edition of the *Letter to a Doctor of the Sorbon againſt the preſages of Comets*, was finiſhed. The Bookſellers gave me 120 Copies of it.
1683, *fer.* 4. *die* 24. *Nov.*	37. *ineunt.*	*Abſol. imprimi à Typogr. Graef* Examen Method. *à D. Baſn. Eccl. Rotbom. compoſitum, & mibi dicat.*	1683. Wedneſday November 24.	37 near the beginning.	Mr Graef finiſhed the impreſſion of *the Examination of the Methods* by Mr Baſnage Miniſter at Rouen, who dedicated it to me.
1683, *menſ. Dec.*	37. *ineunt.*	*Abſol. imp.* Proſel. ab. *in* 12. *cujus autb. D. La. R. filius mibi dicav.*	1683, In the month of December.	37 near the beginning.	The Impreſſion of the *Proſelyte abuſed*, in 12mo, was finiſhed: it was wrote by Mr de Larroque the ſon, and dedicated to me.
1684, *fer.* 6. *die* 21. *Jan.*	37. *curr.*	*Accept. Liber Heidelb. in Brueys exarat. à Theol. Cand. Lenſ. poſtea tradit. Leers Typogr.*	1684, Friday January 21.	37 current	I received from Heidelberg, a book againſt Mr Brueys compoſed by Mr Lenſant a ſtudent of Divinity. I gave it to Mr Leers to be printed.
1684, *fer.* 5. *die* 16. *Mart.*	37. *curr.*	*Acceptum exemplar tractat. in quibus diſſertat. lat. in L. à Villa denuò excus. Amſtel.*	1684, Thurſday March 16.	37 current	I received a copy of the Collection which contains a Latin diſſertation againſt Louis de la Ville, reprinted at Amſterdam.
1684, *fer.* 3. *die* 21. *Mart.*	37. *curr.*	*Incboat.* Nunc. Reipub. Litterar. *& die* 4. *Apr. inſeq. tranſact. cum Des B. Typ. Amſt. & die* 27. *Maii accepta exempl. menſ.* 1: *die v.* 2. *Junii accept. exempl. menſis April.*	1684, Tueſday March 21.	37 current	I began the *News from the Republic of Letters*; and on the 4th of April following, I made an agreement with Des Bordes a Bookſeller in Amſterdam: on the 27th of May I received copies of the firſt month (of March) and on the 2d of June I received copies for the month of April.
1684, *fer.* 3. *die* 9. *Maii*	37. *curr.*	*Accept. Litteræ vocat. datæ Leovard.* 21. *April. Sty. vet. ad Philoſopb. Profeſſ. Franek. poſtera die reſponſ. petens moram: die v.* 9. *Junii ſequente reponſ. aliud gratias ag.*	1684, Tueſday May 9.	37 current	I received Letters from Leewarden of the 21ſt of April old ſtyle, wherein a Profeſſor of Philoſophy's chair in the Univerſity at Franeker was offered to me. I anſwered the day after, and deſired time to conſider of it. And on the 9th of June following I wrote them a letter of thanks.
1684, *fer.* 3. *die* 16. *Maii.*	37. *curr.*	*Accept. Literæ Paris. à D. de Frejeville nunciant. obitum Fratris Joſ. qui defunc. Paris. de morb.* 9. *Maii.*	1684, Tueſday May 16.	37 current	I received letters from Paris, by Mr de Frejeville, giving me an account of my brother Joſeph's death, who died at Paris May 9.

Anni Æræ Christ.	Anni Ætat.		Years of the Christian Æra.	Years of my age.	
1685, *fer.* 2. *die* 5. *Mart.*	38. *curr.*	*Accept. Exemplar* Nouv. Lettres 2. *vol. in* 12.	1685, Monday March 5.	38 current	I received a copy of the *New Letters concerning the Hiſtory of Calviniſm*, in two Volumes in 12mo.
1685, *fer.* 2. *die* 8. *Maii.*	38. *curr.*	*Accept. nuncius obit. patris qui contigit die Sabb.* 31. *menſis Martii.*	1685. Monday May 8.	38 current	I received the news of my father's death which happened on Sunday March 31.
1685, *fer.* 4. *die* 27. *Jun.*	38. *curr.*	*Acceptæ Amſtel. Literæ Saverd. ſcriptæ nunciant. Fratrem ductum die* 10. *Jun. in carcer. Appam. inde* 10. *Jul. tranſv. Burdig. in arcem quæ vulgò* Chat. Tr. *ubi obiit die* 12. *Novembr. in ſequent.*	1685, Wedneſday June 27.	38 current	Letters came from Saverdun to Amſterdam, which gave an account that my brother was carried a priſoner to Pamiers on the 10th of June, and on the 10th of July was removed to Bourdeaux to the Caſtle commonly called *Château Trompete*, where he died the 12th of November following.
Menſe Octobr.	38. *exeunt.*	*Verſa Gallicè Epiſtola A. Paets* de nuperis. *Vide Novell. p.* 1070.	In the month of October.	38 near the end.	I tranſlated into French Mr Paets's Letter *de nuperis* &c. See the News from the Republic of Letters. p. 1070.
1686, *men. Feb. die* 25. *fer.* 2.	39. *curr.*	*Abſoluta impreſſ.* Reſponſionis ad Monit. Arnal. circa de ſenſ. volupt. opinion. Mallebr.	1686, Monday February 25.	39 current	They finiſhed the Impreſſion of the *Anſwer to Mr Arnauld's Advice concerning Father Mallebranche's opinion about the pleaſure of the ſenſes.*
Die 6. & 7. *men. Mart.*	39. *curr.*	*Compoſita* Epiſt. *appendix fut. Libri Deckkerri* de adeſp.	On the ſixth and 7th of March.	39 current	I compoſed a *Letter* to be placed by way of Appendix to Mr Decker's book concerning *anonymous Authors.*
Die 22. *Mart. fer.* 6.	39. *curr.*	* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Friday March 22.	39 current	* *
Die 28. *Octob. fer.* 4.	39. *deſin.*	* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * (2).	Wedneſday October 28.	39 near the end	* *
1687. *fer.* 1. *die* 16. *Feb.*	40. *curr.*	*Incepi morbo laborare quo intermittere coact.* Nouv. de la R. *non prorſus peract. menſ. Febr.*	1687, Sunday February 16.	40 current	I was ſeized with an illneſs which obliged me to diſcontinue the *News from the Republic of Letters*, without being able to finiſh the month of February.
		Abruptum omnino opus tranſ. in poteſt. D. de Beauv. qui novum adorn. menſ. 7$^{b.}$ *Abruptum quoque Colleg.*			I entirely laid down that work and reſigned it to Mr de Bauval who publiſhed a new Journal in the month of September. I alſo interrupted my lectures.
Die 10. *Jun.*	40. *curr.*	*Recept.* 3. *pars* Com. ph. *quæ ante morb. abſoluta fuer.* & *Typog. trad.* & *ante fin. Feb. prorſus typis deſcr.*	June 10.	40 current	I received the third part of the *Philoſophical Commentary*, which I had finiſhed before my ſickneſs, and given it to the Bookſeller, who had finiſhed the impreſſion before the end of February.
Die 8. *Aug.*	40. *curr.*	*In viam me dedi tend. Cliv. quo perventum die* 13. *Aug. poſtero die in hoſp. D. Ferrand. paſt. in Caſtello uſque ad* 15. *Septemb. Hinc Sylv. Ducis, inde Aquis gr. cum D. D. Piel* & *Farjon. Verſus* 18. *Oct.*	Auguſt 8.	40 current	I made a journey to Cleves, where I arrived Auguſt 13. Next day I went to lodge with Mr Ferrand Miniſter of the Caſtle, and continued with him till the 15th of September. From thence I went to Bois-le-Duc, and afterwards to Aix-la-Chapelle, with Mr Pielat and Mr Farjon. I returned to Rotterdam on the 18th of October.

(2) Theſe two paſſages are cut in the original: the one related to the impreſſion of *la France toute Catholique*; and the other to the firſt and ſecond parts of the *Commentaire Philoſophique*, which appeared at the ſame time. The third part is mentioned here below, June 10, 1687.

An Order of Mr de la Reynie, Lieutenant-General of the Police of the City, Provoſtſhip, and Viſcounty of Paris, concerning the General Criticism on Mr Maimbourg's History of Calvinism. By the King, and the Provoſt of Paris, or his Lieutenant-General of the Police.

WHEREAS it has been repreſented to us by the King's Attorney, that certain diſaffected perſons have imported and ſold in this City, ſeveral copies of a book, intitled, *A General Criticiſm on Mr Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm*, printed, as the title page bears, at Ville-Franche by Pierre le Blanc in 1682, wherein the Author of the ſaid book, inſtead of a juſt and ſober Criticiſm allowed to men of Letters and erudition, has had the boldneſs, under the ſpecious title of a Criticiſm, to advance ſeveral calumnious and pretended facts, which tend under a falſe zeal for Religion to corrupt the fidelity of ſubjects: and it being for the intereſt of the public that the ſale of ſo pernicious a book ſhould be prevented, and that they who ſhall be found to be the Authors, or Printers, Importers, Sellers, or Venders of the ſame, ſhould be puniſhed according to the rigour of the laws; and the King's Attorney having deſired that we ſhould take cognizance thereof. WE having ſeen the ſaid book, intitled, *A General Criticiſm on Mr Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm*, printed at Ville-Franche by Peter le Blanc in 1682, as the title bears, containing 338 Pages, and divided into 22 Letters: WE in purſuance of the ſaid petition have declared the book intitled *A General Criticiſm on Mr Maimbourg's Hiſtory* diffamatory and calumnious, and filled with bold and ſeditious forgeries, and as ſuch we order it to be lacerated and burnt at the Greve, by the hands of the hangman; and that, at the requeſt and by the care of the King's Attorney, informations may be drawn up againſt thoſe who have compoſed, printed, imported, ſold, or vended the ſaid book, and that proceſs may be commenced and proſecuted againſt thoſe who ſhall be found guilty, according to the rigour of the law. EXPRESSLY forbidding all Printers and Bookſellers to print, vend, or ſell, the ſaid book, under the pain of death; and all other perſons, of what quality and condition ſoever, to make any traffic or ſale of the ſame under the pain of exemplary puniſhment: and this preſent Order ſhall be publiſhed and affixed in the uſual and accuſtomed places; and particularly in the Hall of the Bookſellers and Printers of this City, that no body may pretend ignorance of the ſame. Given by Mr Gabriel Nicolas de la Reynie Counſellor of State in ordinary, and Lieutenant-General of the Police of the City, Provoſtſhip, and Viſcounty of Paris, the ſixth day of March, one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty three,

Signed

DE LA REYNIE.

DE RIANTZ. SAGOT, Regiſter.

The above Order was read, publiſhed, and affixed with ſound of trumpet, and public proclamation, in the uſual and accuſtomed places, by me Mark Anthony Paſquier, ſworn Cryer in ordinary to his Majeſty, in the ſaid City, Provoſtſhip, and Viſcounty of Paris, living near the Hôtel des Urſins, accompanied with Stephen du Bos, ſworn Trumpeter to his Majeſty, Philip le Sieü and Louis la Coſte, deputy Trumpeters, March 9, 1683.

Signed

Pasquier.

Printed by Denis Thierry, in the Rue S. Jaques.

Acts of the Consistory of the Walloon Church of Rotterdam, concerning the Sieur Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary.

November 3, 1697.

THE Committee appointed by an Act of the fifteenth of September laſt, having made a report that they had examined the Extracts which Meſſieurs de Superville and le Page, Miniſters, had made of the paſſages of a book of the Sieur Bayle, intitled, *An Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary*, which relate to obſcenities, and that having compared theſe Extracts with the ſaid book, they had therein found obſcene reflections, indecent expreſſions and queſtions, and a great many obſcene quotations, as is more fully expreſſed in a Memoir which they produced concerning the ſame, wherein theſe paſſages are marked. Whereupon the Conſiſtory have thought fit, that the ſaid Memoir ſhould be kept by their Secretary, to be produced when they ſhall come to a general deliberation with regard to the ſaid book, and mean while the other members of the Conſiſtory, may further examine the ſaid Memoir, and make their remarks upon it betwixt this and a fortnight hence. And it has been thought proper in the mean time that this Act and others of the ſame nature, which ſhall be made on this ſubject, ſhall not be regiſtered in the book of Acts, except by the expreſs order of the Conſiſtory.

November

November 17, 1697.

The term of a fortnight appointed by the preceeding Act for making remarks on the Memoir mentioned in the ſaid Act being now elapſed, the other members of the Conſiſtory were aſked, if they had made any remarks on the ſame, and no body having declared that they had made any, the Report contained in the ſaid Memoir was agreed to and held as the opinion of the Conſiſtory.

The ſame Day.

The Committee above-mentioned having made a Report that they had examined the Extracts which Meſſieurs de Superville and le Page, Miniſters, had made of the paſſages of the above-mentioned book of the Sieur Bayle, in the Article of DAVID, and that having compared the ſaid Extracts with the ſaid book, they had found that the Sieur Bayle had in general drawn a very frightful picture of the conduct and government of this King and Prophet, and that in particular he treats ſeveral of his actions in an unworthy and ſcandalous manner, as this is more fully expreſſed in a Memoir which the ſaid Committee produced concerning the ſame, wherein the paſſages are marked: whereupon the Conſiſtory have thought fit that this Memoir ſhall be kept as the foregoing one, and the other members of the Conſiſtory may further examine the ſaid Memoir, and make their remarks upon it betwixt this and a fortnight hence.

December 1, 1697.

The term of a fortnight appointed by the preceeding Act for making remarks on the Memoir which relates to the Article DAVID, mentioned in the ſaid Act, being now elapſed, the other members of the Conſiſtory were aſked, if they had any remarks on the ſame, and no body declaring that they had made any; the Report contained in the ſame Memoir was agreed to, and held as the opinion of the Conſiſtory.

The ſame day.

The Committee abovementioned having made a Report that they had examined the Extracts which Meſſieurs de Superville and Le Page, Miniſters, had made concerning the paſſages in the ſaid book of the Sieur Bayle, in the Articles of the MANICHEANS, MARCIONITES, and PAULICIANS; and having compared theſe Extracts with the ſaid book, they had found that Mr Bayle had not only advanced the arguments which the Manicheans had made uſe of anciently, but had likewiſe formed new arguments in favour of Manicheiſm, which even tend to oppoſe the hypotheſes of all Proteſtant Divines, and that he in the concluſion gives the victory to the Manichean hypotheſis which had given great offence to the ſaid Committee, as they have expreſſed it more at large in a Memoir which the ſaid Committee have produced concerning it, wherein the paſſages complained of are marked: whereupon the Conſiſtory have thought fit that this Memoir ſhall be kept as the preceeding, and the other members of the Conſiſtory may further examine the ſaid Memoir, and make their remarks upon it betwixt this and a fortnight hence.

December 8, 1697.

The Committee above-mentioned having made a Report that they had examined the Extracts which Meſſieurs de Superville and le Page, Miniſters, had made of the paſſages of the ſaid book of the Sieur Bayle, in the Article of PYRRHO, and that having compared the ſaid Extracts with the ſaid book, the ſaid Committee had drawn up a Memoir of what they had found there ſcandalous and blame-worthy, which Memoir they produced to the Conſiſtory; whereupon the Conſiſtory have thought fit that this Memoir ſhall be kept as the preceeding, and that the other members of the Conſiſtory may further examine the ſaid Memoir, and make their remarks upon it betwixt this and the week following.

December 15, 1697.

The term of a fortnight appointed by the ſecond Act of the firſt inſtant, for making remarks with relation to the Article of the MANICHEANS, MARCIONITES ann PAULICIANS, mentioned in the ſaid Act; and likewiſe the term of eight days, appointed by the Act immediately preceeding this, for making remarks on the Memoir relating to the Article of PYRRHO mentioned in the ſaid Act, being now elapſed; the members of the Conſiſtory were aſked if they had made any remarks upon the ſame, whereupon no body having ſignified that they had made any, the report contained in the ſaid two Memoirs was agreed to, and held as the opinion of the Conſiſtory.

The ſame Day.

The Committee abovementioned, having made a report that they had examined the Extracts which Meſſieurs Superville and le Page, Miniſters, had made of the paſſages of the ſaid book of the Sieur Bayle in diverſe Articles with relation to *Atheiſts* or *Epicureans*; and that having compared the ſaid Extracts with the ſaid book, the ſaid Committee had drawn up a Memoir of ſuch things as they had found ſcandalous and deſerving reproof in it: which Memoir they produced to the Conſiſtory Whereupon the Conſiſtory have thought fit that the ſaid Memoir ſhould be kept as the preceeding, and that the other members of the Conſiſtory may further examine the ſaid Memoir, and make their remarks upon it betwixt this and Sunday next.

The ſame Day.

Mr le Page, one of our Miniſters, informed the Conſiſtory that the Sieur Bayle came to ſee him on the 10th of this month, to tell him that he had heard that the Conſiſtory were examining his *Critical Dictionary*. That this had ſurprized him, becauſe he did not think that Dictionaries were ſubject to examination; that he had been aſſured that we found fault with the articles of DAVID, the MANICHEANS or PAULICIANS, the PYRRHONIANS, and ſundry expreſſions and citations of too free a nature; that ſince it was ſo he deſigned to ſoften and rectify theſe things in a ſecond edition, either by adding or ſuppreſſing, and deſired that the Conſiſtory might be informed of this his declaration, and that he hoped they would be ſatisfied with it. Whereupon the Conſiſtory having deliberated, thought fit to appoint an extraordinary meeting on Thurſday next on the affair of the ſaid Sieur Bayle.

Thurſday December 19, 1697.

The Conſiſtory being extraordinarily met, according to the abovementioned Act, and having read over the four firſt Memoirs relating to the affair of the ſaid Sieur Bayle, mentioned in the preceeding Acts, they thought fit to acquaint the Sieur Bayle, by the mouth of their Secretary, to appear before them on Tueſday next in the afternoon, at half an hour after three of the clock, on this affair.

Sunday December 21, 1697.

The time appointed by the ſecond Act of the 15th inſtant, for making remarks on the Memoir relating to ſeveral Articles concerning *Atheiſts* and *Epicureans*, mentioned in the ſaid Act, being now elapſed, the other members of the Conſiſtory were aſked if they had any remarks on the ſame. Whereupon no body having ſignified that they had made any, the report contained in the ſaid Memoir was agreed to, and held as the opinion of the Conſiſtory.

Tueſday December 24, 1697.

The Conſiſtory being extraordinarily aſſembled, according to the Act of the 19th inſtant, the Sieur Bayle appeared before them: to whom the Conſiſtory having declared, by the mouth of their Preſident, that they had found in his book, intitled *An Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary*, ſeveral paſſages which appeared to the Conſiſtory offenſive. And in the firſt place, that they had found in his ſaid book obſcene expreſſions, quotations, and reflexions; in anſwer to which the ſaid Sieur Bayle ſaid, "That he was "not prepared to anſwer, not knowing what the Conſiſtory was to propoſe to him; and added, "there was a difference betwixt a Philoſophical writer or an Hiſtorian, and a Divine; that an Hi"ſtorian ought to be faithful and impartial, and that he is accountable if he gives falſe relations; "that he might deſire of this Conſiſtory twenty audiences, of two hours each, to lay his reaſons be"fore them, but that he would not make uſe of that method, and that he deſired to prevent a long "and tedious proceſs; that he maintained that he had advanced nothing in the ſaid book as his own "opinion, which was contrary to our Confeſſions of Faith, and that he had defended the principal "points of Religion in it; that they ought not to inſiſt on what was only trifling; that he might cri"ticize upon the Extracts which the Conſiſtory had made, both with regard to facts, and with re"gard to right; but that he would not in the leaſt enter into that diſcuſſion; that in the preface "to the ſaid book he had declared that he would be ready to correct whatever ſhould be found "in it which deſerved correction; and that in the Reflexions which he had publiſhed on a "pamphlet intitled, *The Judgment of the Public*, he had made the ſame declaration; that he de"clared once more to the Conſiſtory, that he had reſolved to change in a ſecond Edition what"ever the Conſiſtory ſhould find fault with, and that he was already at work in correcting the "ſaid Book."

The Conſiſtory having deliberated on this Anſwer, and deſired the Sieur Bayle to come in, they told him, by the mouth of their Preſident, that they would not at preſent enter upon an anſwer to the abovementioned reaſons alledged by him, and as to the reſolution which he had declared to them, that it appeared to be too general; that he had ſpoke of correcting in a ſecond Edition, and not of retracting; that the Conſiſtory did not know when that ſecond Edition ſhould be publiſhed, and likewiſe that ſeveral accidents might intervene to prevent the execution of it; that the remarks which the Conſiſtory had made upon the ſaid book were of importance. Whereupon the Sieur Bayle had anſwered "that "he would be ready not only to make alterations in the ſaid book, but likewiſe to retract what "ſhould be thought deſerved to be retracted, and that even now, if there be any propoſitions "in it which are laid down as his own opinion, which ſhall be found contrary to our Religion, "that he declared them heretical."

After this the Conſiſtory informed him that they would cauſe the paſſages of the ſaid book to be pointed out to him, together with their remarks upon the ſame, and afterwards appointed Meſſieurs Pielat, de Superville, and le Page, Miniſters; Meſſieurs de Fanueil, Diodati, and Vermande, Elders; and Meſſieurs de Tinnebacq and de Peyſter, Deacons; to point out to the Sieur Bayle the paſſages and remarks contained in the five Memoirs which have been made on that ſubject; and to hear what the ſaid Sieur ſhould ſay concerning them, and to make a Report of the ſame to the Conſiſtory.

January 5, 1698.

The Memoirs of the Committee appointed by an Act of the 24th of December laſt, reported, that having met on the 30th following, they had laid before the Sieur Bayle, the ſubſtance of the Remarks contained in the five Memoirs made with relation to his book, mentioned in the ſaid Act, and having heard the explanations and general anſwers, and likewiſe the Sieur Bayle's offers on that ſubject, they had thought it proper that the Sieur Bayle ſhould put what he had ſaid to them in writing, which the ſaid Sieur Bayle having done, they produced a Memoir of the ſame ſubſcribed by the ſaid Sieur, which being read before the Conſiſtory, after deliberating thereupon, they thought fit to deſire the Members of the ſaid Committee to draw up a ſketch of an Anſwer to the ſaid Memoir, and to communicate the ſame to the Conſiſtory, which ſhall extraordinarily meet for that purpoſe on Tueſday next, and ordered that the Sieur Bayle be ſummoned to appear before them at that time.

A MEMORIAL *preſented to the Conſiſtory of the Walloon Church of Rotterdam on Sunday January* 5, 1698, *concerning the* HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL DICTIONARY.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ WHAT I had the honour to ſay to you on the twenty fourth of the laſt month; and to repeat more at large to your Committee on Monday laſt, when they read their remarks to me, I now give the Conſiſtory in writing with more particular explanations.

“ This may be reduced to two points: The firſt is, that I have a great many things to alledge both by way of reaſon and of example in my juſtification, without a diſcuſſion of which this matter cannot in equity be determined by way of deciſion. The ſecond is, that if to prevent a long proceſs, and other inconveniences, the Conſiſtory think proper to terminate this affair by way of agreement, I will do all that is in my power to facilitate it. For that purpoſe, I in the firſt place declare in the ſincereſt manner, that I never intended to inſert any thing in my Dictionary which could give juſt cauſe of offence to pious ſouls. I always hoped that the liberty which I took on certain occaſions would be favourably interpreted, becauſe people would obſerve that it is a Layman and a Philoſopher who ſpeaks, and that too in a Hiſtory, a Criticiſm, and a large Commentary, and that I have been at pains to add, wherever I thought it was neceſſary, ſalvo's and explanations which bring back my reader to the moſt orthodox principle of our Communion, to wit, that the Scripture is the rule of what we ought to believe, whether our reaſon can comprehend it or not. I likewiſe hoped that every body would remember that the quality of Hiſtorian puts one under a neceſſity of relating many things concerning the ſtrong and the weak ſide of every party, which another Author would not ſay, and that the Fathers of the Church have minutely related impurities and obſcenities which create horror.

“ I declare in the ſecond place that I am extremely ſorry, that, contrary to my intention and hopes, ſeveral people have been offended at the liberty which I have taken, and that if I had foreſeen this I would have carefully abſtained from it. And in order effectually to remedy this I promiſe to rectify in a ſecond edition which I ſhall preſently ſet about, all the paſſages which have been complained of. This appears to me to be very eaſy to be done either by ſuppreſſions, additions, or change of expreſſion. By reading the remarks of your Committee, I know theſe paſſages more diſtinctly than I did before. In my corrections I ſhall have great regard to theſe remarks, and the rather that I know that they were made by perſons of great abilities, and to the good advice and information, which it ſhall pleaſe the Miniſters of the Church to favour me with; and I ſhall much more conſider whether a thing may offend part of my readers, than whether it be at bottom true, and not contrary to our Confeſſion of Faith.

“ I promiſe, in particular, to new model the Article of the Prophet DAVID in ſuch a manner, that no ſtumbling block ſhall be left there. As to what relates to the *Manichean* Hereſy, I have very diſtinctly declared that it is horrible, extravagant, contrary to common notions, and that it may be eaſily overthrown by the Holy Scripture. I have only maintained, that the objections concerning the Origin of Evil cannot be ſolved by the ſtrength of reaſon, and I believed that this was ſaying no more than what all our Divines confeſs concerning the incomprehenſibility of Predeſtination. Notwithſtanding I promiſe to conſider that matter over again, and to ſeek for philoſophical reaſons againſt theſe objections. And if your Reverend Miniſters will be ſo good as to take the trouble of furniſhing me with any, I will make uſe of them in the beſt manner I am able, and that with the greater pleaſure that Manicheiſm is an abominable hereſy with regard to Morality, and ridiculous and monſtrous with regard to Metaphyſics. What I promiſe with relation to this Article ought likewiſe to be underſtood in particular with regard to that of PYRRHO.

“ In a word, I declare that I will receive with joy, and with an intention to profit by them all the advices that may be communicated to me, in order to render my book more uſeful to the public, and more edifying to the churches; and eſpecially I will receive with great ſubmiſſion the good advices of the Conſiſtory.

“ I have only two things farther, Gentlemen, to declare to you. The firſt is, that I never deſigned to advance as my own opinion any doctrine contrary to the Confeſſion of Faith of the Reformed Church, of which I profeſs myſelf a member, and in which I beg the grace of God that I may live and die. If therefore there be any ſuch doctrine found in my writings, I diſown it, and from this day forth entirely retract it. The ſecond thing is, that I have good ground to hope that the Conſiſtory having nothing in view but the peace and edification of the public, will be fully content with what is above; for methinks it is all that can be required of an Author in ſuch a caſe. Beſides, that by taking the way of a formal proceſs, the Conſiſtory muſt be ſenſible that it will be drawn into great length, that I have reaſons to offer in my juſtification on every article; that it may perhaps be neceſſary to paſs from one Court to another, and even come to printed Caſes, which will only tend to excite new troubles without any advantage to the Church, and on the contrary will give pleaſure to our adverſaries.

“ If all that I have ſaid above ſhould not be able to bring this matter to an amicable iſſue, and if notwithſtanding thereof this affair ſhould come to be tried by way of proceſs, I deſire that nothing that I have ſaid above may prejudice my cauſe, either as to my pretenſions of challenging ſome perſons, if that ſhall be found neceſſary, or to the method of appeal, if that be found requiſite. I deſire likewiſe that what I have ſaid either to the Conſiſtory, or to the Gentleman of the Committee, may not be taken as part of my Defence.”

And it was ſigned BAYLE.

Tueſday, January 7, 1698.

The Conſiſtory being extraordinarily aſſembled in conſequence of the laſt Act, and finding that they were not a ſufficient number, though all the members were particularly acquainted to meet, that they might come to a reſolution on this affair, and conſidering the ſhortneſs of the time, the

Conſiſtory being to be changed on Sunday next; after having examined the ſketch of an Anſwer drawn by the Committee, mentioned in the preceding Act, they have thought fit only to read the ſaid ſketch to the Sieur Bayle, who having deſired a copy of it, the Conſiſtory came to no reſolution thereupon, but thought proper to meet again on Thurſday next.

Thurſday, January 9, 1698.

The Conſiſtory being once more extraordinarily aſſembled, in conſequence of the preceding Act, and having read the ſketch of an Anſwer, drawn up by the Committee, and communicated to the Sieur Bayle, as is mentioned in the preceding Act, unanimouſly approved of the ſame. The tenour whereof is as follows:

The Conſiſtory continuing to deliberate concerning Mr Bayle's affair, after having heard the ſaid Sieur Bayle's explanations and general anſwers, both in full Conſiſtory on Thurſday the 24th of December laſt, and on Monday the 30th of this month, in preſence of the Committee who communicated to him by word of mouth the ſubſtance of the five Memoirs drawn up by the Conſiſtory concerning his Dictionary, and have made a report of the whole on Sunday laſt, the 5th inſtant; after having likewiſe examined the paper preſented to the Conſiſtory, on Sunday laſt above-mentioned, by the ſaid Sieur Bayle, and ſigned by him, in which he lays down his intentions and deſigns more diſtinctly.

The Conſiſtory declare that they are glad to obſerve,

I. That the ſaid Sieur Bayle proteſts that he deſires to live and die in the profeſſion of the Reformed Religion which it has pleaſed God to make known to him, and in which he has continued until now, diſowning and retracting from this day forth all that he may have advanced in his works contrary to our Confeſſion of Faith, ſuppoſing that there be any ſuch thing in them, which he doth not believe, he having always had a contrary intention.

II. That the ſaid Sieur Bayle is extremely ſorry that, contrary to his intentions and hopes, many perſons have been offended at the liberty which he has taken in his Dictionary, and that if he had foreſeen this he would have carefully abſtained from it.

III. That he abhors *Manicheiſm*, as a hereſy which is entirely deſtroyed by the Scripture, and which is abominable, and monſtrous with regard to Morality as well as Metaphyſics, adding that he will be at all poſſible pains to refute it, which he alſo promiſeth with regard to *Pyrrhoniſm*.

IV. That in particular he deſigns to correct the Article DAVID in ſuch a manner, that no ſtumbling-block ſhall remain there.

V. And laſtly, that to ſatisfy the complaints which have been made againſt his Dictionary, he deſigns to ſet about a ſecond edition without delay; in which he will change, correct, rectify, and ſuppreſs, every thing that may have given offence, and that in order to render that edition more correct, he will have great regard to the Memoirs which have been communicated to him by the Conſiſtory, and to whatever advice they ſhall pleaſe to give him.

The Conſiſtory is very glad to ſee Mr Bayle in theſe diſpoſitions: but they cannot approve of divers other things which the ſaid Sieur Bayle has inſerted in his paper, as among other things, that he pretends that he could juſtify what he has advanced in his Dictionary, if it ſhould come to a diſcuſſion, and that he ſpeaks of the reaſons which he will then alledge, as reaſons which are ſufficient to juſtify him, ſo that it ſeems that it is only out of condeſcendence, and that he may not give offence to pious ſouls, that he is willing to correct and rectify his work, and not that at bottom he is obliged to do it, or that the work has need of it, becauſe in quality of a Layman, Philoſopher, Hiſtorian, and Commentator, it was lawful for him to advance many things, which would not be allowed in another Author. The Conſiſtory cannot approve of theſe exceptions, as the Preſident will repreſent to Mr Bayle more at large, yet in the mean while being willing to take the moſt indulgent method to endeavour to put an end to this affair, they are of opinion that in order thereunto it is neceſſary,

I. That Mr Bayle acquieſce in the remarks which have been made by the Conſiſtory, that he acknowledge the ſolidity of them, and promiſe to profit by them, and conform to them in a ſecond edition. Theſe remarks relate 1. to the *Obſcenities* diſperſed in the work. 2. The Article of *David.* 3. *Manicheiſm.* 4. *Pyrrhoniſm.* 5. The exceſſive praiſes given to *Atheiſts*, with the conſequences he draws from thence. Concerning which he ſhall declare his ſorrow that he has given ground of complaint.

II. It is neceſſary that the Sieur Bayle ſhould promiſe that for the future he will take great care to advance nothing in his writings, which may offend either the purity of Morality, or the truth of Doctrine: but on the contrary that he will dedicate the talents, which God has given him, to the defence of both, and to the edification of the Church.

III. That to repair the ſcandal already given, and for the edification of the public, Mr Bayle ſhall be earneſtly exhorted, not to wait for a ſecond edition of his Dictionary, which may be a long while hence, but with the firſt opportunity to print ſomething in which he ſhall acquaint the public with the ſentiments which he has declared to us concerning the points propoſed to him.

Afterwards Mr Bayle being come in, the Preſident once more read the before-mentioned ſketch to him, which was now held as the opinion of the Conſiſtory, and aſked him what he had to anſwer thereto. Whereupon the ſaid Sieur Bayle declared that he acquieſced in this reſolution, and at the ſame time delivered the following Memoir written and ſigned by him:

" Gentlemen,

" BEING perſuaded that the Conſiſtory have nothing elſe in view, in terminating this affair, but
" ſincerely to promote the edification of the public and the glory of God, and being deſirous to
" concur with them to the utmoſt of my power, in ſo good a deſign, I accept of the conditions
" contained in an Act which was read to me on the ſeventh inſtant; and I declare in particular
" with regard to the remarks which have been communicated to me by the Conſiſtory, that I acquieſce
" in them as a rule which I will punctually follow in the correction of my Dictionary for a new edition.

“ I ſhall likewiſe comply with the exhortation of the Conſiſtory to the utmoſt of my power, concerning
“ a piece to be publiſhed before the new edition, and I hope that this ſhall not be long delayed.
“ I hope and humbly deſire the Conſiſtory that they will be pleaſed not to allow theſe remarks and
“ other papers relating to this affair, to fall into the hands of people who may make a bad uſe of them,
“ by publiſhing pieces which can only do prejudice to the edification of ſouls, both in themſelves
“ and by the anſwers which I may be obliged to make to them. At Rotterdam, January 9, 1698.”

And was ſigned Bayle.

Thereafter Mr Bayle being withdrawn, the Conſiſtory, after having deliberated on his anſwer, reſolved to reſt ſatisfied with it, becauſe he agreed to every thing which they had deſired of him, he acquieſced in the remarks of the Conſiſtory on his Dictionary, and promiſed to publiſh, as ſoon as poſſible, a piece which ſhould acquaint the public with his good diſpoſitions. They were of opinion, that by putting an end to that affair in this manner, the Church would be more edified than by long debates; beſides, that this would be the moſt effectual means of engaging Mr Bayle to employ his talents for the advancement of our Lord's Kingdom. Being therefore called in again to the Conſiſtory, the Preſident told him, I. That the Conſiſtory was ſatisfied with his anſwer. II. That they aſſured him that the papers which had paſſed betwixt him and them, ſhould not be given to any body to be publiſhed, that this was not the practice of the Conſiſtory, and that they knew very well that after matters were determined, it was not fit to awaken them again by printed papers. III. That neither did the Conſiſtory doubt that he would on his part fulfil his promiſe of publiſhing very ſoon a paper wherein he ſhould inform the public of the good ſentiments which he had teſtified to them, and that the ſooner that paper ſhould appear, the better it would be. And this the ſaid Mr Bayle once more promiſed to do. After which the Preſident repreſented to him that the more talents God had beſtowed on him, the more he was bound to dedicate them to his glory. That he ought to labour to edify the Church, and that they hoped that for the future he would endeavour to do ſo; that the Conſiſtory earneſtly exhorted him to it, and that on that condition they prayed that God would bleſs his labours. Mr Bayle aſſured the Conſiſtory that he would anſwer their expectations, and thanked them for their good wiſhes.

All the above written Acts down to this day, January 11, 1698, were read and approved of by the Conſiſtory, this 11th of January 1698, and ſigned Le Page, Miniſter; Pielat, Miniſter; De Superville, Miniſter; Basnage, Miniſter; J. V. Kaeren, Elder; F. Van Schonhoven, Elder; John Fanueil, Elder; Jacob Vermande, Elder; Theodore Sysmus, Deacon and Secretary; D. Prins, Deacon; Gouert Coolbrant; Peter Balde; Isaac Rerdoes, Deacon; G. Allart, Deacon; John de Peyster, Deacon.

December 7, 1698.

The Committee appointed by the Act of the 28th of September to conſider Mr Bayle's affair, made their Report. Whereupon the Conſiſtory find that

I. The printed Letter of the ſaid Mr Bayle appeared later than they had reaſon to expect, and that it would have been to be wiſhed that Mr Bayle had publiſhed it ſooner according to his promiſe.

II. That the ſaid Mr Bayle did not ſend a copy of it to the Conſiſtory: notwithſtanding he was obliged to ſhow them that he had fulfilled his engagement.

III. That the number of copies of that Letter was too ſmall, and that there have been none to be had at the Bookſellers this great while paſt; ſo that it ſeems as if it was intended that the Letter ſhould be ſuppreſſed as ſoon as it was publiſhed, and put in the hands of as few perſons as poſſible, which is contrary the intention of the Conſiſtory, which deſired that the public ſhould be informed of the declarations which Mr Bayle had made concerning that affair.

IV. And what is more important, that Mr Bayle has paſſed lightly over the matters which had given offence, and even ſpeaks of them as things that may be defended, pretending that he could defend what he has advanced in his *Dictionary*, becauſe, in quality of Commentator and of Hiſtorian, it was allowable in him to ſpeak otherwiſe than if he had been writing in the dogmatical way: an excuſe which he had alledged in his paper of the 5th of January 1698, but which they had told him was by no means to be received, upon which he acquieſced ſimply in the Remarks of the Conſiſtory, and acknowledged the ſolidity of them, and promiſed to ſubmit to the ſame; which is a circumſtance he ought to have taken notice of in his printed Letter, as being neceſſary to the ſatisfaction which was required of them.

For theſe and other reaſons, the Conſiſtory being of opinion that Mr Bayle's printed Letter only in part ſatisfies what he had promiſed, and ſo they might juſtly deſire ſomething farther of him, yet notwithſtanding that they might not depart from the indulgent method which they had already taken, the Conſiſtory may content themſelves with repreſenting theſe things by word of mouth to Mr Bayle, and earneſtly exhorting him to a punctual performance of his promiſes: and the Conſiſtory will take this method, being perſuaded that the Sieur Bayle will, in the ſecond Edition of his Dictionary ſincerely correct the things which have been pointed out to him, and will make good uſe of the advices which they have given him; which is the principal thing that the Conſiſtory propoſed to itſelf in the whole of this affair, becauſe they conſider it as of importance to the glory of God, and the edification of the Church.

And farther that Mr Bayle who has promiſed to make uſe of the Remarks of the Conſiſtory, may do it the more eaſily, the Conſiſtory think fit that the Miniſters who have already been employed in this affair, ſhould draw up ſome ſuccinct Memorials concerning the Remarks which the Conſiſtory have made, to which they may add ſome others on important points, that after the Conſiſtory ſhall have approved of the ſaid Memorials, they may be put in Mr Bayle's hands, that he may remember and have regard to them.

The Conſiſtory likewiſe being of opinion that our much honoured brother Mr Jurieu, one of our Miniſters, having been very ill treated by Mr Bayle in his work; it is proper to acquaint the latter of the ſame, and to exhort him for the future to behave with more moderation, both in the

* ſecond

ſecond Edition of his Dictionary, and in the other volumes which he promiſeth to the public, the Conſiſtory having obſerved, not without grief, that ſo little regard has been had for a Miniſter whoſe miniſtry and labours have been and are of ſingular edification to the Church.

December 20, 1698.

The Committee, appointed by an Act of the 7th of December, read to the Conſiſtory the ſuccinct Memorials concerning the Remarks of the Conſiſtory on Mr Bayle's paper, and likewiſe their Remarks on the moſt important points in the Dictionary of the ſaid Sieur Bayle, which are approved of by the Conſiſtory, and it is reſolved that the ſame be communicated to Mr Bayle by Meſſieurs Pielat, Superville, Le Page, and Fanueil.

A Short MEMORIAL *of the principal things to which Mr Bayle ought to have regard, in order to correct them in the ſecond edition of his* DICTIONARY.

THE Conſiſtory being informed that a ſecond edition of the *Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary*, is actually in the preſs, think themſelves obliged to acquaint Mr Bayle in conſequence of what has formerly paſſed betwixt the Conſiſtory and him. That he ought to remember the following things, in order to have regard to them in the corrections which he promiſed to make in his book.

1. He ſhall carefully ſhun all obſcenities, and ſuppreſs the impure expreſſions, citations, queſtions, and reflexions; remembering that purity of ſpirit, as well as of body, is one of thoſe things which are moſt recommended to us in the Scripture, and that all wiſe men ought to take great care not to favour Libertiniſm, which is but too common in this age, and to which the youth have but too great propenſity.

2. He ſhall entirely reform the article of DAVID, ſo that pious ſouls may no longer be offended at it, as he has promiſed: and in order to this he ſhall conform himſelf to what the Holy Scripture tells us of that great Prophet. He ought even to write a vindication of him, and obſerve that during the life of Saul, David was the rightful King; and far from judging of the actions of that Prince by the common and ordinary courſe of the Kings of the earth, he ſhall ſhow that he was authoriſed to extirpate the Canaanites. That the High-Prieſt, by whoſe means he conſulted God, was a particular rule to him; that we ought to be ſilent where the Scripture is ſilent; and that its ſilence, far from giving a pretence againſt David, is rather equivalent to an approbation; and, in fine, he ſhall take care to eſtabliſh well the prophetical and canonical authority of David's writings.

3. With regard to *Manicheiſm*, inſtead of diſplaying the ſophiſms of the Manicheans, and lending them reaſons and new objections which they never alledged, and endeavouring to free their hypotheſes from the difficulties which render it ridiculous, Mr Bayle ſhall refute them, and ſhall take care not to give the victory to ſo deteſtable and monſtrous a hereſy. For that purpoſe he ſhall correct the articles MANICHEANS, MARCIONITES, PAULICIANS, and likewiſe divers paſſages in his book which ſeem to favour their opinion, or the difficulties which they alledge againſt the permiſſion of evil.

4. He ſhall obſerve the ſame conduct with regard to the *Pyrrhonians* and *Pyrrhoniſm*, which extinguiſheth all Religion, and reform the article PYRRHO, taking care, both there and every where elſe, not to injure our myſteries.

5. He ſhall not give extravagant praiſes to *Atheiſts* or *Epicureans*. He ſhall correct the paſſages which may contain any affectation in favour of them, and he ſhall not weaken the neceſſity of believing a God and a Providence, and even a future life, with regard to the benefit of civil ſociety, and the reformation of manners. He ſhall rather inſert clauſes which may ſerve to inſpire his readers with a horror againſt Atheiſm; and ſhall endeavour to ſhow that altho' Atheiſts have been regular in their manners, that this did not proceed from Atheiſm, but only from a ſelf-love, which was always irregular. He may even bring examples, which he may know, of many Atheiſts who have been very vicious and very infamous.

6. Beſides theſe five principal heads, which have been already mentioned to Mr Bayle, and which he has promiſed to correct, as he has likewiſe promiſed to the Conſiſtory to receive all the other informations which they ſhall give him, and to make uſe of the ſame, the Conſiſtory do exhort him to take care, in the ſixth place, not to refute, except on very good grounds, what our Divines have advanced concerning certain wicked Popes; ſince tho' he may alledge ſome conjectures in defence of theſe Popes, with regard to certain facts, ſtrong reaſons may be oppoſed to him for their condemnation, and that it is unjuſt, without neceſſity, to favour the party of ſeducers, who have done ſo much hurt to the Church, and to make our authors paſs for raſh accuſers.

7. He ſhall likewiſe reviſe the Articles of NICOLE and PELISSON, which contain divers things which ſeem to lead to Pyrrhoniſm, and are hurtful to the way of Examination, by which Proteſtants pretend that we can and ought to come to the knowledge of the truth.

8. He ſhall take care in ſpeaking of Providence, not to exaggerate and magnify the difficulties of the prophane, and not give their objections an air of ſuperiority over our anſwers, even in refuting thoſe which are agreeable to Scripture: whereupon they particularly point out to him the Article of RUFINUS. He ſhall likewiſe reviſe the Article of XENOPHANES, in which he exaggerates the victories of the Devil.

9. It is likewiſe to be wiſhed that he would have greater regard to the expreſſions of the Scripture in the alluſions which he ſometimes makes.

Mr Bayle ſhall have regard to all theſe heads to conform his corrections to them, and ſhall endeavour to purge his book of every thing that may have given offence to true believers. The Conſiſtory declaring that they have only made theſe remarks on what appeared to them to be moſt eſſential, and that they do not pretend thereby to approve of the reſt of the work.

They think themſelves obliged to acquaint Mr Bayle, that Mr Jurieu, one of our Miniſters, having been very ill uſed in his book, they deſire that he may behave for the future with greater moderation, both in the ſecond edition of his Dictionary, and in the other volumes which he promiſeth to the public, and they exhort him to do ſo, having obſerved, not without ſorrow, that ſo little regard has been had for a Miniſter whoſe miniſtry and labours have been and are of ſingular edification to the Church.

Approved and Reſolved in Conſiſtory, on the 20th of December 1698.

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Mr BAYLE's

Hiſtorical and Critical DICTIONARY.

A.

AARON, High-Prieſt of the *Jews*, and Brother of *Moſes*. His Hiſtory is ſo fully related in the *Pentateuch*, and in the Dictionaries of *Moreri* and Mr *Simon*, that I may be excuſed from making an Article of it in this place. I ſhall only obſerve, That his Weakneſs in complying with the ſuperſtitious Requeſt of the *Iſraelites*, in the Matter of the Golden Calf, has occaſioned a great Variety of fabulous Notions [*A*]. About the Beginning of the XVIIth Century, one *Monceau* or *Moncæius*, publiſhed an Apology for *Aaron* (*a*), which was condemned by the Inquiſition at *Rome*, as had been foretold to the Author by the Jeſuit *Cornelius à Lapide* (*b*). In that Apology it is ſuppoſed that *Aaron* deſigned to repreſent the very ſame Form which *Moſes* exhibited ſome time after, namely, a Cherubim; but that the *Hebrews* fell down and worſhiped it, contrary to his Intention. An effectual Confutation of this Notion was publiſhed in the Year 1609, by one of the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, who was a Canon of the Church of *Amiens* (*c*). It has been aſſerted, that this criminal Compliance of *Aaron* was owing to his Apprehenſions of being ſtoned to Death; and that he hoped to have eluded the Deſires of the People, by propoſing to the Women, on this Occaſion, that they ſhould contribute their Ear-Rings;

(*a*) *'Tis intitled*, Aaron purgatus. *It was reprinted at* Francfort *in* 1675 *in* 8vo. *This differs from the Edition in* 12mo *at* Leipſic, *in* 1689, *mentioned in the* 17th *Vol. of the* Bibliotheque Univerſelle, *in nothing but a new Title which the Bookſellers gave it.*

(*b*) Corn. à Lapide Comment. in Exod. cap. xxxii. ver. 4. pag. 605.

(*c*) *His Name was* Viſorius; *and his Book was called*, Deſtructio Pſeudo-Cherubi Moncæi.

[*A*] *Occaſioned a great Variety of fabulous Notions.*] I. Rabbi *Solomon* held (1) that the Calf which the *Iſraelites* worſhiped was alive, and that *Aaron* ſeeing it walk and eat like other Calves, erected an Altar to it. There is ſomething analogous to this in the *Alcoran* (2). II. Several *Rabbies*, in order to excuſe *Aaron*, affirm, that he did not make the Golden Calf; that he only contributed ſo far towards it, as to caſt the Gold into the Fire, to free himſelf from the People's vehement Importunity; but that certain Magicians, who had mingled with the *Iſraelites* at their coming up out of *Egypt*, communicated to that Gold the Image of a Calf. As the holy Scripture declares it was Caſt-work, and faſhioned with the Graving-Tool, two Things may be ſuppoſed; either, that they prepared a Mould in the Shape of a Calf, into which they poured the molten Gold; or, that, having produced a Maſs of Gold, they gave it the Figure of a Calf by the Sculptor's Art. III. Many maintain, that *Aaron* did not make a whole Calf, but only the Head. IV. Some tell us (3), *That the Powder of the Golden Calf burnt by* Moſes, *which he mingled with the Water that the* Iſraelites *drank, ſtuck in the Beards of thoſe who had worſhiped it; by which means their Beards appeared gilt, as a ſpecial Mark diſtinguiſhing the Idolaters.* This Fable is inſerted in the 32d Chapter of *Exodus*, in a *French* Bible, printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1538, by *Anthony Bonnemere*, who ſays in his Preface, *That this Bible in the* French *Tongue was firſt printed, at the Deſire of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* Charles VIII. *in the Year* 1495, *and has ſince been corrected and reprinted.* And in the ſame Preface he informs us, That the *French* Tranſlator *had inſerted nothing but pure Truth, as it is found in the* Latin *Bible; and that nothing was omitted, but what was improper to be tranſlated.* So that all which relates to the gilt Beards is to be received as undoubted Fact, as well as another Story of the ſame kind, which is alſo inſerted in this very Chapter; namely, *That the Children of* Iſrael *ſpit ſo violently in the Face of* Hur, *who had refuſed to make Gods for them, that they ſuffocated him.* The Book (4) from which I extract this, was written by a *Walloon* Miniſter, who fails not to exclaim againſt the Impudence of adding in ſome Places, and ſuppreſſing in others. But he is guilty of both: in his own Verſion he has artfully foiſted in ſome things, and drop'd others; beſides inſerting childiſh Traditions: And yet he promiſes in the Preface nothing *but pure Truth*, and declares, that *this Tranſlation was undertaken not for the Clergy, but for the Laity, Hermits, and the lower Orders of religious Societies, who are not ſo learned as they ſhould be.* Which is the very Thing that renders the Tranſlator's Unfaithfulneſs more culpable: for the ſkillful may eſcape the Snare; the ignorant cannot. Laſtly, The Golden Beard is not the ſole Chimera which the *Rabbies* have invented. Another of their Tenets is, that the Water, which *Moſes* compell'd them to ſwallow, impregnated with the Particles of the Gold, whereof their Calf was made, had almoſt the ſame Effect as the Waters of Jealouſy. It produced Tumours and Ulcers in the guilty, and brought no harm on the innocent (5).

(1) Corn. à Lap. in Exod. *pag.* 605.

(2) Aſcemeli taurum fudit corporeum, emittentem mugitum. *i. e.* Aſcemeli *caſt a real Bull that bellow'd.* Azora xxx. Lat. Cod. xx Arabici ap. Selden. de Diis Syr. Synt. 1. cap. 4. pag. 54.

(3) *See pag.* 829. *of* Jeremiah de Pours's *Divine Melody.*

(4) *'Tis intitled* La Divine Mélodie du Saint Pſalmiſte, *printed at* Middelbourg *in* 1644 *in* 4to. *The Author calls himſelf* Jeremiah de Pours.

(5) *See* Salian, vol. 2. pag. 165. Bocharti Hierozoic. pars 1. lib. 2. cap. 34.

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Rings; imagining that they would chuſe to renounce the Preſence of a Viſible Deity, rather than diveſt themſelves of their perſonal Ornaments: but he found, that nothing is accounted too coſtly, when the human Mind is intoxicated with Superſtition and Idolatry (*d*). They, who affirm that the Golden Calf was only Wood overlaid with Gold [*B*], find nothing in the holy Scripture, that can in the leaſt countenance any ſuch Pretence. That God ſuſpended the natural Effects of Fire, for the ſake of *Aaron*, as he did on behalf of the three Children in the fiery Furnace at *Babylon*, is, I am perſuaded, an Aſſertion not to be maintained; and yet there are ſome Writers who have held that Opinion [*C*].

(*d*) Corn. à Lapide in Exod. *pag.* 605.

[*B*] *That the Golden Calf was only Wood overlaid with Gold.*] The holy Scripture tells us expreſsly (6) that it was a Molten Calf; and, tho it is afterwards ſaid (7) that *Moſes* burnt it, and reduced it to Powder, it does not neceſſarily follow, that the Idol was compoſed of combuſtible Materials: It may only ſignify, that *Moſes* melted down the Gold again, and divided it into very minute Particles, which became imperceptible upon being thrown into the Water; like thoſe with which the Waters of the *Tagus* and *Pactolus* are ſaid to abound. So that *Francis Junius* may be miſtaken when he ſays, (8) *Quamvis non tam exiſtimari poſſit Vitulus iſte totus ex Auro fuiſſe conflatus, quam Auri laminis tantummodo obductus, cætera ligneus, ut quem S. Litteræ tradunt combuſtum, atque in cineres verſum.* That is, *But it is rather to be thought, that this Calf was only covered over with a thin Plate of Gold, the reſt of it being nothing but Wood; than that the whole was entirely of caſt Gold; ſince the holy Scripture aſſures us that it was burnt, and reduced to Aſhes.* He had more Reaſon for placing *Aaron* at the Head of his Catalogue of antient Sculptors, Architects, Painters, Statuaries, *&c.* *Aaron* might have claimed that Diſtinction by Right of Antiquity, tho the mere Order of the Alphabet had not beſtow'd it upon him. This brings into my Mind the Aſſertion of ſome who contend that *Moſes* was Maſter of the profoundeſt Secrets of Chemiſtry, ſince he knew how to pulverize Gold. Many are of Opinion, that *Aaron* only ordered the Artificers to caſt the Golden Calf, and had no hand in it himſelf; and that *Moſes* did not command the *Iſraelites* to drink the Powder of that Gold: but, having thrown it into the Stream, the only Place they could poſſibly drink at, it may juſtly be ſaid, that he made them ſwallow the Idol they had worſhiped (9).

(6) Exodus xxxii. 4.
(7) Ibid. *ver.* 20.
(8) *In his* Catal. Artificum, *p.* 1.
(9) *See* Rivetus *upon the* 32*d Ch. of* Exodus, Tom. 1. p. 1184.

[*C*] *There are ſome Writers who have held that Opinion.*] A *Cordelier*, a Doctor of Divinity, of the Faculty of *Paris*, maintains, that the Miracle of the burning Buſh at *Horeb*, which ſtood unconſumed in the midſt of Flames (10), was repeated ſome time after, when the Fire ſlew two of *Aaron*'s Sons, without damaging their Shirts; and again, when *Aaron* ſtopt the Plague which had ſwept away a great Number of *Iſraelites* (11). *Sicuti factum eſt, quando egreſſus ignis à Domino Nadab & Abiud ignem alienum & prophanum coram Domino offerentes devoravit, id eſt, interfecit: veſtibus & tunicis eorum lineis intactis remanentibus. Idem judicium eſt de Aarone ſummo ſacerdote, qui citiſſimè profectus eſt ad populum, quem ignis egreſſus à facie Domini interficiebat: ſtetitque illæſus inter mortuos ac viventes, licet eſſet in medio flammæ fulgentiſſimæ & flagrantiſſimæ, ſecundum Joſephum*, Lib. 4. Antiq. Cap. 3. (12). That is, *As it came to paſs, when Fire from the LORD devoured* Nadab *and* Abihu, *while they were offering ſtrange and prophane Fire before the LORD; their Coats and linen Garments remaining untouch'd: The ſame is remarkable of* Aaron *the High Prieſt, who ran into the midſt of the People, whom Fire, proceeding from the Face of the LORD, was conſuming; and ſtood there unhurt between the Living and the Dead, tho' in the midſt of a moſt bright and intenſe Flame, according to* Joſephus, *in the 3d Chapter of his 4th Book of Antiquities.* To this, among other Examples, he adds that of *Shadrack*, *Meſhach*, and *Abed-nego*, who eſcaped untouched out of the fiery Furnace at *Babylon*. Let it be here particularly remark'd, that he quotes not the holy Scripture, but *Joſephus*, in relation to *Aaron*. And the Scripture (13) determines not whether that Plague, which *Aaron* ſtopped, and by which 14700 Perſons periſhed, was a miraculous Fire, or ſomething elſe. The *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian has entirely ſuppreſſed this Miracle: he only mentions the Fire which conſumed the 250 Men that offered Incenſe. The Scripture mentions this likewiſe (14), but as a Fact preceding the Deſtruction ſtay'd by *Aaron*. Obſerve, *Joſephus* contents himſelf with remarking, that the ſupernatural Fire which conſumed *Corah*, and the 250 Men that offered Incenſe, did no hurt to *Aaron*. He does not once touch upon the Circumſtances for which *Nodin* cites him. We ſhall here tranſcribe his very Words. ὑφ' ȣ̂ πάντες, ὅι τε διακόσιοι καὶ οἱ πεντήκοντα καὶ Κορῆς, ἀΐξαντος ἐπ' αὐτȣ̀ς, ἐφθάρησαν ὡς καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἀφανῆ γεγονέναι· περισώζεται δὲ μόνος Ἀαρὼν μηδὲν ὑπὸ τȣ̂ πυρὸς βλαβεὶς, τῷ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ȣ̂ς ἔδει καίειν ἀπεϛαλκότα (15). That is, *By the Force of which* [*Fire*] *ruſhing upon them, the 250 Men, together with* Corah, *were ſo entirely conſum'd, that their dead Bodies could not be found.* Aaron *alone remain'd unhurt; becauſe it was GOD, who directed the Fire againſt thoſe only who were guilty.* Here he juſtly acknowledges the Finger of God, but does not particularly inform us, whether the Fire actually touched the Body of *Aaron*, or whether God only with-held it from approaching him. Father *Nodin* therefore ought not to have deſcended from Generals to Particulars; nor to have quoted, for that purpoſe, the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian. Moſt of the Faults of this kind, which in Books are infinite, are occaſioned, either by Authors not conſulting the Originals, or by their having the Confidence to alter them with their Paraphraſes, the better to accommodate them to their own Schemes.

(10) Exod. iii. 2.
(11) Lev. x. 2, 5.
(12) Joann. Nodin. Comment. in Exod. cap. 3. pag. 142. col. 2.
(13) Num. xvi. 46, 47, &c.
(14) Ibid. *ver.* 35.
(15) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 4. cap. 3. Hudſon.

“ **AARSENS** (Francis) Lord of *Somelſdyck*, and *Spyck*, &c. was one of the
“ greateſt Miniſters the United Provinces have produced, for Negotiation [*A*].
“ His Father, who was alſo a Man of great Abilities, enjoyed ſuch a Poſt, as enabled

[*A*] *Was one of the greateſt Miniſters —— for Negotiation.*] His very Enemies allow him this Character, when they affirm, *That he* (1) *was the moſt dangerous Genius that ever aroſe in the United Provinces, and was the more to be dreaded, as he concealed all the Malice and Guile of foreign Courts, under the falſe and deceitful Appearance of* Dutch *Candour and Simplicity; that he was zealous and Maſter of the Art of Perſwaſion; that he could find Reaſons to ſupport the worſt of Cauſes; that he had* (2) *a Genius for Intrigue, and had entered into Leagues and Correſpondencies with thoſe Grandees of* France, *whoſe Conduct was not only ſuſpected, but odious to the King; and that having corrupted the* French *Ambaſſador's Secretary at the* Hague (3), *he was Maſter of all the moſt ſecret Schemes of the Miniſters of that Crown.* I ſay, when they give him this Character, they deſcribe a Man admirably furniſhed with all the Talents requiſite for the moſt important Embaſſies, and the moſt delicate Negotiations. Farther, Mr *Du Maurier*, who always inveighs moſt bitterly againſt *Francis Aarſens*, takes care to prevent the Prejudice his Invectives might raiſe in his Readers; for he himſelf tells us, that his Father and this *Dutch* Ambaſſador *were ever at Enmity* (4); that there was *an irreconcileable Diſagreement* in their Tempers; and that *the ſtrong Averſion* they had conceived againſt each other, *inſtead of wearing off, was continually increaſing.* He even tells us, That his Father made a Speech againſt *Francis Aarſens*, on the 13th of *November* 1613, before the States General (5), wherein he *reproaches him with having preſumed to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of their* Gallic *Majeſties, and the Lords of their Council, who were the ſolid Support of the Liberty of the United Provinces*; and accuſes him *of Arrogance and Vanity in his common Diſcourſes, and of Ingratitude, in returning nothing but Inſolence for all the kind Offices that* France *had heap'd upon him.* Thus has he furniſhed us with an effectual Antidote againſt his Poiſon; for who does not know, that an Author is not to be underſtood too rigorouſly, when he is ſpeaking of his profeſs'd Enemy?

(1) Du Maurier Mem. pag. 376.
(2) Ibid. 378.
(3) Ibid. 381.
(4) Ibid. 388.
(5) Ibid. 381.

“ him to procure an Employ for his Son [*B*]. *John d' Olden-Barnevelt*, who at that Time had the chief Direction of the Affairs of *Holland*, and all the United Provinces, ſent him into *France*, with the Character of Agent. There he learnt the Art of Negotiation, under thoſe great Maſters, *Henry* IV. *Villeroy*, *Rôni*, *Silleri*, *Jeannin*, &c. and ſucceeded ſo well in it, as to gain their Approbation of his Conduct. He had afterwards the Character of Ambaſſador confer'd upon him, and was the firſt, whom the Court of *France* conſidered in that Quality: And it was in his Time that *Henry* IV. declared, the Ambaſſador of the United Povinces, ſhould take Place immediately after the Ambaſſador of *Venice*. He was ſome time after employ'd to that Republic [*C*], and to ſeveral Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*, on Account of the Commotions in *Bohemia* [*D*]. Beſides which, he was ſent upon ſeveral extraordinary Embaſſies into *France* and *England* [*E*], of which he has left very exact and judicious Collections. We may obſerve from them, that all his Instructions, and Credentials, in his later Embaſſies, were drawn up by himſelf; whence we may judge, that no State ever produced a Miniſter better qualify'd, not only to negotiate, but to inſtruct an Ambaſſador in the proper Points of his intended Negotiation. And, indeed, in all his Embaſſies, he did Honour to the State, as well as to the Character with which his Maſters had inveſted him; nor could himſelf, or his Family, regret the Time [*F*] he ſpent in the Service of his Country *(a)*.” He died in a good old Age, leaving behind him one Son, who was eſteem'd the richeſt Man in *Holland* [*G*], and well known by the Name of Monſ. *de Sommerdyck* (*b*).

(a) Taken from Wicquefort's Ambaſſador. Tom. 2. p. 435, 436.

(b) It is thus pronounc'd, tho' the Name is Somelſdyck.

[*B*] *His Father enjoy'd ſuch a Poſt, as enabled him to procure an Employ for his Son.*] His Name was *Cornelius Aarſens* (6); and he was Regiſter of the States. He was acquainted with Mr *du Pleſſis Mornai*, who was tranſacting Affairs with *William* Prince of *Orange*, whom he intreated to take his Son into his Service. This was comply'd with, and continu'd ſome Years. In 1598, this young Gentleman, who underſtood the *French* Tongue, and the Affairs of the Kingdom, ſucceeded *Levin Calüard*, who died Reſident for the United Provinces, at the Court of *Henry* IV. nor was he any thing more than the State's Reſident till 1609, when, upon the Concluſion of a twelve Years Truce, in which *Spain* treated with the United Provinces, as with a free People, *Henry* IV. acknowledg'd him for their Ambaſſador (7). *During his Stay in* France, *which was fifteen Years, he received great Favours, and even Honours, from the King; who rais'd him to the Degree of Nobility, and made him a Knight, and a Baron: for which Reaſon, he was afterwards receiv'd in* Holland, *among the Nobility of the Province.* He became at laſt ſo odious to that Court, according to Mr *du Maurier*, that they deſired he might be recall'd. *See below, the Remark* [*D*].

(6) Du Maurier Mem. pag. 377, 378.

(7) Ibid.

[*C*] *To that Republic.*] To this Juncture of Time muſt be referr'd what Cardinal *Pallavicini* reproach'd Father *Paul* with. *He is in Poſſeſſion* (he ſays) *of a Letter* (8) *of the Sieur* de Zuilichem, *Secretary to the Prince of* Orange, *in which he relates, that, at an accidental Interview at* Venice *with the Sieur* de Somerdyck, *Ambaſſador of* Holland, *and* Francis Paolo, *the good Father aſſur'd that Miniſter of his extream Joy in beholding the Repreſentative of a Republic, which held the Pope to be the true Antichriſt.* The Author of a Book, entituled *Cancellaria Secreta Anhaltina*, has preſerv'd ſome Fragments of this Letter, by which it appears, that *Francis Aarſens*, when he went to *Venice*, had Authority to negotiate with the Proteſtant Cantons, and that he receiv'd great Honours from them. This was a Year after the Deputation of the *Swiſs* Miniſters, to the Synod of *Dort*. *Gratias ſe imprimis egiſſe, quod Civitates & oppida non Catholica Prædicantes ſuos* ANNO PRÆTERLAPSO *ad Synodum Dordracenſem dimiſerint* (9). *He was particularly thankful, that the Proteſtant States and Towns, had*, THE YEAR BEFORE, *deputed their Preachers to the Synod of* Dort.

(8) *See the Preface to the Hiſt. of the Council of* Trent, *tranſlated by* Amelot de la Houſſaye.

(9) Cancell. Anhalt. p. 151.

[*D*] *On Account of the Commotions in* Bohemia] This fell out in the Year 1620, and it is remarkable, “that the King of *France* (10) forbad his three Ambaſſadors, the Duke *d'Angoulême*, the Count *de Bethune*, and the Abbot *des Praux*, to receive the Viſits of Mr *d'Aarſens*, who was employ'd by the United Provinces, to treat with certain Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*, concerning the ſame Affairs of *Bohemia*, which were the Purport of the *French* Embaſſy. Their Order imported, that the King was not diſpleaſed with the States, with whom he deſired always to live in perfect Harmony, but had a particular Diſlike to Mr *d'Aarſens*, for ill treating the Service and Dignity of his Majeſty. The Ground of this Diſpleaſure, as any one will perceive, who is the leaſt acquainted with the Affairs of thoſe Times, was this: *Aarſens* had put himſelf at the Head of that Party, which, in 1619, oppos'd an Affair, which was negotiated with great Earneſtneſs, at the *Hague*, by the King's Ambaſſadors *Boiſiſſe* and *du Maurier*.” Add to theſe Words of Mr *Wicquefort*, a Paſſage of *du Maurier*, which gives Light into them. “In the Year 1618, *ſays he*, (11) Mr *de Boiſiſſe* was order'd by the King to complain, in his Name, to the States General, of a diffamatory Libel, written, ſign'd, and publiſh'd, by *Francis Aarſens*, to the great Scandal and Diſhonour of the Lords of his Majeſty's Council, for which, at that Time, he could obtain no Satisfaction.” It is probable, this Complaint was founded upon his having charg'd the Council of *France* with betraying the King, by favouring thoſe who were plotting in *Holland*, to reduce that Republic once more under the Yoke of the King of *Spain*: for, if *du Maurier* is to be credited, the grand Common-Place Topics of Mr *Aarſens*, the conſtant Theme of all his Writings, and of the Placards ſtuck up at the Corners of the Streets, was, that the Faction of *Barnevelt* was conſpiring with *Spain*, to aboliſh both the Reform'd Religion and Liberty, at once, in the United Provinces. We may apply here the Proverb, *Se non e vero, e ben trovato.* —— *If it is not true, it is well hit off.* Nothing can be a greater Confirmation of the profound Abilities of Mr *Aarſens*, than this Scheme.

(10) Wicquef. Ambaſſ. Tom. 1. p. 658.

(11) Du Maurier. p. 362.

[*E*] *Extraordinary Embaſſies into* France *and* England.] He was ſent Ambaſſador into *England*, in the Years 1620, and 1641 (12). The firſt Time, he was the Chief of three Ambaſſadors extraordinary; the ſecond Time, the Second. In this latter Embaſſy he was join'd in Commiſſion with the Lord of *Brédérode*, who took Place of him, and *Heemſvliet*, who was laſt in the Commiſſion. The Subject of this Embaſſy, was the Marriage of Prince *William*, Son of the Prince of *Orange*. The extraordinary Embaſſy to *France*, was in the Year 1624 (13). “As Cardinal *Richelieu* was but juſt come to the Helm of Affairs, and was ignorant of the Diſlike his Predeceſſors had to this Ambaſſador, he greatly eſteem'd him, and finding him to be a Man of fine Underſtanding, —— made Uſe of him to compaſs his own Deſigns.” *Aarſens* was appointed Envoy, either to *France* or *England*, in the Year 1628; but, being prevented by the Ice from embarking, he return'd to the *Hague*.——His being accidentally thrown down by Dogs, was conſtrued by his Enemies to be an unlucky Omen. *Arſenius à canibus fortè occurſantibus in terram dejectus malevolis occaſionem præbuit ſiniſtra ipſi ominandi* (14).

(12) Wicquef. Amb. Tom. 1. p. 650, & 750.

(13) Du Maurier. p. 385.

(14) Paræus Epiſt. 76. p. 217.

[*F*] *Regret the Time.*] *Du Maurier* ſays, that *Francis Aarſens* died worth an hundred thouſand Livres *per Annum* (15).

(15) Du Maurier. p. 377.

[*G*] *Leaving behind him one Son, who was eſteem'd the richeſt Man in* Holland.] He was Governor of

Nimiguen,

Nimiguen, and Colonel of a Regiment of Horſe. He left two Sons, the eldeſt of which nam'd *Francis*, Lord of *la Plaate*, was caſt away in his Paſſage from *England* to *Holland*, after having travell'd eight Years in ſeveral Parts of *Europe*. The other, *Cornelius*, bore the Name of *Sommerdyck*. He had been a Colonel in the *Dutch* Army, and afterwards Governor of *Surinam*; where he was kill'd in a Mutiny of the Garriſon, in 1688. He married the eldeſt Daughter of the Marquis *de St André-Mombrun*, by whom he had ſeveral Children: ſhe died at the *Hague*, in 1695, or thereabout. Of ſeven Siſters, which he had, three were married to Perſons of Quality: The other four fell into ſo ſuperſtitious a Devotion, that they followed the Sieur *Labbadie*, the Schiſmatic Preacher, with as much Zeal, as if he had been another Apoſtle.

ABARIS, a *Scythian* by Nation [*A*], the Son of *Seuthus*. There have been ſo many fabulous Stories told of him, that *Herodotus* himſelf made a Scruple of relating them, and of informing himſelf perfectly concerning them. He only tells us (*a*) the Story of this *Barbarian*'s carrying an Arrow through the World, and eating nothing. *Herodotus*, it ſeems, was ignorant of the *marvellous* Part of the Story; for they, who pretend to know it, ſay, That *Abaris* was carried thro' the Air upon his Arrow [*B*], as

(*a*) Herod. lib. 4. cap. 36.

[*A*] *A* Scythian *by Nation.*] It is *Suidas*, who gives him this Character, and who very particularly obſerves, that he came from *Scythia* into *Greece*; and that, with the Arrow preſented him by *Apollo*, he fled back again from *Greece*, to the Country of the *Hyperborean Scythians* (1). Τȣ́τȣ ὁ μυθολογȣ́μενος οἰςὸς τȣ̃ πετόμενȣ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μέχρι τῶν ὑπερβορέων Σκυθῶν. Ἐδόθη δὲ αὐτῷ παρὰ τȣ̃ Ἀπόλλωνος. i. e. *This Perſon's Arrow is fam'd in Story for carrying him through the Air from* Greece (not from *Scythia*, as is commonly read in the *Latin* Verſion) *as far as the* Hyperborean Scythians. *It was given him by* Apollo. *Euſebius* (2) is likewiſe of Opinion, that he came from *Scythia* into *Greece*. If the Account of *Abaris*, which is in *Suidas*, were clear and diſtinct, we might from thence infer, that he therein takes notice of three ſeveral Countries; *Scythia*, where *Abaris* was born; *Greece*, to which he travell'd; and another *Scythia*, called the *Hyperborean*, whither he took another Journey. We might likewiſe infer, that he made uſe of his Arrow in flying, only in his ſecond Expedition, and conſequently that it was in *Greece Apollo* beſtow'd it upon him. All theſe Concluſions would be reaſonable, had we to do with an accurate Writer, or were ſure that he related Matters juſt as they ſtand at preſent in his Works; and then we might ſay, that *Suidas* is very ſingular in his Opinion, ſince moſt other Authors who have mention'd *Abaris*, tell us, that he was an *Hyperborean* (3), and that when he travelled to *Greece*, he ſet out from the Country of the *Hyperboreans*; and, whenever they mention his flying Arrow, they conſtantly obſerve, that he was poſſeſs'd of it before he came to *Greece*.

[*B*] *Was carried through the Air upon his Arrow.*] *Jamblichus* is very expreſs as to this Point, when he ſays, (1) Οἰςῷ τȣ̃ ἐν Ὑπερβορέοις Ἀπόλλωνος δωρηθέντι αὐτῷ ἐποχȣ́μενος, ποταμȣ̀ς τε καὶ πελάγη καὶ τὰ ἄβατα διέβαινεν ἀεροβατῶν τρόπον τινα. i. e. *riding upon the Arrow given him by* Apollo *the* Hyperborean, *he croſs'd Rivers and Seas, and other inacceſſible Places, as if he had been an Inhabitant of the Air.* Monſ. *Petit*, (2) in his Account of this Arrow, takes notice of what is commonly reported concerning Witches, riding to their Nocturnal Meetings on a Broomſtick. The Journaliſt, who gives us an Extract of Mr *Petit*'s Book, does not forget the Verſe of *Villon*, wherein (3) a Witch is ſtiled a Broomſtick-rider: I will here inſert the whole Paſſage, becauſe it gives us an Opportunity of making a ſhort Remark. Mr *Petit* (4) *alledges the Tranſlation of* Elijah, *the Rapture of* Habakkuk, *that of* Pythagoras, *and the Arrow which the* Hyperborean Apollo *gave to* Abaris. *This* (adds he) *was a miraculous ſort of Arrow, and much like the Broomſtick, which, they ſay, Witches make uſe of to ride thro' the Air, to their Nocturnal Meetings.* Before we make our Remark upon this, it will be requiſite to take notice of a Paſſage in another Journal, which runs thus. (5) Mr *Petit*, *from* Jamblichus, *relates the Hiſtory, or rather Fable, of* Abaris *the* Hyperborean, *to whom* Apollo *granted the Power of flying thro' the Air upon an Arrow, juſt as our Witches go to their Nocturnal Aſſemblies, aſtride a Broomſtick.* This is the Interpretation the Journaliſt gives to Mr *Petit*'s Text, which is as follows (6): *Auctor eſt Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ*, cap. 28. *id munus Abaridi Hyperboreo ab Apolline conceſſum fuiſſe, ut per aërem quocunque vellet curſum magico invectus jaculo tendere poſſet.* i. e. Jamblichus, *in his Life of* Pythagoras, c. 28. *tells us, that* Abaris, *the* Hyperborean, *received from* Apollo, *the Power of directing his Courſe, as he pleaſed, thro' the Air, upon a Magic Arrow.* Now here every one may perceive that the Epithet *Hyperboreo* may be referr'd either to the Word *Abaridi*, which goes before it, or to *Apolline*, that comes after it: The *Latin* Tongue is full of ſuch Equivocations. But 'tis evident, by the Words of (7) *Jamblichus*, cited by *Petit* (8), that 'tis only *Apollo* that is called the *Hyperborean*. It would be mere trifling to criticiſe on the Journaliſt upon this Account; ſince, without obſerving that this Epithet might very well belong to *Abaris*, as may be ſeen under the firſt Remark, it is well known that Journaliſts are not tied up to a rigid Strictneſs of Tranſlation. We muſt not forget that this was a Golden Arrow, and ſo neceſſary for *Abaris*'s Travels, that he own'd himſelf (9) obliged to it for directing him the Way he ſhould go. *Pythagoras* artfully extorted this Confeſſion from him, for he robb'd him of his Arrow; and *Abaris*, like a blind Man who has loſt his Staff, acknowledg'd his want of it. This puts me in mind of ſome who pretend, by the help of a certain Wand, to diſcover the right Road. If all be true that is related on this Subject, I think (all Circumſtances conſidered) their Wand to be as miraculous as the Arrow of *Abaris*; for if, on the one hand, it has not the Power of making them fly, yet, on the other, it not only diſcovers Treaſures, Metals, the Boundaries of Lands, Thieves and Cut-throats, but likewiſe the Intrigues of both Sexes. A noted Philoſopher (10) who was conſulted about this Matter, in the Year 1689, returned for Anſwer, That *this could never be done, unleſs by the Aſſiſtance of ſome intelligent Cauſe, and that this Cauſe could be no other than the Devil.* Whilſt I was writing this, I was inform'd that one of the Principal of thoſe Wand-Conjurers (11) ſhew'd the laſt Summer (12) at *Lions*, ſuch ſurprizing Experiments of his Art, that he was ſent for to *Paris*, and on that grand Theatre made ſuch Diſcoveries (13), as forc'd ſeveral to declare, they had now a greater Proof than ever, and that by indiſputable Phænomena, of the Power of Dæmons to produce a great variety of Effects, under the Diſguiſe of occaſional Cauſes, ſuch as a Staff, or the like. Upon this footing the Story of *Abaris*'s Arrow may be vindicated; for why might there not have been ſuch an Arrow formerly, ſince in our Days ſuch wonderful Effects are ſaid to have been wrought by the *Frenchman*'s Staff? It would be worth our Metaphyſicians While to enquire how the Wand came into ſuch mighty Requeſt; for the old Proverb, *Virgula Divina*, and the common Saying, *with the Turn of a Stick*, and the Juggler's Phraſe, *by Virtue of my little Wand*, ſeem to be owing to the frequent Uſe of a Wand in Sorceries, according to the common Tradition. What Virtues did they not anciently aſcribe to *Mercury*'s Rod? His Golden Wings, which he fix'd on his Feet, would have been of little Uſe to him in flying, had not his Rod contributed thereto by it's powerful Energy; and it ſeems to have ſerv'd him as an Horſe. Thus *Virgil* (14);

Et primum pedibus talaria nectit
Aurea, quæ ſublimem alis, ſive æquora ſupra
Seu terram, rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
Tum virgam capit: Hac animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentes, alias ſub triſtia tartara mittit,
Dat ſomnos, adimitque, & lumina morte reſignat.
Illa FRETUS agit ventos, & turbida tranat
Nubila.

Hermes obeys, with golden Pinions binds
His flying Feet, and mounts the weſtern Winds:

And

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(1) Suidas in Ἄβαρις.

(2) Euſeb. Chronic. n. 1454.

(3) Herod. l. 4. c. 36. Diod. Sicul. l. 3. c. 11. Apollonii admir. Hiſt. Sect. 4. Jamblichi vita Pythag. c. 28. p. 127, &c. Harpocration, in Ἄβαρις. Scholiaſtes Ariſtoph. in Equit. Euſebius, n. 1568, &c.

(1) Jamblich. *in the forementioned place*, p. 128.

(2) Petitus, de Sibylla, l. 2. c. 7. p. 200.

(3) *Non eſt, le deuſton vif bruſler, comme un Chevaucheur d'eſcouvettes.*

(4) Nouvell. de la Repub. des Lett. Octob. 1686. Art. 1.

(5) Bibl. Univerſ. Tom. 2. p. 132.

(6) Petit, *as above*, p. 198.

(7) *See thoſe Words in Citation* (4).

(8) Petit, p. 199.

(9) Jamblichus p. 131.

(10) *Father* Mallebranche *in the* Mercure Gallant *for the Month of* January, 1693.

(11) James Aymar, *a Peaſant of* St Veran *in* Dauphine.

(12) *In the Year* 1692.

(13) *See the Note* [*G*].

(14) Virgil Æn. l. 4. *ſee likewiſe* Homer's Iliad, *and* Odyſſ. l. ult. Ovid. Metam. *b.* 1. *in the Story of* Argus. Horace, Ode 10, *and* 24, *of b.* 1. Statius, *in his* Thebaid. l. 1.

as it were upon another *Pegaſus*; ſo that Rivers, Seas, and Places inacceſſible to other Men, were no Obſtacle to him in his Journey. This Arrow belong'd to *Apollo*, and was apparently the ſame with which he ſlew the *Cyclopes*, who forg'd the Thunderbolts, which *Jupiter* made uſe of againſt the unfortunate *Æſculapius* (*b*). *Apollo*, after this Slaughter, hid his Arrow under a Mountain, in the Country of the *Hyperboreans*, and recover'd it after a wonderful Manner, the Winds bringing it back to him, upon a Reconciliation between him (*c*) and *Jupiter*. It is difficult to determine, when *Abaris* liv'd [*C*], there being ſo many different Opinions about it, as to occaſion ſome of the Moderns to fall into Miſtakes [*D*]: But they are more unanimous in aſſigning

(*b*) Hygin. Aſtr. Poet. l. 2. c. 15. p. 386.

(*c*) Ibid.

And, whether o'er the Seas or Earth he flies,
With rapid Force, they bear him down the Skies.
But firſt he graſps within his awful Hand,
The Mark of Sovereign Pow'r, his Magic Wand:
With this he draws the Ghoſts from hollow Graves,
With this he drives them down the *Stygian* Waves;
With this he ſeals in Sleep the wakeful Sight,
And Eyes, tho' clos'd in Death, reſtores to Light.
Thus arm'd, the God begins his airy Race;
And drives the racking Clouds along the liquid Space.

DRYDEN.

If we had the Treatiſe, which *Barthius* (15) promiſed on *Mercury*'s Rod, we ſhould doubtleſs have ſeen a very curious Piece, and probably more inſtructive than the Tract of *Antiſthenes* on *Minerva*'s Wand. That Goddeſs had likewiſe her Rod, with which ſhe made Perſons look either young or old, as the occaſion requir'd (16). *Circe* (17), the Sorcereſs, did more than all this, ſince with one ſingle Stroke of her Wand, ſhe could transform Men into Beaſts, and Beaſts into Men. *Eraſmus*, who (18) to all thoſe Inſtances adds the Rod, with which *Moſes* wrought ſo many Miracles, ſhould have taken notice, that the Devil, who mimicks God in all his Works, follow'd him likewiſe in that in making uſe of a Rod, as one of his principal Occaſional Cauſes. *Huetius* (19) aſſerts, That what the Poets feign of *Mercury*'s Rod, &c. was all borrow'd from the Hiſtory of *Moſes*'s Rod. The Devil was certainly a very ready Mimick; for *Pharaoh*'s Magicians, by virtue of their Rods, did ſome Miracles, which reſembled thoſe of the true God (20). Nor are we to forget the Brachmans (21), who always carry a Ring and a Staff, to which they aſcribe great Virtues. I ſhall enlarge more on this, under the Article *Rabdomancy*.

[*C*] *When* Abaris *liv'd.*] His Embaſſy to *Athens* is fix'd by ſome to the 21ſt *Olympiad*; by *Hippoſtratus* to the Third, and by *Pindar* to the time of King *Cræſus* (22). *Euſebius* is of the laſt Opinion, having fix'd the Journey of *Abaris*, and the beginning of *Cræſus*'s Reign, to the ſecond Year of the 54th *Olympiad*; but afterwards he falls into a ſhameful Blunder, telling us (23), That this Magician flouriſh'd in the laſt Year of the 82d *Olympiad*, *Abaris Hyperboranus Hariolus agnoſcitur*. *Abaris is allow'd to be the* Hyperborean *Augur*. *Valeſius* (24) ſeems to prefer the Opinion of *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus*, according to whom *Abaris* flouriſh'd in the 2d Year of the 54th *Olympiad*, cotemporary with *Pythagoras*. This is inferr'd from what *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus* ſay, That *Pythagoras* ſhew'd his Golden Thigh to *Abaris*, the Prieſt of *Hyperborean Apollo*. If the Letters aſcribed to *Phalaris* were not ſomewhat romantic, one might conclude that *Abaris* was cotemporary with that Tyrant; but it is not probable, that the Letters in that Collection were ever penn'd by him. However, 'tis an Argument produc'd by ſome, to prove that *Abaris* and *Phalaris* were cotemporary; for 'tis very likely, that the Sophiſt, who wrote thoſe Letters, and aſcrib'd them to *Phalaris*, kept ſtrict to Chronology, in order to render his Fictions the more probable. *Suidas* places the Reign of *Phalaris* under the 52d *Olympiad*. The Opinion of *Hippoſtratus* may be back'd by the following Argument: *Suidas* (25) obſerves, that in the 5th *Olympiad*, the *Athenians* offer'd, in behalf of all the *Greeks*, Sacrifices that were called προηροσίαι: They were offer'd before the Land was till'd, in order to obtain the Divine Bleſſing upon the enſuing Harveſt. Now the Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* tells us (26), That when the *Athenians* offered the Sacrifices call'd προηροσίαι, for the whole Country, there was a great Famine and Peſtilence raging over the whole Earth, which forc'd the People to have recourſe to the Oracle; and that the Anſwer of the Oracle was, If the *Athenians* offer a Sacrifice, the Plague ſhall be ſtayed. It was therefore at that time ſo many Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Athens*, and *Abaris*, among the reſt, in the Name of the *Hyperboreans*. *Hippoſtratus*, then, would not have been much miſtaken in placing this Expedition of *Abaris* under the third *Olympiad*. If the Conjectures of *Scaliger*, upon a Paſſage of *Firmicus Maternus*, concerning the *Palladium*, were true, the Time wherein *Abaris* liv'd would be carried up much higher; for, according to ſome Authors, he muſt have flouriſh'd long before the taking of *Troy*. Others bring him down to the Time of *Alexander* the Great; this is indeed the whimſical Notion of an Orator, whoſe Opinion in this matter is not worth our regard. The Deſcription (27) which the Sophiſt *Himerus* has left us, of the Equipage, with which *Abaris* made his Appearance before the *Athenians*, is very ſuitable to a *Barbarian*: *But*, ſays he, *he was a* Scythian *only in his Garb*; *he ſpoke* Greek, *and whenever he ſpoke, you would have thought you had heard an Oration in the midſt of the Academy, or the* Lyceum. What an Abſurdity! Had *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* founded theſe Schools in the Time of *Abaris*? A certain Author (28) endeavours to reconcile theſe Difficulties, by ſuppoſing there were two *Abaris*'s; but this Hypotheſis is inſufficient; five or ſix are neceſſary, if he would ſucceed. Two will not unite theſe differences.

[*D*] *As to occaſion ſome of the Moderns to fall into Miſtakes.*] *Voſſius* prefers their Opinion, who ſay, That *Abaris* flouriſh'd between the 30th and the 38th *Olympiad*. *This Period*, ſays he, (29) *according to* Euſebius, *coincides with the Reign of* Phalaris;—— Phalaris *Tyrannidem exercuit ab Olypiadis* xxx (it ſhould be xxxi) *An.* II. *uſque ad Olympiadis* xxxviii. *An.* II. *teſte* Euſebio. By this Hypotheſis he overthrows the Notion of thoſe, who maintain, that *Abaris* was the Diſciple of *Pythagoras*; for he remarks, that *Pythagoras* flouriſhed in the firſt Year of the 60th *Olympiad*, and died about the latter end of the 70th. He takes notice likewiſe, that no Diſciple of *Pythagoras* could poſſibly write Letters to *Phalaris*. Laſtly, he aſſerts, That all the Ancients place *Abaris* not only before *Pythagoras*, but even before *Solon*. *Antiqui omnes de* Abari *loquuntur, ut non* Pythagora *modo, ſed* Solone *etiam antiquiori* (30). In theſe Remarks of *Voſſius* there is not the leaſt Solidity; ſince *Euſebius*, upon whoſe Teſtimony he builds, has referr'd *Phalaris* to another Period, namely the 3d Year of the 53d *Olympiad*, and the Travels of *Abaris* to the 2d Year of the 54th. *Voſſius* ſhould have obſerv'd this, and have remember'd, that the Paſſage of *Euſebius*, which he does not cite, was preferr'd by *Scaliger* (31) to that which he quotes. *Scaliger* grounds his Notion upon this, That the beginning of *Phalaris*'s Reign was plac'd by *Suidas* under the 52d *Olympiad*. Add to this, that *Oroſius* (32) remarks, that *Cyrus* and *Phalaris* were Cotemporaries. It is plain then that the Inferences, which *Voſſius* has drawn from *Abaris* and *Phalaris* living at the ſame time, are not well grounded; for *Abaris* might have written to *Phalaris* after the 52d *Olympiad*, and have ſeen *Pythagoras* after the 60th *Olympiad* (33). Let this be as it will, it ſhould never have been aſſerted, That, according to the Teſtimony of all the Ancients, *Solon* lived after *Abaris*; for we know that he preſcribed Laws to the *Athenians* (34) in the 46th *Olympiad*, and that *Euſebius* places his *Abaris* under the 82d (35).

Mr *Moreri* makes a wrong uſe of the Obſervations of *Voſſius*: He finds a Contradiction between thoſe who ſay, that *Abaris* liv'd before *Solon*, and thoſe *who place him in the time of* Tullus Hoſtilius, *or of* Ancus Martius, *Kings of* Rome. But theſe Sentiments are not contradictory; nor will any Chronologiſt ſcruple to aſſert, that theſe two Kings preceded *Solon*. Mr *Moreri* was miſled by this Paſſage of

(15) De Virgæ Mercurialis poteſtate & potentia peculiarem Tractationem ſatis myſterioden damus in Superſtitionum magno Commentario. *Barthius* in Stat. Tom. 2. p. 291.

(16) Hom. Odyſſ. ν. & π.

(17) Ibid. κ.

(18) *On the Adage* Virgula Divina, Chil. 1. Cent. 1. n. 97.

(19) Huet. Demonſt. Evang. prop. 4. p. 258.

(20) Exod. vii. *and* viii.

(21) Philoſtrat. in Vit. Apollon. l. 3.

(22) Apud Harpocrationem.

(23) Euſebii Chron. n. 1568.

(24) Henr. Valeſii Notæ in Notas Mauſaci in Harpocrat. p. 83.

(25) *In the word* προηροσίαι.

(26) In Equit.

(27) Apud Photium, p. 1136.

(28) Edw. Simſon, ap. Konig. Bibl. vet. & nova, pag. 1.

(29) Voſſius de Poëtis Græcis, cap. 3. pag. 16.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Scalig. Animad. in Euſeb. n. 1452. p. 94.

(32) Id. ib. n. 1390. p. 84.

(33) *Note that* Abaris, *according to* Jamblichus, *was old when he was inſtructed by* Pythagoras.

(34) *See* Scaliger, *as above*, n. 1422. p. 86.

(35) *See the preceding Remark, Citation* (23).

aſſigning the Reaſon that induc'd him to quit his Country, in order to travel thro' the World. A raging Peſtilence *(d)* (ſay they) prevailing over the whole Earth, the Oracle of *Apollo* gave no other Anſwer than this, That the *Athenians* ſhould ſupplicate the Gods for all other Nations. Hence it was, that ſeveral States ſent Ambaſſadors to *Athens*, of whom the *Hyperborean Abaris* was one. He was then very old; and, ſince he returned to his Country, to conſecrate the Gold (*e*), which he had gather'd, to *Hyperborean Apollo*, whoſe Prieſt he was, it might be ſaid, that a Collection for pious Uſes was one of the Motives that induc'd him to travel to *Greece.* During this Expedition, he renew'd the Alliance between the *Hyperboreans*, and the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Delos* (*f*). He undertook to foretel future Events; and as he ſpread his Prophecies in all Places thro' which he travelled, he might properly enough be ſtiled a *walking* Oracle [*E*]. Some ſay it was he who made the *Palladium* [*F*], That deſtin'd Pledge of Security to thoſe Cities which poſſeſs'd it, and that he ſold it to the *Trojans*. He made it of human Bones (*g*); Materials, which I fancy, the Makers of *Taliſmans* never employ. They maintain farther, That he could foretel Earthquakes [*G*], remove Plagues, and lay Storms, and that he offer'd Sacrifices in

(*d*) Harpocration, *on the Word* Ἄβαρις.

(*e*) Jamblichus in vita Pythag *c.* 19. *See* Spanheim *on* Callimachus, p. 490.

(*f*) Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 47. p. 126.

(*g*) *Namely, thoſe of* Pelops.

Voſſius (36), *fuerit igitur* (Phalaris) *temporibus Tulli Hoſtilii & Anci Martii.* And here, by the way, give me leave to ſay, that he has alſo ſuffer'd himſelf to be impos'd upon, by this Paſſage of *Cælius Rhodiginus* (37); *Hujus* (Abaridis) *& Gregorius Theologus commeminit in Epitaphio ad magnum Baſilium. Moreri* is of Opinion (38), that St *Gregory* makes mention of *Abaris* in an Epitaph upon St *Baſil* the Great. But I have not met with one Word of *Abaris*, in the Verſes which St *Gregory Nazianzen* made on the Death of St *Baſil.* I expected to have found among them the five or ſix Lines, which *Gyraldus* (39) cites, as taken *ex Monodia in Divum Baſilium.* The Term *Monodia* ſeems to refer to a Piece of Poetry; but here it is a fallacious Direction. I had recourſe to the Proſe of that great Divine, that is, his Funeral Oration on St *Baſil*, and could not meet with one quarter of what *Gyraldus* had cited. There is a particular Miſtake, into which *Moreri* has fallen, when he ſays, that this Epitaph was not compos'd for St *Baſil.*

[*E*] *A walking Oracle.*] *Clement* of *Alexandria* has plac'd *Abaris* among thoſe who foretold future Events (40). Προγνώσει δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὁ μέγας προσανεῖχεν αἰεὶ, Ἄβαρίς τε ὁ ὑπερβόρεος· Pythagoras *the Great always addicted himſelf to Prognoſtications; as did alſo* Abaris *the* Hyperborean. A Commentator on (41) St *Gregory Nazianzen* has related, that *Abaris* viſited every part of *Greece*, and there uttered his Oracles. *Apollonius* aſſerts the ſame thing, and beſides aſſures us, that theſe Oracles were ſtill extant. (42) Ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ χρησμοὺς ταῖς χώραις περιερχόμενος, οἵ εἰσιν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὑπάρχοντες· i. e. *He wrote alſo Oracles in the Countries through which he paſſed, which are extant to this day.* The Scholiaſt of (43) *Ariſtophanes* ſays likewiſe, that there were ſome extant in his time. *Abaris* was not the only Perſon who made it his Buſineſs to travel thro' the World, and to ſpread his Predictions wherever he came: it was peculiar to Diviners to do ſo; and hence it is, that *Artimedorus* (44) ſays, when a Man dreams he becomes a Prophet, it is generally a ſign, that he will undertake a Journey, or ſome Buſineſs: *For*, adds he, *Diviners are accuſtom'd to be Vagrants.* Φέρει δὲ καὶ ἀποδημίας πολλάκις καὶ κινήσεις τῷ ἰδόντι τὸν ὄνειρον, διὰ τὸ τοὺς μάντεις περινόστειν. *This Dream portends travelling and removing from place to place; for Diviners are generally Ramblers.* They have this in common with Jugglers, and all kind of Strollers. *Abaris* did more than foretel things to come; 'tis ſaid that he erected Temples; that the Temple of *Proſerpine* in *Lacedemon* (45) was built by him. *Plato* (46) ſays, That he was a perfect Cheat, or rather an Enchanter, who pretended to cure Diſeaſes by the Charm of a few Words.

[*F*] *Who made the* Palladium.] This Diſcovery is owing to the great *Scaliger*, who (47) in two places of a Paſſage in *Firmicus Maternus* (48) has corrected the Word *Avarus* by ſubſtituting *Abaris*. The whole Paſſage, as it ſtands thus corrected, is as follows: *Palladii etiam quid ſit numen audite. Simulacrum eſt ex oſſibus Pelopis factum. Hoc Abaris Scytha feciſſe perhibetur. Jam quale ſit conſiderate quod Scytha barbarus conſecravit. Eſtne aliquid apud Scythas humana ratione compoſitum, & illa effera gens & crudeli atque inhumana ſemper atrocitate graſſata, in conſtituendis religionibus rectum aliquid potuit invenire? Simulacrum hoc Trojanis Abaris vendidit, ſtultis hominibus vana promittens.—Hear likewiſe in what the Divinity of the Palladium conſiſts. It is an Image made of the bones of* Pelops. *The* Scythian Abaris *is reported to have been the Artiſt: but could a barbarous* Scythian *convey any Sanctity to it? Can the* Scythians *produce any thing agreeable to human Reaſon; or can that ſavage Nation invent any thing fitting and proper in Religious Matters? This Image* Abaris *ſold to the* Trojans, *making empty Promiſes to thoſe fooliſh men. Scaliger* has likewiſe corrected two Miſtakes nearly of the ſame kind, in a Paſſage of the Scholiaſt (49) of *Ariſtophanes*. Inſtead of βάριν, he would have us read Ἄβαριν; and inſtead of βάριδος, Ἀβάριδος, which makes the Senſe much more intelligible. The Paſſage, as corrected, is, Ὅ τε δὲ καὶ Ἄβαριν φασι τὸν ὑπερβόρειον ἐλθοντα θεωρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλαδα Ἀπόλλωνι θητεῦσαι, καὶ οὕτω συγγράψαι τοὺς χρησμοὺς τοὺς νῦν προσαγορευομένους Ἀβάριδος. The Meaning of this is, That *Abaris*, when he travell'd to *Greece* to conſult *Apollo*, or to make ſome Oblation to him, ſtaid in his Service, and wrote the Oracles which ſtill go under the Name of *Abaris*. *Valeſius* (50) corrects a Paſſage of *Proclus* (51), where *Pythagoras* is cited, ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἄβαρον λόγῳ; he believes it ought to be read Ἄβαριν: If ſo, there muſt have been ſome Work of *Pythagoras*, (52) addreſs'd to our *Abaris*. All that we know for certain is, that *Pythagoras*, if we will credit *Jamblichus* (53), explain'd his Treatiſe concerning Nature, and his other Tract concerning the Gods, to this *Hyperborean*. *Plutarch* (54) makes mention of a Book entituled *Abaris*, and compos'd by *Heraclides*, wherein, I ſuppoſe, were contain'd all the Adventures, both real and romantic, of this famous *Hyperborean*. I am ſurpriz'd, that *Scaliger*, who was in ſo good a Diſpoſition to diſcover Miſtakes, ſhould refer us to *Gyraldi*, as a Fund of learned Inſtruction, concerning *Abaris*; for, as learned a Man as *Gyraldus* was, yet he was not very accurate in his account of this Matter (55): He ſays, That *Valerius Harpocration* has made mention of the Wonders of the Arrow, and that, according to *Herodotus*, it carry'd him through the Air as far as the Country of the *Hyperboreans:* But 'tis certain that *Harpocration* ſpeaks not a Word of the Arrow, and that *Herodotus* ſays nothing of the Flight of *Abaris*, much leſs does he determine the particular Place, to which he fled. *Charles Stephens* and *Moreri* fell into this laſt Miſtake; *Legatus Athenas veniens, ad ſuos Hyperboreos rediit, nihil comedens*, ſays *Charles Stephens*, i. e. *He return'd from his* Athenian *Embaſſy to his Countrymen the* Hyperboreans, *without eating any thing. Moreri* ſays, that *Returning from* Greece *into* Scythia, *he eat nothing during that long Journey.* This however is more excuſable than the Raſhneſs of the former, in ſaying, That we have ſtill extant the Oracles of *Abaris*. This is to copy after another without Judgment, and without conſidering, that ſince that was aſſerted, thoſe Oracles have been loſt. We ſhall elſewhere (56) paſs a general Reflexion upon the Blunders that ariſe from this Principle.

[*G*] *Foretel Earthquakes.*] *Porphyry* (57) aſcribes this Power to *Pythagoras*, as alſo that of chaſing away Peſtilences, of ſtopping Hail, laying Storms, and appeaſing of Tempeſts by Sea, and on Rivers, that his Friends might have a proſperous Paſſage. He adds, That *Empedocles*, *Epimenides*, and *Abaris*, having learn'd this Secret from *Pythagoras*, put it in practice upon ſeveral Occaſions; πολλαχῆ ἐπιτετελεκέναι τοιαῦτα. A modern Author, having related (58), that *Pherecydes*,

(36) Voſſius *as above.*

(37) Cœlii Rodig. Antiq. Lect. lib. 16. c. 22. p. 881.

(38) *This Error is not in the* Dutch *Editions.*

(39) Gyraldus de Poëtis, Dial. 3. circa init. p. 119.

(40) Stromat. l. 1. p. 334.

(41) Nicetas in Orat. 20. Gregor. Nazianz. p. 774.

(42) Apollon. admir. Hiſt. Sect. 4.

(43) In Equit.

(44) Artemidor. l. 3. c. 21.

(45) Pauſanias, l. 3. p. 94. *But he ſays, That others attribute the building of it to* Orpheus.

(46) Plato in Charm. p. 456.

(47) Scalig. Not. in Euſeb. n. 1104.

(48) De Errore Prof. Relig.

(49) In Equit.

(50) Valeſii not. in notas Mauſſ. in Harpocrat. p. 83.

(51) In Timæum Platonis p. 141.

(52) *Compare* Jamblichus's *Words, as above*, cap. 19. p. 92.

(53) Jambl. Ibid.

(54) Plutarch. quomodo audiendi Poet. init.

(55) *See the Remark* [*D*], *towards the End.*

(56) *In the Remark on the Article* BALBUS (John) *at the End.*

(57) In vita Pythag.

(58) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. 11. p. 127.

in *Lacedemon*, of ſo great Efficacy (*b*), that That Country, which was very ſubject to the Plague, was never troubled with it afterwards. He compoſed a great many Books (*i*); ſuch as, *The Arrival of* Apollo *among the* Hyperboreans; *The Marriage of the River* Hebrus; a *Theogony*, wherein he explain'd the Pedigree of the Gods; *A Collection of Oracles*, and another of *Conjurations*, or *Exorciſms*, or, if you pleaſe (*k*), of Expiatory Prayers. All theſe Pieces were written in Proſe, except the firſt. If we had the whole Speech of *Himerius* the Sophiſt, of which *Photius* (*l*) has preſerv'd a Part, we could better tell, than by that Fragment, whether the great Encomiums, beſtow'd by that Sophiſt on a certain Perſon, belong to *Abaris* or not. 'Tis, at leaſt, paſt all Diſpute, that he (*m*) praiſes him for his ſpeaking good *Greek*. Others (*n*) aſſert, That his affable Behaviour, and plain Dealing, together with his Probity, recommended him to all *Greece*. I do not find, that *Callimachus* and *Lucian*, make any mention of him, though a certain great Critic (*o*) aſſures us they did. Had his Arrow been endued with the Virtue attributed to the *Wand* of *James Aymar* [*H*], he might have been very beneficial to the World, without fearing the Reflexion caſt upon him by *Origen* (*p*), of being uſeleſs in his Generation. But we have (*q*) ſince been inform'd, that the Credit of this Wonderwor-king *Wand* was but ſhort-liv'd [*I*], and that it met with it's fatal Doom at the Prince of *Condé*'s Palace.

ABARIS, a City of *Egypt*. *See the Article* PITHOM.

(*b*) Jamblich. *as above*, c. 19. p. 93. & cap. 28. p. 131. Apollonius *alſo*, *as above*.

(*i*) Sudias on the Word Ἀβαρις.

(*k*) The Greek *Word in* Suidas, *is* καθαρμὸς.

(*l*) Photii Bibl. p. 1136.

(*m*) *See the Remark* [C], *towards the End.*

(*n*) Strabo, lib. 7. pag. 208.

(*o*) Caſaubon's *Notes upon* Strabo, lib. 7. p. 113.

(*p*) Origen l. 3. *againſt* Celſus, *pag.* 129.

(*q*) *This was written in the Year* 1693.

Pherecydes, the Maſter of Pythagoras (59), and *Anaximander*, and *Abaris* (60), foretold Earthquakes, propoſes this pleaſant Queſtion; *What*, ſays he, *did they look upon the Earth as a huge Animal, and were they arriv'd at ſo great a Skill as to know, by feeling her Pulſe, when the trembling Fit was coming upon her?* Now whether the Arrow of *Abaris* was the Inſtrument with which he perfom'd ſo many Miracles, or whether it contributed nothing thereto, it is certain that his Travels might be of great Uſe to Mankind. *See the next Remark.*

[*H*] *Attributed to the Wand of* (61) James Aymar.] Never did any thing make ſo great Noiſe, or occaſion the writing of ſo many Books. I have underſtood ſince, that thoſe who promis'd themſelves ſo many Advantages, and ſo great a Victory over the Incredulous, found themſelves greatly diſappointed in their Expectations. The ſingle Hiſtory of this whole Matter might well deſerve a particular Article; and perhaps I ſhall give you ſome Hints of it under the Word *Rabdomancy*, or upon ſome other Occaſion. But be that as it will, I ſhall not recant what I advance concerning the Uſefulneſs of this Wand. Being in the Hands of ſo great a Traveller as *Abaris*, it would reform the Manners of Mankind more effectually, than all the Miſſionaries and Preachers in the World. For ſhould ſuch a Man return upon the Stage of the World, Jealouſy, that Plague of a married Life, would ſoon be baniſh'd all human Society: Neither the *Italians*, nor the eaſtern Nations, would have then occaſion to ſet Guards over their Wives, or watch them with *Argus*'s Eyes themſelves; each Man would truſt to their Honeſty, and they would need no other Teſt, than this Wand: And the Men would not only be free from an anxious Care (62), which is too often their Ruin, but would find themſelves obliged to preſerve their Conjugal Fidelity, when the Reputation of it was become ſo neceſſary to them. The Appearance of a Court of Juſtice would ſtrike leſs Terror into the Souls of Criminals, than the Arrival of an *Abaris*. The greateſt Number of Offences, the moſt dangerous Sins, ſuch I mean as are committed with the Hopes of Secrecy, would be entirely ſuppreſs'd, by thinking on the Wand; and then we might with *Horace* truly ſay:

(63) *Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,*
Nutrit rura Ceres, almaque fauſtitas.
- - - - -
Culpari metuit fides,
Nullis polluitur caſta domus ſtupris.
- - - - -
Laudantur ſimili prole puerperæ.

Secure in Paſtures roams the wanton Steer,
And ſmiling Plenty crowns the fruitful Year.
Unſully'd Faith in every Boſom reigns,
And the chaſt Marriage-bed inviolate remains.
Trac'd in the Child, the honeſt Sire is ſhown,
And all his Father's Virtues are his own.

I own it is not eaſy to conceive, that the Devil, the profeſs'd Enemy of Mankind, ſhould make choice of ſuch Laws of Intercourſe with Men, which is not conſidered by thoſe, who will not allow us either to call in queſtion the Virtues of the Wand, or attempt to explain them mechanically.

[*I*] *The Credit of this wonder-working Wand was but ſhort liv'd.*] It ſcarce laſted ſo long at *Paris*, as the Time of compoſing and printing one ſingle Article of this Dictionary. The Prince of *Condé*, whoſe Diſcernment, if we conſider his Education, muſt neceſſarily be fatal to all Impoſtors, and their credulous Followers, has pull'd down the Trophies ſet up by the Partizans of *James Aymar*. This poor Wretch was ſo unſucceſsful in the Trials (64) he made of his Art in the Palace of *Condé*, that his Reputation was ruin'd for ever. The Public was made acquainted with the whole Affair, and there was no room to ſuſpect the Truth, ſince it was by Order of that great Prince, that the World was inform'd of the Cheat. Nor indeed do they pretend any ſuch Thing; they only endeavour to account for the Miſcarriages of the Wand, as I ſhall obſerve by and by. They who aſſert, that the Favourers of theſe Jugglers ill-tim'd the Matter, and that, in ſuch a Philoſophical Age as this, ſuch Artiſts are not to be impos'd upon the World, have, in ſome Reſpects, Reaſon on their Side; but, all Things conſider'd, they do not argue right. There are, I allow, many more private Men, at preſent, than formerly, who are able to oppoſe the Stream, and combat Error: But then I muſt anſwer; that our Age is as eaſy to be impos'd upon, as any whatſoever; and, after what we have ſeen concerning an Explication of the *Apocalypſe*, we have no Reaſon to ſay, *the World is grown wiſer now a-days*. It is the ſame it ever was: Every Deluſion, which flatters it's Paſſions, is pleaſing; it is not aſham'd of being convinc'd it was impos'd upon; nor has it, upon that Account, the leſs Reſpect for the Impoſtor; and cries out, as much as ever, againſt the Incredulity of thoſe, who will not ſuffer themſelves to be deceiv'd. Hear what one of our Journaliſts tells us in Confirmation of this Matter: "The (65) Teſtimony of a great Prince, and the "Letter of one of the principal Magiſtrates, are ſuch "ſtrong Proofs againſt *James Aymar*, as none of thoſe "who give credit to the pretended Effects of the "Wand, dare to contradict. But ſo fooliſh are thoſe "credulous Creatures, that hardly one of them will "ſubmit to this Evidence. Mr *Vallemont*, who "has lately publiſh'd a Tract, *concerning the ſecret* "*Philoſophy of the divining Wand*, goes about to "explain how the Peaſant of *Dauphiné* might be miſtaken "in the Trials of his Skill before that Prince, "though he had really the Power and Gifts, of which "he boaſted. This ſort of Philoſophers, as well as "the Explainers of Prophecies, (for both of them "are of the ſame Stamp) are a kind of Enthuſiaſts, "who will never own themſelves to have been in "the wrong; and who, though they are convinc'd "of the Falſity of what they have advanc'd, treat, "as Perſons of a dull Imagination, thoſe Men of "Senſe, who reject their Chimæras."

SINCE the Impreſſion of what I have ſaid, three or four Years have elaps'd without the leaſt mention of *James Aymar*: Our Journaliſts had quite loſt ſight of him, and gave him over for loſt. But at laſt they brought him again upon their Stage, in the Month of

April,

(59) *He cites* Diog. Laert. in Pherecyd. Ciceron. 1. de Divin.

(60) *Concerning* Abaris, *he cites* Apollonius, *ſirnamed* Dyſcolus, cap. 5. *the ſame whom we have quoted above.*

(61) *See the Remark* [*B*].

(62) *Pœnaq; graves in Cœl be vita, Et gravior cautis cuſtodia vana maritis.* Auſ. Idyll. 15. *Painful the Cares, even of a ſingle State, More racking thoſe which do on Wedlock wait.*

(63) Horace, *Ode* 5. *B.* 2.

(64) *See the Hiſtorical Letters, and the Political* Mercury *for the Month of* May, 1693.

(65) Ibid. p. 565.

April, 1697. and that to make him act a very comical Part, which would be of ſingular Uſe, were the Story they tell of it true. “ Some time ago, *ſay* “ *they* (66), the Prior of the Charter-houſe of *Villeneuve* in *Avignon*, travell'd through *Orange* with “ *James Aymar*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he pretended “ to diſcover ſeveral Boundaries of Land that were “ loſt: But by chance he was made uſe of upon another Occaſion. Three Days before, a Child was “ laid at the Gate of the Convent of the *Capuchins*: “ The Rector of the Hoſpital deſired *James Aymar* to diſcover the Perſon who did it. To this “ he readily conſented, came to the *Capuchins* Gate, “ where the Child had been laid, and in the View “ of a great Multitude, took the Way which the Motion of his Wand directed him to, and went directly “ to a Village of the County of *Venaiſſin*, nam'd *Camaret*, and from thence into a Farm-houſe, which, “ he ſaid poſitively, was the Place where the Child “ was born. I forgot to tell you, that in the Way he “ met with a Man on Horſeback, and that by the “ Motion of his Wand, he diſcover'd that he was the “ Father of the Foundling. The Judge of the Place, “ either of his own Accord, or at the Solicitation of “ ſome Perſons concern'd, deſired *James Aymar*, and “ thoſe who ſet him to work, to make no farther Enquiry, and that he would cauſe the Child to be taken Home again; which was accordingly done” Upon this Narration, give me leave to make three Remarks. In the firſt Place, we are not certain of the Truth of this Story: for how many Men take pleaſure to invent Romances, and get them inſerted in the public Papers? They ſend them to an Author without ſubſcribing their Name; they lay the Scene at ſome diſtance; and beſides, they know that there are but few, who will give themſelves the Trouble of being better informed. My ſecond Remark is, that, though all that is related in the *Hiſtorical Mercury* were true, yet this will not ſilence the Incredulous. *James Aymar*, they will ſay, *knew which Way he was to go; a falſe Brother, among thoſe who knew the Intrigue of the Lying-in, was impatient to give the Alarm, and to furniſh Matter for Converſation.* However, he was a particular Exception to that general Proverb, *A Prophet has no Honour in his own Country.* That Diſgrace which he met with in the Metropolis of the Kingdom, that Train, I ſay, of ill Succeſs, of which Mr *Buiſſiere* (67) has publiſh'd an exact Account, was not able to ſpoil his Credit in his own Province. In the third Place, I obſerve, That this Property of the Wand would be of vaſt Advantage to the World: It would eaſe the Public of the Funds it is forced to eſtabliſh for the Maintenance of Foundlings; for it would diſcover thoſe who are their Parents, and force them to maintain them themſelves. Beſides, it would enhance the Fear of the evil Conſequences; which Dread is ſuch a Reſtraint upon Incontinence, that, without it, there would be more frequent, and more ſcandalous Acts of Uncleanneſs committed. The Female Sex, more commonly aw'd with this Fear than Men are, would be more cautious of their Chaſtity. To chuſe out a private Cottage for Lying-in, to ſend for a Midwife, with her Eyes blinded, and by a roundabout Way; to order the Child to be laid in the Streets in the dead of the Night; theſe and all the other Precautions, would ſignify nothing, in caſe the Wand had the Virtue they talk of. It would point out the Way to the very Chamber of the Lying-in-Woman, better than a Hound follows the Scent of the Hare to her Form. It would put an end to all the falſe Oaths that are taken (68) by thoſe who are not willing to be at the Charge of keeping a Baſtard, ſince the Mother would oblige them to it, by appearing, without Shame, before a Magiſtrate, for that very Purpoſe.

As nothing is ſo proper to undeceive the Credulous, as to ſhew that *James Aymar* himſelf confeſs'd this Cheat, I ſhall give the moſt convincing Evidence of it ||. I have a Proof more poſitive than the Teſtimony of Mr *Robert*, the King's Attorney, at the *Chatelet* of *Paris*. The Letter (69) which he writ to Father *Chevigny*, Aſſiſtant to the Father General of the Oratory, contains only ſome of the bad Succeſſes of the Wand; and afterwards theſe Words: “ I “ have heard ſay, that this Wand has not been more “ ſucceſsful in ſeveral Experiments made at *Verſailles*, “ and *Chantilly*; and that he had been convicted of “ Falſhood, and had confeſs'd it: But I know this by “ common Report only; not thinking myſelf obliged “ to take any Trouble in ſuch a trifling Affair, “ which ſhews how ready men are to believe Things, “ which are new, and appear ſo extraordinary.” The following is a clearer and fuller Proof of the Cheat. Mr *Buiſſiere* did me the Honour to write to me, That Mr *Dodard*, and Mr *Sauveur*, Members of the *Academy of Sciences*, had deſired him to print a ſecond Edition of his Letter, and to put his Name to it; which he promis'd to do, *by Order of the Prince of* Condé, *who was deſirous to undeceive the Partizans of the Wand:* To which he will add an Account of the Search (70) which *James Aymar* made after thoſe who murder'd a Patroler, in *St Dennis-ſtreet*; and that the Favourers of the Wand may be entirely undeceived, he will add alſo the Confeſſion which *James Aymar* made to the Prince of *Condé*, *That he knew nothing of all that had been attributed to him; and that what he had hitherto done, was to gain a Livelihood. This ſincere Confeſſion procured him a Preſent of* 30 Louis-d'ors *from his Serene Highneſs, that he might retire, as ſoon as poſſible, to his own Village; becauſe, being no longer under his Protection, the People, whom he had falſely accuſed, would ſtop him. Mr* Robert *told me*, (theſe are Mr *Buiſſiere*'s Words) *That if he had been put into his Hands to be puniſh'd, he would have cauſed him to be condemned to the Gallies, the Proof being beyond Contradiction.* The ſame Letter informs me, That a Boy of 14 Years of Age, who had been inſtructed for that Purpoſe, had already *impos'd upon a* great many People; *but as it was too ſoon after* Aymar'*s Tricks, he found People on their Guard. The little Boy fail'd in his Art, to the Confuſion of the Gentleman who had produced him.* Mr *Buiſſiere* was appointed to examine him, and found him very cunning for his Age. *They ſhut him up ſeveral Days without any Communication with the Gentleman: A little Money, with ſome Promiſes to ſettle him, and ſome Threats, made him confeſs all.* This Letter of Mr *Buiſſiere*'s is dated from *Paris*, the 25th of *July*, 1698. We will add to this an Extract of a Letter from Mr *Leibnitz*, which the Author, permitted to be publiſh'd in Mr *Tenzelius*'s Journal, in the Year 1694, with (71) that of Mr *Robert*. He aſſures us, This he heard the Ducheſs of *Hanover*, Siſter-in-law to the Prince of *Condé*, ſay, ſhe had diſcover'd in her Houſe at *Paris*, the Impoſtures of *James Aymar*; and that ſhe was of the ſame Opinion with the Prince, That 'twas better publickly to expoſe the Falſhood of theſe Pretences, than to conceal them, with a view that the Belief of the Divining Wand might fright a great many Rogues, and procure the Reſtitution of ſtollen Goods. She declared that *James Aymar* at laſt confeſſed the Fact; that he asked pardon, and excuſed himſelf by ſaying, That his Impudence had contributed leſs to his Succeſs, than the Credulity of others (72). “ Is *(Princeps Condæus)* “ Aimarum Lugduno accerſiverat indaginis cauſa: “ excuſſum multis modis homuncionem & deprehenſum, tandem ad confeſſionem fraudis adegit; quam “ ſibi ignoſci petiit ſupplex, & graviora metuens, cauſatus non tam propria audacia, quam alienâ credulitate hominum falli volentium, & velut obtrudentium ſibi, quæ alioqui non jactare auſus fuiſſet, ſeſe “ in hæc impulſum eo tandem perveniſſe, unde pedem commodè non potuerit referre. Facile condonavit homini magnanimus Princeps; ſed erant, “ qui ſuaderint diſſimulari comperta, & conſervari famam hominis vel artis, utili dolo, quod conſtaret, “ furibus aliiſque malis hominibus magnum metum “ fuiſſe injectum, & ob famam adventantis alicubi rerum furtivarum pretia fuiſſe relata. Sed Duciſſæ pariter noſtræ ac Principis egregii ſententia fuit, potiorem habendam rationem veritatis. *He* (the Prince “ of *Condé) ſent for* Aymar *to* Leyden, *in order to* “ *examine him: at length, after ſifting and detecting the Fellow ſeveral ways, he forc'd him to* “ *confeſs the Cheat; which, thro' Fear of worſe Conſequences, he begg'd pardon for on his Knees; and* “ *excus'd himſelf, by alledging, that it was not ſo* “ *much his own Impudence, as the Credulity of People, who were willing to be deceived, and who as it* “ *were forc'd that Art upon him, which otherwiſe* “ *he would not have dared to boaſt of, that drove* “ *him to carry on the Cheat ſo far that he could not* “ *conveniently retreat. The Generous Prince pardon'd* “ *the Man: but there were ſome, who perſuaded him* “ *to ſtifle the Diſcovery, and to keep up the Credit of* “ *the Fellow, or his Art, as being of Service to the* “ *Publick; it being certain, that Theives, and other* “ *ill-deſigning Men, ſtood greatly in Fear of him,* “ *and*

(66) *Hiſtorical and Political* Mercury *of* April 1697, *pag.* 440, 441.

(67) *Mr* Buiſſiere, *Apothecary to the Prince of* Condé, *is the Author of a Book, entituled*, A Letter to Mr *l'Abbé*, D. L. concerning the real Effects of *James Aymar*'s Wand, by *P. B.* Paris, *printed for* Louis Lucas, 1694.

(68) *The Story imports, That* James Aymar *knew the Man on Horſeback to be the Child's Father.*

|| *The Confeſſion which* James Aymar *made of his Cheat. Reflexions on it.*

(69) *It was printed with that of Mr* Buiſſiere, *quoted above.*

(70) *Mr* Robert *ſpeaks of it in his Letter.*

(71) *Mr* Paſch, *at the 778th Page of the Work cited below, calls the Father, to whom the Letter was writ,* Cheulgni. *'Tis plainly a Fault in the printing for* Chevigni.

(72) Leibnitzius apud Tenzelii Colloq. menſtr. ann. 1694. *I quote it here as I find it in a Book of Mr* Paſch, *a learned Profeſſor of Philoſophy at* Kiel, de inventis Nov-antiquis, p. 779. Edit. 1700.

and that the Value of ſtolen Goods had in ſome Places been reſtored, upon the News of his Arrival. But our Ducheſs, and this excellent Prince, were both of Opinion, that Truth was preferably to be regarded.” Mr *Leibnitz* has joined to this a Remark worthy of himſelf; That it had been better to have examined, how ſo many Perſons of Merit could be deceived at *Lyons*, than to endeavour to find out the Natural Cauſes of the pretended Virtue of this Wand: (73) “Et ſcripſi nuper Pariſios utilius & examine dignius mihi videri problema, morale vel logicum, quomodo tot viri inſignes Lugduni in fraudem ducti fuerint, quam illud pſeudophyſicum, quod tractaverat Vallemontius, meliori materia dignus? Quomodo virga corylacea tot miracula operetur? Nam moralis illa quæſtio, excuſſa pro dignitate, multorum errorum popularium origines ſæpe ſpecioſas aperiret. *I gave my Opinion lately, in a Letter to* Paris, *that it was a Problem, whether Moral or Logical, of more Uſe, and more worthy Examination, why ſo many celebrated Perſons at* Leyden *were impos'd upon, than that falſe point of Natural Philoſophy, which* Vallemontius *(worthy of a nobler Subject) undertook to diſcuſs,* viz. *whence it was, that an Hazel Wand could perform ſuch Wonders. For the juſt and proper Diſcuſſion of this Moral Queſtion would unfold the Spring, how ſpecious ſoever, of many popular Errors.*” I fancy, that if the Magiſtrates of *Lyons*, who cauſed the Murderer to be hanged, whom *James Aymar* diſcovered at *Beaucaire*, had threaten'd to burn the Diſcoverer alive, as a wicked Magician; and had cauſed the Executioner to be preſent with all the Inſtruments of the Rack, they would have made him confeſs how he had learnt the Secret of the Aſſaſſination, and how he could find at *Beaucaire*, in ſuch and ſuch a place, one of the Aſſaſſins. 'Tis very probable, that thoſe Perſons, who had a mind to bring him into Reputation, that they might ſhare the Profit with him, cauſed him to play this part. Mr *Buiſſiere* takes notice in his printed Relation (74), That this Man had *a Club of People, who cry'd him up all over* Paris; *and who publiſh'd in the* Mercuré Gallant *for* February, 1693. that he had diſcover'd ſuch and ſuch a thing; *than which nothing was more falſe.* The Prepoſſeſſion was ſo great, that he would have got vaſt Sums, if he could but have maintain'd his Credit. You may judge whether his Partizans had not very good Reaſons to ſecond him. “(75) There never was an Impoſture more credited than this; they were ſo prejudiced in favour of this Perſon, that they made him do things which he never thought of, and found out Reaſons to excuſe him when he did not ſucceed. He impos'd on them by the appearance of a ſimple and ruſtic Air, and ſpeaking only the Gibberiſh of his Country; but he was at the bottom nothing leſs than what he appeared to be: The Motion of his Wand was the Cauſe of the Illuſion. They ſaw the fork'd Stick turn ſo dexterouſly in his Hand, that they did not perceive the inſenſible Motion of his Wriſt, which determined it to turn forcibly and quick, by the Spring which he gave to his Wand. Beſides his apparent natural Plainneſs, he affected to be devout, went often to Confeſſion, every Day to Maſs, and ſhew'd other external Tokens of a great Senſe of Religion; and ſaid, That he had very carefully preſerved his Virginity, *without which*, as he ſaid, *he could not ſucceed with his Wand*. He would not walk in the Streets in the day-time, for fear, as he ſaid, of being murder'd by Thieves and Pick-pockets. But all this was only becauſe the Night ſerv'd better for his Tricks. However ridiculous he was, yet he did not want Admirers, and conſequently People to cry him up: and if they had not taken care to prevent his going out of *Condê*-Houſe, becauſe the Prince, who had ſent for him to *Paris* to ſatisfy his Curioſity, would have him try ſome things, which he had thought of, before he was publickly ſet on work, he had been over-run by thoſe who came in Crowds to conſult him. Some wanted to know *whether he could not diſcover the Thieves who were guilty of ſuch a Robbery, at ſuch a time, and ſuch a place*, &c. Others wanted to know, *whether ſuch a Saint was not the true one, rather than that of another Pariſh, which pretended to be in poſſeſſion of him likewiſe.* Others brought Relicks to him, to know whether they really belong'd to ſuch a Saint. Nay, I my ſelf ſaw a young *Silk-Weaver*, who was contracted, give him two Crowns to know whether the Woman he was contracted to had her Maidenhead or no. Thoſe, who ſhared the Profit, took care to bring Griſt to the Mill; and oblig'd Perſons to pay the Money before-hand, if they had a mind to ſucceed in their Enquiries.”

Such a Man at *Paris* would have been a certain Source of Gain, and an inexhauſtible Mine to thoſe who were to ſhare in the Profit. Both ſuſpecting, and ſuſpected, Perſons would have ſtrove who ſhould pay him beſt. He would have ſqueez'd Money out of both Husbands and their Wives, Gallants and their Miſtreſſes: The Wand would have mov'd, or not mov'd, according as he was beſt paid, by one or t'other. I believe that if we could diſcover the Myſteries of theſe ſorts of pretended Prodigies, we ſhould find it to be a Combination of People in order to get Money: One boaſts of an extraordinary Talent; and others endeavour underhand to eſtabliſh the Belief of it. But I believe there are ſome Cheats, who have no need of Emiſſaries; the Credulity of the Publick is a ſufficient Preparation for their acting the Impoſture. 'Tis not long, ſince there went over the Towns of *Holland* a ſort of *Germans*, who pretended to cure all Diſtempers without any Remedies. *The Patients need only*, ſaid they, *ſend us their Urine.* Their Succeſs was the ſubject of the common Talk; every Body related ſome wonderful Circumſtances; their Lodgings, like the Pool of *Betheſda*, were crowded with infirm Perſons. I don't believe that thoſe who cried up the Art of thoſe Quacks were Sharers in the Profit: Some pleaſed themſelves in recommending the thing, becauſe it look'd like a Prodigy; others might find ſomething agreeable in it, becauſe the want of Effect of the common Medicines put them out of Humour with their Phyſicians. The Cheat did not laſt long; a Month or two ſet all things to rights. This (76) Impoſture was detected, and there were ſo many People undeceived, that their Approbation was changed into the utmoſt Contempt.

We muſt obſerve that Mr *Leibnitz* takes notice, with a great deal of Reaſon, (77) That if the Prince of *Condé* had not diſcovered the Impoſture, no Argument could have prevailed to this very Day with thoſe credulous People. But it is to be feared, that *James Aymar*'s Cheats will be ſoon forgotten; and that People would be pleas'd with the ſame Farce again, if the ſame Motives ſhould revive it ſeven or eight Years hence. “Niſi Princeps Condæus cognoſcendæ rei tantum ſtudii, imò & ſumptus, impendiſſet, laboraremus adhuc & conflictaremur cum quibuſdam ingeniis, quibus gratius eſt per mira falli, quam nudæ veritatis ſimplicitati acquieſcere.—— *Had not the Prince of* Condé *been at great pains and even expence, in the Enquiry, we might have ſtill conteſted the matter with certain Tempers, which are better pleas'd to be deceiv'd by ſomething wonderful, than to acquieſce in plain, ſimple, Truth.*”

(73) Id. ibid.

(74) *Letter concerning the real Effects of the Wand, pag.* 13, 14.

(75) *Mr* Buiſſiere's *Letter to me*, July 25. 1698.

(76) *Mr* Luneu *a very ingenious Phyſician of* Rotterdam *publiſhed a ſmall Treatiſe in* Dutch *and* French, *to ſhew the Vanity and Ridiculouſneſs of this Practice. See the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, by Mr* Banage, May 1697. *p.* 408, &c. *And the* Paris *Journal of* Jan. 13. 1698. *p.* 30. *of the* Dutch *Edit.*

(77) Leibnitz ubi ſupra.

ABBEVILLE, in *Latin Abbatis-villa*, the Capital City of the Dutchy of *Ponthieu* in *Picardy*, on the River *Somme*, five Leagues from the Sea, in the Dioceſe of *Amiens*, was formerly, as the Word imports, no more than a Country-Seat belonging to an Abbot. 'Tis ſuppos'd, that this Abbot was St *Riquier*, or one of his Succeſſors, who, perceiving the Situation to be very pleaſant and commodious, two Leagues from his Abbey of *Centula*, caus'd firſt of all an Houſe (*a*) to be built there, and then a Caſtle, where was a Priory (*b*) dependant upon the Abbey. *Hugh Capet*, willing to make a ſtrong Place of it, in order to ſtop the Incurſions of the *Barbarians*, took it away from the Monks (*c*); and when he had fortified it, gave it to *Hugh* his Son-in-law, who took upon him the Title of Protector, becauſe the King his Father-in-law had committed to him the Protection of the Church of St *Riquier*.

(*a*) *Father* L'Abbé *in his Methodical Tables of Royal Geography, p.* 322. *Edit.* 12mo.

(*b*) Sirmond. Notæ in Epiſt. 36 Alexandri III.

(*c*) Hariulſus *a Monk of* Centula, *in the Chronicle of his Monaſtery*, l. 4. c. 12. apud Hadr. Valeſ. Notit. Gall. p. 1.

His Son *Angelram* was ſatisfied with this Title, 'till ſuch time as he had killed (*d*) in Battle the Count of *Boulogne*, and married his Widow; for then he took upon him the Title of Count of *Ponthieu*, which has been continued to his Succeſſors. In proceſs of time *Abbeville* became very conſiderable. It is at preſent ſo large, *that there are ſcarce ten or twelve Cities in all* France *which ſurpaſs it, or which ſo much as equal it in Circumference.* (*e*) *Sanſon*, whoſe Words I juſt now cited, in his Computation made in the Year 1636, tells us, that *it contained thirty five or forty thouſand Souls.* It was his native Country; and 'tis remarkable, that in a ſhort time it produced three ſkilful Geographers, Himſelf, *Peter* (*f*) *Duval*, and Father *Phillip Briet* the Jeſuit. The River *Somme* divides itſelf here into ſeveral Branches, which run partly within, and partly without the City. Father *L'Abbé* is not of *Sanſon*'s Opinion, who maintains, (*g*) that *Abbeville* was always the Capital of *Ponthieu* [*A*]; and that the other Cities of that Country were not in compariſon near ſo antient as That [*B*]. Much leſs will he allow, what *Sanſon* pretends, *viz.* That this City was formerly called *Britannia* [*C*]; and that it was one of the moſt flouriſhing Cities of all *Gaul*, long before *Jeſus Chriſt.* We ſhall, in it's due Place, take notice of the whole Conteſt, which Father *L'Abbé* [*D*] had with him on this Subject. *Abbeville* is endowed with excellent Privileges;

(*d*) Id. Valeſius ib.

(*e*) Sanſon's *Enquiry into the Antiquity of* Abbeville, *p.* 2.

(*f*) *The Son of one of* Sanſon's *Siſters.*

(*g*) Id. p. 59, 6c.

[*A*] *Was always the Capital of* Ponthieu.] Father *L'Abbé* (1) refutes him as to that particular in theſe Words, " You have not read, Sir, the Titles and " Memoirs of the Abbey of *St Riquier*, which inform " us, that under *Lewis le Debonnaire*, in the Year 815, " there were, within the Walls of *Centula*, Two " thouſand five hundred Houſes, ſeveral Artificers, " a great many Streets, &c. That *Abbeville* is reckon'd among the Towns and Villages which depended upon it." If any Credit may be given to the Verſe that is commonly repeated in that Country;

Turribus à centum Centula nomen habet.

The hundred Towers with which the Walls of *Centula* were flank'd, occaſioned it's Name (2).

(1) L'Abbé, Tabl. Method. p 32c. Edit. 12mo.

(2) Id. ib. p. 316, 317.

[*B*] *Were not in compariſon near ſo antient as That.*] " This is (3) falſe," ſay the Inhabitants of *S. Riquier* " What have you in *Abbeville* that carries any Marks " of Antiquity? ſince your Collegiate Church of St " *Wulfran* owes it's Foundation to *William de Taluas* and *John* his Son, Eleven hundred Years after " *Chriſt*; and the Priory of St *Peter* of the Order of " St *Benedict*, was founded but a few Years before: " for as to the Pariſh Church of *Notre-Dame du Chatel*, it only looks like a country Church." As to *Fredegarius*, whom *Sanſon* has cited as his Voucher for the Exiſtence of *Abbeville* in the Time of the Mayor *Ebroinus*; to this 'tis replied (4), That we ought to read in the Ninety ſixth Chapter, not, *atque Abacivo villa evadens aufugit*, but *atque à Bacivo villâ evadens aufugit.*

(3) Id. ib. p. 320.

(4) Id. ib. p. 321.

[*C*] *That this City was formerly called* Britannia.] He grounds this Opinion on a Paſſage of *Strabo*, where he fancies 'tis ſaid (5), " That the Deputies of *Marſeilles* " appearing before *Scipio*, and being ask'd by him, " what they knew of *Britannia*, *Narbo*, and *Carbilo*, " not one of them could ſay any thing in Commendation of them, though they were the beſt Towns " in all *Gaul*." He ſuppoſes that it was in the Year of *Rome* 532. that the Deputies of *Marſeilles* ſhew'd themſelves ſo groſsly ignorant. His Reaſon for it, is, that he, who propos'd thoſe Queſtions, was the ſame *Scipio*, who loſt the firſt Battle, which *Hannibal* gain'd over the *Romans*. He ſuppoſes that this *Scipio*, willing to get Intelligence of *Hannibal*'s March, ſail'd to the Mouth of the *Rhoſne*; and that there the Deputies of *Marſeilles*, who came to compliment him, could make no Reply to his Queſtions. This we ſhall enquire into farther, under the Article of *Pytheas*. Let us at preſent proceed to the other *Hypotheſes* of *Sanſon*. He obſerves, I. That the City of *Narbonne* was one of the moſt antient, and moſt flouriſhing Cities of *Gaul*; and (6) yet it is not nam'd 'till after that of *Britannia*, among the Three, of which *Scipio* deſired to be inform'd. II. That the *Belgium*, in the Commentaries of *Julius Cæſar*, *was a Region* (7) *among the* Belgæ, which comprehended the *Beauvaiſis*, the *Amienois*, the *Artois*, *and perhaps alſo the Vermendois*, and the *Senliſians*. III. That the Inhabitants of the Coaſts of *Great-Britain*, came from (8) *Belgium*, and retain'd the Names of the Cities, from whence they came; as *Cæſar* informs us. IV. That, according to *Pliny*'s (9) Calculation, the People, whom he ſtiles *Britanni*, muſt have been Inhabitants (10) of *Ponthieu*. V. That of all the Parts of *Belgium*, from whence People went over into *England*, there is none that ought to come into the Account, ſo much as that which is ſituated by the Sea-ſide; that is, the Country of *Ponthieu*: From all this he infers (11), That the *Britanni* of *Pliny* are the chief Inhabitants of *Belgium*, who went over into *England*; and that at firſt they retained their antient Name, and at laſt render'd it univerſal over the whole Country; and that they would not have called themſelves *Britanni*, had not their Capital City been *Britannia*: It follows then, that the Capital of *Ponthieu* was the antient *Britannia* of which *Scipio* deſir'd to be inform'd; now *Abbeville* is the Capital of *Ponthieu*: It went therefore under the Name of *Britannia*, the moſt flouriſhing City of the *Gauls*, even before the Second *Punick* War.

(5) Sanſon's *Enquiry into the Antiquity of* Abbeville, p. 4.

(6) Ib. p. 8.

(7) Ib. p. 39.

(8) Ib. p. 17, 40.

(9) Lib. 4. cap. 17.

(10) Ib. p. 46.

(11) Cluver. in Germania Ant. l. 2. c. 27. *chuſes rather to read* Brianni *than* Britanni.

Doubtleſs there is Learning and Genius in this long Train of Suppoſitions and Conſequences, conſidering the Manner wherein the Author has manag'd it; But, after all, 'tis a meer Romance, an airy Phantom, founded on a Paſſage not duly underſtood. The Matter of Fact is this; *Strabo* (12) tells us, that *Polybius* has inſerted among the fabulous Stories of *Pytheas*, " That none of the Inhabitants of *Marſeilles*, " who had an Interview with *Scipio*, could ſay any " thing conſiderable, when he queſtioned them about " *Britain*, no more than any of the Inhabitants of " *Narbonne*, or of *Corbilo*, the two beſt Cities of " the Country." This is the true meaning of the *Greek* Text, as may be collected not only from the Rules of Grammar, but alſo from the Humour of the Stroller here mentioned; περὶ ἧς εἴρηκε Πολύβιος, μνήσθεις τῶν ὑπὸ Πυθέου μυθολογηθέντων, ὅτι Μασσαλιωτῶν τῶν συμμιξάντων Σκηπίωνι οὐδεὶς εἶχε λέγειν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκηπίωνος ὑπὲρ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Ναρβῶνος, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Κορβηλλῶνος, αἵπερ ἦσαν ἄρισται πόλεις τῶν ταύτῃ (13). This Fellow, to put the better Gloſs upon his romantic Stuff and Rhodomontades, uſed to brag, That he would inform his Readers of a thouſand things, of which they never had heard before. No queſtion then but he boldly gave out, that his Relation of *Britain* preſented us with the firſt and earlieſt Account of that Iſland; and that, to prove it, he made uſe of this Argument; *viz.* That *Scipio* could learn nothing about it from the Inhabitants of *Marſeilles*, nor from thoſe of *Narbonne*, nor from thoſe of *Corbilo* upon the *Loire*; though theſe were the moſt flouriſhing Cities of *Gaul*. Every one may ſee how *Sanſon* has miſtaken the Words of the antient Geographer, to which no queſtion the *Latin* Verſion has not a little contributed: *Cujus (Corbilonis) mentionem faciens Polybius ſimul Pytheæ refert commentum, Maſſilienſium ſcilicet, qui Scipionem convenerunt, nullum quicquam habuiſſe dignum memoratu quod diceret, interrogatus de Britannia, itemq; Narbonenſium & Corbilonenſium, cum hæ tres urbes Galliæ omnium eſſent optimæ.* One might be apt to imagine, at firſt Sight, that the three chief Cities of *Gaul*, mentioned by the Tranſlator, are call'd *Britannia*, *Narbo*, & *Corbilo*; but upon due Attention, we ſhall perceive that Βρεττανικὴ is here taken for the Iſland *Britannia*: And thus *Strabo* (14) is us'd to expreſs himſelf, without the Addition of the Word Νῆσος, *Inſula.*

(12) Strabo, l. 4. p. 190.

(13) Id. ib.

(14) *See among other Places*, l. 1. p. 71.

[*D*] *The Conteſt which Father* L'Abbé *had with him on this Subject.*] He made his Declaration of War, Privileges; and as it has never been taken, (*b*) it is ſtiled, *The Virgin of the Country*, and has for it's Motto, *ſemper fidelis, always faithful.* Whoever would be acquainted more at large with what relates to this City, the Privileges of it's Mayors, the famous Men who have been born or died there (*i*), *&c.* may conſult the genealogical Hiſtory of the Counts of *Ponthieu*, printed at *Paris*, by *Francis Clouſier*, 1657. in *Folio*. The Author only tells us his Name by theſe initial Letters, F. I. D. J. M. C. D. But 'tis eaſy to perceive that they mean *Frere Ignace de Jeſus-Maria, Carme dechauſsé.* i. e. *Brother Ignatius de Jeſus-Maria, A barefooted Carmelite.* See the Article SANSON (*James*).

(*b*) Du Val *in his Treatiſe of* France *p.* 70.

(*i*) *'Tis with great Reaſon that I have here added an* Etcætera, *for the Book is full of foreign Matters: Therein is to be found* Bayard *the Knight, and ſeveral other Perſons who have no manner of Relation to* Ponthieu.

War, and his firſt Act of Hoſtility, in theſe Words: "Brittanniam Abbavillæus Chalcographus interpretatur *Abbeville*, lepidiſſimo commento, quod non tam ex Pytheæ mendaciis, quam ex ignoratione linguæ Græcæ editum malignam in lucem demonſtrabimus alias, cum primum ſingularem illum de Britannia tractatum nanciſci & legere datum fuerit. *The Abbavillæan Chalcographer* (ſo he ſtiles *Sanſon*) *interprets* Brittannia *to mean* Abbeville, *upon a pleaſant Hypotheſis enough, which we ſhall ſhow in another place to be unfortunately built, not ſo much upon* Pytheas'*s lying Accounts, as upon an Ignorance of the* Greek *Tongue, when it ſhall be in our Powers to procure and read over the remarkable Treatiſe* De Britannia." Thus he expreſs'd himſelf in his *Pharus Galliæ antiquæ*, printed at *Moulins* 1644. He had not as yet read the Book, which *Sanſon* publiſh'd on this Subject at *Paris*, 1636. He had only ſeen the new Appearance of *Brittannia*, not in the large Map of antient *Gaul*, publiſhed by *Sanſon* in the Year 1627, but in a ſmall Chart publiſh'd ſince. Having at laſt peruſed the Book, he refuted the Principles upon which 'tis founded, *Ann.* 1646, in the *Methodical Tables of the Royal Geogoaphy*; and did not forget to obſerve, that, according to the Senſe, which the Sieur *Sanſon* gives to *Strabo*'s Text, it muſt be ſaid, that the Inhabitants of *Marſeilles* were wholly ignorant with reſpect to the City of *Narbonne*, *Ann. U. C.* 532. though *Marſeilles* had then been built about 400 Years, and *Narbonne* was a very flouriſhing City. *Sanſon* was ſenſible of the Difficulty, and guarded againſt it as well as he could (15). But who can imagine that the *Marſillians*, becauſe they had frequent Wars with their Neighbours, had not Time to know what *Narbonne* was? The Paſſage of *Juſtin* (16), which *Sanſon* relates, informs us, that before the Year of *Rome* 362, they had often conquered the *Carthaginians*, and entered into Alliance with the *Spaniards*. Father *L'Abbé* was not much the better for his Triumph; for *Sanſon* made the ſame Inſults over him in his Turn, which almoſt ruin'd the *Pharus Galliæ antiquæ*. *Note*, That with reſpect to his Hypotheſis concerning *Britannia*, he wrote a Reply (17) which was never printed.

(15) Sanſon *as before, p.* 76, &c.

(16) Juſtin. l. 43. c. 5, 6.

(17) *See the Remark* [A] *of the Article* Pytheas, *towards the End.*

ABBOT (*a*) (GEORGE) Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Author of ſeveral Books [*A*], was the Son of a *Cloth-Worker*, and born at *Guilford*, in the County of *Surry*, in 1562. He ſtudied at *Oxford*, and in the Year 1597 was made Maſter of *Univerſity-College*. Two Years after, he was advanced to the Deanery of *Wincheſter*, which he held 'till the Year 1609, when he ſucceeded *Thomas Morton* in the Deanery of *Glouceſter*. Hitherto his Advancement was not very ſhining, nor quick; but afwards it made a very great Progreſs in a very little Time; for he was made Biſhop of *Lichfield*, *Dec.* 3. 1609, Biſhop of *London*, *Feb.* 1610, and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in *March* following (*b*). His Learning and fine Talent of Preaching contributed leſs to his ſudden Advancement, than his Intereſt with the Earl of *Dunbar*, whoſe Chaplain he had been. His Conduct was not pleaſing to every Body. It was thought ſtrange, that he ſhould have more regard to his Secretary than to his Chaplains; and that, when he appeared abroad, he ſhould ſhow more Reſpect to the Laity than to the Clergy. It was ſuppoſed, that, having never had any Benefice with the Cure of Souls, that is, having never experienc'd the Difficulties to be met with in the Direction of a Pariſh, he was thereby become leſs capable of ſhewing any Indulgence to the inferior Clergy. His Severity towards them, and the Countenance he gave to the Nonconformiſts, were the two principal Reaſons of the Clamour that was rais'd againſt him. The latter of theſe cauſed a modern Writer to ſay, That if *Laud* had ſucceeded *Bancroft*, and the Project of *Conformity* had not met with an Interruption in the Time of *Abbot*, doubtleſs the Schiſm in *England* would have been at an end (*c*). King *James* was diſguſted with *Abbot*, becauſe he oppos'd the Deſign That King had of marrying the Prince of *Wales* to the *Infanta* of *Spain*. The Enemies of the Archbiſhop, being apprized of this, thought they had a fair Oppportunity of cruſhing him; for they hoped to gain the Aſcendant over this ſuperſtitious King, by alledging the Sacredneſs of the antient Canons. For the better underſtanding of this, it muſt be obſerv'd, that *Abbot* had accidentally kill'd the Keeper of *Bramzel* Park, belonging to the Lord *Zouch*. The Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who was then Lord-Keeper of the Broad Seal, told the Duke of *Buckingham*, That the Archbiſhop was *ipſo facto* deprived of his Dignity, upon the Account of the Murther he had committed. For this he appeal'd to the Laws of *England*, and the Severity of the antient Diſcipline; he added, That it was to be feared the Papiſts would make an Advantage of it, if they ſhould ſuffer one to exerciſe the Office of an Archbiſhop and Primate of the Realm, whoſe Hands are defiled with Blood. In ſhort, he gained his Point ſo far, that a Commiſſion was iſſued to ſome Biſhops and Peers, to enquire into the Matter of Fact. The Event of this Enquiry was not very agreeable to the Archbiſhop's Enemies; for it was adjudg'd, That this involuntary

(*a*) *Some call him* Abbat.

(*b*) Athenæ Oxonienſ. Vol. 1.

(*c*) Fuller's *Worthies of* England.

[*A*] *And Author of ſeveral Books.*] The chief are, *Quæſtiones ſex Theologicæ totidem prælectionibus diſputatæ*, printed at *Oxford*, 1598. *Dr* Hill'*s Reaſons for Papiſtry unmask'd* (1) at *Oxford*, 1604. *An Expoſition upon* Jonah, *by way of Sermon. The Hiſtory of the Maſſacre in the* Valteline. *A Treatiſe of Geography*; of which the ninth Edition, which was not the laſt, is in the Year 1607. And a Treatiſe concerning the *Perpetual Viſibility of the Church*, printed at *London*, 1624. to which he has not put his Name.

(1) *Dr* Hill *had embrac'd the* Romiſh *Religion.*

luntary Murthur had not diſqualified him. This happened in the Year 1621. Six Years after, a new Storm was raiſed againſt him, which quite overthrew him: Nor is there any thing ſurpriſing in it; for the Favourite (d) owed him a Grudge, and could not endure that ſeveral Perſons, offenſive to him, frequented the Archbiſhop's Table, one of the moſt ſplendid at that time. The Pretence made uſe of, was, That this Prelate refuſed to licenſe a Sermon of Dr *Sibthorp*, upon Apoſtolical Obedience, though the King had commanded him ſo to do: Upon which he was ſuſpended from all his Archiepiſcopal Functions, which were adminiſtred by other Prelates; among whom was *William Laud*, who was afterwards his Succeſſor (e). *Abbot* retired to the Place of his Nativity, and afterwards to *Croydon* Caſtle, where he died on the 4th of *Auguſt*, in the Year 1633. His Monument is to be ſeen, with ſeveral Ornaments and Inſcriptions, in *Guilford* Church. He founded an Hoſpital well endowed in that Town. There was another *George ABBOT* [B], who publiſh'd, in *Engliſh*, a Paraphraſe on *Job*; Short Notes on the *Pſalms*; *Vindiciæ Sabbathi*, *&c.* (f) He liv'd in the Year 1640.

[B] *Another* George ABBOT.] The Sieur *Henninges Witte* was not aware of this, in his *Diarium Biographicum*; where he attributes to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* the Works of the other *George*, the Paraphraſes on *Job* and the *Pſalms*, and the *Vindiciæ Sabbathi*. He likewiſe aſcribes to him, *A Treatiſe againſt Biſhops*, and another *againſt the* Browniſts. Tho' it ſeems very odd for a Primate of *England* to write againſt Biſhops.

ABBOT (ROBERT) elder Brother to the former, born alſo at *Guilford* (a), and Student of *Oxford* in *Baliol* College: One of his firſt Employments was that of Lecturer at *Worceſter*; then he was made Miniſter of the Church of *All-Saints* in the ſame Place; and a little after Miniſter of the Pariſh of *Bingham* in *Northamptonſhire*. All this happened between the Years 1581 and 1588. He Commenc'd Doctor of Divinity at *Oxford*, in the Year 1597, and was admitted Chaplain in Ordinary to King *James* I. in the beginning of his Reign. In the Year 1609, he was made Maſter of *Baliol* College; three Years after he was advanced to the Dignity of *Regius* Profeſſor in Divinity, in the Univerſity of *Oxford*. In his Lectures he made choice of a Subject ſo agreeable to King *James*, and managed it with that Depth of Thought and Learning, as is ſuppoſed to be the only Reaſon of his Advancement to the Biſhoprick of *Sarum*: The Subject he made choice of, was, *The ſupreme Power of Kings*; which he maintained againſt all the Subtilties and Sophiſms of *Bellarmine* and *Suarez*. This is what may be ſeen in his Treatiſe, entituled, *De Supremâ Poteſtate Regia*, printed at *London*, 1619. He likewiſe publiſh'd, in 1613, a *Latin* Book, no leſs agreeable than his Lectures, *viz.* An Anſwer to the Apology publiſh'd by *Eudæmon Joannes* the Jeſuit, in Vindication of his Brother *Henry Garnet*. He did not long enjoy his Biſhoprick, for he was Conſecrated *Decemb.* 3. 1615, and died of the Stone (b) *March* 2. 1618. Within two Years after his firſt Wife's Death, he married a ſecond, which was highly diſpleaſing to the Archbiſhop his Brother (c). Some have wondered how it came to paſs, that, after he had ſhewed his Learning and Merit both by ſpeaking and writing; and having been ſucceſsful in every thing he undertook, whether preaching, compoſing of Books and Lectures, diſputing, maintaining of *Theſes*, or ſolving to a Wonder the moſt knotty Queſtions, it has been Matter of Surprize, I ſay, how he came to be promoted to a Biſhoprick ſo late. For this there are three Reaſons aſſigned; Firſt, That he was not Ambitious: Secondly, That he was ſuſpected of being a Puritan: And, Laſtly, That his Relations were unwilling to conſent, that the Church ſhould be Adorn'd with the Spoils of the Univerſity; and that he ſhould leave his Profeſſorſhip to be made a Biſhop (d). This laſt Reaſon, in my Opinion, is not well grounded. Let this be as it will, thoſe, who have made a Compariſon between the two Brothers, prefer *George* as an Eloquent, and *Robert* as a Learned Preacher. They tell us, That *George* was the fitteſt for Buſineſs; and that *Robert* was the moſt profound Divine: They add, that the Gravity of *George* was attended with an Air of Severity, and that of *Robert* with a ſmiling Aſpect (e). The latter was reckoned a moderate *Calviniſt*; for he explained the Doctrine of Predeſtination according to the Hypotheſis of the *Sublapſarians*. In the Note we ſhall give you the Catalogue of his Works [A]. There has been ſince him another *Robert ABBOT*, a Native of *Cambridge*, who has publiſh'd ſeveral Books in *Engliſh*. He was a *London* Divine, after he had been a Miniſter in *Kent*, and other Places (f). The Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library makes three *Robert Abbots* out of one, and the Treatiſes, which were compoſed by one and the ſame Perſon, are there divided amongſt them.

[A] *The Catalogue of his Works.*] Beſides thoſe I have already mention'd, he compos'd, *A Mirrour of Popiſh Subtilties*, *London*, 1594. *Sermons on the* 110th Pſalm, 1601. *Defence of the Reform'd Catholic of* Mr W. Perkins, *againſt the Baſtard Counter-Catholic of* Dr Biſhop, and a Reply to the Anſwer of the ſame Doctor; *London*, 1611. *Antichriſti* (1) *demonſtratio contra Pontificios*, Londoni, 1603. *Exercitationes de gratia & perſeverantia Sanctorum*, Ibid. 1618. *Animadverſio in Richardi Thompſoni diatribam de amiſſione Juſtificationis & Gratiæ*, Ibid. 1618. His Commentary on St *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Romans* was found in his Study; it contains four Volumes, and was given to the *Bodleian* Library by Dr *Edward Corbet*, the Huſband of *Margaret Brent*, Daughter of *Martha Abbot*; which *Martha* was the only Daughter and Heir of our *Robert*, Biſhop of *Sarum* (2). That learned Prelate ſhow'd his great Skill in *Polemics*, by enlarging on all the Matters of Controverſy, which the Epiſtle to the *Romans* affords.

ABDAS

(d) *The Duke of* Buckingham.

(e) Ruſhworth's *Hiſtorical Collections*, Tom. 1. *Where is to be ſeen a long Memorial of* George Abbot, *upon the Account of his Suſpenſion.*

(f) Athen. Oxon. ib.

(a) In 1560.

(b) *The Sieur* Witte *places his Death* March 11. 1617. *That which caus'd his Miſtake, is, That the* Engliſh *do not begin their Year as other Countries do.*

(c) Athen. Oxonien.

(d) Fuller's *Worthies.*

(e) Id. ib.

(f) Athen. Oxonienſ.

(1) Scaliger *very much commends that Book, in his* Scaligerana, p. 1, 2.

(2) *See the* Engliſh *Authors, quoted in this Article.*

ABDAS, A Biſhop in *Perſia*, in the time of *Theodoſius* the younger, was, thro' his inconſiderate Zeal, the Cauſe of a very terrible Perſecution, which was raiſed againſt the Chriſtians, who enjoy'd a full Liberty of Conſcience in *Perſia*, when this Biſhop took the Liberty to pull down one of the Temples, where the *Perſians* worſhiped the Fire. The *Magi* made their Complaints to the King [*A*], who ſent for *Abdas*, and, after a mild Rebuke, ordered him to rebuild the Temple. *Abdas* refuſed to do it, though that Prince declared to him, that, in caſe of his Diſobedience, he would cauſe all the Chriſtian Churches to be pulled down. Which Threat he executed (*a*); and all the Chriſtians were delivered up to the Mercy of his Clergy [*B*], who, being angry at the Toleration that had been granted them, fell upon them with great Fury. *Abdas* was the firſt Martyr, who loſt his Life on that Occaſion, if we may ſo call a Man, who by his Raſhneſs [*C*] (*b*) expoſed the Church to ſo many Misfortunes. The Chriſtians, who had long ago forgot one of the moſt eſſential Parts of Chriſtian Patience, had recourſe to a Remedy, which occaſioned another Deluge of Blood. They implored the Aſſiſtance of *Theodoſius*, which kindled a long War between the *Romans* and *Perſians* (*c*). 'Tis true the latter were worſted: But was there any Certainty that they ſhould not overcome the *Romans*, and that, being fluſhed with Victory, inſtead of perſecuting only the Chriſtians in *Perſia*, they would not exerciſe a general Perſecution againſt all the other Churches? Thus we ſee what Miſchiefs the inconſiderate Zeal of one Man may occaſion. The Fury of the Perſecutors could ſcarce be ſatisfied in the Space of thirty Years (*d*). They, who (*e*) ſuppreſs that Reaſon of the Rage and Violence of the *Perſians*, can't be excuſed. The Commonwealth of Learning might enter an Action againſt 'em, as is practiſed againſt thoſe Sellers, who (*f*) conceal what they ought to acquaint the Buyers with; and it were to be wiſhed, that the Publick would be more ſevere againſt thoſe Hiſtorians, who ſuppreſs certain Facts: It is ſo common a Fault amongſt thoſe Gentlemen, that it is high time to prevent it for the future, if poſſible.

(*a*) Ex Theodoret Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 39.

(*b*) Vedelius, *a Proteſtant Divine, blames that Biſhop*, apud Voet. diſp. Theol Tom. 3. p. 310.

(*c*) Socrates, l. 7. c. 18. Hiſt. Eccl.

(*d*) Theod. Ibid.

(*e*) *See the Remark* [C].

(*f*) Cùm ex duodecim tabulis ſatis eſſet ea præſtari quæ eſſent lingua nuncupata, quæ qui inficiatus eſſet dupli pœnam ſubiret, à Jureconſultis etiam reticentiæ pœna eſt conſtituta. Quidquid enim eſſet in prædio vitii id ſtatuerunt, ſi venditor ſciret, niſi nominatim dictum eſſet, præſtari oportere. *Cicero de Offic. l. 3. c. 1*[illegible]. *See likewiſe* Grotius de Jure belli, l. 2. c. 8. n. 7 *and* Puffendorf de Jure Nat. l. 5. c. 3.

[*A*] *To the King.*] 'Twas *Iſdegerdes*, if we rely upon (1) *Theodoret*; but, according to (2) *Socrates*, the Perſecution began under *Vararanes*, Son and Succeſſor of *Iſdegerdes*. *Baronius* (3) dares not determine which of the two is in the right.

[*B*] *To the Mercy of his Clergy.*] So I call the *Magi*, who, amongſt other things, took care of Religion. It was their buſineſs to prevent all manner of Innovation in Religious Matters. *Theodoret* (4) compares them to a Whirlwind, which raiſes the Waves of the Sea; Τριάκοντα διεληλυθότων ἔτων ἡ ζάλη μεμένηκεν, ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων καθάπερ ὑπὸ τινων καταιγίδων ῥιπιζομένη· *The Tempeſt continu'd more than thirty Years, being rais'd by the* Magi, *as ſo many Whirlwinds*; ſuch was their Function in the Storm that toſſed ſo violently the Church of *Perſia*. *Socrates* (5) tells us, that they made uſe of ſeveral Impoſtures to put a ſtop to the Progreſs of the Chriſtian Religion, when they ſaw that the Love *Iſdegèrdes* had conceived for the holy Biſhop *Maruthas*, gave them Reaſon to fear, that he would forſake their Religion. They were ſo bold as to hide a Man under Ground, in the Temple where the King uſed to worſhip the Fire; and they order'd him to cry out, when the King came in, "That they ought to turn out That Prince, ſince "he had been ſo impious as to believe, that a Chri"ſtian Prieſt was a Friend of God." If what is moſt falſely ſaid by impious Men were true, *viz.* That Religion is a mere human Invention, ſet up by the Sovereigns to keep their Subjects within the Bounds of Obedience, may we not aſſert, that Princes are the firſt who have been taken in their own Snares? For Religion is ſo far from making them Maſters of their Subjects, that, on the contrary, it gives their Subjects a Power over them, ſince they are obliged to profeſs the Religion of their People, and not That, which ſeems to them to be the beſt: And if they are reſolved to profeſs a Religion different from that of their Subjects, their Crowns will ſit looſe upon their Heads. We ſee how the *Perſian Magi* threaten'd their King, though he had only careſs'd one Biſhop. Has it not been aſſerted, that the laſt (6) King of *Siam* was pull'd down from the Throne, for having too much favour'd the Chriſtian Miſſionaries. The ſame *Socrates*, who mentions the Artifices made uſe of by the *Magi*, to put a ſtop to the Propagation of the Goſpel, tells us likewiſe, That, after the Death of *Iſdegerdes*, they inſpired his Son with ſuch a Spirit of Perſecution, that the Chriſtians were treated with ſhocking Cruelty. They had endeavour'd, but in vain, to inſpire his Father with the ſame Spirit; for he was inclined to embrace the Goſpel. *Socrates* aſſures us of this: But he is to blame for not owning ſincerely, that the raſh Action of Biſhop *Abdas* afforded the *Magi* a very plauſible Pretence. *Compare with this the Remark* [*B*] *of the Article of* Junius (Francis) *Profeſſor at* Leyden.

[*C*] *A Man, who by his Raſhneſs.*] All the Church Hiſtorians are not guilty of the Inſincerity, for which I blame *Socrates*; for *Thedoret* (7) ingenuouſly confeſſes, That the Biſhop, who pull'd down a Temple, occaſion'd the dreadful Perſecution of the Chriſtians in *Perſia*. He does not deny but that the Zeal of that Biſhop was unſeaſonable; but he maintains, that his Refuſal to rebuild the Temple is worthy of Admiration, and deſerves a Crown: For *it ſeems to me*, ſays he, *as great an Impiety to build a Temple to the Fire, as to worſhip it.* *Nicephorus* (8) does but tranſcribe *Theodoret*. For my own part, I am of Opinion, That no private Men, whether they be Metropolitans or Patriarchs, can at any time be diſpens'd with from obeying this Law of Natural Religion. *The Damage, that has been done to one's Neighbour, ought to be made up by Reſtitution, or ſome other Way.* Now *Abdas*, a mere private Man, and a Subject of the King of *Perſia*, had deſtroy'd another's Property, and a Property which ought to have been the more inviolable, as it related to the eſtabliſh'd Religion of the Country; he was therefore indiſpenſably obliged to obey the Orders of his Sovereign, by reſtoring what he had deſtroyed: And it was no good Excuſe to ſay, That the Temple, which he was ordered to rebuild, was deſign'd for the Uſe of Idolaters; for he was not to put it to that Uſe, and he could not be anſwerable for the Abuſe of thoſe, to whom it belong'd. Would it be a good Reaſon for keeping a Purſe, ſtollen from another, to ſay that the Man, from whom it was taken, ſpends his Money extravagantly? Let him do ſo; you are not anſwerable to God for the ill Uſe he makes of his Money: Let him enjoy what is his own; what Right have you to it? Beſides, could there be any Compariſon between the Deſtruction of a Temple, without which the *Perſians* would have remain'd as great Idolaters as they were before, and the Deſtruction of many Chriſtian Churches? *Abdas* ſhould have therefore prevented this laſt Evil by the firſt, ſince the Prince put it to his Choice. Laſtly, can any thing render the Chriſtian Religion more odious to all the Nations of the World, than to ſee, that after the Chriſtians had inſinuated themſelves, as deſiring only the Liberty of teaching their Doctrine, they are ſo bold as to deſtroy the Temples, conſecrated to the Religion of the Country, and to refuſe to rebuild them, when the Sovereign commands it? Is it not to give occaſion to the Infidels to ſay; *Theſe Men deſire at firſt a mere Toleration, but in a little Time they*

(1) Theod. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5. c. 39.

(2) Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 7. c. 18.

(3) Baron. ad ann. 420.

(4) Theod. ubi ſupra.

(5) Socrat. l. 7. c. 8.

(6) *This was wrote in* 1693.

(7) Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 39.

(8) Lib. 14. c. 19. *I find* apud Salden. Otia theol. p. 639. *that* Socrates, vocat exertim rem non opportunam, *calls that an ill-tim'd Action, which was done by the Biſhop. He quotes* Hiſt. Tripart. l. 10. c. 30. *but it is certain that That Chapter is taken from* Theodoret. Voetius diſput. Theol. Tom. 3. p. 310. *quotes* Euſebius, *who could not mention it.*

will pretend to ſhare with us all Employments and Places of Truſt, and then become our Maſters. At firſt, they think themſelves very happy, if they are not burnt, afterwards very unhappy, if they have fewer Privileges than others; and then again, very unhappy if they are not the only prevailing Party. For ſome time they reſemble Cæſar, *who could bear no Maſter; and then* Pompey, *who could ſuffer no Partner?*

Nec (9) quenquam jam ferre poteſt Cæſarve priorem,
Pompeiuſve parem.

Superior Power, fierce Faction's deareſt Care,
One cou'd not brook, and one diſdain'd to ſhare.
Rowe.

(9) Lucan. l. 1. v. 125. *ſee likewiſe* Florus, l. 4. c. 2.

The Perſecutors of the *French* Proteſtants maliciouſly inſpired *Charles* IX. with the like Thought. 'Tis ſaid, that that Prince made uſe of theſe Words, ſpeaking to the Admiral *de Coligni* (10), *Per innanzi vi contentavate d'un poco di licenza, hora la volete del pari, fra poco vorrette eſſer ſoli, & cacciar noi altri fuori del regno.* i. e. *At firſt they pretend to be ſatisfy'd with a little Liberty; then they deſire to be upon an Equality; next they aſpire to govern alone; and at laſt, they would drive us out of the Kingdom.* Such are the unavoidable Inconveniences, which They expoſe themſelves to, who maintain ſo warmly, That the Power of the ſecular Arm ought to be made uſe of for the Eſtabliſhment of Orthodoxy. Such were the Principles of *Abdas*. For what would he not have done with force of Arms againſt the Idolaters under a Chriſtian Emperor, ſince, under a Heathen Prince, who tolerated the Chriſtian Religion, he pull'd down a Temple, for which the Heathens had a very particular Veneration. *Compare this with what you will meet with in the Remark* [*B*], *of the Article* BRAUN (George).

(10) Davila's *Hiſtory of the Civil Wars in* France, l. 4. p. 158. Ann. 1566.

ABDERAME, Governor of *Spain*, for *Iſcham* Caliph of the *Saracens* in the VIIIth Century, endeavoured to extend their Empire over *France*, after they had conquered all *Spain*. They might have been contented [*A*] with the Countries they had already ſubdued; but it was very natural for them not to ſtop in ſo fine a Road of Succeſs. If we had a particular Hiſtory of *Abderame*, written by one of his own Party, it would doubtleſs appear, that he was very well qualified to ſatisfy the exceſſive Ambition of his Maſter; and that he was one of the greateſt Generals in the World. We ſhould meet with nothing but great Actions and Triumphs. I know that ſome Chriſtian Writers ſpeak well of him: And indeed 'tis no ſmall Praiſe to have penetrated, as he did, into the very Heart of *France*: But, after all, there is nothing like a Writer of one's own Party. *Abderame* quickly removed the Obſtacle, which *Eudes*, Duke of *Aquitain*, had raiſed againſt him; having in a little time reduced the (*a*) Govenor of *Cerdagne*, who had taken up Arms at the Sollicitation of that Duke, to the Neceſſity of killing himſelf. He treated his Widow [*B*] very civilly, who was Daughter of Duke *Eudes*, and a moſt beautiful Woman. As ſoon as he had ſuppreſt that Inſurrection, he applied himſelf with all imaginable Care to Preparations for War, in order to invade *France*; and (*b*) the Year following, made an Irruption into that Countrey with one of the greateſt Armies that had been ſeen for a long time: It ſpread far and wide, and filled every Place with Deſolation and Horror. The Memory whereof is not yet loſt, even amongſt the common People in the Countries, which were ſo cruelly ravaged. 'Tis not known whether the *Gaſcons* [*C*], whoſe Duke was a Friend to the Duke of *Aquitain*, made any Reſiſtance, or whether they ſubmitted to the *Saracens*: We only know, that *Abderame*, having advanced as far as *Bourdeaux*, took that City, and burnt all the Churches;

(*a*) *His Name was* Munuza. *See his Article.*

(*b*) *In* 732.

[*A*] *Have been contented.*] Perhaps the World has never ſeen ſuch an Inſtance of a long Series of Victories, and large Conqueſts, as the *Saracen* Hiſtory preſents us with. The Idea which the *Roman* Poet formed of a vaſt Dominion, takes in but part of their Empire.

Latius regnes, avidum domando
Spiritum, quam ſi Lybiam remotis
Gadibus jungas, & uterque Pœnus
ſerviat uni (1).

That Man a wider Empire gains,
Who his own craving Wiſh reſtrains,
Than he, whoſe Sword, and wide Command,
Join diſtant Spain *to* Lybia's *Sand;*
Than if they did his Arms obey,
And either Carthage *own his Sway.*
Creech.

(1) Hor. lib. 2. Od. 2.

Reaſon prompted them both to ſtop, and not to ſtop. This ſeems a Contradiction, and yet 'tis very true: If they had ſtopt, they might have been praiſed for it upon ſeveral Accounts; but they had been blam'd likewiſe for ſeveral Reaſons. They might have been charged with Weakneſs and Imprudence. It might have been ſaid, That they neither had the Courage nor the Skill to improve the Opportunities which Providence put into their Hands; and that a little more Boldneſs and Courage would have enabled them to conquer the whole World. They, who do great Actions, are never ſecure from ſuch malicious Reflexions: If it cannot be denied that they have done great Things, it will be ſaid however, that it is nothing in Compariſon of what another would have done in the like Caſe. The Heathens would have called this a Criticiſm on Fortune for the ill Choice of her Favourites.

[*B*] *He treated his Widow*, &c.] I ſhall obſerve in another Place (2), that the Daughter of *Eudes*, who was married to the Governor of *Cerdagne*, was the moſt beautiful Princeſs of her Time; and that, being brought to *Abderame*, he ſent her to the Caliph. A Circumſtance, which a *Saracen* Hiſtorian would not lightly paſs over, as we Chriſtian Writers do. He would extol it above all that has been celebrated by the *Greeks*, to the Glory of *Alexander*, and by the *Romans*, to the Glory of *Scipio*. *Alexander* (3) behaved himſelf chaſtly towards *Darius*'s Wife and Daughters, who were his Priſoners. *Scipio* (4) laid a Reſtraint upon his Paſſions, though he had a very beautiful Virgin in his Power, and ſent her back to a Man of Quality, to whom ſhe was contracted. A panegyrical Writer might find in the Circumſtances of *Abderame*'s Conduct ſome Reaſons to give him the Preference. He might have kept for himſelf the Widow of a Rebel-Governor: She was an extraordinary Beauty, and yet he left her untouch'd.

(2) *In the Article* Munuza.

(3) *See the Remark* [*G*], *of the Article* Macedonia.

(4) Val. Maxim. l. 4. c. 3.

[*C*] *Whether the* Gaſcons——*made any Reſiſtance.*] The moſt exact (5) Hiſtorians obſerve, That *Abderame* enter'd *France*, through the Country that lies betwixt the *Garonne*, and the Ocean; and they ſay, That Country was at that Time under the Dominion of the Duke of *Gaſcony*, and not under the Duke of *Aquitain*. They make no mention of the Siege of *Arles*, which, *Moreri* ſays, the General of the *Saracens* undertook; before he went into *Aquitain*, and before he made himſelf Maſter of *Languedoc*, *Querci*, &c. This Account is ſo much the more perplexed and confus'd, as it is certain that the *Saracens* were Maſters of *Languedoc*, before *Abderame* paſs'd the *Pyrenees*. The Way he took will furniſh me preſently with a Juſtification of the Duke of

(5) Mezerai, Cordemoi.

Churches: After which, he was victorious in a bloody Battle [*D*] over *Eudes*, a little beyond the (*c*) *Dordogne* [*E*]. He croſſed *Poictou*; he plundered the Church of St *Hilary* at *Poictiers*, and proceeded to *Tours*, in order to plunder the Treaſure of St *Martin*'s Church. It was then, that *Charles Martel*, ſeconded by the Duke of *Aquitain*, ſtopp'd the Courſe of that Torrent. The great Army of *Abderame*, the Number of the Towns he plundered, and of the Churches he burnt in his way through *Perigord* and *Saintonge*, made his March ſo ſlow, that *Eudes* had time to re-inforce himſelf with a conſiderable Army, before he joined *Charles Martel*: After the junction of their Armies, they march'd (*d*) beyond *Tours* to meet *Abderame*. The two Armies, being in ſight of one another, ſpent near ſeven Days in ſkirmiſhing; but at laſt, on the ſeventh Day, which happened to be a *Saturday* of the Month of *October*, in the Year 732 [*F*], the Battle was fought with a very great Loſs to the *Saracens*. Yet we muſt not imagine the Number of the Dead was ſo great [*G*] as ſome hyperbolical Hiſtorians have repreſented it to be. *Abderame* was kill'd in the Field of Battle; the broken Remains of his Army retired more eaſily than they could have expected [*H*] (*e*). The Duke of *Aquitain*, who has been falſly charged with being the Cauſe

(*c*) *With reſpect to the* Pyrenees.

(*d*) *With reſpect to* Paris.

(*e*) *See* Cordemoi's *Hiſtory of* France, Tom. I. p. 403, &c.

of *Aquitain*. The Account of *Auguſtin Curio* (6) is ſtill more confuſed: He ſays, That *Abderame* enter'd *France* before the Death of *Munuza*; that he won a Battle there againſt *Eudes*; that being returned thither after the Death of *Munuza*, he croſs'd the *Rhone*, and made a horrid Slaughter at *Arles*, and afterwards beſieged *Toulouſe*, without taking it, and then *Bourdeaux*, with very good Succeſs; and at laſt, that he plundred and burnt St *Martin*'s Church at *Tours*.

(6) Hiſtor. Sarracen. l. 2. p. 111, 112.

[*D*] *A bloody Battle.*] The loſs of the Chriſtians was ſo great, if we may believe *Iſidorus*, Biſhop of (7) *Badajox*, that God only knows the Number of the *French* that were ſlain. According to *Mezerai*, (8) Duke *Eudes fought with all imaginable Bravery, but at laſt he was forced to yield, with ſuch a loſs of his Men, as is not to be expreſs'd.*

(7) Iſidorus Pacencis Chronic.

(8) Mezerai, *Chronol. Abridgment*, Tom. I. p. 193.

[*E*] *A little beyond the* Dordogne.] I do not apprehend what *Cordemoi* (9) means, when he ſays, That if *Eudes* had waited for the coming of *Charles Martel, as he ſhould have done, the* Saracens *had never croſs'd the* Dordogne. Did they not croſs it before (10) the Battle was fought, and before *Charles Martel had paſs'd the* (11) Loire? To what Purpoſe therefore ſhould he have expected him, in order to prevent the Paſſage over the *Dordogne?* That Hiſtorian ſhould have ſaid, That if *Eudes* had ſtaid for *Charles Martel*, he might have prevented the Irruptions of the *Saracens* into *Saintonge* and *Poictou*; becauſe in that Caſe he had not loſt the Battle; and having all his Troops, he might have kept the Enemy in awe, by the Favour of ſome advantageous Poſts, which he might have ſecur'd. Thus, preſerving his Troops 'till the Arrival of *Charles*, the entire defeat of the *Saracens* would have been more practicable, in whatever Province they had been met with. It is, perhaps, difficult to determine, whether the Eagerneſs, which prompted *Eudes* to a ſpeedy Engagement, be moſt worthy of Cenſure, or the grave and ſlow March of *Charles* towards the *Loire*. Thoſe two Generals both plaid an artful Part. *Eudes* was deſirous to beat the Enemy without the Help of *Charles Martel*; and the latter was not diſpleaſed to ſee *Aquitain* laid waſte by the *Saracens*, and the Troops of *Eudes* worſted. By this means he got rid of the Obſtacles, which he feared from thence, to his great Deſign of making himſelf King; and the Glory of being the Deliverer of *France*, would Increaſe in proportion to the ſmall Share his Rival had in it. Some *Spaniſh* Writers ſay (12), That *Eudes* was beaten between the *Garonne* and the *Dordogne*. *Mezerai* made uſe of better Memoirs, when he ſaid (13), “That *Eudes* durſt not ſtay for “the *Saracens* beyond the Rivers, but retired on this “ſide the *Dordogne*; and, being there reconcil'd to “*Martel*, he aſſembled his Troops, expecting that he “ſhould come and join him with the *French* Troops; “but *Abderame* broke his Meaſures, and marching “forward, croſs'd the River to attack him in his “Camp. The Duke ſtaid for him without ſtirring, “and fought with great Courage.” This ſhews that his *Impatience* is not ſo much to be blamed, as *Charles Martel*'s Patience.

(9) Cordemoi's *Hiſtory of* France, p. 404.

(10) Eudes *did not go back, when he heard that* Abderame *had croſs'd the* Dordogne; *but met, and fought him.* Id. ib.

(11) Id. ib.

(12) *See* Catel's *Hiſtory of* Languedoc. p. 526, 529.

(13) Mezerai, ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *In the Year* 732.] Is it not very ſtrange, that ſuch a Victory as this ſhould not eſcape Chronological Contradictions? *Catel* places it in the Year 725. pag. 529. of his *Memoirs* (14); but in pag. 531. (no very great Interval) he places it in the Year 728. “The “Year following, *ſays he*, which was the Year 728, “*Eudo* Duke of *Aquitain* died.” *Calviſius*, quoting the Annals of *Fulde*, places it in the Year 726; *Petavius* (15) in 725. Formerly moſt Writers pitch'd upon the Year 725, or 726, but of late they declare for the Year 732. Father *L'Abbé*, *Mezerai*, *Cordemoi*, &c. agree in that, with the Annals of *Metz*, and the moſt ancient Chronicles.

(14) *For the Hiſtory of* Languedoc.

(15) Petav. Ration. temp. Part I. l. 8.

[*G*] *The Number of the dead was ſo great.*] 'Tis commonly computed at 370 or 375 Thouſand, and That of the *French* at 1500. This is the Computation of (16) *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and ſeveral other Hiſtorians: But it is now no longer credited. *Mezerai* ſays, That the whole Army of the *Saracens* conſiſted but of Fourſcore or an Hundred thouſand Men. We muſt remember that they fought till Night (17) without giving ground, and that they were not purſued the next Day, when it was known that they had marched all Night. But it would have been almoſt impoſſible to make ſuch a prodigious Slaughter of Men, who ſtood their Ground. A Slaughter of ſo many thouſand Soldiers can't happen but in purſuit of a flying Army, when no Quarter is given. Since therefore the Night parted the two Armies, what we read in *du Haillan* muſt needs be a meer romantic Story, *viz. That King* Abderame, *and almoſt all his chief Officers, were found among the great Heaps of dead Bodies, only ſuffocated by the Numbers that overwhelm'd them.* If there had been at that time any Weekly News-Writers, we might have better judg'd of the Number of the *Saracens* by the *Gazettes* publiſh'd before the Battle, than by the Deſcriptions given afterwards of it. During the March of thoſe *Barbarians*, the Licens'd News-Writers would have repreſented their Army as inconſiderable, and weaken'd it every Day by Deſertions and Sickneſſes: But, after the Victory, they would have corrected themſelves, and aſſur'd us, upon good Authority, that the Army conſiſted of innumerable Multitudes. One might therefore be impos'd upon both by the former and latter Gazettes; but if I were to chuſe, I ſhould rather truſt the firſt Account than the laſt.

(16) *He took it from the Relation written by* Eudes, *to Pope* Gregory II. *See below, the Remark* [*K*].

(17) *See the following Remark.*

[*H*] *Retired more eaſily than they could have expected.*] To rectify the popular Notions of that great Victory, it is requiſite to conſider what the moſt accurate Hiſtorians have ſaid of it. “(18) The *Saracens* “threw their Darts to no purpoſe; the Shields of the “*French* Soldiers, rais'd one above another, ſecured “them; and, when the *Saracens* came on Sword in “Hand, all their Efforts being not able to break ſo great “and ſo cloſe a Body, did but ſerve to put themſelves “into diſorder. *Charles*, who knew how to take his “Advantage, immediately attack'd them. A prodi“gious number of them were killed by the *French*, “who continued to fight very cloſe: *Abderame* him“ſelf was kill'd upon the Spot; but the Night com“ing on put an end to the Fight, before *Charles* “was ſenſible of all his Advantages. He did not “think it proper to follow the Remains of the *Sara*“*cens* Army, to avoid the Ambuſcades that are al“ways to be feared, when the Enemy is very nu“merous. Nay he caus'd his Troops to retire in “good order, and with their Swords in their Hands, “into the Camp, where they ſtaid all Night, and at “break of Day he drew them up again in order of “Battle in Sight of the Enemies Camp. There were “ſo many Pavillions in it, that, though the Field, “wherein the Battle was fought the Day before, was

“cover'd

(18) Cordemoi's *Hiſtory of* France, Tom. I. p. 405.

Cauſe [*I*] of this Invaſion, was greatly inſtrumental in obtainining the Victory [*K*]. It is ſurprizing, that ſo important a Victory ſhould not have been well deſcribed by the Writers of that Time, and yet that the modern Hiſtorians ſhould tell us ſo many Particulars concerning it [*L*].

“ cover'd all over with the dead Bodies of the *Saracens*, *Charles* had ſome Reaſon to believe; that they had ſtill a great number of Soldiers conceal'd in their Tents, and he expected every Minute they would ſally out; but at laſt, after a long Stay, the *French* perceived that the *Saracens* had abandon'd their Camp, and ſome Spies reported, that they had marched all Night towards *Septimania*. However he look'd upon this Flight of an Army, which he eſteem'd to be more numerous than his own, as an Artifice to draw him into ſome Ambuſcade; and was ſatiſfy'd with making ſure of the *Saracen*-Camp, where he found all their Baggage, together with the Booty they had gained.” This is what induc'd *Mezerai* to ſay, (19) *That* Charles *did not well improve the great Advantage he had gain'd.* I am willing to believe he was like many (20) others, better qualified to gain a Victory, than to improve it: But perhaps he thought fit to let the *Saracens* retire quietly, that they might be the more able to ruin the Duke of *Aquitain*, whom he looked upon as a dangerous Enemy. With how much Difficulty did He and his Son *Pepin* ſubdue that Family? It was the laſt that ſubmitted to thoſe Uſurpers. To conclude; Notwithſtanding the ill Succeſs of *Abderame*, his Succeſſors return'd ſome Years after into *France*, and did a great deal of Miſchief.

[*I*] *With being the Cauſe.*] There was never a more unlikely Accuſation than this is. For firſt, *Eudes* (21) had married his Daughter to the Governor of *Cerdagne*, to engage him thereby in a Civil War, which might prevent the *Saracens* Irruption into *France*. His Son-in-law periſhed in that Enterprize, and his Daughter falling into the Hands of *Abderame* had been ſent to the Caliph of the *Saracens*. Secondly, It does not appear that *Eudes* made any Step to facilitate the Entrance of the *Saracens*; he gave them no Paſſage through his Territories; they entred into *Gaul* through the Country of the Duke of *Gaſcony*, and ſo advanced as far as *Bourdeaux*. Beſides, it does not appear that the *Saracens* had any regard for the Territories of the Duke of *Aquitain*; they treated him like an Enemy, from the Beginning to the End; ſo far were they from reſtoring any thing to him of what they had taken from him in their former Expeditions; as they would certainly have done, if they had treated with him concerning *Abderame*'s Invaſion. Laſtly, was there any neceſſity that *Abderame* ſhould be ſollicited to come into *France?* Had not the *Saracens* entred into *France* already? Had they not already taken *Narbonne*, *Carcaſſonne*, and extended their Conqueſts as far as the *Rhone?* *Abderame*'s Expedition was but a Continuation of what his Predeceſſors had ſo well began; he was willing to carry on their Conqueſts (22) beyond the *Pyrenees*; and, to give a greater *Eclat* to his Undertaking, he refus'd to follow a beaten Path. He croſs'd the *Pyrenees*, thro' the Country of *Biſcay*; which was a ready Way to make new Conqueſts; whereas if he had gone thro' *Rouſſillon*, he muſt enter into a Province already conquered. As for thoſe many Annaliſts, who throw this Blemiſh on the Duke of *Aquitain*, their Teſtimony cannot counterbalance the Reaſons that may be alledged in his Juſtification; for they are a ſort of Men, who do but tranſcribe from one another; and the firſt took his Account from a Tradition, which ow'd it's Original to the Artifices of the Cabal that favoured *Charles Martel*. That Cabal had ſeveral Reaſons to charge the contrary Party with holding Intelligence with the Enemies of the Church and State. We do not find that *Iſidore* of *Badajos*, *Sebaſtian* of *Salamanca*, *Roderic* of *Toledo*, and ſuch like *Spaniſh* Writers, who are free from the Prejudices of that Cabal, have accuſed *Eudes* of having invited the *Saracens* into *France*. See what it is to be born under a lucky Planet! I don't believe that *Charles Martel* invited thoſe Infidels; and yet he ought to have been ſuſpected of it rather than *Eudes*, ſince *Eudes* was the firſt who was to be oppreſs'd, and *Charles* might think, that whilſt the *Saracens* were employ'd in delivering him from ſo formidable a Rival, he ſhould have time enough to get his Army ready to fight them, and that a Victory would very much ſhorten his Way to the Throne. Theſe are good holds for the malicious Interpreters of the Conduct of Great Men; and yet *Charles* has not been ſuſpected of holding Intelligence with *Abderame*.

[*K*] *Was greatly inſtrumental in obtaining the Victory.*] There are ſome Hiſtorians, who make no mention of his Engagement with *Charles Martel* upon that Day; but others expreſsly aſſert it. Theſe are the Words of *Paulus Diaconus* (23): “Deinde poſt decem annos cum uxoribus & parvulis venientes, Aquitaniam Galliæ provinciam quaſi habitaturi ingreſſi ſunt; Carolus ſiquidem cum Eudone Aquitaniæ Principe tunc diſcordiam habebat, qui tamen in unum ſe conjungentes contra eoſdem Saracenos pari conſilio dimicarunt, nam irruentes Franci ſuper eos trecenta ſeptuaginta quinque millia Saracenorum interemerunt, ex Francorum vero parte mille & quingenti tantum ibi ceciderunt; Eudo quoque cum ſuis ſuper eos irruens pari modo multos inteficiens omnia devaſtavit.” *Ten Years after,* (the Saracens) *coming with their Wives and Children, made an Irruption into* Aquitain, *a Province of* Gaul, *with a Deſign of ſettling in it;* Charles *being at that time at Variance with* Eudo, *Duke of* Aquitain: *but, uniting upon this Occaſion, they oppoſed the* Saracens *with Confederate Forces; for the* Francs, *pouring upon them, ſlew* 375000 Saracens, *with the Loſs of but* 1500 *Men on their own Side;* Eudo *likewiſe, ſetting upon them with his Forces, routed them with a great Slaughter.* *Regino* likewiſe mentions the Reconciliation of *Charles* and *Eudes*: He ſays it was made before the Battle, and that afterwards they jointly attacked the *Saracens*. *Sigebert* divides the Glory of the Day between thoſe two Chiefs in ſuch a Manner, that he ſeems to allow *Eudes* no other Advantage than that of having forced their Camp, and deſtroyed the Remains of their Army: *Eudo quoque reconciliatus caſtra Saracenorum irrupit, & reliquias eorum contrivit.* *Roderic* Archbiſhop of *Toledo* will afford us a good Proof; for he ſays, (24) that the Forces of *Charles Martel* conſiſted chiefly of *Germans*, *Goths*, and *French*, who remain'd to *Eudes* after the Victory, which the *Saracens* obtained near the *Dordogne*. We muſt not forget the Letter, written by *Eudes* to Pope *Gregory* II. wherein he gave him an Account of the Battle. *Marianus Scotus*, and *Otho* of *Friſingen* mention that Letter. *Anaſtaſius* the *Librarian* (25) likewiſe mentions it; but 'tis ſtrange that he ſhould aſcribe all the Glory of that Day to the Duke of *Aquitain*, without ſpeaking one Word of *Charles Martel*. As to the Number of the Dead, he makes it 370000 on the ſide of the *Saracens*, and 1500 on the ſide of the *French*. His Authority is the Letter of *Eudes*, out of which he extracts a particular Circumſtance, which is ridiculous enough, namely, That on the Day of the Battel *Eudes* cauſed three holy Spunges, ſent him by the Pope, *out of thoſe that ſerved for the uſe of his Table*, to be cut into very ſmall Pieces, and made his Soldiers eat them: Which had ſo good Effect, as to ſecure thoſe, who eat of them, from being killed or wounded. The following Words of *Martial* will explain what is meant by *the uſe of his Table*,

Hæc tibi ſorte datur tergendis ſpongia menſis
Utilis (26).

This uſeful Sponge, which Chance has render'd thine,
If right apply'd, will make your Table ſhine.

[*L*] *And yet that the modern Hiſtorians ſhould tell us ſo many Particulars concerning it.*] I ſhall apply here the judicious Reflexion of the Hiſtorian, who has been my chief Guide in this Article. “That Day, *ſays he* (27), can never be too much taken notice of, and the antient Annaliſts can never be ſufficiently blamed, for omitting all the Circumſtances of ſo memorable an Action. But on the other Side, they, who have ſome love for Truth, can hardly excuſe ſome modern (28) Authors, tho' otherwiſe Writers of great Merit, for being ſo particular in the Deſcription of the Battle. They ſpeak of it as if they had been preſent in all the Councils,

(19) Mezerai's *Chronol. Abridgment.* Tom. 1. p. 192.

(20) *See the Remark* [*A*], *in the Article of* Cæſar.

(21) *See his Article.*

(22) *With reſpect to* Spain.

(23) Hiſtor. Longob. lib. 6. c. 46. *in* Catel's *Memoirs of* Languedoc, p. 530.

(24) Roderic's Hiſtoria Arabum, *in* Catel's *Memoirs*, p. 529.

(25) Catel's *Memoirs of* Languedoc, p. 531.

(26) Mart. Epig. 144. lib. 14.

(27) Cordemoi's *Hiſtory of* France, p. 506.

(28) *He quotes in the Margin* Paulus Æmilius *and* Fauchet.

“ Councils, and had ſeen all the Motions of both Armies: They deſcribe not only the Arms of the *French* and *Saracens*, but alſo the manner how *Charles* and *Abderame* drew up their Troops. They give us long Speeches, which are neither real nor proper: They mention *Abderame*'s Stratagems, the Dexterity wherewith *Charles* hindered them from taking effect, and they conclude with the Deſcription of the different Poſtures of the dead Bodies, that were found in the Field of Battle, not omitting even the Groans of the dying, and the Praiſes which *Charles* and *Eudes* beſtowed upon one another.”

ABDERUS, the *Favourite* of **HERCULES**. See the Remark [*D*] of the following Article.

ABDERA, a Maritime Town of *Thrace*, near (*a*) the Mouth of the *Neſtus*. Some ſay, That it was (*b*) built by the Siſter of *Diomedes* [*A*], and that it took it's Name from her; but that it was rebuilt by the *Clazomenians*, in the 31ſt *Olympiad*, and that they gave it their Name. According to *Herodotus*, they only laid the Foundations of it under the Conduct (*c*) of *Timeſius*, being driven away [*B*], and their Deſigns prevented. The *Teians* only, properly ſpeaking, built *Abdera*, when, being upon the Point of falling into the Hands of *Harpagus*, *Cyrus*'s Lieutenant, they choſe rather to abandon their Country, than to live under the Dominion of the *Barbarians*. They all, therefore, embarked, and went (*d*) to finiſh what had been only begun by *Timeſius*. This gave occaſion to a (*e*) Proverb not well underſtood by *Eraſmus* [*C*]. I paſs over the Opinion of thoſe, who aſcribe the Foundation of that Town to *Hercules* [*D*]: I rather chuſe to take Notice of ſome remarkable Particulars, which

(*a*) Herod. l. 7. c. 109, 126.

(*b*) Solen. c. 10. *See alſo* Mela, l. 2. c. 2.

(*c*) *See his Article.*

(*d*) Herod. l. 1. c. 161.

(*e*) Strab. l. 14. p. 443.

[*A*] *The Siſter of* Diomedes.] No Reader can believe what *Moreri* ſays, without being perſwaded that *Abdera*, built by the *Teians*, took the Name of *Diomedes*, who reigned in it, and that *Herodotus* gives us this Account of the Matter. But this is only Miſtake upon Miſtake. For 1ſt, What concerns *Diomedes*, relates to the poetical Times; but the Abandoning of *Teos*, by it's Inhabitants, and their retreat into *Thrace*, where they built *Abdera*, is a Fact of the Hiſtorical Times, which falls under the 59th *Olympiad*. 'Tis therefore a ſtrange Overſight to join theſe two things in ſuch a manner, as to place the Fabulous Times after the Times of True Hiſtory. If you have a mind to follow *Herodotus*'s Account of the building of *Abdera*, by the *Teians*, let us hear no more of *Diomedes*, who, if ever there was ſuch an Hero, muſt have been dead many Ages before: Or, if you deſign to ſpeak of That antient King of *Thrace*, give us notice, that you are relating an Opinion different from that, which concerns the *Teians*. 2. When *Herodotus* mentions the building of that Town, he does not ſpeak one Word of *Diomedes*. Laſtly, It is not true that *Abdera* went by the Name of *Diomedes*. *Moreri* ſhould have ſaid, that, according to *Solinus*, The Siſter of *Diomedes* built it, and gave it her Name: From whence *Salmaſius* (1) was in the right to infer, that *Diomedes*'s Siſter's Name was *Abdera*. There is a Medal in *Goltzius*, which repreſents the Head of a Woman, with this Legend, (2) ΑΒΔΗΡΑΣ ΚΟΡΑΣ. The moſt (3) learned Antiquaries underſtood it of *Diomedes*'s Siſter, who founded *Abdera*.

(1) Salmaſii Exercitat. Plinianæ. p. 260.

(2) *The Maid of* Abdera, κόρας Doricè pro κόρης.

(3) Spanheimii Epiſt. ad Laurent. Begerum.

[*B*] *Being driven away.*] *Herodotus* (4) ſays ſo in expreſs Words, ὑπὸ θρηΐκων ἐξελαθεὶς, *expell'd by the* Thracians. We ſhall ſee in the next Remark a Miſtake of *Pinedo*, in relation to this Story. In all appearance the Printers only are the cauſe of this other Miſtake, *Thracibus ejectis*, which is to be found in the learned Letter of Mr *de Spanheim* to Mr *Beger*. They have put it *ejectis*, inſtead of *ejectus*.

(4) Herod. l. 1. c. 168.

[*C*] *A Proverb not well underſtood by* Eraſmus.] The Proverb is, Ἄβδηρα καλὴ Τηΐων ἀποικία; Abdera *the fine Colony of the* Teians: the meaning of which, according to (5) *Eraſmus*, is, *If you make me uneaſy, I know whither to retire. Hoc ænigmate proverbiali ſignificamus, non deeſſe quo confugiamus, ſi quis præter modnm pergat eſſe moleſtus.* *Pinedo*, a *Portugueeſe*, who was forc'd to fly his Country, to avoid the Purſuits of the Inquiſition, underſtands this (6) Proverb in that Senſe; but he adds, that ſuch retreats are not always ſucceſsful, as he is convinc'd by Experience. “ Quo (Proverbio) ſignificabatur non deeſſe quo confugiamus, ſi nobis contumeliæ inferantur, ut fecere Teii, ſed hoc non ſemper feliciter ſolet evenire, & doctus & expertus loquor. *The Meaning of which (Proverb) is, That we are never at a Loſs for a Place of Rereat, when we are reproachfully us'd; an Inſtance of which we have in the* Teians; *but the Event of it is not always fortunate, as I can aſſure from my own Experience.*” Had He no better Reaſon to complain, than he had to aſſert, in the ſame Page, That the *Teians* expell'd *Timeſius* the *Clazomenian*, who had begun to build *Abdera*, his Complaints would be very ill grounded. But to return to *Eraſmus*. I ſhall not ſo much cenſure him for his Explication of the Proverb, as for what he adds, That perhaps *Cicero* alluded to it in his Epiſtles to *Atticus*; he quotes two (7) Paſſages out of them, in which 'tis plain *Cicero* ſpeaks of *Abdera*, only to repreſent it as a Place, where Affairs were manag'd very fooliſhly, and (as we ſay) without Rhime or Reaſon. But if *Eraſmus*, who made uſe of a *perhaps*, is, notwithſtanding, liable to Cenſure; what ſhall we ſay to *Moreri*'s poſitive Aſſertion, *without doubt* Cicero *alludes?* What ſhall we think of it, when we come to know to what he refers that Alluſion? It is not to That Fact, which *Eraſmus* conjectured he meant: That would have been, in Compariſon, a light Miſtake: But he ſuppoſes *Cicero* alludes to I know not what *Luſtre*, which (ſays he) *it is certain the* Clazomenians, *being expell'd from* Aſia, *gave to the City of* Abdera, *which made it ſo famous, as to occaſion the Proverb of the* Greeks, Abdera the Beautiful. I repeat it again; 'tis plain that *Cicero* mentions *Abdera*, only to ridicule the Government of that Place. 'Tis therefore a great Fault to ſay, *That without doubt he alludes* to the Luſtre, the Glory, and Beauty, of that Town. But beſides, it is not true that the *Clazomenians* were the Cauſe of this pretended Luſtre, which occaſioned the Proverb. I own, that, according to *Solinus*, they rebuilt *Abdera*, and made it larger than it was before, but this is all that we read of them: And, if we conſult *Herodotus*, we ſhall find that the *Thracians* did not give them time to build it. After all, is it not certain that *Strabo* expreſsly applies the Proverb to the *Teians*, who, for fear of being expoſed to the Inſolence of the *Perſians*, retir'd to *Abdera*? Is not the Name of the *Teians* included in the Proverb? Beſides, let *Moreri* inform us a little, where he has found, that, when the *Clazomenians* came to build that Town in *Thrace*, they had been expell'd from *Aſia*. *Herodotus* and *Solinus* ſpoke not one Word of it. Laſtly, I find every body underſtands this Proverb, rather to the Diſadvantage than to the Advantage of *Abdera*. *Eraſmus* himſelf did not reject the Explication of *Vadianus*, though not much to the Reputation of that City: “ Exiſtimat convenire proverbium ubi quis fortunam tenuem, ſed cum libertate conjunctam, anteponit amplis opibus, ſed obnoxiis ſervituti. Cujus ſententiæ non refragor; nam damnatus eſt Abderitarum aër & item paſcua. *He thinks the Proverb is applicable, where any one prefers an humble Fortune, with Liberty, to large Poſſeſſions, upon the hard Terms of Slavery. Which Opinion I have no Objection to, for both the Climate and the Lands of the* Abderites *are condemn'd.*” See *Iſaac Voſſius*, upon (8) *Pomponius Mela.*

(5) Eraſmus, Adag. Chil. 2. Cent. 4. n. 53.

(6) Pinedo in Stephan. de Urbib. p. 5.

(7) Epiſt. 16. l. 4. & Epiſt. 7. l. 7.

(8) Pag. 135.

[*D*] *Who aſcribe the Foundation of that Town to* Hercules.] Mr *de Saumaiſe* proves, only (9) by the Teſtimony

(9) Salmaſ. Exercit. Plin. p. 160.

which have been tranſmitted to us concerning *Abdera*. The Paſture-Ground about it was of ſuch a Nature, that it (*f*) made Horſes mad. There was ſuch a multitude of Frogs and Rats there (*g*) in the Time of *Caſſander*, King of *Macedonia*, that the Inhabitants were forced to retire to another Place [*E*]. But either they returned ſoon after [*F*], or the Town was ſupply'd with other Inhabitants. The *Abderites* have been very much decried [*G*] for their want of Wit and Judgment; and yet their Town has produced many great Men, ſuch as *Protagoras*, *Democritus*, *Anaxarchus*, the Hiſtorian *Hecatæus*, (*h*) the Poet *Nicænetus*, and ſeveral others, mentioned in the Catalogues of illuſtrious Men. Nothing can be more ſtrange than the Diſtemper,

(*f*) Plinius, l. 25. c. 8.

(*g*) Juſtin. l. 15. c. 2.

(*h*) Πλεῖςοι δ' Ἀβδηρῖται ὑπὸ τῶν πινακογράφων ἀναγράφονται. *Several of the* Abderites *are recorded by the Index-Writers.* Stephanus Byzant. in verbo Ἄβδηρα.

Teſtimony of *Tzetzes*, that the Foundation of *Abdera* was aſcribed to *Hercules*. He might have alledged a better Authority; for *Apollodorus* (10) tells us, That *Hercules*, having ſtollen the Mares of *Diomedes*, had notice given him, that the *Biſtones* had taken up Arms; that, thereupon he gave thoſe Mares to the keeping of a young Man called *Abderus*, whom he loved, and march'd againſt the *Biſtones*; that he kill'd part of them, and put the reſt to flight; that he ſlew likewiſe *Diomedes*; but that, at his return, he found the Mares had torn *Abderus* in pieces: that he built a Town near the Sepulchre of that young Man, and gave thoſe Mares to *Euryſtheus*. *Stephen of Byzantium* ſays only, That the Town of *Abdera* was ſo called from (11) *Abderus*, *Hercules*'s Favourite: He does not ſay whether it was built by *Hercules*, or by this favourite Boy. This laſt Opinion is mentioned by *Marcianus* (12) *Heracleota*; perhaps the ſeventh Book of *Strabo*, if we had it entire, would determine the Matter. The Extracts we have of it only tell us, that the Name of the City of *Abdera* was taken from a certain Perſon, who was eaten up by *Diomedes*'s Horſes. Obſerve (13) that *Hyginus* ſeems clearly to ſay, That *Abderus* was one of *Diomedes*'s Servants, and that he was kill'd by *Hercules*: "Diomedem regem Thraciæ & equos quatuor ejus qui carne humana veſcebantur cum Abdero famulo interfecit. *He ſlew* "Diomedes, *King of* Thrace, *and his four Horſes,* "*who were fed with human Fleſh, together with his* "*Servant* Abderus." Mr *de Saumaiſe* obſerves upon it, that we muſt not expect to find a great Uniformity in the antient Fables. His Obſervation is juſt: The Writers of the fabulous Times, are full of Contradictions. But perhaps it may be ſaid, that *Hyginus*'s meaning is, that *Hercules*, ſeconded by *Abderus*, kill'd this cruel King of *Thrace*, who fed his Horſes with Man's Fleſh. I will not warrant this Conſtruction. *Vigenere* (14) had already obſerv'd, that *Hyginus* and *Philoſtratus* contradict one another. He might alſo have ſaid, that the latter very much differs from *Apollodorus*; for (15) he ſays, that *Diomedes* gave up *Abderus* to his Mares; and that *Hercules* coming to reſcue his Favourite, found him half devoured, and that, to puniſh *Diomedes*, he cauſed him to be eaten up by his (16) own Mares. *Philoſtratus* does not ſay, as *Apollodorus* does, that *Hercules* built a Town near the Sepulchre of his Friend; as, on the other Side, *Apollodorus* does not agree with *Philoſtratus*, that *Hercules* appointed certain Games or Exerciſes, in honour to the Memory of *Abderus*. I believe there is but one (17) Author, who has aſſerted, that *Patroclus* was *Abderus*'s Brother. Some pretend to prove, (18) by Medals, that the *Abderites* were more willing to aſcribe the Name of their Town to *Abdera*, Siſter of *Diomedes*, than to the Favourite of *Hercules*.

(10) Apollodori Bibl. l. 2.

(11) Ἀπὸ Ἀβδηρίτȣ τȣ̃ υἱȣ̃ Ἡρίμȣ Ἡρακλέȣς ἐρωμένȣ. *Saumaiſe* has rightly obſerv'd, that inſtead of Ἀβδηρίτȣ, it ſhould be Ἀβδήρȣ; which Name *Apollodorus* (he ſays *Apollonius*) gave to *Hercules*'s Favourite. *Pinedo* and *Berkelius* ſay, that Paſſage ought to be thus corrected; but they do not tell us that *Saumaiſe* had ſaid ſo before them. The firſt quotes *Apollonius*, and was not aware that it is a Fault of the Preſs, or of Memory, in *Saumaiſe* inſtead of *Apollodorus*. *Philoſtratus* might have been quoted.

(12) Apud Salmaſ. ubi ſupra.

(13) Hygini Fab. 30.

(14) Vigenere's *Annotations on the Sepulchre of* Abderus *in* Philoſtratus.

(15) Philoſtrat. in Icon. ibid.

(16) Vigenere *aſſerts, falſely, that* Tatian *in his Diſcourſe againſt the* Gentiles, *ſays, that* Hercules *found* Abderus *half eaten.*

(17) Ptolem. Hephæſt. apud Photium p. 484.

(18) Spanheimii Epiſt. ad Beger.

[*E*] *To retire to another Place.*] *Juſtin* ſays, That *Caſſander* fearing, leaſt they ſhould invade *Macedonia*, made a Treaty with them, and placed them on the Frontiers. *Caſſander*'s Fear (19) has been laught at: How could a Prince, who kept all *Greece* in awe, be afraid that the Inhabitants of one ſingle Town, who fled from Frogs and Rats, ſhould invade a whole Country againſt his Will? *Moreri*, who, 'tis likely, never knew that *Juſtin* was criticiz'd upon that Account, has done all that was requiſite to free him from ſuch a Cenſure; for he declares, *That* Caſſander *received very kindly the* Abderites *in* Macedonia. They who depend upon his Dictionary, will not think of criticizing that ancient Hiſtorian. *Moreri* adds, that this Kindneſs of *Caſſander* is to be referr'd to *the Year of the World* 3650, *according to* Euſebius's *Chronology*. Could any one who reads this, believe that *Euſebius* has not one Word of that Action of *Caſſander*, and that he does not compute Time according to the *Years of the World*? But, to go to the Bottom of the Matter, I aſſert, that, according to *Juſtin*, the *Abderites* were placed by *Caſſander* on the Frontiers of the Country, before he deſtroy'd the Sons of *Alexander*: But according to (20) *Calviſius*, he had entirely got rid of them, in the Year of the World 3641. And therefore *Moreri*'s Chronology is as falſe, as this Account of *Caſſander*'s Kindneſs is contrary to the only Hiſtorian he could follow.

(19) *See* Glareanus, Juſtin Variorum *of* Grævius, p. 333.

(20) Moreri *commonly follows* Calviſius's *Chronology*.

[*F*] *They return'd ſoon after, or, &c.*] What *Lucian* relates concerning the Diſtemper of the *Abderites*, happen'd under the Reign of *Lyſimachus*, and conſequently after they were plagu'd with Frogs; for, according to *Juſtin* (21), this laſt Adventure preceeded the Time wherein *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander* aſſumed the Title of Kings. To which I add, that, under the Reign of the late King of *Macedonia*, the City of *Abdera* was in a flouriſhing Condition. The (22) Prætor *Lucius Hortenſius* plundered it, but he was blamed for it by the Senate of *Rome*; and the *Abderites* were reſtored to their Liberty.

(21) Juſtin l. 15. c. 2.

(22) Livius l. 43.

(*G*) *The* Abderites *have been very much decried.*] We have already ſeen how *Cicero* treats them in his Letters to *Atticus*. He is not more complaiſant in (23) another Book, wherein, having mentioned an Opinion which he thinks to be ridiculous, he adds, *Quæ quidem omnia ſunt patriâ Democriti quam Democrito digniora. Which better ſuit with the Country of* Democritus, *than with* Democritus *himſelf.* *Juvenal*, who could not deny that *Democritus* was a Man of much Wit, and great Wiſdom, pretends 'tis a Proof that great Men may be born in a thick Air, and in a Country of Fools.

(23) Cicero de Natur. Deor. l. 1.

Cujus prudentia monſtrat
Summos poſſe viros & magna exempla daturos,
Vervecum in patria craſſoque ſub aëre naſci. (24)

Learn from ſo great a Wit, a Land of Bogs,
With Ditches fenc'd, an Heaven fat with Fogs,
May form a Spirit fit to ſway the State,
And make the neighbouring Monarchs fear their Fate.
DRYDEN.

(24) Juvenal Sat. 10. v. 49.

Martial did not entertain a much better Opinion of the *Abderites*, when he ſaid,

Si patiens fortiſque tibi, duruſque videtur,
Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes. (25)

If Thou believ'ſt this Wretch a dauntleſs Wight,
Thy Judgment ſpeaks the A dull *Abderite*.

(25) Mart. Epigr. 25. l. 10.

Vigenere (26) groſly miſtakes the meaning of this Paſſage; he thinks the Words are addreſt to a Criminal, who repreſented on the Stage the Action of *Mutius Scævola*, by putting his Hand into the Fire; but they are apply'd to thoſe, who were ſo ſilly, as to miſtake it for an Act of Courage, ſince that Criminal did it only to keep himſelf from being burnt alive.

(26) Vigenere ubi ſupra

Nam cum dicatur, tunica præſente moleſta,
Ure manum, plus eſt dicere, non facio. (27)

For, were he bid to burn his Hand alone,
The Fire prepar'd, and pitchy Garment on,
Shou'd he refuſe — I'd ſwear 'twere bravely done.

(27) Mart. ibid.

Iſaac Voſſius, who was often particular in his Way of thinking, has given us an Apology of a new Caſt for the per, which raged for ſome Months [*H*] in *Abdera*, in the Time of *Lyſimachus* (*i*). It was a violent Fever, that came to a Criſis, and ſo went off, in ſeven Days; but it ſo diſordered the Imagination of thoſe that were ſeiz'd with it, that it converted them into Players. They were perpetually reciting Scraps of Tragedy, eſpecially of the *Andromeda* of *Euripides*, as if they were upon the Stage: So that the Streets were full of pale and lean Actors, who were making tragical Exclamations. This continued 'till the next Winter, which proved very cold, and conſequently more proper to ſtop this Raving. *Moreri* gives a very wrong Account of the Matter [*I*].

Mr *Beger*

the *Abderites*. He owns (28), that many of them were born, or became mad; but he pretends 'twas not a Sign of Stupidity, ſince Madneſs ſeldom ſeizes Blockheads and Fools, but frequently attacks the greateſt Wits. As to the Paſſage of *Hippocrates* (29) who mentions many *Abderites*, whoſe Fever had been attended with Raving, *Voſſius* pretends 'twas not that which occaſion'd the Proverb relating to that Town, but rather the pleaſing Affection of Mind, which (30) ſucceeded the Fever. *Ex Affectu jucundiſſimo, qui ipſorum febribus ſuccedere ſolebat, ut teſtatur Lucianus, Scripto de conſcribendâ Hiſtoria.* They became extreamly fond of Verſes and Muſic, and acted the Part of Comedians in the Streets: Such a polite Phrenſy as this, ſays he, does not fall upon ſtupid and phlegmatic People: *Tam elegans inſania non cadit in craſſos & pituitoſos, nedum in vervecea capita.* That Author ſhould have remembred *Ariſtotle*'s Maxim, *One Swallow does not make a Summer*. Why does he turn into Cuſtom and Habit the Conſequences of a Fever that happened but once? What he quotes out of *Lucian* is a ſingle Fact, on which ſuch Proverbs can't be grounded. I ſhall obſerve by the way, that *Eraſmus* did not rightly apprehend *Cicero*'s (31) Meaning; for it muſt be inferred from the Words of that *Roman*, not that the Inhabitants of *Abdera* were ſtupid, but that, through a prodigious Roving of their Imaginations, they fell into incredible and groundleſs Paradoxes. "Abderitanis natura peculiarem fuiſſe mentis ſtuporem indicat M. Tull. in libris de Natura Deorum. "Cicero, *in his Book of the Nature of the Gods, aſſure us, that the* Abderites *were affected with a peculiar Stupidity of Mind,*" ſays *Eraſmus* (32). Some very learned Men (33) quote them as the very Words of *Cicero*: So true it is, that the Collections of Men of Letters, like *Virgil*'s Fame, receive continual Additions by removing from Place to Place.

Mobilitate viget, vireſque acquirit eundo (34)

—— Each Moment brings,
New Vigour to her Flights, new Pinions to her Wings.
DRYDEN.

They, who pretend that the Word ἀβδηρολόγος, which is proverbially uſed in *Tatian*'s Diſcourſe againſt the *Grecians*, ſignifies a Teller of idle Stories, do not, by that, confirm the Charge of Stupidity upon the *Abderites*. People are not impoſed upon by Fools and Blockheads. Not to ſay that *Tatian* applies that Word to the Doctrine of *Democritus*, who certainly was no Fool.

[*H*] *The Diſtemper, which raged for ſome Months.*] *Lucian*, who has deſcribed it's Symptoms, pretends to have found out the Cauſe of it. *Archelaus*, ſays he, a good Player, having acted *Euripides*'s *Andromeda* before the *Abderites*, in a very hot Summer; many came out of the Theatre in a Fever, and having their Imaginations throughly affected with the Tragedy, the Ravings cauſed by the Fever repreſented nothing to them but *Andromeda*, *Perſeus*, *Meduſa*, *&c.* and ſo ſtrongly excited in them the Ideas of thoſe Objects, and of the Pleaſure they had received from the Repreſentation, that they could not forbear reciting and acting in imitation of *Archelaus*. I make no doubt, but the firſt, who acted this Farce in the Streets, after their Fever was over, injured ſeveral, who were growing well. Every thing contributed then to the ſpreading of the Contagion. The Mind is ſubject to epidemical Diſtempers as well as the Body; and nothing more is wanting, than a lucky Beginning, and due Preparation. Let an Hereſiarch, or a Fanatic, ſtart up at ſuch a time, whoſe contagious Imaginations, and vehement Paſſions, know how to gain Ground, and they'll infatuate a whole Country in a little time, or at leaſt a great many People. In other Places, or at other Times, they might not perhaps be able to gain three Proſelytes. Recollect the Story of (35) thoſe Virgins of *Miletus*, who were for ſome time ſo diſguſted at the World, that they could not be cured of the Deſign of killing themſelves, but by threatening to expoſe thoſe ſtark naked to public View, who ſhould make away with themſelves. The very Remedy ſhews that their Paſſion was only a Diſtemper of the Mind, wherein the Underſtanding had no Share. Something like this was ſeen at *Lyons* (36) towards the end of the XVth Century. The Difference between theſe Diſtempers, and the Plague or Small-pox, is only that the latter are infinitely more frequent. I ſhould be induced to think, the Ravage which the Player *Archelaus*, and the Sun (37), made in the Minds of the *Abderites*, was rather a Sign of Vivacity than of Stupidity: However, it was always a Mark of Weakneſs; for which I appeal to thoſe, who have obſerved what ſort of Men are moſt affected with the Repreſentation of a Play (38). "Quos (terrores *or* errores) auxerunt Poëtæ; frequens enim conſeſſus theatri, in quo ſunt mulierculæ & pueri, movetur audiens tam grande carmen:

Adſum atque advenio Acheronte vix via alta atque ardua
Per ſpeluncas ſaxis ſtructas aſperis, pendentibus,
Maximis, ubi rigida conſtat craſſa caligo inferum.

"*The Increaſe of which (Terrors or Miſtakes) is owing to the Poets: for a full Audience, among which are Women and Children, are greatly affected with ſuch pompous Numbers, as theſe.*

Behold me here, arriv'd from Hell's Abode,
Thro' gloomy Caverns, and rough, hanging, Rocks,
Where Horror dwells, and everlaſting Night,
Forcing my dangerous Way!

[*I*] Moreri (39) *gives a very wrong Account of the Matter.*] 'Tis not true, that the *Abderites* died on the Stage, nor that the Proverb, *Abderitica mens*, was occaſioned by the Diſtemper, they were then affected with. *Moreri* would find it very hard to prove that there was ſuch a Proverb: It is not ſufficient to maintain that the *Abderites* were commonly look'd upon as Fools; he ſhould make it appear that theſe very Words, *Abderitica mens*, were made uſe of to denote the general Opinion the World entertained of them; but 'tis certain *Eraſmus* does not quote any one Author, that uſed theſe Words. But I will not inſiſt upon that Incident: nay, I am willing to give up as falſe the following Reflexion, *viz.* That a Thing of ſo ſhort a duration, as that Diſtemper of the *Abderites* was, which has been only mentioned by *Lucian*, who made uſe of it with no other deſign, than to form the *Exordium* of a Diſſertation; ſuch a Fact, I ſay, is not ſufficient to occaſion a Proverb, by which a whole People are for ever render'd infamous. For if it be ſaid, that the *ſerò ſapiunt Phryges* might have proceeded from one ſingle Error of the *Phrygians*, I can ſhew a great difference between the two Caſes, ſince it is certain that as ſoon as the thing became a Proverb, it was not apply'd to the *Phrygians* more than any other Nation: Whereas the Reproach caſt upon the *Abderites*, concern'd them literally, and at all times, juſt as (40) that which is caſt upon the *Normans* and *Gaſcons* concerns them in a moſt proper Senſe. But to conſider this as a meer Cavil, and to come cloſe to the Point: *Moreri*'s Proverb, *Abderetica mens*, was only deſigned to charge the *Abderites* with great Fooliſhneſs; but the Diſtemper mentioned by *Lucian* was not Folly; it was a diſordered Imagination, and a ſort of Madneſs, which falls rather upon Men of great Wit, than upon Fools and Blockheads:

Moreri

(*i*) Lucian's *Method of Writing Hiſtory*, about the Beginning.

(28) Iſaac. Voſſius in Pompon. Melam. p. 135.

(29) Hippocrat. l. 3. de morbis vulgar.

(30) Iſ. Voſſius, ibid.

(31) *In the 1ſt Book* De Natura Deorum.

(32) Adagior. Chil. 4. centur. 6. n. 27.

(33) Cicero, *in the Nature of the Gods, ſays,* Abderitani ſtupori mentis obnoxii ſunt. Laur. Begerus Obſerv. in Numiſm. quæd. p. 16. *See alſo* Lloyd *and* Hofman, *in the Word* Abdera.

(34) Virgilii Æn. 4. l. 175.

(35) Plutarch de fortibus fact. mulierum.

(36) Brodæus Miſcell. l. 5. c. 27.

(37) *The common Maxim of the Philoſophers,* Sol & homo generant hominem. *The Sun and a Man beget a Man,* was verify'd here in a particular manner.

(38) Cicer. Tuſcul. 1. c. 16.

(39) *He has committed many other Faults.* See the Remark [*A*], [*C*], and [*E*].

(40) *'Tis certain that the Proverbs which reflect upon* Normandy *and* Gaſcony, *are grounded upon laſting and habitual Faults, which paſs from one Generation to another.*

M. Beger (k), who publiſhed his Conjectures on a Medal of the *Abderites* [K], which he fancied was ſtruck in memory of this troubleſome Diſtemper, changed his Opinion, after reading the fine Diſſertation written to him (l) on that Subject, which contains ſeveral things relating to the City of *Abdera*. I ſhall mention ſome of them in the laſt Remark. There was a kind of Ceremony practiſed in that Town on certain Days, which might be called, in ſome Reſpect, an *Auto de Fe*; for it was without doubt an Act of Religion. I think *Ovid* is the only Author that mentions it: 'Tis one of the Imprecations, with which he loads his Enemy:

(k) Laurentius Begerus. *His Book was printed at* Berlin, *in* 4to. *in the Year* 1691.

(l) *By* Ezekiel Spanheim. *It was printed with Mr* Beger's *Treatiſe.*

Aut te devoveat certis Abdera diebus,
Saxaque devotum grandine plura petant, (m)

(m) Ovid. in Ibin, v. 465.

A Victim, at *Abdera*, may'ſt thou bleed,
And all the ſtony Show'r deſcend upon thy Head.

The Commentators are ſilent upon this Paſſage. I ſuppoſe they cannot find the Origin or Circumſtances of that Ceremony. I ſhall take Notice elſewhere of a (n) Temple of *Jaſon* in *Abdera*, which *Parmenio* deſtroyed.

(n) *In the Art.* Jaſon.

Moreri is therefore to blame for ſaying that his Proverb was grounded on the Phrenzy mentioned by *Lucian*. Tho' I name *Lucian*, I am not ignorant that *Moreri* has only quoted *Cœlius Rhodiginus*, which (41) he has been already cenſured for. He had that Quotation from *Charles Stephens*. He, and a great many others, have anſwered, and do anſwer every day, the Hopes, which that *Italian* Author conceived, when he reſolved to quote no body. He hop'd to be quoted himſelf, which he ſhould not have been, if he had put in the Margins of his Book the Names of the antient Authors, whom he tranſcribed.

(41) *In the* Dutch *Edition of his Dictionary.*

[*K*] *On a Medal of the* Abderites.] It repreſents a Griffin on the one ſide, and on the other a Man's Head without a Beard, crowned with Laurel, with theſe Words, ΕΠΙΔΙΟΣ ΛΑΙΟΥ. Mr *Beger* was was of Opinion, that this Medal, conſecrated to *Apollo*, under the Title of *Jupiter the Inauſpicious*, *ſub Jove ſiniſtro*, (the ſame as *ſub Vejove* at *Rome*) was intended to denote the exceſſive Influence of the Sun's Heat, which occaſioned the Imperfection with which the *Abderites* were reproach'd, and which, notwithſtanding, made them good Diſciples of *Apollo*. Mr *de Spanheim* underſtands by that Inſcription, the (42) Prætor, or Governor, of *Abdera*; and ſays, That the Griffin having been the Symbol of *Teios*, as appears by many Medals, 'tis no wonder that the Inhabitants of *Abdera*, a Colony of the *Teians*, ſhould have ſtamp'd the ſame Symbol on their publick Monuments. It was the conſtant Practice of the Colonies, with reſpect to their Mother-Town: The Example of *Syracuſe* and *Corfou*, whoſe Arms were a *Pegaſus*, in imitation of *Corinth*, is a Proof of it. As for the Head crowned with Laurel, it repreſents *Abderus*, *Hercules*'s Favourite, or (43) *Tiſamenes*, the *Clazomenian*, who was worſhip'd as a Hero by the *Teians* ſettled in *Abdera*. *Iſaac Voſſius* (44) underſtands by the Inſcription of that Medal, *Jupiter Frumentarius*, *Jupiter the Harveſt-God*, as if Ζεὺς λαῖος was the ſame thing with Ζεὺς ἐπικάρπιος; and he grounds his Explication upon the Fertility of the Soil which ſurrounded the Town of *Abdera*; whence the *Triballi*, being reduc'd to a great Scarcity, flocked thither, according to (45) *Diodorus Siculus*, it being the moſt fruitful Spot of Ground they could meet with. Mr *de Spanheim* does not deny; and he mentions another Paſſage of *Diodorus* (46) *Siculus*; wherein *Abdera* is reckon'd to be one of the moſt flouriſhing Towns then in *Thrace*. He mentions likewiſe another Paſſage out of a Letter, aſcribed to *Hippocrates*, wherein 'tis only ſaid, That *Abdera* is no obſcure Town, μία πόλεων ἐκ ἀσήμος. But, notwithſtanding, he refutes *Voſſius* concerning the Meaning of the Medal. Before I make an end of this Remark, I muſt obſerve, that it would be very wrong to take for an Inſtance of little Wit, what paſs'd (47) between the Inhabitants of *Abdera* and *Hippocrates*, on *Democritus*'s Account. The great Concern they expreſs'd for the Health of *Democritus*, their Fellow-Citizen, is a Sign of their good Judgment. 'Tis true, *Hippocrates* did not confirm the Opinion they had entertain'd of *Democritus*: They took him to be a Fool; but he ſeem'd to *Hippocrates* to be wiſer than his Countrymen. However this proves nothing; for I am ſure all the Cities of *Greece* would have judg'd of *Democritus* as his Countrymen did: And we ſhould at preſent entertain the ſame Opinion of a Philoſopher, who ſhould laugh at every thing; who ſhould ſay, That the Air is full of Images, who ſhould ſtudy the ſinging of Birds, and ſhut himſelf up in Sepulchres, *&c.* And none but Wits of the firſt Rank, who guard againſt all Prejudice, would be able to form a right Judgment of him. But that ſort of Men are very ſcarce at all Times, and in all Places. They are as ſcarce, and perhaps more, than honeſt Men, who, in *Juvenal*'s Opinion, hardly equal the Number of the Mouths of the *Nile*.

(42) *Epidius Laii* Filius.

(43) *So Mr* de Spanheim *calls him, whom* Herodotus *names* Τιμήσιος.

(44) If. Voſſius in Pomp. Melam. p. 135.

(45) Diod. Sicul. l. 15. p. 354.

(45) Id. lib. 13. p. 194.

(47) *See the Letters written on both Sides upon that Occaſion, among thoſe of* Hippocrates.

——rari quippe boni: numerus vix eſt totidem, quot
Thebarum Portæ, aut divitis Oſtia Nili. (48)

(48) Juven. Sat. 13. v. 26.

Good Men are ſcarce, the Juſt are thinly ſown;
They thrive but ill, nor can they laſt, when grown.
And ſhou'd we count them, and our Store compile,
Yet *Thebes* more Gates would ſhew, more Mouths
the *Nile*.

CREECH.

ABDIAS of *Babylon*, an Author who deſerves to be ranked amongſt the moſt impudent legendary Writers. He is an Impoſtor, who pretends to have ſeen our Saviour, to have been one of the LXXII Diſciples, to have been Witneſs of the Actions and Death of ſeveral of the Apoſtles; to have followed St *Simon* and St *Jude* into *Perſia*; and to have been eſtabliſhed by them the firſt Biſhop of *Babylon*. The Work, that goes under his Name, is divided into ten Books, and entituled, *Hiſtoria Certaminis Apoſtolici*. *Wolfgang Lazius* (a) found the Manuſcript in a Cave at *Carinthia*; and, though he was a learned Man, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo much impoſed upon by that fabulous Writer, that he prepared to publiſh it, as an important Piece. He gave credit to the Inſcription of that Manuſcript, importing that *Abdias*, made Biſhop of *Babylon* by the Apoſtles themſelves, had writ in *Hebrew* this Hiſtory of their Lives; and that it was tranſlated into *Greek* (b) by *Eutropius*, and into *Latin* by *Africanus*. He publiſhed it at *Baſil* (c) in the Year 1551, with ſome other Lives of

(a) *A Phyſician at* Vienna *in* Auſtria, *and Hiſtoriographer to the Emperor* Ferdinand I. *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his Edition.*

(b) *The Preface of* Julius Africanus *ſays, That* Eutropius *was Pupil of* Abdias.

(c) *In* Oporinus, *Fol.*

of the Saints. It was ſince reprinted ſeveral times (*A*), in ſeveral Places. *Fabricius* remarks, that it is a Miſtake to ſuppoſe it was inſerted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (*d*). *Laurence de la Barre* inſerted it in his Hiſtory of the Fathers at *Paris* in 1583 (*e*). 'Tis not Pope *Gelaſius*, as *Moreri* would have it, but Pope (*f*) *Paul* IV. who rejected the Work of our *Abdias, as an Apocryphal Piece.* Several Writers, both Catholic and Proteſtant, have acknowledged that 'tis an Impoſture. The latter pretend to have undeceived the others [*B*]: But this is not granted them [*C*]. After all, there is no great Glory in the Diſcovery; for this Impoſtor has had the Aſſurance to quote (*g*) *Hegeſippus*, who flouriſhed 130 Years, or thereabouts, after our Saviour's Aſcenſion. He likewiſe mentions (*h*) a Diſciple of the Apoſtles, called *Crathon*, who, as he ſays, wrote a *Hiſtory, in ten Books, of all the Actions and Sufferings of St* Jude *in* Perſia, *for the Space of thirteen Years; which Hiſtory,* purſues he, *was tranſlated into* Latin *by* Africanus *the Hiſtoriographer.* That *Africanus* can be no other than *Julius Africanus*, who died about the Year 230 (*i*).

(*d*) J. Alb. Fabr. in Cod. Apocr. N. T. p. 401.

(*e*) *And not in* 1581, *as 'tis in* Moreri.

(*f*) L'Abbé de Script. Eccleſ. T. 1. p. 3.

(*g*) *See* Voſſius, de Hiſt. Gr. p. 200.

(*h*) Abd. Hiſt. Cert. Apoſt. l. 6. p. 83.

(*i*) Cave's Hiſt. liter. p. 72.

[*A*] *Reprinted ſeveral times.*] Mr *du Pin*, who mentions the Editions of 1557, 1560, and 1571; and beſides, an Edition of *Baſil*, in the (1) Year 1532. and one of *Paris*, in 1583, has forgot the firſt, which deſerv'd moſt to be mention'd. I have not by me his *Bibliotheque* of the *Paris* Edition; and therefore I dare not affirm, that he takes notice of the pretended Edition of *Baſil* in 1532. Now becauſe he mentions but one *Paris* Edition, which is that of 1583, the Reader might very well think, that the others mentioned by him are not of *Paris*: And yet it is certain, that *Abdias* was publiſh'd there in the Year 1560, in 8vo, with a Preface of a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, call'd *John Faber*. The Abbreviator of *Geſner*, and Dr *Cave* mention a *Paris* Edition, 1571, in 8vo. 'Tis falſly ſaid in *Magirus's Eponymologium*, that this Work was printed the firſt time at *Paris*, in 1551.

(1) *So I find it in the* Amſterdam *Edition*, T. 1. p. 18.

[*B*] *To have undeceived the others.*] Conſult *Rivetus* (2) chap. 6. of the firſt Book of his *Criticus Sacer*, where, having obſerved the Prepoſſeſſion of *Lazius*, and the Authority which *Harding* and *Bellarmine* aſcribe to our *Abdias*, he adds; "Ejus nugas & mendacia non eſt quod operoſius perſequamur, quia jam oculatioribus Pontificiis ita patent EX NOSTRORUM ANIMADVERSIONIBUS, ut eos tam putidi commenti pudeat. *I may ſpare myſelf the pains of a farther Examination of his idle Stories, and Inventions; ſince the more judicious Catholics are ſo convinced by* MY ANIMADVERSIONS, *as to be aſham'd of ſo ſtale a Cheat.*" He quotes *Baronius, Molanus, Poſſevin*, and even *Bellarmine*, who thought better of it ſince; he quotes them, I ſay, as acknowledging the Impoſture of that Hiſtory of the Apoſtles.

(2) Rivet. Oper. Tom. 2. p. 1076.

[*C*] *This is not granted them.*] Father *L'Abbé* (3) exclaims in a ſtrange manner againſt *Rivetus*, on account of the Paſſage I have juſt now mention'd. He may be in the right, when he ſays, the Catholics found out the Impoſture, before the Proteſtants had given them any Inſight into the Matter; but he is very much to blame for his ſharp and injurious Words; for thus he ſpeaks: "Haſce quiſquilias ab otioſo fabulatore, qui merito jure Pſeudo-Abdias dicitur, confictas interpolataſve nullius fidei atque auctoritatis eſſe apud eruditos, docuerunt jampridem Catholici Tractatores, Sixtus Senenſis, Joannes Heſſelius, Joannes Molanus, Cardin, Baronius, Poſſevinus, Salmero, Miræus, aliique, ut ſileam Voſſium, Cocum, Rivetum, ſimileſque Heterodoxos Criticos, in alienis ab Eccleſia Catholica caſtris militantes, atque ex Catholicorum duntaxat ſcriptis & obſervationibus ſuffarcinatos. Mentitur enim pro more Andreas Rivetus, qui libro 1. cap. 6. effutire auſus eſt, oculatiores Pontificios ex ſuorum, hoc eſt, Hæreticorum hominum, animadverſionibus edoctos, nugas & mendacia illius operis deprehendiſſe, ita ut eos tam putidi commenti pudeat. Sed, amabo, quis Calvini catulus hoc commentum ſubodoratus eſt ante Heſſelium, Molanum, Sixtum, ipſumque adeo Paulum IV. Romanum Pontificem, qui inter ſcripta à ſe damnata rejicit?—— *Several Catholic Writers, ſuch as* Sixtus Senenſis, Johannes Heſſelius, Johannes Molanus, Cardin, Baronius, Poſſevinus, Salmero, Miræus, *and others, not to mention* Voſſius, Cocus, Rivetus, *and the like heterodox Critics, who fight under other Banners, than thoſe of the Catholic Church, and are beholden only to the Writings and Obſervations of the Catholics: All theſe, I ſay, have long ago taught, that this Traſh, cook'd up by that idle Fabuliſt, the Impoſtor* Abdias, *deſerv'd to have no Credit or Weight with the learned.* Rivetus, *therefore, would impoſe upon us, according to Cuſtom, when he has the Aſſurance, in the ſixth Chapter of his firſt Book, to declare, that his own, that is, the Animadverſions of an Heretic, had ſo undeceived the more judicious Catholics, that they were aſham'd of ſo ſtale a Device. But, pray, which of* Calvin's *Whelps ſmelt out this before* Heſſelius, Molanus, Sixtus, *and even* Paul IV. *Pope of* Rome, *who has plac'd this Book in his Expurgatory Index?*" I believe this Book was condemn'd again at *Rome*, ſince the Death of *Paul* IV. for I don't think that *Claudius Eſpencæus* means the Condemnation made by that Pope, when he ſays, "Qualiſcunque autor ſit Abdias, ſuperiore certè quam hæc ſcriberemus anno à Romanis Inquiſitoribus proſcriptus eſt. *Whatever kind of Author* Abdias *may be, it is certain his Book was condemn'd, by the* Roman *Inquiſitors, a Year ago,*" Thoſe Words are in the 5th Chapter of the 5th Book *de Continentiâ*. The Continuator of *Magirus* (4) is in the wrong to conclude from thence, that the Year meant in that Paſſage is 1568; for that Work about Continence was printed (5) in 1565. *Peter Paul Vergerius*, a Proteſtant Writer, who died in 1564, exclaimed againſt the Impoſture of our *Abdias*, in his *Idolum Lauretanum*.

(3) Phil. L'Abbé, Diſſert. de Scrip. Eccleſ. Tom. 1. p. 3.

(4) Eponymol. Critic. p. 2.

(5) *See* Launoi, Hiſt. Colleg. Navar. p. 710.

ABDISSI, [*A*] Patriarch of *Muſal* in *Aſſyria*, beyond the *Euphrates*, came to *Rome* in the Year 1562, and having paid his Homage to *Pius* IV. received the *Pallium* from him. The Council of *Trent* being then met, the Cardinal *de Mula*, Protector

[*A*] ABDISSI.] *Onuphrius Panvinius* (1) calls him *Abdyſu*, which, ſays he, ſignifies *Servus Jeſu*. *Surius* and *Spondanus* give him the ſame Name. *Thuanus* (2) calls him *Abiſius*, and adds, that he was the Son of *John de Domo Marcia*, of the Town of *Gezira* upon the *Tigris*. I confeſs I don't well underſtand what is meant by *domus Marcia*; and therefore I can give no Tranſlation of thoſe two Words, that can pleaſe me; nor approve that of *Moreri*, who renders them *Mark's Houſe*. *Aubert Miræus* (3) calls the Patriarch we ſpeak of *Abdieſu*, and ſays, That he was a Monk of the Order of St *Pachomus*; that he ſucceeded the Patriarch *Simon Sulacha* (4) a Monk of the ſame Order, who came to ſubmit to Pope *Julius* III. that he was a Man of admirable Learning; that he underſtood many Languages, and was extraordinarily well verſed in the Holy Scriptures. *Thuanus*'s Memoirs imported, that he underſtood the *Chaldee*, the *Arabic*, and *Syriac*, and gave pertinent Anſwers to the Queſtions propoſed to him. *Panvinius*, *Surius*, and *Spondanus*, affirm the ſame thing with more Circumſtances. He ſays in his Confeſſion of Faith, as it is ſet down by them, That he had been a Monk of St *Anthony*, in the Monaſtery of St *Rochas*, and St *John*, two Brothers. He had very much propagated the *Roman* Faith, if we may believe *Aubert Miræus*; but his Succeſſors took no Care to keep it up; ſo that *Leonard Abel*, Biſhop of *Sidon*, the

(1) Panvinius's *Life of* Pius IV.

(2) Thuan. Hiſtor. l. 32.

(3) Aub. Miræus, Politiæ Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 5. p. 217.

(4) Thuanus *calls him* Salaka; Spondanus, Sulaka. *See the Remark* [*A*], *in the Article* Hebedjeſu.

Protector of the Eaſtern Chriſtians, acquainted that Aſſembly with it. His Letters were read in the XXII Seſſion. They imported that the People under the Juriſdiction of that Patriarch had been inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith, by the Apoſtles St *Thomas* and St *Thaddeus*, and by one of their Diſciples, called *Mark*; that their Belief was altogether the ſame with that of the Church of *Rome*; that they had the ſame Sacraments and the ſame Ceremonies; that they had ſtill ſome Books written from the time of the Apoſtles; that That Patriarchate reaches into the very Heart of the *Indies*, and comprehends many Nations, ſome of which are ſubject to the *Turkiſh* Emperor, others to the *Sophi* of *Perſia*, and others to the King of *Portugal*. The *Portugueeſe* Ambaſſador proteſted immediately, That the Eaſtern Biſhops, ſubject to the King his Maſter, acknowledged no Patriarch. Afterwards *Abdiſſi*'s Confeſſion of Faith was read (*a*), bearing date the ſeventh of *March*, 1562. wherein he promiſed to obſerve and teach his Inferiors a perfect and perpetual Conformity of Opinions with the Church of *Rome*. Laſtly, they read the Letters he writ to the Council, to excuſe himſelf for not going thither [*B*], and to beſeech the Fathers to ſend him their Decrees, which he promiſed ſhould be punctually obſerved. All thoſe things had been read already in a Congregation, without exciting any one's Reflexions; but the Proteſt of the *Portugueeſe* Embaſſador gave Occaſion to take notice of the Abſurdities of that Account: Some began to murmur; the *Portugueeſe* Biſhops were ready to ſpeak their Sentiments, when the Proctor, in the Name of the Legates, diverted the Blow. Thus *Fr. Paolo* (*b*) relates the Matter: I ſhall examine this in another Place (*c*).

(*a*) *It is to be ſeen in* Onuphrius Panvinius's *Life of* Pius IV. *in* Surii Comment. p. 754. *And in* Spondanus, Contin. Annal. ad an. 1562.

(*b*) *Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent.

(*c*) *In the Article* Hebedjeſu.

the Pope's Nuncio in thoſe Parts, in the Year 1583, found that the Patriarch *Donha Simon*, who was the ſecond ſince *Abdieſu*, had retired towards the Borders of *Perſia*. The Pope's Affairs were not in a better Condition, when *Peter Strozza*, Secretary to *Paul* V. publiſh'd at *Rome*, and at *Cologne*, in 1617, his Diſputation, *De Chaldæorum dogmatibus* (5).

[*B*] *To excuſe himſelf for not going thither.*] This ſhews that *Moreri* is very much miſtaken, when he ſays, "*That* Abdiſſi *aſſiſted at the Council of* Trent, "*and preſented his Confeſſion of Faith in the* XXII. "*Seſſion.*" *Aubert Miræus*, committed the ſame Fault, "qui & Tridentino Concilio interfuit, *who was* "*preſent likewiſe at the Council of* Trent," ſays he (6), ſpeaking of his *Abdieſu*. That which is more ſurprizing, is, That *Moreri* quotes *Thuanus* and *Spondanus*, though the firſt ſays not one Word of that Patriarch's pretended Journey to the Council; and tho' the ſecond expreſsly ſays, That they read the Letters, wherein *Abdyſu* excuſed himſelf for not coming to *Trent*. I ſhall occaſionally obſerve a Fault, which muſt needs have crept into *Thuanus*'s Hiſtory: He ſays (7) That Patriarch came "Ad Apoſtolorum limina Pontificem ſalutaturus, ut ab eo confirmatus "partem de corpore Sancti Petri acciperet. i. e. "*He came to the Apoſtolical See, to ſalute the Pope,* "*that, being confirm'd by him, he might receive part* "*of the Body of St* Peter." Any one, who reads theſe Words, would think that he came to aſk an Arm or ſome other Piece of St *Peter*'s Body; for to come to *Rome*, in order to carry away ſuch Preſents, is a thing very acceptable to that Court. But I am perſwaded that inſtead of *partem* it ſhould be *pallium*, as we read in *Spondanus*, who uſes almoſt the ſame Expreſſion with *Thuanus*. We may ſee this in his Continuation of the Annals of *Baronius*.

(5) *See* Miræus, ibid. p. 219.

(6) Ubi ſupra, p. 217.

(7) Thuan. l. 32. p. 640. col. 2. edit. Francof. 1625. 1562

ABEL, ſecond Son of *Adam* and *Eve*, was a Shepherd. He brought an Offering to God, of the *Firſtlings of his Flock*, at the ſame Time that his Brother *Cain* offer'd the *Fruits of the Earth*. God accepted the Oblation of *Abel*, but not That of *Cain*: which diſpleaſed the latter ſo much, that *he roſe up againſt the other and ſlew him*. This is all the Account *Moſes* gives us of him (*a*): But we might greatly enlarge this Article, if we would expatiate upon every Thing, which the Curioſity of human Wit has produc'd upon the Subject. We ſhall however avoid entering upon the Detail; nor ſhall we pretend to gueſs at the Age of *Abel*, when he was ſlain. It is impoſſible to arrive at any Certainty in this Matter; becauſe we know not the Duration of the *State* of *Innocence* [*A*]; nor how much younger *Abel* was than *Cain* [*B*]; nor

(*a*) Gen. iv.

[*A*] *The Duration of the State of Innocence.*] Authors are greatly divided upon this Queſtion: Some aſſert, that *Adam fell* on the very Day of his Creation; and that he continued in Paradice but ſix, ſeven, or ten Hours (1). Others extend the Time to ſix, eight, or ten Days; others to thirty four Years. Moſt of them build their Opinions upon a ſuppos'd Reſemblance between *Adam* and *Jeſus Chriſt*: For Inſtance, if *Adam* be ſuppoſed to continue in Paradice forty Days, or thirty four Years, the Reaſon is, becauſe *Jeſus Chriſt* faſted forty Days in the Wilderneſs, or lived upon Earth thirty Years (2). The Emptineſs of theſe Reaſons is obvious to Men of Senſe. There are very ſtrong Objections to the Opinion of thoſe, who reſtrain the State of Innocence to a few Hours; but much ſtronger againſt theirs, who continue it to ſeveral Weeks or Years. For, with the good Leave of the *Rabbins*, it is certain from *Moſes*'s Account, that *Adam* did not *know his Wife*, 'till after their Departure from Paradice. Now, why ſhould he defer the Conſummation of his Marriage ſo long? Had he not received the nuptial Benediction from the Mouth of his Creator? Was he not commiſſioned, in form, to *increaſe and multiply*, and to *repleniſh the Earth?* The moſt ſubſtantial Reaſon for the Delay of this Conſummation 'till after the *Fall*, is that of St *Auſtin* (3), that "*The Woman was tempted and ſeduced, almoſt* "*as ſoon as formed.* Mox creata muliere, antequam "convenirent, facta eſt illa Tranſgreſſio." The other Reaſon he gives, namely, that they were obliged to wait the Command of God, is none at all (4); for I have already obſerved, that this Command had been authentically notified to them. If it could be once proved, that the Innocence of the *firſt Man* continued many Days, it would effectually confirm the Opinion of thoſe, who aſſert, that, had it not been for the *forbidden Fruit*, *Adam* and *Eve* would have preſerved their Virginity for ever; and that it was in conſequence of God's fore-ſeeing the *Fall*, that they were created of different Sexes. But, be that as it will, we cannot determine certainly at what Age they began to propagate. We ſhall in another Place (5) refute the Opinion of ſome, that *Cain* was not conceived 'till a long time after *Adam*'s Tranſgreſſion; either becauſe his Father abſtained from the Pleaſures of Matrimony, in Mortification for his Offence; or becauſe he had left *Eve* for ſome other Woman.

[*B*] *How much younger* Abel *was than* Cain.] The Narration of *Moſes* ſeems clearly to prove, that *Cain* and *Abel* were not Twin-Brothers: Neverthleſs, one of the moſt judicious Interpreters of the Scripture, believed, with ſome of the *Rabbins*, that they were. "Rabbini,

(1) Pererius *upon* Gen. B. 6. Queſt. 1.

(2) Cornelius à Lapide, *upon* Gen. iii. 23.

(3) Auguſt. l. 9. de Geneſi ad lit. cap. 4.

(4) Poteſt etiam dici, quia nondum Deus juſſerat, ut convenirent: Cur enim non ad hanc rem divina expectaretur Auctoritas, ubi nullâ concupiſcentiâ, tanquam ſtimulis, in obedientia carnis urgebat? Id. ibid. *It may be urg'd, that God had not yet commanded them to come together: for why ſhould they not wait the divine Permiſſion, in an Act, to which they were not prompted by any carnal Inclinations?*

(5) *In the Remark* [*B*], *under the Article* EVE.

nor in what *Year* of the *World* he he was ſlain by his Brother [*C*]. For the ſame Reaſon I ſhall not venture any Conjectures upon the Queſtion, Whether he died a *Virgin* [*D*]; nor concerning the Reaſon of *Cain*'s quarrelling with him. Some ſay, The Difference between them was a *Religious Diſpute* [*E*]; others, that they quarrell'd about

“Rabbini, & ex iis Calvinus, putant ex eodem conceptu Evam peperiſſe gemellos, Cain & Abel (6). “*The* Rabbins, *and among them* Calvinus, *think* “*that* Eve *brought forth Twins,* Cain *and* Abel.” But, tho' we ſhould grant this, the Uncertainty would not wholly vaniſh; unleſs we could determine preciſely the Year of *Cain*'s Birth. But, farther, it does not appear, that *Abel* was the Twin-Brother of *Cain*; neither is it certain, that he was born after him. However we may conclude it highly probable, that *Cain* was born in the firſt Year of the World, and *Abel* the Year after. The *Revelation* aſcribed to *Methodius*, is an an apocryphal Piece, and meer Invention. It is ſaid to have been revealed to him from Heaven, during his Impriſonment for the Faith (7), that *Adam* and *Eve* left Paradice in a State of Virginity; that they continued in it fifteen ſucceſſive Years, wholly taken up with lamenting their Fall; that, at the end of this time, they begat a Son and Daughter at once, whoſe Names were *Cain* and *Calmana*; after which they returned to a State of Continency for fifteen Years more; after which they begat a Son and a Daughter, as before, named *Abel* and *Debora*; and that the Murthur of *Abel* by *Cain* fell out in the one hundred and thirtieth Year of *Adam*; which threw Him and *Eve* into a Fit of Grief, which laſted an hundred Years; after which they begat *Seth*. The Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Ceylon* pretend, that the *ſalt Lake*, found on Mount *Colombo*, is a Collection of Tears, ſhed by *Eve*, during an hundred Years, for the Death of *Abel* (8). The *Rabbins* will have it, that *Adam* lamented his Son's Death an hundred Years, in the *Vale of Tears* near *Hebron*, without any carnal Commerce with his Wife (9); which probably would have continued longer, had not an Angel from God commanded him to cohabit with *Eve*, becauſe the *Meſſiah* was not to deſcend from the Family of *Cain*. Idle Tales! The State of the World was ſo far from requiring ſuch a long fit of Sorrow, that, on the contrary, it demanded, that they ſhould comfort themſelves by repairing the Loſs: So that it is highly probable, that *Adam* and *Eve* preſently mollify'd their Grief by the mutual Satiſfaction of procuring themſelves another Son, in the room of *Abel*, who was ſlain. Yet one would hardly believe, how induſtriouſly this Fable of *Adam* and *Eve*'s long Divorce from the Marriage-bed has been preached up. We ſhall treat of it under the Article LAMECH.

[C] *In what Year of the World he was ſlain by his Brother.*] Some have thought it probable, that this Murthur was committed the ſame Year that *Seth* was born; *i. e.* in the one hundred and thirtieth of *Adam*: It has been thought probable, I ſay, becauſe *Eve*, in giving the Name of *Seth* to the Child ſhe had brought forth, aſſigns this as a Reaſon: *For God hath appointed me another Seed inſtead of* Abel, *whom* Cain *ſlew* (10). But it muſt be granted, that this is rather a Proof, that *Seth* was the firſt Child which *Eve* bore after the Murthur of *Abel*, than that his Death was immediately followed by the Birth of *Seth*. St *Auſtin* even denies the Right of Elderſhip to *Seth* over all the Children of *Adam* and *Eve*, born after the Death of *Abel*. He interprets the Words of *Eve* to imply, not *the Appointment of another Son*, but the *reſtoring* of *Virtue*; *i. e.* that *Seth* was conſidered as Succeſſor to the Piety and Sanctity of *Abel*. “Potuit Adam *(ſays he)* divinitus admonitus dicere, poſtea quam Seth natus eſt, *ſuſcitavit enim mihi Deus ſemen aliud pro Abel* (11); quando talis erat futurus, qui impleret ejus Sanctitatem (12). *Adam, by Divine Inſpiration, might well ſay, at the Birth of* Seth, God hath raiſed me up another Seed inſtead of *Abel*; *ſince he was to inherit his Brother's Sanctity.*” But this can only be Conjecture, and if the Words of *Eve*, cited above, leave us full Liberty of Judgment, we ſhall carry the Murthur of *Abel* very high; for thus natural Reaſon will teach us. *Cain* and *Abel* made their Offerings to God, when the one's Crop, and the other's Flock, furniſhed them with ſufficient Means. They immediately perceived how differently their Preſents were received by God (13). *Cain*'s Diſguſt ſoon after hurried him into the Deſign of killing his Brother. He murthured him, then, before the Age of ſixty; for it was in the fiftieth Year of the World, according to *Euſebius*, that *Adam* allotted to his Sons the Manner of Life he intended they ſhould follow. There was time enough, we are told, for Deliberation in this Affair; ſince, at that time, the Length of Childhood muſt have been proportionable to the Length of Life. With all my Heart; I ſhall not diſpute it. I will allow, that *Cain* and *Abel* were not capable before the Age of fifty, the one to till the Earth, the other to keep Sheep; but pray let them be capable at that Age. Now, upon this Suppoſition, can any thing be more natural, than to believe they made their Offerings at the end of two or three Years at lateſt; and that in a like interval of time the envious and jealous *Cain* got rid of his Brother? Can any thing be more improbable than the common Opinion, that the two Brothers began to exerciſe their Occupations in the fiftieth Year of the World; that they made their Offerings in the hundredth, and that *Cain* was ſlain in the hundred and thirtieth? Neither Reaſon nor Scripture lead us to imagine, that *Cain* ſtifled his Reſentment for ſo long a time in his Breaſt (14). A very judicious Author has fixed the Birth of *Seth* to about an hundred Years after the Death of *Abel* (15). Some Authors place *Abel*'s Death in the Year of the World 102 (16). But the Generality are for the Year 130; which is thought to be the ſame with the hundred and twentieth ninth of *Abel*. I might, in ſupport of this Opinion, refer to *Cajetan*, *Torniel*, *Pererius*, *Cornelius à Lapide*, *Salian*, and many other Commentators, whoſe Works may be compared to Children of the ſame Family;

—— *Facies non omnibus una,*
Nec diverſa tamen, qualem decet eſſe ſororum. (17)

Tho' various Features did the Siſters grace,
A Siſter's Likeneſs was in every Face.
ADDISON.

Thus all Parties, all Bodies, all Societies, have a Variety of Authors, who copy after each other.

[D] *Whether he died a Virgin.*] Some Fathers of the Church have maintained the Affirmative (18); and the Heretics, taken notice of below, who took their Name from *Abel*, are of the ſame Opinion: but thoſe who believe, that *Abel* lived an hundred and twenty nine Years, think it improbable he ſhould die a *Batchelor*. The World ſtood too much in need of being peopled, for Continency to be a Virtue. Father *Salian* makes no Difficulty to declare, that the Celibacy of *Abel* is abſolutely improbable; and ſhews, that St *Jerom* and St *Auſtin* did not doubt of his Marriage (19); and that St *Irenæus* is not to be charged with the Expreſſion imputed to him by *Genebrard* (20), namely, that *Abel* was a *Maid*, a *Prieſt*, and a *Martyr*; upon the Account of which three Qualifications the Church is ſaid to begin in him. There is another Author, who aſcribes theſe three fine Qualifications to him (21). But if we may depend upon the *Tradition* of *Eutychius*, produced below, we can no longer queſtion the Virginity of *Abel*, ſince, according to that, his Death preceded the Marriage of his two Brothers.

[E] *Was a religious Diſpute.*] The *Targum* of *Jeruſalem* relates, that *Cain* and *Abel* being in the Field, the former aſſerted that there was no Judgment, nor Judge, nor Life Eternal, nor Rewards for the Good, nor Puniſhment for the Wicked; and that the World was neither created, nor governed, by the Goodneſs of God; *For*, ſays he to his Brother, *my Oblation was not received, but your's was. Abel* anſwered him in his own Words, ſubſtituting only the Affirmative for the Negative; and, as to his principal Complaint, his Anſwer was, that *His* Works being better than thoſe of *Cain*, were the Occaſion of the Preference given to his Offering. The Diſpute growing warm, *Cain* fell upon *Abel*, and ſlew him (22). This was the impious beginning of Diſputes in Religion; and a fatal Preſage of the terrible Confuſions bout a *Woman* [*F*]. Nor is there a leſs Diverſity of Opinions concerning the *Manner*, in which this horrid Murthur was committed [*G*]. But it is not ſo much controverted, in what Manner they diſcover'd the Preference which God gave to *Abel*'s Offering. The common Opinion is, That Fire from Heaven fell upon *Abel*'s Sacrifice [*H*]; but that nothing of that kind happen'd to the Offerings of *Cain*. But, as we are very apt to fancy we diſcover the *Marvellous* in every Story of this Kind, ſome have ſaid (*b*), that there appeared the Figure of a *Lion*, in the middle of the Fire, which fell upon *Abel*'s Sacrifice; which, ſay they, had relation to the *Lion* of the *Tribe* of *Juda*, whoſe coming was then already promis'd. I have thrown together in the Remarks a great Variety of Opinions, in relation to *Abel*'s Story. It is indeed a Heap of abſurd Notions and Errors; but the Reader, in paſſing his Judgment upon them, muſt remember, that ſuch a Collection anſwers the End and Deſign of this *Dictionary*: which Caution I here give once for all.

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(6) Corn. à Lap. *upon* Gen. iv. 2.

(7) *See the Author of* Hiſt. Scholaſt. in Libr. Hiſt. Geneſ. xxv. *in* Pererius *upon* Geneſis.

(8) *See* Chevreau's *Hiſtory of the World*, Tom. 4. p. 255. Dutch *Edition, in* 1687.

(9) *In* Salian, Tom. 1. p. 190.

(10) Gen. iv. 25.

(11) Auſtin *attributes to* Adam, *what, according to the Scripture, were the Words of* Eve.

(12) Auguſt. de Civit. Dei. l. 15. c. 15.

(13) *The Scripture ſpeaks of but one Oblation of theſe two Brothers; ſo that the Suppoſition of* Salian's, Tom. 1. p. 185. *that* Cain did not perceive, till after a long Time, and repeated Offerings, that he was rejected, and his Brother in favour with God, *is groundleſs.*

(14) *See the Reference to the* Targum *of* Jeruſalem, *and the* Annals *of* Eutychius *in the Remark* [*F*].

(15) Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. l. 3. c. 1.

(16) *St* Romuald's Abridg. Chronol.

(17) Ovid. Metam. B. 2. v. 13.

(18) *St* Jerom, *St* Baſil, *St* Ambroſe, *in* Corn à Lapide *upon* Gen. iv. 2. *but* Salian, *in his* Annals, Tom. 1. p. 184. *ſhews, that St* Jerom *was not of this Opinion.*

(19) Salian's Annals.

(20) Chronolog. B. 1.

(21) *The Author of* Mirab. Sacr. Scrip. *in* Auguſt. Tom. 3. B. 1. ch. 3. *in* Salian's *Citation of the* Annals, Tom. 1. p. 184.

(22) Selian's *Citation of* Paraphr. Hieroſol. *in* Eagius. Tom. 1. p. 188. *See, upon this Subject, ſome rhetorical Pieces of* John Biſſelius, *a German Jeſuit.* Illuſtr. Ruinar. Decad. 1. p. 228, &c.

(*b*) *In* Salian, Tom. I. p. 190; *and in* Biſſelius's Ruinar. Illuſtr. Decad. 1.

Confuſions they were to cauſe in the World. It affords us likewiſe an Inſtance of the fooliſh Vanity of Man; who is never ſo much led to doubt of a Providence, as when Things do not ſucceed according to his Wiſhes. Give him but Proſperity; his Doubts vaniſh: The Reaſon is, he thinks he holds too conſiderable a Rank in the Univerſe to be overlooked by an equitable and judicious Diſpenſer of Good and Evil. “ Eſtis ïo Superi, ait Statius, cum “ convaluiſſet à periculoſo morbo vir eximiæ probitatis Rutilius Gallicus. At contra, ubi quid con- “ tigerat contra quam æquum eſſe cenſerent, Deos “ aut nullos eſſe, aut crudeles & injuſtos eſſe dice- “ bant. —— Itaque in morte Tibulli Ovidius.

> Cum rapiant mala fata bonos, ignoſcite faſſo,
> Sollicitor nullos eſſe putare Deos.

“ *I acknowledge ye, O ye Gods! cry'd* Statius, *when* “ Rutilius Gallicus, *a Man of diſtinguiſhed Honeſty,* “ *had recovered from a dangerous Diſeaſe. On the* “ *contrary, if any thing fell out, which they did not* “ *like, they either denied the Being of the Gods, or* “ *charged them with Cruelty and Injuſtice. Hence* “ Ovid, *upon the Death of* Tibullus,

> *When, ſnatched by cruel Fate the Good and Juſt,*
> *Periſh, and ſink untimely to the Duſt,*
> *(May I the bold Confeſſion be forgiven)*
> *I almoſt think there are no Gods in Heaven.*

This is the Language of one of the beſt Orators of the XVIth Century (23).

[*F*] *Quarelled about a Woman.*] *Eutychius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, tells us in his *Annals* (24) that *Eve* brought forth, together with *Cain*, a Daughter named *Azrun*; and, together with *Abel*, a Daughter named *Owain*: and that, the time of marrying theſe two Sons being come, *Adam* allotted *Owain* to *Cain*, and *Azrun* to *Abel*; and treated *Cain* with Severity for deſiring his Twin-Siſter, who was the moſt beautiful of the two. *Eutychius* adds, that the two Brothers going to preſent their Offering upon the top of a Mountain, by the Order of *Adam*, who deſired they might perform this religious Act before their Marriage, and that the Succeſs of their Sacrifice might decide their Quarrel; the Devil ſecretly prompted *Cain* to murthur his Brother for the Love of *Azrun*; which, preventing his Offering from being agreeable to God, ſo enraged *Cain* againſt his Brother, that they were ſcarce come down from the Mountain, when *Cain*, with a Stone, daſhed out his Brother's Brains. The beautiful *Azrun*, whom *Cain* immediately after married (25), and carried with him into Exile, was indeed the Cauſe, but the innocent one, of *Cain*'s Crime; and verifies the Aſſertion of the *Latin* Poet concerning the Antiquity of Wars raiſed upon the Account of Women;

> Nam fuit ante Helenam Cunnus teterrima belli
> Cauſa (26).

> *E'er* Græcian Helen *liv'd, the falſe, the fair,*
> *Beauty has been the fatal Source of War.*

The *Archontics* (27), and the *Cabbaliſts* (28), agree with this Tradition of *Eutychius*. I have read in the *Commentary of Father Merſenne* upon *Geneſis*, Page the 1415th, and 1431ſt, that there are ſome *Rabbins*, who ſay, that *Abel* had two Twin-Siſters, and that *Cain* deſired to marry them both. This, ſay they, was the ground of their Quarrel. The Inclination then to Polygamy, muſt be very old. Laſtly, it appears by the Citation from the *Targum*, and that from the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, that the Death of *Abel* enſued immediately upon the Sacrifice, wherein God had declared in his Favour. This Chronology is a thouſand times more probable, than that which places thirty Years between the Offerings of the two Brothers, and the Murthur of *Cain*.

[*G*] *The Manner in which this horrid Murthur was committed.*] We have ſeen, that it was with the Blow of a Stone, according to ſome Authors. Others ſay, that *Cain* tore him in Pieces with his Teeth. *Hebræorum nonnulli tradunt eum fuiſſe morſibus à Cain dilaceratum* (29). Others, that he knocked him down with the Jaw-bone of an Aſs: The Painters are directed by this Hypotheſis. Some pretend, that he made uſe of a Pitchfork. St *Chryſoſtom* puts a Sword into his Hand; St *Irenæus* arms him with a Scythe; *Prudentius* gives him a kind of Hedging-Bill.

> Frater probatæ ſanctitatis æmulus
> Germana curvo colla frangit ſarculo (30).

Envious of his Brother's approved Sanctity, he broke his Neck with a crooked Hedging-Bill.

See *Salian* and *Biſſelius*; the one, Page 189 of the firſt Volume of his *Annals*; the other Page 234 and 254 of the firſt Tome of his *Illuſtr. Ruinar.* “ It “ is certain, *ſays an Author* (31), that *Abel* was “ neither drowned, nor ſtrangled; for the Scripture “ witneſſes, that he died with Effuſion of Blood.” Some ſuppoſe, that he defended himſelf bravely; and that at firſt he had the Advantage: that he threw *Cain* upon the Ground, and gave him his Life; but that *Cain* got up, and ſlew him. Father *Merſenne* reports this Dream in the 1431ſt Page of his *Commentary on Geneſis*.

[*H*] *That Fire from Heaven fell upon* Abel'*s Sacrifice.*] St *Jerom* has preſerved this Tradition (32), and confirms it from *Theodotion*, who follows him in his Verſion of the Scripture. “ Niſi illa Inter- “ pretatio vera eſſet, quam Theodotion poſuit, & in- “ flammavit Dominus ſuper Abel, & ſuper Sacrifi- “ cium ejus; ſupra vero Cain & Sacrificium ejus “ non inflammavit (33). —— *If the Interpretation of* “ Theodotion *be true; and God ſent Fire upon* Abel “ *and his Sacrifice, but not upon* Cain *and his Sa-* “ *crifice.*” It is generally approved of by the Fathers of the Church; and is a probable Opinion, becauſe Fire from Heaven has frequently been the Signal of God's Approbation of a Sacrifice. At the Conſecration of *Aaron*, God gave this Mark of his Approbation (34). *Gideon, David, Solomon*, (ſome add *Nehemiah*) were honoured with this extraordinary Favour in ſome of their Sacrifices (35). *Cornelius à Lapide* ſays, that *Calvin* and *Luther* laugh'd at this Deſcent of Fire from Heaven upon *Abel*'s Sacrifice, as a Jewiſh Fable (36); but Mr *Heidegger* quotes a Paſſage of *Luther* againſt him, which plainly proves the contrary. “ Etſi Moſes illud ſignum, “ quo Deus oſtendit ſibi Abel munera grata eſſe, non “ oſtendit, tamen veriſimile eſt fuiſſe ignem cœlo “ demiſſum, quo oblatio hauſta & conſumpta in ocu- “ lis omnium (37). —— *Though* Moſes *does not record* “ *by what Sign God declared his Approbation of* “ Abel'*s Offering, yet it is probable that Fire de-* “ *ſcended from Heaven, and conſumed the Oblation* “ *in the Sight of all.*” The Proteſtant Divines declare

(23) Muretus's *third Oration*, Vol. 2.

(24) Eutychius's Annals. *I make uſe of* Pocock's *Tranſlation. The Printer of* Hiſtoria Patriarch. Heidegg. Tom. I. p. 192. *puts* Procopius.

(25) Eutychius. *See* Hottinger's Hiſt. Orient. p. 27.

(26) Horace Sat. 3. B. I. v. 107.

(27) *Heretics mention'd by* Epiphanius, Hæreſ. XL.

(28) *In* Heidegger's Hiſt. Orient. p. 191. *See likewiſe* Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. B. 3. ch. 2. *who cites* Rabbi Eliezer *in* Pirke, ch. 21.

(29) Pererius *upon* Geneſ. B. 7. *at* ver. 8. *and* 9. ch. iv.

(30) Prudent. *in* Hamartig. præf. 15.

(31) Pererius *upon* Geneſis, ch. iv. ver. 8, *and* 9.

(32) Hieron. Tradit. Hebr.

(33) Hieron. Quæſt. Hebr.

(34) Levit. chap. ix.

(35) *Conſult the Book of* Judges, ch. vi. 1 Kings, ch. xviii. 1 Chron. ch. xxi. 2 Chron. ch. vii. 2 Maccab. ch. i.

(36) Corn. à Lapide *upon* Geneſis, ch. iv. ver. 4. p. 97.

(37) Luther on Geneſis, ch. iv. ver. 3. *in* Heidegg. Hiſt. Patriarch. Tom. I. p. 184.

declare in Crouds for this Hypotheſis (38), and ſome of them are confirmed in it by the Words of one of the Pſalms (39), which *Clement Marot* has thus tranſlated:

> De tes offertes & ſervices
> Se veuille ſouvenir,
> Et faire tous les ſacrifices
> En cendre devenir.

May he remember thy Offerings, and Services, and reduce thy Sacrifices to Aſhes.

The Pagans boaſt of ſuch kind of extraordinary Marks of the Approbation of Heaven in ſome Places, as we ſhall ſhow under the Article EGNATIA. We know very well that the Devil mimicks the True God.

(38) *See* Salden's Otia Theolog. p. 337.

(39) Pſalm xx.

ABELARD *(Peter)* in *Latin Abælardus*, was one of the moſt celebrated Doctors of the XIIth Century. He was born at *Palais* [*A*], a Town four Leagues diſtant from *Nantes* in *Brittany*: and, as he was of a very ſubtile Genius, there was nothing in his Courſe of Studies, to which he apply'd himſelf with greater Succeſs, than *Logic*. He travell'd to divers Places with no other view, than to exerciſe himſelf in that Science; diſputing wherever he came, throwing about his Syllogiſms, and greedily catching at every Opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf againſt ſome Theſis. Never did Knight-Errant more eagerly ſeek occaſion to break a Lance in Honour of the Ladies. *Abelard* finiſh'd his Studies at *Paris*, where he met with a celebrated Profeſſor in Philoſophy, nam'd *William Champeaux* (*a*). He became ſoon his favourite Diſciple: but this continu'd not long: the Profeſſor found it ſo difficult to anſwer the ſubtile Objections of his Scholar, that he conceiv'd a Diſguſt and Hatred towards him. Immediately it became Matter of Party: the older Scholars, envious of *Abelard*, ſeconded their Maſter's Diſlike. This increaſed the Aſſurance of the young Logician ſo much, that he reſolv'd to ſet up for a Teacher himſelf. He choſe a large Theatre to act this Part on; for he erected a School at *Melun* [*B*], where the Court of *France* reſided at that Time. *Champeaux* did all he could to prevent the ſetting up of this School; but, as he had very powerful Enemies, his Oppoſition was the principal Cauſe of his Rival's Succeſs (*b*). The Reputation of this new Maſter of *Logic*, made ſo ſurprizing a Progreſs, as to eclipſe that of *Champeaux*. *Abelard* was ſo elevated with this Succeſs, that he remov'd his School to *Corbeil*, in order to preſs his Enemy cloſe with frequent Diſputes; but the great Application, with which he follow'd his Studies, threw him into an Indiſpoſition, which obliged him to retire to his native Air. He ſtay'd ſome Years in *Brittany*, and then return'd to *Paris*; where he found that *Champeaux*, who had reſign'd his Chair to another, and embrac'd the Religion of the Regular Canons, continued teaching among them. He diſputed againſt him, with ſuch force of Argument, concerning the Nature of *Univerſals*, that he obliged him to give up his Opinion

(*a*) Gulielmus Campellenſis. *He was Archdeacon of* Paris.

(*b*) Quoniam de potentibus terræ nonnullos ibidem habebat æmulos; fretus eorum auxilio voti mei compos extiti, & plurimorum mihi aſſenſum ipſius invidia manifeſta conquiſivit. *Abelardi Epiſt.* 1. *p.* 5. *As he had, there, ſome Enemies among the great Men, I ſucceeded by their Aſſiſtance; and his manifeſt Envy procured me the Approbation of many.*

[*A*] *He was born at* Palais.] His Father had applied himſelf a little to his Studies, before he bore Arms; and took great Care of the Education of his Children, particularly the eldeſt. Whether *Abelard* was this eldeſt, is uncertain; for he ſpeaks of this Matter ſo ambiguouſly, as to give Occaſion to two different Opinions. Theſe are his Words: "Primogenitum ſuum, quanto chariorem habebat, tanto "diligentius erudire curavit. Ego vero, quanto amplius in ſtudio literarum profeci, tanto ardentius in "iis inhæſi, & in tanto earum amore illectus ſum, "ut militaris gloriæ pompam cum hæreditate & "prærogativa primogenitorum meorum fratribus derelinquens, Martis curiæ penitus abdicarem, ut "Minervæ gremio educarer. —— *The more he lov'd* "*his eldeſt-born, the more Care he took in his Education; For my own Part, the farther Progreſs I* "*made in my Studies, the greater Deſire I had to* "*purſue them; and ſo fond was I of them, as to* "*leave the Pomp of Military Glory, with the Inheritance and Privileges of Elderſhip, to my Brothers; and, renouncing the Court of* Mars, *to be educated in the Boſom of* Minerva." *Paſquier*, upon the Authority of theſe Words, makes no doubt of calling him the eldeſt Son (1): but others poſitively affirm, that he was a younger Brother. This is the Opinion of *Father Alexander*. "Militaris Gloriæ "pompam cum hæreditate primogenitis fratribus derelinquens, ſays he (2), ſpeaking of *Abelard*, i. e. "*leaving the Pomp of Military Glory, with the Inheritance, to his elder Brothers.*" Some make him the youngeſt of the Family (3). If I might chuſe, I ſhould not perfer the laſt Interpretation to the former. Doubtleſs the Sirname of *Palatinus*, which he bore, was deriv'd from *Palatium*, the Name of the Place of his Nativity. He was ſo well known by the Name of *Peripateticus Palatinus*, that *Johannes Sariſberienſis* never ſtiles him otherwiſe (4). Some imagine, that this Epithet was given him on Account of ſome magnificent Building, where he deliver'd his Lectures (5). But this is without Foundation.

(1) Paſquier's Recherch. de la France. B. 6. ch. 17.

(2) Natal. Alex. *Cent.* xi. & xii. *part* 3. *p.* 2.

(3) Du Pin's Biblioth. T. 9. p. 108.

(4) *See his* Policraticus, p. 111. *and his* Metalogicus, p. 745, 802, 814, &c. Leyden *Edit.* 1639. 8vo.

(5) Jac. Thomaſius's Life of Abelard. *See below the Citation* (13).

[*B*] *A School at* Melun.] I have not found, in comparing the Relation of *Abelard* with the Abridgment of it, given us by *Paſquier*, that it is abridg'd with great Exactneſs. The Series of his Adventures, according to the Abridgment, is as follows. *Abelard* went and ſettled at *Corbeil*, when he firſt left *Paris*: he returned to *Paris*, when *Champeaux* became a Monk; he was obliged to quit it a ſecond time: and then he retired to *Melun*: he returned to *Paris* again, being informed, that *Champeaux* was gone to reſide at his Biſhoprick of *Châlons*: *Champeaux*, apprized of his Return, came back to *Paris* to oppoſe *Abelard*: This latter was at length obliged to quit his Deſign, and became a Diſciple of *Anſelm*, Lecturer of *Divinity* at *Paris*: He became afterwards himſelf Lecturer of Divinity; and was intreated by a certain *Canon to employ one Hour every Day in inſtructing his Niece.* He complied with this Requeſt; and *having continued this Occupation for ſome time, Love made himſelf of the Party with them.* There are many Faults in this Narrative. I. *Abelard* did not ſettle at *Corbeil* 'till after he had been at *Melun*. II. When he left *Melun* the ſecond time, *Champeaux* was retired to a Village near *Paris*, and not to his Biſhoprick of *Châlons*, which was not yet given him; he being then but a *Regular Canon*: and I am ſurprized that *Paſquier* was not ſenſible how abſurd it was to ſuppoſe a Biſhop ſhould leave his Epiſcopal See to diſpute with a *Regent of Philoſophy* at *Paris*. III. *Abelard* was not conquered in this Diſpute; he quitted *Paris* only to pay a Viſit to his Mother, who was going into a Convent. IV. *Anſelm* read *Divinity* at *Laon*, and not at *Paris*, V. The *Canon* did not requeſt that his Niece might be inſtructed; *Abelard* himſelf entreated to be entertained in the *Canon*'s Houſe. VI. *Abelard* deſired the Enjoyment of *Eloiſa*, before he gave her any Leſſons. With what Diſtruſt ought we to read a great Number of Books, when *Paſquier* ſtumbles ſo often in ſo plain a Road?

nion, which at the bottom was a diſguis'd *Spinoziſm* [*C*]. This brought the Monk into ſuch Contempt, and rais'd the Character of his Antagoniſt ſo high, that *Champeaux*'s Logic Lectures were entirely forſaken, and the Profeſſor himſelf, to whom *Champeaux* had reſign'd, thought fit to become the Scholar of *Peter Abelard.* This latter was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the Chair, than he ſaw himſelf expos'd more and more to the darts of Envy. The Regular Canon manag'd it ſo, that, on pretence of ſome ſiniſter Management, the Reſignation made to *Peter Abelard* was declared void, and a profeſs'd Enemy appointed to ſucceed him. Upon this *Abelard* left *Paris*, and retired to *Melun*, to teach Logic there, as before. He continued there not long; for, hearing that *Champeaux* had retired, with his whole Fraternity, to a Village, he came and ſettled upon Mount St *Genevieve*, and erected his School, as a kind of Battery [*D*], againſt the *Pariſian* Doctor. *Champeaux*, ſeeing the Creature of his own raiſing thus beſieged in his School, brought back the Regular Canons to their Convent: but, inſtead of relieving his Friend, it occaſioned all his Scholars to forſake him: This Deſertion was follow'd ſome time after with the Retirement of this poor Philoſopher to a Convent. From that time the Conteſt lay wholly between *Abelard* and *Champeaux*: they alone diſputed the ground; but ſuperior Age was not attended with Victory. Whilſt this Struggle yet continued, *Abelard* was obliged to pay a Viſit to his Mother, who, after the example of her Huſband, was preparing to embrace a Religious Life. Returning to *Paris*, he found his Rival made Biſhop of *Chalons*: therefore, as he could now give up his School, without the Imputation of flying from the Field of Battle, he determin'd to ſtudy Divinity; for which reaſon he remov'd to *Laon* [*E*], where his Schoolmaſter *Anſelm* read Lectures in that Science

[C] *A diſguis'd* Spinoziſm.] I appeal for this to the Judgment of thoſe who underſtand the following Words. "Erat in eâ ſententiâ de communitate univerſalium; ut eandem eſſentialiter rem "totam ſimul ſingulis ſuis ineſſe aſtrueret indivi"duis, quorum quidem nulla eſſet in eſſentiâ diver"ſitas, ſed ſolâ multitudine accidentium varietas. *He "was of that Opinion, concerning the Sameneſs of "Univerſals, which aſſerts, that the ſame Thing ex"iſts eſſentially and wholly in every one of it's In"dividuals, among which there is no Difference as "to Eſſence, but only a Variety ariſing from a Num"ber of Accidents* (6)." The *Scotiſts*, with their *univerſale formale à parte rei*, or their *unitas formalis à parte rei*, are not wide of this Notion. Now I ſay, that *Spinoziſm* is only carrying this Doctrine farther: for, according to the Followers of *Scotus*, *Univerſal Natures* are indiviſibly the ſame in every one of their *Individuals*: The Human Nature of *Peter* is indiviſibly the ſame with the Human Nature of *Paul*. Upon what Fouudation do they ſay this? Why, becauſe the ſame Attribute of *Man*, which is applicable to *Peter*, agrees with *Paul*. This is the very Fallacy of the *Spinoziſts*. *The Attribute*, ſay they, *does not differ from the Subſtance, of which it is prædicated: therefore, wherever the ſame Attribute is found, there is the ſame Subſtance; and, conſequently, ſince the ſame Attribute is found in all Subſtances, there can poſſibly be but one Subſtance.* There is, then, but one Subſtance in the Univerſe; and all the Variety we ſee in the World is but different Modifications of one and the ſame Subſtance. *Abelard*'s Antagoniſt had nothing of Weight to reply to this; and I cannot ſee what Anſwer the Cordelier *Fraſſen* (7), who adheres ſtrictly to the Doctrine of *Scotus*, amidſt the Lights of Philoſophy, which brighten this Age, could have given to *Spinoza*. But the reſt of the Schoolmen had nothing more to do, in order to overthrow this falſe Syſtem, but to diſtinguiſh between *Identity in Number*, and *Identity in Species* or *Likeneſs*. *Peter* and *Paul* have not the ſame Nature, nor the ſame Attribute, if by *ſame* you mean any thing elſe than *like*.

[*D*] *As a kind of Battery.*] It will be proper to hear his own Account of this Matter. "Quia locum "noſtrum ab æmulo noſtro fecerat occupari, extra "civitatem in monte S. Genoveſæ Scholarum no"ſtrarum caſtra poſui, quaſi eum obſeſſurus, qui lo"cum occupaverat noſtrum. Quo audito, Magiſter "noſter ſtatim ad urbem impudenter rediens, Scholas, "quas tunc habere poterat, & Conventiculum Fra"trum, ad priſtinum reduxit Monaſterium, quaſi "militem ſuum, quem deſeruerat, ab obſidione noſtra "liberaturus (8). —— *The Place, I enjoyed, being "uſurped by my Rival, I encamped my School, with"out the City, upon Mount* St Genevieve, *as it were "to beſiege my Succeſſor: upon the News of which, "my Præceptor, returning confidently to the City, "brought back what Schools he could at that time "procure, together with the whole Brotherhood, to "their former Monaſtery, as it were to relieve his "own Soldier, whom he had deſerted, from my Siege.*" The Life of *Abelard*, publiſhed by *M. Thomaſius* (9) in *Germany*, informs me of one Particular, which *Andrew du Chêne*, *Francis d' Amboiſe*, and perhaps all who have ever ſpoke of *Abelard*, were ignorant of. It is, that, in the midſt of his Troubles and Perſecutions, and after he had placed *Eloiſa* in the *Paraclet*, he returned to the Reading of his public Lectures on Mount *St Genevieve*. *Johannes Sariſberienſis* confirms this paſt a Doubt. "Cum primum, "*ſays he* (10), adoleſcens admodum, ſtudiorum cauſa "migraſſem in Gallias, anno altero poſtquam illuſtris "Rex Anglorum Henricus, Leo Juſtitiæ, rebus ex"ceſſit humanis, contuli me at Peripateticum Pa"latinum, qui tunc in Monte S. Genoveſæ clarus "Doctor & admirabilis omnibus præſidebat. Ibi ad "pedes ejus prima artis hujus rudimenta accepi, & "pro modulo ingenioli mei quicquid excidebat ab ore "ejus totâ mentis aviditate excipiebam. Deinde, "poſt diſceſſum ejus, qui mihi præproperus viſus "eſt, adhæſi Magiſtro Alberico, qui inter cæteros "Dialecticos enitebat, & erat re verâ nominalis ſectæ "acerrimus impugnator. —— *When I firſt travel"led into* France, *being very young, in order to "proſecute my Studies, a Year after the Death of* "Henry *King of* England, *the Lion of Juſtice, I "betook myſelf to the Peripatetic of* Palatium (11), "*who at that time was a celebrated Doctor, and in "great Reputation upon Mount* St Genevieve. "*There, at his Feet, I was inſtructed in the "firſt Principles of this Science, and received, "to the beſt of my Abilities, whatever fell "from his Lips, with the utmoſt Eagerneſs. Af"ter his Death, which to me ſeemed too haſty, "I was a conſtant Follower of the Teacher* Alberi"cus, *who was the moſt eminent Logician of the "Times, and indeed, the moſt violent Oppoſer of the "Nominal Sect.*" This plainly points out the Year 1136. *Abelard* therefore muſt have been returned to *Paris* long time after the *Council* of *Soiſſons*, and have left it a few Years before the *Council* of *Sens*.

[*E*] *He removed to* Laon.] *Otho* of *Friſingen* has miſplaced Facts, when he ſays, that *Abelard* ſtudied firſt under *Rozelin*, then under *Anſelm* of *Laon*, and *William des Champeaux*, Biſhop, of *Châlons* (12). The Order of Time is not obſerved: beſides this *William* was not a Biſhop, at the time when *Abelard* was his Scholar. I have met with a Book (13), in which the Author ſuppoſes, that *Abelard* ſucceeded this *William* in the Divinity-Chair, in the Year 1119: But firſt, it does not appear, that this pretended Predeceſſor taught that Science. And it is farther certain, that *Abelard* read Theological Lectures at *Paris*, before the Year 1119: for it is not poſſible, that all his Adventures, from his firſt Lectures to the

(6) Abelard's Epiſt. 1. p. 5.

(7) *See the Capuchin* Caſimir *of* Toulouſe *in his* Atom. Peripatet. T. 5. p. 130.

(8) Abelard's Epiſt. p. 6.

(9) *He is the Son of* James Thomaſius, *Profeſſor at* Leipſic, *Author of this* Life of Abelard, *printed at* Hall, *in* 1693. *See Citation below* (13).

(10) Jo. Sariſb. Metalog. lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 802.

(11) i. e. Abelard, *as the Author himſelf explains it, p.* 814. In hac opinione, *ſays he*, deprehenſus eſt Peripateticus Palatinus Abelardus noſter.

(12) Otho *of* Friſ. de Geſtis Frider. I. lib. 1. cap. 47.

(13) The Hiſtory of Wiſdom and Folly, *collected by* Chriſt. Thomaſius, Tom. 1. p. 81. *In this we find the* Life *of* Abelard *mentioned above, viz. that which* Jac. Thomaſ. *compos'd.*

Science with great Reputation. He was not greatly ſatisfy'd with this Perſon's Capacity [*F*]; and, inſtead of attending his Lectures, he undertook to read himſelf to his School-Fellows. He explained to them the Prophecies of *Ezekiel* in ſo pleaſing a manner, that in a ſhort time his new Auditory was crowded. The Jealouſy of *Anſelm* did not long permit this: he forbid this new Maſter to continue his Lectures. *Abelard* return'd to *Paris*; explain'd there publickly the Prophet *Ezekiel*; and acquired in a ſhort time as great a Reputation in Divinity, as in Philoſophy: beſides which he gain'd a great deal of Money. To perfect the Pleaſures of Life, he began to think of a Miſtreſs, and caſt his Eyes upon *Eloiſa*, Niece of a *Canon*, whom he preferr'd to an hundred other Ladies, whom he had it very much in his Power to charm [*G*]. This Canon, named *Fulbert*, lov'd Money, and was paſſionately deſirous, that his Niece *Eloiſa* ſhould be a Scholar. *Abelard* laid hold of theſe two Foibles to enſnare him. *Admit me to board with you*, ſays he, and *fix your own Price.* The Good Man, imagining he had found an excellent Tutor for his Niece, who, far from being an Expence to him, would pay him well for his Board, ran headlong into the Snare (*c*). He intreated Maſter *Abelard* to inſtruct the young Girl fully, both Night and Day, and gave him permiſſion to uſe correction, if ſhe did not perform her Leſſons. Our pretended Tutor ill anſwer'd the Expectation of *Fulbert*: he ſoon began to talk Love to his fair Scholar; and amus'd himſelf more in toying and kiſſing her [*H*], than in explaining an Author to her. He indulg'd this

(*c*) Eam totam noſtro magiſterio committens, ut quoties mihi à Scholis reverſo vacaret, tam in die quam in nocte ei docendæ operam darem, & eam ſi negligentem ſentirem vehementer conſtringerem. *Giving her up entirely to my Authority, that, as often as ſhe was at leiſure, upon my return from the Schools, to receive me, I might inſtruct her both by Day and Night, and if I found her negligent, might ſeverely correct her.* Abelard's Epiſt. p. 11.

the Council of *Soiſſons*, could have fallen out in two Years: Now there is good Proof, that this Council was called in the Year 1121. Add to this, that *William des Champeaux* was made Biſhop of *Châlons* in the Year 1113 (14); and that this Promotion removing him from the Schools of *Paris*, *Abelard* went to *Laon*, to ſtudy Divinity there. I ſee no Foundation for the Aſſertion of others, that he engaged in this Study at *Châlons* (15).

(14) *See* Du Chêne's *Notes upon* Abelard's Narrative, p. 1147.

(15) Dupin's Biblioth. Tom. 9. p. 109. *Dutch* Edition.

[*F*] *Satisfied with this Perſon's Capacity.*] He was an old Man, who never had any great Genius; inſomuch, that he was eaſily non-plus'd, when put out of his Rote. When he was puſhed home, as he frequently was by the acute and ſubtile *Abelard*, he defended himſelf with meer empty Words: but his Character will be beſt known from what I am going to tranſcribe. “Acceſſi ad hunc ſenem, cui magis longævus uſus, quam ingenium vel memoria, nomen comparaverat: ad quem ſi quis de aliquâ Queſtione pulſandum accederet incertus, redibat incertior. Mirabilis erat in oculis auſcultantium, ſed nullus in conſpectu queſtionantium. Verborum uſum habebat mirabilem, ſed ſenſu contemptibilem, & ratione vacuum. Cum ignem accenderet, domum ſuam fumo implebat, non luce illuſtrabat. Arbor ejus, tota in foliis, aſpicientibus à longe conſpicua videbatur, ſed propinquantibus & diligentius intuentibus infructuoſa reperiebatur. Ad hanc itaque cum acceſſiſſem, ut fructum inde colligerem, deprehendi illam eſſe ficulneam, cui maledixit Dominus, ſeu illam veterem quercum, cui Pompeium Lucanus comparat, dicens,

—— Stat magni nominis umbra,
Qualis frugifero quercus ſublimis in agro.

“*I applied myſelf to this old Man, whom long Practice, not Genius or Memory, had made famous; who always ſent an Enquirer back more uncertain than he came. He was the Admiration of his Hearers, but the Contempt of his Examiners. He had a wonderful Flow of Words, but void of Senſe and Reaſon. He was a Fire that filled the Houſe, not with Light, but Smoke: A Tree, that appeared Fair at a Diſtance, but, on a nearer View, bore nothing but Leaves. When I approached it, in hopes of gathering Fruit, I found it to be the Fig-Tree which was curſed by our Lord, or that old Oak, to which* Lucan *thus compares* Pompey:

Still ſeem'd he to poſſeſs, and fill his Place,
But ſtood the Shadow of what once he was.
So in the Field, with Ceres's *Bounty ſpread,*
Uprears ſome antient Oak his reverend Head.
Rowe.

This Paſſage deſerves to be copied: It ſhows *Abelard*'s turn of Wit, and is a true Picture of a great many Perſons.

[*G*] *Whom he had it very much in his Power to charm.*] Vanity was our Hero's diſtinguiſhing Foible: However, being an handſome young Fellow, and in the Flower of his Age; and having a knack at Poetry, a great Reputation, and Money in his Pocket; it is not ſo ſtrange that he flattered himſelf with a kind Reception, wherever he ſhould make his Addreſſes: “Tanti quippe tunc nominis eram, & juventutis & formæ gratia præeminebam, ut quamcumque fœminarum noſtro dignarer amore, nullam vererer repulſam (16). —— *Such was my Reputation, my Youth, and Beauty, that I feared no Repulſe from any Woman, whom I ſhould think worthy of my Affections.*” For a Philoſopher, who had lived in great Continence (17), he reaſons like a Man of no ſmall Experience in theſe Matters, when the Conqueſt of *Eloiſa* ſeems to him more eaſy, than that of any other Woman; and for this Reaſon, becauſe *Eloiſa*'s Learning gave him the Opportunity of a regular Correſpondence with her by Letters, in which he could make more open Declarations, than in Converſation. “Tanto facilius hanc mihi puellam conſenſuram credidi, quanto amplius eam litterarum Scientiam & habere & diligere noveram, noſque etiam abſentes ſcriptis internuntiis invicem liceret præſentare, & pleraque audacius ſcribere, quam colloqui. —— *The more I found this Girl improve in Learning, and the fonder ſhe grew of it, the greater Hopes I had of her Conſent: and it was in our Power to be preſent, even in Abſence, by the Intercourſe of Letters, and to write more freely, than converſe* (18).” Love-Letters, and Amorous Verſes, are no weak Inſtruments in Love; eſpecially when the Lover himſelf can ſing the paſſionate Songs he has compoſed. *Abelard* in this Manner touched the Heart of *Eloiſa*, and fired her ſo by his charming Pen, and enchanting Voice, that the poor Lady could never overcome her Paſſion. “Duo, *ſays ſhe to him* (19), fateor tibi ſpecialiter inerant, quibus fœminarum quarumlibet animos ſtatim allicere poteras, dictandi & cantandi gratia. —— *Two Qualifications, I confeſs, you was particularly Maſter of, with which you could immediately charm the Soul of any Woman, The pleaſing Manner of dictating, and ſinging, your Verſes.*” See the Remark [*F*] under her *Article*, where this Paſſage, cited more at Length, demonſtrates the great Influence of theſe Things upon that Sex.

(16) Abelard's Works, p. 10.

(17) Fræna libidini laxare cepi, qui antea vixeram continentiſſime. *I began to give the Reins to my Paſſion, who before had liv'd moſt continently.* Abelard's Works, p. 9.

(18) Ibid. p. 10.

(19) Ibid. p. 46.

[*H*] *In toying and kiſſing her.*] The better to diſguiſe his Deſign from the Uncle, he pretended ſometimes to make uſe of the Liberty given him of correcting *Eloiſa*. He tells us, that Love, not the Anger of a Teacher, prompted him from time to time to whip his Pupil; but that the Laſhes he gave her, were the ſofteſt in the World. He has left us the following Plan of the Lectures he gave this young Lady. “Sub occaſione diſciplinæ amori penitus vacabamus, & ſecretos receſſus, quos amor optabat, ſtudium Lectionis offerebat. Apertis itaque libris, plura de amore, quam de lectione, verba ſe ingerebant, plura erant oſcula, quam ſententiæ; Sæpius ad Sinus, quam ad libros, reducebantur manus: crebrius oculos amor in ſe reflectebat, quam lectio in Scripturam this Pleaſure the more, as he had never before taſted it. He neglected his public Functions, and employ'd his time in writing nothing but Love-Verſes [*I*]. His Scholars ſoon perceived that his Lectures declined, and they preſently gueſs'd the Cauſe. The laſt Perſon, that heard the Report of *Peter Abelard*'s Amours, was the good Canon *Fulbert*, at whoſe Houſe the Scene of them was laid. For ſome time he gave no credit to it ; but at length he open'd his Eyes, and diſmiſs'd his Boarder from his Houſe. Some time after, his Niece found herſelf with Child, and writ to her Gallant, who thought it proper ſhe ſhould leave her Uncle. He ſent her into *Brittany* to a Siſter of his, where ſhe was brought to bed of Son *(d)*; and, to appeaſe the Canon, he propos'd to him to marry *Eloiſa* privately. This Propoſal was more pleaſing to the Uncle, than to the Niece: for *Eloiſa*, through an Exceſs of Paſſion not common, choſe rather to be the Miſtreſs, than the Wife of *Abelard*, as we ſhall relate elſewhere *(e)*. At length ſhe conſented to this private Marriage ; but ſhe affirmed, upon occaſion, with an Oath, that ſhe was not married. *Fulbert*, who choſe rather to cover the Diſgrace of his Family, by divulging the Marriage, than to keep his Promiſe with *Abelard* not to diſcover it, often expreſs'd his Anger at his Niece, when he perceived her Obſtinacy in denying that ſhe was *Abelard*'s Wife. Upon this her Huſband ſent her to the Monaſtery of *Argenteuil*, and oblig'd her to take the Habit of a Nun, except the Veil. The Relations of *Eloiſa* imagin'd, that he was laying a new Scene of Treachery in that place, and were ſo enrag'd, that they employ'd certain Perſons, who enter'd his Chamber by Night, and diſmember'd him of thoſe manly Parts, with which he had diſhonour'd the Canon's Family. This Diſgrace made him retire, and conceal his Misfortune in a Monaſtick Life ; and therefore it was not Devotion but Shame, which prompted him to take the Habit of a Monk in the Abbey of St *Dennis (f)*. The Diſorders of this Abbey, in which the Abbot was as much ſuperior to the reſt of the Monks in all manner of Impurities, as in Dignity, were the Cauſe of *Abelard*'s leaving it: he cou'd not forbear cenſuring them ; and render'd himſelf by this means ſo odious to them, that they were overjoy'd to get rid of him. He choſe his Place of Retreat upon the Lands of the Earl of *Champagne* [*K*], and erected there a School, where

(d) He was named Aſtrolabius.

(e) In the Article ELOISA.

(f) In tam miſera me contritione poſitum confuſio, fateor, pudoris potius, quam devotio converſionis ad monaſticorum latibula clauſtrorum compulit. *In this miſerable State of Penitence, the Confuſion of my Shame, I confeſs, rather than Devotion, drove me to take Shelter in the Incloſure of a Monaſtery.* Abelard's Epiſt. p. 18.

“ turam dirigebat: Quoque minus ſuſpicionis haberemus, verbera quandoque dabat amor, non furor, “ gratia non ira, quæ omnium unguentorum ſuavitatem tranſcenderent. —— *Under the Pretence of In-* “ *ſtruction we gave a looſe to Love, and a Lecture pro-* “ *cured us that Privacy, which our Paſſion deſired.* “ *When we open'd our Books, we talk'd more of Love,* “ *than of reading; we repeated Kiſſes oftener than* “ *Sentences; my Hands were employ'd in her Bo-* “ *ſom, more than on her Books; and Love oftener* “ *turn'd my Eyes on her, than the Intention of read-* “ *ing directed them to the Scripture: And the more to* “ *prevent Suſpicion, Love, not Rage, Favour, not* “ *Anger, gave her Laſhes, which were ſweeter than* “ *the richeſt Perfumes* (20).” But it ſometimes happen'd, that he had recourſe to Puniſhment in good earneſt; either when ſhe was out of humour, or the Solemnity of a Feſtival inſpired him with ſome Scruple. See the Remark [*E*], under the Article ELOISA. We muſt not paſs by *Abelard*'s Reflexion on the Simplicity of the Canon. “ Quanta ejus ſimplicitas eſ- “ ſet vehementer admiratus, non minus apud me ob- “ ſtupui, quam ſi agnam teneram famelico Lupo com- “ mitteret. Qui cum eam mihi non ſolum docen- “ dam, verum etiam vehementer conſtringendam, “ traderet, quid aliud agebat, quam ut votis meis li- “ centiam penitus daret, & occaſionem etiamſi nolle- “ mus offerret, ut quam videlicet blanditiis non poſ- “ ſem, minis & verberibus facilius flecterem? —— “ *I was as much aſtoniſh'd at his Folly, as if he had* “ *truſted a tender Lamb to the Care of a ravening* “ *Wolf. In committing her not only to my Inſtru-* “ *ction, but even Correction, what was it but to* “ *licence my Wiſhes, and to give us Opportunities, even* “ *againſt our Inclination; and to put it in my Power,* “ *if I could not prevail on her by ſofter Methods, to* “ *force her to Compliance by Threats and Laſhes.*” As this Author often cites the antient Poets, I wonder his Thought of the *tender Lamb*, and *ravening Wolf*, did not put him in Mind of theſe Verſes of *Virgil*;

Eheu, quid volui miſero mihi? Floribus Auſtrum
Perditus, & liquidis immiſi Fontibus Apros (21).

What have I done? ——
The Boar amidſt my Chryſtal Streams I bring,
And ſouthern Winds to blaſt my flow'ry Spring.
DRYDEN.

[*I*] *Nothing but Love-Verſes.*] After he had taſted the Pleaſures of Enjoyment, he grew weary of reading Lectures, and ſtayed in his Auditory as little as poſſible. The Night was quite loſt to his Studies (22): he was otherwiſe employ'd: he therefore deſired to dedicate the Day to Study. This was the Reaſon why his School was uneaſy to him. He repeated only his old Lectures; and if any new Thought came into his Head, it turn'd, not upon any Philoſophical Difficulty, but upon amorous Sonnets, which were ſung a long time after, in ſeveral Provinces. “ Ita negligentem “ & tepidum lectio tunc habebat, ut jam nihil ex in- “ genio, ſed ex uſu cuncta proferrem, nec jam niſi re- “ citator priſtinorum eſſem inventorum; & ſi qua in- “ venire liceret carmina eſſent amatoria, non Philo- “ ſophiæ ſecreta. Quorum etiam carminum, ſicut & “ ipſe nôſti, frequentantur & decantantur regionibus, “ ab his maxime quos vita ſimilis oblectat. —— *So* “ *careleſs was I, and negligent, in reading, at that* “ *Time, that I produc'd nothing new, but was ſatiſ-* “ *fy'd with barely reciting my old Compoſitions; my* “ *Invention was employ'd on Love Songs, not on the* “ *Secrets of Philoſophy; many of which Songs are ſtill* “ *Favourites, as you very well know, and ſung in the* “ *Provinces, by thoſe eſpecially, who are delighted* “ *with the ſame kind of Life* (23).” It is certain then, that he had a Genius for Poetry; but I cannot believe, that he was Author of the famous Romance of *the Roſe*, nor that he drew the Picture of his *Eloiſa*, under the Name of *the Beauty*. Yet this is what I have read in a Book, reprinted in *Holland* (24). I ſhould rather give Credit to him (25), who has taken ſo much pains to collect, and collate, the Manuſcripts of *Abelard*. Now he aſſerts peremptorily, that the Romance of *the Roſe* was wrote by *William de Loris*, all but the Concluſion, of which *John de Meun* was the Author. Other Writers, who were well informed, declare the ſame. The Hiſtory of *Abelard* and *Eloiſa* was inſerted in this Romance.

[*K*] *Upon the Lands of the Earl of* Champagne.] This appears, by comparing two Paſſages. The firſt is, “ Ad Cellam quondam receſſi, Scholis more ſolito “ vacaturus. —— *I choſe a Place of Retreat, that I* “ *might be at leiſure to attend my School as uſual* (26).” The other is, “ Nocte latenter aufugi, atque ad ter- “ ram Comitis Theobaldi proximam, ubi antea in “ Cella moratus fueram, abceſſi. —— *I ſtole away by* “ *Night, and retreated to the Eſtate of Earl* Theo- “ bald, *which lay near, and was the Place of my* “ *former*

(20) Abelard's Works, p. 11.

(21) Virg. Ecl. 2. v. 58. *See the* Nouv. Litter. *againſt the* Calvin. *of* Maimbourg, p. 41.

(22) Tædioſum mihi vehementer erat ad Scholas procedere, vel in iis morari pariter & laborioſum, cum nocturnas amori vigilias, & diurnas ſtudio conſecrarem. *It was both very tedious and tireſome to me, either to go to the Schools, or to ſtay in them; ſince my Nights were devoted to Love, and my Days to Study.*

(23) Ibid.

(24) *The Hiſtory of* Abelard *and* Eloiſa, *in* 1693, *in* 12mo.

(25) Francis d'Amboiſe. *See his Apologetical Preface at the beginning of* Abelard's *Works*, Paris 1616. *in* 4to.

(26) Abelard's *Works*, p. 19.

where he gain'd ſo great a Number of Auditors [*L*], that the Envy of other Maſters, who ſaw themſelves deſerted by their Scholars, upon his account, began to raiſe new Perſecutions againſt him. He had made himſelf two formidable Enemies at *Laon* (g) who no ſooner perceived the Prejudice, which their Schools at *Rheims* receiv'd from his great Reputation, than they ſought occaſion to ruin him. This was afforded them by a Book, which he wrote upon the Myſtery of the *Trinity* [*M*]: they pretended to diſcover in it a ſhocking Hereſy; and prevail'd, by the Intereſt of their Archbiſhop, to have a Council call'd at *Soiſſons*, about the Year 1121 [*N*]. This Council, without giving *Abelard* leave to defend himſelf, condemn'd

“ *former Retirement* (27).” *Paſquier* did not underſtand the former; which he conſtrues thus; “ *retir-*“ *ing to the deepeſt Cell of a Monaſtery, he read* “ *Lectures, ſometimes in Philoſophy, ſometimes in Di-*“ *vinity.*” *Abelard* by no means erected a School within the Walls of the Abbey of St *Denis*: if he had, he would not have been more favourable to the Monks, whoſe Irregularities he cenſur'd, and which was the Reaſon they were ſo deſirous of getting rid of him, than he had formerly been. Mr *du Cange* explains the Word *Cella* very learnedly, as he does every thing. *See the Remark* [*A*], *on the Article* PARACLET, *where I explain the different Situations of* Peter Abelard.

[*L*] *So great a Number of Auditors.*] Concerning the great Number of Scholars, which he had, ſee the Remark [*A*] of the Article FOULQUES, Prior of *Deuil.*

[*M*] *The Myſtery of the Trinity.*] The occaſion, which induc'd *Abelard* to write upon this Subject, was, that his Scholars demanded from him a Philoſophical Account of it. “ *They were not ſatisfy'd with Words;* “ *they deſired Ideas; and declar'd loudly, that it* “ *was impoſſible for them to believe what they did not* “ *underſtand; and that it was an Impoſition upon* “ *Mankind, to preach up a Doctrine equally incompre-*“ *henſible to the Teachers and the Hearers; which was* “ *as if the Blind ſhould lead the Blind, according to* “ *our Saviour himſelf.* —— Humanas & Philoſophicas “ rationes requirebant, & plus quæ intelligi, quam “ quæ dici poſſent, efflagitabant; dicentes verborum “ ſuperfluam eſſe prolationem, quam intelligentia non “ ſequeretur, nec credi poſſe aliquid niſi primitus “ intellectum; & ridiculoſum eſſe aliquem aliis prædi-“ care, quod nec ipſe, nec illi quos doceret, intel-“ lectu capere poſſent, Domino ipſo arguente quod “ cœci eſſent duces cœcorum (29).” Upon which he ſet himſelf to explain to them the Unity of God, by Compariſons drawn from human Things. *Paſquier* accuſes him of maintaining, “ That we ought not “ to believe a Thing, of which we can give no Rea-“ ſon; which, *adds he*, is, in plain Terms, to deſtroy “ the general Foundation of our Faith (30).” I do not ask this Author, who told him that a Profeſſor approves all the Conceits of his Scholars, when he is ſo complaiſant as to prevent, to the utmoſt of his Power, the ill Conſequences of them. It is indeed probable, that *Abelard* did not diſapprove of the Maxims, which he aſcribes to his Hearers; but the Paſſage, quoted by *Paſquier*, is no Proof of this; we ought rather to found it upon theſe Words of St *Bernard*: “ Quid “ magis contra fidem, quam credere nolle quidquid “ non poſſis Ratione attingere? Denique exponere vo-“ lens (Abælardus) illud Sapientis, qui credit cito le-“ vis eſt corde, cito credere eſt, inquit, adhibere “ fidem ante rationem. —— *Can any thing be more* “ *contrary to Faith, than to refuſe aſſent to every* “ *thing, which Reaſon cannot reach?* Abelard *being* “ *to explain the Saying of the Wiſe Man, He, who* “ *believes haſtily is light of Heart; to believe haſtily,* “ ſays he, *is to give Aſſent before Reaſon* (31).” The Treatiſe, which *Abelard* wrote upon this Subject, was univerſally approv'd, except by thoſe of the ſame Profeſſion with himſelf; I mean the Divinity-Profeſſors. They were ſo chagrin'd, that another had explain'd and illuſtrated what they could not, that they cry'd out, he was an Heretic, and alarm'd the People ſo much, that *Abelard* narrowly eſcap'd being ſton'd. “ Duo illi prædicti Æmuli noſtri ita me in Clero & “ Populo diffamaverunt, ut pene me populus pau-“ coſque qui advenerant ex diſcipulis noſtris, prima “ die noſtri adventus, lapidarent, dicentes me tres “ Deos prædicare, & ſcripſiſſe, ſicut ipſis perſuaſum “ fuerat. —— *My two foremention'd Rivals ſo blacken'd* “ *me, both to the Clergy and Laity, that, upon the* “ *firſt Day of my Arrival, with a few of my Scholars,* “ *the People were near ſtoning us; crying out, as it* “ *has been inſinuated to them, that I both preach'd* “ *and writ, that there were three Gods* (32).” Their Cabals were ſo powerful, as to extort from the Pope's Legate (33), the Condemnation mention'd in the Body of this Article. They made it believ'd, that *Abelard* admitted of three Gods: Nevertheleſs, it is certain that he was very orthodox in the Myſtery of the *Trinity*, and that all the Accuſations brought againſt him in this Affair, were wretched Chicanery, and proceeded either from Malice or Ignorance. The Compariſon he fetch'd from *Logic* (for *Logic* was his Strong hold) tended rather to reduce the divine Perſons to *One*, than to multiply the Eſſence of God into *Three*; and yet he was accus'd, not of *Sabellianiſm* (34), but of *Tritheiſm*. His Comparaiſon is, that, as the *Three Propoſitions* of a *Syllogiſm*, are but *One Truth*; ſo the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghoſt*, are but *One Eſſence*. “ Sicut eadem Oratio eſt Pro-“ poſitio, Aſſumptio, & Concluſio; ita eadem eſ-“ ſentia eſt Pater, Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus (35).” The Inconveniences ariſing from this *Analogy*, are not equal to, at leaſt do not exceed, thoſe, which flow from a Compariſon of the *Trinity* with the *Three Dimenſions* of *Matter*. Therefore, as no one diſputes the Orthodoxy of Mr *Wallis*, the *Oxonian* Mathematician, who laid great Streſs on the Analogy of the *Three Dimenſions*, neither ought we to doubt of *Abelard*'s, on account of his Compariſon of the *Syllogiſm*. This is certain, that neither the *Syllogiſm*, nor the *Three Dimenſions*, account for the Myſtery of the Trinity. Obſerve, that a certain Proteſtant Divine made uſe of the Parallel of the *Three Dimenſions*, in the Year 1685. This appears from the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Article the 3d, for *July*; Article the 10th, for *Auguſt*; and Article the 12th, for *September*. It was anſwered by another Proteſtant Divine, in the Year 1694. *See the* Examen of Mr *Jurieu*'s Theology, *by Mr* Saurin, pag. 831.

[*N*] *About the Year* 1121.] Father *Alexander* (36) proves this ſtrongly, as well againſt *John Picard*, a Canon of St *Victor*, who places this Council in the Year 1116, as againſt *Binius*, who fixes it in 1136. The Chronological Errors of *Binius*, and ſome others, have been already cenſured in the Preface to the Works of *Peter Abelard*. We are there told, that *Platina* had plac'd the Synod, which condemn'd *Abelard*, under Pope *Lucius* II; that *Binius* gave into the Miſtake of *Platina*; that he is guilty of another, in placing the Council of *Soiſſons*, and that of *Sens*, in the Year 1140; and that *Genebrard* ſuppoſes but one Year to have paſs'd between theſe Councils. To prove theſe to be Miſtakes, it is aſſerted, that the Pontificat of *Lucius*, which continu'd not a whole Year, is to be referr'd to the Year 1145, and that twenty Years paſs'd between the holding of the Councils of *Soiſſons* and *Sens*; and that the Biſhop of *Preneſte*, who perſided at the Council of *Soiſſons*, in quality of the Pope's Legate, left *France* about the Year 1120, and never retnrn'd thither. We may obſerve more Miſtakes than one, in theſe Words of *Platina*, there cited. “ Qui (Abælardus) præſente etiam Lodovico “ Rege, rationibus victus, non modo ſententiam mu-“ tavit, ſed etiam monaſticam vitam & religionem “ induit, ac deinceps una cum diſcipulis quibuſdam “ in loco deſerto ſanctiſſime vixit. —— *Who*, (Abe-“ lard) *in the Preſence of King* Lewis, *being overcome* “ *by Arguments, not only renounc'd his Opinion, but* “ *took upon him the monaſtic Life, and Religion,* “ *and afterwards retiring, with ſome of his Scholars,* “ *to a deſart Place, liv'd a moſt holy Life.*” Firſt, it is certain, that *Abelard* became a Monk, before any Council was held againſt him. In the ſecond place, it was at the Council of *Sens*, that *Lewis* VII. aſſiſted, to be Witneſs of the Tranſactions in this Heretic's Cauſe. Now it is falſe, that *Abelard* ſubmitted

(g) Albericus *of* Rheims, *and* Rotulphus *the* Lombard. *The latter is called* Leutaldus Novarienſis *by* Otho *of* Friſingen.

(27) Abelard's Works, p. 26.

(29) Ibid. p. 20.

(30) Paſquier's Recherch. de la France. B. 6. ch. 17.

(31) Bernard's Epiſt. 190.

(32) Abelard's Works, p. 10.

(33) Conan, *Biſhop of* Preneſte. *He preſided at the* Council *of* Soiſſons.

(34) Otho *of* Friſingen, *in his* de Geſt. Frider. *ſays, nevertheleſs, that he was accuſed of the Hereſy of* Sabellius, *at the Council of* Soiſſons.

(35) Abelard's Works, p. 10.

(36) Nat. Alexand. Eccl. Hiſt. Cent. 11, 12. Part 3. p. 43, &c.

demn'd him to throw his own Book into the Fire, and to ſhut himſelf up in the Cloyſter of St *Medard.* He was commanded ſoon after to return to the Convent of St *Denis*; where the Liberty, he had taken of cenſuring the corrupt Manners of the *Abbot* and the *Religious*, had expoſed him to the Hatred of them all. He happen'd to ſay, that he did not believe their St *Denis* to be *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* mention'd in Scripture. This was immediately laid hold of, and carry'd to the Abbot, who was greatly pleas'd at it, as having a Pretence to accuſe him, not only of *Falſe Doctrine*, but even of *offending againſt the State* [O], an Artifice, which theſe Gentlemen never fail to put in practice, the better to ſecure their Revenge. The Abbot aſſembled his Chapter, without loſs of time, and declared that he was going to deliver up to the King's Juſtice one, who had the Aſſurance to trample upon the Glory and Crown of the Kingdom. *Abelard*, judging that theſe Menaces were not to be ſlighted, made his Eſcape into *Champagne*, and obtained, after the Death of the Abbot, permiſſion to live a monaſtic Life, wherever he pleaſed. The Political Reaſons, which concurr'd to this, are ſomething curious [*P*]. In conſequence of this Permiſſion,

ted to the Reaſoning of his Adverſaries, and abjur'd his Opinions, in this Council. He appeal'd, from the very firſt, to the Pope. In the third place, it is no leſs falſe, that from that time he liv'd in a deſart place, with ſome of his Diſciples: for he paſs'd the remainder of his Days amidſt the Monks of *Clugni*. It is evident, that *Platina* has confounded what paſs'd in the two Councils held againſt *Abelard*. Moſt of the Errors, which I have rectify'd, are objected to *Belleforêt*, in the abovementioned Preface; in which he is farther juſtly cenſured for having criticiz'd upon the Epitaph of *Abelard*, as if the extravagant Praiſes, there given him, were a Proof of his Imprudence, and intolerable Vanity. It is certain, that this Epitaph was compos'd by the Abbot of *Clugni*, after the Death of *Abelard*. Many Hiſtorians have not rightly diſtinguiſh'd between the two Councils, which proceeded againſt this great Man. *Paulus Æmilius* ſays, he was examin'd for the firſt time in that of *Sens* (37): *Du Haillan* confirms this Miſtake, and adds ſeveral others to it (38); as that *Abelard* was afraid to appear; that all his Works were condemn'd to be burnt; and that, the ſecond time he was ſummon'd to appear, the Biſhops diſputed a long time, before they condemn'd him. *Philip* of *Bergame* maintains, that the Heretic (39) being confuted, in the Preſence of King *Lewis*, by the powerful Arguments of the Learned and Catholic Biſhops, renounc'd his falſe Doctrines, became a Monk, and paſs'd the remainder of his Life, moſt Saint-like, in a Deſart, with ſome of his Diſciples. We meet with a great many Writers of Chronicles, who have copied the ſame falſe Stories. A little Book (40), which I have already quoted, put theſe Words in the Mouth of *Eloiſa*, "What did not thoſe two falſe Prophets aſſert, who "declaim'd ſo vehemently againſt you at the Council "of *Rheims?*" Theſe two falſe Prophets were St *Bernard*, and St *Norbert*. *Eloiſa* never mention'd their declaiming in any Council; and, if ſhe had, it could not be that of *Rheims*.

[*O*] *Of offending againſt the State.*] This Artifice has been ſo often made uſe of, ſince the *Jews* employed it againſt our *Saviour* (41), that it is ſtrange any one ſhould venture at preſent to put it in practice. Should it not be expected, that ſo worn out a Contrivance as this ſhould be incapable of Succeſs? No: The World is too unteachable, to profit by the Follies of paſt Ages. Every Age behaves, as if it were the firſt; and, as the Spirit of Perſecution and Revenge has hitherto endeavoured to engage Princes in it's private Quarrels, ſo will it endeavour to do to the end of the World: and we may apply to this Purpoſe the Saying of *Solomon*; *The thing that hath been, it is that which ſhall be; and that which is done, is that which ſhall be done; and there is no new thing under the Sun* (42). Our Poſterity may ſay, as well as we,

Qui mépriſe Cotin, n'eſtime point ſon Roi,
Et n'à, ſelon Cotin, ni Dieu, ni Foi, ni Loi (43).

Who ſlights *Cotin*, affronts his Maſter too;
No Pardon to ſuch Inſolence is due.
All Crimes into that one *Cotin* can draw;
The Wretch, ſays he, regards nor God, nor Law.

[*P*] *Something curious.*] *Abelard*, not being able to obtain from the Abbot of St *Denis* permiſſion to retire, had recourſe to the Engines of Policy. He knew, that the more the Monks of St *Denis* plunged themſelves into Irregularity, the more Authority the Court exerciſed over this Abbey, and drew the greater Profit from it. He therefore gave the King to underſtand, that it was not for his Majeſty's Intereſt, that a Religious as he was, who was perpetually cenſuring the bad Lives of theſe Monks, ſhould continue long among them. The Meaning of this was underſtood at half a Word; and Orders were given to one of the great Men at Court, to demand of the Abbot, and his Brethren, why they would keep by Force a Monk, whoſe Life was unſuitable to theirs, and who, for that Reaſon, could be of no Uſe to them, and might eaſily bring upon them ſome Diſgrace. The Conſequence was, that *Abelard* had leave to retire. * I remember, upon this Occaſion, that I one Day asked a Gentleman, who was relating to me numberleſs Irregularities of the *Venetian* Clergy, how it came to paſs, that the Senate ſuffered a thing ſo little to the Honour of Religion, and the State. He replied, that the public Good obliged the Sovereign to uſe this Indulgence; and, to explain this Riddle, he added, that the Senate was well pleaſed that the Prieſts and Monks were held in the utmoſt Contempt by the People, ſince, for that Reaſon, they would be leſs capable of cauſing an Inſurrection among them. *One of the Reaſons*, ſays he, *why the* Jeſuits *there are diſagreeable to the Prince, is, becauſe they preſerve the* Decorum *of their Character; and thus, being the more reſpected by the inferior People, are more capable of raiſing a Sedition.* I could ſcarce give Credit to ſo ſhocking a Diſorder. What would become of us, if the Sovereign Power ſhould have Occaſion to ſupport itſelf by ſuch an Expedient, and if the Clergy ſhould become more formidable by their *good*, than their *bad* Morals? This Confuſion would be a thouſand times more terrible, than that mentioned by *Tacitus*, when he ſays, that under a bad Government, a great Reputation is as much expoſed to Danger as an ill one. "Intravit animum militaris "gloriæ cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus ſiniſtra "erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum "ex magnâ famâ, quam ex malâ. —— *He was eager "after military Glory, an Ambition odious to the "Times; in which an ill-natured Interpretation was "put upon the Actions of eminent Men, and a great "Character was as much in Danger as an ill one* (44)." But let us hear *Abelard*'s own Words: "Intervenientibus amicis quibuſdam noſtris, Regem & "Concilium ejus ſuper hoc compellavi, & ſic quod "volebam impetravi. Stephanus quippe Regis tunc "Dapifer, vocato in partem Abbate & familiaribus "ejus, quæſivit ab iis cur invitum retinere vellent, "ex quo incurrere facile ſcandalum poſſent, & nullam utilitatem habere; cum nullatenus vita mea & "ipſorum convenire poſſent. Sciebam autem in hoc "Regii Conſilii ſententiam eſſe, ut quo minus regularis Abbatia illa eſſet, magis Regi eſſe ſubjecta & utilis, quantum videlicet ad lucra temporalia. Unde me facile Regis & ſuorum aſſenſum "conſequi credideram, ſicque actum eſt (45). —— "*By the Interpoſition of ſome of my Friends, I ap-"plyed to the King and his Council, and by that "means obtained what I deſired. For* Stephen, *the "King's Cup-bearer, demanded of the Abbot and his "Brethren, why they detained me againſt my Will; "ſince*

* THE REASON why the Senate of *Venice* is ſaid to be pleas'd with the Irregularities of the Clergy.

(37) P. Æmilius's *Hiſtory of the* Francs, *in* Lewis VII.

(38) Du Haillan's *Hiſtory of* France, *in* Lewis VII.

(39) *They call him* Baliardus *in the* Supplem. Chron. *at the Year* 1135.

(40) Hiſtory of *Abelard* and *Eloiſa*, with the paſſionate Letter, which ſhe wrote to him. *Printed at the* Hague, *in* 1693, *in* 12mo.

(41) Luke xxiii. 2.

(42) Eccleſ. i. 9.

(43) Boileau Sat. IX. v. 305, 306.

(44) Tacitus, *in his* Life *of* Agricola, c. 5.

(45) Abelard's Works, p. 27.

miſſion, he choſe his Retirement in the Dioceſe of *Troies*, and there built an Oratory, which he named the *Paraclet* (*h*). A great Number of Scholars follow'd him thither; which again awaken'd that Envy, which had ſo often purſu'd him. But, in this Encounter, he fell into the moſt dangerous hands in the World; I mean, he was expos'd to the Attacks of two pretended *Reſtorers of antient Diſcipline*, and grand Zealots; who, like new Apoſtles [*Q*], had inſinuated themſelves into the Favour of the People. They ſpread ſo many Falſhoods concerning him, that they corrupted the Principles of his Friends, and obliged even thoſe, who continu'd to love him, to conceal it from him. They ſo imbittered his Life, that he was upon the point of abandoning Chriſtendom (*i*); but his Fate permitted him not to procure to himſelf this Repoſe, and engag'd him afreſh with Chriſtians, and Monks, worſe than *Turks* (*k*). The Monks of the Abbey of *Ruis*, in the Dioceſe of *Vannes*, choſe him for their Superior [*R*]. He hop'd he had met with an Aſylum in this Place; but he found, that he had only varied his Woe. The incorrigible Behaviour of the Monks, and the Oppreſſion of a certain Lord, who robb'd them of the beſt part of their Revenues, inſomuch that they were obliged to maintain their Concubines and Children, out of their private Incomes (*l*), expos'd him to a thouſand Diſquiets, and even to great Dangers [*S*]. In the mean time, the Abbot of St *Denis* expell'd the Religious from the Monaſtery of *Argenteuil*. *Abelard*, ſtruck with compaſſion for *Eloiſa*, their Prioreſs, made her a Preſent of the Oratory of the *Paraclet*, where ſhe ſettled herſelf with ſome of her Companions. From that time he made frequent Journies from *Brittany* to *Champagne*, to ſerve the Intereſts of *Eloiſa*, and to diſengage himſelf a little from the Fatigue of governing his Abbey. Notwithſtanding the Mutilation, which the poor Gentleman formerly underwent, he could not eſcape Scandal [*T*]. Thus far he has himſelf carry'd down the Story of

his

(*h*) *We ſhall relate, in the Article* PARACLET, *why he gave this Name to his* Oratory, *and ſhall take notice of the Cavils againſt him upon this Account.*

(*i*) *See the Remark* [*E*], *of the Article* (John Paul) ALCIATUS.

(*k*) Incidi in Chriſtianos, atque Monachos, gentibus longè ſæviores & pejores. *I fell into the hands of Chriſtians, and Monks, more cruel, and worſe, than* Gentiles. Abelard's Epiſt. p. 32.

(*l*) Unuſquiſque de propriis marſupiis ſe & concubinas ſuas cum filiis & filiabus ſuſtentaret. *Abelard's Epiſt. p.* 33.

"*ſince my manner of Life was ſo different from* "*theirs, that it might reflect Diſgrace upon them,* "*and could not be of any Advantage to them. I* "*knew very well, that the King's Council were of* "*Opinion, that the more irregular the Abbey was,* "*the more ſubject would it be to the King, in re-* "*gard to temporal Profit. I imagined therefore,* "*that the King, and his Council, would readily* "*conſent to my Petition; which fell out according-* "*ly.*" A few Pages after, he ſays, that a certain *Britiſh* Lord had taken Occaſion, from the vitious Lives of the Monks of *Ruis*, to ſeize on their Poſſeſſions (46). To take from Men, who by the Sanctity of their Lives have acquired the Veneration of the People: to take from ſuch Men, I ſay, what the Charity of the Faithful has given them, is no eaſy Attempt; but there is no great Danger in robbing thoſe, who are a Scandal to the Public.

(46) Ex inordinatione ſcilicet ipſius Monaſterii nactus occaſionem. *Abelard's Works, p.* 33.

[*Q*] *Like new Apoſtles.*] Read what follows: "Quoſdam adverſum me novos Apoſtolos quibus "mundus plurimum credebat excitaverant. Quorum "alter (S. Norbertus) Regularium Canonicorum vi- "tam, alter (S. Bernardus) Monachorum ſe reſuſci- "taſſe gloriabatur. —— *They raiſed up againſt me* "*certain new Apoſtles, who were in great Credit* "*with the World. Of whom the one* (*St* Norbert) "*boaſted to have revived the Life of the Regular* "*Canons, the other* (*St* Bernard) *that of the* "*Monks* (47)." *Eloiſa*, at Page 42. calls them *falſe Apoſtles*. See, above, the Remark [*N*] where I confute the Author of the new *Hiſtory of* Abelard *and* Eloiſa.

(47) Abelard's Works, p. 31.

[*R*] *The Monks of the Abbey of* Ruis —— *choſe him for their Superior.*] The *Benedictine*, who has taken ſo much Pains about the Antiquities of *Paris*, was greatly in the wrong in cenſuring *Belleforêt*, for ſaying, that *Abelard* was Superior of an Abbey in *Brittany*. "That he was an Abbot in *Brit-* "*tany* is falſe; for, when he left the Paraclet, he "retired to *Clugni*, and ſtayed in that Fraternity "'till his Death (48)." This Author was not ſufficiently informed. He knew not, that *Abelard* had an Abbey in *Brittany*, both before and after his leaving the Paraclet. If he had carefully read the Letter (49), from which he quotes ſome Paſſages, he would have ſeen this indiſputably proved.

(48) Du Breuil's Antiq. *of* Paris, p. 888. *Edit.* 1639. 4to.

(49) *That of* Abelard, *which contains the Relation of his Life.*

[*S*] *And even to very great Dangers.*] The Monks frequently endeavoured to poiſon him, and, not being able to accompliſh their Deſign in his ordinary Food, by Reaſon of the Precautions he took, they endeavoured to poiſon him in the Bread and Wine of the Sacrament. One Day, not having eaten of a particular Diſh, which was prepared for him, he ſaw his Companion, who had taſted it, drop down dead. The Excommunications, which he thundered againſt the moſt mutinous among the *Religious*, did not remedy the Diſorder. At length, he was more in fear of Aſſaſſination, than Poiſon, and compared himſelf to him, whom the Tyrant of *Syracuſe* placed at his Table, under a Sword, which hung only by one Thread (50.)

(50) Abelard's *Works*, *p.* 39, 40.

[*T*] *Notwithſtanding* his *Mutilation* —— *he could not eſcape Scandal.*] So malicious was the World to this unfortunate Man, that tho' they knew he was incapable of gratifying a Woman, they gave it out, that a Remainder of ſenſual Delight kept him ſtill attach'd to his old Miſtreſs. "Quod me facere ſin- "cera charitas compellabat, ſolita derogantium pra- "vitas impudentiſſime accuſabat, dicens me adhuc "quadam carnalis concupiſcentiæ oblectatione teneri, "qui priſtinæ dilectæ ſuſtinere abſentiam vix aut "nunquam paterer. —— *The uſual Perverſeneſs of* "*Slanderers moſt impudently miſrepreſented what* "*was the meer effect of Humanity, giving it out,* "*that I was yet enſlaved to the Deſires of Fleſh,* "*ſince I was ever impatient at the Abſence of my* "*old Miſtreſs.*" Thus he complains in the 43d Page of his Narration. He comforted himſelf with the Example of St *Jerom*, whoſe Friendſhip for *Paulus* ſupported him againſt Calumny; and he thought that he invincibly refuted the Slander, by remarking, that the moſt Jealous truſt their Wives to the Care of Eunuchs. Father *Theophilus Raynaud* laughs at this Reaſon, having read many Inſtances of criminal Converſation between Women, and Men, who were diſabled. "Ex quibus omnibus liquet, "quam frigida fuerit Petri Abelardi Apologia, cum "redargutus de nimia familiaritate cum amicâ qua- "dam ſuâ, Heloiſa, repoſuit, Eunuchos, qualis ipſe "factus erat, tuto, & abſque omni periculo, poſſe "verſari cum fœminis. —— *From all which it ap-* "*pears, how cold an Excuſe* Abelard *made, when,* "*being taxed with being too familiar with a cer-* "*tain Miſtreſs of his, named* Eloiſa, *he replyed, that* "*Eunuchs, ſuch as he was, might ſafely, and with-* "*out Danger, converſe with Women* (51)." I ſhall conſider this Matter a little in the Article COMBABUS. *Eloiſa* was ſo paſſionately fond of *Abelard*, tho' unmann'd, that his Virtue could not but be in danger in her Company. See my Remarks on the Article of this Lady. The following Words of *Virgil*,

(51) T. Raynaud. *of Eunuchs*, p. 148.

—— notumque furens, quid fœmina poſſit,
Triſte per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt (52).

(52) Virg. Æn. L. 5. v. 6.

He knew the ſtormy Souls of Womankind, &c.
Dire Auguries *from hence the* Trojans *draw.*

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repreſent

his Miſfortunes, in a Letter yet extant. The Remainder of his Life muſt be trac'd in other Writings; the moſt material Circumſtance of which is, that he was proſecuted a ſecond Time for Hereſy before the Archbiſhop of *Sens*. He demanded leave to vindicate his Doctrine in a public Aſſembly; which was granted him; and a Council call'd at *Sens*, at which King *Lewis* VII. thought fit to aſſiſt in Perſon. It was in the Year 1140. St *Bernard* was ſent thither in the Character of his *Accuſer*. They immediately read before the Aſſembly certain Propoſitions extracted from the Books of *Peter Abelard*; the reading of which ſo terrify'd *the Accus'd*, that he interpos'd an Appeal to the Pope. The Council, however, condemn'd the Propoſitions *(m)*; but they paſs'd no Sentence againſt the Perſon accus'd, and gave an Account of the Matter to Pope *Innocent* II. deſiring of him to confirm the Condemnation. The Pope did not fail to do it *(n)*: he order'd that the Books of *Abelard* ſhould be burnt, that he ſhould be impriſon'd, and forbad him to teach any more. He was appeas'd ſoon after, at the Sollicitation of *Peter* the *Venerable*, who had receiv'd, with great Kindneſs, this Heretic into his Abbey of *Clugni*, and had reconcil'd him with St *Bernard (o)*, the Promoter of that Injuſtice [*U*], which his Innocence had ſuffer'd in this Council. The Retirement of *Clugni* was the laſt, which *Abelard* had occaſion for. He met with, there, every inſtance of Charity: he read Lectures to the Monks; he was equally humble and induſtrious. At length, becoming infirm, and being troubled with the Itch *(p)*, and other Diſorders, he was ſent to the Priory of St *Marcel*, a very agreeable Place upon the *Saone*, near to *Châlon*. He died there the 21ſt of *April*, 1142 [*X*], aged 63 Years. His Body was ſent to *Eloiſa* [*Y*], who interred it in the *Paraclet (q)*. We ſhall give ſome Account of his Writings in the Article of *Francis d'*AMBOISE; and as to what regards his Errors, and the Perſecutions he met with from Councils, we ſhall take ſome Notice of them in the Article of BERENGER of *Poictiers*. It is remarkable, that he made no Secret of his Marriage, tho' he was a Prieſt, and a Canon *(r)*. I am ſurpriz'd to find that he never mentions his Maſter *(s) Roſcelin* [Z], who paſs'd for a ſubtile Logician in thoſe times, and is look'd upon as Founder of the Sect of the *Nominals*. He was himſelf likewiſe a Favourer of this Sect, which he found agreeable to *that Vivacity of Temper, and that acute and fertile Wit, which he was Maſter of (t). By the help of this Science, he ſo puzzled and confounded People, and made uſe of ſuch a Variety of Sophiſtry, and Syllogiſms, that he left them not leſs aſtoniſh'd, than incapable of anſwing him.* I am not of Opinion, that he ever engag'd in explaining the *Civil Law* [*AA*], as

represent in ſome ſort the Conduct of thoſe, who feared that the Paſſion of *Eloiſa* might have too great an Influence on the Chaſtity of her *Abelard*.

[*U*] *The Promoter of the Injuſtice.*] I have conſidered this in the Article of BERENGER of *Poictiers*.

[*X*] *The 21ſt of* April, 1142.] This ſhews, that the new Author of the *Life* of *Abelard* is greatly miſtaken, in ſuppoſing him alive in the Year 1170. I mean the Author of a little Book, printed at the *Hague*, in 1693, where, beſide the *Hiſtory of* Abelard *and* Eloiſa *abridg*'d, we find three other little Pieces.

[*Y*] *His Body was ſent to* Eloiſa.] *Paſquier* affirms, that "*Abelard*, by his Will, ordered, that his Body "ſhould be buried in the Monaſtery of the *Paraclet* (53)." *Francis d'Amboiſe* aſſerts the ſame (54); but alledges no other Proof, than the Authority of *Paſquier*. What inclines me to disbelieve this, is, that *Peter* the *Venerable* makes no mention of it in his Letter to *Eloiſa*, wherein he gives her an account of *Abelard*'s laſt Moments (55). Farther ſtill, the Abſolution of *Abelard* makes it credible, that his Body was ſent to the *Paraclet*, only to gratify *Eloiſa*. Probably ſhe might petition for the Favour. Beſides, what right had the Abbot of *Clugni* to make that a matter of Favour, which was ſettled by Will? The Calender of the Abbey of the *Paraclet* is a ſtrong Proof of this; for in that we meet with theſe Words: "VIII of the "Kalends of *January*, died *Peter*, Abbot of *Clugni*, "by whoſe GRANT our Church has the Body of "*Peter* our Founder (56)." The Silence of *Andrew du Cheſne*, in his Notes upon *Abelard*'s *Epiſtle*, in which he relates his Miſfortunes, is a ſtrong Reaſon with me, againſt *Paſquier*. Some, without mentioning his Will, ſay, that the Body of her deceas'd Huſband was given to *Eloiſa*, becauſe, in his Letters to her, he had often expreſs'd his Deſire that it ſhould (57): but they neither cite ſuch Letters, nor any Writer who had cited them. I have met with ſuch a Paſſage at the 53d Page of his Works. He was, then, at his Abbey of *Ruis*, and was in continual Dread of being aſſaſſinated. "Quod ſi me Dominus in ma-"nibus inimicorum tradiderit (*writes he to* Eloiſa) "ſcilicet ut ipſi prævalentes me interficiant, aut quo-"cunque caſu viam univerſæ carnis abſens à vobis in-"grediar, cadaver obſecro noſtrum ubicunque vel "ſepultum vel expoſitum jacuerit, ad cœmeterium ve-"ſtrum deferri faciatis, ubi filiæ noſtræ, imo in "Chriſto ſorores, ſepulchrum noſtrum ſæpius viden-"tes ad preces pro me Domino fundendas amplius in-"vitenter. —— *But, if Heaven ſhould be pleaſed to "deliver me into the Hands of my Enemies, and to "ſuffer them to prevail over me, or by whatever Ac-"cident, in my Abſence from you, I may chance to go "the way of all Fleſh, I intreat of you, that my Body, "wherever either buried, or expos'd, may be convey'd "to your Church-yard, where my Daughters, rather "my Siſters in Chriſt, having my Sepulchre frequent-"ly in view, may be the oftener prompted to pour out "their Prayers to God for me.*" The Abſolution of *Abelard* is as follows: it was intended to be inſcribed upon his Tomb; and it was for that Purpoſe, that *Eloiſa* deſired it of *Peter* the *Venerable* (58). "Ego "Petrus Cluniacenſis Abbas, qui Petrum Abælar-"dum in Monachum Cluniacenſem recepi, & corpus "ejus furtim delatum Heloiſæ Abbatiſſæ & Moniali-"bus Paracleti conceſſi, authoritate omnipotentis "Dei & omnium Sanctorum, abſolvo eum, pro "officio, ab omnibus peccatis ſuis. —— *I* Peter, *Ab-"bot of* Clugni, *who admitted* Peter Abelard, *a "Monk of* Clugni, *and granted his Body to be pri-"vately convey'd to* Eloiſa, *the Abbeſs, and to the "Nuns, of the* Paraclet, *by the authority of Almighty "God, and all his Saints, do, as is my Duty, ab-"ſolve him from all his Sins* (59)." *Belleforêt* publiſhed a notorious Falſhood, when he ſaid, that the Bones of *Abelard* were dug up, and burnt (60). The Apologetical Preface of the *Sieur d'Amboiſe* proves demonſtrably the contrary.

[Z] *His Maſter* Roſcelin.] *Salabert*, Prieſt of *Argen*, in his Diſſertation on the Sect of the *Nominaliſts* (61), leaves it doubtful, whether *Roſcelin* was the Preceptor of *Peter Abelard*. We ſhall examine his Reaſons under the Article ROSCELIN.

[*AA*] *That he ever engaged in explaining the Civil Law.*] *Francis d'Amboiſe* ſeems to be miſtaken, when he fancies, that *Accurſius* ſpoke of our *Abelard*, in his *Gloſs* upon the Law *De quinque Peduu præſcriptione*. *Accurſius*'s Words are, "Sed Petrus Bailar-"dus, qui ſe jactavit quod ex qualibet quantumcun-"que difficili litera traheret ſanum intellectum, hic "dixit, as ſome pretend. The Reader will ſee in the laſt Remark a Catalogue of the Miſtakes of Mr. *Moreri* [*BB*]. You will find in a Work of Father *Jacob* (*u*) a long Liſt of Authors who have ſpoken of *Abelard*.

(m) *See the* Life of St Bernard *by* Jeoffry *a Monk of* Clairvaux, *Book* 3, *Ch.* 5. *and the* 189*th Letter of St* Bernard, *inſerted in the Works of* Abelard, p. 272.

(n) *Letter the* 194*th* ibid. p. 301.

(o) *See this Abbot's Letter to* Innocent II. *in the Works of* Abelard, p. 335.

(p) Plus ſolito ſcabie, & quibuſdam corporis incommoditatibus gravabatur. *Abelard*'s *Works, p.* 341.

(q) *See the Letter of* Peter *the* Venerable *to* Eloiſa, *in the Works of* Abelard, p. 337.

(r) Quid te Clericum & Canonicum facere oportet? *What ought you, who are both a Prieſt and a Canon, to do?* Abelard's Epiſt. p. 16.

(s) Otho *of* Friſingen's de Reb. Geſt. Frid. *Book* 1. *Ch.* 47. Aventinus's Annal. Bejor. *Book* 6.

(t) Naude's *Additions to the Hiſtory of* Lewis XI. p. 160.

(53) Recherch. de la France B. 6. ch. 17.

(54) *Apolog. Pref. to* Abelard's Works,

(55) *In* Abelard's Works, p. 337.

(56) *In* Andr. Quercetan. (*or* du Cheſne's) *Notes on the Hiſtory of* Abelard's *Miſfortunes, in his Works.*

(57) Cave's Hiſt. Litter. p. 6[illegible]2.

(58) *See* Abelard's Works, p. 343.

(59) Abelard's Works, p. 345.

(60) Belleforêt's *Chronicle of* France.

(61) *The Title of it is,* Philoſophia Nominalium vindicata, *printed at* Paris, *in* 1651, *in* 8vo.

(*u*) *It is that intitled*, De claris Scriptoribus Cabilonenſibus, p. 142.

“ dixit, NESCIO.——*But* Peter Bailard *who boaſted that he could ſtrike out a good Meaning from the moſt difficult Expreſſion, upon this occaſion confeſs'd his Ignorance* (62). *Alciatus* commended the Modeſty of this *Peter Baillard*, for ſo ingenuouſly acknowledging his Ignorance in this Matter: “Magnus ille Andreas Alciatus in illo, quem de quinque pedum præſcriptione ſcripſit Tractatu, poſtquam Petrum Bailardum celebrem ſuâ tempeſtate Profeſſorem laudavit, quod ingenuè faſſus eſſet, eam legem à ſe non intelligi, *&c.* —*The great* Andrew Alciatus *in the Treatiſe which he wrote concerning the Law* De quinque Pedum præſcriptione, *after he had prais'd* Peter Bailard, *a celebrated Profeſſor of his Times, for frankly owning, that he did not underſtand that Law*, &c. Theſe are the Words of *Francis d' Amboiſe* (63): and he is ſufficiently confuted by his own Expreſſions: for, to make *Alciatus* reaſon juſtly, the celebrated Profeſſor, whom he commends, ſhould have been a Profeſſor of Law. Where is the Wonder, that a Profeſſor of Logic ſhould acknowledge, that he does not underſtand an intricate Paſſage of the Code? Beſides, we find in *Petrus Crinitus*, that this *Bailard* was a Profeſſor of Law: he calls him *Johannes Bajalardus*. We may conclude, that our *Abelard* is out of the Queſtion in that Place; and that *Paſquier*, who fancied he had remarked what ought not to have been paſſed over, in applying to him *Accurſius*'s Words, had better have ſaid nothing about it (64). He ought, at leaſt, to have obſerved, that, in the Paſſage of *Accurſius*, it is not written *Petrus Abelardus*, as he pretends, but *Petrus Baylardus*. But, if it were true, that this Commentator had our *Abelard* in view, it muſt be granted, I think, that he was in an Error; for there is no Reaſon to believe, that *Abelard* ever concerned himſelf with Law. Conſider the Words of *Crinitus*. “Quæſitum eſt ſuperiori ætate à viris doctioribus quidnam in Jure noſtro Civili præſcriptio quinque pedum ſignificaret, qualiſque foret in eâ intellectus. Quam rem Laurentius Valla, & alii complures, cum non ſatis perciperent, hâc unâ ratione ſe defendebant, quod Johannes Bajalardus, inter eos, qui JUS CIVILE PROFITENTUR, conſultiſſimus, ingenuè affirmavit, ſe illud ignorare. —— *It was matter of enquiry among the Learned of the laſt Age, what the* Præſcriptio quinque pedum, *in our Civil Law, meant. Which when* Laurentius Valla, *and many others were at a loſs to underſtand, they had only this to plead in excuſe, that* Johannes Bejalardus *himſelf, the moſt knowing among the* PROFESSORS OF CIVIL LAW, *ingenuouſly declared his Ignorance of it* (65).” *Thomaſius* ought not to have inferred from this Paſſage, that *Peter Abelard* was ſometimes named *Bajalard* (66).

The following Obſervation was communicated to me by Mr *De la Monnoie*, after he had read my Remark [*AA*]. As I am certain the Reader will be better able to decide this Diſpute, by comparing his Thoughts with mine; he will be pleaſed to have it in his Power to make the Compariſon. *I am ſatisfied* ſays he, *that* Accurſius, *upon the Law*, Quinque pedum, *means* Abelard. *I agree*, Abelard *did not profeſs the Civil Law; but he paſſed for a general Scholar, and one that allowed nothing to be above his Abilities*; qui totum ſcibile ſciebat, *who knew every thing that was to be known, as we are told in his Epitaph.* Accurſius, *in the cited Paſſage, gives us no other Idea than this; and thoſe, who imagine, from the Words of the Commentator, that* Petrus Baylardus *or* Bailardus *was a celebrated Profeſſor of Law, are miſtaken. There never was one of this Name.* Baylardus *is no other than* Abelard, *and it is one of the ten or twelve Ways, in which this Author's Name is written. The* Italians, *who are accuſtomed to this Manner of Contraction, pronounce* Bailardus *for* Abelardus, *as* Ragona *for* Arragona, Naldo *for* Arnaldo, Berto *for* Alberto, *or* Lamberto. *At leaſt, it cannot be denied, that* James Philip *of* Bergame, *an* Auguſtin Monk, *gave our* Abelard *the Name of* Bailardus (67). This is the Obſervation of Mr *De la Monnoie*. I have one thing to add, which eſcap'd me in the firſt Edition. I am of Opinion, that *Abelard* died before the Study of the *Roman Law* was introduc'd into *France*. It had been reviv'd in *Italy*, ſome Years before (68), and we muſt imagine, that the Infancy of it's new Birth continu'd ſome time. It is therefore improbable, that recourſe ſhould be had to our *French Logician*, for the Explication of a particular Law, of great Difficulty as to it's principal Point, and but little in uſe. Men ſeldom amuſe themſelves in unriddling ſuch Matters, 'till they have clear'd up thoſe of the greateſt Importance, or when they endeavour to improve upon former Interpreters. If it were allowable to apply Mr *Menage*'s Rules, we might ſay, that the *Bailardus* of *Accurſius* is a Corruption from the Word *Bulgarus*; *Bulgarus*, *Bailgarus*, *Bailgardus*, *Bailardus*. A great Alteration may be introduc'd by Degrees in proper Names, both by tranſcribing, and by pronouncing them ill.

[*BB*] *The Miſtakes of Mr* Moreri.] Firſt, It is not true that *Abelard* taught *Divinity* at *Corbeil*, and at *Melun*. 2dly, To alledge, that Authors are unanimous in declaring that *Eloiſa* was Niece to the Canon *Fulbert*, is a very weak Argument againſt *Papirius Maſſon*, who aſſerts that ſhe was the *natural Daughter* of a certain *Canon*. *Fulbert* might certainly have a Siſter, imprudent in her Conduct: I ſay a Siſter; for he was *Eloiſa*'s Uncle by the Mother's Side; her *Avunculus*. I am ſurpriz'd, that *Andrew du Chêne* (69) could think of confuting *Papirius Maſſon* by the ſame Argument, which Mr *Moreri* had made uſe of. 3dly, It does not appear, that *Abelard* introduced himſelf into the Canon's Houſe, on pretence of teaching *Eloiſa* Divinity: Why then is he particular in relating what Authors, whom he ought to follow, deliver only in general? The Words, “Erat cupidus ille valdè, atque erga neptim ſuam ut amplius ſemper in doctrinam proficeret literatoriam plurimum ſtudioſus. —— *He was very covetous, and at the ſame Time very deſirous, that his Niece ſhould make a Proficiency in Learning* (70);” do not imply Divinity, more than any other Science. 4thly, It does not appear that *Eloiſa* had any great Eſteem for *Abelard*, before they liv'd together in the ſame Houſe. 5thly, It is not true, that, upon her leaving her Uncle, he carried her with him into *Brittany*: he ſent her indeed into that Province, but continued himſelf at *Paris*, to guard, in the beſt Manner he could, againſt the Attempts of *Fulbert*, 'till he could appeaſe him by offering to marry his Niece. Then he went to join her in *Brittany*, as we find in the Relation of his Misfortunes. The *Abridgment of the Hiſtory of* Eloiſa *and* Abelard, lately publiſh'd (71), is not exact in this Point. The Author ſuppoſes, that *Abelard* left *Paris*, at the ſame time that he quitted the Canon's Houſe; that he return'd thither, as ſoon as he was inform'd that his Pupil was pregnant, and that *he carried her off by Night, in order to marry her privately, 'till her Relations ſhould permit him to eſpouſe her in publick*. He had no Intention of marrying her, when he convey'd her away, nor did he ever pretend, that his Marriage was to be made publick. 6thly, *Eloiſa* did not *tell him freely, that ſhe intended not by this Marriage to rob the Church of a Doctor, who, in all likelihood, would ſoon become one of it's moſt illuſtrious Prelates.* Nothing like this occurs in the long Detail, which *Abelard* has left us, of *Eloiſa*'s Arguments againſt their Marriage. *See the Article* ELOISA, *Remark* [*X*]. 7thly, he does not declare, that he marry'd her *for the quiet of his Conſcience*: Why will Mr *Moreri* pretend to know *Abelard*'s Motives to this Marriage, better than himſelf? 8thly, The *Marriage*, and the *Convent of* Argenteuil, ought not to have been jumbled together: there was a Space between theſe two Circumſtances. *Eloiſa* was ſent to this Convent upon no other account, than the ill Uſage of her Uncle, who was angry with her for peremptorily denying her Marriage. 9thly, It is, therefore, a very falſe account to ſay, that *this Marriage was not ſo ſecret but* Fulbert *had notice of it*; for they receiv'd the nuptial Benediction, at Church, in his Preſence. “Poſt paucos dies, nocte ſecretis orationum vigiliis in quadam Eccleſia celebratis, ibidem ſummo mane, avunculo ejus atque quibuſdam noſtris vel ipſius amicis aſ-

(62) Fr. d'Amboiſe's *Apolog. Pref.* to Abelard's *Works*.

(63) *The Words of* Alciatus *are*, Adeo autem exiſtimata eſt difficilis, ut Petrus Baylardus, non incelebris tempeſtate ſuâ Profeſſor, ingenuè faſſus eſt, eam à ſe non intelligi. *It was thought ſo difficult, that* Peter Baylard, *a celebrated Profeſſor of his Time, ingenuouſly confeſs'd he did not underſtand it.*

(64) Paſquier's Recherch. de la France, B. 6. c. 17.

(65) Crinitus de Honeſtâ Diſcipl. B. 25. c. 4.

(66) J. Thomaſius *in his Life of* P. Abelard, No 3.

(67) *See the Citation above* (39).

(68) *See the Article* IRNERIUS.

(69) *His Notes upon the Hiſt. of* Abelard's *Misfortunes.*

(70) Abelard's Works, p. 11.

(71) *At the* Hague *in* 1693. 12mo

" ſilentibus, nuptiali benedictione confœderamur. — " *After a few Days, having privately, in the Evening, celebrated Veſpers in a certain Church; early* " *in the Morniug we were there join'd in Marriage,* " *and receiv'd the nuptial Benediction, in the Pre-* " *ſence of her Uncle, and ſome of our, or his, Friends* " (72)." 10thly, It is by no Means true, that *Abelard* read Lectures to a great Number of Scholars in *Champagne*, from the Time that the vitious Lives of the Monks of *Ruis*, compell'd him to return thither, and at the Time that the Abbot *Suger* expell'd the Nuns from *Argenteuil*. Father *L'Enfant* has copy'd ſome of theſe Errors (73).

(72) Abelard's *Works*, *p.* 16.

(73) L'Enfant, *a Dominican, his* General Hiſtory of all Ages, *to the* 21*ſt of* April. *The Work is in* 6 *Vol. in* 12mo. *divided according to the days of the Year, and printed at* Paris *in* 1648.

ABELIANS, *or* ABELONIANS, a Sect of Hereticks who roſe in *Champagne*, near *Hippon*, and who had been ſome time extinct in St. *Auſtin*'s Days. They profeſs'd very odd Principles, and ſuch as were not likely to continue long [*A*]. They ordain'd that each Man ſhould be in poſſeſſion of his particular Woman; they thought it improper, and would not allow, that a Man ſhould continue ſingle; it was neceſſary, acccording to the Statutes of the Order, that he ſhould have a Helpmeet like unto himſelf: but it was not permitted him to lean upon this Prop, that is, to be corporeally join'd to his Wife: She was to be to him the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, the Fruit of which was forbidden him under ſevere Penalties. Theſe People were for regulating Matrimony upon the footing of the *Terreſtrial Paradice*, in which *Adam* and *Eve* were united only in their Affections; or rather they followed the Example of *Abel*: for they pretended that *Abel* was married, but that he died without ever having any Knowledge of his Wife: and from him this Sect borrow'd it's Name *(a)*. When a Man and a Woman enter'd into this Society, they adopted two Children, a Boy and a Girl, who ſucceeded to their Goods, and who married together upon the ſame Condition of not getting Children, but of adopting two others of different Sexes. They eaſily met with poor People in the Neighbourhood, to furniſh them with Children. This Account is given us by St *Auſtin*(*b*); and as he is almoſt the only Author, who mentions them, we muſt imagine, that this Sect was known but in a few Places, and of but a ſhort Continuance. It is believed, that it begun in the Reign of *Arcadius*, and ended in that of *Theodoſius the younger*. All thoſe, who compos'd, it being at laſt reduc'd to one ſingle Village, re-united themſelves to the Catholic Church.

( ) *See* Bochart's Sacred Geogr. *B.* 2. *Ch.* 16. *who thinks that* Adam's *Continence, during* 130 *Years after the Death of* Abel, *gave riſe to the Name of theſe Hereticks.*

(b) Aug. de Hæreſ. cap. 87. *See there* Lambert Danæus.

[*A*] *Not likely to continue long.*] Such a State of Continency between a Man and his Wife, who had every thing elſe in common, and whoſe Union was eſteemed a true Marriage, was too great a Violence offered to Nature, to be of long Continuance. *Nullum violentum durabile. Nothing violent is laſting.* The *Abelians* were only a more moderate ſort of *Encratites* and *Novatians*: theſe latter abſolutely condemned Matrimony; the *Abelians* approved of, and retained it. It is true, it was barely the Name: they *preſerved it's Appearance, but denied it's Power.* " Hi nomen quidem conjugii & nuptiarum retinue- " runt, vim autem & effectum earum prorſus ſuſtu- " lerunt (1)." Had they looked upon Marriage to be a Sacrament, their Opinion, in this Point, would have been like that of the *Zuinglians* concerning the *Euchariſt*: they would have admitted the *Figure*, but not the *Reality*: and this muſt have contributed towards extinguiſhing the Sect. You will find in *Furetiere*'s Dictionary (2), that

Boire, & manger, coucher enſemble,
C'eſt mariage, ce me ſemble.

Marriage conſiſts in eating, and drinking, and lying together.

This is the natural Idea of that State: and, in this Deſcription, the laſt Character paſſes for the principal, and the ſpecific Diſtinction. This it is, which is called the *Conſummation* of Marriage: without this, the moſt ſolemn Contract, the Betrothing, and the nuptial Benediction, paſs for meer Preliminaries, which it is eaſy to be diſengaged from. It is this which ties the Knot, and renders it indiſſoluble. It is the End, the Mark, and the Crown of the Work: It is the *nè plus ultra*. It is therefore very improbable, that ſuch Numbers of People, even after the Notion became common, ſhould chuſe to ſubmit both to the Name and the Reſtraint of Matrimony, and to renounce the moſt ſhining Honours of *Celibacy*, without taſting of the Fruits and the Joys of Marriage. When, therefore, I ſaid that the Principles of this Sect were not calculated for a long Duration, it was not neceſſary, that I ſhould allude to the witty Saying attributed to *Sixtus* the Fifth: " Non ſi chiava " in queſta Religione, non durara (3);" as much as to ſay, they would break thro' ſuch a Precept of Religion as this, in ſpight of their Teeth. To *adopt* a Child, among them, ſupplied the Intention of *getting* one; and therefore we cannot apply to the *Abelians* the Remark of *Florus* on the firſt Inhabitants of *Rome*: " Res erat unius ætatis, Populus Viro- " rum (4). —*It was an Eſtabliſhment calculated to con-* " *tinue but for one Race, as conſiſting entirely of Men*:" For, if other Cauſes had not concurred, this Sect might have continued to the end of the World. " Per ſæculorum millia (incredibile dictu) Gens æter- " na eſt, in qua nemo naſcitur. —— *They are a* " *Race of People, which (incredible to relate!) is* " *never extinct, tho' no one is born among* them." This *Pliny* ſays of the *Eſſenians* (5), and is every Day applied to the Monks.

(1) Danæus *upon* Auſtin's *Book* de Hæreſ. ch. 87.

(2) Furet. *on the Word* Mariage.

(3) Cathol. Confeſſ. *of* Sancy, B. 1. c. 1.

(4) Florus, L. 1. c. 1.

(5) Pliny. B. 1. c. 17.

ABELLI (*Anthony*) Doctor of Divinity, a *Jacobin*, Abbot of *Notre Dame de Livri*, in *Aulnoi*, Confeſſor to the Queen-Mother, and formerly her Preacher, publiſh'd *Sermons upon the Lamentations of Jeremiah*, at *Paris*, in the Year 1582. I only copy *la Croix du Maine* and *du Verdier Vau-Privas*, and if I do not correct their Errors, at leaſt I will propoſe my own Doubts [*A*]. If Mr *Moreri* had done the ſame, perhaps by this time we might have arrived at the Truth. The Confeſſion of Au-
13 thors, that they are ignorant of ſuch or ſuch Particulars, is the ſureſt way to excite the curious to communicate their Diſcoveries to the Public: A Conſideration, which will frequently engage me to propoſe my Doubts. Mr *Moreri* had ſo many Opportunities, which I have not, of conſulting thoſe, who might rectify ſuch things as theſe, that he ought to have done more upon this Occaſion than barely copy *la Croix du Maine*.

[*A*] *I will propoſe my own Doubts.*] It ſeems to me a little ſtrange, that a *Jacobin* ſhould be in poſſeſſion of an Abbey, and receive his Title from it. I know of no Part of *France* called *Aulnoi*. If it ſhould be read *Laonois*, it is another thing: but ſtill I find no Abbey in the Dioceſe of *Laon* named *Livri* (1). The Abbey

(1) *See the* State of France, *printed* 1680. Tom. 2. p. 311, 312.

Abbey of this Name is in the Dioceſe of *Paris*. Laſtly, I find, in the Act, by which the Univerſity of *Paris* ſwore Fealty to *Henry* IV. *Apr.* 22. 1594. among thoſe, who ſubſcribed it, one *Francis Abely*, Abbot of *Ivri*, Preacher and Almoner to the King (2). Thoſe, who have Leiſure, may conſider whether or no what relates to ſeveral Perſons be not here collected, and applied to one (3).

My Doubts have procured me the following excellent Illuſtration of this Matter. “ *Aunoi*, or *Aulnoi*, is very right. There is the Abbey of *Nôtre Dame de Livri* in *Aunoi*, in *Alneto* (4), of the Order of St *Auguſtin*, in the Deanery of *Chelles*, and Dioceſe of *Paris*. In order to obtain this Abbey, we muſt ſuppoſe, that *Anthony Abelli* transferred himſelf from the Order of St *Dominic* to that of St *Auguſtin*, which is very eaſily done, and practiſed every Day. As to *Francis Abely*, Abbot of *Ivry*, I ſuſpect it is a Miſtake, and that this *Francis*, who was apparently the Succeſſor of *Anthony*, ought to be ſtyled Abbot of *Livri*, there being no Abbey of the Name of *Ivri* in *France*.” This Illuſtration was communicated to me by Mr *De la Monnoie*. The Abbot *Baudrand* has informed me, that the Abbey of *Livri* is *three Leagues diſtant from* Paris, *as you go to* Meaux, *in a little Diſtrict named* Aulnoy, *in which there are ten or twelve Villages*, and that *he knows nothing farther concerning it's Boundaries*. Theſe two Accounts ſufficiently clear up my Difficulties.

ABELLY *(Lewis)* Biſhop, and Earl of *Rhodes*, who died *October* 4. 1691, aged 88 Years *(a)*, was a Native of *Paris*, and Rector of St *Joſſe*, in that City. He wrote ſeveral Works, particularly a Treatiſe of Divinity, entituled *Medulla Theologica* (*b*), upon which Account *Boileau* gives him the Epithet of *Moëlleux*, *Pithy*, or full of Marrow [*A*], and which differs widely from the Maxims of the *Janſeniſts* [*B*]. He was

[*A*] *The Epithet of* Moëlleux, Pithy, *&c.*] In reciting this Paſſage, I ſhall make no Scruple to begin it a little higher; for beſides, that there is no Danger of any one's being diſpleaſed with the Length of the Quotation, it will ſerve to confirm what I ſhall advance in the following Remark.

Alain touſſe & ſe leve, Alain (1) ce ſavant homme,
Qui de Bauni vingt fois a la toute la Somme,
Qui poſſede Abelli, qui ſait tout Raconis,
Et même entend, dit-on, le Latin d'A Kempis.
N'en doutez point, leur dit ce ſavant Canoniſte,
Ce coup part, j'en ſuis Sûr, d'une main Janſeniſte,
Mes yeux en ſont temoins: j'ai vu moi-meme hier
Entrer chez le Prelat le Chapelain Garnier.
Arnaud, cet Heretique ardent à nous de truire,
Par ce miniſtre adroit tente de le ſeduire.
Sans doute il aura la dans ſon Saint Auguſtin
Q'autrefois Saint Louis erigea ce Lutrin.
Il va nous inonder des torrens de ſa plume,
Il faut, pour lui répondre, ouvrir plus d' une volume.
Conſultons ſur ce point quelque Auteur ſignale;
Voions ſi des Lutrins Bauni n' à point parlé.
Etudions enfin, il en eſt tems encore,
Et pour ce grand projet, tantôt, dès que l'Aurore
Rallumera le jour dans l'onde enſeveli,
Que chacun prenne en main le MOELEUX ABELLI (2).

Then Allen *roſe, collected and prepar'd,*
He regularly hemm'd, then ſtroak'd his Beard,
And claim'd as Prolocutor to be heard.
The learned Seer Attention might demand,
The only Scholar in the reverend Band.
The learned Seer had oft Abelli *read,*
And fill'd with Raconis *his muddy Head.*
Nay, great A-Kempis *he could conſtrue too;*
And all his knotty Paſſages undo.
Then thus he ſpoke: Believe me, Sirs! I know
Some Janſeniſt *muſt aim this fatal Blow.*
It muſt be ſo; we're in the Prelate's Snare;
Theſe Eyes ſaw Chaplain Garnier *enter there.*
Arnaud *endeavours, by this artful Friend,*
The Prelate to his Purpoſes to bend.
Sirs, he moſt certainly has ſomewhere heard,
That this litigious Deſk St Louis *rear'd.*
Then, grown polemical, he'll proudly think
To drown us all with Deluges of Ink.
Now 'tis our Duty timely to prepare,
And ſtand a reſolute defenſive War,
Conſider then; does Bauni *nothing ſay*
Of Deſks? None of the Fathers lean that Way?
I find this Argument will aſk much Oil,
Cloſe Reading, indefatigable Toil.
Then, till Aurora *kindles up the Day,*
And lights her Lamp, extinguiſh'd in the Sea;
Let each in hand PITHY ABELLI *take,*
And what the learned Doctor dictates, ſpeak.

If theſe Verſes contain'd nothing more than the Agreement between *Bauni* and *Abelli*, they would ſufficiently declare the *Anti-Janſeniſm* of the latter; but there are other Arrows in this Quiver, which are directed to the ſame Mark, and carry home. The Author has given us, in the Margin, a Note, to explain the Reaſon of the Epithet, and it was rightly done. When I reflect upon the Conjectures, which the Critics would form, ſhould the *French* Language one Day meet with the Fate of the *Latin*, and the Works of *Boileau* be preſerv'd, I repreſent to myſelf a thouſand Whims. For, ſuppoſe that the *Medulla Theologica* of Mr *Abelly* were entirely loſt, and ſcarce any Author extant, who takes notice of it, nor any Note in the Margin of the *Latin*, over againſt the Word *Moelleux*, what a ſtir would the Critics make to find out the Reaſon of this Epithet, and how many Miſtakes would they run into (3)? I fancy to myſelf, that ſome one of them, ill ſatisfy'd with the Conjectures of all his Predeceſſors, would at length pretend to diſcover, that *Abelly* was diſtinguiſh'd by this Epithet, in alluſion to the Offerings of *Abel*, which were not dry, like thoſe of *Cain*, but a real Sacrifice of Beaſts. Uppon this Occaſion he would quote the *Sacrum pingue dabo, nec macrum ſacrificabo:* he would ſay, that the Parts of the Victim were not all of equal Efficacy, and that the Fat, under which is comprehended the Marrow, was of ſingular Uſe. The more learned he happen'd to be, the farther would he run on from one extravagant Conceit to another, and heap Chimeras on Chimeras. Upon this Occaſion, as well as many others, we ſhould ſee accompliſh'd that Expectation in the ninth Satire of Mr *Boileau*,

Et deja vous croiez, dans vos Rimes obſcures,
Au Saummaiſes futurs preparer des tortures.

Thy Rhimes, even now obſcure, thro' learned Pains,
Prepare the Rack for future Critics Brains,

It were to be wiſh'd, ſays ſome one, that a good Commentary were wrote upon the Satires of this Author (4) ‡. It is certain ſuch Writings ſoon grow obſcure in many Places. The *Catholicon d'Eſpagne*, and the *Confeſſion Catholique de Sancy*, are a Proof of this. The Publick is very much indebted to the Author, who publiſh'd Remarks upon the laſt of theſe two Satires, in the Year 1693, and upon the firſt in 1696. He is a curious and diſcerning Writer, and very fit for this Work.

[*B*] *From the Maxims of the* Janſeniſts.] One of theſe Gentlemen complains bitterly, that Mr *De la Berchere*, Archbiſhop of *Aix*, had ordered the Director of his Seminary, *to follow Abelly*, and no longer teach the *Moral Divinity* of *Grenoble* (5). He aſſerts, that there are three falſe Principles in *Abelly*'s *Medulla Theologica*, of which, The firſt *overthrows that moſt certain Direction of a good Conſcience, acknowledged by the Heathens themſelves, which forbids the doing of an Action, the Lawfulneſs, or Unlawfulneſs, of which is doubtful.* The ſecond *reduces to nothing the greateſt of all the Commandments, namely, that which obliges us to love God above every thing.* The third *is directly repugnant to that Care, which the Cardinal* Grimaldi *took, to*

ſecure

(2) Mr de Launoi's *Hiſt. of the College of* Navarre, p. p. 372.

(3) *This is too often the fault of Tranſcribers of Manuſcripts.*

(4) Claud. Robertus, *in his* Nomenclatura Abbatium Galliæ.

(*a*) *The* Mecure Galant, *of* Oct. 1691.

(*b*) *The firſt Edition is that of* Paris, *in* 1651. *A ſixth was publiſh'd in* 2 *Vol. in* 12mo. *in* 1659.

(1) *The Author means the Abbot* Auberi, *Canon of St* Capelli, *a famous* Moliniſt, *Brother of that Mr* Auberi, *who wrote the Hiſtory of Card.* Mazarin. *See* Suite du Menagiana, *p.* 8. *Edit.* Holl.

(2) Boileau's Lutrin, Canto 4. 169, &c.

(3) *Compare what Father* Bouhours *ſays in the 4th Dialogue of his* Maniere de bien penſer, *p.* 399. *on the ſubject of theſe Words of* Boileau, Profes dans l'Ordre des Côteaux.

(4) Nouvelles de la Rep. de Lett. *Oct.* 1684. *Art.* 5.

‡ *This Deſign has been executed ſince the Death of Mr* Bayle, *by Mr* Broſſette. *He publiſh'd in,* 1715, *at* Geneva, *the Works of* Boileau, *with Hiſtorical Notes, communicated by the Author himſelf, in* 2 *Vol.* 4to. *It was reprinted at* Amſt. *in* 1718. *in* Fol. *and* 4to. *and in* 1722 *at the* Hague, *in* 4 *Vol.* 12mo.

(5) *Compos'd by Mr* Genet, *whom the Cardinal* Grimaldi, *Predeceſſor of Mr* de la Berchere, *ſent for to his Seminary, in order to teach his Morality there himſelf, and who was afterwards made Biſhop of* Vaiſon.

was Author likewiſe of *The Life of Vincent de Paul*, Founder, and firſt Superior General, of the Congregation of the *Miſſion*; a Treatiſe on the *Principles of Chriſtian Morality*; another on *Hereſies*; another on the *Tradition of the Church in relation to the Worſhip of the Virgin* Mary, *&c.* This laſt Work, which was printed a ſecond Time at *Paris*, in the Year 1675, gave great Pleaſure to the *Proteſtants*, as it furniſh'd them with good Weapons againſt the *Converters*, who would make them believe, that whatever there might be extravagant in this kind of Devotion, it was owing wholly either to *Monkiſh* Opinions, or to Abuſes, which the Biſhops were every day correcting: The ſame Book was uſeful to thoſe of that Perſuaſion againſt the Biſhop of *Condom*'s Work (*c*). In truth, Mr *Abelly* became the Patron of the moſt extravagant Conceits, in relation to the Worſhip of the *Bleſſed Virgin.* This was deſtroying the Attempts of another Prelate, and the Intentions of thoſe, who publiſh'd, or approved, *The wholſome Advice of the Bleſſed Virgin to her indiſcreet Votaries.* Mr *Abelly* was a Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*; he reſign'd his Biſhoprick to another, when his Age would not ſuffer him to diſcharge the Duties of his Office, and retir'd to the Houſe of St *Lazarus.* He diſcover'd a Secret in *the Life of Mr* Vincent, which was pleaſing to many [*C*].

(*c*) *Entitled*, An Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church.

ſecure the Obſervation of the Rules of St Charles *in the Sacrament of Penance, by diſtinguiſhing a great Number of Caſes, in which the Confeſſors may either refuſe, or defer Abſolution.* Mr *Abelly* therefore was accuſed of teaching, Firſt, *That one may follow an Opinion leſs probable and leſs certain, in doing that which is a Sin according to the contrary Opinion, which ſeems to us more probable:* Secondly, *That it is not certain, that the Precept of loving God above all things obliges us always, in virtue of itſelf, but only by Accident.* Thirdly, *That one may without Scruple conſtantly abſolve thoſe, whoſe Life is a perpetual Viciſſitude of Confeſſing and Sinning.* See *the Advertiſements to the Reverend Fathers, the* Jeſuites *of* Aix, *in* Provence, *concerning a printed Paper, entitled,* "*A Ball, danced at the* "*Reception of the Lord Archbiſhop of* Aix." This Advertiſement was publiſhed in 1687, in 12mo.

It is eaſy to ſee, that Mr *Abelly*'s Book is meant in the following Paſſage of the *Menagiana.* "As "they were talking of the *Marrow* of *A*—— Mr "*L'Abbé le Camus*, at preſent a Cardinal, ſaid, that "*the Moon was in the Wane, when he wrote it* (6)." A new Proof of the Contempt, which the *Janſeniſts* had for this Work.

[*C*] *A Secret —— which was pleaſing to many.*] He informed the Public, that Mr *Vincent* had drop'd all Correſpendence with the Abbot of St *Cyran*, after having heard him declare, that the Council of *Trent* was only *a Cabal, and an Aſſembly of Schoolmen, with the Pope at the Head of them* (7). Whoever is convinced of this, cannot be a *Roman* Catholic.

(6) Menagiana, p. 65. *of the firſt* Dutch *Edit.*

(7) Abelly's *Life of* Vincent de Paul, B. 2. c. 12. *See* The lawful Prejudices againſt Janſeniſm, *p.* 134.

ABERDEEN, an Epiſcopal City of *Scotland*, under the Archbiſhoprick of *St Andrews*, including an Univerſity. It may be conſidered as ſeparated into two Cities; for there is *Aberdeen* at the Mouth of the *Don*, and *Aberdeen* at the Mouth of the *Dee.* The former is call'd *Old Aberdeen*, the other *New Aberdeen.* They are but a Mile diſtant from each other. The Biſhop's See, and the Univerſity, are at *Old Aberdeen:* the other is a richer, and more trading, Place. The Univerſity was founded in the Year 1480, the Biſhoprick in the Year 1100: it was tranſlated from *Murtlac*, as *Hector Boëthius*, a *Scotch* Hiſtorian (*a*) informs us. This City is call'd indifferently in *Latin Abredonia*, *Aberdonium*, and *Aberdona.* Mr *Moreri* endeavours to refine upon this Article [*A*], but without Succeſs.

(*a*) *In* Baudrand's Lexic. Geogr. p. 4.

[*A*] *Mr* Moreri *endeavours to refine upon this Article.*] He quarrels with thoſe, who ſay, that *Aberdonne*, or *Aberdoen*, *Aberdonia*, *Aberdone*, or *Devana*, is a *City.* "There is not a City (*ſays* "*he*) in all *Scotland* of this Name; but there are "two Towns, one of which is called *New-Aberdeen*, "and the other *Old-Aberdeen:* and if theſe Names "are jumbled together, it muſt be in Books or "Maps, that are very incorrect." It would be unneceſſary to prove, that, not only in common Speech, the Diſtinction of *Old* and *New Aberdeen* is not made uſe of, but that, even in Books, it is very little obſerved. For what Authors ever ſaid, *The Biſhoprick of Old Aberdeen*, *The Univerſity of New Aberdeen?* What Hiſtorians are not ſatisfy'd with barely mentioning *Aberdeen*, when they ſpeak of this Epiſcopal City? Mr *Moreri* plainly forgot his own Criticiſm, when under the Article SCOTLAND, he ſays, St Andrews *has one Univerſity, and* Aberdeen *another*; for, otherwiſe, he ought to have ſaid *Old Aberdeen.*

ABGILLUS (*John*), Son of a certain King of the *Friſons*, led ſo exemplary a Life, that he gain'd the Sirname of *Prêſtre*, or the *Prieſt.* He accompany *Charlemagne* in his Expedition to *Paleſtine*; and, inſtead of returning to *Europe* with *Charlemagne*, after taking of *Jeruſalem*, he advanc'd as far as the *Indies*, made vaſt Conqueſts there, and founded the Empire of the *Abyſſins*, which from his Name, was called *The Empire of John the Prieſt* *. He compos'd two Hiſtories, one comprehending the Voyage of *Charlemagne* to the *Holy Land*, the other his own Expedition to the *Indies.* This laſt Work contains a Deſcription of the Country, and of the different People, which inhabit it. If *Suffridus Petri* (*a*) was capable of imagining theſe Hiſtories to have been any other than paultry Romances, compos'd in the Ages of Ignorance, and in which *Charlemagne* is introduc'd with ſuch an extraordinary Bravery, as if he had been one of the imaginary Heroës, *Palmerin* of *Oliva*, *Huon of Bourdeaux*, or *Geoffrey Great-Tooth:* if, I ſay, *Suffridus Petri* was capable of conceiving this, he deſerves all the hard Words, which *Voſſius* has given him (*b*); for what can be invented more fabulous, than the Conqueſt of *Jeruſalem* by *Charlemagne?*

* We call him in *Engliſh*, *Preſter John.*

(*a*) *He ſpeaks of this Author, and his Works, in his Treatiſe* de Scriptor. Friſiæ.

(*b*) O Hominem valde ſimplicem, ac prope dixerim inſipientem, qui vanis adeo ac ſtultis commentis habuerit fidem! ------ *O very weak, and I had almoſt ſaid, ſtupid Man, who can give credit to ſuch empty and fooliſh Inventions!* Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. p. 300.

ABYDUS, a City of *Egypt*. *Stephen* of *Byzantium* calls it a Colony of the *Mileſians* [*A*], which receiv'd it's Name from one *Abydus*. *Strabo* ſpeaks of it, as a very ruinous Town; but he ſays, that it appears to have been very large, and the principal Town of the Country, next to *Thebes* (*a*). The famous King *Memnon* reſided in it, and built there a magnificent Palace (*b*). The Temple and Sepulchre of *Oſiris* are a great Ornament to this City, and recommend it extreamly. The greateſt Lords of *Egypt* affected to be buried there, that they might have their Monuments near that of *Oſiris* (*c*). The Oracle of the God *Beſa* was no ſmall Ornament to this Place. All the neighbouring People were great Worſhippers of this Deity, who gave his Anſwers in writing to thoſe, who had not the convenience of conſulting him in Perſon. It was ſufficient at that time to inform him by Letter of one's Requeſt (*d*). This Oracle was ſtill in being in the Reign of *Conſtantius*, Son of *Conſtantin* the *Great*, and was the Cauſe of great Diſorders [*B*]. *Abydus* was 7500 Paces weſtward of the *Nile* (*e*) but a Canal was cut, which conducted the Waters of that River to it (*f*). It was above *Dioſpolis* and *Tentyris* (*g*), and below *Ptolemais* (*h*), which was the largeſt City of *Thebais*, and as big as *Memphis*. The Inhabitants of *Abydus* had an Averſion to the Sound of Trumpets [*C*]. There has been much talk of certain Thorns, which grew in their Territory (*D*), and which are ſaid to have conſtantly born Flowers of the Shape of a Crown. The Name of it is thought to be at preſent *Abutich*. *John Leon* does not ſay, what Mr *Moreri* aſcribes to him, that it ſtood in the place, where the Patriarch *Joſeph* was buried [*E*]. There was a City, called *Abydus*, upon the Side of the *Helleſpont*, of which I ſhall take no Notice at preſent, tho' *Moreri*'s Dictionary wants to be ſet right upon this Article.

(*a*) Strabo, L. 17. p. 559. Edit. 1587.

(*b*) Memnonis Regiâ & Oſiris Templo inclytum. *Famous for the Palace of* Memnon, *and the Temple of* Oſiris. Plin. L. 5. c. 9. Strabo, L. 17. p. 559.

(*c*) Plutarch *of* Iris *and* Oſiris, p. 359.

(*d*) Amm. Marcellinus. L. 19. c. 12. p. 227, 228.

(*e*) Plin. L. 5. c. 9.

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(*f*) Strabo, L. 17. p. 573.

(*g*) Plin. L. 5. c. 9.

(*h*) Strabo, L. 17. p. 579.

[*A*] *A Colony of the* Mileſians.] This is not clear. I allow that they ſettled Colonies in *Egypt*; but it was near the Mouth of the *Nile*: Their Power conſiſted at that time in Naval Force; and their Trade did not require a Situation ſo diſtant from the Coaſt, as *Abydus* was. Beſides, They did not ſettle in *Egypt* 'till the Reign of *Cyaxares*, King of *Media* (1): Whereas *Abydus* was a conſiderable City before that time; ſince *Memnon* not only kept his Court, but built likewiſe a magnificent Palace, there.

[*B*] *Was the Cauſe of great Diſorders.*] The Manner how is as follows: Thoſe, who conſulted the Oracle by writing, ſometimes left their Letter in the Temple, after they had received their Anſwer (2). There were People ſo malicious as to ſend ſome of theſe Letters to *Conſtantius*; who, being of a mean, ſuſpicious, credulous, and captious Diſpoſition, threw himſelf into a terrible Paſſion. "Qui ut erat "anguſti pectoris, obſurdeſcens in aliis etiam ni-"mium ſeriis, in hoc titulo ima, quod aiunt, auri-"cula mollior, & ſuſpicax, & minutus, acri felle "concaluit (3)." Immediately he ſigned a Commiſſion for proſecuting thoſe who were guilty, on pretence, that many of them had conſulted their Deity concerning the Life of the Emperor, and the Name of the Perſon, who was to ſucceed him. The Head of the Commiſſion, a violent and avaritious Perſon, found Means to involve whom he pleaſed in this Proſecution. This gave Occaſion to numberleſs Acts of Violence, as you may read in *Ammianus Marcellinus*.

[*C*] *Had an Averſion to the Sound of Trumpets.*] This we may learn from *Ælian*, provided we correct him according to the Conjecture of *Berkelius* (4). Σάλπιγγος ἦχον βδελύττονται Βουσιρῖται, καὶ Ἄβυδος ἡ Αἰγυπτία (it is in the Editions of *Ælian* Ἄβυ ἡ Αἰγυπτία) καὶ Λύκων πολις. —— *The* Buſiritæ, *and the* Egyptian Abydus, *and* Lycopolis, *abhor the Sound of a Trumpet* (5). *Strabo* confirms this Conjecture, when he ſays, that the Uſe of Muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental, was forbidden in the Preludes to the Sacrifices, which were offered to *Oſiris* in the Temple of *Abydus* (6).

[*D*] *Thorns, which grew in their Territory.*] *Athenæus* mentions this (7): but we muſt ſubſtitute the Word Ἄβυδον for Ἄβυλον in that Place, according to the very probable Conjecture of *Berkelius* (8). The Matter of Fact, according to *Athenæus*, is this. The Thorns, which grew about the Temple of *Tindium*, were thought to be always in Bloom: but the Foundation of this Notion, according to *Hellanicus*'s Remark (9), was that, whenever the People aſſembled in this Place, the Thorns were covered with Wreaths of Flowers of various kinds. *Demetrius* relates, that ſuch kind of Thorns grew about *Abydus*, and that it was currently reported among the *Egyptians*, that the *Ethiopian* Soldiers, whom *Tithon* ſent to King *Priam*, having heard that *Memnon* was ſlain, threw down their Chaplets of Flowers, before *Abydus*, upon theſe Thorns, whence it came to paſs, that the Flowers, which they produced, reſembled Crowns (10).

[*E*] *The Patriarch* Joſeph *was buried.*] Mr *Moreri* quotes *John Leon*, *p.* 8. At firſt Sight, one would think he meant *Page the eighth*; but we are to look for his Quotation in *Book the eighth*. Now what we meet with there is this: that it is a Miſtake to believe, that the City *Meſre Hatichi* was the Reſidence of the Kings of *Egypt* in the Days of *Joſeph* and *Moſes*. He confutes this Opinion by alledging, that theſe antient Kings dwelt on the Weſt Side of the *Nile*; which he proves by two Arguments; the firſt is, the Situation of that City, which, the Scripture tells us, the *Jews* built for *Pharaoh*: the ſecond is, the Situation of a very antient Building, which is ſaid to be the Sepulchre of *Joſeph*. He remarks a few Pages after, that the Town, where this Sepulchre is, ſtands upon an Arm of the *Nile*, and is at preſent called *El Fiium*. I do not find that he makes any mention of our *Abydus*.

(1) Strabo, L. 16. p. 551.

(2) Amm. Marcellinus. L. 19. c. 12. p. 227, 228.

(3) Amm. Marcell. *at the Year* 359.

(4) Berkelius *upon* Steph. de Urbibus, p. 14.

(5) Ælian. de Animal. L. 10. c. 28.

(6) Strabo, L. 16. p. 560.

(7) Athen. L. 15. c. 7.

(8) Berkelius *upon* Steph. de de Urbibus, p. 14.

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(9) *Upon the* Ægyptiaca, *in* Athen. B. 15. c. 7.

(10) Demetrius *upon the* Ægyptiaca, *in* Athen. B. 15. c. 7.

ABIMELECH, King of *Gerar*, in the Land of the *Philiſtines*, was cotemporary with *Abraham*. This *Patriarch*, being retired with his Family, into the Land of *Gerar*, his Wife *Sara*, tho' Ninety Years of Age (*a*), found herſelf expos'd to danger: ſhe was taken away by *Abimelech*, who thought her ſo fair, as to deſire to make her his Wife. *Abraham* might have avoided this Accident, by declaring himſelf to be *Sara*'s Huſband: but, fearing to be ſlain, he pretended, that ſhe was his Siſter, and deſired her to ſay, that he was her Brother (*b*). This was the ſecond Time he made uſe of this Artifice (*c*); which certainly does not deſerve the Encomiums, beſtowed on it by St *Chryſoſtom* [*A*]. It is believed, that the *Philiſtine* King was ſtruck with a Diſtemper,

(*a*) *See the laſt Remark on the Article* SARA.

(*b*) Gen. xx.

(*c*) *He made uſe of it*, Gen. xii.

[*A*] *The Encomiums, boſtowed on it by St* Chryſoſtom.] We ſhall point out in another Place (1), what is blameable in this Diſſimulation of *Abraham*. Every one may judge, as he pleaſes, of his ſecond Fall. The Danger which *Sara*'s Honour was expos'd to the firſt Time, ſeems, at firſt ſight, to render a Repetition of the Fraud more inexcuſable; but, on the other Hand, does it not ſeem more juſtifiable to make uſe

(1) *In the Remarks on the Article* SARA.

Diſtemper, which render'd him *impotent* [*B*]: but, however that be, it is certain that Divine Providence permitted him not to ſatisfy the Paſſion which he had conceiv'd for *Sara*. He was inform'd in a Dream, that ſhe was married to a Prophet, and that he ſhould die, if he did not reſtore her to her Huſband. He fail'd not accordingly to reſtore her to him, and to reproach him for his Deceit. *Abraham*, in excuſe for himſelf, among other Reaſons, alledg'd that he was really the Brother of *Sara*, born of the ſame Father tho' of a different Mother. Thus the Scripture makes him excuſe himſelf. Mr *Moreri* very improperly ſupplies the ſacred Text with the Words of *Joſephus*, who falſly ſuppoſes, that *Abraham* pretended, that *Sara* was his Brother's Daughter (*d*). He follows the ſame Author, in relation to a Fact, of which the Scripture ſpeaks not a word; I mean, the pretended Alliance contracted between *Abraham* and *Abimelech*, upon the Reſtitution of *Sara*. The Scripture is content to ſay, that *Abimelech* made great Preſents to this Patriarch, and offered him the Liberty of ſojourning in what part of his Country he pleas'd. It is true, there was an Alliance between them; but it was not contracted till ſome Years after (*e*): I mean the Treaty of *Beerſheba*. *Joſephus*, as if he were poſſeſs'd of Memoirs

(*d*) Joſeph. Antiq. B. 1. c. 11.

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(*e*) Geneſ. xxi. 31, 32.

of a Remedy, which had ſucceeded, than at firſt to make the Experiment of it; and is it not paſt doubt, that the firſt Trial had all the Succeſs which *Abraham* could hope for? He not only preſerv'd his Life, but was loaded with Preſents, and recover'd his Wife untouch'd; a Circumſtance, which, perhaps, he did not expect; I ſay *perhaps*, for I dare not write, what St *Chryſoſtom* dar'd to preach. "You know, *ſays he* "*to his Auditors*, that nothing chagrins a Huſband "ſo much, as to ſuſpect that his Wife has been in "the Power of another; and yet this juſt Man em"ploy'd all his Efforts, that the Act of Adultery might "be accompliſh'd (2)." One would expect, after this, that the Preacher ſhould cenſure the Patriarch: but, on the contrary, we find him beſtowing great Encomiums on his Courage, and his Prudence: On his Courage, which enabled him to conquer the Stings of Jealouſy, ſo far as even to adviſe an Action of this Nature; on his Prudence, which pointed out to him this Expedient, ſo certain to extricate him from the Difficulties and Dangers, which ſurrounded him. St *Chryſoſtom* does not forget to repreſent, in lively Colours, the terrible Power of Jealouſy, in order to magnify that great Courage, which could ſurmount this Paſſion; but, on the other Hand, he derogates from the Prudence of *Abraham*, in ſaying, that, as he was ſenſible, that *Sara* was too handſome to be able to eſcape the Incontinency of the *Egyptian*, whether he called her his Wife, or his Siſter, he determin'd to call her his Siſter, hoping by that means to ſave his Life. "Behold, *crys St* Chryſoſtom, with "what Prudence this good Man found out a ſure "way to elude all the Snares of the *Egyptians*." After that, he excuſes his having conſented to the Adultery of his Wife, for this Reaſon, becauſe Death, which was not as yet diſpoil'd of his Tyranny, inſpir'd at that time great Terror. Ὅτι ȣ̓́πω ἦν καταλυθεῖσα τȣ̃ θανάτȣ ἡ τυραννὶς, διὰ τȣ̃το καὶ τῇ μοιχείᾳ τῆς γυναικὸς αἱρεῖται κοινωνῆσαι ὁ δίκαιος, καὶ μονονȣχὶ ὑπηρετήσασθαι τῷ μοιχῷ εἰς τὴν τῆς γύναικος ὕβριν ἵνα τὸν θανατον διαφύγῃ (3): *Becauſe the Tyranny of Death was not yet diſſolved, therefore this juſt Man conſented to the Adultery of his Wife, and was, as it were, ſubſervient to the Adulterer, to his Wife's Diſgrace, in order to eſcape Death.* After this Encomium on the Huſband, he goes on to the Praiſes of the Wife, and ſays that ſhe freely accepted of the Propoſal, and did her utmoſt to play the Farce well (4). Upon which, he adviſes Wives to imitate her Example, and crys out, "Who does not admire this "great readineſs to obey? Who can ever ſufficiently "praiſe *Sara*, in that, after ſuch Continence, and at "ſo great an Age, ſhe was willing to expoſe her"ſelf to an Adulterer, and give up her Body to "Barbarians, in order to ſave the Life of her Huſ"band (5)?" I believe no Preacher now a-days would dare to handle ſo delicate a Subject as this, in ſuch a Manner: he would give too great occaſion for Rallery to the prophane; and I very much ſuſpect that the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, naturally given to ſlander, could not hear ſuch a Sermon, without taking too great a Liberty in making ill-natur'd Reflexions. St *Ambroſe* is not leſs ſparing in his Commendations of *Sara*'s conjugal Love (6), and we ſhall ſee, under the Article ACINDINUS (*Septimius*), that St *Auſtin* was under almoſt the ſame Illuſion. 'Tis ſtrange, that theſe great Luminaries of the Church, with all their Virtue, and all their Zeal, ſhould be ignorant that it is unlawful to ſave either one's own Life, or another's, at the Expence of a Crime.

(2) ὁ μὲν τοι δίκαιος σπȣδάζει, καὶ παντα ποιεῖ ὥςε εἰς ἔργον τὴν μοιχείαν ἐκβῆναι. Chryſoſt. Homil. 32. *upon* Geneſis.

(3) Id. ib.

(4) Παντα ποιεῖ ὥςε τὸ δρᾶμα λαθεῖν. She did every thing ſhe cou'd, that the Fiction might be conceal'd. *Id. ib.*

(5) Τὶς κατ' ἄξιαν ταύτην ἐπαινέσειεν, ἥτις μετὰ τοσαυτην, καὶ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοιαύτῃ, ὑπερ τȣ τὸν δίκαιον διασῶσαι, ὅσον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν γνώμην καὶ εἰς μοιχείαν ἑαυτὴν ἐξέδωκεν, καὶ συνȣσίας ηνεσχετο βαρβαρικῆς. Id. ib.

(6) Ambroſ. de Abrah. Lib. 1. c. 2.

[*B*] *Of a Diſtemper, which render'd him impotent.*] To extinguiſh the Ardour of his Luſt, God ſent him a Diſeaſe, which put all the Phyſicians Art to a ſtand. God admoniſh'd him, in a Dream, to have nothing to do with the Wife of this Stranger. *Abimelech*, finding himſelf a little better, ſome time after, declared to his Friends the Cauſe of his Diſtemper, and reſtored *Sara* to *Abraham*. Thus *Joſephus* relates the Affair (7); little ſollicitous, according to Cuſtom, to adapt his Narration to that of *Moſes*; or rather, bold enough to give him the Lie. For does not *Moſes* ſay, that *Abimelech*, after his Dream, roſe early in the Morning, and call'd all his Servants, in order to communicate to them, what he had learnt in his Sleep (8)? Could he have done this, had he been given over by his Phyſicians? *Joſephus* was ſenſible of the Difficulty; but, in order to remove it, he boldly ſuppoſes, againſt the Authority of the Scripture, that this Prince did not communicate his Dream to his Friends, 'till his Diſtemper was a little abated, ſome time after his Dream. Some think *Abimelech* was not afflicted in his own Perſon, but in thoſe of his Women (9): and that, when the Scripture relates that God heal'd him, it only means his taking off the Seal, which he had fixed *to all the Wombs of the Houſe of* Abimelech (10). I could ſoon be prevail'd upon to approve of this Interpretation; becauſe I ſee no trace of *Abimelech*'s Diſtemper in the whole 20th Chapter of *Geneſis*, except theſe Words. *God heal'd* Abimelech, *and his Wife, and his Maid-Servants, and they bare Children.* But as the following verſe mentions only the Affliction of theſe Women, it is ſufficiently probable, that all the Evil, which God ſent upon *Abimelech*, conſiſted in that. I ſhall, in another Place (11), anſwer a Queſtion, which may be put to me: *Why this Prince, if he was in perfect Health, did not gratify that Paſſion, which had prompted him to take away* Sara. I am not ſurprized at the fabulous Accounts, which the *Jews* have publiſhed, upon this Story: nor ſhould I wonder at their Conduct, if they had invented a thouſand Chimeras concerning our *Abimelech*. They ſay, that all the Channels of the Body were ſtop'd up, both of Man and Beaſt, both of Male and Female, ſo that nothing could either enter, or come out (12). They could no longer eat, nor drink; they could no longer void their Excrements, *&c.* The Men, beſides, were ſeiz'd with ſuch a Frigidity, that *Abimelech* was incapable of diſcharging the Duty of a Man, either to *Sara*, or to any other Woman. A celebrated Proteſtant Divine (13) adopts this Tradition, as far as concerns the latter Part, and rejects the reſt, as ridiculous, or ſuperfluous. He ſays, that, as the Devil ſometimes (14), by his Impediments, prevents married People from paying their conjugal Duty, it is not improbable, but that God might ſend ſuch a kind of Affliction on the Family of *Abimelech*, for a good and holy Purpoſe; which was to preſerve the Chaſtity of *Sara*, and to make it appear very evident, that ſhe had received no Stain in the Houſe of *Abimelech*. He believes, therefore, that the Domeſtics of *Abimelech* were ſtruck with the Diſeaſe of Barrenneſs: the Men, by an Impotency like that occaſioned by Witchcraft; the Women, by an entire ſhutting up of the

(7) Joſeph. Antiq. B. 1. c. 11.

(8) Geneſ. xx. 8.

(9) Salian's Annals, T. 1. p. 469.

(10) Geneſ. xx. 18.

(11) *In the Remark* [C] *of the Article* SARA.

(12) Mercerus. *See* Riveti Exercit. in Geneſ. Operum, T. 1. p. 395.

(13) Rivet. Heidegg. *follows his Steps.* Hiſt. Patriarch. T. 2. p. 165.

(14) *It is vulgarly called* Nouër l'eguillette.

moirs preferable to thoſe of *Moſes* [C], ventures to place this Treaty before the Birth of *Iſaac*, whereas the Scripture places it after the Rejection of *Iſmaël*, which did not come to paſs, till after *Iſaac* was weaned. Mr *Moreri* has follow'd the ſame Guide, when he aſſures us, that *Abimelech* ſhew'd great Kindneſs to *Iſaac*, who had retired into the Land of *Gerar*. It is not indeed impoſſible, but this might be the ſame *Abimelech*; but it is more probable it was the Succeſſor of him, who took away *Sara* [D]. It is certain that *Iſaac*, on account of a Famine, which aroſe, retired

the Gates of Life, or by a Contraction of the Parts, which rendered them incapable of Conception. *That's too much by half*, ſome one may ſay, *it was ſufficient to the Deſigns of Providence, that the Men were bewitch'd.* But it muſt be reply'd, that the cloſing up of the Parts of the Women being a Fact, which *Moſes* expreſsly mentions, it muſt by no means be drop'd as ſuperfluous. This matter is explain'd two ways; neither of which entirely clears it up. Some ſay, that *Moſes*'s Meaning is, that the Wife and the Maid-Servants of *Abimelech* could not bring forth, when their Time was come: they had violent Pangs, and difficult Labour; but this muſt be at the time of which the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſpeaks: *The Children are come to the Birth, and there is not ſtrength to bring forth* (15). Others ſay, that his Meaning is, that they did not conceive. The firſt Interpretation cannot be reconcil'd with *Geneſis*, unleſs we can ſuppoſe that all the Women, which belong'd to *Abimelech* were with Child, when *Sara* was taken from her Husband (16): which is not likely. The other ſuppoſes *Sara* to have ſtaid longer in this Prince's Houſe, than ſhe really did; for it could not be known in a very ſhort time, whether ſo great a Number of Women had all loſt the Faculty of Conception. This Difficulty oblig'd a very skillful Interpreter to ſay, that the Puniſhment, which God ſent upon the Family of *Abimelech*, was known in a Manner, of which we have no Notion (17). Laſtly, The *Rabins* make but little Difference between the perſonal Affliction of *Abimelech*, and the perſonal Affliction of the firſt Raviſher of *Sara* (18). They ſay of this latter, that he was ſeiz'd with the Diſeaſe *Ratan*, which is the moſt troubleſome of all Ulcers, and the moſt deſtructive of the Joys of Love (19). *Solomon Jarchi* will have it, that the King of *Egypt*'s Plague, was a Diſeaſe in his Head, cauſed by a Worm, bred in his Brain: "Morbus perturbati cerebri ob innatum ipſi Vermiculum, quo qui laborant, iis gravis fit concubitus, & liberi gignuntur ulceroſi (20).—— *The Diſeaſe of a diſturbed Brain, cauſed by a Worm bred in it; which whoever is troubled with, finds it difficult to perform the matrimonial Duty; and his Children are born ulcerous.*" Some think, theſe laſt Words ſpoil all; for they imagine, that, for the Honour of *Sara*, the Plague of *Pharaoh* muſt have render him abſolutely impotent. *See the Remark upon the Article of this holy Woman.*

[C] *Memoirs preferable to thoſe of* Moſes.] I have a long time conceived an Indignation againſt *Joſephus*, and thoſe who excuſe him upon this Head. One, who made an open Profeſſion of *Judaiſm*, the Belief of which is founded upon the Divinity of the Scripture, has yet the Aſſurance to relate things otherwiſe, than he muſt have read them in *Geneſis*: he alters, he adds, he drops Circumſtances; in a Word, he ſets himſelf up in Oppoſition to *Moſes*, in ſuch a Manner, that one of the two muſt be a falſe Hiſtorian. Is this to be born, and ought we not to conclude, either that he did not ſcruple to ſcandalize his Nation, or that he thought the particular Opinion he entertained of the Fabillity, and conſequently of the Non-Inſpiration of *Moſes*, was common among the Jews? He deſerves the following Rebuke of *Theodore Beza* very juſtly. "Hoc ego ſemel pronuncio, quod tu nunquam falſum eſſe oſtendes, ſi verus eſt multis locis Joſephus, mentitum eſſe multis locis Moſen & ſacros omnes Scriptores. Sed nos potius ipſos pro veris ipſius Dei interpretibus, illum vero pro ſacerdote rerum ſacrarum valdè imperito, atque etiam negligente & prophano Scriptore, habebimus. —— *I pronounce this once for all, which you can never diſprove, that if, in many Places,* Joſephus *be in the right,* Moſes *and all the ſacred Writers muſt be in the wrong. But we will rather eſteem them the true Interpreters of God himſelf, but him a very unskilful Prieſt of ſacred Things, and even a careleſs and prophane Writer* (21)." I am of Opinion, that all the antient Hiſtorians have taken the ſame Liberty with regard to old Memoirs, which they conſulted. They have tacked Supplements to them; and, not finding the Facts unfolded and embelliſhed to their Fancy, they have ſtretched and dreſſed them up as they pleaſed; and this is what at preſent we receive for Hiſtory.

[D] *It was the Succeſſor of him, who took away* Sara.] I do not build upon the long Life, which we muſt allow to *Abimelech*, if he was alive at the time when *Iſaac* came to *Gerar*. This Journey was later than the Purchaſe, which *Jacob* made of the Right of Elderſhip: we may ſuppoſe therefore, that *Iſaac* was then eighty Years old; for he was ſixty when *Eſau* and *Jacob* were born: and *Eſau* was already a great Hunter, when he ſold his Birth-Right. On the other ſide, *Abimelech*, who took away *Sara*, was a King, and married, before *Iſaac* was born: He muſt then, at leaſt, have been a good hundred Years old, when *Iſaac* journied to *Gerar*. But is this much? Did not Men at that time live to above an hundred and fifty Years (22)? One would ſcarce believe one's own Eyes, that learned Men (23) ſhould be capable of objecting theſe Words of *The Preacher*, *Omnis potentatus vita brevis* (24): As if, ſuppoſing the Canonical Authority of this Book, it was contrary to Revelation, that a Man's Reign ſhould continue an hundred Years. Who does not ſee, that if this Paſſage has that Weight, which is attributed to it, we muſt deny the Truth of all Hiſtories, which inform us, that there have been Reigns which continued upwards of fifty or ſixty Years? What then is it which induces me to believe, that *Abimelech*, who took away *Sara*, was not the ſame who entered into Alliance with *Iſaac*? why it is this: This latter *Abimelech* readily believed, upon *Iſaac*'s Word, that *Rebecca* was but his Siſter; and when he was undeceived, not by the Words, but by the Actions, of *Iſaac*, he reproved him mildly for his Deceit, without ſaying to him, *You follow your Father's Example*; Abraham *heretofore played me the ſame Trick.* Now is it probable, if he had been already impoſed upon by *Abraham*, that he would have again fallen into the ſame Snare, or if he had, that he would not have paſſed a ſevere Rebuke upon *Iſaac*, on Account both of his Father's, and his own Hypocriſy? He would hardly have forgot *Abraham*'s, which drew ſuch Misfortunes upon him. St *Chryſoſtom* thought this ſo likely, that he boldly declared from the Pulpit, that *Abimelech* actually did reproach *Iſaac* with *Abraham*'s Diſſimulation. "Rex, adhuc habens recentem memoriam eorum, quæ tempore Patriarchæ rapta Sarâ tulerat, increbebat eum, reumque argens dicebat, cur hoc feciſti? — Hanc deceptionem & olim ſuſtinuimus à patre tuo (25). —— *The King, having freſh in his Memory what he ſuffered for the Rape of* Sara *in the Patriarch's Time, reproached him, and charging him with his Guilt, ſaid unto him, What haſt thou done?* —— *Thus was I heretofore deceived by your Father.*" But all this has no better Foundation, than Rhetorical Licence, which is ſometimes carried as far as that of the Poets and Painters,

—— Pictoribus atque Poëtis
Quidlibet audendi ſemper fuit æqua poteſtas (26).

Poets and Painters equally may dare;
In bold Attempts an equal Power they ſhare.
CREECH.

Two things ſeem to favour *Moreri*'s Opinion. Firſt, The King of *Gerar*, both in *Abraham*'s and *Iſaac*'s Time, had the ſame Name; and there was a General of his Army, whoſe Name was *Picol*, at both theſe Times. Secondly, *Rebecca*, beautiful as ſhe was, was not

(15) Iſaiah xxxvii. 3.

(16) *God had entirely clos'd up* EVERY *womb of the Houſe of Abimelech.* Gen. xx. 18.

(17) Mercerus in Rivetus, Oper. Tom. 1. p. 395.

(18) Pharaoh *King of* Egypt.

(19) Mercerus, ubi ſupra.

(20) Heideg. Hiſt. Patriarch. T. 2. p. 154.

(21) Beza's *Anſwer to* Balduin. Oper. Tom. 2. p. 220.

(22) Abraham *liv'd to* 175. *and* Iſaac *to* 180.

(23) Pererius *upon* Geneſ. xxvi. *Pref. to* Salian's Annals, T. 1. p. 520.

(24) *The* Geneva *Verſion renders it*, All Tyranny is of ſhort Continuance.

(25) Chryſoſtom's 51ſt *and* 52d *Homilies.*

(26) Hor. *Art of Poetry, ver.* 9.

tired into the Land of *Gerar*, where one Abimelech then reign'd. The Beauty of *Rebecca* occaſioned her Huſband's making uſe of the ſame Policy, which *Abraham* had had recourſe to, on account of *Sara*'s Beauty. *Iſaac* fearing to be ſlain, if it ſhould be known that he was the Huſband of the beautiful *Rebecca*, made her paſs for his Siſter. *Abimelech* diſcover'd the Cheat, by obſerving, as he look'd through a Window, a certain Sport [*E*] which paſſed between them; and having ſent for *Iſaac*, ſaid to him, *Behold of a ſurety ſhe is thy Wife, and how ſaidſt thou, ſhe is my Siſter?——What is this thou haſt done unto us? one of the people might lightly have lien with thy wife* [*F*], *and thou ſhouldſt have brought guiltineſs upon us.* At the ſame time, he forbad his Subjects, on pain of death, to offer the leaſt Injury to *Iſaac*, or *Rebecca*. This Remonſtrance, and this Decree, muſt have been ſincere; and we Moderns ought to be careful not to miſrepreſent theſe Matters (*f*). The Proſperity of *Iſaac* caus'd a change in the Friendſhip of *Abimelech*. For, perceiving the great Wealth, which *Iſaac* acquired, he very freely gave him to underſtand, that he muſt depart. He obey'd; and continuing to proſper, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition made to him in ſeveral places, on account of the Pits, which he dug, his Alliance was courted by *Abimelech*, whoſe Offers were favourably receiv'd (*g*).

not taken away, as *Sara* had been; the Reaſon of which might be, that *Abimelech* was grown old, and remembered likewiſe the ill Conſequences of the Rape of *Sara*. I anſwer, firſt, that the Kings of certain Countries affected all to take the ſame Name; as the Kings of *Egypt* did that of *Pharaoh*. Why then might not *Abimelech* be the common Appellation of all the Kings of *Gerar? Picol* might perhaps be the Name of a particular Employ. Perhaps too this Employ might have deſcended from Father to Son. Secondly, I reply, that *Iſaac*'s *Abimelech* might not be a young Man, tho' he was not the ſame, who took away *Sara*. I frankly own, I believe he was a good old Man; becauſe he formed no Deſign upon the beautiful *Rebecca*, tho' he did not believe her to be married; and becauſe he does not tell *Iſaac*, that ſhe had been in Danger from him, but from his Subjects; and, as theſe People were ſo debauched, that every beautiful Stranger, who was thought not to be married, was in great Danger; I can ſee no Reaſon more probable for *Abimelech*'s Continency towards *Rebecca*, than his old Age. *There is a Time* (ſay youthful Libertines) *when one is too wiſe.*

[*E*] *A certain Sport.*] Some have imagin'd, that the Scripture intended, under the Word *Sport*, to expreſs, modeſtly, the conjugal Duty, which *Iſaac* happen'd to be paying his Wife, at a Time when *Abimelech* was looking out of Window. "Putant quidem honeſtè ſignificari eo vocabulo copulam carnalem. Sed non ſit veriſimile prudentiſſimum & ſanctiſſimum virum tam incautè rem habuiſſe cum uxore, ut id per feneſtram proſpicere, ut Scriptura inquit, Rex poſſet Abimelech. Credibilius igitur eſt eo vocabulo ſignificatos eſſe tales jocos & blanditias in amplexando & oſculando, quales inter conjuges agitari turpe non eſt: extra conjugium vero nefas eſt (27).——*Some think, that carnal Copulation is modeſtly hinted at under that Word: but it is not likely, that* Iſaac, *a prudent and holy Man, would have to do with his Wife, in ſo unguarded a Manner, that King* Abimelech, *according to the Scripture, could behold it from his Window. It is more probable, that that Word implies only ſuch kind of ſporting and toying, by embraces and kiſſes, as is decent between married People, but out of Wedlock unlawful.*" Others will not hear of this ſort of Explanation; they ſay, that *Iſaac* was too wiſe, and too prudent, to take his Meaſures ſo ill; and that, upon ſuch Occaſion, he took care to be in a Place, where the Neighbours could not overlook him from their Windows. "We muſt therefore underſtand, *ſay they*, by the Word Sport, a certain Paſs-time, which, though it was not the laſt Act of the Play, was yet too familiar between Perſons not married, however they might be otherwiſe a-kin." This *Paſs-time* muſt mean ſomething elſe, than talking familiarly, jeſting, and laughing together; for a Brother and Siſter may do all this very modeſtly, and without giving occaſion to ſuch a Concluſion as *Abimelech* drew from the ſporting of *Iſaac* and *Rebecca*. This Explication appears to me incomparably more reaſonable, than the former: and, yet, it muſt be allowed, that Fondneſs might ſometimes hinder *Iſaac* from obſerving that great Precaution, which rigid Moraliſts would have exacted from the Patriarch: for, in ſhort, it cannot be denied, that *Abimelech*, looking through a Window, ſurpriz'd him diverting himſelf with *Rebecca* at a certain Game, whence he could not but certainly conclude they were Man and Wife. Take notice, that they had been marry'd forty Years: *Iſaac* was, then, eighty Years old. St *Auſtin*, in his Book againſt *Fauſtus the Manichean*, a great Exploder of the Patriarchs, defends *Iſaac* in a ſolid Manner (28); and, indeed, it is too rigorous to expect, that a Patriarch, or a Biſhop, if he is married, ſhould not recreate himſelf a little with his Wife, without cloſing all his Window-Shutters. For we muſt have this good Opinion of their Prudence, that if Nature inclines the greateſt Men to a little indulgence, they will walk ſo cautiouſly upon this ſlippery Road, as to take care that no Obſervation ſhall be made of them from their Neighbour's Window. *Cornelius à Lapide* does not know what it is he is confuting, when he ſets himſelf againſt the firſt Explication. "Judæi impuri, *ſays he*, jocum hunc intelligunt copulam conjugalem. Sed apage hos Cynicos! Quis credat Iſaac publicè, & ſpectante Rege, tam inverecundum, lubricum, & cynicum fuiſſe (29)?——*The unchaſt* Jews *underſtand this Sport of matrimonial Copulation. But away with theſe Snarlers! Who can believe, that* Iſaac *was ſo immodeſt, leud, and brutiſh, publickly, and in the King's Sight?*" This is not the thing: no one pretends, that *Iſaac* was, then, in the middle of the Street: he was in his Chamber; and had not ſufficiently faſten'd his Window-Shutters: This is the whole Matter; and, if this is too much, you will be obliged to condemn the Patriarch, and to act the *Cato* againſt him. It is well known that *Cato* expell'd one *Manlius* from the Senate, becauſe at noon Day, and in the Preſence of his Daughter, he had given his Wife a Kiſs (30). This *Manlius* would have been Conſul, probably, the next Election. Some pretend to diſcover an allegorical Myſtery (31) in this Sport of *Iſaac* and *Rebecca*, of whch certainly neither they, nor the ſacred Hiſtorian, in the leaſt dreamt. I ſhall not place theſe Errors among thoſe which I am compiling. It would be an Attempt like that of drinking the Sea dry. It were to be wiſh'd, that the greateſt part of theſe myſterious Conceits had been unknown to the World.

[*F*] *One of the People might lightly have lien with thy Wife.*] The *Philiſtines* muſt have been furious Folks in Love-Matters; ſince *Abimelech*, their King, is ſurpriz'd, that no one had lain with *Rebecca*, who paſs'd only for *Iſaac*'s Siſter. We learn from hence, at the ſame time, their great regard for Marriage. As for unmarried Women, they ſeem, in this Country, to have thought they were the firſt Comer's Right. Witneſs *Dina*, the Daughter of *Jacob*, who was decoy'd by them, as ſhe was taking a Walk. She was firſt enjoy'd, and then demanded in Marriage (32).

(*f*) Turſellin, *in his* Epiſt. Hiſt. p. 10. *Edit. of* Franeker, *in* 1692, *is greatly miſtaken in theſe Words*, Iſaac, going to Gerar, for Corn, by the Providence of God, preſerv'd his Wife's Chaſtity from the Luſt of Abimelech.

(*g*) Geneſ. xxiv.

(27) Pererius *upon* Geneſis, Ch. xxvi.

(28) Auſtin *againſt* Fauſt. B. 22. Ch. 46. *Mr* Thiers *quotes part of this Paſſage, in the 4th Part of his Treatiſe of Spo ts and Diverſions.*

(29) Corn. à Lapide *upon* Gen. xxvi. 8.

(30) Plutarch *in his* Cato Major, p. 316.

(31) *See* Pererius *upon* Geneſis, ch. xxvi.

(32) Gen. xxxiv.

ABLANCOURT (NICOLAS PERROT, Lord of) *See* PERROT.

ABRABANEL (a) (Isaac) a celebrated *Rabin*, was born at *Liſbon* [*A*], of a Family which pretended to be deriv'd from King *David* [*B*]. He puſh'd his Intereſt very far in the Court of *Alphonſo* V. King of *Portugal*, and was there honoured with the higheſt Offices; which he enjoy'd till the Death of that Prince: but he found a great Alteration under the new King. *Abrabanel* was Forty five Years old [*C*], when *John* II. ſucceeded his Father *Alphonſo*. All who were concern'd in the Management of Affairs in the preceeding Reign, were turn'd out; and, if our Rabin is to be credited, there was a ſecret Deſign of putting them to death, under pretence, that they had been contriving to betray the Crown of *Portugal* to the King of *Spain*. He was not appriz'd of this, when, in obedience to the Orders he had receiv'd to wait upon the King, he went to *Liſbon* with all haſte; but being inform'd upon the Road of the Plot, which was hatching againſt his Life, he retir'd with expedition into the King of *Caſtile*'s Dominions. All his Eſtate was confiſcated, upon the Return of the Soldiers, who had Orders to bring him dead or alive. He loſt, upon that occaſion, together with all his Books, the beginning of a *Commentary upon Deuteronomy*, which he was much concern'd at. Some Chriſtian Writers [*D*] do not agree, that the Cauſe of this Diſgrace was ſo little owing to his Miſconduct, as he pretended. They are of the ſame Opinion, in relation to his other Perſecutions [*E*]. Be that as it will, being ſettled in *Caſtile*, he apply'd himſelf to teaching and compoſing. He wrote, in the Year 1484, his *Commentary on the Books of Joſhua, Judges, and Samuel:* after which he was ſent for to the Court of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, and had Employments conferr'd upon him during eight Years, namely till the *Jews* were driven out of the Territories of the Catholic King, in 1492. He did all he could by his Prayers and his Tears [*F*] to avert this dreadful Storm; but he did not ſucceed, and was obliged, as well as the reſt, to depart with his Wife and Children. He retir'd to *Naples*, and there compoſ'd, in 1493, his *Commentary on the Books of Kings*. As he was a Courtier, he did not forget to recommend himſelf, by the Knowledge he had acquir'd in the Courts of *Portugal* and *Arragon*; inſomuch that he inſinuated himſelf into the good Graces of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, and afterwards of *Alphonſo*. He follow'd the Fortune of the latter, when *Charles* VIII. King of *France* drove him from *Naples*; for he paſs'd over with him into *Sicily* [*G*]. After the Death of *Alphonſo*,

(a) *He is called likewiſe* Abrabaniel, Abarbanel, Abarbinel, Abravanel, Avravanel, Abarbenel.

[*A*] *Was born at* Lisbon.] His Anceſtors were of *Caſtile*. "E majoribus Caſtellam Hiſpaniæ, ex parentibus Olyſſiponem Luſitaniæ agnovit patriam.— "*He claimed* Caſtile *of* Spain *as the Country of his* "*Anceſtors, and* Olyſſipon Luſitania *as the Country of* "*his Parents.*" Thus the Journal of *Leipſic* informs us (1). *Don Nicolas Antonio* will have it, that the Family of *Abrabanel* was ſettled at *Seville* for many Ages (2). He had it from *Bartolocci*; and he quotes the *Rabin Solomon ben Virga* (3), who has aſſerted almoſt the ſame thing in his *Hiſtory of the Jews* (4), tranſlated into *Latin* by *Gentius*, and quoted below.

[*B*] *Pretended to be derived from King* David.] *Abrabanel* has in part declared (5), that at the time of the Deſtruction of the firſt Temple, two Families of the Race of *David* paſſed into *Spain*, one of which ſettled at *Lucene*, and the other at *Seville*, where it left a Poſterity. In another Place (6) he gives us the Hiſtory of this Tranſmigration. The *Rabin Solomon ben Virga* introduces one *Thomas*, who makes a long Deduction of the ſame Story to *Alphonſo* King of *Spain*, and relates, that the Family of *Abrabanel* deſcended from the Kings of *Juda*; but *Alphonſo* wou'd believe nothing of it, and raiſed inſurmountable Difficulties againſt theſe Genealogies (7). The Jews, to get over the Difficulty, ſuppoſe, that *Abrabanel* loſt his Genealogical Books in the Hurry of his Removal (8). Mr *Huet* relates (9), that *Manaſſé ben Iſraël* affirms in his *Conciliator*, that theſe two Families, ſprung from *David*, retired into *Spain*, after the Ruin of the ſecond Temple. This *Rabin* had a very particular Intereſt in this ridiculous Story; for his Wife was of the Family of *Abrabanel* (10). Farther, it is not eaſy to know who this *Alphonſo* is, who converſes ſo long with this *Thomas*, in the Book of *Solomon ben Virga*. Some call him a King of *Portugal* (11); and as they inſiſt that the *Abrabanel*, whom *Thomas* mentions, is our *Rabin*, we cannot doubt but they take him for King *Alphonſo* V. and that this *Alphonſo* is the laſt King of *Caſtile*, who bore that Name (12). He might ſpeak upon good Grounds thus far; but he is guilty of an Error, when he places near two Centuries between this King and our *Rabin*; for this latter was born in the Year 1437, and that King died in 1350, aged 38 Years.

[*C*] *Forty five Years old*] *Nicolas Antonio* has inſerted, at the end of his *Bibliotheque d' Eſpagne* what Father *Bartolocci* had told him concerning *Iſaac Abrabanel*. He has by that corrected ſome Faults which had been before printed in the Article of this *Rabin*: but he ſeems to me not to have expreſs'd himſelf with Exactneſs, when he ſays, "Juvenis adhuc, ſed "benè doctus, in Caſtellæ regnum tranſiit, cum Jo-"hanni II. Portugalliæ Regi parum eſſet gratus. "—— *He was yet a Youth, but a good Scholar,* "*when, being diſagreeable to* John II. *King of* Por-"tugal, *he went into the Kingdom of* Caſtile (13)." He talks in that Place of an Age, which generally cannot have afforded time enough to acquire much Learning. This is what cannot be applied to forty five Years of Age. It is certain then, that the Author of the *Bibliotheque d' Eſpagne* believed that the *Rabin* was much younger than that, when he fled into *Caſtile*: he was therefore in an Error.

[*D*] *Some Chriſtian Writers.*] They ſay that *Abrabanel* deſerved the Treatment he met with; and that he would have been puniſhed more ſeverely, upon the Diſcovery of his ill Deſigns, if the good-natured Diſpoſition of King *John* had not been ſatisfied with baniſhing him. They add, that Remorſe of Conſcience made this *Rabin* take the Reſolution of quitting *Portugal*, and eſcaping by Night into *Caſtile*, with an extraordinary Readineſs (14).

[*E*] *They are of the ſame Opinion, in relation to his other Perſecutions.*] They ſay, that he intruded himſelf into the Court of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, by means of a Bank which he eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*; that he amaſs'd great Treaſures, by making uſe of all the Artifices of his Nation: that he tyrannized over the Poor, that he was very uſurious; that he had the Vanity to aſpire to the moſt illuſtrious Titles, and thoſe which ſolely belonged to the great Families of *Spain*; and beſides that, being a ſworn Enemy of the Chriſtian Religion, he contributed more than any one elſe to the Storm, which overwhelmed him and all his Countrymen (15).

[*F*] *By his Prayers and his Tears.*] He himſelf relates in one of his Books (16) what he did upon this Occaſion. *Solomon ben Virga* gives an Account of it in his Hiſtory of the *Jews* (17), with a tragical Deſcription of the terrible Miſeries, which fell upon three hundred thouſand *Jews*, who were obliged, in one Day, to depart out of the Dominions of the Catholic King.

[*G*] *He paſſed over with him into* Sicily.] *Nicolas Antonio*, correcting his Article of *Abrabanel*, upon

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(1) Act. Lipſ. *for the Month of* Nov. 1686. p. 529.

(2) (3) N. Ant. Bibl. Hiſp. Tom. 1. p. 627, &c. Tom. 2. p. 686.

(4) *Or* Scheveth Jehuda.

(5) (6) *Comment. upon* Zech. xi. p. 293. *and upon* 2 Kings xxv. p. 305. *in the* Acta Lipſ. Nov. 1686. p. 528.

(7) *In* Scheveth Jehuda, §. 11, &c. *in the* Acta Lipſ. Nov. 1686. p. 528.

(8) Acta Lipſ. Nov. 1686. p. 528.

(9) Huet's Demonſtr. Evang. p. 708. *Edit.* Leipſ. Ann. 1694. 4to.

(10) Id. ib.

(11) Acta Lipſ. 1686. p. 529.

(12) Nicol. Anton. Bibl. Hiſp. T. 1. p. 627.

(13) Id. T. 2. p. 686.

(14) Acta Lipſ. Nov. 1686. p. 529. *See likewiſe* F. Bartolocci's Bibl. Rabin. T. 3. p. 874.

(15) Ibid.

(16) *His* Comment. on the Books of Kings, *in* Nic. Anton. Bibl. Hiſp. T. 1. p. 627.

(17) Nic. Ant. Bibl. Hiſp. ibid.

Alphonſo, he retired to *Corfou*, and there began his *Commentary on Iſaiah*, in the Year 1495. He had the Satisfaction of recovering, by what Accident I know not, what he had formerly wrote upon the Book of *Deuteronomy*. He came back into *Italy*, the following Year, and went and ſettled at *Monopoli* in *Puglia (b)*, where he wrote many books. He finiſh'd his *Deuteronomy*, and compos'd his *Sevach Peſach* (*c*) and his *Nacalath Avoth* (*d*), in the year 1496. The following year, he compos'd his *Majene Hajeſchua* (*e*); and in 1498, his *Maſchmiah Jeſchua* (*f*) and his Commentary on *Iſaiah*. Some time after, he went to *Venice*, to make up the difference, which had ariſen between the *Venetians* and *Portugueſe*, concerning the Spice-Trade, and he ſhew'd ſo much Prudence and Ability, that he gain'd the Eſteem and Favour of the great Men. At *Venice* he compos'd his *Commentary on Jeremiah*, in the year 1504. Some ſay, that he compos'd, likewiſe, at that time, his *Commentary on Ezekiel and the twelve leſſer Prophets*. In the year 1506, he compos'd his *Commentary on Exodus*; and died at *Venice* in the year 1508, [*H*], aged 71 years. He left three Sons, *Juda*, *Joſeph*, and *Samuel* [*I*]. The eldeſt was a Phyſician and a great Poet, and compos'd many Verſes in Honour of his Father. It is ſaid, that *Samuel* embrac'd Chriſtianity at *Ferrara*, and receiv'd the Name of *Alphonſo*, which was That of the Duke. *Abrabanel* wrote many other Books [*K*] of which we cannot determine the Date, and of which

the Conferences which he had with Father *Bartolocci*, ſays that this *Rabin* followed King *Ferdinand* into *Sicily*, whom *Francis* had dethroned, and that, after the Death of this Prince, he retired to *Corfou* (18). Here is certainly a Miſtake; the Author takes *Ferdinard* for *Alphonſo*: it was with *Alphonſo* (19) that *Abrabanel* went into *Sicily*, as Father *Bartolocci* remarks (20), and not with *Ferdinand*. He continued at *Meſſina* 'till the Death of *Alphonſo* in the beginning of the Year 1495, and then he went to *Corfou* (21). It was there he began his Commentary on *Iſaiah* in 1495. If he had not paſſed over into this Iſland till after the Death of *Ferdinand*, we may be ſure he could not be there in 1495. Thus the *Appendix* of *Nicolas Antonio* ſtands in need of another *Appendix* to correct it.

[*H*] *In the Year* 1508.] Father *Bartolocci* gave *D. Nicolas Antonio* the Hint of this Year, who had already printed, that our *Rabin* was Profeſſor of the *Hebrew* Tongue at *Padua*, about the Year 1510. We have here a Proof of Mr *Moreri*'s Negligence. He had by him this Author's *Spaniſh Dictionary*, and yet did not take the Pains to conſult the *Appendixes*, which makes a conſiderable Part of it, and which clear up, and correct, many Paſſages of the Work. Thus he has preſerved the Miſtake relating to this Profeſſorſhip of *Padua*, without obſerving that the Author himſelf had corrected it at the end of his Book, and excuſed himſelf, as having been miſled by *Buxtorf*. "Venetias inde profectus me-
" moratur, ex quâ urbe in Germaniam aut in Pro-
" feſſionem Patavinam Hebraicæ Linguæ, quod Bux-
" torfium & alios ſecuti nos literis in Bibliothecâ
" noſtra mandarimus, potuit conferre ſe. Conſtat
" autem Venetiis eum Septuaginta (22) annos na-
" tum ſuperioris ſeculi anno octavo diem ſuum obiiſſe.
" Quo cum non benè convenit quod circâ annum
" decimum Profeſſorem, ut ibidem diximus, Pata-
" vinum egerit. (23). —— *He is ſaid to have gone*
" *from thence to* Venice; *whence he might proceed ei-*
" *ther to* Germany, *or to his* Hebrew *Profeſſorſhip*
" *at* Padua, *as I have related in my Dictionary, up-*
" *on the Authority of* Buxtorf, *and others. But it is*
" *certain, that he died at* Venice, *aged Seventy, in the*
" *eighth Year of the laſt Century: which does not agree-*
" *with the Account I have there given of his diſchar-*
" *ging the Office of Profeſſor at* Padua, *in the tenth*
" *Year.*" Thus *Nicolas Antonio* excuſes himſelf. He does not abſolutely deny this Profeſſorſhip at *Padua*; he is ſatisfied with ſaying, that he had not exactly marked the Time. Mr *Moreri* therefore ought not to have told us, that, in 1510, Abrabanel *taught the* Hebrew *Tongue at* Padua.

[*I*] *He left three Sons,* Juda, Joſeph, *and* Samuel.] At firſt ſight he ſeems to have left four, if it be true what *N. Antonio* reports (24), that *Leon*, who wrote the Dialogues of Love, was his Son. But we muſt obſerve, that the Author of theſe Dialogues may very well be the ſame with *Juda*, the eldeſt Son of *Abrabanel*. This *Juda* was commonly called *Meſſer Leone* (25). His Book of Love is very well known: *Denis Sauvage*, and *Pontus de Tiard* having tranſlated it into *French*. The Author is generally quoted under the Name of *Leo Hebræus*. He is called *Meſtre Leon Abarbanel Medico Hebræo* in a *Spaniſh* Tranſlation printed at *Venice* in 1568, in 4to.

Juda ABRABANEL left his Father, when the *French* conquered the Kingdom of *Naples*; and retired to *Genoa* to practiſe Phyſic there (26). *Samuel* ABRABANEL was alive in the Popedom of *Julius* III. as appears by a Petition, which he preſented to Cardinal *Sirlet*, Protector of the *Neophytes* (27). He left *Naples* in 1540, and carried with him the Value of two hundred thouſand Crowns (28). His Father dedicated to him the Commentary on *Pirke Avoth*, which he compoſed in the Year 1496 (29).

[*K*] Abrabanel *wrote many other Books*.] The following are ſet down in the *Leipſic-Journal* (30): *Commentaries on* Geneſis, Leviticus, *and* Numbers: *Raſch Amana* (31) *Sepher Jeſchuoth Meſchico*, a Work on the Traditions concerning the *Meſſiah*: *Zedek Olamim*; this relates to the Rewards and Puniſhments of another Life: *Sepher Jemoth Olam*; it is an Hiſtory from *Adam*: *Maamar Machaſc Schaddai*; it is a Treatiſe of the Prophecy and Viſion of *Ezekiel*, againſt the Rabin *Maimonides*: *Sepher Atereth Sekenim*: *Miphaloth Elohim* (32): *Sepher Schamaim Chadaſchim*: *Lahakath Nebhiim*. The Sieur *Theophilus Spizelius* remarks, that *John Buxtorf*, the Son, had ſhown him a great many Diſſertations taken from the Words of *Abrabanel*, which he had tranſlated into *Latin* (33). They muſt be like thoſe of the ſame Rabin, which the ſame *Buxtorf* has tranſlated and publiſhed with the Book *Coſri*. He ſhew'd him likewiſe other Tranſlations, which he had made from ſome Books of this Rabin. The *Commentary on* Haggai was tranſlated into *Latin* by *Adam Scherzerus*, and inſerted in the *Trifolium Orientale*, publiſh'd at *Leipſic*, in 1663. In the ſame Town was publiſh'd, in 1686, *the Commentary on* Joſhua, Judges, *and* Samuel. See what is ſaid concerning this Edition, in the *Leipſic-Journal*, whence I have borrowed this Article. In the ſame Year, 1686, they printed at *Leyden* the *Commentary on* Hoſea, with *a Preface on the twelve leſſer Prophets*; the whole tranſlated into *Latin*, with Notes, by *Francides Huſen*. *M. de Veil*, a converted *Jew*, publiſhed at *London*, in 1683, Abrabanel'*s Preface to* Leviticus. See the *Leipſic-Journal*, for the Month of *January*, 1684. *N. Antonio* will furniſh you with the Titles of ſeveral other Works of this Rabin, ſometimes with the Time and Place of the Impreſſion, as far as the *Rabinical Dictionary* of *Plantavitus* would inform him. Mr *Moreri* ought not to have ſaid, that *Abrabanel* wrote a Commentary on the *Talmud*, but a Piece of the *Talmud*, entituled *Pirke Avoth*. *N. Antonio*, his only Source, might have ſo well explain'd this to him, as not to ſuffer him to miſtake. Father *Simon*, who tells us many curious Particulars relating to *Abrabanel*'s Books, obſerves that the Book compos'd by this Rabin, under the Name of *Nahalat Avoth*, *Profeſſion of the Fathers*, is *a Commentary on the Treatiſe* Pirke Avoth, *and that both the one and the other were printed at* Venice, *in* 4to, *in the Year* 1545: *that there is a very learned Preface of this Author, at the beginning of his Book,* Nahalat Avoth, *in which he explains the Succeſſion of Tradition among the* Jews, *which is a very obſcure point* (34).

(*b*) *Obſerve, that he continu'd there about ſeven Years.* Bartolocci Bibl. Rabin. T. 3. p. 875.

(*c*) i. e. *the Sacrifice of the Paſſover.*

(*d*) i. e. *The Inheritance of the Fathers.*

(*e*) i. e. *The Springs of Salvation.*

(*f*) *The Preacher of Salvation.*

(18) N. Anton. Bibl. Hiſp. Tom. 2. p. 689.

(19) *He was the ſecond of this Name. He ſucceeded* Ferdinand *the* Baſtard, *and had for Succeſſor,* Ferdinand II.

(20) Bart. Bibl. Rabin. Tom. 2. p. 875.

(21) Id. ibid.

(22) *He ought to have ſaid* 71.

(23) N. Anton. Bibl. Hiſp. Tom. 1. p. 630.

(24) Ibid.

(25) Barthol. Bibl. Rabin. Tom. 3. p. 880.

(26) Ibid. p. 881.

(27) Id. ibid.

(28) Id. ibid. p. 688. *from* R. David Ganz.

(29) Id. ibid.

(30) Act. Liſp. Nov. 1686. p. 531.

(31) i. e. *the Head of Faith. It was tranſlated into* Latin, *by* W. Vorſtius, *and printed with his Notes, at* Amſterdam, *in* 1638. N. Ant. Bibl. Hiſp. Tom. 1. p. 629.

(32) i. e. *the Works of God. It treats learnedly of the Creation of the World, and examines whence* Moſes *had all that he has wrote in the Book of* Geneſis. *Simon*'s Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament.

(33) Spizelius's Specim. Bibl. Univ.

(34) Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament.

which ſome have not yet been printed. Many of the *Noble Venetians*, and the chief of the *Jews*, ſolemniz'd his Funeral with great Pomp. His Body was interr'd at *Padua*, in a Burying-Ground without the City. A little while after, the *Rabin*, *Juda Mentz*, Rector of the Univerſity, was buried in the ſame Place. The Siege of 1509 ſo deſtroy'd every thing about that Place, that this Burying-Ground was no longer to be diſtinguiſh'd. *Abrabanel* was Maſter of great Talents: he was upon a level with the famous *Maimonides*; and ſome even rank him above him. The *Jews* pretend, that he entirely overthrew all the Arguments and Objections of the *Chriſtians*. Theſe latter, juſtly contemning what he wrote in the *Jewiſh* Controverſy, yet greatly eſteem his other Interpretations. They find him to be a ſubtile, clear, learned, and honeſt, Commentator. He does not canonize the Opinions of his Maſters; and cenſures very freely the Plagiariſm, and other Faults, which he found them to be guilty of. His great Weakneſs was his being too ſenſible of the Perſecutions, which the *Jews* ſuffer'd, and in which he bore a conſiderable part. The Memory of this Misfortune animated him with ſuch Fury againſt the *Chriſtians*, that he treated them with the utmoſt Indignation. He has ſearce wrote one Book, in which his Anger and Thirſt of Revenge is not to be trac'd; and the wretched Condition of his Nation is uppermoſt in every thing he compos'd. He hop'd by this means to revive the expiring *Synagogue (g)*; and I ſuppoſe he found it a Relief from that Oppreſſion of Choler, which would have choak'd him, had he not diſcharg'd it upon Paper. Nor is he the only one, who has found Relief from this Remedy. We know ſome, who have ſtood in great need of it, tho' they were not ignorant, like him, of the Precepts of the Goſpel. I do not meet with his Profeſſorſhip at *Padua* [*L*], nor his Journey to the *Eaſt* [*M*]. Theſe are Facts in which Mr *Moreri* is groſſly miſtaken, as he is in what he relates concerning his Travels into *Germany* [*N*].

(g) From the Acta Erudit. Lipſ. *for the Month of* Nov. 1686. *p.* 528, &c.

Abrabanel was indefatigable in his Studies: he ſpent whole Nights in it; and was capable of faſting a long time. He wrote with great Eaſe: the implacable Hatred, which he ſhew'd in his Writings againſt the *Chriſtians* [*O*], did not hinder his living with them in a civil, chearful, ſoft, and obliging manner.

[*L*] *I do not meet with his Profeſſorſhip at* Padua.] See the Remark [*H*]. The learned Gentlemen, who have given us an hiſtorical Abridgment (35) of the Life of *Abrabanel*, and who have trac'd him almoſt Year by Year, from his leaving *Spain*, to his Death, would not ſure have paſs'd over ſo remarkable a Circumſtance: Whence I conclude, that, ſince they make no mention of it, the Author himſelf had ſaid nothing of it. Now it is not probable, that, having mentioned ſo many things not ſo much to his Honour, as a Profeſſorſhip at *Padua*, he ſhould ſay nothing of this Employ, if he had been actually inveſted with it. And if other Writers had mention'd it upon any good Grounds, I believe the *Leipſic* Gentlemen would not have been ignorant of it, or paſs'd it by in Silence. It is therefore a Fact a little *apocryphal*, to ſay no worſe.

(35) Act. Lipſ. Nov. 1686, p. 528, &c.

Add to this, that Father *Bartolocci*, who has given us an exact Series of this Rabin's Adventures, takes no notice of it.

[*M*] *Nor his Journey to the Eaſt.*] I look upon it to be falſe, for the abovementioned Reaſon; namely, the Silence of theſe Gentlemen: Nay, though this Journey were real, Mr *Moreri* has ſtill advanc'd a great Falſhood. He ſuppoſes, firſt, that *Abarbanel* taught *Hebrew* at *Padua*, in 1510; and, in the ſecond place, that the eager Deſire he had to ſhew his hatred to the Chriſtians induc'd him *to go into the Eaſt, to live there with thoſe of his own Sect, and that it was there he compos'd that great Number of Books, which are ſtill extant*. We have ſeen that he died in 1508; which is enough to convince us that all this is meer *Chimera*.

[*N*] *Theſe are Facts in which Mr* Moreri *is groſly miſtaken; as he is in what he relates concerning his Travels into* Germany.] I did not dare to treat this as falſe, whilſt I was perſwaded, that D. *Nicolas Antonio*, had faithfully cited *Buxtorf*; for, ſuppoſing his Quotation juſt, we muſt believe, that *Abrabanel* had mention'd his own Travels into *Germany*, in his Commentary on *Pirke Avoth*. "Profugus ergo is in Germaniam venit, quod ipſe ait in Commentariis ad librum Talmudicum Pirke Avoth, —— Buxtorfio teſte, in tractatu de Abbreviaturis Hebræorum, p. 100 (36).——*In his Exile, he retired to* Germany, *as he tells us himſelf, in his Commentaries on the Talmudic Book*, Pirke Avoth,—*according to* Buxtorf, *in his Treatiſe* de Abbrev. Hebr. p. 100." All I could ſay, therefore, upon this Suppoſition, was, that, at leaſt, it was certain, that *Abrabanel* did not viſit *Germany*, after his Baniſhment from the Territories of the Catholic King; becauſe, upon leaving them, he embark'd for the Kingdom of *Naples*, and arriv'd there ſoon after. I diſcover'd likewiſe *Moreri* to be in an Error; *Abarbinel*, ſays he, was in the Number of *the Exiles: He retired, firſt, to* Germany, *and then to* Italy. And I had the more Reaſon to be ſurpriz'd at this Miſtake, as I knew that *D. Nicolas Antonio* had corrected it, upon better Information, from Father *Bartolocci*. But, upon conſulting the Book quoted, I found that the Author takes no notice, that *Abrabanel* mention'd his own Travels into *Germany*: See what *Buxtorf* ſays: "Hic titulus (Morenu, *i. e. Doctor Noſter)* novus eſt, infra ducentos annos natus in Germania, inde in Italiam traductus, quod valde miratus fuit Don Iſaac Abarbinel ex Hiſpania in has terras veniens, ut ipſemet ſcribit in Commentario Pirke Abhoth, cap. 6. (37) —— *This Title (*Morenu, i. e. *our Doctor) is new, having aroſe in* Germany, *within theſe two hundred Years, and from thence tranſplanted into* Italy; *which* Don Iſaac Abrabanel *was very much ſurpriz'd at, as he himſelf writes in his Commentary on* Pirke Avoth." I could no longer doubt, that D. *Nicolas Antonio* miſtook *Buxtorf*'s meaning; and it is an Error, which he does no retract in the Place where he informs us, what Father *Bartolocci* had told him concerning *Abrabanel*. Obſerve, that this Father proves demonſtrably the Falſeneſs of theſe ſuppoſed Travels into *Germany*, which, *ſays he* (38), ſome mention upon the Authority of *Buxtorf*. I doubt not but this will ſtop the Courſe of this erroneous Quotation.

(36) N. Ant. Bibl. Hiſp. Tom. 1. p. 628.

(37) Buxtorf de Abbrev. Hebræ. p. 115. Edit. 2.

(38) Bart. Bibl. Rabin. Tom. 3. p. 688.

[*O*] *Which he ſhew'd in his Writings againſt the Chriſtians.*] His Commentaries on the Scriptures, but chiefly thoſe he made upon the Prophets, are ſo full of Venom againſt *Jeſus Chriſt*, the *Church*, the *Pope*, the *Cardinals*, the *Clergy*, and all *Chriſtians* in general, particularly the *Roman Catholics*, that Father *Bartolocci* was of Opinion, that the *Jews* ought not to be ſuffer'd to read them (39). Upon which he remarks, that the reading of the Commentaries on the leſſer Prophets had been forbidden them, and that they dared not to keep them, "In his etiam pluribus in locis canino dente Chriſtianam Religionem mordet & lacerat, ideoque merito illorum lectio & retentio Judæis interdicta eſt, nec eos apud ſe retinere audent, publicè ſaltem & palam, propter metum Chriſtianorum (40). ——*For in many Paſſages of theſe he tears to pieces the Chriſtian Religion, in ſo enrag'd a Manner, that the reading and keeping of them is forbidden the* Jews, *nor dare they be in Poſſeſſion of them, at leaſt openly, for fear of the Chriſtians.*"

(39) Bibl. Rab. Tom. 3. p. 876.

(40) Id. ib. p. 878.

ABRAHAM,

ABRAHAM.

ABRAHAM, the *Father*, and Source, of the *Faithful*, was the Son of TERAH. He deſcended from *Noah* by *Shem*, from whom he was diſtant nine Generations. The Opinion, which ſuppoſes him to be born in the 130th Year of *Terah* (*a*), ſeems to me more probable, than that which places his Birth in the 70th Year of the ſame *Terah*. There is great probability, that he was born in the ſame City, from whence the Holy Scripture tells us his Father retired, in order to go into the Land of *Canaan* (*b*). It was a City of *Chaldæa* named *Ur*. *Abraham* went out of it with his Father, and ſtaid with him at *Haran* 'till his Death. After this he reſum'd his firſt Deſign, which was a Journey to *Paleſtine*. We may read in the Scripture the ſeveral Stations he made in the Land of *Canaan*; his Journey into *Egypt*, where his Wife was taken from him, who was likewiſe his Siſter by the Father's ſide (*c*); his other Journey to *Gerar*, where ſhe was taken from him in the ſame manner, and reſtor'd again, juſt as before; the Victory, which he gain'd over four Princes, who had plunder'd *Sodom*; his Complaiſance to his Wife, who was willing he ſhou'd have Children by their Handmaid *Agar* (*d*); the Covenant, which God made with him, ſeal'd with the Sign of Circumciſion, his Obedience to the Order which he had receiv'd from God to ſlay his only Son; the manner in which this Action was ſtop'd; his Marriage with *Ketura*; his Death at the Age of 175 Years; and his Burial, by *Sara*, his firſt Wife, in the Cave of *Macpelah*. It would be uſeleſs to enlarge upon theſe Particulars. The Proteſtants have them at their Fingers ends; they fetch them from their Source, from their tendereſt Years; and as to the *Roman* Catholics, they have no need of any other Dictionary to inſtruct them, than *Moreri*'s and *Simon*'s. It would be more agreeable to the Nature of this Collection, to dwell upon the Falſhoods and groundleſs Traditions relating to *Abraham*, but the number of them would be ſufficient to tire the Patience of the moſt indefatigable Writers. For, what a Variety of Conjectures is there concerning the Motives of his Converſion [*A*]? What Exploits has he not been made to perform againſt Idolatry [*B*],

both

[*A*] *Concerning the Motives of his Converſion.*] It is a common Opinion, that *Abraham* imbibed with his Milk the Poiſon of Idolatry; and that *Terah* his Father made Statues, and taught that they were to be adored as Gods (1). The *Jews* ſay, that *Abraham* for a long time followed the Craft of his Father *Terah* (2): That is, that he made and ſold Idols. Others ſay, that the Impiety, which reigned in this Country, conſiſting in the Adoration of the Sun, and Stars, *Abraham* was a long time entangled in this Mire. "Ipſum longo tempore Chaldæorum delirio "de Aſtrorum divinitate innutritum fuiſſe (3). —— "*He had been educated for a great while in the* "Chaldæans *ſenſeleſs Opinion of the Divinity of the* "*Stars.*" *Maimonides* lays it down as Matter of Fact, that *Abraham* was educated in the Religion of the *Zabians*, who acknowledged no other God but the Stars (4). He extricated himſelf from it, by the Reflexions he made on the Nature of the Stars. He admired their Motions, Beauty, and Order; but obſerved likewiſe their Imperfections; and concluded from thence, that there was a Being ſuperior to the whole Machine of the World, an Author and Director of the Univerſe. *Suidas* does well to cite *Philo*, to prove that *Abraham* arrived at the Knowledge of God by theſe kind of Reflexions; but, when he reports, upon the Authority of the ſame Author, that *Abraham*, from the Age of fourteen Years, was ſo highly enlightened, as to have the Courage to ſay to his Father *Terah*, *Renounce this pernicious Trade of Idolatry, with which you deceive the World*, this is not a conſiſtent Account of the long Idolatry of *Abraham*. It is certain, that *Joſephus*, without taking Notice that this Patriarch had been a long time infected with Idolatry, maintains, that by his own Genius, and by contemplating the Univerſe, he found out the Unity of God, and a Providence, and that he was the firſt, who ventured to combat popular Error upon that Head (5). He met with an Oppoſition ſufficiently formidable to induce him to leave his Country. This is perhaps the firſt Inſtance of Baniſhment for Religion's Sake. Upon this Footing, *Abraham*, under the Law of Nature, ſhould be, with regard to this kind of Puniſhment, what St *Stephen* was, under the Law of Grace, with regard to his Sufferings. He ſhould be the Patriarch of the Refugees, no leſs than the Father of the Faithful. It cannot, I think, be denied, that his Father was an Idolater, ſince the ſacred Scripture, calling him by his Name, aſſures us of it (6); but all that can be inferred from thence is, that *Abraham*, before the Age of Diſcretion, was of the Religion of his Father. It is the inevitable Fate of Children to follow the Religion of thoſe who educate them. At fourteen Years of age, as *Suidas* relates, he made uſe of his Reaſon: he perceived the Gulph, in which his Father was plunged, and he fled from it, in ſuch a Manner, that, upon God's commanding him to leave his Country, *Terah* reſolved to accompany him. St *Epiphanius* relates, that Idolatry having began in the Time of *Sarug*, Great-Uncle of the Patriarch *Abraham*, the Idols conſiſted only of flat Painting; and that *Terah* was the firſt who made them of Clay (7).

[*B*] *What Exploits has he not been made to perform againſt Idolatry?*] I would not accuſe *Philo* of contradicting himſelf; tho' we find him relating in one of his Works, that *Abraham* was a long time infected with the extravagant Opinions of the *Chaldæans* (8); and in *Suidas*'s Dictionary, that *Abraham*, at the Age of fourteen Years, was ſenſible of the Abſurdities of Idolatry: for what can be depended upon, or what regard can be had to Numbers and Quotation from an Author, ſo mutilated and corrupted, as *Suidas?* Perhaps he might have wrote not *fourteen*, but *fifty* Years. There is an old Tradition, which makes *Abraham* of this latter Age, when he left the Boſom of Idolatry. It is related (9), that his Father, having undertaken a Journey, intruſted him with the Sale of his Statues; and that a certain Perſon, pretending to buy, asked him *How old he was? Fifty Years old, reply'd* Abraham. *Wretch that thou art*, adds the other, *at the Age of Fifty, to adore a Being of yeſterday!* This confounded *Abraham*. Some time after a Woman brought him ſome Meal to offer to the Idols; inſtead of which he took a Hatchet, and broke them to pieces, placing the Hatchet afterwards in the Hand of the biggeſt. *Terah*, upon his Return, demanded the Occaſion of this Deſtruction. *Abraham* anſwered him, that a Diſpute aroſe among the Idols, which of them ſhould eat firſt of an Offering, which a certain Woman brought them; *upon which That God*, (ſays he) *which is bigger than the reſt, got up, and broke the others to pieces with a Hatchet*. *Terah* anſwered him, that he endeavoured to impoſe upon him, and that theſe Idols could not perform ſuch a thing. *Abraham* immediately retorted theſe Words of his Father againſt the Worſhip of falſe Gods: but *Terah* did not underſtand Rallery; he delivered up his Son to the Inquiſition. *Nimrod*, the grand Inquiſitor, as well as Conqueror, of the Country, exhorted *Abraham* to the Adoration of Fire: At laſt, after many Anſwers and Replies on

both

(*a*) *It is, according to the* Hebrew, 352 *from the Deluge, and* 2008 *from the Creation.*

(*b*) Geneſ. xi. 31.

(*c*) *See the Article* SARA.

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(*d*) *See the Article* AGAR.

(1) Sudias *in* Σαρȣχ.

(2) *In* Genebrard's Chron.

(3) Philo *in* Salian, Tom. 1. p. 387.

(4) Maim. More Nevoc. c. 29. p. 3.

(5) Joſeph. Antiq. B. 1. c. 7. *See likewiſe* Recognit. Clem. B. 1.

(6) *Your Fathers dwelt on the other Side of the Flood in old Time, even* Terah, *the Father of* Abraham, *and* Nachor, *and they ſerv'd other Gods.* Joſ. xxiv. 2.

(7) Epiph. Hæreſ. B. 1. p. 7, 8.

(8) Καλδαισας μακρον τίνα χρόνον· *Chaldeiſing a long time.* Philo *of* Abraham, p. 361.

(9) R. Moſes Haddarſchan *in* Bereſchet Rabba, *in* Heidegger's Hiſt. Patr. Tom. 2. p. 36.

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both in *Chaldæa*, and the City of *Haran* [*C*]? How many Sciences [*D*], and how many Books [*E*] have not been attributed to him? The *Jews* aſcribe to him the Privilege

both Sides, he ordered him to be thrown into the middle of the Flames, ſaying, *Let your God deliver you. Haran*, Brother of *Abraham*, waited impatiently for the Event, reſolving in himſelf to follow the Party which got the better; to be of *Nimrod*'s Religion, if *Abraham* was burnt, and of *Abraham*'s Religion if he was not. *Abraham* came out whole and untouch'd from the middle of the Flames; and *Nimrod* thereupon having demanded of *Haran, in whom he believed*, and receiving this Anſwer, *I believe in the God of* Abraham, commanded him to be thrown into a Furnace. *Haran* was ſo roughly handled there, that he died ſoon after in the Preſence of his Father (10). The Reaſon, why the Fire had ſuch Power over him, was becauſe his Faith was not ſo lively as that of *Abraham*, and that he was not predeſtinated to great Things, as *Abraham* was (11). This is by no means a new Tradition; for St *Jerom* reports it; and he ſeems even to adopt it, as far as relates to the miraculous Preſervation of *Abraham* in the midſt of the Fire (12): For, as to the ſuperſtitious Cruelty of *Terah*, in acting the Part of an Informer to the Holy Office againſt his own Son, he ſays nothing of it. St *Epiphanius*, who is likewiſe ſilent as to this Matter, maintains on the contrary, that *Terah* ſurviv'd *Haran*, as a Puniſhment for his Blaſphemy in making Gods of Clay; and, that before him, no Father had ever ſeen his Children die a natural Death (13). The Ambiguity of the Word *Ur* (14), may have given Occaſion to theſe Fables. Thoſe, who lay a Streſs on the Words of God to *Abraham*, *I am the Lord, that brought thee out of* Ur *of the* Chaldees (15), imagine that he ſaved him from ſome great Perſecution, becauſe he makes uſe of the ſame Phraſe at the beginning of the *Decalogue*, to ſignify the Deliverance from *Egypt* (16). But this is to ſearch for Myſteries unneceſſarily. We meet with no Footſteps of this Perſecution in Scripture; and therefore we may proportionably rank in the ſame Claſs of imaginary Notions the Fire, which did no Injury to *Abraham*, and that which *Maimonides* borrows from (17) a certain Treatiſe of the Agriculture of the *Egyptians*. We find there, that *Abraham*, having maintained in a public Diſpute againſt the Idolaters, that *Fire* was not worthy of Divine Honours, was thrown into Priſon, deſpoil'd of his Effects, and condemned to Baniſhment. The King was afraid, leaſt the Authority and Eloquence of ſo great a Man ſhould convert his People from the Adoration of Fire. *Cedrenus* aſcribes the Death of *Haran* to a very unlikely Cauſe; pretending that it was for endeavouring to ſnatch the Idols of *Terah* out of the Fire, which *Abraham* had thrown in. This Attempt muſt be vain, ſince he himſelf periſhed by the Flames.

[*C*] *And the City of* Haran.] It is pretended, that he became there a Converter; and that, whilſt he was labouring to make Proſelytes among the Men, *Sara* was doing the ſame among the Women (18); and that we muſt underſtand in this Senſe the Words of *Geneſis*, where it is ſaid, that *Abraham* went out of *Haran*, with *Sara* his Wife, *Lot*, his Brother's Son, all the Riches they had acquired, and *all the Souls they had gotten* (19). They will not have us underſtand this of the getting of Children, but of propagating the Faith: And they confirm this Explanation by a Metaphor, which the Apoſtle St *Paul* makes uſe of, at the 19th Verſe of the 4th Chapter of his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*. *My little Children, of whom I am in travail again, until Chriſt be form'd in you.* It is more probable, that the Souls, which they had gotten, were the Slaves which they had purchas'd, together with the Children, who were born of theſe Slaves; not but that *Abraham*, without doubt, endeavour'd to inſtruct the Infidels, as far as his Zeal and his Prudence would permit him; and, if he converted any, they probably follow'd him into the Land of *Canaan*. There are, who think, that his Father did not ſerve falſe Gods, till after his arrival at *Haran* (21). But this ſeems abſurd: for, as it is very probable, that (22) this Family abandon'd *Chaldæa*, to avoid a Perſecution, which it had reaſon to fear, on account of it's deſerting Idolatry; it would be very ſtrange, if it's Head ſhould not have been tainted with it, till in that very Country, to which they fled for Refuge. But the worſhip of Idols, of which *Abraham* had cur'd *Terah*, before they left their Country, might poſſible revive in the Mind of the good old Gentleman: for, in thoſe times of Ignorance, few Men had Strength enough to maſter their natural Inclination to Idolatry entirely. It is even believ'd, that *Nachor*, the third Son of *Terah*, was never quite converted, but that, however, he left his Country, in order to join his Father at *Haran* (23). Perhaps it might be he, who reviv'd the Veneration for Idols, in the Mind of the old Man, which *Abraham* had effac'd. It is certain that *Laban*, Grandſon of this *Nachor*, was an Idolater. Some of the Fathers of the Church have thought, that *Terah* was neither a Believer in his Life time, nor at the point of Death. See the 31ſt, and 37th Homilies of St *Chryſoſtom*. How will they prove this? And how ſhall the contrary be proved to them? The Hiſtory of *Abraham* is attended with numberleſs Difficulties, in which both Sides of the Queſtion do not want for Reaſons. But poor Father *Bolduc*, who believ'd that this Patriarch built Monaſteries at *Haran*, and carry'd with him into *Paleſtine* only the youngeſt of the Monks (24), is not one of thoſe, who can alledge any Reaſon for his Opinion.

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[*D*] *How many Sciences.*] They ſay, he underſtood *Aſtronomy*. This is what *Beroſus* relates of him, without naming him, if we may believe *Joſephus* (25). Some will have it, that he taught Arithmetic and Aſtronomy to the *Egyptians*. *Joſephus* affirms this (26); and *Nicolas Damaſcenus* would have confirm'd it, had he ſaid that *Abraham* taught Geometry and Arithmetic to the *Egyptians*; but he ſays no ſuch thing. Mr *Heidegger*, at the 144th Page of his ſecond *Tome*, cites the 4th Book of *Nicolas Damaſcenus*'s Hiſtory, as if this were to be found there; but he miſtakes the Words of *Joſephus* for thoſe of *Nicolas*, in the 16th Chapter of the 9th Book of *Euſebius*'s *Præparatio Evangelica*. This Patriarch communicated Aſtronomy to the *Phænicians*, and *Egyptians*, according to *Eupolemus*, and *Artapan* (27); but, after all, theſe Things are not Articles of Faith. The Authors, who attribute ſuch ſort of Things to him, weaken the Force of their own Teſtimony, by the Falſhoods which they mix with them. One ſays, that *Abraham* reign'd at *Damas* (28); another, that he ſojourn'd twenty Years in *Egypt*, with his whole Family, in the Court of King *Pharethon* (29); a third does him the Injuſtice to think, that the Motive of his Journey into *Egypt*, was a Deſire to be acquainted with the Opinions of the *Egyptians*, concerning the Deity, with a Deſign of following them, if they were better than his own, or to undeceive that People, if their Belief was erroneous (30). Some Moderns think, that he did not teach Mathematics to the *Egyptians* (31); but the Reaſon they give appears to me to be falſe. They ſay, that the Detention of *Sara* by the King of *Egypt*, made *Abraham* ſo uneaſy, that he was not capable of reading Lectures on ſuch abſtract Sciences as theſe, which, like Poetry, require eaſe and freedom of Mind:

> Carmina ſeceſſum ſcribentis & otia quærunt.
>
> *From Noiſe and Care the Poet muſt be free.*

But we muſt carefully obſerve, that *Joſephus* has well diſtinguiſh'd the Times; he ſays that *Abraham*'s Conference with the wiſe Men of *Egypt* was after the Reſtoration of *Sara*, and when he was contented in his Mind, as well on account of the Favours, which *Pharaoh* heap'd upon him, as becauſe he was ſatisfy'd that his Wife had brought back her Honour untouch'd.

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[*E*] *And how many Books.*] There is a Book of the *Creation*, which was for a long time aſcrib'd to him (32). It is mention'd in the *Talmud* (33): The Rabins *Chanina* and *Hoſchaia*, were accuſtom'd to read it on the Eve of the Sabbath. The Author of a Book, entituled *Coſri*, ſays, that this Work of *Abraham* is very profound, and ſtands in need of a long Interpretation; that it teaches the Unity of God; that, in one light, it ſeems to contradict itſelf, but, in another, that it is very conſiſtent. All the *Jews* do not attribute this Book to this great Patriarch. Some of them declare loudly, that it is a ſpurious Work, and condemn the boldneſs of the Rabin *Aki-*

(10) *They found this Circumſtance upon* Gen. xi. 28.

(11) *The* Jews, *in* Lyranus, *and* Toſtatus, *in* Salian's Citation, Ann. Tom. 1. p. 402.

(12) Hieron. Hebr. *in* Geneſ.

(13) Epiph. Hæreſ. B. 1. p. 8.

(14) *It is the proper Name of a Town, and ſignifies likewiſe, Fire. In* Eſdras B. 2. c. 9. *the* Latin *Verſion ſays*, Qui elegiſti eum de igne Chaldæorum.

(15) Gen. xv. 7.

(16) Paulus Burgenſis, *in his* Add. *to the* Poſtil. *of* Lyranus *upon* Geneſis.

(17) Ibid. *See his* Mor. Nevochim, Pars 3. c. 29.

(18) *See* Onkelos, *the* Chaldee Prraphraſe, *and* Fagius, *who tranſlated it.*

(19) Gen. xii. 5.

(21) Teſt. *in* Pererius *upon* Gen. xi.

(22) *This is built upon the Teſtimony of* Joſephus, *and the Book of* Judith, ch. v. *St* Auſtin *affirms it in his* de Civit. Dei. Lib. 16. c. 13.

(23) *See St* Auſtin, ibid.

(24) *See* Heidegger's Hiſt. Patriarch. Tom. 2. p. 88.

(25) Antiq. B. 1. c. 7.

(26) Ibid. c. 8.

(27) Alex. Polyhiſt. *cited by* Euſebius. Præp. Ev. c. 17, 18.

(28) Nic. Damaſc. *in* Joſeph. Antiq. B. 1. c. 7. Juſtin *ſays the ſame*, B. 36. c. 2.

(29) Artap. *in* Euſebius Præp. Ev. B. 9. c. 18.

(30) Joſeph. Antiq. B. 1. c. 8.

(31) *See* Salian, Tom. 1. p. 414.

(32) *See Remark* [*A*], *of the Article* AKIBA.

(33) *See* Heidegg. Hiſt. Patriarch. Tom. 2. p. 145.

vilege of having been born circumcis'd (*e*), and to have had the ſame Soul with *Adam* (*f*). They believe that this Soul belong'd afterward to *David*, and that it will be That of the *Meſſiah*, as *Bartolocci* remarks in his *Rabinical Dictionary*. The *Mahometans* likewiſe have related ſeveral idle Stories concerning this Patriarch, as may be be ſeen in *Al-Koran*, and in one of their principal Authors, named *Keſſæus*. They make him take a Journey to *Mecca*, and pretend, that he began there to build a Temple [*F*]. See the *Bibliotheque Orientale* of Mr *d'Herbelot*, from page the 12th to the 16th; we meet with many curious Particulars there. If we had the Book, which *Hecatæus* compos'd, about *Abraham* (*g*), we ſhould perhaps ſee many things, which at preſent have never been heard of. The Chriſtians reſolv'd not to be the only Perſons, who have invented no idle Stories concerning *Abraham*; they have made him plant Trees of a ſingular Virtue [*G*].

I ſhall here mention a few more of the Dreams of the Rabins. They ſay, that the *Egyptian* Bondage was a Puniſhment for ſome Faults which *Abraham* had committed; for he had conſtrained the *Diſciples of Wiſdom* to take up Arms, and had ſuffer'd Perſons inſtructed in the Law of God to relapſe into Idolatry. Thus they underſtand thoſe Words of the Scripture, where it is ſaid, *He arm'd his trained ſervants, which were ere born in his houſe, three hundred and eighteen* (*h*); and that he reſtor'd the Perſons (*i*), which the King of *Sodom* demanded back (*k*). Father *Bartolocci* makes a great Buſtle about this matter, but does not confute it well [*H*]. They ſay likewiſe, *firſt*, that the ſight of a precious Stone, which hung about *Abraham*'s Neck, cur'd all Diſeaſes; and that God hung this Stone in the Sun, after the Death of *Abraham* (*l*): *ſecondly*, That this Patriarch taught his Children Magic, whom he had by his Concubines (*m*).

ba, whom they look upon to be the the real Author of the piece (34). " Quis dedit Poteſtatem Aquibæ " ſcribendi librum *Jezira*, nomine Abrahami Patris " noſtri (35)? —— *Who gave* Aquiba *the Liberty of* " *writing the Book* Jezira, *uuder the Name of our* " *Father* Abraham?" The Supplement to *Moreri* has a very curious Article upon this Subject, taken from the Critical Hiſtory of Father *Simon*. Conſult it, at Page 48, and 536, of the *Rotterdam* Edition. In the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, the Heretics, the *Sethians*, vented an *Apocalypſe* of *Abraham*, as St *Epiphanius* remarks (36). *Origen* has quoted a pretended Work of this Patriarch, in which a good and a bad Angel are introduc'd diſputing concerning his Salvation, or Damnation (37). The Library of the Monaſtery of St *Croſs*, upon Mount *Amara* in *Ethiopia*, contains, they ſay (39), the Books, which were compos'd by *Abraham*, in the Valley of *Mamre*, *where he taught Philoſophy to thoſe, by whoſe help he had defeated the five* (40) *Kings, who had taken* Lot *his Nephew*. The Work of the *Creation* was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1552, tranſlated into *Latin* by *Poſtel*, with Notes. *Rittangel*, a converted *Jew*, and Profeſſor at *Konigsburg*, gave a *Latin* Tranſlation of it, with Notes, in 1642 (41).

[*F*] *That he began there to build a Temple.*] They contend, that *Adam*, being driven from Paradice, begg'd of the good God, to permit him to build a Houſe on the Plan of that which he had ſeen in Heaven; a Houſe, I ſay, which might be a Place for him to direct his Prayers to, and about which he might march in Devotion. Upon which God let fall a Tent, reſembling the Houſe, which *Adam* had ſeen. *Adam* apply'd this Tent to the Uſes he deſir'd. After his Death, *Seth* built a Houſe of Stone and Mud, upon this Model; the Deluge deſtroy'd it; but *Abraham* and *Iſmael* rebuilt it, by the Order of God. Others ſucceſſively repair'd it, in proportion as it fell to decay; and, at length, *Hejazus*, in the Year of the *Hegira*, 74, put it into the Condition it is now in; and it is the Oratory of the Temple of *Mecca* (42). *See the Remark* [*I*] *of the Article* AGAR.

[G] *Of a ſingular Virtue.*] *Gretſer* teſtifies, that he read in a *Greek* Manuſcript, in the Library of *Augsbourg*, that *Abraham* planted a *Cyprus*, a *Pine*, and a *Cedar*; which united themſelves into one Tree, each, nevertheleſs, retaining it's proper Root and Branches: That this Tree was cut down, when they were preparing Materials for *Solomon*'s Temple; but that they could not poſſibly fit it to any Part: That *Solomon*, ſeeing this, reſolved to make a Bench of it: that a *Sybil*, being brought thither, would not ſit upon it; and prophecy'd that the Redeemer of Mankind ſhould die triumphantly on this Wood: That *Solomon* encompaſſed it with thirty Croſſes of Silver; and that it continued in this Situation 'till the Death of *Jeſus Chriſt* (43). This puts me in mind of the Oak of *Mamre*, under which *Abraham* is ſaid ſometimes to have cooled himſelf. This Oak, they tell you, was ſtanding in the Reign of *Conſtantius* (45). " Drys, *i. e.* Quercus Mambre " juxta Hebron, in quâ, uſque ad ætatem infantiæ " meæ & Conſtantii regis imperium, terebynthus " monſtrabatur pervetus, & annos magnitudine in" dicans, ſub quâ habitavit Abraham. Miro autem " cultu ab Ethnicis habita eſt, & velut quodam in" ſigni nomine conſecrata (46). —— *The Oak of* " Mamre, *near* Hebron, *where not many Years ago,* " *when I was a Child, and in the Reign of* Con" ſtantius, *was ſhewed a* Turpentine-Tree *very old,* " *and declaring it's Age by it's Bulk; under which* " Abraham *dwelt. The Heathens have a ſurpriſing* " *Veneration for it, and diſtinguiſh it by ſome ho*" *nourable Appellation.*" And ſome have carried the Matter ſo far, as to ſay, that it has been ſeen within theſe three hundred Years. We muſt not they ſay, diſtinguiſh it from that *Reed* of *Seth*, which the Traveller *Mandeville* (a rare Evidence!) ſaw near the Town of *Hebron* (47).

[*H*] *But does not confute it well.*] He pretends that theſe Words of the King of *Sodom*, *Give me the Perſons, and take the Goods to thyſelf* (48), ſignify in the literal and true Senſe, *Suffer thoſe, whom you have inſtructed in your Belief, to return to the Worſhip of Idols*; but that *Abraham* proteſted before the People, that he would not do it. The Author quotes the 22d, and 23d Verſes of the 14th Chapter of *Geneſis*; and then he accuſes the *Talmudiſts* of Impudence and Blaſphemy, in ſaying that the Patriarch agreed to the Requeſt of the King of *Sodom*. He had reaſon to condemn them for ſuppoſing, that this Prince demanded back Perſons converted to the true Religion; for he did not require the Domeſtics of the Patriarch, but only thoſe Subjects, whom the four Kings had taken in the Pillage of *Sodom* (49). But Father *Bartolocci* is greatly miſtaken in ſuppoſing that *Abraham* did not reſtore them. What he quotes from Scripture is manifeſtly againſt him.

ABRAM (Nicholas), a *Lorrain* Jeſuit, born in the Dioceſe of *Toul*, in the Year 1589, enter'd into the Society in 1606; and profeſs'd the fourth Vow in 1623. He was a polite Scholar; and appear'd to his Superiors ſo good a Divine, that he was raiſed to the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, in the Univerſity of *Pont-a-Mouſſon*. He exerciſed this Employ ſeventeen Years; and died the ſeventh of *September* 1655. He taught the *Belles Lettres*, before he enter'd upon the Study

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(*e*) *In* Hottinger's Oriental Hiſt. B. 1. c. 6.

(*f*) *This muſt be underſtood of thoſe among the* Jews, *who believ'd the Metampſychoſis.*

(*g*) Joſeph. Antiq. B. 1. c. 7.

(*h*) Gen. xiv. 14.

(*i*) Ibid. 21.

(*k*) Bartol. Bibl. Rabin. Tom. 3. p. 529.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 562.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 594, Tom. 1. p. 703.

(34) Abr. Zachut. *in the Book* Juchaſin. p. 52. *in* Heidegg. ibid.

(35) *Preface of* Zohar. Mantuan. *in* Heidegg. ib.

(36) Epiph. Hæreſ. p. 256.

(37) Orig. Homil. 35. *upon* Luke. *in* Heidegg.

(39) Kircherus's Traité de Biblioth. p. 142. Paris *Edit.*

(40) It ſhould be *four.*

(41) Spizel. Specim. Biblioth.

(42) Pocock *his* Notes *upon the* Specim. Arab. Hiſt. p. 115.

(43) Gretſer *of the Croſs*, B. 1.

(45) Iſidor. B. 17. c. 7. *in* Boniface's Hiſt. Ludicr. p. 285. *He had better have cited St* Jerom, *as I have done.*

(46) Hieron. *in* Locis Hebr. Litt. D. *See Remark* [*G*], *of the Article* BARCHOCHEBAS.

(47) *See* Boniface's Hiſt. Ludicr. p. 289. *His Book was printed at* Venice, *by* Balconius, *in* 1652, *in* 4to. *and reprinted at* Bruſſels, *for* John Mommartius, *in* 1656. *in* 4to.

(48) Gen. xiv. 21.

(49) It is ſaid at the 16th Verſe, *that* Abraham *brought back* Lot *his Brother, and likewiſe his Wives, and the People.*

Study of Divinity (*a*). He publiſh'd ſeveral Books [*A*]. It is ſomething ſtrange, that, being an Author of Diſtinction, he ſhould be ſo little known in foreign Countries [*B*].

(*a*) *Taken from* Nathan. Sotuel's Bibl. Script. Societ. Jeſu. p. 622.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral Books.*] *Notes on the Paraphraſe of the Goſpel of St* John, *compos'd in* Greek *Verſe by* Nonnus: *A Commentary on ſome of* Cicero's *Orations: A Commentary on* Virgil: A Collection of Theological Tracts, entitled, *Pharus veteris Teſtamenti, ſive ſacrarum queſtionum, Libri* XV. *Maxims of a Chriſtian Life*; and a *Hebrew Grammar* in *Latin* Verſe. He tranſlated into *French*, from the *Italian* of *Bartoli*, *The Life of* Vincent Caraffa, *The Man of Letters*, and *The Contented Poverty* (1). His Commentary on *Cicero* is a Work of great Labour; his Analyſis of Logic is good and exact; the Notes are filled with much Learning; but as he has ſcattered with great Profuſion the Fruits of his Lucubrations, he has fallen into a Prolixity, which is tireſome to the leaſt lazy. This Commentary comprehends only the laſt Volume of Orations, as far as the *ſecond Philippic* incluſively; and yet it is in two Volumes in Folio. They were printed at *Paris* in 1631. The Commentary on *Virgil* is much ſhorter; which makes it more uſeful for Schools. We find, at the end of his *Pharus Veteris Teſtamenti*, a long Treatiſe of *Truth and Falſhood* (2); in which he does not give into the Maxims of the rigid Caſuiſts.

Mr *De la Monnoie* has informed me, Firſt, That this Jeſuit has ſupplied, in ſeventy one *Greek* Verſes, after his manner, the *Hiſtory of the Adultereſs*, which was wanting to the eighth Chapter of *Nonnus*'s Paraphraſe (3): Secondly, That *Reineſius* ſpeaks of this *Nicolas Abram*, in the 155th Page of his *Letters to* Hoffman *and* Rupert. I have conſulted that Place, and I find there this Elogium: “Si me cum tot rationibus audire hic noles, vel hujus (Nic Abrami) auctoritati cede. Eſt enim ſane quam docti ſſimus, & maxime idoneus explicando Tullio.—*If you will not liſten to theſe many Reaſons of mine, at leaſt ſubmit to the Authority of this Author* (N. Abram). *For he is indeed a very learned one, and the beſt qualified to explain* Tully.”

Add to this Teſtimony that of another learned Perſon of the ſame Country. “Ad intelligendas, atque ad uſum transferendas, Orationes Ciceronis ſufficet Commentarius Jo. Thomæ Freigii, niſi quis addere malit prolixos Commentarios Nic. Abrami Jeſuitæ, multâ rerum varietate inſtructos (4). —— *The Commentary of* Jo. Thomas Freigius *is ſufficient for the underſtanding and applying of* Cicero's *Orations, unleſs any one chuſes to add the long Commentaries of* Nic. Abraham *the Jeſuit, which are fraught with a great Variety of Matter.*”

[*B*] *So little known in foreign Countries.*] His Notes upon the Paraphraſe of *Nonnus* were printed at *Paris*, for *Stephen Cramoiſi*, in 1622; and it does not appear, that *Heinſius* had any Knowledge of them, when, in 1627. he publiſhed the ſame Paraphraſe with a large Commentary. It is that, which he calls *Ariſtarchus ſacer*. Neither had Mr *Cave* heard of this Jeſuit's Notes, ſince he takes no Notice of them in that Paſſage, wherein he reckons up the ſeveral Editions of *Nonnus* (5). *Aubert le Mire* and Father *Oudin* are as ſilent concerning them: the one, in his *Auctarium de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, printed in 1639; the other, in his *Supplementum de Script. Eccleſ.* printed in 1686. The Manner, in which Mr *Simon* often quotes this Work of Father *Abram* (6), ſhewed that he eſteemed it, and that it is a Book, which does not deſerve to be unknown. But there is ſomething ſtill more remarkable. *Martin Schoockius*, whoſe principal Employ was an immenſe and prodigious Reading, declared in his old Age, that he had never before heard of ſuch an Author, as *Nic. Abram*. “Hanc ſi tuitus fuiſſet neſcio quis Nic. Abramus (jam primitus eum noſſe incipio) prolixo examine haud opus fuiſſet (7). —— *Had one* Nic. Abram *(this is the firſt time I ever heard of him) ſeen this, it would not have ſtood in need of a long Diſcuſſion.*”

(1) *From* Nathan. Sotuel. Bibl. Script. Soc. Jeſ. p. 622.

(2) *Printed at* Paris, *in* 1648, *in* Fol.

(3) *It is an Error.* Fr. Nanſius, *who publiſh'd an Edition of* Nonnus, *in* 1589, *is the true Author of this Supplement.* Mr de la Croze *has inform'd me, that* F. Simon *ſpeaks of it at the* 330*th Page of his* Hiſt. Crit. *of Commentators.*

(4) J. And. Boſius, de Prudentia & Eloquentia comparanda, p. 400.

(5) Hiſt. Liter, p. 290. London *Edit. in* 1688, *in* Folio.

(6) Hiſt. Crit. *of the Commentary on the* New Teſtament, ch. 23.

(7) Sch. de Fænore unciario, p. 107, *printed in* 1668.

ABSTEMIUS (Laurence) born at *Macerata*, in the Territory of *Ancona*, apply'd himſelf to the Study of the *Belles Lettres*, and made a conſiderable Progreſs therein. He taught them at *Urbin*, and was Librarian there to the Duke of *Guido Ubalde* (*a*), to whom he dedicated a little Book, in which he explain'd ſome difficult Paſſages of Antient Authors (*b*). It was in the Pontificat of *Alexander* VI. that he publiſh'd this Work; and another entitled *Hecatomythium*, dedicated to *Octavianus Ubaldini*, Count of *Mercatelli*. The reaſon of this Title was, that the Work was a Collection of an *hundred Fables*. In the Sequel to it he doubled the Number. They have been frequently printed [*A*] with thoſe of the Antient Fabuliſts, *Eſop*, *Phædrus*, *Gabrias*, *Avienus*, &c. which *Nevelet* has collected in a body with Notes. *Abſtemius* did not always confine himſelf to an Imitation of thoſe Antient Originals; he mixes ſometimes among his Fables ſome Droll Tale, and does not always ſpare the Clergy [*B*]. We meet with his Conjectures on ſome Paſſages of the Antients in the firſt Volume of *Gruterus*'s *Critical Theſaurus*; we meet with them, I ſay, under the Title of *Various Annotations*. They are but few in Number, and fill but 15 Pages. There is a Preface of his at the beginning of *Aurelius Victor*, in 1505 (*c*). I know not whether he ſurviv'd this Edition long. He is one of thoſe, whom *Laurentius Valla* has cenſur'd.

Take notice of the Remarks communicated to me [C] ſince the firſt Edition.

(*a*) *See* Gruter's Theſ. Crit. Tom. 1. p. 878.

(*b*) Opuſculum de Nonnullis locis obſcuris. *See the Epiſtle dedicatory of his* Hecatomythium.

(*c*) Epiſt. Bibl. Geſneri.

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[*A*] *They have been frequently printed.*] *Geſner* takes notice of the Edition of *Straſbourgh* in 1522. That, which *Nevelet* made uſe of, is more modern by eighty eight Years. The Notes, which he has added to it, are but few: and certainly it is not for their ſake, that the Impreſſion has been ſo often repeated. He wrote none upon *Abſtemius*'s Fables; as they wanted none.

[*B*] *And does not always ſpare the Clergy.*] The following is a Proof of it. The 104th Fable is this: A certain Prieſt was intruſted by his Biſhop with the Care of a Convent, where there were five Nuns, by each of which he had a Boy at the Year's end. The Biſhop, hearing this News, was in a great Paſſion, ſent for the Prieſt, chid him ſeverely, and called him Traytor, and a ſacrilegious Wretch, for daring to defile the Temple of the Holy Ghoſt. *My Lord*, ſays he, *you intruſted me with five Talents; and lo, I have gained five others.* The Biſhop was ſo well pleaſed with this facetious Reply, that he gave the Prieſt full Abſolution. The Moral, which the Author has laid down at the end of the Fable, is no better than the Fable itſelf, in reſpect of the like Profanation of Scripture. *When we cannot juſtify an ill Action* (ſays he) *with good Reaſons, we muſt turn it off with a Jeſt* (1). It is certain this has often ſucceeded: but a Biſhop, who ſhould excuſe ſuch a Profanation as this for it's Pleaſantry, would not do his Duty much better, than the Guardian of the five Nuns.

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[*C*] *The Remarks communicated to me.*] “The Conjectures of *Abſtemius*, inſerted in the firſt Volume of the *Theſ. Crit.* of *Gruter*, are only an Extract of a Work, entitled *Obſcurorum locorum* (2), dedicated to the Duke of *Urbino*. *Gruter*, who has given us this Extract, has placed at the beginning a little marginal Note, in which he ſays, that *Laurentius Valla* had criticis'd upon

(1) Fabula indicat, peccata, cum ratione nequeant, urbanitate diluenda. *Abſtem. Fab.* CIV.

(2) *See the Quotation* (*b*) *of this Article.*

" *Abſtemius.* I doubt much of the Truth of this; " there not occurring any Footſteps of this pretended Criticiſm in the Works of *Laurentius Valla,* " whom beſides *Abſtemius* has greatly praiſed in the " Preface to his ſecond *Hecatomythium,* and with " whom he could not have much Contention, as " he ſurviv'd him at leaſt forty eight Years. He " is the firſt, I beleive, who wrote the Fable of the " *Multiply'd Talents. Le Bandel, Verville,* and " others, have related it after him." This is taken from a Letter ſent me by Mr *De la Monnoie.*

ABUCARAS (Theodore) was a Prelate [*A*] very zealous for Orthodoxy, which he ſhew'd in more than forty Diſſertations which he wrote, either againſt the *Jews* or the *Mahometans,* or the *Hereticks,* or in general on Religious Subjects. *Genebrard* tranſlated into Latin, and publiſh'd, fifteen of theſe Diſſertations. *Gretſer,* adding theſe to the reſt [*B*] which Father *Turrien,* or himſelf, had tranſlated, publiſh'd an Edition, which ſeem'd complete (*a*). But he forgat ſomething; for Mr *Arnold* printed at *Paris,* in 1685, a Treatiſe by *Abucaras,* which had never yet appeared from the Preſs. He found it in the *Oxford* Library. He did not accompany it with Notes, not daring to meddle with the grand Myſteries, which the Author examines in that Treatiſe (*b*): *viz.* the Incarnation, and the Hypoſtatical Union. It is uncertain when *Abucaras* liv'd. The Jeſuit *Turrien* believes he was the Diſciple of *Johannes Damaſcenus.* This places him in the VIIIth Century. *Gretſer* places him a little earlier [*C*], not diſtinguiſhing him from that *Abucaras,* who was ſo far engaged in the Troubles of the Church of *Conſtantinople,* in the Time of the Patriarch *Ignatius* and of *Photius.* This *Abucaras* followed the Party of *Photius,* and undertook to go upon an Embaſſy for him, with *Zachary,* Biſhop of *Chalcedon,* to the Court of the Emperor *Lewis* II. His Buſineſs was to preſent to this Prince the Book, which *Photius* had compoſed againſt Pope *Nicolas,* and to exhort him to ſhake off the Pope's Yoke. But he had ſcarce began his Journey, when *Baſilus* the *Macedonian,* who had uſurp'd the Empire, after having murthur'd the Emperor *Michel,* recalled him, and commanded him to ſtir no farther in the Affair. Two Years after (*c*) he appeared before the Council of *Conſtantinople,* and humbly begg'd Pardon for having been in the Intereſts of *Photius,* and proteſted that he was drawn in to eſpouſe them by Violence and Artifice. He gained his Ends: the Patriarch reconciled him to the Church, and gave him a Place in the Aſſembly (*d*). Mr *Arnold* was acquainted with a learned Man in *England,* who believed that *Abucaras* liv'd in the VIIth Century (*e*). The Works of this Author were inſerted in the Supplement to the *Paris* Edition of the Collection of the Fathers, in 1624.

(*a*) *It is in* Greek *and* Latin, *and printed at* Ingolſtad, *in* 1606, *in* 4to.

(*b*) Arnold's Preface.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Nicet. Paphlag. *in the Life of* Ignatius, *in* Cave's Hiſt. Liter. p. 557.

(*e*) *In* 869.

[*A*] *A Prelate.*] Some ſtile him *Archbiſhop of Caria* (1), others *Epiſcopum Cariæ,* Καρῶν Ἐπίσκοπον, Biſhop of *Caria* (2). Mr *Arnold* thinks, that *Abucaras* was Biſhop of *Charron* in *Meſopotamia:* this was likewiſe the Opinion of *Joſias Simler* (3). *Photius* had deſigned him for the Biſhoprick of *Laodicea,* as Mr *Cave* obſerves.

[*B*] Gretſer, *adding theſe to the reſt.*]. The *Journal des Savans* gives us a wrong Notion of this Jeſuit's Edition. *Genebrard* (ſay they) *has tranſlated and publiſhed fifteen Diſſertations of this Author, and* Gretſer *had added them to his Collection of the Works of* Anaſtaſius *the Sinaite, in two Manuſcripts in the* Bavarian *Library.* Had they underſtood the *Latin* of Mr *Arnold,* they would not have been guilty of this Miſtake. " Theodori Abucaræ Diſ" ſertationes quindecim jam diu Latine vertit & " edidit Genebrardus, deinde Theodorum Anaſtaſio " Sinaitæ ob argumenti ſimilitudinem conjunxit Ja" cobus Gretſerus, deditque ex duobus codicibus " Manuſcriptis Ducis Bavariæ Maximiliani. —— " Genebrard *had, ſome time before, tranſlated into* " Latin, *and publiſhed fifteen Diſſertations of* Theo" dorus Abucaras; *afterward* Jacob Gretſer *joined* " Theodorus *with* Anaſtaſius *the Sinaite, on ac*" *count of the Reſemblance between their Subjects,* " *and publiſhed them from two Manuſcripts of* Maxi" milian *Duke of* Bavaria (5)" There are three Particulars in this Paſſage: Firſt, That *Gretſer* publiſh'd the Works of *Abucaras,* after the Publication of fifteen of the Pieces by *Genebrard:* Second, That *Gretſer* publiſhed them from two Manuſcripts of the Duke of *Bavaria:* Third, That he joined them with *Anaſtaſius* the Sinaite. There is nothing of all this in the *Journal de Savans.* We are not there told, that *Gretſer* publiſhed more Pieces than *Genebrard,* nor that the *Bavarian* Manuſcripts were aſſiſting to the Editions of *Abucaras:* it only ſays, that they were of uſe to the Edition of *Anaſtaſius,* of which Mr *Arnold* made no mention. Farther, we muſt not imagine, that all the Works of *Anaſtaſius* the Sinaite were publiſhed with *Theodore Abucaras:* there is only the Treatiſe, entitled Ὁδηγος, *The Guide,* added to the Works of *Abucaras,* in *Gretſer*'s Edition.

[*C*] Gretſer *places him a little earlier.*] In reading Mr *Arnold*'s Preface, one is almoſt convinc'd, that this Jeſuit did not dare to advance any thing concerning the Age of *Abucaras.* " Gretſerus vero, quis fu" erit Abucaras, quo ſæculo floruerit, ab Antonio " Velſero, S. S. Theol. D. Eccleſiæ Friſingenſis Ca" nonico, Præpoſito Spaltenſi, cujus honori librum " ſuum dedicavit, diſcere volebat (6). —— *But* Gret" ſer *deſired to be inform'd, who* Abucaras *was, and* " *when he flouriſh'd, from* Antony Velſerus, *Doctor* " *of Divinity, Canon of the Church of* Friſingen, *and* " *Provoſt of* Spalta, *to whoſe Honour he dedicates his* " *Book.*" Mr *Arnold,* by ſaying nothing more of *Gretſer,* plainly inſinuates, that we need look no further in the Preface of this Jeſuit. But we find it otherwiſe: namely, that *Abucaras,* whom he mentions in the Life of St *Ignatius,* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople,* is the ſame who compos'd the Diſſertations.

(1) Cave's Hiſtor. Liter. p. 557. Oudin's Supplement, p. 250.

(2) Spizelius's Specim. Bibl. Konigius's Bibl. vet. & nov. *and* Arnold's Preface.

(3) Simler's Epit. Bibl. Geſn.

(5) Arnold's Preface.

(6) Arnold's Preface.

ABUDHAHER. It is the Name of the Chief of the *Karmatians* [*A*], under whoſe Conduct they profaned and laid waſte *Mecca,* in the Year of the *Hegira*

[*A*] *The* Karmatians.] It is the Name of a Sect, which roſe in *Arabia,* about the Year of the *Hegira* 278 (1). The firſt Head of this Sect was a Blaſphemer, and an Impoſtor; who, drawing to his Party thoſe among the Inhabitants of the Fields and Deſarts, who had leaſt Religion, gain'd an abſolute command over them. We meet with ſeveral Etymologies of the Name *Karmatians,* in *Pocock* (2). The Sect was but ſmall at firſt; but it made an incredible Progreſs. They poſſeſs'd themſelves of the greateſt Part of the Provinces of *Eraki,* and *Hejazi;* and ſpread themſelves over *Syria,* and as far as the Gates of *Grand Cairo* (3).

(1) *According to us, the Year* 891.

(2) Pocock's *Notes on* Specim Hiſt. Arab. p. 371. *This Specimen was printed at* Oxford *in* 1650.

(3) Ibid.

Hegira [*B*] 317. They robb'd the Pilgrims, and murther'd 1700 of them, within the very Walls of the *Caaba* (*a*) whilſt theſe poor ſuperſtitious Wretches were marching round this ſacred Oratory, as their Form of Prayer directed them. The *Karmatians* were not ſatisfy'd with this Slaughter; they carry'd away out of the Temple a piece of black Marble, which was had in Veneration there, as a Preſent from Heaven (*b*); they pull'd down the Gate of the Temple, and fill'd the Pits *Zamzam*, one of the moſt ſacred parts of the Place, with the dead Bodies. To encreaſe the Calamity, *Abudhaher* affronted the *Mahometan* Religion many ways; he led his Horſe to the Entrance of the *Caaba*, that he might lay his Dung there; and he told the *Mahometans*, they were Fools to call that Building by the Name of God's Houſe; *for*, added he, *if God had any regard to this Temple, he would have immediately cruſh'd me with a Thunder-bolt for profaning his Houſe in ſo outrageous a manner* [*C*]. The Veneration of the *Mahometans* for this Temple was not leſſen'd upon that Account: they continu'd to go in Pilgrimage thither every Year. When the *Karmatians* were inform'd of this, they determin'd to ſend back the black Marble, which they had kept twenty-two Years. Some time after they rallied the Folly of their Devotions: *This People*, ſaid they, *believe they are in poſſeſſion of the black Marble: but we ſent them another in it's room: the Object therefore of their Veneration is a falſe and ſuppoſititious Being.* They had a more important Deſign [*D*] in theſe Words, than the bare Pleaſure of an Inſult. They receiv'd for anſwer, that they need only be witneſs of the Proof, and that, if the Stone ſwam upon Water, they might be convinc'd it was genuine. Accordingly it did float in the preſence of the *Karmatians*; and by this means all thoſe Doubts and Scruples, which the jeſting of theſe prophane Wretches might raiſe, were remov'd (*c*). This is a little Specimen of the Legends of the Eaſtern People. You will meet with many curious Particulars relating to *Abudhaher*, and the *Karmatians*, in the *Oriental Dictionary* of Mr *d'Herbelot* (*d*). He calls them *Carmathians*, and he writes the Name of their Cheif *Abu-Thaher*.

(*a*) *The Name of a Part of the Temple deſign'd for Adoration and Prayer.*

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(*b*) *See the Remark* [*K*] *of the Article* AGAR.

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(*c*) Pocock's *Notes upon* Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 118, 119. from *Abulfeda*, and *Ebn Yuſef*.

(*d*) *In the Article* CARMATH, p. 256, &c.

[*B*] *The Year of the* Hegira, 317.] *Abulfeda*, and *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef*, point out this Year; and ſay, that the Stone was not recover'd, till 339: But *Saffioddin* ſhortens the Time: he places this carrying away of the Stone in the Year 319, and the Reſtitution of it, in 335 (4).

[*C*] *In ſo outrageous a Manner.*] *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* ſays, that the *Mahometan* Religion never ſuffered a Calamity comparable to that (5).

[*D*] *A more important Deſign.*] They were in Hopes of inviting the Caravans of Pilgrims to them; imagining, that theſe good People would go where the Stone was kept. This is the Reaſon, why they would not accept of a Ranſom for it: they were deaf to Prayers and Promiſes. But, finding that *Mecca* was as much frequented as ever, and that no one came to pay their Devotions to the Stone, which they preſerv'd, they returned it. This they did, with a Reſerve of ſome Right in it to themſelves; for, when they gave it out that they had returned only a counterfeit Stone, they intended without doubt to raiſe Scruples in Mens Minds, and to ſhare the Pilgrimages, at leaſt, ſooner or later. The People of *Mecca* foreſaw the Conſequence; and thought proper to give it out, that the Stone had been put to the Proof, and it's Genuineneſs confirmed.

(4) Pocock's *Notes upon* Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 119.

(5) Ibid.

ABULFEDA, (ISMAEL) Prince of *Hamah*, a City of *Syria*, ſucceeded his Brother, in the Year of the *Hegira*, 743 [*A*], which anſwers to the Year of *Chriſt* 1342, and died three Years after, at about the Age of 72 Years (*a*). He was a Lover of Study, and particularly that of *Geography*, as may be gathered from a Work entitled, *Choraſmiæ & Mawaralnahræ, hoc eſt, Regionum extra fluvium Oxum deſcriptio, ex tabulis Abulfedæ Iſmaëlis, Principis Hamah*; i. e. *A Deſcription of* Choraſmia, *and* Mawaralnahre, *or the Regions beyond the River* Oxus, *from the Tables of* Abulfeda Iſmaël, *Prince of* Hamah (*b*). It was printed at *London* in 1650. The Author quotes a great many *Arabian* Writers. It was compos'd long before he aſcended the Throne; for it is remark'd at the end of the Book, that it was finiſh'd in the Year of the *Hegira* 721, which is the 1321 of *Chriſt*. We are oblig'd to the learned *John Gravius* for the *London* Edition. He added to the Original, which is in *Arabic*, a *Latin* Tranſlation, and a Preface, in which he informs us, that he conſulted five different Manuſcripts;

(*a*) Pocock *in his Notes on* Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 363. *ſays that he was born in the Year of the Hegira* 672.

(*b*) *The* Arabic *Title ſignifies* Canon, *or rather* Rectificatio Terrarum, *according to* Gravius. *For which reaſon* Konig *was not in the wrong to ſay that* Abulfeda *wrote a Geographical Work entitled* Directorium Regionum.

[*A*] *The Year of the Hegira* 743.] This we are aſſured of from the *Arabian* Author of a Book entitled *Al Sacerdan* (1). Therefore the Jeſuit *Blancanus* was miſtaken, when he places *Abulfeda* in the IVth Century of Chriſtianity (2). This Error ought to have kept him from another Miſtake, in giving this Geographer the Title of *Prince of Syria*, *Aſſyria*, and *Perſia*. A little Attention might have ſhewn him, that an *Arabian* Author and a *Mahometan* could not be King of *Perſia* 400 Years after *Chriſt*. *Voſſius*, having related the Opinion of *Blancanus*, is content to ſay, that *Abulfeda* was not ſo antient by a great deal: but, for the reſt, he allows him the Style and Title of Prince of *Syria*, *Aſſyria*, and *Perſia* (3). He comes pretty near the Truth, as to his Chronology; when he ſays that it is three hundred Years ſince *Abulfeda* flouriſhed (4). Inſtead of this, Mr *Moreri* charges him with believing, as *Blancanus* did, that this Prince of *Syria* liv'd in the IIId or IVth Century: *But it is certain*, adds Mr *Moreri*, *that he lived much later; perhaps in the* VIIIth *or* IXth, *or even in the Year* 1200. He might have omitted the Word *perhaps*; he might have aſſerted, that he liv'd in the XIVth Century; ſince his Work was finiſhed in the 721ſt Year of the *Hegira*, as is declared at the end of it. There is a falſe Print in the *Dutch* Edition of *Moreri* in this Place. They make *J. Gravius* ſay, that our *Abulfeda* lived in the beginning of the XIIIth Century; and yet he has placed the Death of this Prince in 1345. What I am moſt concerned at is, that the learned *E. Pocock* aſſerts, that *Abulfeda* took poſſeſſion of the Government of the Province of *Hamah*, in the 710th Year of the *Hegira* (5). This cannot be reconciled with what *J. Gravius* has aſcertained. It is more reaſonable to depend upon this latter, than the other, becauſe *Abulfeda* is *Gravius*'s principal Subject; whereas *Pocock* ſpeaks of him only by way of a ſhort Digreſſion. But is it not very hard, that we cannot depend upon Men of ſuch great Abilities in the Eaſtern Learning, as *Pocock*; and that at the ſame time that they publiſh any thing, one of their Colleagues ſhall ſhew the Falſeneſs of it?

(1) Gravius's *Preface.*

(2) *He calls him* Abifeldee *in his* Chronol. Mathem.

(3) Voſſius de Mathem. Diſcipl. p. 250.

(4) *He calls him* Abifeldeas, *and* Abelfedæas. *See the* Epitom. Bibl. Geſn.

(5) Pocock's *Notes on the* Specim. Hiſt. Arab.

nuſcripts; the firſt is *Erpenius*'s Tranſcript from the Copy in the *Palatine* Library; the ſecond is the ſame Copy, which is now in the *Vatican*; two others belong'd to *Pocock*; the fifth was bought at *Conſtantinople*. We learn farther in this Preface, that *Ramuſius* is the firſt, who commended this Work of *Abulfeda*, and pointed out the Uſe of it; that afterward *Caſtaldus* made uſe of it to correct the Longitudes and Latitudes of ſeveral Places; that *Ortelius* often mentions it in his *Theſaurus Geographicus*, not as having ſeen it, but upon the Authority of *Caſtaldus*; that *Erpenius*, out of concern that no one had given it to the World, reſolv'd to publiſh it, and would have done it, if Death had not taken him off in the middle of his Deſign; that *Schickard* was the firſt, who borrow'd from it ſeveral Remarks of profound Learning, and 'till then unknown, which he inſerted in his *Tarich Perſicum*: but as the Copy belonging to the Imperial Libraty, which was lent him by *Tengnagelius*, was not legible in ſeveral Places, he left the greateſt part of the Pains and the Honour to *John Gravius* (c). It is ſurprizing, that Mr *Moreri* cou'd heap together ſo many Miſtakes in one Article [*B*], as he has done in this of *Abulfeda*. *Spizelius* did not know in 1668, nor *Konig* in 1678, that *Abulfeda* had been in *England* (d).

(c) *It follows from hence, that* Fabricius, *in his* Specimen. Ling. Arab. p. 99. *was wrong in ſaying, in* Konig, *that* Schickard *had tranſlated into* Latin *a Work of* Abulfeda. Spizelius *in his* Specim. Bibl. *cites the ſame* Fabricius, *as ſaying, that* Schickard *had tranſlated all this Work.*

(*d*) Spizel. Specim. Bibl. Univ.

[*B*] *Mr* Moreri *could heap together ſo many Miſtakes in one Article,*] We have already ſeen ſome of them. The reſt are as follows. Firſt, When he ſays, that ſome are of Opinion, that *Abulfeda* was of *Nubia*, he manifeſtly confounds him with the Author of the *Geographia Nubienſis*, of whom we ſhall treat in his proper Place. At leaſt, he betrays his Ignorance that theſe two Authors ought to be diſtinguiſhed; for, had he known it, he would not have related this Opinion, and let it paſs uncenſured. Secondly, He confirms this firſt Obſervation, by adding that *Abulfeda diſpoſed his Geography into Climates.* This agrees better with the Author of *Geographia Nubienſis* than with *Abulfeda*. This latter has given us only a Deſcription of ſome Parts of *Aſia*, ſituated beyond the *Oxus*, which he places under the 25th and 26th Climates. The *Nubian* Geography is diſpoſed in a very different Manner. It makes but ſeven Climates, and adheres to this Diviſion of the Antients; referring all the Deſcription it gives of the known World to That. Let me obſerve by the way, that *Abulfeda* fixes his *firſt Climate* in *Arabia*, and not, as the *Nubian* Geography does, on the moſt weſtern Coaſt of the *Atlantic* Ocean; and that his *firſt Meridian* paſſes thro' Cape St *Vincent*. Thirdly; *We have ſeen*, ſays Mr *Moreri*, *at preſent, but the firſt Climates of* Abulfeda; *we are put in Hopes of the remaining ones this Year*: This is a downright Falſhood: what is publiſhed of *Abulfeda* relates not to the firſt Climates, but to the 25th and 26th. Fourthly; An Author ſhould not make uſe of ſo indeterminate a Phraſe as *This Year*; for his Reader, at the end of ten Years, will not know what Year he means; he muſt have recourſe to the Date of the firſt Impreſſion: this is to be met with but in few Books: and, where it is to be found, it is not always a good Guide, ſince there often paſs many Years between the Compoſition and the Publication of a Book. This is an Inſtance of the Difficulty, into which a Reader is led by the Expreſſion *this Year*. Where is the Perſon, who, in reading *Moreri*, can gueſs in what Year the other Climates of *Abulfeda* were promiſed? It is a very long Year; it has reigned to the ſixth Edition incluſively. Fifthly, William Poſtel *was the firſt who brought this Work into* Europe, *of which he publiſhed an Abridgment in* Latin. Here are two new Errors of *Moreri*. *Simler* is the only Author he quotes, who has any Relation to this. But all that *Simler* ſays, is, that *Poſtel*, having brought this Work from the Eaſt, left an Abridgment of it, which he had tranſlated at *Venice*, with *Ramuſius* (6), who had a Deſign of publiſhing the ſecond Tome of his *New World*. There is a great deal of Difference between bringing a Book from the Eaſt, and being the firſt who brought it from thence; between publiſhing a Book, and leaving the Manuſcript for another's Uſe. It is certain, that *Ramuſius* did not publiſh what *Poſtel* left with him; and if it be true, that *Abulfeda*, which was in *Arabic* in the *Palatine* Library, as *Moreri* obſerves, had been brought into *Europe* by *Poſtel*, and that this was the firſt Copy we had in the Weſt, this does not acquit Mr *Moreri* of aſcribing more to Authors than they really ſay; and we have reaſon to complain of ſuch Falſifications. They deſerve to be particularly cenſured.

(6) Simler *calls him* Rhamnuſius *by Miſtake*; *and* Spizelius *the ſame.*

ABULPHARAGE (GREGORY) the Son of a Phyſician named *Aaron*, was himſelf likewiſe a Phyſician, and acquired a great Reputation in this Art; inſomuch that they came to conſult him from the moſt diſtant Countries. He was of *Malatia* [*A*], near the *Euphrates*, and would at this time have been but little known, had he confin'd himſelf to the Knowledge of Medicine: but he underſtood Hiſtory; and there is a Work of this kind, after his manner, ſtill extant, which does honour to his Memory. Not that our Age judges ſo favourably of it, as the Eaſtern People do. They are extravagant in their Commendations, either becauſe they have but few truly learned Men among them, or becauſe it is to their Taſte. However that be, there are an hundred Hiſtorians in the *Weſt*, whoſe Compoſitions are not inferior to thoſe of *Abulpharage*, whom no one has yet thought fit to dignify with ſuch Titles, as are given him [*B*]. He liv'd at the end of the XIIIth Century, and profeſs'd Chriſtianity

[*A*] *He was of* Malatia.] I have in vain looked for this Town in *Pocock*'s Prefaces, in *Ortelius*'s Theſaurus, and Mr *Baudrand*'s Geography. But Chance has been more favourable to me than Enquiry; for in turning over, with other Views, that which is called the *Nubian Geography*, I found, that *Malatia* is a fortified Town, fifty one Miles from *Samoſata*, towards the Source of *Euphrates* (1).

Mr *Baudrand* has informed me, that he mentions this Town under the Word *Melita* and *Melitene*. It is true: he places it in leſſer *Armenia*, upon the *Euphrates*, and ſays, it is called at preſent *Malatiah*.

(1) Geogr. Nub. Clim. 4. p. 5, & 197.

[*B*] *Such Titles, as are given to him.*] *Pocock* met with this Paſſage at the beginning of a Copy of *Abulpharage*, wrote in the 900th Year of the *Hegira*: "Dixit Dominus noſter, Pater Sanctus, eximius, doctrina & eruditione inſignis, doctorum Rex, excellentium excellentiſſimus, temporum ſuorum exemplar, ſæculi Phœnix, ſapientium Gloria, Doctor divina ope fultus, Mar. Gregorius Abulpharai, filius excellenter ſapientis Aaronis, Medici Malatienſis. —— *Theſe are the Words of* Mar. Gregory Abulpharaï, (*Son of the excellently-wiſe* Ahron, *Phyſician of* Malatia) *our Lord, and Holy Father, moſt excellent of the Excellent, famous for Learning and Knowledge, King of the Learned, Pattern of his Times, Phœnix of the Age, Glory of the Wiſe, a Teacher favoured by Heaven.*" At the end of another Copy he met with the following: "Pater & Dominus noſter, Rex doctorum, & corona virorum

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Chriſtianity [*C*]. This did not hinder ſeveral Mahometans from ſtudying under him [*D*]. The current Report of his abjuring his Religion, when he found himſelf near Death, ought to be rank'd among the numberleſs Fables of this kind, which are rais'd among all Sects [*E*]. He has divided the Hiſtory, which he compos'd in in *Arabic*, into *Dynaſties*. It is an Abridgment of *Univerſal Hiſtory* from the beginning of the World to his own Time. The Diviſion conſiſts of ten Parts. The Subjects of each may be ſeen in the Supplement to *Moreri*. *Edward Pocock (a)* publiſh'd this Book of *Abulpharage*, with a *Latin* Tranſlation, in 1663. He added to it a Supplement, which contains a ſhort Sequel to this Hiſtory with regard to the Eaſtern Princes. He had before publiſh'd, in 1650, a ſhort Extract from the ninth *Dynaſty* of this Author, with many learned Notes. The Title of it is, *Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum, ſive Gregorii Abul Farajii, Malatienſis, de Origine & Moribus Arabum ſuccincta Narratio* : i. e. *A Specimen of the* Arabic *Hiſtory, or a ſuccinct Relation of the Origin and Manners of the* Arabians, *by* Abulpharage, *of* Malatia. *Abulpharage* could not be ſo exact in the Affairs of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as thoſe of the *Saracens* and *Tartar-Moguls*. This latter piece is the beſt of the Work. It relates, in a very inſtructive and credible manner, the prodigious Conqueſts of *Zingis-Chan*. All that *Abraham Zacuth* ſays of them, in his *Juchaſin*, is ſtoln, together with other Matters, from the Hiſtory of *Abulpharage*. We cannot gueſs why *Abraham Ecchellenſis* (*b*) gives our Author the Name of *Gregorius Bar Hebræus Syrus* (*c*) [*F*].

(*a*) Regius Profeſſor *of* Hebrew *at* Oxford, *and* Arabic Lecturer.

(*b*) Pref. Biblior. Πολυγλώττων, Pariſ.

(*c*) Pocock's *Prefaces*.

“ rorum virtute præſtantium, dubiorum in Theologicis occultorum 'Επιλύτης, Chriſtianorum Princeps primarius, ſectæ Jacobiticæ Medulla, Mar. “ Gregorius, dominus, Pater, unicum ævi decus, & “ ſæculi Phœnix. —— *Our Lord and Father, King* “ *of the Learned, and Crown of the Virtuous, Solver* “ *of Doubts in Divinity, Cheif Head of the Chriſtians,* “ *Marrow of the Jacobite Sect*, Mar. Gregory, *Lord,* “ *Father, ſole Glory of the Age, and Phœnix of the* “ *Times.*” Add to theſe what he met with at the beginning of a *Syriac* Grammar, compoſed by this Author; “ Pater noſter ſanctus, Rex Doctorum, “ Mar. Gregorius, Doctor Orientis, qui idem eſt “ Abul-Pharaï, filius Ahronis, Medici Militinienſis, “ *i. e.* Malatienſis.

[*C*] *Profeſſed Chriſtianity.*] He was, we ſee, of the Sect of the *Jacobites*. This is more probable, according to *Pocock*, than what a learned *Jew* has advanced, that *Abulpharage* was of the Sect of the *Melchites*. “ Cui potius fidem habemus, quam docto “ cuidam Judæo, qui eum vocat Ebnol Koff, Chri- “ ſtianum Malatienſem, ſecta Melchitum (2).

(2) Pocock's *Pref. to* Specim. Hiſt. Arab.

[*D*] *This did not hinder many Mahometans from ſtudying under him.*] One of *Pocock*'s Copies contains theſe Words of a Mahometan: “ Author Libri eſt “ Abul-Pharaï Ebn Hocima, vir multæ lectionis va- “ riiſque Scientiis inſtructus, & penitus imbutus, “ præcipue autem medicinæ gloriâ Sœculo ſuo clarus, “ adeo ut ad eum de plagis Orientalibus frequentes con- “ tenderent. Chriſtianus erat, à quo tamen didice- “ runt multi è Muſlemorum eximie doctis. Ferunt “ ipſum morti propinquum à fide Chriſtiana deſci- “ viſſe. —— *The Author of the Book is* Abul-Pharaï “ Ebn Hocima, *a Man of great Reading, and tho-* “ *roughly vers'd in many Sciences, but particularly* “ *famous in his Time for his Skill in Phyſic; inſo-* “ *much that People came in Crouds to him from the* “ *Eaſtern Countries. He was a Chriſtian; and yet* “ *many of the learned Muſſulmen were his Diſciples.* “ *He is reported to have renounced the Chriſtian* “ *Faith, when he was near Death.*” *Ebn Chalecan*, a famous Author, who wrote the Lives of illuſtrious Men, was the Writer of theſe Words, if we may believe the Remark written by another Hand in the ſame Place of the Copy (3).

(3) Pocock's *Pref. to* Compend. Dynaſt.

[*E*] *Which are raiſed among all Sects.*] We have mentioned the Report concerning the laſt Hours of *Abulpharage*. The *Mahometans* could ſcarce believe, that ſo great a Man was inwardly a Chriſtian; they choſe rather to think, that he concealed his real Sentiments, 'till the Approach of Death put an end to his Reaſons for diſſembling them. This Prejudice univerſally prevails. Every one imagines, that the Truths of his Religion are ſo clear, that the Men of Genius of another Party cannot but be convinced of them; and that it is only worldly Motives which prevent their making an open Profeſſion of them. They flatter themſelves, that at the fatal Hour, when the eternal Doom affects the Mind moſt ſtrongly, theſe Diſſemblers will give Truth the Glory, and throw aſide the Mask.

Dii longæ noctis, quorum jam numina nobis
Mors inſtans majora facit (4)!

Ye Deities of everlaſting Night,
Whoſe Forms, in Death, riſe larger to the Sight!

(4) Dido *in* Silius Italic. L. 8. v. 140.

For, according to *Lucretius*,

—— Veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Ejiciuntur, & eripitur perſona manet Res (5).

Truth then breaks forth, extorted by our Fears,
And all the Man, without Diſguiſe, appears.

(5) Lucret. lib. 3. ver. 57.

It is from this wrong Principle ſo many idle Stories ariſe, which are inſerted in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, relating to *Peter du Moulin, Joſeph Scaliger*, &c. It is likewiſe the Source of I know not how many Diſcourſes, in which certain Perſons are made to ſay, *The Religion I profeſs is the beſt for this World, but not in the Article of Death.* See the Remark [*DD*] of the Article MAHOMET.

[*F*] *The Name of* Gregorius Bar Hebræus Syrus.] Upon this Occaſion, I ſhall make this ſhort Remark. *Pocock* repeats two Paſſages, in which our Author is named *Mar Gregorius*, and one, in which he is called *Mor Gregorius*; he makes no Reflexion upon the firſt of theſe Names; he never ſays, that *Abulpharage* was called *Marc*. Upon which I ſay, the Supplement to *Moreri* muſt be miſtaken, in ſaying that the Name of this Author was *Marc Gregory*. The Word *Mar*, which is a Title of Honour as *Mr* in our Language, might be miſtaken for the Chriſtian Name *Marc*. I obſerve the ſame Fault in the *Perpetuity of the Faith defended* (6): the Patriarch of *Babylon*, who reunited himſelf to the Church of *Rome*, under Pope *Paul* V. is there ſtyl'd *Marc Elias*; but the Author, cited for it, calls him *Mar Elias* (7).

(6) B. 5. c. 10.

(7) Petrus Strozza, de Chaldæor. Dogm. *See* Aub. Miræus's Polit. Eccleſ.

ABUMUSLIMUS (*a*) General of the Army under the firſt Caliphs of the Race of *Abbaſi*. The Province of *Choraſan* ſurrender'd to *Abbaſi* in the Year of the *Hegira* 125 (*b*). He accepted it, and died the ſame Year. *Ibrahim*, his Son and Succeſſor, ſent *Abumuſlimus* into this Country, at the Age of Nineteen. Theſe tender Years did not hinder him from driving out *Naſrus*, who govern'd the Province in the Name of Caliph *Merwan*. After the Death of *Ibrahim*, which came to paſs in the Year of the *Hegira* 131, *Saffabus*, his Brother, was raiſed to the Dignity of Caliph. He left the Government of the Province of *Choraſan* to *Abumuſlimus*, and made uſe of him

(*a*) *Mr* d'Herbelot, *who makes a long Article of him, calls him* Abou-Moſlem.

(*b*) *It is our* 742.

him to get rid of his Counſellor *Abumuſlimas*, who became ſuſpected by him. He died in the Year 136, and was ſucceeded by *Almanſor*, his Brother, who, after he had receiv'd the moſt important Services from *Abumuſlimus*, treacherouſly caus'd him to be murthur'd. *Abdalla* had revolted in *Syria*: *Abumuſlimus*, being ſent againſt him at the Head of a gallant Army, entirely routed him. *Almanſor*, more touch'd with the Scandal he pretended *Abumuſlimus* had utter'd againſt him, than with the Importance of the Victory, ſent for him, in order to put him to death. *Abumuſlimus*, juſtly diſtruſting him, refus'd to wait upon his Maſter; but, ſuffering himſelf to be deceiv'd by the Careſſes made to him, he put himſelf into the Power of *Almanſor*, who threw him into the *Tigris*. This was in the 137th Year of the *Hegira*, which anſwers to our 754. It is computed, that *Abumuſlimus* caus'd the death of 600 Perſons. He paſs'd for one a little vers'd in Magic, and he was of a Sect, from which That of the unfortunate *Spinoza* was not very different [*A*]. *Erpenius* did not underſtand the Words of *Elmacin* upon this Subject [*B*]. What I have here advanc'd (*e*), and the two Remarks below, are what I will not pretend to warrant. I report them on the Authority of another. Only the Parallel of *Spinoziſme* is my own; and I am not over ſatisfied, that he who criticizes *Erpenius*, knows more of the Point in queſtion, than *Erpenius* himſelf.

(*e*) *Taken from* Elmacin's *Hiſt.* Saracen. B. 2. c. 1, &c.

[*A*] Spinoza *was not very different.*] The Sect, which *Abumuſlimus* profeſſed, taught a kind of *Metempſychoſis*, but not like that of *Pythagoras* (1). His did not deſtroy the Soul; it only ſent it from one Body to another; but the other *Metempſychoſis* is thus deſcribed by the famous Traveller *Peter de la Valle*, in the Place, where he mentions certain *Mahometan* Heretics, who called themſelves *Ehl Eltahkik, Men of Truth and Certainty*. " They believe " (*ſays he*) no other God, but the four Elements " —— that there is no Rational Soul, nor another " Life after this; but that every Man is but a " Mixture of the four Elements, of which he is " compoſed during his Life, joined together and animated by that ſtrict Union, which keeps them " connected together, and which, upon his Death, " is diſſolved and diſperſed among the four ſimple " Elements, and conſequently returned to God, out " of which it was created; and the ſame, with regard to every thing elſe in the Earth, and in the " Heavens: in a Word, that the four Elements are " the whole of every Thing, even God and Man; " and conſequently the elements are Eternal, and " the World, with all it's Viciſſitudes and Changes, " is eternal (2)." Whatever Difference there may be between this Opinion, and the Syſtem of *Spinoza*, the Foundation of them both is the ſame: It is maintained on both Sides, that the Univerſe is but one ſingle Subſtance, and that all That, which we call Generation and Corruption, Life and Death, is nothing more than a certain Combination, or Diſſolution of Modes. *Elmacin* calls the *Metempſychoſis*, which *Abumuſlimus* believed, the *Metempſychoſis of Reſolution.*

[*B*] Erpenius *did not underſtand the Words of* Elmacin *upon this Subject.*] He makes him ſay, that *Abumuſlimus* follow'd the Sect of the *Deſcending Succeſſion, profitebatur ſectam ſucceſſionis deſcendentis* (3). He ought to have ſaid, that he follow'd the Sect, which taught the *Metempſychoſis of Reſolution, profitebatur ſectam eorum qui credunt Metempſychoſim reſolutionis.* It is thus, the Sieur *Beſpier* cenſures and corrects the Tranſlation of *Erpenius* in this Place (4).

(1) Beſpier's *Remarks on* Ricaut's *Preſent State of the* Ottoman Empire.

(2) Peter de la Valle, T. 3. p. 39'. *cited by* Beſpier *himſelf.*

(3) Elmacin. *Hiſt.* Jarac. B. 2. c. 3. p. 100.

(4) Beſpier's *Remarks on* Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 665.

ACACIA *or* ACAKIA (MARTIN). *See* AKAKIA.

ACAMAS, Son of *Theſeus* (*a*), follow'd the reſt of the *Grecian* Princes to the Siege of *Troy*. He was deputed with *Diomede*, on an Embaſſy to the *Trojans*, to demand back *Helen*. This Embaſſy was fruitleſs, as to the principal Deſign of it; but it turn'd to the Advantage of *Acamas*, in what is call'd Good Fortune in Affairs of Gallantry. *Laodicea*, Daughter of *Priam*, fell in Love with him, and having in vain ſummoned to her Aſſiſtance Honour and Modeſty, was obliged to open her Mind to *Philobia*, Wife of *Perſeus*, and to beg her Aſſiſtance in an Affair of the utmoſt Importance (*b*). *Philobia*, touch'd with Compaſſion for her, entreated her Huſband to procure *Laodicea* the Completion of her Deſires. *Perſeus* took pity on the poor Lady; and, being beſides deſirous to oblige his Wife, he made a Friendſhip with *Acamas*, and obtain'd a Viſit, from him in the City, of which he was Governor (*c*). *Laodicea* did not fail to be preſent there, attended by ſome *Trojan* Ladies. There was a magnificent Feaſt; after which *Perſeus* put her to bed with *Acamas*, pretending to him, that ſhe was one of the King's Concubines. *Laodicea* return'd home very well ſatisfy'd; and, at the end of nine Months, was deliver'd of a Boy, which was brought up by *Æthra*, Aunt of *Acamas* by the Mother's Side [*A*]. This Child was call'd *Munitus* [*B*]: we ſhall ſee in the Remarks what became of him (*d*).

Acamas

(*a*) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 5. & lib. 10. p. 325, & 343.

(*b*) Παρακαλεῖν τε ἀυτὴν ὅσου ὀυκ ἤδη διοικομένην ἀρηγειν ἀυτῇ. Parthenii Erotic. c. 16.

(*c*) *It was called* Dardanus.

(*d*) *Taken from* Hegeſipp. de Rebus Mileſ. lib. 1. *cited by* Parthen. *in his* Erot c. c. 16. *and from* Tzetzes *upon* Lycophron.

[*A*] *Was brought up by* Æthra, *Aunt of* Acamas *by the Mother's ſide.*] You muſt know that *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, making an inroad into *Attica* to recover their Siſter *Helena*, took the City of *Aphidna*, where that fair one was ſent by her Raviſher. *Æthra*, the Mother of *Theſeus*, had been ſent there at the ſame time. They took her Priſoner, and brought her to *Lacedemon*. She was there when *Paris* carried *Helen* away, and was ſent from thence to *Troy*. *Demophoon* and *Acamas* follow'd the (1) other *Greeks*, chiefly to deliver the good old Lady, either by paying her Ranſom, or by taking the City. They met her in the Streets, during the ranſacking (2) of *Troy*; and having underſtood who ſhe was, they mutually embrac'd each other. It was then that *Æthra* (3) made *Munitus* known to his Father *Acamas*. She had educated him; for *Laodicea* had truſted her with the Secret of what had paſs'd in *Perſeus*'s Houſe. *John Cornarius* made a groſs Miſtake in his Tranſlation of *Parthenius*: He render'd thoſe Words, ὃν ὑπ' αἴθρᾳ τραφέντα μετὰ Τροίας ἅλωσιν διεκόμισεν ἐπ' οἴκω, by theſe, quem ſub dio enutritum poſt Trojæ captivitatem tranſportavit in domum. i. e. *whom, having been brought up in the open Air, he carry'd home, after the taking of* Troy. He ought to have ſaid, *having been educated by* Æthra. We ſhall cite *Plutarch* preſently, who ſays, That ſome have called all this a fabulous Story.

[*B*] *This Child was call'd* Munitus.] He follow'd his Father into *Thrace*, where he died by the bite (4) of a Serpent. *Plutarch* calls him *Munychus*, Μούνυχος, in the Life of *Theſeus*; but, ſince *Parthenius*, *Lycophron*, and *Tzetzes* call him conſtantly *Munitus*, Μύνιτος;

(1) Scholiaſt. Euripid. in Hercul. *See* Pauſanias, l. 10. p. 342.

(2) Quintus Calaber, lib. 13. v. 496. *See* Pauſanias, ib.

(3) Tzetzes in Lycoph. *cited by* Meziriac, *on* Ovid's *Epiſtles*, p. 143.

(4) Parthen in Eroticis, c. 16.

Acamas was one of the Heroes, who were hid in the wooden Horſe (*e*). He had, afterwards, an Adventure in *Thrace*, ſomething like the former, but attended with very unfortunate Conſequences. *Phillis*, the King's Daughter, fell in love with him: He immediately offer'd her Marriage: the *Fair* was promis'd to him, with the Dowry of a Crown. He demanded permiſſion to return home. *Phillis* oppos'd it with the utmoſt Intreaties; but obtaining only an Oath from him, that he would return, ſhe preſented him with a Box, conſecrated, as ſhe ſaid, to *Rhea*, Mother of the Gods. She recommended to him not to open it, till he ſhould have no Hopes of ſeeing *Thrace* again. *Acamas* landed in the Iſle of *Cyprus* [C], and reſolv'd to ſettle there. *Phillis*, upon this, hang'd herſelf, uttering imprecations againſt the Traytor. He open'd the Box, and found himſelf ſeiz'd with ſtrange Viſions. He mounted his Horſe, and ſpurr'd him ſo unluckily, and in ſo violent a manner, that they were both thrown to the Ground, and *Acamas* accidentally fell upon his own Sword. *Tzetzes* relates this Story (*f*); but he has confounded *Acamas* with *Demophoon* (*g*); for, it is with the regard to the latter, that all Authors relate the Fate of the unhappy *Phillis*. See her paſſionate Letter to *Demophoon*, invented by *Ovid*. It appears by this Epiſtle, that their Marriage had been conſummated:

> Turpiter hoſpitium lecto cumulaſſe jugali
> Pœnitet, & lateri conſeruiſſe latus (*h*).

> *But, to admit thee looſely to my Breaſt*
> *Is Treaſon, fatal to my preſent Reſt.* Mr E. Lloyd.

We muſt not forget, that one of the Tribes of *Athens* was named *Acamantis* [D] from the Name of our *Acamas* (*i*), and that by the Appointment of the Oracle. *Stephen* of *Byzantium* makes him the Founder of a City in *Phrygia the Greater* [E], and makes him

(*e*) Tryphiodorus de Excid. Trojæ. *See alſo* Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 21.

(*f*) *Upon* Lycophron.

(*g*) *Who was likewiſe the Son of* Theſeus.

(*h*) Ovid. Phyll. ver. 57.

(*i*) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 5. & lib. 10. p. 325. *See likewiſe* Suidas, *and* Stephen *of* Byzant.

νιτος; it muſt be believ'd that *Plutarch*'s Text has been alter'd in that Place, or that the Author did not well remember the true Pronounciation of that Word. Does it not happen daily, that when we cite any Author by Memory, we confound ſometimes one or more Syllables in his Name? I ſhall conſider this farther in the Article EPHORUS. I do not know whether it ought not to be imputed to forgetfulneſs what *Plutarch* ſays, that it was *Demophoon* who lay with *Laodice*. But perhaps he had read it in ſome Author unknown to us. *Ttetzes* too might have found in ſome of theſe Authors, which are loſt, that the Adventures of *Phyllis* related to *Acamas*: However it be, neither of the Brothers have been Looſers, at the Foot of the Account; for if, on one Side, *Plutarch* takes from *Acamas* the delightful Moments he paſs'd with *Laodite*, and beſtows them on *Demophoon*; *Tzetzes*, on the other Side, deprives the latter of the agreeable Nights he paſs'd with *Phyllis*, and gives them to *Acamas*. But, to be ſerious; if *Meurſius* had well weigh'd the Paſſages, where the Son of *Laodice* is called *Munitus*, he would not have made (5) uſe of *Plutarch*'s Words, to prove that the Harbour of *Munychia* had not taken it's Name from *Munychus* the Son of *Pantacles*, as is commonly ſaid, but from *Munychus* the Son of *Demophoon* and *Laodice*. *Plutarch*'s Words are (6), Ὁι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος διαβάλλουσι, καὶ τὴν περί Μουνύχου μυθολογίαν, ὃν ἐκ Δημοφοῶντος Λαοδίκης κρύφα τεκούσης ἐν Ἰλίῳ συνεκθρέψαι τὴν Ἄιθραν λέγουσι. i. e. *ſome reject this Verſe*, ('tis that where *Homer* ſays that *Helen* brought *Æthra* with her to *Troy*) *as alſo the Story of* Munychus, *who, being the ſpurious Child of* Demophoon *and* Laodice, *is ſaid to have been brought up at* Troy, *under the Care of* Æthra.

[*C*] Acamas *landed in the Iſle of* Cyprus.] There was a Mountain in that Iſland, which was called *Acamas*, from the Son of *Theſeus*. *Heſychius* atteſts it, and remarks, That the River *Bocarus*, which paſt by *Salamina*, had it's Source in that Mountain. Geographers (7) ſpeak of Cape *Acamas*, very famous in the ſame Iſland; and ſome obſerve alſo (8), that the whole Iſland was formerly called *Acamas*. But no body that I know of among the Antients ſaid, That Cape *Acamas* borrow'd it's Name from a City, which Acchamas, *the* Athenian, *a Friend of the* Trojans, *that fled from thence*, built on that Cape, and to which he gave his Name. That City, and the *Athenian Acamas*'s Friendſhip for the *Trojans*, are both alike chimerical. I would fain know where Brother *Stephen* (9) of *Luſignan*, *Reader in Divinity to the* Dominicans *of* Paris, in the XVIth Century, met with this extraordinary Piece of Learning.

(5) Meurſius, lib. 1. c. 14. lect. Atticar. *cited by* Meziriac. *who repeats the ſame Miſtake in his Comment. on* Ovid's *Epiſtles*, p. 144.

(6) Plut. in Theſeo, ſub fin. p. 16.

(7) Strabo, lib. 14. Ptol. lib. 5. c. 14. Plin. lib. 5. c. 31.

(8) Philonides apud Plin. ibid. Stephanus *on the Word* Κυπρος.

(9) *Hiſtory of* Cyprus, p. 4. & 29.

[*D*] *One of the Tribes of* Athens *was nam'd* Acamantis.] Mr *Moreri* calls that Tribe *Acamante*; but I meet with no *French* Author, but what ſays *la Tribe Acamantide*. I ſhall here take notice of another of this Writer's Miſtakes, to ſave myſelf the trouble in another Place (10). He ſays, That *Homer*, in the 2d Book of the *Iliad*, mentions one *Acamas*, a *Thracian* Prince, who came to the Aſſiſtance of *Priam*; and of another *Acamas*, *the Son of* Antenor, *whoſe admirable Modeſty cauſed him to be placed in the Nmmber of the Gods.* It is true, that *Homer*, in the forecited Book, ſpeaks of that *Thracian* Prince; and ſays (11), elſewhere, that *Ajax* kill'd him. It is true likewiſe, that he ſpeaks of *Archilocus*, and *Acamas*, Sons of *Antenor*; and deſcribes them as very expert in all kind of Combats, μάχης εὖ εἰδότε πάσης; but he ſays nothing of the Deification of the chaſt *Acamas*. Mr *Moreri* wants but little of being the Author of this Story; for, ſtrictly ſpeaking, he would be ſo, if *Charles Stephens* had not ſupply'd him with this Foundation to build on; "Fuit & alius ejuſdem nominis filius Antenoris, "qui tempore belli Trojani cœlebs erat, & diis ſimilis "habebatur. i. e. *there was alſo another of the ſame* "*Name, the Son of* Antenor, *who, in the time of the* "Trojan *War, was a Bachelor, and reverenc'd as a* "*Godlike Perſon.*" As this Author cites no Writer in proof of this Fact, it was not in my Power to enquire after this pretended Celebacy; and, if I durſt freely conjecture, I would ſay that the Printers have put *cœlebs* for *celebris*, in ſome Book that *Charles Stephens* copied: Not that I deny, but that *Homer* obſerv'd ſometimes (12) that ſuch and ſuch Heroes were kill'd before they were married. But ſuppoſe this *Trojan* was unmarried; and that he is celebrated for being *like the Gods*, muſt it be concluded from thence, that his Chaſtity was ſo extraordinary, as to procure him divine Honours? If all thoſe on whom *Homer* beſtows the Epithet θεοείκελος, *God-like*, had been Deified, what would have become of poor *Atlas*'s Shoulders?

> —— contentaque Sydera paucis
> Numinibus miſerum urgebant Atlanta minori
> Pondere (13).

> *'Ere Gods grew numerous, and the heavenly Crowd,*
> *Preſt wretched* Atlas *with a lighter Load.*
> Creech.

[*E*] Stephen *of* Byzantium *makes him the Founder of a City in* Phrygia the Greater.] He calls it *Acamantium*. Geographers ſay nothing at all of it. The Abbreviator of that Writer, or the Copyiſts, have maim'd

(10) *The other Faults that were mark'd in the firſt Edition are ſuppreſs'd here. As theſe Faults occur in moſt of the Editions of* Moreri, *it is thought proper to ſet them down in this place. They are as follow: 1ſt, he cites the 1ſt Book of* Strabo, *in relation to the Promontory* Acamas, *in the Iſle of* Cyprus: *whereas he ought to have cited the 14th. 2dly, He calls* Acamante *the Son of* Theſeus. *3dly, He ſays, that* Suidas *mentions one* Acamantides, *a Philoſopher of* Eliopolis; *whereas* Suidas *calls him* Acamantius.

(11) Iliad. lib. 6. v. 7.

(12) *See* Iliad, lib. 4. v. 474.

(13) Juven. Sat. 13. v. 47.

him war with the *Solymeans.* I will not pretend to determine, whether *Phædra* or *Ariadne* [F] was the Mother of *Acamas,* upon which point Mr *Moreri* behaves as uſual.

maim'd that Paſſage in ſuch a Manner, that no Senſe can be made of it, without ſupplying ſomething. But ſupply it as you pleaſe, you will be never the better inform'd by it of the War between *Acamas,* and the *Solymæans.*

[F] *Whether* Phædra *or* Ariadne.] I find two learned Men of a contrary Opinion in this Queſtion. *Meziriac* (14) affirms that *Acamas* was the Son of *Phædra*; but all the Proof he ſeems to give for it, is, That *Demophoon* the Brother of *Acamas* was the Son of *Phædra*; which he proves by the Letter that *Sabinus* writ to *Phillis* under the Name of *Demophoon.* Mr *de Valois* (15) pretends, That *Ariadne* was the Mother of *Acamas,* and cites the Scholiaſt (16) of *Homer* for it; he adds, that *Demophoon* was the Brother of *Acamas,* according to that Scholiaſt; and that *Euripides* (17) confirms it. Neither of thoſe Gentlemen remark'd, That it ſignifies nothing to the Queſtion, whether *Acamas* and *Demophoon* were Brothers; for they might be ſo, altho' the one was the Son of *Ariadne,* and the other of *Phædra.*

(14) *On Ovid's Epiſt.* p. 137.

(15) Henr. Valeſius in Harpocrat. p. 4. & 5.

(16) In Ὀδυσσ. O.

(17) In Ione.

ACARNANIA, a Country ſituated on the *Ionian* Sea, between *Ætolia* and the Gulph of *Ambracia.* It is ſaid that the *Taphians* and the *Teleboans* were the firſt Maſters of it; and that *Cephalus* conquer'd it, after he was eſtabliſh'd in the Lordſhip of the Iſlands near *Taphos,* by *Amphitryon* (*a*). They add (*b*), That *Alcmeon,* the Son of *Amphiaraus,* made himſelf Maſter of it, after the ſecond *Theban* War; and that he gave it the Name of his Son *Acarnan.* He had aſſociated himſelf with *Diomedes,* and they had conquer'd *Ætolia,* which fell to the ſhare of the latter. Some time after, they were ſummoned to accompany the Expedition to *Troy*: one of them, *viz. Diomedes,* went to join the other *Greeks,* but *Alcmeon* kept himſelf quiet in *Acarnania* (*c*). This was of ſervice to the *Acarnanians* ſeveral Ages after; for they made a great Merit of it at *Rome* [*A*], having repreſented there, that, among all the *Greeks,* their Anceſtors alone did not go to the Siege of *Troy.* This notable Reaſon was alledg'd by the People of *Rome,* when they embrac'd their Party againſt *Ætolia* [*B*]. So true it is, that, on certain Occaſions, Policy does not refuſe to make uſe of the moſt ridiculous Pretences. The *Etolians* and the *Arcananians* kept (*d*) a long time united, either to repulſe the *Macedonians* and the other *Greeks,* or to maintain their Liberty againſt the *Roman* Arms; but at laſt they were tired, and loſt their Courage. The Year conſiſted of but ſix Months (*e*) in *Acarnania.* The Inhabitants of that Country were very laſcivious, if we may believe ſome Dictionaries [*C*]. It is more

(*a*) Strabo, lib. 10. p. 317.

(*b*) Id. ib. p. 318.

(*c*) Id. ib.

(*d*) Strabo, lib. 10. p. 317.

(*e*) Macrobius, Saturn. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 242.

[*A*] *They made a great Merit of it at* Rome.] The Hiſtorian *Ephorus* furniſhed them undeſignedly with an Opportunity of doing this: for, being informed of what he related concerning *Alcmeon,* they ingeniouſly turn'd it to their own Advantage with the *Romans,* who pretended that the Founder of *Rome* deſcended from *Æneas.* This is *Strabo*'s Conjecture (1): Τούτοις δ' ὡς εἰκὸς τοῖς λόγοις ἐπακολουθήσαντες οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες, σοφίσασθαι λέγονται Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξανύσασθαι, λέγοντες, ὡς οὐ μετάσχοιεν μόνοι τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἐκείνων στρατείας οὔτε γὰρ ἐν Ἀιτωλικῷ καταλόγῳ φράζοιντο, οὔτε ἰδίᾳ οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅλως τοὔνομα τοῦτ' ἐμφέροιτο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν. —— *It is probable the* Acarnanians, *taking the Hint from this Story, artfully prevailed upon the* Romans *to allow them the free Uſe of their Country Laws; pretending, that they alone were not concerned in the War againſt the Anceſtors of the* Romans, *as not being mentioned either in the* Ætolian Catalogue, *or ſeparately, or indeed at all in* Homer'*s Verſes.* But this Pretence was groundleſs; for *Strabo* (2) ſhews by the Catalogue (3) in the ſecond Book of the *Iliad,* that the *Acarnanians* ſupply'd their Quota for the Expedition to *Troy.*

[*B*] *Was alledged by the People of* Rome, *when they embrac'd their Party againſt* Ætolia.] After the Death of *Alexander,* the Son of *Pyrrhus,* King of *Epirus, Acarnania* had every thing to fear from the *Ætolians,* and did not confide much in that Prince's Widow, who was Guardian of her two Sons; wherefore they implored the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans,* which was not refuſed them. Word was ſent to the *Ætolians,* that they ſhould not moleſt a People, who alone had not aſſiſted the *Greeks* againſt the *Trojans* (4). "Acarnanes quoque diffiſi Epirotis adverſus *Ætolos* auxilium Romanorum implorantes, obtinuerunt à Romano ſenatu, ut legati mitterentur, qui denuntiarent Ætolis, præſidia ab urbibus Acarnaniæ deducerent; paterenturque eſſe liberos, qui ſoli quondam adverſus Trojanos, auctores originis ſuæ, auxilia Græcis non miſerint. —— *The* Acarnanians, *diſtruſting the* Epirotes, *implored the Aſſiſtance of the* Romans *againſt the* Ætolians, *and obtained from the Senate an Embaſſy to be ſent to the* Ætolians, *to demand of them, that they ſhould withdraw their Garriſons from the Cities of* Acarnania, *and ſuffer a People to enjoy their Liberty, who alone gave the* Greeks *no Aid againſt the* Trojans, *from whom the* Romans *were deſcended.*" *Plutarch* reports two as ridiculous Facts as this (5). "*Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Syracuſe* —— laught at thoſe of *Corfu,* who ask'd him, for what Reaſon he ravaged their Iſland; *Becauſe,* ſaid he, *your Anceſtors formerly received* Ulyſſes. And when the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Ithaca* complained to him, that his Soldiers took their Sheep: *And your King,* ſaid he to them, *being arrived in our Country, did not only take our Sheep, but alſo put out our Shepherd's Eye.*" But the following Account is more ridiculous ſtill (6). "*Mahomet,* the ſecond of that Name, Emperor of the *Turks,* in a Letter to Pope *Pius* the Second, ſaid, I wonder the *Italians* ſhould league againſt me, ſeeing we have our common Original from the *Trojans*; and that 'tis my Intereſt, as well as theirs, to revenge the Blood of *Hector* upon the *Greeks,* whom they favonr againſt me." Thus chimerical Evils, forged by the Poets, have ſerved as an Apology for real Evils.

[*C*] *Very laſcivious, if we may believe ſome Dictionaries.*] We ſhall quote Mr *Lloyd* firſt, "Mollitiei & laſciviæ notati leguntur (*Acarnanes*) teſte Luciano in Dial. Meretriciis, unde proverbium *Porcellus Acarnanius* in laſcivos. i. e. *The* Acarnanians, *as* Lucian *witneſſes in his Dialogue of Harlots, are branded in Hiſtory with Effeminacy and Wantonneſs, whence that proverbial Character of the Laſcivious,* An Acarnanian Swine." Mr *Hofman* transferred this whole Paſſage into his Dictionary; and *Moreri*'s Account is this: "The *Acarnanians* were accuſed of being too laſcivious and too finical. This was the cauſe of that reproachful Proverb of the Antients, *Porcellus Acarnanius.*" You may meet with the ſame Account in *Pinedo*'s Notes (7) on *Stephen* of *Byzantium.* I have conſulted the *Dialogue* of the *Courtezans* of *Lucian,* and do not find there that the Inhabitants of *Acarnania* paſt for voluptuous and effeminate. It is true, the Courtezan *Muſarium,* in anſwer to her Mother, who reproached her for making no Advantage of the Favours ſhe granted *Chereas,* and who thought it very ſtrange that ſhe ſhould not hearken to a Peaſant of *Acarnania,*

(1) Strabo lib. 10. p. 318.

(2) Id. ib.

(3) Homer *deſcribes only their Country, and does not mention it by the Name of* Acarnania.

(4) Juſtin. lib. 28. c. 1. *See* La Mothe Le Vayer *Letter* 95. Tom. 2. p. 325.

(5) Plutarch de ſera Numinis vindicta.

(6) Montagne's *Eſſays, B.* 2. *c.* 36. *p.* 763.

(7) Tho. de Pinedo in Steph. Byzant. p. 50.

more certain that Modeſty was not to be diſcovered there in the Womens Garments [*D*]. It is not true that *Cicero* ſpeaks of a City that was called *Acarnania* [*E*]. I have obſerved, that the Inhabitants of this Country, kept themſelves a long time united with the *Etolians*; but I muſt add, that there were frequent Wars between theſe two People; and that the *Etolians* greatly haraſs'd the former. *Polybius* tells us this, when he relates, that the *Acarnanians*, upon the firſt Application made to them by the King of *Macedon*, declar'd War againſt the *Etolians* (*f*). He commends them for obſerving a generous Policy, in preferring *the Honourable* to the *Profitable*, and that in the moſt preſſing Dangers (*g*).

nia, ſaid to her, *What! ſhould I quit* Chereas *to give myſelf to that Blockhead, who ſmells as rank as an old He-Goat?* (8) *No!* Chereas *for my Money: He is ſmooth, as they ſay, and a Hog of* Acarnania. *Eraſmus* ſuppoſes, that by an *Acarnanian* Hog is meant (9) an effeminate Favourite; and that it was an Alluſion to the Comedy of *Ariſtophanes*, where a Hog is the Symbol of the Inſtruments of venereal Pleaſures (10). *Alluſum, opinor ad porrellum quem inducit Ariſtophanes* ἐν Ἀχαρνεῦσιν *ſymbolum eorum membrorum quibus obſcœnæ voluptates peraguntur.* I believe the concealed Meaning of *Muſarium*'s Anſwer is not underſtood; for my own Part, I own I do not comprehend it; for which Reaſon I ſhall not criticize upon thoſe who aſſert that the Inhabitants of *Acarnania* were reputed laſcivious. If it were true, I wonder Authors ſhould make no mention of it. Laſtly, *Eraſmus* is not miſtaken about the figurative Signification of the Word χοιρίσκος. The *Latins* had adopted that Figure. *Varro* ſays (11), "Noſtræ mulieres, maxime nutrices, naturam, qua "fœminæ ſunt, in virginibus appellant *porcum* & "Græcè χοῖρον. —— *Our Women, eſpecially Nurſes,* "*call the Diſtinction of Sex in Virgins,* Porcus, "*in* Greek χοῖρος." See the *Italian* Etymologies of Mr *Menage*, at the Word *Potta*. I am not ſatisfied with this Conjecture, and propoſe it only to try if more ſagacious Perſons than myſelf cannot account for it better. *Chereas* (12) always paid his Courtezan with Hopes: it was the only Coin he had. *As ſoon as my Father is dead*, ſaid he, *and I am in poſſeſſion of my Patrimony, you ſhall diſpoſe of all my Eſtate, and I will marry you. Muſarium*, being allured by theſe Promiſes, gave him the Uſe of herſelf, and her Purſe. Had ſhe not Reaſon to ſay to her Mother, *Here is a Gallant that I can neither fleece nor ſhear! but I feed an Hog of* Acarnania; *the Profit of which will come all at once.* It is indeed the Property of thoſe Animals: nothing is got by feeding them, 'till after all the neceſſary Expences have been laid out in fattening them; but at laſt they make amends with Uſury. Perhaps *Acarnania* was as *Weſtphalia* is at this time, a plentiful Country for Hogs: and from thence it was that the Cooks (13) of the great Cities of *Greece* ſent for Hogs to fatten them; which may be the Reaſon why the Courtezan made uſe of the Epithete ἀκαρνάνιος.

[*D*] *That Modeſty was not to be diſcovered there in the Womens Garments.*] The Manner in which *Apollonius* cenſures the *Athenian* Ladies, informs us of this; "From whence have you the Faſhion, *ſays* "*he to them* (14), of thoſe pompous Garments of "Purple, of Carnation, of dried Roſes, of Fillemot, "Yellow, Green, and ſuch like, wherewith you "dreſs yourſelves like a Meadow in the Month of "*May?* For it was never ſeen that the Women of "*Acarnania* ever prankt themſelves up in that "Manner." This is according to the *French* Tranſlator*. The *Latin* (15) Tranſlator had ſaid, "Coc"cineæ atque etiam purpureæ croceæque veſtes unde "à vobis ſumptæ? Cum neque Acarnanides mulie"res ita exornentur." It appears plainly that *Apollonius* would not have argued in this Manner, if the Women of *Acarnania* had not the Repute of dreſſing themſelves in an immodeſt Manner. This ſeems to favour the Dictionaries, which aſſure us that the *Acarnanians* were defam'd as laſcivious Perſons; nevertheleſs the Conſequence would be ſomewhat ſtrained. Thoſe Authors want a more preciſe Authority. *Artus Thomas* quite miſtook the meaning of *Apollonius*'s Words, which he undertook to comment on. He ſays (16), "The *Acarnanians* were formerly very expert "in Chariot-Races, according to the Report of *Pauſanias* in the ſixth and laſt Book of his *Eliacks*, "having formerly been held for wiſe People, and "very great Politicians, for having ſo well ordered "their State and Commonwealth, that ſome ſay "*Ariſtotle* compoſed an hundred and fifty Books "only on the Subject of the Laws and Govern"ment of that Nation: But the Books are loſt with "their Policy. This is the Reaſon why *Philoſtratus* ſpeaks here of their Wives." Oh! —— the wretched Commentary! the Senſe here is quite the Reverſe of the Text.

[*E*] *It is not true that* Cicero *ſpeaks of a City that was called* Acarnania.] Mr *Moreri* however aſſerts it, and adds, *It is in* Sicily, *and famous for a Temple dedicated to* Jupiter. He cites *Cicero, Orat. in Verrem*, and *Servius in lib* 5. *Æneid.* Mr *Hofman* goes much farther, far he notes two Circumſtances, the one, that that City was near *Syracuſe*; the other, that it was burnt by the *Goths*. He had read all this in *Charles Stephens*. The Truth is, *Cicero* does not ſpeak of *Acarnania*, but of *Acradina*, one of the four Parts of *Syracuſe* (17). "Ea tanta eſt urbs ut "ex quatuor urbibus maximis conſtare dicatur, qua"rum una, *&c.* —— altera autem eſt urbs Syra"cuſis cui nomen Acradina eſt: In qua forum maxi"mum, pulcherrimæ porticus, ornatiſſimum pryta"neum, ampliſſima eſt curia, templumque egregium "Jovis Olympii. —— *The City is ſo ſpacious, that* "*it is ſaid to conſiſt of four large Towns, one of* "*which,* &c. —— *Another Part of* Syracuſe *is cal*"*led* Acradina, *in which is a very large Forum, moſt* "*beautiful Porticos, a ſplendid Prytaneum, a mag*"*nificent Court, and a fine Temple of* Jupiter Olym"pius." *Servius*, cited by *Moreri*, ſays only (18), that *Acarnania* is a Part of *Epirus*, and not a ſmall Country of *Egypt*, as Mr *Hofman* will have it (19).

ACCARISI (Francis) a Civilian, born at *Ancona*, went thro' his Studies at *Sienna*, where *Bargalio* and *Benevolento* gain'd a conſiderable Reputation in the Science of the Law. He had a great Friendſhip for them both; but much more for the firſt, than the other. The Reaſons for this difference were natural; *Bargalio*'s Cloſet was always open to him; (*a*) beſides, he had praiſed him very much in a Speech which is printed, and which contains the Elogies of the Family of the *Accariſis*, and on his Death-Bed had intruſted him with the Care of publiſhing his fine Diſputation *de Dolo*. The firſt Public Employ of our *Accariſi* was to explain the *Inſtitutes* at *Sienna*, which he did during ſix Years. Afterward they committed the Explication of the *Pandects* to him; and becauſe many *Ultramontanes* went to ſtudy at *Sienna*, the Great Duke *Ferdinand* I. determin'd to have a Profeſſor there, who ſhould explain the Civil Law in the ſame manner as *Cujacius* had explain'd it. *Accariſi* was choſen for that Office, and acquitted himſelf worthily of it; after which he was promoted to that of Ordinary Profeſſor in Law, vacant by the Death of *Bargalio*, and fill'd that Place honourably for twenty Years. His Reputation was ſpread abroad: All the Univerſities of *Italy* deſir'd to have him, and offer'd him very advantageous Conditions. He reſiſted

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(*f*) Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 4. c. 30.

(*g*) Id. ib.

(8) Λεῖός μοι φασί, Χαιρέας καὶ χοιρίσκος ἀκαρνάνιος. Lucian. Dialog. Meretric. p. 723. Tom. 2.

(9) In mollem & amabilem atque in deliciis habitum dicebatur. *i. e. It was apply'd to thoſe, who were effeminate, amiable, and Favourites.* Eraſm. chil. 2. cent. 3. n. 69. p. 445.

(10) Id. ib.

(11) Varro de Re ruſtica, lib. 2. c. 4.

(12) Lucian. Dial. Meretric. p. 721, 722.

(13) Ὥσπερ αἱ καπηλίδες τὰ δελφάκια τρέφουσι. *As Cooks breed up Pigs.* Athen. lib. 14. p. 656.

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(14) Philoſtrat. in vita Apollonii, lib. 4. c. 7.

* Vigenere.

(15) Alemannus Rhinucinus, p. 167.

(16) Artus Thomas, *Lord of* Embry, *his Annotations on the Life of* Apollonius, *Book* iv. *ch.* 7. *p.* 800. *of Vol.* 1.

(17) Cicero in Verrem, Orat. 6. fol. 77. verſo.

(18) Servius in Æneid. lib. 5. v. 298.

(19) Item Regiuncula Ægypti. Servius in Æneid. lib. c. Hofman *on the Word* Acarnania.

(*a*) Ab illo factus fuerat omnium ſuorum ſtudiorum particeps. i. e. *He partook of All his Studies.* Nic. Erythræus, Pinacoth. 2. cap. 25.

ſiſted theſe Temptations a long time, in conſideration of the Sweetneſs he enjoy'd at *Sienna:* But the Attack was renew'd ſo often, that he was at laſt overcome, and prevailed upon not to perſiſt in the Reſolution he had taken to die in his firſt Poſt: A Reſolution ſcarce to be parallell'd among Perſons of his Character [*A*]. It was *Rainucio Farneſe*, Duke of *Parma*, who made him yield to the Temptation, by adding to the Promiſes he made him, and to the Glory of ſucceeding *Sforza Oddus*, and *Philip Marini*, the Title of His Counſellor, wherewith he honour'd him. The Great Duke would not ſuffer *Accariſi* to continue long in the Service of another Prince, but made him ſoon return [*B*], by giving him the firſt Profeſſorſhip in Law in the Univerſity of *Piſa*; ſo that *Accariſi* left the Duke of *Parma*, and went to exerciſe the Employ which was given him at *Piſa*, in which he continu'd 'till his Death, which happen'd four Years after; he died, at *Sienna*, *Oct.* 4. 1622. The Author (*b*), who furniſhes me with this Article, and who is the only Perſon cited by Mr *Moreri*, does not ſay that *Accariſi* writ divers Treatiſes of Law, nor that *Rainucio Farneſe* endeavour'd in vain to draw him to him. They are two Miſtakes of Mr *Moreri*, who beſides did not underſtand the meaning of IV. *Non. Octobris*, which he interprets to mean the 26th of *September*. We take notice of another Miſtake of his in the ſecond Remark.

(*b*) Janus Nicius Erythræus Pinacoth. 2. c. 25.

[*A*] *Scarce to be parallell'd among Perſons of his Character.*] One of the moſt common Faults among Profeſſors is their not fixing in the Univerſities where they have their firſt Employ. Inſtead of looking upon that firſt Vocation as a kind of Marriage, they conſider it only as a tranſient Engagement, as an *Interim*, and a reſting Place: They only ſtay there in expectation of ſomething better: They have no more Affection for the ſecond Call than for the firſt, and are not for pitching their Tents for the laſt time, 'till they have attained the beſt Profeſſorſhips. It has been ſaid of ſome Perſons, that they make the Tour of all Religions in a little time; others run through all the Univerſities as ſoon as they can. Some of thoſe who do not remove, take care to be well paid for their Conſtancy. It coſts thoſe, who deſire to retain them, a conſiderable Addition of Wages. *Tacitus*, who doubtleſs comprehended many Defects under the Phraſe *Profeſſoria lingua* (1), would not have excluded him, of whom I ſpeak, if he had known him. Churchmen are not exempt from this little Infirmity; we know the Complaints of rigid Moraliſts againſt certain Prelates, who, beginning with a Biſhoprick of a mean Revenue, riſe by Degrees to the moſt eminent Metropolitan Cities. This is a Spiritual Polygamy, or ſomething worſe: For according to the Senſe of the antient Canons (2), a ſpiritual Marriage is contracted between the Paſtor and his Flock. The Chriſtian Societies, which belong to the ſmaller Benefices, are ſenſible of the Effects of this Humour.

Parcius iſta viris tamen objicienda memento (3).

See the Remark [*H*] of the Article ALCIATUS (ANDREW).

[*B*] *But made him ſoon return.*] This was the Succeſs of all that Sollicitation and Bribery, which the Duke of *Parma* made uſe of to procure *Accariſi*. I confeſs he gained him at laſt, but he was ſoon taken from him again by the ſame Means he had made uſe of to take him from others. Yet Mr *Moreri* ſays, that *Accariſi* did not go to the Duke, and that *he would have done too much Violence to his Inclination, if he had left his Country, where he was detained by the Favours of* Ferdinand, *Great Duke of* Tuſcany. A new Fault, which cannot be excuſed! for we read in *Nicius Erythræus*, that when *Accariſi* went to ſerve the Duke of *Parma*, it was at leaſt twenty Years ſince the new Office, which the Great Duke *Ferdinand* had cauſed to be created in the College of *Sienna*, had been beſtowed upon him. We read alſo in the ſame Author, that *Accariſi* was Profeſſor but four Years at *Piſa*, whither he was called a little after his Engagement at *Parma*. But he died in 1622. four Years after he had accepted the Profeſſorſhip of *Piſa*; ſo that the Duke of *Parma* muſt have compaſſed his Deſign about the Year 1616. at which time there was no Great Duke of the Name of *Ferdinand*. Mr *Moreri* ſays himſelf, in his Article MEDICIS, that *Ferdinand* I. died in 1609, and that *Ferdinand* II. ſucceeded him in 1621.

(1) Annal. lib. 13. cap. 14.

(2) Ne Virginalis pauperculæ Societate contempta ditioris adulteræ quærat amplexus. Hieron. Ep. ad Oceanum, Tom. 2. p. 744. *See the Author of a* French *Book, entitled,* Advice to the Jeſuits of *Aix on an* Interlude, *p.* 37.

(3) Virgil. Eccl. 3. ver. 7.

ACCARISI (JAMES) a Native of *Boulogne*, and Doctor of Divinity. I have but two Particulars to add to Mr *Moreri*'s Account of him. The firſt is, that the *Speeches*, which he has publiſhed, are Compoſitions, recited by himſelf at *Rome*, *Cologne*, *Mantua*, and other Places: The other, that he was four Years *Profeſſor* of *Rhetoric* at *Mantua*, in the Univerſity founded by Duke *Ferdinand*, *Ann.* 1627 (*a*).

(*a*) Aub. Miræus, Script. Eccl. Sæc. 17. p. 251.

ACCIAIOLI (DONATO) a Perſon celebrated as well for his Learning, as the great Offices he diſcharged at *Florence*, the Place of his Nativity. He flouriſhed in the XVth Century. This great Man would have been more eminent for Learning, if the public Affairs had permitted him to dedicate more Time to his Studies, and if the Tenderneſs of his Conſtitution had not ſhortened his Life (*a*). There can be no greater Proof of his Honeſty and Diſintereſtedneſs than the ſmall Patrimony he left to his Children. His Daughters were portioned for Marriage at the public Expence (*b*), as were formerly thoſe of *Ariſtides*; which demonſtrates, at the ſame time, how well ſatisfied the Public was with the Services he had done it. He was ſent into *France* to demand Succours againſt Pope *Sixtus* IV. who extreamly haraſſed the *Florentines*; but he died, before he had paſſed the *Alps* (*c*), at *Milan*, in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1473, in the 39th Year of his Age (*d*). His Body was carried to *Florence*, and interr'd in the Church of the *Carthuſians* (*e*). The Inſcription on his Tomb is in the Style and Manner of *Politian*. His Works are principally *A Tranſlation of ſome of the Lives of* Plutarch [*A*] *into* Latin; *The Life of*

(*a*) Jovius in Elog. ch. 16.

(*b*) Volaterr. B. 21.

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(*c*) Jovius in Elog. c. 16.

(*d*) Varillas Anecd. de Florence. p. 169.

(*e*) Jovius in Elog. ch. 16.

[*A*] *Some of the Lives of* Plutarch.] He ſhould be the Author of *Four*, if *Voſſius* (1) and *Konig* (2) are to be credited; namely, thoſe of *Hannibal*, *Scipio*, *Alcibiades*, and *Demetrius*: but as it does not appear, that *Plutarch* compos'd either the Life of *Scipio*, or that of *Hannibal*; it is more probable, that *Acciaiolus* was originally

(1) Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. p. 624.

(2) Konig. Bibl. Vet. & Nov. p. 4.

of Charlemagne; *and Commentaries on* Ariſtotle*'s Ethics and Politics.* This *Life of Charlemagne*, being ſometimes join'd with thoſe of *Plutarch*, has led *George Wicelius* into a ſurprizing Blunder. He ſpeaks of this *Life* as if it were the Work of *Plutarch* himſelf (*f*); ſo wholly taken up was he in the Learning of the Times. Some have accus'd *Acciaioli* of Plagiariſm [*B*] in his *Commentary on* Ariſtotle's *Ethics*: others, on the contrary, are extravagant in the Praiſes [*C*] they beſtow on him for this Work. He was highly eſteem'd by the Cardinal *de Pavia*, as appears by the Letters he receiv'd from him, which are to be found in a printed Collection of the Cardinal's Letters.

The Reader will find below a conſiderable Supplement to this Article [*D*].

nally the Author of the Lives of theſe two famous Commanders (3), than that he tranſlated them from the *Greek*. *Voſſius* does not ſeem to be aware of this. He was plainly miſled by the Abridger of the *Bibliotheque* of *Geſner*. Father *Ménétrier* is poſitive, that *Acciaioli* impos'd upon the Public, in pretending to have tranſlated the Life of *Hannibal*, from the *Greek* (4).

[*B*] *Some have accus'd* Acciaioli *of* Plagiariſm.] It is aſſerted, that he borrow'd his *Commentary* on *Ariſtotle*'s *Ethics*, without acknowledging the Debt. "Scripta, "quæ ſub nomine Acciaioli ea de re circumferuntur, "non Acciaioli commentaria, ſed Argyropyli Prælectiones Florentiæ habitæ, & ab Acciaiolo deſcriptæ "editæque, à pleriſque exiſtimantur. —— *It is generally thought, that the Commentary, which is handed "about under the Name of* Acciaiolus, *is not his own, "but tranſcrib'd, and publiſh'd, from the Lectures of* "Argyropylus, *deliver'd at* Florence." After this manner *Simon Simonius* ſpeaks of it in his Dedication to a Book, printed in 1567 (5). *Gabriel Naudé* renew'd this Accuſation a long time after in very poſitive Terms. "Argyropylus Byzantinus, *ſays he* (6), cujus Prælectiones, Florentinæ habitas, non abſque "maniſeſto plagii crimine, ſibi poſtea vendicavit Donatus Acciaiolus. —— Argyropylus, *the* Byzantine, *whoſe Lectures, read at* Florence, Donatus "Acciaiolus *claim'd to himſelf, not without the manifeſt Guilt of* Plagiariſm." Mr *Moreri* has confounded the *Ethics* of *Ariſtotle*, with the Commentary upon them. "It has even been thought, *ſays "he*, that the Ethics of *Ariſtotle*, addreſs'd to *Nichomachus*, which *Donatus* has publiſh'd, were in the "Stile and Manner of the ſame *Argyropylus*; though "*Volaterran* maintains the contrary." Obſerve this Author's Skill in tranſlating the eaſieſt *Latin*, I mean the *Latin* of *Voſſius*. He had read theſe Words in *Voſſius*; "Imo, Commentaria illa in Nicomachia Ariſtotelis multi arbitrantur non ipſius eſſe Acciaioli, ſed "Prælectiones eſſe Argyropyli, ab Acciaiolo autem "deſcriptas, inque lucem emiſſas. Nihil tamen de eo "Volaterranus (7). —— *Nay, many are of Opinion, "that* Acciaiolus *himſelf was not the Author of the "Commentary on* Ariſtotle*'s Piece to* Nicomachus, *but "that he compos'd, and publiſh'd it from the Lectures "of* Argyropylus. *Yet* Volaterran *mentions no ſuch "thing*." This is doubly to confound Things: it is to take the Commentary for the Text; and to conſtrue the Silence of an Author into a formal confutation of a Charge. The learned *Conringius* has juſtify'd *Donatus* againſt *Naudé*; not by ſhewing, that *Argyropylus* did not furniſh Materials for the Work, but by alledging, that *Acciaiolus* acknowledged to whom he was indebted (8). Can we deſire a more authentic Confeſſion, than the following? "Johannes Argyrophylus Byzantinus, cum Florentiæ "inter cætera Philoſophiæ opera Ariſtotelis libros, "qui ad Nicomachum de moribus ſcribuntur, mirificè "eſſet complexus, eos tuo nomine Latinos fecit, publiceque deinde explicuit, non ſine magna audientium approbatione: habent enim libri duo ſummam "dignitatem, admirabilemque doctrinam, ordinem "vero prope ſingularem. Itaque ſi accurata & exquiſita quædam explanatio accedat, magnum auditoribus afferent fructum; quod ego jam inde ab "initio mecum conſiderans una cum pleriſque aliis, "qui hujus quoque præceptoris diſciplinam ſequuntur, in iis audiendis præcipuam curam diligentiamque adhibui. —— Poſteà vero cum viderim hos "libros à te, & ab iis omnibus, qui ingenio vehementer excellunt, libentiſſime legi, ulterius progrediendum ratus, EXPOSITIONEM HUJUS DOCTORIS, "accommodatam præcipue menti Philoſophi, literis "mandare conſtitui, ut ii, qui adeſſe non potuerunt—— "hæc, quæ nos EX EJUS ORE ACCEPIMUS, percipere & ipſi pro arbitrio poſſent; quare traductionem "illius ac ordinem explicandi pluribus verbis ſecuti "ſumus, lata interdum & diffuſa oratione utentes, ut "explanatio aperta magis magiſque omnibus eſſet "communis (9). —— John Argyrophylus, *the* Byzantine, *having, at* Florence, *among other Philoſophical Works, finely introduc'd the moral Writings "of* Ariſtotle, *addreſs'd to* Nicomachus, *tranſlated "them, under your patronage, into* Latin, *and afterwards read public Lectures upon them, not without "great Applauſe from his Hearers; for the Subject of "theſe two Books is very noble, the Inſtruction admirable, and the Method almoſt peculiar to them. "And therefore the Hearers muſt receive great Benefit from them, when accurately and judiciouſly explain'd; which Conſideration, from the beginning, "induc'd me, and ſeveral other Pupils of the ſame "Maſter, to attend his Lectures, with the utmoſt "Care and Diligence. —— But afterwards, when I "perceiv'd that thoſe Books became in great Requeſt "with you, and all Men of exalted Senſe, I determided to publiſh this great Maſter's* EXPLANATION, "*accommodated chiefly to the taſte of Philoſophers; "that they, who could not attend his Lectures, might, "whenever they thought fit, underſtand what* WE "RECEIV'D FROM HIS OWN MOUTH. *I have "therefore given his Tranſlation, and method of Explanation at large, making uſe frequently of a copious and diffuſe Style, to render his Interpretation the "more intelligible and familiar*." If *Voſſius* had ever heard of this Paſſage, would he have been ſatiſfy'd with oppoſing the Silence of *Volaterran* to the Accuſers of *Acciaioli?* He might have read it in *Geſner*'s Works (10). Is it not very ſtrange, that a poor Author, who has ſo ſolemnly declared in his Preface, that he publiſhes only a paraphraſtic Tranſlation of the Lectures of *Argyropylus*, ſhould for ſo long Time be accus'd of *Plagiariſm?*

[*C*] *Extravagant in the Praiſes.*] This appears by comparing the Text of *Paul Jovius*, with the Paraphraſe of Mr *Varillas*. "Eruditâ & pereleganti "Commentatione magnum lumen attuliſſe judicatur "Moralibus Ariſtotelis, exploſis ſcilicet ſophiſtarum "interpretum ineptiis, quum, Euſtratii Græci placita "ſecutus, certiore ubique veſtigio niteretur (11). —— "*He is thought to have given great Light into* Ariſtotle's Ethics, *by a very learned and elegant Commentary; in which he explodes the fooliſh Gloſſes "of the Schoolmen, and follows the Opinions of* Euſtratius *the* Greek, *as the more certain Foundation.*" This is the Text; the Paraphraſe is as follows: "He "did not fail to tranſlate the Morals of *Ariſtotle*, "with much greater exactneſs, than his Predeceſſors "in that Work; and ſo clear them of thoſe ridiculous "Interpretations, which both the antient and modern "Schoolmen had put upon them. This he did in "an excellent Commentary ‖, in which he ſhew'd, "that, whoever engages in this Labyrinth with any "other Guide ‡, than the famous *Euſtachius*, cannot avoid going out of his Way (12)." I need not apprize the Reader, that the Author of the *Anecdotes* goes farther than his Original, as well with reſpect to *Acciaioli*, as *Euſtratius* (13); and that, inſtead of paying a Compliment to the latter, as was his Intention, he degrades him to the loweſt Rank of Interpreters: he ſhould have ſaid, *avec un autre*, not *ſans un autre*. Beſides, what would Father *Bouhours* ſay to his *par un admirable Commentaire?* Theſe Words are ſo ill plac'd, that one would think the Schoolmen had given *their ridiculous Interpretations, by an excellent Commentary.*

[*D*] *The Reader will find below, a conſiderable Supplement to this Article.*] I may venture to give it this Character, ſince it is a Memoir communicated to me by a very able Writer (14). "The Treatiſe, which "*Matthieu Palmieri* has left, of the Origin of the "Family of the *Acciaiolis*, may be of conſiderable

(*f*) Hagiolog. fol. 178. apud Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. p. 624.

(3) Poccianti*us* de Script. Flor. p. 51. *ſays expreſsly*, dictavit proprio Marte vitam Annibalis & Scipionis. *He had no Aſſiſtance in writing the Lives of* Hannibal *and* Scipio.

(4) *See the* Journal des Savans, *Sept.* 2. 1697. p. 654.

(5) Sim. Simonii Comment. in Ariſtot. Ethic.

(6) Naud. Bibliogr. polit. p. 16.

(7) Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. p. 624.

(8) Conring. Introd. in Polit. Ariſt. p. 649, 659. in Thomaſius's Plag. Literar. p. 153.

(9) Don. Acc. *Pref. to* Coſm. Med. Comment. in Eth. Ariſt. ad Nichomach.

(10) Geſn. Biblioth. fol. 216.

(11) Jovius Elog. cap. 16.

‖ *The Conſtruction of the* French *is*----Interpretations ridicules, .. que les Sophiſtes leur avoient données, par un admirable Commentaire----

‡ *The* French *of* Varillas, *by miſtake, ſays*, ſans un autre guide----

(12) Varill. Anecd. de Flor. p. 169.

(13) *So it ought to be writ, and not* Euſtachius.

(14) Mr de la Monnoie.

"Uſe in rectifying and ſupplying the Article of *Donato Acciaioli*. This Treatiſe, written in *Latin* "by *Matthieu Palmieri*, was tranſlated into *Italian* by *Donato Acciaioli*, Knight of *Rhodes*. The "Original has not yet appear'd; the Tranſlation alone was printed at *Florence*, in 4to, in the Year "1588, for *Bartholémi Sermatelli*, as an Appendix "to the Hiſtory of the *Ubaldinis*, and the Life of "*Nicolas Acciaioli*, great *Seneſchal* of the Kingdoms "of *Sicily* and *Jeruſalem*. We are there told that "our *Donato* was born in 1428; that he was buried "at the public Expence; that *Chriſtopher Laudin* "ſpoke his Funeral Oration *. The other Particulars "are too long to be repeated. —— *Sabellicus*, in "his Dialogue *de Reparatione Linguæ Latinæ*, (a Dialogue, by the way, commonly cited as the Work "of an anonymous Author) and *Vives*, in his 5th "Book *de tradendis Diſciplinis*, have ſpoken with "Commendation, of the Life of *Charlemagne*, by *Donato Acciaioli*. The *Florentine* Hiſtory of *Leonard* "*d'Arezzo*, tranſlated from *Latin* into *Italian* by "this *Donato*, was printed at *Venice*, in *Folio*, in "1473, according to Father *L'Abbé*'s Account, *p.* "341. of his *Supplem. Nov. Biblioth.* M.SS."

* Poccian-tius de Script. Flor. p. 51.

ACCIAIOLI (Zenobius) a *Florentine*, and Monk of the Order of St *Dominic*, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his public Writings. His Office of Librarian of the *Vatican* under Pope *Leo* X. proves him to have been a Man of Letters. He continu'd in this Employ from the Year 1518 to his death, which happen'd in 1520. He liv'd 58 Years. He was ſkill'd in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and has tranſlated ſome Pieces of the antient *Fathers* into *Latin*: viz. *Olympiodorus on Eccleſiaſtes*; the *Treatiſe of Euſebius againſt Hierocles*; the twelve Books of *Theodoret de Græcarum Affectionum Curatione*; and *Juſtin Martyr*. As he was both a Poet and an Orator, he has exercis'd his Talent of Panegyric on every thing, both in Verſe and Proſe. There are extant his *Poems*, and *Sermons on the Epiphany*, beſides *Verſes* and *Orations* in Honour of *Leo* X. There are publiſh'd likewiſe ſome *Letters*, which he writ to *Picus* of *Mirandola*; a Treatiſe entitled *de Laudibus Urbis Romæ*; *A Panegyric on the City of Naples*, deliver'd in a general Chapter of the Order; and *A Chronicle of the Convent of St Mark at Florence*. He collected likewiſe in one Volume the *Greek Epigrams* of *Politian*, and publiſh'd them in the Year 1495. *(a)*

(a) Taken from Ambroiſe d'Altamura Biblioth. Ordin. Prædicat p. 243.

Ambroiſe d'Altamura, whom I have follow'd Step by Step in this Article, has evidently tranſgreſs'd the Laws of Accuracy, as appears from the following account of Mr *de la Monnoie*. *Of all the Works of* Zenobius Acciaioli *there are extant only* the Tranſlation of Euſebius*'s* Book againſt Hierocles, *That of* Olympiodorus upon Eccleſiaſtes; *and* Theodoret's Cure of the falſe Opinions of the Gentiles. *The pieces of Poetry, mention'd by* Gyraldus, *whether Greek, or Latin, were never printed. Some think he did not dye till the Year* 1537, *becauſe* Jerome Alcander, *his Succeſſor in the place of Librarian of the* Vatican, *did not enter upon his Office till that year*; *in like manner as* Zenobius *began his employ in the Year* 1518, *after* Philip Beroaldus *the younger, who died the ſame Year.*

ACCIUS (Lucius) a *Latin* Tragic *Poet*, Son of a *Freed-Man* [*A*], was born, according to the Chronology of St *Jerom*, in the Conſulſhip of *Hoſtilius Mancinus*, and *Atilius Serranus*, in the year of Rome 583. But it will appear below, that this Authority is not to be depended upon [*B*]. He diſtinguiſh'd himſelf before the death

[*A*] *Son of a Freed-Man.*] The more I conſider theſe Words of *Moreri*, "*Marcinus* and *Serranus*, "whom antient *Rome* ſaw rais'd to the Dignity of "Conſuls, were his near Relations," the more difficult I find it to aſſign any other Reaſon for his Blunder, than this. He had read in *Charles Stephens* the following Words, "Natus parentibus libertinis, Marcino & Serano Conſulibus," and, not ſufficiently attending to the Terms *parentibus* and *libertinis*, he thought he might affirm, that the Poet was related to theſe two Conſuls. He ought, however, to have chang'd *Marcinus* into *Mancinus*. See how St *Jerom* expreſſes himſelf. "Lucius Accius, Tragœdiarum "Scriptor clarus, natus, Mancino & Serrano Conſulibus, parentibus libertinis (1). —— i. e. Lucius "Accius, *a famous Tragic Poet, born in the Conſulſhip* "*of* Mancinus *and* Serranus, *of free Parents*." Father *Briet* attributes to *A. Gellius* two or three Particulars relating to *Accius*, which St *Jerom* has a right to *(2)*.

(1) In Chron. Euſebii, *the 2d Year of the 26th Olympiad.*

(2). Brietius de Poët. Lat. p. 5.

[*B*] *That this Authority is not to be depended upon.*] I ſay this, without having demonſtrative Reaſons againſt this Chronology: I have only Difficulties to alledge on both Sides. *Cicero* often convers'd with *Accius*. This I prove in Remark [*H*]. Now *Cicero* was born in the Year of *Rome*, 647; and it is not likely that he had convers'd much with this Poet before the Age of 20. *Accius*, therefore, muſt have been alive in the Year of *Rome* 667. He ſhould be at that time 84 Years of Age, according to the Chronicle of *Euſebius*. I confeſs there is nothing impoſſible in this; but there is little Appearance of Probability; ſince *Gyraldus* could not believe, that the Poet, with whom *Cicero* had ſo often convers'd, was the ſame *Lucius Accius*, ſo many of whoſe Tragedies are quoted. He thinks there were two Poets of the ſame Name. Add to this, that *Corradus*, who allows not this Diſtinction, ſcruples to carry the 20th Year of *Cicero*, higher than the 70th of *Accius*: inſomuch, that, on account of a Paſſage in *Cicero*, he places the Birth of *Accius* 40 Years later, than St *Jerom* has fix'd it (3). But this is not all: *Cicero*, in his *Firſt Philippic*, informs us, that one of *Accius*'s Tragedies was perform'd during the Celebration of the Games, which *Brutus* had given, and at which he was not preſent, having retir'd from *Rome*, upon the Murthur of *Julius Cæſar*. This Piece was greatly applauded; but the People's Approbation was more in favour of *Brutus*, than *Accius*. The Applauſe was too diſtant in Time, to belong to the Poet; "Niſi forte Accio "tum plaudi & ſexageſimo poſt anno palmam dari "putabatis, non Bruto. —— *Unleſs you thought, that,* "*after an interval of* 60 *Years,* Accius, *and not* "Brutus, *received the Applauſe and the Palm.*" If you reckon theſe 60 Years from the Death of *Accius* (4), he muſt have died in the Year of *Rome* 650; and, conſequently, we are not to believe *Cicero*, when he pretends to have heard ſome things from *Accius*'s own Mouth. If you count them from the Time, when this Piece firſt appear'd upon the Stage, you will make the Orator a very weak Reaſoner, in ſuppoſing that a good Performance on the Stage is never applauded but at the firſt Repreſentation; which is entirely falſe. However this Side of the Dilemma is more eligible, than to fix the Death of *Accius* to the 3d Year of *Cicero*. If then the Paſſage in the *Firſt Philippic* does not prove, that *Accius* died before the Year of *Rome* 667, let us extend the Poet's Life to that Period; but, as we have no ſufficient Aſſurance (5) of St *Jerom*'s Accuracy, let us not ſcruple to aſſert, that *Accius* might then be between ſixty and ſeventy Years of Age; and that, if he liv'd to the Age

(3) Corrad. *upon* Cicero's Brutus. p. 198.

(4) P. Minucius *upon the firſt* Philipp. *counts thus*; having forgot what Cicero ſays of his Converſations with *Accius*. *Obſerve by the by, that the Opinion reported in the* Jugemens des Savans, &c. Tom. 2. p. 15. *is falſe; namely*, that *Accius* died in the Year of *Rome* 618. *in the* 61*ſt Olympiad.*

(5) *See the Remark* [O].

death of *Pacuvius*; one of his Plays being acted the ſame year that *Pacuvius* [C] brought a Performance of his own on the Stage. This latter was then eighty years old, the former but thirty. The name of *Accius*'s Play, which was preſented that year, is not recorded; but ſome Authors, who have quoted this Poet (*a*), have furniſh'd us with the Names of Several of his *Tragedies*. He made choice of the nobleſt Subjects, that ever appear'd on the *Athenian* Stage; ſuch as *Andromache*, *Andromeda*, *Atreus*, *Clytemneſtra*, *Medea* [*D*], *Meleager*, *Philoctetes*, The *Seige of Thebes*, *Tereus*, The *Trojan Matrons*, &c. He did not always borrow the Subject of his Plays from the *Greeks*: He compos'd one, the Story of which is entirely *Roman*: It was call'd *Brutus* [*E*], and treated of the Dethronement of *Tarquin*. If it be true, that He was Author of a Piece entitled *The Wedding*, and another call'd *the Merchant* (*b*) we ſhall have reaſon to rank him likewiſe among the *Comic* Writers [*F*]. His Genius was not confin'd to the Stage. He wrote ſome other Books, particularly *Annals*, which *Macrobius*, *Priſcian*, *Feſtus*, and *Nonnius Marcellus*, refer to. His Friend and Patron was *Decimus Brutus*, who was Conſul in the year of *Rome* 615, and who gain'd ſeveral Victories in *Spain*, which procur'd him the honour of a Triumph ſome time after (*c*). This *Brutus* was ſo fond of the Verſes, in which *Accius* celebrated him,

that

(*a*) Nonnius Marcellus, Varro, A. Gellius, &c.

(*b*) Voſſius de Poet. Lat. *cites theſe two pieces, and the latter of them upon the Authority of* Varro: *but I have not been able to find it in* Varro.

(*c*) *In the Year* 623. *See the* Faſti *of* Sigonius.

Age of *Pacuvius*, there is no reaſon why we ſhould not apply to him and *Cæſar*, the Story related by *Valerius Maximus*. "Is (Poëta Accius) Julio Cæſari ampliſſimo & florentiſſimo viro in Collegium Poëtarum venienti, nunquam aſſurrexit, non majeſtatis ejus immemor, ſed quod in communium ſtudiorum comparatione aliquanto ſuperiorem ſe eſſe confideret. Quapropter inſolentiæ crimine caruit, quia ibi voluminum non imaginum certemina exercebantur (6). —— *When* Julius Cæſar *came into the College of Poets, he (the Poet* Accius*) refus'd to riſe from his Seat, though to the moſt renown'd Hero of the Age; not that he forgot the Reſpect due to his high Rank, but becauſe he was conſcious of ſome Superiority over him, in their common Attainments. This Behaviour, therefore, was not thought inſolent, becauſe in that Place they did not conteſt the Prize of Birth, but of Learning.*" This laſt Thought is not unlike that, which the Author (7) of the *Satire againſt the* French *Academy* (8) makes uſe of. I confeſs, that there is ſome Difficulty in extending the Life of the Poet *Accius* to the height of *Julius Cæſar*'s Proſperity; and it is this which obliged *Corradus* to ſuppoſe, that *Valerius Maximus* meant in this Paſſage *Sextus Julius Cæſar*. But why may we not ſuppoſe him to mean That *Caius Cæſar*, who was kill'd by *Marius*'s Soldiers, and who had ſo great Credit, though but an *Edile*, that his Diſputes with *Sulpitius* the *Tribune* rais'd a Civil War (9)? He was one of the principal Orators of his Times, and a good Tragic Poet. But, however that be, let it be remember'd, that *Cæſar* had a happy Genius for Poetry. "Feruntur & à puero & ab adoleſcentulo quædam ſcripta, ut *Laudes Herculis* & Tragœdia *OEdipus* (10). —— *He is ſaid to have been the Author of ſome Pieces in his younger Days, as* The Praiſes of Hercules, *and the Tragedy of* OEdipus.

[C] *The ſame Year that* Pacuvius.] *Cicero* relates it upon the Authority of *Accius* himſelf. "Ut Accius iiſdem Ædilibus ait ſe & Pacuvium docuiſſe Fabulam, cum ille octoginta, ipſe triginta annos natus eſſet (11). —— *As* Accius *reports, that he and* Pacuvius *taught Dramatic Poetry in the ſame Edileſhip, the latter being eighty, himſelf but thirty Years of Age.*" *Cicero*'s Words are *iiſdem Ædilibus*; but, ſome Manuſcripts giving a falſe Reading, it has been aſſerted, that theſe two Poets publiſhed their Works *in iiſdem Ædibus, in the ſame Houſe, paucis quidem annis interpoſitis, a few Years the one after the other* (12); which is manifeſtly a double Miſtake. *Corradus* thinks, that *Accius* mentioned this Circumſtance of his Life in his *Annals* (13): but *Voſſius* is of Opinion, that it was in a Work entitled *Didaſcalia* (14). The Reaſon he gives for it is, that *Accius* in this Work expreſly treated of Poets and Poetry, as may be gathered from what *Chariſius* and *A. Gellius* have cited from it. But this Reaſon is of no Weight: *Voſſius* in proving againſt *Corradus*, refuſes himſelf. This Writer had recourſe to the *Annals* of *Accius*, *becauſe*, ſays he, *a Poet never ſpeaks of himſelf in a Dramatic Piece.* But *Terence*'s *Prologues* prove the contrary. How came *Voſſius*, who alledges this Reaſon, not to ſee, that *Accius* might very naturally acquaint his Audience in a *Prologue*, that a Play of his was brought upon the Stage, at the ſame time with one of *Pacuvius*'s? Add to this, that, beſides his *Annals* and *Didaſcalia*, *Accius* was the Author of ſome Books, which had no Relation to the Stage.

[*D*] Medea.] The Conjecture of Father *Leſcalopier*, that the Verſes, quoted by *Cicero*, in the ſecond Book of *The Nature of the Gods*, are borrowed from the *Medea* of our Poet, is highly probable (15). Theſe Verſes deſcribe the Aſtoniſhment of a Shepherd, who, having never ſeen a Ship, diſcovered, from the top of a Mountain, That which carried the *Argonauts*. The good Father *Crinitus*, in conſequence of this Paſſage, imagined that *Cicero* had quoted a Tragedy of *Accius* entitled *The Argonauts* (16). But, though this Poet had compoſed ſuch a Tragedy, *Crinitus* is ſtill to be blamed for building upon ſo uncertain a Foundation. The Author, whoſe Conjecture I have juſt mentioned, need not have proved to us, from the Teſtimony of *Crinitus*, that the Grammarians mention the *Medea* of *Accius*: he might at once have quoted *Nonnius Marcellus* for it. I have found, in the *Fragments* of the *Tragic Poets*, collected by *Scriverius*, that the Lines relating to the Ship *Argo*, belong to a Tragedy called *Medea*.

[*E*] *It was called* Brutus.] *Manutius* without Reaſon believes, that it was acted at the Celebration of the *Games* of *Apollo*, at which the Brother of *Marc Antony* preſided in the Room of *Brutus*, who abſented himſelf from *Rome* (17); but it is plain, from *Cicero*'s *Epiſtles*, that it was the *Tereus* of *Accius*, which was then repreſented (18). It is ſurprizing, that the greateſt Part of the Commentators on *Cicero* ſhould be ignorant of this. *Maturantius* thinks they acted the *Atreus*: *Beroaldus* and *Hégendorphin* are for the *Brutus*.

[*F*] *Among the Comic Writers.*] *Donatus*, the Grammarian, will not ſuffer us to doubt of it: for he reckons it among the Perfections of *Terence*, that he was content to write *Comedies* without falling under the Temptation of becoming a *Tragic Poet*; *Which, among other things*, adds he, *was above the Reach of* Plautus, Afranius, Accius, *and almoſt all the great Comic Writers*. As I have not ſervilely tranſlated my Author Word for Word, it may be proper to let him ſpeak for himſelf. "Hæc cum artificioſiſſima Terentius fecerit, tum illud eſt admirandum, quod & morem retinuit, ut Comœdiam ſcriberet, & temperavit affectum, ne in Tragœdiam tranſiliret, quod, cum aliis rebus minime obtentum eſſe à Plauto, & ab Afranio, & ab Accio, & multis fere magnis Comicis invenimus (19)." We may gather from hence, that, at firſt, *Accius* confined himſelf to *Comedy*: but, his great Reputation ariſing from his *Tragedies*, *Donatus* ſeems not to have been ſo accurate as he ſhould have been, in ranking him among the *Comic Poets*. Mr *Dacier* knew very well that he was a *Tragic Poet*, and has expreſly aſſerted it in his Remark on this Verſe of *Horace*;

Nil comis Tragici mutat Lucilius Atti (20)?

Notwithſtanding which he tranſlates it after this Manner: *Lucilius —— ne trouve-t-il rien à changer dans les Comedies d' Attius?* —— Does *Lucilius* find nothing to alter in the Comedies of *Attius*?

[*G*] *Hung*

(6) Valer. Maximus, lib. 3. c. 7.

(7) St Evremont, *according to ſome. See* the Hiſt. of the *Fr.* Acad. *p.* 69. *but in the* Chevræana *this Satire is aſcrib'd to the Count* d'Etlan.

(8) *Entitled* The Comedy of the Academics: *in which* Godeau *having ſaid to* Colletet, I perceive you to be an excellent Muſician; *receiv'd this Anſwer*, We are all equal, being the Sons of *Apollo*.

(9) Aſcon. Ped. *in his* Orat. pro M. Scauro.

(10) Suetonius, *in his Life of* Cæſar.

(11) Cicero in Bruto.

(12) Crinitus de Poët. Lat. ch. 5. Glandorp. Onomaſt. p. 3.

(13) Corrad. *upon* Cicero's Brutus.

(14) Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. p. 30.

(15) *See* Leſcalop. Commentar. in Cicer. de Nat. Deor. p. 382.

(16) Crinitus de Poët. Lat. lib. 2. ch. 7.

(17) P. Manutius *upon* Cicero's 1ſt Philipp.

(18) Cicero' *Epiſt. to* Atticus, B. 16. Epiſt. 2, 5.

(19) Don. de Trag. & Comed.

(20) Horat. Sat. x. lib. 1. ver. 53.

that he hung them up at the entrance of the Temples, and Monuments [*G*], which he built with the ſpoils of the Enemy. This might, indeed, be owing to a Principle of Vanity rather than of Friendſhip, and may prove, that, if he was fond of the Poet, he was more ſo of the Praiſes he beſtow'd upon him: but, in any light, it ſhews that *Decimus Brutus* thought *Accius*'s Poetry excellent. Beſides, he was a Perſon well qualify'd to judge of this kind of Writing [*H*]. I do not find, that *Cicero* accuſes *Accius* of *Harſhneſs, and too much Affectation in his Stile:* this relates to another Poet [*I*]; as Mr *Moreri* might eaſily have perceiv'd, had he not ſervilely copied after others. Not that *Accius*, who, in other reſpects, was greatly eſteem'd as a Poet, *(d.)* was never reproach'd with *Ruggedneſs* of Stile. *A. Gellius* has a very juſt Reflexion in anſwer to this Cavil [*K*]. The Anſwer he return'd thoſe, who aſk'd him, why he did not plead at the Bar, ſince he met with ſuch ſucceſs upon the Stage, carries

(d) See Remark [*N*].

[G] *Hung them up at the Entrance of the Temples.*] *Cicero* and *Valerius Maximus* relate this. “ Decimus “ quidem Brutus, *ſays the former* (21), ſummus ille vir “ & imperator, Accii amiciſſimi ſui carminibus templo- “ rum & monumentorum aditus exornavit ſuorum. “ —— *That great Commander,* Decimus Brutus, “ *adorned the Entrance of his Temples and Monu-* “ *ments with the Verſes of his dear Friend* Accius.” —— *Valerius Maximus* gives this Account: “ Simi- “ liter honoratus animus erga Poëtam Accium “ D. Bruti, ſuis temporibus clari ducis, extitit, cujus “ familiari cultu & prompta laudatione delectatus, “ ejus verſibus templorum aditus, quæ ex manubiis “ conſecraverat, adornavit (22). —— Decimus Bru- “ tus, *a famous General of his Times, ſhewed great* “ *Favour to the Poet* Accius, *with whoſe eaſy Ad-* “ *dreſs, and ready Talent at Panegyric, he was ſo* “ *well pleaſed, as to adorn the Entrance of the* “ *Temples, which he conſecrated with the Spoils of* “ *War, with this Poet's Verſes.*” —— *Scriverius* has quoted another Paſſage in the following Terms: “ Amatus etiamnum in tantum Attiu, à Decimo “ Bruto fuiſſe dicitur, ut Attianis verſibus templo- “ rum & monumentorum frontes & aditus exornare “ conſueverit (23). —— Decimus Brutus *was ſo* “ *fond of* Attius, *that he was wont to hang up his* “ *Verſes as Ornaments to the Fronts and Entrances* “ *of his Temples and Monuments.*” Theſe he gives us for the very Words of *Cicero* in his *Brutus*; but I am ſure they are not to be found there. Very likely ſome modern Author deceived him in this manner. He had quoted *Cicero*'s *Brutus* in relation to the Age of *Pacuvius*, and *Accius*; then he had reported what relates to *D. Brutus*, and had contented himſelf to expreſs the Senſe of *Cicero*'s Words, and had cited for it *idem Cicero.* Hereupon *Scriverius*, I ſuppoſe, imagined that *Cicero*'s own Words were cited; and that they were taken out of the ſame Book which was quoted before; without taking the trouble of examining into the Truth of the Quotation. Thus you ſee how the moſt laborious and the moſt ingenious Compilers love to find their Work done to their Hands. *Voſſius* (24), being doubtleſs deceived by *Scriverius*, cites *Cicero pro Archia & in Bruto*, in relation to this Action of *D. Brutus.* The Illuſion is perhaps ſtill more antient than this: *Scriverius* might not have it at firſt Hand. How careful ſoever he was to collect all that has ever been related of *Accius*, yet he forgot the Paſſage of *Columella*, which we ſhall produce preſently (25).

(21) Cicero pro Archia Poëta, cap. 11.

(22) Valer. Maxim. lib. 8. cap. 14.

(23) Scriver. in Teſtim. de Attio.

(24) Voſſius de Poët. Lat. p. 7.

(25) *In the Remark* [*N*]

[*H*] *Qualified to judge of this kind of Writing.*] *Paterculus* (26) has given a great Encomium of this *Brutus* in few Words, in relation to his Military Virtues: But the following is *Cicero*'s Elogium on his Learning: “ D. Brutus M. filius, ut ex familiari “ ejus L. Accio poëta ſum audire ſolitus, & dicere “ non incultè ſolebat, & erat cùm literis Latinis, “ tùm etiam Græcis, ut temporibus illis, ſatis eru- “ ditus (27). ——Decimus Brutus, *the Son of* Marcus “ Brutus, *was wont to expreſs himſelf with great Po-* “ *liteneſs, as I have been informed by his intimate* “ *Acquaintance, the Poet* Accius; *and was well verſed* “ *(conſidering the time he lived in) both in the Lear-* “ *ning of* Rome *and of* Greece.”

(26) Vell. Patercul. lib. 2. cap. 5.

(27) Cic. in Brut. p. 197.

[*I*] *This relates to another Poet.*] To wit, *Attilius*, whom *Cicero* mentions not only in one of his Letters to *Atticus* (28), *Hoc enim Attilius, poëta duriſſimus*, but alſo in another place. That other Paſſage deſerves to be produced at length, becauſe it ſhews what Judgment ought to be paſs'd upon thoſe who deſpiſe their own Tongue, and the Authors of their own Nation (29). “ A quibus tantum diſſentio, “ ut cum Sophocles vel optime ſcripſerit Electram, “ tamen male converſam Attilii mihi legendam pu- “ tem, de quo Licinius,

Ferreum ſcriptorem opinor, verum ſcriptorem tamen
Ut legendus ſit (30).

“ Rudem enim eſſe omnino in noſtris poëtis aut in- “ ertiſſimæ ſegnitiæ eſt, aut faſtidii delicatiſſimi. Mihi “ quidem nulli ſatis eruditi videntur quibus noſtra “ ignota ſunt.——*With whom I ſo far differ in Opi-* “ *nion, that, however beautiful the* Electra *of* Sopho- “ cles *may be in the Original, I ſtill think the ill* “ *Tranſlation of it by* Attilius *deſerves to be read;* “ *whom* Licinius *called* An harſh Writer, *indeed,* “ but a Writer worthy of being read. *If our Poets* “ *are rough and unpoliſhed, it proceeds either from* “ *the moſt ſlothful Neglect, or the moſt delicate Nice-* “ *neſs. For my own part, I think no Man Scholar* “ *enough, who is unacquainted with our own Au-* “ *thors.*” *Suetonius* mentions the *Electra* of *Attilius*, as we ſhall make appear in that Poet's Article. Doubtleſs the *Electra* was a Tragedy; yet *Attilius* is only counted in the number of Comic Poets in the Catalogue of (31) *Volcatius Sedigitus*; and, according to *Voſſius*'s Remark, the Fragments, which *Cicero*, *Varro*, and *Macrobius* (32) cite of him, reliſh more of the Sock, than the Buskin. Whoever ſhould pretend to make a difficulty of this, would be greatly deceived. Are not *Corneille* and *Racine* Tragic Poets only and abſolutely? yet they have compoſed Comedies; and if *Moliere* had taken it into his Head to compoſe a Tragedy, as it is ſaid *Scarron* had a Mind to do at laſt, would he immediately have ceaſed to be a Comic Poet? *A majori parte ſumitur denominatio.* —— *A Thing takes it's Name from that, which particularly diſtinguiſhes it. See the Remark* [*F*]. But to return to the pretended Accuſation againſt *Accius*'s Style: It muſt be obſerved, that *Cicero* cited this Poet often; and that in his Oration *pro Sextio* he conſidered him as a great Poet: *Summi Poëtæ ingenium non ſolum arte ſua, ſed etiam dolore exprimebat.* —— *He expreſſed the Genius of this great Poet not only by his Art, but by his Concern.* The Paſſage is curious: We learn from it, that the famous Actor *Eſop* made uſe of *Accius*'s Verſes which had ſome Relation to *Cicero*'s Exile; I ſay he made uſe of them to make the People ſenſible of that Injuſtice. The *Romans* were very apt to apply particular Sentiments of a Play to the preſent Times. See *Suetonius* (33), and the firſt and the tenth *Philippic* of *Cicero:* They teach us that while a Tragedy of *Accius* was performing, the People did not ceaſe to teſtify the Friendſhip they had for *Brutus* by their Applauſes.

(28) Id. Epiſt. 20. lib. 14. ad Attic.

(29) Id. de Finib. lib. 1.

(30) Voſſius de Poët. Lat. p. 7. *places the Words of* Licinius *in this order.*

(31) Apud A. Gell. lib. 15. c. 24.

(32) *I believe that* Voſſius de Poët. Lat. p. 8. *is deceived in what relates to* Macrobius.

(33) Sueton. in Cæſ. c. 84.

[*K*] *A very juſt Reflexion, in anſwer to this Cavil.*] *Accius*, going into *Aſia*, paſs'd through *Tarentum*, where he ſaw *Pacuvius*, who was retired thither in his old age. He ſhew'd him the Tragedy of *Atreus*, which he had in his Pocket, and read it to him. *Pacuvius* found it to be partly very ſublime and poetical, and partly very rough and indigeſted. *Accius* acknowledg'd the friendly Criticiſm, and promis'd himſelf from thence Succeſs in his future Productions; the Minds of Men being like Apples, which are never good, if they are not hard and green, before they are ripe. But it is better to weigh the Words of the Original (34). “ Tunc Pacuvium dixiſſe aiunt “ ſonora quidem eſſe quæ ſcripſiſſet & grandia, ſed “ videri

(34) A. Gel. lib. 13. cap. 2.

carries no leſs good Senſe with it [*L*]. Tho' he was ſhort of Stature, he caus'd a very large Statue of himſelf to be erected in the Temple of the Muſes (*e*). The Reſpect paid to him was ſo great, that a Player was puniſh'd [*M*], only for mentioning him by Name upon the Stage. We ſhall ſee, in the Remarks, whether *Valerius Maximus*'s Account of one *Accius*, a Poet, who refus'd to riſe, and pay his Compliment to *Julius Cæſar*, in an Aſſembly of the Poets, be applicable to our *Accius*. *Cicero* ſpeaks very contemptibly of one *Accius*, who wrote an Hiſtory; and, as our Tragic Poet

(*e*) Notatum ab auctoribus & L. Accium Poëtam in Camænarum æde maximâ formâ Statuam ſibi poſuiſſe, cum brevis admodum fuiſſet. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. 34. cap. 5. Charles Stephens *is miſtaken, in ſaying that* Dec. Brutus *erected this Statue to him.* Lloyd *and* Hofman *have adopted this Miſtake.*

"videri ea tamen ſibi duriora paulum & acerbiora. "Ita eſt, inquit, Accius, uti dicis, neque id ſane me "pœnitet, meliora enim fore ſpero quæ deinceps "ſcribam. Nam quod in pomis eſt, itidem, inquit, "eſſe aiunt in ingeniis, quæ dura & acerba naſcuntur, "poſt fiunt mitia & jucunda: ſed quæ gignuntur "ſtatim vieta & mollia atque in principio ſunt "uvida, non matura mox fiunt, ſed putria. Relinquendum "igitur viſum eſt in ingenio quod dies "atque ætas mitificet. This puts me in mind of a piece of Advice *Lipſius* gave to young Men. The extravagant Fondneſs he had conceiv'd for I know not what conciſeneſs of Style, which diſguſts the Readers of that great Man's Letters, or makes them laugh, did not hinder him from condemning thoſe young Men, who affect Brevity. He ſaid it was the direct Road to a meagre, thin Style; and that they ought to have many Superfluities at that Age, which might be prun'd, as they advanc'd farther in Years (35). "Adeò "juventutem ad brevitatem non voco, ut etiam abſterream, "ſive quia tuto adſumere vix poteſt, & brevitatis "imitatio facillimè ætatem hanc decipit: ſive "quia nec utiliter poteſt, & juvenili illo brevitatis "ſtudio aridus plerumque & exſuccus ſtilus evadit, "nec facile ad laudatam illam temperiem venitur, "niſi initio ubertas quædam & luxuries ſit quam ætas "paullatim depaſcat. —— *I am ſo far from adviſing* "*Youth to Brevity, that I deter them from it as much* "*as poſſible; either becauſe it is unſafe, and apt to* "*deceive tender Years; or becauſe it is uſeleſs, and by* "*this juvenile Affectation of Brevity, a Style becomes* "*dry and inſipid; nor is it eaſy to arrive at that happy* "*Temperament in Writing, unleſs at firſt there be* "*ſome redundancy and luxuriancy of Style, which* "*Time, by little and little, may wear off.*" *Balzac* (36) was of the ſame Opinion. "Amputanda plura "ſunt effloreſcenti illi ætati, quàm inſerenda; facileque "eſt remedium ubertatis; ſterilia nullo labore "ſuperantur. —— *That Age requires more pruning,* "*that cultivating: Redundancy is eaſily remedied, but* "*Barrenneſs with great Difficulty.*" But to return to *Accius*, it has been well obſerv'd in the Dictionary of *Charles Stephens*, and in thoſe that were built on the ſame Foundation, That *Quintilian* excus'd him, by laying the Blame on the Time in which he liv'd (37). "Tragœdiæ Scriptores Accius atque Pacuvius clariſſimi "gravitate ſententiarum, verborum pondere & "autoritate Perſonarum. Cæterum nitor & ſumma "in excolendis operibus manus magis videri poteſt "temporibus quàm ipſis defuiſſe. Virium tamen Accio "plus tribuitur, Pacuvium videri doctiorem, qui "eſſe docti affectant, volunt. —— *Among the Writers* "*of Tragedy,* Accius *and* Pacuvius *are the moſt famous,* "*for the Weight of their Sentiments, the Energy* "*of their Expreſſions, and the Dignity of their* "*Characters. The want of Poliſhing and Finiſhing* "*was owing rather to the Times, than to the Poets* "*themſelves. The Learned attribute more of Genius* "*to* Accius, *and of Learning to* Pacuvius." One would think that *Quintilian* copies theſe Verſes of *Horace*;

Ambigitur quoties uter utro ſit prior, aufert
Pacuvius docti famam ſenis, Accius alti (38).

When Accius *and* Pacuvius *are compar'd,*
Both are eſteem'd; both meet with great Reward.
Pacuvius *all the Critics Voices gains*
For Learning, Accius *for his lofty Strains.*

Creech.

There is a Paſſage of *Ovid*, which ſeems to charge I know not what of Savage and Brutal upon *Accius*'s Style; but, every thing conſidered, I ſhould rather underſtand by it the cruel Actions deſcrib'd by him in his Tragedies. *Ovid*'s Sentiment is, that if one were to judge of a Man's Manners by his Writings, *Accius* muſt be accounted Brutal; *Terence* a Lover of good Chear; and thoſe who treat of warlike Matters, brave and valiant Men.

Accius eſſet atrox, conviva Terrentius eſſent,
  Eſſent pugnaces, qui fera bella canunt (39).

For Cruelty would Accius *cenſur'd be,*
And Terence *prais'd for Mirth and Jollity.*
Who Wars alarms, and Martial Deeds indite,
Of courſe muſt be the Dev'l and all in Fight.

[*L*] *Carries no leſs good Senſe with it.*] *Quintilian* has preſerv'd this little Circumſtance. "Aiunt (40) "Accium interrogatum cur cauſas non ageret, cùm "apud eum in Tragœdiis tanta vis eſſet, hanc reddidiſſe "rationem, quòd illic ea dicerentur quæ ipſe vellet, "in foro dicturi adverſarii eſſent quæ minimè vellet.— "*In my own Tragedies,* anſwered he, *I ſay what I* "*pleaſe, but at the Bar, I am oblig'd to hear what I* "*diſlike.*" I know a Man of Wit, who made uſe of a like Reaſon, to divert his Son from the Study of the Law, and to encourage him to the Study of Divinity. "What is more convenient, *ſaid he to him,* than to "ſpeak before Perſons who cannot contradict you? "This Advantage have Preachers. And what more "inconvenient than, when you have done ſpeaking, "to hear yourſelf confuted, and oblig'd, without "Mercy, to give an Account of all you have ſaid? "This the Condition of an Advocate." This puts me in mind of a Thought of Mr *Montagne*: "As for "the Gift of Eloquence (41), *ſays he,* ſome have a "Facility and Readineſs, and which may be called "Gift of Utterance, ſo eaſy that they are ready upon "every Occaſion: Others are ſlow, and ſpeak only "what is premeditated and elaborate. —— If I "were to give my Opinion in theſe two different Advantages "of Eloquence, of which Preachers and "Lawyers now a-days make the chief Profeſſion, the "ſlow ſpeaker ſeems to me the beſt qualify'd for a "Preacher, the other for a Lawyer; becauſe the Employment "of the former gives him as much time "as he pleaſes to prepare himſelf; and he goes on "with the Thread of his Diſcourſe, without any interruption: "But the Lawyer is oblig'd to enter every "Moment into the Liſts, and the unforeſeen Anſwers "of his Adverſary diſconcert his Meaſures in an Inſtant (42)." —— The Advocate's Buſineſs is more difficult than the Preacher's, and yet we find more tolerable Advocates, in my Opinion, than Preachers, at leaſt in *France*.

[*M*] *A Player was puniſh'd.*] Being brought before the Judges to give Satisfaction for this Injury, he ſaid in defence of himſelf, that it was lawful to name a Man who gave his Pieces to be repreſented on the Stage. *Publius Mutius*, before whom the Cauſe was try'd, condemn'd him. The ſatyric Poet *Lucilius*, had not the ſame Succeſs; for the Comedian, who had offended him, by naming him on the Stage, was acquitted. So true is it, that all Judges are not of the ſame Humour, or that ſome Perſons are more conſidered than others. The Author, who reports theſe two Caſes, expreſſes himſelf thus (43): "Mimus "quidam nominatim Accium poëtam compellavit "in ſcena: cum eo Accius injuriarum agit: hic "nihil defendit, niſi licere nominari eum cujus nomine "ſcripta dentur agenda. —— Caius (44) Cœlius "judex abſolvit eum injuriarum qui Lucilium "poëtam in ſcena nominatim læſerat, Publius Mutius "eum, qui L. Accium poëtam nominaverat, condemnavit. "—— *A certain Player mention'd the* "*Poet* Accius *by Name, upon the Stage:* Accius *ſued* "*him for Damages: the other only pleaded in his Defence,* "*that it was lawful to name a Perſon, who* "*wrote for the Stage.* —— Caius Cælius, *the Judge,* "*acquitted him, who had affronted the Poet* Lucilius, "*by naming him on the Stage;* Publius Mutius *condemn'd* "*him, who had offered the ſame Inſult to* "Accius." *Glandorpius* did not know where this

(35) Lipſ. in Inſtit. Epiſt.

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(36) Balzac. in Epiſt. ſelect.

(37) Quintil. Inſtitut. Orat. lib. 10. cap. 1.

(38) Horat. Epiſt. 1. lib. 2. ver. 55.

(39) Ovid. Triſt. lib. 2.

(40) Quintil. Inſtit. Orat. lib. 9. cap. 13.

(41) Montagne's *Eſſays*, B. 1. chap. 10. *at the beginning*, p. 52, 53.

(42) *The ſame*, p. 54.

(43) Autor Rhetoricor. ad Herenn. lib. 1.

(44) Ibid. lib. 2.

Poet compos'd *Annals*, ſome will have it, that *Cicero* abus'd him in this Place. Others deny it [*N*]. At the ſame time liv'd an Orator, of no ill Reputation, named *Accius*, againſt whom *Cicero* defended *Cluentius*. He was of *Piſaurus*; which might make him paſs for one of our Poet's Relations [*O*]. It is not true, that Cicero *ſpeaks likewiſe of another celebrated Orator of this Name, ſurnamed* Navius. Mr *Moreri* blunders here. He did not conſider, that this *Accius Navius* is no other than a famous *Augur*, whom he takes notice of, a few Pages after, under the Article ACTIUS NÆVIUS (*f*). He is no leſs deceiv'd, when he diſtinguiſhes between the *Tragic Poet*, and the *Annaliſt*, cited by *Macrobius*. What he adds, that *Aulus-Gellius ſpeaks likewiſe of Accius the Hiſtorian, diſtinct from the Writer of Tragedies*, ch. 9. Book 3. is doubly falſe. This Author mentions no *Accius*, in that place; and wherever he ſpeaks of *Accius*, he muſt be underſtood to mean the *Tragic Poet*. Some Authors have expos'd themſelves to Ridicule for having imitated, or admir'd, the *Latin* of this *Accius* [*P*], in an Age, when the Language was in much greater Purity.

(*f*) Cic. de Divin. lib. 1. *mentions him.* Moreri *cites* lib. de Divin. in Verr. *which is a falſe Quotation.*

Story was to be met with, but (45) reports it only on the Credit of a (46) modern Author, whoſe falſe Gloſs he copies, to wit, that the Defendant was condemn'd, becauſe he had not prefix'd any Titles of Honour or Reſpect to *Accius*'s Name. *Sine præfatione honoris nominaverat.*

[*N*] *Others deny it.*] I am inclin'd to be of their Opinion; for, beſides that *Cicero*, who was ſo often nam'd, and ſo often cited our *Accius*, either with Commendation, or, at leaſt, without blaming him, would, with an ill Grace, abuſe him in his 1ſt Book *de Legibus*; I obſerve, that theſe Abuſes are altogether oppoſite to the Character of him, who is the Subject of this Article. Elevation, Grandeur, and Force, were the Character of *Accius*; and we have ſeen (47) the Teſtimony of *Horace* and *Quintilian*, concerning him; to which we may add two Verſes of *Ovid*, and a deciſive Decree of *Paterculus*.

Ennius arte carens, ANIMOSIQUE Accius oris
Caſurum nullo tempore nomen habent. (48)

Ennius, *the Artleſs*, Accius *the* SUBLIME,
Shall ſtand, unmov'd, the rude Attacks of Time.

" Clara (49) etiam par idem ævi ſpatium fuere ingenia, in togatis Afranii, in Tragœdiis Pacuvii atque " Attii uſque in Græcorum comparationem EVECTI, " magnumque inter hos ipſos facientis operi ſuo locum; adeo quidem ut in illis limæ, in hoc pene " plus videatur fuiſſe SANGUINIS. —— *About the* " *ſame time flouriſh'd, in Oratory,* Afranius, *in Tragedy,* Pacuvius, *and* Accius, *whoſe Reputation ri-* " *vall'd that of the moſt famous* Greeks; *inſomuch* " *that there ſeem'd to be more Correctneſs in the latter,* " *but more Life and Spirit in the former.*" If this new Evidence, which I have produc'd, be as ſtrong as the foregoing; this, which follows, goes beyond all I have already reported; for here *Accius* is preferred to the great *Euripides*; " Accius poëta (50) ſuo " ingenio præcelluit Euripidem, qui fuit altus & in- " genio ſublimus. —— *The Poet* Accius *had a Genius* " *ſuperior to That of the lofty and ſublime* Euripides." Another (51) celebrates *Accius* and *Virgil* for the two moſt excellent Poets of *Rome*: " An Latiæ Muſæ " non ſolos adytis ſuis Accium & Virgilium recepêre, " ſed eorum & proximis & procul à ſecundis ſacras " conceſſere ſedes? —— *Did the* Latin *Muſes receive* " *not only* Accius *and* Virgil *into their Temple, but* " *even Poets of an inferior Claſs?*" Is it likely that ſuch a Man wrote an Hiſtory worthy of this Cenſure of *Cicero* (52): " Nam quid Accium memorem, cu- " jus loquacitas habet aliquid argutiarum, nec id ta- " men ex illa erudita Græcorum copia, ſed ex librari- " olis Latinis? In orationibus autem multus & in- " eptus, ad ſummam impudentiam. —— *Why ſhould* " *I mention* Accius, *in whoſe wordy Style there is* " *indeed ſome Wit; but a Wit borrow'd from the* " *trifling Productions of the* Latins, *not from the* " *learned* Græcian *Stores? Beſides, in his Speeches he* " *is tedious and impertinent, even to the higheſt De-* " *gree of Aſſurance.*" Obſerve well, that the Annals of the Tragic Poet *Accius* were in Verſe; and that *Cicero* ſpeaks here only of thoſe who had writ Hiſtories in *Latin* Proſe; for he ſays nothing of *Ennius*. Our beſt Critics think that this Paſſage of *Cicero* is corrupted; and that we muſt not read *Accium*, but *Macrum*. So that the Cenſure will fall on the Hiſtorian *Licinius Macer*. *Voſſius* (53) embraces this Opinion; but when he brings for a Proof the Friendſhip that was between *Siſenna* and him, whom *Cicero* abus'd, when, I ſay, he concludes from thence, that *Cicero* did not ſpeak of *Accius*, he is miſtaken; for, by his good leave, *Accius* and *Siſenna*, were very near of the ſame Age. (54) *Siſenna* was old after the Civil War of *Marius* and *Sylla*; that is to ſay, about the Year 672 of *Rome*, and *Accius* was not dead in 665.

[*O*] *Paſs for one of our Poet's Relations.*] St *Jerome* obſerves (55), ſpeaking of the Poet *Accius*, That he was carried to *Piſaurum*, when the *Romans* ſent a Colony there; and that there was a ſpot of Ground near the City, called *Fundus Accianus*. It was his Share of the Land, which was divided among the Inhabitants of That new Colony. *Scaliger* obſerves (56) upon this, That the Colony of *Piſaurum* was not ſettled 'till four Years after that of *Bologna*; that is, in the Year of *Rome* 568, fifteen Years before *Accius* was born. We may ſay, therefore, that St *Jerome* was miſtaken. *Rome* was a properer place of Reſidence for a Poet, who was the Glory of the Theatre in thoſe Times, than a Colony: But we muſt not imagine this Miſtake to be without any Foundation. Perhaps the Father of *Accius* follow'd thoſe, who conducted the Colony to *Piſaurum*; and perhaps The Patron to whom he ow'd his Liberty, was one of the chief Commiſſioners of That new Settlement. Now ſuppoſing he follow'd his Patron, he might have had That Land to his ſhare, which was afterwards call'd *Fundus Accianus*, and, among other Children, he might have left the Father of the Orator *Accius*. See how *Cicero* (57) ſpeaks of This Orator. " T. Ac- " cium Piſaurenſem, cujus accuſationi reſpondi pro " A. Cluentio, qui & accurate dicebat & ſatis copi- " oſe, eratque præterea doctus Hermagoræ preceptis, " quibus etſi ornamenta non ſatis opima dicendi, ta- " men ut haſtæ velitibus amentatæ, ſic apta quæ- " dam & parata ſingulis cauſarum generibus argu- " menta traduntur. —— Titus Accius *of* Piſaurum, " *to whoſe Accuſation I anſwer'd, in Defence of* A. Clu- " entius; *who ſpoke accurately and fluently enough, and* " *was beſides verſ'd in the Precepts of* Hermagoras, " *which, though deſtitute of the Pomp of Rhetoric, yet,* " *like the Darts flung by light-arm'd Soldiers, furniſh* " *us with apt and ready Arguments, in every kind of* " *Cauſe.*" *Scaliger* does not cenſure St *Jerome*, for having confuſedly (58) placed the great Reputation and Death of *Pacuvius*, in the third Year of the 156th *Olympiad*, and the great Reputation of *Accius*, in the ſecond Year of the 160th *Olympiad*. This can only ſerve to confound thoſe, who know that *Pacuvius* was fifty Years older than *Accius*. For if it ſhould be ſuppos'd, that *Pacuvius* died about 90 Years of Age, in the Year in which St *Jerome* ſpeaks of his Death, it muſt be ſaid that *Accius* was about 40 Years of Age, in the third Year of the 156th *Olympiad*; and yet, according to St *Jerome*, he was born in the Conſulſhip of *Mancinus* and *Serranus*, which falls under the ſecond Year of the 152d *Olympiad*. So that, as I hinted in the ſecond Remark, we muſt not depend entirely upon That Chronologiſt in this Caſe.

[*P*] *The* Latin *of this* Accius.] *Perſius* and *Martial* were very ſevere upon People. (59)

Eſt nunc (60) Briſæi quem venoſus liber Acci,
Sunt quos Pacuviuſque, & verrucoſa moretur
Antiopa, ærumnis cor luctificabile fulta.

Some fond are grown of Fuſtian Accius' *Rage*,
Or love Pacuvius' *antiquated Page*.

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(45) Gland. Onomaſt. p. 3.

(46) Catanæus, *from whom* Glandorp *does not cite the Paſſage; but it is found in the Commentary on* Plin. 3. Epiſt. lib. 5. p. 291.

(47) *In the Remark* [*K*].

(48) Ovid. Amor. lib. 1. Eleg. 15. ver. 19.

(49) Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 9.

(50) Aeron. *upon* Horace, *Epiſt.* 1. *L.* 2.

(51) Columella de Re Ruſtica, lib. 1. Præf.

(52) Cicero de Legibus, lib. 1.

(53) Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. lib. 1. c. 10.

(54) Vell. Patercul. lib. 2. c. 9.

(55) In Chron. Euſeb. n. 1876.

(56) Scalig. Anim. in Euſeb. ib. ex Paterculo, lib. 1. cap. 15.

(57) Cicero in Bruto. c. 78. *See alſo the Oration* pro Cluentio.

(58) Pacuvius *of* Brunduſium *was eſteemed a fine Writer of Tragedies: He liv'd at* Rome, *whilſt he profeſs'd Painting and Dramatic Poetry. Afterwards retiring to* Tarentum, *he died about* 90 *Years of Age.* Euſeb. Chron. n. 1685.

(59) Perſ. Sat. 1. v. 76.

(60) Caſaubon *upon this Paſſage ſuppoſes that it ſhould be read* Briſeis, *and that it was the Title of a Tragedy of* Accius. Scriverius, in Teſtim. de Attio, *is miſtaken in believing that* Perſius *does not ſpeak of the Tragic Poet.*

So great Antiopa *in Grief appears,*
The Tragic Tale diſſolves them into Tears.

Here what *Martial* ſays of them in the 91ſt Epigram of the 11th Book.

Attonituſque legis *Terraï frugiferaï,*
Accius & quidquid Pacuviuſque vomunt.

You are extreamly fond of obſolete Expreſſions, ſuch as Terraï frugiferaï, *and whatever* Accius *and* Pacuvius *pour forth.*

Had they imitated thoſe old Authors, in the manner our fineſt Wits imitate *Marot* at preſent, and the other Poets of the XVIth Century, in Fables, Ballads, Pindaric Odes, Stanzas, *&c.* compos'd deſignedly in their antiquated Style, I do not ſee that any Body could reaſonably have found Fault with them. But I ſuppoſe they made uſe of that obſolete Style in good earneſt, and took it for a Standard of Eloquence, either entirely adopting it, or mixing it with the Language of their own Times. See (61) the good Advice which *Phavorinus* gave a young Man in this Way of thinking. We are not ſubject at preſent to this Diſtemper. More Perſons are diſguſted even with a common Expreſſion, or run too eagerly after new coin'd Words, than affect to retain obſolete Expreſſions (62). Whenever the old Language is made uſe of, it is by way of Pleaſantry in Sallies of Wit, and Burleſque Works. It is only in *Latin*, that Authors are yet found, who are fond of the oldeſt Phraſes. Doubtleſs there was another ſort of Men among the antient *Romans*, when *Latin* was come to it's Perfection. Theſe were perpetual Admirers of the old Poets, without uſing, or intending to make uſe of, their ſuperannuated Expreſſions; their Intention was only to mortify the Writers of their own Time, by extolling thoſe of Antiquity above them. *Horace* apprehended their Deſign perfectly, when he ſaid,

(61) Aulus Gellius, lib. 1. cap. 10. *See likewiſe* Ibid. cap. 7.

(62) *The Orator* Siſenna *had this Affectation.* Cicero in Bruto. Salluſt *was accus'd of it*; Sueton. in Aug. c. 86. & in vita Gramm. c. 15. *and of the contrary Affectation, that is, of coining new Words.* Aul. Gell. lib. 1. cap. 15.

Sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes,
Quas bis quinque viri ſanxerunt, fœdera regum
Vel Gabiis, vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,
Pontificum libros, annoſa volumina vatum
Dictitet Albano Muſas in monte locutas.
- - - - - - -
Jam Saliare Numæ carmen qui laudat, & illud
Quod mecum ignorat, ſolus vult ſcire videri,
Ingenii non ille favet, plauditque ſepultis,
Noſtra ſed impugnat, nos noſtraque lividus odit. (63)

(63) Horat. Epiſt. 1. lib. 2. ver. 23.

So fond of all that's antient are we grown,
Nothing, forſooth, of modern Date will down.
Or'e the Decemvirs *Laws devout we pore,*
And antient Leagues, with Sabines *made, adore.*
The Augur's Leaves tranſported we admire,
And Bards, grown obſolete, can never tire.
Theſe flow'd not, ſure, from any human Skill:
The Muſes gave them from th' Aonian *Hill.*
- - - - - -
When Numa'*s Song above our Verſe you raiſe,*
And, what you underſtand not, dare to praiſe,
'Tis not, that fond of antient Bards you're grown;
Envy forbids you to applaud our own.

This is a Diſtemper from which our Age is alſo exempted. We are contented to place *Greece* and antient *Rome* above our own Age; but we do not prefer the Speeches and Poems of the XVth and XVIth Centuries, before thoſe which are made at preſent.

ACCO. *Charles Stephens* reports that ſhe was an Old Woman, who ran mad with Vexation, by ſeeing in a Looking-glaſs how homely old Age had made her. He cites the 15th Chapter of the 6th Book of *Cælius Rhodiginus*, but (*a*) nothing like it is to be found there. The Continuator of *Moreri* adds, That this Woman *pleas'd herſelf with ſpeaking to her Image before a Looking-Glaſs; and that oftentimes ſhe ſeem'd to refuſe, what ſhe moſt deſired.* Plutarch *adds*, continues he, *that Mothers us'd to frighten little Children, and keep them to their Duty, with her Name.* He cites the 16th Book of *Cælius Rhodiginus*, and *Cicero's Second ad Atticum.* I ſhall criticiſe on this Paſſage [*A*] below. In the mean time let us hear what *Rhodoginus* ſays in a Paſſage, which is not (*b*) cited. *Acco* doated in ſuch a manner, that when ſhe look'd in her Glaſs, ſhe entertain'd herſelf with her Reſemblance, as if it had been another Woman; ſhe was ſeen to make uſe of Signs, Promiſes, Threats, Smiles, and of all that is practiſed in Converſation. Others write, that ſhe endeavoured ſometimes to drive a Nail with a Spunge as if ſhe had held a Hammer. *Rhodoginus* ſays no more of her. As for *Plutarch*, he (*c*) only ſays, that *Chryſippus* did not approve of frightning us from our Sins by the Divine Juſtice; *For, ſaid he, we don't want Arguments againſt what is ſaid about Divine Puniſhments, which ſhew that ſuch Diſcourſes reſemble thoſe of good Women, who frighten little Children with* Acco *and* Alphito [*B*], *to hinder them from idling away their time.* *Plutarch* ſhews afterwards that *Chryſippus* contradicted himſelf.

(*a*) Lloyd *alters nothing, except that he cites* Rhodiginus *at the 16th Book, chap.* 2.

(*b*) *The 2d chap. of the 17th Book. He ſays, that he read this in the Epitome of the Adages of* Tarræus *and* Dydimus.

(*c*) Plutarch. de Stoicorum repugnant. p. 1040. B.

[*A*] *Criticiſe on this Paſſage.*] Firſt, None of the three Authors mentioned have ſaid, That *Acco* ran mad with Vexation, for having ſeen herſelf ugly in a Looking-glaſs; and that ſhe ſeem'd to refuſe what ſhe moſt deſired. This is aſcribed to *Plutarch* by Name, and for this Reaſon, becauſe, after having reported *Acco*'s Folly, her being deceiv'd by her own Image, and her Diſſimulation, the next Words are, *Plutarch adds.*—But I. This is to aſſert that *Plutarch* reported theſe three Facts; and conſequently is to deceive the World, ſince That Author only relates what I have cited of him. II. How careleſs is it to cite only *Cicero 2d ad Atticum?* Does he mean the 2d Letter or the 2d Book? muſt the Reader be left to gueſs which? Muſt he be at the trouble to examine what Letter, what Book it is? They, who ſhall have the Patience to look for it, will yet loſe their Labour. They will find in the 19th Letter of the 2d Book. *Certi ſumus periiſſe omnia: quid enim* ἀκκιζόμεθα *tam diu?* My third Cenſure is, that *Cicero* is falſely cited; He ſays nothing of *Acco*. The *Greek* Word he made uſe of, and which many other Authors uſe to ſignify what we call wheedling, evading, raiſing Difficulties about things, which we heartily wiſh for; that Word, I ſay, which *Eraſmus* (1) plac'd among his Proverbs, gave occaſion to ſuſpect that *Acco* was an Hypocrite; but it is only a Conjecture; and it ought not to be permitted an Author to cite *Plutarch*, or *Cicero*, or *Cælius Rhodiginus*, for Conjectures which other Perſons have advanc'd.

(1) *See* Acciſſare, in Adag. chil. 2. cent. 2. n. 99.

[*B*] *Who frighten little Children with* Acco, *and* Alphito.] I do not believe there is any Country in the World where there is not the like Cuſtom. I have heard it condemn'd by very ingenious Doctors. The ancient *Romans* had their *Manducus*, wherewith they threaten'd Children, as I ſhall obſerve under that Word.

ACCORDS (STEPHEN TABOUROT, Lord of) Advocate of the Parliament of *Dijon*, and afterwards the King's Advocate of the Bailiwick and Chancery of the ſame Town, was born in the Year 1549 (*a*). He was a Man of Wit and Letters, but too fond of Trifles. This appears from a Work of his, entitled *Bigarrures* (*The Miſcellany*),

(*a*) *It appears from an Inſcription round his Picture, that in 1584 he was* 35 *Years of Age.*

Miſcellany), the firſt Edition of which is of *Paris*, in 1582 [*A*]. I have quoted it upon ſome occaſions (*b*). This was not his firſt Performance; for he had printed ſome *Songs* (*c*): which *la Croix du Main*, and *du Verdier Vau-Privas*, were not aware of. His Work, which he calls *Les Touches* (*The Touches*), was printed at *Paris* in the Year

[*A*] *A Work of his, entitled—The Miſcellany, the firſt Edition of which is of* Paris, *in* 1582.] He points out this Year in the Preface to the ſecond Edition, and he ought rather to be believed, than *La Croix du Main*, and *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, who place the firſt Edition of the Miſcellany, in 1583. The firſt Book of the Miſcellany is divided into twenty two Chapters, which treat, among other Matters, of the *Rebus*'s of *Picardie*, of *Puns*, of *Antiſtrophes*, of *Alluſions*, of *Acroſtics*, of the *Eccho*, of *Leonin Verſes*, and *other Sorts of Meaſure, pleaſantly and ingeniouſly contrived*, of *Epitaphs*, &c. All theſe are *full of Mirth and Gaity*, as *La Croix du Main* aſſures us (1). The Printer does not diſſemble, that he publiſhed this Work without the Author's leave, “ Who declared “ publickly, *(ſays he)* (2) that Age, Time, “ and his Profeſſion, had altered his Humour and “ Inclination; and that it would ill become him to “ lay claim to what he compoſed in his early Years, “ and in the Flower and Gaity of his Youth; being “ then ſcarce eighteen Years old; and that, when “ he ſhall have given proof of his Abilities, in ſome “ noble and learned Subject, he would adviſe not to “ ſtrangle his natural and illegimate Offſpring, got “ out of Marriage; for ſo he uſed to call his three “ firſt Books. Whence I judged that he was only “ looking about for an Excuſe; which determined “ me to publiſh this Copy.” Our Author, on his part, does not fail to pretend Ignorance. “ I was “ very much ſurprized, *ſays he* (3), when I ſaw the “ firſt Impreſſion of this Book, the Memory of “ which I thought was extinct. But, upon reading “ it again, as a new Work, not having ſeen it theſe “ fourteen Years, I preſently diſcovered my own “ Genius and Style, at a time, when I compoſed “ it, firſt, for my own Diverſion, and afterwards “ for that of others; in which I obſerved no Method, “ but threw together my Thoughts, without “ Connexion, as Whim and Fancy directed. The “ Book conſiſts of looſe detach'd Pieces, written upon “ Scraps of Paper, adjuſted together at different “ Times, a great part of which I always believed “ was loſt. But, as every one is fond of his own “ Work, I had ſome Thoughts, at that time, of “ ſending the Remainder of my Papers, which have “ encreaſed ſince that time, together with thoſe, “ which had been omitted.” Notwithſtanding this He adopts and owns this ſecond Edition. “ Upon “ which account, *continues he* (4), I have read over “ this idle Book from one end to the other, which I “ never did before, in order to re-publiſh it according “ to my own true Conception of it. And as “ ſince that time I have recollected ſome little “ Pieces of a curious Nature, and others have been “ kindly communicated to me by one of the moſt “ learned Men in *France*, on the ſame Subject, I “ have added them to it in the Manner of an Appendix “ by the Author.”

Paſquier diſapproved of *Tabourot*'s making Additions to his *Miſcellany*. It was ſtaying too long, he thought, in places which ought only to be paſſed by; and which ought to be conſidered as a Traveller's Inn, not as his Lodging. Such a Work ſhould be looked upon as an Excurſion, not as a fix'd Abode. Youth is an excuſe for ſpending a few Hours in ſuch Trifles; but if, ſome Years after, an Author applies himſelf to retouch them, and to make Additions, it ſeems as if he intended *tanquam ad Sirenum ſcopulos conſeneſcere*, to grow old at the *Sirens* Rocks. After this manner *Paſquier* expreſs'd himſelf in a Letter to the *Sieur Tabourot*, in the Year 1584. “ I have read over your entertaining Miſcellany, “ and I read it with Pleaſure, not only on “ account of that Friendſhip I bear you, but likewiſe “ for that genteel and lively Wit, with which “ it abounds; or rather becauſe it is ſomething “ whimſical, and diverſify'd with a great Variety of “ fine Strokes. I could wiſh there had been no Additions “ made to the firſt Impreſſion. If I judge “ right, many of the Additions do not reliſh of your “ Wit; and I ſhould eaſily be perſwaded, that ſome “ other Hand has beſtowed theſe ill-tim'd Alms upon “ you. We ſhould conſider ſuch Subjects as “ matter of meer Diverſion, not as a Duty incumbent “ on us, and which requires our whole Attention. “ You will find by this, that I love and “ honour you, ſince I take the Liberty, for the firſt “ time, to addreſs myſelf thus freely to you (5).

I believe *Des Accords* did not regard this Advice, and that he made ſtill farther Additions to his Miſcellany, when he reprinted it. I have the *Paris* Edition of 1614, where we find not only *the fourth Book of the Miſcellany*; but likewiſe *the facetious Tales of the Sieur* Gaulard, *&c. collected by the Sieur* Des Accords. This fourth Book is not preceded either by a ſecond or third; nevertheleſs the Author gives many Reaſons why he calls it the fourth (6), and, among other things, ſays, that “ this whole “ Volume would not have been new and uncommon “ enough, if he had followed the Example of “ the generality of Authors.” He confeſſes, that he added the *Tales of the Sieur* Gaulard to promote the Sale. “ They, *ſays he* (7), who have purchaſed “ only the firſt Book, in order to laugh and be “ merry, will be induced to buy this likewiſe for “ the ſake of the entertaining Pieces I have mixed “ with it; ſuch as the Apophthegms, or deſigned “ Blunders, or abſurd Reflexions of Mr *Gaulard*; “ which have been imitated by ſeveral others in “ *France*; but it is unjuſt to rob our *Burgundian* “ of the Glory of the Invention. By this means I “ act like the Widow of a certain *Caſtilian*, who “ would not ſell his Horſe, without his Cat.

Obſerve, that the fourth Book of the Miſcellany is more ſerious than the firſt. It is divided into three Chapters. The firſt contains *certain Obſervations uſeful in the Education of Children*: the ſecond relates to the *Change of the Sir-Name*; the third contains *many particular Remarks on the* French *Poetry*. The Work ends with a Dicourſe on *pretended Sorcerers, and their Impoſtures*. The whole abounds with curious Matters, and may be read with profit. This particular Character of the fourth Book is one of the Reaſons, which the Author alledges in juſtification of his having publiſhed it before the ſecond or third. It will be proper to produce his own Words. They will convince us, that he had not given up his ludicrous way of writing, upon *Paſquier*'s Letter to him, ſince he apologizes for continuing it. “ I did this (8), *ſays he* (9), chiefly with a Deſign “ of ſhewing by the Stile of this Book, that my “ Mind is diſpoſed to other Subjects, as well as “ Burleſque ones, and to ſtop the Mouths of a Set “ of ignorant Detractors, who have maliciouſly objected “ this to me. And as to thoſe who diſapprove, “ that a Man of my Profeſſion ſhould deſcend to “ ſuch Trifles both in Proſe and Verſe, I refer them “ to the learned preliminary Letter of the great “ *Paſquier*'s *French* Epiſtles, who has ſhewn, as well “ from ſtrong Reaſons, as Examples, that we ought “ not to confine our Genius ſo obſtinately to one “ ſingle Profeſſion, as never to allow it to unbend “ itſelf in more lively and gay Studies. I certainly “ commend thoſe, who, like the *Germans*, can reſtrain “ themſelves from following more than one Profeſſion “ at once; but we muſt not therefore blame “ others, who, having a Genius for ſeveral, are able “ to manage them ſo well, as in every one to be “ little, if at all, inferior to the particular Profeſſors “ of each. It is well known, that the *French* Genius “ is full of this Vivacity and Variety, and it is againſt “ our Inclinations when we are tied down to one “ Science. Why then ſhould it be thought wrong “ in me, that I ſpend That Time (which others trifle “ away) in this honourable Employ, which is not “ empty and fruitleſs if we examine it nearly?

But he gives another Reaſon, which particularly ſhews, that he ſubmitted but a little time to the Attacks of his Critics, and that he had no Intention to ſuppreſs the ſecond Book, tho' a little too looſe. “ In the ſecond, *ſays he* (10), I treat in the ſame “ manner of *Periphraſes*, *Hyperboles*, *Metonymies*, “ *Metaphors*, *Synechdoches*, &c. and That in the propereſt “ *French* Terms I could chuſe, and with ſuch

“ entertaining

(*b*) *See the* Table of Matters *in the Word* ACCORDS

(*c*) *See the 4th Book of his* Miſcellany, *the Paris Edition, for* Maucroy, *in* 1662, *in* 12mo. p. 477.

(1) Biblioth. Fr. p. 80.

(2) A. Paſquet's *Advertiſement to the Reader, at the beginning of the* Miſcellany.

(3) *The Author's Preface to the Edit. of the* Miſcellany. *It is dated at* Verroney, Sept. 15. 1584.

(4) *The ſame*, fol. A. v.

(5) Paſquier's *Letters*, B. 8. Tom. 1. p. 492, 493.

(6) *Preface to the 4th Book of the* Miſcellany.

(7) *The ſame*, fol. A. iii.

(8) i. e. *publiſh the 4th Book before the 2d and 3d.*

(9) *Preface to the 4th Book of the* Miſcellany, fol. A. ii.

(10) *Pref. to the 4th Book of the* Miſcellany, A. iii.

Year 1585 [*B*]. It is a Collection of ingenious Pieces of Poetry, it muſt be confeſs'd; but for the moſt part on obſcene Subjects, which he handled too freely, according to the vitious Practice of thoſe Times. The ſame Vein runs thro' his *Miſcellany*. He was reproach'd with this, which oblig'd him to juſtify himſelf [*C*]. Some aſcribe to him A *Dictionary of* French *Rhimes* [*D*]. Laſtly, *The Lordſhip of Accords* is an

“ entertaining Examples, as muſt give the Reader Pleaſure. At preſent I ſhall take no notice of what may appear in it too looſe and offenſive to the Ears of our preſent ſqueamiſh Critics, as well as Thoſe formerly; and ſhall paſs on directly to the fourth, in order to ſatisfy Thoſe of a more ſerious turn of Mind, who will have reaſon to thank me for ſome Diſcoveries never touched on, I believe, before.”

[*B*] *His Work which he calls* —— The Touches, *was printed at* Paris, *in* 1585.] He divided it into three Books and dedicated the firſt to a Prelate, namely *Pontus* of *Tyard*, Lord of *Biſſy*, and Biſhop of *Chalon*. He boaſts of having compoſed them (11) in two Months, at *Verdum* upon *Saone*, in the Year 1585 (12); and tells us *they* are a kind of *Epigrams*, to which the Name of *Touches* is properly applied; “For it is a kind of light Fencing, in which with my Foil I give only a Touch, which ſcarce ſcratches the Skin, and cannot wound the Fleſh (13).” In another place he tells us (14), “That *The Touches* is a Term borrowed from Fencers, who call the Thruſt given with their Foils a *Touch*, the Mark of which appears upon the Cloaths of him that was hit, by reaſon of the Chalk, with which the Foil is whiten'd, *&c.*” The *Touches* of *Des Accords*, which are generally printed at the end of the *Miſcellany*, are different from thoſe I am here ſpeaking of.

[*C*] *He was reproached with this, which obliged him to juſtify himſelf.*] I have quoted his Apology (15) in another place; and ſhall add here, that his Printer has thought fit to confirm it. “I have publiſhed, *ſays he* (16), the whole Copy, not caſtrating any of thoſe Expreſſions, which may be thought too looſe and indecent, provided they were witty; for, notwithſtanding the Author would have regard paid to chaſte Ears, and would deſignedly have ſuppreſs'd ſeveral Paſſages, yet, having heard him hint, that it was *ipſum evitare Priapum*, and that an infinite Number of fine Strokes would loſe all their Beauty, without this Liberty, I choſe rather to follow his Opinion, than his Advice. He will pardon me for diving ſo far into his Thoughts; and let the following Lines of *Catullus* apologize for me;

Caſtum eſſe decet pium Poëtam
Ipſum, verſiculos nihil neceſſe eſt;
Qui tum denique habent ſalem & leporem,
Si ſunt Molliculi, & parum Pudici *

Chaſte muſt the Bard in every Action be,
Whilſt his gay Muſe from this Reſtraint is free.
Then only Verſe can Wit and Humour know,
When wanton and ſcarce chaſte the Numbers flow.

“And I will venture to affirm, that this ought to be ſo far from offending any Perſon (ſome Hypocrites excepted) that, on the contrary, it will ſerve to put our Youth in mind, not to amuſe themſelves ſo much in theſe curious Enquiries, ſince they are to be met with in ſuch Abundance, as is enough to create a Diſguſt towards them; and will occaſion their applying themſelves to the reading of good Books, whence they may reap Advantage: for I am fully perſwaded, that the Multiplicity of Books, which we have at preſent, muſt prevent the mind from examining into, and carefully peruſing, the beſt; even tho' we were ſure to meet with Authors, who could teach us to find out a Hare's Form, or tell us where ready-chaw'd Meat was to be had. As to the *Smut*, I cannot imagine it will be ſo offenſive, as *Virgil*'s *Priapeia*, the *Epigrams* of *Catullus* and *Martial*, *Ovid*'s *Amours*, *Terence*'s *Comedies*, *Petronius Arbiter*, and in ſhort, the fineſt Pieces of Antiquity, which are propoſed to our Youth as Patterns of Excellency; whereas our Author's Immodeſty can never be conſidered in ſuch a Light. But farther, every thing in this Book is curious, genteel, and ingenious; and the Author need not apologize for himſelf, by alledging the Levity of the Subject.” The meaning of all this is, that *Des Accords* did not take this Liberty, in order to favour the Paſſions of the Heart, but purely to amuſe the Imagination, and not to rob his Poetry of that Seaſoning, which would render it more agreeable and high-flavoured, according to the Taſte, which prevailed for many Ages. He was not ignorant of the Maxim, that *coarſe Smut is leſs dangerous than that which is delicate*: for thus he applys it, in his own Vindication.

“ *Des Amadis* (17).

“ Qui voudra voir ces Ecrits,
“ Les liſe aupres de S'amie,
“ Car ils donneront envie
“ A tous deux d' être laſcifs.

Of The Amadis.

You who would know the Force theſe Lines impart,
Read them before the Miſtreſs of your Heart.
The tender Tale, the melting maid will move,
And both diſſolve in Extacies of Love.

D'un Lecteur d'Amadis, qui blâmoit les Bigarrures.

Toi, qui permets les lectures
D' Amadis, & ne veux vas
Qu'on liſe les Bigarrures,
Cauteleuſment tu as
Apperceu que les mot gras
N' entrent vivement dans l' ame,
Pour ſuborner une dame,
Comme les mignards appas.

On a Reader of the *Amadis*, who found fault with the *Miſcellany*.

Whilſt you with wanton Amadis *engage,*
But ſhun the Miſcellany's ſportive Page,
Wiſely your nice Diſcernment you approve,
That coarſe Expreſſions leſs the Paſſions move,
Than thoſe ſoft Touches, which the Fair inſpire,
Spight of themſelves, with looſe and warm Deſire.

This puts me in mind of a Thought of *Sorel*. “The Poets, *ſays he* (18), who compoſe Works liable to the Cenſure of the Magiſtrate, and which are uſually burnt by the Hands of the Executioner, are very great Fools, in imagining, that they are pleaſing to Debauchees; whereas it is impoſſible to read their obſcene Collections without deſiring to quit the Sport, they being ſo leud and wicked, as to create Horror in the Reader.” But, not to diſſemble any part of his Sentiment, I muſt obſerve, that he qualifies this a little. “But, when I give this as my Opinion, *purſues he* (19), I am aware, that it may be ſaid, that we ought not then to forbid the reading of them, ſince they inſpire Men with a hatred to Vice. But generous Minds only find the Effect: and we ought not enjoin ſuch Penances, as expoſe Men to Temptation. There are but too many, who take a Pleaſure in being converſant with Filth.”

[*D*] *Some aſcribe to him* A Dictionary of *French* Rhimes.] *La Croix du Main* had made him Author of a Book, entitled *French Rhimes* (20); but he corrected himſelf, and acknowledged (21) that it ought to be aſcribed to *John le Fevre*, a Native of *Dijon*, Secretary an imaginary Fief, founded upon a Device of his Anceſtors [*E*]. Obſerve that WILLIAM TABOUROT, his Father, who was Advocate of the Parliament of *Dijon*, King's Council, and Maſter extraordinary of the Chamber of Accounts, is much commended by *Peter* of *St Julian*, in his Work *Of the Origin of the Burgundians* (*d*). He died the 24th of *July* 1561, in the 46th Year of his Age (*e*).

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(11) *In the Epiſtle Dedicatory.*

(12) *This is a Proof that he did not regard* Paſquier's *Advice.*

(13) *Epiſt. Dedicat.*

(14) *Advertiſement of the* Touches, *printed with the* Miſcellany.

(15) *In the Remark* [*M*] *of the Article* MAROT.

(16) Andr. Paſquet.

* Carm. 16. ver. 5.

(17) Des Accords *in the* Touches, *printed with the* Miſcellany, *at* Paris, *for* Maucroy, *in* 1662. 12mo pag. 82.

(18) Sorel's *Remarks on the* Extravagant Shepherd, B. 11. p. 379. *Edit. of* Roüen, *in* 1646. *in* 2 Vol. 8vo.

(19) *The ſame*, p. 379.

(20) Biblioth. Françoiſe, p. 156.

(21) *The ſame*, p. 222. *and obſerve, that he ſays, this Dictionary of* French *Rhimes was printed at* Paris *for* Galiot du Pre, 1572.

(*d*) *See* la Croix du Main, p. 156.

(*e*) *See his Epitaph in his Son's* Miſcellany.

Secretary of the Cardinal *de Givri*, and Canon of *Langres*. This Retraction is juſt; for *Des Accords* declared, that this Work did not belong to Him. Theſe are his Words, at the end of his Chapter on *French Poetry*: “ I ſhall hereafter, *ſays he* (22), give “ my Opinion more fully, in the Collection I am “ preparing of the *French* Poetics; in which I find “ the way ſmooth'd for me, with great Learning “ and Labour, by *Pelletius*, divinely and much to “ the Purpoſe by *Ronſard* (as he does every thing), “ and with great Addreſs (conſidering his Time) “ by *Quintil* the Critic, and ſeveral others: whoſe “ Aſſiſtance I ſhall make uſe of, mentioning their “ Names, and referring to their Text, in compiling “ *a Sequel to the Dictionary of French Rhimes*, by my “ Uncle, Mr *Le Fevre*, which I ſhall ſhortly publiſh.”

What inclines me to believe he kept his Word, is a Paſſage which I meet with in the *Dictionary of French Rhimes*, printed at *Paris*, in 1596, by the Heir of *Euſtace Vignon*, in Octavo. The Author begins thus: “ At firſt, *ſays he* (23), I collected this “ Dictionary, by way of Amuſement, almoſt as it is “ at preſent, as to the Quantity of Words, being “ deſirous to aſſiſt the Defect of a treacherous “ Memory. Afterwards meeting with That of “ the Sieur *Des Accords*, enriched with ſeveral Re- “ marks upon Rhime, I was prompted to review “ my own, and to philoſophize a little upon this “ Subject; which I have not done without Succeſs.”

[*E*] *The Lordſhip of* Accords *is an imaginary Fief, founded upon a Device of his Anceſtors.*] Let us hear his own Account: “ Since in my Diſcourſe, *ſays* “ *he* (24), on changing the Sir-Name (25), I blame “ thoſe who do it; and ſince, by aſſuming the Title “ of *Lord of Accords*, I declare myſelf worthy of “ the ſame Cenſure; I muſt inform you, that my “ Name is compoſed of the firſt Letters of the ſe- “ veral Chapters of my firſt Book, by way of *Acro-* “ *ſtic* (26); and after the ſame manner the ſecond “ Book informs you of it's Age, and the Place “ where it was compoſed. But to raiſe the Subject, “ I did not put my real Name, but a Lordſhip “ framed upon a Device of my own, which was a “ Drum * (27), round which I put theſe Words “ *A tous Accords*, which had been conſtantly my “ Father's, Grand Father's, and Great Grand Fa- “ ther's Motto. In the Chapter of particular Re- “ marks on the *French* Poetry, you will find the Occa- “ ſion of erecting this Device into a Lordſhip.” It is proper to produce what he relates in the Chapter to which he refers us. He had ſent a Song to “ a “ beautiful and virtuous young Lady, Daughter of “ the late learned Preſident of *Bourgogne*, Mr *Begat*, “ who, *ſays he* (28), did me the Honour to be in “ Love with me. —— And whereas, *continues he*, “ I had ſubſcribed the Sonnnet only with the “ Words of my Device *A tous Accords*, ſhe was the “ firſt, who, in her Anſwer, chriſten'd me *Seigneur* “ *des Accords*, as her Father often afterwards called “ me; for which Reaſon, in all my Writings ſince “ that time, I have made choice of this Sir-Name, “ and even in theſe Books.” He gave himſelf likewiſe, by way of *Anagram*, the Name of *Torvobatius*, as Mr *Baillat* aſſures us (29).

(22) Bigarrures, B. 4. c. 3. p. 494.

(23) *Pref. to the Dictionary.*

(24) *Pref. to the 4th Book of the* Miſcellany.

(25) Ibid. c. 2. B. 4.

(26) *The 1ſt Letter of the 1ſt chapter is an* E; *that of the 2d an* S; *and ſo on to the 1ſt of the 16th chap. which is a* T; *and all together they make* ESTIENNE TABOUROT (Stephen Tabourot). *This had been done by others before. See Mr* Baillet. *in his* Diſguiſed Authors, pag. 442, 446.

* *In French* Tambour.

(27) *It was then a* Speaking Device, *and a plain Alluſion to his real Name* Tabourot.

(28) Miſcellany, B. 4. c. 3. p. 491, 492.

(29) Ubi ſupra, p. 440, 607.

ACCURSIUS, Profeſſor of Civil Law in the XIIIth Century, was a *Florentine*. He acquired a very great Reputation by the Comments he compoſed on the Body of the Law. It is ſaid that he begun but late to ſtudy the Law; and that he was 40 Years of Age [*A*] when he firſt attended the Lectures of the famous *Azo*. He had applied himſelf before that time to other Studies. The Progreſs he made in the Civil Law was ſo great, that he became a famous Profeſſor in that Science, which he taught at *Bologna*; and, afterwards burying himſelf in Retirement, he compos'd *A Perpetual Comment on the whole Law*, which appeared ſo convenient and uſeful to young Students, that the former Gloſſes were no more ſpoken of, which doubtleſs were not ſo well diſpoſed, nor ſo compleat. Some think that the Contradictions, which are obſerv'd in *Accurſius*, do not proceed from his Inconſtancy, or a Defect of Memory, but from this, *viz.* that in reporting the different Opinions of thoſe, who had preceeded him, he had diſtinguiſhed them only by the initial Letters of their Names: Which Letters diſappearing in ſeveral Places, was the Cauſe of his Readers taking that for His Opinion, which he only produced in Proof of another's Sentiments. His Authority was formerly ſo great [*B*], that ſome call'd him the Idol of the

[*A*] *And that he was* 40 *Years of Age.*] Others ſay that he was but 28. “ Jam quadragenarius, vel, ut “ alii ſcribunt xxviii. annos natus jus civile ab Azone “ audivit. —— *At the Age of* 40, *or as others write* “ xxviii, *he learnt Civil Law from* Azo.” Theſe are *Pancirollus*'s Words (1), in the 147th Page of his ſecond Edition, which is That of *Venice*, 1655. Sir *Thomas Pope Blount* (2), citing *Pancirollus*, and *Konig*, puts 37, and not 28 Years. The Citation of *Konig* is good, but that of *Pancirollus* is not, unleſs my Edition differs from the firſt. *Forſter* would have been more properly cited (3); for he reports, that *Accurſius* became a Diſciple of *Azo*, at 37 Years of Age. *See the Remark* [*F*].

[*B*] *His Authority was formerly ſo great.*] I cannot cite any thing more proper or entertaining, in this Place, than a Paſſage quoted by one of the modern Civilians, with whom the Gloſſographers were leaſt in Eſteem. “ Noſtis (4) quanta ſit autoritas gloſſatoris. “ Nonne heri dixit Cyn. Gloſſam timendam propter “ præſcriptam Idololatriam per Advocatos, ſignificans “ quod ſicut Antiqui adorabant Idola pro Diis, ita “ Advocati adorant Gloſſatores pro Evangeliſtis. Vo- “ lo enim potius pro me Gloſſatorem quam Textum; “ nam ſi allego Textum, dicunt Advocati diverſæ “ partis & etiam Judices, *credis tu quod Gloſſa non* “ *ita viderit illum Textum, ſicut Tu, & non ita bene* “ *intellexerit, ſicut tu?* Ego recordor (& ſit illud pro “ novo) quod dum eſſem Scholaris, eram ſatis acu- “ tus, & dum ſemel eſſemus multi Socii in una colla- “ tione, auſus fui unum Textum allegare contra “ ſententiam Doctoris mei: tantam audaciam habui. “ Dixit unus Socius, *Tu loqueris contra Gloſſam, quæ* “ *dicit ſic.* Et ego reſpondi, *etſi Gloſſa dicit ſic, ego* “ *dico ſic*; ignarus auctoritatis Gloſſatorum. Crede- “ bam enim quod eſſent quales ſunt in libris Gram- “ maticæ, ſicut ſuper Virgilio & Ovidio, ſed tamen “ non ita eſt; fuerunt enim Gloſſatores maximæ ſci- “ entiæ viri & auctoritatis. Magis ergo ſtandum eſt “ eis qui viderunt totum corpus Juris, quam nobis “ qui non vidimus. — “ *You know the great Autho-* “ *rity of a Commentator. Was it not ſaid yeſterday* “ *by* Cyn. *that a Comment was a terrible thing, on* “ *account of That Idolatry always paid to it by the* “ *Advocates; intimating, that as the Antients adored* “ *Idols for Gods, ſo the Advocates adored Commen-* “ *tators for Evangeliſts. I had much rather have* “ *the Comment, than the Text, favour my Opinion:* “ *for, if I appeal to the Text, the Advocates, on the* “ *other ſide, and even the Judges, cry out,* Do you think

(1) Pancir. de clar Leg. Interpr. lib. 2. cap. 29.

(2) Pope Blount's Cenſ. Celeb. Autor. p. 286.

(3) Forſter's *Hiſtory of the Civil Law*, lib. 3. c. 12.

(4) Raphaël Fulgoſius de Action. & Oblig. apud Fr. Hottomannum, Præf. Conſiliorum.

the Advocates (*a*). Moſt Interpreters have taken as much (*b*) or more (*c*) Care to explain his Gloſs, as to comment on the very Text of the Law. Some Critics, great Lovers of polite Language, have exclaim'd with great vehemence againſt the barbarous Stile of this Author [*C*], but the general Opinion is, that he was a great Genius; and that his Defects proceeded from the Age wherein he liv'd [*D*]. He liv'd very much at his eaſe, having both a fine City and Country-Houſe, and two Sons, who were very ſtudious, as we ſhall ſee preſently. Some Perſons ſay, that he had a very learned Daughter [*E*], and initiated in the Profeſſion of the Civil Law. He died in the Year 1229. at 78 Years of Age [*F*]. His Tomb is to be ſeen at *Bologna*, in the Church of the *Cordeliers*, with this (*d*) very ſhort and plain Inſcription, *Sepulchrum Accurſii Gloſſatoris Legum, & Franciſci ejus filii.*——*The Tomb of* Accurſius, *the Commentator of Law, and his Son* Francis. He ſaid there was no need of Theology [*G*] to teach us Divine Things, ſince the *Roman* Laws ſufficiently inſtructed

(*a*) *Taken out of* Pancirollus, lib. 2. cap. 29. de claris Legum Interpret. p. 147, &c.

(*b*) Arth. Duck *of the Uſe and Authority of the* Roman *Civil Law*, lib. 1. cap. c. *in* Pope Blount's Cenſ. celebr. Autor. pag. 286.

(*c*) Forſter's *Hiſtory of the Civil Law*, lib. 3. c. 12.

(*d*) Panciroĺ. ib. p. 149.

"think the Comment did not ſee the Text, and underſtand it, as well as you? *I remember, that, when I was a School-Boy, I was very acute; and that, many of us being together at the ſame Lecture, I had the Courage to cite one Text, againſt the Opinion of my Maſter. One of my School-fellows immediately ſaid,* You ſpeak againſt the Comment, which ſays thus. *I reply'd,* Though the Comment ſays ſo, I ſay otherwiſe; *ſo ignorant was I of the Authority of the Commentators. For I conſidered them in the ſame Light, as the Commentators upon Grammatical Books, ſuch as* Virgil *and* Ovid: *but the Caſe is otherwiſe; for the Commentators were Men of the greateſt Learning and Authority. It muſt therefore be ſafer to rely upon their Authority, who had a full View of the whole Body f the Law, than upon our own Judgment, who have not.*" *Hottomanus* cites ſome other Paſſages of the ſame Author, which confirm the ſame thing; and informs us, that the Comment, put in Ballance againſt the Opinion of any Two Doctors, carried it always before the Judges. *Si ſententia Gloſſatoris duobus Doctoribus eſt contraria, profecto in judiciis prævaleret ſententia ipſius Gloſſæ* (5).

[C]. *Exclaim'd with great Vehemence againſt the barbarous Style of this Author.*] *Ludovicus Vives* (6) was one of them. See *Bernartius* alſo in his Treatiſe of the Profit that reading of Hiſtory brings. Many Authors have been found among the Civilians of the XVIth Century, who have cenſur'd This Barbarity of Style. It ſeems *Alciatus* rouz'd them up, and gave them the firſt taſte for uniting Polite Literature with the Civil Law. *Budæus*, one of the warmeſt Cenſurers of *Accurſius*, contributed alſo to it (7). It cannot be denied, but that the Ignorance of good Literature, made the Commentators fall into divers Miſtakes. *Albericus Gentilis* declar'd himſelf much their Partizan; he (8) would not own that *Accurſius* put this Maxim in uſe, *Græcum eſt, non poteſt legi*, with which he (9) was reproach'd. He believes that thoſe Words are no where to be found in this Commentator; and makes him more learned in the *Greek* Tongue, than is generally thought. However it be, the Proverb *Græcum eſt, non poteſt legi*, paſſes for having deriv'd it's Original from theſe Commentators. It is pretended that, when they met with a *Greek* Word, they paſs'd it over, and gave for a Reaſon, that it was *Greek*, and could not be read; and having thus leap'd over this Ditch, they reſum'd the Explication of the *Latin*.

[*D*] *That he was a great Genius, and that his Defects proceeded from the Age wherein he liv'd.*] I ſhall only cite two Authors (10). "Hanc ſignificationem in animo habuit Fr. Accurſius, Gloſſatorum veterum Coryphæus, homo ingenii prorſus ſtupendi, qui in tantis diſciplinarum tenebris ipſam diſciplinarum diſciplinam accuratiſſime intellexit, cum non *juriſdictionem*, ſed *juriſditionem* ſcribendum cenſuit. ——*This was the Senſe of* Francis Accurſius, *the* Coryphæus *of antient Commentators, a Man of a prodigious Genius, who, in ſuch a dark Age of Learning, thoroughly underſtood all the Principles of Literature; for he was of Opinion it ſhould be wrote* Juriſditionem, *not* Juriſdictionem." This is the Teſtimony of a *German*: let us hear a *Frenchman* next (11). "Antiqui (*Interpretes juris*) inter quos Accurſius & Bartolus principatum tenent, de ſermone non valdè anxii, rerum quas tractant curam ſolam habuerunt: quas cum noſſent, quantum in illa barbarie & codicum depravatione noſſe poterant, explicare niſi inconditè & barbarè nequiverunt, quod non tam eis quam ſeculo illi tribuendum, quo linguæ & bonæ literæ prorſus jacebant. —— *The Ancients* (the Commentators on Law) *among whom* Accurſius *and* Bartolus *claim the Precedence, regardleſs of the Language, employ'd their whole Concern upon the Matter of their Compoſitions; which as they underſtood no farther, than That Age of Barbarity, and corrupt Copies of Books, permitted them; it was impoſſible they ſhould explain otherwiſe, than in a rude and barbarous Manner; but this is not ſo much to be aſcribed to them, as to the Age, in which Languages and Learning were at a very low Ebb.*" Note, that *Barthius* gives *Accurſius* the Chriſtian Name of *Francis*, and he is not the only (12) Perſon that does it: I follow'd theſe Authors in the firſt Edition, but I reject their Authority in this.

[*E*] *A very learned Daughter.*] *Pancirollus* (13) mentions her only by hear-ſay. "Filiam quoque habuiſſe dicitur, quæ jus civile Bononiæ publice docuit.—— *He is reported likewiſe to have had a Daughter, who taught the Civil Law publickly at* Bononia." When a Fact of this Nature is doubtful, it is very likely to be falſe; for ſuch Things are too remarkable to remain in uncertainty, if true. So that I do not give much Credit to what I have juſt now read in the *Theatrum* of *Paul Freherus* (14), that *Accurſius* had Daughters, who for their excellent Erudition, were employ'd to read publick Lectures at *Bologna*. I hope *Freherus* will not take it ill that I ſhould diſtruſt *John Frauenlobius*, of whom he cites a *German* Book.

[*F*] *He died in the Year* 1229, at 78 *Years of Age.*] You ſee nothing like it in the *Theatrum* (15) of *Paul Freherus*, which was compil'd with ſo much Labour, and during ſuch a long Time. But you will find, on the contrary, that *Accurſius* flouriſh'd in the Year 1236, that he died in the Year 1279, and that he wrote a Comment on the *Authentics*, in the Year 1236. He is himſelf cited for this laſt Particular, by (16) *John Fichardus*, in his Lives of the Civilians.

But that Citation is falſe, as appears from the following Obſervation communicated to me from good Hands (17). "*Volaterranus* ſays (18), That *Accurſius* began to ſtudy the Law at 40 Years, and that he died in the Year 1279. in the ſeventy eighth Year of his Age; from whence it ſhould follow, that he was born in the Year 1201. In the mean time *Accurſius* himſelf informs us, in the *Authentic, Ut præp. nom. Imper.* at the Word *indictiones*, that he actually writ in the Year 1220. and on the laſt Law but one in the Code *De Accuſationibus*, that he writ in the Year 1227. which he could not have done, if the Calculation of *Volaterran* were true: Otherwiſe *Accurſius* muſt have profeſſed the Law a long time before he ſtudied it. Theſe Epochs of 1220, and 1227, exclude that of 1236, which is faulty, and cannot be admitted by thoſe, who place *Accurſius*'s Death in 1229."

[*G*] *There was no need of Theology.*] *Conringius* (19) cenſured him for it, as he ought to do; theſe are his Words; "Ridicula eſt Accurſii gloriatio *in gl. ad l.* 10. *ſect.* 2. *ff. de J. & J.* nihil opus eſſe Theologiæ ſtudio ad cognoſcenda divina, ut quæ ex legum Romanarum libris affatim queat peti. —— Accurſius's *Boaſt* (in gl. ad l. 10. ſect. 2. ff. de J. & J.) *that the Study of Theology was of no uſe towards the Knowledge of Divine Things, they being abundantly contained in the Books of the* Roman *Laws, is very ridiculous.*

[*H*] *Mr.*

(5) Raphaël Fulgoſius, Id. ib. ubi ſupra.

(6) Ludov. Vives, de cauſis corrupt artium, lib. 1. p. 52. & lib. 7. p. 206. *See alſo* Braſſicanus inter Epiſtol. Eobani Heſſi.

(7) *See* Paſquier's Recherch. de la France, l. 9. c. 39. p. 901. *who gives the firſt Place to* Budæus, *and the ſecond to* Alciatus.

(8) Alb. Gentilis de Juris interpretibus, fol. 29.

(9) *See* Sich. in præf. ad Cod. Theod. & Alciatum, cap. 10. l. 2. Diſpunct.

(10) Barthius in Animadv. in Claudiani Rufin. lib. 2. v. 85. pag. 1200, & 1201.

(11) Rolandus Mareſius Epiſt. 40. lib. 1. p. 176, 177. *Edit.* Lipſ. 1687.

(12) Arth. Duck, and Pope Blount *do it alſo. See* Pope Blount, ubi ſupra.

(13) Pancir. ubi ſupra, p. 149.

(14) Paul. Freher. Theatr. Erudit. pag. 784.

(15) Id. ib.

(16) Apud Freher. ib.

(17) *Mr* de la Monnoie.

(18) Volat. lib. 21. pag. 781.

(19) Conrin. de Civili Prudent. c. 3. *in* Pope Blount, ubi ſupra.

ſtructed us in them. Mr *Moreri* is very much out in quoting [*H*] the Sieur *Catel*. *Francis Hotomanus* had no reaſon to ſay that *Odofred* taught *Azo* and *Accurſius*, for *Odofred* and *Accurſius* were both Scholars of *Azo*, and afterwards Profeſſors at the ſame time at *Bologna*. *Albericus Gentilis* remark'd this Miſtake of *Francis Hotomanus* (*e*).

(*e*) Alberic. Gentilis *in his Dialogue* de Juris Interpretibus, fol. 60.

[*H*] *Mr* Moreri *is very much out in quoting*.] Let us compare theſe two Authors Texts with each other, which will be ſufficient to demonſtrate the Miſtake. *Catel* having ſaid that *Montpellier was one of the principal Cities of France* (20), in which the *Roman* Law was read publickly, adds, " For we find that " the great and antient Civilian *Placentinus*, who " lived before the Commentator *Accurſius*, read the " Law publickly in the City of *Montpellier*, of which " he makes frequent mention in his *Summa*, which " he compoſed (he tells us in the *Inſtitutes*) during " his abode at *Montpellier*, as thoſe have obſerved " who wrote his Life. He died at *Montpellier* the " twelfth of *February* 1192, and lies buried in " St *Bartholomew*'s Church-yard." Now hear *Moreri*. *The Sieur* Catel *maintains that* Accurſius *died at* Montpellier *in* 1192. That which he adds ſtands in great need of Correction; " Others, *ſays he*, as " *Fiſcardius* and *Trithemius*, place him in the following Century; nay, the laſt ſays, that he profeſs'd at *Bologna* in 1240. But they may be miſtaken, in confounding that Great Man with his " Son *Francis Accurſius*, who was a Man of Merit " and Learning; and who was Profeſſor of Law at " *Bologna*, and Counſellor to *Richard* King of *England*." The Father ought to have been placed in the XIIIth Century, and then they would not have been in danger of confounding him with the Son: So that Mr *Moreri*'s Doubt is very ill grounded. There was no King of *England* at that time, whoſe Name was *Richard*.

(20) Catel's *Memoirs of the Hiſtory of* Languedoc, p. 293.

ACCURSIUS (CERVOT) Son of the Foregoing, was more in haſte to take his Degree than his Father: For he deſired to be *Doctor of Law* before the Age of Seventeen Years, and obtain'd his Requeſt, after it had been a long time diſcuſs'd, whether the Laws (*a*) permitted it. He apply'd himſelf to compoſing Comments, and added them to thoſe of his Father; but they were not much eſteem'd. *Deterior Interpres ineptas gloſſas, & longè à vero diſtantes, paternis addidit; quæ Cervotianæ vocatæ ut plurimum rejiciuntur*, (*b*)——*Being a worſe Interpreter, he added his own Gloſſes to thoſe of his Father: they were call'd from him* Cervotian, *and are generally rejected*.

(*a*) Pancirol. de clar. Leg. Interpr. lib. 2. c. 19.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

ACCURSIUS (FRANCIS) elder Brother of the Former, was ſo eſteem'd by the *Bologneſe*, that when they heard, that he intended to follow the King of *England* into *France*, to teach the Law, they forbad him to abſent himſelf, and threatened to confiſcate all his Eſtate, if he went out of their City. He thought he had outwitted them, by ſelling all his Eſtate to a Friend; but his Cunning prov'd ineffectual, for they confiſcated it nevertheleſs. This oblig'd him to return; and he obtain'd the Reſtitution of his Eſtate. He had taught at *Toulouſe*, and found himſelf one Day very much puzzl'd on the Subject of Intereſts. *James* of *Ravanna*, one of the moſt learned Civilians of his Time, crept in among his Auditors *incognito*, pretending to be one of the Scholars, and urged ſuch Objections to him, as were not eaſily anſwered. Some have ſaid that *Accurſius*, at his return to *Bologna*, was Profeſſor of Law there with *Bartolus*, and that having had a Diſpute with him on the reading of a certain Law, they ſent to conſult the antient Manuſcript of the *Pandects* at *Piſa* about it. But what probability is there, that he lived 'till the Time of *Bartolus*'s being Profeſſor [*A*] (*a*)?

(*a*) Ex Pancirolo, ibid. pag. 148.

[*A*] *'Till the Time of* Bartolus'*s being Profeſſor*.] *Bartolus* was born in the Year 1313. and was admitted Doctor of Law at the Age of twenty one Years; that is, in the Year 1334 (1). So that *Accurſius*, the Son, muſt have lived at leaſt 120 Years, if he had ſeen *Bartolus* in his Profeſſion; for he had been (2) emancipated by his Father. Let us ſuppoſe, that he was but fifteen Years of Age, when he was emancipated, and that the Year of his Emancipation was the laſt of his Father, yet we ſhall find that in 1334, he muſt have been 120 Years old. *Pancirollus*'s Conjecture is probable enough; (3) which is, that *Accurſius*, who was *Bartolus*'s Colleague, was the Son of one *Accurſius*, who taught the Law at *Reggio*, his native Country, about the Year 1273, and that he taught likewiſe at *Padua*. *William Duranti* makes frequent mention of him.

Let me add here another Obſervation of Mr *De la Monnoie*, " *Antonius Auguſtinus* ſpeaks in ſeveral " Places (4) of his *Emendations* on that Diſpute of " *Bartolus* in relation to the reading of a certain " Word in the laſt Paragraph of the Law *Si creditor* " at D. *de Diſtract. pign.* and is inclined to believe, " that *Bartolus* had that Diſpute rather with *Baldus*, " than with *Francis* the Son of *Accurſius*. *Alexander* of *Imola*, cited by the ſame *Antonius Auguſtinus*, believed alſo, that the Conteſt happened " between *Baldus* and *Bartolus*. But *Bartolus* himſelf having poſitively declared in Writing, that it " was with *Francis* the Son of *Accurſius*, the Expedient, which *Pancirollus* had found out, ſeems " rather to be admitted:" and I own myſelf of the ſame Opinion.

(1) Pancirol. de clar. Leg. Interp. cap. 67.

(2) Id. ib. cap. 29.

(3) Id. ibid. cap. 42.

(4) *Particularly in the 17th chapter of the 4th Book.*

ACCURSIUS (MARIANGELUS) was one of the Critics, who lived in the XVIth Century: He was of *Aquila* [*A*], in the Kingdom of *Naples*. His ruling Paſſion

[*A*] *He was of* Aquila.] Beſides the Teſtimony of *Toppi*, approved by the Silence of *Leonard Nicodemo*; the following Verſes confirm this,

Ut volucrum Regina ſupervolat æthera, & alti
Immotum lumen ſolis in orbe tenet,
Sic illa genitus Mariangelus Urbe ——
Alite quæ à Jovia nobile nomen habet,
Felici ingenio ſolers ſpeculatur. ——

As, ſoaring high in Air, with ſteady gaze,
The Queen of Birds the Sun's bright Orb ſurveys,
So Mariangelus,
Sprung from That Town, which bears the Eagle's Name,
On Learning's Wings ſoars to Immortal Fame.

They are to be met with in a Piece of *Francis Arſillus* (1), printed at the end of a Collection of Verſes, entituled

(1) Leonardo Nicodemo *miſtakes in calling him* Arſilius. Addiz. alla Bibl. Napolet. p. 170.

Paſſion was to ſearch for and collate old Manuſcripts, in order to correct the Paſſages of the Ancients. The *Diatribæ*, which he printed at *Rome*, in *Folio*, in the Year 1524, on *Auſonius*, *Solinus*, and *Ovid*, ſhew his Capacity in that kind of Learning. He had taken a great deal of Pains about *Claudian* [*B*], but That Work was not publiſh'd, though the Author aſſures us he had corrected above ſeven hundred Paſſages of it from the Ancient Manuſcripts. *Barthius* (*a*) has expreſs'd his Concern, that a Work of this nature was not printed, nor the others (*b*) reprinted. He does not think *Accurſius* contemptible on the ſcore of Wit, and finds him often to be very judicious. This Critic compoſed *Latin* and *Italian* Verſes [*C*]; he underſtood likewiſe both *Muſic* and *Optics*, and he travell'd to the *North* [*D*]. They who inform us of this, might add, That he underſtood the *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *German* Languages (*c*) perfectly: That he collected a great number of *Antiques*, which were repoſited in the *Capitol*, and that he ſpent 33 Years in the Court of *Charles* V. to whom he was very agreeable, and from whom he receiv'd many Favours. It muſt not be forgot that his Edition of *Marcellinus* (*d*) is larger [*E*] by five Books than the preceeding. That Edition is of *Auſburg*, 1533. He pretends to have corrected five thouſand Faults in that Hiſtorian (*e*). In the ſame Year, and in the ſame City, he publiſh'd the Letters of *Caſſiodorus* in Twelve Books, with the *Treatiſe of the Soul* added to it; and we are (*f*) oblig'd to him for the Firſt Edition of That Author. As there were ſome *Latin* Writers in his time, who affected to make uſe of the moſt antiquated Terms, he ridicul'd them very pleaſantly in a Dialogue [*F*], which he publiſhed

(*a*) Barth. *upon* Statius, Tom. 2. p. 399. Tom. 3. p. 1602. *upon* Claudian, p. 826. *See alſo the* 18*th Chap. of the* 20*th Book of his* Adverſaria.

(*b*) *It was done with regard to* Auſonius, *in the Edition of* Amſt. 1671. *but not according to the Extent of the Title, which promiſes* Notas integras Accurſii; *the entire Notes of* Accurſius.

(*c*) Nicolo Toppi Biblioth. Napolet. p. 206.

(*d*) Henry Valeſius's *Preface to* Ammian. Marcell.

(*e*) Toppi, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Leonard Nicodemus's *Additions to the* Biblioth. Napolet. p. 170.

entituled *Coryciana*, which was publiſhed at *Rome* in the Year 1524. There is in that Collection, a *Protrepticon* of our *Accurſius ad Coricium* (2), which contains eighty ſeven Verſes. The Title of *Arſillus*'s Piece is, *De Poëtis urbanis ad Paulum Jovium*. *Pierius Valerianus*, cotemporary with *Accurſius*, ſirnames him *Aquilanus*, not only in his Commentary on the 12th Book of the *Æneid*, but alſo in ſome *Latin* Verſes, which he addreſſes to him (3). We may be certain therefore, that *Barthius* was miſtaken in the native Country of *Accurſius*. He ſuppoſed him to be born at *Amiternum* (4). *Konig*, not being aware of this Miſtake, adopts it all along. What led *Barthius* into the Miſtake, was the following Sentence of *Accurſius*: “Nec placuit reticere, ne quis (quod Salluſtius civis ait meus) modeſtiam in conſcientiam duceret (5). —— *I thought proper not to conceal it, leaſt (as my Fellow-Countryman* Salluſt *ſays) any one ſhould conſtrue my Modeſty into Diſſimulation*.” The Reaſon why *Accurſius* called *Salluſt* his Countryman, *Salluſt*, I ſay, who was born at *Amiternum*, is, becauſe the City of *Aquila* roſe upon the Ruins of *Amiternum*, and was in ſome manner ſubſtituted in it's Place. It is but five Miles from the Ruins of *Amiternum*. Conſult Mr *Baudrand*.

[*B*] *He had taken a great deal of Pains about* Claudian.] Since the Fatigue of his Travels in *Germany* and *Poland* did not hinder him from correcting near ſeven hundred Faults in That Poet, we may imagine, that he apply'd himſelf, with great Diligence, to the ſame Task, at his more leiſure Times. “TALIS, *ſays he* (6), non ALES, legitur in codicibus (CLAUDIANI) etiam noviſſimè recognitis. Qui tantam abeſt ut non etiam nunc verſibus ſint claudi ac deformes, ut eos ex vetuſtis exemplaribus, dum Germaniam Sarmatiaſque nuper peragramus, ſeptingentis fere mendis inter equitandum eluerimus.—— *We read it* TALIS, *not* ALES, *in all the Editions (of* CLAUDIAN*) even the lateſt revis'd; an Author, ſo mutilated and deform'd, even at preſent, in his Verſification, that, in my Paſſage thro'* Germany *and* Sarmatia, *I corrected near ſeven hundred Faults out of the ancient Manuſcripts, as I travell'd on Horſe-back*.”

[*C*] Latin *and* Italian *Verſes*.] Hear what *Accurſius* himſelf ſays of this Matter, in a Fable entituled *Teſtudo*, which he added to his *Diatribæ*. He relates in it the Perſecutions he ſuffered at *Rome* from his Detractors, who imputed the moſt innocent Things to him as a Crime. Addreſſing himſelf to two young Princes of the Houſe of *Brandenburgh*, to whom he dedicated his Book, he ſays, “Noviſtis ipſi principes, quàm mihi veſtitum prope militarem probro verterint; tum fidibus ſcire, muſicen callere, philoſopho indignum prædicent, quantûmque invaſerint, quod & Opticen cum literarum ſtudiis, vernaculoſque cum Latinis numeris, conjunxerim. —— *Your Highneſſes know, how they even reproach'd me with the Military Garb I wore; then they cry'd, it was unworthy of a Philoſopher to play on the Violin, and underſtand Muſic; and how furiouſly they attack'd me for joining Optics to the ſtudy of Letters, and the Poetry of our own Language to that of the* Latin.” He ſays likewiſe, that he was writing the Hiſtory of the Houſe of *Brandenburgh* from the Memoirs with which he was ſupply'd.

[*D*] *And he travell'd to the* North.] We have already heard his own Account of the great Number of Paſſages, which he corrected on his Saddle, as he croſs'd *Germany* and *Poland*. That, which follows, will inform us, that he remarked the moſt trifling Things, even the Songs with which Children were lulled to ſleep; but he drew no very good Conſequence from them; as we ſhall ſee: “Nuper non in Pannonia ſolum, atque adeo apud ſeptentrionales pleroſque populos, verum etiam ultra Sauromatas, non ſine admiratione audivimus ad ſuadendum nutricio more infantibus ſomnum dici Li lu, Li lu, tum & La lu, La lu, & La la, La la; Quod noſtrates fere Nan na, Nan na, & Ni na, Ni na, etiam mora quadam vocem ſuſpendentes, paſſim dicere conſueverunt. Movit porro nos majori quadam admiratione quod infantes ipſi & horriduli & ſordiduli vix dum fari incipientes mammam atque tatam Latine balbutiunt, ipſis quoque matribus non intellecti. Ut videri poſſint & hæ quoque voces naturales magis quam arbitrariæ (7). —— *Lately*, ſays he, *not only in* Pannonia, *and among moſt of the Northern People, but even beyond the* Sauromatæ, *I have been ſurprized to hear Children lulled aſleep by their Nurſes, with a* Li lu, Li lu, *and* La lu, La lu, *and* La la, La la; *which thoſe of our own Country every where call* Nan na, Nan na, *and* Nin na, Nin na, *with a ſhort Pauſe of the Voice. But what ſurprized me more was, that the little dirty Brats, ſcarce beginning to ſpeak, liſp'd out, in* Latin, Mamma *and* Tata, *which is not underſtood even by the Mothers themſelves: whence it ſhould follow, that theſe Words are Innate, and not Arbitrary*.” He was in the wrong to think, that the Mothers did not underſtand what their little Children would ſay, for it was they who taught them theſe Words.

[*E*] *His Edition of* Marcellinus *is larger*.] *Toppi* had no good Memoirs relating to this Fact: He has omitted what he ought to have ſaid, and advanced what he ought not to ſay. He has not ſaid that *Accurſius* added five new Books to thoſe which were already printed, and mentions only the ſixth. But it is not true that the ſixth was found; the thirteen firſt Books of that Hiſtorian are yet wanting. *Leonardo Nicodemo* cenſured *Nicolas Toppi*, as he deſerv'd, for it (8).

[*F*] *In a Dialogue which he publiſhed in the Year* 1531.] Becauſe all thoſe who will have my Book may not have that of *Leonardo Nicodemo*, let us copy the Title of that Dialogue at large: “Oſco, Volſco, Romanoque, Eloquentia, interlocutoribus, Dialogus ludis Romanis actus. In quo oſtenditur verbis

(2) *He was a* German, *whoſe Name was* Goritz, *according to Mr* de la Monnoie.

(3) Lib. 4. Amorum, apud Leon. Nicodem. ubi ſupra.

(4) Ipſe Salluſtii civis, Amiterninus nempe, Barth. in Stat. Tom. 2. p. 399.

(5) Mariang. Accurſ. in Teſtudine.

(6) Accurſius's Diatr. in Auſonium. *Theſe Words are retrench'd in the Edition of* Auſonius *of* 1671.

(7) Id. ib.

(8) Leon. Nicodem. ubi ſupra.

publiſh'd in the Year 1531. He added a ſmall Treatiſe (*g*) of *Voluſius Metianus*, an ancient Civilian. He wrote alſo a Book concerning the Invention of Printing [*G*]. He is accus'd of Plagiariſm in his *Auſonius*; for it was ſaid, that he made uſe of the Labours of *Fabricio Varano*, Biſhop of *Camerino*, as his own; but he clear'd himſelf of it upon Oath, and proteſted that he had never borrow'd any thing, which he had read in any Book, to adorn his own. The Form of his Oath is remarkable [*H*]. Several other Works of His wou'd have been printed, if his Son *Caſimir*, who was a Man of Learning [*I*], had liv'd longer (*h*).

publica moneta ſignatis utendum eſſe, priſca vero nimis & exoleta tanquam ſcopulos eſſe fugienda. Si quid itaque, lector optime, antiquitatem amas, ut ſane debes, libellum hunc ingenti quamvis pecunia à Bibliopola te tibi redemiſſe non pœnitebit. Nam præter quam quod vocibus partim Oſcis, partim Volſcis, conſcriptus eſt, Latina quoque iſtuc verba exoletiora nimiſque priſca, quibus Aborigines, Picus, Evandrus, Carmentaque ipſa loquebantur, affatim collata ſunt; Quæque omnia apud Ennium, Pacuvium, Plautum,alioſve hujus notæ priſcos Autores abſtruſiora leguntur; Itemque recentiorum cacatas Apulei & Capellæ chartas; hujuſmodive aliorum. Quæ ut certè ſunt evitanda, ita tamen ab eo qui docti nomen ferat agnoſcenda ſunt, ut cum aliquando in eas offenderit, de illorum ſenſu ei turpiter hæſitandum non ſit (9). —— *A Dialogue held at the* Roman *Games*; *The Speakers, an* Oſcian, *a* Volſcian, *and* Roman. *In which is ſhewn, that we ought to make uſe of Current Phraſes, and avoid, as Rocks, thoſe which are too old and obſolete. If therefore, Courteous Reader, you have any Value, as you ought to have, for Antiquity, you will not think the Purchaſe of this little Book too dear at any Price. For, beſides that it is written partly in the* Oſcian, *and partly in the* Volſcian, *Language; you will find in it a large Collection of the more antient and obſolete* Latin *Words, made uſe of by the* Aborigines, Picus, Evander, *and* Carmenta *herſelf; together with all the abſtruſe Expreſſions which are read in* Ennius, Pacuvius, Plautus, *and other antient Authors of the ſame Character, likewiſe the low contemptible Style of more modern Authors, ſuch as* Apuleius, Capella, *and the like. Which, tho' we ought certainly to avoid imitating them, yet ought they to be ſo far known to him, who pretends to the Name of Scholar, that, whenever he lights upon them, he may not betray his Ignorance of their meaning.*" The following is *Andr. Schottus*'s Opinion of this Work: "De Apuleïo, Metamorphoſeos ex Lucio Patrenſi, ſeu Luciano, ſcriptore, audi, amabo, quæ in Dialogo olim ante hos ipſos octoginta annos à Mariangelo Accurſio (homine, ut illis temporibus pererudito, quique Naſonem, Auſonium, ac Solinum Diatriba illuſtravit) Oſce ac Volſce conſcripto, ut ſæculi degenerantis nimium à prima eloquentia inſaniam veluti aceto aſperſa ſatyra perſtringeret, audi inquam, & riſum contine ſi potes, *&c* (10). —— *Obſerve, I beſeech you, the following Account of* Apuleius, *Author of the Metamorphoſis from* Lucius Patrenſis, *or* Lucian, *which was given about eighty Years ago by* Mariangelus Accurſius *(an Author very learned for the times, and who criticized upon* Ovid, Solinus, *and* Auſonius) *in a Dialogue written after the* Oſcian *and* Volſcian *Manner, as a ſevere Satire upon the Folly of the Age, which degenerated too much from the ancient Eloquence; hear, I ſay, his Account, and forbear laughing, if you can,* &c.

Obſerve that this Work of our *Accurſius* is in 8vo. but chiefly take Notice of the following Obſervation, communicated to me by Mr *De la Monnoie*: "The Dialogue of *Mariangelus Accurſius* againſt the Corrupters of the *Latin* Tongue, might have been printed in the Year 1531. but we muſt believe, that it had already appeared ſome Years before, ſeeing *Jeffery Tory* cites it in his *Champ fleuri*, printed by himſelf in 4to. in the Year 1529. *There are beſides*, ſays he, *a thouſand other ways of ſpeaking which* Hieronymus Avancius, *a Native of* Verona, *takes notice of in the beginning of his elaborate Annotations on the Works of the antient Poet* Lucretius, *which I leave to the Curious, and Lovers of Antiquity, and which may be ſeen and read at large in a Dialogue, entitled,* Oſci & Volſci Dialogus ludis Romanis actus. —— *A Dialogue between an* Oſcian *and a* Volſcian, *held at the* Roman *Games*. That Piece is hinted at by *Paul Jovius* in the Elogy of *Baptiſta Pio*, whom it attacked chiefly. The Title of the Dialogue is ſingular, and of a very modeſt Length; but I can ſcarce conſtrue the firſt Words of it, *Oſco Volſco Romanoque eloquentia interlocutoribus*. Perhaps it ſhould be read, *& eloquentia, &c.*"

[G] *A Book concerning the Invention of Printing.*] I do not pretend to have ſeen it, and only report it on the Credit of *Toppi* (11); but the following I am aſſured is matter of Fact. It was believed (12) that our *Accurſius* had writ with his own Hand in the firſt Leaf of a Grammar of *Donatus*, *printed on Vellum; that this* Donatus, *with another Book, entitled,* Confeſſionalia, *were the firſt Books printed, and that* John Fauſtus, *Citizen of* Mentz, *Inventor of that Art, had put them to the Preſs in the Year* 1450. Mr *Chevillier* (13) obſerves, that That *Accurſius* was living in the Year 1500. Yet, for all that, he makes ſome Difference between his Teſtimony and That which was given by *Ulric Zel*, Bookſeller in *Cologne*, in the Year 1499. I ſay, he makes ſome Difference between them, in regard to Time. *Donatus*, ſays he, had been longer printed, when *Accurſius* writ this, than when *Zel* ſpoke of it (14). Every Man apprehends, that a Year more or leſs is of no Conſequence here. Beſides, ought it to be ſaid, that a Man, who paſſed thirty three Years in the Court of *Charles* V. was living in 1500?

[*H*] *The Form of his Oath is remarkable.*] It is this: "(15) Quod dii homineſque, fas, fideſque audiat, ſacramenti religione, ac ſi quid eſt jusjurando ſanctius, affirmo, idque rite pariter ac ſine dolo malo dici, cæteriſque accipi volo, me nec ullius unquam ſcripta perlegiſſe ac ne conſpexiſſe quidem, unde vel tantillum lucubrationes noſtræ redimiri juvarique datum fuerit. Quin immo laboraſſe, quoad id fieri licuerit, ut ſi quippiam alterius, poſt obſervationem quoque meam, editum occurrerit, è noſtris protinus aboleverimus. Quod ſi pejerem, tum Pontifex perjurio, malus autem genius Diatribis contingat, uſque adeo ut ſi qua bona aut ſaltem mediocria in ipſis fuerint, imperitorum turbæ peſſima, doctis leviuſcula triciſque viliora cenſeantur, famæ ſi qua manent munera, vento evolent, proque vulgi levitate ferantur. —— *In the Name of Gods and Men, Truth and Sincerity, I ſolemnly ſwear, or, if any thing be more binding than an Oath, I affirm upon That, and deſire what I ſay may be received as the Truth, and nothing but the Truth, that I never either read, or ſo much as ſaw, the Works of any Author, from whence my own Lucubrations might receive the leaſt Help or Improvement; Nay that I have even laboured, as far as it was poſſible, whenever any Author has publiſhed the ſame Sentiments with myſelf, immediately to blot it out of my own Works. And if I am forſworn, may the Pope puniſh my Perjury, and an evil Fate attend my Criticiſms; that, whatever in them is Good or even Indifferent, may appear to the unskilful Many very Bad, to the Learned Trifling and of no Importance; and whatever little Reputation I am ſtill Maſter of, may it be given to the Wind, and looked upon as the Gift of the ill-judging Vulgar.*" How many Reflexions might be made on this Oath!

[*I*] *His Son* Caſimir, *who was a Man of Learning.*] It is probably He, whom the learned and famous Patron of learned Men, *Vincent Pinelli*, entertained ſome time in his Houſe; for although *Gauldo* gives *Accurſius*'s Son the Name of *Francis*, he ſeems to doubt of the Matter. Thus he ſpeaks; "Præter hos domi habuit Benedictum Octavianum res Philoſophicas Theologicaſque doctum. —— Mariangeli Accurſii filium Franciſcum, ni fallor, inſignem Moribus & Doctrina (16). —— *Beſides theſe, he entertained in his Houſe* Benedictus Octavianus, *learned in Philoſophy and Divinity.* —— Francis, *the Son of* Mariangelus Accurſius, *if I miſtake not, of celebrated Morals and Learning.*"

(*g*) *The Title of it is,* Diſtributio, item vocabula, ac notæ partium, in rebus pecuniariis, pondere, numero, & menſura.

(*h*) Toppi Biblioth. Napolet. p. 206.

(9) *Taken out of* Leon. Nicod. ubi ſupra.

(10) Andr. Schottus, lib. 1. Quæſt. Tullianar. pag. 59. apud Leon. Nicodem. ubi ſupra.

(11) Toppi Biblioth. Napolet. p. 206.

(12) Chevillier's *Orig. of Printing at* Paris, p. 21. *he cites the* Biblioth. Vaticana, *compos'd by* Angelus Roccha, *and printed at* Rome *in the Year* 1591. Boxhornius in Theatr. Holl. p. 138. *cites that Paſſage of* Angelus Roccha, *at length.*

(13) Chevill. ib. & pag. 281.

(14) Id. ib. pag. 284.

(15) Mariangelus Accurſius in Teſtudine, ad Calcem. Diatrib.

(16) Gualdus, in vit. Vinc. Pinelli.

ACHÆUS, Couſin German of *Seleucus Ceraunus*, and of *Antiochus the Great* [*A*], Kings of *Syria*, became a Powerful Monarch, and held the Dominions, he had ſeiz'd, a conſiderable time; but at laſt his Uſurpation was puniſh'd in a terrible manner. At firſt he ſerv'd his Maſter with wonderful Fidelity; for having accompanied *Seleucus Ceraunus* in his Expedition againſt *Attalus* (*a*), he caus'd the two Captains, who had kill'd *Seleucus*, to be put to death, and regain'd all the Provinces, which *Attalus* had conquer'd, and refus'd the Title of King, which the Suffrages of his Troops, and Favourable Circumſtances, put into his Hands. He reſiſted thoſe Temptations generouſly, and would only conquer for the Lawful Succeſſor of the Monarch, whoſe Death he had revenged; that is, for *Antiochus*, the younger Brother of *Seleucus*. But his Good Fortune blinded him; for, as ſoon as his Victories had made him Maſter of all *Attalus*'s Dominions, except only the City of *Pergamus*, he aſſum'd the Title of King. He maintained this Uſurpation with much Prudence and Courage, and no Prince on this ſide the *Taurus* made himſelf ſo much feared, as He (*b*). The Great and Noble Provinces, which he poſſeſſed on this ſide of That Mountain, did not ſatisfy his Ambition; He projected likewiſe the Conqueſt of *Syria*, when he heard that *Antiochus* was gone to make War upon *Artabazanes* (*c*). He was in hopes either that *Antiochus* would periſh in That Expedition, or that it would continue ſo long, that He ſhould have time to take *Syria*, before the return of that Monarch. He relied alſo much on the Rebellion of ſome Provinces which had but juſt revolted. He departed, then, from *Lydia* with a great Army, and in his March he writ to the Subjects of *Antiochus*; but when he drew near *Lycaonia*, he perceived that his Soldiers refuſed to bear Arms againſt their Ancient King. This made him declare to them, that he would deſiſt from his Enterprize. He returned back, and, having plundered *Piſidia*, he diſtributed ſuch a conſiderable Booty among them, that he entirely regained their Affection (*d*); we may infer from hence by the way, that thoſe, who ſay, that he declared himſelf King of *Syria*, ſpeak without exactneſs. *Antiochus*, having gloriouſly finiſh'd the War againſt *Artabazanes*, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Achæus* to complain of his taking the Title of King, and openly favouring the *Ægyptians* (*e*). This Reproach was not altogether ineffectual; for we find, that *Antiochus* (*f*) made a Truce with their Prince, becauſe he knew that *Achæus*, his Ally in appearance, was really in their Intereſt. This ſhews, that the Uſurper had ſome regard to the Complaints of *Antiochus*, and that he made a ſhew of joining with him againſt *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*. This latter endeavoured in vain to include him in the Treaty of Peace; for *Antiochus* always rejected the Propoſal, and could not bear, that the King of *Ægypt* ſhould plead in favour of Rebels (*g*). As ſoon as he was at Liberty, he apply'd himſelf diligently to recover the Dominions, which *Achæus* had uſurped: He gained his point, and obliged the Uſurper to take Shelter in *Sardes*, where He blocked him up, and after a long Siege made himſelf Maſter of the City (*h*). *Achæus* fell into his Hands by Treachery: Being prevailed upon to ſally out of the Citadel of *Sardes*, He was delivered up to *Antiochus*, who cauſed him to be cruelly and ignominiouſly put to death. He cut off the Extremities of his Members, and afterwards his Head, which was ſewed in an Aſs's Skin, and ordered the remainder of his Body to be hung on a Croſs (*i*). This happened in the Year of *Rome* 540. It was a fit Example to be made, and doubly uſeful [*B*]. I ſhall not remark Mr *Moreri*'s Faults; they may be eaſily known by only comparing his Narrative with mine; but I ſhall diſtinctly point out the Miſtakes of *Francis Patricius* [*C*].

(*a*) *It was towards the end of the* 139*th* Olympiad, *and in the Year of* Rome 533. Calviſius Chronol. p. 278.

(*b*) *Taken out of* Polybius, lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 322.

(*c*) *A Prince, whoſe Dominions were ſituated near the* Caſpian *Sea. See* Polybius, lib. 5. cap. 13. pag. 408.

(*d*) Polyb. lib. 5. cap. 13. pag. 409, 410.

(*e*) Id. ib. p. 409.

(*f*) Id. ib. cap. 15. pag. 416.

(*g*) Id. ib. pag. 418.

(*h*) Id. lib. 7. cap. 3.

(*i*) Id. lib. 8. cap. 5, & 6.

[*A*] *Couſin German of* Seleucus Ceraunus, *and of* Antiochus *the Great.*] He was the Son of *Andromachus*, who was the Brother of *Laodice*, Wife of *Seleucus Callinicus* (1), and Mother of thoſe two Princes. Let us obſerve, that he was a good Son, for knowing that *Andromachus* was impriſoned in *Alexandria*, he forgot nothing to releaſe him out of that Captivity. The *Rhodians*, knowing his Diſpoſition, ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Ptolomy*, to demand *Andromachus* of him. Their Deſign was to make a Preſent of him to *Achæus*, to engage him to break the Promiſe he had made with the *Byzantines* to aſſiſt them. There was at that time a ſtrong War between the *Rhodians* and the *Byzantines*. The King of *Egypt* made ſome Difficulty to give up *Andromachus*; he knew that ſuch a Priſoner might be uſeful to him in Time and Place, for he was yet embroil'd with the King of *Syria*, and he was not ignorant of the great Power of *Achæus*. But at laſt, to oblige the *Rhodians*, he was willing to deliver up his Priſoner to them, that, if they judg'd it fit, they might ſend him to his Son, which they did. And by this, and ſome other means, they procured *Achæus*'s Friendſhip, and took from the *Byzantine* the chief Foundation of his Hopes (2). Note that *Achæus* was married (3) to *Laodice*, the Daughter of King *Mithridates*, who had been very well educated by *Logbaſis* (4), an Inhabitant of *Selge*, a City of *Piſidia*. This Lady maintained the Siege of *Sardes*, with her Husband, and was conſtrained to ſurrender herſelf, after he was put to Death (5).

[*B*] *It was a fit Example to be made, and doubly uſeful.*] For it was a Leſſon to Men, not to be too credulous, nor to abuſe the Favours of Fortune. We will tranſcribe the Words of *Polybius*, the Author of this Piece of Morality. (6) Κατὰ δύο τρόπȣς ȣ̓κ ἀνωφελὲς ὑπόδειγμα γενόμενος τοῖς ἐσομένοις, καθ' ἕνα μὲν πρὸς τὸ μηδενὶ πιςεύειν ῥάδιως, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ μεγαλαυχεῖν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις· πᾶν δὲ προσδοκᾶν ἀνθρώπȣς ὄντας. —— *An Example of double Uſe to Poſterity; teaching us, firſt, not to give Credit haſtily to any one; and, ſecondly, that we ſhould not be too much elevated with good Fortune, but expect every thing, as we are Men* *.

[*C*] *I ſhall diſtinctly point out the Miſtakes of* Francis Patricius.] He pretends, that the Subjects of *Achæus*, overburthen'd with Taxes, revolted, and murthered him, with all his Family, and caſt his Body into the *Pactolus*, in order to make him drink Golden Waters (7). "Acæus, Lydiæ Mæoniæque "Rex, gentilitio avaritiæ crimine ardebat; is ſiquidem "crebra ac gravia populis tributa ſemper imperabat, "in quibus exigendis ſævus, improbus atque inexorabilis erat: verum cum tantam injuriam diutius "populi ferre nequirent, nocturna teſſera inter ſe "data, ſubito hominum concurſu illum cum omni "familia trucidaverunt, & regia incenſa ejus cadaver "unco tractum in Pactolum flumen demerſerunt, "ut

(1) Polyb. lib. 4. cap. 13. pag. 324. & lib. 8. cap. 6. pag. 531.

(2) Id. lib. 4. cap. 3.

(3) Id. lib. 8. cap. 6. p. 531.

(4) Id. lib. 15. cap. 17. pag. 525.

(5) Id. lib. 8. cap. 6. pag. 532.

(6) Id. lib. 8. pag. 528. Edit. Caſaub.

* Homo ſum, Humani nihil a me alienum puto. *Ter. Adelph.*

(7) Franciſcus Patricius, lib. 4. de Regis Inſtitutione, tit. 9. pag. 242.

“ut auriferas aquas ſemper potaret. —— Achæus, *King of* Lydia *and* Mæonia, *was very avaritious, a Vice peculiar to his Family: he impoſed frequent and heavy Tributes upon his People; in collecting of which he was cruel, unreaſonable, and inexorable: but his Subjects, unable to bear ſuch injurious Uſage any longer, conſpired together by Night, and the Multitude, ſurrounding him on a ſudden, maſſacred him and his whole Family, and, ſetting Fire to the Palace, dragged his dead Body, and threw it into the River* Pactolus, *that it might drink Golden Waters for ever.*” Obſerve firſt that he is miſtaken in pretending that our *Achæus* was a *Lydian* iſſued from the ancient Kings of the Countrey, and Heir of their Avarice. He had in his Thoughts the Riches of *Crœſus*, and the Requeſt of *Midas* (8). He had better have remembred that *Achæus* was a *Syrian*. But this Fault is ſmall in compariſon of the reſt; for all the Circumſtances of this Narrative are falſe. Mr *de Boiſſieu* is perſwaded that the bad Interpreters of theſe Words of *Ovid*,

Morte vel intereas capti ſuſpenſus Achæi,
Qui miſer, aurifera teſte, pependit, aqua (9).

Or baſe *Achæus*'s Sentence mayſt thou ſhare,
Suſpended on a Gibbet, high in Air,
Whom rich *Pactolus* from his Banks beheld
Aloft exalted o're the *Lydian* Field.

have deceived that Writer. He obſerves (10) with Reaſon, that the meaning of them is, that the Body of *Achæus* was hang'd upon the Banks of the *Pactolus*. He adds, that *Zarottus* is the firſt who div'd into the Poet's Thought, and that *Leopardus* diſcovered it plainly, and therefore that *Lipſius* ought not to have taken to himſelf the Reputation of the firſt Diſcovery of the true Senſe of That Paſſage. (11) “Hanc eſſe Poëtæ noſtri mentem primus vidit Zarottus, ſed quaſi per nebulam; & omnino Paulus Leopardus, Emendat. lib. 1. c. 20. ideo non erat, quò Juſtus Lipſius, l. 1. de Cruce, cap. 4. principem ſibi hujus loci explanationem tribueret. Valeat autem Alciatus cum ſua illa explicatione quam, l. 9. c. 24. Parergωn Juris inſeruit. —— Zarottus *was the firſt, who diſcovered this to be the Poet's Meaning, but as it were thro' a Cloud; after him* Leopardus *thoroughly ſaw it, in his* Emend. lib. 1. c. 20. *Therefore* Juſtus Lipſius *had no reaſon to arrogate to himſelf the Honour of having firſt explained it, in his firſt Book* de Cruce, c. 4. *But away with* Alciatus *and his Explanation, which he inſerted in the 24th Chapter of his 9th Book of his* Parergωn Juris.” However it be, *Francis Patricius* applies his Examples very ill. *Achæus* was not puniſhed for his Avarice, but for his Ambition. There is nothing in the Puniſhment of *Aquilius*, whom they (12) aſſociate with him, becauſe *Mithridates* poured melted Gold into his Mouth, which bears any Reſemblance to *Antiochus*'s Revenge.

(8) *See* Ovid's Metamorph. lib. 11. v. 103.

(9) Ovidius in Ibin, v. 301.

(10) Dionyſ. Salvagnii Notæ in Libellum Ovidii in Ibin, p. 63.

(11) Id. ib.

(12) Patricius, ib. p. 243.

ACHÆMENES was the Father of *Cambyſes*, and Grandfather of *Cyrus*, firſt King of *Perſia*, if we may believe *Herodotus* (*a*). There are other Paſſages, wherein That Author ſeems to ſpeak of an *Achæmenes* much ancienter than the other; for he ſays that the *Perſian* Nation (*b*) was divided into different Families, whereof the moſt Illuſtrious were compoſed of the *Paſargadæ*, under which were comprehended the *Achæmenidæ*, from whom the Kings of *Perſia* deſcended. In another Place (*c*) he introduces *Cambyſes*, the Son of *Cyrus*, exhorting the Chief Lords of *Perſia*, on his Death-bed, and above all the *Achæmenidæ*, not to ſuffer the *Medes* to recover the Kingdom. This ſeems to give us the Idea of an *Achæmenes*, the Stock of thoſe *Achemenidæ*, much ancienter than the Grand-father of *Cyrus*. *Stephen* of *Byzantium* makes mention of one ACHÆMENES, the Son of *Ægeus*, who, he pretends, gave his Name to a Province of *Perſia*, call'd *Achæmenia*. Others ſay (*d*) that this *Achæmenes* was the Son of *Perſeus*; others infer it from the Kings of *Perſia* being deſcended from *Perſeus* [*A*]. Almoſt all the Commentators of *Horace* are unanimous in aſſerting, that the *Achæmenes*, whom he mentions in the 12th Ode of the 2d Book, as a very wealthy Perſon, was a King of *Perſia* [*B*]; but if ſo, he muſt have reigned before the *Medes* had ſubdued the *Perſians*; for from the Foundation of that great Monarchy by the *Medes*, which was the ſecond diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Univerſal*, we do not meet with any King of this Name amongſt them. *Cyrus* paſſes conſtantly for their firſt King; and They, who pretend there were Two before him (*e*), diſtinguiſh them very plainly both from his Father *Cambyſes*, and from his Grand-Father *Achæmenes*. However it be, the Epithet of *Achemænians* is often given the *Perſians* in the ancient *Latin* Poets; and even at this time *Perſia* is call'd *Azemia* (*f*), and the *Perſians* *Agemis* (*g*).

(*a*) Herod. lib. 7. cap. 11.

(*b*) Id. lib. 1. cap. 125.

(*c*) Id. lib. 3. cap. 65.

(*d*) Nicolaus, lib. 2. Hiſtor. apud Magni Etymol. Autorem.

(*e*) Marſham, Chron. Can. p. 605. Edit. Lipſ.

(*f*) Bizarus Hiſt. Perſ. lib. 1. p. 5.

(*g*) Teixera in Itiner. Indiæ, cap. 6. apud Pinedo in Steph. pag. 145.

[*A*] *The Kings of* Perſia *being deſcended from* Perſeus.] Mr *Chevreau* (1) gives it as *Herodotus*'s Opinion, “that the *Perſidæ*, that is, thoſe of the Houſe of *Perſis*, or *Perſeus*, were deſcended from the *Achæmenidæ*, Allies of the *Paſargadæ*.” He aſſures us in the ſame Page, “that, according to the Teſtimony of *Herodotus*, the Kings of *Perſia* came from *Perſeus* or *Perſis*, and that the *Perſidæ* were deſcended from the *Achæmenidæ*, that is, from the firſt who had the Name of *Achæmenes* in that Family.” This is a very confus'd Account. *Herodotus* does not ſay in general, that the *Perſidæ* deſcended from the *Achæmenidæ*; he ſays (2) it only of the Kings of *Perſia*, that is, of (3) *Cyrus*, and of thoſe who reign'd after him. He diſtinguiſhes the *Perſians* into different Claſſes, one of which he particularly diſtinguiſhes by the Name of *Perſians*; another he calls *Paſargadæ*, under which he places the *Achæmenidæ*. He ſays in another Place (4) indeed, that the *Perſians* acquir'd that Name, from the time that *Perſeus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and of *Danaë*, left them his Son *Perſeus*, whom he had by *Andromeda*; but he does not ſay, as Mr *Chevreau* ſuppoſes, That the Kings of *Perſia* were deſcended from *Perſeus*. Mr *Chevreau*'s Argument proves thus far, That *Cyrus* was not inferior in Birth to the Kings *Media*, or to the Kings of *Perſia*, ſeeing theſe deſcended from *Achæmenes*, as well as *Cyrus*; he proves that they deſcended from him, becauſe the *Perſidæ* did. Beſides the Miſtake I have already remark'd, he ſuppoſes farther, That the firſt, who bore the Name of *Achæmenes*, was antienter than *Perſeus* the Son of *Jupiter*. Mr *Dacier* perfectly retain'd what he repeated from his Memory only of this Paſſage of Mr *Chevreau* (5).

[*B*] *Was a King of* Perſia.] Mr *Moreri* ſays in plain Terms, That *Achæmenes* was the firſt King of the *Perſians*; and that all the Princes, who governed that Monarchy to *Darius*, were deſcended from him. But firſt of all I would aſk him, Why, in ſpeaking of *Cyrus*, he attributes the firſt Foundation of the *Perſian* Monarchy to him, and why in giving us a Liſt of the Kings of *Perſia*, he does not place *Achæmenes* before *Cyrus*, but the latter before all the reſt? Beſides, I would fain be inform'd, of what *Darius* he ſpeaks; for there were two or three Kings of that Name in *Perſia*. Does he mean him, who was conquered by *Alexander* the Great? In That Caſe he would be too deciſive; the Ancients do not agree that That *Darius* was of the Royal Family. If he means *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, he expreſſes himſelf improperly; the Phraſe *all the Princes* is not proper, when we would ſpeak but of two Perſons out of more than twelve. I cannot tell why Mr *Dacier* (6) limits the Epithet of *Achæmenidæ* to

(1) Chevreau's *Hiſt. of the World, Book* 1. *ch.* 5. *p.* 95. 96. *Edit. of* Holl. 1687.

(2) Herod. lib. 1. cap. 125.

(3) Plato in 1. Alcib. pag. 440.

(4) Herod. lib. 7. cap. 61.

(5) Dacier *on* Horace, Tom. 2. p. 243.

(6) Dacier, ib.

the time of *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, when he ſays, That the Deſcendants of *Achæmenes*, King of *Perſia*, bore his Name unto That *Darius*. I do not queſtion but they bore it after him. For, beſides that his (7) Son *Xerxes* carries up his Lineage in a direct Line to *Achæmenes*, we meet with one *Tigranes*, General of the *Medes* (8), diſtinguiſh'd by the Appellation *Achæmenides*: and we find an *Achæmenes*, mention'd above, who was the Brother of *Xerxes*. I ſay nothing of *Sapor*, called *Achæmenes* in *Ammianus Marcellinus* (9); it is a corrupted Paſſage. Mr *Chevreau*, wondering, without doubt, to ſee five Generations between This *Xerxes* and *Cyrus*, believ'd that This Prince counted his paternal Anceſtors on the one Side, and his maternal on the other; inſomuch that he pretended to deſcend from *Achæmenes* only by the Mother's Side: but this is not to be found in *Herodotus*; unleſs we alter the *Greek* Text, according to a very probable Conjecture of Mr *de Saumaiſe* (10).

(7) Herod. lib. 7. cap. 11.

(8) Ib. cap. 62.

(9) *See* Valeſius *upon* Amm. lib. 19. cap. 2.

(10) Salmaſ. Exerc. Plinian. p. 1183.

ACHÆMENES, the Son of *Darius* I. of that Name (*a*), King of *Perſia*, and Brother of *Xerxes* (*b*) by Father and Mother, had the Command of *Egypt* (*c*) after *Xerxes* had again reduc'd it under the Yoak of Obedience, which it had the Boldneſs to ſhake off. Some time after he commanded the *Egyptian* Fleet (*d*), in the famous and fatal Expedition againſt *Greece*. We do not find what other Employs he had during the Life of the King his Brother; but we find that, *Egypt* being again revolted, after the Death of that Monarch, *Achæmenes* was ſent thither to reduce it. This Undertaking was unfortunate; for he was beaten by *Inarus*, Head of the Rebels, aſſiſted by the *Athenians*.

(*a*) Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 97.

(*b*) Ib. c. 7.

(*c*) Ib. c. 97.

(*d*) Ib. lib. 3. cap. 12. Diod. Sicul. lib. 11.

ACHERI (LUKE de) a Benedictine of the Congregation of St *Maur*, was Born at St *Quentin* in *Picardy*, in the Year 1609. He made himſelf Famous by the Publication of ſeveral Books, which lay hid a long time in Manuſcript in the Libraries. He began, in 1645, with the Edition of the *Epiſtle* attributed to St *Barnabas*. Father *Hugh Menard*, Monk of the ſame Congregation, had a Deſign to publiſh This Epiſtle, and had already illuſtrated it with ſeveral Notes; but, Death preventing him from executing his Reſolution, Father *Luke d'Acheri* undertook it. So that, by his Care, the Epiſtle of St *Barnabas* was printed in *Greek* and in *Latin*, with Father *Menard*'s Notes in the year 1645. At Three Years end Dom. *Luke* publiſh'd the *Life*, and *Works*, of *Lanfranc*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Chronicle of the Abbey of *Bec*. In 1651, he publiſh'd the *Life* and *Works* of *Guibert*, Abbot of *Nogent*, with ſome other Treatiſes. Having afterwards collected ſeveral rare and curious Pieces, and hoping to get a great many more ſuch, he formed the Deſign of publiſhing a moſt ample Compilation of them that he could, under the modeſt Title of *Specilegium*. He publiſh'd his firſt Volume in the Year 1655. That Volume was followed by Twelve others; the laſt whereof was printed in the year 1677 (*a*). That Collection, in thirteen Volumes *in Quarto*, is very much eſteemed by thoſe, who endeavour to clear up Eccleſiaſtical Matters in every particular: But we meet with no Pieces in it, but ſuch as have been compoſed ſince the Decay of the *Roman* Empire in the Weſt. The ſame Author publiſh'd the Rule of the *Solitarians*, compoſed by the Prieſt *Grimlaic*; and ſome Aſcetic Works [*A*]. His Prefaces, and ſmall Notes, ſhew that he had ſome Learning. He had a hand in the critical Work, which appeared in the firſt Volume of the *Acts of the Saints of St Benedict's Order*; and it is to him, and to Father *Mabillon*, that the Title of thoſe Acts attributes the Labour of having Collected and Publiſh'd them. *Luke d'Acheri* died at *Paris* the 29th of *April* 1685, in the Abbey of St *Germain*'s, where he had been Library-Keeper (*b*).

(*a*) *See in the* Journal de Savans *of* Feb. 28. 1678, *why This* Specilegium *was not continued.*

(*b*) *See the* Journal des Savans *of* Nov. 26. 1685. *and Mr* Baillet, Tom. 3. *of his* Judgement des Savans, *p.* 518.

[*A*] *And ſome Aſcetic Works.*] He did not put his Name to the Collection, which he publiſhed of them, and of which I am going to give the Title, as I find it in the *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum* of Father *L'Abbé*, "Aſceticorum, vulgo ſpiritualium, opuſculorum, "quæ inter patrum opera reperiuntur; Indiculus "Chriſtianæ pietatis cultoribus ab Aſceta Benedi"ctino Congregationis ſancti Mauri digeſtus, Pariſiis "in 4to. 1648. —— *An Index of the Aſcetic, com"monly called Spiritual, Tracts, which are found a"mong the Works of the Fathers; digeſted for pious "Chriſtians, by a Benedictine Aſcetic of the Congre"gation of St* Maur. Paris, in 4to, 1648." Mr *Teiſſier* ſays, in his Additions to that Work of Father *L'Abbé*, that *Luke d'Acheri* publiſh'd the Life of St *Auguſtin* at *Paris*, in the ſame Year.

ACHILLES. There have been ſeveral of this Name. The firſt who bore it, had no other Mother than the Earth, and did *Jupiter* a very good Office; for having received the Goddeſs *Juno* in his Cave, when ſhe fled from the Amorous Purſuits of that God, he entertained her with ſuch perſuaſive Diſcourſes, that ſhe conſented to conſummate the Marriage [*A*]. We are not informed in what manner ſhe teſtified her Gratitude to her Hoſt, who had inſpired her with ſuch Tractableneſs; but we know that *Jupiter*, in Acknowledgment of this Service, promiſed *Achilles*, that thenceforth whoever ſhould bear his Name, ſhould be famous. For which Reaſon, the Son of *Thetis* became an Hero. The Name of the Preceptor of *Chiron* was ACHILLES; and from thence it was that *Chiron* gave the Name of ACHILLES to the Son of *Thetis*, his Pupil. This is ſufficient to overthrow all thoſe cold and forced Etymologies of the Word ACHILLES, which depend on the perſonal Qualities of the Son of *Thetis* [*B*]. The Inventor of the *Oſtraciſm* among the

[*A*] *That ſhe conſented to conſummate the Marriage.*] Theſe Words of *Photius*, συνελθεῖν τῷ Διῒ, ſignify ſo much (1), as appears by what follows; καὶ πρώτην μίξιν Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς ταύτην γένεσθαι φασίν. — *And it is ſaid, that This was the firſt time that* Jupiter *enjoy'd* Juno.

[*B*] *Etymologies —— which depend on the perſonal Qualities of the Son of* Thetis.] It is diverting enough to

(1) *Father* Schottus *tranſlated them wrong by* ad Jovem redire.

the *Athenians* was named ACHILLES. A Son of *Jupiter* and of *Lamia* bore that Name. He was ſo handſome a Man, that, by the Sentence of the God *Pan*, he carried the Prize of Beauty, which was diſputed with him. *Venus* being diſpleaſed with that Judgment, cauſed *Pan* to fall in Love with *Eccho*, and metamorphoſed him in ſuch manner [*C*], that he became a frightful Object. Another ACHILLES, the Son of *Galata*, was born with white Hair. There were fifty four others of the Name of *Achilles*, all very famous; two of which were remarkably brutiſh (*a*). I am going to make a ſeparate Article of the moſt celebrated Perſon of this Name.

(*a*) *Taken out of the 6th Book of* Ptolomy *the Son of* Hephæſtion, Novæ ad variam eruditionem Hiſtoriæ apud Photium, n. 190. pag. 488, 489.

to read the Inventions of *Greece* on that Subject. It not only deſerves the Epithet of *lying* (2), and (3) *fabulous* upon that Account, but alſo That of *malè feriata*, which the *French* Term *oiſeuſe* does not fully come up to.

Ask the *Greek* Grammarians, why This Hero was called *Achilles*; ſome will anſwer you, becauſe he was very troubleſome to his Mother, and to his Enemies: Others, becauſe he haraſs'd the *Trojans* greatly: Others, becauſe, having learned the Secrets of Phyſic, he quieted Pain: Others, becauſe he had but one Lip: Others, becauſe he was qualified to command: Others, becauſe he had never ſuck'd; and others, becauſe he went away from his Preceptor *Chiron*, without ever having eat of the Fruits of the Earth. If we were to ſhew by what *Analyſis* of Grammar they found ſo many Etymologies in the Name of *Achilles*, we ſhould make this place, as it were, ſtand an end with *Greek*. For which Reaſon, I refer the Reader, if he pleaſes, to the great *Etymologicum*, to *Euſtathius* (4), to *Tzetzes* (5), &c. Meſſieurs *Lloyd* and *Hofman*, who, following the Examples of *Fungerus*, and others, have enrich'd the Article of the Son of *Peleus* with their Etymological Obſervations, ought at leaſt to have appriz'd us, that much Pains had been taken in vain by thoſe, who will have it, that the Word *Achilles* depends on the perſonal Qualities of the Hero of the *Iliad*. They might have refuted that Pretenſion, by ſhewing that there were *Achilles*'s before him, and given us a Reaſon a thouſand times more natural than all the reſt, why this Hero was called *Achilles*; I mean That which I have already reported, to wit, that the Preceptor of his Preceptor was called by this Name.

(2) *Græcia mendax.* Juven. Sat. 10.

(3) Μυθοτόκος Ἑλλὰς, Greece *the Mother of Fable.* Nonn. Dionyſ. lib. 1.

(4) Euſtath. in lib. 1. Iliad.

(5) Tzetzes in Lycophon.

[*C*] *And metamorphoſed him in ſuch manner.*] *Photius* (6), who preſerv'd ſome Fragments of the ſeven Books, which *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Hephæſtion*, has filled with the moſt curious Trifles of fabulous Antiquity, has maimed what regards *Achilles*, the Son of *Jupiter* and of *Lamia*, in ſuch manner, that a Man muſt give himſelf the trouble of gueſſing that it was with the Goddeſs *Venus* he conteſted the Prize of Beauty. This Conjecture is grounded on the Indignation of *Venus* againſt the Judge, who conferred the Prize on *Achilles*. *Venus*, to puniſh that Judge, made him in love with *Eccho*, and withal ſo ugly, that his Figure alone made him the Object of Hatred. Thus *Schottus* underſtood the Text of *Photius*. But Mr *de Meziriac* (7) divides the Effects of *Venus*'s Anger, between *Pan* and *Achilles*; the former became in love, and the latter the uglieſt Fellow in the World. It ſignifies nothing to conſult the Original, to know whether the Tranſlation of *Andrew Schottus* is preferable to that of *Meziriac*: For if, on the one ſide, it may be ſaid, that the Rules of exact Grammar are in favour of *Schottus*, it may be ſaid, on the other ſide, that the *Greek* Authors do not ſubject themſelves to ſuch Rules; and that it is no uncommon thing, when ſeveral Perſons are concern'd in the ſame Period, for the Pronoun *He*, *Him*, to relate indifferently, either to the remoteſt, or to the neareſt Perſon. The *Latin* Authors are not more ſcrupulous in this Particular. The Grammar of the *French* Tongue is moſt wonderfully exact in this Matter; for it requires the ſame proper Name to be repeated two or three times in a few Lines, rather than to leave the Reader's Mind in ſuſpence. If we conſult Reaſon, either for or againſt *Meziriac*, and Father *Schottus*, we ſhall hardly know how to determine the Point. A Perſon, who has loſt his Cauſe, may, perhaps, revenge himſelf only on his Judge. Thus *Apollo* was ſatisfied with puniſhing *Midas* (8), who had blamed the Sentence of Superiority pronounced in favour of *Apollo*, and in prejudice of *Pan*. Upon this Suppoſition *Meziriac* would loſe his Cauſe: But a Perſon may revenge himſelf ſometimes, both on his Judge, and his Rival (9); and upon this footing Father *Andrew Schottus* ſhould be miſtaken in his Tranſlation; for, according to him, *Venus* being diſpleaſed, takes no Revenge on him, who obtains the Victory. It is true alſo, that, according to the other Interpreter, ſhe does no great harm to the unjuſt Judge: ſhe is ſatisfied with making him in love with a Nymph, who, according to the Tradition of the Ancients (10), had a Daughter by him. When all is done, it ſeems as if *Meziriac* were in the wrong; and if he were not, *Photius* or his *Ptolomy* would be to blame, for not having declared, that the ſame *Venus*, who had made *Pan* in Love with *Eccho*, made him unfortunate in his Love. That Circumſtance ought particularly to have been mentioned; and there would not have been wanting ſome, whoſe Opinion would have confirmed it; for this Nymph's Rigour towards the God *Pan* has been mentioned by ſome Authors. Of all the Labours of the Pen, That of abridging well, is, perhaps, the moſt difficult; it requires more than a common Diſcernment, to judge what are the Circumſtances, the Suppreſſion whereof makes an Abridgment obſcure or not. *Juſtin* is not the only Perſon that wanted This nice Diſcernment. I have made uſe of this Thought in ſome other parts of this Work.

(6) Photius Bibliothecæ. n. 190.

(7) Meziriac's *Commentary on the Epiſtle of* Briſeis *to* Achilles, *p.* 253.

(8) Ovid. Metam. lib. 11.

(9) Arachne, Marſyas, Thamyris, *the Daughters of* Pierus, *are a Proof that Revenge is alſo ſometimes taken of a Competitor.*

(10) *There was a different Tradition from that; I ſhall take notice of it in the Article* PAN.

In the former Edition I have perfix'd a kind of Preface to the following Article, which I ſuppreſs with Regret. It contained an Elogium of the late Mr DRELINCOURT, *Profeſſor of Phyſic at* Leyden. *It was the general Opinion, that I had offended ſo ſtrangely againſt Cuſtom, and had introduced this Piece ſo improperly, that, in order to put a ſtop to ſo general a Cenſure, I am obliged to blot it out. But I declare it my Intention, that this Teſtimony of my Gratitude and Eſteem be conſidered as given in this Place, in the ſame manner as if it were repeated Word for Word.*

ACHILLES, the Son of *Peleus* and *Thetis*, was one of the greateſt Heroës of Ancient *Greece*. He was born (*a*) at *Phthia* in *Theſſaly*; and in his Infancy was dipt in the Waters of *Styx* to make him invulnerable: and he would have been ſo in every part, if his Mother had had the Precaution to hold him by one Heel, after having held him by the other (*b*), but, as ſhe forgot that, one of her Son's Heels remained capable of being wounded; and it was in that place that Death ſeized him. Yet we muſt not imagine, that all Authors agree in this Story; for we meet with ſome, who mention ſeveral Wounds receiv'd by *Achilles*, in different parts of his Body (*c*). I ſhall mention another Precaution of *Thetis* in the Remarks; which is, that, to make her Son immortal, ſhe anointed him with *Ambroſia* (*d*), and put him under live Coals. He was educated under the Care of the Centaur *Chiron*; it was the beſt School in the World in thoſe Ages. *Chiron* educated him in a very ſingular manner; ſince,

(*a*) Servius in Æneid. lib. 2. ver. 197.

(*b*) *See the Remark* [*A*] Numb. V.

(*c*) Dictys Cret. lib. 2. Dares Ptolemæus Hephæſt. lib. 6. apud Phot. ubi ſupra. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. 11.

(*d*) *See the Remark* [*A*] Numb. V.

inſtead of Milk, or Bread, or ſuch kind of Food, he fed him with Lions Marrow [*A*], or

[*A*] *Fed him with Lions Marrow, or with that of ſome other Beaſts.*] *Libanius* (1) in three Places, and *Priſcian* (2) in one, ſpeak only of Lions Marrow: *Gregory Nazianzen* (3) adds the Marrow of Stags; the Scholiaſt of *Homer* (4) that of Bears: The Author of the great *Etymologicum* (5) mentions only the Marrow of Stags: *Apollodorus* (6) ſpeaks of that of wild Boars and Bears, and adds the Entrails of Lions to it: *Statius* (7) joins the Entrails and Marrow of Lions together; or according to the reading of ſome old Manuſcripts, the Entrails of Lions, and the Marrow of She-Wolves. See *Num.* II. below. *Philoſtratus* (8) adds to Milk and Honey, the Marrow of Fawns of Hinds, and the Marrow of Roe-Bucks. *Tertullian* (9) ſpeaks only of the Marrow of wild Beaſts in general. *Euſtathius* (10) expreſſes himſelf in a more indefinite manner, ſpeaking only of the Marrow of Beaſts. *Suidas* (11) ſays only Marrow.

I. Girac *ſhould not have denied, that* Achilles *was fed with the Marrow of Lions.*

It is ſo common a Tradition among the Ancients, that *Chiron* fed *Achilles* with the Marrow of Lions, that we cannot enough wonder, that ſo learned a Man as Mr *de Girac* ſhould accuſe Mr *Coſtar* (12) *of a groſs Ignorance*, for having made uſe of theſe Words: *You was nouriſhed from your Infancy with the Juice, the Subſtance, and the Soul of good Books, in like manner as* Achilles *was with the Marrow of Lions.* Mr *de Girac* upon this puts a Queſtion unbecoming an exact Critic, ſeeing it alters the State of the Queſtion, and imputes to Mr *Coſtar* more than he really ſaid. *Where did he find*, ſays he, *that* Achilles *was nouriſhed only with Lions Marrow?* But what follows is worſe ſtill. Having alledged among other Reaſons to ſupport his Opinion, that according to *Plutarch*, Achilles *was fed with things which have no Blood*; he adds, *that he does not believe that any Author of Credit ever affirmed, that* Achilles *was nurs'd with the Marrow of Lions*: And yet, immediately after, he himſelf cites St *Gregory Nazianzen*, who remarks, that St BASIL had not, like *Achilles*, *A Centaur near him, to preſent him with the* Fabulous Marrow of Lions and Stags. *Which ſhews*, continues Mr *de Girac, that St* Gregory *look'd upon it as a fictitious and impoſſible Story.* Be it ſo: He will ſtill be a credible Witneſs for all that. For to be ſo in things of this Nature, it is neither neceſſary we ſhould be convinc'd of the Truth of the Facts we report, nor that they ſhould really exiſt, nor even that they ſhould be poſſible; it is enough that we are not ourſelves the Inventors of the Story. Now without doubt this is St *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Caſe: he does not affirm what he relates of the Centaur *Chiron* and of *Achilles*, without having read of any ſuch thing. I will allow farther, that he does not believe it; but ſtill he did not invent the Story; and this is ſufficient to make him worthy of Credit. Neither the Moral nor the Phyſical Truth is to be inquired into upon this occaſion, but only the Truth of the Relation. Mr *de Girac*, who will have it that the Marrow *of Stags was the only Food of* Homer'*s Hero, according to the common Opinion of the Ancients*, doubtleſs eſteemed the Authors, who reported it, worthy of Credit, altho' there is no Reaſon to think either that they firmly believed it, or that the thing is true. He has certainly placed St *Gregory Nazianzen* upon the ſame foot, with regard to the *Marrow of Stags*: He cannot therefore reaſonably except againſt him, in relation to that of Lions: And conſequently he himſelf produces a Witneſs worthy of Credit, immediately after having ſaid, That he did not believe there were any.

II. *Proofs that* Achilles *was nurs'd with Lions Marrow.*

His quoting St *Gregory Nazianzen* upon this occaſion, is not ſo much to be wonder'd at, as his Ignorance of what two Modern Authors, who are in every body's Hands, have put beyond all Doubt. One is Mr *de Meziriac*, who has proved, by the Teſtimony of the Scholiaſt of *Homer*, on the 16th *Iliad*, by That of *Libanius*, in his two Speeches, the One For, and the Other Againſt, *Achilles*; and by that of *Statius*, in the 2d Book of his *Achilleid*, that this Hero was fed with the Marrow of Lions. The other is *Barthius*, who, upon this Paſſage of *Statius*, beſides the double Teſtimony of *Libanius*, cites theſe Words of *Priſcian* (13), as a farther Confirmation of the matter of Fact: "Deinde ſequitur victus, ut in "Achille, quod MEDULLIS LEONUM paſtus eſt. This Evidence is as ſtrong, as That, which Mr *de Girac* produces to prove, that *Achilles* was brought up with another kind of Food.

It muſt not be diſſembled, that *Barthius* deprives us of *Statius*'s Evidence for the Marrow of Lions: For inſtead of *lubens*, he pretends it muſt be read *lupæ*, in the Paſſage, where *Achilles* ſpeaks thus:

> Dicor &, in teneris & adhuc creſcentibus annis,
> Theſſalus ut rigido ſenior me monte recepit,
> Non ullas ex more dapes habuiſſe, nec almis
> Uberibus ſatiaſſe famem, ſed ſpiſſa leonum
> Viſcera, ſemianimeſque lupæ (14) traxiſſe medullas.

> *Nurs'd in a Cave by the* Theſſalian *Sage,*
> *No common Food ſuſtain'd my tender Age;*
> *Nor Mother's Milk did e'er my Thirſt aſſuage:*
> *But the fierce Lion's Entrails, raw in Blood,*
> *And the Wolf's Marrow, were my ſavage Food.*

III. *A Paſſage of* Plutarch *ill tranſlated.*

What Mr *de Girac* makes *Plutarch* ſay, diſcovers to us, that he did not conſult the *Greek*: and as he alledges ſome of the Remarks, which *Vigenere* made uſe of in his Notes on *Philoſtratus*, it is very probable he was miſled by theſe Words of That Author (15): Plutarch *ſays that* Chiron *nurs'd* Achilles, *from his Birth, with things, which had no Blood* (16). *Meziriac* ſhewed, many Years ago, that *Amiot* had led *Vigenere* into this Miſtake; and that inſtead of ſaying with *Amiot* (17), *But this* Philinus, *like a new* Chiron, *feeds his Son, in like manner as* Achilles *was brought up, from his Infancy, with Food, from which no Blood was drawn; to wit, with the Fruits of the Earth*, it ſhould be ſaid, *But this new* Chiron *nouriſhes his Son in a manner quite different from That, in which* Achilles *was brought up* (ἀντιςρόφως τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ) *to wit, with Meat without Blood. Xylander* may be involv'd in the ſame Miſtake; for his *Latin* Tranſlation imports, *Noſtrum autem, quo pacto Achillem Chiron nutriens iſte ſtatim à natalibus* SANGUINE CARENTIBUS. There is an *Hiatus* in the Paſſage of *Plutarch*; but the Word ἀντιςρόφως muſt ſtill be underſtood to mean CONTRARY, a Senſe commonly given to it by the *Lexicons*.

IV. *Property of the Bones of Lions; Whether it be true that they are without Marrow.*

What I have urg'd in proof of the Validity of St *Gregory*'s Teſtimony, ſhews that Mr *de Girac* cited *Ælian, Pliny*, and *Ariſtotle*, to no purpoſe, to ſhew that Lions have no Marrow; or that if they have any, *it is the leaſt imaginable.* He might have appeal'd to *Galen* likewiſe, in his 11th Book *de Uſu Partium*, Cap. 18. And this Fact ſhould ſeem paſt Diſpute, ſince the Moderns ſeldom call the ancient Naturaliſts to account for it, even when they are accuſing them of ſeveral Miſtakes, in relation to Lions. Conſult *Voſſius*, in the 52d Chapter of his 3d Book, *de Origine & progreſſu Idololatriæ*: *Franzius & Bochart* in their Treatiſes, *de Animalibus ſacræ Scripturæ*: Father *Hardouin*, in his Commentary on the 37th Chapter of the 11th Book of *Pliny* (18), &c. If *Voſſius* were to be credited in this Matter, we might pretend that *Athenæus* found fault with *Ariſtotle* upon this Subject. But when *Athenæus* (19) himſelf is conſulted, it appears, that he makes no mention of Marrow; and that he only attacks the pretended Hardneſs of Lions Bones, which *Ariſtotle* made ſo great, that Sparks of Fire, he ſays, fly from them, upon Colliſion, as from a Flint. This might be denied, without diſputing whether they were deſtitute of Marrow. The Text, then, might be certain; and Mr *Furetiere* ſhould have inſerted it among his other Remarks, under the Word LION, if the contrary had not been inconteſtably prov'd. *Borrichius* (20) mentions two Skeletons of Lions, anatomiz'd at *Copenhagen*, the one ſixteen, the other two Years before; and he aſſures us, that there was a great Quantity of Marrow, *copioſam medullam*, found in the Bones of that Animal; and he quotes *Severinus*, who relates, That *Tiberius Carafa* brought up a Lion, whoſe Bones were found hollow and full of Marrow, like Thoſe of other Beaſts. But though it were certain, that Lions have no Marrow, Mr *de Girac* ſhould not have had recourſe to or with that of ſome other wild Beaſts. The Etymologiſts have not neglected their Intereſts

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(1) Progym. p. 70. D. p. 97. C. p. 129. A, &c.

(2) In Præexercitat. Rhetor.

(3) Orat. 20. pag. 324. C.

(4) In Iliad. lib. 16.

(5) In Ἀχιλλεύς.

(6) Lib. 3.

(7) Achill. lib. 2. ver. 28.

(8) In Heroic. pag. 705. B. & in Icon. 2. pag. 781. C.

(9) De Pallio; *See below Number* VIII.

(10) In Iliad. lib. 1. pag. 11.

(11) In χιλή.

(12) *Reply to* Coſtar, *ſect.* 7. *pag.* 59. *Edit.* Holl. 8vo.

(13) In Progymn. Rhetoricis ex Hermogene.

(14) *Others read* lubens.

(15) Vigenere's *Comment. on* Philoſtr. *of* Achilles's *Food, Edit. in 4to pag.* 544.

(16) *Comment. on the Epiſtle of* Briſeis, *pag.* 249.

(17) Plutarch's *4th Book of Table Converſation, ch.* 1.

(18) *Obſerve, That* Hofman's Continuat. Lexici Univerſ. Tom. 1. p. 1002. *attributes this only to the Lions Teeth, as alſo the producing Sparks of Fire by Colliſion.*

(19) Athen. Deipnoſoph. lib. 8. cap. 11.

(20) *In his Treatiſe,* pro Hermetis, Ægyptiorum, & Chimicorum Sapientia, *printed at* Copenhagen, 1672.

to that Reaſon, ſince Facts, borrow'd from the *Pagan Mythology*, are not to be confuted in that manner, eſpecially when it is affirm'd, that no Author worthy of Credit ſpeaks of them. The Teſtimony alone of ſome antient Authors is ſufficient to make Him loſe his Cauſe, even though the Naturaliſts ſhould aſſure us of the Impoſſibility of the Thing.

V.
A Remark againſt Barthius. *Deciſive Authors find themſelves ſometimes lead into a Scrape.*

From whence it appears, That *Barthius* engages himſelf in a ſuperfluous Refutation, when, in commenting on the Verſes of *Statius*, which I have cited below, he cries out very ſeriouſly; *It is a ſtrange Fable*, ingens fabula, *ſince a Child who ſhould take in any ſuch Food, only by ſucking, would die; every thing in Lions, their very Breath, being poiſonous, eſpecially to ſuch an Age*: in conſequence of which he cites a Paſſage of *Ariſtotle*, importing that Lions have no Marrow. All this is Labour loſt; ſince the Ancients themſelves, who had examin'd things a little, conſidered theſe Stories only as Sallies of Wit and Imagination. Would not a Man have little to do, who ſhould ſpend his time in confuting, from Principles of Philoſophy, the Stories of the ſame *Achilles*'s Heel, and his burnt Lip? It is fabled, that his Mother, having plung'd him in the Waters of *Styx*, to render him invulnerable, could not procure that Advantage to his Heel, becauſe ſhe held her Son by it. *Fulgentius*, in the 7th Chapter of his 3d Book, and the Scholiaſt of *Horace*, on the 13th Ode of the 5th Book, remark, that ſhe held him by the Heel. Thoſe, who ſay that he died of a Wound in the Heel, as *Hyginus*, in his 107th Chapter, and *Quintus Calaber*, at the 62d Verſe of the 3d Book, agree upon the whole with the other two. *Servius*, on the 57th Verſe of the 6th Book of the *Æneid*, ſays in general, that he was invulnerable, *excepta parte qua à matre, tentus eſt. That part excepted by which his Mother held him.* Others have reported, that, to conſume all that was mortal in her Son's Body, ſhe laid him every Night under live Coals, and that in the Day ſhe anointed him with *Ambroſia*, and that but one of the Child's Lips was burnt; which was occaſioned by his having lick'd that Part.

(21) Apollodorus, lib. 3. Scholiaſt. Homeri Iliad. π. v. 36. Scholiaſt. Ariſtoph. p. 184. A.

(22) *See the Commentary of* Meziriac, *p.* 248.

Many (21) Authors mention This Conduct of *Thetis*; and ſay farther, that ſhe had deſtroy'd, by this means, ſix of her Children; but her Husband, having ſurpriz'd her in it, was the Cauſe that *Achilles*, who was the ſeventh, eſcap'd. Nevertheleſs *Tzetzes* (22) condemn'd this Story as falſe, and ſays, *that he does not know from whence* Lycophron *borrow'd this Lie, that* Thetis *had ſeven Children by* Peleus. This is another Example, which may be added to that of Mr *de Girac*, to ſhew the Danger, to which an Author expoſes himſelf by too deciſive a Confidence: for Mr *de Meziriac* cites *four very grave Authors, who all agree to what* Lycophron *writes*. There is good Reaſon to ſay, when we hear mention made either of ſome extraordinary Phraſe, or of ſome uncommon Fact, *that it is a good Bait to draw in Wagerers*, that is, your raſh Scholars, who are always ready, on ſuch an Occaſion, to lay Wagers that ſuch a thing is not to be found in any Author; and they ſeldom fail to loſe. But what is moſt aſtoniſhing, is, they ſometimes deny things the moſt eaſy to be met with. I ſhall give ſeveral Examples of this Behaviour in This Dictionary.

(23) Barth. Comment. in lib. 2. Achill. vol. 3. p. 1754.

But we muſt not take our leave of *Barthius* (23), without obſerving that he pretends, that the reading *Lupæ*, inſtead of *Lubens*, does *Statius* much Honour, who, by this means, does not contradict *Ariſtotle*, and obſerves the ſame Diſtinctions with *Apollodorus*; the latter having affirm'd that *Chiron* made *Achilles* feed upon the Entrails of Lions, and the Marrow of wild Boars and Bears. But *Barthius*, taking upon himſelf once more the Air of Confutation, rejects the Marrow of the *She-Wolf*, as a manifeſt Abſurdity; and ſays he is convinc'd, that if a Child ſhould take that kind of Food but once, he would die before the next Day. *Wherefore*, adds he, Gregory Nazianzen *reconciles it better, by adding the Marrow of Stags, to that of Lions*. *Barthius* here ſeems to be inconſiſtent with himſelf, having ſaid, in the foregoing Page, that the rejecting of the Marrow of Lions was a ſign of Judgment in *Statius*, and that the approach of Lions is very dangerous to Children.

VI.
The Fable of Achilles *being fed with Lions Marrow was a proper Fiction.*

It muſt be remark'd, That the Reaſon, why *Apollodorus*, and ſome others, have rather mentioned the *Entrails*, than the *Marrow*, of *Lions*, as the Food of *Achilles*, ſeems to be owing to their Opinion, that theſe Creatures have ſcarce any Marrow; for otherwiſe, Marrow was a more ſuitable Diet, conſidering the Character, under which the Poets repreſent him. It is not ſo much under the Idea of Valour, though they aſcribe This to him in an eminent Degree, as under That of an Invincible Anger. *Homer* propoſes to himſelf this Character of him in the Iliad, where, according to the Obſervation of *Horace*, he takes for his Theme,

—— gravem
Peleidæ ſtomachum cedere neſcii (24).

(24) Horat. Od. 6. lib. 1. ver. 5.

The fierce Pelides' *haughty Rage,*
Who knew not how to yield.
CREECH.

And begins his Poem thus,

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος,
Οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' Ἀχαίοις ἄλγε' ἔθηκε.

Achilles' *Wrath, to* Greece *the direful Spring*
Of Woes unnumber'd, Heavenly Goddeſs ſing.
POPE.

Now it is certain, that in order to trace this Character to it's Source, in the *marvellous* Fictions of Antiquity, nothing could be better imagin'd, than Lion's Marrow, for the Nouriſhment of this Hero; ſince it is the moſt juicy, and, as is pretended, contains the ſpecific and ſeminal Parts of the Animal. *Homer* hints to us in the Example of little *Aſtyanax*, that it was the favorite Morſel of an indulged or ſpoiled Child:

Ἀϛυάναξ, ὃς πρὶν μὲν ἑῷ ἐπὶ γούνασι πατρὸς
Μυελὸν οἶον ἔδεσκε καὶ διῶν πίονα δημόν (25).

(25) Homer. Iliad 22. ver. 500.

Aſtyanax ——
He, who with tender Delicacy bred,
On Marrow, and the choiceſt Dainties fed.

And Jeſters tell the Mothers ſometimes, that it is a *Son-in-law's Bit*. Beſides, there is no Beaſt ſo angry as the Lion; and it is ſuppoſed, that it was from him *Prometheus* borrowed the Principle, which ſubjected the firſt Man to Anger:

Fertur Prometheus addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
Deſectam, & inſani leonis
Vim ſtomacho appoſuiſſe noſtro (26).

(26) Horat. Od. 16. lib. 1. ver. 13.

When bold Prometheus *firſt began,*
As Story goes, to make a Man,
From every thing he ſnatch'd a Part,
To furniſh out his Clay,
And to compleat his rude Eſſay;
And plac'd the Lion's Fury in his Heart.
CREECH.

Not but that it would have ſerv'd the Purpoſe as well, to have given *Achilles* a Lioneſs for his Nurſe. *Virgil* followed This Idea, in ſome Reproaches of Cruelty:

—— duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucaſus, Hyrcanæque admorunt ubera Tigres (27).

(27) Æneid. lib. 4. *See* Macrob. Saturn. lib. 5. cap. 11.

Falſe as thou art, and, more than falſe, forſworn,
Not ſprung from noble Blood, nor Goddeſs-born,
But hewn from hard'ned Entrails of a Rock;
And rough Hyrcanian *Tygers gave thee ſuck.*
DRYDEN.

And the Bragadochio in the Comedy of the *Viſionaries*, is not far from it in this Rhodomontade:

Le Dieu Mars m'engendra d'une fiere Amazone,
Et je ſucai le lait d'une affreuſe Lionne,

I was begotten by the God Mars *upon a Warlike* Amazon, *and ſuck'd the Milk of a horrid Lioneſs.*

By

Interests on this occasion; they have made their Advantage of this Tradition, for they pretend that the Name of *Achilles* is derived from it [*B*]. He was not contented to inure his Body to the moſt laborious Exerciſes, but he adorn'd his Soul with a great Variety of uſeful Knowledge. But if we may believe *Homer*, it is to *Phœnix*, and

VII. *Whence the Fiction of the Marrow of a Stag. Swiftneſs of Foot was formerly an Heroic Quality.*

By this Key we are led to the Reaſon, why ſome choſe to prefer the Marrow of Stags, before any other, for the Food of *Achilles:* Becauſe they were ſtruck with the Tradition, which aſcribes to him great Swiftneſs in running, and which induced *Homer* to honour him continually either with the Elogy of πόδας ὠκὺς, *ſwift-footed*, or ſome other Epithet of the ſame Signification, ποδώκης, ποδάρκης, πόδας ταχὺς, ποσὶ ταχέεσσι, κραιπνοῖσι, *&c.* With us, at preſent, this is but the Merit of a *Biſcaian* Lacquey *, but anciently (28) it was an heroic Quality: And therefore *Homer*'s only Fault in the uſe of it is, His patching up his Verſe too frequently with it. It was therefore thought neceſſary to feign, that an Hero of an extraordinary Swiftneſs was nouriſhed with the Marrow of *Stags*; and the Ancients were ſo fond of this Notion, that they did not take notice, that the Marrow of ſuch a timorous Animal was otherwiſe very improper for This *Thunderbolt of War*, This *Lion-hearted Hero.*

> Ἀχιλλῆα ῥηξήνορα θυμολέοντα· (29)

who, ſhewing the utmoſt Diſdain for the General of the Army, among other opprobrious Expreſſions added;

> *Va ſac à vin, yeux de chien, cœur de cerf.*

So *Vigenere* (30) tranſlates this Verſe of the 1ſt Book of the Iliad,

> Οἰνοβαρὲς, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο·

> *O Monſter, mix'd of Inſolence and Fear,*
> *Thou Dog in Forehead, but in Heart a Deer!*
>
> Pope.

VIII. *Faults of ſome of* Tertullian's *Interpreters.*

I do not think that, if the Matter were to be decided by a Majority of Voices, it would be judg'd that *Achilles* was fed with the Marrow of Stags, nor that Mr *de Girac* could ſupport his haſty Aſſertion, that *Marrow was the only Food of* Homer's *Hero, according to the common Opinion of the Ancients.* But if this ſhould be true, an old (31) *French* Tranſlator of the Treatiſe *de Pallio* would not be excuſable, for having reſtrained to this Marrow, what *Tertullian* ſaid of That of wild Beaſts in general. Tranſlators have no ſuch Right. "Ille ferarum medullis educatus, unde & nominis (32) conſilium, quando quidem labiis vacuerat ab uberum guſtu: —— *He having been fed with the Marrow of Stags, from whence he had his Name, as having never ſuck'd at the Breaſt with his Lips,* &c." *Theodorus* (33) *Marcilius* ſtumbled likewiſe at theſe Words, pretending, that *Tertullian* hints at the Etymology *ſine chilo*, ἄνευ χιλοῦ, which is viſibly falſe, as *Salmaſius* obſerves. I might have remark'd another Miſtake of the ſame Author, as follows: He ſays that *Achilles*, according to *Velius Longius*, cited by *Caſſiodorus*, had his Name from the Word χεῖλος, as being one of thoſe Perſons who are called *Chilones*, or *Labiones*, that is *Thick-lip'd. Lucretius* calls them (34) *Labioſi*, and obſerves that a Lover, who would excuſe the Imperfections of his Miſtreſs, ſays, *labioſa*, φίλημα, *great Lips are large and ſpacious Fields for Kiſſes.* But it is falſe, that *Achilles* had his Name from χειλος, *a Lip*, upon this account; he was rather ſo called, becauſe he was maim'd in that Part, although *Salmaſius* denies it, notwithſtanding an expreſs Paſſage of *Photius*, which I have already mentioned, and what *Agameſtor* (35), an old Poet, cited by *Tzetzes*, poſitively ſays of it; *Salmaſius*'s Words are (36), "Si chilones dicti à magnis & improbis labris, Achilles dictus fuerit quaſi ἄνευ χειλέων, non quod ſine labris fuerit, ſed quod labiorum miniſterio non uſus fuerit infans. —— *If the* Chilones *are ſo called from their large and monſtrous Lips,* Achilles *is ſo called* quaſi ἄνευ χειλέων, *not that he had no Lips, but becauſe he made no uſe of them in his Infancy.*" I do not deny, but that *Apollodorus* ſays, that the Son of *Thetis*, whoſe firſt Name was *Ligyron*, was called *Achilles* by *Chiron*, becauſe he had never apply'd his Lips to the Breaſt (37). Ὅτι τὰ χείλη μαστοῖς οὐ προσένεγκη, *quod mammis labra minime admoviſſet,*

[*B*] *That the Name of* Achilles *is derived from it.*] I have taken Notice of the Etymologies of this Name in the Remark [*B*] of the foregoing *Article*; but I muſt ſpeak particularly of That before us at preſent. It always accompanies the Tradition, which ſays that *Achilles* was fed with nothing but the *Fleſh* and *Marrow* of Animals. The Connexion between theſe two Things ariſes from the *Greek* Word χιλὸς, which properly ſignifies the Nutriment, which the Earth ſupplies us with. But ſome Authors build a pleaſant Opinion upon this. I ſhall give it in the proper Terms of Father *Gautruche*, in his Poetical Hiſtory. I rather chuſe This Work, than any other, becauſe it has been printed ſeveral Times (38), and in ſeveral Languages, and is eſteem'd a Book fit for every Body's reading. Now no Faults ought more carefully to be remark'd, than thoſe, which may miſlead the greateſt Number of Readers. Father *Gautruche* ſays (39), *Inſtead of Milk and other common Food,* Chiron *nurſed him only with the Marrow of Lions, or of wild Bears, in order to produce in his Pupil the Courage and the Strength of theſe Animals, Whence, according to the Opinion of ſome, being nouriſhed without any kind of Meat, he was called* Achilles, *that is to ſay,* WITHOUT CHYLE. Though the laſt Period of this Paſſage does not appear in the laſt Edition, yet I ſhall remark, I. That it is an Error, to ſay that a Perſon is nouriſhed without Meat, when he is only fed with the *Marrow* of Beaſts; for the Marrow is unqueſtionably comprehended under the Word *Meat*, and is not comprehended among thoſe Viands, which are permitted in *Lent.* II. That it is not true, that Marrow is not converted into *Chyle*, or that whoever is fed only with Marrow, muſt neceſſarily be without Chyle. Theſe Remarks will not ſeem ſuperfluous to thoſe, who ſhall conſider, that this Doctrine of Father *Gautruche* is in a great many Copies of his Works, and in other Writers (40), and that in the Edition, where his Faults are dropp'd, we are not told, why they were ſuppreſs'd.

The Foundation of this Miſtake ariſes from the Term χιλὸς, (which *Euphorion* made uſe of in ſome Verſes, cited by the Author of the great *Etymologicum*, and by *Euſtathius*,) being taken for that ſoft and whitiſh Subſtance, into which the Stomach converts the Aliments, and which the Phyſicians call *Chyle*, from the *Greek* Word χυλὸς: Whereas by χιλὸς ought to be underſtood, as Mr *de Meziriac* (41) took it from *Euſtathius, the Nouriſhment we receive from the Product of the Earth. Natalis Comes* (42) has wrong tranſlated *Euphorion*; for he makes him ſay that *Achilles* had taſted no Milk. *Vigenere* and *Fungerus*, depending upon the Authority of St *Gregory Nazianzen*, have not been more ſucceſsful. They attribute to St *Gregory* that, which is but in the *Latin* Tranſlation of the Commentaries of *Nicetas Serronius*, Archbiſhop of *Heraclea*, in the XIth Century, on the Orations of that Father, printed with his Works (43). *Fungerus* concludes, that *Achilles* was nurs'd *ſine cibo*, becauſe his only Diet was the *Marrow* of *Stags*. The other will have it (44), that χιλὸς ſignifies *Gravy*, and that *Achilles* was nouriſhed *without Juice, becauſe he was not fed with the common Food of Men, but with the raw Fleſh of Savage Beaſts. Francis Alunno* adopts one half of this laſt Error. "Fu nutrito, *ſays he* (45), nel monte Pelio da Chirone Centauro, ne mai in quel tempio mangio cibo cotto, perche fu nominato Achille, perche à in Greco ſignifica ſenza, & chilos CIBO COTTO. —— *He was brought up on Mount* Pelion, *by* Chiron *the Centaur, and having never fed upon any thing but raw Fleſh, he was called* Achilles, *from* Alpha, *which in* Greek *ſignifies* Without, *and* Chilos, DRESS'D MEAT." Some, taking the Word χιλὸς ſimply for *Nouriſhment*, ground the Etymology of *Achilles* (46) on this, that his Preceptor *Chiron*, after a certain time, neither provided for him the Marrow of wild Beaſts, nor any other kind of Food, ſo that he was oblig'd to ſupport himſelf by the Fortune of the Chace. But was this to live *without Nouriſhment?* This is, perhaps, the worſt Account of them all.

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* *Or* Running-Footman. *The People of* Biſcay *were fam'd for Swiftneſs.*

(28) *See the prodigious Swiftneſs, which* Virgil, Æneid. 7. v. 817. *gives a young* Amazon *called* Camilla; *and Father* la Cerda's *Obſervations upon it.*

(29) Homer. Iliad. 7. ver. 228.

(30) Vigenere's *Comment on* Philoſtrat. de Nutrim. Achill.

(31) Edmund Richer, *who publiſh'd his Verſion at* Paris, *in* 1600, 8vo.

(32) Salmaſius *approves of thoſe who read* Concilium.

(33) Not. Critic. in Tertull. de Pall. p. 77. Pariſ. 1614. 8vo.

(34) Lucret. lib. 4.

(35) *In his Poem on the Wedding of* Thetis *and* Peleus, *which is thought to have preceeded that of* Heſiod *on the ſame Subject. Neither* Voſſius *nor* Lorenzo Craſſo *make any mention of this Poet.*

(36) Salmaſ. in Tract. de Pall. p. 281. Edit. 1656.

(37) Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 235.

(38) *An Edition of it was publiſh'd at* Utrecht *in* 1690. *to which was added the Tranſlation in* Latin *and* Dutch. *The* Latin *Tranſlation had already appeared by itſelf. The* Engliſh *publiſh'd it in their Language in the Year* 1671.

(39) *Poetical Hiſtory, B.* 2. *chap.* 15. *p.* 158. *Edit. of the* Hague, 1681. *which is the 4th.*

(40) *Among others, in the Hiſtorical Dictionary of* Juighé.

(41) *Comm. on the Epiſtle of* Briſeis, *pag.* 248. *where the Poet* Euphorion *is miſcalled* Euphoron.

(42) Mythol. lib. 9. cap. 12.

(43) *This Verſion is printed with the Works of* St Gregory.

(44) *Comment. on* Philoſtrat. *of the Nurture of* Achilles, *pag.* 543.

(45) *In his* Fabrica del Mondo, *which is a Dictionary on* Boccacio, Dante, Petrarch, &c. *printed at* Venice *in* 1588. Folio.

(46) *Comm. on* Alciatus's *Emblems, p.* 624. *of the Edition of* Thuilius *at* Padua, 1661. *in* 4to.

and not to *Chiron* [C], that the Quality of *Achilles*'s Preceptor, and Foſter-Father is to

[C] *If we may believe* Homer, *it is to* Phœnix, *and not to* Chiron.] Many Perſons are not aware of this. *Decimator* (47) ſays, that *Achilles*, after having been educated by *Chiron*, who taught him the Military Art, Muſic, and Morality, was put under the Direction of *Phœnix*, who taught him both to Speak and Live well, as he boaſts of it himſelf. He proves this, as to Muſic and Morality, from theſe Verſes of *Ovid*, in the 1ſt Book *de Arte amandi*.

> Phyllirides puerum citharæ præfecit Achillem,
> Atque animos molli contudit arte feros.
>
> Chiron *his Pupil to the Lyre inclin'd,*
> *And humaniz'd, by Sounds, his ſavage Mind.*

I ſet them down without altering any thing, either in the Orthography, or in the *Citharæ præfecit*, which ought to be changed into *Citharâ perfecit*. Every body may ſee, that there is not a Word of the Study of Morality in thoſe Verſes. His Proofs, as to *Phœnix*, are theſe Words of *Homer* :

> Τȣνεκά με πρόεηκε διδασκέμεναι τάδε πάντα,
> Μύθων τε ῥήτῆρ ἔμεναι, πρητῆρα τε ἔργων. (48)
>
> *He bad me teach thee all the Ways of War,*
> *To ſhine in Councils, and in Camps to dare.*
>
> Pope.

But provided we read with Attention the Book of the *Iliad*, from whence this Authority is borrowed, it will appear, that *Decimator* is miſtaken. The Expreſſions of *Phœnix* teſtify, that he was the firſt Preceptor of *Achilles*. *You would eat nothing*, repreſents he to that Hero, *unleſs I firſt took you on my Knees, and carved your Meat. The Wine which you diſcharged into my Boſom, in your troubleſome Infancy, has often ſully'd my Cloaths.*

> - - - Ἐπεὶ ȣ̓κ εθελεσκες ἅμ ἄλλῳ
> Οὔτ᾽ ἐς δαιτ᾽ ἰεναι, ȣ̓́τ᾽ εν μεγάροισι πάσασθαι·
> Πρίν γ᾽ ὁτε δή σ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐμοῖσιν ἐγὼ γȣ́νασσι καθίσας,
> Ὄψȣ τ᾽ ασαιμι προταμὼν, καὶ ὀ͂ινον ἐπισχὼν,
> Πολλάκι μοι κατέδευσας ἐπι ςήθεσσι χιτῶνα
> Οἴνȣ ἀποβλύζων ἐν νηπίεῃ αλεγεινῇ· (49)
>
> *Thy infant Breaſt a like Affection ſhow'd,*
> *Still in my Arms, (an ever-pleaſing load)*
> *Or, at my Knee, by* Phœnix *wouldſt thou ſtand,*
> *No food was grateful, but from* Phœnix' *Hand.*
>
> Pope.

It was neceſſary to produce the *Greek* ; for it conveys ſo filthy an Image, that it might elſe have been thought I had not fairly tranſlated it *. See the 11th Paragraph below. But however it be, this ſhews, that, if we will make uſe of the Authority of *Homer*, with reſpect to *Phœnix*, we muſt renounce what others report concerning *Chiron* ; or that at leaſt we muſt not give *Chiron* the firſt Education of *Achilles*, and leſs ſtill make it continue, until he had taught his Scholar the Military Art, Muſic, and Morality. When a Perſon is arriv'd at an Age fit for Inſtruction in theſe Sciences, he eats no longer on his Foſter Father's Lap, nor throws up his Wine on his Cloaths. Add to this that they, who ſuppoſe that *Achilles* was brought up by *Chiron*, ſay that he was taken away from under his Diſcipline, to be ſent, diſguis'd in a Female Dreſs, to the Court of King *Lycomedes*, where his Diſguiſe ſoon procured him opportunities of converſing familiarly with the King's Daughter, as appeared by the Child ſhe brought into the World. Now it is not likely that they appointed him a Tutor after he became a Father ; and conſequently there is no room for placing the Guardianſhip of *Phœnix* after That of *Chiron*. The Faults of *Decimator* are to be found in the *Theſaurus Scholaſticæ Eruditionis* of the laſt Edition, tho' that Work was often corrected by learned *Humaniſts* (50). (51) *Dempſter* has likewiſe ſaid, that *Achilles*, having been inſtructed by *Chiron* in his Infancy, was educated by *Phœnix*, when he was of a more advanced Age. Obſerve, that I do not intend to deny, that, after *Achilles* became a Father, *Phœnix* was ordered to teach him (52) how to conduct himſelf in the Trade of Arms, and the Councils of War : But I do not call this appointing him a Tutor.

I cannot tell whether *Malherbe* ever took notice of this ; but it is certain that he expreſſed himſelf like one, who was well ſatisfied, that *Achilles* had but one Preceptor. For thus he ſpeaks of that Warrior in the fourth Book of his Poems, *p.* 106.

> *Ou de Phenix, ou de Chiron,*
> *Il eût fait ſon aprentiſſage.*

Whether he ſerv'd his Apprenticeſhip with Phœnix *or* Chiron.

We muſt allow him only *Phœnix*, if we are to be determined by *Homer*, who makes no mention of the Preceptorſhip of *Chiron* ; and only *Chiron*, if we follow the Crowd of Authors. Yet Mr *Menage* has ſaid, in his Notes on this Paſſage of *Malherbe*, *That* Chiron *was the firſt Tutor of* Achilles, *and* Phœnix *the ſecond*. I do not rely on the Authority of *Tzetzes*, who, by an Allegorical Explication of what he had read in ſome Authors, that *Phœnix*, blinded by his own Father, was brought to *Chiron*, who reſtored him to his Sight, pretends that the meaning of this is, that *Chiron* gave the young *Achilles* to his Care ; for, beſides that there is nothing more cold, or forced than this Thought ; it is certain that *Tzetzes* by no means proves the Fact. By his pretended Allegories he endeavours to reconcile *Homer* with *Lycophron* ; but how will he reconcile *Homer*, who ſays, that *Achilles*, yet a little Child, was under the Conduct of *Phœnix* : I ſay, how will he reconcile him with thoſe who ſuppoſe *Achilles* to have been educated by *Chiron* from ſix Years of Age (53), to Manhood, 'till he had not only learnt to ſit aſtride on the Back of his (54) Preceptor, but alſo till he had inured himſelf to (55) the moſt violent Exerciſes ; without reckoning many other things, which *Chiron* taught him ; as the Military Art, Muſic, Morality, (as *Decimator* informed us before) and Phyſick, but particularly Botany and Law, as an ancient Author called *Staphylus* (56), and others inform us ? *Statius*, in the ſecond Book of his *Achilleis* ; *Claudian*, in his Panegyric on the third Conſulſhip of *Honorius* ; and *Sidonius Apollinaris*, in his ninth Poem, ſpecify what *Acihlles* learnt of *Chiron*. Note, that on the pretended Teſtimony of *Homer*, they aſcribe to *Chiron*, in the Commentaries on the Emblems of *Alciatus*, what belongs only to *Phœnix*. Nothing is more frequent among Authors than theſe *quid pro quo's*.

IX. *Examination of a Paſſage where* Homer *ſpeaks of* Chiron.

I ſaid, that *Homer* has taken no notice of *Chiron*'s Preceptorſhip. You will aſk me then, what mean theſe Words of *Eurypylus* to *Patroclus* in the eleventh Book of the *Iliad*,

> - - - - ἐπι δ᾽ ἤπια φαρμακα πασσε
> Ἐσθλὰ, τά σε προτὶ φασιν Ἀχιλλῆος δεδιδάχθαι,
> Ὃν Χείρων ἐδίδαξε δικαιότατος Κενταύρων· (57)
>
> *With healing Balms the raging Smart allay ;*
> *Such as ſage* Chiron, *Sire of Pharmacy,*
> *Once taught* Achilles, *and* Achilles *Thee.*
>
> Pope.

I anſwer, That they do not ſignify, that *Chiron* was the Preceptor of *Achilles*, but only that he taught him Phyſic. Every one ſees the Difference of theſe two Things. *Monconis*, in his Travels, names an hundred Perſons, who taught him Receipts and Secrets for Cures ; yet thoſe People had not been his Schoolmaſters, nor had educated him in his Youth. Profeſſors in Phyſic, who teach their Auditors an hundred good Remedies in public, or communicate ſome very rare Receipts to diſtinguiſh'd Friends in particular, are they therefore what we call Young Maſter's Tutor or Governor ? And, without going farther than this Paſſage of *Homer*, do we not ſee that *Achilles* imparted to *Patroclus* Remedies, though he was not his Preceptor ? To enter then into *Homer*'s Thought, we muſt ſay that *Achilles* was educated by *Phœnix* from three or four Years of Age, 'till he was capable of learning to Diſcourſe well, and perform fine Actions ; but yet that, during that time, and afterwards, he did not fail to attend the Lectures of *Chiron*. It is to be given. The Uneaſineſs of *Thetis* did not permit her to leave her Son in *Chiron*'s Cave, ſo long as ſhe deſired; ſhe (*e*) took him from thence when he was but nine Years of Age, and diſguiſing him in a Woman's Habit, hid him among the young Ladies in the Court of *Lycomedes*, King of the Iſland of *Scyros*, as ſoon as ſhe was inform'd of the Preparations, which were making againſt the *Trojans*. The Reaſon of her Conduct was this; ſhe knew, on the one ſide, that if her Son went to *Troy*, he would never return from thence; and, on the other, that *Calchas* had foretold that the City of *Troy* ſhould never be taken without *Achilles*. The Device of *Thetis* ſtood her in no ſtead; the Seer *Calchas* diſcover'd to the *Greeks* (*f*) where *Achilles* lay hid, whom they had ſought for in divers Places without finding him: Upon this *Ulyſſes*, being deputed to the Court of *Lycomedes*, eaſily diſcover'd *Achilles* [*D*], and brought him away

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(47) Decimator in Theſauro Linguarum. *Leipſic* 1606. *in Folio.*

(48) Homer. Iliad. lib. 9. ver. 442.

(49) Id. id. ver. 482.

* *Mr* Pope *has omitted the two laſt Lines, as* unworthy of Homer, *and* too nauſeous *to be tranſlated.*

(50) *The firſt Author of that* Theſaurus *is called* Baſilius Faber Soranus: *He was Rector of a College at* Erford, *and he publiſhed his Book in the Year* 1571. *after having employ'd* 36 *Years in teaching the* Latin *Tongue. The Work was reprinted in* 1625, *with the Corrections and Additions of* Buchnerus, *who died in* 1661. *at the Age of* 70 *Years, after having been Profeſſor in Poetry* 45 *Years, and in Eloquence* 30 *Years, at* Wittemberg. *He alſo corrected and augmented that Dictionary for the Edit. of* 1655. *Laſtly,* Chriſtopher Cellarius *corrected it again, firſt for the Edition of the Year* 1686, *and afterwards for that of* 1692.

(51) Paralip. ad Roſinum, lib. 2. c. 11.

(52) Iliad. lib. 9. p. 446.

(53) Pindar. Nem. Od. 3.

(54) Τῷ αὐτῷ πόλῳ καὶ διδασκάλῳ χρώμενος. *Making uſe of the ſame Perſon both as his Cock-Horſe, and his Tutor.* Greg. Nazianzen. Orat. 20.

(55) Statii Achill. lib. 2. ver. 382.

(56) *He is cited by* Natal. Comes, lib. 9. c. 12. *and in the Commentaries on* Alciatus's *Emblems.*

(57) Iliad. 11. ver. 829.

(*e*) Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 235.

(*f*) Statius, Achill. lib. 1. ver. 493, &c.

is thus a certain Scholiaſt took *Homer*'s Thought: For he obſerves, that *Apollonius*, who feigns, that *Chiron* went to the Sea-ſide to wiſh the *Argonauts* a good Voyage, and that his Wife attended him, holding *Achilles* in her Arms, and ſhewing him to *Peleus*, follow'd the Poets, who came after *Homer*, and ſuppoſed, with them, that *Chiron* nurſed the little *Achilles*; a Thing never mentioned by *Homer*. Ἠκολούθησεν Ἀπολλώνιος τοῖς μεθ᾽ Ὅμηρον ποιηταῖς ὑπὸ Χείρωνος λεγων τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τραφῆναι. Ὅμηρος δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον λέγει (58).

(58) Schol. Apollon. lib. 1. ver. 558.

X. *Authors who have mentioned the Preceptorſhip of* Chiron, *and that of* Phœnix.

Apollonius is very excuſable, ſince he only followed the Crowd; for who has not ſpoke of *Chiron*, as having educated *Achilles?* Is it not what *Orpheus* (59), *Pindar* (60), *Euripides* (61), and ſo many other Poets have ſung (62)? *Xenophon* (63), *Plato* (64), *Apollodorus* (65), *Pliny* (66), *Plutarch* (67), *Pauſanius* (68), *Clemens Alexandrinus* (69), *Philoſtratus* (70), *Libanius* (71), St *Gregory Nazianzen*, (72), and ſeveral others leſs ancient (73), have they not ſaid the ſame thing? But, on the other ſide, they (74), who have mentioned the Preceptorſhip of *Phenix*, are not fewer in Number. We ought not, then, to be very much ſurprized, if, according to ſome ancient Authors, *Phenix* and *Chiron* are both repreſented as having been the Preceptors of *Achilles*: We can only ſay, that theſe Authors had not examined the thing narrowly enough, or that they had no regard to the Inconſiſtency, which reſults from the Circumſtances of the Preceptorſhip of *Phenix*, and the Circumſtances of the Preceptorſhip of *Chiron*.

(59) Argon. ver. 378.

(60) Nem. Od. 3.

(61) Iphig. in Aul. ver. 209, 709.

(62) Senec. Troad. Act. 3. ver. 833. Stat. Silv. 1. lib. 2. ver. 89. Achill. lib. 1. ver. 106. *and in ſeveral other places.* Valer. Flaccus, lib. 1. ver. 254, & 407. Auſonius Protrept. ver. 20. Claudian. de 3. Conſul. Honor. ver. 61. (63) De Venat. pag. 973. A. & 974. C. (64) Hipp. Tom. 1. p. 371. cap. 3. de Repub. Tom. 2. pag. 391. B. (65) Lib. 3. (66) Lib. 25. cap. 5. (67) Sympoſ. lib. 4. cap. 1. pag. 660. F. & de Muſic. pag. 1146. A. (68) In Lacon. p. 197. (69) Stromat. lib. 1. pag. 306. B. (70) In Heroic. p. 682. A. & 705. A. (71) Progymn. pag. 71, A; pag. 97, C; pag. 129, A; pag. 142, C; pag. 143, A; & Declamat. 4. pag. 259, D. (72) Orat. 20. pag. 324. (73) Euſtath. in Homer. pag. 11. 34. & 840. Scholiaſt. Homeri in Iliad. lib. 1. ver. 50. & lib. [illegible] ver. 14. & 35. (74) *Theſe are the Names of the principal:* Scholiaſt. Homeri Iliad. 9. ver. 168, & 448. Dictys, lib. 2. Xenophon, Conv. pag. 897, A. Plato 2. de Repub. Tom. 2. pag. 390, E. Cicero 3. de Orat. n. 15. Strabo, lib. 9. pag. 297. Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 3. Statii Sylv. 3. lib. 5. ver. 191. Plutarch. Tom. 2. pag. 4, 26, & 72. Lucian. Dial. Mort. Philoſtr. Lemn. p. 136. Libanius, Progymn. pag. 99.

I had therefore Reaſon to deny, in my *Plan*, that *Statius*, ſpeaking of *Phœnix* and of *Chiron* as of two Preceptors of *Achilles*, was in the leaſt favourable to *Decimator* and his Party; for beſides that *Statius* does not tell us, whether they exerciſed this Employ both together, or one after the other, or which of the two was the firſt, he cannot be reconciled with *Homer*, who, in caſe of Competition, ought to carry it from him with an high hand. Conſider theſe two Paſſages well:

Non tibi certaſſet juvenilia fingere corda
Neſtor, & indomiti Phœnix Moderator alumni,
Quique, tubas acres lituoſque audire volentem,
Æaciden alio frangebat carmine Chiron. (75)

(75) Stat. lib. 5. Silva 3. ver. 191.

In forming thee, nor Neſtor *wou'd employ,*
Nor Phœnix, *Tutor of th'unconquer'd Boy,*
A Guardian's Care; nor He, who cou'd controul,
With ſofter Notes, Achilles' *warlike Soul;*
Tho' Martial Muſic was the Hero's Choice,
And his Heart bounded at the Trumpet's Voice.

This is the firſt; The other is,

—— tenero ſic blandus Achilli
Semifer Æmonium vincebat Pelea Chiron.
Nec ſenior Peleus natum comitatus in arma
Troica, ſed caro Phœnix hærebat alumno. (76)

(76) Id. lib. 2. Silva 1. ver. 88.

Thus, for his Pupil, Chiron's *flattering Tale*
O'er the reluctant Father cou'd prevail.
The Sire refus'd the Grecian *Arms to ſhare,*
But ſent Achilles *to the* Trojan *War,*
Truſting the darling Charge to Phœnix' *tender Care.*

Xenophon (77) and *Lucian* (78), who allot theſe two Preceptors to *Achilles*, are expoſed to the ſame Battery as *Statius*; and beſides they differ from *Homer*, whom *Decimator* alledges: Obſerve that, tho' *Statius* (79) ſays, that *Phœnix* accompanied *Achilles* to *Troy*, it does not follow from thence that he ſuppoſes he was *Chiron*'s Succeſſor; for he ſays clearly enough, that *Phœnix* had had the Care of *Achilles* before that Voyage; for he calls the latter the *Alumnus* (the *Pupil)* of *Phœnix* (80). As for *Tzetzes*, who tells us, in his Commentary on *Lycophron*, that *Peleus*, having brought *Phœnix* to *Chiron*'s Cave, where *Achilles* was educated, ſaid to him, *Behold your Son; tutor him as a good Father ought to educate his Child*; he proves nothing againſt me; nor is he in the leaſt favourable to thoſe who have recourſe to the Diſtinction of *Governor* and *Preceptor*, which is ſo clear in *Plutarch*, with regard to the Son of *Philip* King of *Macedon*. See the Article LYSIMACHUS. The Poets, I believe, cannot ſhew us the ſame Diſtinction in thoſe remote Ages; and, however it be, it does not appear that *Peleus* joined *Chiron* in the Tutelage of his Son with *Phœnix*. And if *Tzetzes*, expreſſing himſelf very ill, meant ſo, he deſerves no Credit. He is too modern an Author to deſerve to be followed in a Matter of Fact, which can neither be reconciled with *Homer*, nor with the ancient Authors, who have attributed the Education of young *Achilles* to *Chiron*.

(77) In Conviv.

(78) In Dial. Achill. & Ant.

(79) Ubi ſupra. & lib. 3. Silv. 2. ver. 96.

(80) Meurſius *and* Canterus *underſtand by the Word* κουροτρόφος, *which* Lycophron *made uſe of to denote* Phenix, *that the latter had been* Achilles's *Foſter-Father.*

XI. Homer *cenſur'd for the Speech of* Phœnix.

I ſhall put an end to this Remark, already too long, with a bold Stroke, which I cannot forbear. I dare affirm, that we need only read the Speech of *Phœnix*, in the ninth Book of the *Iliad*, to admire at thoſe, who at preſent admire That Poem. For is That Speech worthy the Majeſty of *Epic* Poetry? And *Horace*, who, according to Mr *Moreri* (81), boaſts in the ſixth Satyr of the firſt Book, that he had learned the *Iliad* by heart, had doubtleſs forgot that Speech full of a thouſand Impertinencies, when he gave the Author of the *Iliad* this Elogy, that he always runs directly to the Mark, that he *haſtens to the Event; ſemper ad Eventum feſtinet* (82). If ſo, would he amuſe a Deputy of the *Greek* Army, who had a very important and preſſing Commiſſion; I ſay, would he amuſe him with old Wives Stories, and with a Recital of his former Adventures?

(81) *In the Article* HORACE, *but it is a Miſtake.*

(82) Horat. de Arte Poët. ver. 148.

[*D*] *Eaſily diſcovered* Achilles.] Mr *Moreri* pretends, with little Exactneſs, that *Ulyſſes* diſcovered him, *by cauſing a Merchant to preſent him with Toys and Arms*; for if we adhere to what *Ulyſſes* himſelf ſays of it (83), in his Speech to the Generals of the Army, it was He, who not only preſented *thoſe Toys and Arms* to *Achilles*, but alſo to all the young Ladies of the Court. If we refer it to *Hyginus*, and *Philoſtratus* the younger, it is *Ulyſſes* again, who preſented them, being one of Ambaſſadors of the *Greeks*, ſent to *Lycomedes* to demand *Achilles* of him. If we leave it to *Statius*, it may be ſaid indeed, that it was not *Ulyſſes* himſelf, the Chief of the *Greek* Embaſſy, who preſented the Toys, but not that he employed a Merchant to do it. Some Moderns (84) ſay, that he did it himſelf in the Diſguiſe of a Merchant

(83) Ovid. Metam. lib. 13. ver. 179.

(84) Textor, Officin. lib. 2. cap. 32. Nat. Comes Mythol. lib. 6. cap. 1. Vigenere *on* Philoſtr. *in the Summary of* Achilles's *Nouriſhment.* Pomey in Pantheo Mythico, &c.

away without Trouble, tho' he was ſo much in Favour with the Princeſs *Deïdamia*, the King's Daughter, that ſhe ſuffer'd herſelf to be with Child by him [*E*]. From hence ſprung *Neoptolemus*, or *Pyrrhus*, as ſhall be obſerv'd in it's proper Place. *Achilles* fought an infinite Number of fine Battles, during the Siege of *Troy*, and before they encamped before the City. The great Quarrel, which aroſe between Him and *Agamemnon* about their Miſtreſſes, (for (*g*) *Agamemnon* having reſtor'd *Chryſeïs*, who was His, took *Briſeïs* away, who belong'd to *Achilles*) obliged the latter to keep in his Tent, without troubling himſelf any more with the War; and nothing was able to make him change his Reſolution, but the Death of his dear Friend *Patroclus*, to whom he had lent his Armour (*h*), of which *Hector* deprived him, as well as of his Life. Upon which, *Vulcan*, at the Requeſt of *Thetis* (*i*), made a new Suit of Armour for *Achilles* [*F*]. The Death of *Patroclus* was ſoon after reveng'd [*G*]; *Achilles* fought

(*g*) Homer, Il. l. 1. v. 323, &c.

(*h*) Ib. l. 16. v. 818.

(*i*) Ib. l. 18. v. 462, &c.

chant. I dare not maintain that this is forged; but it very certain, that it is not built upon good Authority. *Langius* pretends (85), that *Lycomedes* did what he could by his Tears and Prayers, to hinder *Achilles* from following *Ulyſſes*, and accuſes *Cicero* for having taken the Son for the Father, in theſe Words: "Nec enim —— Trojam Neoptolemus capere potuiſſet, ſi Lycomedem apud quem erat educatus cum multis lacrymis iter ſuum impedientem audire voluiſſet. —— *Nor could* Neoptolemus *have taken* Troy, *had he ſuffered himſelf to have been prevailed upon by the Tears of* Lycomedes, *who would have prevented his Expedition.*" *Langius* is miſtaken, and not *Cicero*. See the Remark [*A*] of the Article PYRRHUS, the Son of *Achilles*.

(85) *Upon* Cicero de Amicitia, cap. 20.

[*E*] *Suffered herſelf to be with Child by him.*] *Achilles* was ſo young at that time, that there are but few Examples of ſuch a forward Generative Faculty as his. And yet good Inſtruction was then more early; nor was there room for the Complaint of *Montagne* in the twenty fifth Chapter of the firſt Book of his *Eſſays*, when he ſays, *They teach us to live when Life is paſt. An hundred Scholars have had the Venereal Diſtemper, before having attained to* Ariſtotle's *Leſſons of Temperance.* But, if I had mind to moralize on the Poetical Hiſtory, I ſhould ſay to *Montagne*, that this Adventure of the Son of *Peleus* is an Admonition, that though Education be implanted never ſo early, it will ſink under the Weight of Nature.

I ſhall obſerve by the way, that the Fictions of the Ancients would be more tolerable than they are, had they taken care not contradict each other ſo much; but it ſeems they looked on their fabulous Hiſtory as a Country, wherein every Body did what he pleaſed, without any Dependance on others. *Apollodorus* ſays, That *Achilles* was but nine Years of Age (86), when he was carried into the Iſle of *Scyros*, and that they had began already to talk of the Expedition to *Troy*. According to *Statius*, the Preparations of the *Greeks* had already continued a Year, when *Ulyſſes* was ſent to the Iſland of *Scyros* to fetch *Achilles* from thence. When *Ulyſſes* came there, *Achilles* was already a Father (87): Judge then whether Nature had been ſlow in granting him the Abilities of a Man, and whether he long deferred the Exerciſe of them on young *Deïdamia*. *Statius* durſt not keep to the Calculation of *Apollodorus*, for he gives *Achilles* (88) at leaſt twelve Years before the taking of him out of *Chiron*'s Cave. I cannot tell how *Barthius* could find (89), that, according to the Calculation of *Statius*, the Son of *Achilles* muſt be above a Year old at the Time of *Ulyſſes*'s Embaſſy; for though the young Hero had enjoyed the Fair one the very firſt Day, his Son could have been but three Months old at the Arrival of *Ulyſſes*. Some have ſaid (90), that he repeated the Doſe to his Miſtreſs, after her firſt Lying-in, and that he had another Son by her. But, ſeeing he was born (91) before the Voyage of the *Argonauts*, between which, and the Expedition of *Troy*, the Chronologers (92) place at leaſt thirty Years, judge whether the ancient Poets adjuſted their Chronology well.

(86) Ὡς ἐγένετο ἐννεατής. Barthius *cites thoſe Words in the* 1579*th and* 1685*th Pages of the 3d Tome of his Commentaries on* Statius, *and nevertheleſs he ſays in the* 1584*th Page, that* Apollodorus *does not mention* Achilles's *Age*.

(87) Stat. Achill. ver. 234.

(88) Ibid. 396.

(89) Barth. in Statium, Tom. 3. p. 1684. 1736.

(90) Euſtathius in Iliad. 11. & Ptol. Hephæſt. apud Phot.

(91) Apollon. Argon. lib. 1. ver. 558. Valer. Flaccus, Arg. lib. 1. ver. 256.

[*F*] *Made a new Suit of Armour for* Achilles.] No body ought to object that *Charles Stephens* and *Lloyd*, *Hofman*, *Moreri*, *&c.* ſpeak of the impenetrable Armour, which *Thetis* cauſed *Vulcan* to make for her Son, for the Expedition of *Troy*. For though ſhe had rendered his Body already invulnerable, by plunging it in the River *Styx*, we know that few Precautions ſeem ſuperfluous to motherly Fondneſs. *Malherbe* deſigned to ſpecify theſe two Precautions of *Thetis*, when he ſaid:

(92) *See* Calviſius ad ann. Mundi 2727, & 2767, *and* F. L'Abbé, Chronol. Franc. Tom. 1. pag. 127.

Bien que ſa mere eût à ſes armes
Ajoute la force des charmes (93).

Though to the youthful Hero's Arms
His Mother adds the Force of Charms.

(93) Malherbe, lib. 3. pag. 75.

But yet he did not particularize them, becauſe his Expreſſion rather inclines one to think, that *Thetis* gave her Son enchanted Armour, than that, beſides having charmed his Body, ſhe preſented him likewiſe with Armour of Proof. Mr *Menage* (94), who juſtly cenſures the Ambiguity of the Expreſſion, acknowledges moreover, that *Thetis* made uſe of this double Expedient; which in the main does not claſh with probability. It is not the Buſineſs of a *Dictionary Writer* to ſuppreſs a Thing under Pretence that it was unneceſſary. It is ſufficient that he finds it in Authors; being at Liberty, however, if he thinks proper, to arm us with his Philoſophical Reflexions. Now it is certain, that an ancient Author called *Philarchus*, or *Phylarchus* has left in Writing, That *Thetis*, finding ſhe could not hinder *Achilles* from going to the Siege of *Troy*, ſupplicated *Vulcan* to make him a Suit of Armour (95), proof againſt all human Force. *Vulcan*, having forged the Armour, declared that he would not deliver it, until he had obtained of *Thetis* the greateſt Favour ſhe could grant him. She excuſed herſelf from it, offering to teſtify her Acknowledgment by any kind of Service: But, finding he required a Perſonal Acknowledgment, ſhe promiſed to pay him with her Perſon, provided the Armour fitted *Achilles*, which was to be tried upon herſelf, who was of her Son's Stature. *Vulcan*, ſatisfied with the Bargain, gave *Thetis* the Armour, who put it on, and run away with it; the poor Cripple, not being able to overtake her, threw his Hammer after her, and hurt her in the Heel.

(94) Menage's *Obſervations on* Malherbe, p. 372.

(95) Apud Natal. Comitem Mythol. lib. 9. cap. 12. Tzetzes *in* Lycophron, pag. 36. *takes ſome Notice of it. What I report, and is not given us by* Natalis Comes, *is in the Scholiaſt of* Pindar. *in* Nem. Od. 4.

It may then be ſaid in general, that *Thetis* cauſed impenetrable Armour to be made for her Son's firſt Campaign. But ſince *Homer* is the chief Source, from whence every thing relating to this Article ſhould be drawn, it ought not to have been forgot, that, after the Death of *Pacroclus*, from whom *Hector* had taken *Achilles*'s Armour, *Thetis* obtained another from *Vulcan*. It is one of the fineſt Epiſods of the *Iliad*, and it ſerved *Virgil* as a Model for one of the beſt Paſſages of the *Æneid*. It deſerved therefore to be touched upon. Obſerve, that, according to *Servius* (96), the Armour, which *Patroclus* wore when he was killed, was made at *Pelea* by *Vulcan*.

(96) Servius in Æneid. lib. 1. ver. 843.

[*G*] *The Death of* Patroclus *was ſoon after revenged.*] *Moreri* had reaſon to ſay, That *Achilles* ſoon reſumed the Arms, which the Loſs of *Briſeïs* had made him lay down. In effect, ſince the *Iliad* comprehends the Actions of but one Year, according to the Sentiment of Father *Mambrun* (97) in his Treatiſe of *Epic* Poetry, few Months only muſt have paſſed between the Retreat of *Achilles*, and his Return to the Army, after the Death of *Patroclus*. Therefore *Malherbe* fell into a ſtrange Miſtake, when he reported as a certain Fact, that *Achilles* had been nine Years before the City of *Troy* without fighting.

(97) *Mr* Menage, *in his Obſervations on* Malherbe, p. 441, *believes that it comprehends much leſs.*

Achille à qui la Grece à donné cette marque,
D'avoir eu le courage auſſi haut que les cieux,
Fut en la même peine, & ne put faire mieux,
Que ſoupirer neuf ans dans le fond d'une barque (98).

So Great Achilles, *fam'd for warlike Might*
Thro' Greece, *and equal to the Gods in Fight*,

(98) Malherbe, Poeſ. l. 5. p. 125.

Nine

fought with *Hector* (*k*), and having kill'd him, faſten'd him to his Chariot, and dragged him round the Walls of *Troy* [*H*]. *Priam* went in Perſon (*l*) to beg the Body of him, and obtain'd for it a great Ranſom. There are various Opinions concerning the Death of *Achilles*; ſome ſay that *Apollo* killed him (*m*), or that he (*n*) aſſiſted *Paris* to kill him, by directing his Dart to the Part, which was not invulnerable; others ſay that *Paris* (*o*) killed him treacherouſly in a Temple, where *Achilles* was gone to treat about his Marriage with *Philoxena*, the Daughter of *Priam*. The *Greeks* made a magnificent Funeral for him, of which *Moreri*'s Dictionary has mentioned ſome Circumſtances, with very little Exactneſs [*I*], to ſay no worſe. They

(*k*) Homer. Iliad. lib. 22. ver. 312.

(*l*) Ib. lib. 24. v. 555.

(*m*) Quintus Calab. lib. 3. ver. 62. Euripid. in Philoctete.

(*n*) Virgil. Æn. lib. 6. ver. 57. Ovid. Met. lib. 12. ver. 580.

(*o*) Dictys Cret. lib. 4. Dares Phrygius, Hyginus, c. 110. Servius in Æn. 6. ver. 57.

Nine Years conceal'd within his Veſſel lay,
And for his Miſtreſs ſigh'd the Hours away.

Sarrazin, being probably deceived by this Place of *Malherbe*, whom he intended to imitate, has ſaid in a very fine Ode,

Achille, beau comme le jour,
Et vaillant comme ſon épée,
Pleura neuf ans pour ſon amour,
Comme un enfant pour ſa poupée.

Nine Years, Achilles, *fair as Day,*
And valiant as his Sword in Battle,
Cry'd for his Miſtreſs, ta'en away,
Like little Maſter for his Rattle.

But Mr *Menage* (99) corrected this Fault in the Edition he procured of *Sarrazin*'s Works; he cauſed *Neuf Mois, Nine Months*, to be put inſtead of *Neuf Ans, Nine Years*. Finally, the Compariſon of *Achilles* to a Child, that *cries for it's Baby*, has it's Foundation in the *Iliad*; where we ſee that *Achilles*, having, loſt his Concubine *Briſeïs*, runs all in Tears to make his Complaint to his Mother, and that the good Lady comforts him, as if he were a little Boy.

(99) Menage, *as above*.

Χειρὶ τέ μιν κατερεξεν, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζε,
Τέκνον, τι κλαίεις; τι δέ σε φρένας ἵκετο πένθος;
'Εξαυδα, μὴ κεῦθε νόῳ ἵνα ειδωμεν ἄμφω (100).

She ſeiz'd his Hand - - - - - - -
And thus the Sorrow of his Soul explores.
Why grives my Son? Thy Anguiſh let me ſhare,
Reveal the Cauſe, and truſt a Parent's Care.
POPE.

(100) Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. ver. 361.

The Majeſty of the *Epic* Poeſy ſuffered theſe Meanneſſes in thoſe Times. Therefore let us not regard them. Let us agree that *Homer* was a fine Genius, let us be pleaſed with the Fruitfulneſs and Eloquence of his Muſe, but let us add,

—— Sed ille,
Si foret hoc noſtrum fato delapſus in ævum, *&c.* (101).

—— *But He,*
Were he to live in theſe correcter Times, &c.

[*H*] *Dragged him round the Walls of* Troy.] Perhaps no Poet, before *Virgil*, ever aſſerted, that the dead Body of *Hector* was dragged three times about the Walls of *Troy*:

Ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros (102).

Thrice round the Trojan *Walls* Achilles *drew*
The Corps of Hector, *whom in Fight he ſlew.*
DRYDEN.

The Number of Turns, remarked by *Homer*, relate only to the Sepulchre of *Patroclus*; and it is very probable, that *Virgil* converted the three Circuits about the Sepulchre, of which *Homer* (103) had expreſsly made mention, into three Compaſſes round the Walls; I ſay, that he changed them in that manner, either through a Defect of Memory, or for the ſake of the Verſe. The Liberty taken in this Alteration has ſcarce been imitated by any Body; you no more find the three Circuits round the Walls in the Authors who lived after *Virgil*, than in thoſe who preceeded him. *Sophocles* (104), *Euripides* (105), *Ovid* (106), *Seneca* (107), *Statius* (108), *Dictys Cretenſis* (109), *Plato* (110), *Cicero* (111), *Hyginus* (112), *Philoſtratus* (113), *Libanius* (114), *Servius* (115), *Tzetzes* (116), *Euſtathius* (117), mention indeed of the dragging of *Hector*, but not the Number of Turns. As much as I can remember, there is only the Author of the *Leſſer Iliad*, in *Latin* Verſe, who mentions three Courſes round the Walls, and three round the Tomb. This Author's Name is *Pindarus Thebanus*; he was cited by the old Scholiaſt of *Statius*, which *Voſſius* did not know (118). *Barthius* has mentioned him often in the great Volume of his *Adverſaria*, and elſewhere (119). I know that *Auſonius*, in the Summary of the twenty ſecond Book of the *Iliad*, declares that *Hector* was dragged three times round the Walls of *Troy*; but I know alſo that he was cenſured for it (120), and that this Error made one of his Commentators believe, that *Auſonius* was not Author of all the Summaries which we have under his Name. Finally, the Treatment of the dead Body, the Diſcourſe which *Achilles* had with *Hector*, ready to expire, the Liberty he granted to every one of inſulting and ſtriking the dead Body, that Venal Soul, which ſuffered itſelf to be at laſt perſuaded, by rich Preſents, to ſend *Priam* the Body of his Son, are Things ſo far remote, I will not ſay from Heroic Virtue, but from the moſt Common Generoſity, that it muſt neceſſarily be judg'd, either that *Homer* had no manner of Idea of Heroïſm, or that he had only a Deſign to deſcribe the Character of a meer Brute. He repreſents *Achilles* to us, as wiſhing himſelf ſavage enough to eat *Hector*'s Fleſh raw:

(101) Horat. Sat. x. lib. 1.

(102) Æn. lib. 1. ver. 483.

(103) Iliad. lib. 23. ver. 13. & lib. 24. ver. 16.

(104) In Ajace, ver. 1045.

(105) In Androm. ver. 108, 399.

(106) Metam. lib. 12. ver. 501. Amorum, lib. 2. Eleg. 1. ver. 32. & In Ibin, ver. 333.

(107) Troad. Act. 3. ver. 413. Agam. Act. 3. ver. 447.

(108) Achil. 1. ver. 6.

(109) Lib. 3.

(110) De Republ. lib. 3. Tom. 2. pag. 391. B.

(111) Tuſcul. I.

(112) Cap. 106.

(113) In Heroic. pag. 697.

(114) Progymn. pag. 100. D.

(115) In Virg. Ecl. 9. ver. 6.

(116) P. 75.

(117) In Homeri Iliad. χ. ver. 401.

(118) De Hiſtor. Lat. pag. 819.

(119) *See his Commentary on* Statius, Tom. 1. pag. 340, & Tom. 3. p. 393. 1609.

(120) *See the* Diatribes *of* Mariang. Accurſ. *upon* Auſonius.

Αἲ γὰρ πως αὐτόν μαὶ μένος κε θυμὸς ἀνείη
Ὦμ' ἀποταμνόμενον κρέα ἔδμεναι (121).

Cou'd I myſelf the bloody Banquent join!
No! —— to the Dogs thy Carcaſe I reſign.
POPE.

(121) Iliad. lib. 22. ver. 346.

The Poet did not ſo much as comprehend, that, to do more Honour to his Hero, he ought not to have aſcribed to his Enemy ſo much Cowardice and Weakneſs as he does.

[*I*] *Funeral —— which* Moreri's *Dictionary has mentioned ſome Circumſtances with very little Exactneſs.*] This Author has ſaid, that the Gods lamented the Death of *Achilles* ſeventeen Days; but he ought not to have cited *Homer*, without quoting the Place, where he ſpeaks of it. Now it cannot be in the *Iliad*, for he ſtrictly obſerved the Rule, which forbids to bury the Hero of an *Epic* Poem, in the Poem itſelf. *Virgil* obſerved it alſo. He ought to have ſaid then, that *Homer* ſpeaks of *Achilles*'s Funeral in the twenty fourth Book of the *Odyſſey*, where he introduces that Epiſode on the Occaſion of *Penelope*'s Suitors, killed by *Ulyſſes*. They have done wrong in the Edition of *Amſterdam*, to put the Continuators on *Homer* in the Place of *Homer* himſelf. But this is not all: They ſhould not have ſaid *The Gods* in general, without ſpecifying what *Homer* particularly mentions, to wit, That *Thetis*, accompanied by the Sea Goddeſſes, came to the Camp of the *Greeks*, to ſolemnize the Funeral Rites of her Son jointly with them, and that the nine Muſes aſſiſted with their mournful Elegies. He might have cited *Pindar* for this laſt Circumſtance.

Τὸν μὲν ὔτε θάνοντ' ἀοιδαὶ
ἔλιποντ' ἀλλά οἱ
παρά τε πυρὰν, τάφον
θ' Ἑλικώνιαι παρθένοι
ἔςαν, ἐπὶ θρῆνοντε πο-
λύφαμον ἔχευαν. ἔδο-
ξεν ἄρα δ' ἀθανάτοις
ἐσλόν γε φῶτα κὶ φθιμένον ὕ-
μνοις Θεᾶν διδομεν (122)

(122) Pindar. Iſthm. Od. 8. pag. 753.

They buried him in the Promontory *Sigæum* [*K*]; and after the taking of the City, they ſacrificed *Philoxena* on his Tomb, as his *Manes* required. This Warrior, the moſt violent of all Warriors, and ſo Brave, that his Name became ſignificant of the Higheſt Valour [*L*], was very fond of Muſic [*M*] and Poetry (*p*), and paſs'd for the handſomeſt

(*p*) *See the Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* ACHILLEA.

In Death the Theme of Heavenly Verſe,
Each weeping Muſe attends his Hearſe,
Ordain'd, in never-dying Song,
The Hero's Glory to prolong.

What the Dictionary adds, on the Authority of *Homer* again, that, after theſe ſeventeen Days, *the young Men of* Theſſaly *performed* Achilles's *Funeral Rites, where they wept, crowned with Flowers of Amaranth,* ſhould, one would think, be found in the ſame Place of the *Odyſſey*, where the ſeventeen Days Mourning are mentioned. Yet it is not there; and I am much afraid, that Mr *Moreri* made uſe of ſome Book, where the Ceremony was ill related, which *Philoſtratus* takes Notice of in the Picture of *Neoptolemus*. It is, that the *Greeks*, having been ordered by the Oracle of *Dodona*, to go every Year and celebrate the Anniverſary of *Achilles*, the *Theſſalians* were the firſt, who added Crowns of *Amaranth* to the other Ceremonies.

[*K*] *They buried him in the Promontory of* Sigæum.] Almoſt all the Dictionaries obſerve this. *Lloyd* rejecting the other Citations of *Pliny*, which he had found much corrupted in *Charles Stephens*, preſerves that of the twelfth Chapter of the fourth Book; but not juſtly; for *Pliny* does not ſpeak there of the Tomb which was at *Sigæum*, but of That, which was ſaid to be in an Iſland of the *Euxine* Sea. He ſays, in the thirtieth Chapter of the fifth Book, that there had been a City called *Achilleon*, near the Tomb of *Achilles*, on the Coaſt of *Sigæum*. It is to be wondered at, that, after the Correction of this Paſſage, *Iſaac Voſſius* (123) ſhould yet accuſe *Pliny* of placing *Achilles*'s Tomb on the Banks of *Rhœteum*, and that of *Ajax* on the Banks of *Sigæum*; *Pliny* has done quite the contrary. *Solinus* (124), by a Miſtake common enough to him, tranſported this Sepulchre to another neighbouring Cape, to wit, That of *Rhœteum*, where the Tomb of *Ajax* was. This Miſtake is in the Emblems of *Alciatus*.

(123) In Melam, pag. 98.

(124) Polyhiſt. cap. 40.

Æacidæ tumulum Rhœteo in Littore cernis (125.)

(125) Alciat. Embl. 136.

------ *You ſee*
Achilles' *Tomb on the* Rhœtean *Shore.*

His Commentators own, that he is miſtaken, except *Pignorius*, who maintained the contrary. It is nevertheleſs certain, by the unanimous Teſtimony of Authors, that the Tomb of *Achilles* was on the Shore of *Sigæum*. We have already obſerved, that it was a Cuſtom to go thither every Year, to offer Sacrifices to him; the Tradition was, that his Apparition appeared there in Armour, and in a threatning Poſture; which did not hinder *Apollonius* from wiſhing he could converſe with it (126). I think it was given out likewiſe, that Miracles were wrought at his Tomb. See the following Article.

(126) Philoſtr. in vitâ Apollon. lib. 4. cap. 3. & 4.

[*L*] *His Name became ſignificant of the Higheſt Valour.*] Mr *Moreri* pretends, without citing the Book or the Chapter, that *Aulus Gellius* has ſaid, that when they would ſpeak of a Brave Soldier, they called him an *Achilles*: But it is not true, that *Aulus Gellius* has ſaid any ſuch thing. He ſays only, in the eleventh Chapter of the ſecond Book, that *Sicinius Dentatus* was called the *Roman Achilles*, for having performed very ſurprizing Actions in War. Our Author reports ſome Circumſtances concerning them, taken out of that Paſſage of *Aulus Gellius*, without telling us from whence he borrows them: So that he quotes this Author, not when he ought, but when he ought not; not when he borrows what is really *His*, but when he gives him what is not his due. If he had cited *Servius* (127), he would have alledged a better Proof. Now the Name of *Achilles* was given, not only to denote *Martial* Vigour, but even That ſhewn in the Wars of *Venus*; witneſs the *Debauchee*, in *Petronius*, who finding himſelf already dead in thoſe Parts, which are not to be named, cries out, *Funerata eſt illa pars corporis quia quondam* ACHILLES *eram**. Perhaps he was more vexed at this, than *Milo* was, when he loſt the Strength of his Arms, and *Cicero* would have thought him more worthy of Cenſure, than that *Athletic*, for very good Reaſons. "Quæ vox poteſt eſſe contemptior, quam Milonis Crotoniatæ, qui, cum jam ſenex eſſet, athletaſque ſe in curriculo exercentes videret, adſpexiſſe lacertos ſuos dicitur, illacrymanſque dixiſſe, at hi quidem jam mortui ſunt? Non verò tam iſti quam tu ipſe nugator, neque enim ex te unquam es nobilitatus, ſed ex lateribus & lacertis tuis (28). —— *Can any thing be more ridiculous, than the Complaint of* Milo *the* Crotonian, *who, in his old Age, when he ſaw the Wreſtlers exerciſing themſelves in the Ring, is ſaid to have looked at his own Arms, and to have cried out with Tears, But theſe, alas! are now dead —! Theſe Men are not ſuch Triflers, as you are, whoſe Nobility roſe not from any Merit of your own, but from the Robuſtneſs of your Sides and Arms.*"

(127) Servius in Virgil. Ecl. 3. ver. 79. & in Ecl. 4. ver. 34.

* Petron. Sat. C. 129.

(128) Cic. de Senect. cap. 9.

The Dictionary of *Charles Stephens*, in the Edition of *Paris* 1620. reviſed and corrected by *Frederic Morel*, Royal Profeſſor, and in that of *Geneva* 1662. corrected again from a great Number of Faults, as the Title informs us, attributes to *Aulus Gellius*, when rightly quoted, not that *Brave Soldiers*, but that *Captains* of an extraordinary Valour had the Appellation of *Achilles*; and that *Money*, or *Silver* (*Argentum*) was called *Achillean*, becauſe it was *inſuperable*, or when it was *inſuperable*. "Tantæ fortitudinis fuiſſe fertur (ACHILLES) ut, teſte *Gellio*, lib. 2. c. 11. inſigni fortitudine duces ACHILLES appellentur, & Argentum vocetur ACHILLEUM, quod ſit inſuperabile & inſolubile (129)." The *Latin* Text of *Charles Stephens* may be conſtrued both the forementioned ways; and I confeſs alſo, that by pleading a Confuſion and Inaccuracy in the Period, he may eſcape the Cenſure of having imputed to *Aulus Gellius*, what concerns this pretended *Achillean Money*. But neither *Charles Stephens*, nor his Correctors, nor Mr *Lloyd*, nor Mr *Hofman*, who followed him cloſely, can juſtify themſelves for having miſtaken *argentum* for *argumentum*. For the Epithet, borrowed from *Achilles*, is applied to an *inſuperable Objection*. And in the Schools they commonly call the principle Argument of a Sect, it's ACHILLES. Which was not ſo much becauſe *Achilles* was an invincible Warrior, as in illuſion to the intricate Difficulty, which *Zeno* of *Elæa* propoſed (130) againſt the Reality of Motion. He compared a Tortoiſe to *Achilles*, in order to ſhew that a ſlow Motion, which ſhould preceed a quick one never ſo little, could never be outſtript by it. *Calepinus*, who otherwiſe cites *Aulus Gellius* erroneouſly, reads *argumentum* and not *argentum*, which teaches us that the Evil proceeds from an ancient Source, which formed as it were two kinds of *Copyiſts*. One having, it is probable, loſt half of the Word *argumentum*, thro' the Error of the Printer, who ſubſtituted *argentum*, were the Cauſe, that their Deſcendants preſerved this laſt Word from Hand to Hand; the other have not yet degenerated in this reſpect; ſo that thoſe who apply to them, as *Calepinus*'s Correctors did, avoid the Blunder of the former.

(129) Car. Stephanus in Diction. Voc. *Achilles.*

(130) *See* Ariſtot. lib. 6. Phyſic. cap. 9. & ibi Simplicius, & Themiſtius. *See alſo* Diogen. Laert. lib. 9. in Zenone.

[*M*] *Was very fond of Muſic.*] Mr *Moreri* is not accurate in his Account of this: He ſays, *That* Homer *has often ſhewed us, that the Sound of the Lyre had a marvellous Power to divert* Achilles's *Anger, and calm that furious Paſſion, which gave the* Trojans *ſo much Trouble.* He adds, *That* Athenæus *obſerved it alſo after* Theopompus. But it is certain that we are only told in *Homer*, that the Deputies of the Army found *Achilles* ſinging the brave Actions of great Men to the Lyre, to divert himſelf.

Τὸν δ' εὗρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ
Τῇ ὅγε θυμὸν ἔτερπεν, ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν (131).

Amus'd at eaſe, the God-like Man they found,
Pleas'd with the ſolemn Harp's harmonious Sound.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
*With this his Leiſure he diverts *, and ſings*
Th' immortal Deeds of Heroes and of Kings.

Pope.

(131) Iliad. lib. 9. ver. 186.

* *The Reaſon of the Alteration of Mr* Pope's *third Line* (*which he gave,* With this he ſooths his angry Soul, &c.) *is to accommodate it to Mr* Bayle's *Sentiment. Perhaps the Notion might ariſe from the Ambiguity of the Words* θυμὸν ἔτερπε, *which ſignify both* mentem delectare, *and* iram demulcere.

Achilles,

handſomeſt Man of his Time [*N*]. If his Beauty made him amiable to the Women, he

Achilles, having been affronted by *Agamemnon*, had at that time abandoned the common Cauſe out of Spite and Anger. This is all that *Homer* tells us of it. As for Reflexions, he makes none on the Employ, wherein the Deputies found *Achilles*: *Athenæus* (132) indeed concludes from thence that *Homer* intended to ſignify, that the Lyre was of great help to that Hero, in moderating the violent Heat of his Anger. But it is not true, that *Athenæus* makes this Remark after *Theopompus*, and I am very much miſtaken if the Cauſe of *Moreri*'s Error be not a Paſſage of *Voſſius* in his Treatiſe of Muſic. This learned Man, having cited *Athenæus* for the Obſervation, which we have juſt now ſeen (133), goes on to ſay, that the Embaſſadors of the *Getæ*, who were ſent on a Treaty of Peace, or a Truce, to Perſons, whoſe Wrath was to be appeaſed, preſented themſelves playing on the Lyre, and alledges *Athenæus* for his Authority, who reports it out of the forty ſixth Book of the Hiſtory of *Theopompus*. Mr *Hofman* is very near in the ſame Error, as I have obſerved. They would have found their Account a little better in *Philoſtratus* (134); for he obſerves, that *Chiron*, perceiving that *Achilles* could not conquer his Anger, taught him Muſic.

Some have ſaid, that *Achilles* did not ſing the fine Exploits of great Men on the Lyre, but the Evils which Love had made him ſuffer:

> Talis cantata Briſeïde venit Achilles
> Acrior, & poſitis erupit in Hectora plectris (135).

> *Thus to his Lyre his Loſs* Achilles *ſung*;
> *(On every Note the fair* Briſeis *hung)*
> *Then ruſh'd on* Hector, *doom'd, alas! to prove*
> *The Force of Valour raiſed by injur'd Love.*

> Ille Pelethroniam cecinit miſerabile carmen
> Ad citharam, citharâ tenſior ipſe ſuâ (136).

> *His Lyre he tun'd to his complaining Song,*
> *Himſelf more tortur'd, than the Lyre he ſtrung.*

Theſe are Slanders on our Hero, which may be refuted by the Anſwer which *Alexander the Great* made to Him, who offered him the Lyre of *Paris*: *I care but little for This*, ſaid he to him, *but I would willingly ſee That of* Achilles, *on which he ſung the Actions of the Heroes of former Times*. *Plutarch*, who reports the Thing thus in the Life of This Prince, attributes another Anſwer to him elſewhere (137), to wit this: *I have nothing to do with it: for I have that of* Achilles, *to the Sound whereof he repoſed himſelf, in ſinging the Praiſes of valiant Perſons; but That of* Paris *has too ſoft and effeminate an Harmony, being employed only in Love Songs*. This is not the only Example, which ſhews that *Plutarch* made himſelf ſuch a Maſter of certain Facts, that ſometimes he turned and applied them one way, and ſometimes another. Surely *Alexander* did not give both theſe Anſwers, and it is probable the laſt is the Invention of the Hiſtorian. As for the Words, *for I have that of* Achilles, it is very probable *Alexander* wiſhed to have it, but undoubtedly it is not true, that he was really in Poſſeſſion of it. *Ælian* (138) relates the Fact conformably to the firſt Narrative of *Plutarch*. A Commentator on *Ælian* (139) aſſures us, that *Homer* repreſents *Achilles*, in divers Places, ſinging the Exploits of great Captains to the Lyre. But he is miſtaken; *Homer* does it but in one Place; and his Error, being that of a Man much ſuperior in Point of Literature, might comfort *Moreri*, if he were yet living. *Kuhnius* (140) does not correct this Miſtake. *Statius*, who ſuppoſes, againſt the expreſs Words of *Homer*, that *Achilles* ſung his Amours, and his *Briſeïs*, during his Retreat, aſſures us in other Places, that, from his moſt tender Youth, he had employed his Muſical Inſtruments in *Chiron*'s Cave, to celebrate the great Actions of the Ancients.

> - - - - - Nec major in iſtis
> Sudor, Apollineo quam fila ſonantia plectro
> Cum quaterem, priſcoſque virûm mirarer honores (141).

> *No greater Toil, than when the Lyre I ſtrung,*
> *And Heroes were the Subject of my Song.*

They were the Combats of *Hercules*, thoſe of *Pollux*, and thoſe of *Theſeus*, which he ſung before his Mother, who came to viſit him in this Cave, to which he added his Father's famous Nuptials.

> - - - - - Canit ille libens immania laudum
> Semina, quî tumidæ ſuperarit juſſa novercæ
> Amphytrioniades: crudum quo Bebryca cœſtu
> Obruerit Pollux: quanto circumdata nexu
> Ruperit Ægides Minoi brachia Tauri.
> Maternos in fine thoros, ſuperiſque gravatum
> Pelion (142).

> *The Lyre he takes: then, How* Amphytrion's *Son*
> *Each cruel Labour patiently o'ercome,*
> *Well-pleas'd he ſings; and next how* Bebryx *fell,*
> *(Thy* Cœſtus, Pollux, *ſent his Shade to Hell)*
> *The* Minotaur *and* Theſeus *next employ*
> *His lengthen'd Song; and laſt his Mother's Joy,*
> *To grace her Nuptials when the Gods were met,*
> *And* Pelion *groan'd beneath the Heavenly Weight.*

I own *Philoſtratus* makes him ſing ſeveral Subjects, under the tuition of *Chiron*, which related infinitely leſs to War, than to Love; *Hyacinthus*, *Narciſſus*, *Adonis*, *Hilas*, &c. (143)

We ſhall end this Remark with ſomething relating to the Lyre itſelf of *Achilles*. It is ſaid, that *Corybas* (144) the Son of *Jaſus*, and of *Cybele*, being gone into *Phrygia* with his Uncle *Dardanus*, ſettled the Worſhip of *Cybele* there, and gave his Name to the *Corybantes*, who were the Prieſts of that Goddeſs, and brought thither the Lyre of *Mercury*. It was kept at *Lyrneſſus*, from whence *Achilles* carry'd it away, when he ſeiz'd on That City. *Homer* is not of this Opinion; for he ſays (145), that the Lyre of This Hero was found in the City of *Eetion*, that is, in *Thebes* of *Phrygia*, when the *Greeks* plunder'd it.

[*N*] *For the handſomeſt Man of his Time.*] Inſtead of this Fact, of which there are ſuch authentic Proofs, Mr *Moreri* obſerves only, that *Philoſtratus* ſays, *that* Achilles *was of a fine Stature*. *Achilles* boaſts Himſelf, in the twenty firſt Book of the *Iliad*, that He is both *Tall* and *Beautiful*,

> καλός τε μεγας τε.

And when *Homer* ſpeaks of *Nireus*, he remarks that, after *Achilles*, he was the handſomeſt of all the *Greeks*:

> Νιρεὺ, ὃς κάλλιςος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε
> Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν, μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα (146).

> Nireus, *in faultleſs Shape, and blooming Grace,*
> *The lovelieſt Youth of all the* Grecian *Race,*
> Next to *Achilles*.
>
> POPE.

See the Scholiaſt of *Homer* on the 131ſt Verſe of the 1ſt Book of the *Iliad*, where he ſays (147), that *Achilles*, the handſomeſt of all the Heroes, had a Face ſo like a Woman, that it was eaſy for him to paſs for a Maid at the Court of *Lycomedes*. *Statius* ſays,

> - - - - - Plurimus illi
> Invictâ Virtute decor, fallitque tuentes
> Ambiguus, tenuique latens diſcrimine ſexus (148).

> *A graceful Form cloath'd his Heroic Mind,*
> *Ambiguous, and to either Sex inclin'd.*

As for his Stature, I ſhall paſs by what *Philoſtratus* ſays, in the Life of *Apollonius* (149), that the Shade of *Achilles*, being conjured up by that Philoſopher, appeared at firſt five Cubits tall, and afterwards twelve, and of a Beauty impoſſible to be expreſs'd. Neither will I aſſert with *Lycophron*, that *Achilles* was nine Cubits tall; This is not what we call a fine Stature: It can only be of Service to *Quintus Calaber* (150), who made a Giant of him, and is by no means a Juſtification of the Sieur *Moreri*. We may ſay then, that it is very true, that the Author (151) whom he cites,

(132) Athen. lib. 14. pag. 624.

(133) Voſſius de Muſic. pag. 45. *The Paſſage of* Athenæus *is in pag.* 627.

(134) In Heroic. pag. 705. C. *See alſo* Ælian. Hiſt. div. lib. 14. cap. 23.

(135) Statii Silv. 4. lib. 4. ver. 35.

(136) *In his* Priapeia 69.

(137) Plutarch *of* Alexander's *Fortune*, lib. 1. cap. 6.

(138) Ælian. Hiſtor. Var. lib. 9. cap. 38.

(139) Scheffer *upon this Paſſage of* Ælian.

(140) Kuhnius in Ælian ibid.

(141) Statii Achill. lib. 2. ver. 442.

(142) Statii Achill. lib. 1. ver. 188.

(143) Philoſtratus *in* Heroic. pag. 705. *calls them* τὰς ἀρχαιὰς ἥλικας *which* Vigenere *tranſlates*, The Ancients, who were in the ſame Age with *Achilles*. *This is very ambiguous; he had better uſed the Word* Century *than* Age, *and doubtleſs* Philoſtratus *did not mean that they were cotemporary with* Achilles, *but that they were ſo with each other.*

(144) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 6.

(145) Iliad. lib. 9.

(146) Ibid. lib. 2. ver. 673.

(147) *See* Plato in Conviv.

(148) Achill. lib. 1. ver. 335. *See alſo* Dictys Cret. lib. 1.

(149) Lib. 4. chap. 5. Vigenere *cites Book* 3. *and ſays, That the Shade appeared firſt of the Height of ſeven Cubits.*

(150) Lib. 1. ver. 514. lib. 3. ver. 716, & 722.

(151) In Heroic. pag. 705.

he lov'd them as well on his ſide [*O*]; and it is even ſaid that his Amours extended to Perſons of his own Sex [*P*]. We ſhall ſee in the following Article what he did after his Death, and a Miracle he wrought, which *Tertullian* has taken Notice of. I refer you to the *Homericus Achilles (q)* of the late Mr *Drelincourt*, as a Collection of the moſt compleat Literature that can be met with in Relation to this Hero of *Paganiſm*.

(q) Printed at Leyden *in* 1693. *See the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned,* May 1693. pag. 511.

cites, gives This Hero a fine and tall Stature, and a Face that ſhot forth Rays, *a Noſe neither* Aquiline *nor hooked, but ſuch as it ought always to continue.* Thus *Vigenere* tranſlates it, apparently from the *Latin* Verſion: I ſhould chooſe to render it, *ſuch as it ought to be,* and give This Signification to the Verb μέλλω.

[O] *He loved them as well on his ſide.*] The Incontinency of *Achilles* was both a forward and a laſting Fruit: We have ſeen, that he got *Deïdamia* with Child at ten Years of Age: And his future Atcheivements of this kind were anſwerable to this early Beginning. It was not long before *Iphigenia* experienced his Abilities (152), in the ſame way; and if *Diana* believed that they offered her a Virgin-Sacrifice in the Perſon of this Daughter of *Agamemnon,* ſhe was deceived. *Achilles* had taken Care, that, if the worſt came to the worſt, *Iphigenia* ſhould not go out of the World without having taſted both the Joys of Conception, and the Pains of Labour. He ſaw *Helen* on the Walls of *Troy*, and became ſo furiouſly in love with her, that he had no Reſt, and was forced to have recourſe to his Mother (153), and to beg of her to procure him by ſome means or other the Enjoyment of this Beauty. A fine Employ for a Mother! *Thetis* accepted of it, and invented a kind of Pimping, which conſiſted in making her Son believe, that he enjoyed the Fair One: But it was a meer Dream; and yet This imaginary Repaſt appeaſed *Achilles*'s Appetite. Though he loſt *Briſeïs*, he did not lie alone; he was too careful in providing for his Bed. He could find *Relays* at Home in caſe of Neceſſity; *Diomedea* (154) ſupplied the Place of *Briſeïs*. He had no ſooner ſeen *Polyxena*, the Daughter of *Priam*, than he deſired to make her his Wife; and not being able to ſatisfy this Deſire in his Lifetime, he required that, after his Death, ſhe ſhould be ſacrificed to him (155), that he might enjoy her in the *Elyſian* Fields. He had ſo well deſerved in this World to be called (156) ἐρωτικός, ἀσελγής, ἀκρατής, ἐρωτικώτατος (*Amorous, Incontinent,* &c.) (157), that it was thought he would ſtand in need of Women, even in the other, and therefore they married him there both to *Medea* and *Helen*. He was accuſed (158) of having fallen in love with the *Amazon* *Pentheſilea,* after he had taken her Life away, and of having gratified his Paſſion on her dead Body. We ſhall take Notice of this in the Article THERSITES. See alſo the Article TENES.

[P] *Perſons of his own Sex.*] Some will have it (159), that *Troilus*, the Son of *Priamus*, died ſmothered in the Arms of the laſcivious *Achilles*, who would have violated him, but found too much Reſiſtance. A very malicious Turn is given to the Choice, which *Ajax* ſuggeſted to *Menelaus*, when he adviſed him to cauſe the News of the Death of *Patroclus* to be carried to *Achilles* by the handſome *Antilochus*. *Philoſtratus* (160), who ſays plainly enough what ſort of Acquaintance there might be between the Hero and the Meſſenger, who was choſen, is miſtaken in relation to the Author of this Choice; for it was not *Menelaus*, as he ſays, who caſt his Eyes on *Antilochus*; it was *Ajax* (161), who propos'd it to *Menelaus*. But it is chiefly with reſpect to *Patroclus*, that they have given a criminal Turn to the Paſſion of *Achilles*. *Plato* (162) takes his part upon this againſt *Æſchylus*. *Xenophon* (163), is of *Plato*'s Opinion in it. *Sextus Empiricus* (164) handles the Matter like a Man of his Profeſſion, I mean Pyrrhonically. But *Lucian* and *Philoſtratus* (165) declare him guilty of it: One of them pretends that *Achilles* was not enough upon his Guard in lamenting his Friend's Death, and that he ſuffered the Truth to eſcape him in theſe Words.

Μηρῶν τε τῶν σῶν εὐσεβῆς ὁμιλία
Καλλίων. (166)

Femorum & tuorum ſancta converſatio
Melior,

What ſhall we ſay of this Diſtich to the 44th Epigram of the 11th Book of *Martial?*

Bryſeïs multum quamvis averſa jaceret,
Æacidæ propior levis amicus erat.

What tho' Briſeis *lay not by his Side,*
His ſmoth-fac'd Friend her Abſence well ſupply'd.

(152) *See* Tzetzes in Lycophron.

(153) Id. ib.

(154) Iliad. 9. ver. 660.

(155) Seneca Troad. ver. 945.

(156) Libanius, Progymn. pag. 101. B. & pag. 127. A. Declam. IV. pag. 256. B. & Orat. IX. pag. 258. C.

(157) Plutarch. in Amator. pag. 761. D.

(158) Tzetzes in Lycophr. Libanius, Prog. p. 101. C. & pag. 153. A.

(159) Servius in Æn. 1. Lycophron, ver. 307. & ibi. Tzetzes.

(160) In Antil. pag. 670. & Icon. pag. 78[illegible]. D.

(161) Hom. Il. 16. ver. 628, 651, 653, 655.

(162) In Conviv. Tom. 3. pag. 180. A.

(163) Ibid. pag. 898. A.

(164) Pyrrh. hyp. 3. pag. 1[illegible]2. A.

(165) Philoſtr. in Epiſt. pag. 903. A.

(166) Lucian in Amor lib. pag. 1071. Tom. 1. Ed. Salmurienſis.

ACHILLEA,

ACHILLEA, an Iſland of the *Euxine* Sea, called alſo the *Iſland of Heroes*, the Iſland *Macaron (a)*, or the *Iſland of the Bleſſed*, *Leuce*, *&c.* was, according to ſome, over againſt the *Boryſthenes*, and, according to others, over againſt the *Danube*. The Name of *Achillea* was given it, becauſe the Tomb of *Achilles* was to be ſeen there *(b)*, and becauſe it was conſecrated to that Hero. *Thetis (c)* or *Neptune* gave it him, and he obtained Divine Honours there, a Temple, an Oracle, an Altar, Sacrifices, and the like. Some ſpeak of this Iſland *(d)* as if it were uninhabited, and that it was unſafe to paſs the Night in it; which obliged Perſons, who went on Shore there, to return on Board toward the Evening, after having ſeen the Antiquities of the Place, the Temple, and the Gifts, which were conſecrated to *Achilles*. This Hero was not there alone; the Souls of many other Heroes had likewiſe their Abode there [*A*]; and as for *Achilles*, he muſt neceſſarily have been preſent both in Body and Soul; for he married *Helen* there *(e)*, and had a Son by her, whoſe Name was *Euphorion*, whom *Jupiter* loved criminally, and without Succeſs, and whom he killed with a Thunderbolt, to puniſh him for his Refuſal. Others ſay *(f)*, that *Achilles* had *Iphigenia* to Wife in this Iſland, whom *Diana* had tranſported thither, after having communicated to her the Gift of Immortal Youth, with a Divine Nature. Laſtly, others pretend, that the Wife, whom he married in the other World, was the famous *Medea (g)*; but the moſt common Opinion gives him *Helen* to Wife. It is

(a) Plinii Hiſt. Nat. lib. 4. cap. 13. item c. 12. Pauſan. lib. 3. pag. 102.

(b) Mela, lib. 2. chap. 7. Scylax, pag. 28.

(c) The Author of Peripl. Ponti Euxini, *publiſhed by* J. Voſſius: Quintus Calaber. ſub fin. lib. 3.

(d) Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. chap. 8. *you will find his Words in the Remark* [*A*].

(e) Ptolem. Hephæſt. apud. Photium. pag. 480.

(f) Anton. Liberalis cap. 27.

(g) Tzetzes in Lycophron. Schol. Apollon. lib. 4.

[*A*] *The Souls of many other Heroes had likewiſe their Abode there* (1)]. This appears from a Paſſage of *Pauſanias* (2), where he relates that *Leonymus*, General of the *Crotoniates*, having been at the Iſland of *Leuce* to be cured of a Wound, reported, That he had ſeen there *Achilles*, the two *Ajax's*, *Patroclus*, *Antilochus*, &c. I wonder *Ammianus Marcellinus* forgot this in the Paſſage, where he tells us, that this Iſland was a dangerous Place: "In hac Taurica Inſula Leuce ſine Habitatoribus ullis Achilli eſt dedicata; in quam ſi fuerint quidam fortè delati, viſis antiquitatis veſtigiis temploque & donariis eidem heroi conſecratis, veſperi repetunt naves; aiunt enim non ſine diſcrimine vitæ illic quemquam pernoctare (3). —— *In this* Tauric *the uninhabited Iſland of* Leuce, *is conſecrated to* Achilles; *at which, whoever happen to arrive, after having viewed the Remains of Antiquity, the Temple, and the Gifts conſecrated to That Hero, go back to their Ships at Night; for they ſay, that no one can paſs the Night there, without endangering his Life.*"

(1) Dionyſ. Perieg.

(2) Pauſan. lib. 3. pag. 102.

(3) Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 8.

[*B*] *The*

is the Opinion, which *Philoſtratus* and *Pauſanias* followed (*h*). The firſt relates (*i*), That if Strangers, who landed upon this Iſland, could not ſail again the ſame Day, they were obliged to paſs the Night in their Ships, where *Achilles* and *Helen* paid them a Viſit, and drank with them, and entertain'd them with ſinging their own Amours, and *Homer*'s Verſes. He adds, that, at that Time, *Achilles* cultivated the Talent of Poetry, which *Calliope* had beſtowed on him [*B*], with ſo much the more Care, as he was not interrupted by Warlike Occupations. He adds, beſides, that thoſe, who ſailed near this Shore, heard Muſic, which fill'd them with an Admiration, mix'd with Horror; and that they heard likewiſe the neighing of Horſes, claſhing of Arms, and warlike Shouts. *Maximus Tyrius*, and *Arrian*, tell us things no leſs ſurprizing [*C*]. It was here, no doubt, that *Achilles* wrought the Miracle, which *Tertullian* ſpeaks of [*D*]. He wrought many more, among which That, which he perform'd againſt the Impiety of the *Amazons* [*E*], who endeavoured to plunder his Temple,

[*B*] *The Talent of Poetry, which* Calliope *had beſtowed on him.*] Some will have it, that, when *Plutarch* relates, that *Minerva*, the Goddeſs of Science, diſtilled Drops of *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* into the Lips of *Achilles*, who refuſed all kind of Nouriſhment, he would intimate to us that This Hero was Maſter of *Univerſal Science.* Ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ νέκταρός τι καὶ ἀμβροσίας ἐνέσταξε μὴ προσιεμένῳ τροφήν (4). *Minerva Achillem, Nutrimentum reſpuentem, Nectare & Ambroſia inſtillatis alluit.* It is one of the Authorities alledg'd by *Lorenzo Craſſo* (5), to prove, that *Achilles* ought to be ranked among the *Greek* Poets. A *Punſter* might call this *infuſing Knowledge into him*, or there never was any ſuch thing. But however it be, *Plutarch*'s Words are of no uſe to prove what *Lorenzo Craſſo* infers from them: They are to be underſtood of a real Nouriſhment of the Body, as appears from the 19th Book of the *Iliad*, from whence they are taken. *Homer* tells us, That *Jupiter*, having perceived that *Achilles* would neither eat nor drink after the Death of *Patroclus*, bid *Minerva* infuſe Nectar and Ambroſia into him, to prevent his being ſtarved to Death.

- - - - Οἱ νέκταρ τε καὶ ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινὴν
Στάξον ἐνὶ στήθεσσ' ἵνα μή μιν λιμὸς ἴκηται. (6)

E'er Thirſt and Want his Forces have oppreſt,
Haſte, and infuſe Ambroſia in his Breaſt.

Pope.

Recourſe muſt be had to *Philoſtratus*, to prove this Hero to have been a Poet (7). He is an Evidence, who is very clear in his Teſtimony.

[*C*] Maximus Tyrius, *and* Arrian *tell us Things no leſs ſurprizing.*] The former tells us, that *Achilles* reſided in an Iſland near the *Euxine* Sea, oppoſite to the *Danube*, and that he had Temples and Altars there; that it was difficult for any one to land there without firſt offering Sacrifice; and that Mariners often ſaw *Achilles* in the Figure of a beautiful Youth, who danced a warlike Dance in golden Armour; ſome heard him ſing, without ſeeing him; others both ſaw and heard him. It happened, that a certain Perſon inadvertently falling aſleep in this Iſland was awaked by *Achilles*, and conducted into a Tent, where he was entertained at Supper. *Patroclus* filled the Wine, and *Achilles* plaid on the Lyre; *Thetis* and the other Deities were preſent (8). *Arrian* had heard ſay, and believed it, that thoſe, who were caſt a Shore on this Iſland by a Storm, went to conſult the Oracle of *Achilles*, to know whether he would accept of that Victim in Sacrifice, which they themſelves ſhould ſelect from the Herd; and that at the ſame time they depoſited on the Altar the Value of it, according to their own Eſtimation; that, if the Oracle rejected their Propoſitions, they added ſomething more to the Price, until they found by it's Conſent, that they had come up to the full Value of it; that, this being done, the Victim preſented itſelf voluntarily in the Temple, without attempting to eſcape; that *Achilles* appeared in a Dream to thoſe, who came near the Iſland, and directed them to the moſt convenient place of Landing; that he ſhewed himſelf alſo ſometimes to thoſe, who were awake, *&c.* (9). *Arrian*, among other Reaſons, thought this worthy of Credit, becauſe *Achilles* died *young*, and was remarkably *beautiful*, and ſo conſtant in his Love and Friendſhip, that he would willingly have died for the Objects of his Love. ὡς καὶ ἐπαποθανεῖν ἑλέσθαι τοῖς παιδικοῖς. The Ambiguity of the laſt Word, and the leaſt Reflexion on the Danger, to which he expoſed himſelf, in order to revenge the Death of *Patroclus*, would induce many Perſons to rank *Arrian* among thoſe who ſay, that that the Paſſion of theſe two Perſons exceeded the Bounds of Friendſhip (10). See the Remark [*P*] of the Article ACHILLES, together with one of the ſtrange Stories related below (11) from *Arrian*; I mean the Story of certain Birds, who ſwept the Temple of *Achilles* every day, in the Iſland *Achillea*.

[*D*] *The Miracle which* Tertullian *ſpeaks of.*] *Tertullian*, as Mr *Moreri* remarks, informs us, That *Achilles* cured an Athletic in a Dream, whoſe Name was *Cleonymus* (12): that is, in plain *Engliſh*, *Cleonymus* dreamed, that he ſaw *Achilles*, who directed him to the neceſſary Remedy. *Tertullian* makes uſe of this Fact, and many others of the like nature, againſt the *Epicureans*, who would not acknowledge any thing ſupernatural in Dreams. This Adventure is but little known, for no traces of it are to be met with in a great Number of Authors, who have amply ſpoken of *Achilles*. *Pamelius*, in his Commentary on *Tertullian*, only refers us to *Homer*, who, to the beſt of my remembrance, takes no notice of this Viſion. A Paſſage, cited by *Leo Allatius*, gives ſome Light into the Matter (13). It imports, that *Leonymus*, General of the *Crotonians*, in the War againſt the *Locrians*, was wounded by an unknown Hand, in an Attack upon a Party of the Enemies Troops, who took no care to entrench themſelves, becauſe they were conſecrated to the Heroes, whoſe Protection was thought to be ſufficient; that The General, finding no Cure, conſulted the Oracle at *Delphi*, which informed him, that *Achilles*, who had wounded him, would alſo cure him; upon which he went to the Iſland of *Leuce*, to offer up his Prayers to That Hero; that he ſaw certain Heroes in his Sleep; that *Achilles* cured him; that the reſt ordered him to diſcover certain things to Mankind; and that *Helen* in particular charged him to tell *Steſichorus*, who was become blind for having wrote againſt her, that he muſt recant, if he would recover his Sight. It is clear that this Hiſtory, and that which *Pauſanias* (14) and *Conon* (15) relate, are the ſame in the main: But in *Pauſanius* it is *Ajax* the Son of *Oïleus*, who wounded *Leonymus*, and afterwards cured him. In *Conon* it is not *Leonymus*, who was wounded and cured by *Ajax*, but *Autoleon*. There are ſome other Differences, which I omit, contenting myſelf with conjecturing, that the *Cleonymus* of *Tertullian* came from This *Leonymus*. Laſtly, I muſt not paſs over what the Author, cited by *Leo Allatius* (16) ſays; which is, that *Homer*, keeping ſome Sheep near *Achilles*'s Tomb, obtained, by his Offerings and Supplications, a Sight of That Hero, who appeared to him, ſurrounded with ſo much Glory, that *Homer* could not bear the Splendor of it; and that he was not only dazzled, but blinded by the Sight.

[*E*] *That which he performed againſt the Impiety of the* Amazons.] Give me leave to relate the Fact, according to *Vigenere*'s Tranſlation. It has it's Beauties, though the Style be antiquated. After having told us, that the *Amazons* built Ships, in order to go and plunder the Temple of *Achilles*, he goes on as follows. *Eſtans abordees en l'Iſle, la premiere choſe qu'elles firent fut de commander à ces eſtrangers de l'Helleſponte d'aller coupper tous les arbres autour du Temple,* &c. (17) i. e. *Having landed at this Iſland, the firſt thing they did was to bid theſe Strangers of the* Helleſpont *cut down all the Trees round about the Temple: But their Axes, flying back upon them, de*ſtroyed

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(*h*) Pauſan. lib. 3. pag. 102.

(*i*) In Heroic.

(4) Plutarch. de facie in orbe Lunæ, p. 938. Edit. Par. 1624.

(5) Iſtoria de Poëti Greci, p. 6. *where he cites the* Latin *Verſion of* Plutarch, *as if he read* aluit, *and not* alluit. Aluit *is at leaſt as good.*

(6) Homer. Il. 19. v. 347.

(7) Philoſtr. Heroic. in Achil. fol. 319. & in Neoptol. fol. 338.

(8) Maximus Tyrius Orat. 27.

(9) Arrian. in Peripl. Ponti Euxini.

(10) *Some learned Perſons have thought that he gives the Elogy of* Adonis *under the Name of* Achilles, *in order to make his Court to the Emperor* Hadrian. *See* Caſaubon in Spartianum, vit. Hadriani, cap. 14, & Triſtan. Comment. Hiſtor. Tom. 1. in Hadrian.

(11) *In the Remark* [*F*].

(12) Tertull. lib. de Anima, cap. 46.

(13) Allatius de patria Homeri, pag. 145.

(14) Pauſan. lib. 3. pag. 102.

(15) Apud. Photium Cod. 186. Narrat. 18. *See* Meziriac *on* Ovid's *Epiſtles*, pag. 332. *who cenſures ſome Miſtakes made by* Vigenere *on the Paſſage of* Pauſanias.

(16) *His Name is* Hermias. *The Paſſage, which* Leo Allatius *cites, is taken out of a Commentary upon* Plato's Phœd. *not printed.*

(17) Philoſtrat. *in the* Neoptol. *of* Vigenere's *Tranſlation*, fol. 341. Tom. 2. Edit. in 4to.

Temple, was not the leaſt. That which relates to the Flight of Birds [*F*], is miſrepreſented by Mr *Moreri*, who moreover gives us a ſeparate Article of a Fountain called ACHILLEA [*G*], wherein *Achilles* was wont to bathe himſelf, and which had a wonderful Quality. *Achilles* was not the only Perſon, who wrought Miracles in the Iſland of *Leuce*; his Wife *Helen* ſhar'd this Reputation with him (*k*), as we ſhall

ſtroyed them on the ſpot, and they fell ſtone-dead under the Trees. Whereupon the Amazons, *crowding about the Temple, fell a ſpurring their Horſes; but* Achilles *giving them a furious Look, as when he ruſhed on* Scamander *before* Troy, *ſo terrify'd their Horſes, that their Fright proved ſtronger than their Bridles. So that prancing and curvetting, and imagining that what they carried on their Backs was a new and extraordinary Weight, they threw down the* Amazons, *and, like wild Beaſts, trod them under foot; their Mains ſtanding erect through Fury, and their Ears prick'd up; and thus, like cruel Lions, they tore them to pieces, devoured their Arms and Legs, and made a moſt horrid Carnage of their Bowels. When they were glutted with this Feaſt, they fell a prancing and galloping through the Iſland, full of Rage and Fury, with their Jaws bloody, till they came to the top of a Cape, from whence perceiving the ſmooth Sea, and taking it for a fine large Plain, they ran headlong into it, and ſo periſh'd. As for the Ships of the* Amazons, *an impetuous Whirlwind falling upon them (when they were empty and deſtitute of all their Rigging) cauſed them to daſh one againſt another, as it were in a Sea Fight; ſo that they were broke to pieces, eſpecially thoſe whoſe Sides were attacked by the Beaks and Prows of other Ships, as commonly happens to Veſſels which have no Pilots. So that all the Wrecks meeting together near the Temple, where there were many Bodies half dead, and breathing ſtill, and ſeveral Limbs horribly ſcattered up and down, with the Fleſh, which the Horſes, being not uſed to ſuch Food, had rejected, That holy Place muſt needs have been very much prophaned. But* Achilles *ſoon purged and expiated it; as it was an eaſy thing to do, in an Iſland of ſuch ſmall extent, againſt which the Sea beat on all Sides.* Achilles *having therefore let in the Waves, every thing was waſhed and made clean in a trice.*

[*F*] *That which relates to the Flight of Birds.*] What *Moreri* aſcribes to *Pliny*, namely, *That no Bird is ſeen to fly there*, is miſrepreſented. *Pliny*'s Words are: "Perdices non tranſvolant Bœotiæ fines in Attica, nec "ulla avis in Ponto, inſulâ quâ ſepultus eſt Achilles, "ſacratam ei ædem (18). —— That is, *Partridges* "*do not fly beyond the Frontiers of* Bœotia *in* Attica; "*nor any Bird beyond the Temple of* Achilles, *which* "*is in an Iſland of the* Euxine *Sea.*" *Salmaſius* pretends, that by theſe Words muſt be underſtood, that no Bird ever ſoar'd above this Temple; and he proves by a Paſſage of *Antigonus Caryſtius*, that this was anciently believed (19). And, whereas he proves from an expreſs Paſſage of *Arrian*, that the Birds came into the Temple every Morning to ſcatter the Water, with which they had wetted their Wings, and to ſweep the Temple afterwards with them (20); he inſults *Solinus* for having ſaid, *That no Bird comes into the Temple of* Achilles; *and that if any one happens to come near it, he flies from it again as faſt as he can. Salmaſius* ſays, That *Solinus* has nothing but what he borrowed from *Pliny*; and that the latter had ſaid the ſame thing with *Antigonus Caryſtius*; but it is more likely, that *Pliny* had not the Thought of *Antigonus Caryſtius* in view, and that *Solinus* had read the Fact elſewhere, adorned with more particular Circumſtances, than thoſe of *Pliny*. For what Negligence would it not be in the latter, if, intending to inform us, that Birds did not fly *over* the Temple, he ſhould make uſe of an Expreſſion which ſignifies, that they never flew *beyond* it? Theſe two things are ſo little alike, that there is nothing more eaſy than never to go over a Houſe, and yet to leave it behind; as it is not more difficult to fly *above* a Houſe, without paſſing *beyond* it. Beſides, the Ancients were ſo fond of diverſifying their Miracles, that it is improbable, after what had been related from the time of *Antigonus Caryſtius*, that the Story of the Birds flying away at the ſight of the Temple of *Achilles*, ſhould not be broached till the time of *Solinus*. However it be, it cannot be proved from *Pliny* againſt *Solinus*, that the Birds came into it; and after all, Mr *Moreri* will be found to have imputed to *Pliny* more than he really ſaid, and to have ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by theſe Words of *Charles Stephens*, in the two above-cited Editions (21). *Achilles inſulam nulla avis tranſvolat.* — i. e. *No Bird flies over* Achilles's *Iſland.* Plin. 10. 29. 10. But he will take his Revenge with Uſury on Mr *Hofman*, who attributes the ſame thing to *Strabo* alſo. It was owing, no doubt, to his ſeeing that Mr *Moreri* cited *Strabo* immediately after *Pliny*, and for want of taking notice, that That Citation from *Strabo*, with that of *Pomponius Mela*, which follows it, relate to other Matters contained in the Article. *Nullam hic avem volare*, ſays he, *Plin. l.* 10. *c.* 19. *habet & Strabo, l.* 13. (22).

[G] *A ſeparate Article of a Fountain called* ACHILLEA.] This Article appeared to me at firſt Sight worthy of Criticiſm; it ſeemed to me, that this Fountain was not called ſo *Subſtantively*; but by way of Epithet, or *Adjectively*, in common with every thing, which belonged to *Achilles*. In a Word, *Fons Achilleus*, and the Fountain of *Achilles*, appeared to me the ſame thing. Now as it would be ridiculous to make an Article of the Word *Jacobean*, in giving an Account of That Well of *Jacob*, ſpoken of in the fourth Chapter of St *John* (23), which a *Latin* Tranſlator might call *Fontem Jacobeum* if he pleaſed; I could not help thinking, that the Epithet *Achilleus*, which *Freinſhemius* makes uſe of, ſpeaking of the Fountain of *Achilles*, ought not to be made a ſeparate Article. But, after having conſulted *Athenæus* (24), I found that this Criticiſm would be precarious, becauſe it appeared to me that it might be conteſted, whether this Fountain was called Ἀχίλλειον *Subſtantively*, or *Adjectively*, and whether it might not appear in it's alphabetical Order, with as much Reaſon as the Iſland *Achillea*. It is to be found in the Geographical *Theſaurus* of *Ortelius* (25), under the Word *Achillæum*, and afterwards under the Word *Achilleus fons*; which is however better than the *Achillea, fons Mileti*, of Mr *Hofman*.

I ſhall not examine, whether *Freinſhemius* has well explained the Paſſage of *Athenæus*, which regards the Singularities of this Fountain (26). I am ſatisfied with obſerving, That *Athenæus* ought at leaſt to have been cited, according to *Freinſhemius*, that is to ſay, at his ſixth Chapter, and not at the ſecond, of the ſecond Book. Mr *Hofman* follows Mr *Moreri* in quoting, and they were both ſhewn the Way by *Ortelius*. But this is nothing in Compariſon of *Moreri*'s Blunder, who gives us *Ariſtobulus* the Son of *Caſſander*, inſtead of *Ariſtobulus* Native of *Caſſandria*.

We cannot complain too much of the Negligence of thoſe who make Supplements to Dictionaries; for very often they tack certain things to them, which contradict thoſe already there, and generally they forget to accommodate the Addition in ſuch manner to the Foundation on which they build it, that no Diſſonance may reſult from it. It is *Horace*'s Rule,

Primo ne medium, medio ne diſcrepet imum (27).

The Piece muſt be conſiſtent with itſelf.

For Example, thoſe who enlarged the Dictionary of *Charles Stephens*, made no Difficulty under the Word *Achillea*, to inſert theſe Words of *Ortelius*, crude as they were, and without the leaſt Alteration, "Video à Nebriſſenſi Cacceariam, & à Carolo Stephano "Cacariam in ſuis Dictionariis poni, ſed pro ponti in"ſula, quam dicunt apud Melam Colliſaria dici, ex "depravata fortè lectione, *&c.* —— *I find* Caccearia "*in the Dictionary of* Nebriſſenſis, *and* Cacaria *in* "*that of* Charles Stephens; *but they both appear to be* "*a falſe reading for an Iſland of* Pontus, *which in* "Mela *is ſaid to go by the Name of* Colliſaria." Which is odd enough; for it makes *Charles Stephens* ſpeak of his own Dictionary, in the Dictionary itſelf, as if he cited another Work; and yet he ſeems uncertain, in citing himſelf, of what he had advanced without any Appearance of Doubt in the Paſſage, which he quotes.

[*H*] *Abun-*

(*k*) *See the Remark* [*D*].

(18) Plin. lib. 10. cap. 29.

(19) Salmaſ. Exercit. Plinian. in Solin. cap. 19. pag. 215.

(20) In Periplo Ponti Euxini. Philoſtratus *has ſaid almoſt the ſame thing*. In that Iſland (*ſays he, according to the Tranſlation of* Vigenere, Tom. 2. fol. 337.) there is a certain Species of white Birds, which are aquatic, and ſmell of the Sea, which *Achilles* makes uſe of to cleanſe his ſacred Grove, ſweeping it with the Wind of their Wings, and ſprinkling it with their Feathers, wetted with Sea-water; for which they fly but very little above the Ground.

(21) *In the Remark* [*L*], *of the Article* ACHILLES, *towards the Middle.*

(22) Hofman *upon the Word* ACHILLEA.

(23) *Thoſe who tranſlate it*; there was a Well of *Jacob* there, *would do better to render it* Jacob's Well was there, *or as the* Port-Royal *has it*, There was a Well there which was called *Jacob's*.

(24) Ἐν Μιλήτῳ κρήνην εἶναι Ἀχίλλειον καλουμένην. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 6.

(25) Edit. Hanov. 1611, in 4to.

(26) Freinſh. Supplem. in Q. Curt. 2. 7. 24.

ADVICE to thoſe who make Supplements to Dictionaries.

(27) Horat. de Arte Poët. ver. 154.

ſhall obſerve under the Article **STESICHORUS.** *Abundance* is here more dangerous than *Scarcity* [*H*].

[*H*] *Abundance is here more dangerous than Scarcity.*] If the Reader finds in this Work ſeveral Relations of Prodigies, and Miraculous Traditions, he muſt not imagine, that it is my Intention to put them off for true; I fear no Accuſers on this Head. If this were my Deſign, I would relate but very few of them. I am very ſenſible that in theſe Subjects, Credulity is the Source of Abundance (28); but at length it runs into ſuch exceſs, that it generally cures thoſe who are not incurable. CREDULITY is a Mother, whoſe own Fruitfulneſs deſtroys her ſooner or later in the Minds of thoſe, who make uſe of their Reaſon. So that it would have been the Intereſt of the Pagans, who intended to deify their Heroes, to have attributed but few Miracles to them. The Maxim πλέον ἥμισυ παντὸς, *The Half is more than the Whole*, and That other, *ne quid nimis*, *Too much of one thing is good for nothing*, are applicable here. They, who have ſo multiplied the Sacred Winding-Sheets, the Pictures of the Holy Virgin painted by St *Luke*, the Hairs of the ſame Saint, the Head of St *John Baptiſt*, the Fragments of the true Croſs, and an hundred Things of this Nature, ought to reflect on theſe two Maxims; for, by encreaſing the Doſe, they have weakened the Force of it, and have adminiſtered both the Poiſon and the Antidote at once; *Ipſa ſibi obſtat magnitudo* (29). — *It's own Bulk is it's Ruin.* *Achilles* had the ſame Fate in the Iſland of *Leuce*, as at *Troy*: The ſame Miracles, which might deceive the Reader, are ſufficient to undeceive him; as the ſame Spear, which wounded *Telephus*, ſerved him as a Balſam to heel the Wound.

> Vulnus Achillæo quæ quondam fecerat hoſti,
> Vulneris auxilium Pelias haſta tulit (30).
> Nyſus & Æmonia juvenis qua cuſpide vulnus,
> Senſerat, hac ipſa cuſpide ſenſit opem (31).

> *Ev'n in his Foe a Friend the* Trojan *found,*
> *And the ſame Spear both gave and heal'd his Wound.*

But I forget that the Number of thoſe, who are undeceiv'd by the multiplication of Prodigies, is ſo ſmall, in compariſon of thoſe who are not, that it is not worth my while to alter my Courſe, and to take the two Maxims above for my Polar Star, when I trade in this Merchandiſe (32). We ſhall find a Miſtake of *Camerarius* in the Remark [*Q*] of the Article PYRRHUS, King of *Epirus*, concerning a pretended Miracle of our *Achilles*.

(28) Prodigia eo anno multa nuntiata ſunt, quæ quo magis credebant ſimplices ac religioſi homines, eo etiam plura nuntiabantur. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 45. ---- i. e. *That Year many Prodigies were ſaid to have happened, and the more they were credited by fooliſh and ſuperſtitious Perſons, the more they encreaſed.*

(29) Florus in Proœm.

(30) Ovid. Remed. Amor. lib. 1.

(31) Propert. lib. 2. eleg. 1.

(32) *I beg pardon for this far-fetched, or, if you will, nonſenſical Figure.*

ACHMET, the Son of *Seirim*. He wrote a Book of the Interpretation of Dreams, according to the Doctrine of the *Indians*, *Perſians*, and *Egyptians*. It was tranſlated from *Greek* into *Latin*, about the Year 1160, by *Leo Tuſcus* (*a*), who dedicated it to *Hugo Echerianus* [*A*]. It was publiſhed in *Latin*, in the Year 1577 (*b*), from a very mutilated Manuſcript, found in the Library of *Sambucus* (*c*); but it was ſaid to be a Work of *Apomaſares* (*d*). The learned *Leunclavius* inform'd the Public (*e*) of this Miſtake, in his *Annals* of the *Turks*. Mr *Rigault* is the firſt who publiſhed this Work in *Greek*. He added it to *Artemidorus*, on account of the Similitude of the Subjects, and publiſhed them together at *Paris*, in the Year 1603. He alter'd nothing in the *Latin* Tranſlation of *Leunclavius*, and made no Notes on the Text (*f*). He believes that *Achmet*, the Son of *Seirim*, is the ſame whom *Geſner* mentions. But the *Achmet* of *Geſner* was the Son of *Habramius* (*g*), and a Phyſician, and Author of a Work divided into ſeven Books, entituled, *Peregrinantium Viatica*, which was in *Greek*, in the Library of Don *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, the Emperor's Ambaſſador at *Venice*, when *Geſner* compoſed his Book. *John Anthony Sarrazin* was in poſſeſſion of the ſame Work (*h*), as he aſſures us, in his Notes on *Dioſcorides*. The two *Greek* Copies of the King of *France*'s Library, from which Mr *Rigault* publiſhed his Book of Dreams, do not import that the Author called himſelf *Achmet*, the Son of *Seirim*. It is true, that, as the Beginning is wanting, it may be conjectured, that when they were whole, the Author's Name might appear at the Head. But laſtly, theſe are but Conjectures, which may receive Strength from another Conſideration; which is, that the Name of *Achmet* is writ with a freſher Hand on one of the two Copies. That Name did not appear in the Copy, which *Leo Tuſcus* made uſe of in the XIIth Century, in compoſing his Tranſlation: This is inferred from the *Italian* Tranſlation of that Work, compos'd by *Tricaſſo* (*i*). Mr *Rigault* took the Exordium, and gave it in *Latin*; though he ſuppoſes that it was not *Achmet* himſelf, but *Leo Tuſcus*, who compos'd it (*k*). *Barthius* had the Tranſlation of this *Leo*, and believes that his Copy was written in that Tranſlator's Time (*l*). The Specimen he gives of it makes it appear, that it was not tranſlated literally, and that many Paſſages of it were omitted. What is moſt remarkable is, that the Names of *Achmet* and of *Seirim* are in the Title of the Manuſcript with thoſe of *Syrnacham*, *Baram*, and *Tarphan*. The firſt of theſe three laſt Perſons was Interpreter of Dreams (*m*), at the Court of the King of the *Indies*; the ſecond at the Court of *Saaniſan*, King of *Perſia*; and the third, at the Court of *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt* (*n*). *Barthius* conjectures from hence, that *Achmet* and *Seirim* were alſo two Interpreters of Dreams in ſome *Barbarian* Court. However it be, the Work was compiled by a Chriſtian; for the Author begins it in the Name of the Holy Trinity (*o*). Mr *Rigault* looks upon the *Greek* Text only as an antient Tranſlation of the Work. The Original was in *Arabic*.

Lambecius makes *Achmet* to flouriſh in the IXth Century, at the Court of *Mamoum*, Caliph of *Babylon*. Mr *du Cange* is not of that Opinion. See his *Greek* Gloſſary, at the Word μαμοῦν.

(*a*) Rigault's Præf. *to* Achmet's *Book*.

(*b*) Leunclavius, *at* Frankfort, *in* 8vo.

(*c*) Barthius, Adverſ. lib. 31. cap. 14.

(*d*) *That is*, Abumaſhar, *or* Albumaſar. *See the* Catal. Oxonienſ. pag. 35.

(*e*) Rigault. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) *Yet 'tis ſaid he did, in the Catalogue of* Oxford. pag. 5.

(*g*) Geſn. Biblioth. fol. 2. verſo.

(*h*) Rigault. Ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Patrice Tricaſſo des Cereſars, *of* Mantua. *See the* Biblioth. *of* Du Verdier, pag. 940.

(*k*) Ex Pref. Rigault.

(*l*) Ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Syrnacham, *in the Edit. of* Rigaltius.

(*n*) *This appears by the beginning of the 2d, 3d, and 4th, Chapters of the Book.*

(*o*) *See the end of the 2d Chapter.*

[*A*] *To* Hugo Echerianus.] *Barthius* calls him *Hugo Eteriarius*, and ſays that he was an Excellent Author, *Scriptorem ævo ſuo luculentum* (1). There is a falſe Print in *Barthius*, as well as in theſe Words of Mr *Rigault*, *Hugoni Echeriano dedicavit.* It ought to have been *Hugo Eterianus*, *Hugoni Eteriano.* *Allatius*, in the eleventh Chapter of the ſecond Book *de perpetuo conſenſu Eccleſiæ Occidentalis & Orientalis*, is miſtaken in citing *Hugo Ætherianus*. *Baronius*, *Bellarmin*, and many others, write *Hugo Etherianus*, but *Eterianus* is more correct. It is the Name of an Eccleſiaſtical Author of the XIIth Century. This was communicated to me by Mr *de la Monnoie*.

(1) Barth. Adverſar. lib. 31. cap. 14.

ACIDALIUS (Valens) would have been one of the beſt of the modern Critics, if a longer Life had permitted him to bring the Talents he had received from Nature to Perfection (*a*). He was born at *Wiſtoch*, in the Frontiers of *Brandenburgh*, and having viſited ſeveral Univerſities of *Germany*, *Italy*, and of other Countries, where he made himſelf much beloved [*A*], he reſided at length at *Breſlaw*, the Capital of *Sileſia*. He waited a long time for an Employ in this place; but, not ſucceeding, he went over to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, where he ſoon met with the Rectorſhip of a School [*B*]. It is ſaid, that four Months were hardly expired, when a very ſtrange Accident happened to him. He was following the Proceſſion of the Holy Sacrament, and on a ſudden fell into a Phrenzy. He was carried home, and died ſoon after. Some gave out, that he had killed himſelf [*C*]. His Death was a great Loſs, for he had Wit, and was a very induſtrious Perſon. His great Application to Study was the cauſe of his Death, if we may believe *Thuanus* (*b*), who ſays, that by ſitting up too late, while he was compoſing his *Divinations on* Plautus [*D*], he contracted a Diſtemper [*E*], of which he died in three Days, on the 25th of *May*, 1595. He was juſt entered into his 29th Year [*F*]. We have ſeveral Books written by him (*c*). A little Tract, printed in 1595, to ſhew that *Women were not rational Animals*, *mulieres non eſſe homines*, was falſely aſcribed to him [*G*].

I have

(*a*) Adoleſcens ſummæ Spei & Eruditionis. *A Youth of the greateſt Hopes and Learning.* Thuan. lib. 113. pag. 687.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) *See the Remark* [*D*].

[*A*] *Where he made himſelf much beloved.*] The Eſteem, which the Illuſtrious Perſons of *Italy* had for him, may be ſeen by the Literary Correſpondence, which he held with *Vincent Pinelli*, *Jerom Mercurialis*, *Antony Riccoboni*, *Aſcanius Perſius*, &c. He reſided three Years in that Country (1).

[*B*] *The Rectorſhip of a School.*] *Barthius* affirms this: *Rector Scholæ Neuſſanæ factus* (2); ſays he, *He was made Rector of the School of* Neuſſa. I believe he ought to have ſaid *Neiſſanæ*, or *Niſſanæ*. *Neiſſe*, which *Acidalius* always calls *Nyſſa* in his Letters, is three or four Leagues from *Breſlaw*. The Biſhop of this Name reſides there (3). He, who was then in That See, had *John Matthew Wacker* for his Chancellor, a Patron of Learning, and the Learned. He invited *Acidalius* to *Neiſſe*, and lodg'd him at his Houſe. See *Acidalius*'s Letter (4). I have not obſerved in thoſe, which he writ from that Place, that he ever mentioned the Rectorſhip of the School.

[*C*] *That he had killed himſelf* (5).] *Chriſtian Acidalius*, the Brother of *Valens*, durſt not ſpeak out plain, when he complained of the Calumnies which were ſpread abroad concerning his Brother's Death; but it muſt be no longer queſtioned, after what *Barthius* writ in one of his Books, that the Subject of his Complaint was the Report which was ſpread, that *Acidalius* had killed himſelf; a Theme of great Outcry from the Pulpit. Let us hear how *Chriſtian Acidalius* ſpeaks of it, after having ſaid that his Brother was pompouſly buried. “ Ut mirari ſatis nequeam “ calida multorum in judicando nimium præcipitantium & temerariorum ingenia, qui, & ipſius “ morbi & loci etiam ſæpe ignari, quicquid maledi“cendi libido dictavit, vel fama, quæ

Tam ficti pravique tenax quàm nuncia veri,

“ de obitu ipſius ſparſit, propagare porro in exteras “ etiam regiones & propugnare, imo neſcio quas “ tragœdias etiam in concionibus ad plebem, ubi regnare ſolent, excitare non erubuerunt. —— *So that* “ *I cannot ſufficiently admire the raſh and haſty Judgments of certain Perſons, who were not aſhamed to* “ *propagate in foreign Countries, the falſe Reports,* “ *which Calumny, and Fame,*

Alike the Voice of Falſhood and of Truth,

“ *had ſpread concerning his Death, and to dreſs up* “ *I know not what Tragical Story, in their Harangues to the People, whoſe Paſſions they command* “ (6).” He does not deny that his Brothrer was diſordered in his Brain, which deprived him of his Reaſon. “ Graviſſimum illud febrium acutarum “ ſymptoma Paraphrenitidem aliquoties ſenſit, quod “ extremum malorum animam etiam ſua ſede ejecit “ (7). —— *He was ſometimes taken with a Paraphrenitis, that worſt Symptom of Acute Fevers, which* “ *ſhakes the very Soul itſelf from her Seat.*” But he maintains that very able Phyſicians, and Mr *Wacker*'s Family, at whoſe Houſe Mr *Valens* lay ſick, aſſiſted him 'till he died. Perhaps there is nothing in which Fame oftener deceives us, than in relating the Sickneſs and Death of illuſtrious Perſons; wherefore Preachers, and all Moraliſts in general, ought to be very reſerved in their Reflections on them. One cannot too much diſtruſt the raſh Credulity, or artful Malice of this kind of Newſmongers.

[*D*] *His* Divinations *on* Plautus.] On the one ſide he had the Satisfaction to ſee them promiſed in the Catalogue of *Francfort* (8); and on the other, the Vexation of being obliged to make an hundred Complaints againſt the Slowneſs of his Bookſeller. In a Word, they were not publiſhed 'till after his Death. *Barthius* ſet a Value on that Work; “ Pauci eum “ Comici locum aſſecuti ſunt —— ſolus Acidalius “ rectum ſenſum percepit, ut alia multa in Comico “ (9). —— *Few* (ſays he) *have hit the Poet's Senſe* “ *in that Paſſage* —— Acidalius *alone diſcovered it,* “ *as he did in many others.*” Mr *Teiſſier* ſays, That the Commentary of *Acidalius* on *Quintus Curtius* is much eſteemed (10). He dedicated it to the Biſhop of *Breſlaw*, who rewarded him well for it, as it appears from the Author's Thanks in his eighty ninth Letter. He wrote *Notes on* Tacitus, *on the twelve Panegyrics, and on* Velleïus Paterculus, beſides *Speeches, Letters, and Poems* (11). This laſt Work inſerted in the Delights of the *German* Poets, contains *Epic* Verſes, Odes, and Epigrams, which *Borrichius* thought to be of little Value (12). His Diſſertation *de conſtitutione carminis Elegiaci*, pleaſes *Barthius* (13).

[*E*] *He contracted a Diſtemper.*] *Thuanus* does not ſay what that Diſtemper was; but we learn from another Hand that *Acidalius* heated his Blood in ſuch manner, by ſitting up late, whilſt he was commenting on *Plautus*, that from that time he became ſubject to Fevers. This we learn from his Brother. “ Uratiſlaviæ, quæ Sileſiorum Metropolis, per ſeſqui“annum plus minus utrumque ſe mihi præſtitit, “ *(preceptorem & patrem)* donec inde Nyſſam evo“catus familiari morbo ſuo, quem ex nimiis vigiliis “ in adornandis Plautinis Divinationibus ſuis, con“traxerat, FEBRI SCILICET ACUTISSIMA opprimeretur (14). —— *During his A*“*bode, for half a Year, or thereabouts, at* Breſlaw, “ *the Capital of* Sileſia, *I found in him both a Præ*“*ceptor and a Father; 'till being invited to* Nyſſa, “ *he was there ſeized with, and died of, that habi*“*tual Diſtemper, which he had contracted by too* “ *great an Application to his Divinations on* Plautus, “ *I mean* A MOST ACUTE FEVER.” He was more than once dangerouſly ill in *Italy*, and he informed his Friends in his Letters, that a Fever was his common Diſorder in that Country. See Page 97 and 112 of his Letters.

[*F*] *He was juſt entered into his twenty ninth Year.*] Thus I render *Thuanus*'s *Latin* Words, *cum vix annum 28. exceſſiſſet*. *Du Rier* renders them, *having not attained to his twenty eighth Year*. Let the Reader judge which of us has hit the true Senſe of *Thuanus*. Mr *Baïllet* ſays that *Acidalius* was but twenty ſeven Years and ſome Months old (15). Perhaps he had found out that *Thuanus* had not been exactly informed of this young Author's Age.

[*G*] *A little Tract —— was falſly aſcribed to him.*] *Geiſler* cleared him from this falſe Imputation, as appears from theſe Words of *Placcius*; “ Prioris “ auctor quomodo non ex vero ſit habitus Valens “ Acidalius, vide apud Geiſlerum decadis 3. n 8. (16).

—— *How*

(1) Valens Acidal. in Epiſt. pag. 209, 215.

(2) Apud Konig. Biblioth. pag. 6.

(3) Niſſa ad fluvium cognominem, Epiſcopi Wratiſlavienſis ſedes. Niſſa, *upon the River of that Name, the See of the Biſhop of* Breſlaw. Buno in Cluverii Introd. lib. 3. cap. 13. pag. 196. Edit. Amſtel. 1697.

(4) P. 228, 318.

(5) Barthius *wrote this with his own Hand, in his Copy of* Acidalius's *Poems. See* Konig. Bibl. Vet. & Nov. pag. 6.

(6) Chriſtian Acidalius's *Preface to the Epiſtles of* Valens Acidalius, *publiſhed at* Hanover, *in* 1606.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Valens Acidal. Epiſt. pag. 317, 326.

(9) Barth. in Statium, Tom. 1. pag. 239.

(10) Teiſſier's *Elogies, taken from Mr* de Thou Tom. 2. pag. 315.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Borrich. Diſſert. de Poët. pag. 125.

(13) In Claudian. apud Konig. Biblioth. pag. 6.

(14) Chriſt. Acidal. ubi ſupra.

(15) Baillet's Jugement ſur les Poët. n. 1346.

(16) Placcius de Anonymis, pag. 72.

I have read ſomewhere, that he was a Phyſician [*H*], and that he intended to have wrote Notes upon *Aulus Gellius*, if he had lived longer. *Niſi juveni illi fata quietem miſerabiliter properaſſent.——Had not Death ſnatched him away ſuddenly* (*d*). It appears from his Letters, that he was preparing an Edition of *Apuleius*. Mr *Baillet* places him among his *Famous Children*, and ſays that *he illuſtrated* Plautus *at ſeventeen or eighteen Years of Age, not to mention ſeveral* Latin *Poems, which are extant, and which he compoſed at that ſame Age*. One of his firſt printed Works is *Velleius Paterculus*, publiſh'd by himſelf at *Padua*, in the Year 1591. He himſelf ſays, That he was aſhamed of this early Production of his Pen, and he was ſurpriz'd when he heard that it had been reprinted in *France* (*e*). *Lipſius*, who writ ſome Letters to him (*f*), wherein he expreſſed his Love and Eſteem for him (*g*), was of Opinion that he would prove a great Man: *Ipſe* Valens *(non te fallam augur) gemmula erit Germaniæ veſtræ, vivat modo.*——Valens *himſelf (I certainly foreſee) if he lives, will become an illuſtrious Ornament of your* Germany. This he wrote to *Monavius* in 1594. as may be ſeen in the beginning of *Acidalius*'s Letters.

(*d*) Sciopp. de Arte Crit. pag. 18.

(*e*) Val. Acidal. Epiſt. pag. 70, 78, 127.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 160, 161, 209, 25.

(*g*) *The* Xth *and* XXVIth *of the* Centuria ad Ital. & Hiſp.

“—— *How* Valens Acidalius *came to be miſtaken for the Author of the former Piece* (17), *See* Geiſler, *decad.* 3. *n.* 8. I ſhall take notice of this Diſſertation in the Article of GEDICCUS; but I muſt here obſerve how it came to be aſcribed to *Acidalius*. Being deſirous to indemnify his Bookſeller, who had printed his *Quintus Curtius*, and who often complained that he had been a Loſer by it (18); he happened to meet with a Copy of the Book I am ſpeaking of, which had been already tranſcribed by ſeveral People: He read it, and, finding it a diverting Piece, he tranſcribed it, and made a Preſent of the Copy to the Bookſeller, as a Piece which might turn to good Account. However, he did not adviſe him to print it: He thought, without doubt, that it was ſufficient to let him know that it would make Amends for the Loſs he had ſuſtained; but he told him, that it was his Buſineſs to look to himſelf, and conſider whether the Satirical Strokes of that Piece would not bring him into Trouble. This Diſcourſe did not diſcourage the Bookſeller; he made all the haſte he could to get the Diſſertation printed. As ſoon as it came out it was greatly exclaimed againſt, and the Bookſeller proſecuted for it; and becauſe he confeſſed of whom he had the Copy, there was a terrible outcry againſt *Valens Acidalius*, who was amazed to ſee that meer Sallies of Wit ſhould alarm People ſo much. “Obſtupeſco ad judicia ſæculi noſtri, & tam irritabiles animos illorum θεολογουμένων. Jocos nemo fere jam admittit, & ex leviſſima quiſque re gravem calumniandi cauſſam & anſam captat (19). —— *I am aſtoniſhed at the ill Judgment of the Times, and the captious Temper of the Reverend Gentlemen. At preſent no Jeſt will go down, and the lighteſt Matter gives an Handle to Calumny.*” He deſired his good Friend *Monavius* to intercede for the Bookſeller with the Magiſtrates and Profeſſors of *Leipſic*, and to prevent their doing any thing which might bring a Diſgrace upon himſelf. He was afraid that his Enemies would not be contented with the many Aſperſions they had caſt upon him; nay, he feared that they would raiſe the Mob upon him; and of all things in the World, he deſired to have nothing to do with the Clergy. “Nomen meum ſic traductum jam in vulgus calumnioſis fabulis ſatis ſit, quod eſt nimio plus ſatis: ulterius ne quid furori populari concedatur. In primis a Theologis & Concionatoribus ne quid noceatur mihi, cum quibus nolo committi, nec quicquam magis opto quam illorum Tribunitiis edictis nunquam miſceri, nec ſcriptis publicis inceſſi (20). —— *Let it be ſufficient, that my Name is already become the public Object of Reproach; tho' That, I think, is too much: let not popular Reſentment be farther let looſe againſt me. But, above all, let me receive no Prejudice from the Eccleſiaſtics, with whom I deſire to have no Quarrel: nor is there any thing I more earneſtly wiſh, than not to be the Object either of their tribunitial Edicts, or their Writings.*” He died ſome Months after, and becauſe the Scandal occaſioned by the publiſhing of this Book was ſtill freſh in every one's Memory, People were the more diſpoſed to deſcant upon the Circumſtances of his Death. “Quæ calumniæ inde potiſſimum natæ ſunt, quod recens adhuc eſſet fabula illa in Apologetica epiſtola ſatis refutata, quæ multorum animis altè nimis inſederat, ut facile eſſet improbis quidvis in invidiam trahere, &c. (21) —— *Which Scandal aroſe from hence, that this Story, which I have ſufficiently refuted in my apologetical Epiſtle, was yet freſh, and had taken ſo deep root in the Minds of many; inſomuch that it gave a handle to unreaſonable Men to blacken my Reputation.*” To conclude; I ſhall obſerve, that he affirms this Diſſertation had been handed about for a conſiderable time, and that in all likelihood it was written in *Poland*.

Few will wonder, that *Acidalius* was afraid of coming off by the worſt, if he brought the Clergy upon his Back; for, as it is very natural, to entertain an ill Opinion of one's Neighbour, theſe Gentlemen are very often compar'd to *Æolus*;

Æole, namque tibi Divûm Pater atque hominum
Rex
Et mulcere dedit fluctus, & tollere ventos (22).

O Æolus! for to thee the King of Heaven
The Power of Tempeſts and of Wind has given.
Thy Force alone their Fury can reſtrain,
And ſmooth the Waves, or ſwell the troubled Main.
DRYDEN.

But there is this difference in the compariſon, that they are more expert at raiſing, than appeaſing a Storm. This latter Effect demands Men of Conſequence and Weight:

Tum pietate gravem ac meritis ſi forte virum quem
Aſpexêre, ſilent——
Ille regit dictis animos, & pectora mulcet (23).

If then ſome grave and pious Man appear,
They huſh their Noiſe, and lend a liſt'ning Ear.
He ſooths with ſober Words their angry Mood,
And quenches their innate Deſire of Blood.
DRYDEN.

The other Effect is more eaſily produc'd.

[*H*] *That he was a Phyſician.*] *Scioppius* calls him ſo (24). Indeed he took his Doctor's Degree, but it was only *ad honores*; for he never practiſed Phyſic, nor ever deſign'd to do it. “Medicum τῇ πράξει nec ago, nec agere propoſitum unquam fuit: certo conſilio tamen inter ejus artis candidatos nomen dedi, nec pœnitet, &c. (25)——*I neither practiſe Phyſic, nor was it ever my Intention ſo to do; though, for certain Reaſons, I thought proper to rank my ſelf among the Candidates of that Science.*” He had ſaid a little before, “Dabam illic me τοῖς Ἀσκληπιάδαις, quorum ſacris & in Italia fueram initiatus;——*It was there I enroll'd my ſelf among the Sons of* Æſculapius, *into whoſe Myſteries I was initiated even in* Italy.” What he ſays in another Place imports ſomething more, “Inde rediens cum ſolenni illorum ſtudiorum (Medicinæ) honore (26). —— *Returning thence with the ſolemn Honour of that Science (Phyſic).*

(17) *That is the Diſſertation to prove that Women are not rational Animals.*

(18) Ut id genus hominum lucri cupidum eſt, cum aviditati ejus emolumentum Editionis non ſatis reſpondiſſet, queſtum perſæpe de jactura ſua. *As they are a Set of Men eager of Gain, becauſe the Profits of the Edition did not anſwer his Expectation, he often complain'd of his Loſs.* Val. Acidal. Epiſt. Apolog. ad Calcem Epiſtol.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Chriſt. Acidal. in Præf. Epiſt.

(22) Virgil. Æn. lib. 1. ver. 65.

(23) Ibid. ver. 151.

(24) Scioppius de Arte Critica, pag. 18.

(25) Val. Acidal. Ep. pag. 215. *See alſo pag.* 194, 209.

(26) Ibid. pag. 249.

ACINDYNUS (GREGORY) a *Greek* Monk of the XIVth Century. He aſſociated himſelf with *Barlaam*, who, after he had embraced the *Greek* Religion, made it his Buſineſs to extirpate the *Heſycaſtes*, whoſe Number was very much increaſed among

among the Monks of Mount *Athos*. The *Heſycaſtes* were contemplative Votaries; whoſe Name is a ſufficient Proof, that, even in thoſe Days, there were *Quietiſts* in the World. In the Rapture of their Devotion they pretended, that they ſaw a Brightneſs, reſembling that which appeared about *Jeſus Chriſt*, when he was transfigured on Mount *Tabor*, and affirmed this Light to be *Uncreated*, tho' altogether diſtinct from the Eſſence of God *(a)*. *Acindynus*, ſeconding the ardent Zeal of *Barlaam*, wrote againſt the Illuſions of theſe Fanatics, and was one of the Sticklers againſt them in the Council of *Conſtantinople*. But he had the Misfortune to meet with Antagoniſts, who had more Credit and Intereſt than either he, or *Barlaam*, and who drew upon them ſeveral Cenſures and Condemnations in ſeveral Councils. The ill Succeſs he met with in That of *Conſtantinople*, about the Year 1337, did not deter him from charging openly with Hereſy the Favourers of *Gregory Palamas*, for which he was cited by the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* in 1341. He appeared before the Council, and was obliged to hold his Tongue, upon Pain of Excommunication. Six Years after he was yet more vigorouſly purſued, becauſe *John Cantacuzenus*, who was become Emperor, had a Kindneſs for *Palamas*. The Cenſures and Excommunications, which at ſeveral times fell upon *Acindynus*, reduced him at laſt to a more ſedate, and altogether obſcure, Life. *James Gretſer*, a *German* Jeſuit, publiſh'd at *Ingolſtad* in 1616, *Acindynus*'s two Books, *De Eſſentia & Operatione Dei*. *Leo Allatius* has alſo publiſhed a Poem *(b)*, and ſome Fragments of the ſame Author *(c)*, who having had the Fate to paſs for a Heretic [*A*] a conſiderable time, has found at laſt more learned and more equitable Judges [*B*].

(*a*) *See the Authors quoted by* Maimbourg, *in his Hiſtory of the Schiſm of the* Greeks, lib. 5. pag. 149, 150. *of the* Dutch *Edition.*

(*b*) Orthod. Græc. Tom. I. *from* pag. 759, *to* pag. 773.

(*c*) *In Book* 2. cap. 16. de Conſenſu. *in the Appendix to* Cave's Hiſtor. Liter. Script. Eccl. pag. 34. *Conſult that Appendix about this Article.*

[*A*] *To paſs for a Heretic.*] As in the heat of a Diſpute we are only intent upon preſſing our Adverſaries, we are often blinded to ſuch a degree, as not to perceive, that we paſs from one Extream to another; or at leaſt that we ſtretch our Arguments ſo far, that they prove too much. I make no doubt, but this was the reaſon, why *Barlaam* and *Acindynus* laid themſelves open to their Adverſary *Palamas*, and that, being orthodox at the bottom, they often argued like Heretics. *Prateolus* has not fail'd to place them in his Catalogue; but it is impoſſible to make any thing of the Sentence of their Condemnation, in the manner he relates it. What we find leaſt obſcure in his Book concerning *Barlaam* and *Acindynus*, is, That the Council, which was called in order to condemn them, was held in the preſence of the *Bleſſed* and moſt famous Emperor *Michael Andronicus Palæologus*, and *John* his Son, in the Reign of *Henry* VII. Emperor of *Germany*, *John* XXII. being Pope of *Rome*, in the Year of our Lord 1313 (1). This whole Paſſage ſwarms with Errors: For firſt of all, in the Century here in queſtion (2), there was no other Emperor of *Conſtantinople* who could be diſtinguiſhed by the Title of *Bleſſed* by a *Roman Catholic*, but *Michael Palæologus*, who was reconciled to the Holy See, and died in Communion with it. Now he was neither called *Michael Andronicus*, nor had he a Son called *John*; and beſides he died in 1283. Secondly, the Emperor, whoſe Son's Name was *John*, had no other Name but that of *Andronicus Palæologus*, and began to reign in 1328. ſo that neither *John* XXII. nor *Henry* VII. were his Cotemporaries. Laſtly, It is falſe that *Acindynus* was condemned about the Year 1313. Father *Gualtier*, in his Chronological Tables, does not forget *Barlaam* and *Acindynus*, whom he ranks among the Heretics, upon the Authority of *Prateolus*.

[*B*] *Has found at laſt more—equitable Judges.*] See the Authors quoted by Mr *Moreri*; I mean *Pontanus* upon *Cantacuzenus*, and *Spondanus*'s Annals. See likewiſe thoſe of *Bzovius*, Father *Gretzer* (3), Father *Maimbourg* (4), and the Authors cited by him in the Margin.

(1) Prateol. in Elench. Hæret. pag. 86. Edit. Colon. 1605. in 4to.

(2) *The Word* Century *is taken here in a General Senſe for the Space of* 100 *Years, beginning where one pleaſes.*

(3) Gretzeri Notæ in Cantacuz. & in Editione Acindyni.

(4) Maimbourg's *Hiſt. of the* Greek *Schiſm, B.* 5.

ACINDYNUS (Septimius) was Conſul of *Rome* with *Valerius Proclus*, in the ſame Year that *Conſtantine*, Son to *Conſtantine the Great*, was kill'd, near *Aquilea* *(a)*. He had been Governor of *Antioch*, and during his Government there happened an Event, mentioned by St *Auſtin* *(b)*, which deſerves to be taken notice of. A certain Man, not paying into the Exchequer a Pound of Gold, at which he had been aſſeſs'd, was committed to Priſon by *Acindynus*, who ſwore withal that he would cauſe him to be hang'd, if he did not pay that Sum upon a certain Day, which he appointed. The limited Time was near expiring, and the poor Fellow ſtill unable to ſatisfy the Governor: He had indeed a beautiful Wife, but who was bare of Money as well as himſelf; and yet it was from her alone he began firſt to be in Hopes of Liberty. A very rich Man being deſperately in love with this Woman, offer'd her the Pound of Gold, on which her Huſband's Life depended, and aſked no other Recompence for it but a Night's Lodging *(c)*. She, being inſtructed by the Scripture, that *She had no Power over her own Body, but her Huſband*, communicated to the Priſoner the Offer of this Gallant, telling him withal, that ſhe was ready to accept of it, if he would give his Conſent, he who was the true and lawful Maſter of his Wife's Body; and if he thought his Life worth redeeming at the Expence of a Chaſtity, whereof he had the ſole Diſpoſal. He thank'd her for it, and gave her leave to lie with her Lover. She obey'd; giving her Huſband the Uſe of her Body, not in the common way of gratifying the Appetite of the Fleſh, but to indulge the Deſire he had to live *(d)*. The Spark gave her a Purſe with the promiſed Sum of Money, but ſtole it afterwards cunningly from her, and impoſed upon her another Purſe filled with Earth. The Good Woman, returning home, (for ſhe had met her Gallant at his Country-Houſe) no ſooner found out the Cheat, but ſhe complained of it publickly, and demanded Juſtice of the Governor, to whom ſhe very ingenuouſly related the Fact. *Acindynus* began with accuſing himſelf, as having by his Severity and Menaces drove theſe innocent People to ſuch deſperate Remedies, and firſt of all condemned himſelf to pay the Pound of Gold into the Exchequer; afterwards he adjudged to the obedient Wife That Piece of Ground, out of which the Earth had been taken, which was

(*a*) *In* 340. *according to* Calviſius.

(*b*) Auguſtin *on our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, B.* 1. *c.* 16.

(*c*) Pollicens pro una Nocte, ſi ei miſceri vellet, ſe auri libram daturum. *Id. ib.*

(*d*) Illa Corpus non niſi marito dedit, non concumbere, ut ſolet, ſed vivere cupienti. *Id. ib.*

found in the ſham Purſe. St *Auguſtin* dares not decide [*A*] whether this Woman's Conduct be right or wrong, and inclines rather to approve than to condemn it [*B*]; which is ſomewhat ſurprizing [*C*]. We have obſerved before (*e*), the ſame looſe Principle of Morality in St *Chryſoſtom*, in relation to *Abraham* and *Sarah*'s Conduct.

[*A*] *Dares not decide.*] This is plain from theſe Words: "Nihil hic in alteram partem diſputo; liceat "cuique æſtimare quod velit (1).—*I do not decide upon this Queſtion, let every one judge as he pleaſes.*" In another place he queſtions whether a Woman's Chaſtity would be violated, in caſe, to ſave her Huſband's Life, and by his own Order, ſhe ſhould lie with another Man; "Scrupuloſius diſputari poteſt utrum "illius mulieris pudicitia violaretur, etiam ſi quiſquam "carni ejus commixtus foret, cum id in ſe fieri pro "mariti vita, nec illo neſciente ſed jubente, permitte"ret, nequaquam fidem deſerens conjugalem, & po"teſtatem non abnuens maritalem (2).—*It is a nice "point to be determined, Whether that Woman's "Chaſtity would be violated, even tho' ſhe ſhould be "carnally known by another, who ſhould ſubmit to this "for the ſake of her Husband's Life, and that by his "own Conſent; in which ſhe neither deſerts her conju"gal Faith, nor denies the Authority of her Husband.*" *Rivetus*, having quoted theſe Words, adds (3), That St *Auguſtine* relates, that the ſame Caſe happened under the Emperor *Conſtantine* (4), when *Acindynus*, *&c.*

[*B*] *Rather to approve than to condemn it.*] This evidently appears by theſe Words: "Non ita exiſtiman"dum ut hoc etiam femina, viro permittente, facere "poſſe videatur;—Quamquam nonnullæ cauſæ poſ"ſint exiſtere ubi & uxor mariti conſenſu pro ipſo "marito hoc facere debere videatur—Nihil hic in al"teram partem diſputo—Sed tamen narrato hoc facto, "non ita reſpuit hoc ſenſus humanus, quod in illa "muliere viro jubente commiſſum eſt, quemadmodum "antea, cum ſine ullo exemplo res ipſa poneretur, "horruimus (5).——*We are not to imagine in general "that it is lawful for the Wife to do this, even with "her Husband's Permiſſion——tho' there may happen "Caſes, in which ſuch a Liberty may be allowed—— "I pronounce nothing in this point—However, now I "have mentioned this Fact* (to wit, the Caſe of the "Wife, whoſe Husband was impriſoned by *Acindynus*) "*this Woman's Behaviour, in Obedience to her Huſ"band, is not ſo contrary to the general Senſe, nor "ſhocks us ſo much, as at firſt ſight it may do, when "the Queſtion is propoſed without any Inſtance.*" I know not what Grounds the *Proteſtant* Divine, whom I have quoted in the foregoing Remark, has for his Aſſertion, when he aſſures us, that St *Auguſtin* rather inclines to condemn than to juſtify the Woman. "Quo facto Acindyni explicato, liberum unicuique "permittit Auguſtinus æſtimare quod velit, quamvis "in eam partem propenſior videatur, quod id fieri "non liceat (6).—*After laying down this Story of* A"cindynus, *St* Auſtin *gives every one leave to judge as "he thinks fit; tho' he ſeems more inclined to condemn "the Lawfulneſs of the Action.*.

[*C*] *Which is ſomewhat ſurprizing.*] So great a Divine as he was, ought ſurely to have known, that our Life, which is but a temporal and a periſhing Good, ought not to be ſo dear to us, as to be thought worthy of being redeemed by our Diſobedience to the Law of God. For as Diſobedience is a Sin, which makes us liable to eternal Puniſhment, and a Moral Evil, which offends an Infinite Being, it is no leſs againſt common Prudence, than the Dictates of ſound Reaſon, to chuſe to commit a Sin, rather than loſe one's Life. I ſay nothing of thoſe wide Abyſſes of Corruption, which are opened every where under our Feet, by aſſerting, that an Action, which would be criminal, if done without a deſign to ſave one's Life, becomes innocent, when done to prevent Death. *Acindynus*'s Priſoner would have acted the ſhameful Part of a Pander, no doubt, and conſented to the Act of Adultery, properly ſo called, if he had ſuffered his Wife to lie with the Spark merely to gain a Pound of Gold; but becauſe he conſented, only to ſave his Life, it ceaſes to be a Conſent to Adultery; nay, it becomes a lawful thing. Who does not ſee, that if this Morality took place, there is not one Precept in the Decalogue, to which the Fear of Death might not diſpenſe with our Obedience? Where are the Exceptions in favour of Adultery? If a Woman may be diſpenſed with for violating the Command of *not defiling her Body*, when by that means ſhe may reſcue her Husband from Capital Puniſhment, ſhe will likewiſe be free to tranſgreſs it, when her own Life comes in queſtion; for God no where exacts from us, that we ſhould love another more than ourſelves. Therefore we may with Impunity, it ſeems, violate the Law of Chaſtity, in order to avoid Death. And why will not the ſame Reaſon make Murther, Theft, Perjury, the abjuring of one's Religion, *&c.* lawful? The greateſt Men are apt to miſtake and loſe their Way, even in the ſmootheſt and moſt beaten Roads. Is it ſo difficult to find, that St *Paul* did not pretend, that a Husband had Power to diſpoſe of his Wife's Body to whom he pleaſed; when he ſaid, That *the Wife has no power over her own Body, but her Husband?* Nevertheleſs you ſee that St *Auſtin* puzzles himſelf with theſe Words of the Apoſtle, and that he lays great Streſs upon the Diſtinction, *marito jubente, poteſtatem non abnuens maritalem.* We ſhall take notice elſewhere (7) that he has made uſe of this Doctrine of St *Paul* to juſtify *Abraham* and *Sarah* in relation to *Agar*'s Concubinage. Let us now hear a Divine, who tho' he lived ſeveral Ages after This Father of the Church, yet proves a better Caſuiſt in this Point. "Qua in re *(that is, concerning the Adventure of the "Wife whoſe Husband was* Acindynus'*s Priſoner)* mi"rum eſt talem ac tantum virum potuiſſe dubitare, "cum ex ſacra Scriptura conſtet apertiſſime malum "aliquod pœnæ nunquam eſſe redimendum malo cul"pæ, & vitam potius eſſe deponendam, quam ut eam "nobis aut aliis ſervemus id facientes ex quo Deus of"fenderetur. Nullo modo itaque cenſendum eſt li"citum eſſe adulterii remedium vel marito, vel uxo"ri, vitandæ alterius necis cauſa; quin potius mor"tem expectare convenit, imo vero ultro expetere, "quam alterutrius caſtitatem prodere, ob cujus con"ſervationem multæ pudiciſſimæ fœminæ non ſolum "ab aliis occidi ſuſtinuerunt, ſed etiam (quod tamen "probare nolim) ſibi ipſis vim intulerunt, non ſo"lum inter Ethnicas, ſed etiam inter Chriſtianas (8). "*It is ſtrange, that ſo great a Man ſhould heſitate in "this Matter, when it is plain from the ſacred Scrip"tures, that no Evil of Puniſhment is ever to be "bought off at the Expence of the Evil of Sin, and that "we ſhould rather part with Life, than preſerve it for "ourſelves or others, by doing what will offend God. "And therefore we muſt by no means think, that either "the Husband or the Wife is at liberty to have recourſe "to the Remedy of Adultery, in order to ſave either's "Life: they ought rather to await Death, nay even "voluntarily to ſeek it, than betray each other's Cha"ſtity; for the ſake of preſerving which many the "moſt chaſt Women, not only among the Heathens, but "even Chriſtians, have not only ſubmitted to die by the "Hands of others, but have violently deſtroy'd them"ſelves; which latter Action, however, I by no means "approve.*". He quotes the Example of *Sophronia*, of whom in it's Place. Conſult the *Amænitates Juris* of Mr *Menage* in the Chapter, entituled, *De mariti lenocinio: Adulterarum viros ordinare non potuiſſe.* 'Tis the 10th Chapter of this Work: See the 52d Page of it, in the *Leipſic* Edition of 1680, in 4to.

(*e*) *In the Remark* [*A*] *of* ABIMELECH.

(1) *St* Auſtin, *on our Lord's Sermon on the Mount*, lib. 1. cap. 16.

(2) Id. contra Fauſt. Manich. lib. 22. cap. 37.

(3) Riveti Exercitat. 73. in Geneſ. Oper. Tom. 1. pag. 281.

(4) *It is* Conſtantius, *in the Book of St* Auſtin, *which I have quoted.*

(5) *St* Auſtin, Ubi ſupra.

(6) Rivet. Ubi ſupra.

(7) *In the Remark* [*I*], *of the Article of* SARA.

(8) Rivet. Ubi ſupra.

ACONTIUS, (JAMES) a Philoſopher, Civilian, and Divine, born at *Trent*, in the XVIth Century (*a*). He embraced the Reform'd Religion, and going over into *England* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, he received many Inſtances of That Princeſs's Bounty, as he acknowledges himſelf in the Frontiſpiece of the Book [*A*], which

he

[*A*] *In the Frontiſpiece of the Book, which he dedicated to her.*] Inſtead of an Epiſtle Dedicatory, he contented himſelf with a Canonizing Inſcription, which begins with, DIVÆ ELIZABETHÆ ANGLIÆ, FRANCIÆ, HIBERNIÆ REGINÆ. He declares, that he inſcribes his Book

to

(*a*) Moreri *falſly plates him in the* XVth *Century.*

he dedicated to her. I mean the famous Collection of the *Stratagems of the Devil*, which has ſo often been tranſlated, and reprinted. The firſt Edition of it is That of *Baſil*, in 1565. ſoon after which the Author died in *England* (*b*). *James Graſſerus* procured a ſecond Edition of it in 1610. wherein we find indeed *Acontius*'s Letter, *de Ratione Edendorum Librorum*, containing very wholſome Cautions to thoſe, who deſign to ſet up for Authors; but the Editor has omitted his *Treatiſe of Method* (*c*); which is a good Piece [*B*], tho' the Author only publiſhed it as an Eſſay (*d*). He had compoſed in *Italian* a Book of Fortification, which he himſelf turn'd into *Latin* during his Stay in *England* (*e*); but I think it was never printed. He was alſo writing a Syſtem of Logic (*f*), which I ſuppoſe Death hindered him from finiſhing. 'Twas great Pity, for he was a Man of a juſt way of Thinking, and great Diſcernment and Penetration. He had framed to himſelf the moſt rational Idea of ſuch a Work, and thought himſelf obliged to beſtow the more Pains and Care upon it, becauſe he foreſaw, that an Age more refined, than that he lived in, was advancing [*C*]. His Conjecture was well grounded [*D*]. His Principles in Religion were not the ſame with thoſe of *Calvin*; he had a great Inclination to Toleration, and held in general certain Tenets, which have render'd him very odious to ſome Proteſtant Divines [*E*]. I have met with but few Particulars of his Life. He ſays of himſelf, by the

(*b*) Graſſerus's *Epiſtle to the Reader before* Strategemata Satanæ.

(*c*) *See the Title of it, at the End of the Remark* [*B*].

(*d*) Poſt illud tempus, quo excidit nobis inchoatum illud de Methodo opuſculum, ſcis me bis ſedem ac locum, mutaſſe. - - *Since the time that this imperfect Work* de Methodo *came out of my hand, you know that I have twice chang'd my Situation.* Acontii Epiſt. ad Joh. Wolfium Tigurinum *de Ratione edendorum Librorum*, pag. 410.

(*e*) Id. ib.

(*f*) Id. ib.

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to her, as a Teſtimony of his Gratitude: “In ſignum memoriamque grati animi ob partum ejus liberalitate, quum in Angliam propter Evangelicæ veritatis profeſſionem extorris appuliſſet, humaniſſimeque exceptus eſſet, literarum otium. —— *As the Sign and Memorial of a Mind full of grateful Sentiments for That Tranquility, which her Bounty afforded his Studies, when, exiled for profeſſing the Proteſtant Religion, he took Shelter in* England, *and was received with the greateſt Humanity.*” In his Letter to *Wolfius*, he ſays, That his Penſion relieved in ſome meaſure his Indigence, and afforded him leiſure to Study. “Ut autem quicquid eſt operæ id iſtam in artem (*muniendorum oppidorum*) conferrem, ex parte privatis ſum rationibus adductus, etenim in hoc voluntario meo exilio inopiam UTCUNQUE ſublevat, & otii ad alia ſtudia ſuppeditat NONNIHIL, impetrato mihi ab hujus ſapientiſſimæ atque optimæ Reginæ liberalitate honeſto ſtipendio (1). —— *I am induced, partly by private Reaſons, to cultivate this Science* (Fortification) *as far as I am able; ſince, in this my voluntary Exile, it procures me a* KIND OF MAINTENANCE, *and affords me* SOME *Leiſure for other Studies, by obtaining for me an honourable Penſion from the Liberality of this Wiſe and Good Queen.*” What Reſtrictions are here! And how well they ſhew the Difficulty of ſatisfying the Expectations of Refugees? Obſerve, that he obtained this Penſion, not as a *Divine*, but as an *Engineer*, which appears by the Reaſon he himſelf alledges, why he ſpent his time principally in the Study of Fortification.

[*B*] *Which is a good Piece.*] This is the Judgment which a learned *Carteſian* gave of it (2), in a Letter which he wrote to Father *Merſennus*, ſoon after the Publication of *Des Cartes*'s Meditations. “He ſaid, he reliſhed above all things the Method which Mr *Des Cartes* had made uſe of in handling his Subject; he admired it's Uſefulneſs, and extolled it's Excellencies above That of the Schools: More particularly he eſteemed his Judgment, and the Reaſons he had to prefer the *Analytical* or *Reſolutive Method*, to the *Synthetical* or *Compound*, as well in teaching, as demonſtrating. He had not 'till then met with any thing like it, except the little Book *De Methodo*, compoſed by *James Acontius*, who, beſides that excellent Treatiſe, has alſo given a fine Specimen of the *Analytical* Method, in his Book of *the Stratagems of the Devil*, which he recommends to the Peruſal of all thoſe, who love the Peace of the Church; though *Acontius* plainly diſcovers in it the Prepoſſeſſion of his Sect, and intended by it to Favour thoſe of his own Party (3)”. That little Piece of *Acontius*, under the Title of, *Methodus ſive recta inveſtigandarum tradendarumque artium ac ſcientiarum ratio.* —— (*The Method, or right Rule, of inveſtigating and delivering Arts and Sciences*), was inſerted in a Collection of Diſſertations *de Studiis bene inſtituendis*, printed at *Utretcht*, in 1658.

[*C*] *That an Age more refined—was advancing.*] We muſt hear what he ſays himſelf, after having mentioned the other Reaſons which rendered his Deſign very difficult in the Performance: “Intelligo etiam me in ſeculum incidiſſe cultum præter modum, nec tam certe vereor eorum qui regnare nunc videntur judicia, quam exorientem quandam ſeculi adhuc paulo cultioris lucem pertimeſco. Etſi enim multos habuit habetque ætas noſtra viros præſtantes; adhuc tamen videre videor neſcio quid magis futurum (4). —— *I am ſenſible too, that I am fallen into an extreamly polite Age; and yet I am not ſo apprehenſive of the reigning Geniuſes, as the approaching Brightneſs of ſtill politer Times; for though the preſent Age has produced, and continues to produce, many Great Men, yet I fancy I foreſee an Æra of ſuperior Politeneneſs ariſing upon us.*”

[*D*] *His Conjecture was well grounded.*] I am of opinion, that the XVIth Century produced a greater Number of Learned Men, than the XVIIth, and yet the former was not ſo enlightened as the latter. Whilſt the Reign of *Criticiſm* and *Philology* continued, every Part of *Europe* produced Prodigies of Erudition. The Study of the new Philoſophy, and of modern Languages, having introduced another Taſte, That Univerſal and Profound Literature has diſappeared; but in recompence, a certain Genius more refined, and accompanied with a more exquiſite Diſcernment, has ſpread itſelf over the Commonwealth of Learning: People are now-a-days leſs learned, and more ſubtle. Therefore *Acontius* had Reaſon to foreſee, at a Diſtance, an Age, which would be a more formidable Judge of the *Logic*, he intended to write, than That wherein he lived. However, I would not be thought ſo preſuming, as by my own Authority to adjudge the Superiority to our Age; for in this I do but conform myſelf to the Opinion of the moſt acute and refined Critics. “We live in an Age, ſays one of them (5), wherein People attend more to good Senſe and Reaſon, than any thing elſe; and it may be ſaid in our Commendation, that we are already better acquainted with the Character of ancient Authors, and more intimately familiar with their Genius, than thoſe, who went before us. The Difference between them and us, is, That, in the laſt Age, People were more ambitious of Erudition than they are at preſent. —— 'Twas the Genius of thoſe times, wherein nothing was more in Vogue than a vaſt Capacity, a great Memory, and profound Literature. They ſtudied Languages to the bottom; applied themſelves to reform or reſtore the Text of ancient Authors by far-fetched Interpretations; cavilled about an equivocal Word; laid ſtreſs upon a Conjecture, in order to eſtabliſh a Correction; in ſhort, they ſtuck to the literal Senſe of an Author, becauſe they had not Force enough to raiſe themſelves up to his Spirit, and to be thoroughly acquainted with him, as we have at preſent, becauſe we are more Reaſonable, and leſs Learned; and ſet a greater Value upon plain good Senſe, than an extenſive, but perverſe, Capacity.”

[*E*] *Odious to ſome Proteſtant Divines.*] That I may not be arraigned for advancing this without any Ground or Proof, I ſhall quote the Words of a Miniſter of the *Hague* (6): “Jacobus Acontius (de quo jure quod de Origine dici ſolet, *ubi bene nemo melius, ubi male nemo pejus*) —— fuit —— vir verè doctus, ſed ingenii, ut acris quidem, ita & *elatioris*,

(1) Acontii Epiſt. ad Wolfium, de Edendorum Librorum ratione, pag. 411.

(2) Heulnerus. *His Letter is dated* Aug. 29. 1641. apud Baillet, *Life of* Des Cartes Tom. 2. pag. 138.

(3) Baillet, ubi ſupra,

(4) Acont. ubi ſupra, pag. 412.

(5) Pere Rapin's *Preface to the Compariſon of* Thucydides *and* Livy.

(6) Saldenus, de libris, pag. 337, 338.

the by, that he had beſtowed a great part of his Life in the Study of *Bartolus*, *Baldus*, and ſuch like barbarous Writers, and many Years at Court (g). *Acontius*'s Letter, which was publiſhed in 1696 (h), ſhews a clear and exact Genius, and which was acquainted with ſound Logic. It is dated from *London* the 5th of *June* 1565. and ſerves to illuſtrate a thing which he had advanced concerning *Sabellius*, and which had been cenſured. Note, That tho' moſt Proteſtant Divines look upon this Man with Horror, yet ſome amongſt them have very much commended him [*F*].

(g) Id. ib.

(h) *By Mr* Crenius, p. 131, &c. *of the 2d part of his* Animadverſiones Philologicæ & Hiſtoricæ.

“ *elatioris*, & juſto liberalioris: quin à neſcio quali ſcepticiſmo & indifferentiſſimo in ipſam *Theologiam* introducendo haudquaquam alieni, quod tractatu ſuo de *Stratagematis Satanæ* teſtatum ſatis fecit, *libello*, (Simone Goulartio judice) *omnium malorum peſſimo* * : Voetius ei adſcribit † *quod vel imperite vel ſubdole communem confeſſionis conceptum molitus ſit, ſub cujus vexillo militari poſſunt & ipſi Ariani.* —— James Acontius (*to whom may be applied what is generally ſaid of* Origen, *that* where he did well, no one did better, where he did ill, no one worſe) *was a truly learned Man, but of a Genius too Elate and Free, and too Sceptical in Matters of Religion, as appears by his Treatiſe* de Stratagematis Satanæ: A Book (*according to* Simon Goulartius) of all bad Books the worſt. Voetius *charges him with* cunningly, or unſkilfully, drawing up a Confeſſion of Faith, under whoſe Banner the *Arians* themſelves might fight.” What is here mentioned of *Simon Goulart* is not to be found (as far as I know) in any of his Books; I believe it is taken from *Uytenbogardus*, who ſays in one of his Works, that, when he ſtudied at *Geneva*, he was cenſured by *Simon Goulart* for reading *Acontius*, who told him, that his Book of the *Stratagems of the Devil*, was the worſt Book in the World, *eſſe librum omnium malorum peſſimum* (7). I have met with another Paſſage of *Voetius* concerning this Matter, wherein that Doctor places *Acontius* among the Heretics, who came out of *Italy*, under Pretence of Reformation (8), and aſſures us, that if the Venom which lies hid in ſome Places of his Book ‖, had been taken notice of, he had either been Excommunicated, or conſtrained to ſign a Confeſſion of Orthodoxy. “ Judicetur quis anguis in herba latuerit, quod hic vir in fundamentalibus aſſertionibus nunquam τὸ ὁμοούσιον trium perſonarum ſtatuerit, nec adverſarios, Samoſatenum, Photinum, Arrium, Eunomium, Pneumatomachos, aut eorum errores rejecerit, contentus ſolos illos rejectos, qui negarent filium non eſſe alium à patre (9). —— *Judge what a Snake is concealed in the Graſs, when this Author, in his Fundamental Aſſertions, never lays down the* SAMENESS OF ESSENCE *of the Three Perſons, nor rejects the Errors of* Samoſatenus, Photinus, Arrius, Eunomius, *and the* Pneumatomachi *, *being contented with diſclaiming only thoſe, who denied, that the Son is not diſtinct from the Father.*”

[*F*] *Some amongſt them have very much commended him.*] Mr *Crenius* furniſhes us with Proofs for both theſe Aſſertions. He obſerves (10), That *Conradus Bergius* declares, that *Acontius* argued prudently and piouſly. This *Bergius* was Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity at *Bremen*. The Book, wherein he ſpeaks to this Purpoſe, is entituled, *Praxis Catholica divini Canonis contra quaſvis hæreſes & ſchiſmata, &c.* and printed at *Bremen*, in 1639. in 8vo. *Rivetus*, being in Poſſeſſion of one of theſe Books, *ex dono autoris*, wrote in it ſome Remarks, of which I ſhall mention That, which relates to *Acontius*. “ Miror cur, p. 524. tanti faciat vir doctus judicium Acontii, hominis ambiguæ fidei & Socinianorum vel prodromi, vel commilitonis, cujus rei gratiâ ab Arminianis toties recuſus eſt & commendatus, etiam in varias linguas vulgares tranſlatus. Huic homini ſcopus fuit, ut ex toto libro apparet, ad tam pauca neceſſaria doctrinam Chriſtianam arctare, ut omnibus ſectis in Chriſtianiſmo pateret aditus ad mutuam communionem. Vellem doctiſſ. & pium virum à talibus laudandis & imitandis abſtinuiſſe (11). —— *I wonder this Learned Author, at his 524th Page, ſhould ſo highly extol the Judgment of* Acontius, *a Man of ambiguous Principles, and either the Fore-runner or Fellow-Soldier of the* Socinians; *upon which account he was ſo great a Favourite with the* Arminians, *that they reprinted his Work many Times, tranſlating it into ſeveral Vulgar Languages. This Gentleman's Aim, as appears from his whole Book, was to reduce the Chriſtian Doctrine to ſo few Fundamentals, as to open the Door to a general Communion of all the Sects in Chriſtendom. I wiſh this learned and pious Author had abſtained from commending and imitating ſuch Writers.*” The Book, whence I had this Paſſage, informs me farther, that *Iſaac Junius* (12), Miniſter at *Delft*, plac'd *Acontius*, the *Remonſtrants*, and *Socinus*, in the ſame Claſs, and look'd upon the firſt as a Man, who had a mind to reduce all Sects into one, and encloſe them in the ſame Ark, as *Noah* did all ſorts of Animals in his, wherein they were preſerved, though ſuſtain'd by different Food. We ſee in the ſame Book, the Account which *Peltius* gave of *Acontius*, which is, that by reducing to a ſmall Number the Points neceſſary to Salvation, and requiring a Toleration for the particular Opinions, which were againſt the other Articles, he opened a wide Door to all manner of Hereſies (13). Laſtly, we find in the ſame Book, that not only *Arminius* and *Grevinchovius* have given great Commendations to our *Acontius*, but alſo that *Ameſius* and *George Pauli* (14), two Reformed Divines, have very much applauded him. “ Jacobo Arminio tamen in Reſponſ. ad Excerpta Theol. Leidenſ. p. 65. Acontius eſt *divinum prudentiæ ac moderationis lumen*,——(*Acontius* is a divine Luminary of Prudence and Moderation). Ameſio præfat. ad Puritan. Anglicanos & Grevinchovio in Abſtertione calumn. Smoutii, p. 125. apud B. Hulſemannum in Dedicat. Supplementi Breviarii Theologici, p. 6. idem Acontius eſt δυνατώτατος ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, *qui ſementem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ calore & rore cæleſti fovit ſedulo.*——(The ſame *Acontius* was very *mighty in the Scriptures*; and one, who diligently cheriſhed the Growth of the *Engliſh* Church, with Warmth and Heavenly Dew (15).”

* Trigland. Hiſt. Eccleſ. pag. 232.

† Voet. Polit. Eccleſ. part. III. in Indice, & pag. 31. & 398.

(7) Uytenbogardus *in his Hiſtory written in* Belgic, cap. 1. pag. 7. Edit. in 4to.

(8) Voetius's *Theological Diſputations*, Tom. 1. p. 495.

‖ Pag. 114, 123, 341. Edit. Baſil. 1610.

(9) Voetius, ubi ſupra, pag. 501.

* *Oppoſers of the Divinity of the* Holy Ghoſt.

(10) Thom. Crenius's *Philological and Hiſtorical Animadverſions*, part. 2. pag. 32.

(11) Rivet. apud Crenium, ibid. pag. 30.

(12) Iſaac Junius in Examine Apologiæ Remonſtrantium, pag. 45. apud Crenium, ibid.

(13) Peltius in Dedicatione Harmoniæ, apud Crenium, ib. pag. 31.

(14) In Reformato Auguſtano, ſeu Apologia pro dictatis ſuis de Aug. Confeſſ. *See* Crenius, ibid. p. 32.

(15) Cren. ibid. p. 31.

ACOSTA (URIEL), a *Portugueſe* Gentleman, was born at *Porto* about the end of the XVIth Century. He was educated in the *Romiſh* Religion, which his Father ſincerely profeſt (*a*), though deſcended from one of thoſe *Jewiſh* Families, which were conſtrain'd to receive Baptiſm. He was educated like a Perſon of Quality, and, after ſeveral Studies, apply'd himſelf at laſt to Civil-Law. Nature had endow'd him with good Inclinations [*A*], and Religion had made ſo deep an impreſſion upon him, that he ardently deſir'd to fulfil all the Precepts of the Church, in order to avoid Eternal Death, which he very much dreaded. Therefore he diligently apply'd himſelf to the reading of the Goſpel, and other ſpiritual and godly Books; and

(*a*) Pater meus verè erat Chriſtianus.----*My Father was truly a Chriſtian.* Uriel Acoſta *in his* Exemplar Vitæ Humanæ, *inſerted by Mr* Limborch, *at the end of his* Friendly Conference with a *Jew*, concerning the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion.

[*A*] *Nature had endow'd him with good Inclinations.*] He was ſo tender-hearted and compaſſionate, that he could not forbear ſhedding Tears at the recital of any Misfortune, that had befallen his Neighbour; and Modeſty had taken ſo deep Root in his Soul, that he feared nothing more than what might offend it, and put him to the Bluſh. He was courageous, and ſuſceptible of Anger on a lawful Occaſion, and check'd the Inſolence of thoſe rude Men, who take delight in inſulting others, ſtill chuſing to ſide with the weaker. This is the Character he gives of himſelf. *Infirmorum Partes adjuvare cupiens*, ſays he (1), & *illis potius me ſocium adjungens*.

(1) Uriel Acoſta *in his* Exemplar Vitæ Humanæ, p. 346.

and often conſulted the Deciſions of Caſuiſts about the Heads of Confeſſion; but the more Enquires he made, the more he found his Scruples and Difficulties increaſe, till, at laſt, they entangled him to ſuch a Degree, that, being unable to get out of the Labyrinth; he fell into moſt terrible Agonies of Mind. He did not think it poſſible for him punctually to diſcharge the Duty and Conditions, which Abſolution requires, according to ſound Caſuiſts, and thus he deſpair'd of Salvation, in caſe it could not be obtain'd any other Way. But, becauſe it was difficult for him to abandon a Religion, to which he had been accuſtom'd from his Infancy, and which had taken deep Root in his Mind, thro' the Force of Perſuaſion, all he could do in his Condition was to examine, whether All the Notions he had imbibed of a Future State were not meer Fiction, and whether They were agreeable to Reaſon. He fancy'd that Reaſon inceſſantly ſuggeſted to him Arguments againſt Them: He was then 22 Years of Age, and This was the Courſe he took: He firſt turn'd *Sceptic*, and afterwards concluded, that the Road, into which Education had led him, would never carry him to Salvation. In the mean time, he ſtudied the Law, and obtain'd a Preferment *(b)*, at 25 Years of Age. Now, being unwilling to be without Religion, and the Profeſſion of the *Roman Catholic* Religion affording him no Reſt, he apply'd himſelf to the Reading of *Moſes* and the *Prophets*, and, having found them more ſatisfactory than the *Goſpel*, he was at laſt perſuaded, that *Judaiſm* was the true Religion; but, not being permitted to profeſs it in *Portugal*, he reſolv'd to leave his Native Country. Accordingly he reſign'd his Place, and embark'd for *Amſterdam* with his Mother and Brothers, whom he had the Courage to catechiſe [*B*], and whom he had effectually brought over to his Opinions. As ſoon as they arriv'd there, they were admitted into the Synagogue, and were circumcis'd according to Cuſtom: upon which he chang'd his Name of *Gabriel* into that of URIEL. It was not many days, before he found that the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Jews* were not conformable to the Laws of *Moſes*: He cou'd not forbear cenſuring this *Nonconformity*; but the Chief of the Synagogue gave him to underſtand, that he muſt follow their Tenets and Cuſtoms in all Points, and that if he receded from them never ſo little, they would excommunicate him. Theſe Threats did not diſcourage him; He thought it would not become a Man, who had abandon'd the Conveniences of his Native Land for Liberty of Conſcience, to yield to Rabbies who had no Authority [*C*]; and that it would argue want of Spirit and Piety, if he ſhould

(b) The Dignity of a Treaſurer of a Collegiate Church.

[*B*] *Whom he had the Courage to catechiſe.*] He does not forget the Circumſtances, which were proper to heighten the Sacrifice he made to his Religion. He obſerves that he relinquiſhed a profitable and honourable Poſt, and a fine Houſe, which his Father had built in the beſt Part of the City (2). He adds the Dangers of embarking; for the Deſcendants of *Jews* cannot go out of the Kingdom, without the King's particular Leave. *Navem adſcendimus non ſine magno periculo: non licet illis qui ab Hebræis originem ducant à regno diſcedere ſine ſpeciali Regis facultate* (3). Laſtly, he ſays, That if it had been known, that he entertained his Mother and Brothers with his Thoughts about the *Jewiſh* Religion, it would have been his utter Ruin; but his Charity made him overlook the Danger. *Quibus ego fraterno amore motus ea communicaveram, quæ mihi ſuper religione viſa fuerant magis conſentanea, licet ſuper aliquibus dubitarem: quod quidem in magnum malum meum poterat recidere, tantum eſt in eo regno periculum de talibus loqui* (4). We may here obſerve by the Way, that the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* have omitted nothing, that the ſubtileſt and ſevereſt Politics can invent, to maintain a Party. They have made uſe of every Method, for the Support of *Chriſtianity*, and the Deſtruction of *Judaiſm*; and they cannot be accuſed, without Injuſtice, of having committed the Church to the Protection of Heaven, with a temper of Mind, diſpos'd patiently to expect every thing from the Efficacy of their Prayers. On the contrary, one would think they followed the Advice which the Heathen Poet has given in an Affair relating to Agriculture,

> Non tamen ulla magis præſens fortuna laborum eſt,
> Quam ſi quis ferro potuit reſcindere ſummum
> Ulceris os: alitur vitium, vivitque tegendo;
> Dum medicas adhibere manus ad vulnera paſtor
> Abnegat, aut meliora deos ſedet omina poſcens (5).
>
> *Receipts abound; but, ſearching all thy Store,*
> *The beſt is ſtill at hand, to launce the Sore,*
> *And cut the Head; for, till the Core be found,*
> *The ſecret Vice is fed, and gathers Ground:*
> *Whilſt, making fruitleſs Moan, the Shepherd ſtands,*
> *And, when the launcing Knife requires his Hands,*
> *Vain Help, with idle Prayers, from Heav'n demands.*
> DRYDEN.

Or elſe one would be apt to ſay, that they have ſquared their Conduct by the Reproaches which *Cato* made to the *Romans*, when he blamed them for confiding ſolely in the Aſſiſtance of the Gods, who, added he, never hear the Prayers of the Slothful, for Sloth is a Sign of the Anger of Heaven. "Vos —
" inertia & mollitia animi alius alium exſpectantes cunctamini, videlicet diis immortalibus confiſi, qui
" hanc rempubl. in maximis ſæpe periculis ſervavere.
" Non votis, neque ſuppliciis muliebribus auxilia
" deorum parantur; vigilando, agendo, bene conſulendo, proſpere omnia cedunt. Ubi ſocordiæ
" tete, atque ignaviæ tradideris; nequicquam Deos implores: irati infeſtique ſunt (6). ——— *Unactive and Effeminate in Mind, you ſtand idly gazing on each other, relying on the Aſſiſtance of the Immortal Gods, who have often preſerv'd this Republic in the greateſt Danger. But be aſſured, that the Aſſiſtance of Heaven is not to be obtained by Wiſhes, and womaniſh Supplication: Succeſs attends alone on Vigilance, Action, and wiſe Councils. If you give yourſelf up to Sloth and Idleneſs, it is in vain to implore the Gods; they are angry and unpropitious.*" Laſtly, one may ſay, that the Leſſon which they are moſt apt to practiſe, is the latter part of the Axiom, which a Modern has ſet down in theſe Words: *We muſt, as it were, ſo wholly abandon ourſelves to Providence, as if all human Prudence were uſeleſs; and we muſt ſo govern ourſelves by the Dictates of human Prudence, as if there were no Providence* (7). Without doubt they would laugh at an Author, who ſhould blame them for uſing *Chriſtianity* like an old Palace, ſo much decay'd, that it wants Props on every Side; and *Judaiſm*, like a ſtrong Fortreſs, which one muſt cannonade and bombard continually, in order to weaken it. We may juſtly condemn certain Methods of ſupporting the *Good Cauſe*; but after all, as good as it is, it ſtands in need of Support; and *Diſtruſt is the Mother of Safety*. See the Remark [*E*], of the Article LUBIENIETSKI, and the Remark [*B*], of the Article DRABICIUS.

[*C*] *To Rabbies who had no Authority.*] There is certainly a great Difference between the Tribunal, which our *Acoſta* ſtood in fear of in his own Country, and the Tribunal of the Synagogue of *Amſterdam*. This

(2) Ibid. pag. 347.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Virgil. Georgic. lib. 3. ver. 452.

(6) Salluſt. in Bello Catilin. pag. 160.

(7) Cotin, Oeuvres Galantes, Tom. I. *in his Diſcourſe on the Truth of Dreams*, p. 260.

ſhould betray his Sentiments upon this Occaſion; wherefore he perſiſted in his former Courſe. Accordingly he was excommunicated, which had ſuch an effect, that his very Brothers, I mean thoſe, whom he had inſtructed in the *Jewiſh* Religion, durſt neither ſpeak to him, nor ſo much as ſalute him, when they met him in the Streets. Under theſe Circumſtances he compos'd a Book in Juſtification of himſelf; wherein he ſhewed that the Rites and Traditions of the *Phariſees* were contrary to *Moſes*'s Writings. He had ſcarce begun this Book, when he embrac'd the Opinion of the *Sadducees*; for he was fully perſuaded, that the Puniſhments and Rewards of the Old Law reſpected this Life only; grounding His Opinion principally upon this, that *Moſes* makes no mention either of the Joys of Heaven, or of the Torments of Hell. When his Adverſaries were inform'd, that he had embrac'd this Opinion, they were extreamly pleas'd, becauſe they foreſaw it wou'd be a good Plea in juſtifying to the Chriſtians the Proceedings of the Synagogue againſt him. This was the Reaſon, why, even before his Book went to the Preſs, they publiſh'd a Treatiſe concerning the Immortality of the Soul, compos'd by a Phyſician (*c*), who forgot nothing, that might contribute to brand *Acoſta* for an Atheiſt: Nay They even encourag'd Children to abuſe him in the Streets, and to throw Stones at his Houſe. Nevertheleſs he publiſh'd a Book againſt the Phyſician, wherein he ſtrenuouſly oppos'd the Immortality of the Soul (*d*). The *Jews* had recourſe to the Tribunals of *Amſterdam*, and impeach'd him, as a Perſon who overthrew the Principles both of *Judaiſm* and *Chriſtianity*. He was impriſon'd, and admitted to Bail in 8 or 10 days. The Impreſſion of his Book was confiſcated, and the Author fin'd 300 *Gilders*. All this did not ſtop him: Time and Experience puſh'd him on much farther. He examin'd whether the Law of *Moſes* came from God, and fancied he had found ſufficient Reaſons to be convinc'd, that it was a meer Contrivance of Human Wit; but inſtead of concluding from thence, *Therefore I ought not to return to the* Jewiſh *Communion*, he drew this Conſequence, *Why ſhould I obſtinately remain ſeparated from it all my Life-time, expos'd to ſo many Inconveniencies, and a Stranger as I am, in a Country, the Language whereof I cannot ſpeak?* Having conſider'd all theſe things he return'd to the Pale of *Judaiſm* 15 Years after his Excommunication, recanted what he had ſaid, and ſubſcrib'd whatever they pleas'd. Some days after, a Nephew of his, who lodg'd in his Houſe, inform'd againſt him. This was a Youth, who had taken notice, that his Uncle did not obſerve the Laws of the Synagogue, either in point of Diet, or otherwiſe. This Accuſation was attended with ſtrange Conſequences: For one of *Acoſta*'s Relations, who had reconcil'd him to the *Jews*, thought himſelf obliged,

(*c*) *In the Year* 1623.

(*d*) *Entitled,* Examen Traditionum Philoſophicarum ad Legem Scriptam. --- *The Philoſophical Traditions compared with the written Law.* [*Perhaps* Philoſophicarum *is a Miſtake for* Phariſaicarum.]

This latter can only inflict Canonical Puniſhments, whereas the *Chriſtian Inquiſition* can put a Man to Death, for it delivers over to the Secular Sword all thoſe it condemns. Therefore I do not wonder, that *Acoſta* was leſs afraid of the *Jewiſh* Inquiſition, than of that of *Portugal:* He knew that the Synagogue had no Tribunals, which intermeddled with any Proceſs, Civil or Criminal, and therefore look'd upon their Excommunications as a meer *brutum Fulmen*; he did not find this Canonical Sentence attended either with Death, Whipping, Priſon, or a pecuniary Mulct. Wherefore he thought, that ſince he had Courage enough not to betray his Religion in *Portugal*, he ought, with much more Reaſon, have the boldneſs to ſpeak, according to his Conſcience, among the *Jews*, even at the Peril of Excommunication from them; which was all he had to fear from Men, who have no Magiſtrates of their own. “Quia minimè decebat, ut propter talem metum terga verteret, ille qui pro libertate natale ſolum, & utilitates alias contempſerat; & ſuccumbere hominibus, præſertim JURISDICTIONEM non habentibus, in tali cauſa nec pium nec virile erat; decrevi potius omnia perferre & in ſententia perdurare (8). —— *As it was unbecoming a Perſon to turn his Back thro' ſuch a Fear; one who had forſaken his native Land, with all it's Conveniencies, for the ſake of Liberty; and as, in ſuch a Caſe, it was neither pious nor manly to ſubmit to Men, eſpecially ſuch as had no* JURISDICTION, *I determine rather to hold it out to the laſt, and to perſiſt in my Opinion,*” But it fared with him as with moſt People, who judge of complicated Evils. They imagine 'tis in the Union of two or three Puniſhments that a Misfortune conſiſts; and that a Man would deſerve but little Pity, ſhould he ſuffer but one of them; but They Experience the contrary, when Providence expoſes them to but one of theſe two or three Diſgraces. They feel it much heavier than they imagined it would prove. The Inquiſition of *Portugal* ſeem'd dreadful to the *Jew* Acoſta: Why ſo? Becauſe he beheld it join'd with the Power, either mediately or immediately, of impriſoning, torturing, and burning, Criminals: If he had conſidered it only with relation to it's Excommunication, he would not have been much afraid of it. This was the Reaſon of his contemning the Menaces of the Synagogue of *Amſterdam*. But he was ſenſible, by Experience, that the bare Power of Excommunication is very terrible, tho' altogether unaided by the Secular Sword. Every body look'd upon him as a Monſter after his Excommunication: His very Brothers avoided meeting him, and durſt not take notice of him. *Ipſi Fratres mei, quibus ego Præceptor fueram, me tranſibant, nec in plateâ ſalutabant, propter metum illorum* (9). The Boys hooted at him in the Streets, and loaded him with Curſes; they gathered in Crowds about his Houſe, and threw Stones at his Windows; *jamque faces & ſaxa volant*, He could not be quiet either at home or abroad. *Pueri iſtorum, à Rabinis & parentibus edocti, turmatim per plateas conveniebant, & elatis vocibus mihi maledicebant, & omnigenis contumeliis irritabant, hæreticum & defectorem inclamantes. Aliquando etiam antè fores meas congregabantur, lapides jaciebant, & nihil intentatum relinquebant ut me turbarent, ne tranquillus etiam in domo propria agere poſſem* (10). The Evils, to which his Excommunication ſubjected him, were ſo violent, that at laſt he found himſelf unable to ſupport them; for as great an Averſion as he had to the Synagogue, he choſe rather to return to it by a ſeeming Reconciliation, than to be openly ſeparated from it. For this Reaſon, he ſaid to certain *Chriſtians*, who had a mind to turn *Jews*, that they did not know what Yoke they were going to ſubmit their Necks to. *Neſciebant quale jugum ſuis verticibus imponerent* (11). But how great was his Perplexity, when, having refus'd to undergo the ignominious Penance impos'd on him by the Synagogue, he ſaw himſelf ſtill detained by the Bonds of Excommunication? Thoſe, who met him in the Streets, ſpit at him, and Children were taught to do the ſame. *Multi eorum tranſeunte me in plateâ ſpuebant, quod etiam & pueri eorum faciebant ab illis edocti; tantum non lapidabar, quia deerat facultas* (12). His Relations perſecuted him, and no body would attend him, when he lay ſick. To be ſhort,

(8) Uriel Acoſta, ubi ſupra.

(9) Acoſta, Exempl. Vitæ Humanæ pag. 347.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid. pag. 348.

(12) Ibid. pag. 349.

obliged, in Honour, to proſecute him with the utmoſt Severity [*D*]. The Rabbies, and all the People under them, were acted by the ſame Spirit, eſpecially when they heard that our *Acoſta* had diſſwaded two Chriſtians, who were come from *London* to *Amſterdam*, from turning *Jews*. He was ſummon'd before the grand Council of the Synagogue, who declar'd to him they would excommunicate him a ſecond time, if he did not give them the Satisfaction which they ſhou'd require of him. He found the Terms of it ſo very hard, that he anſwer'd, He cou'd not ſubmit to them. Whereupon they reſolv'd to drive him from their Communion; and 'tis impoſſible to relate the many Inſults offer'd him from that time, and how much he was perſecuted by his Relations. Having paſt ſeven Years in this ſad Condition, he reſolv'd to declare, that he was ready to ſubmit to the Sentence of the Synagogue; for they had given him to underſtand, that, by means of this Declaration, he would eaſily come off, becauſe the Judges, being ſatisfy'd with his Submiſſion, would mitigate the Severity of the Diſcipline. But he was deceiv'd, and made to undergo with the utmoſt Rigour the Penance, which they had at firſt impos'd upon him [*E*]. This is what I have extracted, without any Diſguiſe or Alteration, (and without pretending to warrant the Truth of the matters of Fact) out of a ſmall Piece compos'd by *Acoſta* (*e*) and publiſh'd and confuted by Mr *Limborch* (*f*). 'Tis thought he writ it ſome few days before his Death, having firſt reſolv'd to lay violent hands upon himſelf. He executed this ſtrange Reſolution a little after he had fail'd in his attempt of ſhooting his principal Antagoniſt as he paſſed by his Door (*g*); for, his Piſtol miſſing Fire, he lock'd himſelf up, and with another Piſtol ſhot himſelf (*h*). This happen'd at *Amſterdam*, though in what Year is not certainly known [*F*]. This Inſtance favours thoſe, who condemn the Liberty of philoſophizing in Matters of Religion; for the principal ſtreſs of their Arguments lies in this, that ſuch a Method leads a Man inſenſibly either to *Atheiſm* or *Deiſm* [*G*]. I ſhall juſt mention the Reflexion,

which

(*e*) *Entitled*, Exemplar Humanæ Vitæ.

(*f*) *See the Citation* (*a*).

(*g*) *It was either his Brother or his Couſin.* Limborch in Præf. ad Exemplar Vitæ.

(*h*) Limborch, ibid.

ſhort, they tormented him to ſuch a Degree, that at laſt they extorted from him the Submiſſion they deſired. *Duravit pugna iſta per annos ſeptem, intra quod tempus incredibilia paſſus ſum* (13).——*This Struggle continued for ſeven Years, during which I ſuffered incredible Perſecutions.* We ſhall ſee in the Remark [*E*], what kind of Puniſhment they impos'd upon him. He was then more than ever ſenſible, how terrible even thoſe People are, who, without any legal Juriſdiction, inflict the Laws of Diſcipline.

I am cautious of declaring my Approbation of the Reaſons of the *Independants*; who think it ſo unjuſt, that the Church ſhould arrogate to herſelf the Power of Excommunication, that is, of inflicting Puniſhments, which are ſometimes more ignominious and defaming than a Branding-Iron; and which expoſes a Man to more temporal Misfortunes, than the afflictive Pains which the Civil Magiſtrate impoſes. The Sentence of the Judge does not ſet aſide the Acts and Offices of Humanity, much leſs the Duties of Conſanguinity. But Excommunication often arms Fathers againſt their Children, and Children againſt their Fathers; it ſtifles all the Sentiments of Nature; it breaks the Bonds of Friendſhip and Hoſpitality; and reduces People to the Condition of ſuch as are infected with the Plague, nay ſometimes to a worſe and more abandon'd State.

[*D*] *One of his Relations —— thought himſelf obliged, in Honour, to proſecute him with the utmoſt Severity.*] Theſe are the ill Offices he did him: *Acoſta* was upon the point of marrying a ſecond Wife; he had a great many Effects in the Hands of one of his Brothers, and it concerned him very much to continue his Partnerſhip with him. Now this Relation croſs'd him in all theſe Particulars; for he broke off the March, and engaged *Acoſta*'s Brother to detain all his Effects, and to have no more Dealings with him. This Procedure ought to be conſidered as one of the Reaſons, which confirmed *Acoſta* in his Impiety; for without doubt he perſwaded himſelf, that this Violence and Injuſtice was authorized by ſome Paſſages of the Old Teſtament, wherein the Law commands Brothers, Fathers, and Husbands, not to ſpare the Lives of their Brothers, Children, and Wives, in caſe of Apoſtacy (14). And we muſt take notice, that he made uſe of this as a Proof againſt the Law of *Moſes*; for he pretended that a Law, which overthrew Natural Religion, could not proceed from God the Author of that Religion (15). For, argued he, *Natural Religion eſtabliſhes a Bond of Amity among Relations*, &c. See how Mr *Limborch* has anſwered this Sophiſm (16).

[*E*] *With the utmoſt Rigour the Penance, which they had at firſt impoſed upon him.*] His own Account of it is as follows. A great Crowd of Men and Women being aſſembled in the Synagogue, to ſee this Spectacle, he entered the Place, and, at the time appointed, went up into the Pulpit, and read with a loud Voice a Paper, wherein he acknowledged that he had deſerved Death a thouſand Times, for not keeping either the Sabbath-day, or his promis'd Faith, and for having diſſuaded the Converſion of certain *Chriſtians*, who were inclined to embrace *Judaiſm*: That, in Atonement for theſe Crimes, he was ready to ſuffer whatever they ſhould decree, and that he promis'd never to relapſe into the ſame Faults. Being come down from the Pulpit, he was ordered to retire to one of the Corners of the Synagogue, where he ſtripped himſelf naked, from the Waſte upwards, and pulled off his Shoes; then the Door-keeper tied his Hands to one of the Pillars; after which the Maſter-Chanter gave him thirty nine Stripes with a Whip, neither more nor leſs; for in theſe Ceremonies they take care not to exceed the Number, which the Law preſcribes. Next came the Preacher, who ordered him to ſit on the Ground, and declared him abſolved from his Excommunication, and that *the Doors of Paradiſe were not ſhut againſt him as before. Et ita jam porta cœli mihi erat aperta, quæ antea fortiſſimis ceris clauſa me à limine & ingreſſu excludebant* (17). *Acoſta* put on his Cloaths again, and went and laid himſelf down flat on his Belly, at the Door of the Synagogue, and all that went out trod over him. I thought the Reader would be pleaſed to find here this ſmall Specimen of *Jewiſh* Ceremonies (18).

[*F*] *Though in what Year is not certainly known.*] 'Tis very probable that he kill'd himſelf ſoon after the Ceremony of his Abſolution, enraged at the Treatment he had received, contrary to the Hopes he had entertained of a mitigated Puniſhment. But this will not preciſely determine the time of his Death, becauſe it is not known in what Year he performed this Penance. If it were known how long he had been under Excommunication, when the Phyſician's Book was publiſhed, in 1623, it would not be difficult to make an exact Computation, ſince he obſerves, that his firſt Excommunication laſted fifteen Years; that the ſecond continued ſeven, and ſoon followed the other. It is ſuppoſed, in the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, that he killed himſelf in the Year 1647 (19), but others ſay it was in 1640 (20).

[*G*] *That ſuch a Method leads a Man inſenſibly either to Atheiſm or Deiſm.*] *Acoſta* ſerves them for an Example. He would not acquieſce in the Deciſions of the Catholic Church, becauſe he did not find them conformable to his Reaſon; and he embraced *Judaiſm*, becauſe he found it more agreeable to his Natural Notions. Afterwards he rejected an infinite

Number

(13) Acoſta, ubi ſupra, pag. 349.

(14) *See* Deuteronomy, xiii.

(15) Uriel Acoſta, ubi ſupra, pag. 352.

(16) Philip à Limborch *in his Confutation of* Uriel Acoſta pag. 361, &c.

(17) Acoſta, ubi ſupra, pag. 350.

(18) *Taken from the* Exemplar Humanæ Vitæ *of* Uriel Acoſta, pag. 349, 350.

(19) Biblioth. Univerſ. Tom. 7. pag. 327.

(20) Joh. Helvicus Willemerus *in his Philoſophical Diſſertation concerning the* Sadducees, pag. ult. *He quotes* Mullerus's Judaiſm, Proleg. pag. 71.

which *Acoſta* made on the *Jews* endeavouring to render him the more odious, by affecting to ſay, That he was neither *Jew*, *Chriſtian*, nor *Mahometan* [*H*].

Number of *Judaical* Traditions, becauſe he thought they were not contained in the Scripture; nay, he rejected the Immortality of the Soul, upon pretence that the Law of God makes no mention of it: And laſtly, he denied the Books of *Moſes* to be divinely inſpired, becauſe he thought that natural Religion did not agree with the Ordinances of That Legiſlator. Had he lived ſix or ſeven Years longer, he would, perhaps, have denied Natural Religion itſelf, becauſe his wretched ſcanty Reaſon would have puzzled him with Difficulties about the Hypotheſis of Providence, and of the Free Will of the Eternal and Self-exiſtent Being. It is certain, that Mankind, even in making uſe of their Reaſon, ſtand in need of Divine Aſſiſtance; without which it will prove a blind and erroneous Guide: And we may compare Philoſophy to certain Powders ſo very corroſive, that, having conſumed the proud and ſpongy Fleſh of a Wound, they would corrode even the quick and ſound Fleſh, rot the Bones, and penetrate to the very Marrow. Philoſophy is proper at firſt to confute Errors, but if ſhe be not ſtopped there, ſhe attacks Truth itſelf; and when ſhe has her full Scope, ſhe generally goes ſo far, that ſhe loſes herſelf, and knows not where to ſtop. This muſt be imputed either to the Weakneſs of Man's Underſtanding, or to the ill uſe he makes of it's pretended Force. By Good Fortune, or rather through a wiſe Diſpenſation of Providence, there are few Men, who are capable of thus abuſing their Reaſon.

[*H*] *Affected to ſay, that he was neither* Jew, Chriſtian, *nor* Mahometan.] This Accuſation, anſwered he, carries both Malice and Ignorance with it; for, had he been a *Chriſtian*, they would have looked upon him as an abominable Idolater, who, together with the Founder of Chriſtianity, deſerved to be puniſhed by the true God, as an Apoſtate. If he had followed the Religion of *Mahomet*, they would not have made him leſs odious: Therefore he had no way of eſcaping the Laſh of their Tongues, but by devoutly addicting himſelf to the *Phariſaical* Traditions. Let us conſider his own Words: " Scio adverſarios iſtos, ut nomen meum coram indocta plebe " dilanient, ſolitos eſſe dicere, iſte nullam habet re" ligionem, Judæus non eſt, non Chriſtianus, non " Mahometanus. Vide prius, Phariſæe, quid dicas, " cœcus enim es, & licet malitiâ abundes, tamen ſicut " cœcus impingis. Quæſo, dic mihi, ſi ego Chri" ſtianus eſſem, quid fuiſſes dicturus? Planum eſt, " dicturum te, fœdiſſimum me eſſe idololatram, & " cum Jeſu Nazareno Chriſtianorum doctore pœnas " vero Deo ſoluturum, à quo defeceram. Si Maho" metanus eſſem, norunt etiam omnes quibus me ho" noribus fuiſſes cumulaturus: & ita nunquam lin" guam tuam poſſem evadere; unicum hoc effugium " habens, nempe ad genua tua procumbere, fœ" diſſimos pedes tuos, tuas inquam nefarias & puden" das inſtitutiones, oſculari (21). —— *I know that* " *my Adverſaries, in order to blacken my Name in* " *the Sight of the ill-judging Vulgar, were wont to* " *ſay, This Man has no Religion; He is neither* Jew, " Chriſtian, *nor* Mahometan. *Conſider firſt, thou* " Phariſee, *what thou ſayeſt; for thou art blind, and,* " *in ſpight of thy abundant Malice, thou ſtumbleſt like* " *a blind Man. Pray tell me, if I were a Chriſtian,* " *what would you ſay? It is certain you would call* " *me a vile Idolater, and condemn me, together with* " Jeſus *of* Nazareth, *the Teacher of the* Chriſtians, " *to expiate by Puniſhment my Apoſtacy from the* " *True God. Were I a* Mahometan, *every one knows* " *with what kind of Honours you would load me. Thus* " *I could never eſcape your Cenſure: One way indeed* " *there is; namely to fall down at your Knees, and kiſs* " *your filthy Feet, I mean your wicked and ſhameful* " *Inſtitutions.*" He makes uſe of another Anſwer: For he asks his Adverſaries, whether, beſides the three Religions they have mentioned, (and of which the two laſt were, in their Opinion, not ſo much Religion, as an Apoſtacy from God) they acknowledge any other? He ſuppoſes that they acknowledge Natural Religion as true, and as a Means of rendering us acceptable to God, and ſufficient to ſave all Nations, the *Jews* excepted. 'Tis That, he tells them, which is contained in the *ſeven Precepts*, which *Noah*, and his Deſcendants down to *Abraham*, obſerved. *Then,* ſaid he, *according to yourſelves, there is a Religion, on which I may depend, although I deſcend from the* Jews; *and if my Prayers cannot engage you to give me leave to mingle with the Crowd of other Nations, yet I ſhall not fail to aſſert this Liberty to myſelf.* Upon which he launches out in the Praiſes of *Natural Religion*.

coſta,
ig.

How much the Notion of *Neutrality* in Matters of *Religion*, offends and provokes the Minds of Men.

By the firſt of his Anſwers we may plainly ſee, that the Objection of the *Jews* was more ſpecious than ſtrong; more glittering than ſolid; more proper to ſerve their own Ends, than agreeable to the exact Rules of Argumentation; and at the bottom ſomewhat fallacious. What makes it look plauſible and ſpecious is This: The Mind of Man is ſo contrived, that, at the firſt Impreſſion, a *Neutrality* in the Worſhip of God is more ſhocking to him than a Falſe Worſhip; and therefore, when he hears of any one's abandoning the Religion of his Fathers, without embracing another, he is ſeized with more Horror, than if he were told that ſuch an one had quitted a better Religion for a worſe. This firſt Impreſſion dazzles and affects him to ſuch a Degree, that he makes it his Standard to judge of ſuch Perſons by; and his Reſentment is thereby proportionably raiſed. He does not allow himſelf time maturely to examine, whether in reality it is better to liſt one's ſelf under the Devil's Banner, in ſome of thoſe Falſe Religions, which That Enemy of God and Man has introduced, than to obſerve a *Neutrality*. Therefore we may imagine, that the *Phariſees*, who perſecuted *Acoſta*, laid ſo much ſtreſs upon their Objection, only becauſe they found it proper to ſtartle and confound the People, and to engage the *Chriſtians* in their Quarrel. I confeſs they would not have made ſo much Buſtle, had he embraced Chriſtianity at *Amſterdam* or Mahometaniſm at *Conſtantinople*; but, in effect, they would not have accounted him leſs abandoned, leſs damned, or leſs an Apoſtate: Their Temper would have been owing to their Policy, and the effect of their juſt Fear of the Reſentment of the *Religion Eſtabliſhed*. If we judge from the firſt Impreſſions of Things upon us, there are but few Proteſtants who, upon the News that *Titius* had left the Profeſſion of the Reformed Religion, without embracing any other Perſuaſion, would not aſſert that he was more criminal than if he had turned Papiſt: But I would fain ask theſe Proteſtants, *Have you good Ground for This? Have you well examined what you would ſay, in caſe he were become a great Bigot to Popery; if you ſhould ſee him loaded with Relicks, running mad after Proceſſions, and, in ſhort, practiſing all the Extravagancies of Idolatrous and Superſtitious Monks? Could you anſwer, that you would ſtill ſay the ſame, if you ſhould be informed that he was turned Jew or Mahometan, or a Worſhipper of the Pagods of* China? To repeat it once more, the Mind of Man is thus contrived; the firſt thing, that ſtrikes it, is the Rule of it's Paſſions: We lay hold of the preſent Circumſtance, and do not conſider what we ſhould ſay in another Conjuncture. This private Perſon has left us, and has embraced no other Sect: we muſt attack him on this ſide. —— His Indifference is now his greateſt Crime; but if he were turned Heathen, we ſhould attack him on that ſide too, and we ſhould ſay, at leaſt we ſhould think, *if he had but ſtood Neuter, and attach'd himſelf in general to the Religion of Nature, it were ſomething; but, as it is,* &c.

By the ſecond Anſwer, *Acoſta* deprived his Adverſaries of a great Advantage; for he ſheltered himſelf againſt that ſtrong Battery, *It is better to be of a falſe Religion than of none.* However, upon the whole, we muſt conclude, that he was of a deteſtable Character, and a Genius ſo ill turned, that he miſerably loſt himſelf in the Labyrinths of his miſtaken Philoſophy.

ACRONIUS (John), taught *Mathematics* and *Phyſic* at *Baſil*, with a great deal of Reputation, and compos'd ſome Books, *De Terræ motu*; *de Sphæra*; *de Aſtrolabii & Annuli Aſtronomici confectione.* He was of *Friezland*, and died at *Baſil* in the Flower of his Age, in the Year 1563. This Author has eſcap'd the Diligence of *Voſſius* (*a*) though *Swertius*, and *Valerius Andreas* had given him a Place in their *Bibliotheque* of the *Netherlands*; wherein however they have forgot to inſert another JOHN ACRONIUS, who was a Miniſter, and perhaps a Native of the ſame Province with the former. This Miniſter was of a Reſtleſs, Seditious, Spirit; he abandon'd the Congregation of *Weſel*, at a time when ſhe was threatened with an imminent Danger; They found, at *Deventer*, that they could not chuſe him Paſtor of their Church, without admitting at the ſame time a very diſagreeable Member into their Society; He left the Church of *Groningen* with diſgrace; and at *Franeker* he diſcover'd his want of Abilities to diſcharge the Truſt of Profeſſor of Divinity, into which he had intruded. Laſtly, he was Miniſter at *Haerlem*, where he behav'd himſelf as uſual; that is, he contradicted, oppos'd, and cenſur'd every one, without diſtinction. The Hiſtoriographer of That City does not deny him the Character of a very Learned Man, but gives him at the ſame time That of a Turbulent Spirit (*b*). Some have compared him to *Heſhuſius*, againſt whom the following Diſtich was handed about,

> Quæritur, Heſhuſi, quarta cur pulſus ab urbe?
> In promptu cauſa eſt, ſeditioſus eras.
>
> *The Cauſe*, Heſhuſius, *of thy Exile's known*;
> *Thou wert a Mover of Sedition grown.*

Acronius wrote in *Flemiſh* a Book *de Jure Patronatus*, wherein he inſerted ſeveral Quotations from the Canon-Law (*c*). I am inclin'd to aſcribe to him the *Elenchus Orthodoxus pſeudo-religionis Romano-Catholicæ*, printed at *Deventer* in 1615. He may very well be the Author of the Treatiſe, *De ſtudio Theologico*, which Mr *Konig* attributes to *Him*, who wrote about the *Sphere*. The ſame *Konig* ſpeaks of one RUARDUS ACRONIUS, who publiſh'd ſome *Catechetical Expoſitions* in 1606. He might have added, that, in the beginning of the Troubles of *Arminianiſm*, he wrote ſomething againſt the *Arminian* Hypotheſis, concerning the Power of Magiſtrates in Matters of Religion; and that 'twas He, who publiſh'd a Sermon, which *Uytembogard* had preach'd at the *Hague* before the Troubles, much different from the Doctrine, which he afterwards maintain'd, in relation to the ſame Queſtion (*d*). *Ruardus Acronius* was one of the ſix Advocates for the *Reform'd* againſt the *Arminians*, in the Famous Conference held at the *Hague* in 1611.

(*a*) *He makes no mention of him in his Book* De Scientiis Mathematicis.

(*b*) Theodoſius Screvelius.

(*c*) *See* Martin Schoockius. Exercitat. ſacr. pag. 255. Edit. in 4to.

(*d*) Ex Voetii Polit. Eccleſ. Tom. 1. pag. 126.

ACTOR [*A*] is the Name of ſeveral Perſons mention'd in *Fabulous Hiſtory*. I. It is the Name of one of *Hercules*'s Companions in the *Amazonian* War, who having receiv'd a Wound, reſolv'd to return home, and died by the way (*a*). II. It is alſo the Name of *Patroclus*'s Grandfather; for *Menetius*, *Patroclus*'s Father, was Son of ACTOR and *Ægina*. This *Actor* was a *Locrian*, according to ſome (*b*), but he ſettled himſelf in the Iſland of *OEnone*, after having married *Ægina*, Daughter to the River *Aſopus*, by whom he had *Menetius*. Others ſay, that he was a *Theſſalian*, Son of *Myrmidon*, who was Son of *Jupiter* (*c*), and that the Nymph *Ægina* having already had a Son by *Jupiter*, call'd *Æacus*, went into *Theſſaly*, where *Actor* made no ſcruple to marry her, notwithſtanding the Apprenticeſhip ſhe had ſerv'd in Matters of Love (*d*). He had by her ſeveral Children, who conſpir'd againſt him, which oblig'd him to ſend them into Exile, and beſtow his Kingdom upon *Peleus*, with his Daughter *Polymele*. *Peleus* was Son to *Æacus*, and conſequently *Ægina*'s Grandſon, and had fled for Sanctuary to *Phthia*, where *Actor* reigned; thither, I ſay, he fled, after he had kill'd his Brother *Phocus*. III. There was likewiſe one ACTOR, Son of *Hippaſus*, who ſail'd with the *Argonauts* (*f*). IV. Another, who was Son of *Neptune* and *Agamede* [*B*], Daughter of *Augeus* (*g*). V. Another, who was Son of *Axeus* [*C*], and Father

(*a*) Charles Stephens *in his* Hiſtorical Dictionary.

(*b*) Scholiaſt *on* Homer. in Il. 18.

(*c*) Euſtath. in Iliad. 1. Schol. Apollon. in lib. 4.

(*d*) Scholiaſt *on* Pind. in Olymp. 9.

(*e*) Euſtath. in Iliad. 2.

(*f*) Hygin. cap. 14.

(*g*) Id. cap. 157.

[*A*] ACTOR.] Mr *Moreri* has, without any reaſon, changed this Word into *Actorius*; but this is a ſmall Fault in compariſon of that, into which he falls ſome few Lines after, when, by theſe Words, *Quæ fuit Actoridæ cum magno ſemper Achille*, he pretends to prove, that *Ovid*, from whom he quotes them, has made mention of one *Actorius*. How came he not to ſee, that there is no mention made in that Paſſage of any Perſon called either *Actorius* or *Actorides*, but only of *Patroclus*, whom the Poets, for the ſake of Verſification, are uſed to denote by the *Patronymic* ACTORIDES, i. e. *deſcended from* ACTOR?

[*B*] *Son of* Neptune *and* Agamede.] *Munkcerus* in his Commentary upon the 157th Fable of *Hyginus*, pretends that *Homer*'s Scholiaſt makes this *Actor* Son of *Neptune* and *Molione*; but the Scholiaſt ſays no ſuch thing. *Homer*, in the 749th Verſe of the 11th *Iliad*, mentions two Brothers whom he calls Ἀκτορίωνε Μολίονε, *Actoriona's Molionas*. Whereupon his Scholiaſt ſays, that by theſe Words we muſt underſtand *Cteatus* and *Eurytus*, Sons of *Actor* and *Molione*; or, according to ſome, of *Molione* and *Neptune*. *Homer* thought them Sons of That God, for he adds, That they would have been ſlain, had not *Neptune*, their Father, ſuccoured them in the Engagement, by covering them with a thick Miſt.

> Εἰ μή σφωε πατὴρ εὐρυκρείων Ἐνοσίχθων
> Ἐκ πολέμȣ ἐσάωσε, καλύψας ἠέρι πολλῇ (1).
>
> Neptune, *their Sire, to ſave his Offſpring, ſhrouds*
> *The youthful Heroes in a Veil of Clouds.*

[*C*] *Who was Son of* Axeus.] *Homer* calls him *Azeus*,

> Οὓς τέκεν Ἀϛυόχη δόμῳ Ἄκτορος Ἀζείδαο (2).

Meziriac remarks a Fault (3) of the Author of the Great *Etymologicum*, who thought that the ſame *Actor*,

(1) Homer. Iliad. lib. 11. ver. 750.

(2) Id. Iliad. lib. 2.

(3) *Upon* Ovid's *Epiſtles* pag. 44.

Father of *Aſtyoch*, (*b*), by whom the God *Mars* had two Sons, who at the Siege of *Troy* commanded the Forces of *Aſpledon*, and *Orchomenus*, two Towns of *Bœotia*. VI. Another ACTOR, Son of *Phorbas*, built a Town in *Elis*, his Native Countrey, which he call'd *Hyrmine*, after his Mother's Name (*i*). *Augias* King of *Elis*, who according to ſome, was his Brother (*k*), and whoſe Stables, clean'd by *Hercules*, have made ſo much noiſe, aſſociated both him and his two Sons in his Kingdom (*l*). His two Sons were call'd *Eurytus* and *Cteatus*, and poetically *Molionides*, becauſe their Mother's Name was *Molione*; ſee the Article MOLIONIDES. VII. Laſtly, there was one ACTOR, deſcrib'd as an Hero of the firſt Rate among the *Aurunci* [*D*].

(*b*) Homer. Iliad. 2. Pauſan. in Bœot.

(*i*) Pauſan. lib. 5. pag. 148.

(*k*) Apollodor. Bibl. lib. 2. pag. 138. Edit. Salmur.

(*l*) Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

Actor, mentioned here by *Homer*, was the Father of *Patroclus*. 'Tis what *Homer* never meant. He ſpeaks of one *Actor* a *Bœotian*, Grandſon to *Erginus*, and Great Grandſon to *Clymenus*. *Meziriac* quotes for this Pedigree *Euſtathius* upon the ſecond *Iliad*, and *Pauſanias* in his *Bœotics*; but *Pauſanias* makes *Clymenus* Grandfather to *Actor*, but not Great-Grandfather (4).

[*D*] *One* Actor, *deſcribed as an Hero of the firſt Rate among the* Aurunci.] He is thus deſcribed by *Virgil*, in the twelfth Book of the *Æneid*:

> —— Validam vi corripit haſtam,
> Actoris Aurunci ſpolium, quaſſatque trementem,
> Vociferans: Nunc O nunquam fruſtrata vocatus
> Haſta meos, nunc tempus adeſt: te maximus Actor,
> Te Turni nunc dextra gerit —— (5).

> He ſeiz'd *the Launce* Aruncan Actor *wore*;
> *Which with ſuch Force he brandiſh'd in his Hand,*
> *The tough Aſh trembled like an Oſier Wand.*
> *Then cry'd, O pond'rous Spoil of* Actor *ſlain,*
> *And never yet by* Turnus *toſs'd in vain,*
> *Fail not this Day thy wonted Force.* ——
>
> DRYDEN.

(4) Pauſan. lib. 9. pag. 311.

(5) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 12. pag. 93, &c.

ACTUARIUS [*A*], a *Greek* Phyſician, of whom there are extant ſeveral Works [*B*]. *Ambroſius Leo* of *Nola*, who has tranſlated ſome of them, and gives him great Commendations, owns that he could not diſcover who he was, nor of what Country (*a*). *Peter Caſtellan*, in his *Lives of Illuſtrious Phyſicians*, and *Wolfgang Juſtus* in his *Chronology of Phyſicians*, confeſs the ſame thing (*b*). Mr *Moreau*, in his Treatiſe of *Bleeding* in the *Pleuriſy*, believes that he liv'd about the Year 1100 [*C*].

(*a*) Apud Geſner. Bibl. fol. 3. verſo.

(*b*) *See* Merckl. *in his* Lindenius Renovatus, pag. 6.

[*A*] Actuarius.] Some call him *John*, Son of *Zacharias* (1); others choſe rather to make him Son of *John Zacharias* (2). *Voſſius*, who approves the latter, in the thirteenth Chapter of his Book, *De Philoſophia*, mentions a little after one *John Actuarius*, who lived in the Time of *Conſtantine Ducas* (3), as is inferred from his having a Siſter, upon whom *Michael Pſellius* compoſed a Monody. If it ſhould happen, that This *John Actuarius* did not differ from the Phyſician here in queſtion, *Voſſius* will have been in the wrong to diſtinguiſh them, and not to give the Phyſician the Name of *John*: But by the Remark [*C*] it will appear, that there's little likelihood of their being the ſame Perſon. Mr *Du Cange* ſhews, that the Title of *Actuarius* denotes a particular Dignity belonging only to the Phyſicians at the Court of *Conſtantinople*; and he confeſſes he is ignorant of the Reaſon of it, notwithſtanding all the Enquiries of Father *Pouſſines*. He owns alſo, that he does not know, whether our *Actuarius*, whom he calls *John*, Son of *Zacharias*, was in poſſeſſion of that Dignity (4).

[*B*] *Of whom there are extant ſeveral Works.*] They were printed at *Paris*, in a Volume in *Folio*, by *Henry Stephens* in the Year 1567. having been printed before in another Place in three Volumes in 8vo. They have likewiſe been printed ſingly more than once. The chief of them are, *De actionibus & affectibus ſpiritus animalis ejuſque nutritione, Libri* II. *De Urinis, Libri* VII. firſt tranſlated into *Latin* by *Ambroſius Leo*, and printed at *Venice* in 1519. and afterwards reviſed and illuſtrated with Notes, by *James Goupil*. *De Medicamentorum Compoſitione*: *Ruel* has tranſlated this Treatiſe. *Methodi Medendi Libri* VI. tranſlated by *Henry Mathiſius* of *Bruges*, and printed at *Venice* in 1554 (5).

[*C*] *That he lived about the Year* 1100.] Mr *du Cange* durſt not place him in the Reign of *Alexis* (6), although his Book, *De affectibus Spiritus Animalis*, is dedicated to *Joſeph Racendytes*; and though *Nicetas*, in the third Book of the Hiſtory of *Alexis*, n. 5. ſpeaks of one *Racendytes*. He approves what *Lambecius* decided concerning this Phyſician's Time (7), which is, that he lived in the Reign of *Andronicus* the Elder; becauſe in the Manuſcript of one of his Books, which is in the Emperor's Library, there is a Title, which ſhews that it is dedicated to *Apocauchus*. But we know that *Apocauchus* lived under That *Andronicus*. Mr *du Cange* obſerves, that *Actuarius* relates in the beginning of his *Method of Cures*, that the Emperor his Maſter ſent him to the *Hyperborean Scythians*. Mr *Moreau* is therefore a little out in his Reckoning; for *Andronicus* the Elder did not begin his Reign before the Year 1332.

(1) Hyde's Catal. Bibl. Oxon. & Mercklinus in Linden. renovato.

(2) Geſner's Bibl. *and his Abridgers.*

(3) *He began to reign in* 1059.

(4) Gloſſar. Græc. pag. 46.

(5) *See* Mercklinus in Lindenio renovato, pag. 6, 7.

(6) *He means, but he had done better to have expreſſed it,* Alexis Angelus *who began to reign in the Year* 1195.

(7) De Bibl. Cæſar. lib. 6. pag. 113.

ACŪNA (*a*) (CHRISTOPHER) a *Spaniſh* Jeſuit, born at *Burgos*, enter'd into the Society in the Year 1612, at 15 Years of Age. After having ſpent ſome Years in Study, he went into *America*, and labour'd to convert the Natives of the Kingdoms of *Chili*, and *Peru*, and was Profeſſor of Moral Divinity. He return'd to *Spain* in the Year 1640, and gave the King his Maſter an Account of the Commiſſion he had receiv'd to examine the River of the *Amazons*. The following Year he publiſh'd a Relation of that River at *Madrid*. He was ſent to *Rome* in the Quality of Procurator of his Province; and having paſs'd into *Spain*, honour'd with the Title of *Qualificator* of the Inquiſition, he return'd to the *Weſt Indies*. He was at *Lima*, when Father *Sotuel*, from whom I have extracted this Account, publiſh'd the *Bibliotheca* of the *Jeſuit Authors* at *Rome* in the Year 1675. The Relation of our *d'Acuna* is entituled, *Nuevo deſcrubimiento del gran rio de las Amazonas*. *A New Deſcription of the great River of the Amazons.* The Author was ten Months ſucceſſively on that River, and had Orders to inform himſelf exactly of the State of it, that the King might be enabled to make the Navigation of it eaſy and commodious. For this purpoſe, he embark'd at *Quito* (*b*) with *Peter Texeira*, who had advanc'd thus far up the River, and whom they thought proper to ſend back again thither. They embark'd in the Month of *February* 1639 [*A*]; and did not arrive at *Para*, till the Month

(*a*) *It is pronounced* Acugna, *but the* Spaniards *write* Acuña.

(*b*) *It is a City of* Peru.

[*A*] *In the Month of* February 1639.] I own freely, that I have not by me the Relation of Father *Chriſtopher de Acuña* *; and therefore I take this Date from Mr *Chevreau*, and prefer it to the Month of *January*,

* *I do not call him* d'Acuña; *for I have obſerv'd in* D. Nic. Antonio, *that the* Spaniards *do not put an Apoſtrophe between the Article* de, *and a proper Name which begins with a Vowel.*

Month of *December* following. It is believ'd that the Revolutions of *Portugal*, which made the *Spaniards* loſe all *Brazil*, and the Colony of *Para* at the Mouth of the River of the *Amazons*, were the cauſe that the Relation of this Jeſuit was ſuppreſs'd (*c*), for fear that, being uſeleſs to the *Spaniards*, it might become ſervicable to the *Portugueſe*. The Copies of it became very ſcarce, inſomuch that the Publiſhers of the *French* Tranſlation at *Paris* (*d*) declar'd that there remain'd no more of them, except that which the Tranſlator had made uſe of, which is perhaps That of the *Vatican*. Mr *de Gomberville* is the Author of this *French* Verſion, but it was not publiſh'd till after his Death; and a long Diſſertation is added to it, which deſerves the peruſal. The Relation itſelf likewiſe is well worth reading. Thoſe who have it not, may meet with a Specimen of it in the Journal of *Paris* (*e*), in that of *Leipſic* (*f*), and in Mr *Chevreau*'s Hiſtory (*g*).

(*c*) *See the Pref ce to the* French *Tranſlation.*

(*d*) *In* 1682, *in* 12*mo.*

(*e*) *Of the* 19*th of* April, 1683.

(*f*) *Pag.* 323. Anno 1683.

(*g*) *In Tom.* 4. *pag.* 171. *Edit. of* Holland.

January, noted in the Journal of *Leipſic*; becauſe the Faults, which the Printers of that Journal have committed in the foregoing Page, give me ſome Reaſon to diſtruſt them. I find at Page 324. of That Journal, that the Governor of *Braſil* cauſed *Peter Texeira* to go up the River of the *Amazons* in the Year 1639. and that *Texeira* could not arrive at *Quito* in leſs than a Year's time (1). He did not therefore embark again at *Quito* in the Month of *January* 1639. as is aſſerted at Page 325. Mr *Chevreau* is more to be credited, when he declares, that *Peter Texeira* departed in the Month of *October* 1637. and gave an Account of his Voyage to the Viceroy of *Peru* (2), in *September* of the Year 1638. Mr *Chevreau* (3) does not name the Author of the *Relation* right, for he calls him *Chriſtopher d'Alcuna*.

(1) Acta Erudit. Lipſ. Ann. 1683.

(2) *He was called the Count* de Chincon.

(3) Chevr. *Hiſtory of the World*, Tom. 4. pag. 171.

ADA, Daughter of *Hecatomnus* (*a*), and Siſter of *Artemiſia*, Queen of *Caria*, married her own Brother *Idrieus*, and reign'd with him in *Caria*, after the Death of *Artemiſia*, who ſurviv'd her Huſband *Mauſolus* but two Years (*b*). *Idrieus* reign'd ſeven Years [*A*], and died of a Diſtemper, without leaving any Poſterity. His Widow, having reign'd about four Years, was dethron'd, by *Pexodares* her younger Brother (*c*), who, to maintain his Uſurpation, allied himſelf to a *Perſian* Lord, whoſe Name was *Orontobates*, to whom he gave his Daughter in Marriage [*B*]. Her Name was *Ada*, as was That of the dethron'd Queen; and her Mother's Name was *Aphneis*, Daughter of *Synneſis*, King of *Cappadocia*. *Orontobates* ſucceeded his Father-in-Law in the Kingdom, at the end of ſix Years, and defended *Halicarnaſſus* againſt *Alexander* (*d*). The Revolutions of thoſe Times were favourable to *Ada*. She implor'd that Conqueror's Protection againſt the Uſurper, deliver'd the City of *Alinda* to him, which continu'd faithful to her, and promis'd to endeavour to make him Maſter of many others (*e*). *Alexander* gave her a very kind Reception, and re-eſtabliſh'd her in her former Authority over all *Caria*, after having ſubdued the City of *Halicarnaſſus*. Out of Gratitude for his Favours, ſhe ſent him all kind of Refreſhments, Comfits, Paſtry, and delicate Meats, with the beſt Cooks ſhe could find: But he return'd her for anſwer, that he had no occaſion for ſuch Things, and that his Governor *Leonidas* had already provided him with more excellent Cooks, in teaching him, *that to dine with Appetite, he muſt riſe early and walk; and that to make a good Supper, he muſt eat but a ſlender Dinner* (*f*).

(*a*) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 452.

(*b*) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 16. *I take the Duration of the other Reigns from him.*

(*c*) Strabo, & Diodorus, ibid.

(*d*) Arrian. lib. 1.

(*e*) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 17. Strabo, ibid.

(*f*) Plut. in Alexandr. pag. 677.

[*A*] Idrieus *reigned ſeven Years.*] *Diodorus Siculus* tells us this (1). Mr *Chevreau*, who has converted the Years into Months (2), would perhaps have had more Reaſon to lengthen the time, than he had to ſhorten it; for *Idrieus* was yet living, when *Iſocrates* wrote his *Philippic*. Now if we believe *Hermippus* (3), he compoſed it a little before his own Death, and That of *Philip*: So that *Philip* muſt have lived 'till the tenth *Olympiad*, ſeeing *Iſocrates* died a few Days after the Battel of *Chæronca*, which was fought in the ſecond Year of the tenth *Olympiad*, about two Years after the Death of *Philip*. Becauſe therefore the Reign of *Idrieus* did not begin 'till about the third Year of the hundred and ſeventh *Olympiad*, (for I have ſhewn in the Remarks on the Article ARTEMISIA, that her Husband *Mauſolus*, whom ſhe ſurvived two Years, did not die 'till the end of the hundred and ſixth: the ſeven Years which *Diodorus* gives him, are not ſufficient. Yet I believe his Chronology is more to be depended upon than that of *Hermippus*. Where would *Hermippus* place the Reign of *Ada*, and that of *Pexodares*, whereof the one continued four Years, and the other ſix, and both of which preceded the Expedition of *Alexander*?

[*B*] *He gave his Daughter in Marriage.*] *Valeſius* thought that *Philip* King of *Macedon* demanded this Daughter of *Pexodares* for his Brother *Arideus*, and cites *Plutarch* for it (4). But that Hiſtorian does not tell us, whether the Daughter of *Pexodares*, of whom he makes mention, was called *Ada*; but it may very well be inferred from his ſaying, that ſhe was the Eldeſt (5), for we know beſides, that *Orontobates*, having married a Daughter of *Pexodares*, thought himſelf lawful Poſſeſſor of the Kingdom of *Caria*. So far then *Valeſius* ſeems to me to be in the right; but he had no reaſon to ſay, that *Philip* deſired that Alliance for his Brother *Arideus*; *Pexodares* firſt offered it, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Philip* for that Purpoſe. On the other ſide, *Arideus* was not the Brother, but the Son of *Philip*. *Plutarch* ſays it expreſſly. He adds a Circumſtance, which affords us a remarkable Inſtance of the Intrigues of Courts. *Alexander*'s Friends alarmed him on the Propoſals of *Pexodares*'s Ambaſſador: They ſuggeſted to him, that *Philip*'s Aim in this Alliance was to put *Arideus* in a better Capacity of ſucceeding to the Kingdom. *Alexander*, to ward againſt this Blow, diſpatched a Perſon to *Pexodares*, to repreſent to him, that he ought rather to caſt his Eyes on *Alexander*, than on *Arideus*, who was a Baſtard, and almoſt a Fool. *Pexodares* did not heſitate in his Choice; but *Philip*, diſcovering what was carrying on, reproved *Alexander* ſharply, telling him he would ſhew himſelf unworthy of being his Succeſſor, if he was ſatisfied with the Daughter of a *Carian*, and Vaſſal of a *Barbarian* Prince. At the ſame time he exil'd all his Son's Confidents, and writ to the *Corinthians* to ſend him the Meſſenger, bound Hand and Foot, whom *Alexander* had ſent to *Caria*. He was a Comedian, whoſe Name was *Theſſalus*.

(1) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 16.

(2) Chevr. Hiſt. du Monde, Tom. 4. pag. 33. Edit. Holl.

(3) *See the Summary of this Harangue.*

(4) Valeſii Not. in Harpocrat. pag. 99.

(5) Plutarch. in Alexand. pag. 669.

ADAM, the Stock and Father of all Mankind, was produc'd immediately by God on the Sixth Day of the Creation. His Body having been form'd of the Duſt of the Earth [*A*], God breath'd into his Noſtrils the Breath of Life; that is to ſay, he animated him, and made him that Compound Creature, which we call *Man*, comprehending an Organized Body, and a Rational Soul. The ſame Divine Being, which produc'd *Adam*, plac'd him a fine Garden (*a*), and, to give him an opportunity of impoſing Names on the Brute Creation, he cauſ'd them all to appear before him. Afterwards he cauſ'd a Deep Sleep to fall on *Adam*, and took out of him a Rib [*B*], of which he form'd Woman. *Adam* knew that This Woman was *Bone of his Bone, and Fleſh of his Fleſh*; and liv'd with her, without any Shame on account of their being naked. There was a Tree in the Garden, of which God had forbid them to eat, on pain of Death. Yet the Woman, ſeduced by a Serpent (*b*), did not abſtain from eating of it, and perſuaded *Adam* to eat of it likewiſe. From that time they perceived that they were naked [*C*], and made themſelves Aprons with Fig-leaves ſewed together. God came and pronounced on them the Puniſhment, which he reſolv'd to inflict upon them, drove them out of the Garden, and made them *Cloaths of Skins*. *Adam* called his Wife *Eve*, and conſummated his Marriage. He became the Father of *Cain*, and of *Abel*, and afterwards of *Seth*, and of many other Sons and Daughters, the Names whereof are not known, and died at the Age of 930 Years (*c*). This is all that is certain in this matter. A great number of other things, which have been related of him, are either very falſe, or very uncertain; it is true, we may judge of ſome, that they are not contrary to the Analogy of Faith, nor to Probability. I place in this rank what is ſaid of his prodigious Knowledge [*D*]: We read indeed nothing in *Geneſis*, but what is leſs proper to

(*a*) *It is commonly called the Terreſtrial Paradiſe, and the Garden of* Eden.

(*b*) *See the Remarks on the Article* EVE, *concerning this Serpent.*

(*c*) *See the firſt Five Chapters of* Geneſis.

[*A*] *Of the Duſt of the Earth.*] If we may believe Father *Garaſſe* (1), *Photius* reports, the *Egyptian* Tradition, *That Wiſdom laid an Egg in the Terreſtrial Paradiſe, out of which came our firſt Parents like a couple of Chickens.* I believe *Photius* has ſaid no ſuch thing, and I am much miſtaken, if it be not a licentious Paraphraſe of that Jeſuit, forged on what *Photius* relates concerning a certain Mariner, whoſe Name was *Oé*, whom ſome made to iſſue ἐκ τȣ̃ προτογόνȣ Ὤȣ (2), that is, according to Father *Garaſſe* in another Book (3), *of the Race of the firſt Man, whoſe Name was* Oon (Egg): Or, according to Father *Schottus, è primo parente* Ὤȣ. Many Enquiries might be made about this Egg, which ſerved, according to the Doctrine of the Ancients, for the Generation of Things, when the *Chaos* was reduced into order. We ſhall touch upon ſome Particulars of it under the Word ARIMANIUS.

[*B*] *And took out of him a Rib.*] A modern Author (4), deſigning to ſhew, that the *Roman* Catholics are in the wrong to think themſelves more learned than the Proteſtants, reproaches them, among other Miſtakes, with that of a Preacher (5), who ſaid that *Adam* was form'd of one of *Eve*'s Ribs. He reported, that a Philoſopher having propoſed theſe three Queſtions to *Theodorus*, a Diſciple of St *Pacomus*; *What Man is he, who was not born, yet is dead? What Man is he, who was born, yet did not die?* And, *What Man is he, who was both born and died, yet is not rotten?* Had for Anſwer, that the three Perſons in Queſtion were *Adam*, *Enoch*, and *Lot*'s Wife. *Adam was not born*, added the Preacher, *for he was form'd of one of* Eve*'s Ribs.* His Sermon was printed at *Vienna*, in *Auſtria*, in the Year 1654, with the Approbation of the Sub-Dean of the Profeſſors in Divinity, who was at that time Father *Leonard Bachin*, a Jeſuit. That Approver declares, that he read the Book, and that he found nothing in it contrary to Faith, or Manners: A Proof of the little Attention wherewith Cenſors of Books examine certain Manuſcripts.

[*C*] *They perceived that they were naked.*] The Scripture ſays, that *their Eyes were opened.* This Expreſſion made ſome People believe that *Adam* and *Eve* were *blind*, till they had tranſgreſs'd the Commandment of God. "Neque enim cœci creati erant, "ut imperitum vulgus opinatur (6).——*For they were "not created blind, as the ill-judging Vulgar think.*" St *Auſtin* refutes this Miſtake very ſtrongly, in ſeveral Parts of his Writings (7), and tells us, that this opening of our firſt Parents Eyes conſiſted in their being ſenſible of certain corporeal Motions, which they were ignorant of before; and that it was this, which inſpired them with Shame. "Extitit in motu corporis quædam "impudens novitas, unde eſſet indecens nuditas, & fecit "attentos, reddiditque confuſos (8). —— *There "was a certain impudent Novelty in the Motion of "their Bodies; whence Nakedneſs became indecent; "and which excited their Attention, and put them to "the bluſh.*"

[*D*] *What is ſaid of his prodigious Knowledge.*] Mr *Moreri* is not contented with affirming in general, that *Adam had a perfect Knowledge of Sciences, and chiefly of Aſtrology, of which he taught his Children ſeveral curious Secrets*; he adds alſo, that *Joſephus* ſays, *that* Adam *ingraved ſome Obſervations he had made on the Courſe of the Stars on two different Tables.* I have ſearch'd for this in *Joſephus*, but find only, that the Deſcendants of *Seth*, the Son of *Adam*, invented Aſtronomy, and cauſed their Inventions to be engraven on a Pillar of Brick, and a Pillar of Stone, to preſerve them from the general Deſtructions, which, according to the Predictions of *Adam*, were to happen, once by Fire, and once by a Deluge (9). When a Perſon is capable of falſifying in this Manner an Author, whom he cites, he ſeldom regards the Words of his Evidence ſo cloſely, as to make them ſay nothing, but what they really depoſe; ſo that I do not wonder, that Mr *Moreri* attributes to our firſt Father the Impoſition of Names on Plants; I ſay I do not wonder at it, though the Scripture makes him only Author of the Names of Beaſts. They, who infer from this Impoſition of Names, that *Adam* was a great Philoſopher, do not deſerve to be refuted. To return to the prodigious Knowledge attributed to *Adam*; I ſay, that, according to the common Opinion (10), he knew more the very firſt Day of his Life, than any Man beſides can learn by long Experience. Scarce any thing, beſides future Events, the Thoughts of the Heart, and one Part of individual Beings, eſcaped his Knowledge. *Cajetanus*, who ventures to rob him of the perfect Knowledge of the Stars, and of the Elements, was much cenſured for it. Some, having made it a Queſtion, whether *Solomon* ought not to be excepted out of the general *Poſition*, which gives the Preference to *Adam*'s Knowledge, above That of all other Mortals, have been reduced to acknowledge, That *Adam* was more knowing than *Solomon*. It is true, *Pinedo* excepts *Politics*; but no Regard is paid to his particular Opinion; and it is determined, that the *ſpeculative Underſtanding* of the firſt Man was endow'd with all the Philoſophical and Mathematical Knowledge, which human Nature is naturally capable of; and that his *practical Underſtanding* poſſeſt a conſummate Prudence, with reſpect to every thing which Men ought to do, either in a private or public Capacity; and, beſides, contain'd all moral Sciences, and all the liberal Arts, Rhetoric, Poetry, Painting, Sculpture, Agriculture, Writing, &c. Every one knows, with what Emulation Mankind have ſtrove to heap Praiſes upon *Ariſtotle*. Every Idea, and every Compariſon had been exhauſted, when a good *Carthuſian*, being willing to outdo the moſt extravagant of all his Panegyriſts, maintained, That

(1) Garaſſe's *Curious Doctrine*, pag. 232.

(2) Phot. ex Helladio, Biblioth. pag. 1583. n. 279.

(3) *Theological Summary*, pag. 26. *where he reports this with many Alterations.*

(4) Daniel Francus, de indicib. Libror. prohibit. Epiſt. Dedicat.

(5) *His Name is* Florentine Schilling, *Regular Clerk of St* Paul, *and a* Barnabite.

(6) Auguſt. de Civit. Dei. lib. 14. cap. 17.

(7) Ibid. & lib. 11. de Geneſi ad liter. cap. 31. & lib. 1. de Nupt. & Concupiſc. cap. 5. & lib. 1. Locutionum in Geneſ. n. 9. & lib. 2. de Peccat. Merit. & Remiſſ. cap. 22.

(8) Ibid. de Civit. Dei, lib. 14. cap. 17.

(9) Joſephi Antiquitat. lib. 1. cap. 2.

(10) *See* Salian's Annals Tom. 1. pag. 107, 113.

to give us this Notion, than the contrary; and yet it is very probable, that *Adam* came out of the hands of his Creator endued with innate Science, and that he did not loſe it by *Sin*; as the bad Angels are not become leſs knowing ſince their Fall, and as the Crimes of Learned Perſons do not deprive them of that Knowledge they enjoy'd before. What ſome affirm concerning the Beauty of *Adam* [*E*], may be alſo plac'd in the rank of probable things; but it is altogether falſe that he was created of both Sexes [*F*]. It is a groſs miſtake of the words of Scripture *(d)* to imagine any ſuch thing. The Revelations of *Antoinette Bourignon* [*G*], would be improperly

Ariſtotle's Learning was as extenſive as That of *Adam* (11). Some Rabins have been ſatisfy'd with equalling the firſt Man to *Moſes* and *Solomon*, in point of Learning (12); but others have maintained, that he excelled the Angels themſelves, and have alledged the Teſtimony of God himſelf, in proof of it (13). They ſay, that the Angels having ſpoke of Man with ſome Diſdain, when God conſulted them on his Creation, God anſwered them, That Man was more knowing than they; and, to convince them of it, he preſented all kinds of Beaſts to them, and ask'd them their Names. They could not tell what to anſwer; and then he ask'd the ſame Queſtion of Man, who named them all after each other; and being interrogated, what ſhould be his own Name, and what was God's Name; he anſwered right, and gave to God the Name of *Jehovah*. According to the ſame Rabins, the meaning of this Aphoriſm of their Doctors, that Adam'*s Stature extended from one end of the World to the other*, is, *that he knew all things* (14).

[*E*] *Concerning the Beauty of* Adam.] If ſome Authors had been contented to ſay, that he was a fine Perſon, and well made, they would have ſaid nothing but what was probable; but inſtead of this, they have fallen into the Gaieties of Rhetoric, and Poetry, and even into viſionary Notions of this Matter. It has been fabled, that God, intending to create Man, aſſumed a perfect, and beautiful, human Body; and and that he formed the Body of *Adam* on that Model, whence God might ſay, in relation to this Body, that *he made Man after his own Image*. They add, That this Apparition of God, under an human Form, was the firſt prelude to the Incarnation; that is, that the ſecond Perſon of the Trinity cloathed himſelf with the Appearance of the ſame Nature he was one Day to aſſume in the Fleſh, and that, under the likeneſs of the fineſt Man that ever was, he laboured in the Production of *Adam*, whom he made a Copy of that great and divine Original of Beauty, which he had aſſumed. “ Hanc ſpeciem divinamque pulchritudinem “ clementiſſimus formoſiſſimuſque aſſumens, quam “ erat poſt multa tempora uſque ad carnem & oſſa aſ- “ ſumpturus, creabat hominem, largiens ei ſpeciem “ hanc tantam, ipſe primus Archetypus, ſpecioſiſſimus “ ipſe ſpecioſiſſimæ prolis creator (15). —— *The* “ *moſt Clement and Fair, aſſuming this divine Form* “ *and Beauty, which he was in proceſs of time to* “ *cloath himſelf withal, even to Fleſh and Bones, crea-* “ *ted Man, beſtowing on him this noble Form, himſelf* “ *the Original Archetype, the moſt beautiful Creator* “ *of a moſt beautiful Creature*.” It can be no wonder, after this, that theſe Exclamations ſhould be made; “ Quantam qualemve credas fuiſſe primi hominis illius “ venuſtatem? quantum in ore decus, quas gratias “ inſediſſe (16)? —— *What, and how great, muſt be the Beauty of the firſt Man? And what Charms muſt dwell in his Countenance?*” For in ſhort, the Form, which the WORD aſſum'd, was like That, which was ſeen by St *Peter* on Mount *Tabor*, and by *Moſes* on Mount *Sinai*, and like That, which *Moſes* and *Elias* appeared in on the Day of the Transfiguration. But what is ſtill more wonderful is, That *Adam* himſelf ſaw his own Maker, and the manner how his Body was formed by the fair Hands of it's Author. “ Cum fingeretur homo, manus illas divinas aſpexit, “ ambroſioſque vultus illos, pulcherrima brachia cor- “ pus ſuum fingentia, ſinguloſque artus ducentia (17). “ —— *When Man was created, he beheld thoſe di-* “ *vine Hands, that ambroſial Countenance, and thoſe* “ *beautiful Arms, which form'd his Body, and faſhion-* “ *ed every Member of it*.” A very learned Man publiſhed theſe airy Notions (18); and there are People enough, who approve, at leaſt, one part of them.

[*F*] *That he was created of both Sexes*.] Many of the Rabins believed that *Adam*'s Body was created double, Male on one Side, and Famale on the other; and that both theſe Bodies were joined together by the Shoulders; the Heads looking towards places directly oppoſite, like the Heads of *Janus* (19). Now they pretend that, when God made *Eve*, he only divided This Body into two: That, which was of the Male Sex became *Adam*, and That, which was of the Female, became *Eve*. *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, the moſt learned Rabbi of the XVIIth Century, maintained This fantaſtical Opinion, if we believe *Heidegger* (20). The learned *Maimonides*, the Honour and Glory of the *Jewiſh* Nation, had (21) already maintained it, if we may believe the ſame Witneſs. *Eugubinus* varied from it, only as to the Situation of the two Bodies; for he pretends that they adhered together by the Sides, and that they reſembled each other in all things, except the Sex. The Male Body was on the right, and embraced the other by the Neck with his left Hand, while the other did the like to him with the right Hand. Both were animated; both fell into a deep Sleep, when God intended to form *Eve*, that is, ſeparate her from the Male Body. We need only be able to read the Scripture, to confute all thoſe chimerical Notions. Before I paſs on to other Matters, I ſhall juſt take notice of thoſe *Androgynes*, of which *Plato* has ſpoke ſo largely (22). They were Hermaphrodites, with four Arms and four Legs, and two Faces turned towards each other on one Neck. This duplicity of Members gave them much Force, and made them very inſolent upon that account; ſo that they thought on nothing leſs than making War with the Gods. A Conſultation was held in Heaven on the manner of reducing them to Reaſon; and *Jupiter*'s Opinion was followed, which was to divide them aſunder. Each of the Parts preſerved a ſtrong Inclination to a Re-union; and this is the Origin of Love, according to this Philoſopher. But ſome Alterations were neceſſary to be made in the Situation of certain Members, in order to make their Re-union fruitful. I ſhall obſerve by the way, that they, who ſpeak of theſe *Androgynes* of *Plato*, ſeldom report the Matter as it really is. They make him ſay, that Men, in general, were of this kind at firſt; but his Account relates only to certain of them: He acknowledges that there were alſo Males and Females, of the ſame kind with thoſe at preſent. See the Remark of the Article SALMACIS. The Author of a Book entituled, *The New Viſionary of* Rotterdam (23) aſſures us, that, according to the Rabins, *Adam* and *Eve* were both Hermaphrodites before their Fall (24). He is the only Author I know of, who aſcribes this Opinion to the Rabins.

[*G*] *The Revelations of* Antoinette Bourignon.] This Lady's Works prove, that ſhe had very particular Opinions; but perhaps ſhe advanc'd nothing more ſtrange, than what concerns the firſt Man. She pretends, that, before the Fall, *Adam* had the Principles of both Sexes in himſelf, and the Power of producing his Likeneſs, without the help of a Woman: And that the Neceſſity, which both Sexes are under, at preſent, of uniting for the ſake of Propagation, is a Conſequence of the Alteration Sin made in the human Body. “ Men, *ſays ſhe* (25), think they were “ created by God as they are at preſent, though it “ is not true; ſeeing Sin has disfigured the Work of “ God in them, and inſtead of Men, as they ought “ to be, they are become Monſters in Nature, divi- “ ded into two imperfect Sexes, unable to produce “ their like alone, as Trees and Plants do, which “ in that Point have more Perfection than Men or “ Women, incapable to produce by themſelves, but “ in Conjunction with each other, and accompany'd “ with Pain and Miſery.” The Particulars of this Myſtery are explain'd in another Work, as it was revealed from God to Mrs *Bourignon* (26). She believed that ſhe had ſeen, in an Extacy, how *Adam* was made before Sin, and in what manner he was able alone to produce other Men. Nay, ſhe believ'd ſhe had learn'd, that he had put this rare Fecundity in practice,

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(d) *So God created Man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he him, Male and Female created he them*. Gen. i. 27.

(11) Henry de Haſſia. *He lived in the beginning of the* XV*th Century*.

(12) *See* Rivinus's Serpent. ſeduct. pag. 50.

(13) Idem, pag. 49, 56, 57.

(14) Ibid. pag. 56.

(15) Eugubin. in Coſmopœia apud Salian. Annal. Tom. 1. pag. 106.

(16) Id. ib.

(17) Id. ib.

(18) Salian. Tom. 1. p. 106.

(19) *See* Heidegger's Hiſtor. Patriarch. Tom. 1. pag. 128.

(20) Conciliat. in Geneſim apud Heidegger. ibid. *See* Hoornbeeck *who refutes him in the firſt Chapter of the fourth Book* de convertendis Judæis.

(21) In More Nevoch. pag. 2. cap. 30. apud Heidegg. Tom. 1. pag. 128. *But obſerve, as Mr* Van Dale *has informed me, that* Heidegger *does not give a faithful Account of the Opinion, which* Manaſſeh ben Iſrael *and* Maimonides *have moſt approved*.

(22) Plato in Convivio, pag. 1185. Edit. Francoſ. 1602.

(23) *It was printed in the Year* 1686.

(24) P. 36.

(25) *Preface of the Book entitled*, The New Heaven and the New Earth, *Amſt*. 1679.

(26) *Continuation of the Life of Madam* Bourignon, pag. 315.

(e) *The* Jews *aſſert this. See* Bartolocci Bibl. Rabin. Tom. I. pag. 291.

perly alledg'd in confirmation of this falſe Gloſs. The romantic Narrations of *James Sadeur* [*H*] might as well be employ'd for that Purpoſe. Neither is it more true that *Adam* was produc'd with Circumciſion (*e*), and that, being diſpleas'd at it, he committed the Fault of thoſe, whom St *Paul* mentions in one of his Epiſtles (*f*). We may place likewiſe in the rank of *Fable*, what has been ſaid of his gigantic Stature [*I*], his practice, by the Production of the human Nature of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Though the Paſſage is ſomewhat long, yet I ſhall beg leave to tranſcribe it, as it will ſhew us to what Extravagancies the human Mind is liable.

(*f*) I Cor. vii. 18.

“ God repreſented to her in a Viſion, without the Aſſiſtance of corporeal Eyes, which could not have endured ſuch Brightneſs, the Beauty of the firſt World, and the manner how he form'd it out of the original *Chaos*: All was bright, tranſparent, and radiant, with an ineffable Light and Glory. In the ſame ſpiritual manner he made the firſt Man *Adam* appear to her, whoſe Body was more pure and tranſparent than Cryſtal, all light and flying, in appearance; in and through which were ſeen Veſſels and Streams of Light, penetrating from the inſide to the outſide, through all his Pores; Veſſels, which contained moſt lively and diaphanous Liquors of all Sorts and Colours, not only of Water and Milk, but alſo of Fire, Air, *&c.* His Motions were wonderfully harmonious; every thing obey'd him; nothing reſiſted nor could annoy him. He was of a larger Stature than Men are at preſent; his Hair ſhort and curl'd, inclining to black; his upper Lip covered with ſmall Hair: And, inſtead of the beſtial Parts not to be named, he was made like as our Bodies ſhall be reſtored in eternal Life, after a manner which I know not whether I dare reveal. In this Region of his Body, was ſituated the Structure and Reſemblance of a Face; which was a Source of admirable Odors and Perfumes: From thence likewiſe Men were to ſpring, whoſe Principles he had all within himſelf: for there was a Veſſel in his Belly, which bred ſmall Eggs, and another Veſſel full of Liquor, which impregnated the Eggs. And when Man grew enflamed with the Love of his God, the Deſire he had that there ſhould be other Creatures, beſide himſelf, to praiſe, love, and adore the divine Majeſty, made that Liquor, by the Fire of God's Love, to ſpread itſelf on one or more of theſe Eggs with unconceiveable Delight; which, being impregnated, came out ſome time after from the Man, by the forementioned Canal, in the form of an Egg, and a little after hatch'd a perfect Man. After this manner there will be an holy and endleſs Generation in the Life eternal, quite different from that which Sin produc'd by the means of the Woman, whom God form'd of the Man, by taking that Veſſel out of *Adam* which contained the Eggs, which the Woman now poſſeſſes, and from which Men proceed at preſent, according to the new Diſcoveries in Anatomy. The firſt Man, whom *Adam* produc'd by himſelf in this glorify'd State, was choſen by God to be the Throne of the Divinity, the Organ and Inſtrument by which God would communicate himſelf eternally with Mankiud; that is, *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Firſt-Born, united to the human Nature, both God and Man (27).”

(27) *The ſame.*

I wiſh the Author of *The New Viſionary of* Rotterdam had not inſulted, in ſo gay a manner, the Viſions of this Maid, and thoſe of the Miniſter, whom he attacks. He might have turn'd the latter into Ridicule, for his Notions concerning *Adam* and *Eve*'s Marriage, without playing the Buffoon ſo much upon the Subject. I only add two ſhort Remarks. The firſt is, that *Antoinette Bourignon* ought not to have expected her own Reſurrection; for, according to her Principles, the groſs Matter, which was added to Man's Body after the Fall, and which rots in the Grave, will not riſe again (28); and the Reſurrection is nothing elſe but the re-eſtabliſhing of Man in his State of Innocency: A State wherein, according to the fine Revelations of *Antoinette*, there were no *Women*. An Heretic, whoſe Name was *Amaulry*, was formerly condemn'd at *Paris* (29), for maintaining, among other Errors, *That at the end of the World both Sexes ſhall be re-united together in one Perſon, and that this re-union began in* Jeſus Chriſt; *and that if Man had continued in the State, wherein God produc'd him, there would not have been any diſtinction of Sexes* (30). *Faber Stapulenſis* believ'd, that, in the State of Innocency, *Adam* might have begotten a Man like himſelf, without the help of a Woman (31). So that Mrs *Bourignon* was not the firſt who broach'd this Opinion, though ſhe has added much of her own to it; for inſtance, That perpetual Propagation, which, ſhe ſays, will be in Paradiſe, in the ſame manner that Man would have multiply'd, if he had preſerv'd his Innocency. What ſhall we ſay to *Paracelſus*, who believ'd that our firſt Parents had not the neceſſary Parts of Generation before they ſinned, but that, after the Fall, they came out of them, like Excreſcences, or Tumours in the Throat? *Negabat primos parentes ante lapſum habuiſſe partes generationi hominis neceſſarias, poſtea acceſſiſſe ut ſtrumam gutturi* (32). My ſecond Remark is, that This Lady attributes to *Jeſus Chriſt*, born of *Adam*, all the Apparitions of God, ſpoken of in the Old Taſtament; and that ſhe believes, that when he *reſolv'd to cloath himſelf with the Corruption of our Fleſh and Blood*, in the Womb of the Holy Virgin, *he encloſ'd his Body there, either by reducing it to the ſmallneſs it had at it's firſt Conception or Birth, or ſome other way inconceiveable to our groſs Reaſon* (33).

(28) *Preface to the* New Heaven.

(29) *In the beginning of the* XIIIth *Century.*

(30) Prateoli Elench. Hæret. *in the Word* Almaricus. & Defenſ. Relat. de Burign. *inſerted in the* Acta Erudit. Lipſ. pag. 150.

(31) Apud Cornel. à Lapide in Geneſ. cap. ii. ver. 24.

(32) Paracelſus apud Voſſium de Philoſophia, cap. 9. pag. 71.

(33) *Continued Life of M.* Bourignon, pag. 317.

Theſe two Reflexions, which were ſufficient in the firſt Edition of this Work, are not ſo in this; for there are Perſons ſo captious, as to object, that my Article of ADAM contains intolerable Obſcenities. I anſwer, that They are too nice and ſcrupulous; and that they are ignorant of the Privileges of Hiſtory. They, who write the Life of a wicked Man, may and ought to repreſent, in general, the exceſſes of his Debauchery; and what choice ſoever they make of Words, they muſt neceſſarily relate impure things, and ſuch as ſully the Imagination. This is inevitable. All they can do is to avoid Particulars, and too groſs Expreſſions; and this I have done. They likewiſe, who write the Hiſtory of Sects, whoſe Doctrines or Actions have been impure, find themſelves under the ſame Neceſſity. The moſt cautious Style can never hinder them from preſenting filthy and obſcene Images to their Readers. That which juſtifies me in particular, is, that I relate Abſurdities contain'd in a Book, which is publickly ſold. Beſides, I have the Example of the ancient Fathers on my ſide, who have inſerted the moſt ſhocking Impurities of Heretics in their Works.

[*H*] *The romantic Narrations of* James Sadeur.] It is a pretended relation of certain Hermaphrodite Nations of *Terra Auſtralis*. See the Article SADEUR.

[*I*] *His gigantic Stature.*] *Philo* believed that *Adam* exceeded the ſize of all other Men both in Body and Soul (34); but the *Talmudiſts* go much farther; they affirm, that *Adam* was extended from one end of the World to the other, when God firſt form'd him; that after he had tranſgreſs'd, the Hand of the Lord was heavy upon him, and reduc'd his Stature to the Meaſure of an hundred Ells (35). Some ſay that God did it at the Requeſt of the Angels, who were afraid of ſo gigantic a Creature; but they ſuppoſe that God left to the firſt Man the height of nine hundred Cubits. See the firſt Volume of the *Rabinical Dictionary* of Father *Bartolocci*, pag. 65, 66. *Barcepha* takes notice of certain Authors, who ſay, that the Terreſtrial Paradiſe was ſeparated from our World by the Ocean, and that *Adam*, being driven out of this Paradiſe, croſs'd the Sea on foot, to come into our World, and that he found it every where fordable; his Stature was ſo enormous (36). This is juſt the *Orion* or the *Polyphemus* of the Poets;

—— —— quam magnus Orion
Cum pedes incedit medii per maxima Nerei
Stagna viam ſcindens, humero ſupereminet undas (37).

—— —— *He ſtood,*
Like tall Orion, *ſtalking o'er the flood:*
When with his brawny Breaſt he cuts the Waves,
His Shoulders ſcarce the topmoſt Billow laves.

DRYDEN.

(34) Philo de Opific. Mundi.

(35) *In the Book* Sanhedrim.

(36) *In his Treatiſe,* de Paradiſo.

(37) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 10. ver. 763.

ſummo

his Books [*K*], his Sepulchre [*L*], and of a Tree planted on that Sepulchre [*M*], &c. But we muſt be careful not to doubt of his Salvation, as the Abbot *Rupertus* did (*g*), and leaſt of all to believe him condemn'd to Infernal Flames, as the *Tatianites* did (*h*). Nor are we oblig'd to adopt the Opinion of *Origen*, St *Auguſtin*, St *Athanaſius*, and others, that *Adam* was one of the firſt of thoſe, who roſe from the dead with JESUS CHRIST (*i*); and we are yet leſs oblig'd to believe, that his Repentance would have kill'd him with Grief, if God had not ſent the Angel *Raziel* to comfort him (*k*). But Reaſon requires us to believe, that his Faith and his Prayers obtain'd Mercy for him, and that he made a very good End; without imagining at the ſame time, that he made a Speech to his Children before his Death, and recommended to them particularly to honour their Mother, and to bury her near him. It is

—— —— ſummo cum monte videmus
Ipſum inter pecudes vaſta ſe mole moventem,
Paſtorem Polyphemum, & littora nota petentem (38).

—— —— *When, on the Mountain's Brow,*
We ſaw the Giant-Shepherd ſtalk before
His following Flock, and leading to the Shore.

—— —— graditurque per æquor
Jam medium, necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit (39).

—— —— *Thro' Seas he ſtrides,*
And ſcarce the topmoſt Billows touch'd his Sides.

DRYDEN.

The *Arabians* have no leſs an Idea of the Stature of our firſt Parents, than *Moſes Barcephas*'s Authors. The following is a Narrative of Mr *Monconis*. "My "*Arabian* told me how the Caravan of *Cairo* arriv'd "firſt at *Mecca*, and how, after having offer'd their "Prayers, they went to the Foot of the Mountain, "which is a League diſtant from thence, to wait "for the other Caravans of *Damaſcus* and of *Bagdat*, "which came the following Days to *Mecca*; and "that being all arriv'd on the ninth of the twelfth "Moon, which is *Diel Heghe*, at the end, I ſay, of "the ninth Day, which is *Aſſer*, all the three Caravans aſcended to the top of the Mountain, on the "Summit whereof (which is very low, like thoſe "Hillocks, which ſtand alone in the midſt of Plains) "they believe that *Eve* laid her Head, when *Adam* "knew her the firſt Time; and that her two Knees "were two Muskets ſhot diſtant from each other, "on two other Hillocks in the bottom of the Plain; "on each of which places they have erected a round "Pillar, between which (to be a good *Agi*, that is, "Pilgrim) you muſt paſs, both aſcending and deſcending the Mountain, on the top of which is "a Moſque, made like a Niche, into which but ſeven or eight Perſons can enter (40)." I find that one *John Lucidus* is cited, who believed that *Adam* was one of the greateſt of all Giants (41), and who uſed to prove it by theſe Words of Scripture, according to the Vulgar Tranſlation, *Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur Cariatharbe: Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim ſitus eſt* (42). Upon the Authority of this Paſſage, St *Jerom* fancies that *Adam* was buried at *Hebron* (43). But it was proved to him, that neither the *Hebrew* Text, nor the Tranſlation of the LXX, make mention of *Adam*, or of any Sepulchre (44). The *Geneva* Tranſlation renders it, *the Name of* Hebron *before was* Kariath-Arbah, which Arbah *had been a very great Man among the* Hanakins. The *Engliſh* Verſion renders it after the ſame manner. There is a Mountain in the Iſland of *Ceylon*, called the *Peak of* Adam, becauſe, according to the Tradition of the Country, it was the place of his Reſidence (45). The prints of his Feet are yet to be found there, above two Palms in length. *Pythagoras* would not infer ſuch a gigantic Stature from thence, as that which others attribute to *Adam*; I ſay, *Pythagoras*, who judg'd of *Hercules*'s Stature by the length of that Hero's Foot (46). It is alſo ſaid that there are ſome Remains on that Mountain, of the Tears which were ſhed for the Death of *Abel*; but others ſay, that *Adam* and *Eve* lamented his Death in a Cave in *Judæa*, where their Beds of Stone are to be ſeen of thirty Foot length (47).

[*K*] *His Books.*] The *Jews* pretend that *Adam* wrote a Book concerning the Creation of the World; and another on the Deity (48). *Maſius* mentions the former (49). A *Mahometan* Author, whoſe Name is *Kiſæus*, reports, that *Abraham* being gone into the Country of the *Sabæi*, open'd *Adam*'s ſtrong Box, wherein he found his Books with thoſe of *Seth*, and *Edris* (50). This laſt Name is that which the *Arabians* give to *Enoch*. They ſay that *Adam* received twenty Books fallen from Heaven; which contain'd divers Laws and Promiſes, and Threatnings, from God, and Predictions of many Events (51). Some Rabbies attribute the 92d Pſalm to *Adam*, and there are ſome Manuſcripts, where the *Chaldaic* Title of that *Pſalm* imports that it is a Song of Praiſe, recited by the firſt Man on the Sabbath-day (52). The good *Euſebius Nierembergius*, who was Credulity itſelf, reports two Canticles, which he faithfully copied out of the Revelations of the ever bleſſed *Amadeus*, in the Library of the *Eſcurial* (53). It is ſaid, that *Adam* was the Author of theſe two Pieces; he made the one the firſt time he ſaw *Eve*; the other is the penitential Pſalm, which he and his Wife ſung after their Fall.

[*L*] *His Sepulchre.*] We have already ſeen, that St *Jerom* imagined, without any ground, that *Adam* was buried at *Hebron*; but we have as much Reaſon to be of his Opinion in that, as to think with many others, that *Adam* was buried upon Mount *Calvary* (54). I confeſs the latter Opinion is preferable *per la predica, for the Preacher's Uſe*; for it is much more fertile of Alluſions, Antitheſes, moral Application, and all kind of Rhetorical Figures: But ſuch a Reaſon is fit for little elſe, than to ſerve as an Anſwer to thoſe, who may ask, why St *Jerom*'s Opinion had fewer Followers than the other. But, Compariſons aſide, it is enough for us to be informed, that the Fathers generally believed, that the firſt Man died in the Place, where *Jeruſalem* was built afterwards, and that he was buried on a neighbouring Hill, which was called *Golgotha*, or *Calvary*; which is that where *Jeſus Chriſt* was crucified. If you ask me how *Adam*'s Grave could reſiſt the Waters of the Deluge, and how his Bones could maintain their place, in order to receive the ſprinkling of the Blood of our Lord; for there lies the Myſtery;

Hic hominem primum ſuſcepimus eſſe ſepultum,
Hic patitur Chriſtus: pia ſanguine terra madeſcit,
Pulvis Adæ ut poſſit, veteris cum ſanguine Chriſti
Commixtus, ſtillantis aquæ virtute lavari (55);

Here Tradition ſays the firſt Man was buried; Here Chriſt ſuffered: The pious Earth is wet with Blood, that the Duſt of Adam, *mixt with the Blood of Chriſt, might be waſh'd with the Virtue of the diſtilling Water:*

If, I ſay, you put this Queſtion; *Barcepha* will quote a Doctor upon you, very much eſteem'd in *Syria* (56), who ſaid that *Noah* dwelt in *Judæa*; that he planted the Cedars, wherewith he built the Ark, in the Plains of *Sodom*, that he took *Adam*'s Bones with him into the Ark; that, after he was come out of the Ark, he divided them among his three Sons; that he gave the Skull to *Shem*; and that the Offspring of *Shem*, having taken poſſeſſion of *Judæa*, buried this Skull in the ſame Place where *Adam*'s Grave had been.

[*M*] *A Tree planted on that Sepulchre.*] *Cornelius à Lapide* ſays, that the *Hebrews* have a Tradition, that by the Command of an Angel *Seth* put ſome of the Seed of the forbidden Tree into *Adam*'s Mouth, who was already buried; and that it produc'd a Tree, of which the Croſs of *Jeſus Chriſt* was made; and that it was but juſt that the ſame Wood, which had caus'd *Adam* to ſin, ſhould be That, on which *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhould expiate *Adam*'s Sin (57). That Jeſuit refers us to *Pinedo*, who

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(*g*) Rupertii Comment. in Geneſ. cap. xxxi.

(*h*) Epiphan. Hæreſ. 46. Euſebii Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 27.

(*i*) Apud Corn. à Lapide in Geneſ. cap. v. ver. 5.

(*k*) *See* Reuchlinus de Art. Cabal. pag. 8. & Heidegger's Hiſt. Patriarch. Tom. 1. pag. 160.

(38) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 3. ver. 655.

(39) Id. ib. ver. 664.

(40) Moncon. *Travels, part* 1. *pag.* 372, 373. *Edition of* Lyons.

(41) Joh. Lucidus, lib. 1. de Emendat. Temp. cap. 4. apud Pererium in Geneſ. lib. 4. quæſt. 3.

(42) Joſhua, cap. xiv. ver. ult.

(43) Hieron. in Matth. cap. xxvii.

(44) Pererius ubi ſupra.

(45) Ludov. Romanus Patricius in ſua Navigat. apud Biſſelium illuſtr. Ruinar. Decad. 1.

(46) A. Gellius Noct. Att. lib. 1. cap. 1.

(47) Apud Salden. Otia Theol. pag. 346.

(48) Heideg. Hiſt. Patr. Tom. 1. pag. 481.

(49) *See* Salian. Tom. 1. pag. 230.

(50) *See* Stanley's Eaſtern Philoſophy, B. 3. cap. 3.

(51) Hotting. Hiſt. Orient. pag. 22. *cited by* Lyſerus in Polygamiâ Triumphatâ pag. 145.

(52) Gaſpar Schottus Technic. Curioſ. pag. 556.

(53) Lib. 2. cap. 13. de Orig. Sacræ Script. cap. 13. apud Schottum, ibid.

(54) *See* Salian. Ann. Tom. 1. pag. 225. *where he ſhews that* St Jerom *himſelf adopts that common Opinion in ſome places.*

(55) Tertullian. Carm. contra Marcion. lib. 2. cap. 4.

(56) Dom. Jacobus Orrohaïta (ſive Edeſſenus) *St* Ephrem *who liv'd in the* IV*th Century was his Diſciple.* *See* Salian, pag. 226. Corn. à Lapide, p. 135.

(57) In Geneſim, cap. ii. ver. 9. pag. 74.

is giving one's ſelf too much Liberty, to forge ſuch direct Speeches [*N*]. We have related elſewhere (*l*) the Opinions concerning the *Duration* of his *State of Innocence*.

(*l*) *In the Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* ABEL.

who related this Fable at length. But what does he mean by the *Hebrews?* Doubtleſs he means the *Jews*. Now, do the *Jews* own that *Jeſus Chriſt* expiated *Adam*'s Sin by the Puniſhment of the Croſs, to which their Nation condemn'd him under *Pontius Pilate?* When an Author is full of a thing, he thinks others are ſo too, and does not always perceive the Abſurdity of attributing his own Thoughts to them. Laſtly, this Fable has been variouſly reported; for we find in a Rabbi, who liv'd long before *Jeſus Chriſt*, and whoſe Work is entituled, *Gale Raſejah* (58), that the Angels brought to *Adam*, in the Deſert, a Branch of the Tree of Life, which *Seth* planted, and that it became a Tree, whereof *Moſes* made good Uſe; for, after having made out of it the Rod, with which he wrought ſo many Miracles, he ſweetened the bitter Waters with it, and erected likewiſe the Brazen Serpent on part of it. Some ſay that *Adam* ſent *Seth* to the Gate of the Garden of *Eden*, to deſire the Angel's who defended the Entrance, to grant him a Branch of the Tree of Life, which they comply'd with (59).

[*N*] *To forge ſuch direct Speeches.*] I have *Salian* in view, in this Cenſure. Not contented with the Speech, he made a long Epitaph for *Adam*, wherein he denotes his own Name by theſe three Letters, *J. S. P.* (60). He made Epitaphs alſo for *Abel*, *Abraham*, and *Sarah*, &c. In truth this is ſcarce pardonable, except in Authors, who are juſt come from teaching Rhetoric; and I am fully perſuaded that the *Sirmonds*, the *Petavius*'s, the *Hardouins*, and the reſt of the great Authors of the Society of the Jeſuits, will judge of it, as I do.

(58) *See concerning this Rabbin, and his Works, the* Nouv. Liter. *for* July 1686. Art. 3. pag. 770. *taken from* Mœbius *of the* Brazen Serpent.

(59) *See* Salden's Otia Theolog. pag. 608.

(60) *They ſignify*, Jac. Salianus Jeſuit.

ADAM, Archdeacon of the Patriarchal Chamber, and Superior of the Monks of *Chaldæa*, was ſent to *Rome* at the beginning of the XVIIth Century, by *Elias*, *Neſtorian* Patriarch of *Babylon*. This Patriarch, having caus'd the Profeſſion of Faith, which *Paul* V. had ſent him, to be examin'd by his Biſhops, commiſſion'd *Adam* to preſent it to That Pope, with the Alterations he had made in it; but order'd him at the ſame time to correct what the Pope ſhould find amiſs in it. This Embaſſy of our *Adam* was an Embaſſy of Obedience. This Monk, being come to *Rome*, acquitted himſelf of his Commiſſion with all imaginable Care. He had brought a Writing with him, wherein he pretended to reconcile the Faith of the *Eaſtern* Churches with That of the Church of *Rome*, and to make it appear that their Differences were but a *Verbal Diſpute* [*A*]. He had firſt ſhewed this Writing to his Patriarch, and afterwards, by his order, to all the Biſhops of the Party, and he had employ'd a whole Year in going from City to City to procure the Approbation of thoſe Biſhops. *Peter Strozza*, Secretary to *Paul* V. was order'd to anſwer this Writing. The Anſwer ſavour'd more of Inflexibility than Condeſcenſion; for he explain'd every thing with the utmoſt Rigour; and the Legate of the Patriarch was not only oblig'd to ſubmit to the Doctrines, but to the very Expreſſions of the Church of *Rome*. He ſign'd whatever the Pope propos'd to him, and, not ſatisfy'd with abjuring all the Errors of his Nation, he wrote ſeveral Books, and addreſs'd them to his Countrymen, to communicate to them the new Lights he had acquir'd at *Rome*. He departed from thence after an abode of Three Years; and carry'd with him a Brief from *Paul* the V. to his Patriarch *Elias*, rejecting all the Terms of Accomodation, which that *Patriarch* had propos'd, and obliging him to condemn every Expreſſion, which might cover any Error (*a*). *Adam* was accompanied by two Jeſuits (*b*), who had Orders to labour at the entire Re-union of that Sect.

(*a*) *Taken from the* 10*th Chapter of the* 5*th Book of the* Perpetuity of the Faith defended. *Mr* Arnaud *cites the Treatiſe of* Peter Strozza, de Dogmatibus Chaldæorum.

(*b*) Nic. Godignus. lib. 1. de Rebus Abaſſinorum apud Aub. Miræum, de Statu Relig. Chriſt. pag. 226.

[*A*] *Their Differences were but a verbal Diſpute.*] The *Sieur de Moni*, in his *Critical Hiſtory of the* Levant, ſeems fully perſuaded, that the Patriarch *Elias* had reaſon to maintain, that there is but a mere verbal Difference between the *Neſtorians* of the preſent Time, and the *Catholics*. *The Neſtorianiſm of the preſent Time*, ſays he (1), *is but an imaginary Hereſy; the Difference of their Opinion conſiſts only in Equivocations; the* Neſtorians *underſtanding the Word* Perſon *in another Senſe, than the* Latins. Why then did they not acquieſce in the Explanation, which the Patriarch of *Babylon* gave of their Notions? The Reaſon was, becauſe, in order to keep up a *Decorum*, and out of a falſe Punctilio of Honour, it was neceſſary to maintain that *Neſtorianiſm* was a dangerous Hereſy; otherwiſe they would have proſtituted the Honour of the *Oecumenical* Councils. This is what the Sieur *de Moni* would have ſaid in a free Country; but in *France* he was obliged to qualify his Expreſſions; *The Councils*, ſays he (2), *having condemn'd the Hereſy of* Neſtorius, *it ſeemed neceſſary to make it appear at* Rome, *that* Neſtorianiſm *was a true Hereſy, ſince it had been condemn'd by the Church in a general Council.* He adds, with the ſame caution, That *ſome might infer*, from the very Acts of the ancient Councils, *that* Neſtorianiſm *is but a nominal Hereſy; and that if* Neſtorius *and St* Cyril *had underſtood each other, they might have reconcil'd their Opinions* (3).

(1) Moni's *Critical Hiſtory of the Belief and Cuſtoms of the Nations of the* Levant, pag. 93.

(2) Id. ib.

(3) Id. ib.

ADAM, (John) a *French* Jeſuit, was a famous Preacher of the XVIIth Century [*A*]. He was of *Limouſin*, and enter'd among the Jeſuits in the Year 1622, at 14 Years of Age (*a*). His Superiors, finding him qualify'd to ſucceed in the Pulpit, apply'd him to it, after he had taught Humanity, and Philoſophy. He exercis'd the Trade of Preaching Forty Years, and was follow'd in the chief Cities of *France*, and in the *Louvre* itſelf (*b*). He began, as it was reaſonable he ſhould, in the Provinces; but when he had ſufficiently ſignaliz'd himſelf in them, he was ſent to Diſplay his Talents on the grand Theatre of the Kingdom. The Circumſtances of the Times favour'd him, the Diſputes of *Janſeniſm* having already heated the People; and never was Man more fit than Father *Adam*, being a raſh Adventurer, to be let looſe againſt That Party. He was hot and undaunted, and had all the Qualifications of a great Declaimer. The Sermons, which he preach'd in *Lent* at *Paris* in St *Paul*'s Church in the Year 1650, made a great Noiſe. The Preacher puſh'd Matters ſo far, that,

(*a*) Sotuel, Biblioth. Societatis Jeſu, pag. 397.

(*b*) Id. ib.

[*A*] *Was a famous Preacher of the* XVII*th Century.*] See the Letter which Mr *de Balzac* writ to him on the 15th of *January* 1643, after having read the fifteen Sermons, which that Jeſuit had ſent him (1).

(1) *It is the* 11*th of the* 3*d Book of the* 1*ſt part of the* Lettres Choiſies, *pag.* 109. *Edit. of* Holl.

that, had it not been for powerful Patrons, they would have forbad him the Pulpit [*B*]. He had Honeſty enough to acknowledge [*C*], that St *Auſtin* was no ways favourable to *Moliniſm*; and was very angry with that Ancient Doctor. The *Janſeniſts* did not paſs by this Affront [*D*]. They publiſh'd an Anſwer to his Sermon, and were not ſatisfy'd with apologizing for St *Auſtin*; but refuted ſome other Propoſitions of that Jeſuit, and particularly That, which related to the Inſpiration of the *Canonical Writers* [*E*]. Father *Adam* had no regard to the Complaints, which were made

[*B*] *They would have forbad him the Pulpit.*] This we learn from a Letter of *Guy Patin*, written the twelfth of *April*, 1650; *Our Archbiſhop*, ſays he, *has forbid the Pulpit to Mr* Brouſſel, *a Doctor of* Navarre, *and Canon of St* Honore, *who is a great* Janſeniſt, *for having preached within theſe three Days a little too boldly. Father* Adam, *a Jeſuit, would have felt the ſame rigour, for having preached againſt St* Auſtin *in St* Paul'*s Church, and for having called him* the hot African *and* the petulant Doctor, *if the Credit of the Jeſuits and of the Capuchins had not diverted the Archbiſhop from it* (2).

(2) Patin's *Letter* 37. *pag.* 162. *of the 1ſt part, Edit. of* Geneva, 1691.

[*C*] *He had Honeſty enough to acknowledge.*] This muſt be underſtood, *cum grano ſalis*, with ſome Reſtriction; and we ſhould be deceived, if we imagined, that this Jeſuit retained nothing of the Artifices of thoſe, who pretended that St *Auſtin* is neither favourable to the *Calviniſts*, nor to the *Janſeniſts*: For in the ſame Sermon, which raiſed ſuch an outcry, and which he divided into two Parts, he deſigned by the ſecond *to ſhew from the Doctrine of That Father, that* Jeſus Chriſt *died for all Men, without Exception*; and he had already publiſhed a Book, entitled, Calvin *defeated by himſelf, and by St* Auſtin'*s Weapons, which he has unjuſtly uſurped in his Doctrines of Grace, Free-will, and Predeſtination* (3). Now he made no Difficulty to ſay, that *Janſenius* and *Calvin* taught the ſame thing in the Doctrine of Grace; and a few Days after his Sermon, he replied to one, who reproached him for it, *I fear nothing*; *no one can attack my Sermon, nor my Book about Grace, without undertaking at the ſame time to ſupport* Calvin (4). What are we to underſtand then by the *Honeſty* which I aſcribe to him? Why, that the Liberty he took in giving his Opinion of St *Auſtin*'s Errors, plainly intimated, that he did not eſteem him a proper Model of Faith in thoſe Matters.

(3) *Defence of St* Auſtin *againſt Father* Adam.

(4) *The ſame.*

[*D*] *The* Janſeniſts *did not paſs by this Affront.*] A few Days after, they publiſhed a Pamphlet of ſixty Pages in *Quarto*, entitled, *A Defence of St* Auſtin, *againſt the Errors, the Calumnies, and the ſcandalous Invectives which Father* Adam, *the Jeſuit, preached in St* Paul'*s Church on the ſecond* Thurſday *in* Lent, *on this Text of the Goſpel*, “ I am not ſent but to the “ loſt Sheep of the Houſe of *Iſrael*.” They accuſed him of having ſaid, “ I. That St *Auſtin* was intricate “ and obſcure in his Writings; that, being an *Afri*“*can*, violent and full of Heat, he was often too paſ“ſionate, that he ran into Extreams, and had ex“ceeded the Bounds of Truth in oppoſing the Ene“mies of *Grace*; as it happens ſometimes, that a “ Man, who deſigns to ſtrike his Enemy, does it “ with ſuch Violence, that he daſhes him againſt a “ Tree, and gives him a Counter-Blow contrary “ to his Intention. II. That St *Auſtin* himſelf, in “ eſtabliſhing *Original Sin*, againſt the *Pelagians*, “ was carried away to an exceſs of Error, in ſaying “ that *Original Sin* was puniſhed in Children, who “ died without Baptiſm, with the Torments of Fire, “ and with Damnation. III. That St *Auſtin* was not “ ſteady in his Notions, ſince, according to the Ob“ſervation of Mr *Gamache*, he changed his Opinion “ three times about the Doctrine of Grace.” Theſe Reproaches, and ſome others of the ſame kind, had already appeared in a Book of Father *Adam*. Thoſe, who have not that Book, may find them in a Work, which is eaſy to be conſulted; I mean the *Vindiciæ Auguſtinianæ*, wherein Father *Adam* is the firſt of St *Auſtin*'s modern Adverſaries, whom Father *Norris* refuted.

[*E*] *Which related to the Inſpiration of the Canonical Writers.*] “ It is not ſurprizing, that Father *Adam* “ ſhould aſſert in his Sermon, that St *Auſtin* was “ carried too far by the Ardor of his Zeal, ſince, in “ a naughty Book, full of Falſities and Errors, he “ has laid it down *, *That this Weakneſs is not ſo* “ *criminal, but that God ſuffers it in thoſe Authors,* “ *whom he inſpires, and whom we call Canonical* “ - - - - *and that the Natural Fire of St* Paul *was* “ *likewiſe apt to incline him to Expreſſions of this* “ *nature* - - - - To prove that there are ſome *Frail*“*ties in Canonical Authors*, and that they *follow* “ *their own Imaginations in expreſſing the things* “ *which God has revealed to them*, he ſays, *That* “ *when the Prophet* Elias *complained of the Impiety* “ *of the Age, he ſaid to God, that Faith was ex*“*tinguiſhed in the Hearts of all Men, and that he* “ *alone remained of all who adored him on the Earth.* “ —— David *affirms, that there was never more* “ *Corruption and Diſorder ſeen, than in his Time,* “ *that there was not one Man to be found who would* “ *perform a good Action.*” This is the Doctrine which Father *Adam*'s Cenſurers reproached him with. The reſult of it is, that the inſpired Doctrine, and the Expreſſions of thoſe who are inſpired, are two different things; that God is the Author only of the firſt, but that he left the other to the Imagination of the Perſon inſpired, and that this did not hinder his Imagination from exceeding the Dictates of the Holy Spirit. Without doubt this was Father *Adam*'s Sentiment; for the Examples of *Elias* and *David*, which he alledges, would not ſerve the Purpoſe of one, who believes, that it was revealed by God, that *Elias* was the only Worſhipper of the True God, and that in *David*'s Time there was not one good Man on the Earth. Whoever therefore makes uſe of ſuch Examples muſt be convinced, that God only revealed, that the Number of good Men was ſmall. Thus the Imagination of an inſpired Author may make that *univerſal* which is given him with Reſtriction; and thus he may fall into the Sophiſm, *à dicto ſecundum quid ad dictum ſimpliciter*: In a Word, This is to adulterate Revelation, to deceive the Church, to lie. The *Janſeniſts* did not fail to exclaim againſt this Doctrine, as being impious, and opening a Door to a thouſand Attempts againſt the Authority of the Scripture (5). “ For, *ſaid they* (6), “ if God ſuffers any Frailty in the Canonical Au“thors, whom he inſpires, if there is a Natural Fire “ in St *Paul*, which is not from God; every thing, “ which the Libertine or Heretic finds in Holy Writ “ contrary to his Sentiments, he will ſay proceeds “ from the Frailty or Natural Fire of the Writer, “ and not from the Spirit of God. - - - - To allow “ of any Infirmity, or any Influence of meer Na“tural Diſpoſition in the ſacred Writers, is to give “ every one the Liberty of judging of This, and of “ throwing out of the Scripture what he pleaſes, “ as proceeding rather from the Weakneſs of Man, “ than the Spirit of God. - - - - The Libertine will “ deny the Eternity of Hell Torments, and when “ St *Matthew* ſays, *Go ye curſed into everlaſting* “ *Fire*, he will ſay it was an extravagant Expreſſion “ denote the long Continuance, and Greatneſs of the “ Torments prepared for the Wicked, proceeding from “ to the Imagination of the Evangeliſt (7).” Thoſe Gentlemen pretended that Father *Adam* only made uſe of this Doctrine, *that he might ſhift off the Force of St* Paul'*s Expreſſions, which ſeemed hard to him, and contrary to his Sentiment, and to teach us the Art of playing with the Words of the Apoſtle of the* Gentiles *about Grace and Divine Predeſtination, as well as with thoſe of St* Auſtin. If he finds himſelf *preſſed by the Ninth Chapter of the Epiſtle to the* Romans, *where St* Paul *ſays*, that God will have Mercy, on whom he will have Mercy, and whom he will he hardens; *he* may *anſwer, that St* Paul'*s Natural Fire carried him into Expreſſions of this Nature*; *that it is a Frailty which God ſuffers in Canonical Authors*; *that it is the Expreſſion of a thing revealed after the Imagination, Diſpoſition, and Temper of St* Paul (8).

I omit their Anſwer to the Inſtances of *Elias* and *David*; and ſhall only obſerve, that they found a great Miſtake in matter of Fact in the firſt of thoſe Citations; for the Canonical Author, who relates

* *Third Part*, cap. 7. pag. 622.

(5) Ibid. pag. 11.

(6) *The ſame.*

(7) Pag. 16.

(8) *Compare this with what is ſaid pag.* 374. *in the* Advice to the Refugees.

made againſt his Sermon, and againſt a Book, wherein he had thrown out ſeveral Expreſſions concerning St *Auſtin*, which gave great Offence. He retracted nothing, and continued writing in the ſame Strain. The *Janſeniſts* renew'd their Complaints, and their Writings; and a particular Conflict aroſe between them and Father *Adam*. They criticiz'd the Books, which he publiſh'd, ſome of which he compos'd for the uſe of pious Minds, in Oppoſition to thoſe Gentlemen. To this end, he publiſh'd the *Pſalms* of *David*, the Hymns and Prayers of the Church in *Latin*, and in *French*. Every body knows that the *Janſeniſts* endeavour'd to recommend themſelves by their *French* Tranſlations of thoſe Books. They attack'd likewiſe the Poetry of Father *Adam*; I mean the Tranſlation, which he had made, of the Hymns in *French* Verſe [*F*]. But this Paper War continued but a very little time between them. His Writings began in 1650. and ended in 1651 [*G*]. It is plain, they found that he did the Church and the Society more Service by his other Talents, than by his Pen. He was therefore ſent to *Sedan* to ſettle a College of Jeſuits there. He would have found it very difficult to ſucceed in this Deſign, had the Marſhal *de Fabert* liv'd, who was of all Men the leaſt a Bigot, and moſt firmly ſettled in the Principles of Honeſty. The *Proteſtants* were very eaſy under his Government; but the Scene was chang'd after his Death (*c*). They met with great Moleſtation from This Jeſuit, and were oblig'd to pay large Sums of Money, and to eſtabliſh Funds, which put him in a Capacity of founding the College he had projected. He publiſh'd a Scheme to which Mr *de St Maurice*, Profeſſor in Divinity at *Sedan* (*d*), return'd an Anſwer which remain'd without Reply. He liv'd ſome Years at *Sedan*, where he promoted the Intereſts of his Order, and the buſineſs of making Proſelytes, to the utmoſt of his Power.

(*c*) *Which happened in the Month of* May 1662.

(*d*) *He liv'd at* Maeſtricht, *upon his leaving* France *after the Revocation of the Edict of* Nantes, *till his Death, which fell out in the Year* 1700, Aug. 29. *Father* Adam *laid many Snares in his way, but he found an Adverſary, who avoided them ingeniouſly.*

relates *Elias*'s Complaint, does not mention it as the Expreſſion of a Man inſpired, but as the Expreſſion of a Man who was deceived, and to whom God revealed that he was in an Error. Therefore that Author did not deviate from the utmoſt Hiſtorical Exactneſs in reporting this Falſe Complaint of *Elias*. Theſe Gentlemen put the Public in mind, "That "among the Propoſitions extracted from the Public "Lectures of the Jeſuits of *Louvain*, acknowledged "by them, and cenſured by the Faculties of *Louvain* "and of *Douay*, in the Year 1588. are the two fol"lowing; I. *To conſtitute Holy-Scripture, it is not* "*neceſſary that the Words ſhould be inſpired by the* "*Holy Ghoſt.* II. *It is not neceſſary that the ſacred* "*Authors ſhould be immediately inſpired by the Holy* "*Ghoſt, with every Truth and every Sentiment, con*"*tained in their Writings.*" But, whatever Appellation theſe two Propoſitions deſerve, yet they are very different from the Doctrine of Father *Adam*, and much leſs dangerous (9).

I have enlarged upon this, becauſe I obſerved that it was an unknown Fact to thoſe who, on Occaſion of the *Sentiments of ſome Divines of* Holland, have lately wrote ſo much concerning the Inſpiration of the ſacred Books. All Communions have their Father *Adam*; there are Writers to be found every where to whom the ſame Lecture ought to be read, which was read to that Jeſuit. The following are the Words of Mr *Saurin*, Miniſter of *Utrecht*, to Mr *Jurieu*, Miniſter of *Rotterdam* (10). "The "Compariſon which *M. J.* made between the Ima"gination of the Prophets, which received Impreſ"ſions from above, and a Wheel, which, being ſet "a going, continues in Motion, though the Hand, "which impelled it, be removed (11), is another "Prophanation. For though he did not apply it to "the greater Prophets, it will neceſſarily lead to "them; unleſs he can ſhew that their Imagina"tions, when wrought upon, did not run beyond "the Impreſſion, by their own Impetuoſity, like the "Wheel, which is put in Motion, as he ſays hap"pened to other *inſpired Perſons, in whom God* "*produced theſe extraordinary Motions for Signs and* "*Prodigies, and who often went farther, than they* "*ought to do.* By what Mark would he have us "diſtinguiſh thoſe Prophets, whom God ſends for "Signs, if their Imagination, being once ſtirred, con"founds what comes from God with their own Folly, "and if they report Truth and Falſhood together, un"der the external Appearance of Perſons *out of their* "*Senſes, and diſordered in their Imaginations?* This "Mixture of Divine Inſpiration, and Extravagancy "concealed under the exterior Reſemblance of *Mad*"*neſs*, is inconſiſtent with the Idea which we have "of the Wiſdom of God (12)." Some Perſons are of ſo warm an Imagination, that they never report any thing that is told them without improving upon it: They only retain the thing, and never remember the Expreſſions of him, who related it to them: They ſubſtitute others in their room, cloathed with all their Fire, and conſequently an unfaithful Repreſentation of what was told them. Theſe Perſons eaſily believe that the Prophets and Apoſtles treated in the ſame manner the Idea's which the Holy Ghoſt communicated to them.

(9) *See Mr* Simon's *Anſwer to the Opinions of ſome Divines of* Holland, cap. 12. *and his Critical Hiſtory of the New Teſtament*, cap. 23. *the* Bibliotheque Univerſelle, Tom. 10. pag. 132. Tom. 11. p. 80. *and* Tom. 19. pag. 499.

(10) *In* 1692.

(11) *See the* 20*th Paſtoral Letter of* 1689.

(12) Saurin. *Examination of Mr* Jurieu's *Doctrine, deſigned as an Anſwer to a Libel entitled*, Mr *Jurieu*'s Second Apology, pag 21.

[*F*] *The Tranſlation, which he had made, of the Hymns in* French *Verſe* (13).] What is to found in relation to this in the *ninth Part* of the Difficulties propoſed to Mr *Steyaert*, deſerves to be reported: "No Liturgy, for theſe many Years, has been "more eſteemed than that whereof the Title is: "*The Office of the Church, and of the Virgin,* "*in* Latin *and* French, *with the Hymns tranſlated* "*into Verſe*; otherwiſe called *les Heures de Port*"*Royal*; or, *the Port-Royal Primer*. Four Edi"tions were publiſhed of it in one Year; which "gave ſo much Jealouſy to the Jeſuits, that they left "nothing undone to cry it down. They made ſilly "Objections againſt it, which were immediately an"ſwered. They oppoſed to it Father *Adam*'s Prayer"Book, under the Name of *Les Heures Catholiques,* "*the Catholic Primer,* as if the other was Here"tical. The Hymns in it were alſo tranſlated into "Verſe, but ſo ridiculouſly, that it only ſerved to "raiſe the Credit of thoſe of the *Port-Royal*. Laſtly, "they informed againſt them to the Inquiſition of "*Rome*, and made uſe of all their Credit to have "them condemned there (14)." Cardinal *Spada* intimated to Mr *de St Amour*, that if that Work of Father *Adam* was preſented to the Tribunal of the Inquiſition, they would condemn it. Mr *de St Amour* anſwered, That *if the Primer, which he defended, was to be decried.* - - - - *they might as well condemn it without that of Father* Adam: *And that he did not think it proper to accuſtom thoſe Fathers to compoſe a ſilly Book, whenever they ſaw a good one appear, which did not pleaſe them, in hopes of having them both condemned, under pretence of holding the Balance even, and of keeping both Parties in Peace* (15).

[*G*] *Begun in* 1650. *and ended in* 1651.] Father *Sotuel* mentions but five of Father *Adam*'s Works. The laſt is his Anſwer to a Letter of Mr *Daillé*, which came out in 1660. Theſe are the Titles of his other Books: *Calvinus à ſeipſo & à S. Auguſtino profligatus,* (Calvin *defeated by himſelf and St* Auſtin) Pariſiis 1650. in 8vo. *Pſalmi Davidis Latinè & Gallicè cum Canticis undecim quibus utitur Eccleſia, (The Pſalms of* David *in* Latin *and* French, *with eleven Hymns uſed by the Church)* Pariſiis 1651. in 12mo. *Fidelium regula ex Sacra Scriptura & ſanctis Patribus deprompta, (A Guide to the Faithful, extracted from the Sacred Scriptures, and the Holy Fathers)* Pariſiis 1651. in 12mo. *Preces Catholicæ Latinè & Gallicè, (Catholic Prayers in* Latin *and* French.*)* Pariſiis 1651. in 8vo. and 12mo.

(13) *See M.* Daillé's Reply, *Part* 2. *pag.* 19. *and Part* 3. *pag.* 234, & 424.

(14) *Difficulties propoſed to Mr* Steyaert, *part* 9. *pag.* 42.

(15) Ibid. pag. 45.

[*H*] *An*

Power. At length, the Government itſelf was diſguſted at him; and, whether it was that they dreaded his bold and intriguing Spirit, or that they perceiv'd, that his Manner of Preaching had not all the Gravity requiſite in a Place, where there was a *Proteſtant* Univerſity, they were pleas'd that his Superiors recall'd him: I have been told, that ſome Inſtances were made for it. He had been ſent to preach at *Loudun*, while the *Proteſtants* held a National Synod there, about the end of the Year 1659. It is likely, this engag'd him in the compoſing of a Work, which made him known to the *Proteſtants* of *France*, more than any thing elſe, and more than many Authors of the Firſt Rank are known to them. A Miniſter of *Poictiers* (*e*) having chang'd his Religion, a little after the breaking up of that Synod, wrote a Letter, wherein he maliciouſly cenſur'd the Faſt, which That Aſſembly had enjoyn'd all the Reform'd Churches of the Kingdom to keep (*f*). Mr *Daillé*, who had been Moderator of the Aſſembly, anſwer'd his Letter. The other reply'd; Father *Adam* would engage in the Controverſy, and publiſh'd an Anſwer to Mr *Daillé*'s Writing in the Year 1660 [*H*]. Mr *Daillé* reply'd to them both in one Book. Perhaps he never ſucceeded better than upon this Occaſion, nor was any Piece ſo much read by all ſorts of Perſons among the *Proteſtants*; which is the Reaſon, why Father *Adam*, who appears almoſt in every Period in it, and often under ſuch a Character as makes an Impreſſion, is more known to them than an hundred Authors, who ſurpaſs him. This Work of Mr *Daillé* remain'd without Reply [*I*], and it is not to be wonder'd at: They, who ought to have anſwered it, were inferior to ſuch an Adverſary, who could have triumphed over them even in a bad Cauſe. I do not know in what Year Father *Adam* was Procurator of the Province of *Champagne* at *Rome*; the *Bibliotheque* of the Jeſuits does not remark it (*g*); but it informs me, that in 1674. he was Superior of the *Maiſon Profeſſe* at *Bourdeaux*. I think he died in that Employ about the Year 1680. He publiſh'd ſome Controverſial Sermons on the *Euchariſt*, which was the *Goſpel of the Day* all over *France*, during the Quarrel between Mr *Arnaud* and Mr *Claude*; I ſay, he publiſh'd them ſince the Impreſſion of Father *Sotuel*'s Work, and I think he preach'd them in the height of the Conteſt. They are not ill turn'd, but they are a little too Dramatic, Mr *Claude* being ſometimes introduc'd as ſpeaking in them. I ſay this only upon hear-ſay. Father *Adam* paſs'd through the hands of Father *Jarrige*, but met with a milder Treatment, than from many others, and came off at a ſmall Expence [*K*]. He was not the firſt who ſpoke

(*e*) *His Name was Mr* Cottibi.

(*f*) *See Mr* Daillé's *Life pag.* 33, &c.

(*g*) Rexit Collegium Sedanenſe in Provincia Campaniæ, à qua electus eſt Procurator ad Urbem. -- *He govern'd the College of* Sedan *in the Province of* Campania, *from whence he was elected Procurator for the City.* Sotuel Biblioth. Soc. Jeſu, pag. 397.

[*H*] *An Anſwer to Mr* Daillé's *Writing in the Year* 1660.] Father *Sotuel* entitled that Work, *Reſponſum ad Epiſtolam D. Allii Miniſtri Charentonenſis Hæretici.* This is to latinize Mr *Daillé*'s Name after a wretched manner, and is a Sign that Father *Sotuel* read but few Books of Controverſy. For is there any Controvertiſt, to whom Mr *Daillé*'s Latin Works are unknown, and who conſequently does not know that That Miniſter's Name in *Latin* is *Dallæus?* They, who have a confuſed Notion, that there was a Miniſter of *Charenton*, whoſe Name was Mr *Alix*, would believe without Heſitation, that Father *Adam* wrote a Book againſt him, if they had no other Light than what the Article of that Jeſuit affords in the Continuator of *Alegambus*; and thus the leaſt Miſtake in Proper Names is enough to lead the Reader into an Error. Any one, who ſhould once miſtake Mr *Allix* for the *Allius* of that Continuator, might very well give him a place in the Catalogue of the *Famous Children*, and ſend him to Mr *Baillet* (16) as an Additional Article; for he would imagine that That Book was printed in the Year 1660. and refuted by a famous Jeſuit.

[*I*] *This Work of Mr* Daillé *remained without Reply.*] The Curious will be glad to ſee here what the Son of that Learned Miniſter obſerved concerning This Book. He ſays, "It is in every body's hands, "and was ſo well received, that two Editions have "already been made of it. Thoſe of our Communion, "for whom it was chiefly compoſed, find, with Satiſfaction, moſt of our Controverſies treated in it "after a manner very proper to inſtruct them, and "our Religion cleared from every thing which it's "Enemies commonly charge it with. And if we "may draw any advantage from the Silence of our "Adverſaries, it ſeems as if they had condemn'd "themſelves, ſeeing hitherto neither of them have "oppos'd any thing againſt it; tho' they often promis'd the contrary, and have been reproach'd for "it ſeveral times (17)". Mr *Daillé*, the Son, has mention'd one thing, which clearly inſinuates, that Father *Adam* was the Converter of the Miniſter *Cottibi.* It ought, therefore, to be taken Notice of, as one of the great Actions of the Hero of this Article. Let us hear then Mr *Daillé*'s Hiſtorian once more. "Not only the new converted *Roman*, who was the "Party concerned, defended himſelf by publiſhing a "large Anſwer; but as if his Cauſe had not been ſecure enough in his own Hands, a famous Jeſuit "came to his Aſſiſtance, of whom ſome of his Communion ſaid, that he was the firſt Man of the "World only by his Name. The Reader will eaſily "ſee, that Father *Adam* is meant by this, who, to defend his PROSELYTE, publiſhed a ſecond Anſwer at the ſame time, of the ſame Size, and Force "with his.

The Phraſe, *Firſt Man,* made uſe of in the above Paſſage, ſupply'd me in the firſt Edition of this Dictionary, with a Marginal Note, which ſhall make, at preſent, part of the body of this Column. It is as follows: "I have heard ſay, that the Queen-Mother "having asked a great Lord, who attended her to "one of Father *Adam*'s Sermons, what he thought of "it; he thanked her for his having been ſo well "convinced by it of the Hypotheſis of the *Præ-Adamites.* Being deſired to explain this Riddle, he "anſwered, *This Sermon convinces me that* Adam *is* "*not the firſt Man of the World.*" You will find this Story in the Continuation of the *Menagiana* (18); and you will farther be informed, that the great Lord, who gave the Queen this Anſwer, was the Prince *de Guemené*, and that the Sermon which gave occaſion to the Jeſt, *was very ill received both by the City and the Court* (19). Father *Adam* made *a very odious Compariſon in it between the* Pariſians *and the* Jews, *who crucified our Lord. He compared the Queen to the Virgin*; *and Cardinal* Mazarine *to St* John *the Evangeliſt.* Note that others aſcribe this Witticiſm to *Benſerade.* Read his *Life* before the laſt Edition of his Works (20).

[*K*] *Came off at a ſmall Expence.*] I find three Paſſages relating to this, in the Works of the *Ex-Jeſuit Jarrige.* The firſt is as follows: *Father* John Adam, *one of the beſt Preachers they have, interpreted the Treatiſe of Generation to one* Urſuline *of the Convent of St* Macaire, *and gave as exact a Deſcription of the Parts, which contribute to the Procreation of Children, as the Sieur* du Laurens *in his Anatomy* (21). The ſecond contains theſe Words; *All thoſe who were of the College of* Poictiers *in the Year* 1646. *know the Quarrel between* John Adam *and* James Biroat. *They attacked each other in ſuch an hoſtile manner,*

(16) *He publiſh'd a Book in* 1688. *entituled,* Of the Children which became famous by their Studies or their Writings.

(17) *Abridgment of Mr* Daillé's *Life, printed in* 1670.

(18) *Page* 39. *of the Edition of* Holland.

(19) *It was a Sermon on the Paſſion, preach'd by Father* Adam *at* St Germain de l'Auxerois.

(20) *That of the Year* 1697.

(21) Jarrige, *the Jeſuits plac'd on the Scaffold,* cap. 10.

ſpoke diſreſpectfully of St *Auſtin* [*L*], and who endeavour'd to perſuade, that St *Paul* often carry'd his Subject farther than it wou'd bear [*M*], thro' too lively an Imagination.

ner, that, by the Providence of God, all their Impurities came to Light, and James Biroat *remained convicted,* &c. (22) The third informs us (23), that *John Adam, the moſt excellent of their Preachers, was the Son of a Taylor*. Of theſe three Paſſages, the firſt alone can hurt the Memory of Father *Adam*; for the ſecond makes the Impurities, which were diſcovered in conſequence of their Quarrel, fall on *Biroat*'s Head alone. Thus all, that the ſcandalous Chronicle, and private Memoirs, had revealed to Father *Jarrige*, concerning Father *Adam*, is reduced to ſome Lectures of Anatomy read to a Nun, on the Generation of Children. Once again, this is to come off cheaply out of the Hands of *Jarrige*. This will be allowed me by any one, who reflects but the leaſt on the Character of that Author's Works. If he had told us the Nun's Age, we might form a better Judgment of the Nature of the Offence. To diſcourſe on ſuch Points before a young Nun is doubtleſs a great Sin, becauſe it is morally impoſſible but that ſuch a Converſation muſt excite in her impure Thoughts; but I would willingly have a Caſuiſt of good Senſe, who is neither of too looſe, nor too rigid Morals, examine this Queſtion; *Would a Nun of ſuch an advanced Age, that ſhe could hear a Lecture of Anatomy on the Organs of Generation, with the ſame Indifference as an Explication of the Parts of the Ear, commit a Sin by her Curioſity in hearing ſuch a Lecture?* I believe it will be granted me, that it is very lawful for a Woman, of what Condition ſoever, to be acquainted with all that is ſaid concerning the *Circulation of the Blood*: It is no Sin for her to know that the moſt ſubtle Parts of the *Chyle* paſs from the *Inteſtines* into the *Lacteal Veins*, and from thence ſucceſſively into the Reſervoir of the *Chyle*, into the *Ductus Thoracicus*, into the *ſubclavian Vein*, into the *hollow Vein*, into the right *Ventricle* of the *Heart*, into the *Artery* of the *Lungs*, into the *Vein* of the Lungs, into the left *Ventricle* of the *Heart*, and into the *great Artery*. There is no harm in her underſtanding the opening and ſhutting of the *Valves*, which are at the Extremities of the Veins and of the Arteries, the *Anaſtomoſes*, the Secretion of the *Urine*, &c. Why then would it be criminal in her to finiſh her *Courſe of Anatomy*, and to acquaint herſelf minutely with the Structure both of the Internal and external Parts, deſigned for the Procreation of Children? The Crime cannot conſiſt in the bare Knowledge of theſe things; it muſt conſiſt then in the impure Thoughts which might accompany, precede, and follow ſuch a Study: But I ſuppoſe, in the preſent Caſe, the Perſon to be as calm, as if ſhe was ſtudying the Anatomy of the *Ear*. This is the point, on which the Argument muſt turn. I do not ſet up here for a Caſuiſt, but leave the Queſtion to be decided by thoſe, to whom it properly belongs; and ſhall only remark, that, for the greater Security of their Virtue, it is better, that Perſons, who are not of a Profeſſion, which obliges them to know theſe things, and chiefly thoſe, who have made a Vow of Chaſtity, ſhould never have ſuch a Curioſity, or ever ſatisfy it: So that Father *Adam* could not have owned the Fact, without acknowledging that he had committed a Fault. The moſt charitable Conſtruction is, that his Pupil had a mind to apply this Maxim; *Amare licet, ſi potiri non licet. Dum caremus veris, gaudia falſa juvent.— We may love, tho' we can't enjoy*; and, *whilſt we are deprived of real Pleaſures, let us divert our ſelves with imaginary ones.*

[*L*] *He was not the firſt, who ſpoke diſreſpectfully of St* Auſtin.] Mr *Sarrau* in a Letter to Mr *de Saumaiſe* in 1646, tells him that the Jeſuits affirmed every day from the Pulpit, that St *Auſtin* was not a Rule of Faith, and that he had advanced many things indiſcreetly, to clear himſelf from the Objections, which were made to him. *Non eſt hic Pater regula fidei. Ut ſe expediret ab argumentis hæreticorum ſui temporis multa liberius & inconſideratius dixit quibus non tenemur* (24). Father *Adam*, four Days after his Sermon, confeſſed to a Perſon, who repreſented to him the Prejudice his Sermon might cauſe, *That* Gabriel à Porta, *a Jeſuit, ſaid often, that it were to be wiſhed that St* Auſtin *had never wrote concerning Grace* (25). Some Divines had very freely declared, long before the Birth of *Janſeniſm*, that St *Auſtin* had puſhed things too far, and that when he determined to oppoſe certain Errors, he receeded ſo far from them, that he generally ran into the oppoſite Extream; For Example, when he oppoſed the Error of the *Pelagians*, he ſeemed to incline too much towards that of the *Manichees*; and, in oppoſing the *Manichees*, he ſeemed to adopt the Hereſy of *Pelagius*. An *Iriſhman*, whoſe Name is *Paul Leonard*, cites *Genebrard*, *Cornelius Muſſus*, Biſhop of *Bitonto*, *Cajetanus*, and *Sixtus Sinenſis*, for this (26). But Father *Annat* cites many others in the ſame Book; wherein he endeavours to prove that St *Auſtin* is not of *Janſenius*'s Opinion (27). See what Father *Norris* anſwered to that great Cloud of Witneſſes, produced againſt the great Biſhop of *Hippo*. Some Proteſtants are not far from the ſame Thought, that St *Auſtin* over-ſtrained things. I do not ſpeak of the *Philoſophical Commentary* (28), wherein Father *Adam*'s Judgment is approved in ſome meaſure; nor of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle* (29), wherein St *Auſtin* is repreſented juſt as Father *Adam* could have deſired it: I ſpeak of Mr *Daillé*, who not only involves St *Auſtin* in the general Accuſation he raiſes againſt the *Fathers*, of ſeeming to fall down one Precipice, when they would ſhun another (30), but charges him likewiſe with having treated his Subjects too much after the fluctuating manner of the *Academic Philoſophers* (31). A little Book was publiſhed ſome time ago, entituled, *An important Advice to Mr* Arnaud, *on a Project of a new Bibliotheque of* Janſeniſt *Authors*; which ſpeaks of a third Party then forming, which was to be neither *Janſeniſt*, nor *Moliniſt*, and which would place St *Auſtin* between Heaven and Earth, neither too high, nor too low. Such a Medium would reconcile Animoſities, if People would but be reaſonable. Upon this Scheme, every one would be at liberty to be *Janſeniſt* or *Moliniſt*, as he pleaſed. Ought it not to ſuffice the Jeſuits that St *Auſtin* is not a Rule of Faith? Or do they require more in the Books, out of which the Deputies of the *Janſeniſts* extracted above an hundred Propoſitions levelled againſt the Authority of this Father? (32)

[*M*] *To perſuade, that St* Paul *often carried his Subject farther than it would bear.*] There is a Paſſage of Father *Cauſſin* in the Cenſure of Father *Adam*'s Sermon (33) where St *Paul* and St *Auſtin* are compared to "two great Seas, which pour ſo violently over one
"Shore, by the impetuoſity of the Wind, that they
"ſeem as if they would leave the other dry for a
"while; but as the Ocean after having ſpread itſelf
"largely on one ſide, returns within the Bounds pre-
"ſcribed to it by God; ſo theſe, after having launch'd
"out againſt the rebellious Spirits, which riſe againſt
"the Truth, return to a peaceable Equality, to edify
"the Houſe of God *." This is that Wheel which takes more Turns than it is commanded, to which we have ſeen that Miniſter compare the prophetic Spirit (34). St *Paul* and St *Auſtin* overflow their Banks ſometimes, but, like the Tide, they return afterwards to the Bounds which God has ſet them. A fine way of anſwering all the Paſſages of St *Paul* which diſpleaſe! It is but ſaying he had then overflowed all the Country, and that his Return muſt be expected into the Channel, which God had allotted him. Sir *Edwin Sandis* informs me of a thing, which is too much to the Purpoſe to be omitted here. He ſays (35), *I have it from very good Hands, that in* Italy *they have ſuch a lively Jealouſy againſt ſome Parts of the Scripture, and chiefly againſt the Epiſtles of St* Paul, *that not long ago ſome Jeſuits, exalting* St Peter *as an excellent Man, in their public Sermons, and among their Favourers in private Converſation, cenſured St* Paul *as a Perſon of a petulant and hot Brain, who in moſt of his Diſputes had ſuffered himſelf to be carried away ſo immoderately by the Sallies of his Zeal, and the Acrimony of his Spirit, that no great account was to be made of his Aſſertions; and that the reading of him is very dangerous, ſavouring of Hereſy in divers Places; and perhaps it had been better that he had never writ. In conformity to which I have heard* Roman *Catholics ſay many times, that they have already often conſulted among themſelves about cenſuring and reforming St* Paul's *Epiſtles. Though, to ſpeak my Sentiments, I cannot give credit to it; the*

A Doubt propoſed to the Caſuiſts on an Anatomical Curioſity.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Jarrige, *Anſwer to* James Beaufés, cap. 14.

(24) *See Sarrau's Letter*, pag. 196.

(25) *Defence of St* Auſtin *againſt Father* Adam, pag. 24.

(26) Paul Leonard's *Anſwer to the* Expoſtulat. contra Scientiam mediam, pag. 117, 118.

(27) Annati Auguſtinus vindicatus à Bajaniſ.

(28) *Part* 3. *pag.* 4. *See alſo the Supplement*, p. 2.

(29) Tom. 14. pag. 287.

(30) Daillé *of the Uſe of the Fathers*, pag. 153.

(31) Ibid. pag. 393.

(32) *In* 16[illegible]3. *See the Hiſtorical Memorial concerning the five Propoſitions*, p. 82.

(33) Pag. 17.

* *In his* Holy Court, Tom. 3. Maxim 6. *of Predeſtination.*

(34) *Above, towards the end of the Remark* [*E*].

(35) Account of Religion, chap. 26. pag. 215.

Undertaking in itſelf being ſo blaſphemous and abominable, and the Scandal ſo deſperate in theſe Times. But, however, it is certain, that they eſteem St Paul *below all the ſacred Writers: And I can affirm from my own Knowledge and Hearing, that ſome of them teach in their Pulpits, that that holy Apoſtle had no other Aſſurance of his Doctrine, than the Conferences he had with* St Peter; *and that he durſt not publiſh his Epiſtles before* St Peter *had approved them.* Behold the Abſurdity of theſe Men! If the Epiſtles of St *Paul* were approv'd by St *Peter*, they are as authentic as can be deſired.

ADAM (Melchior) liv'd in the XVIIth Century. The indefatigable Care he took to collect, frame, and publiſh the Lives of a great number of learned Perſons, deſerves, that ſomebody ſhould do him the like Office; and yet I think no body has yet done it. Mr *Moreri* undertook to record him, but he forgot his Promiſe when the Time of performing it preſented itſelf (*a*). The Promiſe and the Non-performance have ſubſiſted hitherto in all the Editions of his Dictionary (*b*). One would think it difficult to forget a Writer, to whom we are oblig'd for ſo many Articles. As for me, who find my ſelf very much indebted to his Labours, I would teſtify my Gratitude to him by giving the Particulars of his Life at large, but I can no where find the neceſſary Materials for it. All that I have met with is as follows: MELCHIOR ADAM was born in the Territory of *Grotkaw* in *Sileſia*, and perform'd his Studies in the College of *Brieg*, where the Dukes of that Name took great Care to encourage Literature, and chiefly the Reform'd Religion (*c*), I mean that, which a *Roman*-Catholic would call *Calviniſm*. The young Man learn'd to be a good Proteſtant in that School. To continue his Studies, he had his Share in the Bounty, which a great Lord (*d*) beſtow'd for the Maintenance of a certain number of Scholars. He became Rector of a College at *Heidelberg* (*e*), and it was in that City that he publiſh'd the firſt Volume of his *Illuſtrious Men* in the Year 1615. The firſt Volume, which contain'd the *Philoſophers*, and, under that Name, the Poets, the Humaniſts, the Hiſtorians, *&c.* was follow'd by three others: That, which contain'd the *Divines*, was printed in the Year 1619. That of the *Civilians* follow'd it; and laſtly, That of the *Phyſicians*. Theſe two laſt were printed in 1620. All the Learned, whoſe Lives we ſee in theſe Four Volumes in 8*vo.* liv'd in the XVIth. Century, or in the beginning of the XVIIth. and are *Germans* or *Dutchmen*; but there is a Series of twenty Divines of other Countries, whoſe Lives our Author publiſh'd ſeparately in the Year 1618. All his Divines are *Proteſtants*. Although he compos'd but few Lives, yet he beſtow'd much time on that Work, and took great pains with it, becauſe he abridg'd the Writings, which furniſh'd him with the Materials; whether they were Lives properly ſo call'd, or Funeral Orations, Programmas, Elogies, Prefaces, or Family Memoirs. I ſay nothing of the Summaries, which he plac'd in very great numbers in the Margin. He omitted ſome Perſons, who were no leſs conſiderable, than many of thoſe he has taken notice of [*A*]. The *Lutherans* are not pleas'd with him (*f*): they find him too partial, and will not allow his Collection to ſerve as a Rule to judge of the *German Literati* by (*g*). He died in the Year 1622. He compos'd other Works [*B*]. Conſult Mr *Baillet*, in the 177th and 178th pages of the 2d Tome of *his Judgment of the Learned.*

(*a*) *Under the Word* ADAM, *he ſays look for* Melchior Adam; *but when we turn to* Melchior, *we meet with nothing about him.*

(*b*) *This I wrote in* June 1698.

(*c*) Melch. Adam in Epiſt. Dedicat. German. Theol.

(*d*) Joach. Bergerus. *See the Epiſtle Dedic. of his* German Philoſophers.

(*e*) Henn. Witte, Diarium Biogr.

(*f*) *See* Konig, Bibl. Vet. & Nov. pag. 8. *who refers to* Henningus Witte, Præfat. Memor. Theologor. pag. 17, 18.

(*g*) Morhoſius Polyhiſt. pag. 192, 209.

[*A*] *He omitted ſome Perſons, who were no leſs conſiderable, than many of thoſe he has taken notice of.*] He acknowledges this himſelf; but he declares that there was no Affectation in it, and that a want of Memoirs was the only Cauſe of it. He propoſed to himſelf to ſupply this Defect in ſome other Volumes. Theſe are his Words; "Quædam mihi monendus aut rogandus "es, mi lector. Primum ne præteritos aut omiſſos "non paucos queraris, haud indignos, qui hoc in "theatro appareant. In eo mea, mi lector, culpa "nulla eſt: ſed penuria fecit hiſtoriæ; quam nanciſci "nullam uſpiam potui. Malui itaque prorſus tacere "de multis præſtantibus viris; quàm, ut ille de Carthagine, pauca dicere, & trita illa *Natus eſt*; *obiit*; "ſcribere. Suppleri tamen poterit hic defectus, volente Deo, & mutuas operas tradentibus bonis patriæque amantibus; ſi hujus Voluminis tomus ſecundus fuerit adornatus. Quod idem dictum volo, "de reliquis vitis *Juriſconſultorum & Politicorum*, "*Medicorum*, ac *Philoſophorum* (1). —— *I have ſome "things, Reader, to inform you of, and ſome things "to requeſt of you. Firſt, that you would not complain of the Omiſſion of many Perſons, not unworthy to appear upon this Stage. The Fault, Reader, "is not my own, but is owing to the want of Materials, "which I could by no means procure. I choſe therefore "to ſay nothing of many excellent Perſons, rather, "than like him of* Carthage, *to ſay but little, and to "write down the thread-bare Account*, He was born; "he died. *However, this Defect may be ſupplied, "God willing, and by the Aſſiſtance of good Men, "and Lovers of their Country; when the ſecond "Tome of this Work ſhall be prepared. Which Notice I deſire may be underſtood to regard the other "Lives of* Civilians, Politicians, Phyſicians, *and* Philoſophers."

[*B*] *He compos'd other Works.*] To wit, *Apographum monumentorum Heidelbergenſium. Notæ in Orationem Julii Cæſaris Scaligeri pro M. T. Cicerone contra Ciceronianum Eraſmi. Parodiæ & Metaphraſes Horatianæ* (2). It is not true, as is aſſerted in the Catalogue of *Oxford*, that he was the Author of an *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Eccleſiæ Hamburgenſis & Bremenſis.* It is the Work of a Canon of *Bremen*, whoſe Name is *Adam*, who lived in the XIth Century. *Conringius* and *Poſſevinus*, who placed him in the Xth, are miſtaken. See *Mollerus*, at the 65th Page of the firſt part of the *Iſagoge ad Hiſtoriam Cherſoneſi Cimbricæ.*

(1) Melch. Adam. Præfat. Theol. Germanor.

(2) Ex Diario Biogr. Hen. Witte.

ADAM, a Joyner of *Nevers*, and a *French* Poet. Look for **BILLAUT.**

ADAMITES (*a*), a ridiculous Sect, which, according to ſome Authors, was a Branch of the *Carpocratians* and *Valentinians* (*b*). *Theodoret* aſſigns one *Prodicus* as it's Founder [*A*]. St *Epiphanius* pretends, that they deriv'd their Name of *Adamites* from

(*a*) *St* Auſtin *gives them the Name of* Adamiani, *after St* Epiphanius, *who calls them* Αδαμιανοί.

(*b*) *See* Danæus *upon* Auguſt. de Hæreſ. cap. 31.

[*A*] Theodoret *aſſigns one* Prodicus *as it's Founder* (1)]. *Baronius* places him in the Year 120, and makes him more antient than *Valentinus*; which induces him in another place (2) to cenſure thoſe, who reckon him among the Diſciples of *Valentinus*. If this be true, *Lambertus Danæus*, whom I have cited, deſerves no Credit: I ſhall ſpeak of this *Prodicus* in a ſeparate Article.

(1) Theodoret. Hær. Fab. lib. I.

(2) Baron. ad Ann 175. num. 33.

from one *Adam*, who liv'd at the time, when they were ſo call'd (*c*). It is more likely, that *Adam*, the Stock of all Human kind was the Original, whence this Name was borrowed, as St *Auſtin* informs us (*d*); for theſe Wretches imitated the Nakedneſs, in which our firſt Parents liv'd, during the State of Innocency, and condemn'd Marriage, becauſe *Adam* did not know *Eve* till after his Fall, and Expulſion from Paradiſe. They believ'd, then, that if Man had perſevered in his Innocency, there would have been no Marriage. Therefore they made Profeſſion of Continency, and a Monaſtic Life (*e*). As for their Nakedneſs, they only obſerv'd it, when they were aſſembled for the Exerciſe of their Religion (*f*) [*B*]. Their Place of meeting was in a Stove, where they expell'd the Cold by means of a Fire kindled under the Chamber; they put off their Cloaths upon going into it; and Men and Women ſat together, the Eccleſiaſtics as well as the Laity, in the ſame condition as when they came out of their Mothers Womb. They ſeated themſelves without Order upon Benches, rais'd one above the other; then they perform'd their Devotions; after which they put on their Cloaths again, and went home. Whoever committed an offence, was no more receiv'd into their Aſſembly [*C*]. They ſaid, that ſuch an One, having, like *Adam*, eat of the forbidden Fruit, was to be driven, like him, out of Paradiſe; ſo theſe People call'd their Church. This is St *Epiphanius*'s Account of this Sect [*D*], not founded on the Authority of Books, or the Report of any one among them; but on the Relation of ſome other Perſons. He does not know, whether this Sect was entirely aboliſh'd in his time, or whether it was yet ſubſiſting

(*c*) Epiphan. in Synopſi Tomi 1. lib. 2. p. 397.

(*d*) Auguſt. de Hæreſ. cap. 31.

(*e*) *See the Remark* [*C*].

(*f*) Epiph. Hæreſ. 52.

[*B*] *They only obſerv'd it, when they were aſſembled for the Exerciſe of their Religion.*] *Danæus* is in the wrong, then, when he places among their Errors, that Chriſtians of both Sexes ought to go naked in the Streets. *Oportere Chriſtianos homines verſari in* PUBLICO, *in cœtu Eccleſiæ, in precibus, nudos, ſive mares ſint ſive fœminæ* (3).

[*C*] *Was no more received into their Aſſembly.*] St *Epiphanius* teſtifies, that theſe Perſons profeſt Continency, and the monaſtic Life, and that they condemn'd Marriage. Μονάζοντές τε, ϗ ἐγκρατευόμενοι ὄντες, ϗ γάμον μὴ δεχόμενοι (4). —— *Monachorum ac continentium inſtituta ſectantur, nuptiaſque condemnant*. So that we cannot doubt, but that their Diſcipline condemn'd Fornication and Adultery, and that they excommunicated thoſe from their Aſſemblies, who were guilty of theſe Crimes. And it is obſervable, that though this ancient Father will not allow of what the *Adamites* pretended, namely, that they ſtripp'd themſelves naked, becauſe they were no more aſhamed of their Nakedneſs, than *Adam* was; I ſay, it is remarkable, that though St *Epiphanius* rather attributes their Conduct to an inſatiable Luſt, which required Incitements in view (5); yet he does not ſay, that any impure Actions were committed in their Aſſemblies. So that *Baronius* falſly charges him with calling their Aſſemblies Brothels, *lupanaria*. He made uſe of the Terms φωλεὸς *latibulum*, and σπήλυγγα, *caverna* (6), implying a Den, Cave, or Cavern; as appears by his remarking, that it is the Name he would give to Hæretical Conventicles; where he plainly alludes to what is ſaid in the Goſpel, that They *(the Buyers and Sellers in the Temple)* had made the Houſe of God *a Den of Thieves* (7). The Notion of corporeal Impurity, or carnal Commerce between the Sexes, has no room here. Father *Gaultier* is much in the wrong then, to ſay, in citing St *Epiphanius*, That the *Adamites*, leaving their Cloaths at the Door of their Aſſemblies, mix'd indifferently with the Women, which fell in their Way, *mulieribus promiſcuè utentes* (8). As for the Citation of *Alphonſus de Caſtro*, which we ſee after That of St *Epiphanius*, in the Margin of Father *Gaultier*, it only multiplies the Number of Falſe Accuſers. *Lambertus Danæus*, who accuſes the *Adamites* of the ſame Impurity, does not cite St *Epiphanius*, but *Clemens Alexandrinus*, quoted by *Theodoret*. “Extinctis “in ſuo cœtu lucernis, promiſcue coëunt, quemad-“modum ex Clemente Strom. notat Theodoretus (9). “—— *Putting out the Lights in their Aſſemblies*, “*they mix promiſcuouſly, as* Theodoret *remarks from* “Clement. Strom.” It will ſoon appear that this Paſſage was not produc'd to the purpoſe. It is ſomething ſtrange, that neither St *Epiphanius*, nor St *Auſtin*, heard of any ſuch thing; for Fame ſeldom lets ſuch Tranſactions die, when once it has them in her Power, unleſs they are found to be notoriouſly falſe. Yet it does not always happen that Fame loſes it's hold even in this Caſe. See, in the following Remark, the means of reconciling theſe two Fathers with *Clemens Alexandrinus*.

[*D*] *This is St* Epiphanius'*s account of this Sect.*] He does not ſay, that every Man ſeiz'd his Woman in their Aſſemblies: This has been touch'd upon in the preceeding Remark. Neither does he impute to them the Hereſies of *Prodicus* which Father *Gaultier* gives a Liſt of (10), and which *Moreri* imputes to them in general. But *Moreri* is not ſo much to blame in this, as in aſſerting, That St *Epiphanius* calls their Temples *infamous Places on account of the abominable Crimes, which they committed in thoſe Caves of Horror and Proſtitution*. This Author adds, That *they rejected Prayer*. *Danæus* ſays the ſame, on the Credit of *Clemens Alexandrinus*. “Deum “à nobis precandum & orandum eſſe negant, quia “ſcit ipſe per ſe quibus egeamus. Clemens hoc de “illis tradit. *Lib.* 7. Strom. (11) —— *They deny,* “*that we ought to pray to God, becauſe of himſelf* “*he knows our Wants.* Clemens *reports this of* “*them in his* Strom. Book 7.” Yet St *Epiphanius* and St *Auſtin* ſay the contrary; Γυμνοὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐκ μητρὸς --- συνάγονται, καὶ ȣ̔́τως τὰς ἀναγνώσεις καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ πᾶν ὁτιȣ̃ν ἐπιτελȣ̃σι. *They aſſemble, as naked as they came out of their Mothers Wombs, and in this Condition they read and ſay their* PRAYERS, *and perform their other Exerciſes of Religion.* Thus ſpeaks St *Epiphanius*, in the Summary of the 2d Book of the 1ſt *Tome*: And St *Auguſtin*'s Words are, “Nudi itaque “mares fœminæque conveniunt, nudi lectiones au-“diunt, nudi ORANT, nudi celebrant ſacramenta “(12). —— *The Men and Women meet together na-*“*ked; they hear Sermons naked; they ſay their* “*Prayers naked; and adminiſter the Sacraments* “*naked.*” The means of reconciling theſe two laſt Fathers with *Clemens Alexandrinus* would be, to ſuppoſe that the *Adamites*, to whom the latter gives *Prodicus* for Founder, did not follow all the Errors of *Prodicus*. This Suppoſition has nothing extraordinary in it. Generally thirty or forty Years are ſufficient to render the Principles of a Sect very unlike thoſe of it's Founder. Therefore it betrays want of exactneſs to attribute all the Extravagancies of *Prodicus* to the *Adamites*, under pretence that he was their Founder. In truth it is certain, from the Teſtimony of St *Epiphanius* and St *Auſtin*, that they ſtript themſelves quite naked in their Aſſemblies; but *Clemens Alexandrinus* (ſo far is he from ſaying any ſuch thing of the Followers of *Prodicus*) obſerves, that before they came to an Engagement, they caus'd the Candles to be taken away, which might have put them to the bluſh. Τὸ καταισχῦνον αὐτῶν τὴν πορνικὴν ταύτην δικαιοσύνην ἐκποδὼν ποιησαμένȣς φῶς τῆς τȣ̃ λύχνȣ περιτροπῆ μίγνυσθαι (13). *Lumine amoto, quod eorum fornicatoriam hanc juſtitiam pudore afficiebat, averſa lucerna coire.* So that *Danæus* had no Reaſon to apply to the *Adamites*, what that Father reported of the Followers of *Prodicus*. In a Word, when I conſider the Calumnies of the Pagans againſt the Primitive Chriſtians, and thoſe of the Catholics againſt the Proteſtants, as to their Nocturnal Aſſemblies, I do not readily believe all the Imputations of the prevailing Party.

(3) Danæus, in Auguſt. de Hær. cap. 31. fol. 83.

(4) Epiphan. in Synopſi Tom. 1. lib. 2. pag. 397.

(5) Ἕνεκα ἀκορέςȣ ἡδονῆς κόραις ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμποιȣ́σης τὴν θέλξιν. Id inſatiatæ, libidini tribuunt quæ ejuſmodi oculis illecebras objicit. Epiphan. Hær. 52. pag. 460.

(6) Ibid. pag. 459.

(7) Matth. xxi. 12.

(8) Gaulter. Tab. Chronogr. Seculo 2. cap. 33.

(9) Danæus, ubi ſupra.

(10) Ubi ſupra.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Auguſt. de Hæreſ. cap. 31.

(13) Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. 3. pag. 43c.

ſubſiſting. *Evagrius* makes mention of ſome Monks of *Paleſtine*, who, thro' an exceſs of Devotion, and to mortify their Bodies, went, Men as well as Women, into ſolitary Places, quite naked, excepting thoſe Parts, which Modeſty forbids to name; where they expos'd themſelves in a very ſtrange manner [*E*] to the Extremities both of Heat and Cold (*g*). We ſhall ſpeak of the *Modern* ADAMITES, under the Article PICARDS. I find, that both Catholics and Proteſtants reproach each other [*F*] with having *Adamites* among them: but perhaps neither Party has more reaſon than the other for this Charge. If I had no other Authority, than that of *Lindanus* (*h*), I ſhou'd ſcarce believe, that, in the year 1535, *Adamites* were ſeen in *Amſterdam*, among the richeſt and moſt noble Families, who ran about ſtark naked; ſome of whom were fanatical enough to climb up on Trees, where they waited in vain for Bread to fall from Heaven to them, till they fell themſelves half dead to the ground. I ſhall quote an Author (*i*) in another place (*k*) who atteſts part of theſe Facts.

[*E*] *In a very ſtrange manner.*] They outdid the other Monks, whom the ſame *Evagrius* mentions; who, having no Garment of their own, (ſince the ſame, which one Monk wore one Day, ſerved another the next Day) had, at leaſt, the uſe of ſome Garment (14). The Solitaries, of whom I ſpeak, were ſatiſfied with wearing only a Girdle, and as for the reſt, they renounc'd Humanity as much as they could; they would not eat of the Food which ſerv'd other Men; but fed like Beaſts, and eat but juſt as much as would keep them alive: At laſt they became like Beaſts; their Figure alter'd, and their Sentiments alſo. When they ſaw other Perſons, they ran away, and if they found themſelves purſued, they fled, as fas as they could, to ſome inacceſſible Hole. Some of them appeared in publick again, and pretended to be Fools, to ſhew the greater contempt of Glory. They went to eat in public Houſes; they entered into the public Baths; they convers'd, and waſh'd, with the other Sex; but with ſo much Inſenſibility, that neither the Sight, nor Touch, nor even the embraces of a Woman, caus'd any Emotion in them. They were Men with the Men, and Women with the Women; they would be of both Sexes. Μετὰ ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἄνδρας εἶναι, μετὰ γυναικῶν τε αὖ γυναῖκας, ἑκατέρας τε μετέσχειν ἐθέλειν φύσεως, καὶ μὴ μιᾶς εἶναι· (15) —— *Cum viris quidem viri ſunt, fœminæ vero cum fœminis; non enim unius, ſed utriuſque ſimul ſexûs, eſſe cupiunt.* It is likely they had not much trouble in counterfeiting the Fool, and that they were ſo in reality; we may, at leaſt, apply to them what *Rutilius Numatianus* ſaid, though unjuſtly, of all kinds of Solitaries:

Quænam perverſi rabies tam ſtulta cerebri
Dum mala formides, nec bona poſſe pati (16)?

What Madneſs 'tis, whilſt Evil you avoid,
To fly the Good, and leave it unenjoy'd?

Laſtly, Their Nakedneſs was very contrary to the Principles of thoſe *Religious*, of whom I ſhall ſpeak in the following Remark, neither would it agree well with the Doctrine of Father *Sanchez*.

[*F*] *Reproach each other.*] Mr *Moreri* aſſures us, that there are *Adamites in* England, *who hold their Aſſemblies by Night, and teach only theſe Words,* Swear, Forſwear, *and do not diſcover the Secret.* It was proper to inform him, in the Edition of *Amſterdam*, that there were no ſuch People in *England*, *that the Civil Government there is too good to ſuffer an Infamy of that nature, which could not be concealed, and that it is likewiſe very improbable, that there are any in* Poland; for he had ſaid, that there are *ſtill remaining ſome of theſe miſtaken People in that Country.* He could not defend himſelf, by ſaying that he does not pretend, that theſe People ſhew themſelves naked in public, but only that they undreſs themſelves in their Nocturnal Meetings, which the beſt Government may be ignorant of; I ſay, he could not alledge this in his Juſtification, ſince he juſt before mentioned the *Adamites* of *Bohemia*, who went always naked, as is pretended. So that, if Mr *Moreri* underſtood what he ſaid, he muſt aſſert, that there are yet People in *England*, both Men and Women, who go always naked, out of a Principle of Religion. Now this is what the Government would not ſuffer, and cannot be ignorant of. Behold here a *Catholic* who maintains, that there are *Adamites* in *Proteſtant* Countries. I ſay nothing of thoſe idle and ridiculous Stories concerning *Holland*, which are to be ſeen in the *Sorberiana*, pag. 17. Let us produce, on the other ſide, a Miniſter who ſays there are Monks in *Italy* call'd *Adamites*, who go naked, in conſequence of the Vow they make, and in compliance with the moſt ſacred Rules of their Order. "Ac ne nunc quidem, *ſays* "*he* (17), nomen ejus *(hæreſis Adamianorum)* ex-"taret, niſi Monachi quidam, qui ſe falſo pietatis & "vitæ auſteritatis prætextu commendant, horum hæ-"reticorum impudentes prorſus mores retinuiſſent, "& inter ſanctiſſima ordinis & regulæ ſuæ præcepta "poſuiſſent, quales ii qui etiam nunc hodie Adamitæ "dicuntur, vigentque plurimum in Italia ——Vivunt, "enim nudi, non neceſſitate quidem adacti vel inopia "veſtimentorum, ſed ex voti profeſſione. —— *The* "*very Name of this Hereſy* (of the *Adamites*) *would* "*be extinct, did not certain Monks, who recommend* "*themſelves under the falſe Pretence of Piety and* "*Auſterity of Life, retain the very impudent Manners* "*of theſe Heretics, and place them among the moſt ſa*"*cred Precepts of their Order and Inſtitution; ſuch* "*as are Thoſe, who even at this time are called* Ada"mites, *and flouriſh chiefly in* Italy. —— *For they* "*live naked, not compelled by Neceſſity, or for want* "*of Garments, but in compliance with their Vow.*" I wiſh he had been more eager to prove this Fact, than to make a Compariſon between the Conduct of theſe People, and that of the ancient Monks, who never ſaw themſelves naked (18), and who ſaid, that a Man of their Profeſſion could not contemplate his own Nudity, without behaving unworthy of himſelf (19). A modern Caſuiſt, who is none of the moſt rigid (20), counts it nevertheleſs a venial Sin, *propria verenda aſpicere ex quadam curioſitate abſque alia mala intentione*; and a mortal Sin, *aſpicere verenda alterius ſexus, operta veſtibus ita ſubtilibus, ut parum aſpectui obſtent* (21). To ſee a Perſon, of a different Sex, ſwim naked, is, according to him, a mortal Sin. Two Men of a grave Character, as two Biſhops, who ſhould look upon each other naked, commit, ſays he (22), a mortal Sin. *De Bernia* tells us of a Man, who never handled his *Pudenda* without his Gloves (23). Why might not a Caſuiſt require, that a Man ſhould abſtain from touching them naked, as well as from contemplating them naked? An ancient Philoſopher, thro' an Affectation of Chaſtity, never touched them with, or without a Glove; he receeded in that reſpect very far from the Principle of *Anacharſis* (24). This ancient Philoſopher was the ſevere *Xenocrates. Ariſtoteles, irridens Chalcedonium Xenocratem, quod mejendo virilibus non admoveret manum, inquit, "puræ quidem manus at inquinata "mens* (25)."

We ſhall prove in the Remark [*N*] of the Article HADRIAN VI, that *la Mothe, le Vayer* ought not to have taken the Paſſage of *Bernia* in a literal Senſe.

ADONIS,

(*g*) Evagr. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. cap. 21.

(*h*) Lindan. Dubitantii Dial. 2. pag. 171.

(*i*) Lambert. Hortenſ. in Hiſt. Tumult. Anabaptiſt.

(*k*) *In the Remarks of the Article* PICARDS.

(14) Evagr. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 21.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Rutil. Itiner. lib. 1. ver. 445.

(17) Lamb. Danæus in Aug. Hær. cap. 31.

(18) Apud Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 4. cap. 23. & Sozomen. lib. 1. c. 13.

(19) *See in the* Hiſtoria Ludicra *of* Balthaſar Bonifacius, pag. 181. *how St* Jerome *maintain'd, that a Virgin ought to bluſh at ſeeing herſelf naked; and ſome Examples of this quoted by* Theodoret.

(20) Sanchez de Matrimon. lib. 9. Diſputat. 46. n. 27, 28.

(21) Ibid. n. 25, 26.

(22) Ib. n. 27, 28.

(23) Apud la Mothe le Vayer, Hexam. Ruſt. pag. 79.

(24) *See* Plutarch de Garrulitate, pag. 505, & Clemens Alexand. lib. 5. Stromat. pag. 568.

(25) Athen. lib. 12. p. 530.

ADONIS, Minion of the Goddeſs *Venus*, was the Son of *Cinyras* King of *Cyprus* [*A*]. The Poets have pretended, that *Myrrha* (*a*), that King's Daughter (*b*), became ſo deſperately in Love with her Father, that ſhe caus'd her ſelf to be introduc'd into his Bed, without his knowing who ſhe was. Some ſay ſhe made uſe of the Artifice of *Lot*'s Daughters (*c*). *Adonis* was the Fruit of this Inceſt. He was perfectly beautiful, and appeared ſo lovely in the Eyes of *Venus*, that ſhe ſtole him away [*B*], and devoted herſelf wholly to his Company. Heaven itſelf ſeem'd an unpleaſant abode to her in Compariſon of the Hills and Woods, where ſhe follow'd *Adonis*, who was a great Hunter [*C*]. Judge whether the Poets did not exert all the Figures of their Art (*d*), to repreſent the inexpreſſible Grief, which ſeized the Heart of that Goddeſs, when a wild Boar had kill'd her dear *Adonis* [*D*]. Never was a Mourning

[*A*] *The Son of* Cinyras *King of* Cyprus.] Almoſt all Authors agree that *Cinyras* reigned in that Iſland (1), though ſome have ſaid, that he firſt reigned in *Aſſyria* (2). See the Article BYBLUS. *Ovid* makes him to be born in the Iſland of *Cyprus*; but he ſays, That *Myrrha*, flying from her Father who would have killed her, after he had diſcovered her Inceſt, travelled through *Arabia*, and was delivered of *Adonis*, in the Country of the *Sabæi* (3). He would have done well to have remarked in few Words, that *Cinyras* had paſt from the Iſland of *Cyprus* to *Arabia*, or that *Myrrha* had embarked in that Iſland. When *Adonis* was born, his Mother had been already metamorphoſed into the Tree, from whence Myrrh diſtils. We underſtand from *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Hephæſtion*, That *Venus*, ſeeking *Adonis*, of whoſe Death ſhe had heard, found him at *Argos*, a City of *Cyprus*, in the Temple of *Erithian Apollo*. Whence ſome have affirmed, that he was killed in that Iſland. *Propertius* is of this Number, when he ſays in the thirteenth Elegy of the ſecond Book,

> Teſtis, qui niveum quondam percuſſit Adonim
> Venantem Idalio vertice, durus aper.

> *Witneſs the cruel Boar, fated to kill*
> Adonis, *hunting on th'* Idalian *Hill.*

There was a Temple of *Adonis* and *Venus* at *Amathûs* in the Iſland of *Cyprus* (4). *Strabo* ſays, that *Byblus* was the Reſidence of King *Cinyras*, and that there were ſome Temples of *Adonis* to be ſeen there (5). Note, That *Antoninus Liberalis* relates, that *Myrrha*, whom he calls *Smyrna*, was born on Mount *Libanus*, and that her Father's Name was *Theias* (6). *Panyaſis* plainly gave him the ſame Name, and not that of *Thoas*, as we read at preſent in *Apollodorus* (7). We read the ſame likewiſe in *Probus*, on the tenth Eclogue of *Virgil*, with this additional Circumſtance, that the ſaid *Thoas* was King of *Syria* and *Arabia*: *Probus* borrowed this from *Antimachus*.

[*B*] *She ſtole him away.*] This Fact was but little remarked by the ancient Writers: I wonder at it; for it was univerſally known. The Painters made it the Subject of their Pictures, as they did the Rape of *Ganymede*. This *Plautus* informs us of.

> ME. Dic mihi; numquà vidiſti tabulam pictam in pariete,
> Ubi aquila catamitum raperet, aut ubi Venus Adoneum?
> PE. Sæpe (8).

> ME. *Tell me; did you never ſee a Picture on a Wall, where the Eagle carries away the Catamite, or* Venus Adonis?
> PE. *Often.*

[*C*] *An unpleaſant Abode to her in compariſon of the —— Woods, where ſhe followed* Adonis, *who was a great Hunter.*] Read this Paſſage of *Ovid*:

> Abſtinet & cœlo: cœlo præfertur Adonis:
> Hunc tenet: huic comes eſt: aſſuetaque ſemper in umbra
> Indulgere ſibi, formamque augere colendo,
> Per juga, per ſilvas dumoſaque ſaxa vagatur (9).

> *Ev'n Heav'n itſelf with all it's Sweets unſought,*
> Adonis *far a ſweeter Heav'n is thought.*
> *On him ſhe hangs, and fonds with every Art,*
> *And never, never knows from him to part.*
> *She, whoſe ſoft Limbs had only been diſplay'd*
> *On roſie Beds beneath the Myrtle Shade,*
> *Whoſe pleaſing Care was to improve each Grace,*
> *And add more Charms to an unrivall'd Face,*
> *Now, buſkin'd, like the Virgin Huntreſs, goes*
> *Thro' Woods, and pathleſs Wilds, and Mountain Snows.*
> EUSDEN.

Virgil repreſents *Adonis* under another Idea than that of a Hunter,

> Nec te pœniteat pecoris, divine poeta,
> Et formoſus oves ad flumina pavit Adonis (10).

> *The Sheep ſurround their Shepherd, as he lies:*
> *Bluſh not, ſweet Poet, nor the Name deſpiſe;*
> *Along the Streams his Flock* Adonis *fed,*
> *And yet the Queen of Beauty bleſt his Bed.*
> DRYDEN.

Few Authors, I think, have repreſented this Favourite of *Venus* under the Character of a Shepherd. *Servius*, upon this Paſſage, relates ſome Particulars no leſs different from the common Tradition, than This. Some have ſaid, that he was inſpired by the Muſes with this Inclination for Hunting (11). It ſeems they bore a Grudge to *Venus*, for cauſing ſome of them to fall in Love with Mortals. To be revenged of her, they ſung ſeveral Airs before *Adonis*, which gave him a violent Paſſion for Hunting. Perhaps he became odious to *Diana* upon this Account: for two of a Trade ſeldom agree. Whence ſome have ſaid, that *Diana*'s Anger was the Occaſion of a wild Boar's killing this Boy (12).

[*D*] *When a wild Boar had killed her dear* Adonis.] *Theocritus* feigns, that *Venus*, having cauſed the wild Boar to be brought before her, chid him roughly; but that he alledged in his Excuſe the violent Paſſion, which had ſeized him at the Sight of ſo fine a Thigh: that he was eager to kiſs it; but did it in too paſſionate a manner; that he was ſo diſpleaſed with himſelf for what he had done, that he thought his Tusks deſerved to be cut off, and that he burnt them himſelf (13). Thus a learned and polite Writer (14) explained the laſt Verſe of that Idyll of *Theocritus*. The Editions have it ἔκαιε τὼς ἔρωτας, *exuſſit amores*; but he believes it ſhould be read ὀδόντας, *dentes*, inſtead of ἔρωτας. This cruel Kiſs puts me in mind of a Thought of the Chevalier *Marini*: He introduces the God *Pan*, who boaſts that the Spots which are ſeen in the Moon, are Impreſſions of the Kiſſes he gave it. Surely he attacked her very forcibly. What Careſſes! by adding a little more to them, they would be like thoſe of Apes, who, it is ſaid. ſmother their young ones ſometimes with embracing them. What would *Horace* have ſaid to this, ſince upon a much ſlighter Occaſion, he expreſſes himſelf thus,

> ſive puer furens
> Impreſſit memorem dente labris notam.
> Non ſi me ſatis audias
> Speres perpetuum dulcia barbare
> Lædentem oſcula, quæ Venus
> Quinta parte ſui nectaris imbuit (15).

> *Or, when the ruffling amorous Youth*
> *Hath preſs'd thy Lips with eager Tooth,*
> *And left a Mark behind:*

(*a*) *See the Article* MYRRHA.

(*b*) Ovid. Metam. lib. 10. v. 337.

(*c*) Hygin. cap. 164.

(*d*) Ovidii Metam. lib. 10. Bion εἰδύλλ. α. *See alſo* Theocritus, εἰδύλλ. λά. *and among the Moderns Mr* Menage *in his* Greek *Poems*, pag. 167.

(1) *See* Meurſius *of the Iſland of* Cyprus, lib. 2. cap. 9.

(2) Apollod. lib. 3. pag. 238.

(3) Metam. lib. 10. ver. 480, & 513.

(4) Pauſan. in Bœoticis.

(5) Strabo, lib. 16. pag. 520.

(6) Antonin. Liberalis, cap. 34.

(7) *See* Muncker's *Notes on* Hygin. cap. 58.

(8) Plaut. in Menæchmis Act. 1. Sc. 2. v. 34.

(9) Ovid. Metam. lib. 10. ver. 532.

(10) Virgil. Ecl. 10. vers 18.

(11) Tzetzes *on* Lycophron.

(12) Apollod. lib. 3. pag. 238.

(13) Theocriti Εἰδύλλ. 31, *or* 30. *according to other Editions.*

(14) Mr de Longe-Pierre: *See his Tranſlation of* Bion, pag. 47. *Edit. of* Paris 1686.

(15) Horat. Od. 13. lib. 1.

Mourning more famous, and more immortaliz'd than this; Almoſt all the People in the World perpetuated the memory of it by a long Train of Anniverſary Ceremonies [*E*]. Some Authors ſay, that it was not a wild Boar, but a God under the Form of that Beaſt, who kill'd *Adonis*. According to ſome it was *Mars* (*e*); according to others *Apollo* (*f*). The former ſay, that *Mars* did it to ſatisfy his Jealouſy, and to be reveng'd of *Venus*, who preferr'd this Rival before him. The latter ſay, That *Apollo* was hurry'd to this Exceſs of Violence, to revenge his Son *Erymanthus*, who was ſtruck blind, for having ſeen *Venus*, while ſhe was bathing, being newly come from the Arms of her *Adonis* (*g*). The place of the Wound ſeems to indicate ſome principle of Jealouſy.

Trux aper inſequitur, totoſque ſub inguine dentes
Abdidit (*h*).

And now too late to fly the Boar he ſtrove,
Who in his Groin his Tuſks impetuous drove. Eusden.

But the ſecond Tradition does not agree with their Account, who reported that *Adonis* was an Hermaphrodite, who enjoy'd *Venus* as a Male, and, as a Female, gave himſelf to *Apollo* (*i*). Others, without aſcribing to him both Sexes, have not ſcrupled to ſay that he was the Minion of *Venus* and *Bacchus* [*F*]. There is a Scholiaſt, who aſſures

(*e*) Servius in Eclog. 10. Firm. Matern. pag. 22. Nonnus. Dionyſ. l. 41. Cyrillus in Eſaiam.

(*f*) Ptolem. Hephæſt. apud Phot. pag. 472.

(*g*) Διότι ἴδοι λȣομένην Ἀφροδίτην, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδώνιδος μίξεως. Quod poſt congreſſum cum Adonide lavantem Venerem vidiſſet. *Ibid.*

(*h*) Ovid. Metam. lib. 10. ver. 715.

(*i*) Ptolem. Hephæſt. ubi ſupra, pag. 485.

Coy Lydia, *all thy Hopes are vain,*
Still to endure the pleaſing Pain
Of a ſurprizing Kiſs;
Which Venus *doth in Nectar ſteep,*
And hang upon the balmy Lip,
To draw us on to Bliſs.
Creech.

Perhaps we may ſpeak of theſe amorous Bites under the Article FLORA.

Note, That a very good Critic has informed me that the Correction ὀδόντας for ἔρωτας is not neceſſary. He ſays, *the true Explication of that Verſe is, That the Boar* τῷ πυρὶ προσελθών, *caſting himſelf into the Fire,* ἔκαιε τώς ἔρωτας, *burnt at the ſame time his Love. There is not only Reaſon, but alſo ſome Wit in ſaying, that this Boar, being firſt burnt by his Love, had in his turn found the means to burn it.* Politian *made uſe of this Thought in the Epigram, which he made on* Picus Mirandula *who caſt his Love Verſes into the Fire. Add to all this, that it is very difficult to imagine how the amorous Boar could have put his Teeth into the Fire, and burnt them, without burning himſelf likewiſe.*

[*E*] *Long Train of Anniverſary Ceremonies.*] *Ariſtophanes*, in his Comedy of *Peace*, reckons the Feaſt of *Adonis* among the chief Feſtivals of the *Athenians*. Almoſt all the People of *Greece* celebrated it: The Women acted the chief Part in it, in lamenting the Death of this Gallant, or Husband, of *Venus* (16). "Fœminæ miſerabili planctu in primævo flore ſucciſam ſpem gentis ſolitis fletibus conclamabant, ut "lacrymare cultrices Veneris ſæpe ſpectantur in ſollemnibus Adonidis ſacris (17). —— *The Women,* "*with mournful Cries, bewailed the Hopes of* "*the People cut off in the Flower of his Age;* "*in like manner as the Votaries of* Venus *are* "*often ſeen to do, upon the ſolemn Feſtivals of* "Adonis." They repreſented Funerals in Picture, as *Plutarch* tells us in the Life of *Alcibiades*, and in that of *Nicias*. The Courtezans were not the leaſt forward to celebrate this great Solemnity, as may be gathered from a Paſſage of the Poet *Diphilus*, reported by *Athenæus* (18). They did not forget to make two Beds, on one of which they laid the Figure of *Venus*, and on the other that of *Adonis*. This is what we learn from *Theocritus* (19). The Wits laugh'd at a religious Worſhip, which conſiſted in weeping. "Quid abſurdius, quam —— homines "jam morte deletos reponere in Deos, quorum omnis cultus eſſet futurus in luctu (20). —— *What* "*more abſurd, than to deify Perſons already dead,* "*whoſe worſhip was to conſiſt wholly of Grief?*" St *Auſtin* approves this Raillery; "Sacra ſunt Veneris, *ſays he* (21), ubi amatus ejus Adonis, aprino "dente extinctus, juvenis formoſiſſimus, plangitur. "—— *There are Rites of* Venus; *wherein her Favourite* Adonis, *a moſt beautiful Youth, killed by* "*the Tuſks of a Boar, is commemorated with Lamentations.*" The People of *Syria* were yet greater Fools in this reſpect, than the *Greeks*; for, not contented with Sighing and Weeping, they diſciplined themſelves likewiſe; and, after having whipped themſelves, and wept ſufficiently, they performed the Sacrifice of the Dead to *Adonis*, and ſhaved their Heads. The Women, who refuſed to be ſhaved, were obliged to proſtitute themſelves a whole Day to Strangers, and the Money which they got by it, was employed in a Sacrifice, which was offered to *Venus*. The Mourning ended with Joy; for they feigned that *Adonis* was reſtored to Life. *Lucian*, who tells us thoſe Circumſtances, ſays farther, that the *Syrians* pretended that *Adonis* was killed by a Boar in their Country (22). See the Remark [*I*] where we ſhall obſerve, among other things, that this Feaſt was ſtill celebrated at *Alexandria* in St *Cyril*'s Time. The Proceſſion was pompous; for the Queen herſelf carried the Image of *Adonis* in it. *Arſinoe*, the Wife of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, received the Incenſe of Praiſe from *Theocritus* for this (23). The Women, who accompanied the Queen, carried Flowers and Fruits, and a hundred other things. 'Tis ſaid, that all theſe, and the Image itſelf of *Adonis*, were to be caſt into the Sea, or into Fountains. See *Heſychius*, *Zenobius*, *Suidas*, the Scholiaſt of *Theocritus*, cited by *Faſoldus* at the ſeventy fifth and ſeventy ſixth Pages of his *Hierology* of the ancient *Greeks*. The Gardens of *Adonis* became proverbial to ſignify any thing of no long Continuance. It is plainly in this Senſe, that *Plato*, *Plutarch*, and the Emperor *Julian* made uſe of that Proverb; the Original whereof came from thoſe Pots and Baskets of Flowers, which were carried in Proceſſion at the Feaſt of *Adonis*. See *Eraſmus* at the twenty third Page of his *Adagies*. Laſtly, it is probable that the Celebration of this Feſtival continued as long at *Antioch* as at *Alexandria*. *Julian*, the Apoſtate, made his Entry into the firſt of thoſe Towns in the Year 362. when they celebrated the Feaſt of *Adonis* there, which was taken for a bad Omen. "Evenerat autem iiſdem "diebus annuo curſu completo Adonia ritu veteri "celebrari, amato Veneris, ut fabulæ fingunt, apri "dente ferali deleto. Et viſum eſt triſte, quod amplam urbem Principumque domicilium introeunte "Imperatore, nunc primum ululabiles undique planctus & lugubris ſonus audiebantur (24). —— *It* "*happened at the ſame time, that the annual Rites* "*of* Adonis *were celebrated, the Favourite of* Venus, "*as Story tells, who was killed by the Tooth of a* "*wild Boar. And it ſeemed ominous, that, upon the* "*Emperor's making his public Entry into a large* "*City, the Reſidence of Princes, there ſhould be heard* "*on all Sides Howlings and mournful Cries.*" A like Accident appeared a bad Omen to the *Athenians* upon two Occaſions (25).

[*F*] *Minion of* Venus *and* Bacchus.] In the Place, where *Athenæus* mentions ſome Examples of Ænigmatic Expreſſions (26), he does not forget the Oracle, which was given to *Cinyras*; It is as follows:

'Ω Κινύρα

(16) Venus *in the 31ſt Idyll. of* Theocr. *calls him her Husband.* Σύ μȣ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἔτυψας; Tun' meum virum percuſſiſti? Bion *in his Idyll. on the Death of* Adonis *repreſents* Venus βοόωσα πόσιν, *calling upon her Husband:* & Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. pag. 369. *ſpeaks of a* Venus *of* Syria, *married to* Adonis. *See the 15th Idyll of* Theocritus, & Firm. Maternus, de Err. Prof. Relig. pag. 21.

(17) Amm. Marcell. lib. 19. cap. 1.

(18) Athen. lib. 7. pag. 292.

(19) Theocr. Idyl. 15.

(20) Cicer. de Nat. Deorum. lib. 1. cap. 15.

(21) Auguſt. de Civitat. Dei, lib. 6. cap. 7. *See alſo* Firm. Matern. ubi ſupra.

(22) Lucian. de Dea Syria.

(23) Theoc. Eidyl. 15. *See the Summary of that Idyll.*

(24) Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 9.

(25) Plut. in Alcib. pag. 200. in Nicia, pag. 532.

(26) Athen. lib. 10. cap. 22. pag. 456.

aſſures us, that *Adonis* was beloved by *Jupiter* (*k*); and that *Proſerpine* fell in Love with him in Hell [*G*]. Yet ſhe had ſome Compaſſion for her diſconſolate Rival, who earneſtly deſir'd the Reſtitution of her Lover (*l*): She conſented to his Abſence for ſix Months, in favour of *Venus*. It was reported, then, that *Adonis* paſs'd ſix Months with *Venus*, and ſix Months with *Proſerpine*. The Scholiaſt, whom I have cited, contradicts himſelf hereupon [*H*]; and ſome do not ſpeak ſo advantageouſly of *Proſerpine*'s Complaiſance (*m*). This diviſion of the Year has been allegoris'd; as if we were to underſtand by it either the ſucceſſive Stages of the Seed, which at firſt lies under ground, and afterwards riſes above the Surface of the Earth (*n*), or the Period of the Sun's alternate Revolution thro' the Southern and Northern Signs of the Zodiac (*o*). Theſe Explications ſeem not ſo ſolid to me, as the Sentiment of thoſe, who reduce the Fable of *Adonis* to the Hiſtory of *Oſiris* (*p*). The Ancients do not agree about the Country, where the Scene of *Adonis* was laid; ſome placing it in *Syria*, others in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, or in *Egypt*, as will appear in the Remarks. Two things are related of *Hercules*, very oppoſite to each other, in relation to our *Adonis*; one is, that he was in love with him, and that Jealouſy made *Venus* direct the Centaur *Neſſus* how he might lay an Ambuſh for *Hercules* (*q*): The other, That this Hero, ſeeing many People come out of a Temple, in a City of *Macedonia*, had a mind to enter and perform his Devotions there; but, hearing that *Adonis* was the Divinity of the Place, he ridicul'd the Worſhip paid to him (*r*). Some report, that *Adonis* was born of *Jupiter*, without the concurrence of a Woman (*s*). St *Jerome* believ'd, that the Prophet *Ezekiel* ſpoke of the Feſtival of *Adonis* [*I*]. Laſtly, It is difficult

Ὦ Κινύρα βασιλεῦ Κυπρίων ἀνδρῶν δασυπρώκτων,
Παῖς σοι κάλλιςος μὲν ἔφυ θαυμαςότατός τε
Πάντων ἀνθρώπων, δύο δ᾽ αὐτὸν δαίμον᾽ ἔχητον
Ἡ μὲν ἐλαυνομένη λαθρίοις ἐρετμοῖς, ὁ δ᾽ ἐλαύνων·

A Son, O Cinyra, *is given to thee,*
Who faireſt of the Human Race ſhall be:
Two Deities his Favours ſhall conteſt;
One he ſhall preſs, by t'other ſhall be preſt.

Athenæus adds, that *Venus* and *Bacchus* are meant in theſe Lines; for both of them were in love with *Adonis*. *Plato*, the Comic Poet, had reported this Oracle (27). He is not the only Poet, who has taken notice of this Amour of *Bacchus*. We find two Verſes in *Plutarch*, which tells us, that *Bacchus*, having ſeen the Fair *Adonis*, in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, fell in love with him, and carried him away (28). What *Plutarch* adds, is curious, and may ſerve upon occaſion for a Leſſon to thoſe, who give us ſo many Oriental Genealogies of the Pagan Religion, and Mythology. One of the Perſonages of *Plutarch*'s Dialogue maintains very ſeriouſly and gravely, That *Adonis* and *Bacchus* are the ſame Divinity, and that the *Jews* abſtained from Swine's Fleſh becauſe *Adonis* was killed by a wild Boar. Now he pretends, that their Religion, their Feaſts, their Ceremonies were much the ſame with thoſe practiſed in *Greece* to *Bacchus*; and he ſays likewiſe, that their *Levites* were ſo called from Λύσιος, Εὔιος, *Lyſius*, *Evius*, two Names of that Deity. *Auſonius* declares, that *Bacchus*, *Oſiris*, *Adonis*, &c. were one and the ſame God (29). *Macrobius* goes yet farther (30).

[*G*] Proſerpine *fell in love with him in Hell.*] If we may believe *Apollodorus* (31), ſhe did not ſtay ſo long before ſhe fell in love with him; ſhe was enamoured of him in his very Cradle. *Venus*, being charmed with the Beauty of this Child, put him in a ſtrong Box, and ſhewed him only to *Proſerpine*; who proteſted that ſhe would keep him. *Jupiter* was obliged to decide the Quarrel; and this was his Sentence: That *Adonis* ſhould be at his Liberty the firſt four Months of the Year, and that he ſhould ſtay the next four with *Proſerpine*, and the laſt four with *Venus*. It had been better to have placed *Adonis*'s Portion in the middle of the Year; and perhaps it was ſo before the Abbreviators or Copiers of *Apollodorus* had put his Book into the Condition we now find it in. However it be, *Adonis* refuſed the Vacation which *Jupiter* allotted him, and renounced it in favour of *Venus*; for he preſented her with his own four Months. Others ſay (32), I. That the Muſe *Calliope* being charged with the Deciſion of the Diſpute by *Jupiter*, ordained that *Adonis* ſhould belong ſix Months to *Venus*, and ſix Months to *Proſerpine*. II. That *Venus*, angry that ſhe was not allowed to engroſs his whole Time, inſpired all the Women of *Thrace* with ſo violent a Paſſion for *Orpheus*, the Son of *Calliope*, that each endeavouring to take him from the other, tore him in Pieces. One of the Complaints, which *Venus* makes of her Son, in the Dialogues of *Lucian*, is, That he ſends her ſometimes to Mount *Ida* in ſearch of *Anchiſes*, and ſometimes to Mount *Libanus* for the fair *Aſſyrian*, half of whom he had robbed her of, by the Care he had taken to make *Proſerpine* in love with him (33). *Arnobius* (34), and *Clemens Alexandrinus* (35), mention this Goddeſs's Paſſion for *Adonis*; and it is without Reaſon that *Sylburgius* would place in the *Greek* Father Ἀϊδωνεῖ inſtead of Ἀδώνιδι; for if we ſhould read Ἀϊδωνεῖ we ſhould make *Clemens Alexandrinus* affirm a Faſhood, to wit, that *Proſerpine*'s Love for *Adonis* was an *Adultery*. *Meziriac* is the Author of this laſt Remark. See the 403d Page of his Commentary on *Ovid*'s Epiſtles. *Calliope*'s Judgment puts me in Mind of theſe two Verſes:

Et vitula tu dignus & hic, & quiſquis amores
Aut metuet dulces, aut experietur amaros (36).

So nice a Difference in your ſinging lies,
That both have won, or both deſerve the Prize.
Reſt equal happy both, and all who prove
The bitter Sweets and pleaſing Pains of Love.

DRYDEN.

[*H*] *Contradicts himſelf hereupon.*] He tells us, on the one ſide, and with little Probability, That *Adonis* abode ſix Months with *Proſerpine*, and ſix Months with *Venus*, without touching them, they having ſeparate Beds. Ἄνευ τȣ̃ συγκαθνεύδειν καὶ προςερνίζεσθαι (37); and, on the other ſide, that he paſs'd ſix Months in the Arms of *Venus*, and as many in the Arms of *Proſerpine*. Ἓξ μῆνας ἐποίησεν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις τῆς Περσεφόνης (38). Obſerve, that the like was related concerning the Agreement between *Ceres* and *Pluto*; namely, that *Proſerpine* ſhould remain ſix Months with Him, and that ſhe ſhould go and finiſh the Year with *Ceres*. The Ancients had not variety enough of Invention: they apply'd the unravelling of their Fables to too many Subjects. Beſides, *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and the Iſland of *Cyprus*, which were the Scenes of *Adonis*, are not diſtant enough from the Sun, from the Month of *September*, to the Month of *March*, to induce one to ſay, That *Adonis* is then in the Grave, or in the Shades below: And I wonder what Mr *Moreri* meant by his *ſix Months, in which the Days are ſo ſhort, and the Nights ſo long*. For in the Countries, which I ſpeak of, the Difference of the longeſt and ſhorteſt Day of the Year, gives no room for this Expreſſion. Many more things might be corrected in the *Adonis* of that Author.

[*I*] *That the Prophet* Ezekiel *ſpoke of the Feſtival of* Adonis.] St *Jerome* thought that the *Tammuz* in theſe Words of *Ezekiel*, *Then he brought me to the Door of the Gate of the Lord's Houſe, which was towards the North, and behold there ſat Women weeping for*

(*k*) Scholiaſt. Theocriti in Syracuſ. *ſive* Eidyl. 15.

(*l*) Selden. de Diis Syris, lib. 2. cap. 11. pag. 259. *and the Remark* [*I*].

(*m*) *See the Remark* [*G*].

(*n*) Scholiaſt. Theocriti Eidyll. 15.

(*o*) Macrobii Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 21.

(*p*) *See the third Volume of the* Bibliotheque Univerſelle, pag. 7. Berkelius *upon* Stephen *of* Byzant. *in the Word* Ἀμαθȣς.

(*q*) Ptol. Hephæſt. apud Photium, pag. 473.

(*r*) Scholiaſt. Theocriti, ad ver. 21. Eidyll. 5. *See alſo* Zenobius & Apoſtolius in Proverbiis.

(*s*) Val. Probus in Ecl. 10. Virgil. ex Philo-Stephano.

(27) In Adonide, apud Athen. lib. lib. 10. cap. 22. pag. 456.

(28) Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 4. cap. 5.

(29) Auſon. Epigr. 30.

(30) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 18, & 21.

(31) Apollodor. Bibl. lib. 3. pag. 240.

(32) Hygin. Aſtronom. lib. 2. cap. 7.

(33) Lucian. Dial. Veneris & Lunæ.

(34) Arnob. lib. 4. pag. 145.

(35) Clem. Alexandr. in Protrep. pag. 21.

(36) Virgil. Ecl. 3. v. 99.

(37) Scholiaſt. Theocrit. ad v. 21. Eidyl. 5.

(38) Ibid.

difficult to comprehend why the Ancients feign'd that *Venus* hid, or buried her Favourite under Lettuces [*K*], ſince they obſerv'd, that that Plant cauſes Impotency. Perhaps their Allegory may be explain'd, by ſuppoſing they meant, by it, that *Venus* had exhauſted her Favourite, and paſs'd him ſo often thro' the Alembic, that he was only fit to be compar'd to the *Terra Damnata*, and the *Caput Mortuum* of the Chymiſts: But they do not hint at any ſuch Meaning. They do not all agree, that he died of his Wound [*L*]. There was a River near *Byblus* call'd *Adonis*, which deſcended from Mount *Libanus*; it became red once a Year, becauſe the Winds drove a large quantity of Duſt into it of the Colour of Vermillion. They thought this a proper time to lament *Adonis*; it being the ſeaſon, when they ſuppos'd he was wounded on Mount *Libanus*, and his Blood ran down into the River (*t*).

for Tammuz (39), is *Adonis*. He did not forget to remark the two Faces, under which this Feſtival appeared: Firſt of all they bewail'd *Adonis* as dead; and afterwards they ſung, and celebrated him as reſtored to Life. *Plangitur à mulieribus quaſi mortuus, & poſtea reviviſcens canitur atque laudatur* (40). St *Cyril* relates ſeveral Particulars of This Feaſt: He ſays, That it was ſtill celebrated in *Alexandria* (41); and, when he explains theſe Words, *Wo to the Land —— that ſendeth Ambaſſadors by the Sea, even in Veſſels of Bulruſhes upon the Waters* (42); he will have it to be underſtood of the Letters, which were ſent to make known the Arrival of *Adonis*. " They took, *ſays he* (43), an earthen Veſſel, and " writing a Letter to the Women of *Byblus*, as if " *Adonis* were really found again, and putting it " into the Veſſel, they ſeal'd it up, and caſt it in" to the Sea, after having uſed ſome Ceremonies. " This Veſſel, as they aſſerted, came of itſelf to *By*" *blus*, on certain Days of the Year, and certain Wo" men, favour'd by *Venus*, having received it there, " ceas'd from weeping, after having open'd the Let" ter; as if *Venus* had found her *Adonis* again." *Lucian* ſays, That he ſaw the Paſt-board Head at *Byblus*, which the *Egyptians* ſent thither every Year, without any other Ceremony, than caſting it into the Sea. The Winds carry'd it directly to *Byblus*, in ſeven Days, which was the uſual time ſpent in going from *Egypt* to that City. *Procopius Gazæus* relates this as well as St *Cyril* (44). According to the latter, the *Greeks* believed, that *Venus* deſcended into Hell to recover *Adonis*; and, it being known, ſaid they, at her return, that ſhe had found him (45), it was proper that the mournful Beginnings of the Feaſt ſhould terminate in great Rejoicings.

[*K*] *Under Lettuces.*] It is *Callimachus* who tells us, That *Venus* hid *Adonis* under Lettuces (46). According to *Cratinus* ſhe did the ſame by *Phaon*, of whom ſhe was greatly enamour'd. What had *Athenæus* done with his Wits, when he advanc'd, that the Poets intended to ſignify by this Allegory, that Lettuces cauſe a kind of Impotence in thoſe, who commonly eat of them? Would *Venus* have made choice of them to cover her Favourites with, had they had ſuch an Efficacy? Would ſhe not have abhorr'd the very Name and Sight of them? Would ſhe not have fear'd, that the very touch of them would have been attended with ill Conſequences? Obſerve a Difference between *Callimachus* and *Eubulus*; the latter ſaid, That, when *Adonis* was dead, *Venus* buried him under Lettuces; from whence he infers, that That Plant is of no uſe but for the Dead (47). The Original of all theſe Stories might very well proceed from the Report, That *Adonis*, having eaten of a certain Lettuce, which grew in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, was kill'd by a wild Boar. They, who conſider in what part the Boar wounded him, will eaſily find the unravelling of all this. *Adonis* was become impotent, from having eaten too many of thoſe Lettuces: This is the Reaſon why it is feign'd, That afterwards he receiv'd a mortal Wound in the Groin. So that the Word καταφυγὼν ought not to be ſubſtituted in the room of καταφαγων (48); and it is much more reaſonable to think that *Nicander* ſpoke of this Lettuce, as having been the Food of *Adonis*, than to think, that he ſpoke of it as of an *Aſylum*, which *Adonis* ſought, to eſcape the Boar.

I muſt acquaint my Reader, that Mr *de la Monnoie* is not of this Opinion. He was pleaſed to communicate to me the following Remark upon this Subject. " The καταφυγὼν of the Manuſcripts is much to be " preferr'd before the καταφαγὼν of the printed Co" pies. *Nicander*, in the Place, which *Athenæus* " cites, ſpeaks of a kind of Lettuce, under which, he " ſays, *Adonis* took Shelter, when the Boar kill'd " him. This makes very good Senſe; whereas there " would be little Senſe in ſaying, That *Adonis* had " eat too much of that Lettuce, when the Boar kill'd " him; the Expreſſion would not be clear, nor co" herent, and it would only be a confus'd Mixture " of Allegory and Fable. Moreover it muſt be con" ſidered, that θρίδαξ being of the Feminine Gender, " there ſhould be ᾗς or ἣν καταφαγών, becauſe οὗ is " then adverbially taken for *quo*." It is certain, that *Caſaubon* prefer'd καταφυγὼν to καταφαγὼν (49). He confirm'd his Opinion by the Words, which are found in the ſame Page of *Athenæus*, ἐν καλαῖς θριδακίναις ἀποκρύψαι (50), *in pulchris lactucis abdidiſſe*: But he ſhould have obſerved that *Athenæus* does not report them, 'till after having quoted a long Paſſage of a Poet, who ſaid, That if any one eats of theſe Lettuces, he can do nothing with a Woman (51). Obſerve well, that this Poet's Words follow immediately upon what *Nicander* ſaid. Now it is a ſign that *Athenæus* did not write οὗ καταφυγών, but ἣν, or ᾗς καταφαγών. And it is a more evident ſign of it, becauſe we ſee, that That Author, having cited *Callimachus*, who ſaid, That *Venus* hid *Adonis* under Lettuces, obſerves that it is an Allegory, deſigned to ſhew that thoſe who commonly eat of that Herb, become weak and impotent with regard to *Venus*. Ἀλληγορούντων τῶν ποιητῶν ὅτι ἀσθενεῖς εἰσὶ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια οἱ συνεχῶς χρώμενοι θρίδαξι. *Ea quidem allegoria Poëtis innuentibus qui aſſidue lactuca veſcuntur ad venerem eſſe invalidos.* It is of no Importance, that *Nicander* has confounded Allegory with Fable: The Poets are full of ſuch Mixtures. Beſides it is obſervable, that he miſunderſtood the Word he would explain. Βρένθιν λέγεσθαι φησὶ παρὰ Κυπρίοις θρίδακα (52). *Lactucam à Cypriis dicit vocari Brenthin.* He miſtook a Firr-Tree for a Lettuce (53). This Miſtake induc'd him to alter the Tradition; for he was ſenſible, that it would be ridiculous, to ſuppoſe, that *Adonis* hid himſelf under a Lettuce; and therefore he ſays, that he fed upon it.

[*L*] *They do not all agree, that he died of his Wound.*] Conſult the third Volume of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle* (54). We may add to the Remarks we find there, a Paſſage of *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Hephæſtion* (55); it is That, where he ſays, that this Verſe of the *Hyacinthus* of *Euphorion*,

Κωκυτὸς μοῦνος τὸν ἀφέλκεα νίψεν Ἄδανιν,

Cocytus *only waſh'd* Adonis' *Wounds*;

was not underſtood. It ſignifies quite another thing, from what it is generally thought to imply; for it informs us, that one *Cocytus*, a Diſciple of *Chiron*, had cur'd *Adonis* of his Wound, receiv'd by the wild Boar. The Ceremonies of the Feſtival, may convince us, that *Adonis* did not die of it. His Votaries mourn'd at firſt, as if he were really dead, and afterwards rejoic'd, as if he were return'd into the World again. " It is obvious to conjecture, that this Fable " was built upon ſome ſtrong Expreſſions of the *Egyp*" *tians*, or the *Phœnicians*, who uſed to ſay, that " They, who recover'd from a great Fit of Sickneſs, " or eſcap'd any imminent Danger, were rais'd again " out of the Grave. Many Examples of it are found " in the *Pſalms* (56)." Add to this, " That it was the " Cuſtom of the *Oriential* Nations, to conſecrate " Golden Figures of the Parts of the Body, in which " they had ſuffer'd any Inconvenience. We find an " Inſtance of this in 1 *Sam.* vi. 4. *Adonis* having been " wounded in the Groin, and being cur'd of his " Wound, conſecrated a Golden *Phallus* —— They " had a very great reſpect for that Figure in the My" ſteries of *Oſiris* (57)." We find here a Confirmation of the foregoing Remark; The Clouds vaniſh, and

(*t*) Lucian. de Dea Syria.

(39) Ezek. viii. 14.

(40) Hieron, Comment in Ezech. lib. 3.

(41) Cyril. in Eſaiam, lib. 2.

(42) Iſaiah xviii. 1, 2.

(43) Cyrill. ubi ſupra.

(44) Procop. Gaz. *Comment in* Iſaiah xviii.

(45) Ἀνελθούσης δὲ ἐξ Ἅδου καὶ μὴν καὶ ηὑρῆσθαι λεγούσης τὸν ζητούμενον συνήδεσθαι καὶ ἀνασκιρτᾶν. Cyrill. ubi ſupra.

(46) Apud Athenæum, lib. 2. cap. 28. pag. 69.

(47) Apud Athen. ibid.

(48) *In the Paſſage of* Nicander, *reported by* Athenæus, ibid.

(49) Caſaub. in Athen. lib. 2. cap. 27. pag. 144.

(50) Caſaubon *ſays*, κατακρύψαι: *Which makes the ſame Senſe.*

(51) Amphis in Salemo.

(52) Athen. ubi. ſupra.

(53) *See the* Bibliotheque Univerſelle, Tom. 3. pag. 28.

(54) Pag. 31.

(55) Apud Photium, pag. 472.

(56) Bibliotheque Univerſelle, Tom. 3. pag. 31.

(57) Ibid. pag. 33.

and the Day begins to appear. *Venus* thought ſhe had loſt for ever, not the Life, but the Sex of her Huſband; whether it was that a wild Boar had actually injured him in That; or that Witchcraft, or ſome other Principle, unknown to us, had brought a fatal Mortification upon thoſe Parts. *Hinc illæ lacrimæ*; This was the Cauſe of her Tears. But the Wound, being heal'd, or the Charm remov'd, *Venus* was perſuaded, that her Huſband reviv'd again, and that he return'd to her from the loweſt depths of *Erebus*; and this was the Occaſion of her Joy: And, in order to preſerve the Memory of all this more myſteriouſly, and more honourably, the Feſtival of *Adonis* was ordered to be celebrated every Year, in ſuch and ſuch a manner. It would be eaſy to adapt the Explications of *Macrobius* to this Hypotheſis; his Sun deſcending to the inferior Parts of the Zodiac, and remounting afterwards to the ſuperior Parts; his wild Boar, the Image of Cold, and conſequently of thoſe, who are included in the *Canon-Law* under the Title *De frigidis & maleficiatis*; his *Venus* deſpairing, becauſe ſhe was the Widow of her Sun; and afterwards rejoicing at the return of that beautiful Luminary, which rendered her fruitful. Every body ſees, that it would not be difficult to make a proper uſe of the Agreement between *Venus* and *Proſerpine*; I mean thoſe Seeds concentered in the Boſom of the Earth for ſome Months, out of which they ſpring afterwards for the Propagation of the Species.

ADRASTUS, King of *Argos*, the Son of *Talaüs* and *Lyſianaſſa* (*a*), the Daughter of *Polybius*, King of *Sicyon*, acquir'd a great Reputation in the Famous War of *Thebes*, wherein he engag'd to maintain the Rights of his Son-in-Law *Polynices* [*A*], who was excluded from the Crown of *Thebes* by his Brother *Eteocles* (*b*), notwithſtanding the Agreement paſs'd between them. *Adraſtus*, being followed by *Polynices*, and *Tydeus* his other Son-in-Law, by *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon*, his Siſter's Sons, by *Amphiaraus*, his Brother-in-Law, and *Parthenopeus* (*c*), march'd againſt the City of *Thebes*; and this was the Expedition of the ſeven *Worthies*, ſo much ſung by the Poets: They all periſh'd in it, except *Adraſtus*, whom his Horſe ſav'd. It was a Horſe of conſequence, whoſe Name was *Arion*; we ſhall ſpeak of him in his place. This firſt War was follow'd by ſome others; for *Adraſtus*, not having been able to obtain the Bodies of the *Argians*, who were kill'd before *Thebes*, had recourſe to the *Athenians* (*d*), who, under the Conduct of *Theſeus*, conſtrain'd the new King of *Thebes* (*e*) to comply with *Adraſtus*'s Requeſt. This Satisfaction did not put an end to the War; for the Sons of thoſe, who had ſucceeded ſo ill in the firſt Expedition, wag'd a ſecond War, ten Years after, which was call'd the War of the *Epigones* [*B*], and ended with the taking and plundering of *Thebes*. None of the Chiefs periſh'd in it (*f*), except *Ægialeus*, the Son of *Adraſtus*. It was a kind of Compenſation, ſome times practis'd by Fortune (*g*). This Loſs touched *Adraſtus* ſo ſenſibly, being moreover weakened by old Age, that he died with Grief [*C*] at *Megara* (*h*), as he was leading the victorious Army back, which had taken the City of *Thebes*. It is a Proof, that he was perſonally preſent in the ſecond Expedition [*D*], which, nevertheleſs, but few Writers have taken notice of. Thoſe of *Megara* greatly honour'd his Memory; but it was nothing in compariſon of what thoſe of *Sicyon* did [*E*]. Theſe built him a Tomb in the moſt conſpicuous part of their City, and inſtituted Feaſts and Sacrifices to him, which they celebrated every Year with great Shew and Magnificence. We may ſee in *Herodotus* in what manner *Calliſthenes*, Tyrant of *Sicyon*, aboliſh'd

(*a*) Pauſan. lib. 2. pag. 50.

(*b*) Ibid. lib. 9. pag. 286.

(*c*) Hygin. cap. 70. Apollod. lib. 3. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 5. cap. 6.

(*d*) Pauſan. lib. 1. pag. 37.

(*e*) Eteocles *and* Polynices *had killed each other*.

(*f*) Hygin. cap. 71.

(*g*) *See the Remark* [*H*].

(*h*) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 41.

[*A*] *The Rights of his Son-in-law* Polynices.] *Pauſanias* ſays, that *Adraſtus* had married his Daughter to *Polynices*, before the Diſpute about the Succeſſion of *Thebes* (1); but others pretend, that this Marriage was not made, till *Polynices*, excluded by his Brother, had retir'd to *Adraſtus*. They relate, that *Tydeus* fled for Refuge thither at the ſame time, and that the latter of theſe two Refugees was cover'd with the Hide of a Boar, and the former with the Hide of a Lion; which was the reaſon of *Adraſtus*'s giving them his Daughters in Marriage; for he recollected the Oracle (2), which had commanded him to marry them to a Boar, and a a Lion (3). The Supplement of *Moreri* ſays falſely that *Tydeus*, being ask'd why he wore the Hide of a wild Boar, anſwer'd, that it was becauſe his Father *Oeneus* was the Conqueror of the *wild Boar* of *Calydonia*. He did not give this Anſwer; and it was not *Oeneus*, but *Meleager* who kill'd that furious Boar. The Oracle, which was given to *Adraſtus*, is likewiſe miſ-reported in that Supplement.

(1) Pauſan. lib. 9. pag. 286.

(2) *It is in the Scholiaſt of* Euripides, ad Phœniſſ. ver. 415. *See* Statius *alſo*, Theb. lib. 1. ver. 395.

(3) Hygin. cap. 69. Apollodorus, lib. 3. *ſays, That one of them bore the Head of a Boar on his Shield.*

[*B*] *The War of the* Epigones.] Had they been aware, in the compoſing of the third Volume of *Moreri*, that this War was only ten Years later than the Firſt, they would not have tranſlated the Word *Epigones* by, *they, who were born after the Siege of* Thebes: they would only have ſaid, *they who ſurviv'd their Fathers*: or, in general, *the Deſcendants of the firſt Chiefs*.

[C] *That he died with Grief.*] The Supplement pretends *that he caſt himſelf into his Son's Funeral Pile*, and cites *Hyginus*, Fab. 242. and *Herodotus*, Lib. 5. Now it is obſervable, that *Herodotus* ſays nothing of *Adraſtus*, which has been taken notice of in that Article of the Supplement. The only thing, which may be ſuſpected to have been borrow'd from *Herodotus*, is at the Beginning of the Article in theſe Terms: Adraſtus *was obliged to retire to King* Polybius, *in the City of* Sicyon, *who gave him a good Reception, and his Daughter* Amphitea *in Marriage*; but this does not agree with the Account of *Herodotus*, who ſays that *Polybius* left his Kingdom by his Will to *Adraſtus* his Daughter's Son. See the following Remark. The Citation of *Hyginus* is yet worſe; for *Hyginus* does not ſpeak of our *Adraſtus* there, but of another, who was the Father of *Hipponoüs*, and who caſt himſelf into the Fire to obey an Order of *Apollo*. *Hipponoüs* did as much, upon the ſame Principle. The Author of the *Index* of *Hyginus*, in the Edition of of *Amſterdam* in 1681. gives to *Hercules* for Sons the *Adraſtus*, and *Hipponoüs*, we are here ſpeaking of; and yet he pretends, that the ſame *Adraſtus* is the Father of *Ægialeus*, of whom *Hyginus* ſpeaks in the 71ſt Chapter, and who is manifeſtly the Father-in-law of *Polynices*, and the Son of *Talaüs*. He miſtook the Senſe of theſe Words: "Hercules Jovis filius ipſe ſeſe in ignem miſit. Adraſtus & Hipponoüs ejus filius ipſi ſe in ignem jecerunt ex reſponſo Apollinis (4). —— Hercules, *the Son of* Jupiter, *threw himſelf into the Fire*. Adraſtus, *and* Hipponous *his Son, threw themſelves into the Fire, in Obedience to the Oracle of* Apollo."

(4) Hygin. Fabul. cap. 242.

[*D*] *That he was perſonally preſent in the ſecond Expedition.*] I can add a ſecond Evidence to *Pauſanias*; I mean *Pindar*, who aſſerts poſitively, that *Adraſtus*, having collected, and taken away his Son's Bones, brought back his Army ſafe to *Argos* (5.) He does not, then, ſuppoſe he died by the way at *Megara*, as *Pauſanias* does; but ſtill theſe are two conſiſtent Authorities to ground the preſent Fact on, namely, that *Adraſtus* was at the ſecond War of *Thebes*.

(5) Pindar. Pyth. Od. 8.

[*E*] *In compariſon of what thoſe of* Sicyon *did.*] The Scholiaſt of *Pindar* (6) reports, that *Dieutuchides* maintains, that they had only the *Cenotaph* of *Adraſtus* at *Sicyon*, and that his real Tomb was at *Megara* (7).

(6) Schol. Pindari in Od. 9. Nem.

(7) Dieutuchides, lib. 3. Hiſt. Megaricæ.

liſh'd theſe Ceremonies, out of Hatred to the *Argians* (i). You muſt underſtand, that *Adraſtus* was King of *Sicyon* (k), in virtue of the Will of *Polybius*, his Grandfather by the Mother's ſide, to whom he once fled for Refuge, being conſtrain'd to depart out of *Argos* [*F*]; and that, during his Reign, he made the City of *Sicyon* very famous (l), by the *Pythian* Games, which he eſtabliſh'd there (m). Some Writers remark, that his Hereditary Kingdom was that of *Sicyon*, and that he obtain'd that of *Argos* by Election; the Mildneſs of his Nature occaſioning the *Argians* to invite him [*G*], to come and civilize their barbarous Manners. *Homer* does not ſay ſo much; but only, that he reign'd firſt at *Sicyon* (n). *Servius*, on Æneid. Lib. 6, gives the ſame account; and we read the ſame thing in *Pindar* (o), and in his old Scholiaſt. They give him commonly but two Daughters, *Argia*, the Wife of *Polynices*, and *Deipila* the Wife of *Tydeus* (p), but he had beſides two Sons, *Ægialeus* and *Cyanippus*: and a Daughter, whoſe Name was *Ægialea*, who married *Diomedes*, the Son of *Tydeus*, and gave him great uneaſineſs by her immodeſt Behaviour. Some ſay, that he was the firſt, who built a Temple to the Goddeſs *Nemeſis*, and that upon that account ſhe had the Name of *Adraſtea* [*H*]. But I am certain they confound him with another *Adraſtus*. He, who built the firſt Altar to that Goddeſs, erected it on the River *Æſepus* in *Phrygia* (q). We do not find that our *Adraſtus* was ever in *Aſia*; and yet we meet with a King of that Name in *Phrygia*, at the time of the Siege of *Troy* (r). There is more reaſon, therefore, to attribute the Eſtabliſhment of the Worſhip of *Nemeſis* to an *Aſiatic* Prince, whoſe Name was *Adraſtus*, than to a King of *Argos* of that Name. *Herodotus* ſpeaks of an ADRASTUS, who fled to the Court of *Crœſus* King of *Lydia*, and who kill'd that King's Son by an Accident (s). The Article of that *Adraſtus* in *Moreri*'s Dictionary is tolerably good [*I*].

(i) Herod. lib. 5. cap. 67.

(k) Id. ibid. *See alſo* Pauſan. lib. 2. pag. 50.

(l) Pindar. Nem. Od. 9.

(m) *The Scholiaſt of* Statius apud Barthium, Tom. 2. p. 361. *upon theſe Words of the* Thebaid, lib. 2. ver. 1–9. Quis te ſolio Sicyonis avitæ Excitum infrenos componere legibus Argos Neſciat?

(n) Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. ver. 79.

(o) Pindar. ubi ſupra.

(p) Statii Theb. lib. 1. ver. 393.

(q) Antimachus apud Strabo. lib. 13. pag. 405.

(r) Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. ver. 337.

(s) Herod. lib. 1. cap. 35. & ſeq.

[*F*] *Being conſtrained to depart out of* Argos.] It is ſaid, in the Supplement to *Moreri*, that *Adraſtus was driven out of the Kingdom of* Argos *by his Brother-in-law* Amphiaraus, *and obliged to retire to the City of* Sicyon; but, by an inexcuſable neglect, they have not cited any Authority for this. The Reader muſt traverſe a great deal of Ground to meet with Evidences. I have ſearched ſo long, that at laſt I have diſcovered the Source in *Pindar*, where I find that *Adraſtus* left *Argos*, and retired to *Sicyon*, by reaſon of *Amphiaraus*'s Attempts, and the overthrow of the Family of *Talaüs*, which were no longer in poſſeſſion of the Sovereign Power (8). That Poet adds, that *Adaſtrus* ſtopped the Courſe of this Evil; and that the Marriage of *Eriphyle* with *Amphiaraus* was the Bond which re-united the contending Parties, and quieted the Troubles. *Amphiaraus* was not therefore the Brother-in-law of *Adraſtus*, when the latter was obliged to retire to *Sicyon*. *Pindar* does not ſay, that this Fugitive Prince married King *Polybius*'s Daughter, nor that *Talaüs* was killed by *Amphiaraus*; but both theſe Facts, the former of which is ſo contradictory to *Herodotus*, are in the Scholiaſt of *Pindar*. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, That the Marriage of *Amphiaraus* with *Eriphyle* the Siſter of *Adraſtus*, did not appeaſe the Differences, ſince a little before the Wars of *Thebes*, the two Brothers-in-law were yet contending for the Crown (9). They were divided on another Point; *Amphiaraus* was unwilling to be of the Expedition, and *Adraſtus* paſſionately deſired that he might. *Eriphyle* was choſen Arbitreſs of their Diſpute, and gave the Cauſe for her Brother. *Apollodorus* ſays partly the ſame Thing, though confuſedly enough (10). *Barthius* has miſrepreſented what *Diodorus Siculus* ſays; for he ſuppoſes, that *Eriphyle* was the Daughter of *Adraſtus* (11). The *Latin* Tranſlation of that Hiſtorian, printed at *Baſil* in 1548. ſays falſly, That *Eriphyle* adjudged the Crown to her Huſband.

[*G*] *The* Argians *to invite him.*] If Mr *Moreri* had known this Particular, he would have taken care not to have affirmed, That Adraſtus *quitted the City of* Sicyon *after four Years Reign, without any body knowing the Reaſon of it, and came to reign at* Argos, *where he had two Daughters, &c* (12). However it be, here is a Subject for Hiſtorical Pyrrhoniſm; namely the Diſagreement of the Ancients about the two Kingdoms of *Adraſtus*; I mean in relation to the Title, and the Order of Succeſſion. See the Article TALAUS.

[*H*] *And that upon that Account ſhe had the Name of* Adraſtea.] The Scholiaſt of *Pindar* ſays, That this Name was given to the Goddeſs *Nemeſis*, on account of the Compenſation I have taken notice of. *Adraſtus* was the only Chief, who ſurvived at the firſt Siege of *Thebes*, and his Son was the only Chief, who was killed at the ſecond. The Balance is much more juſt, according to the Hypotheſis of thoſe, who aſcribe the whole Conduct of the ſecond War to the *Epigones*; but they who pretend that *Adraſtus* was preſent, and who give him the Glory of leading back the Victorious Army, neceſſarily ſuppoſe that he commanded there. He ſhould have periſhed, therefore, in this ſecond Expedition, to make the Balance even between Him and the ſix Colleagues who accompanied him in the firſt.

[*I*] *The Article of That* Adraſtus *in* Moreri's *Dictionary is tolerably good.*] I only find theſe ſmall Faults in it. I. He makes *Adraſtus* to be the Son of *Gordias*, inſtead of making him the Son of *Midas*, and Grandſon of *Gordius*, conformably to the *Latin* Tranſlation of *Herodotus*. I know very well that the *Greek* Text imports that he was the Son of *Gordius*, and Grandſon of *Midas* (13); but I am certain likewiſe on the one ſide, that *Moreri* had not Abilities to rectify Tranſlations by the *Greek* Originals; and on the other ſide, that there is a *Greek* Reading agreeable to that Tranſlation. II. He ſhould not have omitted, that *Crœſus* uſed ſuch Expiatory Ceremonies in favour of *Adraſtus*, as were uſed for the Purification of involuntary Homicides. III. It ought not to have beeen ſaid, That *Adraſtus* killed himſelf on the Body of the Son of *Crœſus*, but on his Tomb; for *Herodotus* notes, That *Crœſus*, having excuſed and comforted the Murtherer, cauſed his Son to be buried. IV. Laſtly, he ought not to have cited *Clio*, or *Li.* The Names of the Muſes, given to the Books of *Herodotus*, are of no uſe in Quotations, eſpecially when a *French* Book is compoſed for ſuch Popular Uſe as *Moreri*'s Dictionary; however he ought to have ſettled the diſtinct Eſtimate of *Clio*, by adding, *or, the firſt Book.*

(8) Pindar. Nem. Od. 9.

(9) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 5. cap. 6.

(10) Apollod. lib. 3. pag. 187.

(11) Barth. in Stat. Tom. 2. pag. 170. *See alſo pag.* 914.

(12) *He ſhould have ſaid three Daughters and two Sons.*

(13) Herod. lib. 1. cap. 35.

ADRIANI (JOHN BAPTIST) born at *Florence*, in the Year 1511, of a Patrician Family, wrote the Hiſtory of *his own Times* in *Italian*. His Work is a Continuation of *Guicciardin*, and begins at the Year 1536 [*A*]. Judgment and Sincerity, Diligence

[*A*] *And begins at the Year* 1336.] Not having it by me, I muſt be contented with the Teſtimony of *Thuanus*; but I apprize my Reader, That, according to *Spondanus* (1), our *Adriani* begun his Hiſtory at the Year 1537. and finiſhed it at the Year 1574. It comprehends twenty two Books, and was printed at *Florence* by the *Giunti*, in the Year 1583. in *Folio*, and at *Venice*, in two Volumes in 4to. in the Year 1527. *Marcello Adriani*, the Author's Son, publiſhed this Hiſtory, and dedicated it to *Francis de Medicis*, Great Duke of *Tuſcany*. It contains the Space of forty four Years, if we may believe *Bocchi* (2).

(1) Spond. ad Annum 1534. n. 11. pag. 426.

(2) Bocchi ubi ſupra. pag. 49.

Diligence and Exactneſs reign through out it; and it appears that *Coſmo*, Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, a Prince of a prodigious Genius, and conſummate Prudence, had communicated his Memoirs to the Author [*B*]. *Thuanus*, from whom I borrow this, acknowledges ingenuouſly, that he was oblig'd to this Hiſtory for many things, and that none ſupply'd him with more Materials (*a*). He thinks it ſtrange that the *Italians* do not conſider *Adriani* according to his Merit. Beſides this Hiſtory, there are extant ſix *Orations* of this Author's Compoſition, to wit, the Funeral Oration of *Charles* the Vth; that of the Emperor *Ferdinand*; that of *Eleonora* of *Toledo*, Wife of *Coſmo*, Duke of *Florence*; that of *Iſabella*, Queen of *Spain*; that of *Coſmo*, Great Duke of *Tuſcany*; and that of *Jane* of *Auſtria*, the Wife of *Francis de Medicis* (*b*). He died at *Florence* in the Year 1579. I believe him likewiſe to be the Author of *A long Letter concerning the Ancient Painters and Sculptors*, which we meet with at the beginning of the 3d Volume of *Vaſari*. He was the Son of the Learned MARCELLO VIRGILIO (*c*), Secretary of State to the Republic of *Florence*, and Profeſſor of Literature in that Univerſity. He ſucceeded him in the Place of Profeſſor (*d*), and left a Son nam'd MARCELLO ADRIANI, who was very learned, and who exercis'd the ſame Function (*e*), and took the Title of, *Il Torbido*, (*The Troubled*) in the Academy *de Gli Alterati* (*f*). There are ſome Authors, who find our *John Baptiſt* a little partial againſt Pope *Paul* III (*g*).

(*a*) Thuan. Hiſt. lib. 68. ſub fin.

(*b*) Jac. Rilli's *Literary Memoirs of the Univerſity of* Florence, pag. 45.

(*c*) Mich. Pocciantius de Script. Florent. p. 103.

(*d*) Rilli, ubi ſupra, pag. 253.

(*e*) Id. ibid. pag. 255.

(*f*) Bocchi *in the firſt Book of Elogies, publiſh'd with* Rilli, p. 48.

(*g*) Spondan. Annal. ad Ann. 1545. n. 18. pag. 492.

[*B*] *Had communicated his Memoirs to the Author.*] *Thuanus* had already declared his Opinion of this in the thirty ſeventh Book, on Occaſion of the private Conferences, which *Catherine de Medicis* had with the Duke of *Alba*, at the Interview of *Baionne*. *The Proteſtants*, ſays he, *who are a very ſuſpicious People* (3), *gave out, That the Extirpation of their Sect was contrived in theſe Conferences. What happened afterwards will plainly ſhew Poſterity whether it was falſe, or not.* He adds, That *John Baptiſt Adriani*, a very ſincere and judicious Hiſtorian, and whom, it is likely, the Memoirs of the Duke of *Florence* had ſupplied with many Particulars (4), has reported, that according to the Advice of the King of *Spain*, explained by the Duke of *Alba*, it was concluded in that Interview, That the Heads of the principal Proteſtants ſhould be cut off, and that afterwards they ſhould fall upon them all, after the manner of the *Sicilian Veſpers*. I wiſh *d'Aubigne* had not exceeded the Author, whom he copied. *Almoſt all Hiſtorians*, ſays he (5), *and among them* John Baptiſt Adrian, *who had the Cyphers and the Secrets of the Duke of* Florence, *unanimouſly agree, that the Wars of the* Netherlands, *and the Maſſacres, which followed afterwards, were projected there.* It is not to be queſtioned but that *Thuanus* is the Original which *d'Aubigné* copied; but does not the Copier give himſelf too much Liberty? Does he not lay that down as matter of Fact, which *Thuanus* only advanced as a Probability? Does he not ſpeak of the Great Duke's Cyphers and Secrets, of which *Thuanus* has not ſaid a Word? For *Commentarii* does not ſignify *Cyphers and Secrets*. The more heinous an Accuſation is, the more we ought to attend to the Terms of the Depoſition, even when Appearances are favourable, as in this Caſe. If *Zeiller* had caſt his Eyes on this Paſſage of *Thuanus*, he would not have ventured to ſay, that *Adriani's Hiſtory ended with the Death of* Charles V. (6)

(3) Genus hominum ſuſpicax. Thuan. lib. 37. p. 749. ad Annum 1565.

(4) Ex Coſmi Etruriæ Ducis Commentariis, ut vero ſimile eſt, multa hauſit. *Id. ibid.*

(5) D'Aubigné, Hiſt. Tom. 1. lib. 4. cap. 5.

(6) Zeiller. de Hiſtoricis, part. 2. pag. 1.

ADRIANUS, or *Adrian*, Emperor, Pope, *&c.* Look for **HADRIAN**.

ADRICHOMIA (CORNELIA), a Nun of the Order of St *Auguſtin*, in the XVIth Century, the Daughter of a *Dutch* Gentleman, acquir'd much Reputation by the Knowledge of Poetry, which ſhe made uſe of conformably to her Profeſſion; for ſhe tranſlated *David's* Pſalms into Verſe, and compos'd ſeveral other *Sacred Poems*. *James Faber Stapulenſis* admir'd this Lady's Wit and Learning. *Cornelius Muſius* kept a ſtrict, but very honourable, Correſpondence with her. This is what *Francis Swertius* relates of her (*a*). I wonder, that *Valerius Andreas*, whoſe Collection of the Writers of the *Netherlands* is much more copious, than that of *Francis Swertius*, takes no notice of this Illuſtrious *Dutch* Maid. He could not be ignorant of what the other had ſaid of her.

(*a*) Athen. Belgic. pag. 181.

ADRICHOMIUS (CHRISTIAN) was born at *Delft* in *Holland*, in the Year 1533. He was a Prieſt zealous for his Religion, and apply'd himſelf to Study. He was a conſiderable time Director of the Nuns of St *Barbara*, the Place of his Birth; but the Religious Civil Wars obliging him to go into Exile, he retir'd firſt into *Brabant* [*A*], and afterwards to *Cologne*, where he undertook a conſiderable Work, which was printed after his Death [*B*]. The Subject of it was a Deſcription of the *Holy-Land* in general, and of the City of *Jeruſalem* in particular; as we find by his *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, printed with Geographical Maps at *Cologne* in 1593 in *Folio*. It is pretty well eſteem'd, and would have been yet more, if the Author had not truſted too much to the *Manethon*, and *Beroſus*, and ſuch other Chimerical Writings, of the Monk *Annius* of *Viterbo*. He ſometimes aſſum'd the Appellation of *Chriſtianus Crucius*; under which Name he publiſh'd the Life of JESUS CHRIST at *Antwerp* (*a*), with an Oration *de Chriſtiana Beatitudine*, which was deliver'd in a General Chapter (*b*). He died at *Cologne* in the Month of *June* 1585, being the thirteenth Year of his Exile, and was bury'd in the Monaſtery of the Canoneſſes of *Nazareth*, of which he had been Director for ſome time (*c*).

(*a*) *In* 1578.

(*b*) *The* 23*d of July*, 1570.

(*c*) Ex Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. p. 131.

[*A*] *Into* Brabant.] The Author, quoted by Mr *Moreri* and my ſelf, expreſſes himſelf thus; *Inde à primis Geuſio-Calviniſtis pulſus, Machliniæ, Trajecti & Coloniæ vixit* (1). I do not queſtion in the leaſt, but that *Moreri* is miſtaken in taking *Trajectum* for *Utrecht*; he had better have tranſlated it *Maeſtricht*.

(1) Valer. Andreas Bibl. Belgic. pag. 132.

[*B*] *Which was printed after his Death.*] What Mr *Moreri* aſſerts, That *Adrichomius* himſelf publiſhed this Work, and that his *Theatrum Terræ ſanctæ* is diſtinct from the Deſcription of the *Holy-Land*, &c. is falſe.

ÆGIALEA, Daughter of *Adraſtus* King of *Argos*. See **EGIALÉA**.

ÆRODIUS, a Learned Civilian of the XVIth Century. Look for **AYRAULT**.

AFER (DOMITIUS) a famous Orator under *Tiberius*, and under the three following Emperors, was of *Niſmes* (*a*). After his Prætorſhip, not finding himſelf greatly rais'd, and being ambitious of exalting himſelf by any Method, he turn'd Accuſer againſt *Claudia Pulchra*, Couſin to *Agrippina* (*b*). He gain'd his Cauſe, and by this Succeſs he found himſelf in the Number of the Firſt Orators, and in the Favour of *Tiberius*, who bore an implacable Hatred to *Agrippina* [*A*]. The Commendations his Eloquence receiv'd from this Emperor made him reliſh the Trade; inſomuch that he was ſeldom without ſome *Accuſation*, or ſome *Defence*, upon his Hands; which gain'd greater Reputation to his Tongue, than his Honeſty; till at length he loſt much of his Fame, even as an Orator, when old Age, having wore out his Mind (*c*), could not prevail with him to leave off Pleading [*B*]. The Accuſation of *Claudia Pulchra* fell out in the Year of *Rome* 779. The Year after her Son *Quintilius Varus* was accuſed by the ſame Orator, and by *Publius Dolabella* (*d*). No body wonder'd, that *Afer*, who had been a long time poor, and who had not well manag'd the Gains of the former Accuſation, ſhou'd return to the Charge; but it was thought ſtrange, that a Relation of *Varus*, and of ſo great a Family, as *Publius Dolabella* was, ſhou'd join with this Informer. *Afer* died in the Reign of *Nero*, in the Year of *Rome* 812 (*e*). It was reported that he died at Table of exceſſive Eating (*f*). *Quintilian*, who, in his youth, was greatly attach'd to this Perſon [*C*], makes frequent Mention of him

(*a*) Euſeb. Chron. n. 2060.

(*b*) Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. cap. 52.

(*c*) Niſi quod ætas extrema multum etiam Eloquentiæ dempſit, dum feſſa mente retinet ſilentii impatientiam. *Id. ib. See in the Remark* [*B*] *a Paſſage of the 11th Chapter of the 12th Book of* Quintilian.

(*d*) Tacit. Annal. 66.

(*e*) Id. Ann. lib. 14. cap. 19.

(*f*) Euſeb. Chron. n. 2060.

[*A*] Tiberius, *who bore an implacable Hatred to* Agrippina.] This Princeſs was ſo well ſatisfied, that it was the Emperor, who occaſioned the Proceſs againſt her, that ſhe ſhewed no Reſentment for it to *Domitius*. The latter meeting her one day in the Streets, turned from her: She imagined this Behaviour proceeded from Shame, and having cauſed him to be called, ſhe bid him fear nothing, and told him, That it was not he, but *Agamemnon*, who was the Cauſe of all this: Θάρσει, Δομίτιε· ου γὰρ σύ μοι τούτων αἴτιος εἶ ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων. *Bono ſis animo, Domiti; non enim tu horum cauſa es, ſed Agamemnon* (1). It is a ſign that ſhe had read the *Iliad*.

[*B*] *Old Age, having wore out his Mind, could not prevail upon him to leave off pleading.*] This is too common an Infirmity. Few Perſons know how to retreat in time, or can ſay with *Horace*;

Eſt mihi purgatam crebro qui perſonet aurem;
Solve ſeneſcentem mature ſanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremus ridendus & ilia ducat (2).

There ſounds, methinks, ſtill thro' my well-purg'd Ear
A little Voice, fond Horace *have a care,*
And whilſt 'tis well releaſe thy aged Horſe,
Leaſt, when he runs but with unequal Force,
And ſtretches hard to win, he breaks his Wind,
And, laugh'd at, diſtanc'd, baſely lags behind.

CREECH.

Poets and Orators ought to be moſt careful of withdrawing from their Buſineſs at a proper time; becauſe they ſtand moſt in need of the Warmth of Imagination: yet it too frequently happens that they perſiſt in their Career till the loweſt Decline of Age. They think the Public is obliged to drink the very Dregs of their pretended *Nectar*. But, if formerly the Legiſlators limited the Time, wherein People might marry, (for they prohibited it to Women of 50 and Men of 60 Years of Age) (3) and, if they ſuppoſed that, after a certain Age, it was time to leave off thinking of Procreation, either becauſe of the Extinction, or the Weakneſs, of the Faculties; every Author ought, for the ſame Reaſon, to ſet Bounds to himſelf in the Production of Books, which is a kind of Generation, for which every Age is by no means proper. The Compariſon, which *Horace* makes uſe of, puts me in mind of a Precept, which *Virgil* has left us; and which old Poets ought to apply to themſelves.

Hunc quoque, ubi, aut morbo gravis aut jam ſegnior annis,
Deficit, abde domo, nec turpi ignoſce ſenectæ.
Frigidus in Venerem ſenior, fruſtraque laborem
Ingratum trahit, &, ſi quando ad prælia ventum eſt,
Ut quondam in ſtipulis magnus ſine viribus ignis,
Incaſſum furit (4).

But, worn with Years, when dire Diſeaſes come,
Then hide his not ignoble Age, at home.
For, when his Blood no youthful Spirits move,
He languiſhes, and labours in his Love.
In vain he burns, like haſty ſtubble Fires,
And in himſelf his former ſelf requires.

DRYDEN.

I ſay, old Poets ought to profit by this Leſſon, and not think to climb *Parnaſſus*, when they are become like that Horſe which *Pliny* ſpoke of, after *Ariſtotle* (5): "Generat mas ad annos triginta tres.——Opunte & ad quadraginta duraſſe tradunt adjutum modo in attollenda priore parte corporis.——*The Male generates till thirty Years of Age.—At* Opus *they ſay he holds out till forty, with the Aſſiſtance however of lifting up the fore part of his Body.*" They obſcure their firſt Glory by it, in Imitation of our *Domitius Afer*. See the Article **JOHN DAURAT**. Some dedicate their Muſes to *divine Poetry* in their old Age; theſe are commonly inſipid Productions (6): I ſay commonly, for there are very excellent Works compos'd by old Men on all Subjects.

[*C*] *Was greatly attach'd to this Perſon.*] *Charles Stephens, Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, in their Dictionaries, *Glandorpius*, at the 306th Page of his *Onomaſticon*, and others, remark, that *Quintilian* informs us of this Particular in his 5th Book: *Confitetur ſenem Domitium ſibi adoleſcentulo cultum:* But they all agree, that he adds, that the Authority, which *Domitius* had acquir'd, was much diminiſhed, *ſed priore autoritate multum imminuta.* I have not found this in that Paſſage of *Quintilian*; he ſays (7), "Sufficiebant alioqui libri duo à Domitio Afro in hanc rem compoſiti, quem adoleſcentulus ſenem colui, ut non lecta mihi tantum ea, ſed pleraque ex ipſo ſint cognita.—*The two Books of* Domitius Afer *upon this Subject were otherwiſe ſufficient; for I was a Follower of the old Orator in my Youth; ſo that I receiv'd Inſtruction as well from the Author, as his Writings.*" He ſhould have quoted the 11th Chapter of the 12th Book of *Quintilian*. It is there we meet with the Decline of *Domitius*'s Authority; which affords us a Confirmation of the Precept, which the Author had before given, concerning the Retreat, which Orators ought to make, when their Age will not ſuffer them to maintain their former Character. "Non quia prodeſſe unquam ſatis ſit, & illa mente, atque illa facultate prædito nonc onveniat operis pulcherrimi quam longiſſimum tempus; ſed quia decet hoc quoque proſpicere, ne quid pejus quam fecerit, faciat. Neque enim ſcientia modo conſtat Orator, quæ augetur annis, him (g). He tells us, that there were many agreeable Narrations in his Pleadings; and that there were public Collections of his Jeſts, ſome of which he relates. He mentions likewiſe two Books which this Orator publiſh'd concerning Evidences. It was well for him, on a certain occaſion, that he had a ready, as well as a flattering, Wit, or elſe he had been undone. It was when *Caligula* became his Accuſer (h), and pleaded in Perſon againſt him (i). *Domitius*, inſtead of defending himſelf, repeated that Prince's Plea [*D*], with ſigns of Admiration, and then kneeled down, and begg'd Pardon, declaring that he dreaded *Caligula*'s Eloquence, more than his Imperial Quality. He was not only pardon'd, but rais'd to the Conſulſhip, by the Deprivation of thoſe, who were then in Office. His Crime was very ſlight; he had erected a Statue to *Caligula*, and remark'd in the Inſcription, That that Prince was in his ſecond Conſulſhip, at the Age of 27 Years. He thought to make his Court by it; but the Emperor brought an Action againſt him for it, pretending that he reproach'd him for his Youth, and his infringing the Laws (k). *Afer* had ſome adopted Children: *Pliny* the Younger will inform you ſo, and tell you beſides ſome curious Circumſtances concerning them [*E*]. The Abbot *Faydit*, in his Remarks on *Virgil*, *pag*. 5. makes him of the Royal Family of the *Domitians*.

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(1) Dion. Caſſ. lib. 59. ad an. 792. pag. 752.

(2) Hor. Epiſt. 1. lib. 1.

(3) Quid eſt quare apud poetas ſalaciſſimus Jupiter deſierit liberos tollere? Utrum ſexagenarius factus eſt, & illi lex Papia fibulam impoſuit? *Lactant. lib.* 1. *cap.* 16. Capiti Papiæ Poppeæ legis à Tiberio Cæſare, quaſi ſexagenarii generare non poſſent, addito abrogavit. *Sueton. in Claud. cap.* 23. & *ibi Commentatores.*

(4) Virgil. Georg. lib. 3. ver. 95.

(5) Plin. lib. 8. cap. 42.

(6) *See* Baillet's *Judgment of the Poets,* Tom. 3. pag. 246. *See alſo what he ſays of Writings compos'd in old Age,* Tom. 1. *of his Judgment of the Learned*, pag. 389.

(7) Quintil. lib. 5. cap. 7.

(g) Quintil. lib. 5. cap. 7. & lib. 6. cap. 3. *See alſo* Pliny's Epiſt. 14. lib. 2. & ibi Catanæum, pag. 121.

(h) Dion Caſſ. lib. 59. ad Ann. 792.

(i) *He read his Plea.*

(k) Dion. lib. 59.

" annis, ſed voce, laterum firmitate; quibus fractis " aut imminutis, ætate, ſeu valetudine, cavendum " eſt, ne quid in Oratore ſummo deſideretur, ne interſiſtat fatigatus, ne quæ dicet parum audiri ſentiat, " ne ſe queratur priorem. Vidi ego longe omnium " quos mihi cognoſcere contigit, ſummum oratorem, " Domitium Afrum valde ſenem, quotidiè aliquid ex " ea quam meruerat autoritate perdentem, cùm, agente " illo, quem Principem fuiſſe quondam Fori non erat " dubium, alii (quod indignum videbatur) riderent, " alii erubeſcerent, quæ occaſio fuêre illis dicendi, " malle eum deficere quam deſinere. Neque erant " illa qualiacunque mala, ſed nimiora. Quare antequam in has ætatis veniat inſidias, receptui canet, " & in portum integra nave perveniet (8). —— *Not* " *that it is ſufficient once to have been uſeful, or that* " *the longeſt poſſible Continuance of ſo fine a Profeſſion is improper for a Perſon endu'd with theſe* " *Abilities; but becauſe he ought to provide againſt* " *this likewiſe, that he does not degenerate from his* " *former Excellency. For Science (which indeed increaſes with Years) will not alone make an Orator;* " *he muſt have Lungs, and Strength of Sides; and if* " *theſe are broken or impair'd by Age or Sickneſs, he* " *muſt take care that the great Orator is not found* " *deficient, that he does not ſtop ſhort for want of* " *Breath, that he is not ſenſible he is not heard, and* " *that he is not the firſt to complain of himſelf. I* " *myſelf ſaw the greateſt Orator, of all I ever knew,* " Domitius Afer, *in his very old Age, continually* " *loſing part of that Authority, which he had merited; inſomuch that, when he pleaded, (he, who undoubtedly was once the firſt at the Bar) ſome, which* " *appear'd very indecent, laugh'd, others bluſh'd for* " *him; which occaſioned them to ſay, they had rather* " *he would faulter, than conclude. Nor was this a* " *ſlight Inconvenience, but a Matter of great Conſequence. Wherefore an Orator, before he falls into* " *theſe Snares of Age, ſhould ſound a Retreat, and* " *ſail into Port with a ſound Veſſel.*" I omit *Moreri*'s great and capital Omiſſions; they may be well enough known only by comparing. I ſhall only remark, that his Citation of *Suetonius*, and of *Dion*, *in Caligula*, is nothing to the purpoſe. For beſides that it is not cuſtomary to cite *Dion* without refering to ſuch or ſuch a Book, and that it is only his Abbreviator *Xiphilinus*, who is cited with reference to ſuch or ſuch an Emperor, it is not true that *Suetonius* ſpeaks of *Domitius Afer*, either in the Life of *Caligula*, or in any Work, which we have remaining of his. So that, when *Scaliger* advances, in his Notes on the Chronicle of *Euſebius*, that what has been ſaid of that Orator by St *Jerome*, was taken out of *Suetonius*, he muſt neceſſarily have regard to Books that are loſt ſince the Death of That Father. Mr *Hofman* gives us two *Domitius Afers* inſtead of one, and makes uſe of the bad Citation, for which we have cenſur'd Mr *Moreri*.

(8) Quintill. lib. 12. cap. 11. pag. 590.

[*D*] *That Prince's Plea.*] *Caligula* was ſo charm'd with that Piece of his own, that when one of his freed Men, who had contributed much to pacify him, ventur'd to reproach him for the Proceſs enter'd againſt *Domitius*, he anſwered, *I ought not to have ſuppreſs'd a Diſcourſe of ſuch Importance.* As much as to ſay, *What, ſhould I have taken ſo much Pains about this Plea for nothing? ſhould I rather have renounc'd the Praiſes which my Rhetoric deſerv'd, than expoſe the Life of* Domitius? There are but too many great Men of *Caligula*'s way of thinking: They believe every thing ought to be ſacrificed to their Paſſions. They, who ſaid, that the Cardinal *de Lorrain* choſe to expoſe the Catholic Religion to all the Dangers of the Conference of *Poiſſy*, rather than deprive himſelf of the Honour of diſplaying his Learning and Eloquence upon that Occaſion (9), knew him pretty well.

(9) *See the Remark* [*D*] *of the Article* LORRAIN (Charles *of*).

[*E*] *Curious Circumſtances concerning them.*] *Domitius* adopted two Brothers, whoſe Names were *Domitius Tullus*, and *Domitius Lucanus*. He caus'd afterwards their Father's Eſtate to be confiſcated, and left them his own in ſome manner againſt his Intention; for it is very probable that he was prevented by Death from revoking the Will, which he had made in their Favour. *Domitius Lucanus*, Son-in-law of *Curtius Mantia*, render'd himſelf odious to his Father-in-law. He had a Daughter, in whoſe Favour *Mantia* would not make his Will, but on condition, that *Lucanus* ſhould ſet her at Liberty; but, when ſhe was made free, *Domitius Tullus* adopted her. This was a Colluſion of the two Brothers: They enjoy'd their Fortunes in common; wherefore, by the Daughter's being again in her Father's Power, by means of this Adoption, *Domitius Lucanus* came in for a ſhare of *Mantia*'s Inheritance, though the latter had uſed many Precautions to hinder him from it (10). *Domitius Tullus* was his Brother's Heir, preferable to the Danghter, who was common to them. He fed many with Hopes of being his Heirs; by which means he procured all the Careſſes, all the Preſents, and all the officious Aſſiduities, to himſelf, which are uſed to rich old Men, whoſe Inheritances are courted; but he deceived them all. The Young Lady, whom he had adopted, was his Heireſs, and all his Legacies were given to his Relations. He particularly remembered his Wife, for he left her a good Eſtate. She undervalued herſelf in marrying him, conſidering the wretched Condition, to which Age and Diſeaſes had reduced him. He might have diſguſted a Woman, in his Condition, though ſhe had been his Wife in his Youth and Vigour. How much more Reaſon was there for his being diſagreeable to a Wife, who began her Correſpondence with him when he was ſo infirm. Neverthleſs this Lady bore the diſtaſtfulneſs of her Condition ſo patiently, and ſupported her Husband's infirm and decay'd Life with ſo much Charity, that ſhe regain'd the good Opinion of the Public. This poor Wretch was ſo impotent in all his Limbs, that his Servants were obliged to waſh and clean his Teeth, which caus'd him to complain of being every Day obliged to lick his Slaves Fingers. Yet he had no mind to die (11). *Pliny*'s Words, which give us this Account, and which contain ſo many *Characteriſtics of Manners*, deſerve to be produc'd at length. " Accepit (*uxor*) amœniſſimas villas, accepit magnam pecuniam uxor optima & patientiſſima, ac tanto melius de viro merita, quanto magis " eſt reprehenſa, quod nupſit. Nam mulier, natalibus " clara, moribus proba, ætate declivis, diu vidua, " mater olim, parùm decorè ſequuta matrimonium " videbatur divitis ſenis, ita perditi morbo, ut eſſe " tædio poſſet uxori, quàm juvenis, ſanuſque duxiſſet. " Quippe omnibus membris extortus & fractus, tantas opes ſolis oculis obibat; ac ne in lectulo quidem, niſi ab aliis, movebatur. Quinetiam, fœdum

(10) Fuit fratribus illis quaſi fato datum, ut divites fierent invitiſſimis à quibus facti eſſent. ---- *It was the Fate of theſe Brothers, to become rich even in ſpight of thoſe, by whom they were made ſo.* Plin. Epiſt. 18. lib. 8.

(11) Ibid. pag. 493.

“ miſerandumque dictu, dentes lavandos fricandoſque præbebat. Auditum eſt frequenter ab ipſo, “ quum quereretur de contumeliis debilitatis ſuæ, ſe “ digitos ſervorum ſuorum quotidie lingere. Vivebat “ tamen, & vivere volebat, ſuſtentante maximè uxore, “ quæ culpam inchoati matrimonii in gloriam perſeverantia verterat (12). —— *She* (his Wife) *came* “ *into Poſſeſſion of the fineſt Villas, and a large Eſtate;* “ *a Wife, the beſt and moſt patient, that ever was,* “ *and who deſerv'd ſo much the more from her Huſband, as the Cenſure ſhe underwent in marrying was* “ *the greater. For it was thought ſcarce decent, that* “ *a Lady, of great Birth, of Reputation, advanc'd in* “ *Years, who had been long a Widow, and formerly a* “ *Mother, ſhould be fond of marrying a rich old Man,* “ *ſo worn with Diſeaſes, that he might have diſguſted* “ *a Wife, whom he had married in his Youth, and in* “ *Health. For he was ſo diſtorted and broken in all* “ *his Limbs, that he could only enjoy his great Wealth* “ *in Sight; nor even ſo, without being turn'd in his* “ *Bed by others. Nay, which is filthy and wretched* “ *to relate, he was oblig'd to have his Teeth waſh'd and* “ *clean'd by others. He was frequently heard, in complaining of his Infirmities, to ſay, that he every* “ *Day lick'd his Servants Fingers. Yet he liv'd, and* “ *deſired to live, being ſupported chiefly by his Wife,* “ *who turn'd the falſe Step of beginning ſuch a Marriage to her own Honour by perſevering in it.*” This Lady's Virtue would certainly have been more worthy Admiration, had ſhe foreſeen the long Continuance of her Husband's Infirmities. But, after all, ſhe deſerves to be praiſed; for tho' the hopes of purchaſing a large Jointure, at the price of ſome very vexatious, but ſhort, Diſguſts deceiv'd her, yet her Condition never appear'd to ſit uneaſy upon her; but ſhe did her Duty always with a good Grace. What fine Deſcriptions are there in that Letter of *Pliny!* how ſtrongly does that miſerable, impotent Wretch, in his Fears of Death, repreſent human Weakneſs! An Infirmity, of which we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere (13), and which was in thoſe Times much more ſcandalous than at preſent; for it was taken for a courageous and reſolute Action to put an end to too tedious a Sickneſs. How perpoſterous is it, on the other ſide, to ſee a Man, who had a Daughter, and Grand-children, give out that he expects an Heir out of another Family; and that they need only lay a formal Siege to his Inheritance to take the Place! What ſordid Traffic! What Cunning! It was ſuch like Perſons as this, who found their Account in thoſe, who courted their Inheritance.

—— Dominus tamen & Domini Rex
Si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvulus Aula
Luſerit Æneas, nec filia dulcior illo.
Jamdudum & carum ſterilis facit uxor amicum (14).

Woud'ſt thou become his Patron and his Lord,
Wou'dſt thou be in thy turn by him ador'd?
No young Æneas *in thy Hall muſt play,*
No ſweeter Daughter lead thy Heart aſtray.
O! how a barren Wife does recommend!
How dear, how pleaſant is a childleſs Friend,
Rev. Mr BOWLES.

But if this Avarice was baſe, That of the Perſons, whom it cheated, was no leſs ſordid. They would have been leſs blamable, if they had courted the Favour of one, who had no Children, and if they had not exclaimed againſt *Domitius Tullus*, after his Death. Their Complaints were laugh'd at, as they diſcovered their Shame; the deceaſed was praiſed, and his Conduct was thought uſeful to ſuch a corrupt Age as That. Let us once more employ *Pliny*'s Pencil. “ Varii tota civitate ſermones: alii fictum, ingratum, im“ memorem loquuntur, ſeque ipſos, dum inſectantur “ illum, turpiſſimis confeſſionibus produnt, qui de illo, “ uti de patre, avo, proavo, quaſi orbi querantur: alii “ contrà hic ipſum laudibus ferunt, quòd ſit fruſtratus “ improbas ſpes hominum, quos ſic decipere pro mori“ bus temporum prudentia eſt (15) —— *The whole City* “ *was divided; ſome call'd him falſe, ungrateful, and* “ *forgetful; and, whilſt they reproached his Memory,* “ *betray'd themſelves by ſcandalous Confeſſions, complaining of him, as if they had been diſinherited by* “ *a Father, Grand-Father, or Great-Grand-Father:* “ *others extol him for this very thing, in that he diſappointed the unreaſonable Hopes of ſome Men, whom,* “ *conſidering the Morals of the Times, it was Wiſdom ſo* “ *to deceive.*”

(12) Id. ib.

(13) *In one of the Remarks on the Article* MECENAS.

(14) Juven. Sat. 5. ver. 137.

(15) Plin. ubi ſupra.

AFRANIUS *Quinctianus*, a *Roman* Senator of a bad Reputation by reaſon of his infamous Lewdneſs, enter'd into the grand Conſpiracy againſt *Nero*, which coſt *Seneca* his Life, in the Year of *Rome* 818. He had a perſonal Reaſon to hate that Prince, who had compos'd a ſevere Satire in Verſe againſt him. He denied, a long time, that he was an Accomplice in that Conſpiracy, but confeſt it at laſt, in hopes of his Pardon. He ſhewed more Courage in his Death, than his manner of Life promis'd (*a*).

(*a*) Tacit. Annal. lib. 15. cap. 49, 56, 70.

AGAR *, the Handmaid, and afterwards the Concubine of the Patriarch *Abraham*, was an *Egyptian* (*a*). There is ſome probability, that he took her into his Service, when he was return'd from *Egypt*, and had recover'd his Wife, whom King *Pharaoh* had taken from him. But it is falſe to ſay, as the *Jews* do [*A*], That *Agar* was That King's Daughter. Every one knows, that *Sarah*, finding herſelf barren a long time [*B*], deſired her Huſband to try whether he could have Children by this Servant; and that *Abraham*, overcome by her Sollicitations, and doing alſo an Act

* *She is called* Hagar *in the* Engliſh *Verſion of the Bible.*

(*a*) Geneſis xvi. 1.

[*A*] *As the* Jews *do.*] It is thought that the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* was the firſt, who publiſhed this falſe Tradition. He pretends, that *Pharaoh*, having taken away *Sarah*, gave her his own Daughter *Agar* for an Handmaid; and that *Sarah* brought her with her into the Land of *Canaan*. Rabbi *Joſua* is of the ſame Opinion (1). Another Rabbi gives this turn to the Story; that *Pharaoh*, ſtruck with the Prodigies, which were wrought upon his own Perſon, ſince he had taken away *Sarah*, ſaid to *Agar*, *My Daughter, it is better for you to be a Servant in this Family, than Miſtreſs in another* (2). But *Abraham Zacuth* will not allow her to be of ſuch illuſtrious Extraction; he ſays, that ſhe was a Servant of *Churia*, the Wife of *Pharaoh*, and that *Churia* gave her to *Sarah*, after the Death of her Husband (3). St *Chryſoſtom* ſays, that *Pharaoh* himſelf gave this Handmaid to *Abraham* (4). The Scripture obſerves, indeed, that, among other Preſents, which he made him, he gave him *Women Servants* (5). If he gave him this Damoſel, we need not queſtion, but that he choſe her from among thoſe of a ſervile Rank. I could willingly believe, what *Philo* ſays, that ſhe embraced *Abraham*'s Religion (6); but as to what he adds, that That Patriarch abſtained from enjoying, her as ſoon as he perceived that ſhe was with Child, I am not concerned either to deny or affirm it. Theſe are Myſteries, which we ought not to pry into; it muſt be ſuppoſed that they paſt under the Veil of Night, or behind the Curtain, and we muſt leave them to the Covert of their natural Darkneſs. The *Jews*, always ſoaring up to the *Marvellous*, attribute *Agar*'s Converſion to the Miracles, which were performed in *Pharaoh*'s Houſe on Account of *Sarah*'s Rape (7).

[*B*] *A long Time.*] It is ſaid, in *Geneſis*, that *Abraham* had dwelt ten Years in the Land of *Canaan*, when he firſt lay with *Agar*; from whence the *Jews* have inferred, that an Husband ought not to cohabit with a Woman after he has found her barren for the Space of ten Years (8). An abſurd Conſequence; as well becauſe *Abraham* had been married above ten Years to *Sarah*, when ſhe propoſed her Handmaid to him (9), as becauſe he had not the

(1) R. Joſhua *the Son of* Karcha *in* Pirke Eliezer. cap. 26. apud Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. Tom. 2. pag. 192.

(2) Salom. Jarchi apud Heidegg. ib.

(3) *In the Book* Juchaſin apud Heidegg. ib.

(4) Apud Corn. à Lapide in Geneſ. p. 171.

(5) Geneſis xii. 16.

(6) *In his Book* de Abrahamo.

(7) Apud Corn. à Lapide, ubi ſupra.

(8) Aben-Ezra in Geneſ. xvi. 3. apud Heidegg. ib. pag. 197.

(9) Sarah's *Barrenneſs was known before* Abraham *went out of his Country to go to* Haran. *See* Geneſis xi. ver. 30.

Act of Obedience, according to the Tranſlation of ſome Interpreters [*C*], went in unto *Agar* with all the Succeſs that his Wife could have deſired; I ſay, his Wife; for it was upon her own Account, that ſhe deſir'd her Servant might bear Children, and, being incapable of giving her Huſband any Herſelf, ſhe was willing to oblige him by Proxy (*b*). They, who ſhall think it little agreeable to the Practice of our Age, that ſo much Sollicitation was requiſite to prevail with *Abraham* to comply with ſuch a Requeſt, and are chiefly ſurpriz'd that this Requeſt came from his own Wife, ought to remember, that all Times, and all Nations of the World, are not alike. However it be, *Agar*, finding herſelf with Child, became as proud, as if ſhe had done a very great Exploit; but her Inſolence was ſoon abated. *Sarah*, who could not brook her haughty Behaviour, treated her with ſuch Severity, as oblig'd her to leave the Houſe [*D*]. *Agar* did not return, till ſhe had humbled herſelf, according to the order ſhe had receiv'd from an Angel, who told her that ſhe ſhould be delivered of a Son, who ſhould quarrel with every body [*E*]; ſoon after which ſhe was deliver'd of *Iſhmael*, who was educated with his Father till he was at leaſt 15 or 16 Years of Age [*F*]. It is not known, whether theſe two Women agreed very well all that time; but we find that *Agar* was at laſt oblig'd to depart with her Son. *Sarah* would abſolutely have it ſo, becauſe ſhe had ſeen *Iſhmael mocking* at ſomething [*G*]. *Abraham* ſent the Mother and the Child away with a very ſmall *Viaticum*. The Bottle of Water, which he gave them, being emptied, poor *Agar* ſaw the Hour that her Son muſt die of Thirſt [*H*]. To avoid this Sight, ſhe went and ſat down at a diſtance from the

(*b*) Ecce concluſit me Dominus ne parerem, ingredere ad ancillam meam, ſi forte ſaltem ex illa ſuſcipiam filios: *Behold now the Lord hath reſtrained me me from bearing; I pray thee go in unto my maid, it may be that I may obtain children by her.* Geneſ. xvi. 1.

the leaſt Intention of forſaking her, after he had lived ten Years with her in the Land of *Canaan* without Iſſue.

[*C*] *Doing alſo an Act of Obedience, according to the Tranſlation of ſome Interpreters.*] The Vulgar Tranſlation ſays, *Cumque ille acquieſceret deprecanti*; and the Verſion of *Geneva*, *And* Abraham *obeyed the Word of* Sarah (10). St *Auſtin* gives this latter Senſe to the Words of *Scripture*; for, after having obſerved, that *Abraham* was ſo complaiſant, as to cohabit with, or to leave, *Agar*, juſt as it was agreeable to *Sarah*'s Inclinations, he makes this Exclamation, "O virum viriliter utentem fœminis, conjuge "temperanter, ancilla OBTEMPERANTER, nulla in"temperanter (11)! —— *O illuſtrious Man, in the "Uſe of Women a Man indeed; yet converſing with "his Wife temperately, with his Handmaid* OBE"DIENTLY, *and with no Woman intemperately!*" He had already made uſe of this Expreſſion, "Uſus eſt "ea *(concubina)* non ad explendam libidinem, nec "inſultans, ſed potius OBEDIENS conjugi (12). "—— *He converſed with her* (his Concubine) *not "to gratify his Luſt, or to inſult her, but rather in* "OBEDIENCE *to his Wife.*

(10) Geneſ. xvi. 2. *The* Engliſh *Verſion in like manner gives it*, And Abraham hearkened unto the voice of Sarah.

(11) Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 25.

(12) Id. ib.

[*D*] *Treated her with ſuch Severity, as obliged her to leave the Houſe.*] Who would ever have thought that this would have one day ſerved as an Apology for Perſecution? Yet the copious and inventive Mind of St *Auſtin* found this Secret in it. He maintained, from *Sarah*'s Conduct towards *Agar*, that the True Church may inflict Chaſtiſements on the Falſe, exile it, torment it, and ſo on. He was ſeverely reprimanded for this Aſſertion in the *Philoſophical Commentary* on the famous Words, *Compel them to come in* (13).

(13) Comment. Philoſ. part. 3. pag. 62.

[*E*] *Who ſhould quarrel with every body.*] The Angel ſaid to her, *He will be a wild Man; his Hand will be againſt every Man, and every Man's Hand againſt him* (14). If it were permitted to look for Types here, as St *Auſtin* did, one would think, that *Iſhmael* was an Emblem of certain ſnarling Polemical Writers, who are for ſnapping at every body, and who, to declare War the better againſt human kind, run every Moment out of their Sphere, ſcribbling on every Subject, right or wrong, and always in a defamatory and libellous Style. All Ages and Countries produce theſe Copies of *Iſhmael*. Some of them indeed differ from their Original in this, that, tho' they caſt Stones at every body, few Perſons take the trouble to return them; but let them quietly enjoy a wretched Impunity, which increaſes their Inſolence, and their Frenzy.

(14) Geneſ. xvi. 12.

[*F*] *'Till he was at leaſt fifteen or ſixteen Years of Age.*] It is proved thus: *Iſhmael* was fourteen Years old, when *Iſaac* was born; for he was born when *Abraham* was eighty ſix Years of Age (15), and *Abraham* was an hundred Years old, when *Sarah* was delivered of *Iſaac* (16). Now the latter was weaned before *Iſhmael* was ſent away; therefore, &c. I ſhall not amuſe you with the Opinion of thoſe *Jews*, who believe, that *Iſaac* ſucked twelve or five Years (17); for if there were any Foundation for the this Opinion, I ſhould have allowed a longer time for *Iſhmael*'s abode with *Abraham*, than what I have here advanced. See the Remark [*H*].

(15) Ibid. xvi. 16.

(16) Ibid. xxi. 5.

(17) Apud Hieronym. cap. 21. in tradit. Hebraicis. *See* Salian. Tom. 1. pag. 474. Corn. à Lapide in Geneſ. p. 199. *takes it for granted, that* Iſaac *was not weaned till five Years of Age*; Salian *p.* 474. *cites St* Jerome, Del Rio, *and* Pererius *for the ſame Opinion, which is his own.*

[*G*] *Had ſeen* Iſhmael *mocking at ſomething.*] The Tranſlation of the LXX imports, that *Sarah*'s ill Humour proceeded from her having ſeen *Iſhmael* play with *Iſaac*. The Vulgar Tranſlation followed them in it; *Cum vidiſſet Sara filium Hagar Ægyptiæ ludentem cum filio ſuo.* The *Hebrew* Text particularizes nothing; it leaves us to gueſs, whether the Son of *Agar* laughed at *Sarah* or *Iſaac*, or at the Feaſt that was made when *Iſaac* was weaned, or at ſomething elſe; or whether he made himſelf too familiar with, or ſuperior to, *Iſaac*; or laſtly, whether he attempted to beat him. Some Interpreters have advanced many idle Notions hereupon; for they believe, that either *Sarah* ſaw *Iſhmael* perform ſome Acts of Idolatry, or that he played ſome lewd Tricks, or that he endeavoured to kill *Iſaac*. "Hebræi nonnulli acci"piunt de luſu idololatriæ, quaſi videlicet idola fin"gentem & colentem Iſmaëlem vidiſſet Sara —— "Alii venereum hunc fuiſſe luſum ſtatuunt —— & "detectionem turpitudinis. Neque deſunt qui Iſ"maëlem fratri necem molitum eſſe exiſtiment (18). Some pretend, that he ſhot an Arrow at him with a Deſign of killing him (19). It is ſaid, that the *Hebrew* Word for *Mocking* (20) has four Significations, in Scripture, *viz.* Paſtime, Idolatry, an amorous Game, and a deſperate Fight. To prove the third Signification, they alledge the twenty ſixth Chapter of *Geneſis*, where it is ſaid, *That* Abimelech *looking out at a Window, ſaw* Iſaac *ſporting with* Rebecca *his Wife*. But it is to extend the Signification of the Word beyond it's due Limits, to pretend, that it implies, in that Paſſage, *the Work of the Fleſh*. It is ſufficient to underſtand by it a certain Familiarity, which ſhewed that they were not Brother and Siſter, but Huſband and Wife: for that was the Concluſion *Abimelech* drew from it. The moſt probable Account of the Matter ſeems to me to be this: *Iſhmael* gave himſelf ſome Airs of Contempt, which made *Sarah* fear, that he would one day diſpute the Birthright, if it was not prevented in time.

(18) Heidegg. ibid. pag. 205.

(19) R. Eliezer Pirk. cap. 30. ap. Heidegg. ib. *who cites alſo* Baal Hathurim.

(20) Lyranus apud Pererium in Gen. xxi.

[*H*] *That her Son muſt die of Thirſt.*] Suppoſing that the mocking, which *Sarah* was offended at, was on occaſion of the Feaſt that was made when *Iſaac* was weaned, *Iſhmael* muſt have been ſent away at about ſixteen Years of Age. If it be ſuppoſed, that this Mockery was much later in time, than that Feaſt, his Age will be ſo much the more increaſed at his leaving his Father. But make him as young as you can (which will be to allow him at leaſt ſixteen Years of Age) will it not appear very ſtrange, that his Mother was obliged to carry him on her Shoulders at that Age, to lay him under a little Tree, to take him up again, to carry him in her Arms, and to give him drink? Read that Paſſage of Scripture concerning *Iſhmael*; it repreſents to us a Child in ſwaddling Cloaths, or very near it. We cannot get out of this Plunge by ſuppoſing that this Fact the place, where ſhe had laid *Iſhmael.* An Angel came to her Relief, and diſcover'd a Well to her, where ſhe fill'd her Bottle; and by this means ſhe ſav'd her Son's Life. She married him afterwards to an *Egyptian* Woman. Thus far the Scripture carries the Hiſtory. Many of the *Rabbins*, pretend, without any Reaſon, that *Agar* is the ſame with *Ketura*, who was *Abraham*'s Wife after the Death of *Sarah* (*c*). But this Error is much more tolerable than the ridiculous Superſtition of the *Saracens*, who honoured the Stone, on which *Agar* [*I*], as they ſaid, granted *Abraham* the laſt Favour, as an holy Relick. Their Writers do not mention the Reaſon; and acknowledge but a very remote Relation between *Agar*, and the Stone [*K*]. An Author, cited by *Euſebius*, certainly meant this *Agar*, when he ſaid that *Abraham* married an *Egyptian* Servant-Maid, by whom he had twelve Children, who ſeiz'd on *Arabia*, and divided it among themſelves (*d*). The *Rabbins* have advanced another Fable, to wit, that *Iſhmael* came to Life again, before he was born; *for*, ſay they, *his Mother loſt her Fruit for a Puniſhment of her Vanity, and by the Fatigue of her Journey; but her deference for the Angel who adviſed her to humble herſelf to her Miſtreſs, obliged God to re-animate her Child. Cornelius à Lapide* aſſure us in the 171ſt Page of his Commentary on the *Pentateuch*, that *Toſtatus* believ'd this Story.

Calvin is falſly accuſed of inveighing bitterly againſt *Abraham* and *Sarah*, on account of the Concubinage of *Agar*. But there is more Reaſon to ſay that St *Auſtin*'s Apology for the Patriarch's Conduct is very weak. See the Remarks [*I*] and [*K*] of the Article SARAH.

Fact was miſplaced; for it is expreſsly declared, that *Sarah* ſent *Iſhmael* away becauſe ſhe would not have him ſhare the Inheritance with *Iſaac*. And therefore *Iſhmael* was not ſent away 'till after *Iſaac* was born; and conſequently he was as able to ſeek for Water, as his Mother; he was no longer οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν, an Infant to be carried upon Shoulders, &c. (21) I foreſee that I ſhall be told, that neither the Tranſlation of the LXX. nor the Vulgate import, That *Iſhmael* was carried on his Mother's Back; and that it ought therefore to be concluded, that the *Hebrew* Text does not clearly favour my Suppoſition. With all my Heart; the reſt of the Narrative is ſufficient for me, and I ſubmit it to the Judgment of every Reader, who conſiders the thing without Prejudice. Perhaps the beſt Solution would be to ſay, that, as they lived longer in thoſe Ages, they did not come out of Childhood ſo ſoon as we: This would do very well, if it were not attended with the Conſequence of making *Iſhmael* twenty Years old when he was thruſt out of doors; for, according to this Anſwer *Iſaac* muſt have ſucked longer, than they ſucked in the Time of the *Maccabees*. Now in that Age Children ſucked three Years (22); we ought therefore to acquieſce, with St *Jerome*, and many of the Moderns, in the old *Hebrew* Tradition, which I took notice of, to wit, that *Iſaac* was not weaned 'till five Years of Age. Tho' I cannot but expreſs my wonder, that they, who follow it (23), ſhould not perceive the difficulty attending it; which does not ceaſe to be very great, even ſuppoſing, as I do, that *Iſaac* did not ſuch ſuck at the Breaſt ſo long as was uſual in the time of the *Maccabees*.

[*I*] *The Stone on which* Agar, &c.] What idle Stories! as if *Abraham*, who was a great Lord, and whoſe Retinue amounted to above three hundred Domeſtics, able to bear Arms, could not provide a Bed for a Concubine of this kind. He did not take her, but at the Sollicitation of his Wife; *Sarah* performed in ſome manner the Functions of the *Paranymph*; it was more like a Wedding, than any thing elſe; and yet they tell us, that a Marriage of this ſort was conſummated on a Stone. This Story might be probable enough, if it were related of a Maſter of a Family, who was afraid of his Wife, and whom a thouſand reaſons might induce to do the Feat by Stealth, and wherever Occaſion offered; being perſuaded, that if he miſſed his Opportunity, in hopes of a better, he might be diſappointed for Life. However it be, we underſtand by *Euthymius Zigabenus*, that the *Saracens* honoured and kiſſed a Stone, which they called *Brachtan*, and when they were asked the Reaſon of it, ſome anſwered, it was, becauſe *Abraham* knew *Agar* on that Stone; others, that it was, becauſe he tied his Camel to it, when he prepared to offer up his Son *Iſaac* (24). The ſame Author ſays, That this Stone was the Head of the Statue of *Venus*, the Deity, which the ancient *Iſhmaelites* worſhipped. The form of the *Anathemas* which a *Saracen* is obliged to recite who embraces Chriſtianity, confirms this Author's Account; for it imports, that That Stone was the Image of *Venus* (25), and that the *Saracens* ſpoke of it as of a thing, which had ſerved *Abraham* for the abovementioned Purpoſes. On this Occaſion, I ſhall obſerve, that the Stone, which was worſhipped by the *Arabians*, and which they took for the God *Mars*, was black and unhewn. Τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα λίθος ἐςὶ μέλας, τετράγωνος, ἀτύπωτος. —— Simulacrum autem eſt lapis niger, quadratus, nullam figuram inciſam habens (26). Ridetis temporibus priſcis Perſas fluvium coluiſſe —— INFORMEM Arabas lapidem (27). —— *You think it ridiculous, that in ancient Times the* Perſians *worſhipped a River —— the* Arabians *an* UNHEWN *Stone. Maximus Tyrius*, who had ſeen it, ſays only, that it was ſquare (28). The *Mother of the Gods*, whom the *Phrygians* adored with a very extraordinary Zeal, was nothing more than a plain Stone; and they gave only a Stone to the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, who deſired to eſtabliſh the Worſhip of that Divinity at *Rome*; "Is legatos "comiter acceptos Peſſiuntem in Phrygiam deduxit, "ſacrumque iis lapidem, quem matrem Deûm incolæ "eſſe dicebant tradidit, ac deportare Romam juſſit (29)." How abſurd ſoever the Idolatry of thoſe was, who worſhipped the Stone which *Jacob* ſet up for a Pillar, and anointed and conſecrated to God (30); it was yet more tolerable, than That of the *Saracens*; for *Jacob*'s Stone ſerved him for a Pillow, in a Night, which he paſt, as one may ſay, with God, the Dreams and Viſions, with which he was entertained, repreſenting heavenly Things in ſo lively a manner to him. The *Saracens* durſt not have ſaid ſo much, in relation to their pretended Stone of *Agar*. *Scaliger* has collected a great deal of curious Learning concerning this Stone of *Jacob* (31); but what the learned *Pocock* has ſaid concerning That, which the *Saracens* honoured, is no leſs conſiderable. I am going to take ſome Notice of it.

[*K*] *But a very remote Relation between* Agar *and that Stone.*] You muſt conſult *Pocock*, if you would be exactly inform'd of their Religion hereupon (32). The black Stone, which they adore, is in the Temple of *Mecca*, in a Corner, two Cubits and one third from the Ground. They ſuppoſe that it was one of the precious Stones of Paradiſe, and that it deſcended from thence with *Adam*: that it was carried thither again at the Time of the Deluge; that it was ſent into the World again, when *Abraham* built the Temple; and that the Angel *Gabriel* put it into the Hands of that Architect (33). It was, at firſt, whiter than Snow, and brighter than the Sun; but it become black, by being touched by a Woman who had her *Menſes*. Others ſay, That the Sins of Men made it loſe it's Whiteneſs and Luſtre; others affirm, that it was ſully'd by being much kiſſed and handled. It would be very difficult to prove from the *Arabian* Authors, what St *John Damaſcenus* and *Euthymius* aſſert, That there was a *Venus*'s Head engraven upon it. There is another Stone, which they eſteem ſacred, and on which they pretend a Figure is to be ſeen; but it is a Figure of Feet, and not of a Head; it is the Print of *Abraham*'s Feet, when he reſted on that Stone, either, building the Temple (34), or while his Daughter-in-law (35) waſhed his Head, when he

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(*c*) Targum Jonathanis, Paraphraſis Hieroſolym. Jarchius, R. Eliezer apud Heidegg. Hiſt. Patriarch. Tom. 2. pag. 136.

(*d*) Melo. apud Alexand. Polyhiſt. *cited by* Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 19.

(21) *That is to ſay*, As Men go now, *ſuch Men as live in theſe degenerate days.*

(22) *The Mother of the* Maccabees *told her Son, that ſhe ſuckled him three Years*, 2 Maccab. vii. 37.

(23) Moreri *is of this Number.*

(24) Euthym. Zigab. in Panoplia, apud Voſſium de Orig. Idol. lib. 2. cap. 31. & lib. 6. cap. 39.

(25) Ἐκτύπωμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔχειν. Effigiem Veneris habere. *See* Voſſius ibid. lib. 2. cap. 31. pag. 467. Edit. Francofurt.

(26) Suidas in θεὸς ἄρης.

(27) Arnobius, lib. 6. pag. 196.

(28) Maxim. Tyrius Diſſert. 38. pag. 384.

(29) Livius lib. 39. cap. 11.

(30) Geneſ. xxviii. 18.

(31) Scalig. Animadv. in Euſeb. n. 2150.

(32) Pockii Notæ in Specim. Hiſtor. Arab. pag. 113, &c.

(33) *See the Remark* [*F*] *of the Article* ABRAHAM.

(34) Ex Abulfeda.

(35) *The Wife of* Iſhmael.

made *Iſhmael* a Viſit (36). This laſt Stone is ſhut up in an Iron Cheſt. *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* pretends to to have ſeen and kiſs'd it, and to have drank Water there out of the Well *Zanzam*, and to have taken notice, that the Print of the Right Foot is deeper than that of the Left, and that the Toes are as long as the Fingers of the Hand (37). They hid this Stone in one of the Hills of *Mecca*, when the *Karmatians* committed a thouſand Prophanations in the Temple, and carried the *black Stone* away (38). Now ſince *Euthymius*, and the Catechiſm for the Uſe of the converted *Saracens*, remark, That the Stone, on which it was pretended that *Abraham* had to do with *Agar*, or to which he tied his Camel, was in the middle of the Oratory, *in medio* οἴκȣ τῆς εὐχῆς, this muſt not be underſtood of the Black Stone (for that is fix'd in a Corner of the Temple); but of the Stone, in which *Abraham*'s Footſteps are to be ſeen. Beſides, though no *Arabian* Writer ſays, That the Reaſon why they venerate that Stone, is, becauſe it ſerv'd the Patriarch for the Purpoſes mentioned by *Euthymius*, we muſt believe, that the Tradition, which *Euthymius* ſpeaks of, relates rather to the Stone, in which *Abraham*'s Footſteps are imprinted, than to the *Black Stone*; from whence two Things are to be concluded. I. That *Euthymius*, and the Catechiſt of the *Saracens*, had not a diſtinct Knowledge of theſe People's Errors, as to the Worſhip of Stones. II. That the *Arabian* Writers did not acknowledge any near and direct Relation between *Agar* and the venerable Stones of *Mecca*. *Agar* is no farther concern'd in it, than inaſmuch as *Abraham* ſet his Feet on it, while her Son *Iſhmael*'s Wife waſh'd his Head. There is a third remarkable Stone at *Mecca*; it is white, and paſſes for *Iſhmael*'s Sepulchre; it is in a kind of Incloſure, near the Foundations of the Temple. From all theſe Particulars we may infer, That it is very eaſy to deceive a Man in Matters of Religion, and very difficult to undeceive him in them. He is fond of his Prejudices, and finds Leaders, who indulge him in them, and who ſay within themſelves, "quando-"quidem populus vult decipi, decipiatur. —— *Since* "*the People will be impos'd upon, let them be impos'd* "*upon*." They find their Account in this, both in point of Authority and Profit: When the Diſeaſe is become inveterate, the moſt diſintereſted fear, that the Remedy may prove worſe than the Diſeaſe. Theſe dare not cure the Wound, and it is the Intereſt of others, that it ſhould not be cur'd. Thus an Abuſe is perpetuated: Diſhoneſt Men protect it; and honeſt Men tolerate it.

(36) Ex Ahmed Ebn Yuſef & Safiodino.

(37) *In the Life of* Iſmael.

(38) *See the Article* ABUDHAHER.

AGATHON, a Tragic and Comic Poet [*A*] Diſciple of *Prodicus* (*a*), and *Socrates* (*b*), is greatly celebrated for his Beauty in *Plato*'s Dialogue (*c*), in which he is farther commended for his Good Nature (*d*). Some Authors report, that he was a very Good Man, and that his Table was magnificent (*e*). Perhaps they found this on the ſplendid Entertainments he gave, after his firſt Tragedy had obtained the Prize (*f*), and he had been crowned in the Preſence of above 30000 Men (*g*), in the 4th Year of the XCth *Olympiad* (*h*). *Plato* ſuppoſes, that the *Diſcourſes*, which he recites, on the *Nature* of *Love*, in one of his Books (*i*), were held the day after that Solemnity, at the ſecond Entertainment, which *Agathon* gave. The Pieces of This Poet were ſo full of *Antitheſes*, that he replyed one day to a Perſon, who was for expunging them, *You are not aware, that you rob* Agathon *of himſelf* (*k*). He was the Darling of *Pauſanias* the *Ceramian*, and follow'd him to the Court of *Archelaus*, King of *Macedon* (*l*). He often quarrelled with him; but it was with a view of affording him a more ſenſible Pleaſure by their Reconciliation. Thus he explained himſelf to that Prince, who aſked him the Cauſe of their frequent Quarrels, as *Ælian* informs us in the XXI *Chapter* of the *Second Book* of his *Various Hiſtory*. I have taken notice, in another place (*m*), of what is related concerning *Euripides*'s Paſſion for *Agathon*. The Anſwer of the former is miſrepreſented in the Hiſtorical Dictionaries [*B*]. The Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* ſeems to aſſure us, that *Agathon*

(*a*) Plato in Protagora, pag. 220.

(*b*) Scholiaſt. Ariſtoph. in Ranis, act. 1. ſcen. 2.

(*c*) Plato ib. & in Convivio, pag. 1175.

(*d*) Id. in Protagora. pag. 220.

(*e*) Ἀγαθὸς τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν λαμπρός. Moribus bonis, & menſa lautus. *Schol. Ariſtoph. ibid. See alſo* Suidas in Ἀγάθων.

(*f*) Plato in Convivio, init. pag. 1174.

(*g*) Id. ib. pag. 1176.

(*h*) *See* Athen. lib. 5. pag. 217. & Caſaub. in Athenæum, pag. 379.

(*i*) *In his* Convivium.

(*k*) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib 14. cap. 13. *See alſo* Athen. lib 5. pag. 187.

(*l*) Plato in Protagora, pag. 220. Athen. lib. 5. pag. 216. Max. Tyrius Serm. 10. pag. 106. Ælian. ib. lib. 2. c. 21.

(*m*) *In the Remark* [O] *of the Article* EURIPIDES. *See the Scholiaſt of* Ariſtoph. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *A Tragic and Comic Poet.*] No body queſtions his writing Tragedies; it will be ſufficient therefore to prove, that he was a Writer of Comedies. For this I may appeal to the Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, on the ſecond Scene of the firſt Act of the *Frogs*. Οὗτος ὁ Ἀγάθων κωμῳδοποιὸς τȣ̃ Σωκράτȣς διδασκάλȣ. *This* Agathon, *a Writer of Comedies, when* Socrates *taught*. Obſerve, that he ſpeaks of the ſame Poet, who is one of *Plato*'s Interlocutors in the *Feaſt*, and who moſt certainly compos'd Tragedies. I appeal likewiſe to theſe Words of *Philoſtratus*, Καὶ Ἀγαθων δὲ ὁ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητὴς, ὃν ἡ κωμῳδία σοφόντε καὶ καλλιεπῆ οἶδε, πολλαχȣ̃ τῶν ἰαμβείων γοργιάζει (1). Agathon, *the Tragic Poet, whom the Comic Muſe acknowledged skillful and elegant, frequently imitates the Style of* Gorgias *in his Iambics*. I am aware, that theſe Words may ſignify, that he was praiſed in Comedies; but they may be taken in this Senſe, That he ſhewed both his Capacity and Elegancy in the Comedies, which he compoſed. A learned Critic conjectures, That *Socrates* hinted at our *Agathon*, when he ſaid, that it was the buſineſs of the ſame Poet to compoſe both Tragedies and Comedies; and that whoever has a Genius for Tragedy, is equally capable of excelling in Comedy (2). Τȣ̃ αὐτȣ̃ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι κωμῳδίαν καὶ τραγῳδίαν ἐπίςασθαι ποιεῖν, καὶ τὸν τέχνῃ τραγῳδοποιὸν ὄντα καὶ κωμῳδοποιὸν εἶναι (3). *Ejuſdem viri officium eſſe tragœdiam comœdiamque componere, eumque qui arte tragicus eſt eſſe quoque comicum.* It is, I think, to multiply Beings unneceſſarily, to give us a Comic Poet *Agathon*, different from ours. It is what *Voſſius* (4), *Moreri*, *Hofman*, &c. have done.

[*B*] *The Anſwer of the former is miſrepreſented in the Hiſtorical Dictionaries.*] I have ſet it in it's true Light, in another Place (5): the following is a very confuſed Account of it: "Agatho Philoſophus Pythagoricus, frequens antithetis, adhibitus quondam con-"vivio Archelao rege, cujus erat familiariſſimus, in-"terrogatuſque ab eo, cum jam eſſet annorum 80, "ſi robur adhuc ullum ſervaret? Sanè, inquit, non "ſolùm ver, ſed autumnus ſolet bona & proſperita-"tem adferre (6).——Agatho, *the* Pythagorean *Phi-*"*loſopher, a great Lover of Antitheſes, being once in-*"*vited to a Banquet by King* Archelaus, *with whom* "*he was very intimate, and being asked by him whe-*"*ther, at the Age of fourſcore, he yet retained any* "*Vigour; reply'd, ſurely not only the Spring, but the* "*Autumn, is wont to produce good things and Proſpe-*"*rity*." Let us reckon up the Miſtakes of this Account. I. The *Agathon*, who was fond of Antitheſes, and was in the Court of *Archelaus*, was not a *Pythagorean*. II. He was but about forty Years of Age, when *Archelaus* gave occaſion for the abovementioned Reply (7). III. It was not *Agathon*, but *Euripides*, who gave this Anſwer. IV. The Queſtion did not turn upon perſonal Strength, but upon Beauty; and the Anſwer had no regard to the Goods of Fortune. V. It would be an Abſurdity to take the Age of eighty Years for the Autumn of Life. VI. I believe no Philoſopher, of the Sect of *Pythagoras*, was called *Agathon*. All theſe Faults of *Charles Stephens* are to be found in the ſecond Edition of *Lloyd*; nay we ſee the pretended Teſtimony of *Ælian* more exactly remark'd in it (8). This Exactneſs is prejudicial to the Author; for, ſince he was not ignorant in what Chapter the Fact was to be found, he is more inexcuſable in copying all the Miſtakes of the Dictionary which he undertook to correct. Mr *Hofman* followed him Letter by Letter, and diſtinguiſh'd between this *Agathon* and Him, who was at the Court of *Archelaus*. Mr *Moreri* ſpeaks alſo of a *Pythagorean* Philoſopher, named *Agathon*, who, at the Age of eighty Years,

(1) Philoſtr. de Vitis Sophiſt. lib. 1.

(2) Kuhnius in Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 21. pag. 104.

(3) Plato in Conviv. in fine, pag. 1207.

(4) Voſſius de Poët. Græcis, pag. 39, 50.

(5) *In the Remark* [O] *of the Article* EURIPIDES.

(6) Charles Stephens *in the Word* *AGATHO*. pag. 117.

(7) *See the Article* *EURIPIDES*, ubi ſupra.

(8) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 13. cap. 4. Lloyd *in the Word* *AGATHO*.

Agathon died at the Court of *Archelaus* (*C*); and we may conclude from the Words of *Ariſtophanes*, that he was not living, when the Comedy of the Frogs was acted [*D*], that is in the ſecond Year of the XCIII*d Olympiad* (*n*). There remains nothing of *Agathon* but what we find in *Ariſtotle*, in *Athenæus*, *&c.* who cited him. They are beautiful Sentences enough, and confirm what has been ſaid of his Paſſion for Antitheſes [*E*]. I ſhall give an Inſtance of them, wherein we meet with a very judicious Maxim relating to the Deceitfulneſs of Appearances [*F*]. *Ariſtophanes* ſatirizes

anſwered that Monarch, That *the Autumn produced Flowers and Fruits, as well as the Spring.* He mentions afterwards *Agathon*, a Tragic Poet; and *Agathon* a Comic Poet.

[*C*] *That* Agathon *died at the Court of* Archelaus.] Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Βασιλεῖ μέχρι τελευτῆς μετὰ ἄλλων πολλῶν συνῆν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ (9). That is, *He lived with many others in* Macedonia *at the Court of King* Archelaus *until his Death.* This may either ſignify, 'till the Death of *Archelaus*, or 'till the Death of *Agathon*. For which Reaſon I do not give theſe Words as a certain Proof.

[*D*] *That he was not living, when the Comedy of the Frogs was acted.* We find theſe four Verſes there,

ΗΡ. Ἀγάθων δὲ ποῦ 'στιν; ΔΙ. ἀπολιπών μ' ἀποίχεται,
Ἀγαθὸς ποιητής, καὶ ποθεινὸς τοῖς Φίλοις.
ΗΡ. Ποῖ γῆς ὁ τλήμων; ΔΙ. ἐς μακάρων εὐωχίαν (10).

HE. *But where is* Agatho?
BA. *He has left me, and is gone.* —— *A good Poet,*
and dear to his Friends.
HE. *Unhappy Man! to what Country is he gone?*
BA. *To the Banquet of the Gods.*

[*E*] *What has been ſaid of his Paſſion for Antitheſes.*] *Kuhnius* has given us three *Sentences* of *Agathon*, as a Specimen of his Taſte (11). The two firſt were cited by *Ariſtotle*, and the other by *Athenæus*. The Senſe of the latter is, *If I tell you the Truth, I ſhall not pleaſe you; and if I pleaſe you, I ſhall not tell you the Truth* (12). Thoſe cited by *Ariſtotle* ſignify, the one, that the only impoſſible thing with God is, to cauſe, That what has been created, ſhould not have been created (13); the other, That Fortune loves Art, and Art loves Fortune (14). *Voſſius* imagin'd, that this laſt Sentence belong'd to *Agathon* the Comic Poet (15); but he had better have aſcrib'd it to the Tragedian, and have obſerv'd, that the Spirit of *Antitheſes* adjudges it to him. I ſay this without pretending, that it is certain that *Agathon*, the Tragic Poet, differs from *Agathon* the Comic Poet. Mr *Moreri* copied *Voſſius*, according to Cuſtom. I wonder *Kuhnius* did not produce this;

Τὸ μὲν πάρεργον ἔργον ὡς ποιούμεθα,
Τὸ δ' ἔργον ὡς πάρεργον ἐκπονούμεθα (16).

Operis loco ducimus acceſſorium,
Et in opere ſatagimus ut acceſſorio.

[*F*] *A very judicious Maxim on the Deceitfulneſs of Appearances.*] *Agathon* obſerves, That it is likely ſeveral Things may happen, which are not likely. Εἰκὸς γίνεσθαι πολλὰ καὶ παρα τὸ εἰκός. *Veriſimile eſt & multa fieri præter veriſimile.* Thus *Voſſius* reports this Sentence; and he obſerves, that *Ariſtotle* alledg'd it in more than one Place (17). That great Philoſopher cited it in the following manner, in the 24th Chapter of the 2d Book of his Rhetoric.

Ταχ' ἂν τις εἰκός αὐ τὸ τοῦτ εἶναι λέγοι,
Βροτοῖσι πολλα τυγχάνειν οὐκ εἰκότα (18).

Fortaſſe aliquis veriſimile id ipſum eſſe dixerit,
Mortalibus multa evenire non veriſimilia.

We may compare, with this Maxim, that of St *Bernard*; *Ordinatiſſimum eſt, minus interdum ordinatè fieri* (19); that is, *It is very conſiſtent with Order, that ſometimes things ſhould be done out of Order.* Mr *de Balzac* reports this Thought ſo ill, that of a very fine Maxim he makes frightful Untruth. *Tho' the Affairs of the World,* ſays he (20), *ſometimes alter their Courſe, and go into an unuſual Channel; and though this is* only *likely, as* Agathon *ſaid, That many things happen againſt Likelihood, nevertheleſs, generally ſpeaking, like Enterprizes produce like Events.* The Adverb *only* produces a Monſter here, and if it was an Error of the Preſs (21), I wonder the Corrector was not ſtartled at it. For what is more monſtrous, than to maintain, that it is never probable that a thing ſhould happen agreeable to probability? This is the fine Axiom aſcribed to our *Agathon*, in *the Prince* of *Balzac*: but the Sequel of the Diſcourſe ſhews, that if the Poet's Thought was marr'd on the Paper, it was not ſo in the Mind of the Writer: It is certain that Mr *de Balzac* meant to ſay, with *Agathon, that this* very Thing *is likely, that many Things happen againſt likelihood. Euripides* was ſo fond of this Maxim, that he has repeated it five Times; for, as Mr *Coſtar* ſays (22), he ended *his Medea, his Alceſtes, his Andromache, his Bacchæ, and his Helena, with the following Sentence*;

Πολλὰ δ' ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοί,
Καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὐκ ἐτελέσθη,
Τῶν δ' ἀδοκήτων πορόν εὗρεν θεός·

The meaning is, *The Gods ſport with human Foreſight, and equally deceive our Hopes and our Fears. Sometimes they divert Events which all Men expected, and, opening Paſſages and Ways unknown, make Deſigns to ſucceed, which were in Appearance impoſſible. Seneca* made a very good uſe of this Thought, to encourage thoſe who are terrify'd at the likely and probable Approaches of ill Fortune. *How many things,* ſays he, *have happened, which no body expected? How many others have never appear'd, tho' every body expected them? Nothing is ſo ſure among thoſe things, which we fear, but it is yet more certain, that our Fears and our Hopes prove ſometimes groundleſs. Seneca*'s Words are more ſtrong: It will be better to tranſcribe them. "Veriſimile eſt aliquid futurum mali? Non ſtatim verum eſt. Quàm multa non exſpectata venerunt, quàm multa exſpectata nunquam comparuerunt? —— multa interveniunt, quibus vicinum periculum vel prope admotum, aut ſubſiſtat, aut deſinat, aut in alienum caput tranſeat —— habet etiam mala fortuna levitatem: Fortaſſe erit, fortaſſe non erit. Interim dum non eſt, meliora propone —— nihil tam certum eſt ex his quæ timentur, ut non certius ſit & formidata ſubſidere, & ſperata decipere (23). —— *Is any Misfortune likely to befal you? It does not therefore immediately become certain. How many unexpected things have come to paſs? How many look'd for Events have never happen'd?* —— *Many things intervene, by which an approaching Danger may ſtop ſhort, or ceaſe to be a Danger, or fall upon another Head.* —— *Even ill Fortune has her Fickleneſs: Perhaps it will be; perhaps it will not be. In the mean time, whilſt it is not, hope the beſt.* —— *Nothing, in all the Ills we dread, is ſo certain, but it is ſtill more ſo, that what we fear ſometimes vaniſhes, and what we hope for ſometimes diſappoint us.*" Cardinal *Palavicin* is very angry with *Fra-Paolo*, who took the Reception of the Doctrine of *Zuinglius* by the Evangelical Cantons, as a manifeſt Proof, that an higher Cauſe, than *Zuinglius*, was the influencing Motive. I omit *Palavicin*'s Reflexions, but ſhall copy what he borrows from *Ariſtotle*, namely, That it happens ſometimes, that the moſt probable things are falſe; for if they were always ſeparated from Falſhood, they would be certain and not probable. I am going to ſhew, that he builds upon this Maxim, when he accuſes thoſe of Raſhneſs and Preſumption, who pretend to judge of the Providence of God. Such a Perſon is a devout Chriſtian, therefore he is predeſtinated to Salvation: Such a Perſon is a *Mahometan*, and wicked, therefore he is predeſtinated to Damnation. Raſh Conſequences, and which are often groundleſs! This is Cardinal *Palavicin*'s Remark: The whole Paſſage is as follows. "Per tanto chi aſcrive le proſperità della miglior cauſa ad una volonta che dio habbia di farla ſtabilmente prevalere alla rea, diſcorre con pietà probabile e ſaggia: quantunque talora s'inganni, ſecondo l' inſegnamento

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(*n*) *See* Sam. Petit's *Miſcellany*, lib. 1. cap. 14. pag. 50.

(9) Schol. Ariſtophan. in Ranas, act. 1. ſc. 2.

(10) Ariſtophan. in Ranis, act. 1. ſcen. 2. ver. 83.

(11) Guſtum antithetorum Agathonis dare poſſumus. *Kuhnius in Ælian. lib.* 14. *cap.* 13. *pag.* 735.

(12) Athen. lib. 5. c. 13. pag. 211.

(13) Ariſtot. Eth. Eudemior. lib. 5. cap. 2. pag. 182.

(14) Id. ib. cap. 4. pag. 183.

(15) Voſſius de Poet. Gr. pag. 59.

(16) Agath. apud Athen. lib. 5. init.

(17) Voſſius Inſtit. Poët. lib. 1. p. 16.

(18) Agathon apud Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 24. pag. 448.

(19) Bernardi Epiſt. 276. ad Eugen. III.

(20) Balzac *in his* Prince, n. 142. pag. 100. *Edit. of* Roüen *in* 1632. 4to.

(21) Sulement *inſtead of* ſurement. *Note that there are ſome* Gaſconiſms *wherein* ſeulement *ſignifies* même.

(22) Coſtar. *Sequel of the Defence of* Voiture, pag. 406.

(23) Seneca Epiſt. 24. pag. 187.

rizes him ſeverely on account of his Morals, in one of his Comedies (*o*). I believe we ought to diſtinguiſh him from that *Agathon*, whom the Philoſopher *Plato* lov'd ſo tenderly [*G*]. The Miſtake of *Budæus* was doubtleſs voluntary, when he ſaid in the 27th Chapter of the *Inſtitution of a Prince*, that *Euripides* kiſs'd a Lady, at *Archelaus*'s Table, who was called the Fair *Agatha*.

(*o*) *In* Theſmophoriazuſis.

" ſegnamento del Filoſofo: Che talvolta il più probabile è falſo; perciòche ſe da ſalſità foſſe eſente, non ſaria probabil, mà certo. E ſe baſta il poteſſi ingannare accioche ogni giudicio, quantunque dubitativo della Providenza divina chiamiſi preſontuoſo; chiameraſſi preſontuoſo chiun que dall haverlo Dio fattio naſcere fra Chriſtiani e viver divotamente, prende conghiettura che l'habbia deſtinato alla vita eterna; e'l contrario s'avviſa di chi nacque Saraceno e vive ſcelerato: Eſſendo manifeſto poter ſuccedere che il primo ſi danni, e'l ſecondo ſi ſalvi (24). ——— *Thus he, who aſcribes the Succeſs of the better Cauſe to the immediate Influence of Heaven, reaſons probably and juſtly; tho' he may ſometimes be deceived; according the Sentiment of the Philoſopher, that the moſt probable Thing ſometimes prove falſe, becauſe, if it were exempt from Falſity, it would not be probable, but certain. Now, if the bare Poſſibility of being miſtaken renders all Judgment concerning divine Providence, though expreſs'd with Doubt, preſumptuous, certainly it is great Preſumption in any one to imagine, that becauſe he is born a Chriſtian, and lives devoutly, therefore he is predeſtin'd by God to eternal Life, and to judge the contrary of one, who is born a* Saracen, *and lives wickedly; it being evidently poſſible, that the former may be damn'd, and the latter ſav'd.*"

Not only the Phyſicians, but the News-Writers, likewiſe, ought to profit by the Sentence of *Agathon*. A Profeſſor of *Leipſic* exhorts Phyſicians *not to ſpeak without much Precaution, if they would do Honour to Phyſic. He would not have them promiſe too much, nor terrify their Patients ſo greatly, but ſpeak always conditionally, and with a* perhaps (25). All this, in virtue of *Seneca*'s Maxim produc'd above. The like Advice may be given to your great Coffee-Houſe Politicians: I mean thoſe among them, who have a good deal of Sagacity and Judgment. Their Conjectures are generally right; nor have they often occaſion to repent of their deciſive Air, with which they deride the Hopes or Threats of the Gazetteers. This gives them a ſtill greater Boldneſs to reject magiſterially every piece of News, which ſhocks Probability; but they are ſometimes miſtaken; for the Event confirms, upon ſome Occaſions, the moſt impertinent and the moſt extravagant News that can be reported, and which they had condemn'd as Chimera's, or as Things inconſiſtent with the Wiſdom, which had 'till then appear'd in the Councils of the State. This Rule is not always ſafe, and ſometimes enſnares thoſe Reaſoners upon public Affairs, who truſt too much to it. It is therefore Prudence to act conſiderately, and not to pronounce definitive Decrees, under pretence of having the moſt plauſible Appearances on our ſide. But if in this Caſe it is not reaſonable to play the Dictator, what Blame do not they deſerve, who promiſe the greateſt Succeſſes, againſt all Appearances, and publiſh theſe Promiſes as grounded on St *John*'s Revelation?

[*G*] *From that* Agathon, *whom the Philoſopher* Plato *lov'd ſo tenderly.*] That Philoſopher compos'd a very tender Diſtich, and ſo full of Senſe, that a *Latin* Poet found Matter in it for ſeventeen Verſes. Let us tranſcribe a whole Chapter of *Aulus Gellius* here (26). " Celebrantur duo iſti Græci verſiculi, multorumque doctorum hominum memoria dignantur, quod ſunt lepidiſſimi & venuſtiſſimæ brevitatis. Neque adeo pauci ſunt veteres ſcriptores, qui eos Platonis eſſe Philoſophi affirmant; quibus ille adoleſcens luſerit, quum tragœdiis quoque eodem tempore faciendis præluderet.

Τὴν ψυχὴν, Ἀγάθωνα ψιλῶν, ἐπὶ χείλεσιν ἔσχον.
Ἦλθε γὰρ ἡ τλήμων ὡς διαβησομένη (27).

" Hoc diſtichon amicus meus, οὐκ ἄμουσος adoleſcens, in pluris verſiculos licentiùs liberiuſque vertit: qui quoniam mihi quidem viſi ſunt non eſſe memoratu indigni, ſubdidi.

Dum ſemihulco ſavio
Meum puellum ſavior;
Dulcemque florem ſpiritus
Duco ex aperto tramite:
Animula ægra & ſaucia
Cucurrit ad labias mihi,
Rictumque in oris pervium,
Et labra pueri mollia,
Rimata itineri tranſitus,
Ut tranſiliret nititur.
Tum ſi moræ quid pluſculæ
Fuiſſet in cœtu oſculi;
Amoris igni percita
Tranſiſſet, & me linqueret:
Et mira prorſum res foret,
Ut ad me fierem mortuus,
Ad puerum at intus viverem.

" *That* Greek *Diſtich is much celebrated, and thought worthy of being recorded by many learned Men, as being moſt witty and moſt beautifully conciſe. Nor are there a few among the antient Writers, who affirm it was compos'd by* Plato *the Philoſopher; with which he diverted himſelf in his Youth, and at a time when he was making Eſſays towards Tragedy.*"

Τὴν ψυχὴν, Ἀγάθωνα φιλῶν &c.

My Soul (in kiſſing Agathon*)*
Flys to my Lips, and wou'd be gone.

" *A young Gentleman, a Friend of mine (no Enemy to the Muſes), has paraphras'd this Diſtich in ſeveral Verſes; which, as they ſeem to me not unworthy of being produc'd, I have here ſubjoin'd.*

Dum ſemihulco ſavio, *&c.*

Whilſt on thy Lips, to taſte the Bliſs,
I print the burning, amorous, Kiſs,
And drink thy balmy Breath; my Soul,
Thro' Love impatient of controul,
Mounts to my Lips in extaſy,
And fain would paſs, to dwell in Thee.
If, then, Dear Youth, we ſhould delay,
And on the Kiſs prolong our ſtay,
The wanton Thing would take her Flight,
Struck with Love's Fire, and leave me quite;
And ſtrange would my Condition be,
Dead in myſelf, but yet alive in Thee.

Obſerve that *Plato* was but fourteen Years of Age, when our Poet *Agathon* obtained the Prize of Tragedy, ſo that it is not very likely, that he ſighed for him, but for an *Agathon* much younger (28).

(24) Palavicin. Iſtor. del. Concilio, lib. 3. cap. 8. in fine. p. 303.

(25) Bibl. Univerſelle, Tom. 4. p. 80, 81. *in the Extract of the* Miſcellanea Curioſa Medica *of* Chriſtianus Langius.

(26) Aulus Gellius, lib. 19. cap. 11.

(27) *Note that* Diogen. Laërtius, lib. 3. n. 32. *ſays, mentioning thoſe two* Greek *Verſes, that they were made by* Plato *for* Agathon: *They are thus tranſlated in the* Greek *and* Latin *Editions of* Diogenes Laertius. Suavia dans Agathoni, animam ipſe in labra tenebram? Ægra etenim properans tanquàm abitura fuit.

(28) Athen. lib. 5. cap. 18. p. 217.

AGESILAUS, the firſt of the Name, King of *Sparta*, ſucceeded his Father *Doryſſus*, who was the fifth King from *Euryſthenes*. The Reign of this *Ageſilaus* was very long [*A*], and yet it affords an Hiſtorian ſcarce any materials. The Hiſtories of

[*A*] *Was very long.*] In ſaying this, I rely more on the Authority of *Euſebius* than on that of *Pauſanias*. The latter aſſures us, that *Doryſſus*, and his Son *Ageſilaus*, did but juſt ſhew themſelves on the Throne; Δι' ὀλίγου σφᾶς τὸ χρεὼν ἐπέλαβεν ἀμφοτέρους. —— *Death ſoon ſeized them both* (1). But *Euſebius* makes them reign ſeventy three Years: he gives twenty nine Years to the Father's Reign, and forty four to

(1) Pauſan. lib. 3. p. 82.

of thoſe Remote Times (*a*) have not been preſerved. *Pauſanias* ought not to have ſaid, that *Lycurgus* gave Laws to *Lacedemon* [*B*] in this Reign (*b*). *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd* and *Hofman* confound this *Ageſilaus* with *Ageſilaus* II. for they ſay of the latter, that he was the Sixth King of *Lacedemon*.

(*a*) *The Reign of* AGESILAUS *began in the Year of the World* 2992. *according to* Helvicus, 24 *Years after the Death of* Solomon.

(*b*) Pauſan. lib. 3. pag. 82.

to the Son's. *Calviſius* quotes *Pauſanias* for this Duration: This is to make a judicious Choice of one's Witneſs.

[*B*] *That* Lycurgus *gave Laws to* Lacedemon.] *Meurſius* proves, in his Antiquities of *Lacedemon*, that *Lycurgus* publiſhed his Laws in the thirtieth Year of *Archelaus*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Ageſilaus*.

AGESILAUS, the ſecond of the Name, King of the *Lacedemonians*, was the Son of *Archidamus*. He had perhaps Ambition enough to deſire the Kingdom in excluſion of his elder Brother *Agis*; but, however that be, it was not perceived, till after the Death of *Agis*, that he was deſirous the Order of Succeſſion ſhould be broke in upon for his ſake. This Deſire had all the Succeſs he could expect; for they did *Leotychides*, Son of *Agis*, the Injuſtice [*A*] to exclude him from the Crown in Favour of *Ageſilaus* (*a*). The latter repaired by a great number of fine Actions what was irregular in this firſt ſtep, and tho' he was of a diminutive Stature, an unpromiſing Aſpect, and lame [*B*], he juſtly acquired the Reputation of a great Captain. He was brave, vigilant, and ready; he improved every Advantage to the utmoſt, and knew how to make the beſt uſe of Occurrences; he underſtood all the Stratagems of War, and he had the Art of deceiving his Enemies, at the ſame time that he let them know his

(*a*) *This happened according to* Calviſius, *in the* 3*d Year of the* 95*th Olympiad.*

[*A*] *They did* Leotychides —— *the Injuſtice.*] We cannot give their Treatment of him any other Name, if we examine well the Reaſons of it. *Ageſilaus* did not deny, but that, according to the Laws of the Country, the Crown belonged to his Brother's Son; but he maintained that *Leotychides* was not the Son of *Agis*; and made uſe of theſe two Methods of Proof. He ſaid in the firſt Place, that *Timea*, the Mother of *Leotychides*, was ſo fond of *Alcibiades*, who had fled to *Lacedemon* for Refuge, that her Husband ſuſpected, that the Child, which ſhe had ſome time after, had no other Father, than that Gallant. This concerned *Leotychides*. It was of Him that *Timea* was delivered about that Time: It was He, whom *Ageſilaus* did not acknowledge for his Son but on his Death-bed. *Ageſilaus* alledged in the ſecond Place the Teſtimony of *Neptune*. He ſaid, That *Agis* was driven from his Wife's Bed by an Earthquake, and that *Timea* was brought to Bed of *Leotychides* above ten Months after (1). Theſe two Reaſons ſtand for nothing; the Maxim, *Pater eſt quem nuptiæ demonſtrant*, —— *Wedlock makes the Father*, ruins them entirely. If, whenever a Husband takes Umbrage at ſeeing his Wife pleaſed with the Viſits, or private Converſations, of a Stranger, he ſhould exclude from the Inheritance the Children born about that Time, What a Confuſion would it introduce? Therefore, though it ſhould be true what an Hiſtorian ſays, That *Timea* made no Scruple of calling her Son by the Name of *Alcibiades*, before her Women, inſtead of *Leotychides* (2), nothing could be legally concluded from this Fact in favour of *Ageſilaus*. *Timea* herſelf ought to have declared what ſhe meant by this Language (3), and whether ſhe uſed it in earneſt, or by way of inſult, or meerly in jeſt. Much leſs could they have alledged the Indiſcretion of *Alcibiades*, if it had been true that he boaſted of his Familiarity with *Timea*, not thro' a Principle of Gallantry, but out of an Ambition of giving Kings to *Lacedemon* (4). An hundred Reaſons of this kind ought not to have balanced the Act, by which *Agis* acknowledged *Leotychides* for his Son, in the Preſence of good Witneſſes, on his Death-bed. The ſecond Reaſon of *Ageſilaus* was an idle Story; for let *Neptune* be never ſo much the cauſe of Earthquakes, how could it be proved, that *Agis* durſt not lie with *Timea* after the Earthquake in queſtion? A Lying-in ten Months after the laſt Careſſes of an Husband (5), is no Proof in Law. The Maxim, *Pater eſt quam nuptiæ demonſtrant*, and the Deciſions of Phyſicians, remove all Suſpicions. So that it may be ſaid that the *Lacedemonians*, a People who piqued themſelves upon a very rigid Morality, took away a Crown for Reaſons, which, in a well regulated Court, would have been inſufficient to have excluded a Man from the Inheritance of an Acre of Land. But the Misfortune of *Leotychides* was, that *Lyſander* the moſt intriguing, the moſt deceitful, and the moſt factious of all Men, who had gained a Reputation in the City proportionable to his Abilities, and the Victories which he had obtained over the Enemies, took it in his Head to cauſe *Ageſilaus* to be crowned (6). No fundamental Law can hold againſt ſuch Perſons: If you alledge the Divine Law to them, they explain it their own way. This *Lyſander* did, when he heard that a Prophet of *Lacedemon* would have pleaded, in favour of *Leotychides*, an Oracle, which forbad the *Lacedemonians* to ſuffer a lame Perſon to reign. *This*, ſays Lyſander, *does not relate to the Defects of the Feet, but the Defects of the Blood; and it is* Leotychides, *who would make your Kingdom halt, not being of the Race of your Kings*.

[*B*] *Tho' he was of a diminutive Stature, an unpromiſing Aſpect, and lame.*] He was always the firſt to rally his own Lameneſs (7), as is commonly practiſed by Men of Wit in the like caſe; by which means they diſconcert the Schemes of the Laughers. "Materia petulantibus, & per contumeliam urbanis "detrahitur, ſi ultro illam & prior occupes. Nemo aliis "riſum præbuit, qui ex ſe cepit. Vatinium hominem natum & ad riſum, & ad odium, ſcurram fuiſſe venuſtum ac dicacem, memoriæ proditum eſt. "In pedes ſuos ipſe plurima dicebat, & in fauces "conciſas: Sic inimicorum, quos plures habebat "quam morbos, & in primis Ciceronis urbanitatem, "effugit (8). —— *The Invectives of the ill-natured,* "*and the Raillery of the Witty, are diſappointed by* "*being beforehand with them. No one is liable to* "*be laughed at by others, who firſt laughs at himſelf.* Vatinius, *a Man deſigned by Nature the* "*common Object of Ridicule and Contempt, is reported to have been an ingenious and talkative Droll.* "*He was always jeſting upon his own Feet, and his* "*little Mouth: Thus he eſcaped the Ridicule of his Enemies, of whom he had more in Number than Diſeaſes,* "*and particular of* Cicero." The Pleaſantry of *Ageſilaus*, and the Strength wherewith he endured the moſt painful Exerciſes, made amends for all his bodily Defects (9), for without theſe his deſpicable Outſide would have been very prejudicial to him. Λέγεται μικρός τε γένεσθαι καὶ ὄψιν εὐκαταφρόνητος. *He is ſaid to have been ſmall of Stature and of a contemptible Aſpect* (10). The *Ephori* had fined his Father for having married a little Woman (11), from whence they concluded would ſpring but a diminutive Race of Kings. *Cornelius Nepos* ſpeaks more expreſsly of *Ageſilaus*'s ill Mein than *Plutarch*. "Atque hic tantus vir, "*ſays he* (12), ut naturam fautricem habuerat in "tribuendis animi virtutibus, ſic maleficam nactus eſt "in corpore, exiguus & claudus altero pede, quæ res "etiam nonnullam afferebat deformitatem, atque ignoti faciem ejus cùm intuerentur, contemnebant. "—— *This great Man, as he experienced Nature* "*favourable in beſtowing on him the Virtues of the* "*Mind, ſo he found her unpropitious in regard to his* "*Body, being little and lame of one Foot, which rendered him in ſome manner deformed; inſomuch* "*that thoſe who were unacquainted with him, at* "*firſt Sight were apt to deſpiſe him.*" Never was the *minuit præſentia famam* more true than with reſpect

(1) Ex Plut. in Ageſil. p. 597. & Xenoph. de Rebus Græcis, lib. 3. pag. 214.

(2) Duris, apud Plut. ubi ſupra.

(3) *According to the Maxims of the Law, the Evidence which a Perſon gives againſt himſelf is not received.*

(4) Plut. in Ageſil. pag. 214.

(5) *Note, that the Ancients allow'd ten Months for the Term of Child-bearing*; Matri longa decem tulerunt faſtidia menſes. Virg. Ecl. 4. ver. 61. & La Cerda *upon that Paſſage.*

(6) Plut. & Xenoph. ubi ſupra.

(7) Plut. ib. pag. 569. *E.*

(8) Seneca de Conſtantia Sapientis, cap. 17. pag. 692.

(9) Plut. in Ageſil. pag. 596.

(10) Id. ib.

(11) Id. ib.

(12) Corn. Nepos in ejus Vita, cap. 8.

his True Intentions [C]. He was deſirous they ſhou'd underſtand the Trade of Arms; otherwiſe it wou'd have been difficult for him to have drawn them into his Snares (*b*). He had the Art likewiſe of deceiving his own Soldiers, by giving them, inſtead of the bad News he received, a fictitious Relation of ſome great Triumph (*c*). This deſerves to be remarked, to undeceive thoſe, who believe, that it is only ſince the Invention of the *Gazette*, that the Public has been impoſed upon in this way. As ſoon as *Ageſilaus* was on the Throne, he adviſed the *Lacedemonians* to prevent the King of *Perſia*, who was making great Preparations for War, and to attack him in his own Dominions (*d*). He was choſen for this Expedition, and gained ſo many Advantages over the Enemy, that if the League, which the *Athenians* and *Thebans* had formed againſt *Lacedemon*, had not croſſed his Enterprizes, he would have carried his victorious Arms into the Center of the *Perſian* Monarchy. He quitted all theſe Triumphs with a good Grace, to come to the Aſſiſtance of his Country, and freed it very fortunately, by the Battel which he gained over the Allies in *Bœotia* [*D*]. He gained another Battel near *Corinth* (*e*); but he afterwards had the Vexation to ſee the *Thebans* obtain ſignal Victories over the *Lacedemonians*. Theſe Miſfortunes raiſed many Malecontents againſt him; but, after all, they did not obſcure his Glory. He had been ſick during the firſt Advantages, which the Enemy gain'd (*f*); and when he was fit for Action, he prevented, by his Valour and Prudence, the Conſequences of the laſt Victories of the *Thebans*; inſomuch that it was the general Opinion, that, had he been in Health at the beginning of the War, the *Lacedemonians* would not have been worſted, and that they would have been entirely ſubdued in the end without him (*g*). It cannot be denied that he loved War, more than the Intereſts of his Subjects required (*h*); for if he could have lived in Peace, he would have ſaved his Country many Loſſes, and would not have engaged it in Undertakings, which ended only in a very great Diminution of the Power of the *Lacedemonians*. This inſatiable Thirſt for War and Slaughter, puſh'd him, in his old Age, on an Enterprize, which was generally diſapproved (*i*). He was above eighty Years of Age, when he undertook to lead Troops into *Egypt*, to ſupport *Tachus*, who had revolted againſt the *Perſians*. But, being diſguſted at *Tachus*, he forſook him to take the part of *Nectanabus*, a Relation of *Tachus*, whom he powerfully aſſiſted; after which he deſigned to return to *Lacedemon*; but he died of a Fit of Sickneſs by the Way, in the third Year of the CIVth *Olympiad* [*E*]. He was Eighty four Years of Age, whereof he had reigned Forty one (*k*). Mr *Moreri* has committed

(*b*) Plut. in Ageſilao, pag. 617. *E*.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 605. Xenophon. de Rebus Græcis, lib. 4. pag. 224.

(*d*) Cornel. Nepos in Ageſil. vita, cap. 2.

(*e*) Ex Cornel. Nepote, ibid.

(*f*) Plut. in Ageſil. pag. 611. *E*.

(*g*) Talem ſe imperatorem præbuit, ut eo tempore omnibus apparuerit, niſi ille fuiſſet, Spartam futuram non fuiſſe. *Corn. Nep. ibid. cap.* 6.

(*h*) Plut. in Ageſil. pag. 616. *B*.

(*i*) Id. ib. *C*.

(*k*) Plut. p. 617, 618. Corn. Nepos in Ageſil.

reſpect to him. Fame went before him into *Egypt*, and repreſented him there under the moſt pompous Ideas. As ſoon as they heard of his landing, they ran in Crowds to ſee him: Judge then how they were ſurprized, to ſee a little Man lie on the Graſs in a mean and ſlovenly Garment. They could not forbear laughing, and applying to him the Fable of the Mountain, which brought forth a Mouſe (13). Their Contempt was not leſſened, when they ſaw the Choice he made of the Refreſhments ſent him by the King (14). See below the Remark [*G*].

[*C*] *He deceived his Enemies, at the ſame time that he let them know his true Intentions.*] The Reaſon was, They did not believe ſo expert a General would diſcover his Deſigns. "Vidit, ſi quo eſſet iter "facturus palam pronunciaſſet, hoſtes non credituros, "aliaſque regiones occupaturos, nec dubitaturos aliud "eſſe facturum ac pronunciaſſet. Itaque cum ille "Sardis ſe iturum dixiſſet, Tiſſaphernes eamdem Ca"riam defendendam putavit (15). *He knew that if* "*he publickly declared the Rout he was about to take,* "*the Enemy would not believe him, and would poſt* "*themſelves in a quite different Place, nor would* "*doubt of his acting contrary to his Declaration. Ac*"*cordingly, when he gave out, that he would march* "*to* Sardes, Tiſſaphernes *thought proper to ſtay and* "*defend* Caria." We ſhould improperly apply here the Thought of Mr *Wicquefort: Sir* George Downing, *Ambaſſador of* England, *had not Probity nor Prudence enough to be perſwaded, that no Miniſter deceives more ſecurely nor more pleaſingly, than he who never deceives; becauſe in keeping the High-road, thoſe, who look for By-ways and Evaſions, can never meet him* (16). The Compariſon between ſuch a Miniſter, and our *Ageſilaus*, would be a very lame one; for this King of *Lacedemon*, in publiſhing his Intentions, deceived his Enemies, only becauſe on other Occaſions he had concealed his Intentions. A General, who purſues this Scheme, can ſeldom make uſe of a more ſucceſsful Stratagem, than that of ſpreading a true Report of his Marches. The Contrivance will be good, becauſe it is new, and the Enemy has not yet been deceived by it. Read this Paſſage of *Xenophon*; it is *Cambyſes* who ſpeaks to his Son *Cyrus*, and who compares new Stratagems in War to new Airs of Muſic. Καὶ σφόδρα μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μȣσικοῖς τὰ νέα εὐδοκιμεῖ, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς μᾶλλον τὰ καινὰ μηχανήματα εὐδοκιμεῖ, ταῦτα γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐξαπατᾷν δύνανται τȣ̀ς πολεμίȣς (17). *And as in Muſic what is new is moſt eſteemed, ſo in War the neweſt Stratagems are the beſt; for they are moſt likely to deceive the Enemy.* We ſhall obſerve in another Place (18), that ſome Men, by dint of Folly, avoid being impoſed on.

[*D*] *Which he gained over the Allies in* Bœotia.] The Battle was fought at *Coronea*. *Xenophon*, who ſerved under *Ageſilaus* in it, gives the ſame Account (19); as does *Plutarch* (20). *Lambinus*, in his Commentary on theſe Words of *Cornelius Nepos*, *apud Coroneam quos omnes gravi prælio vicit*, would, without neceſſity, correct the Word Χαιρώνειαν of *Plutarch*, by that of Κορωνείαν. *Plutarch* mentioned theſe two Places, without pretending, that the Battle was fought in the firſt. *But*, ſays *Lambinus*, *could* Ageſilaus, *going from* Phocis, *advance into* Bœotia, *as far as* Chæronea, *if* Chæronea *is in* Phocis? No, doubtleſs; but this I F is falſe, and *Lambinus* ſhews by it, that he was but little verſed in Geography. See the Commentary of *Kirckmaierus* on *Cornelius Nepos*, at pag. 722. *Charles Stephens* erred yet more groſly, when he placed *Chæronea* in *Peloponneſus*. *Lloyd* and *Hofman* followed him in this Error.

[*E*] *He died of a Fit of Sickneſs by the Way, in the third Year of the hundred and fourth* Olympiad.] A Storm having obliged him to put into Harbour, he was carried into a Deſart Place, called the Port of *Menelaus*, where he died (21). *Hic cum ex Ægypto reverteretur —— veniſſetque in portum qui Menelai vocatur, jacens inter Cyrenas & Ægyptum, in morbum implicitus deceſſit* (22). It was in the third Year of the hundred and fourth *Olympiad*, according to *Calviſius*: But we ſee by this, that his Calculation is falſe; for from the third Year of the Ninety fifth *Olympiad*, the beginning, as he ſays, of the Reign of *Ageſilaus*, to the third Year of the hundred and fourth *Olympiad*, there are but thirty ſix Years: And yet he allows forty one Years to that

(13) Plut. ibid. p. 616. *See the Artic.* *TACHUS.*

(14) Corn. Nepos, ubi ſupra.

(15) Ibid. cap. 3. *See alſo* Plutarch *in* Ageſilaus, pag. 600. *F.*

(16) Wicquefort's *Ambaſſador*, pag. 170.

(17) Xenoph. Cyropæd. circa fin. pag. 21.

(18) *In one of the Remarks of the Article SIMONIDES.*

(19) Xenophon. de Rebus Græc. lib. 4. pag. 225.

(20) Plut. in Ageſil. pag. 605.

(21) Plut. pag. 618.

(22) Corn. Nepos. in Vit. Ageſil. ſub fin.

mitted ſome Miſtakes here [*F*]. We ſhall ſee in the Article CONON, whether *Cornelius Nepos* and *Juſtin* have done their part in the Hiſtory of *Ageſilaus*. This Prince would never ſuffer his Effigies to be made either in *Relievo*, or in Flat-Painting (*l*); nay he forbad it by his Laſt Will. Some have been of Opinion, that he did this, becauſe he was ſenſible he was not an handſome Man, *diffidens formæ ſuæ* (*m*). Never any Perſon lived in greater Simplicity than he [*G*]. But he knew very well how to couch the Spirit, the Heart, and the Religion of a Sovereign [*H*], under this outſide

(*l*) Plut. in Ageſil. *See alſo* Cicero's Epiſt. ad Famil. 12. lib. 5. pag. 260. Edit. Græv.

(*m*) Apul. in Apolog. pag. 282.

Reign. Let us then place the beginning of it, with *Helvicus*, in the ſecond Year of the Ninety third *Olympiad*, and the end in the third Year of the hundred and fourth.

[*F*] *Mr* Moreri *has committed ſome Miſtakes here.*] It is falſe; I. That *Leotychides* was the Natural Son of King *Agis*. II. That *Lyſander* zealouſly maintained *Leotychides*'s Pretenſions (23). III. That *Ageſilaus* ever encamped near the City of *Heronce*, in *Bœotia* (24). IV. That he had a noble Preſence, and full of Majeſty (25). V. That he ſaid, That the Oracle which excluded the Lame from the Crown, ought to be underſtood of the Imperfections of the Mind, or of Birth. Theſe two laſt Faults belong to the Supplement of *Moreri*. I paſs over his giving the *Egyptian* a wrong Name, to whom *Ageſilaus* did Service: His Name was not *Nactenebon*.

[*G*] *In greater Simplicity than he.*] He was the worſt cloath'd of any Perſon in his whole Army (26). After his *Aſiatic* Expedition, wherein he had acquir'd ſuch an high Reputation, which had received an additional Luſtre from the Battle of *Coronea*, he liv'd in *Sparta*, as a good *Lacedemonian* of the old Times would have done. He alter'd nothing in his Garments, in his Bathings, or in his Meals; and, what was perhaps more difficult, he would not ſuffer his Wife to be better dreſs'd than before, nor permit her to diſtinguiſh her Daughter, in Proceſſions, by finer Cloaths than thoſe of other young Ladies. He would not repair the Gates of his Houſe, though they were ſo old and ruinous, that they ſeem'd to be the ſame, which *Ariſtodemus* had built in that place (27). Obſerve, That *Ariſtodemus* was one of the *Heraclidæ*, to whoſe Share the City of *Sparta* fell, and from whom deſcended the Kings of *Lacedemon*, divided into two Families on account of the two Sons which he left. " In hoc (*Ageſilao*) " illud in primis fuit admirabile, cum maxima mune" ra ei ab regibus & dynaſtis civitatibuſque conferren" tur, nihil unquam in domum ſuam contulit, nihil " de victu, nihil de veſtitu Laconum mutavit. Do" mo eadem fuit contentus, qua Euryſthenes proge" nitor majorum ſuorum (28) fuerat uſus, quam qui " intrarat nullum ſignum libidinis, nullum luxuriæ " videre poterat; contra plurima patientiæ atque ab" ſtinentiæ. Sic enim erat inſtructa, ut nulla in re " differret à cujuſvis inopis atque privati (29).—— " *What was the moſt worthy of Admiration in him,* " (Ageſilaus) *was, that, though he receiv'd the moſt* " *magnificent Preſents from Kings, Dynaſts, and Re*" *publics, he apply'd no Part of them to his own Fa*" *mily, made no Alteration in his manner of living,* " *nor any change in his* Lacedemonian *Dreſs. He was* " *content with the ſame Houſe, in which* Euryſthenes, " *the Progenitor of his Anceſtors, liv'd; which who*" *ever enter'd, could perceive no Signs of Luxury or* " *Exceſs, but many of Content and Frugality. For it* " *was furniſh'd in all reſpects like the Houſe of an in*" *digent and private Perſon.*" When it was known that *Ageſilaus* was arrived in *Egypt*, they ſent him all ſorts of Proviſions: He choſe only the moſt common; and left the Perfumes, Comfits, and Delicacies (30) to his Servants. The *Egyptians*, inſtead of admiring this Behaviour, derided the Prince, and took him for a ſilly Fellow, who did not know what was good. " Ille præter vitulina, & hujuſmodi genera " obſonii, quæ præſens tempus deſiderabat, nihil ac" cepit, unguenta, coronas, ſecundamque menſam " ſervis diſpertiit, cætera referri juſſit. Quo facto " eum barbari magis etiam contempſerunt, quod eum " ignorantia bonarum rerum illa potiſſimum ſump" ſiſſe arbitrabantur (31)." You will find in *Plutarch*, I. That this Prince behav'd in the ſame manner, when the *Thracians* ſent him Preſents. II. That he derided them, when they offer'd him divine Honours (32).

[*H*] *The Spirit, the Heart, and the Religion of a Sovereign.*] *Plutarch* teſtifies, that thoſe, who govern'd in *Lacedemon*, acknowledg'd no other Juſtice, than that which tended to the Advantage and aggrandizing of the State (33). It was among them the Rule and the Meaſure of Law and Honeſty; if a thing was uſeful to the Public, it immediately paſs'd for lawful. I believe *Plutarch* ſays the Truth; but he ought not to have confin'd his Obſervation to the City of *Sparta* alone. Thoſe of *Athens* (34), and *Thebes*, had no better Principles; and, generally ſpeaking, they are the Maxims of all States: The only Difference is in Degrees; ſome ſave Appearances better than others. However, *Ageſilaus* was quite abandon'd to this iniquitous Morality. Being ſuſpected to have induc'd *Phebidas* to ſurprize the Citadel of *Thebes*, in full Peace, and by a Fraud, which made all *Greece* exclaim, he repreſented, That they ought firſt to examine, whether the Action was of Advantage to the State; and that every Perſon ought, in his private Capacity, to do what tended to the Advantage of the State (35). He obtain'd, that *Phebidas* ſhould be acquitted, and that a Garriſon ſhould be ſent into the Citadel. In his *Egyptian* Expedition, did he not abandon *Tachus*, who had hired his Aſſiſtance, and embrace the Intereſts of *Nectanabus*, for this Reaſon alone, becauſe it was more for the Intereſt of the *Lacedemonians* to ſupport the latter than the former? An Action, which under the Mask of public Good, was downright Treachery, as *Plutarch* himſelf obſerv'd. Ατόπου καὶ ἀλλοκότου πράγματος παρακαλύμματι τῷ συμφέροντι τῆς πατρίδος χρησάμενος· ἐπεὶ ταύτης γε τῆς προφάσεως ἀφαιρεθείσης τὸ δικαιότατον ὄνομα τῆς πράξεως ἦν προδοσία (36). *Abſurdo & indigno facinori commodum prætexens patriæ: quando hoc quidem velamento detracto nomen iſtius facti veriſſimum erat proditio.* In Converſation *Ageſilaus* talk'd of nothing but Juſtice; his Diſcourſes upon this Subject were the fineſt in the World (37). Hearing that a certain thing was pleaſing to the *great King* (38), he demanded, *How is he greater than I, if he is not more Juſt?* Fine Theory! but his Practice did not anſwer it, when his Kingdom was in queſtion. I am apt to believe, that, for private Views, he could not eaſily have acted againſt Conviction; and this is the Reaſon why I pretend, he had the *Religion* of a *Sovereign*. How many Kings and Princes are zealous for their Religion, Juſt and Honeſt in themſelves; but if it be thought for the public Good to annoy their Enemies, moſt of them, if not all, follow the Maxims of *Lacedemon?* I believe a Book, entituled, *The Religion of a Sovereign*, would ſell well; it would cauſe the *Religio Medici* to be forgotten.

Two Days ago I heard a Perſon of Merit ſay, that an *Italian* Prince, demanding too advantageous Conditions, in negotiating a Treaty of Peace with a powerful Monarch, who had taken moſt of his Dominions from him, the Envoy of that Monarch anſwered him, *But what Security will you give the King my Maſter, if he complies with all your Demands? Anſwer him,* reply'd the Prince, *that I engage my Word to him, not in quality of a Sovereign, for, as ſuch, I muſt ſacrifice every thing to aggrandize myſelf, and lay hold of every Opportunity of contributing to the Glory and Advantage of my Dominions; tell him, then, that I engage my Word to him, not in this Quality (which would be to promiſe nothing) but as a Gentleman, and an honeſt Man.* Though this Language does not anſwer the Ideas of thoſe, who have introduc'd, in the Style of the *Chancery*, the ſet Form, *We promiſe upon the Faith and Word of a King*, yet it is very Sincere, and very Juſt.

Let us make two Remarks more. Firſt, I diſtinguiſh between the Belief of *Urban* VIII, and that of *Mapheus Barbarini*. The Religion of a Sovereign, as ſuch, and Religion, perſonally ſpeaking, are two things.

My other Remark is this. *Ageſilaus* had a very great reſpect for his Gods; he would not ſuffer their Temple to be plundered nor prophan'd, neither in *Greece*, nor in the Country of the *Barbarians*; and he reckon'd thoſe as ſacrilegious, who treated an Enemy

(23) *See the Remark* [*A*] *concerning the two firſt Miſtakes.*

(24) *I do not believe that there was a City called* Heronce, *either in* Bœotia, *or any where elſe.*

(25) *See the Remark* [*B*].

(26) Plut. in Ageſil. pag. 503. C.

(27) Id. ib. pag. 606.

(28) *He had done better to have ſaid* Ariſtodemus, *as* Plutarch *did, for* Ageſilaus *did not deſcend from* Euryſthenes, *but from* Procles, *the ſecond Son of* Ariſtodemus.

(29) Corn. Nepos, c. 7.

(30) Plut. in Ageſil. pag. 616.

(31) Corn. Nepos, ubi ſupra, cap. 8.

(32) Plut. in Apophth. pag. 210. *See alſo* Athenæus, lib. 14. pag. 657.

(33) Plut. in Ageſil. pag. 617. Idem in *Alcibiade.*

(34) *See the Remark* [*C*] *of the Article* ARISTIDES.

(35) Idem in Ageſil. pag. 6c8.

(36) Id. ib. pag. 617.

(37) Id. ib. pag. 608.

(38) *The* Greeks *gave this Appellation to the King of* Perſia. *See the Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* ARTABANUS IV.

outſide of Regularity, and philoſophical Frugality. He had ſuch a great Tenderneſs for his Children, that he would amuſe himſelf with them in the moſt childiſh Exerciſes [*I*], ſuch as riding on a Hobby-horſe.

It will not be uſeleſs to remark the ſmall Account he made of thoſe, who greatly prided themſelves in feeding and dreſſing Horſes for the Races of the *Olympic* Games. He wou'd perſuade them it was a trifling Ambition; and that it was an Affair of Expence, not a Proof of Merit or of Virtue; and for this purpoſe he perſuaded his Siſter to diſpute this Prize (*n*). This Lady having prepared her Horſe for the Exerciſe, came into the Liſts and gained the Victory. She was the firſt Woman who obtained this Honour (*o*). Her Name was *Cyniſca*. I cannot think *Dicæarchus* was ignorant of this, tho' he complains that he could not find what the Name of *Ageſilaus*'s Daughter [*K*] was. He might have known it, if he had done what *Plutarch* did [*L*].

(*n*) Plut. in Ageſil. pag. 6c6. D.

(*o*) Pauſan. lib. 3. pag. 88, 96.

Enemy ill that had taken Refuge in a Temple (39). During the March of his Troops, he lodg'd always in the moſt ſacred Temples, that the Gods might be Witneſſes of his moſt private, domeſtic, Actions. Ἐσκήνου μὲν γὰρ ἀποδημῶν καθ' αὑτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἁγιοτάτοις ἱεροῖς· ἃ μὴ πολλοὶ καθορῶσιν ἄνθρωποι πράττοντας ἡμᾶς, τούτων θεοὺς ποιούμενος ἐπόπτας καὶ μάρτυρας· *Tendebat enim, cum iter faceret, ſolus in ſanctiſſimis delubris, ac quibus rebus paucos adhibemus arbitros, earum Deos faciebat inſpectores* (40). This was his *Perſonal* Religion; but when he conſidered himſelf in the Character of a *King*, the Good and Advantage of his Kingdom were his principal Divinity, to which he ſacrificed Virtue and Juſtice, divine and human Laws. I cannot tell, whether all, who quote this Sentence of *Euripides*,

(39) Corn. Nepos, in Vit. Ageſil. cap. 4.

(40) Plut. in Ageſil. pag. 603.

> Nam ſi violandum eſt jus, regnandi gratia
> Violandum eſt: aliis rebus pietatem colas (41).

(41) Cic. de Offic. lib. 3. cap. 21.

for if Juſtice be ever to be violated, it is to be violated for the Sake of a Kingdom: in other Caſes follow Virtue; whether every one, I ſay, who cites this, comprehends the full Force of it. It repreſents the Sentiments of thoſe, who acquire Kingdoms, and of thoſe who govern States; they fall ſometimes into Superſtition. Conſider *Ageſilaus*'s private Conduct; it was very regular, *aliis rebus pietatem colas*; he does not ſwerve from Equity; but in the Capacity of a King, *regnandi gratia violandum eſt*. As a Man, he will deal with you ſincerely, *amicus uſque ad aras*; but, as a Prince, if he ſpeaks his real Sentiments, he will tell you, *I will obſerve the Treaty of Peace, ſo long as the Good of my Kingdom requires it*; *I will deſpiſe my Oath, when Maxims of State will have it ſo.* If he would rather have the *Perſians* break the Truce, than begin to violate it himſelf, it is becauſe he expected to find his Account in this Conduct of the *Perſians*. "Multum in eo conſequi ſe dicebat, quod "Tiſſaphernes perjurio ſuo & homines ſuis rebus aba"lienaret, & Deos ſibi iratos redderet (42). —— "*This, he ſaid, would be much for his Advantage*; "*ſince* Tiſſaphernes, *by his Perjury, would loſe the* "*Favour of Men, and incur the Anger of the Gods.*"

(42) Corn. Nepos, ubi ſupra, c. 2.

Our good *Ageſilaus*, who would have thought it an Offence againſt good Morality, to be well cloathed, and to live luxuriouſly, made no Scruple to uſurp a Kingdom. Thus certain Caſuiſts damn every Woman without Remiſſion, who dreſſes too delicately: They cannot bear their Ribbons, or their Jewels; but at the ſame time they not only permit Men to revolt, and to engage in Civil Wars, but even exhort them to it.

[*I*] *In the moſt childiſh Exerciſes.*] Being ſurpriſed one Day riding, among his Children, on a Hobby-Horſe, he only ſaid to him, who ſaw him in that Poſture, *forbear to ſpeak of it, 'till you are a Father* (43). We muſt not, upon this Occaſion, apply theſe Verſes of *Horace*.

(43) Plut. in Ageſil. pag. 610. *See likewiſe Æ*lian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12. cap. 5.

> Ædificare caſas, ploſtello adjungere mures,
> Ludere par impar, EQUITARE IN ARUNDINE LONGA
> Si quem delectet barbatum, amentia verſet (44).

(44) Horat. Sat. 3. lib. 2. ver. 247.

> *If any, grown a Man, delights to raiſe*
> *Dirt-Pies, and, like a Child, at Puſh-pin plays,*
> *Yokes Rats and Mice unto a little Plough,*
> *And* RIDES UPON AN HOBBY-HORSE, *or ſo*
> *Sure he is Mad.* CREECH.

For the Poet is not deſcribing thoſe, who, in Compliance to their own Children, amuſe themſelves at home in this Manner. *La Mothe le Vayer* is not exact, when he ſays, that *King* Ageſilaus, *as well as* Alcibiades, *was ſurpris'd in* playing boyiſh Tricks among Children, and that the Philoſopher *Socrates* gloried in it (45). He cites *Seneca* in the laſt Chapter of the firſt Book *de Tranquillitate*. Here are many Errors: I. He ought to have ſpecified, that *Ageſilaus* play'd the Boy only with his own Children. II. The Treatiſe *de Tranquillitate* contains but one Book. III. Nothing is ſaid either of *Alcibiades*, or of *Ageſilaus*, in the Chapter cited. IV. It is not ſaid there, that *Socrates* gloried in playing with Children; it is only ſaid that he was not aſhamed of it. *Cum pueris Socrates ludens non erubeſcebat.* V. *Valerius Maximus*, and *Ælian*, who mention this Sport of *Socrates*, ſay that *Alcibiades* ſurpris'd him at it. "Non erubuit tunc, cum inter"poſitâ arundine cruribus ſuis cum parvulis filiolis lu"dens ab Alcibiade riſus eſt (46). —— *He did not* "*bluſh, when, riding upon an Hobby-horſe among his* "*little Sons, he was laugh'd at by* Alcibiades. Σω"κράτης δὲ κατελήφθη ποτὲ ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου παίζων με"τὰ Λαμπροκλέους ἔτι νηπίου (47). Socrates *was once* "*ſurpris'd by* Alcibiades, *playing with* Lamprocles, "*yet a Child.*" But I do not remember to have read, that others ſurpris'd *Alcibiades* at it. VI. Theſe two Authors obſerve that *Socrates* plaid with his *own* Children.

(45) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. 1. pag. 217. Edit. 12mo.

(46) Valer. Maximus, lib. 8. c. 8. ſub fin.

(47) Ælian. ubi ſupra.

[*K*] *I cannot think that* Dicæarchus *was ignorant of —— the Name of* Ageſilaus's *Daughter.*] *Cyniſca* was not only the firſt Woman who obtain'd the Prize in the Chariot-Races of the *Olympic* Games, but the moſt Illuſtrious of all thoſe Ladies, who obtain'd the like Victory afterwards (48). The Poet *Simonides* honour'd her with an Epigram (49). She conſecrated Horſes of Braſs as a Monument of her Victory, which were placed at the Entrance of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* (50). Her Statue, made by *Apelles*, and adorn'd with divers Inſcriptions, was to be ſeen in the Temple of *Juno* at *Elis* (51). The *Lacedemonians* erected a Monument like that of a Hero, Ἡρῷον, to her (52). So that it is not likely that the Name of *Ageſilaus*'s Siſter was unknown to any *Greek* Hiſtorian.

(48) Pauſan. lib. 3. p. 88.

(49) Id. ib.

(50) Id. lib. 5. pag. 159.

(51) Id. lib. 6. pag. 178.

(52) Id. lib. 3. p. 96.

[*L*] *He might have known it, if he had done what* Plutarch *did.*] This latter Hiſtorian informs us, that *Dicæarchus* was very angry, that neither the Name of *Ageſilaus*'s Daughter, nor of *Epaminondas*'s Mother, was known. Ὁ Δικαίαρχος ἐπηγάνακτησεν· Stomachabatur Dicæarchus, &c. *As for myſelf*, continues he, *I have found in the Regiſters of the* Lacedemonians, *that* Ageſilaus's *Wife's Name was* Cleora, *and that the Name of one of his two Daughters was* Apola, *and the Name of the other* Prolyta. I am not ſurpris'd, that *Dicæarchus* was vex'd at the Negligence of the Hiſtorians; for we are naturally deſirous of knowing the Families of great Men. It was a little ſtrange, that the Names of *Ageſilaus*'s Wife and Daughters were only to be met with in the Archives of *Lacedemon*.

(53) Plut. ubi ſupra, pag. 606.

AGESIPOLIS, the firſt of the Name, King of *Lacedemon*, ſucceeded his Father *Pauſanias*, who had taken Refuge in a Temple, (*a*), when he found, that his Conduct, in concluding a Peace with the *Thebans*, was diſapprov'd. They permitted him

(*a*) *In that of* Minerva *at* Tegea. *Pauſan. lib.* 3. pag. 86.

him to continue in that Aſylum, and placed his Son *Ageſipolis* on the Throne, under the Guardianſhip of *Ariſtodemus* (*b*). This happened in the 3d Year of the XCVIth *Olympiad* (*c*). He was of Age, when the *Lacedemonians* reſolved to attack the *Athenians* and *Thebans* at the ſame time: but as they judged it imprudent, in ſuch a War, not to be ſecure of the *Argians*, they began with them (*d*). *Ageſipolis*, who was to command againſt them, made a ſcruple of it, becauſe they demanded a Truce of him. He deſir'd to ſatisfy his Doubts, by conſulting with *Jupiter* upon this caſe of Conſcience; which he did in Perſon, in the famous *Olympian* Temple. He demanded, whether he might reject the Propoſals, which the *Argians* made, of a Truce; and whether he might not pretend, that they had miſ-timed their Propoſition, by delaying to talk of Peace, till the *Lacedemonian* Troops were upon the Point of attacking them? The Oracle anſwered, that the Demands of the *Argians* were unjuſt, and that they might honourably be refuſed (*e*). *Ageſipolis*, as a ſtill farther Precaution, immediately had recourſe to the Oracle of *Delphi*, that he might inform himſelf, whether the Opinion of the Son (*f*) was agreeable to That of the Father (*g*) [*A*]. The Anſwer of *Apollo* was the ſame with That of *Jupiter*; upon which *Ageſipolis* heſitated no longer, but caus'd his Army to march towards *Argos*. The *Argians* ſent two Heralds to him, to deſire Peace: He anſwered, that the Gods thought proper he ſhou'd reject their Offers, and continued his March. There happened an Earthquake the firſt Day of his encamping in their Country; and as Part of his Troops looked upon it as an Admonition to them to return, he diſſipated their Superſtition, by remarking that this Prodigy had come to paſs after their Entry into the Enemy's Country. Upon this he marched farther, approached the City of *Argos*, and preſſed the Siege of it cloſely. He wou'd, perhaps, have taken it, had not the Loſs of ſome of his Soldiers by a Thunder-clap, and other Omens, obliged him to retire (*h*). We muſt not forget his Emulation: When he had entered the Country of the *Argians*, he informed himſelf how far *Ageſilaus* had formerly ravaged it; and this Curioſity was only that he might ſurpaſs the Exploits of that Commander, as if he had rivalled him in the Athletic Games (*i*). The general Peace which the *Lacedemonians* procured to *Greece* (*k*) by the Negotiations of *Antalcides*, their Ambaſſador, at the Court of *Perſia*, in the Second Year of the XCVIIIth *Olympiad*, was ſoon followed by a particular War, which they declared againſt the Inhabitants of *Mantinea*. *Ageſilaus* declining the Command of the Troops, *Ageſipolis* marched againſt the Enemy. He ravaged the Territory of *Mantinea*, and at length took the City. The Stratagem he

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Diod. Sicul. lib. 14. cap. 90.

(*d*) Xenoph. de Republ. Gr. lib. 4. pag. 314.

(*e*) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπεσήμαινεν αὐτῷ ὅσιον εἶναι μὴ δεχομένῳ σπονδὰς ἀδίκως ὑποφερομένας. Cui Deus reſpondit fas ei eſſe inducias non rite oblatas reſpuere. *Xenophon. de Rebus geſtis Gr. lib.* 4. *pag.* 312.

(*f*) *That is,* Apollo.

(*g*) *That is,* Jupiter.

(*h*) *Taken from* Xenophon, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Ὥσπερ πένταθλος πάντη ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ὑπερβάλλειν ἐπειρᾶτο. Tanquam enim pentathlos omnino illum ſuperare contendebat. *Id. ibid.*

(*k*) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 14. c. 111. pag. 650.

[*A*] *If the Opinion of* Apollo *was agreeable to that of* Jupiter.] We may collect from hence a Truth, which is otherwiſe evident enough; namely, that the Pagan Religion was founded upon Notions of the Deity as falſe as Atheiſm. I do not ſpeak of the Sentiments of the common People only, or the Abuſe of particular Perſons: I ſpeak of the public Worſhip, performed by the moſt eminent Perſons, and ſupported by the Authority of the State. We have here an Inſtance of a King of *Lacedemon*, who, after having offered ſolemn Sacrifices, as Preparative to an Expedition (1), and even after a favourable Anſwer from the greateſt of the Gods, goes and conſults another Deity, being uncertain whether he will contradict, or confirm this Anſwer. He was, therefore, of Opinion, that the Deciſions of *Jupiter* could not always be followed with a ſafe Conſcience, and he ſuppoſed, that the Sentiments *Apollo* were not always conformable to thoſe of *Jupiter*. Was not this to believe, that all the Gods, without excepting the greateſt, were limited in their Knowledge, and that between Them and Men there was only the Difference of *more* or *leſs?* At this rate, the *tot capita, tot ſenſus,* —— *ſo many Men, ſo many Minds,* was applicable to Inhabitants of Heaven, as well as Earth. They conſulted *Jupiter*, as we conſult the moſt famous Advocate of Parliament, when we intend to commence a Law-Suit. This Advocate's Anſwer does not ſatisfy a cautious Client; but he deſires to have the Advice of other Counſel; and there are, who conſult the moſt able Doctors in every Court of the Kingdom. The *Pagans* did ſo with reſpect to their Oracles: They conſulted ſeveral of them upon the ſame Point, to ſee whether the Gods would contradict each other, and to take their Meaſures the better, by comparing their reſpective Anſwers. Thus their Gods were as chimerical, as the Deity of *Spinoza*; for it is as impoſſible that a limited Nature ſhould be God, as it is impoſſible that the World ſhould be the Supream Being which governs all things by a wiſe Providence. To confirm what is here advanced concerning the falſe Idea, which the *Pagans* entertained of God: They were not ſcandalized at the different Fate of their Victims. Thoſe which were offered to one Divinity encouraged their Hopes, while thoſe offered to another alarmed their Fears. *Apollo* and *Diana*, Twins of *Jupiter*, often contradicted each other; the Brother rejecting an Offering, the Siſter accepting it. *Paganiſm* found nothing ſcandalous in this. The Heathens would willingly have found a greater Harmony in the Promiſes of good things; but in ſhort they did not believe, that the Divine Nature was free from Ignorance, Caprice, and Diſagreement: So that they acquieſced in this, as an unavoidable Effect of the Nature of Things. We muſt not imagine, that *Cicero*'s Objections opened the Eyes of many among them. "Quid quum pluribus Diis immolatur, qui
" tandem evenit ut litetur aliis, aliis non litetur?
" Quæ autem inconſtantia Deorum eſt, ut primis mi-
" nentur extis, bene promittant ſecundis? Aut tanta
" inter eos diſſenſio, ſæpe etiam inter proximos,
" ut Apollinis exta bona ſint, Dianæ non bona
" (2)? —— *Whence is it, that in conſulting ſeve-*
" *ral Gods at a time, we ſacrifice to ſome and not*
" *to others? And what Inconſtancy of the Gods is it,*
" *to threaten in the firſt Entrails, but to appear*
" *propitious in the ſecond? Or is there ſuch a Diſ-*
" *agreement among them, even thoſe the neareſt re-*
" *lated, that* Apollo's *Victims ſhall promiſe Succeſs,*
" *but* Diana's *not?*

A modern Author has made uſe of this Conduct of *Ageſipolis*, to ſhew that, in relation to the Oracles, the greateſt of the Gods of *Paganiſm* did not preſerve, his Advantage, or his Superiority. He ſays, (3), *The Oracles of* Jupiter, *ſuch as thoſe of* Trophonius, Dodona, *and* Hammon, *had not ſo much Credit as That of* Delphi —— *For they never equalled the latter either in Eſteem, or in Duration. And this is proved, beſides the Conſent of moſt Authors who have ſpake of it, by what* Xenophon *reports of* Ageſipolis *, *who, after having conſulted* Jupiter Olympius, *and received his Anſwer, had recourſe to* Apollo *at* Delphi, *as a Judge without Appeal, whether he was of the ſame Opinion with his Father.* Ariſtotle *imputes this kind of Religious Ridicule to one* Hegeſippus *in the ſecond Book of his Rhetorics.* This Paſſage furniſhes Matter for two Obſervations. The

(1) Ἐπεὶ ... τὰ διαβατήρια θυομένῳ ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν χρηστηριαζόμενος. Quum pro felici tranſitu ſacrificaſſet, Olympiam Oraculum conſulturus proficiſcitur. *Xenophon. de Geſtis Gr. lib.* 4. *pag.* 312.

(2) Cicero de Divinat. lib. 2. c. 17.

(3) la Mothe le Vayer's *Letter* 106. Tom. II. pag. 449.

* Lib. 4. Hiſtoriar.

he put in practice upon this occaſion is too curious to be omitted [*B*]. There is ſome Probability, that it was in this War, that *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* extricated themſelves from a Danger [*C*], to which their Valour and Friendſhip expoſed them. He was ſent ſome years after [*D*] with a fine Army againſt the *Olynthians* (*l*). *Amintas*, King of *Macedon*, and *Deſdas*, Prince of *Elymea* (*m*), gave him a powerful Aſſiſtance. He marched towards *Olynthus*, and, finding no Army to oppoſe him, he ravaged the Country, and made himſelf Maſter of *Torona*. But, as he fatigued himſelf extreamly, notwithſtanding the violent Summer-Heats, he was ſeized with a Continual Fever, which carried him off in ſeven days (*n*) in the fourteenth year of his Reign (*o*). See my Critical Remarks on Mr *Moreri* [*E*]. *Ageſilaus* was not pleaſed with this Loſs, as
it

(*l*) Xenoph. de Republ. Gr. lib. 5. pag. 329.

(*m*) Xenoph. ibid. p. 327. *ſays*, Ἐλεμίας ἄρχοντα, *but it is probably a Fault of the Copier for* Ἐλιμείας.

(*n*) Id. ibid. pag. 329.

(*o*) Diod. Sicul. lib. 14. cap. 3. & lib. 15. cap. 23. pag. 674. ad ann. 1. Olymp. 100.

The firſt is, that the Notions of the *Gallican* Church concerning the Council, and the Pope, tho' ſpeaking *ex cathedra*, may be compared to thoſe of *Paganiſm* concerning the Oracles of *Jupiter*, and of *Delphi*. The *Olympian Jupiter*, when he anſwered a Queſtion, met with great Eſteem in the Minds of the People; much Deference was paid to his Authority; but in ſhort, his Opinion, tho' delivered *ex cathedra* or rather *ex tripode*, did not paſs for Infallible. Behold the Pope of the *Gallican* Church! The *Apollo* of *Delphi* was *the Judge without Appeal*: Behold the Council! My ſecond Obſervation is, That *Ageſipolis* was in earneſt in what he did; there was no Religious Banter in the Caſe. As for what concerns *Hegeſippus*, I anſwer nothing for him. He was perhaps malicious enough to attempt enſnaring the Oracles, that he might inſult them if they did not agree. He might have ſaid, *It is a ſhame for you to anſwer Yes, and No.* Ἡγήσιππος ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπηρώτα τὸν θεὸν, κεχρημένος πρότερον Ὀλυμπιάσιν, εἰ αὐτῷ ταὺ τὰ δοκεῖ ἅπερ τῷ πατρὶ, ὡς αἰσχρὸν ὂν τἀναντία εἰπεῖν (4). Hegeſippus, *having received an Anſwer from the God at* Olympia, *interrogated him at* Delphi, *whether he was of the ſame Opinion with his Father, as if it were ſcandalous for the Gods to diſagree in their Anſwers.* If our *Ageſipolis* had had any ill Deſign againſt *Apollo*, in Imitation of that malicious Perſon, whoſe Story *Eſop* relates (5), he would have been bit; for the Anſwer of *Delphi* was the ſame with that of *Olympia*.

[*B*] *The Stratagem he put in practice upon this Occaſion is too curious to be omitted.*] He ſtopped the Current of the River, which ran through the middle of the City: This cauſed an Inundation, which weakened the Foundations of the Houſes and Walls in ſuch a manner, that the Inhabitants feared they would fall; and, as they foreſaw, that if any part of the Wall ſhould fall, their City would be taken by Aſſault, they capitulated. They obtained but very hard Conditions; for they were forced to go and live in the Country, being divided into four Cantons, and their City was diſmantled: Their Magiſtrates would have been puniſhed with Death, if *Ageſipolis*'s Father had not interceded for them (6). *Xenophon* who relates theſe Particulars, omits a particular Circumſtance, which *Pauſanias* takes Notice of. *Ageſipolis* turned the Courſe of the River towards the Walls of the City. Now the Brick, of which the Wall was built, not being burnt, melted in the Water, as Wax melts by the Heat of the Sun. The Reaſon, why the *Mantineans* preferred crude to burnt Brick was, becauſe it was not ſo apt to break, when the Walls are battered. *Ageſipolis* did not invent this Stratagem, but put it in Practice, upon hearing that *Cimon* had made uſe of it, to take the City of *Eione* on the River *Strymon* (7).

[*C*] Pelopidas *and* Epominandas *extricated themſelves from a Danger.*] *Plutarch* relates, that the *Thebans* ſent Succours to the *Lacedemonians*, in the Expedition of *Mantinea*, and that the Wing, wherein theſe two celebrated Warriors fought, giving way, they did not retire. *Pelopidas* received ſeven Wounds, and fell on a heap of dead Men. *Epaminondas* ran to him, and oppoſed himſelf alone againſt many, fully reſolved to die, rather than forſake his Friend. He was wounded in two Places; yet he defended himſelf vigorouſly, when *Ageſilaus* came at the Head of ſome Troops of the other Wing of the Army, and reſcued them both (8). You will tell me, that *Xenophon* does not mention any Battel, when he relates what paſt in this War of *Mantinea*; but I anſwer, that *Pauſanias* obſerves, that *Ageſipolis* had gained a Battel, before he laid Siege to the City; Ὡς δὲ ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀγεσίπολις τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ εἰς τὸ τεῖχος κατέκλεισε τοὺς Μαντινέας (9). *After that* Ageſipolis, *had ſubdued the* Mantineans *in Fight, had drove them within the Walls of the City.* And I add, that *Xenophon* himſelf remarks, that there were ſome Auxiliary Troops in the Army of *Lacedemon* (10). Note, that the Event mentioned by *Plutarch*, preceded the Stratagem, by which *Phebidas* made himſelf Maſter of the Fortreſs of the *Thebans* (11). This Chronological Character agrees with the Expedition of *Ageſipolis* againſt *Mantinea*.

[*D*] *He was ſent ſome Years after.*] I only make this Remark, to cenſure *Pauſanias*, who reports that *Ageſipolis*, abandoning with regret the *Argian* War, turned his whole Reſentment againſt the *Olynthians*. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐκ τῆς Ἀργολίδος ἀνέζευξεν ἄκων, ἐπὶ δὲ Ὀλυνθίους ἐποιεῖτο αὖθις στρατιὰν (12). *Invitiſſimus itaque ille ex Argivorum finibus caſtra movit, & contra Olynthios belli impetum convertit.* Who would not believe, in reading this, that the Expedition of *Olynthus* ſucceeded immediately that of *Argos*? Who would not imagine, that *Ageſipolis*, when he left the Territories of *Argos*, took the way of *Macedonia*; yet it is falſe. Some Years paſt between theſe two Expeditions. The War of *Mantinea*, of which the ſame *Pauſanias* has taken ſome Notice, followed That of *Argos*, and preceded that of *Olynthus* ſix Years. Let us, upon this Occaſion, remark a Fault of *Calviſius*. He has placed the War of *Argos* in the fourth Year of the Ninety ſixth *Olympiad*, a little after the Death of *Pauſanias* King of *Macedonia* (13). Now *Ageſipolis* came to the Throne the ſame Year, in which this *Pauſanias* died (14); and, being a Minor, was put under the Tuition of *Ariſtodemus* (15). So that if *Calviſius* was exact, the War of *Argos* muſt concur nearly with the firſt Year of the Reign of *Ageſipolis*, and muſt have been conducted by *Ariſtodemus*; for it is certain, that, under the Minority of *Ageſipolis*, his Tutor was placed at the Head of the Army, when this King was obliged to take the Field (16). *Calviſius* does not fail to obſerve, that *Ariſtodemus* went thither in the third Year of the Ninety ſixth *Olympiad*, becauſe *Ageſipolis* was under Age (17). He is miſtaken in placing the firſt Year of his Reign in the ſecond Year of the Ninety ſixth *Olympiad*, and the War of *Argos* too ſoon after the Death *Pauſanias* King of *Macedonia*.

[*E*] *See my Critical Remarks on Mr* Moreri.] "*Ageſipolis* was ſurprized with a burning Fever, and "returned continually to the Coolneſs of the Waters of a certain Temple of *Bacchus*, which was "at *Aphitis*, whither he cauſed himſelf to be carried, "and died on the ſeventh Day of his Fever, after "he was gone out of the Temple, that he might "not defile it by his Death." Theſe are Mr *Moreri*'s Words. It would be unjuſt to criticiſe on the Expreſſion, *returned continually to the Coolneſs*, (*revint toujours à la fraicheur*) for it is eaſy to ſee that the Printers have have put *revint (returned)* inſtead of *rêvant (thinking of, or raving after)* (18). But two Obſervations may be made: One is, that he ought to have expreſſed himſelf thus; *Remembring the Temple of* Bacchus, *which he had ſeen at* Aphitis, *he deſired to enjoy it's Shade, and the Coolneſs of the clear Waters, which were there. He was carried thither alive, but died out of the Temple the ſeventh Day of his Fever* (19). In the ſecond Place, it is a chimerical Gloſs to tell us, That out of a religious Reſpect for the Sanctity of the Temple, he would not die in it. Has *Xenophon*, or any other Author worthy of Credit, ſaid ſo? To ſave myſelf the Trouble in another Place, I ſhall here remark an Error, which Mr *Moreri* has committed in his Article of AGESIPOLIS II. He aſſures us that That Prince, having *been a Hoſtage in his Youth*, anſwered thoſe, who reproached him with it, *that it was becauſe Kings ſuffer for the Faults of their Kingdom.* This Anſwer is as falſe, as it is contrary to the ſatirical Sentence, it was expected he wou'd have been [*F*]; but bewailed and regretted it a long time, as *Xenophon* informs us (*p*). Obſerve, that *Ageſipolis* left no Poſterity (*q*); and that *Cleombrotus* his Brother and Succeſſor was the Father of AGESIPOLIS II. (*r*), who reigned but one Year (*s*), and whoſe Apophthegms were more memorable than his Actions: For we meet with no Account of the former, whereas *Plutarch* has preſerved a ſmall Collection of the latter (*t*).

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(4) Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 23. pag. 445. F.

(5) Eſop *in his 16th Fable, whoſe Title is* Κακοπράγμων, The Malicious. *He was one, who held a Sparrow in his Hand, and ask'd the Oracle,* Is what I have in my hand alive or not? *His Deſign was to have kill'd the Sparrow, if the Oracle had anſwer'd* It is alive?

(6) Xenoph. lib. 5. pag. 323.

(7) Pauſan. lib. 8. pag. 242, 243.

(8) Plut. in Vita Pelopidæ, p. 280.

(9) Pauſan. lib. 8. pag. 242.

(10) Xenophon. lib. 5. pag. 323.

(11) Plut. ubi ſupra.

(12) Pauſan. lib. 2. p. 86.

(13) Sethi Calviſii Chronol. ad ann. mundi 3557. pag. 162.

(14) Diod. Sicul. l. 14. cap. 90. pag. 637.

(15) Xenoph. de Reb. geſt. Græcorum, l. 4. p. 301. Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

(16) Xenophon. ubi ſupra.

(17) Calviſius, p. 160.

(18) *They have put it* rêvant *in the Edition of* Holland.

(19) *See* Xenophon. lib. 4. pag. 329, 330.

(*p*) *See the Remark* [*F*].

(*q*) Pauſan. lib. 2. p. 86.

(*r*) Id. ibid.

(*s*) Diod. Sicul. lib. 15. cap. 60.

(*t*) Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon. pag. 215.

Quidquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi (20).

The People ſuffer, when the Prince offends.
CREECH.

(20) Horat. Epiſt. 2. l. 1. ver. 14.

The Matter of Fact is this. It was ſaid to him one Day, *As great a King as you are, you have been an Hoſtage, with the chief of the Youths of* Lacedemon; *but your Wives and your Children were not. Becauſe*, replied he, *it was juſt, that we ſhould bear the Puniſhment of our own Faults ourſelves* (21).

(21) Plut. in Apophth. Laconic. pag. 215.

[*F*] Ageſilaus *was not pleaſed with this Loſs, as it was expected he would have been.*] *Xenophon* inclines us to believe, that an Emulation reigned between thoſe two Princes, very fit to produce Enmity. But *Plutarch* repreſents them to us as ſtrictly united in Friendſhip. He obſerves that *Ageſipolis* was mild and modeſt, and intereſted himſelf but little in public Affairs, and that he ſuffered himſelf to be gained by his Colleague *Ageſilaus* (22), who knowing him to be of an amorous Complexion, was always talking to him of handſome Boys, and not only flattered his Paſſion for them, but even aſſiſted him in the Gratification of it. Εἰδὼς ἔνοχον ὄντα τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς τὸν Ἀγησίπολιν, ὥσπερ ἦν αὐτὸς, ἀεὶ τινος ὑπῆρχε λόγου περὶ τῶν ἐν ὥρα· καὶ προῆγε τὸν νεανίσκον εἰς ταυτὸ, καὶ συνήρα καὶ συνέπραττε (23). *Qui autem teneri ſciret Ageſipolim, ſicut ſe, amoribus, ſermonem aſſidue de formoſis adoleſcentibus inſerebat, eodem illum impellebat, ſociuſque erat ei in amore & adjutor.* He adds, that theſe kind of Amours were not looked upon as criminal in *Lacedemon*. The following Paſſage informs us, that *Ageſilaus* regretted the Loſs of this Colleague. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας, οὐχ ᾗ τις ἂν ᾤετο, ἐφήσθη ὡς ἀντιπάλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδάκρυσε καὶ ἐπόθησε τὴν συνουσίαν (24). Ageſilaus, *upon this News, did not rejoice, as was expected, at the Loſs of a Rival, but ſhed Tears, and lamented the Death of a Friend.*

(22) Plut in Ageſil. pag. 607. *A.*

(23) Id. ibid.

(24) Xenophon. de Rebus geſtis Græc. lib. 5. pag. 330.

AGIS, King of *Lacedemon*, deſcended from *Ageſilaus* II. in a direct Line (*a*), met with a very unfortunate End. He intended to reform his Kingdom, by the re-eſtabliſhing of *Lycurgus*'s Laws; but he ſunk under the weight of an Undertaking, which could not but be diſpleaſing to thoſe, who poſſeſſed great Eſtates, and who had ſo much accuſtomed themſelves to the Sweets of a voluptuous Life, that they were no longer capable of reliſhing the ancient Diſcipline of *Lacedemon*. *Agis*, in the Flower of his Age, conceived the Deſign of this Reformation, out of a refined Deſire of Glory [*A*], and practiſed it firſt of all in his own Perſon: His Cloaths, and his Table, were according to the manner of the old times; which deſerved ſo much the more Admiration, becauſe his Mother *Ageſiſtrata*, and his Grand-mother *Archidamia*, had brought him up effeminately (*b*). Upon ſounding the Diſpoſition of his Subjects, he found the younger ſort leſs averſe to his Project, than thoſe, who had enjoyed the Relaxation of Diſcipline for many Years. The greateſt difficulty, he feared, was from the Women [*B*]. They were in more Credit at that time than ever; for they never reign more abſolutely, than when Luxury is in Faſhion. The Mother of *Ageſilaus* did by no means find her account in this Reformation; ſhe would have loſt her great Wealth by it, which enabled her to be concerned in a thouſand Intrigues: and therefore ſhe immediately oppoſed the Deſign of *Agis*, and called it a chimerical Project. But her Brother *Ageſilaus*, whom *Agis* had engaged in his Intereſts, knew how to manage her in ſuch a manner, that ſhe promiſed to ſecond the Enterprize. She endeavoured to gain the Women; but, inſtead of ſuffering themſelves to be perſuaded, they addreſſed themſelves to *Leonidas*, the other King of *Lacedemon*, and moſt humbly intreated him to fruſtrate the Deſigns of his Colleague. *Leonidas* durſt not openly oppoſe it, for fear of exaſperating the People, to whom the Reformation was pleaſing, becauſe it would be uſeful to them. He only croſſed it by Intrigues, and ſpreading Suſpicions, as if *Agis* aſpired to the Tyranny by depreſſing the Rich, and raiſing the Poor. Neverthele*ſs* *Agis* propos'd his new Laws to the Senate, which contained the Aboliſhment of Debts, and a new Diviſion of Lands. *Leonidas*, ſupported

by

(*a*) *He was five Degrees remov'd from him.* Plut. in Agide, pag. 796.

(*b*) Ἐντεθραμμένος πλούτοις καὶ τρυφαῖς γυναικῶν τῆς τε μητρὸς Ἀγησιστράτας καὶ τῆς μάμμης Ἀρχιδαμίας, αἳ πλεῖστα χρήματα Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκέκτηντο. Enutritus eſſet in opibus & deliciis muliebribus matris Ageſiſtratæ & aviæ Archidamiæ, quæ in Lacedæmoniis erant pecunioſiſſimæ. *Id. p.* 797.

[*A*] *Out of a refined deſire of Glory.*] *Plutarch*'s Narrative (1) inſinuates plainly to us, that *Ageſiſtrata* ſhewed her Son the Prejudice he would do himſelf by his Plan of Reformation, conſidering the great Eſtate ſhe poſſeſt; but he deſired her to be willing to ſacrifice her Riches to her Son's Glory. *For*, ſaid he to her, *I can never equal other Monarchs on the Score of Riches: The Servants of the* Satrapæ, *the Servants of the* Financiers *of* Seleucus, *and* Ptolemy, *are richer than all the Kings of* Lacedemon; *but if, by my Temperance, and the Greatneſs of my Soul, I can raiſe myſelf above the Luxury of thoſe Princes, and if I can introduce an Equality of Goods in my Kingdom, I ſhall attain to true Grandeur; I ſhall paſs for a great Prince.* This is to refine upon Self-love: You will be ſurpaſſed, what Progreſs ſoever you make in a certain Road; take quite the contrary, wherein you ſhall have no Rivals: They, who make a Compariſon between you and others, will maintain, that, in it's kind, your Merit is by no means inferior to that of others. But could this be ſaid, if the Diſpute turned on Qualities of the ſame kind, ſome manifeſtly Inferior, and others manifeſtly Superior, as the Opulency of *Agis*, and That of the King of *Syria*, would have been?

(1) Plut. in Agide, pag. 798.

[*B*] *From the Women.*] The *Lacedemonians* were the beſt Husbands in the World; they communicated the Affairs of the Common-wealth to their Wives, much more than their Wives communicated their Domeſtic Affairs to them (2). At the time we are ſpeaking of, almoſt all the Riches of *Lacedemon* were fallen to the Diſtaff; they were at the diſpoſal of the Female Sex, which fruſtrated the Deſigns of this Prince. The Ladies fear'd they ſhould loſe their Riches, their Pleaſures, and their Credit, all at once; and perhaps they were not miſtaken. But let us hear *Plutarch* himſelf. *Now it muſt be obſerved, that moſt of the Riches of* Lacedemon *were at that time in the Hands of the Women, which made the Undertaking more difficult: For the Women not only were againſt it, becauſe it would deprive them of their Pleaſures, in which they plac'd their Happineſs, for want of knowing the true Good, but alſo becauſe they ſaw that the Honour, which was paid them, and the Power and Authority which they had, on account of their Riches, would be taken from them* (3).

(2) Plut. ibid.

(3) Plut. ibid.

[C] *Alledged*

by the Rich, oppoſed this Project ſo powerfully, that there was one Voice more for throwing it out, than for carrying it. He paid dear for the Succeſs of his Affair. *Lyſander*, one of the *Ephori*, who had been the great Promoter of the Reformation, brought an Action againſt him, alledged the Celeſtial Signs [*C*], and perſuaded a Prince of the Blood Royal, whoſe Name was *Cleombrotus*, and who was Son-in-Law to *Leonidas*, to ſecure the Kingdom to himſelf. *Leonidas*, ſeized with Fear, took Refuge in a Temple, where his Daughter, the Wife of *Cleombrotus*, came to him. He was cited, and becauſe he did not appear, he was declared degraded from his Dignity, which was conferred on *Cleombrotus*. He obtained leave to retire to *Tegea*. The New *Ephori* entered a Proceſs of Innovation againſt *Lyſander* and *Mandroclidas*: Theſe latter perſuaded the two Kings to unite, and to make void the Election of theſe *Ephori*. Which was done, but not without raiſing great Commotions in the City. *Ageſilaus*, one of the *Ephori*, who ſucceeded thoſe, who were turned out, would have cauſed *Leonidas* to have been killed on the Road to *Tegea*, if *Agis* had not eſcorted him with a ſufficient Guard. The Reformation might have been eſtabliſhed at that time, if *Ageſilaus* had not found Means to elude the good Intention of the Two Kings. During theſe Tranſactions, the *Acheans* deſired aſſiſtance; it was granted them, and *Agis* had the command of the Troops. He acquired a great Reputation in That Campaign [*D*]. At his Return he found Affairs ſo embroiled by the ill Conduct of *Ageſilaus*, that it was impoſſible for him to ſupport himſelf. *Leonidas* was recalled to *Lacedemon*; *Agis* retired into one Temple, and *Cleombrotus* into another. The Wife of the latter behaved in ſuch a manner, as to gain an univerſal Applauſe (*c*). *Leonidas* was ſatisfied with the Exile of his Son-in-Law; after which he applied himſelf wholly to the Ruin of *Agis*. One of the *Ephori*, who was unwilling to reſtore what *Ageſiſtrata* had lent him, was the chief Inſtrument of the Miſfortunes of that Family. *Agis* did not come out of his Place of Refuge, but only to bathe himſelf: As he was returning one Day from the Bath to the Temple, this *Ephorus* ſeized him, and dragged him to Priſon. He was tried, condemned to Death, and delivered to the Executioner. His Mother and Grandmother earneſtly ſollicited, that at leaſt a King of *Lacedemon* might have leave to plead his Cauſe before the People. But it was feared his Words would make too great an Impreſſion; and that very Hour they ſtrangled *Agis*. The *Ephorus*, who was Debtor to *Ageſiſtrata*, ſuffered that Princeſs to enter into the Priſon: He permitted the Grandmother to do the like; and then cauſed both of them to be ſtrangled one after the other. *Ageſiſtrata* died gloriouſly (*d*). The wife of *Agis* (*e*), a very rich Princeſs, and very wiſe, and one of the fineſt Women of *Greece*, was forced out of her Houſe by King *Leonidas*, and conſtrained to marry that Prince's Son. He was a Youth as yet incapable of Marriage. He ſucceeded his Father; his Death was at leaſt as tragical as that of *Agis*, whoſe Deſigns he had endeavoured to execute. His Name was *Cleomenes* (*f*). Mr *Moreri* miſrepreſents what *Agis* ſaid [*E*] to thoſe, who pitied his Fate. Other Dictionaries are very faulty on this Article [*F*]. *Meurſius* ought not to have ſaid that this *Agis* reigned Nine Years (*g*); for the Paſſage of *Diodorus Siculus*, which he appeals to, relates to another *Agis*. The AGIS of this Article loſt his Life in the CXXXVth *Olympiad*. *Plutarch*'s Conſiderations on this King's Puniſhment may be ſeen under the Article AMPHARES.

(*c*) *Her Name was* CHELONIS *See her Article.*

(*d*) *See the Article AMPHARES.*

(*e*) *Her Name was* Agiatis.

(*f*) *Taken out of* Plutarch, in Vita Agidis & Cleomenis.

(*g*) Meurſius de Regno Lacedæmon. pag. 87.

[*C*] *Alledged the Celeſtial Signs.*] The Affair was this (4). Once in every nine Years the *Ephori* contemplated Heaven in a ſerene Night, and without a Moon; and if they ſaw a Star fall, they judg'd that the Kings had ſinned againſt God; upon which they were ſuſpended from their Dignity, 'till an Oracle from *Delphi*, or *Olympia*, re-eſtabliſh'd them. *Lyſander*, pretending to have ſeen this *Phænomenon*, entered an Action againſt the King, and produc'd Witneſſes, who declared that *Leonidas* had had two Children by an *Aſiatic* Woman. Now there was an ancient Law, which forbad the *Heraclidæ* (5) to have Children by a foreign Woman. Is it not very odd, that ſuch a Government as this, wherein the Fortune of Kings depended on the good Pleaſure of an *Ephorus*, who had ſeen a Star fall, ſhould ſubſiſt ſo long?

(4) Plut. in Agide. pag. 800.

(5) *That is, the Deſcendants of* Hercules, *of which Number were the Kings of* Lacedemon.

[*D*] *Acquired a great Reputation in that Campaign.*] Having join'd *Aratus*, General of the *Acheans*, near *Corinth*, his Advice was to give the Enemy Battle on the other ſide of the *Iſthmus*; but he ſubmitted his Judgment to that General's Opinion, who thought it better not to come to an Engagement. *Aratus* own'd this himſelf in his Book. Yet one *Baton* of *Sinope* pretended, that *Agis* diſſuaded the Fight, which *Aratus* had reſolved upon (6). Is it not very ſtrange, that an Hiſtorian ſhould relate things concerning a General, which are contrary to the Relations of that General himſelf? Is it credible, that his Account ſhould be falſe, to the prejudice of it's Author? This Boldneſs may be ſuffer'd for ſome Months, and for certain Reaſons; but, when Events have paſs'd that Term, the Actions of great Men ought no longer to be contradicted.

(6) Plut. in Agide, pag. 801.

[*E*] *Mr* Moreri *miſrepreſents what* Agis *ſaid.*] *Agis* ſeeing one of the Serjeants weep, ſaid (7), *Weep not, for ſince they put me to Death by ſuch a crying Act of Injuſtice, my Merit is greater than that of the Authors of my Death.* Inſtead of this, Mr *Moreri* makes him ſay, *Weep not, for thoſe who weep, are much more to be pitied than I am.* This is not the only Fault of that Article. Mr *Moreri* ſays falſly, I. *That in the beginning of* Agis's *Reign, an Ephorus*, whoſe Name was *Epitadeus*, *caus'd an Order to be made, That Fathers might diſinherit their Children.* II. That *Agis rectified the Words of that Order, which re-peopled the City in a little time.* III. That the moſt Conſiderable lent a helping hand to the Deſign of *Agis*. Read *Plutarch*, and you will ſee, Firſt, That *Epitadeus* had caus'd his Decree to be paſs'd a long time before. Secondly, That *Agis* had not the good Fortune to procure the leaſt Alteration. Thirdly, That the richer People oppos'd his Deſign. Is this to conſult Originals? Is this to underſtand them?

(7) Ibid. pag. 808.

[*F*] *Very faulty on this Article.*] *Charles Stephens* conſounds this *Agis* with another more ancient, and diſtinguiſhes him from him, whom the *Lacedemonians* hang'd. Mr *Hofman* is guilty only of the former of theſe two Miſtakes; *Lloyd* corrects neither of them.

AGREDA (a) (MARY *de*) a *Religious Viſionary*, and famous for a Work, which the *Sorbonne* cenſured, lived in the XVIIth Century. *Francis Coronel*, her Father, and *Catherine d'Arena*, her Mother, who lived at *Agreda*, a Town of *Spain*, founded a Convent in their Houſe on the 19th of *January*, 1619. A Particular Revelation induced them to it. This *Mary* took the Nun's Habit in it, at the ſame time with her Mother and Siſter; ſhe profeſſed, with her Mother, on the Second of *February*, 1620 (*b*). She was elected Superior, in the Year 1627. and during the firſt Ten Years of her Superiority, ſhe received ſeveral Commands from God, and the Virgin *Mary*, to write the Life of the Holy Virgin. *She reſiſted* theſe Orders *till the Year* 1637. *when ſhe began to write it. Having finiſhed it, ſhe burnt it with ſeveral Writings, which ſhe had compoſed on other Subjects:* She followed in this *the Counſel of a Confeſſor, who directed her in the abſence of her Ordinary Confeſſor. Her Superiors, and the firſt Confeſſor, reprimanded her ſeverely for it, and commanded her to write the Life of the Holy Virgin a ſecond time. God and the Holy Virgin repeated the ſame Command to her. She began* to obey on the 8th of *December*, 1655 (*c*). She divided the Work *into three Parts, contained in eight Books, which have been printed at* Liſbon, *at* Madrid, *at* Perpignan, *and at* Antwerp. *The firſt was tranſlated out of* Spaniſh *into* French, *from the Edition of* Perpignan, *by Father* Croſet, *a Recollect.* This Tranſlation was printed at *Marſeilles* in the Year 1696 (*d*). There are ſo many Abſurdities in the Work [*A*], and yet ſo capable of pleaſing the paſſionate Votaries of the Holy Virgin, that the Faculty of Divinity of *Paris* judged it proper to cenſure it [*B*]. They attained their End,

in

(a) *She is commonly call'd ſo for brevity ſake; but it is not her Family Name; it is only the name of the Town, where the Monaſtery was, of which ſhe was Superior.*

(b) *The Profeſſion of her Siſter was deferr'd becauſe ſhe was not of age:* Journal of the Learned *of the 16th of* Jan. 1696. *pag.* 51, 52. *Edit.* Holl.

(c) *It is the Day of the Conception of the Virgin in the Kalender.*

(d) *Taken from the* Journal of the Learned, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *There are ſo many Abſurdities in the Work.*] We find there, "That, as ſoon as the Virgin was "born, the Almighty order'd the Angels to carry the "lovely Child into the Empyreal Heaven, which "they did ſeveral times; that God appointed an "hundred out of each of the nine Choirs of Angels, "that is to ſay nine hundred, to ſerve her: And that "he appointed twelve others to ſerve her in a viſible "and corporeal Form, and eighteen more of the "higheſt Rank of thoſe, who deſcended on *Jacob*'s "Ladder, to carry Embaſſies from the Queen to "the great King: That, to regulate this invincible "Squadron the better, *Michael*, Captain of the "heavenly Militia, was plac'd at the Head of it: "That the firſt Conception of the Body of the moſt "Holy Virgin was on a *Sunday*, correſpondent to "that of the Creation of Angels: That if the Virgin "did not ſpeak as ſoon as ſhe was born, it was not "becauſe ſhe could not, but becauſe ſhe would not: "That before ſhe was three Years of Age, ſhe ſwept "the Houſe, and the Angels aſſiſted her, *&c.* There "are I know not how many ſuch like Extravagancies "in it." This is the Extract, which a *Proteſtant* Journaliſt gave of it (1). Another Journaliſt, who is a good Catholic, aſſures us (2), *that nothing is to be found in the ſix firſt Chapters, but Viſions*, by which *Siſter* Mary *of* Jeſus *ſays, That God diſcover'd the Myſteries of the Holy Virgin to her, and the Decree he had made of creating all things.* —— That, in the twentieth Chapter (3), *She gives an Account of what happen'd to the Holy Virgin in the Womb of* St Anne; *that ſhe comes afterwards to the Birth of the Holy Virgin, to the Name which was given her, to the Angels, who were commiſſion'd to guard her, to the Employments of the firſt eighteen Months of her Childhood, to the Converſation ſhe had with God at the end of thoſe eighteen Months, to her Converſations with St* Joachim, *and St* Anne, *and to the holy Exerciſe, wherein ſhe employ'd herſelf, 'till ſhe was carried to the Temple of* Jeruſalem. If any one imagines, that, among ſo many Viſions, there is nothing relating to St *John's Revelations*, he will be greatly miſtaken; for our Viſionary, not ſatisfy'd with explaining the twelfth Chapter of the *Revelations*, has enlarg'd very much on the twenty firſt, which ſhe expounds *of the Conception* of the Holy Virgin (4). It would be very ſurprizing indeed, if, in ſailing ſo long upon ſuch a Sea, ſhe ſhould never daſh upon this Rock. If you deſire to know the Title of her Work, in the Tranſlation of *Thomas Croſet*, read what follows. *The myſtical City of God, Miracle of the Almighty, Abyſs of Grace, divine Hiſtory of the Life of the moſt holy Virgin* Mary, *Mother of God, our Queen and Miſtreſs, manifeſted, in theſe laſt Ages, by the Holy Virgin to Siſter* Mary *of* Jeſus, *Abbeſs of the Convent of the* Immaculate Conception *of the City of* Agreda, *of the Order of St* Francis, *and written by the ſame Siſter, by Order of her Superiors, and Confeſſors.*

[*B*] *The Faculty of Divinity at* Paris, *judg'd it proper to cenſure it.*] I have met with the Cenſure, which they publiſhed, only in the *Journal of the Learned*, wherein I find. I. That the ſixth Propoſition imports, *That God gave the Holy Virgin all that he would, and would give her all that he could, and could give her all that was not of the Eſſence of God* (5). II. That the ſeventh Propoſition, is conceived in theſe Terms. "I declare, by the Force of Truth, "and of the Light, in which I ſee all theſe ineffable Myſteries, that all the Privileges, the Graces, "the Prerogatives, the Favours, and the Gifts of the "moſt pure *Mary*, comprehending the Dignity of "the Mother of God in it, depend and take their "Original from her having been Immaculate, and "full of Grace, in her Conception, inſomuch that, "without that Privilege, all the reſt would appear "faulty, or like a ſtately Building without a ſolid and "proportionable Foundation (6). *That* the ninth "Propoſition applys literally to the Holy Virgin, the "Words of the eighth Chapter of *Proverbs*, and inſinuates, that by her Kings are raiſed and ſupported on the Throne, Princes command, and the "Rulers of the Earth adminiſter Juſtice (7). IV. *That* "the thirteenth Propoſition is, that if Mens Eyes "were penetrating enough to ſee the Light of the "Holy Virgin, it would ſuffice to conduct them to "a bleſſed Eternity. V. *That*, beſides theſe Propoſitions, ſeveral others are compriz'd under the fourteeeth Article, and which are reſpectively condemned as raſh, contrary to the Wiſdom of the Rules, "which the Church preſcribes; to which is added, "that moſt of them are like the Fables and Ravings "of apocryphal Authors, and expoſe the Catholic Religion to the Contempt of impious Men and of Heretics (9). VI. *That* finally the Faculty declares, "that it does not pretend to approve ſeveral other "things contain'd in the Book, and chiefly the Paſſages, where the Author wreſts the Text of Scripture, in applying it to her own Senſe, and thoſe "wherein ſhe affirms, that ſome Opinions, which "are meerly Scholaſtic, were reveal'd to her." Let us make a few Reflexions upon this.

In the firſt Place, the School-men unanimouſly teach, that the diſtinct Character of God, and of his Creatures is, that God has nothing which comes from without, and that the Creatures have nothing, but what proceeds from without. This is what they expreſs by the barbarous Words *aſeitas*, and *abalieitas*; from whence they conclude, that all the Attributes of God are communicable to the Creature, except the *Aſeitas*; and, conſequently, that it is poſſible for a Creature to be eternal, *à parte ante, & à parte poſt* (10), and infinite as to Knowledge, Power, local Preſence, Goodneſs, Juſtice, *&c.* They commonly teach, that, by Power *Obediential*, Creatures are ſuſceptible of the Faculty of working all ſorts of Miracles, and alſo of creative Power. So that, if God did effectually confer on the Holy Virgin all that he could confer upon her, it follows, according to the Doctrines of the School, which Siſter *Mary* of *Jeſus* eſteemed much, that the Holy Virgin exiſted from Eternity, that ſhe can do all things, that ſhe knows all things, that ſhe fills all Places, and that ſhe is in-

finite

(1) *Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned*, Nov. 1696. *pag.* 140, 141.

(2) *Journal of the Learned, of* Jan. 16*th* 1696. *pag.* 52.

(3) Ibid. pag. 53.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid. of Nov. 26. 1696. pag. 717.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. pag. 718.

(8) Ibid. pag. 719.

(9) Ibid. pag. 720.

(10) *That is*, That it may neither have Beginning nor End.

in ſpite of the Oppoſition, and terrible Outcry of ſome of the Doctors of that Society [*C*]. How juſt ſoever the Cenſure was, it gave Offence to a great Number of Perſons. It is thought that the Apprehenſions of the Scandal it might cauſe obliged the Company

finite in every reſpect. I need not ſuppoſe, that our Abbeſs of *Agreda* followed the Doctrine of the *Spaniſh* Schoolmen; for I am not concern'd whether ſhe knew, or was ignorant of it. She teaches plainly, that God gave the Holy Virgin all that he could give her, and that he could give her all his Attributes, except the divine Eſſence itſelf. This juſtifies the Concluſion, which I have drawn: Upon which, we may very well wonder, that the *Sorbonne* ſhould only ſay, That *this Propoſition is falſe, raſh, and contrary to the Doctrine of the Goſpel* (11). Is ſuch a Cenſure ſevere enough? Ought they to have been contented with ſuch weak Appellations? Is it enough to affirm, that it was a raſh Miſtake, to apply to the Virgin *Mary*, in a literal Senſe, theſe Words of *Solomon*, *By me Kings reign, and Princes decree Juſtice* (12).

My ſecond Reflexion is this. They who have carefully examin'd all that has been ſaid of the Power of the Holy Virgin, and the Share which is given her in the Government of the Univerſe, have obſerved, that the laſt Comers, deſirous to ſurpaſs thoſe, who have gone before them, have been the Cauſe, that at laſt the utmoſt Bounds of Flattery have been found out. But, as the Reaſons for continuing to proceed farther have never ceas'd (for when the Devotion of the People is to be a Maintenance for many Perſons, who deſire to live at their Eaſe, it muſt be quicken'd and reviv'd from time to time with new invented Incitements) I ſay, conſidering this, there is reaſon to wonder that the Barriers have not been broke, and that, among ſo many Monks and Nuns, who have been ſuch great Refiners, no one has yet ſaid, that the Holy Virgin governs the World alone. How comes it to paſs, that *Spain* has not yet produc'd Writers, who have pretended to diſcover by Revelation, that a long Experience having convinc'd God the Father of the infinite Capacity of the Holy Virgin, and the good Uſe ſhe has made of the Power, wherewith he had inveſted her, had reſolv'd to abdicate the Empire of the World; and that God the Son, believing he could not follow a better Example, had embrac'd the ſame Reſolution, and that the Holy Ghoſt, always obedient to the Will of the two Perſons, from whom he proceeds, approving this fine Deſign, the whole Trinity had committed the Government of the World to the Hands of the Holy Virgin; and that the Ceremony of the Abdication, and That of the Tranſlation of the Empire had been ſolemnly perform'd in the Preſence of all the Angels; that an Act of it had been drawn up in the moſt authentic Form; that, ſince that Day, God concerns himſelf with nothing, and relies altogether on the Vigilancy of *Mary*; that Orders were given to ſeveral Angels, to notify this Alteration of Government upon Earth, that Men might know to whom, and in what Manner, they ought to have recourſe for the future, in their Prayers; that it was no longer to God, ſince he had declar'd himſelf *emeritus, & rude donatus*, nor to the Holy Virgin, as to a Mediatreſs, or a ſubordinate Queen, but as the Sovereign and abſolute Empreſs of all things? Once more; how comes it to paſs, that ſuch an Extravagancy is yet to be brought forth? I was ask'd once, if I had never heard of ſuch a Conceit? *No*, reply'd I, *but I would not ſwear, that this Thought has never appear'd, and yet leſs, that it will never be hatch'd in a Brain, ſick with Devotion; and, perhaps, if* Mary d'Agreda *had liv'd ten Years longer, ſhe would have brought forth this Monſter* (13), *and given us a Copy of the Act of Abdication; wherein we ſhould have ſeen, that the Trinity, willing to live henceforth a quiet Life, and acknowledge their Obligations to the Holy Virgin, who for many Ages has ſo wiſely born a conſiderable Share of the Fatigues of the Regency of the World, thought they could do nothing more proper, nor pitch upon a Reward more ſuitable to her, than to diveſt themſelves, in her Favour, of their abſolute Authority over all things.* Yet it muſt be confeſs'd, that the Idea of the *unalienable Action* of God is ſo clearly underſtood in all the Chriſtian Communions, that there is no Reaſon to apprehend that this Monſter of *Abdication* could live any time, ſuppoſing it could be produc'd. We ought not to fear it in our Days: Let this ſatisfy us; nor let us trouble ourſelves with what may come to paſs an hundred Years hence; *noſtros maneat ea cura nepotes.* Let Poſterity look to that.

I obſerve, in the third Place, that there is nothing more true, than the Remarks of the *Sorbonne*, that the Book of the Abbeſs of *Agreda* contains ſeveral things, which expoſe the Church of *Rome to the Contempt of Impious Men, and of Heretics.* It was well for the Chriſtian Religion, that the *Celſus*'s and *Porphyry*'s of thoſe times had it not in their Power to attack it with ſuch Weapons, as theſe Books, infinite in Number, can furniſh at preſent. What would not a *Pagan* Author have objected to the Church in thoſe Times, who ſhould have had the Heat and the Character of *Arnobius?* If *Henry Stephens*, and *Philip de Marnix*, were to return into the World, what Supplements would they not make, by the help of the *Myſtical City* of our *Mary* of *Agreda*, the one to his *Apology for* Herodotus, and the other to his *Deſcription of the Differences in Matters of Religion?*

IV. Laſtly, I remark, that our pretended inſpired Authors endeavour to impoſe upon Mankind. They give us for Revelation, what they have learn'd by reading. For does not the Abbeſs of *Agreda* affirm, *That ſome Opinions, which are meerly Scholaſtic*, were taught her by Inſpiration (14)?

[*C*] *In ſpite of the Oppoſition —— of ſome of the Doctors of that Society.*] The following are Extracts from a Printed Book, entituled, *The Caſe of* Mary d'Agreda, *and the Manner how her Condemnation was plotted in the* Sorbonne (15). It is a Letter from an anonymous Author, to an anonymous Perſon. “ The Odour of Sanctity, in which this good Reli- “ gious died, and the Canonization which is ſollicited “ at the Court of *Rome*, gave me ſuch an high Idea “ of her Perſon, that I was ſurpriz'd to hear that “ the Faculty of Divinity, at *Paris*, had met to con- “ demn her Works.” Theſe are the Authors Words (16). Afterwards he ſuppoſes, “ That they were “ ſome mercenary Souls, who at the Sollicitation of “ of three Prelates, to whom they were devoted, “ purſued the Condemnation of them (17). The “ whole Intrigue, *continued he* (18), is as follows. My “ Lord Biſhop, being more addicted to the Opini- “ ons of St *Thomas*, than a young *Jacobin*, who “ ought only to ſwear *in verba magiſtri*, could not “ bear that the Faculty ſhould, with ſo much Preci- “ pitation, give into the immaculate Conception of “ the Virgin. The hatred he bore to Brother *Thomas* “ *Croſet*, a *Recollect*, and Tranſlator of that Book, “ occaſion'd by the Report which was ſpread of what “ the Tranſlator had ſaid againſt him, upon his re- “ fuſing him a Benefice in his Dioceſs, and the De- “ ſire of indemnifying *A*—— the King's Printer, for “ the conſiderable Loſs he had ſuſtain'd by his Works, “ and who had made uſe of the Impreſſion of this “ Book, printed by *H*——, at *Marſeilles*, were the “ Foundation of the Commotions among the Facul- “ ty; for the ready way to make a Book ſell well “ is to get it condemn'd. Every body runs to it, as “ to a Houſe on fire, and the Book, which was worth “ but twenty Pence, *A*—— ſells for ten Livres, be- “ ſides what is ſold under hand of a pirated Impreſ- “ ſion. This Prelate, to ſucceed the better in his “ Deſign, prepoſſeſs'd my Lord *** one of the moſt “ moderate Prelates in the Kingdom: both join'd “ with my Lord †‡†‡†‡ a Man of a very mean Ge- “ nius, who may be eaſily prejudic'd, and who is “ fond of Ceremonies and Trifles; you muſt know “ that theſe Lords go hand in hand. This Trumvi- “ rate influenc'd their Creatures, and gain'd Mr *le* “ *Fevre*, *Syndic* of the *Sorbonne*, who preſented “ the Book of *Mary d'Agreda* to the Faculty, on “ the 20th of *May*. Deputies were appointed to “ examine it. They reported ſixty eight Propoſi- “ tions (19), which they call'd heretical, raſh, ſcan- “ dalous, and offenſive to chaſte Ears. They were “ printed, as qualified by the Deputies, and diſtribu- “ ted among the Doctors (20), that they might give “ their Opinions of them, in the next Aſſembly (21). “ Father *Meron*, a *Cordelier*, of whom we have ſome “ fine Performances, both in Philoſophy and Chro- “ nology, deſired the Faculty not to be too haſty in

(11) Journal of the Learned, Nov. 1696. pag. 717.

(12) Ibid. pag. 718.

(13) *As ſhe conſtantly perverted the Scripture, (ſee the* Journal of the Learned, ibid. p. 720.) *ſhe would not have failed to take advantage of what is ſaid in* St John *chap.* v. *ver.* 22. The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son. *And in* 1 Cor. xv. 24. When Chriſt ſhall have delivered up the Kingdom to God even the Father.

(14) Journal of the Learned, Nov. 1696. pag. 720.

(15) *Tho' it was ſaid in the Title, that it was printed at* Cologne, *in* 1697; *I believe it was printed at* Paris. *It is a Book in* 12mo *of* 40 *Pages.*

(16) *Page* 3.

(17) *Page* 12.

(18) *Page* 13, &c.

(19) *In the Aſſembly of the* 2d *of* July, ibid. pag. 28.

(20) Ibid. pag. 29.

(21) *Which was to meet on the* 14th *of the ſame Month.*

Company to inſert a Declaration in their Act [*D*], which otherwiſe would have been very ſuperfluous; ſince the Queſtion did not relate to the Things ſpecified in the Declaration. We muſt not forget that the Father of *Mary d'Agreda* became a Monk in a *Monaſtery of the Order of St* Francis, *wherein two of his Sons had already entered themſelves Fryars, and that he lived there a very exemplary Life, and died a Saint* (*e*). Much leſs ought we to forget, that great Intereſt has been made at *Rome* to procure the Canonization of *Mary d'Agreda*. See the beginning of the Remark [*C*].

“condemning a Book, which the ſovereign Pontiff had reſerv'd the Cogniſance of to himſelf, and had deputed Cardinals, who were at that time examining it (22). —— The Cabal were enrag'd at him, and he was obliged to declare, that, if they proceeded, without regarding his Remonſtrance, he appeal'd from all that was done againſt the Book to the Pope. He declares, however, That if this Appeal injur'd the Rights of the *Gallican* Church in any manner, he would deſiſt from it (23). From that Day, 'till the meeting of the Aſſembly, there was nothing but caballing. The Day of the Aſſembly being come, Meſſ. *du Sauſſoy* and *Gobillon* condemn'd the Book (24). —— “But Monſ. *le Caron* pretended there was nothing in it, which deſerv'd to be cenſured; which he ſupported with good Reaſons. Each of them had his Partizans, who appear'd in twenty nine ſucceſſive Aſſemblies. The *Syndic* gave thoſe of Monſ. *le Caron*'s Party the Name of *Agredians*, a Name which they ſtill retain.” The Affair was terminated the ſeventeenth of *September*. “There was ſuch a Noiſe in the Hall of the Aſſembly, that it ſeem'd like a Market (25). —— The next Day Meſſ. *du Flos* and and *du Mas*, formerly Counſellors in the Parliament of *Paris*, proteſted againſt the Validity of the Cenſure, and cauſed their Proteſt to be notify'd to the Dean and Syndic of the Faculty, which is ſtill in Force, they not having retracted it by any Act (26). Some time after, the Syndic and the Deputies aſſembled again, and procur'd another Cenſure —— which was read the firſt of *October*; but, before the reading, the Syndic declar'd to the Faculty the Oppoſition which was ſignify'd to him by thoſe two Gentlemen. He ſaid moreover, that my Lord of *Paris* having caus'd them to come to his Palace, had convinc'd them by ſuch good Reaſons, that the Abbot *du Mas* yielded to them, and that he was ſure that when Monſ. *du Flos* ſhould hear the reading of the Cenſure, as it was drawn up, he would aſſent to it. The Work of the Syndic was read, and they were ſurpriz'd that there were new and cenſur'd Propoſitions in it, which they had not heard of in the Faculty, and that they had retrench'd ſeveral of the condemned ones (27).”

My Readers may judge as they pleaſe of theſe Extracts.

[*D*] *That the Apprehenſions of the Scandal it might cauſe obliged the Company to inſert a Declaration in their Act.*] They proteſted in the moſt ſolemn manner, “That by this Cenſure they had no Deſign to diminiſh any thing of the lawful Worſhip, which the Catholic Church pays to the Holy Virgin; that they honour'd her as the Mother of God; that they had a particular Confidence in her Interceſſion; that they held the Sentiments of their Fathers, concerning the immaculate Conception, and that they believed her Aſſumption into Heaven, both in Body and in Soul (28).” The Author of the Letter, of which we have produc'd ſome Extracts in the foregoing Remark, ſays, That the Cenſure, wherein they *acknowlege the Conception and the Aſſumption of the Virgin*, was made by the Syndic and the Deputies, after the Body of the Faculty had finiſh'd the Judgment (29). This ſhews that they had not the Courage to publiſh the Cenſure of the Faculty, without qualifying it; and we may judge from thence, to what Dangers they expoſe themſelves, who diſapprove the moſt palpable Errors, which magnify the Honours of the Holy Virgin. They not only expoſe themſelves to the Indignation of the People, but alſo to that of the Monks, and of many other Eccleſiaſtics: Whence they endeavour to ward off the Blow by ſtudied Prefaces (30). What Servitude! and what a Proof that the Diſeaſe is incurable! What *Livy* ſaid of the Republic of *Rome*, agrees at preſent with the Church of that Name. “Labente deinde paulatim diſciplinâ, velut deſidentes primo mores ſequatur animo: deinde ut magis magiſque lapſi ſint, tum ire cæperint præcipites, donec ad hæc tempora, quibus nec vitia noſtra nec remedia pati poſſumus, perventum eſt (31). —— *We may trace the Decay of their Morals, from the firſt Relaxation of Diſcipline, through the ſeveral Stages of Degeneracy, to the preſent times, in which we can neither bear our Vices, nor their Remedies.*” The Work of *Mary d'Agreda*, is evidently full of Fables, and abſurd Doctrines; yet, becauſe it favours the falſe Ideas which People will entertain of the high Dignity, and unlimited Power of the Holy Virgin, all kind of Machines muſt be ſet at work to get it cenſur'd at *Paris*. The Author of the Letter (32) does more harm to his Church and Nation than he apprehends, when he recounts the Cabals, which were made uſe of by thoſe, who wanted to have the *Myſtical City* of the *Spaniſh* Abbeſs cenſured. There would have been no need of caballing, if the Minds of the People had not been ſtrangely obſtinate: Nor need they have had recourſe to Softenings. The Cenſure would have paſs'd, and no one would have murmur'd at it. All the Courts of the Inquiſition would have prevented the Faculty of Divinity of *Paris*; whereas they have all remain'd ſilent hitherto, if I am not miſtaken; though they are ſo ready to condemn all Works, which oppoſe ever ſo little the moſt doubtful Traditions, if they favour the Worſhip of the Saints (33).

Note, That there is a particular Reaſon, which may oblige the *Sorbonne* to be cautious, and expoſe them to the Oppoſitions of many Doctors: Which is, that ſo many Conſequences have been drawn from the Epithet *Mother of God*, that there is ſcarce any extravagant Opinion concerning the Excellence and Power of the Virgin, but what may be maintained in ſome Meaſure by Arguments *ad hominem*, which thoſe Conſequences afford. Your Adverſaries lead you by Degrees where they pleaſe; you are undone by the Subtilties of the Schoolmen: If you retreat, you ſtand convicted of denying Conſequences; from whence it happens, that thoſe, who pretend to argue conſequentially, and to favour the popular Devotion at the ſame time, chuſe rather to advance ſtill farther, than to retreat. And yet their Syſtem is not regular. The Divinity of *Mary*, in the literal Senſe, is wanting to it: ſince the Mother of God ought to be a Goddeſs of courſe, and of the ſelf-ſame Nature with her Son. And ſhe would be ſo, if they would adopt the Imagination of the Cavalier *Borri* (34), but it has been condemned. Perhaps a time will come when they will find the Neceſſity of it, and by that means ſquare this irregular Figure. It is thought that many wiſh for it.

—— O ſi Angulus ille
Proximus accedat, qui nunc deformat Agellum (35).

—— Oh! that the Gods would yeild
That Nook, which ſpoils the Figure of my Field.

CREECH.

Such a thing might be done in certain Circumſtances, if there was a Combination of temporal and ſpiritual Intereſts. Every thing paſſes, when Princes concur with the Heads of an Eccleſiaſtical Party, during certain Diſpoſitions of general Affairs.

Let us conclude with obſerving, that, if the Faculty of Divinity of *Paris* were in hopes that their Cenſure would remove a Stumbling-Block out of the way of thoſe, who are called the *New Re-united*, they were deceived; for the Oppoſition they were forced to encounter with in their own Body, and the Diſcontent which broke out after the Publication of the Cenſure, have much more ſcandalized the *Re-united*, than the Cenſure could have Edified them. Beſides that, what gives them the greateſt Offence remains entire in the Preface to the Cenſure; a Preface, which is a Signal of the Continuation of a

Capital

(*e*) Journal of the Learned, Feb. 16. 1696. p. 51.

(22) Ibid. pag. 30.

(23) Caſe of Mary d'Agreda, p. 31.

(24) Ibid. pag. 35, 36.

(25) Ibid. pag. 37.

(26) Ibid. pag. 38.

(27) Ibid. pag. 39.

(28) Journal of the Learned, Nov. 1696. pag. 716, 71[illegible].

(29) Caſe of Mary d'Agreda, pag. 30.

(30) *Note, that, in relation to the Votaries, theſe two Verſes of* Boileau *have been apply'd.* Un Auteur à genoux dans une humble Preface, au Lecteur qu'il ennuie a beau demander grace. *An Author on his Knees, in an humble Preface, does well to beg pardon of the Reader, whom he is going to torture.*

(31) Livius, lib. 1. init.

(32) *The Title of it is at the beginning of the Remark* [*C*].

(33) *The* Acta Sanctorum *of the Jeſuits of* Antwerp *have been condemn'd by the Inquiſition of* Toledo.

(34) *See the Article* BORRI.

(35) Horat. Sat. 6. lib. 2. ver. 8.

Capital Controverſy, I mean, in relation to a Worſhip, whoſe Exceſſes have excited ſome curious Perſons to philoſophize, in order to diſcover the Original of it (36).

(36) *See the Remark* [*N*] *of the Artic. NESTORIUS.*

AGRICOLA almoſt an infinite number of Authors bear this Name, but as there are but three or four of conſiderable note, I ſhall only take Notice of them.

AGRICOLA (GEORGE) a *German* Phyſician, excelled in the Knowledge of Metals. He was born at *Glaucha*, in *Miſnia*, on the Twenty fourth of *March*, 1494. The Diſcoveries he made in the Mountains of *Bohemia*, after his Travels in *Italy*, ſo ſtrongly inclined him to go to the Bottom of the Metallic Science, that when, by the advice of his Friends, he had engaged himſelf in the Practice of Phyſic at *Joachimſtal* (*a*), he employed as much time as he could in the Study of Foſſils. To ſatisfy this Paſſion the better, he retired to *Chemnits*, where he gave himſelf up wholly to this Study. He ſpent there not only the Penſion, which was obtained for him from *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, but alſo part of his own Eſtate; inſomuch that he got much more Glory by his Labours, than Profit. He compoſed many Works on the Subject he had moſt at Heart, and ſome others on Miſcellaneous Subjects [*A*]. He examined what *Budæus*, *Leonard Portius*, and *Alciatus*, had obſerved concerning Weights and Meaſures, and found them greatly miſtaken. *Alciatus* undertook to to defend himſelf, but he was foiled in the Argument. *Bodin* maintains, that, in Compariſon of *Agricola*, *Ariſtotle* and *Pliny* ſaw very little into the Metallic Science (*b*). It muſt not be forgot, that, when Duke *Maurice*, and Duke *Auguſtus* marched to join the Army of *Charles* the Vth in *Bohemia*, *Agricola* followed them, to ſhew his Fidelity, though he was obliged to abandon the Care of his Eſtate, his Children, and his Wife, who was with Child (*c*). He died a very good Papiſt at *Chemnits* on the Twenty firſt of *November*, 1555. The Zeal, with which he oppoſed the Proteſtant Doctrine in his latter Days, to which he ſeemed not much averſe at firſt [*B*], rendered him ſo odious to the *Lutherans*, that they let him lie five days unburied [*C*]. They

(*a*) *That is,* The Valley of Joachim. *It is a City of* Miſnia.

(*b*) Bodin, in Method. Hiſtor. *See in Sir* Tho. Pope Blount *his* Cenſura celebr. Authorum, pag. 413. *a great number of very honourable Elogies of* Agricola.

(*c*) Uxore prægnante cum dulciſſimis liberis domi relicta, fortunis etiam omnibus poſthabitis, cum jusjurandum, quo eis erat devinctus, nullo modo negligendum putaret, in exercitu eorum penè ſenex militavit. *Melch. Adam. Vit. Medic. pag.* 79.

[*A*] *Many Works on the Subject he had moſt at Heart, and ſome others on miſcellaneous Subjects.*] The Titles of ſome of them are as follows. *De ortu & cauſis ſubterraneorum* (Of the Origin and Cauſes of Subterraneous Things). *De natura eorum quæ effluunt ex terra* (Of the Nature of thoſe things, which flow out of the Earth). *De natura foſſilium* (Of the Nature of Foſſils). *De medicatis fontibus* (Of medicinal Springs). *De ſubterraneis animantibus* (Of Subterraneous Animals). *De veteribus & novis metallis* (Of old and new Metals). *De Re metallica* (Of the Metallic Science). I look upon his Speech *De bello Turcis inferendo* (1) (Of making War upon the *Turks*), to be a Political Work; his Treatiſe *De traditionibus Apoſtolicis* (Of Apoſtolical Traditions), a Controverſial Piece; and his Treatiſe *De Peſte* (Of the Plague), a Phyſical Diſſertation. *Melchior Adam* does not know whether theſe two laſt Works were ever printed; I am alſo ignorant of it, as to the Treatiſe of Controverſy, but I know that the other appeared at *Baſil* in the Year 1554. and that it was ſince twice printed before *Melchior Adam* publiſhed his Book. See *Merklinus* in his *Lindenius renovatus*.

(1) *Printed at* Baſil *in* 1538.

[*B*] *Seemed not much averſe to it at firſt.*] He not only diſapproved the ſordid Traffic of Indulgences, but many other Practices likewiſe. The following four Verſes of his making were affixed in the Year 1519. in the Streets of *Zwickaw* (2). They concern the Indulgences of *Rome*.

(2) *He taught* Greek *there*.

Si nos injecto ſalvabit ciſtula nummo,
  Heu nimium infelix tu mihi pauper eris!
Si nos, Chriſte, tua ſervatos morte beaſti,
  Jam nihil infelix tu mihi pauper eris.

If without Gold Salvation can't be bought,
How curſ'd the Wretch who is not worth a Groat?
But if Chriſt'*s Death has purchas'd for us Peace,*
Rejoice, ye Poor, and bid your Miſeries ceaſe.

Melchior Adam was of Opinion, that four things hindered the Converſion of *Agricola*. 1. The raſh Writings of ſome Divines. 2. The ſcandalous Lives of ſome Reformed Sectaries. 3. The breaking of the Images, and revolt of the Country People. 4. The Inclination he had for Pomp and Ceremony (3). The three firſt of theſe gave *Eraſmus* an entire Diſlike to the Proteſtant Party. A great Number of other Perſons, who wiſhed for a Reformation of the Church, fell into the ſame Snare with *Eraſmus*. Whence it was, that *Theodore Beza* encountered ſo many Perſons, who had at firſt taſted of the good Seed, and afterwards returned to their wallowing in the Mire (4). When we talk thus to Men of Senſe and Reaſon, they tell us, that, conſidering the State of things at that time, it was impoſſible to ſupport or propagate one's Cauſe by downright Meekneſs and Patience; and that therefore the Providence of God, whoſe ways are always Wiſe, permitted, that Men ſhould appear, ſuch as they are, in the great Work of Reformation, to attain more naturally to his Deſign, which was, as Experience teaches us, to hinder either of the two Religions from quite ruining each other. This is a good Plea. There are certain means, which, for this very Reaſon, that they are proper to bring about half the Work, are inſufficient for the perfecting of it.

(3) Melch. Adam in Vit. Medic. pag. 80.

(4) *See his Hiſtory of the Churches.*

[*C*] *They let him lie five Days unburied.*] *Scaliger* condemned this Conduct with Reaſon; he ſays "Agricolam, quo nihil doctius, Lutherani mortuum "ſepelire noluerunt, quia manſerat Pontificius. Italus quidam ſcripſit & hortatus eſt ut ſepelirent "hominem Chriſtianum; barbaries magna. (5). —— "*The* Lutherans *refuſed to bury the very learned* "Agricola, *becauſe he died a Papiſt. A certain* Italian "*wrote to, and exhorted them, to bury a Man, who was* "*a Chriſtian: this was an Inſtance of Great Barbarity.*" I dare not maintain, that it is falſe, that an *Italian* exhorted the *Lutherans* to this Office of Humanity by Letter, but I ſee no probability of it; and it may be imputed to Forgetfulneſs in *Scaliger*, or his Boarders. There is a Letter of *Matthiolus*, wherein he complains, that ſuch a venerable old Man, as *George Agricola*, could not find Earth enough in his own Country to cover his Body. *Id. Matthiolus ad Caſpar. Nævium Med. (lib. 2. Epiſt.) queritur, hunc præclarum probumque ſenem in patria tantum terræ non inveniſſe quo ſuum operiretur cadaver* (6). From hence they might pretend, that an *Italian* exhorted by Letter thoſe, who had the Body, to bury it. Let it not be thought ſtrange, that I lay but ſmall Streſs upon what the great *Scaliger* ſays here; for how can I depend upon him in relation to *Agricola*, when he has told us, upon another Occaſion, that he was a very impious Man, who ſcarce deſerved to be buried? "Non minus eruditus & in cenſenda "metallorum natura curioſus fuit quam vere impius, "nulli addictus religioni, ut poſt mortem vix ſepeliri meruerit (7). —— *He was as Learned and* "*Curious in examining the Nature of Metals, as he* "*was truly impious, and addicted to no Religion;* "*inſomuch that he ſcarce deſerved funeral Rites after* "*his Death.*"

(5) In Scaligeranis, pag. 5.

(6) Melch. Adam. ubi ſupra.

(7) Scaligerana prima, pag. 80.

They brought his Corps from *Chemnits* to *Zeits*, where he was interred in the principal Church (*d*). Such are the Fruits of a blind Zeal [*D*].

(*d*) Id. ibid. pag. 77, &c.

[*D*] *Such are the Fruits of a blind Zeal.*] There is no Proteſtant at preſent, who does not condemn this Treatment of his Corps; and I do not queſtion, but that, at that time, moſt of the *Lutherans* condemned it. *Melchior Adam* ſeems to lay all the Blame of it on the Miniſter of the Place. It is more eaſy, at preſent, to ſee the Miſchiefs of this falſe Zeal; Time has calmed thoſe Paſſions, which like impetuous Storms rob us of the Sight of Heaven:

Eripiunt ſubito nubes cœlumque diemque
Teucrorum ex oculis: ponto nox incubat atra (8).

—— ſable Night involves the Skies,
And Heaven itſelf is raviſh'd from their Eyes.
DRYDEN.

(8) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 1. ver. 88.

What will not Men do to make Repriſals, and when there is Reaſon to ſpeak thus?

Res dura & regni novitas me talia cogunt
Moliri (9).

—— my Cruel Fate,
And Doubts attending an unſettled State,
Force me to guard my Coaſts.
DRYDEN.

(9) Dido apud Virgil. Æn. lib. 1. ver. 563.

Freherus remarks, that *Agricola* fell into ſo great a Paſſion in a Theological Diſpute, that he contracted a violent Fever, of which he died (10). He cites only *Melchior Adam*, who ſays nothing of it. It is very likely, that *Agricola* had enraged the *Lutherans* by the Appearance of an exceſſive Averſion. *Peter Albinus* repreſents him (11) as an obſtinate *Roman* Catholic. I deſire you to compare this with the firſt *Scaligerana*.

(10) Paul. Freher. in Theatr. Viror. illuſtr. pag. 1238.

(11) *In the Chronicle of* Miſnia.

AGRICOLA (JOHN) a *Saxon* Divine, born at *Iſlebe* (*a*) on the Twentieth of *April* 1492 (*b*), was the Cauſe of great Troubles to the Proteſtant Religion, which he embraced. It has been ſaid, that he followed the Elector of *Saxony*, in Quality of his Miniſter, to the Diet of *Spire*, in the Year 1526. and to that of *Augsburg* in the Year 1530. But it is certain, that he made thoſe two Journeys, only in Quality of Miniſter of the Count of *Mansfeld*. It is true this Count accompanied the Elector of *Saxony*, and, during that time, his Miniſter preached ſometimes before the Elector; and this is the Original of the Miſtake. *Agricola* had tolerable Succeſs in preaching, which made him fancy himſelf a great Man, and ſet himſelf up in competition with *Melancthon*. For this Reaſon he wrote againſt him in 1527 (*c*). His reſtleſs and ambitious Temper prompted him, in 1536, to aſk leave to quit his Country, where he exerciſed the Miniſtry, and was Principal of the College. His Requeſt was accompanied with Complaints; and ſeemed ſo unreaſonable to the Count of *Mansfeld*, that he did not obtain his Diſmiſſion without Reproaches of Ingratitude, Avarice, and Drunkenneſs; beſides being charged with exerciſing his Function careleſly, and with having diſputed more againſt the Proteſtants, than againſt the Catholics. He went to *Wittemberg*, where he obtained the Chair of Profeſſor and Miniſter. He taught no very inſtructive Doctrine in relation to the uſe of the *Law* under the *Goſpel*; in a word, he became the Founder of the *Antinomian* Sect (*d*). *Luther*, who had been his good Friend [*A*], attacked him very roughly, and obliged him to promiſe that he would recant his Errors; but while they were employed in drawing up the Formulary, which he was to ſign, *Luther* publiſhed ſome new Writings, at which *Agricola* was ſo piqued, that he preſented (*e*) a very abuſive Petition to the Elector againſt his Antagoniſt, wherein he complained, among other things, that they imputed Opinions to him, which were not his. *Luther* anſwered him with all his Fire, and, to clear himſelf from the Character of a Public Libeller, he ſent for Atteſtations from *Iſlebe*, in relation to ſome particular Inſtances of *Argricola*'s Behaviour. The Divines of *Wittemberg* ran to the Aſſiſtance of *Luther*, and ſaid, That his Accuſations were well-grounded. The Elector of *Saxony*, much embarraſſed with the Affair, appointed Arbitrators between the Parties, and recommended to them to find out ſome means of an Accommodation; after which he made *Agricola* promiſe, that he would not retire, before the Proceſs was ended. This Promiſe was broke: *Agricola* retired privately to *Berlin* (*f*), without waiting for an Anſwer to the Demand he had made for Leave to depart. The Elector of *Brandenburg* endeavoured to reconcile him with *Luther*; but there was nothing to be done in it, except upon one of theſe two Conditions, either that *Agricola* ſhould return, and wait the deciſion of the Proceſs, or that he ſhould retract his Errors, and the abuſive Language he had given *Luther* in writing. He choſe the latter [*B*], and publiſhed a Book at *Berlin*, wherein

(*a*) *A Town in the County of* Mansfeld. *He was as well known by the Name of* Iſlebius *as by that of* Agricola.

(*b*) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. pag. 409.

(*c*) *It was in relation to the Formulary of Eccleſiaſtical Viſitation, drawn up by* Melancthon.

(*d*) *See the Article* ISLEBIANS.

(*e*) *The* 30*th of* March, 1540, *during the Aſſembly at* Smalcalde.

(*f*) *In* 1540.

[*A*] Luther, *who had been his good Friend.*] They were of the ſame City. We find that *Agricola* ſerved *Luther* as Secretary in the Conference at *Leipſic*, in 1519 (1), and that he was ſent to *Francfort* in 1525 (2), with a Recommendatory Letter from *Luther* to the Magiſtrates, to be one of the Miniſters of the Goſpel there. The Author, whom I cite (3), cenſures Mr *Varillas*, who ſaid, that *Luther* undertook nothing conſiderable without *Agricola*. This is to puſh things too far, and he cannot produce any Proof of it.

[*B*] *He choſe the latter.*] There are probably two Reaſons for this Piece of Condeſcenſion. Firſt, He had no Hopes of finding his Account in the Deciſion of the Controverſy; for he could not gain his Point without *Luther*'s being declared a Slanderer of his Brethren. Now he muſt have been the moſt credulous of Men to entertain any Hopes of Succeſs, at this Expence, in *Saxony*. The People would have ſtoned the Judges, who ſhould have ſullied the Reputation of a Reformer in this manner. They would have pretended, that the Church ſtood in need of the good Fame of *Luther*, and that the Papiſts would draw too great an Advantage from his Diſgrace. Have we not ſeen ſome, who were but Pigmies in compariſon of *Luther*, eſcape, by this means, the Canonical Puniſhments which they have deſerved? *Agricola*'s ſecond Reaſon, probably, was, that by not ſubmitting, he was in danger of loſing the Quarter's Salary which was due to him. Read what follows: " Neque tamen hoc ſcripto ſta-

(1) Seckendorf, Hiſt. Luther. lib. 1. pag. 92. liter. r.

(2) Ibid. p. 243. lit e.

(3) Seckendorf, ubi ſupra, lib. 3. pag. 306. n. 1.

wherein he aſked Pardon of thoſe, whom he might have offended by his Errors, and of *Luther* by Name, and profeſſed that he would Live and Die in the Faith, which he had oppoſed. *Luther* did not depend upon theſe fine Proteſtations; *Agricola* complained of this to the Elector of *Saxony*, and aſſured him, that nothing had ever given him greater uneaſineſs, than this Conteſt with the Man of God (*g*); and that, ſince his Offer of giving his Oath wou'd not avail him, he referred his Cauſe to the Judge of the World; humbly entreating the Elector, at the ſame time, to order him the Payment of his Salary, which was due for Three Months, and which he ſtood in need of for the Maintenance of his Wife and Nine Children (*h*). I believe he never wou'd have regained the Favour either of the Elector, or *Martin Luther*. No doubt he comforted himſelf with the Reputation, which his Office of Preacher at the Court of *Berlin* gave him, and with the Choice, which they made of him for compoſing a Work, which made a great Noiſe. I mean the *Interim*, which he drew up with *Julius Phlug*, and *Michael Heldingus* (*i*), in the Year 1548. It is pretended, that the Emperor rewarded *Agricola* largely for the Pains he had taken on this Occaſion. The War, which aroſe ſome time after, in *Germany*, between the Proteſtant Divines (*k*), made it appear that this Miniſter was a Man of a dangerous Spirit, and a great Intermeddler. He was officious in compoſing Animoſities, and did not ſpare the Gift of Elocution, which he was Maſter of, in the Conferences, which were held about theſe Matters; but he heal'd no Differences. He died at *Berlin* in 1566. He had been Superintendant (*l*) of the *March* of *Brandenburg* (*m*). It is ſaid that he would have reviv'd the uſe of Holy Oyl for the Sick, and that he did not queſtion, but that miraculous Cures would have attended, it as in former times (*n*). He wrote but few Books [*C*]. They carry Things too far, who ſay that he relapſed to Popery [*D*].

(*g*) *See Remark* [*B*].

(*h*) *Taken out of* Seckendorf's *Anſwer to the* Lutheraniſm *of Father* Maimbourg, lib. 3. *from pag.* 306. *to pag.* 310.

(*i*) *He is commonly called* Michael Sidonius, *becauſe he was titular Biſhop of* Sidon.

(*k*) *It was on the Queſtion about things indifferent in Religion.*

(*l*) *So the* Lutherans *call thoſe Miniſters, who have the Inſpection of ſeveral Churches.*

(*m*) Micræl. Hiſt. Eccleſ. pag. 733. Edit. 1679.

(*n*) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. pag. 411.

" tim, ut ſperaverat, Luthero de vera converſione " ſua fidem fecit; id quod ipſe *Agricola* literis *d.* 19. " *Decemb.* apud Electorem Saxoniæ queritur, *nihilque tota vita ſibi gravius accidiſſe, quam ſimultatem illam cum viro Dei, quem ipſe patris loco veneratus ſit, & in cujus obſequio mori velit, apud quem tamen nihil proficiat ne juramenti quidem oblatione, ideo ſe Deo cauſam committere.* Petit tamen " *ut ſibi ad alendam uxorem novemque liberos trimeſtre,* quod reſtare ſibi dicit, *ſalarium non denegetur,* " *ſe enim id diligenti lectione promeritum* (4). —— " *Nor did he by this Writing preſently convince* Luther *of his Converſion, as he expected; which* Agricola *himſelf complained of in his Letters of the nineteenth of* December *to the Elector of* Saxony; " *in which he declares,* that nothing had happened " ſo afflicting to him in his whole Life, as his " Quarrel with the Man of God, whom he reverenced as a Father, and in whoſe Favour he deſired to dye; with whom as his Offer of an Oath " could not prevail, he committed his Cauſe to " God. However he petitioned, that they would " not deny him his Quarter's Salary, for the Maintenance of his Wife and nine Children, *which he ſaid* " *was due to him,* and which he had merited by his " conſtant Attendance on Preaching."

[*C*] *He wrote but few Books.*] The Explication of three hundred *German* Proverbs was one of the firſt. He abuſed *Ulric* Duke of *Wirtemberg* much in it (5). Complaints were made of it, which obliged the Author to acknowledge his Fault in a very ſubmiſſive Letter. This did not hinder Duke *Ulric* from alledging, among other Grievances, at the Diet of *Franckfort*, in the Year 1536, that they protected *John Agricola* in the County of *Manſfeld*, by whom he had been publickly affronted (6). The Author increaſed his Work with above four hundred Proverbs more in the ſecond Edition. He wrote a Commentary on St *Luke*; he refuted the Explication of the nineteenth Pſalm, publiſhed in *German*, by *Thomas Muncerus, &c.* (7).

[*D*] *That he relapſed to Popery.*] It is certain, that, leaving *Saxony*, he retired to the Court of *Brandenburg*, and that the Elector *Joachim* II. who had eſtabliſhed the Reformation in his Dominions, in the Year 1539, (8) received him honourably, and made him his Preacher. It is as certain that he enjoyed that Prince's Favour all his Life-time; ſo that it is falſe to ſay, as *Melchior Adam*, and *Paul Freherus* do, that *Agricola* was a Papiſt, *tunc Pontificiis ſeſe adjunxerat*, when *Charles* V. employed him in drawing up the *Interim*. I own he made great Conceſſions in that Piece; but did not *Phlug*, and the Biſhop of *Sidon*, do the ſame? Were they therefore *Lutherans?* The Project of theſe three Perſons was neither ſatisfactory to the Proteſtants, nor the Catholics; this is very certain: But there is a manifeſt Diſtinction to be made between thoſe, who, for the ſake of Peace, give up part of the Reformation, and thoſe who actually forſake the Proteſtant Communion, to embrace the Communion of *Rome*. *Agricola* was doubtleſs one of the firſt Claſs, but, having never been of the ſecond, he ought not to paſs for a Papiſt. Cenſure therefore theſe Words of *Micrælius*; " Joh. Agricola - - - - - noſter primo, " deinde ſuus, tandem Pontificiorum (9). —— John " Agricola - - - - - *who was firſt of our Sect, then* " *of no Party, and laſtly a Convert to Popery.*" I cannot tell, whether, when he ſays three Lines after, " Homini Epicuræo ſimilior quam pio Theologo, ut " ſcribit Oſiander ad annum 1566. quo obiit Agricola. —— *More of an Epicurean, than a pious* " *Divine, as* Oſiander *writes, at the Year* 1566, *in* " *which* Agricola *died* —— He means a Voluptary, or one indifferent to all Religions.

(4) Id. ibid. pag. 310. n. 16.

(5) Id. lib. 2. pag. 135.

(6) Ib. pag. 412. lit. b.

(7) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. pag. 411.

(8) Seckendorf, lib. 3. pag. 234, & seq.

(9) Micræl. Syntagm. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. p. 733.

AGRICOLA (Michael) a *Lutheran* Miniſter at *Abo* in *Finland*, was the firſt who tranſlated the New Teſtament into the Language of the Country, which contributed much to the Propagation of *Lutheraniſm* (*a*).

(*a*) Ex Micrælio, Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. pag. 733.

AGRICOLA (Rodolphus) was one of the moſt Learned Men of the XVth Century. *Italy*, which in thoſe times called all beyond the *Alps barbarous*, produced nothing, to which *Frieſland* could not compare her *Agricola*, without fearing to be overcome. This great Man was of mean Birth [*A*]; he was born about the Year

[*A*] *Was of mean Birth.*] I am aware, that, in the Life of *Agricola*, among thoſe of the Profeſſors of *Groningen*, it is affirmed, that he was of one of the moſt conſiderable Families of *Frieſland*; *Ex Agricolarum familia, apud Friſios inter honoratiores ſemper habita, vir hic incomparabilis oriundus.* —— *This incomparable Perſon ſprung from the* Agricolæ; *a Family in* Frieſland, *eſteemed amongſt the moſt honourable.* But as this Life is the ſame with that, which we find in *Melchior Adam*, it cannot ba-

Year 1442. in the Village of *Baſſlon*, two Miles from *Groningen*. He gave early proofs of his future Reputation; and he had ſcarce received the Degree of Maſter of Arts at *Louvain*, but he might have been advanced to a Profeſſor's Chair, if he had deſired it: but his Inclination was rather to travel. He went from *Louvain* to *Paris*, after having lived in the former of theſe Two Cities the Life of an Athletic, I mean with great Sobriety, Chaſtity, and Application to Labour [*B*]. From *Paris* he went to *Italy*, and ſtaid Two Years at *Ferrara* [*C*], where the Duke conferred many Favours on him. *Theodore Gaza* explained *Ariſtotle* in that City. *Agricola*, who was one of his Auditors, was heard in his Turn, and admired no leſs for his Style, than his Elocution. The *Italians* regretted, that ſo great a Man was not born in their Country. It was his own fault, when he returned home, that he did not poſſeſs conſiderable Employs; but his love of Books hindered him from thinking of any Settlement of this kind, or at leaſt made him ſoon quit it. He at laſt accepted a Poſt, in *Groningen*, and followed the Court of *Maximilian* the Firſt Six Months, to take care of the Affairs of That City. He acquitted himſelf happily of this Commiſſion, and had no great Reaſon to boaſt of the Gratitude of his Maſters; therefore he left them, and went to travel again. He was ſuch a Lover of Liberty, that he refuſed to accept the Headſhip of a College, which the Inhabitants of *Antwerp* offered him; and I know not how he could with Honour have accepted it, ſince he had refuſed to enter, under very advantageous Conditions, into the Service of the Emperor *Maximilian*? He preferred Quiet and Independency to every thing. After having led a very roving Life, he ſettled in the *Palatinate*, where the Biſhop of *Worms*, whom he had inſtructed in the *Greek* Tongue, found means to engage his Stay. It was in the Year 1482, that he came into the *Palatinate*; where he ſpent the remainder of his Life [*D*], ſometimes at *Heidelberg*, and ſometimes at *Worms*. The Elector *Palatine* took

lance the Teſtimony of *Ubbo Emmius*, who was beſt acquainted with *Frieſland*, his own Country, of any Man: "Obſcuris natalibus apud Baſloos ortus (*Rodolphus* "*Agricola*) tantum ſibi in literis nomen paravit per "omnem Europam, ut, &c. (1) —— RODOLPHUS "AGRICOLA *born at* Baſſlon, *of obſcure Parents*, "*gained ſuch a Reputation for Learning over all* "Europe, *that*, &c."

I have been ſhewed (2) two Proofs of *Emmius*'s Opinion in *Agricola*'s Letters. The one is, that his Twin-Siſter was ſent to *Groningen* to learn the Skinners Trade, *pellicea opera & texturam pulvinariam*; the other is, that the Father of this Girl was Receiver of the Church of his Village. He was much grieved when one of his Sons robbed him of an hundred *Florins* of the Money of that Revenue. "Venit ad me pater tuus turbatus & gemens, & prope "cum lacrimis queſtus eſt mihi, Henricum fratrem "noſtrum pridie ejus diei clam ſibi abſtuliſſe centum "florenos noſtræ monetæ ex pecunia ſacra cujus "curam, ut ſis, ille gerit. —— *Your Father came* "*to me greatly diſcompoſed, and ſighing, and com*"*plained to me almoſt with Tears, that* Henry, *our* "*Brother, had the Day before ſtoln from him an* "*hundred* Florins, *of that ſacred Money, which, you* "*know, he has the care of.*" Our *Rodolphus*, being at *Groningen*, wrote this to *John* his Twin-Brother.

[*B*] *The Life of an Athletic, I mean with great Sobriety, Chaſtity, and Application to Labour.*] The Ancients remark, that the Athletics enured themſelves to Labour, and abſtained from Wine and Women.

> Qui ſtudet optatam curſu contingere metam,
> Multa tulit fecitque puer: ſudavit & alſit:
> ABSTINUIT VENERE ET VINO (3).

> *He, who, ambitious of the Victor's Place,*
> *Courts the firſt Honours of the duſty Race,*
> *Enures himſelf to Toil from childiſh Years,*
> *And Cold and Heat's Extreams alternate bears;*
> *Flies the ſtrong Grape's entoxicating Joys,*
> *And Venery, which manly Strength deſtroys.*

This Abſtinence was remarkable in *Agricola*, and very uncommon in the Country where he lived, with regard to the firſt Particular. "Lovanii vixit hone"ſtiſſime ab omni compotatione ac commeſſatione "contra gentis ſuæ morem alieniſſimus. Tantus erat "in eo bonarum literarum amor, tam indefeſſum "ſtudium, ut turpis Veneris fornices & luſtra ne "noverit quidem (4). —— *He lived an exemplary* "*Life at* Louvain, *not complying with his Country's* "*Manners in revelling and feaſting. So fond was* "*he of good Literature, that he was wholly unac*"*quainted with the ſcandalous Seats of Debauchery.*" It was uncommon likewiſe every where, and is ſo ſtill, with reſpect to the other Particular. For, to the ſhame of Chriſtianity and of Learning be it ſaid, there appears almoſt nothing in Scholars but ſhocking Inclinations to Debauchery. They were perhaps no better in ancient Times; for which reaſon I wonder why this did not become a Proverb, *Sine Venere & Baccho frigent Muſæ*, as well as this, *Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus.* For this long time, the Youth, who ſtudy, have behaved as if the firſt of theſe Maxims was true.

[*C*] *And ſtaid two Years* (5) *at* Ferrara.] He learned *Greek*, and taught *Latin* there: He contended with *Guarin* which had the beſt Talent at writing in Proſe, and diſputed with the *Strozza*'s the Praiſe of Poetry; as for Philoſophy, he treated of it with *Theodore Gaza* (6).

[*D*] *It was in the Year* 1482. *that he came into the* Palatinate, *where he ſpent the Remainder of his Life.*] *Melchior Adam* aſſerts this. "Cum hoc (*Joanne* "*Camerario Dalburgio*) ab anno 1482, partim *Hei*"*delbergæ* partim *Wormatiæ* ad ultimum vitæ actum "uſque vixit conjunctiſſime (7). —— *He lived in* "*ſtrict Friendſhip with this Perſon* John Camera"rius Dalburgius) *partly at* Heidelberg, *and partly* "*at* Worms, *from the Year* 1482. *to his Death.*" But Mr *de la Monnoie* found fault with this Account; for this is his Remark: "*Rodolphus Agricola*, in a "Letter, which he wrote to *James Barbirianus*, "dated, by Miſtake, XCII. inſtead of XXCII. and "in another of the ſame date to his Brother *John*, "ſays, that, upon taking a Journey the ſame Year "to *Heidelberg*, he gave his Word to *John* of *Al*"*burg*, Chancellor of the Count *Palatine*, and Bi"ſhop of *Worms*, that he would return to him again "the following Year. Yet we find, by his other "Letters, that he did not return thither before the "the middle of the Year 1484. So that the Cal"culation of *Voſſius*, pag. 566. *De Hiſtor. Lat.* "concerning the three Years of the Regency of *Ro*"*dolphus* at *Heidelberg* (8), is not right. *Sigiſmond* "of *Foligni*, otherwiſe *Sigiſmudus Fulginas*, is alſo "miſtaken, when he ſays, that *Rodolphus* died by "the way in his return from *Rome* to his own Coun"try. *Rodolphus* departed from *Rome* in 1480. and "died five Years after at *Heidelberg*. It does not ap"per by the reading of his Works, that he exer"ciſed the Function of Profeſſor at *Worms*." There is a Letter from *Peter Schottus*, dated the eighteeenth of *February*, 1484, in which he ſays, That he was well pleaſed with *Agricola*'s having began to read Lectures to the Youth at *Heidelberg*. "Argen"tinam reverſus cum intellexiſſem --- te Heidelbergæ "cœpiſſe purgare & linguas Juvenum & aures, ut "illæ nil ſceleroſum balbutiant, hæ vero, tuis tam "peritis

(1) Ubbo Emmius, lib. 30. Hiſtor. Friſl. ad ann. 1490. pag. 457.

(2) *By Mr* de la Monnoie.

(3) Horat. de Arte Poët. ver 412, &c.

(4) Melch. Adam in Vitis Philoſ. pag. 15.

(5) *In* 1476. & 1477.

(6) Ex Valerio Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 798.

(7) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philoſ. pag. 16.

(8) *Note, that* Melch. Adam *does not ſay that* Agricola *ever taught Philoſophy at* Heidelberg Voſſius *ſuppoſes that he taught it there three Years.*

took a pleaſure in hearing him diſcourſe on Antiquity, and deſired him to compoſe *An Abridgment of ancient Hiſtory*, which *Agricola* performed with great Learning. He read public Lectures at *Worms*, but his Auditors, having a greater Taſte for the Chicanery of Logic, than for polite Literature, were not in the way of Thinking he deſired. He began to ſtudy Divinity at Forty Years of Age; but deſpairing to ſucceed in it without the Knowledge of *Hebrew*, he apply'd himſelf to the Study of that Language, and, by the aſſiſtance of a *Jew*, he had made a conſiderable Progreſs in it [*E*]. Death, which ſeized him at *Heidelberg*, on the Twenty eighth of *October* 1485 (*a*), did not permit him to proceed. He ſubmitted, with a Chriſtian Reſignation, to the Orders from above, and was buried, in a *Cordelier*'s Habit, in the Church of the *Minor Friars* of that City. The Deſcription, which is given, of his Character, may eaſily ſatisfy us, that he was a very good Man, plain, without Malice, moderate, and of a good Diſpoſition. He was never married, tho' he had been in Love, or ſeemed to have been ſo. He had reſolv'd to marry in his Youth; but, after having ſeriouſly examined what he was going to do, he laid aſide his Deſign, not ſo much for fear of domeſtic Inconveniences, as out of a certain natural Indolence of Temper [*F*], which made him ſink under the leaſt Cares. One would ſcarce imagine, that a Perſon, who had div'd ſo far into the Study of Antiquity, as he had, ſhould be capable of ſinging to Inſtruments Songs of his own Compoſition; yet in this manner he ſometimes entertained the Ladies [*G*]. It is pretended, that, in the Affair of Religion, he had a Fore-taſte of that Light [*H*], which appeared in the following Age. He left his Books to *Adolphus Occo*, a Native of *Frieſland*, and Phyſician at *Augsburg* (*b*). Mr *Moreri* had no foundation for ſaying, that *Eraſmus* and *Agricola* became acquainted at *Ferrara* [*I*]. *Paul Freherus* did not underſtand all that

" peritis & dulcibus elegantiis delibatæ, omnes illas " ſciolorum inſulſas & verboſas ineptias quaſi magicas " incantationes declinent: tum ego vehementer ſum " graviſus (9).——*Returning to* Argentina, *when I underſtood, that you had began at* Heidelberg *to purge* " *the Tongues and Ears of the Youth, that the former might not utter any thing ſenſeleſs or wicked,* ' *and that the latter, by the Infuſion of your skilful* " *and pleaſing Elegancies, might avoid all the inſipid* " *and wordy Follies of Pretenders to Learning, as* " *ſo many magical Incantations; when I underſtood* " *this, I was greatly pleaſed.*"

[*E*] *Had made a conſiderable Progreſs in it.*] We learn from himſelf that at firſt this Study ſeemed very difficult to him; " Studia Hebræa - - - primum " ei plurimum negotii, uti ſcribit ipſe, exhibuerunt, " ut ſibi videretur cum Antæo luctari (10). —— " *The Study of the* Hebrew *Tongue, according to his* " *own Account, gave him at firſt a great deal of* " *Trouble, inſomuch that it ſeemed to him, as if he* " *was wreſtling with* Antæus." Meeting afterwards with a *Jew* who underſtood that Language indifferently well, he made ſuch a Progreſs in a few Months, that he could tranſlate ſome of *David*'s Pſalms without Faults. *Nactus Judæum ejus linguæ utcunque peritum paucis menſibus tantum profecit, ut aliquot Pſalmos Davidicos in Latinam linguam citra culpam tranſtulerit* (11). This will not authorize us to ſay, with *Voſſius*, that *Agricola* was very skilful in the *Hebrew* Tongue, *Hebraicè doctiſſimus* (12); we may degrade this *Superlative*, without any Injuſtice, and treat it like a Trooper, who is diſmounted, to be incorporated with the Infantry. *Geſner* diſtinguiſhed better than *Voſſius*; the latter has beſtowed a Superlative on *Agricola*'s *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*, indifferently. But *Geſner* expreſſes himſelf thus; *Græci & Latini ſermonis peritus, & Hebraicæ linguæ non ignarus* (13).—— *Skilled in the* Latin *and* Greek *Tongues, and not ignorant of the* Hebrew. He borrows theſe Words from *Trithemius*. *Konig* outdoes *Voſſius*; for he makes uſe of the Superlative *callentiſſimus, moſt knowing*. See *Varillas*'s third Miſtake below. We may obſerve likewiſe, that *Trithemius* does not ſpeak with Exactneſs, when he aſſures us, that *Agricola* had tranſlated the Pſalter from the original *Hebrew* (14); for we do not reckon the Exerciſes of an Author in learning a Language among his Works; but it is plain, that the Tranſlation, which *Agricola* made of ſome of *David*'s Pſalms, was an Exerciſe, which his *Jew* corrected for him. This *Jew* was converted to the Chriſtian Religion. *John Dalburg*, Biſhop of *Worms* (15), kept him in his Houſe only for the ſake of *Agricola*, if we may believe *Valerius Andreas*. " Primus exſulantes è Germania Græcas reſtituit litteras, quibus " ætate provectior etiam Hebraicas adjecit, præceptore uſus Judæo quodam ad fidem converſo, quem " Wormatienſis Epiſcopus *Johannes Dalburgius*, ſolius " *Rodolphi* cauſa, domi ſuæ alebat (16). —— *He* " *was the firſt who reſtored the exiled* Greek *Learning in* Germany; *to which, in his riper Years, he* " *added the* Hebrew, *by the Inſtruction of a certain* " *converted* Jew, *whom the Biſhop of Worms,* John " Dalburg, *entertained in his Houſe, wholy upon* Rodolphus'*s Account.*"

[*F*] *As out of a certain natural Indolence of Temper.*] Becauſe I cannot pretend to reach the Force of his Expreſſions. I ſhall ſet down the *Greek* Words, which he made uſe of. " Uxorem nunquam duxit: " quamquam in priori ætate ducturum deſtinarat. Sed " poſteaquam incepit diligentius ſe ipſe introſpicere, " averſus eſt ab eo conſilio non incommodis rei œconomicæ, ſed deterruit ipſum genus vitæ ſuæ, & " animus leviſſimis etiam curis impar, καὶ φιλήσυχόν " τι τῆς φύσεως (verba ſunt ipſius epiſtola quadam ad " Capnionem) ἦγε μᾶλλον ἀπραγμοσύνη καὶ ῥαθυμία " τις παντὸς τȣ̃ βίȣ (17). —— *He never married:* " *though formerly he had reſolved to marry. But,* " *after that he began to look more carefully into himſelf, he gave up that Reſolution, not in Conſideration of the Inconveniences of a married State; but* " *his own manner of Life, and his natural Diſpoſition, unequal to the lighteſt Cares, deterred him* " *from it.*"

[*G*] *Sometimes entertained the Ladies.*] See what his Hiſtorian ſays: " Puellas amare ſe nonnunquam " ſimulabat, verum nunquam deperibat. In earum " gratiam vernacula lingua quædam carmina ſcripſit " elegantiſſimè: quæ virginibus primariiſque amicis " præſentibus voce & teſtudine modulatiſſimè canebat (18). —— *He ſometimes pretended to be an* " *Admirer of the Ladies; but was never deſperately* " *in love with any of them. For their Sakes he* " *wrote ſome very elegant* Latin *Verſes in his mother* " *Tongue.*" He underſtood all kinds of Muſic; " Canebat voce, flatu, pulſu (19). —— *He performed* " *with his Voice, his Breath, and his Fingers.*"

[*H*] *A Foretaſte of that Light.*] Some one, who heard *Agricola* and *Weſſelus* diſcourſe together, teſtifies, that they deplored the Darkneſs of the Church; aud that they blamed the Maſs, Celibacy, and the Doctrine of the Monks concerning Juſtification by Works (20).

[*I*] *Mr* Moreri *had no Foundation for ſaying, that* Eraſmus *and* Agricola *became acquainted at* Ferrara.] This is eaſily proved. *Eraſmus* was born in the Year 1467. He ſtudied at *Deventer* at twelve or thirteen Years of Age. *Agricola* was at *Ferrara* in the Year 1476, and 1477. How could he then have contracted an eternal Friendſhip with *Eraſmus* in that City? If Mr *Moreri* had read *Agricola*'s Prognoſtic concerning *Eraſmus*, he would not have ſaid that they became acquainted at *Ferrara*. *Agricola* was returned from *Italy*, when, having

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(*a*) Eraſmus *therefore was miſtaken when he ſaid that* Agricola *died before the Age of 40 Years.* Adag. Chil. 1. cent. 4. n. 39.

(*b*) *Taken out of* Melchior Adam in Vit. Philoſ. pag. 13, & ſeq.

(9) Centur. Epiſt. Philolog. à Goldaſto Editarum, pag. 55, 56.

(10) Melch. Adam. ibid. pag. 18.

(11) Id. ibid. pag. 19.

(12) De Hiſtor. Lat. pag. 566.

(13) Geſn. in Biblioth. fol. 385.

(14) Apud Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 708. Geſner *aſſerts it likewiſe.*

(15) *And not* Heidelberg, *as* Bullart *ſays in his* Academ. of Sciences, Tom. 1. pag. 2,6.

(16) Valer. Andreas, Bibl. Belg. 708.

(17) Melch. Adam. Vit. Philoſ. p. 19. *See alſo the Life of* Agricola *among thoſe of the Profeſſors of* Groningen.

(18) Melch. Adam. Vit. Philoſoph. pag. 18.

(19) Id. ib.

(20) Id. ibid. in Vita Profeſſorum Groningenſ.

that he tranſcribed out of *Eraſmus* [*K*] in praiſe of *Agricola*. We underſtand from the ſame *Eraſmus*, that *Agricola* died for want of timely Aſſiſtance from the Phyſicians [*L*]. *Reuchlinus* has taken notice of the Funeral Oration of this Learned Man (*c*). *Varillas* will ſupply us with many Faults here [*M*], and give us an occaſion to relate what concerns the publication of one of *Agricola*'s Books, entitled *De Inventione Dialectica* [*N*].

ving read the Themes of *Hegius*'s Scholars at *Deventer*, he found I know not what in that of *Eraſmus*, which made him deſire to ſee the Child, and, having well obſerved him, he pronounced, that he would be a great Man. *Eraſmus* was not twenty Years of Age, when *Agricola* died, and had not yet emerged from the Darkneſs, wherein impertinent Tutors had detained him; ſo that there could not be that Friendſhip between him and *Agricola*, which Mr *Moreri* ſpeaks of. Here are ſome other Miſtakes of that Author. Agricola, ſays he, *was learned in all kind of Literature, and even in the* Greek *Language*. This is, as if one ſhould ſay, *Such a one is learned in all Parts of Divinity, and even in the Queſtions about Grace*. Is not the *Greek* Tongue one of the nobleſt Parts of Literature? I do not know where Mr *Moreri* has read, that *Agricola* was two Years Syndic of the City of *Groningen*.

[*K*] *All that he tranſcribed out of* Eraſmus (21)] He applies That to our *Agricola*, which *Eraſmus* ſaid of another. You muſt know, that *Eraſmus*, having highly prais'd *Agricola*, confeſſes, that one of the Reaſons, which made him ſo inclin'd to praiſe him, was, that he (*Eraſmus*) had been inſtructed by one (22), who had been a Scholar of *Agricola* (23). Upon which he diſplays his Maſter's Merit; and ſays, among other Things, That Envy itſelf could not cavil at him, but for having too much deſpis'd Fame, for having had too little regard for Poſterity, and for having wrote nothing but by way of Amuſement. *Freherus* reports this Remark, as if it related to *Agricola*, wherein he attributes a Falſhood to *Eraſmus*; for *Agricola*'s Works, collected in a Body (24), and printed at *Cologne*, in the Year 1539, prove, that he wrote many Things with Care, and with all his Induſtry.

[*L*] *He died for want of timely Aſſiſtance from the Phyſicians*.] Let us ſee *Eraſmus*'s Account of this Matter: It will not be diſagreeable to read it in his own Words. “Veluti ſi quis in morbo capitali Medicum opperiatur inſignem aut procul accerſendum; quæ res Hominem illum vere divinum extinxit *Rodolphum Agricolam*; etenim, dum cunctatur Medicus, Mors antevertit (25). —— *As if any one, in a mortal Diſtemper, ſhould wait for an eminent Phyſician, or one a great way off; which was the Occaſion of the Death of the great* Rodolphus Agricola; *for Death was before-hand with the tardy Phyſician*.

[*M*] Mr Varillas *will ſupply us with many Faults here*.] I. He ſays (26), That *Agricola had ſuch a prodigious Memory, that he never forgot any thing that he had learned*. This is an Hyperbole, for which I find no ground in that great Man's Hiſtory, though they have very much enlarg'd on his Talents. Would they have forgot this, which is the moſt extraordinary that can be met with? II. *He became learned to a Prodigy, by Books, which were borrowed, and without a Maſter*. The Hyperbole here is accompany'd with a palpable Falſhood; for we read in his Life, that he was ſent very early to the College (27), and that after he had ſtudied *Grammar*, he went to *Louvain*, where he lodg'd in the College of the *Faulcon*, and perform'd all the Exerciſes of a Student in Philoſophy, and became acquainted with ſeveral, who had a taſte for good *Latin*. He was alſo a diligent Auditor of *Theodore Geza* at *Ferrara*. —— *Ibi Theodorum Gazam, Ariſtotelis Scripta enarrantem, diligenter audivit* (28). It is very true, that he carried but few Books with him, in his Travels, and that, leaving the reſt of his Library with his Friends, he made uſe of borrow'd Books, according as he wanted them: But, beſides that there is no learned Man, who does not do the like in travelling; can it be ſaid that *Agricola* gain'd all his Learning in his Travels? III. *He began his Studies, where others uſe to end them; that is, with the* Hebrew *Tongue. He was not only deſirous of underſtanding it in it's Purity, but with all the Alterations, likewiſe, which Time, and the refining of the Rabbies, have produc'd in it. He was equally induſtrious in acquainting himſelf with the* Greek *Tongue*. —— *Laſtly, he apply'd himſelf to* Latin, *without any regard to the Remonſtrances of thoſe, who pretended to diſſuade him from it, becauſe the Habit of writing and pronouncing the* Hebrew *ſeem'd to have introduc'd into his Mind an Incompatibility with the* Roman *Phraſes and Expreſſions*. Who can read this without Aſtoniſhment, when he is inform'd that our *Rodolphus* 'did not learn *Hebrew* 'till a few Years before his Death, and that the Progreſs he made in it was but ſmall (29): I fancy Mr *Varillas* was deceiv'd by this Paſſage in *Latin*; it is an Apoſtrophe to *Agricola*, “Tranſiſti enim Hebraicas, Græcaſque literas, uſque adeo ſtupenda celeritate, ut nequaquam Gruningiæ in ultima Friſia, ſed Hieroſolymis Atheniſque natus ac educatus à doctiſſimis crederere. Latinas porro tanta felicitate didiciſti, docuiſtique ut, &c. (30) —— *You went through the* Hebrew *and* Greek *Learning with ſuch a ſurprizing Celerity, that you ſeem'd to have been born and educated, not at* Groningen *in fartheſt* Frieſland, *but at* Jeruſalem *and* Athens. *You attain'd likewiſe to the* Latin, *and taught it ſo ſucceſsfully, that*, &c.” This ſeems to me to be the Reaſon, why Mr *Varillas* imagin'd, that *Agricola* firſt learnt the *Hebrew*, then the *Greek*, and laſt of all the *Latin* Tongues, and that he often compos'd, and ſpoke in *Hebrew*. IV. *He made ſuch a ſurprizing Progreſs in the* Latin, *that* Eraſmus, *ſo little accuſtom'd to praiſe in others the Riches which himſelf poſſeſs'd, was never weary of commending him, eſpecially after he had publiſh'd his Commentaries, ſo polite, and ſo worthy of the Age of* Auguſtus, *on* Ariſtotle'*s Rhetoric and Logic*. *Eraſmus* was ſo inconſiderable a Man, when *Agricola* died, that the Progreſs of his Admiration muſt not be look'd for in the Years, which preceeded the Death of *Agricola*. Beſides, it is an Anachroniſm to ſay, that this illuſtrious *Frieſlander* liv'd 'till the Time when his own Poſſeſſion of polite Literature hinder'd *Eraſmus* from *praiſing* it *in others*. I have yet two Obſervations; The Commentaries on *Ariſtotle*'s *Logic* did not appear 'till after the Death of the Author. *Eraſmus* informs us of this, and ſays alſo, that they were mutilated. “Latitabant apud neſcio quos commentarii Dialectices, nuper in publicum prodierunt, ſed mutili (31). —— *The logical Commentaries lay conceal'd in the Poſſeſſion of I know not who; lately indeed they have come abroad, but imperfect*.” Certainly it is not in this Work, that *Agricola*'s *Latin*, or the polite Manners of the Age of *Auguſtus*, are to be admired. V. *The Elector Palatine* —— *caus'd* Agricola *to come to* Heidelberg —— *gave him the firſt Profeſſorſhip of Eloquence in the Univerſity* —— *and made him his Counſellor of State*. Neither the Life of *Agricola* among thoſe of the Profeſſors of *Groningen*, nor that in *Melchior Adam*, ſay any thing like this. The Biſhop of *Worms* is ſaid to have invited *Agricola* into the *Palatinate*.

[*N*] *Entituled*, de Inventione Dialecticâ.] The following Remark was communicated to me ſince the firſt Edition. “*Rodolphus Agricola* compos'd no regular Commentaries on *Ariſtotle*'s *Logic* or *Rhetoric*. We have only his three Books *de Inventione Dialecticâ*, which were firſt printed at *Louvain*, in the Year 1516, by the Care of *Alard* of *Amſterdam*, who publiſhed them confuſedly, juſt as he could meet with them. Some time after, one *James le Febvre*, at *Deventer*, gave out that he had a Manuſcript of the *de Inventione Dialecticâ*, more ample, by three Books, than the Edition of *Louvain*; but this was falſe. *Alard*, who went on purpoſe to this *le Febvre* at *Deventer*, having ſeen his Manuſcript, found it neither more ample, nor more correct than that, from whence the Edition of *Louvain* was publiſh'd. He reproach'd *le Febvre* for it, who excuſed himſelf as well as he could, though badly enough. Since the Year 1528, *Pompey Occo*, having obtain'd *Agricola*'s own Manuſcript by the Inheritance of his Uncle *Adolphus*, gave it to *Alard*, who, finding it very compleat, and well preſerv'd, caus'd it to be printed at *Co-*

(c) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 798.

(21) *In his* Theat. Viror. erudit. pag. 1430.

(22) Alexand. Hegius

(23) Eraſm. Adag. chil. 1. cent. 4. n. 39. pag. 145.

(24) *By* Alard *of* Amſterdam. *They are contained in two Volumes in 4to.*

(25) Eraſm. Adag. Chil. 3. cent. 3. n. 62. pag. 703.

(26) Varillas, Anecdotes de Florence, pag. 184.

(27) Puer admodum in ludum literarium miſſus. *Melch. Adam. Vit. Philoſ. pag.* 13.

(28) Id. ib. pag. 15.

(29) *See the Remark* [*E*] *above, and add theſe Words of* Eraſmus *to it*; Extremo vitæ tempore ad literas Hebraicas ---- totum animum appulerat. *In his decline of Age he apply'd himſelf wholly to the* Hebrew *Learning*. Eraſm. chil. 1. n. 39. cent. 4. pag. 145.

(30) Paul. Jovius, Elog. cap. 32.

(31) Eraſm. ubi ſupra.

" *logne*, in 4to, with long Commentaries, in the " Year 1539. Some Years before, *John Matthew* " *Priſſemius*, to whom *Alard* had communicated his " Manuſcript, had cauſed it to be printed in the ſame " City, with his own Comments. This Work, which " is *Rodolphus*'s Maſter-piece, was always univerſally " eſteem'd for the Exactneſs of the Style (32), and " of the Arguments." This comes from the ſame hand with the Obſervation, contain'd in the Remark [*D*] (33).

(32) *All this may be true, tho' this Work is very far from* the polite Manners *of the* Auguſtan *Age, and leſs eloquent than ſome other Pieces of* Agricola.

(33) *Mr* de la Monnoie.

AGRIPPA (Henry Cornelius), a great Magician, according to ſome [*A*], was a very Learned Man of the XVIth Century. He was born at *Cologne*, on the fourteenth of *September*, 1486 (*a*), of a Noble and Ancient Family [*B*]. Deſiring to walk in the Steps of his Anceſtors (*b*), who for many Generations had been employed by the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he entered early into the Service of the Emperor *Maximilian*. He had at firſt the Employ of Secretary; but as he was equally qualified for the Sword, as the Pen, he afterwards turned Soldier, and ſerved the Emperor ſeven Years in his *Italian* Army [*C*]. He ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral Occaſions, and, as a reward of his Brave Actions, obtained the Title of *Knight*. He had a mind to add the Academical Honours to the Military [*D*]; He therefore commenced Doctor of Law, and Phyſic. It cannot be denied, that he was a very great Genius, and had a very extenſive Knowledge of Languages [*E*] and Things; but his too great Curioſity, his too free Pen, and his inconſtant Temper, rendered him unhappy. He changed his Situation perpetually; he brought himſelf continually into Trouble; and, to compleat his Miſfortunes, he drew upon himſelf the Hatred of the Clergy by his Writings. We find by his Letters, that he had been in *France* before the Year 1507 (*c*), that he travelled into *Spain* in the Year 1508 (*d*), and that he was at *Dole* in 1509 (*e*). He read Public Lectures there [*F*], which engaged him in a Conteſt with the *Cordelier Catilinet*. The Monks in thoſe Times ſuſpected, whatever they did not underſtand, of Error or Hereſy; How then cou'd they ſuffer *Agrippa* to explain the myſterious Works of *Reuchlinus de Verbo mirifico* with Impunity? It was the Subject of the Lectures, which he read at *Dole* in the Year 1509, with great Reputation. The Counſellors of the Parliament themſelves were his Auditors (*f*). To inſinuate himſelf the better into the Favour of *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Governeſs of the

(*a*) Agrippa, Epiſt. 26. lib. 7. pag. 141. Edit. 8vo. Ludg. Nat 1486 ob 1535

(*b*) Id. Epiſt. 18. lib. 6. pag. 970. & Epiſt. 21. lib. 7. pag. 1021. *See alſo pag.* 736.

(*c*) Epiſt. 1. lib. 1. An. Ætat. - 21

(*d*) Ep. 10. lib. 1. An. Ætat. - 22

(*e*) Epiſt. 17. lib. 1. An. Ætat. - 23

(*f*) *See* Agrippa's Expoſtulation *with* John Catilinet, *Provincial Miniſter of the* Franciſcan *Brothers of* Burgundy, Operum, Tom. 2. pag. 508.

[*A*] *A great Magician, according to ſome.*] *Paul Jovius*, *Thevet*, and *Martin Del Rio* are his principal Accuſers. We ſhall ſee, in the Remark [*P*], the Miſtakes, into which they fall; they are palpable; and yet a great number of Perſons are ſtill perſwaded, on the Authority of theſe Writers, that *Agrippa* was perfect in the Art Magic.

[*B*] *Of a noble and ancient Family.*] It's Name was *de Netteſheym*. Mr *Teiſſier* aſſures us, in the 99th Page of the ſecond Volume of his Additions to the Elogies taken out of *Thuanus*, that *Agrippa was born at* Netteſheym, *in the Country of* Cologne. *Melchior Adam*, whom he quotes, does not ſay ſo; he makes him to be born at *Cologne* itſelf (1), and refers us to a Letter of *Agrippa*, wherein we read theſe very Words, addreſs'd to the Magiſtrates of *Cologne*; " Poſſem vobis horum veriſſima exempla referre, niſi " civium veſtrorum pudori parcendum, & patriæ meæ " rationem habendam ducerem. Sum enim & ego, " ſi forte neſcitis, civitate veſtra oriundus, & prima " pueritia apud vos enutritus (2). ——— *I could give* " *you undoubted Examples of theſe things, had I not* " *a regard for your Citizens, and for the Place of my* " *Birth. For I muſt tell you, if you are ignorant of* " *it, that I was born in your City, and brought up* " *from my Infancy in it.*" *Thevet* is ſtill more miſtaken in ſaying, That *Agrippa was born in the City of* Neſtra (3). I know nothing of our *Agrippa*'s Father, but that he ſerv'd the Houſe of (4) *Auſtria*, and that he died about the Beginning of the Year 1518 (5).

[*C*] *Serv'd the Emperor ſeven Years in his* Italian *Army.*] *Freherus*, who ventures but ſeldom to go beyond the Bounds of thoſe, whom he tranſcribes, had a Mind here to play the Maſter, and to ſhew that he could tell us ſomething, omitted by *Melchior Adam*. But he has been very unlucky in it; for he makes theſe ſeven Years commence in 1508, and end in 1515. If he had been well acquainted with the Hiſtory of *Agrippa*, he would have known, that this Author was in *Spain* in the Year 1508, at *Dole* in the Year 1509, and in *England* in the Year 1510. This *Week of Years* muſt have begun in 1511, and *Agrippa* muſt neceſſarily have pretended that he ſerv'd under the Emperor, all the time he liv'd in *Italy*. But his own Letters would have betray'd him. We do not find, that he had any Employment in the Army, after he was made Profeſſor at *Pavia*, in 1515. *Freherus*, in the reſt of his Extract from *Melchior Adam*, contents himſelf with the Faults of That Author, and adds no other to them. See his *Theatrum*, pag. 1221.

[*D*] *Add the Academical Honours to the Military.*] It is proper to produce his own Words. " Utriuſque Juris & Medicinarum Doctor evaſi, antea etiam " Auratus Eques; quam ordinem non precario mihi " redemi, non à tranſmarina peregrinatione mutuavi, " non in Regum inthroniſatione impudenti inſolentia " ſurripui, ſed in publicis præliis, media acie, bellica " virtute commerui (6). ——— *I went out Doctor of* " *Laws and Phyſic, having before receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood; the conferring of which Order upon me was not the Effect of Sollicitation,* " *not borrowed from my Travels beyond Sea, nor impudently and inſolently extorted from the Inauguration of Kings; but gloriouſly earn'd by Martial* " *Bravery, and in the Field of Battle.*"

[*E*] *Extenſive Knowledge of Languages.*] He underſtood eight, and there were but two, out of this great Number, which he did not underſtand to Perfection. He will give us this Account himſelf, without too much Modeſty: We need not be afraid of injuring him, by eſteeming him, according to the value he ſets upon himſelf. " Octo linguarum mediocriter doctus, ſed illarum ſex adeò peritus, ut " ſingulis non loqui modo & intelligere, ſed & eleganter orare, dictare, & transferre noverim; tum " præter multimodam etiam abſtruſarum rerum cognitionem, utriuſque Juris & Medicinarum Doctor " evaſi (7). —— *I was moderately vers'd in eight* " *Languages; of which ſix were ſo familiar to me,* " *that I not only underſtood and ſpoke them, but was* " *able to play the Orator in them, dictate in them,* " *and tranſlate from them: then, beſides an extenſive* " *Knowledge of the moſt abſtruſe things, I commenc'd* " *Doctor of Laws and Phyſic.*" He was betimes in ſearch of the Philoſopher's Stone, and it appears that he had been recommended to ſome Princes, as very fit for the grand Projection, which made him run the Hazard of his Liberty ſometimes (8). It is certain, that a Perſon thought capable of making Gold, might well be afraid, that ſome Prince would impriſon him, in order to employ him for himſelf, excluſive of other Princes.

[*F*] *He read public Lectures there.*] He ſeems to contradict himſelf on this Subject; for ſometimes he ſays that he did it without Reward, and ſometimes that he was rewarded for it. " Publicis prælectionibus quas ad honorem Illuſtriſſimæ Principis Margaretæ Dolani feci GRATIS.—*In the public Lectures,* " *which I read* GRATIS *at* Dole, *in honour of the* " *moſt illuſtrious Princeſs* Margareta. Thus he ſpeaks " in

(1) Melch. Adam. in Vit. Medicor. pag. 16.

(2) Agrippa, Epiſt. 26. lib. 7. pag. 1041.

(3) Thevet's Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, Tom. 7. pag. 222. *Edit.* Paris 12mo, 1671.

(4) Agrippa, Epiſt. 18. lib. 6. pag. 970.

(5) Id. Epiſt. 19. lib. 2. pag. 736.

(6) Id. Epiſt. 21. lib. 7. pag. 1021. *See alſo pag.* 737, 977.

(7) Id. Epiſt. 21. lib. 7. pag. 1021.

(8) Id. Epiſt. 4. & 10. lib. 1.

the *Netherlands*, he compoſed at that Time a Treatiſe of the *Excellency of Women* (g); but the Perſecution he ſuffered from the Monks hindered him from publiſhing it. He gave up the Cauſe, and went into *England* (h), where he wrote on the Epiſtles of St *Paul* (i), though he had another very private Affair in hand. Being returned to *Cologne*, he read Public Lectures there on the Queſtions of Divinity, which are called *Quodlibetales*; after which he went to the Emperor *Maximilian*'s Army in *Italy*, and continued there, till Cardinal *de Sainte Croix* ſent for him to *Piſa*. *Agrippa* would have diſplayed his Abilities there in quality of Theologiſt of the Council, if That Aſſembly had continued. This would not have been the way to pleaſe the Court of *Rome*, nor to deſerve the obliging Letter he received from *Leo* X [*G*], and from whence we may conclude that he altered his Opinion. From that Time he taught Divinity publickly at *Pavia*, and at *Turin* (k). He read Lectures on *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, at *Pavia*, in the Year 1515 (l). His leaving That City, the ſame, or the following Year, looked more like running away, than retiring.† This appears by †1518 the 49th Letter of his firſt Book, compared with the 520th. He had a Wife and Children at that Time [*H*]. It appears by the Second Book of his Letters, that his Friends

in his Complaint againſt the *Cordelier Catilinet* (9). But he ſays elſewhere, That he was admitted into the Society of the Profeſſors of Divinity, and gratify'd with a Penſion (10). “ In Dola Burgundiæ publ. lectura “ ſacras literas profeſſus ſum, ob quam ab hujus ſtudii “ Doctoribus in Collegium receptus, inſuper regen- “ tia & STIPENDIIS donatus ſum. —— *At* Dole, “ *in* Burgundy, *I read public Lectures in Divinity*; “ *upon which Account I was admitted by the Doctors* “ *of that Faculty into the College, and was beſides* “ *rewarded with the Place of Regent, and a* PEN- “ SION.” The way to reconcile theſe two things, is to ſay, That at firſt he read *gratis*, and afterwards for Money.

[*G*] *The obliging Letter he receiv'd from* Leo X. (11)] It is dated from *Rome*, the twelfth of *July*, 1513, and ſign'd *Petrus Bembus*. He is there commended for his Zeal for the holy Apoſtolical See, on the good Character which the Nuncio had given of him. “ Ex literis venerabilis fratris Ennii Epiſcopi Verulani “ nuncii noſtri, aliorumque ſermonibus, de tua in “ ſanctam ſedem Apoſtolicam devotione, deque tuo “ in ejus libertate incolumitateque tuenda ſtudio di- “ ligentiaque intelleximus: quod quidem nobis gratiſſi- “ mum fuit. Quapropter te in Domino magnopere “ commendamus, laudamuſque iſtum animum atque “ virtutem (12). —— *We have been inform'd, by the* “ *Letters of our venerable Brother* Ennius, *Biſhop of* “ Verulan, *our Nuncio, and from the Report of others,* “ *of your Devotion to the holy See, and your Care and* “ *Diligence in defending it's Privileges and Safety*; “ *which gave us great Satisfaction. Wherefore we* “ *greatly commend you in the Lord, and praiſe this* “ *virtuous Diſpoſition.*” Let me remark, that This Brief is of no uſe towards clearing *Agrippa* from the Imputation of Necromancy (13), for it preceeded his ill Reputation ſeveral Years.

[*H*] *He had a Wife and Children at that Time.*] Though I make uſe of the Plural Number, yet I know he had but one Son. “ Quorſum, quæſo, in “ tam ſuſpecta tempeſtate, una cum uxore filioque ac “ familia confugiſſem, relicta Domo ac ſupellectile, “ rebuſque omnibus? — *How could I leave my Houſe,* “ *Furniture, and all my Effects*; *and whither, in* “ *ſuch ſuſpicious Times, could I fly with my Wife, my* “ *Son, and my Family?*” Thus he ſpeaks in the forty ninth Letter of the ſecond Book. He was very happy in his Wife, whom he thus deſcribes in another Place; “ Ego quidem Deo omnipotenti innumeram “ habeo gratiam, qui uxorem mihi conjunxit ſecun- “ dum cor meum, virginem nobilem, bene moratam, “ adoleſcentulam, formoſam, quæ ita ad meam vivit “ conſuetudinem, ut ne contumelioſum verbum in- “ ter nos intercidat, atque, quo fœliciſſimum me “ dixero, quorſum ſe res vertunt, in proſperis & ad- “ verſis, ſemper æquè mihi benigna, affabilis, con- “ ſtans, integerrimi animi, ſani conſilii, ſemper apud “ ſe manens (14). —— *I give abundant Thanks to Al-* “ *mighty God, who beſtow'd on me a Wife after my* “ *own Heart, a young Lady of a good Family, well bred,* “ *young, and handſome, who lives with me in ſo com-* “ *plaiſant a manner, that we never exchang'd an* “ *angry Word*; *and, to compleat my Happineſs, the* “ *ſame both in Proſperity and Adverſity*; *alike affe-* “ *ctionate, affable, and conſtant*; *honeſt, prudent, and* “ *ever employ'd in the Care of her Family.*” One thing he forgot to tell us, I mean, whether ſhe was rich or not; for otherwiſe he repreſents her as endow'd with all he could deſire, handſome, young, virtuous, of a noble Family, and of a perpetual Complaiſance. He loſt her in the Year 1521, and, for what Reaſon I know not, he would have her buried at *Metz*, where he no longer reſided (15). He took Care to order, that all the Anniverſaries ſhould be performed, which he had founded for the Soul of the deceas'd (16). He married again at *Geneva*, in the Year 1522 (17). He praiſes this ſecond wife as much as the firſt, for he ſays, “ Ante biennium hoc ſecun- “ dam uxorem duxi virginem nobilem pulcherrimam- “ que, quæ adeo ad meam vivit conſuetudinem ut “ neſcias iſtane priorem, anne hanc illa, utra alteram, “ in amando obſequendoque æquet, an ſuperet (18). “ —— *Two Years ago, I married a ſecond Wife, a* “ *young Lady of a good Family, and very beautiful*; “ *who behaves with ſo much Complaiſance towards me,* “ *that you would be at a loſs to determine which of* “ *the two equals, or exceeds, the other in Duty and* “ *Affection.*” The latter was more fruitful than the former; he had but one Son by the firſt; the ſecond lay in three times in two Years, and a fourth time the Year following; “ Duos iſta mihi filios peperit, ambo “ ſuperſtites, filiamque unam quæ vita exceſſit (19). “ —— Uxor mea jam partui proxima eſt (20). —— “ *She has already brought me two Sons, both alive,* “ *and one Daughter, who is dead.* —— *My Wife is* “ *at this time near her Delivery.*” He does not ſay whether ſhe was rich; but one of his Friends aſſures us, that ſhe was. “ —— Te nunc probâ, nobili, for- “ moſa, ac locuplete ductâ uxore, *&c.* (21) —— *Ha-* “ *ving now married a virtuous, noble, handſome, and* “ *rich Wife*, &c.” But this does not convince me; for *Agrippa*'s Letters, after his ſecond Marriage, breath as much Poverty, as before. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* was Godfather to his third Son, by his ſecond Wife (22). When he ſet out from *Paris* for *Antwerp*, in the Month of *July*, 1528, he left his Wife big with Child at *Paris* (23). She was brought to Bed of her fifth Son, at *Antwerp*, the thirteenth of *March*, 1529 (24), and died in *Auguſt*, 1529, at *Antwerp*, extreamly lamented by her Husband, as appears by the eighty firſt Letter of the fifth Book; ſhe was near twenty ſix Years of Age. married about 19 I do not find that he makes mention of his third Marriage in his Letters; but we find that he divorc'd his Wife in the Year 1535.× *Ubi conjugem Mechlinienſem Bonnæ repudiaſſet anno triceſimo quinto ſupra ſeſquimilleſimum.* This was what *John Wierus* (25) informs us of, who had been his domeſtic Servant. If *Thevet* had known theſe Particulars, he would not have been ſatisfied with telling us that *Agrippa married Mrs* Louyſe Tyſſie, *of a very noble Family, at twenty three Years of Age, and in the Year of our Lord* 1509 (26); he would at leaſt have mention'd the other two Marriages in general. *Melchior Adam* knew more of them than *Thevet*; for he was not ignorant that *Agrippa* had been twice married: *Duum uxorum maritus nobilium, & liberorum aliquot parens*; but, beſides that he ſeems to know nothing of the third Marriage, he is guilty of ſeveral Chronological Errors, in ſpeaking of the firſt. Theſe are his Words, “ Mortuo *Maximiliano*, ſub diverſis & principibus & “ civitatum magiſtratibus, per *Italiam*, *Hiſpaniam*, “ *Angliam*, *Galliam* egit, multaque egregia facinora “ deſignavit. Tandem, laborum terra marique ex- “ antlatorum ſatur, ac quietis & otii cupidus, ducta

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(g) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of that Treatiſe, dated at* Antwerp *in the Month of* April, 1529.

(h) *His* Expoſtulation *is dated from* London, 1510.

(i) Agrippa, Defenſio Propoſit. pag. 596.

(k) Id. ib.

(l) Operum, Tom. 2. p. 1073. Ao. Æt. 29-

(9) Operum Agrippæ, Tom. 2. p. 510.

(10) In Defenſ. Propoſit. pag. 596.

(11) *It is the 38th of the 1ſt Book among thoſe of* Agrippa. Ao. Æt. 27-

(12) Operum Agrippæ, Tom. 2. p. 710.

(13) *It was partly alledged to this Purpoſe*, apud Crenium Animad. Philol. & Hiſtor. part. 2. p. 14, 15.

(14) Epiſt. 19. lib. 2. pag. 736.

Ao. Æt. 35×

(15) Ibid. 8. lib. 3. pag. 846.

(16) Ibid. 19. lib. 4. pag. 846.

(17) Ibid. 33. lib. 4. pag. 800. *See likewiſe* pag. 851.

(18) Ibid. 60. lib. 3. pag. 818.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Ibid. 74. lib. 3. pag. 826.

(21) Ibid. 33. lib. 3. pag. 80c.

(22) Ibid. 76. lib. 3. pag. 827.

(23) Ibid. 55. lib. 5. pag. 933.

(24) Ibid. 68. lib. 5. pag. 941.

Ao. Æt. 49 × 49

(25) Wier. de Magis, cap. 5. pag. 111.

(26) Thevet, Hommes Illuſtres, p. 222, 223.

Friends endeavoured in ſeveral Places to procure him ſome Honourable Settlement, either at *Grenoble*, *Geneva*, *Avignon*, or *Metz*. He preferred the Poſt, which was offered him in this laſt City, and I find that, in the Year 1518 (*m*), he exerciſed there the Employment of Syndic, Advocate, and Orator of the Town (*n*). The Perſecutions, which the Monks raiſed againſt him, as well upon the account of his having refuted the common Opinion concerning the three Huſbands of St *Anne*, as becauſe he had protected a Country-Woman, who was accuſed of Witchcraft [*I*], made him leave the City of *Metz*. What induced him to treat of the Monogamy of St *Anne*, was his ſeeing, that *James Faber Stapulenſis*, his Friend, was pull'd to pieces by the Preachers of *Metz*, for having maintained That Opinion (*o*). *Agrippa* retired to *Cologne*, his native City, in the Year 1520. willingly forſaking a City, which the Seditious Inquiſitors had made an Enemy to Learning, and true Merit (*p*). It is indeed the Fate of all Countries, where ſuch Perſons grow powerful, of whatſoever Religion they are. He left his own City in the Year 1521, and went to *Geneva* (*q*); but his Fortunes did not much improve there; for he complained, that he was not rich enough to make a Journey to *Chamberi* (*r*), to ſollicit the Penſion, which he was made to hope for from the Duke of *Savoy*. This Expectation came to nothing; upon which *Agrippa* went from *Geneva* to *Friburg* in *Swiſſerland* (*s*), in the Year 1523 (*t*), to practiſe Phyſic there, as he had done at *Geneva*. The Year following he went to *Lyons*, and obtained a Penſion from *Francis* I. He was in the Service of That Prince's Mother, in Quality of her Phyſician, but made no great improvement of his Fortune there; neither did he follow That Princeſs (*u*), when ſhe departed from *Lyons*, in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1525, to conduct her Daughter to the Frontiers of *Spain*. He was ſuffered to dance attendance at *Lyons*, and imploy the Intereſt of his Friends in vain, to obtain the payment of his Penſion: and, before he received it, he had the Vexation to be informed that he was ſtruck out of the Liſt (*x*). The Cauſe of his Diſgrace was, that, having received Orders from his Miſtreſs to inquire, by the Rules of Aſtrology, what Turn the Affairs of *France* would take, he expreſſed his Diſapprobation too freely, that the Princeſs ſhou'd employ him in ſo vain a Curioſity, inſtead of making uſe of him in more important Matters. The Lady took this Leſſon very ill (*y*); but ſhe was yet more angry, when ſhe heared, that *Agrippa*'s Aſtrology promiſed the Conſtable of *Bourbon* new Triumphs [*K*]. *Agrippa*, finding himſelf diſcarded,

(*m*) Epiſt. 12. lib. 2. 32

(*n*) *See his 4th Speech*, Oper. Tom. 2. p. 1090.

(*o*) Epiſt. 25. lib. 2. pag. 743. *See alſo* pag. 746.

(*p*) Epiſt. 32. lib. 2. pag. 749. 34.

(*q*) Epiſt. 7. lib. 3. pag. 784. 35

(*r*) Epiſt. 24. lib. 3. pag. 794.

(*s*) *And not in* Briſgaw, *as* Melchior Adam *ſays*.

(*t*) Epiſt. 41. lib. 3. &c. 37 38

(*u*) Epiſt. 79. lib. 3. pag. 828.

(*x*) Epiſt. 52. lib. 4. pag. 869,

(*y*) Epiſt. 37. lib. 4. pag. 859, 870.

" uxore, virgine nobili, ſedem in Allobrogibus fixit, " ut procul negotiis ſibi ac muſis viveret. Invitatus " autem ab inclyta *Mediomatricum* repub. munus ſyndici, advocati & oratoris obivit (27). —— *After the* " *Death of* Maximilian, *he liv'd ſucceſſively under ſe-* " *veral Governments, in* Italy, Spain, England, *and* " France, *and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by many famous* " *Actions. At length, tir'd with the Fatigues he had* " *undergone both by Sea and Land, and deſirous of* " *Eaſe and Retirement, he married a Wife, a young* " *Lady of Birth; and ſettled in the Country of the* " Allobroges, *in order to retire from Buſineſs, and en-* " *joy himſelf, and the Muſes. But, upon the Invita-* " *tion of the illuſtrious Republic of* Metz, *he diſcharg'd* " *the Offices of Syndic, Advocate, and Orator.*" Obſerve, that the Emperor *Maximilian* died the 12th of *January*, 1519, and that *Agrippa* travell'd into *Spain* in 1508, and into *England*, in 1510. Here is already one Anachroniſm. After his return from *England*, he ſtaid ſome time at *Cologne*, and afterwards went into *Italy*, where he ſtill reſided in the Year 1517 (28). He was at *Metz* in the Year 1518 (29). He did not return into *Italy* after his Departure from thence for *Metz*; here is, then, another Anachroniſm. Remark farther, that he was already married, in the Year 1515 (30). Where are then thoſe great Fatigues, which he underwent both by Sea and by Land, after the Death of the Emperor *Maximilian*, which Matrimony was to free him from? How could he ſettle with his Wife in the Country of the *Allobroges*; he, who liv'd a roving Life with her in *Italy*? Add to this, that he did not ſettle in the Country of the *Allobroges*, before his Journey to *Metz*; and that he was Syndic of *Metz* before *Maximilian* died. *Melchior Adam* is full of the like Miſtakes. Part of thoſe, which I have obſerved, are ſo much the more excuſable, as they are committed on the Authority of *Agrippa* himſelf, who, through Forgetfulneſs, or otherwiſe, told *Margaret*, Queen of *Hungary*, That he had travell'd to ſuch and ſuch Places, after the Death of *Maximilian*, &c. See the twenty firſt Letter of the ſeventh Book. I ſhould be glad to ſee ſome one undertake to reconcile *Melchior Adam* with *Thevet*. According to the latter, *Agrippa* married at twenty three Years of Age; according to the former, not 'till after an infinite Number of Travels, and a world of Affairs; when, being fatigu'd and worn out, he deſir'd at laſt a retir'd Life.

[*I*] *A Country-Woman, who was accuſed of Witchcraft.*] The *Dominican*, *Nicholas Savini*, Inquiſitor of the Faith at *Metz*, propos'd to put this Woman to the Torture, upon a meer Prejudice, grounded on her being the Daughter of a Witch, who had been burnt (31). *Agrippa* did what he could to prevent ſo irregular a Proceeding, but could not hinder the Woman from being put to the Queſtion; however he was inſtrumental in proving her Innocence. Her Accuſers were condemn'd in a Fine (32). The Penalty was too mild, and far from Retaliation. [This Country-Woman was of *Vapey* *, a Town ſituated near the Gates of *Metz*, and belonging to the Chapter of the Cathedral. There appear'd in *Meſſin*, the principal Accuſer of this Woman, ſuch ſordid Paſſions, and ſuch a total Ignorance of Literature, and Philoſophy, that *Agrippa*, who, in his Letter of the ſecond of *June*, 1519, treats the Town of *Metz*, as, " Omnium bo- " narum literarum virtutumque Noverca. —— *The* " *Stepmother of Learning and Virtue.*" —— *Agrippa*, I ſay, might, by this ſatirical Reflexion, give riſe to the Proverb, " Metis avara, ſcientiarum noverca — " Metz *the Covetous, and Stepmother of Arts and* " *Sciences.*" Rem. Crit.]

[*K*] *Promis'd the Conſtable of* Bourbon *new Triumphs.*] His Complaint of being employ'd in the Follies of Aſtrology might well give Offence. " Scripſi " Seneſchallo, ut admoneat illam, ne ad tam indig- " num artificium ingenio meo diutius abutatur, nec " in has nugas ulterius impingere cogar, qui multo " fœlicioribus ſtudiis illi inſervire queam (33). —— " *I wrote to the* Seneſchal, *deſiring him to adviſe her* " *not to miſapply my Abilities any longer in ſo unworthy* " *an Art; and that I might for the future avoid theſe* " *Follies; ſince I had it in my Power to be of Service* " *to her by much happier Studies.*" But the Misfortune was, theſe Follies predicted Succeſs to the oppoſite Party. " *Rediit in mentem ſcripſiſſe me Seneſchallo,* " *comperiſſe me in Borbonii natalitiis revolutionibus,* " *illum fruſtratis veſtris exercitibus etiam in hunc an-* " *num victorem fore —— dixique intra me,* ô infelix " propheta! hoc vaticinio jam omnem Principis tuæ " gratiam concacaſti: Hoc eſt ulcus, hic antrax, hic " carbo, hic cancer ille, quem noli me tangere di- " cunt, quem tu imprudens tetigiſti etiam cauterio (34). " —— I remember I told the *Seneſchal*, in a Letter, " that in caſting the Conſtable of *Bourbon*'s Nativity, " I had

(27) Melch. Adam. in Vit. Medicor. pag. 17.

(28) Agrip. Epiſt. 1. lib. 2. pag. 722.

(29) Ibid. 12. lib. 2. pag. 730.

(30) Ibid. 47, 48. lib. 1.

(31) Ibid. 39. lib. 2. pag. 754.

(32) Ibid. 40. lib. 2. pag. 757. *See likewiſe* pag. 763.

* Villa Vapeya.

(33) Agrip. Epiſt. 29. lib. 4. pag. 854.

(34) Ibid. 62. lib. 4. pag. 880.

diſcarded, murmured, ſtormed, threatened [*L*], wrote, and did, all that his Impatient Humour ſuggeſted to him; but, in ſhort, he was obliged to look out for another Settlement. He caſt his Eyes on the *Netherlands*, and, having after long waiting obtained the neceſſary Paſſes, he arrived at *Antwerp* in the Month of *July*, 1528 (*z*). One of the Cauſes of theſe Delays was the rough Proceeding of the Duke of *Vendôme*, who, inſtead of ſigning the Paſs, tore it, ſaying, He would not ſign it for a Conjurer (*aa*). In the Year 1529, *Agrippa* found himſelf invited at once by the King of *England*, by the Emperor's Chancellor, by an *Italian* Marquis, and by *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Governeſs of the *Netherlands* (*bb*). He accepted the Offers of the latter, and was made Hiſtoriographer to the Emperor, a Poſt procured him by That Princeſs. He publiſhed, by way of Prelude, *The Hiſtory of the Government of* Charles V, and ſoon after he was obliged to compoſe That Princeſs's Funeral Oration, whoſe Death was in ſome manner the Life of our *Agrippa*; for She had been ſtrangely prejudiced againſt him [*M*]. The ſame ill Office was done him with his Imperial Majeſty (*cc*).

An Ætat 42

Hen. 8th

An Ætat 43

(*z*) Epiſt. 51. lib. 5. pag. 932.

(*aa*) Conſpectò, ſive audito nomine meo, præcipiti ira repente dirupit papyrum totam, inquiens, ſe nequaquam ſignaturum in favorem divinatoris. *Epiſt.* 30. *lib.* 4. *pag.* 920.

(*bb*) Epiſt. 84. lib. 5. pag. 951.

" I had diſcovered that he would this Year likewiſe " gain the Victory over your Armies; upon which " I exclaim'd within myſelf, *O unhappy Prophet!* " *By this Prediction, you have forfeited all the Favour* " *of your Miſtreſs: This is the Ulcer, the Quickſilver* " *Earth, the Coal, the Cancer, which we muſt not* " *touch; which yet, imprudent as thou art, thou haſt* " *ventur'd to touch even with a Burning-iron.*" They, who are acquainted with the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, ſee plainly, that our Aſtrologer could not make his Court worſe to the Mother of *Francis* I. than by promiſing good Succeſs to the Conſtable. From that time *Agrippa* was look'd upon as a *Bourboniſt* (35). To ſilence this Reproach, he repreſented the Service he had done to *France*, by diſſuading four thouſand foot Soldiers from following the Emperor's Party, and by engaging them in the Service of *Francis* I. He alledged his refuſal of the great Advantages, which were promis'd him, when he left *Fribourg*, if he would enter into the Conſtable's Service. It appears by the *fourth* and *ſixth* Letter of the *fifth* Book, that he held a ſtrict Correſpondence with that Prince, in the Beginning of the Year 1527. He advis'd, and counſell'd him, yet refuſing to go, and join him, and promis'd him Victory. He aſſur'd him, that the Walls of *Rome* would fall down, upon the firſt Attack; he only forgot the chief Point, which is, that the Conſtable would be kill'd there. " Jam fata illis propinquam " ſtragem ſuamque pernitiem denunciant: Mox illa " ſuperba mœnia vix oppugnata corruere videbis. Eja " ergo nunc, ſtrenuiſſime Princeps, quem tantæ vi" ctoriæ ducem fata conſtituunt, rumpe moras, perge " intrepidè quò cœpiſti proſperè, aggredere fortiter, " pugna conſtanter; habes electiſſimorum militum " armatas acies: Adeſt cœlorum favor, aderit & juſti " belli vindex Deus; nihil formidaveris, ingens ſiqui" dem te manet gloriæ triumphus (36). —— *The Fates* " *already denounce their approaching Ruin: You will* " *ſoon ſee thoſe proud Walls demoliſh'd, upon the ſlighteſt* " *Attack. Go on, then, moſt valiant Prince, whom* " *the Fates have plac'd at the Head of ſo ſignal a Vi*" *ctory; make no delay; go on, and proſper, as you* " *have begun; attack vigorouſly; fight undauntedly;* " *you have an arm'd Force of choſen Soldiers: Heaven* " *aſſiſts you, and God himſelf will fight ſo righteous a* " *Battle; fear nothing, for a glorious Triumph awaits* " *you.*" The Death of the Conſtable, which happened before *Agrippa* went out of *Lyons*, puts me in mind of three Errors of *Melchior Adam*. He ſays, that *Agrippa*, being invited firſt by the Conſtable, and afterwards by the Chancellor, went to the Court of *Burgundy*, and a little while after was very unfortunate in the loſs of theſe two Patrons. This is to fall into three Anachroniſms. I. The Conſtable was dead, before *Agrippa* left *France*, and he never had any Deſign of inviting him to the Court of the Princeſs *Margaret* (37). II. The Chancellor *Gattinara* did indeed invite him, but it was to the Court of *Charles* V. and it was an Invitation which *Agrippa* diſtinguiſhed very plainly from That, which was offer'd to him, in relation to the Court of *Margaret* (38). III. He was already in the *Netherlands*, when the Chancellor made Propoſals to him.

An Ætat. 41

[*L*] Agrippa, *finding himſelf diſcarded, murmur'd, ſtorm'd, threatned.*] He had uſed Menaces, before his Penſions was taken from him. Enrag'd at his Salary's being ſtopp'd, and ſeeing himſelf deſpis'd, he declar'd he was tempted to perpetrate ſome baſe Act. " Crede mihi " *(ſays he in a Letter to a Friend)* (39) eò ſe incli" nant res meæ, atque animus, ni tuis precibus celeri" que adjuver auxilio, malo aliquo utar conſilio, ſi" quidem & malis artibus nonnunquam bona fortuna " parata eſt. —— *Believe me, my Affairs, and my* " *Mind, are in ſuch a Poſture, that, unleſs I am pre*" *vented by your Intreaties, and ſpeedy Advice, I ſhall* " *attempt ſomething vile; ſince good Fortune is ſome*" *times procur'd by baſe Arts.*" When he knew that he was caſhired, he wrote ſeveral thundering Letters, and threatned to publiſh a Diſcovery of all the Intrigues of thoſe Courtiers, who had ruin'd him (40). He was ſo brutiſh as to ſay, That for the future he ſhould look upon the Princeſs, whoſe Counſellor and Phyſician he had been, as a cruel and perfidious *Jezabel: Nec ultra illam ego pro principe mea (jam enim eſſe deſiit) ſed pro atrociſſima & perfida quadam Jeſabele mihi habendam decrevi* (41). What would he not have done in ſuch a Rage, and in ſuch a thirſt of Revenge, if he had had ſo much Credit with the Devil, as they pretend he had? No Author, I believe, has aſſerted, That this Indignation of *Agrippa* was fatal to any Perſon of the Court of *France*. This unfortunate Man was not better pleaſed with the Court of *Charles* V. He preſented a Petition to That Prince's Privy Council, wherein he repreſented what Harm and Good he could do: His Menaces were the moſt intelligible in the World; but no ill Conſequence attended the Council's diſregard of them. " Cogeretis me acceptam ea repulſa injuriam ad novarum rerum licen" tiam transferre, & malo aliquo conſilio (ceu quale " Hermocles dedit Pauſaniæ) uti oportere —— Quin " & malis artibus ſæpiſſimè bona fortuna parta eſt —— " Sed interea memineritis inter Æſopi Apologos eſſe, " murem aliquando, ſubveniſſe leoni, & ſcarabeum " expugnaſſe Aquilam (42). ——— *You would drive* " *me, by this unjuſt Repulſe, to new Plots, and wicked* " *Deſigns; ſuch as* Hermocles *adviſ'd* Pauſanias *to.* " —— *Nay very often Succeſs attends upon baſe Arts.* " —— *but remember, in the mean time, that, in Æ*" ſop's Fables, *a Mouſe once aſſiſted a Lion, and a* " *Beetle got the better of an Eagle.*

[*M*] *For ſhe had been ſtrangely prejudiced againſt him.*] He gives us the following Account of the Matter, after having complained that they ſuffered him to periſh with Hunger. " Quod ad te ſcribam non habeo aliud " niſi quod ego hic egregie eſurio, ab iſtis aulicis diis to" tus præteritus. Quid magnus ille Jupiter, ſuſpicari " nequeo. Ego quanto fuerim in periculo, jam primum " reſcivi; tantum enim dictum eſt mihi; prævaluerant " cuculliones illi apud Dominam, ſed muliebriter " religioſam principem, ut niſi illa mox periiſſet, " jam ego, quod maximum crimen eſt, monachalis " majeſtatis ſacræque cucullæ reus, tanquam in reli" gionem Chriſtianam impius, periturus fuiſſem (43). " —— *I have only to inform you, that I am here* " *periſhing with Hunger, being wholly neglected by* " *yon Deities of the Court. What the great* Jupiter " *himſelf* (44) *intends, I cannot gueſs. I have juſt* " *learned what great Danger I was in; for it has* " *been hinted to me; that the Brethren of the Cowl* " *had ſo influenced this bigotted Princeſs, that, had* " *not her Death intervened, I ſhould have been con*" *victed of Treaſon againſt the Majeſty of Monkery,* " *and the ſacred Cowl, (a Crime of the moſt heinous* " *Nature) and have ſuffered as a Blaſphemer of the* " *Chriſtian Religion.*" Generally ſpeaking, a Miſtreſs is more to be feared than a Maſter, when any Perſon is accuſed of Irreligion.

(35) Id. ib. pag. 881.

(36) Ibid. 6. lib. 5. pag. 900. *This Letter was written from* Lyons *the* 30*th of* March, 1527.

(37) *We mean by this the Court of* Burgundy.

(38) Epiſt. 8. lib. 5. pag. 951.

(39) Ibid. 25. lib. 4. pag. 850.

(40) *See the* 52*d and the* 62*d of the* 4*th Book.*

(41) Ibid. 62. lib. 4. pag. 884. *See the* 52*d Letter of the* 5*th Book, which is full of Indignation; and the* 23*d of the ſame Book, wherein he ſays,* That that Princeſs would be very ill adviſ'd, if ſhe took him into her Service again.

(42) Ibid. 22. lib. 6. pag. 979.

(43) Agrip. Epiſt. 15. lib. 6. pag. 968.

(44) *That is to ſay,* Charles V.

jeſty (*cc*). His Treatiſe of *the Vanity of Sciences*, which he cauſed to be printed in 1530, terribly exaſperated his Enemies (*dd*). That which he publiſhed ſoon after at *Antwerp (ee)*, *of the Occult Philoſophy (ff)*, afforded them a ſtill farther pretence to defame him. It was well for him that Cardinal *Campegius*, the Pope's Legate, and Cardinal *de la Mark*, Biſhop of *Liege*, were his Advocates (*gg*). But their good Offices could not procure him one Penny of his Penſion, as Hiſtoriographer, nor prevent his being impriſoned at *Bruſſels*, in the Year 1531 (*hh*). But He was ſoon releaſed. The following Year he made a Viſit to the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* (*ii*), to whom he had dedicated his *Occult Philoſophy*, and from whom he had received a very obliging Letter (*kk*). The fear of his Creditors made him ſtay longer in the Countrey of *Cologne*, than he deſired (*ll*). He ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Inquiſitors, who had put a ſtop to the printing of his *Occult Philoſophy*, when he was publiſhing a new Edition of it, corrected, and augmented, at *Cologne*. See the XXVIth and the following Letters of his Seventh Book. In ſpite of them, the Impreſſion was finiſhed, which is That of the Year 1533. He continued at *Bonn* till the Year 1535, and was then deſirous of returning to *Lyons*. He was impriſoned in *France* for ſomething, which he had wrote againſt the Mother of *Francis* I, but was releaſed, at the Requeſt of certain Perſons, and went to *Grenoble*, where he died the ſame Year, 1535 (*mm*). Some ſay, That he died in the Hoſpital; but, according to *Gabriel Naudé*, it was *at the Houſe of the Receiver General of the Province of* Dauphiné, *whoſe Son was firſt Preſident of* Grenoble (*nn*). Mr *Allard*, *at* p. 4. of the *Bibliotheque* of *Dauphiné*, ſays that *Agrippa* died at *Grenoble*, *in the Houſe*, *which belonged to the Family of* Ferrand, *in* Clerks-ſtreet, *and was then in the poſſeſſion of the Preſident* Vachon, *and that he was buried in the Convent of the* Dominicans. He lived always in the *Roman* Communion; therefore it ought not to have been ſaid that he was a *Lutheran* [*N*]. I do not believe that

(*cc*) Epiſt. 15. lib. 6. pag. 969.

A Ætat 44

(*dd*) Ibid. 20. lib. 6. pag. 974.

(*ee*) Ibid. 14. lib. 6. pag. 968.

(*ff*) *See the Remark* [*Q*]

(*gg*) Epiſt. 20. lib. 6. pag. 975. Ibid. 12. lib. 7. pag. 1010. Ibid. 21. lib. 7. pag. 1022.

(*hh*) Ibid. 23. lib. 6. pag. 980. A Ætat 45

(*ii*) Ibid. 6. lib. 7.

(*kk*) Ibid. 1. lib. 7.

(*ll*) Ibid. 21. lib. 7. pag. 1024.

(*mm*) John Wierus de Magis, cap. 5. pag. 111. Anno Ætat. 49

(*nn*) Naudé's *Apology for Great Men*, pag. 427.

[*N*] *It ought not to have been ſaid that he was a* Lutheran.] I confeſs, I have not obſerved in his Letters, that, when he ſpeaks of *Luther*, or his Followers, he makes uſe of opprobrious Language, or injurious Reflexions. I own farther, that he inquired particularly into the Tenets of *Luther*, and his Followers, in controverſial Points; but this does not ſhew, that he approved of that Reformer's Doctrine. May not the moſt rigid Proteſtants of the Confeſſion of *Geneva* give orders to purchaſe for them all the Books, which the Sectaries of *Tranſilvania* cauſe to be printed; and would it not be very ridiculous to pretend, that therefore they agree in Opinion with thoſe Heretics? They, who embraced the Reformation of *Luther*, did not treat That Doctor with That Indifferency, which we meet with in *Aggrippa*'s Letters, I mean, without praiſing, or blaming him. If *Agrippa* was the Author of the eighty ſecond Letter of the third Book, it could be no longer doubted, that he was a ſtanch *Lutheran*; but tho' That Letter is inſcribed, *Agrippa ad amicum*, it is certain that it was not written by *Agrippa*: which I thus demonſtrate. The Author of That Letter tells that his Wife was brought to bed of a Son, in the Month of *November* 1525. Now *Agrippa*'s Wife was brought to bed of a Son in the foregoing Month of *July*; this is plain by the ſeventy ſixth Letter of the third Book, wherein it appears likewiſe that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* was God-father to the Child. It is inconteſtable, then, that *Agrippa* did not write the Letter in queſtion. I omit that he was not at *Strasburg*, but at *Lyons*, at the time, when That Letter was written from *Strasburg*. So that they, who would produce this as a Proof in favour of *Sixtus Sienenſis*, who ſaid that *Agrippa* was a *Lutheran* (45), would ſupply him with an inſufficient Evidence. [The Truth is, *Agrippa*, in the nineteenth Chapter of his Apology, ſpeaks in ſuch lofty Terms of *Luther*, and with ſuch Contempt of the principal Adverſaries of that Reformer, that it is plain *Sixtus Sienenſis* was induced from thence to affirm, that *Agrippa* was a *Lutheran*. As this was a proper Place for producing this Piece, rather than certain of *Agrippa*'s Letters, there is reaſon to believe Mr BAYLE had not read it ſo carefully, as he had done the Letters. REM. CRIT.] *Quenſtedt* confuted *Sixtus Sienenſis* by the ſixth Chapter of the Treatiſe of the *Vanity of Sciences*, wherein *Agrippa* calls *Luther* an Arch-Heretic. This Confutation is infinitely more ſolid, than That which a Divine of *Utrecht* made uſe of, by alledging the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, to which *Agrippa* was preferred at *Dole* and at *Pavia*, and the Poſt he enjoyed under the Cardinal *de Sainte Croix*, for the Council of *Piſa* (46). This proves nothing at all; becauſe all thoſe Honours of *Agrippa* preceded *Luther*'s firſt preaching againſt the Pope. If any one asks me, why *Agrippa* ſpeaks in harſher Terms of *Luther*, in his Books of the *Vanity of Sciences*, than in his Letters, I ſhall not anſwer, that it is a Work, wherein he propoſed to cenſure the whole World: I chuſe to offer another Reaſon. When he compoſed this Treatiſe, it is likely he had given up the Hopes he at firſt conceived of *Luther*. I believe, that, at firſt, he, as well as *Eraſmus*, looked upon this Reformer as an Hero, who would put a ſtop to the Tyranny, which the mendicant Friars, and the reſt of the Clergy, exerciſed over the Minds and Conſciences of Men. Being ignorant and voluptuous, they encouraged a thouſand paultry Superſtitions, and would not ſuffer, that any one ſhould ſtudy polite Literature; they would neither emerge from their Barbarity, nor ſuffers others to do it: Inſomuch that to be Witty, Learned, and Polite, was ſufficient to expoſe a Man to their Hate and Indignation. *Agrippa*, *Eraſmus*, and ſome other great Geniuſes, were pleaſed, that *Luther* had broke the Ice; they expected the critical Hour of honeſt Mens Deliverance from Oppreſſion; but when they ſaw that things did not take the Turn they expected, they were the firſt to caſt a Stone at *Luther*. Let us obſerve, however, that *Agrippa* was very fluctuating in his Sentiments. He proteſted to *Eraſmus*, when he ſent him his Declamation on the *Vanity of Sciences*, that he held no other Opinions, than thoſe of the Catholic Church. *Illud te admonitum volo, me de his quæ ad Religionem attinent nequaquam ſecus ſentire quam ſentit Eccleſia Catholica* (47). He wiſhed, in his Dedication of the Apology for this Declamation to the Pope's Legate, that God would purge his Church from the Impiety of Heretics (48), and a little after he wrote to *Melancthon* in a moſt obliging manner (49), and deſired him to compliment, in his Name, the invincible Heretic *Martin Luther*. "Salutabis mihi invictum illum hæreticum "Martinum Lutherum, qui, ut in Actibus ait Paulus, "ſervit Deo ſecundum ſectam quam hæreſim vocant "—— *Pay my Compliments to the Invincible Heretic*, "Martin Luther, *who, as St* Paul *ſays in the* Acts, "*worſhips God after the way, which they call Hereſy*;" and expreſſes at the ſame time his earneſt Deſire to come out of *Babylon*. For, ſpeaking of *Charles* V. he ſays, "Utinam hic Nabuchodonoſor aliquando ex "beſtia rediret in hominem, aut ego relinquere poſ"ſem iſtud Ur Chaldæorum (50). —— *I wiſh this* "Nabuchodonoſor *would return from the Beaſt to* "*the Man, or that I could depart out of this* Ur "*of the Chaldees.*" There was a time when the Brethren were recommended to him (51); thus, what we have ſeen that he wrote to *Melancthon*, was a return of certain former Emotions, which his Diſgraces, and the unjuſt Proceedings of the Catholic Divines, had inſpired him with. However, it is very

(45) Sixtus Sienenſ. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 5. annot. 73. apud Quenſtedt de Patris Illuſtr. Viror. pag. 144. Del Rio Diſquiſit. lib. 2. Queſt. 6. & Tannerus *on the Treatiſe* De Potentia Angelorum, Quæſt. 3. *make* Agrippa *a Proteſtant. See likewiſe* Voëtius, Diſput. part. 3. pag. 616.

(46) Voëtius ubi ſupra.

(47) Epiſt. 36. lib. 6. pag. 999.

(48) Ibid. 22. lib. 7. pag. 1013.

(49) *See the 13th Letter of the 7th Book*, pag. 1013. *He ſeems to favour the New Religion in the 18th and 52d Letters of the 3d Book.*

(50) Ibid. 16. lib. 7. pag. 1013.

(51) Ibid. 13, & 34. lib. 3. *See likewiſe Epiſt.* 15. *of the ſame Book.*

that he wrote in favour of the Divorce of *Henry* VIII [*O*]. As to Magic Art, of which he is accuſed, every one may judge as he pleaſes. One thing I aſſert; which is, that the Letters, which he wrote to his intimate Friends, without any apparent deſign of printing them, carry all the Marks of a Man uſed to religious Reflexions, and the Language of Chriſtianity. His Accuſers were not well informed of his Adventures [*P*]; which weakens their Teſtimony. We ſhall have Reaſon to be ſurprized at

ry certain, that he lived, and died, in the *Romiſh* Communion. We ſhall touch upon ſome of his Opinions in the Remark [*T*].

[*O*] *That he wrote in favour of the Divorce of* Henry VIII.] I have read, in the Work of a very learned Man (52), "That *Cranmer*, going into *Germany*, where he became acquainted with the famous *Cornelius Agrippa*, diſcourſed with him concerning the Divorce, and ſo ſtrongly repreſented to him the Neceſſity of it, that this great Man, warmly defending King *Henry*'s Purſuits, was treated with great Rigour by the Emperor, and at laſt died in Priſon." He, who criticiſed on this Work, anſwered among other things; I. *That* R. Wakefield, *who wrote at that time for* Henry VIII. *ſaid poſitively, that he anſwered the Book of the Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *and another, which was believed to be wrote by* Vives, *or* Agrippa. II. *That* Agrippa *died in* France, *and was never Priſoner in* Germany (53). I find ſome things in *Agrippa*'s Letters, which convince me that he was not of *Cranmer*'s Opinion. His Imperial Majeſty's Ambaſſador at *London* (54) wrote to *Agrippa* on the twenty ſixth of *June*, 1531. to exhort him to maintain the Queen's Intereſt (55); and put him in mind of a Paſſage of *the Vanity of Sciences*, wherein *Henry* VIII. is cenſured. "Hodie adhuc neſcio cui regi perſuaſum audio, ut liceat ſibi jam plus viginti annorum uxorem dimittere, & nubere pellici (56). —— *I am informed, there is a certain King, at this time o' Day, who is perſuaded, that it is lawful for him to divorce a Wife, to whom he has been married theſe twenty Years, and eſpouſe an Harlot*." *Agrippa* anſwered, that he would willingly engage in this Undertaking, provided the Emperor would ſend him his Orders, or his Permiſſion. He ſhewed very ſtrongly, that he deteſted thoſe cowardly Divines, who approved of the Divorce. The following Paſſage relates to the *Sorbonne*. "Non eſt mihi incognitum queis artibus res hæc apud Pariſiorum Sorbonam tractata eſt, quæ cæteris tanti ſceleris auſum temerario porrexit exemplo. Vix me continere queo quin imitatus poetam illum exclamem, *Dicite Sorbonici in Theologia quid valet aurum?* Quantum pietatis & fidei illorum pectore clauſum putabimus, quorum venalis magis quam ſincera conſcientia eſt, qui extimeſcendas univerſo orbi Chriſtiano determinationes auro venales fecerunt, ac ſervatam tot annis fidei & ſinceritatis opinionem nunc tandem extrema avaritiæ infamia corruperunt (57). —— *I am not to learn how artfully this Affair has been managed by the* Sorbonne *at* Paris, *which ſet the reſt a raſh Example of ſo vile an Attempt. I can ſcarce forbear exclaiming, in the Language of the Poet,* Tell me, ye *Sorboniſts*, the mighty Power of Gold in Divinity. *What ſhare of Piety and Fidelity can we think dwells in their Breaſts, whoſe Conſcience is rather mercenary than ſincere; who have expoſed to ſale Deciſions ſhocking to the whole Chriſtian World; and have corrupted the Reputation of Fidelity and Sincerity, maintained by them for ſo many Years, by the utmoſt Infamy of Avarice?*" Nevertheleſs he repreſents the Danger, to which he ſhould expoſe himſelf, by writing againſt a Divorce, which ſo many Divines had approved, *who*, ſays he, *bear me a Grudge on account of my* Vanity of Sciences. The Ambaſſador returned to the Charge, and put him in Hopes, that the Queen of *England* would write to the Emperor, or to the Queen of *Hungary*, concerning the Method of writing on That Subject; and explained to him the reaſon, why *Eraſmus*, *Vives*, and other good Pens of the times ought not to be preferred to him (58). *Agrippa* looked upon himſelf as engaged in the Work; for, in the Letter, which he wrote to the Queen of *Hungary*, after he retired to *Bonn*, he repreſented, how he had applied himſelf altogether to his Office of Hiſtoriographer, though he had not yet reaped any Profit by it. *I collect Memoirs*, ſays he, *for the Hiſtory of the War of* Italy *and* Hungary; *and I have ſtill a greater Deſign in my Head, which is to write in favour of your Aunt, Queen* Catherine. "Sed longe majus his negotium pro veſtri ſanguinis decore, pro tua, inquam, matertera, Angliæ celebratiſſima Regina, meis humeris impoſitum ſuſcepi, in quo licet multi hactenus operam ſuam collocarunt, nullus adhuc nodum rei diſſecuit (59). —— *But I have undertaken a much greater Task than this, for the Honour of your Family, I mean, in favour of your Aunt, the moſt illuſtrious Queen of* England; *in which though many have employed their Pens, no one has hitherto ſolved the Difficulty*." I believe this Deſign was never executed; for the Author, being in Diſgrace at the Imperial Court, doubtleſs thought it not proper to expoſe himſelf to the Indignation of the King of *England*. If *Cranmer* gained him over, he muſt have made a Convert of him at ſooneſt in the Year 1532; and if *Robert Wakefield* publiſhed his Book before the Year 1532 (60) it is certain, that the Treatiſe, which he confutes, and which was aſcribed to *Vives* or to *Agrippa*, by no means belongs to *Agrippa*. Note, that *Sanders*, who mentions the Names of ſeveral Authors, who wrote againſt the Divorce (61), takes no notice of the latter. [*Agrippa* was not yet gained over, in the Year 1533, the time, in which, if I miſtake not, he publiſhed his *Apology* againſt the Doctors of *Louvain*; and he could not do it afterwards, without the ſame ſcandalous Prevarication, which he charges the *Sorbonne* with. "Eadem, *ſays he, ſpeaking of that famous Body*, his recentibus annis determinavit, Papam non poſſe diſpenſare, ut frater uxorem ducat fratris mortui ſine liberis, atque propterea matrimonium inter Angliæ Regem & Cæſaris amitam, velut contra jus naturale & divinum, indiſpenſabile, pro inceſtuoſo, abominabili, & ſacrilego adulterio damnarunt, magna Sorbonæ infamia: cum non multis annis ante pro Auguſtino Furnario Civi ac Pratricio Genuenſi determinaviſſet oppoſitum *. —— *The ſame Society determined lately, that the Pope could not diſpenſe with a Brother's marrying the Wife of his Brother, dying without Children; for which Reaſon they condemned, for an inceſtuous, abominable, and ſacrilegious Adultery, the Marriage between the King of* England *and* Cæſar's *Aunt, as being contrary to Laws Divine and Human, and not to be diſpenſed with, to the great Scandal of the* Sorbonne; *which not many Years before, had decreed the very reverſe, in favour of* Auguſtinus Furnarius, *Citizen and Senator of* Genoa." It is not only in the Edition of 1536, that I find this Paſſage, which *Crenius* tells us was omitted in the Treatiſe of the *Vanity of Sciences* in the Edition of *Lyons*. This Paſſage appeared again in the Edition of 1539; and it is to be met with in all the preceeding Editions of that Treatiſe. REM. CRIT.]

[*P*] *His Accuſers were not well informed of his Adventures.*] I ſaid in the firſt Remark, that *Paul Jovius*, *Thevet* and *Martin del Rio* are his chief Accuſers, and I promiſed to ſhew their Faults; I will now be as good as my Word.

I. *Paul Jovius* makes him die at *Lyons* in a Hedge Tavern, and charges him with the infamous Suſpicion of Magic, for a Reaſon, which I am going to produce. *Agrippa*, ſays he (62), *had always a Devil with him, in the Shape of a black Dog; as they preſs'd him to repent at the Approach of Death, he took off a Collar from the Dog's Neck adorned with Studs, which formed ſome Necromantic Inſcriptions, and ſaid to him, Go unhappy Beaſt, who art the Cauſe of my everlaſting Ruin.* The Dog ran immediately to the *Saone*, and, caſting himſelf into the River, never came out again. This Author has greatly commended *Agrippa* for his Wit, and Learning, ſo far as to ſay that his Learning had procured him the Dignity of a Knight, which the Emperor had beſtowed upon him. *Vir educatus in literis, & à*

(52) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation.

(53) Le Grand's *Hiſtory of the Divorce of* Henry VIII. Tom. 2. pag. 116. *See alſo* Tom. 1. pag. 249.

(54) *In* Agrippa's *Letters, he is called* Euſtochius Chapuſius; *and in thoſe of* Eraſmus, Euſtathius Chapuſius.

(55) Epiſt. 19. lib. 6. pag. 973.

(56) Agrippa de Vanit. Scientiarum, cap. 63. pag. 124.

(57) Agripp. Epiſt. 20. lib. 6. pag. 974.

(58) Ibid. 29. lib. 6. pag. 986. *See likewiſe* Ibid. 33. pag. 996.

(59) Ibid. 21. lib. 7. pag. 1024.

(60) *Mr* le Grand, Tom. 1. p. 249. *ſays, That the Title of that Work is* Cotzer. *Now according to the Catalogue of* Oxford, *p.* 246. *the* Cotzer *was printed at* London *in the Year* 1527.

(61) Sand. Hiſtor. Schiſm. Angl.

* Agrippa, Apolog. &c. cap. 2.

(62) Paulus Jovius, in Elog. c. 91.

at their Overſights, and the Effects they have produced, notwithſtanding the Negligence, wherewith they enquired into thoſe Facts. After all, if he was a Magician, he

& à Cæſare eruditionis ergo Equeſtris ordinis dignitate cohoneſtatus (63). Let us begin our Criticiſm with this.

It is certain, from the Teſtimony of *Agrippa*, that his Order of Knighthood was the Reward of his Military Exploits (64). Beſides, he did not die at *Lyons*; and laſtly, *John Wierus*, his Domeſtic, teſtifies, that the black Dog was a true Dog, and that he often led him with a hair String. “ Silentio involvi, “ *ſays he* (65), diutius ob veritatis prærogativam non “ patiar quod in diverſis aliquot ſcriptoribus legerim, Diabolum forma canis ad extremum Agrippæ “ halitum comitem ipſi fuiſſe, & poſtea neſcio qui- “ bus modis evanuiſſe. Satis equidem mirari hic “ nequeo tantæ exiſtimationis viros tam inſulsè ali- “ quando loqui, ſentire, & ſcribere, ex inaniſſimo vul- “ gi rumore. Canem hunc nigrum mediocris ſtatu- “ ræ, gallico nomine Monſieur (quod Dominum ſo- “ nat) nuncupatum novi ego ſi quis alius familiariſ- “ ſime, quem nimirum non raro, ubi Agrippam ſe- “ ctarer, loro ex pilis concinnato alligatum duxi; at “ verè naturalis erat canis maſculus, cui alias fœmel- “ lam fere colore & reliqua corporis conſtitutione “ ſimilem, quam Gallicè Madamoiſelle (Dominam) “ appellabat, me preſente, adjunxit. —— *In juſtice* “ *to Truth, I ſhall not conceal the Matter of Fact* “ *of what I have read in ſeveral Authors, that a* “ *Devil, in the Shape of a Dog, attended* Agrippa “ *to his laſt Breath, and afterwards diſappeared I* “ *know not how. I cannot ſufficiently expreſs my* “ *wonder, that Men of ſuch Reputation ſpeak, think,* “ *and write ſo ſillily, upon no other Foundation than* “ *Common Fame. I was perfectly acquainted with* “ *this black Dog; who was of a middle Size, and* “ *called by the* French *Name of* Monſieur; *whom I* “ *have often lead after* Agricola *by a String of twiſted* “ *Hair. He was a real Dog; and his Maſter, in* “ *my Preſence, gave him for a Companion a Bitch* “ *of the ſame Colour, Size, and kind; which he* “ *called* Madamoiſelle.” This Author adds, that *Agrippa* was very fond of this Dog; that he kiſſed him often; that he made him eat ſometimes at his Table; that he took him to bed with him; and that, when *Wierus* and *Agrippa* ſtudied at the ſame Table, the Dog always lay between them among a heap of Papers. Now, becauſe *Agrippa* continued whole Weeks without going out of his Stove, and yet was acquainted with almoſt every Tranſaction in ſeveral Countries of the World, ſome ſilly People gave out that his Dog was a Devil, from whom he had all his Information. It is not long, ſince a Soldier, who is a *French* Refugee, told me very ſeriouſly, that when Mr *de Melac* (66) had his Maſtiff with him, he always returned victorious. He aſſured me, that, in the general Opinion of the Soldiers, that Dog was a familiar Spirit, who revealed all the Enemies Poſts, their Numbers, Deſigns, *&c.* to his Maſter. Perhaps Mr *de Melac* was not diſpleaſed, that it was ſo believed. Such a Notion might make his Soldiers fear nothing under his Conduct (67). Thus you ſee, on what ſort of Reports *Paul Jovius* founded his Opinion.

II. Let us go on to *Thevet*. “ It cannot be denied, *ſays he* (68), “ but that *Agrippa* was miſerably en- “ chanted to the moſt cunning and execrable Magic, “ that can be imagined, and of which he made ſuch “ evident Profeſſion, in the Sight, and to the Know- “ ledge of every one (as the following Diſcourſe “ ſhall juſtify), that it is impoſſible to deny it by “ Palliations or Diſguiſes.” Let us ſee what the Proofs, which this *preſent Diſcourſe* brings, are reduced to. In the firſt Place, “ *Antony de Leve* was “ ſo fond of this Man, that, by his Counſel, Ad- “ vice, and Prudence, he compaſſed his high De- “ ſigns, and ambitious Undertakings; which made “ ſome Perſons, who were jealous of That *Spaniard*'s “ Victories, ſay, That, by Magic Art, he griped “ his Enemies with his crooked and gouty Hands, “ in ſuch a Manner, that many valiant Captains could “ not do the like, with the claſhing of their Arms, “ and a furious Fight (69).” In the ſecond Place, “ *Agrippa*'s Inſtructions are ſo unreaſonable, that “ Dr *John Wierus*, though he praiſes and exalts “ him greatly in ſeveral Places of his Works, as his “ good Maſter, yet is ſometimes obliged to give him “ a kick o' the Breech, and diſown him (70).” He refers us to the forty fourth Chapter of the ſecond Book of the Illuſions and Apparitions of Spirits (71), as a Proof that *John Wierus* laughed (with *Cardan* in the eighteenth Book of *Subtilty*) *at* Agrippa's *wild Imaginations, which invented more than ridiculous Apparitions*. In the third Place, “ His Book “ of Occult Philoſophy was condemned and cenſu- “ red by the Chriſtians - - - - - and for that Reaſon “ *Agrippa* was forced to leave *Flanders*, where he “ was not ſuffered to profeſs Magic; ſo that he went “ to *Italy*, where he lived about three Years, and “ poured out his Poiſon in ſuch abundance, that ſe- “ veral good Perſons, perceiving that he had infected “ the Air of *Italy* with it in ſo little a time, pur- “ ſued him ſo cloſe, that he retired to *Dole*, where he “ publickly read upon the Book *de verbo mirifico* (72).” In the fourth Place, “ He darken'd *Burgundy* in ſuch “ a manner with the Smoak and Miſt of his Black “ Art, that if he had not fled for it, it is to be “ feared, they would have enlightened him with “ Fire nearer than he would have deſired.” In the fifth Place, “ He went to *Lyons* in a wretched Con- “ dition, and deſtitute of Money, where he tried “ all the means he could to ſubſiſt, and got ſo little, “ that he died in a pitiful Tavern, abhorred by every- “ body, who deteſted him as a curſed and execrable “ Magician, becauſe he always carried with him a “ Devil in the ſhape of a Dog.” *Thevet* adds to this the remaining part of the Story, which *Paul Jovius* inſerted in his Elogies.

It would be eaſy to ſhew the Inſufficiency of theſe five Proofs. It is not neceſſary to refute the firſt, ſince *Thevet* acknowledges that *Antony de Leve* did not apply to *Agrippa for any necromantic and wicked Charm* (73), *but rather on account of his ſurprizing and uncommon Genius* (74); and, that the Emperor did not *take him into his Servicc* at the Interceſſion of *Antony de Leve*, but *upon the Aſſurance which was given him, that, by his mature and ſettled Judgment, he was capable of putting an end to the weighty Affairs he had then in hand*. So that the accuſed Perſon is cleared by the very Confeſſion of the Accuſer himſelf: It will be much more difficult to clear the latter from the Imputation of very groſs Ignorance. I have not obſerved any Traces in *Agrippa*'s Letters of his Correſpondence with *Antony de Leve*; and I wonder that ſo many learned Perſons have reported, on the Credit of ſuch an Author as *Thevet*, that *Agrippa was a Favourite of* Antony de Leve, *and a Captain in his Troop* (75). He was never in the *Spaniſh* Service; but ſerved only in the Troops of the Emperor *Maximilian*; and I believe he never bore Arms, after the Speech he made at *Pavia* in the Year 1515. Part of That Harangue is as follows: “ Neque mireris, Marchio Illuſtris, Joannes “ Gonzaga ſtrenuiſſ. militum dux, quod cum me “ proximis his annis fæliciſſimis Cæſareis caſtris Præ- “ fectum cognoſceres, nunc me ſacrarum literarum “ præpoſitum pulpito cernas (76). —— *Nor wonder,* “ *Illuſtrious Marquis, and moſt valiant Commander,* “ John Ganzaga, *that you now ſee me in the* Roſtrum, “ *at the Head of ſacred Literature, whom not long* “ *ſince you beheld a Leader in* Cæſar'*s victorious* “ *Army.*” He continued likewiſe ſome time in *Italy*; his Patron there was *William Paleologus* Marquis of *Monferrat*, to whom he dedicated his Treatiſe *De triplici Ratione cognoſcendi Deum* —— *of the three ways of knowing God, in the Year* 1516 (77): He taught at *Turin*, and repaſſed the *Alps* about the beginning of the Year 1518 (78). Let any one ſhew me that *Antony de Leve* ſerved the Emperor *Maximilian*. But he is guilty of a ſtill more inexcuſable Ignorance. *Agrippa* did not obtain the Title of Counſellor and Hiſtoriographer to *Charles* V, but by the Intereſt of certain Friends, whom he met with at the Court of the Princeſs *Margaret*, Governeſs of the *Netherlands*. *Charles* V. was not at that time in the *Low Countries*, but came thither ſome time after, ſo prejudiced againſt *Agrippa*, that if it had not been for the good Offices of Cardinal *Campegius*, and Cardinal *de la Mark*, he would have caus'd him to have been impriſon'd. The Sieur *Clavigni* of St *Honorine*, ſays, that

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(63) Id. ib.

(64) *See above the Remark* [*D.*]

(65) Jo. Wierus de Magis, cap. 5. pag. 111.

(66) *Lieutenant General of the Armies of* France: *He ſerved in the Armies of* Germany, *during the War, which was ended in the Year* 1697. *See the Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* LANDAU, *towards the End.*

(67) *See what* Plutarch *relates of* Sertorius's *Hind, in the Life of that General.*

(68) Thevet's *Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men*, Tom. 7. pag. 221. *Edit. of* Paris, 1671. *in* 8 *Vols in* 12o

(69) Id. ib. pag. 223.

(70) Id. ib. pag. 225.

(71) *I have not met with any Book with this Title, or ſuch a Diviſion, in the Works of* John Wierus, *printed at* Amſterdam, 1660. *in* 4to.

(72) Thevet. ubi ſupra, p. 226.

(73) Id. ib. pag. 223.

(74) Id. ib. pag. 225.

(75) Naudé's Apology for Great Men, *pag.* 405. *See alſo* Teiſſier, Elog. *taken out of* Thuanus, Tom. 2. p. 99. *See, below, Citation* (79).

(76) Agrip. Oper. Tom. 2. p. 1075.

(77) Ibid, p. 480. & 718.

(78) *See his Letters*, pag. 728, 730.

he is a ſtrong Proof of the Impotency of Magic; for never any Man miſcarried more frequently than he, nor was oftner in fear of wanting Bread. We ſhall have reaſon to think the Financers of *Francis* I. and thoſe of *Charles* V. were very well ſatisfied of his Innocency in this reſpect; if we conſider how they diverted themſelves with him, when he apply'd for his Penſion. There are ſome Errors of Fact in the manner of
ſome

that *Agrippa*'s End would have been as tragical as that of *Lucilius Vaninius*, if Cardinal *Campegius*, and *Anthony de Leve*, his Protectors, had not prevail'd upon *Charles* V. not to puniſh him (79). He did not ſee *Agrippa*; neither did he order him his Salary; ſo far was he from making uſe of his Counſels to extricate himſelf *from the great Affairs he had in hand*. It is a pleaſant Proof of *Agrippa*'s great Abilities in the Civil Law, to alledge, that *Charles* V. *admitted him into the Number of his Counſellors. He had attain'd*, ſays Thevet (80), *to ſo great a Knowledge in the Civil Law, that (as I have obſerved above)* Charles V. *admitted him into the Number of his Counſellors*. He had ſaid in the foregoing Page, *that* Agrippa *was ſo well receiv'd at the Emperor's Court, that he was one of his Counſellors*. Is it not well known, that the Title of King's Counſellor is given to many Perſons, to Phyſicians, Hiſtoriographers, and Authors, who have as little ſhare in the Councils of their Prince, as the meaneſt Citizen? *Thevet*'s ſecond Reaſon proves nothing. *Agrippa* had ſpoke of ſome Apparitions ſo ridiculous, that one of his beſt Friends laugh'd at them; therefore he was a Magician. What would become of *Bodinus*, *Martin del Rio*, *le Loyer*, and moſt of the *Demonographers*, if ſuch a way of arguing was admitted? His third Reaſon ſwarms with Falſhoods. If *Agrippa* had profeſs'd Magic, they would not have been ſatisfy'd with baniſhing him from *Flanders*. Such a Profeſſion is not ſo mildly puniſh'd. He was never in *Italy* after the Cenſure of his Occult Philoſophy. This Work did not appear 'till the Year 1531. If *Agrippa had pour'd out* the Poiſon of his Magic, in ſuch abundance, in *Italy*, would Cardinal *de Sainte Croix* have choſen him for one of the Divines of the Council of *Piſa*? Would the Pope have addreſs'd ſo complaiſant a Brief to him in the Year 1515 (81)? So far is it from being true, that *Agrippa*, upon his being expell'd *Italy*, retir'd to *Dole*, that he did not go into *Italy*, 'till after he had left *Dole*. The fourth Reaſon takes for granted what is falſe. *Agrippa* brought himſelf into a Scrape at *Dole*, by favouring the Hypotheſis of *Capnio*, whoſe Book *De verbo mirifico* he explained. The long Quarrel between the Monks and *Capnio* is well known. The *Cordelier Catilinet*, chooſing rather to preach againſt *Agrippa* before the Princeſs *Margaret*, than to enter the Liſts with him at *Dole*, took occaſion to vent his Spleen againſt him at *Ghent*, in the Pulpit of Truth. But he does not accuſe him of Magic; he charges him only with addicting himſelf to the *Jewiſh Cabala*, and preverting the Scripture by cabaliſtical Explications (82). The ill-tim'd Declamations of that *Cordelier*, who, inſtead of prejudicing the Court and the People againſt an abſent Profeſſor, ought to have accus'd him in Form before the Academical Judges, did not hinder the famous *John Collet* from lodging *Agrippa* in his Houſe at *London*, nor the Emperor *Maximilian*, Grandfather of the Princeſs *Margaret*, from employing him in *Italy* (83). The fifth Reaſon of *Thevet* has already been refuted; he has only copied *Paul Jovius*, and both of them have been ſo imprudent as to take notice of *Agrippa*'s Poverty. A fine means of convincing a judicious Reader that he was a great a Magician! A rare Way to perſuade the People of it, when they know, on the contrary, that *whenever Fortune ſmiles on a Prince or Lord, it is preſently caſt in his Diſh, that he courts* Agrippa (84).

III. As for *Martin del Rio*, he relates theſe three or four Particulars: I. When *Agrippa* travell'd, he paid his Reckonings in Money, ſeemingly *good* and *lawful*; but, after ſome Days, it was diſcover'd, that he had paid his Hoſt with pieces of Horn, or Shells (85). II. *Charles* V. expell'd him from his Court and Dominions, and with him two other Perſons of Quality, who had promis'd him great Treaſures by the means of Magic (86). III. The ſame Emperor did not remit the Sentence of Death againſt *Agrippa*, but condemn'd him to Baniſhment, after he had heard that he was fled (87). IV. *Agrippa* had a Boarder in *Louvain*, who was very inquiſitive. One Day, as he was going out of Town, he order'd his Wife not to let any body go into his Cloſet: Nevertheleſs this Boarder obtain'd the Key of it; he went in and read a Book of Conjurations; upon which there was a great knocking at his Door; which he heard two or three times, without leaving off his reading. It was the Devil who knock'd at the Cloſet-Door, and demanded, who it was that call'd him, and what he wanted; but, receiving no Anſwer, he ſtrangled him. *Agrippa*, returning home, ſees the Spirits dancing on the top of his Houſe; he calls them, and they inform him of what had happen'd; he order'd the Homicide to enter into the Body, and to walk ſome Turns, in the Place, which the Scholars frequented moſt, and then quit it. This was done. The Boarder, having walk'd three or four turns, fell down dead; and it was believ'd a long while, that he died ſuddenly; but certain marks of Suffocation appearing, began to make the thing ſuſpected. At length Time diſcover'd all, and *Agrippa*, being obliged to fly into *Lorrain*, begun to give vent to the Hereſies, which he had conceiv'd in his Heart (88).

Agrippa's Poverty, and the frequent Fear he diſcovers, in his Epiſtles, of being ſtarv'd for want of common Neceſſaries, are a ſufficient Confutation of the firſt of theſe Stories. When a Man has ſo compendious a Method of diſcharging his Debts, he need not fear wanting Bread. It is not true that *Charles* V. ever expell'd *Agrippa* out of his Dominions; he was too great a Politician, to puniſh, in ſuch a manner, a Magician, who was a diſtributer of Treaſures; he would have fear'd, that other Princes might make uſe of the Secrets of ſuch a conſiderable Exile to his detriment. *Del Rio* refutes the ſecond Story by the third; for he pretends in the third, that his Imperial Majeſty would have put *Agrippa* to Death, had it been in his Power, and that the Decree of Baniſhment came out after the Magician's Flight. Theſe are mere Stories. *Agrippa* preſented Petition upon Petition to the Emperor's Council, either for the payment of his Salary, or for his Diſmiſſion (89); and when he was tir'd with his ill Succeſs, he went to *Cologne*, where he exclaim'd with great Freedom, before the Magiſtrates, againſt the Monks, who ſtopt the printing of his Works (90). He liv'd quietly at *Bonn*, 'till he went from thence to *France*. Would *Charles* V. have permitted this in a Man whom he had baniſh'd his Dominions? Would he have ſuffer'd this in a Magician, who had avoided Death only by Flight? As to the fourth little Tale, I refer him to *Gabriel Naudé*, whoſe Words are theſe; *We have more Reaſon to deny it, as* Ludwigius * *did, than* Del Rio *has to affirm it, ſince he tranſlated it Word for Word out of a Book, entituled,* The Theatre of Nature, *publiſhed in* Italian *and in* Latin, *under the Name of* Stroza Cicogna, *and in* French *and* Spaniſh, *under the Name of* Valderama (9[illegible] We may refute it another Way; as thus, *Del Rio* obſerves, that the Wife, who lent the Key to the Boarder, was afterwards divorced by *Agrippa*. It muſt be, then, the third Wife of this Magician. Now the ſecond did not die 'till the Year 1529. So that the Adventure of the Boarder muſt have happen'd after the Year 1529. *Agrippa*, muſt therefore, have fled towards *Lorrain* after the Year 1530, or thereabouts; he muſt have taken a Houſe at *Louvain*, after he was inſtall'd in the Office of Hiſtoriographer of *Charles* V, for Boarders; but nothing is more falſe than this. For, firſt, he did not go into *Lorrain* as a Fugitive; he went thither to exerciſe a noble Office at *Metz*, which was offered to him with all poſſible Advantages, at the ſame time that he was preſs'd to accept of honourable Employments elſewhere (92). II. He did not go into *Lorrain* 'till 1518, and at that time his firſt Wife was alive. III. The Doctrines he maintain'd in that Country, for which he was expos'd to the Perſecution of the Monks, were neither Magical nor Heretical; they turn'd on this Queſtion, Whether St *Anne*, the Mother of the Holy Virgin, had three Husbands, and a Child by each; or whether ſhe had but one Husband, and one Daughter. *Agrippa* maintain'd the latter Opinion (93), which did infinitely more Honour to St *Anne*'s Memory. IV. It does not
appear

(79) *Of the Uſe of ſuſpected Books, pag.* 105.

(80) Thevet. p. 223.

(81) Agrip. Epiſt. 38. lib. 1. pag. 710.

(82) *See the* Expoſtulatio *of* Agrippa, *in the 2d Tome of his Works, pag.* 508.

(83) Agripp. Oper. Tom. 2. pag. 596.

(84) Thev. pag. 224.

(85) Del Rio Diſquiſit. Magicar. lib. 2. quæſt. 12. n. 10.

(86) Ibid.

(87) Id. ib. lib. 5. §. 2.

(88) Ibid. lib. 2. quæſt. 29. §. 1.

(89) *See his Works, Tom.* 2. *from pag.* 975. *to* 984. *likewiſe pag.* 1017, &c.

(90) Ibid. pag. 1033.

* Quæſt. 15. Demonomag. fol. 187.

(91) Naudé, Apolog. p. 423.

(92) Agrip. Epiſt. 9, 10. lib. 2. *But particularly ſee his* Thanks to the Gentlemen of *Metz*, pag. 1092.

(93) *See* Agrippa*'s Works*, T. 2. p 583, 747.

ſome Perſons apologizing for him [Q]. *Moreri* declared ſtrongly in his favour; which was

appear that he liv'd any where elſe, than at *Antwerp*, and at *Mechlen*, from the time of his being made the Emperor's Hiſtoriographer, 'till he retir'd to the Elector of *Cologne*; and I do not believe that ever he had any Boarders at *Louvain*: So that we might have been diſpens'd with from anſwering *Martin del Rio*, and his Partizans, 'till they had rang'd their Circumſtances of Time and Place in better order.

I wonder that the famous *Naudé* had not the precaution to object to the Accuſers of *Agrippa* the great Number of Hiſtorical Falſhoods, of which I have convicted them.

[Q] *There are ſome Errors of Fact in the manner of ſome Perſons apologizing for him.*] I have *Gabriel Naudé* in view. He endeavours to juſtify *Agrippa*, among other Reaſons, from *the Favour of two Emperors, and as many Kings* (94); which is to ſuppoſe, that *Charles* V. had a Kindneſs for *Agrippa*; but we need only read the Complaints of that Author, to diſcover the contrary (95). Farther, *Naudé* ſuppoſes, that they did not think of crying down the *Occult Philoſophy*, 'till a long time after it was publiſh'd; he pretends that they exclaim'd againſt that Work, only in Revenge for the Injuries, they believ'd they had receiv'd in That of the *Vanity of Sciences*. It is true, this latter Book gave great Offence to many. The Monks, the Members of the Univerſities, the Preachers, and the Divines, ſaw themſelves drawn to the Life in it: *Agrippa* was of too warm a Complexion. "Ex ejus " Libri *(de Vanitate Scientiarum)* qualicunque guſtu " deprehendi hominem eſſe ardentis ingenii, variæ " lectionis, & multæ memoriæ, alicubi tamen majore " copia, quam delectu, ac dictione tumultuosâ verius " quam compoſita. In omni genere rerum vitupe" rat mala, laudat bona. Sed ſunt, qui nihil aliud " ſuſtinent, quam laudari (96). —— *The leaſt taſte of " his Book* (of the Vanity of Sciences) *convinc'd me, " that he was an Author of a fiery Genius, extenſive " Reading, and great Memory; but ſometimes more " copious, than choice, in his Subject, and writing in " a diſturb'd, rather than a compos'd, Style. He laſhes " Vice, and commends Virtue, every where, and in " every perſon; but there are ſome, with whom no" thing but Panegyric will go down.*" His Paintings were too ſtrong; his Shades too dark, and his Touches too lively. This gave them uneaſineſs, I confeſs; but it is not true that this Reſentment ſpent itſelf on a Work, which had lain in Obſcurity for many Years. *Naudé* would have done better to have reſerv'd this Thought for another Application; he might have met with an Opportunity ſooner or later, though he had not been a Man of ſuch great Reading, as he was. To explain myſelf; It is no rare thing for Zealots to take no notice of a Book, or the Author of it, for a long time, whatever it be, provided it does not perſonally attack them. But, if after ten, fifteen, or twenty Years, they happen to quarrel with the Author; if ſome new Work comes out, containing Diſcoveries of what they carefully endeavour to conceal from the People; the former Work immediately becomes heretical, impious, and fit to be burnt. They begin then to be *eaten up with the Zeal of God's Houſe*; and thereby impoſe upon honeſt People. But They, who are no Dupes, perceive plainly what ſhameful Paſſions they cover under the fair Mask of the Intereſt of Piety. Let us do Juſtice to the Divines of *Louvain*; they do not deſerve the Reproach, which the Apologiſt of *Agrippa* throws on them, upon this Account. The *Occult Philoſophy* was not printed, 'till after the Declamation of *The Vanity of Sciences*; and it is ſufficient to charge them with having made uſe of a thouſand Cavils, to diſcover ſome damnable Propoſitions in That Declamation. See the ſolid Anſwer, which was given them: It is in the ſecond Volume of *Agrippa*, and begins at *pag.* 252.

AN INSTANCE of the unjuſt Behaviour of pretended Zealots.

HISTORY of the Occult Philoſophy.

Let us, in a few Words, deſcribe the Hiſtory of the *Occult Philoſophy*. *Agrippa* compos'd this Work in his younger Days (97), and ſhewed it to the Abbot *Tritbemius*, from whom he had learnt many things (98). *Tritbemius* was charm'd with it, as appears by the Letter which he wrote to him on the 8th of *April*, 1510 (99); but he adviſes him to communicate it only to thoſe, whom he could confide in. I know not whether the Author communicated it to too many Perſons, or whether the firſt, who had a Copy of it, was indiſcreet. The Truth is, ſeveral Manuſcript Copies of it were diſpers'd almoſt all over *Europe*. It is not neceſſary to obſerve, that moſt of them were faulty; which never fails to happen in the like Caſes. They were preparing to print it from one of theſe bad Copies; which made the Author reſolve to publiſh it himſelf, with the Additions and Alterations, with which he had embelliſh'd it, after having ſhew'd it to the Abbot *Tritbemius*. *Melchior Adam* was miſtaken in ſaying, that *Agrippa*, in his more advanc'd Years, having corrected, and enlarg'd, this Work, ſhew'd it to the Abbot *Tritbemius*. He had refuted his *Occult Philoſophy*, in his Book of the *Vanity of Sciences*, and yet he publiſh'd it, to hinder others from printing a faulty and mutilated Edition of it (100). He obtain'd the Approbation of ſome Doctors of Divinity, and ſome Perſons, whom the Emperor's Council appointed to examine it. "Liber ille jam nuper per aliquos " Eccleſiæ Prælatos & doctores ſacrarum humanarum" que literarum eruditiſſimos, & ex Cæſaris conſilio " ad hoc ſpecialiter deputatos commiſſarios, examina" tus & probatus fuerit, deinde etiam totius Cæſarei " conſilii aſſenſu admiſſus, & ejuſdem Cæſareæ Maje" ſtatis authentico diplomate, & appenſa in rubra ce" ra Cæſaris aquila privilegiatus, inſuper Antverpiæ, " & poſtea etiam Pariſiis, ſine contradictione impreſſus " & publice venditus ſit (101). —— *This Book has " been lately examin'd, and approv'd, by certain Pre" lates of the Church, and Doctors, thoroughly vers'd " both in ſacred and prophane Literature, and by Com" miſſaries, particularly deputed for that Purpoſe, by* " Cæſar'*s Council; after which it was admitted by the " aſſent of the whole Council, and licenſed by the au" thentic Diploma of his Imperial Majeſty, and the " Stamp of the* Cæſarean *Eagle in red Wax; and was " afterwards publickly printed and ſold at* Antwerp, *" and then at* Paris, *without any Oppoſition.*" Upon this Approbation he obtain'd a Licence from his Imperial Majeſty; and caus'd his Book to be printed at *Antwerp*, and dedicated it to the Elector of *Cologne*. His Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated at *Malines*, in the Month of *January*, 1531; and it is the thirteenth of the ſixth Book of his Letters. This Book was publiſh'd in the Year 1531. It was preſently reprinted at *Paris*. Theſe two Editions were ſold without any Oppoſition. The Author ſet about a third at *Cologne*. Father *Conrad* of *Ulm*, Inquiſitor of the Faith, had notice of it, and caus'd the Impreſſion to be ſtopp'd; but the vigorous Inſtances of *Agrippa* to the Magiſtrates had doubtleſs their Effect; ſince there is an Edition, of *Cologne*, of the *Occult Philoſophy*, in 1533. It contains three Books; whereas the former Editions contain'd only the firſt (102). After the Death of *Agrippa*, a fourth was added to it by another Hand. "Optimo jure his *(libris magicis)* annumeretur abo" minabilis libellus nuper in lucem ab impio homine " emiſſus, tributuſque Henr. Corn. Agrippæ, meo " olim hoſpiti & præceptori honorando, ultra annos " quadraginta jam mortuo, ut hinc falſo ejus manibus " jam inſcribi ſperem, ſub titulo quarti libri de Oc" culta Philoſophia, ſeu de Ceremoniis magicis: qui " inſuper clavis librorum trium de Occulta Philoſo" phia omniumque magicarum operationum jactatur " (103). — *To theſe* (Books of Magic) *may very juſtly be " added an abominable Work, lately publiſh'd by an " impious Wretch, and aſcrib'd to my late honoured " Hoſt and Preceptor,* Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *who " has been dead more than forty Years; whence I con" clude, that it is unjuſtly inſcribed to his Manes, " under the Title of* The fourth Book of the Occult " Philoſophy, or of Magical Ceremonies; *which pre" tends, likewiſe, to be a Key to the three former " Books of the* Occult Philoſophy, *and all kinds of " Magical Operations.*" Thus *John Wierus* expreſſes himſelf. I have ſeen an Edition in Folio of the *Occult Philoſophy*, in 1533, without the Place, where it was printed. The Privilege of *Charles* V. is prefix'd to it, dated, if I miſtake not, from *Mechlen*, the 12th of *January*, 1529.

Let us now examine the Falſhoods contain'd in theſe Words of *Naudé*; "The Divines of *Louvain* " cenſur'd his Declamation againſt the Sciences with " great Severity: *John Catilinet*, a *Cordelier*, de" clam'd publickly againſt his Explication of the *de " Verbo Mirifico*, at *Dole*: The *Dominicans* of the " City of *Metz* wrote againſt the Propoſitions, which " he had advanc'd, in ſupport of the Opinion of was not to be expected from his Pen. His Faults are not many in this Article [*R*]. I have already mentioned the chief Works of *Agrippa*, and ſhall ſpeak more particularly of them in the Remarks. It will be ſufficient to add, that he wrote *A Commentary on the Art of Raimundus Lullius*, and *A Diſſertation on the Original of Sin*, wherein he teaches, that the Fall of our Firſt Parents proceeded from their unchaſte Love. He promiſed a Work againſt the *Dominicans* [*S*], which would have pleaſed many Perſons, both within, and without, the Pale of the Church of *Rome*. He held ſome uncommon

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(94) Naudé's *Apology for Great Men*, pag. 409.

(95) Agripp. Epiſt. lib. 6. pag. 975. *and elſewhere. See the 2d Volume of his Works*, pag. 251, 447, 584. *and the Paſſages cited below in Marginal Note* (99).

(96) Eraſmi Epiſt. lib. 27. p. 1083.

(97) *See the Preface.*

(98) Epiſt. 33. lib. 3. pag. 8[illegible]o.

(99) *It is at the beginning of the Book, and at the 704th page of the ſecond Tome.*

(100) *See the Preface.*

(101) Epiſt. 26. lib. 7. pag. 1033. *See alſo* pag. 1045.

(102) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the 2d and 3d Book, to the ſame Elector of* Cologne.

(103) Wierus de Magis, cap 5. pag. 108.

“ *Faber Stapulenſis*, concerning the Monogamy of “ St *Anne*; and yet not one of theſe Cenſurers could “ find any thing offenſive in the two firſt Books of “ his *Occult Philoſophy*, which were printed LONG “ BEFORE all thoſe Pieces, as well at *Paris*, as at “ *Antwerp*, and elſewhere (104).” —— Obſerve, that he repeats theſe Words LONG BEFORE, in the 416th Page. To underſtand the whole Miſtake, we muſt remember, that *Catilinet* declaim'd, in the Year 1509; that the *Jacobins* of *Metz* wrote concerning St *Anne*, in the Year 1519; and that the Declamation on the *Vanity of Sciences* appear'd in 1530, a Year before the *Occult Philoſophy*. “ The Avarice of the “ Bookſellers, and the Vanity of certain Perſons,—— “ adds *Naudé* (105)——injure this Author's Memory, “ by attributing a fourth Book to him, full of magical, vain, ſuperſtitious, and abominable Ceremonies, and by publiſhing it with the three Books of “ the *Occult Philoſophy*. —— *Wierus* *, in defence of “ *Agrippa*, ſays, that this Book was not publiſh'd “ 'till twenty ſeven Years after his Death, and that “ it is very certain he was not the Author of it (106).”

Theſe Words of *Naudé*, *twenty ſeven Years after his Death*, compar'd with the *Latin* Paſſage cited above (107), may embarraſs the Matter; but to clear it, it is ſufficient to take notice of the ſeveral Editions of *John Wierus*. He reviſ'd, and enlarged his Work ſix times. *Naudé* had doubtleſs an Edition, which the Author prepar'd in the Year 1526. There were at that Time twenty ſeven Years paſt, ſince the Death of *Agrippa*. My Edition was prepared thirteen or fourteen Years after; this is the Reaſon why the Author makes uſe of this Phraſe in it, “ ultra annos “ quadraginta jam mortuo —— *more than forty Years* “ *dead*.” —— He always retain'd his *nuper*, and is to blame for it; ſince by this means he deceives his Readers. He makes them believe, that the fourth Book *Philoſophiæ Occultæ* was not printed 'till twenty ſeven, or forty Years after the Death of *Agrippa*; which is falſe. Authors, who enlarge their Books ſeveral times, ſeldom take proper Care to alter the Dates.

In favour of thoſe, who have not *Agrippa*'s Works, I ſhall in this place inform them, how it is proved, that the Declamation againſt the Sciences was printed in the Year 1530, and the *Occult Philoſophy*, in the Year 1531. By a Letter, printed with thoſe of *Agrippa*, and dated the 10th of *January*, 1531 (108), we underſtand, that the Elector of *Cologne* had receiv'd a Copy of the *Vanity of Sciences*, and ſeen ſome Sheets of the *Occult Philoſophy*, which was printing at *Antwerp*. The Author of the *Bibliotheque of* Dauphiné, has taken a very unneceſſary Trouble in his *Errata*: He has changed 1467, into 1567. His Book ſays, that the Treatiſe of the *Vanity of Sciences* was compos'd at *Grenoble*, in the Year 1467. If you correct it according to the *Errata*, you muſt ſuppoſe that the Book was compos'd thirty two Years after the Death of it's Author. He had better have made no Correction at all. I think it would be a Miſtake, whatever Year ſhould be inſerted; for I believe the Author had not reſided long at *Grenoble*, when he died there.

[*R*] *His Faults are not many in this Article.*] I. He ſays *Cobori* inſtead of *Gobori*; *Gattinaria* inſtead of *Gattinara*; *Rauclin* inſtead of *Reuchlin*; *Carniletus* inſtead of *Catilinetus*. II. He tells us, That *Agrippa obtained a Profeſſorſhip at* Padua; which is falſe, he ought to have ſaid *Pavia*. Mr *Teiſſier* was alſo deceived by the Reſemblance of the Words; he put *Paris* for *Pavia*: Perhaps it is an Error of the Preſs; however the Reader ought to be advertiſed, that he muſt not believe what he finds in Mr *Teiſſier*, to wit, that *Agrippa* was *Profeſſor of Holy Writ at* Dole, *and at* Paris (109). It is to be feared, that ſome Compiler, who ſhall collect all that he finds diſperſed in ſeveral Authors, will tells us, ſome time or other, that *Agrippa* profeſſed Divinity at *Dole*, *Paris*, *Pavia*, *Turin*, *Padua*, *Cologne*, *&c.* By this Means no doubt it often happens that a Man's Employments are multiplied without Reaſon; which occaſions many advantageous Reflexions on the extent of his Merit. III. The following Paſſage is confuſed. *The Cardinal* de Sainte Croix *would have engaged him to follow him to the Council, which was to be aſſembled at* Piſa; *and at the ſame time the King of* England, Margaret *of* Auſtria, *and* Gatinaria, *Chancellor of the ſame* Charles V. *invited him into their Service*. The Rules of *Grammar* lead us to refer all this to one and the ſame time; and at this rate *Moreri* will have told a downright Falſhood; for it was in 1529, a long time after the Affair of *Piſa*, that *Agrippa* was invited by *Henry* VIII. by *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, and by the Chancellor of *Charles* the Vth. IV. There is no Chicanery to be found out in vindication of what follows: *But* Agrippa, *who loved Liberty extreamly, preferred the Pleaſure of Travelling before theſe Advantages*; *and, after having ſpent ſome time at* Friburg, *at* Geneva, *and elſewhere, he retired to* Lyons. A pitiful Anachroniſm, and which involves other Miſtakes. *Moreri* pretends, then, that none of theſe Offers were accepted; yet That of the Princeſs *Margaret* was, and, when it was offered, *Agrippa* thought no more of travelling; he had ſatisfied his Curioſity; he had been at *Geneva*, at *Friburg*, and at *Lyons*. V. It is not true, that *Paul Jovius*, *Del Rio*, *Thevet*, and others, maintain, that Agrippa *kept two Spirits in the form of two little Dogs, and that he called one of them* Monſieur, *and the other* Mademoiſelle. *Paul Jovius* and *Thevet*, *&c.* ſpeak only of one Dog, without mentioning his Name. VI. He ought not to have diſtinguiſhed between the Book of the Vanity of Sciences, and the other Works of *Agrippa*, which compoſe two Volumes; for that Work is at the beginning of the ſecond Volume. I ſay nothing of the Confuſion, which runs through *Moreri*'s Narrative, with reſpect to Chronology.

[*S*] *He promiſed a Work againſt the* Dominicans.] They were the chief Directors of the Inquiſition, it is no wonder, that he was more incenſed againſt them, than againſt others. His Patience was loſt, when he ſaw them ſo indulgent to the Errors of their Brethren, and ſo ſevere againſt the equivocal Propoſitions of other Perſons. This Indulgence would have been leſs ſcandalous, had they alone been guilty of it; but the Misfortune is, People are ſuch Fools, that whilſt they commend the Zeal of an Inquiſitor, who diſcovers Hereſy wherever he thinks fit, they will not ſuffer any Recrimination to be uſed againſt him, and that his own pernicious Doctrines ſhould be laid open to the Public. *Agrippa* intended to be very free with the *Dominicans* on this Head, and upon ſeveral others. “ Neque tamen putetis, *ſays he to the Mgiſtrates of* “ Cologne, hunc ſolum articulum apud illum reperiri “ hæreticum; ſed alii multi, quos, cum hic nimis “ longum vobiſque tædioſum foret referre, enumerabo alibi, in eo ſcilicet libro quem de Fratrum “ Prædicatorum ſceleribus & hæreſibus inſcripſi, ubi “ infecta ſæpius veneno ſacramenta, ementita ſæpiſſime miracula, interemptos veneno Reges & principes, proditas urbes & reſpublicas, ſeductos populos, aſſertaſque hæreſes, & cætera ejuſmodi heroum illorum facinora flagitiaque in varias transfuſa “ linguas, omnique populo expoſita, dilucidè narrabo (110). —— *Nor would I have you think, that* “ *this Article of His is the only Heretical one*; *there* “ *are many others of the ſame Stamp, which, as it* “ *would be tedious to lay them before you at preſent,* “ *I ſhall enumerate in another Place*; *namely, in the* “ *Treatiſe I am compoſing of the Vices, and erroneous Opinions, of the* Dominicans; *in which I ſhall* “ *expoſe to the whole World their vicious Practices,* “ *ſuch as the Sacraments often infected with Poiſon,* “ *numberleſs pretended Miracles, Kings and Princes* “ *taken off by Poiſon, Cities and States betrayed,* “ *the Populace ſeduced, Hereſies avowed, and the reſt* “ *of the Deeds of theſe Heroes, and their enormous* “ *Crimes*.”

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(104) Naudé's *Apology for Great Men*, pag. 411.

(105) Ibid. pag. 413.

* Lib. II. de Præſtigiis.

(106) Naudè, ubi ſupra. pag. 414.

(107) *Citation* (103).

(108) *It is the 14th of the 6th Book*, *pag.* 968.

(109) Teiſſier's *Elogy taken from* Thuanus, Tom. 2. p. 99. *Edit. of* Utrecht, 1692.

(110) Agrip. Opera, T. 2. pag. 1037.

uncommon Opinions [*T*], and never any Proteſtant ſpake more forcibly againſt the Impudence of the Legendaries than he did (*oo*).

We muſt not forget the Key of his *Occult Philoſophy*. He kept it only for his Friends of the firſt Rank, and explained it in a manner, which differs but little from the Speculations of our Quietiſts [*U*]. Let me obſerve likewiſe, that the Edition of his

[*T*] *Some uncommon Opinions.*] I have already mentioned That, which concerns the Fall of *Adam*. The reſt were not of ſo dangerous a Nature, and their only Crime was their being agreeable to the Doctrines of the Reformers. His Diſſertation concerning Marriage, dedicated to *Louïſa* of *Savoy*, Mother of *Francis* I. ſtrikes at the Law of Celibacy, and ſhews plainly, that Adultery breaks the Conjugal Engagement. One of his Friends (111) gave him notice, that this Diſſertation had diſpleaſed the Court, and that at firſt they were afraid to preſent it to the Princeſs. I refer you to his Anſwer. He did not approve of the uſe of Images, and with all his Heart would have conſented to a Reformation, which would not have occaſioned the raiſing of Altar againſt Altar (112).

[*U*] *Which differs but little from the Speculations of our Quietiſts.*] I ſhall produce another Obſervation of *Naudé*, deſigned to ſhew, that, under pretence of this Key, it cannot be maintained, that *Agrippa* was the true Author of the fourth Book of the *Occult Philoſophy*. "Nor muſt it be objected, *ſays he* (113), that the ſame *Agrippa* ſays in ſome Paſſages of his Epiſtles *, that he reſerved the Key of the three Books, which he had publiſhed (114), to himſelf: For, beſides that it may be anſwered with great ſhew of probability, that he amuſed the World with this Key, in order to make himſelf courted by the Curious; as *James Gobory* † and *Vigenere* ‖ ſay, that he pretended, with the ſame View, to be maſter of the Practice of the Mirrour of *Pythagoras*, and the Secret of extracting the Spirit Gold from it's Body, in order to convert Silver and Copper into fine Gold, from which it had been ſeparated: I ſay, beſides this Reaſon, he explains ſufficiently what he meant by ſuch a Key, when he ſays in the nineteenth Epiſtle of the fifth Book. Hæc eſt illa vera & mirabilium operum occultiſſima Philoſophia, Clavis ejus intellectus eſt, quanto enim altiora intelligimus, tanto ſublimiores induimus virtutes, tantoque & majora, & facilius & efficatius operamur. —— *This is that true and Occult Philoſophy of the Wonders of Nature; it's Key is the Underſtanding; for the higher we carry our Knowledge, the more ſublime are our Attainments in Virtue, and we perform the moſt extraordinary things with greater Eaſe, and more effectually.*" *Naudé* ſtopt here, but Mr *de la Monnoie* went farther. He did me the favour to acquaint me, that *Agrippa*'s Sentiments agree perfectly well with thoſe of the Quietiſts. You will be convinced of this, if you examine what I am going to ſay. *Agrippa* makes mention of this Key in two Letters, which he wrote to a Religious (115), who addicted himſelf very much to the Occult Sciences. He repreſents to him, that, whatever is to be found in Books concerning the Virtue of Magic, Aſtrology, and Alchimy, is falſe and deceitful, when literally underſtood; that a Myſtical Senſe is to be looked for in them; a Senſe, which none of the Maſters had yet found out, and that it was almoſt impoſſible to diſcover it, without the Aſſiſtance of a good Interpreter, unleſs by Divine Inſpiration, which happens to very few Perſons (116). "O quanta leguntur ſcripta de inexpugnabili magicæ artis potentia, de prodigioſis aſtrologorum imaginibus, de monſtrifica alchimiſtarum metamorphoſi, deque lapide illo benedicto, quo, Midæ inſtar, contacta æra mox omnia in aurum argentumve permutentur. Quæ omnia comperiuntur vana, ficta & falſa, quoties ad literam practicantur (117). *What ſurprizing Accounts do we meet with in Authors of the invincible Power of Magic, of the wonderful Schemes of Aſtrologers, of the amazing Metamorphoſes of the Alchymiſts, and of that bleſſed Stone, by which, as by the Touch of* Midas, *all Metals are tranſmuted into Gold: All which are experienced to be empty, fictitious, and falſe, when put in practice literally.* We muſt not, *adds he*, look for the Principle of theſe great Operations without ourſelves: It is an internal Spirit, which can very innocently perform all that the Mathematicians, Magicians, Alcymiſts, aud Necromancers promiſe, I ſhall not explain this to you in Writing; for it is a Thing not to be committed to Paper. It is communicated from one Spirit to another in a few myſtical Words. This wonderful Operator comes not from Heaven or Hell, but is the Inhabitant of our own Breaſts." "Atque hoc eſt, quod te nunc ſcire volo, quia nobis ipſis eſt omnium mirabilium effectuum operator: Qui, quicquid portentoſi Mathematici, quicquid prodigioſi Magi, quicquid invidentes Naturæ perſecutores Alchimiſtæ, quicquid dæmonibus deteriores malefici Necromantates promittere audent, ipſe novit diſcernere & efficere, idque ſine omni crimine, ſine Dei offenſa, ſine religionis injuria. In nobis, inquam, eſt ille mirandorum operator,

> Nos habitat, non tartara; ſed nec ſydera cœli.
>   Spiritus in nobis qui viget, illa facit.

Verum de his nobis quam latiſſime tecum conferendum eſſet, & coram. Non enim committuntur hæc literis, nec ſcribuntur calamo, ſed ſpiritu ſpiritui paucis ſacriſque verbis infunduntur, idque, ſi quando nos ad te venire contigerit (118)." This is taken from a Letter, dated from *Lyons* the twenty fourth of *September*, 1527. The other Letter was written in the ſame City the nineteenth of *November* following: *Agrippa* unfolds his Myſtery in it: He ſays, That true and ſolid Philoſophy conſiſts in being united with God by an Eſſential and Immediate Contact, which may tranſform us into God. He adds, "The Underſtanding is the Key of this Philoſophy; but, to be united to God, it muſt be freed from Matter, and dead to the World, to the Fleſh, to all the Senſes, and to the whole natural Man." His *Latin* will expreſs this Fuſtian better: "Quod ad poſtulatam philoſophiam attinet, te ſcire volo, quòd omnium rerum cognoſcere opificem ipſum Deum, & in illum tota ſimilitudinis imagine, ceu eſſentiali quodam contactu ſive vinculo tranſire, quo ipſe tranſformeris, efficiareque Deus, ea demum vera ſolidaque philoſophia ſit: Quemadmodum de Moyſe ait Dominus, inquiens: *Ecce ego conſtitui te Deum Pharaonis*, Hæc eſt illa vera & ſumma mirabilium operum occultiſſima Philoſophia. Clavis ejus Intellectus eſt. Quantò enim altiora intelligimus, tantò ſublimiores induimus virtutes, tantoque majora & facilius & efficacius operamur. Verùm intellectus noſter carni incluſus corruptibili, niſi viam carnis ſuperaverit, fueritque propriam naturam ſortitus, divinis illis virtutibus non poterit uniri (non enim niſi ſibi quam ſimilibus congrediuntur) ac pervidendis illis occultiſſimis Dei & Naturæ ſecretis omnino inefficax eſt: Atque

> Hoc opus, hic labor eſt, ſuperas evadere ad auras.

- - - - Mori enim oportet, mori, inquam, mundo & carni, ac ſenſibus omnibus, ac toto homini animali, qui velit ad hæc ſecretorum penetralia ingredi: Non, quòd corpus ſeparetur ab anima: Sed, quòd anima relinquat corpus. De qua morte Paulus ſcribit Coloſſenſibus, *Mortui eſtis, & vita veſtra abſcondita eſt cum Chriſto:* & alibi clarius de ſeipſo ait, *Scio hominem, in corpore, vel extra corpus, neſcio (Deus ſcit) raptum uſque ad tertium cœlum:* Et quæ reliqua ſequuntur (119). —— *As to the Philoſophy you enquire into, you muſt know, that the only true and ſolid Philoſophy conſiſts in knowing God the Creator of all things, and being transformed into the perfect Reſemblance of Him, by an eſſential Contact or Union, and becoming God: as the Lord ſaid to* Moſes, See I have made thee a God to Pharaoh. *This is that True and Occult Philoſophy of wonderful Things. It's Key is the Underſtanding. For the higher we carry our Knowledge, the more ſublime are our Attainments in Virtue, and we perform the moſt extraordinary things with greater Eaſe, and more effectually. But our Underſtanding, incloſed in corruptible Fleſh, unleſs it ſoar above the Ways of the Fleſh, and exert it's own proper Nature, cannot be*

(*oo*) *See the Preface to his* Treatiſe of the Monogamy of St *Anne*, Oper. Tom, 2. p. 1053.

(111) Capellanus, *Phyſician to* FRANCIS I. *See* Agrippa's *Letters*, *pag.* 832, 833, 836.

(112) *See* Geſner in Biblioth. fol. 309. verſo.

(113) Naudé, ubi ſupra, p. 414, 415.

* Epiſt. 56. lib. 4. & Ibid. 14. lib. 5.

(114) Naudé *is miſtaken, they were not then printed.*

† Lib. de Myſt. Not. Comment. in Paracelſ. de Vita longa, fol. 61.

‖ *In his Cyphers*, fol. 16, & 27.

(115) Aurelius ab Aquapendente Auguſtinianus.

(116) Niſi fuerit divino numine illuſtratus, quod datur pauciſſimis. *Agrippa Epiſt.* 14. *lib.* 5. *pag.* 904.

(117) Id. ib.

(118) Id. ib.

(119) Ibid. 19. l.b. 5. pag. 909.

his Works publiſhed at *Lyons* in two Volumes in 8vo. is caſtrated in a place, which might have diſpleaſed the Gentlemen of the Church [*X*].

“ *united to thoſe divine Virtues (for they have no Communication but with what is moſt like themſelves) and is unqualified to look into theſe moſt abſtruſe Secrets of God and Nature.*

To ſoar above, *and view the chearful Skies,*
In this the Task and mighty Labour lies.
DRYDEN.

“ - - - - *He muſt die; He muſt die, I ſay, to the World, the Fleſh, all the Senſes, and the whole Animal Man, who would enter into theſe ſecret Receſſes: I do not mean, that the Body muſt be ſeparated from the Soul; but that the Soul muſt relinquiſh the Body: of which kind of Death St* Paul *writes to the* Coloſſians, Ye are dead, and your Life is hid in Chriſt; *and in another Place he ſays more plainly of himſelf,* I know a Man, whether in the Body, or out of the Body, I cannot tell (God knows) ſuch an one caught up to the third Heaven; *and ſo on.* This precious Death, *continues he,* is granted but to a ſmall number of People, beloved by God, or favoured with a propitious Influence of the Stars, or ſupported by their own Merits, and the Secret of the Art.

To few great *Jupiter* imparts this Grace,
And thoſe of ſhining Worth, and heavenly Race.
DRYDEN.

“ Hac, inquam, precioſa in conſpectu Domini morte mori oportet, quod contingit pauciſſimis, & fortè non ſemper. Nam id

- - - - - Pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Diis geniti, potuere.

“ Primùm qui non ex carne & ſanguine, ſed ex Deo nati ſunt: Proximè qui Naturæ beneficio ac cœlorum genethliaco dono ad id dignificati ſunt: cæteri meritis nituntur & arte, de quibus viva vox te certiorem reddat (120).” He acknowledges ingenuouſly that he is not one of theſe Favourites of Heaven, and that he has no Hopes of attaining to this high Degree of Happineſs; for he had always found himſelf hurried away by the Vortices of Matter, a ſenſual Man, attach'd to a Wife, to the Fleſh, to the World, and to domeſtic Cares, *&c.* he deſires only to be conſidered as a Door-keeper, to introduce others (121). “ Verùm hoc te admonitum volo, ne circa me decipiaris, ac ſi ego aliquando divina paſſus tibi iſta prædicem, ut tale quid mihi arrogare velim, vel concedi poſſe ſperem, qui hactenus humano ſanguine ſacratus miles, ſemper ferè aulicus, tum carnis vinculo chariſſimæ uxori alligatus, omnibuſque inſtabilis fortunæ flatibus expoſitus, totuſque à carne, & domeſticis curis tranſverſum actus, tam ſublimia immortalium deorum dona non ſum adſecutus: Sed accipi me volo velut indicem, qui ipſe ſemper præ foribus manens, aliis, quod iter ingrediendum ſit, oſtendo (122).”

(120) Id. ib.

(121) *Compare this with* les Suiſſes de la Foi, *whereof the Sieur* Pariſot, *ſpeaks in his Book* La Foi devoillée par la Raiſon. *There are ſome Extracts of it in the* Nouvelles de la Rep. Lit. Octob. 1685. pag. 1140, &c.

(122) Agrippa, Ep. 19. p. 909, 910.

[*X*] *Caſtrated in a Place, which might have diſpleaſed the Gentlemen of the Church.*] The Author, in that part of the Work, exclaims againſt the Law of Celibacy; and inſinuates, that thoſe who were the Defenders of it, connived at Fornication, rather than allow'd of Marriage, in Prieſts, becauſe they drew a great Revenue from permitting them to keep Concubines. He adds, That he had read of a certain Prelate who boaſted at Table, that he had eleven Thouſand Concubinary Prieſts in his Dioceſe, who paid him each a Crown a Year. This Paſſage is not in the Edition of *Lyons*. *Crenius*, who made the Diſcovery, complain'd much of the Impoſition: Theſe are his Words. “ Mala fide, per Beringos fratres Lugduni anno M. DC. in 8vo. edita ſunt Henrici Cornelii Agrippæ —— Opera; utpote in qua multa omiſſa ſunt Editione, quæ in prioribus erant. Atque ne hoc gratis dixiſſe videar, capias exemplum è tractatu de Incertitudine & Vanitate Scientiarum atque Artium, in cujus C. LXIIII. p. 189. de Lenonia, ſequentia hæc, quæ ex optima, recognita, plena, & ſcholiis *marginariis* (retineo vocem in titulo libri poſitam) illuſtrata editione, ſine loci adjectione, anno M. D. XXXVI. in 8vo. excuſa, admodùm rara, daturus ſum, in Lugdunenſi planè dempta ſunt: *Jam verò etiam Lenociniis militant Leges atque canones, cùm in potentum favorem pro iniquis nuptiis pugnant, & juſta matrimonia dirimunt; Sacerdoteſque, ſublatis honeſtis nuptiis, turpiter ſcortari compellunt: Malueruntque illi legiſlatores ſacerdotes ſuos cum infamia habere concubinas, quàm cum honeſta fama uxores, fortè quia ex concubinis proventus illis eſt amplior. De quo legimus gloriatum in convivio quendam Epiſcopum, habere ſe undecim millia ſacerdotum concubinariorum, qui in ſingulos annos illi aureum pendant.* Hæc omnia, & alia forte plura, neque enim integrum hactenus contuli, pro more eraſerunt Adverſarii, clarum relinquentes documentum, illorum quid editionibus tribuendum ſit (123). —— *The Works of* Henry Cornelius Agrippa *were unfaithfully publiſh'd, at* Lyons, *by the Brothers* Beringi, *in the Year M. DC. in 8vo.; there being many things omitted in this Edition, which were in the former. To confirm this, I inſtance, in his Treatiſe of* The Uncertainty and Vanity of Arts and Sciences, *in the 64th Chapter of which,* pag. 189, De Lenonia, *the following Paſſage, which I am going to produce from the beſt Edition of his Works, reviſ'd, entire, and illuſtrated with* Marginal Scholia *(I retain the Phraſe, as it ſtands iu the Title Page) printed in* 8*vo. in the Year M. D. XXXVI. and now very ſcarce; the following Paſſage, I ſay, is omitted in the* Lyons *Edition.* Jam verò etiam Lenociniis militant Leges, *&c. This, and, perhaps, many more Paſſages, (for I have not collated the whole) have been eras'd, according to Cuſtom, by the Enemies of this Author; whence we may judge how far we are to depend upon their Editions.*

(123) Thomas Crenius, Animadv. Philolog. Hiſtor. parte ſecunda, p. 13, 14.

AGUIRRE. The *Bibliotheque* of the *Spaniſh* Writers furniſhes Five or Six Authors of this Name. The moſt eminent among them, is, I think, MICHAEL *de* AGUIRRE, born at *Aſpeitia*, in the Dioceſe of *Pampelune*, in the Province of *Guipuſcoa*. He was a Civilian, who, whilſt he was Member of St *Clement*'s College at *Bologne*, wrote in favour of the Pretenſions of *Philip* II. King of *Spain* [*A*] to the Crown of *Portugal*. He exerciſed the Office of a Judge in ſeveral Courts of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and afterwards he had the dignity of Counſellor in the Council of *Granada* in *Spain*. He died in 1588 (*a*). They, who ſhall continue the Work of Don *Nicolas Antonio*, will have an AGUIRRE, infinitely more famous, to inſert in it. I mean JOSEPH SAENZ *de* AGUIRRE, a *Benedictin*, one of the Learned Men of the XVIIth Century. He was Cenſor, and Secretary of the Supream Council of the Inquiſition of *Spain*, Firſt Interpreter of the Scripture in the Univerſity of *Salamanca*, and had been more than once Abbot of the College of St *Vincent*, when, in 1686, he was honoured with a Cardinal's Hat by Pope *Innocent* XI. He had undertaken a very great Work (*b*), which

(*a*) N. Anton. Biblioth. Script. Hiſpan. Tom. 2. pag. 102.

(*b*) *An Edition of all the Councils held in* Spain.

[*A*] *Wrote in favour of the Pretenſions of* Philip II. *King of* Spain.] His Book was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1581, with this Title, *Reſponſum pro ſucceſſione regni Portugalliæ pro Philippo Hiſpaniarum rege adverſus Bononienſium, Patavinorum, & Peruſinorum collegia. Beſoldus* inſerted it in his Collection of Councils.

which he continued with the ſame diligence after his Promotion to the Purple. They, who would form a juſt Idea of it, ſhould read the *Prodromus*, which he publiſhed at *Salamanca* [*B*], in the Year 1686, or, if they have it not, the Abſtracts, which the Journaliſts gave of it [*C*]. He was thought, for ſome time, to be the Author of a very Learned Work againſt the Deciſions of the Clergy of *France*, in the Year 1682 [*D*]. But at laſt the contrary appeared (*c*). The Conjecture was not improbable, conſidering this Cardinal's Attachment to the Doctrines of the *Ultramontanes*, and the pains he took to prevent the Agreement between the Courts of *Rome* and *France*, which was, nevertheleſs, concluded in the Month of *October* 1693. The Expence he was at in printing two Volumes of his old Friend Don *Nicolas Antonio*, is very commendable. I ſhall take notice of it in the Article ANTONIO.

(*c*) *See the Remark* [*D*].

[*B*] *The* Prodromus *which he publiſh'd at* Salamanca.] The Title of it is; *Notitia Conciliorum Hiſpaniæ atque novi Orbis, Epiſtolarum decretalium & aliorum monumentorum ſacræ antiquitatis ad ipſam ſpectantium, magna ex parte hactenus ineditorum, quorum editio paratur Salmanticæ cum notis & diſſertationibus, ſub auſpiciis Catholici Monarchæ Caroli II. Studio & vigiliis M. Fr. Joſephi Saenz de Aguirre. Salmanticæ apud Lucam Perez, Univerſitatis Typographum*, 1686, *in 8vo.* —— Memoirs of the Councils of *Spain*, &c.

Note, that this Cardinal did not entirely execute the Plan of his Work, according to his firſt Ideas of it. They, who have not the four Volumes in *Folio*, which he publiſh'd at *Rome*, under the Title of *Collectio maxima Conciliorum omnium Hiſpaniæ & Novi Orbis*, &c. need only read the Abſtracts, which the Journaliſts of *Leipſic* gave of them in their *Acta Eruditorum*, for the Year 1696.

[*C*] *The Abſtracts, which the Journaliſts gave of it.*] The Gentlemen of *Leipſic* took notice of it in their *Acta*, of the Month of *February*, 1688. The Abbot *de la Roque* gave an Abſtract of it in his Journal of the 13th of *January*, 1687. I wonder That Journal did not appear in the Editions of *Holland*. The Article relating to the Work before us is very curious; it gives Advice, in an artful manner, to Cardinal *d'Aguirre*, on his declaring that he would warrant divers *Decretals* for genuine, which all the Learned judge to be ſpurious.

[*D*] *He was thought —— to be the Author of a very learned Work* (1) *againſt the Deciſions of the Clergy of* France, *in* 1682.] The Title of it is; "Tractatus de libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ, continens amplam diſcuſſionem Declarationis factæ ab Illuſtriſſimis Archiepiſcopis & Epiſcopis Pariſiis mandato regio congregatis anno 1682, Auctore M. C. S. Theolog. Doctore. Leodii apud Matthiam Hovium 1684. ſuperiorum permiſſu." I have read a Preface of the Abbot *Faydit* (2), wherein, among other things, he promiſes "a Confutation of the principal Maxims of the Treatiſe, *de Libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ adverſus quatuor propoſitiones Cleri*, printed at *Liege*, and attributed to Cardinal *d'Aguirre*, and and to Monſ. *Cozzoni*;" and thus he expreſſes himſelf at the 148th Page. "The Author of the Treatiſe *de Libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ*, or rather the Authors, for I underſtand that ſeveral Perſons have had a hand in that Work, and that all the *Roman* Doctors have exhauſted their whole Stock of Learning in it, though it is but a mean Performance, theſe Authors, I ſay, maintain, *&c.*" But let us conſider a little what the Author of *the Letter of an Abbot to a Prelate of the Court of* Rome, *on the Decree of the Inquiſition of the 7th of* December, 1690, againſt thirty one Propoſitions, advanc'd. "We ourſelves (3), in our Aſſemblies, have not even the Liberty of propoſing what we may judge of Advantage to our Cauſe. You know whoſe fault it is: Which is the Reaſon, why one of the Books, which ought to have been moſt rigorouſly oppos'd by our Divines, and even render'd infamous by an Epiſcopal Cenſure, is ſpread all over *France* with Impunity, and that the Abettors of the Opinions contain'd in it, diſperſe, and commend it every where, boaſting that we dare not anſwer it. He preſently nam'd to me the Book *de Libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ*, which is a thick Volume in Quarto, the Author of which is better known than he imagines. It is a ſhameful thing, *continues he*, that the Clergy of *France* ſhould tamely permit the Author, who is a *French* Monk, to teach a Doctrine which we all hold to be heretical; for he maintains openly, that our Epiſcopal Juriſdiction is not of Divine Right." The Anatomy of the Sentence againſt Father *Queſnel*, informs me (4), that the Book *de Libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ* was compos'd at *Rome*, at the Inſtance of the Miniſters of the Holy See, and printed by their Order, under the Inſpection of the Nuncio of *Bruſſels*, at *Bruſſels* itſelf. But if Cardinal *d'Aguirre* be not the Author of that Treatiſe, it is however certain, that he wrote againſt the Deciſions of the Aſſembly of 1682. The Letter I have quoted informs me of this, in a manner, which deſerves the Reader's notice, as it will inform him how this Cardinal's Book is receiv'd in *France*. "Our four Articles were ſcarce come out, *adds the Author* (5), but a Crowd of Writers appear'd in oppoſition to them; though ſcarce any one in *France* undertook their Vindication. I do not ſay, that the Writings of our Adverſaries are formidable; moſt of them excite our Pity; but yet they do miſchief in Countries, where the People are already diſpos'd in favour of the Doctrines, which they defend. —— Laſtly, The noble Rewards, wherewith the Court of *Rome* knows how to pay the Zeal of thoſe, who declare for her, give a Luſtre to the leaſt conſiderable, and the moſt obſcure Works. Is it not by this means alone that Cardinal *d'Aguirre*, from a *Spaniſh* Monk, roſe to his preſent Dignity? Was not the Abbot of St *Gall* nominated to a Biſhoprick, with a Deſign of raiſing him to the Purple (6), as a Reward for his writing againſt the four Articles, as well as Cardinal *d'Aguirre?*" Laſtly, public Complaints (7) were made three Years before the printing of the Letter, out of which this Paſſage is taken, that the Penſioners among the Clergy left the Tract *de Libertatibus Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ* unanſwered. *The Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned* has inform'd us (8), that the Author of that Tract is a *French* Prieſt, whoſe Name is *Antony Charlus*, who fled to *Rome* on account of the *Regale* *. Perhaps he ought to be called *Charlas*, for he is probably of the ſame Family with the Monk of that Name, Native of *l'Ile en Jourdain* (9), who died in Exile, after having ſuffer'd many Diſgraces in the Service of the Biſhop of *Pamiers* (10).

(1) *See what was ſaid of it in the* Nouvelles de la Rep. Lit. *for the Month of* July 1685. *Artic.* 1.

(2) *See the Abſtract of a Sermon preach'd on* St Polycarpus's *Day at* St John's *in* Greve *at* Paris, *printed at* Liege 1689.

(3) *It is a Biſhop who is ſuppoſed to ſpeak*, p. 59.

(4) *Pages* 76, 77.

(5) *Letter of an Abbot to a Prelate, pag.* 55, 56.

(6) *He was made a Cardinal in the Year* 1696. *His Name was* Sfondrate, *and he died ſome time after.*

(7) *In the* Sentiments *of* Eraſmus, *publiſhed at* Cologne, *in* 1688, *pag.* 155.

(8) *Of the Month of* May 1696, *pag.* 426.

* *A Right belonging to the Kings of* France, *of diſpoſing of Benefices during the Vacancy of an Epiſcopal See.*

(9) *In the Dioceſe of* Toulouſe.

(10) Francis de Caulet.

AJAX, the Son of *Oïleus*, was one of the Chief Lords, who went to the Siege of *Troy*. As he was the Son of a Prince, whoſe Dominions were of great Extent in the Country of the *Locrians*, it was eaſy for him to fit out Forty Ships for This Famous Expedition (*a*). He ſignalized himſelf on many Occaſions; and it is pretended that there are Three Verſes in the 2d Book of the *Iliad*, which are not *Homer*'s, becauſe they give a remarkable Superiority to *Ajax*, the Son of *Telamon*, over the *Ajax* of this Article (*b*), which by no means agrees with *Homer*'s Account of theſe Heroes in another (*c*) Place. It is certain that our *Ajax* may be compared with any other Prince in the *Grecian* Army (*d*) for Courage, Boldneſs, and Activity [*A*]. As for

(*a*) Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. ver. 41.

(*b*) *See the Scholiaſt of* Homer *on* Iliad lib. 2. ver. 35.

(*c*) Homer. Iliad. lib. 13. ver. 701.

(*d*) Philoſt. in Heroic.

[*A*] *And Activity.*] *Homer* generally gives him the Epithet ταχὺς, *ſwift* (1). The three Hands, given him by others, ſignify only the Rapidity of his Action in Fight. "A multis hiſtoricis Græcis tertiam ma-

(1) *See particularly the laſt Verſes of* 14th *Book of the* Iliad.

for Judgment and Conduct, they are out of the queſtion; they are not part of his Character. The Poets have deſcribed him as ſo undaunted, that they even tell us, that the Gods, with all their Thunder and their Storms, could not ſubdue his Inſolence; inſomuch that they found it eaſier to deſtroy than to humble him [*B*]. The Action, which expoſed him to the Anger of the Gods, was infamous, and brutiſh to the laſt degree. He had violated *Caſſandra*, the Daughter of *Priam*, in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither ſhe fled for Refuge. The *Greeks* themſelves were offended at ſuch a prophane Violence, and *Ulyſſes* adviſed to ſtone him (*e*). It appears, from ſome Paſſages of Ancient Authors, that *Ajax* denied the Fact, and offered to clear himſelf of it upon Oath (*f*). He confeſſed indeed, that he took the Maid in the Temple of *Minerva*, and that he pulled her away from the Image of the Goddeſs, which ſhe had embraced (*g*); but he proteſted that he did not violate her; and pretended, that *Agamemnon* had ſpread this malicious Report, that he might keep *Caſſandra*, whom he had ſeized, and whom *Ajax* claimed, as the firſt Poſſeſſor. We ſhall ſee, in the Remarks, how *Minerva* revenged herſelf on him for this Injury [*C*]. The Body of *Ajax* was thrown aſhore by the Waves of the Sea on the Iſland *Delos*, where *Thetis* buried

(*e*) Pauſan. lib. 10. pag. 347.

(*f*) Id. ib. pag. 343.

(*g*) Philoſt. in Heroic.

“ num dicitur poſt tergum habuiſſe, quod ideo eſt “ fictum, quia ſic celeriter utebatur in prælio manibus, ut tertiam habere putaretur (2). —— *Many* “ Greek *Hiſtorians relate, that he had a third Hand;* “ *the Ground of which Fiction is, that he was ſo* “ *quick in the uſe of his Hands, that he ſeem'd to* “ *have a third.*” Several interpreters apply theſe Words of *Horace* to him.

(2) Servius in Æneid. lib. 1. ver. 41.

—— & celerem ſequi
Ajacem (3).

(3) Horat. Od. 15. lib. 1. ver. 19.

Ajax, *ſwift in purſuit.*

Mr *Hofman* adopts their Explication, and confirms it by *Homer*'s Deſcription of him.

- - - - - Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς υἱός

The ſwift-footed Son of Oileus.

At firſt I could not gueſs what he meant by confirming what the Compiler of his Dictionary had ſaid concerning the Swiftneſs of *Ajax*'s Feet, from the Authotity of *Homer*. *Quod autem ſupra, Ajacem pedibus velocem fuiſſe ſcribit hujuſce Dictionarii compilator, Homerum habet authorem*; I thought it ſtrange, and incomprehenſible, that Mr *Hofman* ſhould ſpeak of the Compiler of his Dictionary, as of an Author diſtinct from himſelf; but at laſt I met with a Solution of this Enigma. Mr *Hofman* had taken Word for Word, what I have juſt now cited, out of *Lloyd*'s Dictionary. The thing has no Difficulty in *Lloyd*; becauſe that Author publiſh'd his Dictionary only as an Addition to, and Correction of That of another. There are a great many Obſcurities in Books, which proceed from the ſame Principle, as That of this Paſſage of Mr *Hofman*. The Authors forget to make the proper Alterations, when they abridge or tranſcribe the Paſſages of another Author (4).

(4) *See the Remark* [*G*] *of the Article* ACHILLEA, *towards the end.*

[*B*] *Eaſier to deſtroy, than to humble him.*] *Minerva* was, in ſome meaſure, put to her laſt Shifts to puniſh him; ſhe rais'd a furious Storm; he ſaw his Ship ſink; and yet he eſcap'd upon a Rock.

Καὶ νυ κεν ἔκφυγε κῆρα, καὶ ἐχθόμενός περ Ἀθήνῃ,
Εἰ μὴ ὑπερφίαλον ἔπος ἔκβαλε, καὶ μεγ' ἀάσθη (5).

(5) Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 4. ver. 502.

By Neptune *reſcu'd from* Minerva'*s Hate,*
On Gyræ, *ſafe* Oilean Ajax *ſat,*
His Ship or'e-whelm'd; but, frowning on the Floods,
Impious he roar'd Defiance to the Gods.

Pope's Odyſſ.

His Triumph at his Eſcape was horridly blaſphemous. *In ſpite of the Gods*, ſaid he, *I am ſafe.*

Φῆ ρ' ἀέκητι θεῶν φυγέειν μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης· (6).

(6) Id. ib. ver. 504.

To his own Proweſs all the Glory gave,
The Pow'r defrauding, who vouchſaf'd to ſave.

Id. ibid.

Neptune, being angry at this Inſolence, ſplit the Rock in two with his Trident, and the Part, on which *Ajax* ſat, fell into the Sea. Thus *Homer* relates it, in the 4th Book of the *Odyſſey*. *Quintus Calaber* is much more particular on this Subject, and ſo prolix, that this ſingle Paſſage ſhews he was not a great Maſter of Writing. However, he informs us, that *Minerva*, not being ſatisfy'd with the Thunderbolts, which *Jupiter* had given her, deſired *Neptune* likewiſe to lend her all his Storms. It was the moſt dreadful Tempeſt imaginable; *Minerva* darted Thunder every Minute, and burnt and ſplit *Ajax*'s Ship; yet this *Furioſo* ſav'd himſelf amidſt the wildeſt Tumult of the Waves, and brav'd the Gods from the Rock which he gained.

Φῆ δὲ, καὶ εἰ μάλα πάντες ὀλύμπιοι εἰς ἓν ἵκονται
Χωόμενοι, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀναςήσωσι θάλασσαν,
Ἐκφυγέειν (7).

(7) Quint. Calaber. lib. 14. ver. 564.

Tho' Gods ——
Shou'd dart united Vengeance on his Head,
And tempeſt Ocean from it's deepeſt Bed,
Still to eſcape he fear'd not ——

In order to deſtroy him, they were obliged to cruſh him by the fall of a Mountain, as they formerly did *Enceladus*. *Seneca*, in the Tragedy of *Agamemnon*, confirms this; read the firſt Scene of the third Act; you will there ſee a Deſcription of Reſiſtance and Fierceneſs carried to the higheſt Degree. The *Feſtin de Pierre* * is nothing to it. Poets would not be allowed at preſent to carry their Fictions ſo far on the Stage. Thus we have one *Latin*, and two *Greek* Poets, who aſcribe the Death of *Ajax* to *Neptune*; but *Virgil* and *Hyginus* (8) aſcribe the whole Honour of it to *Minerva*.

* *A Comedy of* Moliere's *from whence our* Shadwell *borrowed his* Don John.

(8) Hygin. cap. 116.

—— Pallaſne exurere claſſem
Agrivûm, atque ipſos potuit ſubmergere ponto,
Unius ob noxam & furias Ajacis Oïlei?
Ipſa, Jovis rapidum jaculata è nubibus ignem,
Disjecitque rates, evertitque æquora ventis.
Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammas
Turbine corripuit, ſcopuloque infixit acuto (9).

(9) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 1. ver. 39.

Could angry Pallas, *with revengful Spleen,*
The Grecian *Navy burn, and drown the Men?*
She, for the Fault of one offending Foe,
The Bolts of Jove *himſelf preſum'd to throw;*
With Whirlwinds, from beneath, ſhe toſs'd the Ship,
And bare expos'd the boſom of the Deep;
Then, as an Eagle gripes the trembling game,
The Wretch, yet hiſſing with her Father's Flame,
She ſtrongly ſeiz'd, and, with a burning Wound
Transfix'd and naked, on a Rock ſhe bound.

Dryden.

[*C*] *How* Minerva *reveng'd herſelf on him for this Injury.*] See the foregoing Remark. I ſhall only add here, that the Storm, ſhe rais'd, caſt a great many Ships away near the Rocks of *Caphareum*, in the Neighbourhood of the Iſland of *Euboea*, called at preſent *Negropont*. We cannot, without extream Imprudence, and without imputing to them a falſe Principle, condemn the *Greek* Poets for repreſenting a whole People as puniſh'd by that Goddeſs, for the Crime of a particular Perſon.

buried it [*D*]. Some Authors ſay, that he eſcaped from the Storm, and arrived ſafely at home [*E*]. The *Locrians* had a ſingular Veneration for his Memory (*b*). We ſhall relate, in the Article CASSANDRA, in what manner they were obliged to expiate his Crime. He tamed a Serpent fifteen Foot long, in ſuch a manner, that it followed him like a Dog, and eat at his Table (*i*).

(*b*) *See the Remark* [*D*] *of the Article ACHILLEA*, pag. 62.

(*i*) Philoſtr. in Heroic.

Unius ob noxam & furias peccantis Oïlei.

She, for the Fault of one offending Foe,
The Bolts of Jove *himſelf preſum'd to throw.*

Or, as another Poet ſays,

Quidquid Oïlides commiſerat, omnibus unus
Peccavit Danais, omnibus ira nocens (10).

(10) Sabinus in Epiſt. Ulyſſis.

What mighty Ills upon the Greeks *were brought,*
By raſh Oïlides' *bold and ſingle Fault?*
Mr SALISBURY.

The Objection would prove too much, and might be retorted againſt the Hiſtory of *David*. It is not only true in Prophane, but likewiſe in Sacred Writers, that

Quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi (11).

(11) Horat. Epiſt. 2. lib. 1. ver. 14.

The People ſuffer, when the Prince offends.
CREECH.

[*D*] *The Iſland* Delos, *where* Thetis *buried it.*] *Lycrophon* informs us of this Particular (12), ſince the Interpreters have found it out among his Enigmas. See what *Canterus* and *Meurſius* have ſaid upon it; but do not believe all they ſay; for they are miſtaken in relation to the Paſſage of *Pauſanias*, which they make uſe of to confirm their Conjectures. *Pauſanias* does not ſpeak of the Tomb of the Son of *Oïleus* (13), but of That of *Ajax*, the Son of *Telamon*. *Meurſius*'s Criticiſm on the *Greek* of *Pauſanias* is not right; inſtead of reading τὴν ἔσοδον πρὸς τὸ μνῆμα οὐ χαλεπὴν ποιῆσαι, he reads τὴν ἔσοδον πρὸς τὸ μνῆμα οἱ χαλεπὴν ποιῆσαι. According to this Correction, the *Myſian*, who ſpoke to *Pauſanias*, told him, That the Sea had render'd all Acceſs to That Tomb difficult to him; whereas, on the contrary, he related to *Pauſanias*, That the Sea, had been the occaſion of diſcovering the largeneſs of one of *Ajax*'s Bones. Wherefore the meaning of it is, That the Sea having waſh'd part of the Land away, had made the Place more acceſſible, leſs ſteep, *&c.*

(12) Lycophron, ver. 400.

(13) Pauſan. lib. 1. pag. 34.

[*E*] *Some Authors ſay, that he eſcap'd from the Storm, and arriv'd ſafely at home.*] Mr *Lloyd* has cited theſe Words of *Timæus Locrus*, Hiſt. lib. 2. Μετὰ τῆς Τροίας ἅλωσιν πολλοὶ τῶν Λοκρῶν περὶ τὰς Γηρέας ναυηγησάντων ἀνῃρέθησαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σὺν Αἴαντι μόλις ἐς Λοκρίδα διεσώθησαν. That is, *After the taking of* Troy, *many* Locrians *were ſhipwrack'd, and periſh'd near the* Gerean *Rocks* (14); *the reſt hardly eſcap'd, with* Ajax, *and return'd home to* Locris. There is ſome Probability, that, inſtead of *Timæus Locrus*, he ought to have cited *Timæus Tauromenita*.

(14) *Rocks of the* Ægean *Sea. See the Pictures of* Philoſtratus.

AJAX, the Son of *Telamon* (*a*), was, next to *Achilles*, the moſt valiant of the *Grecian* Captains [*A*] at the Siege of *Troy*; where he commanded the Troops of *Salamis* (*b*), and performed many Heroic Actions, which are deſcribed in the *Iliad*, in *Dictys Cretenſis*, in *Quintus Calaber*, and in the XIIIth Book of the *Metamorphoſes*, in the Speech, which he made upon the Diſpute concerning the Arms of *Achilles*. He loſt his Cauſe; for they were awarded to his Competitor *Ulyſſes*. He was ſo enraged at it, that he ran mad (*c*). He attacked the Cattle, and made a great Slaughter among them, fancying he was deſtroying his Rivals for the Arms of *Achilles*, or his Judges, who gave them to another: But, finding that he deſtroyed only Cattle, he became yet more furious, and killed himſelf. It is ſaid, That his Madneſs was of great Service to the Beſiegers [*B*]. According to ſome, he was condemned, not by

(*a*) *See, in the Remark* [*A*], *of the Article TELAMON, the Genealogy of* Ajax, *both on the Father's and the Mother's ſide.*

(*b*) *His Father reigned in that Iſland. He gave* Ajax *22 Ships.* Hom. Iliad. lib. 2.

(*c*) Sophocles in Ajace. Quintus Calaber, lib. 5.

[*A*] *Was, next to* Achilles, *the moſt valiant of the* Grecian *Captains.*] It is on the Authority of ſeveral Poets, that I make this Reſtriction:

Ἀνδρῶν δ' αὖ μέγ' ἄριστος ἔην Τελαμώνιος Αἴας,
Ὄφρ' Ἀχιλεὺς μήνιεν. [ὃ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατος ἦεν] (1).

(1) Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. ver. 275.

Ajax *in Arms the firſt Renown acquir'd,*
While ſtern Achilles *in his Wrath retir'd.*
POPE.

Pindar calls *Ajax* κράτιστον, Ἀχιλλέος ἄτερ, μάχᾳ (2); *ſtrenuiſſimum, excepto Achille, in pugna. Sophocles* ſays as much of him (3). And *Horace* no leſs,

(2) Pindar. Nem. 7.

(3) Sophoc. in Ajace.

- - - - Ajax, Heros ab Achille ſecundus (4).

(4) Horat. Sat. 3. lib. 2. ver. 193.

Plutarch reports, as a Tradition, which admits of no Difficulty, That *Ajax* was the Handſomeſt, the Greateſt, and the moſt Valiant of all the *Greeks*, next to *Achilles* (5). This is built on theſe Words of *Homer*:

(5) Plut. Sympoſiac. lib. 9. Quæſt. 5. pag. 740. *A.*

Αἴανθ', ὃς περὶ μὲν εἶδος περὶ δ' ἔργα τέτυκτο
Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα (6).

With Tow'ring Ajax, *an illuſtrious Shade:*
War was his Joy, and pleaſed with loud Alarms,
None but Pelides *brighter ſhon in Arms.*
POPE's Odyſſ.

(6) Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 11. v. 549. *See alſo* ver. 468.

Plutarch builds upon this the Objection, which he makes to *Plato*, who feigned, that the Soul of *Ajax* was but the twentieth, that was enrolled. Τί ἂν (εἶπεν) οὐ δευτεραῖα μὲν ὁ Αἴας κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους καὶ ἀνδρείας ἀεὶ φέρεται μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα? *What!* (ſays he) *was not* Ajax *always eſteemed ſecond to* Achilles *in Beauty, Stature, and Courage? Moreri* miſrepreſents this Paſſage entirely; his Words are; Plutarch *remarks, in his Table-Talk, the reaſon, why* Plato *gives but the twenty ſecond Place, after* Achilles, *to the Soul of* Ajax, *who was eſteemed the firſt in Beauty, Strength, and Courage; and he makes it appear, that That Philoſopher played upon the different Signification of Names.*

[*B*] *His Madneſs was of great Service to the Beſiegers.*] We muſt not, however, conclude from hence, that true Courage ſtands in need of ſuch Aſſiſtance. The Benefits, which ſometimes ariſe from Vice, do not hinder it from being in it's own Nature evil. I appeal to this fine Paſſage of *Cicero*: "Non deſiderat "fortitudo advocatam iracundiam; ſatis eſt inſtructa, "parata, amata per ſeſe. Nam iſto modo quidem "licet dicere utilem vinolentiam ad fortitudinem, "utilem etiam dementiam, quod & inſani & ebrii "multa faciunt ſæpe vehementius.

Semper Ajax fortis, fortiſſimus tamen in furore.
Nam facinus fecit maximum, quum, Danais inclinantibus,
Summam rem perfecit manu, prælium quum reſtituit inſaniens.
Dicamus igitur utilem inſaniam (7).

(7) Cicero, Tuſcul. lib. 4. cap. 22, &c.

" —— *True Bravery ſtands in no need of being aſ-* "*ſiſted by Rage and Fury; it is ſufficiently equipped,* "*prepared, and armed by itſelf. By the ſame Ar-* "*gument, otherwiſe, we might prove Drunkenneſs* "*and Madneſs to be uſeful to Bravery, becauſe Madmen* "*and Drunkards often perform great Feats.*

Ajax, *for Valour conſtantly renown'd,*
Was moſt an Hero, in his Madneſs found;
When he reſtor'd the Fight, the Grecians *giving Ground.*
Thus Madneſs has it's Uſe."

by the Votes of the *Grecian* Princes, but by the Deciſion of the *Trojans*, of whom it was demanded, which had done them moſt miſchief, *Ajax* or *Ulyſſes* (*d*). This Opinion is founded upon an expreſs Paſſage in the Eleventh Book of the *Odyſſey*. *Ajax* reſembled *Achilles* in many things; he was equally paſſionate and impatient (*e*); and every where invulnerable, excepting one part of his Body [*C*]. It would betray a very little acquaintance with Fabulous Hiſtory, ſhould we believe that there have not been various and even contradictory Accounts of the Cauſes and Circumſtances of his Death [*D*]. One part of *Ajax*'s Character was Impiety [*E*]; it conſiſted, not in believing, that the Gods were not endued with great Power, but in imagining, that there was no great Glory in conquering by their aſſiſtance, ſince the arranteſt Cowards might do ſo. He would only be indebted for Victory to his own Courage. It is feigned, that his Soul, having the Liberty of chuſing a Body (*f*) to return into the World with, preferred That of a Lion to That of a Man: ſuch was his Deteſtation of Mankind, when he remembered the Injuſtice, which was done him, in relation to the Arms of *Achilles*. We ſhall, in another place (*g*), take notice of his Poſterity, from whence proceeded the Family of *Miltiades*. The Poets have given *Ajax* the ſame Elogy, which the Holy Scriptures give King *Saul*, as to his Stature (*h*). He was the ſubject of ſeveral Dramatic Pieces, both in *Greek* and *Latin* (*i*). The famous Comedian *Æſop* refuſed to act them (*k*). The *Greeks* highly honoured this valiant Captain after his Death (*l*). They erected a ſtately Monument to him on the Promontory

(*d*) Euſtathius *and the Scholiaſt on* Odyſſ. lib. 11. Schol. Ariſtophan. in Equit.

(*e*) Plutarch. Sympoſiac. lib. 1. ſub fin. p. 629. *See alſo* Cicero de Officiis, lib. 1. cap. 31.

(*f*) Plato de Republ. lib. 10. pag. 765.

(*g*) *In the Article* TECMESSA.

(*h*) *See Remark* [*G*].

(*i*) Auguſtus *had began one of them. See* Suetonius, *in his Life*, c. 85.

(*k*) Cicero de Offic. lib. 1. cap. 31.

(*l*) *See Remark* [*E*]. Quintus Calaber, lib. 5. Dictys Cret. lib. 5.

[*C*] *Every where invulnerable, excepting one Part of his Body.*] The Origin of this particular Circumſtance is as follows. *Hercules*, ſeeing *Telamon* uneaſy, becauſe he had no Children, begged of *Jupiter* to give him a Son, who ſhould have a Skin as tough as that of the *Nemean* Lion, and be as courageous as the Lion itſelf (8). He ſaw an Eagle, after he had finiſhed his Petition, and, taking it for a good Omen, he promiſed *Telamon* ſuch a Son, as he had juſt been praying for, and ordered, that the Child ſhould be named *Ajax*, from the Eagle (9), which had given the Preſage. He returned to viſit *Telamon*, after the Birth of *Ajax*, and, cauſing the Child to be brought to him naked, he wrapped him in the Skin of his *Nemean* Lion, which rendered the whole Body of *Ajax* invulnerable, excepting that Part, which happened to be under the Hole in the Skin, at the Part where *Hercules* carried his Quiver (10). Authors are not agreed, which this Part was; ſome place it under the Arm-pit (11), others in the Neck (12), others in the Side (13), others in the Breaſt. *Tzetzes* upon *Lycophron* is of the laſt Opinion. Which ſeems likewiſe to be *Ovid*'s in the thirteenth Book of the *Metamorphoſes*, v. 391.

> Dixit, & in pectus, tum denique vulnera paſſum,
> Qua patuit, ferro letalem condidit enſem.
>
> *He ſaid, and, with ſo good a Will to die,*
> *Did to his Breaſt the fatal Point apply.*
> *It found his Heart, a way 'till then unknown,*
> *Where never weapon enter'd, but his own.*
>
> DRYDEN.

[*D*] *Various and even contradictory Accounts of the Cauſes and Circumſtances of his Death.*] For ſome Authors ſay, that he killed himſelf in the tranſport of Paſſion, which ſeized him, upon the loſs of *Achilles*'s Arms; others, that his Diſpute with *Ulyſſes* was not in relation to thoſe Arms, but to the *Palladium*, which was carried away from *Troy*, when the City was plundered. Theſe two Accounts are incompatible; for the Arms of *Achilles* were awarded to *Ulyſſes*, before the taking of *Troy*, and *Ajax*'s Madneſs immediately followed this Deciſion. However it be, *Dictys Cretenſis* relates, that *Ulyſſes* carried the *Palladium* againſt *Ajax*, by the Judgment of the Chiefs, and that *Ajax*, tranſported with Anger, threatened to kill thoſe, who had done him this Injuſtice; but that, the next Day, he was found dead in his Tent, transfixed with a Sword (14). *Ulyſſes*, being ſuſpected of the Murder, and perceiving the Murmurs of the Army, embarqued, and ſailed away, as faſt as he could. *Suidas* (15) and *Cedrenus* confeſs indeed, that *Ajax* and *Ulyſſes* diſputed the *Palladium*, but not that the Judges pronounced in favour of either of them. They ſay, that they ſeparated without coming to any Determination; and that *Ajax* was found dead the Night following. Some will have it, that his Combat with *Paris* was as fatal to himſelf as his Adverſary; that he received a Wound in it, of which he died (16), at the ſame time that he killed *Paris* (17). Others ſay, that the *Trojans*, being told by an Oracle, that Iron could not hurt his Body, and that, if they would kill him, they muſt overwhelm him with Dirt, actually put him to Death in that manner (18).

[*E*] *One part of* Ajax*'s Character was Impiety.*] When he went to the Army, his Father recommended to him to add always the Aſſiſtance of God to his own Courage. *Ajax* anſwered him, That Cowards are often Victorious, with ſuch Help; as for himſelf, he ſtood in no need of it; and that he was ſure to conquer without it.

> Τέκνον, δορὶ
> Βούλου κρατεῖν μὲν, σὺν θεῷ δ' ἀεὶ κρατεῖν.
> Ὁ δ' ὑψικόμπως κἀφρόνως ἠμείψατο,
> Πάτερ, Θεοῖς μὲν κἂν ὁ μηδὲν ὢν ὁμοῦ
> Κράτος κατακτήσαιτ'. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ δίχα
> Κείνων, πέποιθα τοῦτ' ἐπισπάσειν κλέος (19).
>
> Mi fili, inquit, virtute
> Velis vincere, ſed auxiliante Deo ſemper velis vincere.
> Ipſe vero ſuperbe ac ſtulte reſpondebat:
> Adjuvante Deo, inquit, etiam ignavi
> Vincere ſolent. Ego vero, vel abſque
> Auxilio divino, confido me iſtam attracturum eſſe gloriam.

There is a Paſſage of the like Import in the ſame Author.

> ----- Εἰ δε τις θεων
> Βλάπτοι, φυγοιγ' ἂν χῷ κακὸς τὸν κρείσσονα (20).
>
> *If* Jove *refuſe, from Heaven's ætherial Height,*
> *To aid the Warrior in the Day of Fight,*
> *In vain the Braveſt to the Battle go;*
> *Edgeleſs their Swords againſt the Daſtard Foe.*

Minerva offered one day to give him Advice; but he anſwered haughtily; *Trouble not yourſelf about my Poſt; I ſhall give a good Account of it; you may keep your good Offices for the other* Greeks (21). Another time, ſhe offered to drive *Ajax*'s Car in the Battle; but he would not ſuffer it (22): Nay he even effaced the Owl, which was painted on his Shield (23). He was afraid, no doubt, that this Picture ſhould be taken for an Act of Devotion to *Minerva*, and a diſtruſt of his own Strength. It would be unjuſt not to inform the Reader here, that *Homer* does not repreſent him quite ſo irreligious; for, if he does not himſelf pray to *Jupiter*, in preparing for his Combat with the valiant *Hector*, he deſires, at leaſt, that others ſhould ſupplicate That God; but *in ſecret*,

> *----- Leaſt the Foe ſhould hear,*
> *And deem their Prayers the mean Effect of Fear.*
>
> POPE.

(8) Pindar. Iſthm. Od. 6. *See alſo* Apollodorus lib. 3.

(9) *The* Greeks *call an Eagle* αἰετὸς.

(10) *See* Suidas in ἀσφαδάζω. *The Scholiaſt of* Sophocles in Ajacem. *That of* Homer in Il. l. 23. & Teztzes in Lycophr.

(11) Suidas in ἀσφαδάζω.

(12) Apud Tzetzen; item Scholiaſtes Homeri in Il. l. 23.

(13) Scholiaſt. Sophoc. in Ajacem.

(14) Dict. Cret. lib. 5.

(15) Suidas in voce Παλλάδιον.

(16) Dares Phrygius, *and the Scholiaſt of* Sophocles *on the Argument of* Ajax.

(17) Dares Phrygius.

(18) Apud Schol. Sophocl. ib.

(19) Sophoc. in Ajacem, pag. 80, 81.

(20) Ibid. pag. 51.

(21) Ibid. pag. 81.

(22) Scholiaſt. Sophoclis.

(23) Idem.

montory *Rhœteum* [*F*]. Some miraculous Adventures have been related concerning this Tomb [*G*]. The Miſtake, which *Ronſard* believed he had committed in relation to *Ajax* [*H*], was corrected in a new Edition.

Or rather *Aloud*; *for*, adds he, *I ſtand in Fear of no Man* (24);

From warlike Salamis *I drew my Birth,*
And, born to Combats, fear no Force on Earth.
Ibid.

(24) Hom. Iliad. lib. 7. ver. 194.

This is not ſufficient to ſet him up for a Model of Devotion, as is done in the Commentary on the Emblems of *Alciatus*. "Recte Ajax apud Homerum, "qui Deos invocat ſeſe ad arma componens; neque "enim putat ſibi felicius rei bene gerendæ auſpicium "capere poſſe, quam ab invocatione numinis (25). "—— Ajax, *in* Homer, *does right to invoke the* "*Gods, when he prepares himſelf for the Fight*; *for* "*he thought an Invocation of the Deity the happieſt* "*Prelude to Succeſs*." This is to miſrepreſent the Fact: the Paſſage of the ſeventeenth *Iliad*, v. 645. is of no uſe here. He would not have the *Trojans* know, that the *Greeks* prayed to Heaven for the Succeſs of his Arms; This may admit of two Explications: He feared, perhaps, that the *Trojans* would take this Invocation of the Deity for a Sign that he diſtruſted his own Courage; or elſe He feared, that the *Trojans*, apprized of the Vows, which the *Greeks* were offering up for him, would do the ſame, and even more fervently, for *Hector*. The firſt of theſe two Explications makes him guilty of a Vanity very injurious to God; the ſecond repreſents him fully perſuaded of the Divine Power. But what is this to the Purpoſe, ſince he conſents they ſhould pray aloud; I ſay, conſents to it, in confidence of his own Strength and Dexterity; in a word, for this Reaſon, becauſe he fears nothing, and is unconcerned, whether the *Trojans* offer up counter Prayers or not? Is this an Example of Piety, which the Commentator of *Alciatus* ought to have propoſed? A certain Perſon was ſaying the other Day, that the Catholic Princes were in the wrong to ſuffer the Pilgrimages of *Loretto*, the Offerings, the Vows, the Prayers of forty four Hours, which they appoint, in order to obtain a glorious Campaign, to be put in the *Gazettes*; for, as ſoon as their Enemies are informed of this, they practiſe the ſame thing, and make yet larger Vows to the Saints of both Sexes. It was replied, that this ſhewed the plain dealing of thoſe Princes: They will not ſurprize the Decrees of Heaven; they will not, like *Ajax*, hide the Knowledge of their Requeſts from their Enemies, and the means of providing againſt them. This would be to deſire that Judgment might be given, before both Parties were heard.

(25) Comm. in Emblem. 127. Alciati pag. 547.

[*F*] *They erected a ſtately Monument to him on the Promontory* Rhœteum.] It was one of thoſe, which *Alexander* deſired to ſee and honour (26). I have obſerved, in another Place (27), that *Pliny* is unjuſtly accuſed of being ignorant of the true Situation of this Sepulchre. But if it be true, that the *Greeks* erected this Monument, what does *Horace* mean by cenſuring *Agamemnon* for having left *Ajax* unburied?

(26) Diod. Sicul. l. 17.

(27) *In the Remark* [*K*] *of the Article* ACHILLES.

Cur Ajax, heros ab Achille ſecundus,
Putreſcit, toties ſervatis clarus Achivis.
Gaudeat ut Populus Priami, Priamuſque inhumato,
Per quem tot juvenes patrio caruere ſepulchro (28).

Say, why does Ajax, *born the* Greeks *to ſave,*
Rot on the Earth, unhonour'd with a Grave;
Whilſt Priam's *Sons with hoſtile Joy deride*
HIS *cold Remains, their Funeral Rites denied;*
Whoſe Hand had hurl'd to Pluto's *gloomy Reign*
So many Trojan *Chiefs, untimely ſlain;*
Whoſe Limbs, unburied on their native Shore,
Devouring Dogs, and hungry Vultures tore?

(28) Horat. Sat. 3. lib. 2. ver. 193.

I anſwer, that The Poet makes uſe only of one of the Incidents of the Tragedy of *Ajax*; it is That, wherein *Sophocles* feigns, that *Agamemnon* would not conſent, that *Ajax* ſhould be honoured with Funeral Rites. He yielded at laſt to the preſſing Inſtances of *Teucer*. Obſerve, that ſome Authors ſay, that the Body of *Ajax* was not burnt, and others that it was. *Dictys Cretenſis* and *Quintus Calaber* are of the latter Opinion; *Philoſtratus* of the former. He tells us, that *Calchas* declared it contrary to the Precepts of Religion to permit thoſe to be burnt, who had killed themſelevs (29). See in the ſame *Philoſtratus*, how the *Athenians* diſtinguiſhed themſelves in honouring this Hero. *Pauſanias* informs us, that one of the Tribes bore the Name of *Ajax* (30); and that the Honours they decreed to him and his Son *Euryſaces*, were yet ſubſiſting (31). Thoſe of *Salamis* had built a Temple to *Ajax* (32). The whole *Greek* Nation invoked him ſome time before the Battle of *Salamis* (33), and afterwards conſecrated to him one of the Ships, which they had taken from the *Perſians*, in that memorable Day, as being part of the firſt Fruits dedicated to the Gods (34).

(29) Philoſtr. in Heroic.

(30) Pauſan. lib. 1. pag. 5. *See* Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 1. Quæſt. 10. p. 628. Herodot. lib. 5. c. 66.

(31) Pauſan. ibid. pag. 33.

(32) Id. ib.

(33) Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 64.

(34) Id. ib. cap. 121.

[*G*] *Some miraculous Adventures —— relating to this Tomb.*] *Ulyſſes*, having ſuffered Shipwreck on the Coaſts of *Sicily*, loſt, among other things, the Armour of *Achilles*. The Shield was afterwards thrown a-ſhore by the Waves near the Sepulchre of *Ajax*, where it hung; but the next Day it was ſtruck with Thunder. This is what *Ptolemy* the Son of *Hephæſtion* reports (35). *Pauſanias* ſays, in general, that the Storm threw the Arms of *Achilles* on *Ajax*'s Tomb, after the Shipwreck of *Ulyſſes* (36). The Story was curious, and afforded too many moral Reflexions, to be omitted by the Poets. See in the *Anthologia* what the *Greeks* have ſung on that Subject (37). *Alciatus* borrowed one of his Emblems from thence (38). As for the Prodigies, or Miracles, for which *Ajax* was famed after his Death, ſee *Pauſanias*, at the thirty fourth Page of the firſt Book. Before I end this Remark, I ſhall add, that the Waves having half opened the Tomb of *Ajax*, People were curious to look into it, and obſerved that one of his Knee-Bones was as big as one of the *Diſcus*'s or Quoits, which were made uſe of in the Games (39). The Perſon, who related it to *Pauſanias*, would have him judge from thence of *Ajax*'s Stature (40). *Homer* ſays that he was remarkably tall.

(35) Apud Photium, pag. 484.

(36) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 34.

(37) Anthol. lib. 1. c. 22. initio.

(38) *It is the 28th.*

(39) Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

(40) *See ſome Miſtakes in relation to this Paſſage of* Pauſanias, *in Remark* [*D*] *of the foregoing Article.*

Ἀνὴρ ἠΰς τε μέγας τε,
Ἔξοχος Ἀργείων κεφαλὴν ἠδ' εὐρέας ὤμους (41).

- - - - - *With Giant Strength endu'd,*
Whoſe brawny Shoulders, and whoſe ſwelling Cheſt,
And lofty Stature, far exceed the reſt.
POPE.

(41) Hom. Iliad. 3. ver. 226.

[*H*] *The Miſtake, which* Ronſard *believed he had committed.*] He had ranked *Ajax* among the Heroes who took *Troy*; but he left him out in the ſecond Edition of his *Franciad*, having been told by *Florens Chriſtianus*, that *Ajax* killed himſelf before the taking of the Town (42). He was plainly ignorant, that, according to ſome Authors, this great Captain did not die, 'till after the ſacking of *Troy*; for, if he had known it, he would have told *Florens Chriſtianus*, that he was not ignorant of what *Homer*, *Sophocles*, *Ovid*, and others have related; but that he knew likewiſe the Opinion of others; and that he choſe rather to follow *Dictys Cretenſis*, than *Homer*; and thus he might have avoided the Acknowledgment of a Miſtake: A Confeſſion very ungrateful to a Poet, and even to other Authors.

(42) *See* Florens Chriſtianus's *Notes on the* Philoctetes *of* Sophocles.

AJAX, the Son of *Teucer*, cauſed a Temple to be built to *Jupiter* in *Olbus*, a City of *Cilicia*. The Prieſt of That Temple was Lord of the Country called *Tracheotis*. Several Tyrants endeavoured to invade this Country, and to ſupport themſelves in it, ſo that it became a true Theatre of Robberies. After theſe Tyrants were extirpated, it was called the Country of *Teucer*, and the Prieſthood. Theſe are the Names it had in *Strabo*'s time, who adds, that moſt of it's Pontiffs had born the Name of *Teucer*, or That of *Ajax*; and that *Aba*, the Daughter of *Zenophanes*, one of the Tyrants, being allied to that Family by Marriage, became Miſtreſs of the Country, after her Father had governed it in quality of her Guardian. She was confirmed in the Poſſeſſion of it by *Mark Antony* and *Cleopatra*, to whom ſhe had made her Court with great Addreſs. After her Death, the Country returned into the Power of the lawful Poſſeſſors (*a*). We may infer from hence, that the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary is very erroneous in this Article [*A*].

(*a*) *See* Strabo, lib. 14. pag 462.

[*A*] *The Supplement to* Moreri — *is very erroneous in this Article.*] After having thoroughly conſidered the Matter, I find the ſhorteſt way is to ſet down the whole Article of the Supplement: Here it is. Ajax, *the Son of* Teucer, *King of* Salamis, *in the Iſland of* Cyprus, *having ſucceeded his Father, conſecrated a Temple to* Jupiter, *in the City of* Olbus. *He maintained himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of this Kingdom, againſt ſeveral Princes, who endeavour'd to make themſelves Maſters of it, and left it to his Poſterity, who moſt of them bore the Name of* Ajax, *or of* Teucer. *Strabo, lib.* 14. I obſerve, in confutation of this Account, I. That it deceives the Reader, by inducing him to believe, in virtue of this Narrative, that the Town of *Olbus* was in the Iſland of *Cyprus*. II. That it is not true, that *Strabo* ſays, *Ajax* ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of *Salamis*. The indefatigable *Meurſius*, who took ſo much pains to diſcover the Names of all thoſe, who reign'd in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, did not meet with a ſingle *Ajax* (1). III. That it is not true, that ſeveral Princes endeavour'd to wreſt the Kingdom of *Salamis* from *Ajax*. Their Attempts were aim'd againſt *Tracheotis*, the Patrimony, or Demeſn of the Church of *Olbian Jupiter*, in *Cilicia*; and *Strabo* does not ſay, that they endeavour'd to diſpoſſeſs *Ajax* of it, nor that *Ajax* was in Poſſeſſion of it. A Man may build a Temple without being the Prieſt of it, and without poſſeſſing the Revenues, with which it is endow'd. IV. That, ſuppoſing *Ajax* had been both Prince and Prieſt of *Tracheotis*, it would be falſe, that he kept the Poſſeſſion of it, and that he left it to his Deſcendants; it is plain, from the Relation of *Strabo*, that the Series of lawful Succeſſors was ſometimes interrupted.

(1) *See his Treatiſe* de Cypro, lib. 2. cap. 7. & ſeq.

AJAX, an Eccleſiaſtic, famous for his Piety, and Exemplary Life, in the Reign of *Theodoſius*. He had a Brother, whoſe Name was *Zeno*, who was equally virtuous. They diſtinguiſhed themſelves for the practice of Virtue, at firſt, not in a Solitude, but in the City of *Gaza*; afterwards they addicted themſelves to a Monaſtic Life. They were often very ill treated, for courageouſly maintaining the Orthodox Faith againſt the *Pagans*. *Ajax* had married a very handſome Woman; but it is ſaid he knew her but Three times, from whence proceeded Three Sons; after which, he ſeparated himſelf from her, as to Conjugal Commerce, and wiſely governed the Church of *Botolium*. He brought up Two of his Sons to the Study of Divinity, and to Celibacy, and married the Third (*a*).

(*a*) Sozom. lib. 7. c. 28.

AIGUILLON, a ſmall Town of *Guienne*, on the Confluence of the Rivers *Lot* and *Garonne*, four Leagues below *Agen* [*A*], was erected into a Duchy, with the Dignity of Peerage annexed to it, in favour of the Duke of *Maienne*, in the Year 1599. The Letters Patents for it were confirmed in Parliament the Year following (*a*); but, the family of that Duke being extinct, the Erection of it was renewed in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII, in the Year 1638, by Letters-Patents, which were confirmed the ſame Year (*b*). Cardinal *Richelieu* cauſed this to be done, in Favour of his Niece, the Lady *de Combalet*, who was afterwards ſo well known by the Name of the DUCHESS OF AIGUILLON. We ſhall ſpeak of her in her proper place (*c*). She left this Dutchy by Will to her Niece *Mary Magdalen Tereſa de Vignerod*, Siſter to the Duke of *Richelieu* (*d*). Nothing is more remarkable in Hiſtory, than the Reſiſtance made by the Town of *Aiguillon* [*B*] in 1346, againſt the Duke of *Normandy*, who was afterwards King *John*. We are aſhamed to read the account of it at preſent; and our Military Men cannot ſufficiently expreſs their Wonder, that the Art of War was at that time ſo inconſiderable in reſpect to what it is now. If the Duke of *Normandy*, eldeſt Son to the King of *France*, had taken *Aiguillon* after fourteen Months Siege, he would have deſerved the greateſt Triumph; and yet, at preſent, ſuch a Town, as This was at that time, would hardly do honour to a Colonel,

(*a*) *The* 2d *of* March.

(*b*) *The* 19*th of* May.

(*c*) *In the Article* (VIGNEROD Mary de).

(*d*) *See the* State of France, Tom. 2. p. 88, 89. *Edit.* 1680.

[*A*] *Below* Agen.] If I had thought proper to obſerve, in the middle of what Towns *Aiguillon* is ſituated, I ſhould not have pitch'd upon *Agen* and *Nerac*, as Mr *Moreri* did; for theſe three Places form a Triangle; but I ſhould have choſen *Agen* and *Tonneins*, the one above, the other below *Aiguillon*, on the *Garonne*. This Fault is ſo much the more conſiderable, as there is no Reader but will conclude from it, that *Nerac* is ſituated on the ſame River.

[*B*] *Is more remarkable* —— *than the Reſiſtance made by the Town of* AIGUILLON.] *Papyrius Maſſon* ſays, that the Siege continued fourteen Months. "Acilionem (1) urbem irrita Joannis, poſtea Regis "Francorum, & tunc Ducis Normanniæ, quatuordecim menſium obſidione memorabilem (2). —— "*The City* Acilio (AIGUILLON) *famous for the* "*fourteen Months fruitleſs Seige of* John, *afterwards* "*King of* France, *and then Duke of* Normandy." The numerous Army of the Duke of *Normandy* is no leſs to be conſidered, than the length of the Siege. "This Duke came to *Toulouſe*, in the beginning of "*January*, with an hundred thouſand Men bearing "Arms. All this dreadful Multitude did nothing in "three Months, but take ſome paltry Towns in *Agenois*, and afterwards the City of *Angouleme*, from "whence they attack'd *Tonneins*, and then beſieg'd "*Aiguillon* —— very well ſtor'd, and fortify'd, for "thoſe times (3)." The manner of the Attack is a third remarkable Particular. "This whole Century (4) "has not produc'd a more memorable Siege, if we "conſider either the Attack or the Defence. It was "attack'd three times a Day for a whole Week to"gether; afterwards they plied it with Artillery and "Engines, both by Land and by Water." The following Citation takes in the two Paſſages of *Mezerai*. I fetch it from *Catel* (5). "*Froiſſard*, in the 121ſt Chap"ter of his firſt Volume, ſays, That when the Duke "of *Normandy* beſieg'd, with a hundred thouſand "*French*, the City of *Aiguillon*, in poſſeſſion of the "*Engliſh*, he ſent to *Toulouſe* for eight of the greateſt "Engines that were in that City, and when the In"habitants of *Aiguillon* were upon the point of being "attack'd, it was agreed by the *French* Lords, that "thoſe of *Toulouſe*, *Carcaſſonne* and *Beaucaire* ſhould "attack them from Morning 'till Noon, and thoſe of "*Rouergue*, *Cahors*, and *Agenois*, from Noon 'till "Night (6)." *Mezerai* makes the three Aſſaults in a Day continue but a Week, which does not anſwer the Expectation,

(1) Baudrand *calls it* Aguillionum.

(2) Papyr. Maſſon's *Deſcription of the Rivers of* Gaul.

(3) Mezerai, Abreg. Chron. ad ann. 1346. Tom. 3. pag. 24. Holl. Edit. 1673.

(4) *It was the* XIVth Century.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Catel's *Memoirs for the Hiſtory of* Languedoc, pag. 563.

Colonel, who ſhould take it at the firſt Onſet. The *Romans* made almoſt the ſame Reflexion, when they compared the firſt Conqueſts of their City [*C*] with the Victories they gained afterwards. *Mezerai* ſtrangely puzzles the Affair I am ſpeaking of (*e*). *Aiguillon* had not altogether the ſame Succeſs againſt the *Engliſh*, as againſt the Duke of *Normandy*; for, when they beſieged it in 1430, they did not take the Caſtle; they took only the Town, and plundered it (*f*).

Expectation he had raiſed in his Readers; for what is a Week in fourteen Months? The Idea he gives us of the Attack is certainly too narrow and confin'd. Beſides, he is guilty of a Chronological Error. According to his Account, the Duke of *Normandy* came to *Toulouſe* in the Month of *January*, 1346, and ſpent three Months in taking ſome paltry Towns; afterwards he took *Angouleme*, and then return'd towards the *Garonne*, took *Tonneins*, beſieg'd *Aiguillon*, and rais'd the Seige of it by reaſon of the Battle of *Creci*. This Battle was fought on the 26th of *Auguſt*, 1346. According to this Narrative of *Mezerai*, it is not only impoſſible, that the Siege of *Aiguillon* ſhould have laſted fourteen Months, but even, conſidering the Cuſtom of thoſe times, that the Siege ſhould have been very long: And it is to ſpeak improperly, to ſay, that the Duke of *Normandy puſh'd it vigorouſly* (7). We muſt place the Arrival of this Prince at *Toulouſe* in the Year 1345.

[C] *When they compar'd the firſt Conqueſts of their City.*] See *Florus* and his exclamatory Style. “ Sora “ (quis credat?) & Algidum terrori fuerant: Satricum “ atque Corniculum provinciæ. De Verulis & Bovillis pudet, ſed triumphavimus. Tibur, nunc ſub- “ urbanum, & æſtivæ Præneſte deliciæ, nuncupatis “ in Capitolio votis, petebantur. Idem tunc Fæſulæ, “ quod Carræ nuper; idem nemus Aricinum, quod “ Hercynius ſaltus: Fregellæ, quod Geſoriacum: Ti- “ beris, quod Euphrates. Coriolus quoque (prò pu- “ dor!) victus adeò gloriæ fuit, ut captum oppidum “ Caius Marcius Coriolanus, quaſi Numantiam aut “ Africam, nomen induerit (8).—— *Even* Sora *(who* “ *would think it?) and* Algidum *ſtruck Terror:* “ Satricum *and* Corniculum *were Provinces.* Verulæ “ *and* Bovillæ, *(though now we are aſham'd of it)* “ *were matter of Triumph. We made ſolemn Vows in* “ *the Capitol for the Conqueſt of* Tibur, *now* Rome's “ *Suburbs, and* Præneſte'*s Summer Pleaſures.* “ Fæſulæ *was, then, what* Carræ *was lately; the* “ Aricinian *Grove, what the* Hyrcinian *Wood*; Fre- “ gellæ, *what* Geſoriacum; Tiber, *what* Euphrates. “ *The Victory gain'd over* Coriolus *(I am aſhamed to* “ *ſay it) was thought ſo glorious, that* Caius Marcius “ Coriolanus *aſſum'd the Captive City's Name, as it* “ *had been another* Numantia, *or* Africa.” But what ſhame ſoever it was to the *French*, not to be able to take *Aiguillon*, with ſo many Men, commanded by their King's eldeſt Son, it was a great Honour to the *Engliſh*, that they defended the Poſt ſo long.

AILLI (*a*) (Peter *de*) Biſhop of *Cambray* (*b*) and Cardinal, was born at *Compiegne* in *Picardy* [*A*], in the Year 1350. His Family was very obſcure; ſome ſay He was (*c*) Under-Porter of the College of *Navarre*; but they are miſtaken. He was not entered in That College till about the Year 1372. He was admitted a Penſioner there, among the Students in Divinity. He was at that time Sollicitor for the *French* Nation in the Univerſity of *Paris*, and capable of ſetting up for a good Author, as he made it appear by his *Treatiſes of Logic* [*B*] according to the Hypotheſes of the *Nominals*, and his *Treatiſes concerning the Nature of the Soul, and that of Meteors.* He ſhewed ſuch great Penetration and Elegance in his Works, that he laid thereby the Foundation of That high Reputation, to which he raiſed himſelf. He had as good Succeſs in his Explication of *Peter Lombard*, in the Year 1375. This happy Application to Scholaſtic Learning did not hinder him from being a good Preacher. He took his Doctor's Degree in 1380, and had a Canonſhip given him at *Noion*. He was recalled to *Paris* Four Years after, to exerciſe the Office of *Great Maſter of the College of Navarre*. He had a great Number of Scholars there, and among others *John Gerſon*, and *Nicolas de Clemangis*. He pleaded with ſo much Force in 1387, before the Pope (*d*), againſt a *Jacobin* (*e*) who had appealed from the Judgment, which the Faculty of Divinity of *Paris* had pronounced againſt him, that he obtained a Confirmation of the Sentence. He wrote likewiſe a Treatiſe againſt the ſame *Jacobin*. This gained him ſo great a Reputation, that, in 1389, he was made Confeſſor and Almoner

[*A*] *Born at* Compiegne *in* Picardy.] This appears by the public Regiſters of the Church of *Cambray* (1); ſo that we may place in the Liſt of *Thevet*'s Untruths what he ſays concerning *Peter d'Ailli*'s native Country. “ He was born, *ſays he* (2), in a very obſcure “ Village of *Germany*, called *Ailly*, from which, to “ hide the meanneſs of his Extraction, he took his “ Name. He was ſo poor, that he was obliged to “ ſerve as Under-porter to the College of *Navarre*, “ to ſupport himſelf in his Application to the Study “ of Literature.” *Volaterran* had already publiſh'd, “ that *Peter d'Ailli* was a *German* (3).

[*B*] *By his Treatiſes of Logic.*] He underſtood it perfectly, and was indebted to it for that Strength and Skill, wherewith he ſupported his own Opinions, and overthrew thoſe of others. The famous *Weſſelus* of *Groningen* ſpeaks of him in this manner. “ Quis “ unquam ad illum apicem Theologiæ, quo Petrus “ de Alliaco conſcendit, abſque definitionibus, divi- “ ſionibus, argumentationibus, inſtantiis logicalibus “ perveniret? In diſputationibus dico, ubi diſcuſſione “ diſerta opus eſt. Quomodo Petrus Joannem de “ Monteſono in Rota de errore quatuordecim illarum “ concluſionum concuſſiſſet, niſi diſtinctione multi- “ plici, aut elenchi ignorantia antecedente vel conſe- “ quente deluſum docuiſſet? Opus igitur Theologicis “ Logicam inferre. *Et* GERSON *iſte* quo tandem “ tantus ipſe Theologus, niſi per accuratiſſimam il- “ lam ſuam Magiſtri Petri Logicam, evaſit (4)?—— “ *Who can ever arrive at thoſe Heights of Divinity,* “ *to which* Peter d'Ailli *attain'd, without Definitions,* “ *Diviſions, Syllogiſms, and Logical Inſtances? I* “ *mean, in Controverſies, which require a rational* “ *Diſquiſition. How could he have convinc'd* John “ de Monteſon *of Error in his fourteen Concluſions,* “ *before the Pope, had he not ſhew'd in what manner* “ *he was led into them, either by heaping Diſtinction* “ *upon Diſtinction, or by an Ignorance of the Argu-* “ *ment in the Antecedent, or Conſequent? Divinity* “ *therefore ſtands in need of Logical Concluſions. And* “ *how could* the famous GERSON *ever have been* “ *the great Divine he was, without this accurate Lo-* “ *gic of* Peter d'Ailli?” We muſt remark, that Mr *de Launoi* is of Opinion, the Words *Rota de errore*, &c. in the foregoing Paſſage, were the Title of a Book written by *Peter d'Ailli*; but I chuſe to underſtand by *Rota*, the Place, where the Pope heard the Diſputants. Without doubt Logic contributed much to the following Elogy of *Peter d'Ailli*: “ Aquila Franciæ, atque aberrantium à veritate malleus “ indefeſſus (5). —— *The Eagle of* France, *and the* “ *indefatigable Combatant of Heretics.*”

[C] *Almoner*

(*e*) *See Remark* [*B*].

(*f*) Darnalt's Antiquities of Agen, pag. 100.

(7) Mezerai. ibid.

(8) Florus, cap. 11. lib. 1.

(*a*) *In Latin* Petrus de Alliaco, *or* ab Alliaco, *or* ab Alyaco, *or* Alliacenſis, *or* Alliacus, *or* Ailliacus, &c.

(*b*) Thevet, & Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 548. & de Scient. Mathem. p. 182, 228, *make him Archbiſhop of that City.*

(*c*) *See Remark* [*A*].

(*d*) *It was the Antipope* Clem. VII. *who reſided at* Avignon.

(*e*) *He was an* Arragonois, *and his Name was* John de Monteſon; *who denied the immaculate Conception of the Virgin.*

(1) Apud Launoium Hiſt. Coll. Navari, pag. 137.

(2) Thevet's *Illuſtrious Men*, Tom. 7. pag. 86. 12mo.

(3) *See* Geſner, Bibl. fol. 543. verſo.

(4) Weſſelus *of the Authority of the Pope*, c. 9. apud Launoium. Hiſt. Navar. pag. 469.

(5) Launoi, ubi ſupra, pag. 134, 476.

Almoner to *Charles* VI [*C*], and Chancellor of the Univerſity. Five Years after, the firſt Dignity of the Holy Chapel of *Paris* was conferred upon him; to wit that of Treaſurer. So many different Employments did not hinder him from applying himſelf earneſtly to find out the moſt effectual means of putting a ſtop to the Schiſm, which divided the Church of *Rome*. He went from the King to the Anti-Pope *Benedict* XIII. in 1394, and gave ſuch an advantageous Character of him at his return, that it was reſolved, in the King's Council, to acknowledge him for lawful Pope. He obtained the Biſhoprick of *Puy* in *Vellai* (*f*), at the end of the Year 1395, and That of *Cambray*, in the beginning of the Year following. He was much eſteemed by *Boniface* IX. and he made uſe of his intereſt with him in procuring a Doctor of Divinity to be eſtabliſhed in all the Epiſcopal Churches of the Kingdom. He preached at *Genoa*, in the Year 1405, on the Myſtery of the Trinity, before *Benedict* XIII. and perſuaded That Pope to enjoin all the Churches to celebrate the Feaſt of the Trinity. He was admired for his Learning and Prudence in the Council of *Piſa*, in the Year 1409. He maintained, in all the Aſſemblies of *Paris*, which debated concerning a Remedy for the Schiſm, that the only way to put a ſtop to it was to call a General Council. Two Years after, he was promoted to the Purple (*g*). He went into *Germany*, in the Year 1414, in Quality of the Pope's Legate. He preſided at the third Seſſion of the Council of *Conſtance*; he compoſed Three Pieces during the ſitting of the Council: One, *De emendanda Eccleſia*; another, *De duodecim honoribus beati Joſephi*; another, *De modo & forma eligendi Papæ*: And no Perſon had a greater ſhare, than He, in the Affairs of That memorable Aſſembly, which laſted Three Years. He died in the Year 1425 [*D*], and was buried in his Cathedral of *Cambray*. He was a great Benefactor to the College of *Navarre* [*E*], and left great Sums, by his Will, for Services to be performed in ſeveral Churches for the Repoſe of his Soul (*h*). Mr *de Launoi*, who ſupplied me with this Account, does not forget to look upon *Peter d'Ailli*'s Doctrine concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Power, as a Blemiſh in a beautiful Body. He imputes it to the Misfortunes of the Times (*i*); but I wonder he forgot another Blemiſh of This Doctor, I mean his Fondneſs for Judicial Aſtrology [*F*]. Laſtly; our

(*f*) *According to* Moreri, *it was the Biſhoprick of* Belei; *but he is miſtaken.*

(*g*) Moreri *ſays it was at* Piſa; *but he is miſtaken.*

(*h*) *Taken out of the* Latin *Hiſtory of the College of* Navarre, *by Mr* de Launoi, pag. 467, &c.

(*i*) Dictata hujuſmodi danda injuriæ temporis ſunt, nævus in candidiſſimo pectore. *Launoi. ibid. pag.* 480.

[*C*] *Almoner to* Charles VI.] See *du Peyrat*, pag. 345, of the Antiquities of the King's Chapel. He obſerves there, that "*Peter d'Ailli* never had the "Quality of great Almoner of *France*, nor of the "King's great Almoner: They were Titles unknown "at that Time, and did not come in Faſhion, 'till "the Reign of *Charles* VIII. and of *Francis* I. whatever the Author of the *Gallia Chriſtiana* * may ſay, "in which the Continuator of the Annals of *Baronius* is likewiſe miſtaken."

[*D*] *He died in the Year* 1425.] It is ſtrange, that a Perſon of this Rank and Diſtinction ſhould die, without our knowing certainly where, or in what Year. Some ſay that he died in *Germany*, in the Year 1416. Others, that he died at *Avignon*, on the 8th of *Auguſt*, 1425, when he was the Pope's Legate in *France* (6). Others allow, that he died at *Avignon*, but place his Death in the Year 1426 (7). Mr *de Launoi* is contented with placing it in the Year 1425, in the 479th Page of his Book; but he had ſaid, (Page 129) that *Peter d'Ailli* died, when he was Legate of the Holy See in *Germany*, in the Year 1423 (8). "Anno poſtquam vaſtatum eſt à "Burgundionibus quinto. —— *Five Years after it* "*was laid waſte by the* Burgundians." Now, in the 126th Page of the ſame Work, he has placed this Ravage in the Year 1418. The Regiſter of the Church of *Cambray* ſays, that he died on the 9th of *October*, 1425, being Legate of the Holy See in the Lower *Germany*, and that, on the 9th of *July* following, his Body was carried to *Cambray*, where it was buried behind the great Altar. The difference of 1416, and 1426, proceeds from an Error of the Preſs; the Figure 1 being, by miſtake, plac'd inſtead of the Figure 2, occaſion'd two different Opinions.

[*E*]. *He was a great Benefactor to the College of* Navarre.] He was called it's ſecond Founder (9). He built the Houſe of the Divines, but not the Library. *Spondanus*, who affirms it, is miſtaken; it was the Work of *Charles* VIII. "Spondanus in annalibus "Eccleſiaſticis prodidit ab eo extructam eſſe bibliothecam. Sed aberrat; id eſt opus Caroli octavi Regis, cujus & nomen μονόγραμμον in Bibliotheca "vitro centies depingitur, & ſtatua in occidentali turbinati parietis cono erecta conſpicitur (10)." It is true, indeed, *Peter d'Ailli* would have part of his Benefactions to the College laid out in purchaſing Books; and that he often preſented them with Books (11). I cannot tell, whether he gave them his own Library, as *Aubert Miræus* aſſures us he did: "Alliacus, *ſays he* (12), anno 1425, Avenione moriens, bibliothecam ſuam legavit Navarræo Pariſiis Collegio, quam ibi magna cum voluptate aliquando vidimus. —— D' Ailli, *dying at* Avignon "*in the Year* 1425, *left his Library to the College* "*of* Navarre *at* Paris, *which I have formerly ſeen* "*there with great Pleaſure.*" I don't find, that Mr *Launoi* ſays ſo; his Silence alone is ſufficient to refute this *Flemiſh* Writer.

[*F*] *His fondneſs for Judicial Aſtrology* (13).] *Bellarmin* has not overlooked this Blemiſh: "Unum "eſt, *ſays he* (14), in quo reprehenditur hic auctor, "quod videlicet ſenſiſſe videatur Chriſti nativitatem "prænoſci potuiſſe ex genethliacis obſervationibus, "atque ad hoc adduxerit apparitionem ſtellæ, quæ "apparuit Magis. —— *There is one thing, for which* "*This Author deſerves Cenſure; I mean, his Opinion,* "*that the Nativity of Chriſt might have been calculated Aſtrologically, and his appealing, in proof* "*of this, to the Phænomenon of the Star, which appeared to the Wiſe Men.*" Others obſerve, that *Peter d'Ailli* maintained, in his Book *de Concordia Hiſtoriæ & Aſtrologiæ Divinatricis*, that *Noah*'s Flood, the Birth of *JESUS CHRIST*, and ſuch other Miracles, and all the Prodigies, might have been foretold by Aſtrology (15); and that he *referred the Origins, Revolutions, and Deſtructions of Commonwealths, and Religions, to the Conjuctions of the Higher Planets* (16). *Bodin* adds, *That* Johannes Picus, *Prince of* Mirandola, *takes the Hypotheſes of* Peter d' Arliac (17) *for certain, without enquiring any farther after the Truth; though, out of thirty ſix great Conjunctions, which That Cardinal obſerved, from* 115 *Years after the Creation of the World, 'till the Year of our Lord* 1385, *not ſix of them proved true* (18). [*De Alliaco* is the vulgar *Latin* Name of *Peter d' Ailli* (*Alliacus*): from whence *Bodin* formed his *Arliac*, by changing the firſt of the two *ll* into an *r*, as in *Varlet*, *Merlin*, *Merluſine*, from *Vallet*, *Mellin*, *Melluſine*. REM. CRIT.] This Paſſage of *Bodin* was thus drawn up in the *Latin* Edition, *Mirum mihi viſum eſt quamobrem J. Picus Mirandulæ princeps illius hominis errores ſane pudendos in cœleſtium orbium doctrina pro certis & compertis demonſtrationibus habuerit; cum enim poſt orbem conditum anno centeſimo decimo quinto uſque ad annum Chriſti* 1385, *triginta ſex Jovis & Saturni concurſus tradiderit, vix tamen ullus eo quo docuit loco ac tempore deſcribitur.* The ſame *Bodin* attacks the very Foundation of theſe Hypotheſes: "Cardinal *d' Arliac*, *ſays he* "(19), begins with the great Conjunctions at the "Time of the Creation of the World, ſuppoſing, "according

* Claudii Gallia Chriſtiana, fol. 68.

(6) *See Father* L'Abbé, de Scriptor. Eccleſ. Tom. 2. pag. 179.

(7) Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 548. Bellarmin. de Script. Eccleſ. *mentions the ſame Year, but without taking notice of any City.*

(8) *See* Launoi's Hiſt. Navar. pag. 137.

(9) Ibid. p. 134, 475.

(10) Id. ib. pag. 475.

(11) Ibid. p. 114, 135.

(12) Miræus, in Auctario de Script. Eccleſ. c. 454. pag. 265.

(13) *See the end of the Remark* [*K*].

(14) Bellarmin. de Script. Eccleſ. p. 384. *He refers us to* Sixtus Sienenſis, Bibl. Sancta, Annot. 15, & 81. & lib. 6. Annot. 10.

(15) Voſſius de Scientiis Mathem. pag. 215.

(16) Bodin. de Repub. lib. 4. pag. 448. *of the firſt Edition.*

(17) *So he calls him.*

(18) Bodin, ubi ſupra.

(19) Id. ib. pag. 549.

our *Peter d'Ailli*, who ſubmitted Scepters and Crowns to the Eccleſiaſtical Power; who endeavoured to multiply Feſtivals; who founded ſuch a great number of Maſſes for the Repoſe of his Soul; and who condemned *John Hus* to Death [*G*]; appears nevertheleſs in the *Catalogue of the Witneſſes of the Truth* [*H*], as a Forerunner of *Luther* and of *Calvin*. The *Carteſians* likewiſe rank him in the Number of their Forerunners, in

“ according to his Account, that there are 7158 Years, following the Error of *Alphonſus*, which was rejected by all the *Hebrews*, and at preſent with common Conſent by all Churches. —— And therefore it is an intolerable Error to ſuppoſe the great Conjunction of the three higher Planets to have fallen out in the Year of the Creation 320, and to lay it down, that there are at preſent 7118 Years elapſed, which is carrying it up to twelve hundred Years before the Creation of the World.” This manner of oppoſing *Peter d'Ailli* cannot be deciſive at preſent, when we conſider, that ſeveral learned Men prefer the Calculation of the *Greek* Bible, concerning the Duration of the World, before the Calculation of the *Hebrew* Text. *Voſſius* had more reaſon to inſult him, on the riſe of the *Arian* Hereſy, than on the Duration of the World. Theſe are *Voſſius*'s Words; and we find by them, that our Aſtrologer placed the beginning of That Hereſy ſeven hundred Years after *JESUS CHRIST*, which betrays a very groſs Ignorance. “ Valde etiam futile eſt fundamentum quod arti iſti ponit. Ait ab initio mundi uſque ad diluvium fluxiſſe annos 2042. à diluvio ad natalem Chriſti 3102. His ita conſtitutis, totus eſt in eo ut oſtendat, quandocunque mirandum aliquid contigit in terris, etiam illuſtrem aliquam ſtellarum conjunctionem apparuiſſe in cœlis. Atqui falſiſſimum eſt quod ſibi ſumit de anno vel diluvii vel natalis Domini: Nec levis eſt error, ſed ſpiſſiſſimus; in priori quidem numero, annorum pene ſexcentorum, in altero autem, paulo pauciorum. Quid mirum? omnino Cameracenſis fuit Chronologiæ imperitiſſimus, ut vel arguit quod Arrianam Hæreſim cœpiſſe dicat anno Chriſti ſeptingenteſimo, quam veriſimilius tum pene extinctam dixiſſet. Ortam vero conſtat fere initio ſeculi quarti. —— *The Foundation, which he lays of This Science, is very weak. He tells us, that from the Creation to the Deluge were* 2042 *Years* (20); *from the Deluge to the Birth of Chriſt* 3102. *If this were admitted, it would yet reſt upon him to ſhew, that, upon every wonderful Event, there appeared in the Heavens ſome remarkable Conjunction of the Stars. But his Hypotheſis concerning the Year of the Deluge, and the Birth of Chriſt, is moſt falſe. Nor is it a trivial Error, but a very conſiderable one; being no leſs, than a Miſtake of near ſix hundred Years in the former, and ſomething leſs in the latter* (21). *Nor are we to wonder at it; ſince the Biſhop of* Cambray*'s utter Ignorance of Chronology appears in his placing the Riſe of the* Arrian *Hereſy in the* 700*th Year of Chriſt, which he might, with more appearance of Truth, have ſaid was extinct at that Time. For it is certain it commenced at the beginning of the fourth Century* (22).” If *Thevet* had wrote with Judgment, would he have ſpoke of *Peter d'Ailli* in the following Terms? “ I could wiſh that all, who ſet up for Aſtrologers, would carefully peruſe his Books; it would not be Labour loſt: For beſides the extraordinary Obſervations I have related (23), they would find there a Sentence drawn up againſt thoſe, who, under the Name of true Aſtrology, take a Pleaſure in being impoſed upon by the falſe Maſk of Aſtrology, introducing an *Aſtral Idolatry*, altogether abominable (24).” This pretended Idolatry was no more to be feared in *Thevet*'s Time, than the religious Worſhip of the Earth: So that if *Peter d'Ailli*'s Books were only fit to convert this kind of Idolaters, they were almoſt uſeleſs. But, as, on the other ſide, they were calculated to keep up the Credit of Aſtrology, by reaſon of the Influences, which the Author attributes to the Conjunctions of the Planets, things of which *Thevet* ſays never a Word, the reading of them was much more prejudicial, than uſeful.

[*G*] *Who condemned* John Hus *to Death.*] It was not without exhorting him to ſubmit, and aſſuring him it was the beſt way he could take. “ Examinatis dictis teſtium, & recitatis articulis erroneis, in Patrum conſeſſu, Cardinalis Cameracenſis, judex cauſæ deputatus à Concilio, dixit ad Joannem Huſſ. En viæ duæ propoſitæ ſunt tibi, ut ex his eligas unam; aut te offeras omnino totum in poteſtatem & gratiam Concilii, ejuſque decretis ſuper hac re acquieſcas; ita namque fiet ut Concilium ob honorem domini noſtri Regis Romanorum nunc præſentis, ac fratris ejus Bohemiæ Regis, clementer acturum ſit tecum; aut ſi ex dictis articulis quoſdam tenere ac defendere intendas, & deſideres aliam audientiam, concedetur tibi quidem; ſed tunc ſcias hic eſſe magnos & illuminatos viros, qui fortiſſima habent adverſus articulos tuos fundamenta, & verendum eſt ne inde gravioribus involvaris erroribus. Id conſulendo dixerim tibi, non ut judex (25). —— *The Witneſſes having been examined, and the erroneous Articles recited, in the Aſſembly of the Fathers, the Cardinal Biſhop of* Cambray, *having been deputed Judge of the Cauſe by the Council, addreſſed himſelf to* John Hus, *in the following Manner. You have your Choice of two Ways; either to throw yourſelf wholly upon the Power and Favour of the Council, and acquieſce in their Sentence; which will induce the Council, in reſpect to our Lord the King of the* Romans *now preſent, and his Brother the King of* Bohemia, *to deal mildly with you; or, if you have thoughts of maintaining and defending any of the aforeſaid Articles, and deſire another hearing, it ſhall be granted you; but be aſſured, here are great and enlightened Men, who can produce ſtrong and fundamental Arguments againſt your Articles; and you muſt take care you do not involve yourſelf in ſtill greater Errors. I give you this Advice, as your Friend, not as your Judge.*” Mr *de Launoi*, having related this, adds, that This Heretic choſe rather to maintain his Opinions obſtinately, and to be burnt, than to follow the wholſome Advice of Cardinal *d'Ailli*. *Verum litigioſus homo dogmata ſua nimis pertinaciter propugnare maluit & comburi, quam uſque adeo ſalubre Cardinalis Alliaci conſilium ſequi.*

[*H*] *Appeared nevertheleſs in the* Catalogue of the Witneſſes of the Truth.] “ He was delegated, by the Determination of the Council of the *French* Church, to require the two Popes, who conteſted the Papacy, to reſign the Papal See. He was anſwered, that the Popes of *Rome* are never guilty of Schiſm; but that the *French* Prelates were purpoſely Schiſmatics. He was afterwards ſent back again, according to the Advice of the Council, held at *Paris*, with the Sieur *John Mangre*, Marſhal *de Baucicaud*, who afterwards ſpoke his Mind very freely to the Anti-Pope at *Avignon*; nor was Cardinal *d'Ailli* behind hand in ſeverely reproving him (26). And this ſeems to be the Reaſon, why *Henry Pantaleon* ranked him among thoſe, who, at that time, exclaimed, and wrote againſt the Ambition of the Popes, the Corruption of the Church, and the Schiſms and Diviſions, which ſprang up daily; telling us, That he wrote a Book, entituled, *Of the Reformation of the Church*; which however is not to be met with in the Catalogue of his Books, which is very large, both in Divinity and in Mathematics (27).” Nothing is more true, than what *Pantaleon* affirms concerning this Book of *Peter d'Ailli*. As to the Catalogue of *the Witneſſes of the Truth*, collected by *Francis Illyricus*, we find *Peter d'Ailli* in it condemning the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, and laying before the Council of *Conſtance* a Project of Reformation; according to which, the Court of *Rome* was to be deprived of the numberleſs ways and means of heaping up Money; the Prelates were to be compelled to live an exemplary Life, and to diſcharge their Duties; the Pomp of Ceremonies, the unneceſſary Holidays, the Abuſe of Faſts, and the Canonization of Saints, were to be aboliſhed; and the Number of Monks, Images, and Churches to be diminiſhed (29). We may be ſure that all the Writings of *Peter d'Ailli* are not calculated to pleaſe the Court of *Rome*, ſince three or four of them have been inſerted in the Appendix of the *Faſciculus rerum expetendarum & fugiendarum* (30). *Orthuinus* in the Queſtion relating to Accidents [*I*]. He had been turned out of his Epiſcopal Church, if we may believe *Eraſmus*; who adds, That his Exile procured him a Cardinal's Hat *(k)*. He wrote many Books [*K*], ſome of which were never printed [*L*]. He compoſed likewiſe Verſes, ſuch as they were, in the Vulgar Language [*M*]. Conſult the Authors cited by *Moreri*, and, inſtead of *Friſſart*, to whom he refers us; read *Froiſſard*.

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(20) Voſſius *means* 2242.

(21) Voſſius, *according to his Hypotheſis, ought to have found here an Error of above* 600 *Years.*

(22) Voſſius, de Scientiis Mathem. pag. 215.

(23) *He had only mention'd the Reduction of all* Ptolemy's *Parallels to twelve.*

(24) Thevet's Homm. Illuſtr. Tom. 7. pag. 89.

(25) Launoi, Hiſt. Gymnaſii Navarræ, p. 474. ex Huſſitæ cujuſdam relatione apud Bzovium ad ann. 1415. n. 47.

(26) *See what* du Pleſſis Mornai *cites out of* Froiſſard *upon this occaſion, in his Myſtery of Iniquity*, p. 48[illegible], &c. *Edit. in Folio* 1611.

(27) Thevet Hommes Illuſtr. pag. 88.

(28) *See the Diſſertation of Mr* Allix, *at the beginning of the* Determinatio Fr. Joannis Pariſienſ. *Printed at* Lond. 1686. pag. 71, 72.

(29) *See* du Pleſſis, *Myſtery of Iniquity*, p. 523.

(30) *Printed at* London, 1690.

Gratius had already inſerted in That *Faſciculus* this Cardinal's Treatiſe *de Emendatione Eccleſiæ*. What I have ſaid concerning the Diminution of the Number of Monks, does not agree with what *Thevet* had been informed of; to wit, That *Peter d'Ailli* had compoſed a Book entituled, *The Buckler of Poverty*, wherein he apologized for the Mendicant Fryars (31).

[*I*] *The* Carteſians *likewiſe ranked him in the Number of their Forerunners, in the Queſtion relating to Accidents.*] A Profeſſor of *Louvain*, one of the moſt ſtrenuous Oppoſers of Mr *Deſcartes*, became "one "of his moſt zealous Followers, after he had found "in ſome Authors, very much approved of by the "Church, his Opinion concerning Tranſubſtantiation, which was almoſt the only Point, which "ſtuck with him. Some time after, he inſerted, "in his Theological Theſes, an Abſtract of a Book, "which Cardinal *d'Ailli*, Biſhop of *Cambray* com"poſed on the Maſter of the Sentences, to ſhew, "that the Cardinal propoſes Mr *Deſcartes*'s Opinions, "*concerning the Accidents of the Euchariſt*, and re"conciles it with the Definition of the Oecumeni"cal Council of *Conſtance* (32).

[*K*] *He wrote many Books.*] His *Commentaries on the Maſter of the Sentences*, and the *four Treatiſes* inſerted in the Appendix to the *Faſciculus rerum expetendarum*, were printed at *Strasburg* in 1490. A Volume of his *Treatiſes* and *Sermons* was printed in the ſame Place, at the ſame time. Part of his Treatiſes was reprinted at *Doüay*, in the Year 1634. under the Care of *Leander de St Martin*, *Hebrew* Profeſſor at *Doüay*. *Thevet* aſſures us, "That he had "a Work of *Peter d' Ailli*, which was printed in "the Year 1410, on the twelfth of *Auguſt*, when "the Art of Printing began to be in uſe in *France*, "in which there is a great Number of Mathema"tical Figures (33)." This cannot be; for the Art of Printing was not diſcoverred 'till about the Year 1440. He might have ſaid, that the *Sacramentale* of this Author was printed at *Louvain* in 1487, and his Queſtions *in ſphæram mundi Joannis de Sacroboſo cum Commentariis Petri Cirveli Daronenſis Hiſpani*, at *Paris* in 1488 (34). His *Meteors* was printed at *Strasburg*, in the Year 1504. and at *Vienna*, in *Auſtria*, in 1509. His Life of Pope *Celeſtin* V, was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1539 (35), and is to be met with in the Lives of the Saints compiled by *Surius*. There is a Difficulty in the Title of this Book, as it aſcribes to *Peter d'Ailli* the Dignity of Confeſſor to *Charles* V. but we had better ſuppoſe, that *Charles* V. is miſtaken for *Charles* VI. than to ſay, there was another *Peter d'Ailli*. *Poſſevin*, who believed it, is much miſtaken. The Cardinal appears to have nothing ſo much at Heart as Aſtrology; for, beſides that he preſented to the Council of *Conſtance* a Plan for the Reformation of the *Calendar*, he compoſed the following Books; *Tractatus de vero cyclo lunari. Vigintilogium de concordantia Aſtronomicæ veritatis cum Theologia. Tractatus de concordia Aſtronomicæ veritatis & narrationis Hiſtoricæ* (36). *Tractatus elucidarius Aſtronomicæ concordiæ cum Theologia & cum Hiſtorica Narratione. Apologetica defenſio Aſtronomicæ veritatis* (37). *Alia ſecunda Apologetica defenſio ejuſdem* (38). *Tractatus de concordia diſcordantium Aſtronomorum.*

Du Peyrat aſſures us (39), *That* Bodin, *in his Preface to the* Dæmonomania *of Sorcerers*, mentions a Book, compoſed by *Cardinal* d'Ailli, *wherein he maintained, that there is not one neceſſary Demonſtration in* Ariſtotle, *except That, whereby he has demonſtrated the Unity of God.* There are two Particulars, which deſerve Cenſure, in this; for *Bodin* does not ſay, as *du Peyrat* intimates, That *Peter d' Ailli* wrote a diſtinct Treatiſe on this Subject; and he declares, that the Author had remarked ſome other Demonſtrations in *Ariſtotle*, though but few in Number (40).

[*L*] *Some of which were never printed.*] They are in the Library of the College of *Navarre* (41); Mr *de Launoi* gives us a Liſt of them. Some of them contain an Anſwer to certain very curious Queſtions, as, *Utrum eſſe tria ſuppoſita unius naturæ ſit perfectio* (Whether three *Subſtrata* of one and the ſame Nature be the Perfection of that Nature): *Utrum libertas creaturæ rationalis ante & poſt lapſum intrinſece ſit æqualis* (Whether the Free-Agency of a rational Creature before and after it's Fall be intrinſically equal): *Utrum Creaturæ rationalis conſcientia erronea ejus actum excuſare poſſit* (Whether the erroneous Conſcience of a rational Creature can excuſe it's Act). This latter Queſtion puts me in mind of certain Papers, which appeared ſome time ago in *Holland*, concerning the Privileges of an erroneous Conſcience; in which it was ſo demonſtratively proved, that every Action, committed againſt the Light of Conſcience, is eſſentially evil, and that it muſt neceſſarily and indiſpenſibly be avoided; that the Oppoſers of this Doctrine fell into this ſhocking Opinion, *That a Man muſt not always act according to the Light of his Conſcience*: From whence it follows, that it is ſometimes juſtifiable to act contrary to the Dictates of Conſcience. A monſtrous Doctrine! deſtructive of all Morality; and in compariſon of which the moſt extravagant *Probabiliſm* is an innocent Opinion. What makes this the more ſtrange is, that they were Fanatics, who ran into this Extream; tho' They, of all Men, are moſt concerned to aſſert the Rights of Conſcience.

[*M*] *He compos'd likewiſe Verſes, ſuch as they were, in the Vulgar Language.*] I quote my Authority in the Margin, who ſays, "That *Peter d'Ailli* wrote "many *French* Verſes in Rhime, ſuch as was pra"ctis'd in his Time, which were tranſlated into "*Latin* by *Nicolas de Clemangis*. I have ſeen "ſome of them, *ſays he* (42), which were printed a"bove an hundred Years ago. *He adds*, That the "ſame Author wrote a Book in *French*, entituled, "*The ſeven Steps of the Ladder of Penitence, figured* "*and ſet forth under the ſeven penitential* Pſalms; "printed at *Paris*." I am afraid *la Croix du Maine* impoſes upon us in relation to this laſt Work; for Mr *de Launoi* poſitively aſſerts, That *Antony Belard* made a *French* Tranſlation of the *Latin* Treatiſe of *Peter d'Ailli*, on the ſeven Penitential *Pſalms*, and that *Denys de Harſi* printed this Tranſlation at *Lyons*, in the Year 1544, in 16° (43).

Add the following Obſervation: "The *French* "Verſes of *Peter d'Ailli*, which *la Croix du Maine* "ſpoke of, are only thirty two in Number, and con"tain a ſhort Deſcription of a Tyrant's Life. *Nicolas* "*de Clemangis* paraphras'd them in *Latin* Hexame"ters, printed with the *French* Verſes of *Peter d'Ailli*, "at the end of a Book, entituled, *The Contempt of* "*the Court*, tranſlated from the *Spaniſh* of *Guevara*, "into *French*, *Italian*, and *High Dutch*, at *Geneva*, "in 16°, by *John de Tournes*, 1605. The Para"phraſe of *Clemangis* is to be met with at the end "of his Epiſtles, page 355, of the Edition of *Leyden*. "As for the Tranſlation of *Antony Belard*, *Antony* "*du Verdier* ſays, page 51 of his *Bibliotheque*, that "it was printed in 1542, by *Denys de Harſi*, in 16°, "at *Lyons* (44).

AIMON, Prince of the *Ardennes*, was, were are told *(a)*, the Father of thoſe Four Worthies, ſo celebrated in our Old Romances. They are commonly called *The Four Sons of* Aimon. They had but one Horſe in common to them all, whoſe Name was *Bayard*. I ſhould not have taken notice of ſo Idle a Tale, had it not been for the ſake of obſerving, that theſe romantic Extravagancies have even crept into the Sanctuary. Popular Superſtition has introduced them into Religion; and if any one had objected to theſe Impertinent Writers, *Hæ nugæ ſeria ducent in mala (b)*, he he would not have been a Falſe Prophet. The Hiſtory of *Luxemburgh*, compoſed by *John Bertels*, Abbot of *Epternach*, informs us, that *Renauld*, the Eldeſt of theſe Four Brothers, died a Martyr to the Name of JESUS CHRIST; that he was canonized; that the Church celebrates his Feſtival; that Temples were conſecrated to him, and, among others, the Church of St *Renauld*, in the Country of *Cologne*, to which is annexed a Convent of Nuns. There is alſo a Church dedicated to the ſame Saint at *Cologne*, near That of St *Maurice*; and the repreſentation of the Four Brothers is painted on the Walls of the Church. They are all four on one Horſe, and *Renauld*, the Eldeſt, has a Diadem round his Head, as a Mark of his Saintſhip. It is pretended, that, after having been a great Warrior under *Charlemagne*, he turned Monk at *Cologne* (*c*); that he died a Martyr, and that, becauſe he wrought Miracles after his Death, a Church was built to him (*d*).

(k) Petrum Aliacenſem Cameracenſis civitas Epiſcopum ejecit, Roma ex exule fecit Cardinalem. *Eraſm. de Ratione conſcrib. Epiſtolarum, Epiſt. Conſolat.*

(31) Thevet, Hommes Illuſtr. p. 90.

(32) Baillet, *Life of* Deſcartes, Tom. 2. pag. 522.

(33) Thevet ubi ſupra. pag. 89.

(34) *According to* Geſner *fol.* 547. verſo, *it was in* 1468.

(35) *All this is taken out of Mr* de Launoi, Hiſt. Gymn. Navarræ, p. 476, &c. *or from Father* L'Abbé de Script. Eccl. pag. 180.

(36) *Publiſhed at* Baſil, *in* 1418.

(37) *Publiſhed at* Cologne, *in* Sept. 1418.

(38) *Publiſh'd at* Cologne, *in* Oct. 1418.

(39) *In his* Antiquities of the King of France's Chapel, p. 345.

(40) Bodin's *Preface to the* Dæmonomania of Sorcerers, pag. 14.

(41) *Part of them are in* Emanuel *College, at* Cambridge. Oudin's Supplem. de Script. Eccl, pag. 690.

(42) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 381.

(43) Launoi, Hiſt. Gymn. Nav. p. 479.

(44) *Mr* de la Monnoie's *Manuſcript Remarks.*

(a) John Bertel's Hiſt. Luxemburgh. in Deſcript. Oppidi Chimiaci.

(b) Horat. de Art, Poet.

(*c*) Ferrarius in Catalog. Sanctorum ad 7. Januar.

(*d*) *See* Voetii Diſput. Theolog. Tom. 3. pag. 508.

AYRAULT (PETER), in *Latin Ærodius*, *Lieutenant Criminal* in the *Preſidial* Court of *Angers*, his native Country, was born in the Year 1536. He ſtudied *Humanity* and *Philoſophy* at *Paris*; afterwards he applied himſelf to the Civil Law at *Toulouſe*; from thence he went to *Bourges*, to improve himſelf by the Lectures of *Duarenus*, *Cujacius*, and *Doneau*, three of the moſt Excellent Civilians of That Time. After taking his Bachelor's Degree at *Bourges*, he returned to his own Country, where for ſome time he read Public Lectures in Civil Law, and pleaded at the Bar. He was then 22 Years of Age. Some time after he returned to *Paris*, where he became one of the moſt famous Advocates of the Parliament [*A*]. In the Year 1563, he publiſhed, there, the *Declamations* of *Quintilian*, which he corrected in ſeveral Places, and accompanied them with Notes. The Year following, he publiſhed a Treatiſe *of the Power of Redemption*, compoſed by *Francis Grimaudet*, the King's Advocate at *Angers*, to which he prefixed a Preface, *concerning the Nature*, *Variety*, *and Alteration of the Laws*. In the Year 1567, he publiſhed a Book entituled *Decretorum rerumve apud diverſos populos ab omni Antiquitate Judicatarum Libri duo—— Accedit tractatus de origine & auctoritate rerum Judicatarum*. He enlarged it conſiderably in the following Editions [*B*]. He left *Paris*, the Year following, to exerciſe the Office of *Lieutenant Criminal* in his own Country: Which he executed with ſo much Juſtice, that, like another *Caſſius*, he was called *the Rock of the Accuſed*. During the Confuſions of the *League*, he exerciſed, in the *Interim* [*C*], the Office of Preſident in the ſame Court, of which he acquitted himſelf with the ſame Integrity. The City of *Angers* expreſſed their Eſteem for him ſeveral ways; eſpecially by conferring upon him the Office of Perpetual *Echevin* *. He had a great Quarrel with *Philip Gourreau* Maſter of the Requeſts, his Countryman, and publiſhed an *Apologetical* Letter againſt him in 1577 (*a*). He was heartily attached to the honeſt Party againſt the *League*; and he was obliged to be ſo, not only on account of his Office in the *Preſidial* Court, but becauſe he was Maſter of the Requeſts to the Duke of *Anjou*, a Place

* *A kind of Magiſtrate ſomething like an* Engliſh *Sheriff.*

(*a*) *He publiſh'd two Editions of it, in one Year, at* Angers, *the ſecond more ample than the firſt. This Piece is in* Latin.

[*A*] *One of the moſt famous Advocates of the Parliament.*] *Antony Loiſel*, in his Dialogue of the Advocates of the Parliament of *Paris*, places our *Ayrault* in the Liſt of the moſt famous, and gives him the Preeminence over *Bodin*. It is true he remarks, that *Bodin* had no Succeſs at the Bar. Theſe are *Loiſel*'s Words: " Maſter *Peter Ayrault* was likewiſe promo-" ted to the Poſt of *Lieutenant Criminal* at *Angers*, " where he was born, and retir'd thither about the " latter end of the extraordinary Seſſions of *Poitiers*, " in the Year 1567, though he was a skillful and " learned Pleader, and ſucceeded much better than " *John Bodin* of *Angers*; for, notwithſtanding the " latter was a compleat Scholar, his Pleadings at the " Bar had never any Succeſs (1)." Some of *Peter Ayrault*'s Pleadings were printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1568 (2). They were reprinted at *Rouen*, in 1614, with the Notes and Additions of a young Civilian. Mr *Menage*, who tells us this (3), might have added, that they were printed at *Paris*, in 1598, in 8vo. with ſome other ſmall Pieces of *Peter Ayrault*. The Secular Prieſts of *Paris* choſe him, in 1564, to plead their Cauſe againſt the Jeſuits; yet he did not plead it; perhaps, becauſe it was not thought proper, that the Intereſt of the Clergy ſhould be diſtinct from That of the Biſhop of *Paris*. This is the Conjecture of *du Boulai* (4). However it be, his Pleading was publiſhed, as I juſt now obſerv'd in the marginal Note (2).

(1) Loiſel, apud Menag. in Teſtim. de P. Ærod. *prefix'd to his Life*, p. 26.

(2) *There are 22 of them; of which the 20th is That, which he had prepared for the Secular Prieſts of* Paris *againſt the Jeſuits, in* 1564.

(3) *In his Life of* Peter Ayrault, *pag.* 26.

(4) *In the Hiſtory of the Univerſity of* Paris, Tom. 6. p. 966. apud Menag. in Teſtim. de P. Ærod. pag. 77.

[*B*] *He enlarg'd it conſiderably in the following Editions.*] The ſecond Edition is of *Paris*, 1573, in 8vo. and contains ſix Books. The Third is in Folio, and the Title of it is, *Rerum ab omni antiquitate judicatarum Pandectæ*. There is a *Paris* Edition of it likewiſe, in 1588. After the Death of the Author, the ſame *Pandects* were printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1615, with the ſmall Treatiſe *de Patrio Jure*. He had reviſed and corrected them. Mr *Menage* had promis'd (5) a new Edition of them, with ſhort Marginal Notes, wherein he deſigned to ſhew, from whence *Ayrault* borrowed his Examples. This is a very learned Work. " Continet enim res ab omni antiquitate apud Indos, " Judæos, Græcos, Romanos, Francos, alioſque, ju-" catas (6). —— *For it contains Caſes adjudg'd from* " *all Antiquity among the* Indians, Jews, Greeks, " Romans, French, *and others*." That, which he wrote in *French*, *Of the Judiciary Forms, which the ancient* Greeks *and* Romans *made uſe of in public Trials, compared with the Practice of our* French, is uſeful and curious. It was printed, the firſt time, at *Paris*, in 1575, in 8vo. The ſecond Edition, which is of *Paris*, in 1588, in 4to, was enlarg'd by two Books: The third was enlarged by one Book, at *Paris*, in the Year 1598, in 4to (7). So that this Work contains four Books. The fourth Book, which treats *of the Proceedings againſt dead Bodies*, *Aſhes*, *the Memory of a Perſon*, *Brute Beaſts*, *things Inanimate*, *and Criminals who refuſe to appear before the Judge*; was printed at *Paris*, in 1591. I forgot to obſerve, that his Treatiſe *de decretis rebuſve apud diverſos populos ab omni antiquitate judicatis*, was printed at *Francfort*, in the Year 1580, from the firſt Edition. The Abbreviators of *Geſner* had no other Knowledge of our *Peter Ayrault*, but what the Edition of *Germany* afforded them. They were miſtaken, in ſuppoſing his Name was *Paul*.

(5) Ubi ſupra, pag. 28.

(6) Menage *in the Life of* Peter Ayrault, p. 27.

(7) *It is thus we muſt tranſlate the Words of Mr* Menage, Quem poſtea anno 1588, duobus libris, & anno 1598. tribus auctiorem in eadem urbe publicavit.

[*C*] *In the* Interim.] Mr *Menage* makes this *Interim* to continue two Years; *Eo Præturæ munere per biennium functus Ærodius eſt* (8); and yet he ſays, That *Ayrault* was not nominated to this Office, 'till the 11th of *May*, 1589, and that *Henry* the Great preſented another Perſon to it, in the beginning of the Year 1590, *ineunte Anno* 1590.

(8) Id. ib. pag. 24.

(9) Ib. pag. 23.

[*D*] *Was*

Place which he had jointly with the Civilian *Baudouin*, before That Prince came to the Throne. The *Speech*, which he made before That Duke, upon his Entry into *Angers*, on the 7th of *January*, 1570, was printed with the *Diſcourſe*, which he addreſſed to him [*D*] in praiſe of his Victories, and of the Reſtoration of the Univerſity of *Angers*. This Diſcourſe turns chiefly on *Baudouin*'s having dedicated two Ancient Panegyrics to That Prince; *viz.* That, which *Eumenius* made upon *Conſtantius*; and That, which *Pacatus* made upon *Theodoſius*. The *Diſcourſe*, which *Ayrault* publiſhed, in the Year 1589, *on the Death of* Henry III. *and the Prejudice which the Church received by it*, teſtifies his Adherence to that Monarch's Party. He neither put his own, nor the Printer's Name to it. *Thuanus* ſpeaks of it with Commendation (*b*). A *Latin* Tranſlation of it by the Author himſelf was found among his Papers. He wrote a Diſcourſe at that time, in which he exhorted *Henry* IV. to become a Catholic: But, of all his Works, That which made him moſt known in Foreign Countries, and chiefly among the *Proteſtants*, is his Treatiſe of Paternal Power [*E*]. He compoſed it during a Law-Suit, which he had with the Jeſuits, on account of his Eldeſt Son, who had taken the Habit of their Order (*c*). He had ſent him to their College at *Paris*, to render him the more capable of ſucceeding him; and, ſome time after, had the Vexation to hear, that they had perſuaded him to enter himſelf among their Order. He complained of This Proceeding to the Parliament of *Paris* (*d*); and, being informed, that they had ſecreted him, he preſented a Petition to the Pope, and obtained Letters from *Henry* III. to Cardinal *d'Eſt*, Protector of the Affairs of *France*, and to the Marquis *de Piſani*, Ambaſſador of that Crown (*e*); by which Letters the King preſſed them to obtain an Order from the Pope for the Releaſe of the Young Man. But all was in vain. The Treatiſe of Paternal Power, which he addreſſed three Years after to this Diſobedient Son, did not prove more effectual. Although *Ayrault* had other Sons, yet he was exceedingly concerned at the loſs of This. He had married *Anne des-Jardins*, at *Paris*, in the Year 1564. She was Daughter of *John des-Jardins*, Phyſician to *Francis* I, by whom he had 15 Children [*F*], of which Ten were living, when he died at *Angers*, the 21ſt of *July*, 1601, aged 65 Years (*f*). I borrow this Article from Mr *Menage* (g).

(*b*) Thuan. Hiſt. lib. 95.

(*c*) *See the following Article.*

(*d*) *The* 19th *of* May, 1586.

(*e*) *They are dated* July 18. 1586.

(*f*) Sainte Marthe *is miſtaken in the Elogy of* Peter Ayrualt, *wherein he tells us he was but* 63 *Years of Age.*

(*g*) *The Life of* P. Ærodius, *written by* Ægidius Menage, *his Daughter's Son, and printed at* Paris, 1675, *in* 4to.

[*D*] *Was printed with the Diſcourſe, which he addreſs'd to him.*] Mr *Menage* has not rightly adjuſted the Date of the Impreſſion of theſe two Pieces; he ſays they were printed in 1577, and that the Prince, who is celebrated in them, was then King of *Poland*, and Duke of *Anjou*. This is plainly to tell us, that he was not King of *France*; and yet the Duke of *Anjou* was Inaugurated at *Rheims*, in the Month of *February*, 1575, and he was look'd upon as King of *France*, the very Day that *Charles* IX. died (10). You may take it for granted, that the Speech and Diſcourſe, in queſtion, came out in 1570, and conſequently that the Subject of them was no longer King of *Poland*.

(10) *It was on* May 30, 1574.

[*E*] *His Treatiſe of Paternal Power.*] The Author wrote it in *French* and *Latin*; one of his Countrymen, whoſe Name was *Jacob Frubert*, tranſlated it into *Italian* (11). Let us ſee what Mr *Menage* ſays of it;
“ Egit cum fugitivo filio tanquam cum abſente reo,
“ hoc eſt annotatione & programmate.

Qualis populea mœrens philomela ſub umbra
Amiſſos queritur fœtus (12);

“ Et quæ ſequuntur; notum enim tibi carmen eſt;
“ Talis Petrus Ærodius amiſſum filium inſolabiliter in
“ ſcriptis ſuis queritur. Vide quæſo —— quos ipſe
“ queſtus fundat in libro tertio Ordinis judiciarii, mo-
“ do fratrem Johannem Ærodium, modo Renatum fi-
“ lium compellans. Quis vere tam ferus ac ferreus
“ eſt, qui cum querelas ejus legat in libello illo aureo,
“ & tot laudibus à Stephano Paſcaſio (13) celebrato,
“ quem de patrio jure ad fugitivum filium contra Jeſu-
“ itas ſcripſit, à gemitu & lacrimis temperare poſſit?
“ —— At non ſolus Ærodius fatum ſuum gemuit;
“ ingemuere & alii; lege Stephani Paſcaſii & Johan-
“ nis Bodini (14) ea de re ad Petrum Ærodium Epi-
“ ſtolas. Lege Antonii Arnaldi Advocati Pariſienſis
“ —— Orationem pulcherrimam habitam in Senatu
“ Pariſienſi contra Jeſuitas anno M.D.LXXXXIV (15).
“ —— *He conſidered his Fugitive Son as a Defen-*
“ *dant, who refuſes to appear at the Suit of the Plan-*
“ *tiff, and treated him in the uſual Forms.*

As, cloſe, in Poplar Shades, her Children gone,
The Mother Nightingal laments alone;

“ *and ſo on; you know* Virgil'*s Simile; juſt ſo the diſ-*
“ *conſolate* Ærodius *laments, in his Writings, the Loſs*
“ *of his Son.*—— *Do but read his Complaints in the*
“ *third Book of his* Judiciary Forms, *one while calling*
“ *upon* John Ærodius *his Brother, then on his Son*
“ Renatus. *But who is ſo ſteel'd to all Senſe of Pity,*
“ *as to refrain from Sighs and Tears, when he reads*
“ *his Complaints in that Golden Work* Of Paternal
“ Power, *ſo much commended by* Stephen Paſcaſius,
“ *which he wrote againſt the Jeſuits, and addreſs'd*
“ *to his Fugitive Son?* —— *But* Ærodius *did not la-*
“ *ment his Fate alone; others ſympathiz'd with him;*
“ *read* Stephen Paſcaſius' *and* John Bodin'*s Letters to*
“ Peter Ærodius *upon this Subject. Read thoſe of*
“ Antony Arnauld, *Advocate of* Paris; *and the beau-*
“ *tiful Oration, delivered in the Senate of* Paris, *a-*
“ *gainſt the Jeſuits, in the Year* M.D.LXXXXIV.”
Mr *Menage* relates, in his Remarks, what *Antony Arnauld* ſaid upon this Subject, and the Anſwer return'd him by *Peter Barni*, Attorney to the Jeſuits of the College of *Clermont*. The Anſwer runs thus, That the *Jeſuits* would never receive *Renatus Ayrauit* in *France*, *though he was at leaſt eighteen Years of Age*; but that, *without diſcovering to them his Deſign, he went into* Germany, *where he was receiv'd* (16). See the Remark [*A*], of the following Article.

(11) Menage ubi ſupra, pag. 28.

(12) Virg. Georg. lib. 4. ver. 511.

(13) *See the* 10th *Letter of the* 11th *Book of* Paſquier'*s Letters.*

(14) Menage *produces* Bodin'*s Letter*, pag. 242.

(15) Vit. Ærod. pag. 37.

(16) Menage, ibid. pag. 251.

[*F*] *By whom he had fifteen Children.*] We ſet apart a particular Article for his eldeſt Son: His ſecond Son *Peter AYRAULT* ſucceeded his Father in his Virtues and Office, and was Preſident in the Seneſchal's Court of *Angers*, Counſellor of the City, and Mayor. He obtained, in the Year 1603, a Profeſſorſhip of Civil Law, in the Univerſity of *Angers*, for *William Barclay*. The *Speech* he made before *Mary de Medicis*, the Mother of *Lewis* XIII, at *Angers*, on the 16th of *October*, 1619, may be ſeen in the 6th Tome of the *French Mercury*. He was deputed to the Aſſembly, which call'd themſelves *Les Notables*, *The Eminent or Remarkable Men*, who met at *Rouen*, in 1617. He left a Family. His Brother, *John AYRAULT*, was Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*. Their Brother, *William AYRAULT*, a *Benedictin* Monk, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, was in favour with *Lewis Servin*, Advocate General in the Parliament of *Paris*. *Guyonne AYRAULT*, one of their Siſters, married *William Menage*, the King's Advocate in the *Preſidial* of *Angers*. From that Marriage ſprang the late Mr *Menage* (17), one of the moſt learned Men of *France*.

(17) Vit. Ærod. *See the Citation* (g) *of this Article.*

AYRAULT (Renatus) Eldeſt Son of the foregoing, was the Cauſe of great Uneaſineſs to his Father. He was born at *Paris*, on the eleventh of *November*, 1567, and was put to School to the *Jeſuits* (a). *Peter Ayrault* had a good opinion of them at that time (b); and was ſo fond of them, that he would hardly have undertaken the *Pariſian* Clergy's Cauſe againſt them, at that time, as he actually did afterwards in the Year 1564. Perceiving in this his Eldeſt Son a lively Wit, great Memory, and many other good Qualities, he earneſtly intreated the Provincial of the Jeſuits, and the Rector of the College of *Clermont*, when he committed his Son to their Care, not to ſollicit him, in any manner, to enter into their Order; and aſſured them he had other Children, whom he intended to dedicate to the Church; but that he deſigned this Son ſhould ſucceed him in his Poſt, and intended him for the Support of his Family. They promiſed to grant his Requeſt. However the Young Gentleman's great Abilities made the Jeſuits deſirous of having a Subject of this Importance in their Society; at length, after he had ſtudied *Rhetoric* Two Years under Father *James Sirmond*, they gave him the Habit of their Order in 1586. His Father, without whoſe Conſent or Privacy this was done, made a great ſtir about it. He accuſed them of Plagiariſm, and ſummoned them to deliver up his Son. They anſwered, That they knew not what was become of him. *Ayrault* obtained a Decree of Parliament, whereby the Jeſuits of the College of *Clermont* were ordered not to receive *Renatus Ayrault* into their Order, and to notify this Prohibition to the other Colleges. This Decree was not obeyed; the Young Man was removed from Place to Place, his Name was changed, and he was ſent into *Lorain*, *Germany*, and *Italy* [*A*]; *Henry* III. cauſed his Ambaſſador, and the Protector of his Affairs, to ſollicit the Pope; *Ayrault* wrote to his Holineſs about it; the Pope cauſed the Liſt of all the Jeſuits in the World to be ſhewed him; *Renatus Ayrault*, going under another Name, did not appear in this Liſt (c). Three Years of Trouble and Enquiry being employed to no Purpoſe, the Father had recourſe to his Pen, and wrote a Book concerning the Paternal Power, and addreſſed it to his Son *Renatus* (d). *Renatus* anſwered it; but his Superiors did not think fit to publiſh his Anſwer. They employed *Richeome*, Provincial of the Jeſuits of *Paris*, to refute *Peter Ayrault*'s Book [*B*]. *Renatus*'s Adventures are as follows. He entered into the Order, at *Triers*, on the 12th of *June*, 1586. He went afterwards to *Fulde*, where he renewed his Study of *Rhetoric*. He paſſed through *Germany*, and was taken there by the *Proteſtants*; He went to *Rome*, where he ſtudied Philoſophy a Year, under *Mutius Vitelleſchi* (e). He continued this Study, the Year following, at *Milan*, and finiſhed it at *Dijon* (f). Having taught the Claſſes, in the ſame City, during four Years, with great Succeſs, he left it, when the Jeſuits were baniſhed from ſeveral Cities of the Kingdom, in the Year 1594, and went into *Piedmont*, where he taught for two Years. He came afterwards to *Avignon*, where he ſtudied Divinity four Years. After which he returned to *Rome*; from whence he was ſent to *Milan* to teach Rhetoric. This he did for ſome Years; and returned afterwards into *France*; where he paſſed through the moſt illuſtrious Employments of his Order; He taught Philoſophy; he Preached; He was Superior of a College. He was Rector at *Rheims*, *Dijon*, *Sens*, *Dole*, and *Bezançon*; He was the Provincial's Aſſiſtant, and Procurator of the Province of *Champagne*, and afterwards of That of *Lyons*, at *Rome*. Laſtly, he died at *la Fleche* on the 18th of *December*, 1644 (g). His Father, by a Deed executed before a Notary and Witneſſes, deprived him of his Bleſſing in the Year 1593. but he did not keep his Reſentment till his Death; for a Writing was found among his Papers, in which he gave him his Bleſſing [*C*].

(a) Menage, Vit. Ærodii pag. 245.

(b) Quos tunc ipſe amabat & magni faciebat: Quin & eos vocari Andegavum & ibi ſedem habere aliquando voluit. *Id. p.* 35. *See pag.* 245. *where he cites Ayrault, in the third Book of his Judiciary Order.*

(c) *See the Text of the preceding Article towards the End.*

(d) *See the Remark* [F] *of the preceding Article.*

(e) *He was General of the Jeſuits.*

(f) *At that time a Courſe of Philoſophy laſted three Years.*

(g) Vita P. Ærodii *See the Citation (g) of the preceding Article.*

[*A*] *Into* Lorain, Germany, *and* Italy.] *Antony Arnauld* ſet forth, in his Plea of the Year 1594, that the Jeſuits *had enticed away* Renatus Ayrault, *when he was but fourteen Years of Age, and that they kept him in* Italy *and* Spain. It does not appear, that they ever ſent him into *Spain* (1), and he wanted but little of his 19th Year, when he took the Jeſuits Habit.

[*B*] *They pitch'd upon* Richeome——*to refute* Peter Ayrault'*s Book*.] His Anſwer, as well as *Renatus Ayrault*'s, was never printed. "Quia indecorum viſum "eſt adverſus parentes ſcribere filios, prohibitus eſt à "Rectoribus ſuis reſponſionem vulgare. Igitur id "aggreſſus eſt Ludovicus Richeomus——quod me "docuit privata ipſius Renati Ærodii ad ipſum Richeomum epiſtola, cujus exemplar, quæ ſua eſt "humanitas, miſit ad me Roma Petrus Poſſinus, "Presbyter Societatis Jeſu doctiſſimus, idemque Jeſuiticæ Hiſtoriæ Scriptor celeberrimus. Sed ne"que reſponſionem ſuam vulgavit Richeomus: qua "de cauſa neſcio (2).——*He was forbid by his Superiors to publiſh his Anſwer, becauſe it was thought "indecent for Children to write againſt their Parents. "For which reaſon* Lewis Richeome *undertook it*—— "*as I am inform'd by a private Letter of* Renatus Ayrault'*s to the ſame* Richeome; *a Copy of which* Peter Poſſin, *a learned Presbyter of the* Society of Jeſus, *and the celebrated Author of the* Hiſtory of Jeſuitiſm, *was ſo good-natur'd as to tranſmit to me at* "Rome."

[*C*] *A Writing—in which he gave him his Bleſſing.*] It was ſign'd with his own hand, and contain'd as follows; "God give his Peace, his Love, and his "Grace, to my Son *Renatus Ayrault*. I give him "my Bleſſing, in the Name of the Father, and of the "Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. And I forgive him "every thing wherein he may have offended me. "And I pray God to aſſiſt him with his holy Spirit, "whatever State, or Calling, he may undertake (3).

(1) Hiſpaniam quoque petiiſſe falſo creditum eſt. *Menage, ubi ſupra, p.* 37.

(2) Menag. vit. Ærod. pag. 39.

(3) Ibid. pag. 257.

AITZEMA (Leo *de*) a Gentleman of *Frieſland*, born at *Doccum*, in the Year 1600, was Counſellor of the *Hans-Towns*, and their Reſident at the *Hague*. He compiled an *Hiſtory of the United Provinces*, which ſold very well, and is of great uſe to thoſe, who ſtudy Politics; for it contains, Word for Word, the Treaties of Peace, Inſtructions and Memoirs of Ambaſſadors, Letters and Anſwers of Sovereigns, Capitulations of Towns, and other Public Acts, each in its Original Language, and then tranſlated into *Dutch*, in which Language the Hiſtory is written. There are two Editions of it [*A*]. Although it is chiefly conſiderable, for the Authentic Pieces, which the Author collected with much Patience and Application, I would not judge of the reſt, as Mr *de Wicquefort* did [*B*]. I have been told that this Hiſtorian ſpeaks in an impartial Manner of whatever relates to Religious Diſputes. Mr *Arnaud* cited him for a Particular not very advantageous to the Proteſtants (*a*). *Valerius Andreas* mentions one *Leo Aetſma*, a *Frieſlander*, who printed his Juvenile *Latin* Verſes at *Franeker*, in the Year 1617 (*b*). Some think this Poet is the ſame with the Hiſtorian, who is the Subject of this Article (*c*). **Leo** *de* **Aitzema** died at the *Hague*, on the 23d of *February* 1669. after having been employed there, about forty Years, in quality of Reſident for the *Hans-Towns*, which was procured him by **Foppius** *de* **AITZEMA** his Uncle, Reſident of *Holland* [*C*], at *Hamburgh*. Our *Leo* was a very good Man, Serviceable to his Friends, Affable, Liberal to the Poor, and well verſed in Politics. He ſpoke ſeveral Languages, *German*, *French*, *Italian*, and *Engliſh*. His Father was Secretary of the *Admiralty* of *Frieſland* (*d*). It will not be improper to obſerve that there are already publiſhed Three Volumes, in *Folio*, of the Continuation of *Aitzema*; the firſt reaches from 1669 to 1679. the Second from 1679 to 1687. the Third from 1687 to 1692 (*e*). A Miniſter, whoſe Name was AITZEMA, wrote a *Dutch* Book concerning the *Sibyls*.

(*a*) *See the* Apology for the Catholicks, *part* 2. *pag.* 267.

(*b*) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. p. 623.

(*c*) Konig. Bibl. p. 19.

(*d*) *It reſided, at that time, at* Doccum; *at preſent it reſides at* Harlingen.

(*e*) *The firſt was printed at* Amſterdam *in* 1685. *the ſecond in* 1688; *and the third in* 1698.

[*A*] *There are two Editions of it.*] The firſt contains fifteen Volumes, in 4*to*. which were printed ſeparately; the firſt in 1657, and the laſt in 1671: the firſt begins at the Ceſſation of the Truce, which was concluded, by the Interpoſition of *Henry the Great*, between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*, and reaches from the Year 1621 to the Year 1625. The laſt contains the Hiſtory of the Year 1668. The ſecond Edition is in ſeven Volumes in *Folio*, which were printed in 1669, and in 1671. The laſt of theſe Volumes contains a general Table of the other ſix, with an *Account of the Peace of* Munſter, and a Treatiſe intitled, *The Lion reſtor'd*; and which is a Narrative of the Tranſactions in the *United Provinces* in 1650, and 1651, in relation to the filling up of ſome conſiderable Poſts. This Treatiſe had already appear'd in 4*to* in the Year 1652. The Account of the Peace of *Munſter* had been printed in *Latin* in the Year 1654.

[*B*] *As Mr* de Wicquefort *did.*] He ſpeaks of *Aitzema* in the following Words. " The Hiſtory, or " the *Account of the Affairs of State and of War*, " which was written in *Holland*, in fourteen or fif- " teen Volumes, contains a great Variety of Treaties, " Reſolutions, and other authentic Pieces; ſo that it " may ſerve as an Inventory to thoſe, who have no " Acceſs to the Archives of the State; but what the " Author has added of his own, is beneath the Ga- " zette, in whatever Light it be conſidered. He is " Maſter of no Style; His Language is altogether " barbarous, and the whole Texture of the Work is a " meer Chaos. This is common to our Author with " moſt of thoſe, who, in that Country, attempt " to write Hiſtory, without expreſs Order and Per- " miſſion; and, generally ſpeaking, they do it with- " out Judgment and without Sincerity (1)." It muſt be confeſſed, This Cenſure is very diſadvantageous to our Author's Character; and indeed gives offence to many Perſons.

[*C*] Foppius d'AITZEMA *his Uncle, Reſident of* Holland.] I have met with a Paſſage relating to him in one of *Puffendorf*'s Volumes. I find there, that, in 1636, this *Foppius*, Envoy of the *United Provinces* to the Emperor, affirmed at *Ratisbon*, that *Salvius* had inform'd him by Letter, that the *Swedes* intended to negotiate a Peace at the Court of *Vienna*; but that *Salvius* denied it (2). Neverthleſs *Foppius* was very buſy in negotiating the Peace; but *Sweden* did not think him qualified for ſuch a Work; and it was thought ridiculous in him to intermeddle in ſuch a Deſign, eſpecially conſidering that, ſince he had gone over to the *Roman* Communion, he had employ'd every Art to inſinuate himſelf into the Emperor's Favour. *Nec Aitzema idoneus tantæ rei autor habebatur, omnibus qui hominem norant irridentibus, quod iſte heic ſe ingerere non dubitaret, quem præſertim poſt ſuſcepta ſacra Romana gratiæ Cæſaris omnibus modis adrepere conſtabat* (3).

(1) Wicquefort's Ambaſſador, Tom. 1. p. 172. *See alſo p.* 446.

(2) Puffendorf de Rebus Suecicis, lib. 9. pag. 296. n. 53. ad ann. 1637.

(3) Id. ib.

AKAKIA (**Martin**) Profeſſor of Phyſic, in the Univerſity of *Paris*, in the XVIth Century, was of *Chalons* in *Champagne* [*A*]. His Name was *Sans-malice*, (*without Malice*); but, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe times, he changed it to *Akakia*, which ſignifies the ſame in *Greek*, as *Sans-malice* does in *French* [*B*]. He tranſmitted it to his Poſterity, who have always bore it to this preſent time. He made a conſiderable Progreſs at *Paris*, under the Profeſſor *Peter Briſſot* (*a*), and acquired from

(*a*) Moreau, in vita Briſſoti.

[*A*] *Was of* Chalons *in* Champagne.] *Moreri*, not knowing what *Catalaunenſis* meant, thought, in good earneſt, that *Akakia* was a *Catalan*. *He was of* Catalonia, ſays he; and he refers us for it to *Quenſtedt*, who has poſitively declared, that This Phyſician was of *Chalons*; *a City, the Biſhop whereof aſſumes the Title of Count and Peer of* France (1).

[*B*] *His Name was* Sans-Malice, *but——he changed it to* Akakia, *which ſignifies the ſame in* Greek, *as* ſans-malice *does in* French.] We learn this from *Renatus Moreau*, in his Life of *Sylvius*, and *Gabriel Naudé*, in his *Judgment on* Auguſtin Niphus (2). See likewiſe *le Mothe le Vaier*, at the 277th Page of the 12th Tome of his Works; and Mr *Menage*, in his *Origin of the* French *Language* (3). Father *L'Abbé* believes, *that all this is but an* ex poſt facto, *or pretty Alluſion, made afterwards, or perhaps a Nickname, which was given him, and which grew afterwards into a Family Name* (4). He aſſigns two Reaſons for this Opinion; the firſt is that 'Ακακία does not ſignify *a MAN free from Malice, but*, ſimply, *a Freedom from Malice*. The ſecond is, that This Phyſician of *Francis* I. would have wrote himſelf *Acacia* or *Akakia*, if he had borrow'd a Name from the *Greek* Tongue. To confirm the firſt he adds, that This Phyſician, *if it be true that his Name was, at firſt*, Sans-malice, *would have done better to quit the Feminine Name* 'Ακακία, *and aſſume one more Maſculine, and which ſhould have ſome relation to* 'Ακάκιος, Acacius, *Words in uſe among the* Greeks *and* Latins. *Who would not laugh at the Simplicity or Ignorance of him, who, having the Family Name of* Bald *or* Virtuous, *ſhould turn his Name into* Greek, *and call himſelf* 'Αλωπεκία *or* 'Αρετὴ? Theſe Reaſons are very weak. As for the ſecond, we may allow, that he ought to have wrote himſelf *Acacia* or *Akakia*; and I think That learned Phyſician did actually ſubſcribe himſelf after the latter. As for the other Reaſon, it is eaſy to ſee, that Father *L'Abbé* advances nothing material; for the Maſculine 'Ακάκιος does not ſo fully come up to the *French* Word *Sans-malice*, as the Feminine 'Ακακία does. The Compariſon of *Bald* or *Virtuous* is improper; ſince it is certain,

(1) Quenſt. de Patriis Viror. Eruditor. p. 51.

(2) Fol. 0, iii.

(3) *At the 4th Page of the* Paris *Edition in* 1694.

(4) L'Abbé's *Etymologies of* French *Words*, pag. 10.

from him moſt of what he publiſhed afterwards on *Galen* [*C*]. He was created Doctor of the Faculty of Phyſic of *Paris*, in the Year 1526. *Francis* I, one of whoſe Phyſicians in Ordinary he was, had a great eſteem for him. I cannot determine in what Year he became Profeſſor of Phyſic; but he was ſo, when *Geſner* publiſhed his *Bibliotheque*, that is, in the Year 1545. He died in the Year 1551. His Coat of Arms was, *Gules and a Croſs d'Or, with four Cubes d'Or*, with this Motto, *Quæcunque ferat fortuna, ferenda eſt.* He married *Mary Chauveau*, Widow of *Silvan de Monthelon*, by whom he had a Son, who was Profeſſor of Phyſic, as we ſhall ſee. Moſt of his Deſcendants have followed the ſame Profeſſion; though one among them had other Affairs upon his hands beſides Phyſic [*D*]. They, who place the Death of our *Martin Akakia* in the Year 1605, are ſtrangely miſtaken [*E*]. *Marot* ſpoke of him with Commendation: Mr *Menage* has cited his *Elogium* of him (*b*).

(*b*) Menage's *Origin of the* French *Tongue*, pag. 4.

tain, that *Sans-malice* has not the Nature of an Adjective Noun; and that, if a Perſon, whoſe Name happens to be *Avec-pelure*, ſhould have a mind to *Greciſe* it, he ought rather to take the Name of *Synalopecia*, than That of *Synalopecius*.

[*C*] *What he publiſh'd —— on* Galen.] In 1538, he publiſh'd a *Latin* Tranſlation of *Galen*'s two Books, *De ratione curandi*, and accompanied it with a Commentary (5). Afterwards he tranſlated the *Ars Medica, quæ & Ars parva*, of the ſame *Galen*. This Work was printed at *Lyons*, in 1548. He is likewiſe Author of a Book, printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1555, with the Title of "Synopſis eorum, quæ quinque "prioribus libris Galeni de facultatibus ſimplicium "medicamentorum continentur. —— *A Synopſis of "the Contents of the five firſt Books of* Galen, Of "the Qualities of Simple Medicines."

(5) Geſner. Biblioth. fol. 500.

[*D*] *Tho' one among them had other Affairs upon his Hands beſides Phyſic.*] A Letter of *Guy Patin*, dated the twenty ſecond of *July*, 1664, contains theſe Words; "The King has cauſed the Brother "of M. *Acakia*, our Colleague, to be confined in "the *Baſtile*, for having wrote ſomething, which "diſpleaſed his Highneſs the Prince. It is not long, "ſince he was employed about the Marriage of the "Duke of *Enguien*, and had been Seeretary of the "Embaſſy to *Poland*." Every one has heard of the Complaints, which a Friend to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, diſguiſed under the Name of *Staniſlaus Lyſimachus, A Poliſh Knight*, publiſhed in 1683, againſt the Correſpondence, which *France* carried on with Count *Tekeli*, by the means of *Akakia* and *du Vernai-Boucauld*. I have juſt read, in a Book entituled, *The Journal of* Amſterdam (6), that the ſame *Akakia* had a great ſhare in the Intrigues, which were formed, to place the Crown of *Poland* on the Head of the Duke of *Longueville*, by depoſing King *Michael*. It is affirmed, in this Journal, that the Emperor complained of this to the King of *France*, and that, *among others*, he named *Mr* Acakia *as one of the chief Conductors of That Affair*; that Mr *Acakia was committed to the* Baſtile; *but that he purſued the Scheme, which he had began, rather with more Application, and had more leiſure to keep up the Correſpondence he had ſettled; and that his Letters and Negotiations continued their Train, notwithſtanding his Impriſonment*; and that the Buſineſs was ſo far advanced, that nothing but the Death (7) of the Duke of *Longueville* hindered the Execution of it. The Medals were already prepared. This ſecond Impriſonment of Mr *Akakia* laſted but five or ſix Months, if I can depend upon one, whom I have conſulted, ſince the reading of That Journal. This Perſon told me farther, that Mr *Akakia* was was ſo overjoyed to find himſelf pitched upon, as a proper Perſon to foment the Troubles of *Hungary*, that, though he was then very ſick, he ſoon recovered Health enough to ſet out on the Expedition. Not daring to take the way of *Germany*, he went into *England*, where he embarqued for *Sweden*, from whence he went by Sea to *Riga*, and from thence to *Poland*; where he died. He was a Man of Intrigue; and acted vigorouſly for the Concluſion of the Peace of *Oliva*.

(6) *It came out in* Sept. 1693.

(7) *He was kill'd at the Paſſage of the* Rhine, June 12. 1672.

[*E*] *They, who place the Death —— in the Year 1605, are ſtrangely miſtaken.*] This the Author of the *Diarium Biographicum* did (8): Thus he expreſſes himſelf, under that Year; "Martinus Akakia, Gallus, "CATALAUNENSIS, Medicinæ Doctor & "Profeſſor Lutetiæ Pariſ. —— Martin Akakia, *a* "French *Man, of* CHALONS, *Doctor of Phyſic,* "*and Profeſſor at* Paris." After which he gives us the Titles of ſome Books, of which *Akakia*, of *Châlons*, is the true Author. If he had known, that *Briſſot*, whoſe Diſciple our *Akakia* was, was no longer in *France*, in the Year 1519, he would not have prolonged the Life of this Diſciple of his to the Year 1605; or he would have taken ſome Notice of ſo remarkable an old Age, as his would have been. His Miſtake might ariſe from hence, that a Phyſician died in the Year 1605, whoſe Name was *Akakia*. He was a Grand-Child of *Briſſot*'s Diſciple. *Guy Patin* ſpeaks of him in this manner, with his Cynical Liberty; "Two Doctors of our Society conſpired "in writing the Apology for *Theodorus Mayerne* "*Turquet*; to wit, *Seguin*, who always ſupported "the Quacks, and his Brother-in-law *Acakia*, who "died in the Year 1605, of the Pox, which he "brought with him from *Italy*, whither he went "with M. *de Bethune* Ambaſſador at *Rome* (9)." If our *Martin Akakia* was capable of getting ſuch a Diſeaſe at the time of this Embaſſy, he muſt, without all Contradiction, have been the oldeſt Whoremaſter in *Europe*.

(8) Henningus Witte, *Profeſſor at* Riga, *in* Livonia.

(9) Patin, *Letter* VIII. *of the firſt Edition.*

AKAKIA (MARTIN) a *Pariſian*, Son of the preceeding, was created Doctor of Phyſic of the Faculty of *Paris*, in the Year 1572. *Triſtan de Roſtaing*, Knight of the Order, and *Amiot* Biſhop of *Auxerre*, became his Patrons [*A*]; and, at their Sollicitation, *Charles* IX. gave him the Office of firſt Reader and *Regius Profeſſor* of Chirurgery in the Year 1574. Four Years after, he was made Second Phyſician to *Henry* III (*a*). As he was ambitious of producing the moſt elaborate Lectures in the Royal Schools, which took up a great deal of his time, he feared, that the viſiting of his Patients, and the Function he was obliged to diſcharge at Court, would be too heavy a Burthen for him. So that, to preſerve himſelf from ſinking under ſo many Labours, he reſigned his Profeſſorſhip, with the King's leave, to *John Martin*, a Perſon

(*a*) *See Remark* [*A*].

[*A*] Triſtan *and* Amiot *became his Patrons.*] An apter Proof cannot be given of this than the Words, which I am going to cite out of a Panegyric of *Henry* III. It is *Martin Akakia* who ſpeaks; "Vix dum "igitur in publica profeſſione, qua nos Carolus Rex "Chriſtianiſſimus, Triſtando Roſtagnio Equite Torquato fortiſſimo, & Jacobo Amyoto Altiſſiodorenſium Epiſcopo de nobis referentibus, cohoneſtaverat, quadriennium compleveramus, cum Tu nos "inter tuos Medicos allegiſti & conſcripſiſti. —— "*I had ſcarce compleated four Years in the Exerciſe "of That public Profeſſion, with which the moſt Chriſtian King* Charles, *at the Requeſt of the brave* "Triſtan de Roſtaing, *Knight of the Order, and* "James Amiot, *Biſhop of* Auxerre, *had honoured "me, when you gave me a Rank among your own "Phyſicians.*" This Panegyric was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1578, with this Title; *Martini Akakiæ Regii & Medici & Profeſſoris ob ſuam in ordinem Regiorum Medicorum co-optationem Panegyricus, Henrico Valeſio Regi Chriſtianiſſimo dictus.*

[*B*] *At*

ſon very capable of That Office, as his Writings teſtify [B]. But *John Martin*, rightly judging that it would be incompatible with his other Employs, if he would diſcharge it conſcientiouſly, reſtored it to *Martin Akakia*; who diſpoſed of This Employment in favour of his Son-in-Law *Peter Seguin*, and died very ſoon after, in the Year 1588, being about Forty nine Years of Age. He left Two Sons, of whom I am going to ſpeak, and a Daughter, who was married to *Peter Seguin*, one of the moſt learned Phyſicians of the Faculty of *Paris*, and who exerciſed his Father-in-Law's Profeſſion in the Royal College from the Year 1588, to the Year 1599. The Treatiſe *de Morbis muliebribus*, and the *Conſilia Medica*, of our *Martin*, are ſcarce known to any one, but under the falſe Suppoſition, that they come from the ſame hand, as the Treatiſes of *Martin Akakia* of *Chalons*. I have not met with any Bibliographer, who diſtinguiſhes the Father's Writings from Thoſe of the Son; both are aſcribed to *Martin Akakia Catalaunenſis*. I ſhould have been deceived in this point as well as *Moreri*, had I not conſulted ſome Friends [C] about it. The Two Books *de Morbis muliebribus* were inſerted in the Collection, which a Phyſician, whoſe Name is *Iſrael Spachius*, publiſhed at *Straſburg*, in 1597, of ſeveral Treatiſes concerning the Diſeaſes of Women; and, as for the *Conſilia Medica*, they are to be found in a Collection of the like Works publiſhed by *Scholzius* at *Franckfort*, in 1598. It is highly probable, that *Iſrael Spachius* believed the Two Books *de Morbis muliebribus* to be a Work of the Diſciple of *Briſſot*. It was, doubtleſs, He, who inſerted in the Title, *Martini Akakiæ Medici Regii & in Univerſitate Pariſienſi Profeſſoris Medicinæ doctiſſimi, &c.* This Work had never been printed, but had been handed about in Manuſcript. *Spachius* knew, in general, that *Martin Akakia* wrote it; and he innocently believed, that This *Akakia* was the ſame Author, who had publiſhed ſome Works already; thus he gave him the Titles of the *Akakia* of *Chalons*, and not That of *Regius Profeſſor*, which the Author would have aſſumed, if he had publiſhed his Book himſelf.

[B] *As his Writings teſtify.*] Renatus Moreau took care to publiſh two Pieces of this Author: to wit, *Prælectiones in librum Hippocratis Coi de morbis internis, Pariſ.* 1637. *Prælectiones in librum Hippocratis Coi de aëre, aquis, & locis, Pariſ.* 1646. He prefixed the Author's Elogy to the firſt. There are likewiſe ſome *Latin* Verſes of *Antony Mornac* prefixed to the ſecond, in praiſe of the ſame *Martin*, who was one of the Commiſſioners at the famous Conference of *du Perron*, and *du Pleſſis*.

[C] *Had I not conſulted ſome Friends.*] The Profeſſor *Drelincourt* was pleaſed to inform me, that *Martin Akakia*, Author of the Treatiſe *de Morbis muliebribus*, not only cites *Fernel* and *Amatus Luſitanus*, but alſo *Scaliger*'s Work againſt *Cardan*, and the *Coſmocritice* of *Cornelius Gemma*. *Fernel* dedicated his Books to *Henry* II. who did not begin his Reign till the Year 1547. *Amatus Luſitanus* compoſed his *Second Century* at *Rome* (1) in the Year 1551 (2): I ſay at *Rome*; whither Pope *Julius* III. had invited him. *Scaliger*'s Book againſt *Cardan* was not printed till 1557. That of *Cornelius Gemma* was written on occaſion of the *Star*, which appeared in the Year 1572. and was not printed till 1575. This *Martin Akakia*, therefore, muſt have been living in the Year 1575. Mr *Drelincourt*'s Remarks prove this plainly. Now, as I had read (3), that *Martin Akakia* was Royal Profeſſor of Phyſic, in the Year 1577, and that *Peter Seguin* ſucceeded him, on the twentieth of *September*, 1594; I was deſirous of knowing what *William du Val* had ſaid upon this Subject, in his Catalogue of the Profeſſors of the Royal College. This I accompliſhed by the Aſſiſtance of Mr *Pinſſon de Riolles* (4), who took the Pains, in a moſt obliging manner, to ſend me ſeveral Particulars concerning the *Akakia*'s. He informed me among other things, I. That the *Martin Akakia* of *Châlons*, Phyſician to *Francis* I, died in the Year 1551. From this Fact, and the Remarks of Mr *Drelincourt*. it neceſſarily reſults, that the Author of the Book *de Morbis muliebribus*, is not *Martin Akakia Catalaunenſis*. II. That it is true indeed, that *Peter Seguin* had a Grant, in the Year 1588, of the Office of Royal Lecturer of Chirurgery, upon the Reſignation of *Martin Akakia*, his Father-in-law, but that he was obliged to take out new Letters, in the Year 1594. And the Reaſon was this: During the Civil Wars, the Number of Royal Lectures increaſed much more than the Foundation could ſupport; ſeveral Perſons having ſurreptitiouſly obtained Grants of that Place. *Henry* IV. chaſhired Part of thoſe Lecturers, in 1594, and gave out new Letters to thoſe, whom he retained. *Peter Seguin* was one of the latter. And for this Reaſon his Promotion was dated in the Year 1594, by the Author of *the Antiquities of Paris*; but, if That Author had been exact, he would not have been contented to ſay, that *Peter Seguin* ſucceed *Martin Akakia* on the twentieth of *September*, 1594. He would have been afraid of making his Readers imagin, that *Martin Akakia* died the ſame Year, and that *Peter Seguin* commenced from that Time Royal Profeſſor. Now whoever ſhould ſay this, would be guilty of two great Miſtakes.

(1) *'Tis that, which* Akakia *quotes without naming it; but what he quotes is in* Centur. 2. Curat. 39. pag. 289.

(2) *He ſays ſo himſelf,* pag. 136.

(3) *In the Antiquities of* Paris, *by Father* Du Breul, pag. 568.

(4) *Advocate in the Parliament of* Paris.

AKAKIA (MARTIN) Son of the Preceeding, was created Doctor of Phyſic, at *Paris*, in 1598. He was made Royal Profeſſor of Chirurgery, the Year after, by the Reſignation of *Peter Seguin*, his Brother-in-Law (*a*). He took a Journey to *Rome*, and died of a Diſtemper, at *Paris*, in the Year 1605, without leaving any Poſterity. He lies buried with his Father at St *Germain de l'Auxerrois*. His Brother JOHN AKAKIA, created Doctor of Phyſic, in the Year 1612, was Phyſician to *Lewis* XIII; and died in *Savoy* in the Year 1630. He left many Children [A].

(*a*) *He reſigned his Place on being made Royal Reader in Phyſick, on the* 10th *of* Sept. 1599. *by the Reſignation of* John Duret.

[A] *He left many Children.*] I. *MARTIN AKAKIA*, Royal Profeſſor of Chirurgery (1), who reſigned his Place in favour of *Mathurin Denyau*, and died ſome Years after, in 1677, leaving a Son, who was Clerk to the Comptroller General of the Finances, and a Daughter married to Mr *le Vayer de Boutigni*, Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*. II. *ROGER AKAKIA*. He is the Man of Intrigue, taken Notice of in the Remark [D] of the firſt *Akakia*. III. *CHARLES AKAKIA*: a very pious Clergyman, attached to the *Port-Royal*. IV. *SIMON AKAKIA de Plaſſis*, Agent for the *Port-Royal* Ladies. V. *N. AKAKIA*, known by the Name of Mr *du Lac*. He has the Care of the Edition of the late Mr *de Saci*'s Books on the Scripture. There were other Children of *John Akakia*, beſides theſe five.

(1) *He had the Poſt, when* William du Val *publiſh'd his Catalogue in* 1644.

AKIBA, a famous Rabbin, flouriſhed, a little after *Titus* had deſtroyed the City of *Jeruſalem.* He was a *Jew* only by the Mother's ſide; and it is pretended, that his Father was a Deſcendant of *Siſera*, General of the Army of *Jabin*, King of *Tyre. Akiba* lived in the Country, till he was forty Years of Age; where he had no very Honourable Employ; for he kept the Flocks of *Calba Schwa*, a rich Citizen of *Jeruſalem.* At length he applied himſelf to Study, at the Inſtigation of his Maſter's Daughter, who promiſed to marry him, if he made a great Progreſs in the Sciences. He applied himſelf ſo earneſtly to Study, for twenty four Years, in the Academies, that, afterwards, he found himſelf ſurrounded with a crowd of Diſciples, as one of the greateſt Maſters, that had been in *Iſrael.* He had twenty four Thouſand Scholars. He declared for the Impoſtor *Barcochebas* (*a*), and maintained, that the Words of *Balaam*, *A Star ſhall come out of Jacob*, were to be underſtood of him, and that he was the true *Meſſiah* (*b*). He was not ſatisfy'd with anointing him (*c*), as *Samuel* did the two firſt Kings of the *Jews*; He even ſubmitted to become his Equerry (*d*). The Forces, which the Emperor *Hadrian* ſent againſt the *Jews*, who, under the Conduct of this falſe *Meſſiah*, had committed horrible Maſſacres, extinguiſhed this Faction. *Akiba* was taken, and puniſhed with a cruel Death (*e*): His Fleſh was torn with Iron Combs; but in ſuch a manner, that they lengthened out the Torture, and put him to Death, as it were with a ſlow Fire (*f*). He lived one Hundred and twenty Years, and was buried, with his Wife, in a Cave, on a Mountain not far from *Tiberias.* His twenty four Thouſand Diſciples were buried below him in the ſame Mountain (*g*). I mention theſe particulars, without pretending, that they all deſerve Credit. It is thought, that he wrote a ſpurious Book, under the Name of the Patriarch *Abraham* [*A*]. Some ſay, he was guilty of a more unpardonable Offence than this; namely, that he altered the *Hebrew* Text of the Bible [*B*], in order to anſwer an Objection of the *Chriſtians* [*C*]. The *Jews* give him great Commendations [*D*]; and look upon him as a Man, who taught them all the unwritten Law [*E*]. The Remark, which we ſhall make upon this, will contain ſome Particulars

(*a*) *This word ſignifies in* Hebrew, *Son of the Star.*

(*b*) *See* Joh. à Lent. Schediaſma Hiſtorico Philologicum de Judæorum Pſeudo-Meſſiis, pag. 9.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 14.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 9, & 15.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 14. ex Tractatu Talmudico Eruf, fol. 21.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 15. ex Tractatu Talmudico Berachos, fol. 61.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 15. ex Autore libelli de Cippis ab Hottingero editi, & Latine tranſlati.

[*A*] *That he wrote a ſpurious Book, under the Name of the Patriarch* Abraham.] It is entitled, *Sepher Jezirah*; that is, *The Book of the Creation.* See the Remark [*E*] of the Article ABRAHAM, and add there this Supplement. *Lambecius* ought not to have ſaid that this Book *of the Creation* was printed the firſt time at *Mantua* (1); for the Edition of *Mantua* in 4to, with the Commentary of *Abraham Ben-Doir*, and ſeveral other Rabbies, whoſe Names you may find in the 536th Page of the *Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament*, had been preceded by the *Paris* Edition, in 8vo, 1552. The ſame Book was printed at *Baſil* in *Folio*, in the Year 1587, with ſeveral others of the ſame Stamp. It is of great Weight with the Cabaliſts; they ſay, they work Miracles by it (2).

[*B*] *He altered the* Hebrew *Text of the Bible.*] This Alteration relates to the Age of the Patriarchs, when they began to have Children. Every one knows, they were older at that Time, according to the Bible of the LXX, than according to the *Hebrew* Bible. For Example; *Adam*, according to the *Hebrew* Text, was one hundred and thirty Years old, when his Wife brought forth *Seth*; but, according to the Tranſlation of the LXX, he was, at that time, in his two hundred and thirtieth Year. Moſt Divines prefer the *Hebrew* Text to the *Greek.* They, who contend for the *Greek*, are but few in Number, but, in Recompence for this, they are commonly Men of ſingular Learning. Father *Paul Pezron*, a Monk of the ſtricteſt Order of *Ciſtertians*, and Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, is one of this *Minority.* He pretends, among other things, that the *Jews* altered the *Hebrew* Text in relation to the Times which paſt between the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, under *Titus*, and the twelfth Year of the Emperor *Hadrian* (3). He proves this by the Tranſlation of *Aquila*, publiſhed in the twelfth Year of That Emperor, which agrees very well with the *Hebrew* Text at this preſent time. Now as *Aquila*, going over from the Chriſtian to the Jewiſh Religion, put himſelf under the Tuition of *Akiba*; it ſeems very probable to Father *Pezron*, that This Alteration of the Scripture ought to be imputed to That Rabbi. It is certain that *Akiba* was "at that time in great Eſteem "among the *Jews*, and chiefly among thoſe of *Paleſtine*; for he was about forty Years Maſter of a "College, which they had at *Jabne*, or at *Tiberias*, "near the Lake of *Genezareth* (4). —— He had "many Diſciples; he paſſed for the moſt learned "Man among the *Jews*; and had ſo much Credit "with them, that it was he, who declared that *Barcochebas* was the *Meſſiah* (5)."

[*C*] *In order to anſwer an Objection of the* Chriſtians.] "The *Chriſtians* never diſputed more ſtrong"ly againſt the *Jews*, than in thoſe Times, *ſays "the ſame Author* (6), and never oppoſed them more "effectually. For they had nothing more to do, "than to ſhew them the *Goſpel* on the one ſide, and, "on the other, the Ruins of *Jeruſalem*, which were "before their Eyes, to convince them that *JESUS "CHRIST*, who had ſo plainly foretold it's Deſtru"ction, was the Prophet whom *Moſes* had promi"ſed. —— But they preſſed them very cloſe with "their own Traditions, which imported, That "*CHRIST* ſhould manifeſt himſelf at the end of "about ſix thouſand Years, by ſhewing them, that "this Number of Years was actually accompliſhed. "This greatly embarraſſed them, and is doubtleſs the "Reaſon, why it is ſaid, in the *Talmud*, that *Akiba* "and *Samſai* computed the Years (7) out of which "ſuch powerful Arguments were drawn againſt "them." It is certain, that the *Jews* might have anſwered the Objection drawn from the ſix thouſand Years, had the Bible been ſuch, as we have it at preſent; for it wants much of that Number of Years, from *Adam* to *JESUS CHRIST.*

[*D*] *The* Jews *give him great Commendations*] They called him *Sethumtaah* (8), that is, *The Authentic.* One of them (9) ſays, it would fill a whole Volume to ſpeak of him according to his Worth. Nis Name, ſays another, ran all over the Univerſe, and we have received all the Oral Law from His Mouth; *Hujus nomen (inquit* autor libri Zemach David) *exiit ab uno extremo mundi uſque ad aliud, atque totam legem Oralem ex ejus ore accepimus* (10).

[*E*] *Look upon him as a Man, who taught them all the unwritten Law.*] See the Paſſage juſt now quoted, and the Book, which Father *Paul Pezron* publiſhed at *Paris* in the Year 1691 (11). We find there (12), that Rabbi *Akiba*, the Son of *Joſeph*, was the firſt Compiler of the *Deuteroſes*, or *Jewiſh* Traditions, and the chief of the *Traditionaries*; that he collected the Traditions, which *Hillel*, *Simeon*, and other antient Doctors had invented; that he added others of his own Invention to them; that they were in vogue together 'till the end of the Vth Century, at which time others were added to them, of which the *Talmud* was compoſed; that *Akiba* (13) imployed the Rabbi *Meïr*, the moſt famous of all his Diſciples, *to commit part of theſe Traditions to Writing, out of which the* Miſna *was afterwards compoſed* culars of his Life. If we were to judge of his Lectures by his Precepts relating to the Cloſe-Stool [*F*], we ſhould have reaſon to treat them as ridiculous.

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(1) Lambecii Hiſtor. Literar. Prodrom. p. 53. apud Placcium de Pſeudonymis, pag. 134.

(2) Placcius, ibid.

(3) Pezron, *of the Antiquity of Times*, cap. 16. pag. 289. *Edit. of* Paris 1687, *in* 4to.

(4) Ibid. p. 290.

(5) Ibid. p. 291.

(6) Id. ib.

(7) Talmud in Tractatu de Synedrio.

(8) *See* Joh. à Lent de Pſeudo-Meſſiis, pag. 9.

(9) Zacutus in Juchaſin, pag. 66. apud Lent, pag. 19.

(10) Konig. Biblioth. pag. 19.

(11) *Entituled*, A Defence of the Antiquity of Times.

(12) *Page* 61.

(13) *Page* 63. ex Tzemach David, p. 99.

poſed (14), that he was the Patriarch's Aſſiſtant (15), and the Maſter of *Aquila*, and of Rabbi *Joſe*, who was the Author of the *Grand Council* of the *Jews* (16); that he became the Head of the *Jewiſh* Schools, in the ſame Year that *Joſephus* finiſhed his Antiquities; that he continued in this Place forty Years; that he is often cited in the *Pirke-Eliezer*, and that he wiſhed eternal Damnation to all thoſe, who ſhould read the Works of the *Chriſtians*.

[*F*] *By his Precepts relating to the Cloſe-Stool.*] The *Jewiſh* Nation was devoted to a Spirit of ſuch childiſh and chimerical Obſervances, that their graveſt Doctors have extended their Ritual, even to the moſt Mechanical Actions, ſuch as That of going to the Neceſſary-Houſe. Unhappy for him who could not find out the *Eaſt*; for the four Cardinal Points of the Horizon are not equally favourable. I ſhall give the reſt of their ridiculous Superſtitions in this Matter in the following Words. “ Dixit R. Akiba, ingreſſus ſum “ aliquando poſt Rabbi Joſuam in ſedis ſecretæ locum, “ & tria ab eo didici. Didici I. quod non verſus “ Orientem & Occidentem ſed verſus Septentrionem “ & Auſtrum convertere nos debeamus. Didici II. “ quod non in pedes erectum, ſed jam conſidentem “ ſe retegere liceat. Didici III. quod podex non “ dextra ſed ſiniſtra manu abſtergendus ſit. Ad hæc “ objecit ibi Ben Haſas; uſque adeo vere perfricuiſti “ frontem erga magiſtrum tuum ut cacantem obſer- “ vares? Reſpondet ille, Legis hæc arcana ſunt ad “ quæ diſcenda id neceſſario mihi agendum fuit (17). “ —— R. Akiba *ſaid, I once follow'd Rabbi* Joſua “ *into the* —— *and learned three Things from him*; “ I. *That we muſt turn ourſelves, not Eaſtward and* “ *Weſtward, but Northward and Southward, when* “ *we* —— II. *That we muſt* —— *not ſtanding, but* “ *ſitting*. III. *That we muſt wipe* —— *not with our* “ *right Hand, but with our left. Upon this* Ben “ Haſas *objected*; *Are you ſo harden'd in Impudence,* “ *as to watch your Maſter, when he is at* ——? *He* “ *reply'd, Theſe are Secrets of our Law, to learn which* “ *I was obliged ſo to do.*” Behold a wonderful Doctor, who explain'd the Myſteries of the Law, on his Cloſe-Stool, without ſpeaking a Word!

(14) *The* Jews *pretend that Rabbi* Juda, *who compiled it, was born the ſame Day that* Akiba *died.* R. Juda princeps natus eſt illo die quo obiit R. Akiba, de quo aiunt, Sol exortus eſt & Sol occidit. *Pezron, pag.* 70.

(15) Nerv[illegible] *permitted the* Jews *to chuſe a Patriarch of their own Nation.*

(16) Ex Hieronymo in cap. viii. Iſaiæ.

(17) Ex Barajetha in Maſſech. Berachos, fol. 62. apud Lent, pag. 10.

ALABASTER (WILLIAM) an *Engliſh* Divine, was born at *Hadley* in *Suffolk*. He was one of the Doctors of *Trinity* College at *Cambridge*, and accompanied the Earl of *Eſſex*, as his Chaplain, in his Expedition to *Cadiz*, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. It is ſaid, that his firſt inducement to change his Religion was the Pomp and Splendor of the *Romiſh* Churches, and the great Reſpect paid to their Prieſts; and that, as he became wavering, ſome of that Communion worked upon theſe Diſpoſitions, and ſo dextrouſly took advantage of the Complaint he made of being neglected in *England*, that he immediately turned *Papiſt*, being ſatisfied, that he had no reaſon to expect better Preferment, at home. However that be, he embraced the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; but did not find his Expectations anſwered. He was ſoon diſguſted with it; he did not like a Diſcipline, which would not admit any of the Degrees, to which he had been already promoted; and it is probable he was not better pleaſed with their Creature-Worſhip, which the Proteſtants are uſed to look upon with Horror; therefore he returned into *England* to reſume his former Religion. He obtained a Canonſhip in St *Paul*'s Church, and afterwards the Living of *Tharfield* in *Hertfordſhire*. He underſtood the *Hebrew* Tongue very well, but ſpoiled himſelf by the Study of the *Cabala*, of which he was very fond. He gave Proofs of it in the Sermon, which he preached, when he was created Doctor of Divinity at *Cambridge*. He took for his Text the beginning of the Firſt Book of the *Chronicles*, *Adam*, *Seth*, *Enoch*, and, after having touched upon the Literal Senſe, he fell into the Myſtical, and maintained, that *Adam* ſignified, *Unhappineſs* and *Miſery*; and ſo of the reſt (*a*). His Method of explaining the Scripture did not pleaſe the *Roman* Catholics [*A*]. I ſhall give their Senſe of it in the Remarks, and ſhew, how he got clear

(*a*) *See* Fuller's Worthies of England.

[*A*] *His Method of explaining——did not pleaſe the* Roman *Catholics.*] *Francis Garaſſe*, a Jeſuit, having mentioned a very whimſical Opinion of *Iſidorus Peluſiota* (1), goes on thus. “ *Alabaſter*'s Expoſition is “ yet farther from common Senſe; for he tacks to- “ gether certain *Rabbinical* Conceits, which are plea- “ ſant enough, if they were but as ſolidly founded, “ as they are ſubtilly invented. He tells us, in his “ *Apparatus*, chap. 9. That *Jonas* and our *Saviour* “ remain'd punctually three Days and three Nights, “ the one in the Bowels of the Earth, and the other “ in the Whale's Belly, in the following Manner. “ *Jonas*, ſays he, *was carried to the very Center of* “ *the World, as he himſelf acknowledges*; Ad extrema “ montium deſcendi, terræ vectes circumdederunt me. “ —— *I went down to the bottom of the Mountains*; “ *the Earth with her Bars was about me for ever.* “ Jonah ii. 6. *Now, being thus ſituated, he had both* “ *Day and Night at one time*; *for, looking towards* “ *our Hemiſphere, he had the Day before, and the* “ *Night behind him, and, the next Day, quite the* “ *contrary*; *ſo that, remaining but one Day and a* “ *half, he continued there in reality three whole Days*; “ *foraſmuch as the Space of Time muſt be doubled, be-* “ *cauſe he enjoy'd at once, what we have ſucceſſively.* “ *Thus our Lord being in the Womb of the Earth,* “ *had, like* Jonas, *Day and Night both at one time*; “ *foraſmuch as his Soul went down to the Center of* “ *the Earth, in order to have the Day on one Side,* “ *and the Night on the other, and thereby to ſhorten* “ *the Term of his abode, without wreſting Truth*; *ſo* “ *unwilling was he to leave his Diſciples in a diſcon-* “ *ſolate Condition.* This Hypotheſis, I ſay, is inju- “ rious to the holy Scripture; as it is too much “ ſtrain'd, and ſophiſticated, and is juſt like the Fancies “ of the Rabbins; and therefore it was not without “ Reaſon, that *Alabaſter*'s Book was condemn'd at “ *Rome*: But he was ſo exceſſively fond of his own “ Conceits, that he behav'd worſe, than *Heliodorus*; “ for he choſe to forſake his Religion, rather than “ quit his dangerous and idle Notions concerning the “ holy Scriptures (2).” I ſhall add the Judgment of a *Flemiſh* Jeſuit to That of the *Frenchman*. *Bonfrerius*, having condemn'd thoſe, who, by the help of the *Cabala*, find any thing in every Paſſage of the holy Scripture, goes on thus: “ Quod nuper fecit “ inſulſe nimis & irreligioſe *Gulielmus Alabaſter*, qui “ in illo ſuo Apparatu ex inanibus ejuſmodi fundamen- “ tis, ne dicam quiſquiliis, conatus eſt nobis ſuam “ Myſticam Theologiam, & (ita ipſe vocat) interiorem “ Scripturæ ſenſum ac medullam (re ipſa aliud nihil “ quam deliramenta & ſomnia) exprimere. Qua ex “ re male audiit, & Romæ cenſoriam Eccleſiæ virgu- “ lam merito expertus eſt. Quis enim ferat quempiam “ in re tam ſeria, Scripturæ inquam interpretatione, “ pro probatis mercibus vendere quæ ipſe parum ſano “ cerebro delirarit (3)? —— *Which was lately pra-* “ *ctiſed, with too much Folly and Irreligion, by* “ William Alabaſter, *who, in That* Apparatus *of his,* “ *endeavour'd, upon this idle Foundation, not to call it* “ *a Founda-*

(1) *You will find it at the end of this Remark.*

(2) Garaſſe's *Curious Doctrine*, pag. 593. *printed in* 1623.

(3) Bonfrerius *in the Prolegomena of his Commentary on the* Pentateuch, *printed in* 1625.

clear of the Objection made in relation to the Three Days and Three Nights, which Jesus Christ was to paſs in the Bowels of the Earth, as *Jonas* did in the Whale's Belly (*b*). I muſt not omit, that his Poetry was very much eſteemed. He wrote a *Latin* Tragedy, called *Roxama*, at the Repreſentation of which, in a College at *Cambridge*, there happened a very remarkable Accident (*c*). A Lady was ſo frighted with the Laſt Word of the Tragedy, *Sequar*, *Sequar*, which was pronounced with a very furious Air, that ſhe was diſtracted all her Life-time after. *Alabaſter* was yet living in 1630. His *Apparatus in Revelationem Jeſu Chriſti* was printed at *Antwerp* in the Year 1607. As for the *Spiraculum tubarum*, *ſeu fons ſpiritualium expoſitionum ex æquivocis Pentaglotti* (*d*) *ſignificationibus*, and his *Ecce ſponſus venit*, *ſeu tuba pulcritudinis, hoc eſt demonſtratio quod non ſit illicitum nec impoſſibile computare durationem mundi & tempus ſecundi adventus Chriſti*; they were printed at *London* (*e*). From theſe Titles we may judge of the Author's Taſte; but we ſhall form a better Notion of it from the Words of *Andrew Rivet* [*B*], which I ſhall produce. We muſt not forget his *Lexicon Hebraicum*, *in Folio*. I have taken no Notice of his *Motives of his Converſion*, which he publiſhed, after having embraced the Catholic Religion; we know well enough that this is the Practice of thoſe, who change their Religion; A Cuſtom more in vogue at that Time, than at preſent. The Public had not, then, leiſure to be diſguſted at this ſort of Books. That of *Alabaſter* was refuted by *Roger Fenton* (*f*).

(*b*) *See Remark* [*A*].

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies.

(*d*) *So ſays the Catalogue of the* Bodleian *Library: But it ſhould be* Pentateuchi.

(*e*) *See the Catalogue of the* Bodleian *Library*.

(*f*) *His Reply is intitled*, An Anſwer to *W. Alabaſter*'s Motives. *Lond.* 1599. *in* 4to

" *a Foundation of Weeds and Refuſe, to explain to us his Myſtical Theology, and (as he himſelf calls it) the internal Senſe and Marrow of the Scripture; though in reality, nothing elſe but a Madman's Dreams. Upon which account it was of ill repute, and deſervedly felt the Church's cenſorial Rod, at* Rome. *For who can bear, that, in ſo ſerious a Matter, I mean in explaining the Scripture, any one ſhould vend for approved Wares, what are but the delirious Productions of his own diſtemper'd Brain?*" He gives afterwards ſome Examples of this Author's Explications.

I ſhall quote preſently a *Proteſtant*, who reproaches the *Roman* Catholics for tolerating the idle Fancies of *Alabaſter*.

I have been informed by a learned Perſon, that moſt Readers do not love to be told, in general, that ſuch or ſuch an Author has advanc'd a chimerical Opinion. This excites their Curioſity, and they want to have it immediately ſatisfy'd, and even without being obliged to have recourſe to ſome other Book, which they have in their Library. This learned Perſon therefore, would have thought I ought to have ſaid nothing of *Iſidorus Peluſiota*, or that, having obſerved, in general, that his Opinion is groteſque, I ought to have produc'd it; eſpecially conſidering that Father *Garaſſe*'s Book is ſeldom found in the Library of private Perſons. I profit by this Advice, and find by experience it is well founded; for which Reaſon I have choſen, upon many Occaſions, to add to my Commentaries, rather than excite the Curioſity of my Readers in vain: *Iſidorus Peluſiota*, then, in order to compleat the Number of Days, ſuppos'd, That the Darkneſs, at the time of the Paſſion, ought to be taken for one Night, and that the return of the Light 'till Sun-ſet ought to be conſider'd as a Day. Read what follows: " I anſwer, That it is true, there is ſome Difficulty in reconciling this Paſſage (4) with the Truth of Hiſtory; and that it was one of the chief Arguments, by which *Julian*, the Apoſtate, endeavour'd to overthrow the Truth of the Goſpel; however it is not ſo deſperate, but that a true and natural Expoſition may be given of it, without having recourſe to Fancies; which ſome have done, though without any ill Deſign; as we have ſeen above, concerning the Hour of the Reſurrection. *Iſidorus Peluſiota*, in the 114th Epiſtle of the firſt Book of his Epiſtles, gives us a new Explication of it in theſe Words: —— Sic habeto; ſextâ horâ Paraſceves in crucem actus eſt Dominus, ab hac horâ uſque ad nonam tenebræ extiterunt; has tu noctem intellige: Rurſus horâ nonâ lux; hæc tu pro die habe: Nox rurſum Paraſceves: Tum dies Sabbathi: Tum nox Sabbathi Dominici Diei. —— *Take it thus; Our Lord was crucified at the ſixth Hour, on* Good Friday; *from this Hour to the ninth, there was Darkneſs; call this one Night; again, at the ninth Hour there was Light; let this ſtand for one Day: Then follow'd the Night of* Good Friday: *Then the Day of the* Jewiſh *Sabbath: Then the Night of the* Chriſtian *Sabbath, or Lord's Day.* —— It is true, indeed, according to this Expoſition, that Jesus Christ remained three Days and three Nights, in the Bowels of the Earth; but they are Days and Nights reduced to a very narrow Compaſs (5).

[*B*] *A better Notion of it, from the Words of* Andrew Rivet.] " Anno, 1607, *ſays he* (6), quidam Pontificius Anglus *Gulielmus Alabaſtrus*, edidit Antverpiæ librum, cui titulum fecit, *Apparatus in revelationem Chriſti*, in quo profitetur ſe *novam & admirabilem rationem* afferre *inveſtigandi Prophetiarum myſteria ex Scriptura ſe ipſam interpretante.* Ibi novam Cabbalam inſtituit, ex qua quidlibet ex quolibet educit, & mutatis, vel inverſis, aut ſeparatis, & disjunctis, Ebræorum vocabulorum literis, aut ſyllabis, novis etiam ſignificationibus contra grammaticæ rationem aſſignatis, diverſis nominibus aut verbis, omnia pervertit, & ipſi adeò commentum placet, ut, quamvis ſæpè excipiat ſe nolle præjudicare Latinæ verſioni, cum tamen videat ex ea nullis fidiculis ſenſum, quem ſibi proponit, poſſe erui, non veretur dicere, pag. 61, *Deum Chriſti & Religionis Chriſtianæ myſteria per illam verborum formam in Ebræo legis codice expreſſiſſe, quæ ſenſum carnalem, & à divina mente alienum, lectori prima fronte offerret, atque ita voluiſſe ut in Eccleſia Chriſtiana nulla paſſim legeretur verſio, quam quæ ſecundum Ebræorum verborum corticem conciperetur, ut hoc modo ſapientia divina non eſſet cuivis profano obvia.* Sed poſtea idem, per totum illud opus, ita ſapientiam illam divinam ex Scripturæ, ſi Deo placet, penetralibus haurit, ut ne ulli quidem hactenus ex Patribus ſanctiſſimis vel unius loci talis interpretatio in mentem unquam venerit, ne ipſis quidem omniſciis Pontificibus. ———— *In the Year* 1607, *a certain* Engliſh Roman *Catholic*, *named* William Alabaſter, *publiſhed, at* Antwerp, *a Book*, *entituled* Apparatus in Revelationem Chriſti; *in which he profeſſes to give us* a new and admirable Method of inveſtigating the myſterious Senſe of the Prophecies, by making the Scripture it's own Interpreter. *In this Work, he drew up a new* Cabala, *by the help of which he extracts any thing from any thing; and perverts the whole Scripture, by changing, or inverting, or ſeparating, and disjoining, the Letters of the* Hebrew *Words, or Syllables; ſometimes by aſſigning new Significations to them, contrary to the Rules of Grammar, or by ſubſtituting new Nouns or Verbs: Nay he is ſo fond of his own Comment, that, tho' he frequently aſſures us he intends no Prejudice to the* Latin *Verſion, yet, when he cannot, with all the torturing imaginable, wreſt That to the Senſe, he would extract from it, he is not aſham'd to declare, Pag.* 61, That God expreſs'd the Myſteries of Christ, and the Chriſtian Religion, under That Form of Words, which is in the *Hebrew Code* of the Law, which, at firſt ſight, preſents to the Reader a carnal Senſe, and wide of the Divine Intention, and that it is his Will, that no Verſion ſhould be publickly read in the Chriſtian Church, but what is conceiv'd according to the Bark, or external meaning of the *Hebrew* Words; that by this means the Divine Wiſdom might not be obvious to the Prophane. *Yet this very Author afterwards, through his whole Work, ſo expoſes his divine Wiſdom, by drawing* " *it*

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(4) *It is That of the* 12*th Chapter of* St Matthew, *where it is ſaid, that* the Son of Man ſhall be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.

(5) Garaſſe's *Curious Doctrine*, pag. 592, 593.

(6) Rivet. Iſagoge ad Scripturam ſacram, cap. 15. Oper. Tom. 2. pag. 937.

“ *it out of it's Receſſes, that none of the Holy Fa-* “ *thers, not even the Popes themſelves, with all their* “ *Infallibility, ever dream'd of one ſingle Interpreta-* “ *tion, ſuch as our Author gives us.*” *Rivet*, having produc'd two Examples of the viſionary Notions of this Author (7), continues his Diſcourſe thus; “ A- “ lia hujus farinæ multa, pag, 57. & ſeqq. afferuntur “ à nugatore blaſphemo, quibus ſyllabas unius nomi- “ nis & verbi ſeorſim accipiens, & à ſua radice di- “ vellens, omnia ſurſum deorſum vertit: Et tamen “ in regno Pontificio toleratur hæc novitas, ubi ſim- “ plex Scripturæ ex ipſa Scriptura interpretatio hæ- “ reſeos inſimulatur. Sed de his hactenus. Videant “ Pontificii, an ſuo Alabaſtro non debeant *nigrum* “ *præfigere theta*: Nos hominis inſolentiſſimam au- “ daciam deteſtamur, etſi eum Jeſuita Poſſevinus ſuis “ Catholicis Scriptoribus inſeruerit, Appar. Sacri “ Tomo primo. —— *This blaſphemous Trifler has* “ *given us more of the ſame Stamp*, Page 57, &c. “ *in which, by taking the Syllables of a ſingle Noun* “ *or Verb apart, he overturns the whole Senſe. And* “ *yet this novel Practice is tolerated in a* Roman *Ca-* “ *tholic Country, where the ſimple Interpretation of* “ *Scripture by itſelf is charged with Hereſy. But* “ *ſo much for this Subject. I leave it to the* Roman “ *Catholics to judge, whether their* Alabaſter *ought* “ *not to undergo the Sentence of Condemnation: For* “ *my own part, I deteſt the ſhameleſs Impudence of* “ *the Man, notwithſtanding the Jeſuit* Poſſevin *has* “ *inſerted him among his Catholic Writers.*” Obſerve I. That the Work, out of which this is taken, was publiſh'd the firſt time in 1626, and that the Edition in *Folio*, printed in the Year 1652, which I make uſe of, had been reviſed, corrected, and enlarged by the Author. II. That *Alabaſter*'s Book had been condemn'd at *Rome*, the 30th of *January*, 1610, and that the Author was return'd to the Boſom of the Church of *England*, a conſiderable time before the firſt Edition of *Rivet*'s Book. The Congregation of the *Index* expreſs themſelves in the following Terms; I ſet them down, becauſe they ſeem to inſer that the *Apparatus* of *Alabaſter* was reprinted at *Rome*, with ſome Alterations and Corrections. *Apparatus in Revelationem Jeſu Chriſti* Auctore *Gulielmo Alabaſtro Anglo*, Antverpiæ 1607. *Et Antitheſis, Benedicti à Benedictis* Veneti, *contra Gulielmum Witackerum, niſi fuerint ex* CORRECTIS AB AUCTORIBUS ET ROMAE IMPRESSIS, *cum approbatione P. Mag. Sacri Palatii.* But perhaps they meant only, that, in caſe thoſe Authors ſhould correct their Works, and ſuffer them to be printed at *Rome*, with the Approbation of the Maſter of the Sacred Palace, they would then licenſe the new Edition. I believe this to be the true Senſe. *Samuel Andreas*, a *German* Divine, wrote a Book (8) againſt the *Cabala* of Dr *Henry Moor* (9), wherein he produces ſome Inſtances of *Alabaſter*'s Chimeras (10).

(7) *The one is on the* 9*th Verſe of the* 37*th Chap. of* Geneſis: *the other on the* 8*th Verſe of the* 40*th Chap. of the ſame Book.*

(8) *See the Index* Librorum prohibitorum, *printed at* Rome *in the Time of* Alexander VII. *pag.* 206.

(9) *The Title is*, Examen Cabalæ Henr. Mori.

(10) Andr. Exam. Cab. H. Mori.

ALAINS, *in Latin* ALANI, a barbarous People, who greatly contributed to the Ruin of the *Roman* Empire. *Pliny* places them in *Europe*, beyond the Mouths of the *Danube* (*a*); but *Joſephus* points out their Situation more exactly; for he places them near the *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Tanais* (*b*). He deſcribes a furious Eruption, which they made into *Media*, and *Armenia*, in the Reign of *Veſpaſian*. It was at that time, that *Vologeſes*, King of the *Parthians*, deſired That Emperor to ſend him Aſſiſtance againſt the *Alani*, under the Command of one of his Sons; upon which *Domitian* uſed his Endeavours to obtain this Commiſſion (*c*). This might induce *Moreri* to tell us, though a little confuſedly as to Chronology, that theſe *Barbarians had already made themſelves known from the Time of* Domitian. But this want of Chronological Exactneſs is nothing in compariſon of the reſt. He tells us, that the *Alani* joined with the *Vandals*, with the *Suevi*, and afterwards with the *Goths*, in the beginning of the Fifth Century; that they fought againſt the *French* in the Year 505; that they ravaged *Gaul*; that *Gunderic*, the Son of *Aodegigilus*, was their Chief; that, about the Year 509, they paſſed into *Spain*, where they ſettled; and that they were defeated there by *Vallia*, King of the *Goths*, in 418. Such groſs Miſtakes, ſurely, muſt fly in the Reader's Face; for in ſhort, a People, conquered in 418, in a Country, into which they came about the Year 509, is a Story, ſufficient to awaken the moſt languiſhing Attention. The Truth is, *Moreri* is guilty of an Anachroniſm of no leſs than an Hundred Years. The *Alani* advanced, in 406, from the Banks of the *Danube* to the *Rhine*, without meeting any Reſiſtance; and being joined by the *Vandals*, who had eſcaped from a Battel loſt againſt the *Franks*, they entered *Gaul*. Their King's Name was *Reſpendial*: the King of the *Vandals*'s Name was *Gunderic*, the Son of *Godiſigil*, who had been killed in the late Battel. Several other Nations of Barbarians joined them, and cauſed a prodigious Deſolation in all the *Gauls*. Part of the *Alani*, under the Conduct of *Utacus*, who had ſucceeded *Reſpendial*, paſſed into *Spain*, in the Year 409, and ſettled in the Province of *Carthagena*, and in *Luſitania*; the other Part kept their Ground in *Gaul*, under the Conduct of Two Kings. The *Alani* in *Spain*, defeated by *Vallia*, King of the *Goths*, near *Merida*, in 418, were forced to ſubmit to *Honorius*. Their King *Vatacus* loſt his Life in the Battel (*d*). We meet with certain of the *Alani*, in the Year 464, who threw off the Yoke of the *Huns*, after the Death of *Attila*, and entered *Italy* in order to ſettle there; but *Ricimer*, marching againſt them with the Forces of the Empire, defeated them in ſuch a manner near *Bergamo*, that but very few of them eſcaped, and their King *Beorgor* was killed in the Battel. The *Huns*, having committed great Ravage and Slaughter in the Country of the *Alani*, had a long time before aſſociated themſelves with thoſe, who eſcaped their Fury. This we read in *Ammianus Marcellinus* (*e*). He gives us a long Deſcription of the Manners of the *Alani* (*f*) and ſays, they were the ſame People, to which Antiquity gave the Name of *Maſſagetæ* [*A*]; he pretends they

(*a*) Plin. lib. 4. c. 12. *and not* cap. 2. *as in* Moreri.

(*b*) Joſeph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 7. cap. 29.

(*c*) Cum Vologeſes, Parthorum Rex, auxilia adverſus Alanos, ducemque alterum ex Veſpaſiani liberis depopoſciſſet, omni ope contendit, ut ipſe potiſſimum mitteretur. *Sueton. in Domit. c.* 2.

(*d*) Cordemoi's Hiſt. of *France*.

(*e*) Amm. Marcell. lib. 30. c. 3.

(*f*) *See Cemark* [*B*].

[*A*] *The People to whom Antiquity gave the Name of* Maſſagetæ.] There are two Paſſages in relation to this in *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1); the firſt is in the fifth Chapter of the twenty third Book, and will admit of no Difficulty; “ Lucullus, per Albanos & “ Maſſagetas, quos Alanos nunc appellamus, hac “ quoque natione perrupta, vidit Caſpios lacus. —— “ Lucullus, *by the* Albani *and* Maſſagetæ, *now cal-* “ *led* Alani, *forcing his Way thro' this People, came* “ *in ſight of the* Caſpian *Sea.*” The other is in the ſecond Chapter of the thirty firſt Book, in a Place where the Manuſcripts are ſo confuſed, that we muſt have Recourſe to Critical Conjectures, to find in it what I attribute here to *Marcellinus*. It is, therefore, only upon the Conjecture of the learned *Valeſius*, that This Hiſtorian is made to ſay *aduſque*

Alanos

(1) Moreri *cites the firſt Book, which is loſt.*

they inhabited the vaſt Solitudes of *Scythia*, and gave their Name to the Neighbouring Nations, as faſt as they ſubdued them, and ſpread this Name as far as the River *Ganges*. Though he repreſents them Cruel and Savage [*B*], yet he does not make them equal the *Huns* in Brutality; and he remarks that they pillaged and plundered as far as the *Palus Mæotis*, and as far as *Media* and *Armenia*.

Alanos pervenit, veteres Maſſagetas. —— *He penetrated as far as the* Alani, *formerly the* Maſſagetæ. Now, as the firſt Paſſage plainly proves, that *Marcellinus* placed the *Alani* in *Aſia*, we may, I think, conteſt, with this learned Commentator, the Explication he gives of theſe Words of the Text: “Hiſter Sauromatas prætermeat ad uſque amnem Tanaim pertinentes, qui Aſiam terminat ab Europa. Hoc tranſito in immenſum extentas Scythiæ ſolitudines Alani inhabitant (2). —— *The River* Iſter *(or the* Danube) *flows by the Country of the* Sauromatæ, *which reaches as far the River* Tanais, *the Boundary of* Aſia *and* Europe, *beyond which, the* Alani *inhabit the immenſe Deſarts of* Scythia.” *Valeſius* will have *hoc tranſito (beyond which)* to relate to the *Danube*, and not to the *Tanais*; and, in proof, he alledges *Pliny*, *Dionyſius Characenus*, *Oroſius*, and *Tzetzes*, who place the *Alani* in *Sarmatia*, and beyond the *Danube*; but the Queſtion is not what others have ſaid of it, but only what *Marcellinus*'s Opinion was; and, upon this Foot, it ſeems to me, that *hoc tranſito* muſt be referred to the *Tanais*; for, beſides that the *Maſſagetæ* did not inhabit between the *Tanais* and the *Danube*, we find a little after, that this Hiſtorian places the *Alani* in the Neighbourhood of the *Amazons*, and makes them rob and plunder, on the one ſide, as far as *Media* and *Armenia*, and, on the other, as far as the *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Boſporus Cimmerius*. “Parte alia prope Amazonum ſedes Alani ſunt Orienti adclines, diffuſi per populoſas gentes & amplas, Aſiaticos vergentes in tractus, quos dilatari ad uſque Gangen accepi fluvium (3). ——— latrocinando & venando ad uſque Mœotica ſtagna & Cimmerium Boſporum, itidemque Armenios diſcurrentes & Mediam (4).” All this ſhews, that he has not followed the Opinion of thoſe Authors, who placed the *Alani* in the *European Sarmatia*; for where would be the wonder, if Robbers, thus ſituated, ſhould ravage not only *Media* and *Armenia*, but likewiſe the *Palus Mæotis*? *Marcellinus* would not be the only Author, who places theſe *Barbarians* in *Aſia*: Does not *Valeſius* cite *Procopius* (5), who places them between *Caucaſus* and the *Caſpiæ Portæ*? Laſtly, What does *Moreri* mean by theſe Words: Pliny *places them in the* European Sarmatia, *where* Lithuania *is at preſent?* Doubtleſs he means, that the *Sarmatia* of the Ancients is the preſent *Lithuania*: But this is falſe; for *Lithuania* is but a ſmall Part of the ancient *European Sarmatia*. Obſerve, that *Ptolemy* acknowledges two Nations of *Alani*, one in *Europe*, the other in *Aſia*.

[*B*] *He repreſents them Cruel and Savage.*] They had no other Houſes than their Waggons; in them they begot, and brought up, their Children, and abode no longer in a Place, than till they had conſumed their Proviſions. Fleſh and Milk were their only Food; and they did not manure their Ground. “Nec enim ulla ſunt illis tuguria aut verſandi vomeris cura: Sed carne & copia victitant lactis, plauſtris ſuperſidentes. ——— abſumptiſque pabulis velut carpentis civitates impoſitas vehunt, mareſque ſupra cum feminis coëunt, & naſcuntur in his & educantur infantes (6).” They accuſtomed themſelves early to ride on Horſeback, and looked upon it as mean to travel on Foot. They were ſo fond of War, that they eſteemed thoſe happy, who died in it, and loaded thoſe with Injuries, and Reproaches of Cowardiſe, who died of Age and of Sickneſs. They took a pride in nothing more than in having killed a Man; they cut off the Heads of thoſe, whom they killed; they flayed them, and made uſe of their Skins as Ornaments for their Horſes; they had no Temples, nor worſhipped any thing but a naked Sword ſtuck in the Ground. It was their God *Mars*, the Patron of the Countries, which they inhabited. They foretold future Events by the help of certain Rods, ſelected with magical Incantations. “Judicatur ibi beatus, qui in prælio profuderit animam: Seneſcentes enim & fortuitis mortibus mundo digreſſos ut degeneres & ignavos conviciis atrocibus inſectantur: Nec quidquam eſt quod elatius jactent, quam homine quolibet occiſo: Próque exuviis glorioſis, interfectorum avulſis capitibus detractas pelles pro phaleris jumentis accommodant bellatoriis. Nec templum apud eos viſitur, aut delubrum, *&c.* (7).” This is the Picture, which *Ammianus Marcellinus* draws of theſe *Barbarians*; and it is not improper to repreſent to thoſe, who are acquainted only with civilized Nations, that there are others ſo ſavage, as more nearly to reſemble Brute Beaſts, than the Human Species. This may afford many Reflexions both Phyſical and Moral, and make us wonder at the infinite variety of Cuſtoms and Diſpoſitions of which our Nature is ſuſceptible, and, among which, for one that is good, we may count above an Hundred thouſand bad.

(2) Amm. Marcell. lib. 31. c. 2.

(3) Id. ib.

(4) Id. ib.

(5) Henr. Valeſius in Marcell. lib. 31. c. 2.

(6) Amm. Marcell. lib. 31. c. 2.

(7) Id. ib.

ALAIS, a City of *France*, in the *Sevennes*, in the Dioceſe of *Nîmes*, five Leagues from *Uſés* (*a*), is the Capital of an Ancient Lordſhip, which was erected into an Earldom, and poſſeſſed by *Charles de Valois*, Duke of *Angôuleme*, a Natural Son of *Charles* IX. *Lewis Emanuel de Valois* was long known by the Name of Count *d'Alais* (*b*); he was Colonel General of the Light Horſe of *France*, Governor of *Provence*, and Son of This Duke of *Angôuleme*, and Father of *Frances Mary de Valois*, Wife of *Lewis* of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Joyeuſe*. By this Marriage the Earldom of *Alais* fell to the Houſe of *Lorrain*, ſettled in *France*; for, from the Marriage of the Duke of *Joyeuſe* with *Frances Mary de Valois*, ſprung *Lewis-Joſeph* of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Guiſe*, who died at *Paris* of the *Small-Pox*, the 30th of *July* 1671, aged twenty one Years (*c*). The City of *Alais* became Epiſcopal after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes* [*A*]. Some will have it to be the *Aleſia* deſcribed by *Julius Cæſar*, in the ſeventh Book of his Commentaries. Mr *de Mandajors*, who is Mayor of it, wrote a Diſſertation on this Subject. See *the Journal of the Learned*, of the 9th of *May*, 1695, at the 321ſt Page of the Edition of *Holland*.

(*a*) *From* Baudrand's Lexic. Geograph.

(*b*) *It is he, of whom* Gaſſendus *ſpeaks ſo often, and to whom he wrote ſo many Letters*, Ludovico Valeſio.

(*c*) *Father* Anſelm's *Genealogy of the Houſe of* France, *pag.* 175, 176.

[*A*] *The City of* Alais *became Epiſcopal after the Revocation of the Edict of* Nantes (1).] It is not without reaſon that I mark this Period of Time; for it is certain, that the Suppreſſion of That Edict occaſioned the Erection of This new Biſhoprick. This Country was full of Proteſtants, who were forced, by a Miſſion of Dragoons, to ſign a Popiſh Formulary. It was, therefore, thought expedient not to let them be ſo far diſtant from their Prelate, as they would have been, if they had been ſubjected to the Dioceſe of *Nimes*. This new Epiſcopal Church “is compoſed of two Collegiate Churches, That of *Pſalmodi*, and That of the City of *Alez*, and has twenty three Canons, and twelve Prebendaries: It's firſt Biſhop *Francis*, Knight of *Saulx*, Abbot of *Pſalmodi*, and Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, was conſecrated, by Cardinal *de Bonzi*, Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*, in the Church of the Nuns of the Viſitation of *Montpelier*, the twenty ninth of *Auguſt*, 1694. He is deſcended from one of the moſt ancient and nobleſt Families of *Poictou* (2).” See the Letter which Mr *Pontier* wrote to him, and which he publiſhed at *Paris* in 1695. The *Journal of the Learned* takes notice of it (3).

(1) *In* 1685.

(2) Journal of the Learned, May 9th, 1695. p. 322. *Edit. of* Holland.

(3) Id. pag. 321.

ALALCOMENIUM, a ſmall Town of *Bœotia*: It was ſo called from *Alalcomeneus*, the Foſter-Father of *Minerva*, according to ſome (*a*); or from *Alalcomenia*, one of the Daughters of *Ogyges*, who nurſed *Minerva* [*A*], according to others (*b*). The Goddeſs was born in this Place (*c*), and had there a Temple, and a Statue of Ivory, held in great Veneration by the People (*d*). This Veneration was the Cauſe, as *Strabo* tells us, that *Alalcomenium*, though eaſy to be taken, was never plundered, and that every body abſtained from uſing Violence towards This Place (*e*). But *Pauſanias* aſſures us, That the Statue of *Minerva* was taken from thence by *Sylla*, and that the Temple began afterwards to be neglected. He adds, that, in his Time, the Walls of it were ſplit, a great Trunk of Ivy having ſhot forth it's Branches between the Stones. Among the Epithets of *Minerva*, That of *Alalcomenian*, 'Αλαλκομενηΐς, which *Homer* gives her, is not the leaſt worthy of Conſideration (*f*). *Plutarch* reports, That *Ulyſſes*, having been born in *Alalcomenium*, gave this Name to a City of *Ithaca*, the better to preſerve the Memory of the Place, where his Mother lay in of him (*g*). *Stephen* of *Byzantium* ſays nothing of this, when he ſpeaks of *Alalcomenium*, and calls a City of the Iſland *Ithaca*, *Alalcomenium*. What *Moreri* ſays, That *Alalcomenium* was remarkable for the Tomb of *Tireſias*, and, that, according to *Plutarch*, it was afterwards called *Ithaca*, is falſe (*h*). *Hofman* is ſtill more faulty than *Moreri* [*B*].

(*a*) Stephan. Byzant. *in the Word* 'Αλαλκομένιον. Pauſan. lib. 9. pag. 308.

(*b*) Pauſan. ibid. *according to the Interpretation of* Scaliger *in* Euſeb. n. 229.

(*c*) Strabo, lib. 9. pag. 285.

(*d*) Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) 'Απόρθητος ἀεὶ διετέλεσεν ἡ πόλις . . . . τὴν δὲ θεὸν σεβόμενοι πάντες ἀπείχοντο πάσης βίας. Nunquam vaſtata eſt ob reverentiam Deæ, omnibus omnem vim abſtinentibus. *Strabo, ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) Homer. Iliad. Δ. ver. 8. *See alſo* Statius Theb. l. 7. ver. 330.

(*g*) Plut. Quæſt. Gr. pag. 301.

(*h*) *See the Article* TIRESIAS.

[*A*] Alalcomenia —— *nurſed* Minerva.] *Scaliger* pretends, I. That *Pauſanias* owns, that ſome have aſcribed the Education of *Minerva* to *Alalcomenia*, the Daughter of *Ogyges*: But this is rather to gueſs what one believes, that *Pauſanias* ſhould, or would, have ſaid, than to keep cloſe to his Text, as every one muſt acknowledge, who examines the Original. II That *Stephen* of *Byzantium* mentions This Daughter of *Ogyges* (1). This is not to be found in the Place where that Author ſpeaks of the City of *Alalcomenium*.

[*B*] *Mr* Hofman *is ſtill more faulty than* Moreri.] He ſays, I. That *Alalcomenium* was a City of *Bœotia, denominata à Bœotorum Alalcomenæo.* It is moſt certain, that he does not take this laſt Word for the Name of a Man, but for That of a Town, as *Lloyd* did (2). *Lloyd* is in the right: theſe are his Words; "Alal-"comenæ urbs Ithacæ denominata à Bœotorum *Alal-*"*comenæo*, ut Plut. in Hellen. refert pag. 537. Edit. "Steph. afferens ſimul cauſam nominis." All this is true; but *Hofman*, by putting *Urbs Bœotiæ* inſtead of *Lloyd*'s *Urbs Ithacæ*, and preſerving the reſt without any Alteration, is fallen into a double Miſtake: On the one ſide, he ſays, That a Town of *Bœotia* took it's Name from itſelf; and, on the other, that *Plutarch* ſays it. II. He charges *Plutarch* falſly with advancing, Page 537, That the Sepulchre of *Tireſias*, and the Temple of *Minerva*, made this Town of *Bœotia* famous; whence the Poet ſaid 'Αλαλκομενηΐς 'Αθήνη. *Lloyd* aſcribes the ſame thing to *Plutarch*, except what relates to the Tomb of *Tireſias*. III. *Hofman* gives us, as another Town, That which he calls *Alalcomenium, op. Bœotiæ ad lacum Copaïdem inter Haliartum & Coronæam, Templo Minervæ clarum*; this is to multiply Beings unneceſſarily. I believe none of the Authors, quoted by *Moreri*, ſay, that Prince *Alalcomenus* ſet up the Statue of *Venus* in the Town of *Alalcomenium*.

(1) Scalig. in Euſeb. n. 229. pag. 21.

(2) *This Town is ſometimes of the Neuter Gender* 'Αλαλκομένιον; *ſometimes of the Feminine, in the Singular Number,* 'Αλαλκομενία; *ſometimes in the Plural Number* 'Αλαλκομεναί; *See* Berkelius *on* Stephanus Byzantin. *pag.* 89. *he forgot to ſay that* Plutarch Quæſt. Gr. pag. 301. *calls it* ἀλαλκομένειον.

ALAMANDUS (Lewis), Archbiſhop of *Arles*, and Cardinal with the Title of St *Cecilia*, was one of the greateſt Men of the XVth Century. They who ſpeak of the Affairs, in which he was concerned, uſually call him the Cardinal of *Arles*. He was not a *Burgundian*, as ſome Authors have ſaid, but wanted little of being ſo; for the Country of *Bugei* gave him Birth. This is what *Guichenon* has ſhewn in his Hiſtory of *Breſſe*, as *Moreri* obſerves. Not to repeat what he ſays of him, I ſhall confine my ſelf to other Particulars. The Cardinal of *Arles* preſided in the Council of *Baſil*, which depoſed *Eugenius* IV, and elected the Anti-Pope *Felix* V (*a*). He was much commended by *Æneas Silvius*, as a Man perfectly qualified to preſide in ſuch Aſſemblies, reſolute and active, famed for his Virtue, learned, and of an Admirable Memory to recapitulate what the Orators and Diſputants had urged (*b*). As he was one Day haranguing againſt the Pope's Superiority over the Council, he was ſo much admired, that many ſaluted him, and others crowded to kiſs his Robe. They extolled his Abilities to the Heavens; Abilities, which, though he was a *Frenchman*, enabled him to ſurpaſs the *Italians*, with all their Subtilities (*c*). He knew very well how to employ the Artifices of Devotion; for, upon a Seſſion-Day, he cauſed all the Relicks; which were to be found in *Baſil*, to be brought into the Aſſembly by the Prieſts, and to be placed in the room of the abſent Biſhops. This produced ſuch an Effect, that when, according to Cuſtom, they came to invoke the Holy Ghoſt, every one ſhed Tears. He drew Tears, likewiſe, from the Aſſiſtants, when he officiated on the Day of another Seſſion, and when, with his bare and bald Head, he deſtributed the Communion to all thoſe, who preſented themſelves, giving them the Kiſs of Charity; and exhorting them to communicate worthily (*d*). He was inflexible, during the Plague, which aroſe in the City; neither the Death of part of his Domeſtics, nor any Intreaties, could prevail upon him to leave the Place; he choſe rather to ſave the Council, at the peril of his own Life, by his Preſence, than to ſave his Life, at the peril of the Council, by his Abſence (*e*). He was very laborious, and of ſuch Sobriety, that ſome of the Conclaviſts could not bear, when their Expences were retrenched, to be put in mind of the Cardinal's Example. The Anſwer of a *Polander*, upon that Occaſion, deſerves to be read [*A*]. We need not aſk,

(*a*) *He was Duke of* Savoy, *his Name was* Amedæus.

(*b*) Æneas Silvius, de Geſtis Baſileenſis Concilii, lib. 1.

(*c*) Prudentiam ejus magnopere commendabant, qui, licet Origine eſſet Gallicus, Italos tamen hac die ſumma homines aſtutia ſuperaſſet. *Id. ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Id. l. 2.

(*e*) Id. ib. *I give his Latin Words in the Remark* [*A*].

[*A*] *The Anſwer of a* Polander *upon that Occaſion deſerves to be read.*] "What a Compariſon you "make, (*ſaid he when they propoſed the Example of* "Lewis Alamandus *to him*)! You tell me of a ſober "*Frenchman*, who has no Gut, or rather, who is "no Man; I can ſee all his Actions through the "Curtain, which is between us; I never yet ſaw "him eat or drink; he neither ſleeps in the Night, aſk, whether Pope *Eugenius* thundered his Anathemas againſt the Preſident of a Council, in which he had been depoſed. He deprived him of all his Dignities, and called him the Son of Iniquity [*B*]. Yet, notwithſtanding This, *Lewis Alamandus* died in the Odour of Sanctity [*C*], and wrought ſo many Miracles, after his Death, that, at the Requeſt of the Canons, and the Celeſtins of *Avignon*, and at the Sollicitation of Cardinal *de Clermont*, Legate *à latere* of *Clement* VII, he was canonized by that Pope in the Year 1527 (*f*). *Odoricus Raynaldus* pretends, that he repented of all that he had done in the Council of *Baſil*; but no Proof can be given of This Repentance (*g*); nor can we contradict this Matter of Fact, that, a Year before his Death (*h*), he was one of Thoſe, who, in the Council of *Lauſanne*, repreſented the Council of *Baſil*, as a Holy and Sacred Aſſembly (*i*). He died at ſixty Years of Age (*k*), on the 16th of *September* 1450 (*l*). Some ſay he died in *Savoy*, at the Abbey of *Hautecombe*, where the Monks built a Chapel to him, and invoked him in the Celebration of the Maſs (*m*); others ſay, that he died at *Salon* (*n*). His Body lies at *Arles*: The Bull of *Clement* VII permits the Removal of it from the damp Vaults under Ground to any other more convenient place in the ſame Church. Some affirm, after *James Philip de Bergamo* (*o*), that *Lewis Alamandus* publiſhed ſeveral ſmall Works, not unworthy of his Pen; but I meet with no mention of their Titles, or the Libraries, where they are.

The *Janſeniſts*, who cenſured *Odoricus Raynaldus* for the Pretended Repentance of our *Lewis Alamandus*, are themſelves liable to Cenſure [*D*].

“ nor in the Day; he is ever reading or negotiating; “ he thinks on nothing leſs than his Belly; he is “ not a Man for my Money. There is not the leaſt “ Reſemblance between us.” “ Quos inter *(they are the Words of* Æneas Silvius, *concerning the Diet of the Conclaviſts)* “ Cracovienſis Archidiaconus diminu“tionem *(cibariorum)* tulit. Cui cum aves & arie“tinæ carnes afferrentur, ſubſtractæ aviculæ ſunt, “ orante in porta famulo, ut, quod plus eſſet, id Do“mino dimitteretur; ſperabat namque ex ariete par“tem, ex avibus autem non ſperabat: Dominus ta“men aviculam præoptaſſet. Ideoque, cum ſpolium “ ſenſit, utique conqueſtus eſt publiceque teſtatus, nun“quam ſe diem, poſtquam Sacerdos fuit, tuliſſe pe“jorem. Ac cum rogaretur ne admirationem habe“ret, quoniam id obtigiſſet Cardinali *(Arelatenſi)* “ *Proh, inquit, Cardinalem mihi æquiparas, hominem* “ *Gallicum, parcum, eventrem, aut ut verius loquar* “ *non hominem. Ego apud eum meo infortunio ſum* “ *locatus, omnia quæ facit perluſtris mihi cortina in*“*dicat, nec adhuc bibere eum, aut comedere vidi; &* “ *quod mihi moleſtius eſt, inſomnes noctes inſomneſque* “ *dies ducit (quamquam nulla eſt apud nos dies) aut le*“*git ſemper, aut negotiatur. Nulla ei minor quàm* “ *ventris eſt cura; mihi nihil cum eo commune eſt* (1). “ —— *Among whom the Archdeacon of* Cracow *was* “ *abridg'd in his Diet. For, when they were bringing* “ *him a Diſh of Wild Fowl, and another of Veniſon,* “ *the Wild Fowl was taken away; his Servant at the* “ *Door intreating, that they would allow his Maſter* “ *the largeſt Diſh; for he was in hopes part of the Veni*“*ſon might fall to his Share, which he could not have* “ *expected from the Wild Fowl; whereas his Maſter* “ *would have preferr'd the latter. When the Arch*“*deacon found himſelf robb'd of half his Dinner, he* “ *complain'd of it, and publickly declared, that it was* “ *the moſt unfortunate Day he had met with, ſince* “ *he firſt went into Orders. And, when he was de*“*ſired not to be ſurpriz'd at it, ſince the ſame thing* “ *had happen'd to the Cardinal of* Arles, *he exclaim*“*ed,* What a Compariſon you make! you tell me of a “ ſober *Frenchman,* &c.” Such is the bodily Conſtitution of thoſe, who, in the greateſt Affairs, are able to ſurmount the ſtrongeſt Obſtacles. This requires Men of Labour, detach'd from ſenſual Pleaſures, and intrepid. The following is the *Latin* Deſcription of *Lewis Alamandus*'s Reſolution of Mind, againſt the Fear of the Plague. “ Neque illum preces, neque do“meſticorum funera, flectere potuerunt, volentem “ potius cum vitæ periculo ſalvare Concilium, quàm “ cum periculo Concilii ſalvare vitam; ſciebat enim, “ quoniam ſe recedente pauci remanſiſſent, facileque “ committi fraus in ejus abſentia potuiſſet (2).”

[*B*] *And call'd him the Son of Iniquity.*] In a Bull dated at *Florence*, in the Year 1442, he calls him *Iniquitatis filium, rebellionum & facinorum multorum reum*; and he ſays that the Council of *Ferrara*, and *Florence*, had condemn'd him to be ſtript of all his Dignities; *à Ferrarienſi & Florentino Conciliis damnatum & univerſis dignitatibus privatum fuiſſe* (3).

[*C*] *Yet, notwithſtanding this,* Lewis Alamandus *died in the Odour of Sanctity.*] This Inſtance, and the Beatification of *Peter* of *Luxemburgh*, by the ſame Bull of *Clement* VII (4), are a little puzzling to the Controvertiſts of the *Roman* Party; for, in ſhort, if, as they pretend, every one, who is not united to the Pope, is out of the Pale of the Church, how came theſe two Perſons to merit the Rank of Saints? The beſt anſwer to this, is, that the Diſtinction between the true and the falſe Pope being above the Capacity of private Perſons, and a mere Queſtion of Fact, the Error was invincible, and conſequently ought not to prejudice thoſe, who acted with Sincerity, as to the Queſtion of Right. But have a care of the Replies, and the Conſequences, which reſult from hence in favour of other Errors.

[*D*] *The* Janſeniſts *who cenſur'd* —— *are themſelves liable to Cenſure.*] They alledge, firſt of all, the Continuator of *Baronius*'s injurious Treatment of the Cardinal of *Arles*, and they obſerve afterwards, “ that he “ was forc'd to confeſs, in two ſeveral Places, to “ wit, in the Year 1426, *n.* 26, and in the Year “ 1450, *n.* 20, that God confirm'd the Holineſs of “ this Cardinal, by ſuch viſible and well atteſted Mi“racles, that *Clement* VII placed him in the Num“ber of the Bleſſed (5). —— The manner in which “ this Author endeavours to clear himſelf, *continue* “ *they*, is moſt ſhocking, and cannot be founded but “ on a moſt pernicious Maxim; which is, that Per“ſons, guilty of public Crimes, may become Saints, “ and be acknowledged as ſuch by the Church, “ without giving any Proof of their having repented “ of their Crimes, and though there is the greateſt “ Reaſon, on the contrary, to believe, that they “ perſevered in them. For if the Cardinal of *Arles* “ was guilty of certain Crimes, and ought to be “ eſteemed as a very wicked Man for his Behaviour “ in the Council of *Baſil*, never was Man more con“ſtant in his Offence; ſince, when the Fathers of “ the Council of *Baſil*, in which he preſided, recon“ciled themſelves to *Nicolas* V, it was not by ac“knowledging in any manner, that they had done “ amiſs, either in oppoſing *Eugenius*, or in depoſing “ him, or in electing *Amedæus*; but, on the con“trary, they proteſted, that they had done nothing, “ but with a view to the good of the Church, and “ that they did not declare for *Nicolas* V otherwiſe, “ than by re-electing him, after the voluntary Reſig“nation of *Felix*; and this Union was made, without “ obliging them to recant any thing they had done; “ on the contrary, *Nicolas* V. confirm'd all the Pro“ceedings of the Council of *Baſil*. Therefore if all “ that the Cardinal of *Arles* did in That Council was “ criminal, never any Man ſhew'd greater Obſtinacy “ in his Crimes. Whence it follows, that if this did “ not hinder him from becoming a Saint, the Con“ſequence will be, that Perſeverence in the greateſt “ Crimes is no Bar to any one's Beatification; which “ is ſhocking. And yet this neceſſarily follows from “ the Words of *Raynaldus*, in the Year 1450, *n.* 20. “ —— Hoc Anno Ludovicum Alamandum Archi“epiſcopum Arelatenſem —— vita ceſſiſſe tradunt, “ atque miraculis poſt mortem coruſcaſſe affirmant, “ eumque Clemens VII, veluti Beatum, coli permiſit

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(*f*) *See the Bull for it in* Launoi, Epiſt. 11. part. 1. pag. 79, 80. *Edit.* Cantab. 1689. Folio.

(*g*) Launoi, ibid. p. 81.

(*h*) Anno 1449.

(*i*) *Sacri Baſileenſis Concilii.* Diploma Concilii Lauſanenſis apud Raynaldum ad ann. 1449.

(*k*) *See the Bull of* Clement VII. *in* Launoi, ubi ſupra, pag. 79, 80.

(*l*) *This appears from his Epitaph.*

(*m*) Petrus Monodus in Amedæo Pacifico, cap. 76. *in* Launoi, ubi ſupra, p. 81.

(*n*) Moreri.

(*o*) Jacobus Philippus Bergom. lib. 15. Chronicor.

(1) Æneas Silvius de Geſtis Baſileenſis Concilii, lib. 2.

(2) Id. ib.

(3) *See* Launoi Epiſt. 11. part. 1. n. 45. p. 80.

(4) *See Mr* Claude's *Defence of the Reformation.* part 3d, *towards the end.*

(5) *Remarks on the 18th Tome of the* Eccleſiaſtical Canons, *pag.* 213. *These Remarks are printed with a Collection of ſeveral Pieces in Defence of the Cenſures of the Faculty of Divinity at* Paris, *againſt a Brief and a Bull of* Alexander VII. *I make uſe of the Edition of* Geneva; *they have put in the Title at* Munſter *by* Bernard Raesfeld, *in* 1667, *in* 8vo

“exarato diplomatè Pontificio 9 Apr. an. 1527. Itaque adoranda eſt divina miſericordia, quæ exiguo temporis fluxu Ludovicum ipſum, neſandi & pernicioſiſſimi ſchiſmatis auctorem, propagatorem hæreſeos, qui ex erronea conſcientia innumera in Dei Eccleſiam mala invexerat, ac tot annorum curſu in pertinacia obfirmatus profanaverat Sacramenta, pœnitentem ac reverſum in gremium Eccleſiæ ad ſanctitatis culmen brevi evexit. —— *This Year, they ſay, died* Lewis Alamandus, *Archbiſhop of* Arles, *who became famous for Miracles after his Death, and was permitted to be adored as a Saint, by a Pontifical Bull of* Clement VII, *dated* April 9, Anno 1527. *We ought therefore to adore the Divine Compaſſion, which, in ſo ſhort a time, rais'd to the higheſt Pitch of Sanctity, this* Lewis, *Author of a wicked and moſt pernicious Schiſm, a Propagator of Hereſy; and who, out of an erroneous Conſcience, was the occaſion of numberleſs Evils to the Church of God, and who, confirm'd in Perſeverance, prophan'd the Sacraments for ſo many Years; but at laſt repented, and return'd to the Boſom of the Church.* —— If this Author had only ſaid, that the great Zeal of this Holy Man, for the Reformation of the Church, had carried him too far, though he acted upon good Motives, it would have been tolerable, and not ſo contrary to the Teſtimony which God gave of his Sanctity. But to repreſent him as a wicked Man, and as an obſtinate Heretic and Schiſmatic, who had ſacrilegiouſly prophaned the Sacraments; and to tell us, that, in a Year or two afterwards, he became a Saint, fit to be canoniz'd, without giving any Proof of his Repentance of ſo many Crimes, as as are imputed to him, is to have a ſtrange Idea of Holineſs, or rather it is to join Wickedneſs and Sanctity together, to avoid confeſſing, that a Pope was miſtaken, in declaring a Man a Sinner, whom God himſelf had declared a Saint. But the Bull of *Clement* VII, relating to the Beatification of this holy Man, reported by *Ciaconius*, is ſufficient to confute this Writer; ſince it appears from thence, that the Pope does not alledge his ſincere Repentance of the Crimes he had committed; but that he yielded up his moſt pure Soul to God, after having liv'd ſixty Years.” Theſe Gentlemen cenſure *Raynaldus* very juſtly for his bold Aſſertion of *Alemandus*'s Repentance; and they demonſtratively confute what he advances; but they are in the wrong to accuſe him of That ſhocking Doctrine, which they ſo pompouſly diſplay: It is not true, that he joins Sanctity and Impenitence together; for he ſuppoſes, on the contrary, that the Cardinal actually did repent; and in That he acknowledges the adorable Mercy of God. If I aſſert here, that Mr *Claude* has reproach'd the *Janſeniſts* with Inconſiſtencies in relation to *Odoricus Raynaldus* (6), it is only to ſhew, that the Remarks, which I attribute to them, have been aſcribed to them by others.

(6) Claude's *Preface to the* Anſwer to the Perpetuity of the Faith defended, pag. 28, 29.

ALAMOS (BALTHAZAR) was born at *Medina-del-Campo* in *Caſtile*. Having ſtudied the Civil-Law at *Salamanca*, he entered into the Service of *Antony Perez*, Secretary of State to King *Philip* II, and had a great ſhare in his Maſter's Eſteem and Confidence; which was the reaſon, why they ſecured his Perſon, after That Miniſter's Diſgrace. He was kept in Priſon eleven Years. *Philip* III, upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, ſet him at liberty, in compliance with the Orders which his Father left him in his Will. *Alamos* led a private Life, till Duke *d'Olivarez*, Favourite of *Philip* IV, called him to the diſcharge of public Employments. He was promoted to the Poſt of Attorney-General in the Court of Criminal Cauſes, and in the Council of War; afterwards he was Counſellor in the Council of the *Indies*; and laſtly in the Council of the *Royal Patrimony*. He was Knight of St *James*, a Man of Wit and Judgment, and had a better Pen than Tongue. He lived Eighty eight Years, and left only Daughters. He acquired a great Reputation by his *Spaniſh* Tranſlation of *Tacitus*, and by the Political Aphoriſms, which he inſerted in the Margin; but there are different Opinions of this Work [*A*]. It was publiſhed at *Madrid* in the Year 1614,

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[*A*] *There are different Opinions of this Work.*] This Difference of Opinions relates much more to the Aphoriſms, than the Tranſlation, as will appear by the following Citations. “As for the Aphoriſms of *Alamos*, they are not ſuch, as they are thought to be; for you will ſcare meet with any thing in them like an Aphoriſm, or that comes near the force of what is expreſs'd in the Text of the Tranſlation. And whereas Aphoriſms ought to be more ſententious than the Text; the Words of the Text are always more ſententious, than his Aphoriſms. Laſtly, to be ſhort, his Aphoriſms are generally mere paraphras'd Tranſlations of the Tranſlation itſelf; an inſipid and tedious thing to a Reader of Underſtanding and Taſte. This being ſuppos'd, I ſhall not ſcruple to ſay, That *Alamos*'s Tranſlation is much better than his Aphoriſms. And it is a Judgment, which the Author of the Hiſtorical and Political Bibliography has made before me, in the Article of the *Latin* Hiſtorians. *Tacitus illuſtrated*, ſays he, (it is the Title of *Alamos*'s Tranſlation) *is much eſteemed by our Travellers; but, to judge rationally of it, the Notes are no better than the impertinent* New Thoughts *of* Lewis d'Orleans *on this Author, or than the* Aulic and Political Remarks of Count *Hanibal Scot* of *Piacenza, which* Lipſius *rightly calls* Leaden Notes. — Yet a certain *Spaniſh* Secretary, whoſe Name is *Juan Oñate*, took the Pains to rank theſe Aphoriſms under particular Titles, in an Alphabetical Order, and made no Difficulty to entitle them, *Alma de Cornelio Tacito* *. Nay farther, one *Jerome Canini* tranſlated them into *Italian*, and inſerted them in the *Italian* Verſion of *Adriano Politi*, as ſomething very excellent; witneſs the Title, —— Operi di Corn. Tacito illuſtrate con NOTABILLISSIMI AFORISMI del Signor D. Baldaſſar Alamo (1). —— *The Works of* Cornelius Tacitus, *illuſtrated with the* CELEBRATED APHORISMS *of* Signor D. Belthaſſar Alamos.”

Here are already two Authors, who ſpeak with Contempt of theſe Aphoriſms, and two, who ſet a great Value on them. This difference of Opinion will be leſs ſurprizing, if we reflect, that, in the Year 1683, Mr *Amelot* had not the ſame Notion of them, as he had in 1686, and in 1690. Let us conſult the Preſace to his *Tiberius* (2). “It is very true, *ſays he*, that *Alamos* not only tranſlated *Tacitus*, but wrote likewiſe a great number of Remarks upon him; which he calls Aphoriſms, and which *Antony de Covarruvis*, who approved his Book, repreſents as the principal Part of the Work * —— I confeſs that it is excellent, both in reſpect of the Tranſlation, which is as perſpicuous as the Original is obſcure, as likewiſe of the Aphoriſms, which are in every Margin; moſt of which are properly Paraphraſes and Verſions of the Sentences of *Tacitus*, and the reſt moral or political Concluſions, drawn from the Events, which he relates; but, notwithſtanding the great Reputation of this Author, I hope my Work will be very well received by thoſe, who are proper Judges in this Matter; and the more, becauſe my Undertaking was much more difficult than that of *Alamos*. For all his Aphoriſms—are ſo many detach'd Pieces and Scraps, and, as the Proverb ſays, *Sand without Lime or Cement*; whereas, in my Chapters, I throw into a continued Diſcourſe all the *Latin* Citations, which are in the Margins, and collect into an uniform Body all theſe diſtinct Pieces. Upon this Occaſion *Juſtus Lipſius* ſays, a Man muſt undertake ſuch a Work, to know how difficult it is.” The Words of *Lipſius*, as they are cited by *Amelot*, are as follows. “Nec vero nudas & ſparſas ſententias dedimus, ne diffluerent, & eſſet, quod dicitur, Arena ſine Calce: Sed eas aut inter

* *The Soul of* Cornelius Tacitus.

(1) Amelot de la Houſſaye's *Critical Diſcourſe before his Tranſlation of* Tacitus's *Annals, printed in* 1690. *This Diſcourſe had already appeared before his* Morals *of* Tacitus, *in* 168[illegible]. *It is a little enlarg'd in the Editions of the* Annals.

(2) *Printed at* Amſterd. *in* 1683.

* Aun es la principal parte y de mas momento de ſta Obra.

1614, and was to have been followed by a *Commentary* [*B*] which was never printed, that I know of. The Author compoſed theſe Two Works, during his Confinement, and endeavoured, in that Condition, to obtain a Licence for the Impreſſion [*C*]. He left ſome other Works, which were not printed: *Advertimientos al govierno*, addreſſed to the Duke of *Lerma*, about the beginning of the Reign of *Philip* III: *El Conquiſtador*; it contained Advices in relation to the Conqueſts to be made in the New World: *Puntos politicos o de Eſtado*. *Dom Garſias Tellode de Sandoval*, Knight of *Calatrava*, Son-in-Law to *Alamos*, gave notice of theſe Manuſcripts to *Dom Nicolas Antonio* (*a*), from whom I have borrowed the greateſt part of this Article.

" ſe haud indecenter vinximus, aut interdum velut " cœmento quodam commiſimus noſtrorum verborum, " è mille aliquot particulis uniforme hoc & cohærens " corpus formantes. Hoc totum quam arduum mihi " fuerit, fruſtra dixerim apud non expertum —— " eo major mihi moleſtia, quod per hæc aliena veſtigia ſic iverim, tanquam in liberrimo ingenii curſu †.

[*B*] *Was to have been followed by a Commentary.*] The King's Licence expreſsly mentions this Commentary. *Antony Covarruvias* ſpeaks of it as of a Book, which he had read, and tells us alſo the Diſpoſition, and principal Parts of the Work, in his Approbation, prefix'd to the Tranſlation, Another Approbator ſpeaks of this Commentary by Name. *Alamos* mentions it ſeveral times in his Prefaces, and promiſes to clear up the Obſcurities of *Tacitus* in it: Yet *Nicolas Antonio* is ſilent in this Matter; and, what is more ſtrange, does not ſo much as mention the Tranſlation; he only tells us, That *Alamos* wrote Aphoriſms on *Tacitus*.

[*C*] *Endeavoured, in that Condition, to obtain a Licence for the Impreſſion.*] I make this Obſervation, not to lengthen out the Article, as ſome Readers of precipitate Judgments may imagine. I propoſe a Breviate of a Caſe, in relation to a ſmall Proceſs entered againſt *Don Nicolas Antonio*, with great Appearance of Reaſon. He pretends that *Emanuel Sueiro* tranſlated *Tacitus*'s Works into *Spaniſh*, after *Antony de Herrera* had tranſlated part of them, and after *Balthaſar de Alamos* and *Carlos Coloma* had tranſlated them entire. " Poſt Antonii de Herrera aliqualem, Balthaſaris de " Alamos & Caroli Coloma illuſtrium virorum integram operam, in hujuſmet autoris interpretatione " poſitam (3)." Now, he acknowledges, that *Sueiro*'s Tranſlation was printed at *Antwerp* in 1613; and it is certain, that That of *Alamos* was printed at *Madrid* in 1614. It is the Date, which *Don Nicolas Antonio* gave to the Aphoriſms of *Alamos* (4). Farther, *Alamos* ſets down in his Preface the Reaſons why he continued his Deſign of publiſhing his *Tacitus*, after *Sueiro*'s Tranſlation appeared. It is therefore, I think, impoſſible to vindicate *Don Nicolas Antonio* againſt the Objection of Mr *Amelot de la Houſſaie*; *which ſhews*, ſays he, citing what I have juſt now produced, *that* Don Nicolas Antonio *miſtook, when he ſuppoſed the Tranſlation of* Emanuel Sueiro *to be later than That of* Alamos (5). There is but one thing to be pleaded in his Excuſe, which is to ſay, that perhaps *Sueiro* was not ignorant, when he undertook his Work, that *Alamos* had already obtained a Licence for publiſhing one of the ſame kind, which had been read and approved by *Antony Covarruvias*. The News of it might reach him at *Antwerp*; for in the Year 1594, King *Philip* II. ordered *Covarruvias* to examine the whole Work of *Alamos*; and, in the Year 1603, *Philip* II. granted a Permiſſion to print it. *Alamos* relates all this in his Advertiſment to the Reader, which by the by, overthrows the Conjecture of thoſe, who fancy that he filled the Margins of his Tranſlation with Aphoriſms, only *to excel That of Sueiro* (6). The Aphoriſms were a principal Part of his Work, from the time, that it was approved by *Antony Covarruvias*.

(*a*) *See the* Bibliotheca Scriptor. Hiſpan. Tom. I. pag 141.

† Lipſius in Præfat. Doctr. Civilis.

(3) Nic Anton. Bibl. Hiſp. Tom. I. pag. 273.

(4) Id. ibid. pag. 140.

(5) Y aunque agora avia Salido otro Tacito traduzido por Manuel Sueyro, no quiſe que dexaſſe de publicarſe el mio, &c.

(6). *Critical Diſcourſe before* Tacitus's *Morals, and before his Tranſlation of the Annals.*

ALBERTUS MAGNUS, a *Dominican*, Biſhop of *Ratiſbon*, and one of the moſt famous Doctors of the XIIIth Century, was born at *Lawingen*, on the *Danube*, in *Suabia*, in the Year 1193, or 1205 [*A*]. *Moreri*'s Dictionary gives us an Account of the ſeveral Employs, which were conferred upon him, and the Succeſs of his Lectures in ſeveral Towns (*a*). I ſhall confine my ſelf to ſome Fabulous Reports concerning him. It has been ſaid, that he practiſed the Art of Midwifery; and it was thought improper for a Perſon of his Profeſſion to ſet up for a Man-Midwife (*b*). The Foundation of this Story is, That there went a Book under the Name of *Albertus Magnus*, containing ſeveral Inſtructions for Midwives, and ſo much Knowledge of their Art, that it was thought he could not have been ſo well ſkilled in the Trade, if he had not exerciſed it. But the *Apologiſts* for *Albertus Magnus* maintain, that he was not the Author of that Book [*B*], nor of another *De Secretis Mulierum* [*C*], wherein

[*A*] *In the Year* 1193, *or* 1205.] *Voſſius* juſtly cenſures *Nicolas Reuſnerus*, who placed the Birth of *Albertus* in the Year 1293, and his Death in the Year 1382; thus ſetting out with a Miſtake: " Quæ magna eſt ἀνιστορησία peccantis in ipſo operis ingreſſu, " velut cantherius in porta, ut dici ſolet, nam ab " hoc Alberto icones & elogia ſua auſpicatur (1)." Thus *Voſſius* expreſſes himſelf, without remembring that, through as great a Miſtake as this, he had (*page* 62) placed *Albertus*'s flouriſhing Condition in the Year 1160, and his Death, at Eighty ſeven Years of Age, in the Year 1208; and that he had made him cotemporary with *Urban* IV. and the Emperor *Rodolphus*.

[*B*] *That he was not the Author of that Book.*] It is entitled, *De Natura rerum*, and treats at large, and minutely, of the Practice of Midwifery. The Author maintains, that this Subject is not unworthy the Pen of a Monk, ſince the Ignorance of Midwives deſtroys many Children, and deprives them for ever of heavenly Bliſs. *Peter* of *Pruſſia*, a Monk of the Order of St *Dominic*, maintains that This Book, *De Natura rerum*, was compoſed by *Thomas Cantipratanus*, a Diſciple of *Albertus*; and he does not deny, that ſeveral Precepts are to be met with in it, for procuring a happy Delivery, which cannot be expreſſed without obſcene Words; But it is not Nature, he ſays, but human Senſuality, which ſullies theſe Ideas (2). " Admodum ſuccenſet in blaterones illos, qui Alberto " impoſuerunt quod egiſſet obſtetricem: Faſſus tamen " Cantipratanum ad inſtructionem obſtetricum, in " Opere perperam ſuppoſito præceptori ejus Alberto, " tradidiſſe modos & vias fœlicis obſtetricationis, cujus precepta chartis committi, nec voce tradi poſſunt, abſque expreſſione Multorum quæ libido non " natura fœdavit (3)." It would be curious enough, to have ſeen *Albertus Magnus* undertake to deliver a Woman, and ſet his Hand to the Work. See the Remark [*A*] of the Article HIEROPHILUS.

[*C*] *Nor of another* De Secretis mulierum.] *Naudé* makes uſe of theſe two Proofs: I. *Albertus*'s Name is not prefixed to the Work; he who commented upon it would deceive us, when he maintains the contrary. II. *Albertus*'s Authority is often made uſe of in this very Book; and therefore the Author *lived ſome time after him* (4). Theſe two Proofs are inconcluſive; and the Conſequence drawn from the ſecond is of no weight. Many Reaſons may oblige a Man not to put his Name to a Book; and no Authors cite themſelves more willingly than thoſe, who ſuppreſs their Names; nor is any thing more common, than to quote cotemporary Authors. See the Remark [*K*].

(*a*) *See likewiſe* Bullart, Academy of Sciences, *pag.* 145. *and the Remark* [*H*] *below.*

(*b*) *See* Theophilus Raynaud Hoploth. §. 2. Serm. 3. cap. 10. pag. 361.

(1) Voſſius de Scient. Math. pag. 362.

(2) Petrus de Pruſſia in Alberti Magni vita, cap. 18.

(3) Theoph. Raynaud. Hoploth. §. 2. Serm. 3. cap. 10. pag. 361.

(4) Naudé's Apology for Great Men, *pag.* 524.

in are many Things, which could not be expreſſed but in obſcene and filthy Terms; which raiſed a great Clamour againſt the pretended Author of it. His *Apologiſts* cannot always have recourſe to a poſitive Denial of Matter of Fact; They acknowledge there are ſome Queſtions in his *Commentary on the Maſter of the Sentences* relating to the Practice of the Conjugal Duty [*D*], in which he was obliged to make uſe of Terms, which gave Offence to chaſte Ears (*c*); but they alledge, what he obſerves himſelf in his own Juſtification, that ſo many monſtrous Things are revealed in Confeſſion, that it is impoſſible not to touch upon ſuch Queſtions. It is certain, that *Albertus* was the moſt inquiſitive of Men. He expoſed himſelf, upon that account, to other Accuſations. It has been ſaid, that he was in ſearch of the Philoſophers Stone [*E*]; and even that he was a notorious Magician [*F*], and that he had formed a Machine,

(*c*) Theoph. Rayn. ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *Some Queſtions —— relating to the Practice of Conjugal Duty.*] *Peter* of *Pruſſia*, when he could not deny the Fact, endeavoured to juſtify the Lawfulneſs of it; and ſhews, in the eighteenth Chapter of his Book (5), *That it is uſeful, and even neceſſary, for us to be acquainted with natural Things, not excepting the moſt obſcene*; and that, therefore, *Albertus* and other Caſuiſts were in the right to treat of Subjects full of Obſcenity; for, without it, Confeſſors would not be qualified to remedy the Complaints of their Penitents. “Qualia item multa ab Alberto de uſu conjugii in 4. S. d. 31. *ſub finem*, ſcripto comprehenſa fatetur, illud ex ipſo Alberto ibidem præfatus [dicendum primo, quod hujuſmodi turpes quæſtiones nunquam tractari deberent, niſi illa cogerent monſtra quæ his temporibus in confeſſione audiuntur] ne ergo Confeſſarii rudes ſint medicinæ, quam facere debent adeo frequentibus morbis, juſtum cenſuit Albertus in illud oletum ſtylum demittere (6).” We are told, that it were to be wiſhed, that none but Confeſſors would concern themſelves with ſuch Obſcenities; but that there muſt be Books, to which we may have Recourſe in Caſes of Conſcience, which relate to That filthy Subject. “Neceſſarium eſt enodationem ſolidam atque legitimam dubiorum circa fœditates illas emergentium proſtare alicubi apud probatos Doctores cujuſmodi fuit Albertus, qui proinde reprehenſione vacat, etiamſi illum veluti ſcriptionis putorem ſuis commentariis immiſerit (7).” But it would be yet more neceſſary to aboliſh that which makes this ſort of Writings neceſſary, for, how good ſoever an Author's Intention may be, it is to Books of this Nature, rather than to numberleſs others, we ought to apply *Horace*'s

(5) *The Title of the Chapter is*, Quod ſcire naturalia etiam impudica utile ſit & neceſſarium.

(6) Theoph. Raynaud. ubi ſupra.

(7) Id. ibid.

---- Peccare docentes
-------- Hiſtorias ----- (8).

---- *Tales, the Bawds to Vice.*
CREECH.

(8) Horat. Od. 7. lib. 3. ver. 19.

[*E*] *That he was in ſearch of the Philophers Stone.*] *Naudé* informs us, that *Mayer*, the great Patron of the Alchymiſts, *was not aſhamed to affirm in his Symbols of the Golden Table of the twelve Nations* *, *that St* Dominic *was* the firſt who had the Knowledge of the Philoſophers Stone; *and that thoſe, to whom he left it, communicated it to* Albertus Magnus, *who by that means cleared all the Debts of his Biſhoprick of* Ratisbon *in leſs than three Years* (9). *Mayer* builds his Opinion upon three Books of Chymiſtry, which he aſcribes to *Albertus Magnus*. *Naudé* anſwers, that he is in the wrong to attribute them to him (10), and for this reaſon, becauſe *not one of them has been inſerted among his Works, or ſpecified by* Trithemius; and becauſe That of the *Quinteſſence* was falſly aſcribed to him by *Francis Picus* †. To prove this laſt Fact, he does not imitate *Velcurion* ‖ and *Guilbertus* **, who maintained, that *Albertus laughed at Alchymiſts, and their pretended Tranſmutations, in his third Book of Minerals* ‡. He does not alledge this Proof, *ſince* Albertus *in That maintains a quite contrary Opinion*; but he ſhews, that the Author of the *Quinteſſence* ſtyles himſelf *Monk of the Order of St* Francis, and ſays, that *he compoſed it, when he was in Priſon.* Theſe two Circumſtances *muſt undoubtedly relate to* John de Rupeſciſſa.

* Lib. 6.

(9) Naudé, ubi ſupra, pag. 519.

(10) Ibid. pag. 520.

† Lib. 2. de Auro.

‖ Lib. 3. Phyſic. cap. 13.

** Alchym. impugnatæ, lib. 2. c. 7.

‡ Tractatu 1. cap. 9.

[*F*] *That he was a notorious Magician.*] *Trithemius* endeavoured long ago to juſtify him from this Accuſation. This appears from theſe Words: “Non ſurrexit poſt eum vir ſimilis ei, qui in omnibus literis, ſcientiis, & rebus tam doctus, eruditus, & expertus fuerit. Quod autem de Necromantiâ accuſatur, injuriam patitur vir Deo dilectus (11). —— *There aroſe no one after him, who deſerved to be compared to Him, for univerſal Knowledge and Experience. As to the Accuſation of Necromancy brought againſt him, it is an Injury to this Favourite of Heaven.*” *Naudé* pretends, that this Accuſation can only ariſe from two Works, which went under the Name of *Albertus Magnus*, and on the *Androïs*. So that here are two Proofs: Let us ſee then what he ſays of each.

(11) Trithem. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. p. 195.

I. The firſt of theſe two Books is entituled, *de Mirabilibus*; the other is *the Mirrour of Aſtrology, which treats of the licenſed and prohibited Authors, who have wrote on this Science* (12). *Francis Picus* *⁎ and *Martin Del Rio* †‡ agree, that they do *Albertus Magnus* a great Injury, who believe him to be the Author of the Book *de Mirabilibus*, and therefore the latter clears him in theſe very Terms; “Alberto Magno tributus liber de Mirabilibus, vanitate & ſuperſtitione refertus eſt, ſed magno Doctori partus ſuppoſititius. —— *The idle and ſuperſtitious Book* de Mirabilibus, *aſcribed to the famous Dr* Albertus Magnus, *is a ſpurious Work.*” The Mirrour of Aſtrology “was condemned by *Gerſon* ‖‖ and *Agrippa* ‡‡, as ſuperſtitious to the higheſt Degree; and by *Francis Picus* **, and many others, becauſe the Author of it aſſerts a very erroneous Opinion, in favour of Books of Magic; which, he maintains, ought carefully to be preſerved, becauſe the Time approaches, in which, for certain Reaſons, which he does not ſpecify, Men will be obliged to peruſe and conſult them on ſome Occaſions (13).” It ſeems, then, that if our *Albertus* had compoſed ſuch a Book, he muſt have been conſidered as a Magician; but *Naudé* does not allow this Conſequence, ſince the Jeſuit *Vaſquez* expreſsly declares ††, “that Books of Magic are neceſſary, and that Magicians are tolerated by God, that Libertines may in ſome Meaſure be reclaimed from Atheiſm (14).” Beſides, *Naudé* takes it for granted, that *Roger Bacon* is the Author of That Work, as *Francis Picus* maintains, in his firſt Book againſt Aſtrologers (15). So much for the firſt Proof of the Accuſation. Let us ſee how the ſecond is anſwered.

(12) Naudé, ubi ſupra, p. 523, 524.

*⁎ Lib. 7. de Prænot. cap. 7.

†‡ Diſquiſit. Mag. lib. 1. cap. 3.

‖‖ Libro de libris Aſtrolog. non tolerandis, Propoſit. 3.

‡‡ In Epiſtolis.

** Lib. 7. de Prænot. cap. 2.

(13) Naudé, ubi ſupra, pag. 525.

†† Part. 1. Quæſt. 2. Art. 3. Diſput. 20. cap. 4. *at the beginning.*

(14) Naudé, ubi ſupra, pag. 527.

(15) Idem, pag. 526.

II. Some Perſons have believed, that *brazen Heads* might be made *under certain Conſtellations*, which would give Anſwers, and direct a Man in all his Affairs. One *Yepes* relates *⁎*, that *Henry de Villeine* had made one at *Madrid*, which was broke to pieces by the Command of *John* II. King of *Caſtile*. *Virgil*, Pope *Silveſter*, *Robert* of *Lincoln*, and *Roger Bacon*, had the like Heads, if we may believe certain Writers (16). *Albertus Magnus* was judged to be more ingenious; for it is pretended that he “had formed an entire Man of this ſort, having worked thirty Years without interruption, in forging him under divers Aſpects and Conſtellations; as for Example, the Eyes, - - - when the Sun was in a Sign of the Zodiac correſpondent to ſuch a part; which he caſt of mixed Metals, and marked with the Characters of the ſame Signs and Planets, and of their divers and neceſſary Aſpects; and thus the Head, Neck, Shoulders, Thighs and Legs, faſhioned at different Times, and connected together in the Form of a Man, had the Ingenuity to reveal to the ſaid *Albertus* the Solution of all his principal Difficulties (17).” This is what is called the *Androïs* of *Albertus Magnus*. It was broke, they ſay, by *Thomas Aquinas*, who could not bear it's everlaſting Tittle tattle with Patience. *Henry de Aſſia* and *Bartholomew Sibylla* aſſure us, that it was “compoſed of Fleſh and Bones; but by Art, not Nature: “Which

⁎ Apud Emanuel de Moura, §. 2. cap. 15. art. 6.

(16) Naudé, ubi ſupra, pag. 528.

(17) Idem, pag. 529, 530.

a Machine, in the ſhape of a Man, which ſerved him for an Oracle, and explained all the Difficulties, which he propoſed to it. I could eaſily be induced to believe, that, as he underſtood the Mathematics, he had made a Head, which, by the help of Springs, might form certain articulate Sounds; but what Folly is it to ground an Accuſation of Magic upon this? Some pretend that he was juſtify'd from this Imputation by an extraordinary Miracle [*G*]. Though he was as well qualified, as any Perſon, to be the Inventor of Artillery, there is Reaſon to believe that they, who aſcribe the Invention of it to Him, are miſtaken [*H*]. It is ſaid (*d*), that he had naturally a very dull Wit, and that he was upon the point of leaving the Cloiſter, becauſe he deſpaired of attaining to what his Fryar's Habit required of him; but that the Holy Virgin appeared to him, and aſked him, in which he would chuſe to excel; in Philoſophy,

“Which being, however, judged impoſſible by modern Authors, and the Virtue of Images, and planetary Rings and Seals, being then in great Vogue, it has been always believed ſince - - - - that ſuch Figures were made of Braſs, or of ſome other Metal, which was faſhioned under the Influence of Heaven, and of the Planets (18). Upon this foot *Naudé* refutes *Albertus*'s Accuſers; namely, by ſuppoſing, that the pretended *Androïs* was compoſed of Metal. He ſhews, by very ſtrong Reaſons, that it could neither hear, nor ſpeak, nor ſerve the Devil as an Inſtrument for Speech; and that, if the Devil had ſpoke through this Machine, he would have done it without the help of the metallic Organs, of which it was compoſed. So that it would not have been neceſſary to employ ſo much Time, and ſo many Ceremonies, in forging ſuch a Machine; A Bottle or a Trumpet would have been as proper to reſolve all the Difficulties of *Albertus*. Laſtly, *Naudé* remarks, that They, who mention This *Androïs*, bring no Proof of the Fact. *Toſtatus*, notwithſtanding all his Wit and Learning, was very credulous; therefore his Authority proves nothing. If any one will maintain, that ſuch a Tradition muſt have ſome Foundation, *Naudé* aſſigns a very plauſible one (19), which is, that *Albertus* might perhaps have in his Cloſet a Head, or Statue of a Man, like thoſe Machines of *Boëthius*, of which *Caſſiodorus* ſpeaks †‡†: “Metalla mugiunt, Diomedis in ære grues buccinant, æneus anguis inſibilat, aves ſimulatæ fritinniunt, & quæ propriam vocem neſciunt ab ære dulcedinem probantur emittere cantilenæ. —— *Metals bellow*; Diomedes's *Cranes chatter in Braſs; A brazen Serpent hiſſes; Imitated Birds chirp; and Things, which have no Voice of their own, are found, in Braſs, to counterfeit the Sweetneſs of ſinging.*”

[*G*] *He was juſtified from this Imputation by an extraordinary Miracle.*] According to Father *Theophilus Raynaud*, the Accuſers of *Albertus* ſay, that, on Twelfth day, he treated *William* Earl of *Holland*, and King of the *Romans*, who paſt by the City of *Cologne*; and that, to make his Entertainment the more remarkable, he changed the Winter into a Summer full of Flowers and Fruits. “Horridam hyemem in florigeram fructiferamque æſtatem vertit, ut ſcribit Trithemius in Chron. Spanh. anno 1254 (20).” *Trithemius* in effect relates this. They add to this the ſpeaking Head, the Book *de Mirabilibus*, and That *de ſecretis mulierum*. Father *Theophilus* does not refute theſe Accuſations by the Elogies, which ſeveral Hiſtorians beſtow upon the Virtues of the Accuſed. He has recourſe to the Teſtimony, which God himſelf gave of the Sanctity of *Albertus* by ſeveral miraculous Operations, and by preſerving his Body from Corruption to this Day: *Teſtimonium quod ejus ſanctitati Deus perhibuit patratis in ejus gratiam miris pleriſque operibus, & ipſius Alberti corpore ad hunc uſque diem à tabe & putrefactione exempto.* This Apologiſt adds, that the Metamorphoſis of Winter into Summer, and the ſpeaking Head, are two great Falſities; and that the two Books in Queſtion are falſly attributed to *Albertus Magnus*; and that St *Thomas* does not ſay *, that he formerly broke the ſpeaking Head, in his Maſter's Houſe. “Hyems in veris amœnitatem verſa, & caput æneum articulate loquens, ad Deum Fabulinum ſunt ableganda tanquam conficta & falſo jactata de tanto viro - - - - libri autem Magici, qui Alberto affingebantur, ſunt ſuppoſititii (21).” See what this Jeſuit relates of certain Machines, which utter very harmonious Sounds. He will allow, that *Albertus* might have a Head ſo ingeniouſly contrived, that the Air, which was blown into it, might receive the Modifications requiſite to form a human Voice. As to the Exemption from Putrefaction, read the following Extract from *Thevet*; “Our *Albertus*, having lived Eighty ſeven Years, died in the Year of our Redemption 1280, at *Cologne*, whither he had retired to Study; and there his Body is buried, in the middle of the Quire of the Convent of the *Dominicans*, and his Entrails were carried to *Ratisbon*; his Body was yet entire in the Time of the Emperor *Charles* V. and was taken up by his Command, and afterwards replaced in it's firſt Monument (22)”. The Jeſuit *Raderus* wrote ſome *Latin* Verſes on the Preſervation of his Body from Putrefaction (23). They end thus;

Illius doctas mirentur ſæcula chartas,
  Miror ego ſalvas poſt tria ſæcla manus

Let the famed Writings of the wond'rous Sage (24)
The Admiration prove of every Age;
Thy learned Hands, Albertus, *I admire,*
After Three Centuries preſerved entire.

Moreri ſays but Two hundred Years, inſtead of Three hundred. Neither his uſual Practice, nor his Diſpoſition, incline him to leſſen Things of this Nature.

[*H*] *They, who aſcribe the Invention of it to him, are miſtaken.*] “*John Matthew de Luna* *, who liv'd above an Hundred and twenty Years ago (25), maintains, though againſt the conſtant Opinion of *Polydorus*, *Magius*, *Mayer*, *Pancirolus*, *Flurentius*, *Rivault*, and *Bezoldus*, that *Albertus Magnus* found out the Uſe of great Guns, Fuſils, and Piſtols; but I cannot find, in all thoſe Authors, any thing which comes near this Opinion, except that the Experiment was made of theſe Engines in his Time, by a *German* Monk, whom they call *Bertbold Schuartz*, or by a Chymiſt, who, in the Judgment of *Cornazanus*, an ancient Author, liv'd in the City of *Cologne*, in which it is certain that *Albertus* continu'd to reſide, after he took the Habit of a *Dominican* (26).” Thus *Naudé* refutes *John Matthew de Luna*. The laſt thing he affirms is falſe; for the Hiſtorians of *Albertus* tell us, That he enter'd into the Order of St *Dominic*, in the Year 1222; That, after his Superiors had ſent him to *Cologne*, to teach Divinity and Philoſophy, and he had acquitted himſelf of that Employment to the aſtoniſhment of his Auditors, he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf at *Hildeſheim*, at *Friburg*, at *Ratisbon*, and at *Strasburg*; that he return'd to *Cologne*, in the Year 1240; that, among other Diſciples, he had *Thomas Aquinas* there, to whom he reſign'd his Chair, when he went to profeſs in the City of *Paris*; that, having taught three Years at *Paris*, he return'd to *Cologne*; that he was made Provincial of his Order, in the Year 1254; that he perform'd the Viſitation of the Provinces on Foot; that he went to *Rome*, by order of *Alexander* IV, where he was made Maſter of the Sacred Palace, and read Divinity Lectures; that he returned into *Germany* in the Year 1260; that he was elected Biſhop of *Ratisbon* there; that, at three Years end, he obtained leave to reſign his Biſhoprick; that he return'd to his Cell at *Cologne*; that the Pope commanded him, a little while after, to preach the Cruſade all over *Germany* and *Bohemia*; that, in 1274, he aſſiſted at the Council of *Lyons*; that he had the Character of the Emperor's Ambaſſador there; and that, at laſt, he returned to *Cologne* (27). How could *Naudé*, who was ſo deeply read, be ignorant of theſe ſeveral Stations of *Albertus Magnus*?

[*I*] *Our*

(*d*) *See Vol.* I. *of* Bzovius's *Annals*.

(18) Idem, pag. 531. *He cites* Pereg. Quæſt. 3. Decad. cap. 2. Qu. 3.

(19) Naudé, ubi ſupra, p. 539, 540.

†‡† Lib. I. Variar. Ep. 45.

(20) Theophil. Rayn. Hoploth. §. 2. Serm. I. cap. 14. pag. 149.

* III. contra Gent. cap. 104.

(21) Theophil. Raynaud. p. 150.

(22) Thevet's Hommes Illuſtres, Tom. 2. pag. 87.

(23) Bullart, Academy of Sciences, *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 149. *mentions them.*

(24) i. e. Ariſtotle.

* Libro de Rerum invent. cap. 12. fol. 10.

(25) *Theſe are* Naudé's *Words*, pag. 518. *of his* Apology for Great Men, *Paris* 1625.

(26) Moreri, *inſtead of this, ſpeaks only of Gun-Powder, of which* Naudé *ſays nothing.*

(27) *See* Bullart's Academy of Sciences, *Tom.* 2. pag. 146, &c.

loſophy, or Divinity; that he made choice of Philoſophy; that the Holy Virgin aſſured him he ſhould ſurpaſs all Men in that Science; but that, as a Puniſhment for his not chuſing Divinity, he ſhould, before his Death, relapſe into his former Stupidity. They add farther, That, after this Apparition, he ſhewed a prodigious deal of Wit, and improved in all Sciences, with a Quickneſs, which aſtoniſhed all his Maſters; but that, Three Years before his Death, he forgot, in an inſtant, all that he knew; and that, being at a ſtand, in a Lecture of Divinity at *Cologne*, and endeavouring in vain to recal his Ideas, he was ſenſible that it was the Accompliſhment of the Prediction. Whence it was ſaid, the he was miraculouſly converted from an Aſs into a Philoſopher, and afterwards from a Philoſopher into an Aſs. It is needleſs to obſerve that this is a meer Story; they who will believe me in this, ſtand in no need of my Opinion, and would form this Judgment without expecting it; and as for thoſe, who judge otherwiſe of it, they will not change their own Opinion, by finding here, that I am of a different. Our *Albertus* was a very little Man [*I*]. He died at *Cologne*, the 15th of *November* 1280, being Eighty ſeven or Seventy five Years old. He wrote ſuch a prodigious number of Books, that they amount to twenty one Volumes in Folio, in the Edition of *Lions*, 1651. A *Dominican* of *Grenoble*, called *Peter Jammy*, procured it.

Two or three Particulars, which have been communicated to me (*e*), ſhall be produced below [*K*].

(*c*) *By* Mr de la Monnoie.

[*I*] *Our* Albertus *was a very little Man.*] " Some " write, That, kiſſing his Holineſs's Feet, upon his " Arrival at *Rome*, the Pope commanded him to riſe, " thinking he was yet on his Knees; though he was " really ſtanding (28)." The ſame Story is told of ſome other Perſons. See the Remark [*H*], of the Article ANDRE (JOHN); and remember the Logicians Diſtinction between *quantitas molis*, and *quantitas virtutis*. *Little* Albert *the Great* puts me in mind of it (29).

[*K*] *Particulars, which—— ſhall be produc'd below.*] " The Book *De Secretis Mulierum*, falſely aſcribed to " *Albertus*, is the Work of one of his Diſciples, " named *Henry of Saxony*; under whoſe Name it has " been printed ſeveral times. Theſe are *Simler's* " Words: —— Henrici de Saxonia Alberti Magni " diſcipuli liber de ſecretis mulierum, impreſſus Au" guſtæ anno D. 1498, per Antonium Sorg (30).—— " Henry of Saxony, *the Diſciple of* Albertus Mag" nus, *his Book* De Secretis Mulierum, *printed at* " Ausbourg, *in* 1498, *by* A. Sorg. —— And in *Thua" nus*'s Catalogue you meet with — Henrici de Saxo" nia de ſecretis mulierum, de virtutibus herbarum, " lapidum, quorundam animalium, aliorumque in 12°. " Francof. 1615 (31). —— Henry of Saxony, *of the* " *Secrets of Women, of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones,* " *of ſome Animals, and other Things, in* 12°, Franc" fort, 1615. —— *Albertus*'s Name being more fa" mous than That of *Henry*, plainly gave occaſion " to this Suppoſition. —— *John Picus de Mirandula*, " ſays, That *Albertus*, in his riper Years, condemn'd " the Books of Magic, which he had compos'd in " his Youth. —— *Androïs* is not the Term made uſe " of, when they ſpeak of *Albertus Magnus*'s Artificial " Man. It is a Word abſolutely unknown, and in" vented by *Naudé*, who boldly applies it, as if it " had been generally received."

(28) Id. ib. pag. 148.

(99) *The* non eſt in tanto corpore mica ſalis, *carries the ſame Diſtinction.*

(30) Simler. Epitome Biblioth. Geſn. pag. 332.

(31) *In the* 156*th Page of the ſecond Part.*

ALBRET, a Family. It was, for ſome Ages, one of the moſt Illuſtrious of *France*, for the great Men it produced, whoſe Merit was diſtinguiſhed by the moſt Eminent Dignities of the Kingdom. Every one knows that this Family was in poſſeſſion of *Navarre* and *Bearn*. *Moreri* ſpeaks of it at large; I refer my Readers to him, without examining into the Truth of every thing he has advanced in relation to it. I ſhall only take Notice of one Omiſſion; Namely that this illuſtrious Houſe was extinct, by the Death of the Marquis *d'Albret* (*a*) who was killed in *Picardy*, in the Houſe of the Marquis *de Buſſi-Lamet*. He married the only Daughter of his Uncle, the Mareſchal *d'Albret*, in the Year 1662; but this Marriage produced no Children. It is probable the Mareſchal conſulted the Intereſts of his Family, more than the Inclinations of the two Couſins; for it is ſaid, there was but little Harmony between the Huſband and the Wife. She married again with the Count *de Marſan*, one of the Sons of the Count *d'Harcourt*. Her firſt Huſband, the Marquiſs *d'Albret*, was in a fair way of being advanced to the Chief Military Offices: He was already Field-Mareſchal, and would have ended the Campaign, of 1678, under Mareſchal *Schomberg*, who was ſent to the Frontiers of *Champagne*, in the beginning of the Month of *Auguſt*. Whilſt his Flying Camp drew near *Charleville*, the Marquis *d'Albret* demanded of him a Furlough for a few Days. It was not queſtioned, but it was upon an Affair of Gallantry. However it be, he was ſlain at the above mentioned Gentleman's Houſe, who cleared himſelf by proving, that he was then in another place (*b*). This was the Bed of Honour, in which the only remaining Branch of ſuch a line of Heroes ended his Life. His Family deſerved to end on a more glorious Occaſion. The Marſhal *d'Albret* died Governor of *Guienne*, two Years before. He had obtained the Staff of Mareſchal of *France* in 1653. They, who pretend that he earned it by ſecuring the Prince of *Condé*, are ignorant of the Matter of Fact. It was not he, (but Mr *de Guitaud*) who arreſted him (*c*): He only conducted the Prince to *Bois de Vincennes*. He commanded, at that Time, the *Gendarmes* of the Guard. He learned the Trade of War in *Holland*, and was called the Count *de Mioſſens*. It is under this Name that he is ſo greatly celebrated by Mr *de St Evremont* (*d*). He was Knighted the firſt of *January*, 1662, and made Governor of *Guienne* in the Month of *November*, 1670. In 1645, he married *Magdalen de Guenegaud*, youngeſt Daughter of *Gabriel de Guenegaud*, the King's Treaſurer (*e*). He was one of *Scarron*'s Heroes, as appears evidently from that Writer's Works.

(*a*) *His Name was* Charles Amanjeu d'Albret.

(*b*) *See the* 120*th Letter of* Buſſi-Rabutin, *part* 1. *pag.* 262. *Edit.* Holl.

(*c*) *See* Benjaminus Priolus de Rebus Gallicis, lib. 5. c. 3.

(*d*) *See* St Evremont's Miſcellaneous Works, *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 71, 77, &c. *Edit.* Holl. 1693.

(*e*) *See Father* Anſelme, *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 285.

ALBUNEA, a Famous Place (*a*), near *Tibur* in *Italy*. See the laſt Remark of the Article TIBUR.

(*a*) *At preſent* Tivoli.

ALBUTIUS SILUS (CAIUS) a Famous Orator in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, was born at *Novara*, and had raiſed himſelf there to the Office of *Ædile*; but quitted his Poſt on occaſion of an Inſult offered him by ſome Perſons, who had loſt their Cauſe. He was their Judge, and gave Sentence againſt them; upon which they dragged him by his Feet from the Tribunal. This Affront induced him to leave his Country immediately, and repair to *Rome*; where he became acquainted with the Orator *Munacius Plancus*. Emulation breeding ill blood between them, he ſet up a ſeparate Auditory; and at laſt ventured to plead Cauſes. He met with ſome Diſgraces at the Bar [*A*], which obliged him to quit it. Being old, and troubled with an Impoſthume, he returned to *Novara*, where, aſſembling the People, he repreſented to them, in a long Speech, the Reaſons, which gave him a diſreliſh of Life, and then ſtarved himſelf to death (*a*). *Seneca* the Father, who had often heard him plead, gives an ample Account of him, and recites ſeveral Abſtracts from his Speeches (*b*). He commends him as one, who would neither ſuffer, nor do an Injury; and this he calls the higheſt degree of Probity; *Homo ſummæ probitatis, qui nec facere injuriam, nec pati ſciret*. *Seneca*, the Philoſopher, would have defined the Nature of *Probity* better. *Albutius* compoſed a Treatiſe of Rhetoric, as may eaſily be inferred from a Paſſage of *Quintilian* (*c*).

(*a*) Sueton. de Clar. Rhetor. c. 6.

(*b*) Seneca, Præfat. lib. 3. Controverſ. & alibi paſſim.

(*c*) Albutius non obſcurus Profeſſor atque autor, Scientiam bene dicendi eſſe conſentit (Rhetoricam). Albutius, *an eminent Profeſſor and Author, allows Rhetoric to be the Science of ſpeaking well.* Quint. Inſtit. lib. 2. cap. 5.

[*A*] *He met with ſome Diſgraces at the Bar.*] It happened, once, that he addreſs'd himſelf to his Adverſary in theſe Words, intending nothing more by them, than a fine Rhetorical Figure, *Swear by the Aſhes, and by the Memory of your Father, and you ſhall gain your Cauſe.* After he had illuſtrated and ſet off the Thought to the beſt Advantage, the Advocate on the other ſide reply'd, *We accept the Condition. Albutius* anſwered, that he intended to offer no ſuch Terms; that it was only a rhetorical Figure, and that all figurative Expreſſions muſt be excluded, if Things were thus taken literally. The other Advocate reply'd, That Men could live without theſe Figures, and that they might be baniſh'd, with all his Heart. The Judges gave it for the Oath, and *Albutius* loſt his Cauſe, for a rhetorical Flouriſh. He was ſo vex'd at it, that he renounc'd the Profeſſion (1). The ſame Account is given of it by *Suetonius*; "Cum, in lite quadam centum virali ab adverſario, quem ut impium erga parentes inceſſebat, jusjurandum quaſi per figuram ſic obtuliſſet; Jura per patris matriſque cineres, qui inconditi jacent, & alia in hunc modum: arripiente eo conditionem, nec judicibus aſpernantibus, non ſine magna ſui invidia negotium afflixit (2)." From that Time, Maſters have recommended to their Diſciples not to apply theſe Figures unſeaſonably (3).

(1) Seneca, Præf. lib. 3. Controv.

(2) Sueton. de Claris Rhetor. c. 6.

(3) Quintil. lib. 9. c. 2.

ALBUTIUS (TITUS) a Philoſopher of the *Epicurean* Sect, went, in his Youth, from *Rome* to *Athens*, and gained ſuch a Taſte for the Manners of the *Greeks*, that he was fonder of paſſing for a *Greek*, than a *Roman* (*a*); which occaſioned a Jeſt of *Scævola* [*A*], to which *Lucilius* gave a very malicious turn in one of his Satires, as we learn from *Cicero* (*b*). The ſame Author informs us, I. That *Albutius* was a zealous *Epicurean* (*c*), and that he would have been a better Orator, had he been leſs attached to the Sect of *Epicurus* (*d*). II. That he was well verſed in the *Greek* Learning (*e*), and that he publiſhed ſome Harangues (*f*). III. That he had ſerved in ſome of the Offices of the Republic; that he governed *Sardinia* in the Quality of *Pro-Prætor* (*g*); and that he could

(*a*) Cicero in Bruto, cap. 26, 35.

(*b*) Id. l. 1. de Finib. cap. 3.

(*c*) Id. lib. 1. de Nat. Deorum, cap 33.

(*d*) Id. in Bruto, cap. 26, 35.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ibid. de Provinc. Conſular. cap. 7. & in Piſonem, cap. 38.

[*A*] *A Jeſt of* Scœvola.] It conſiſted in this; when he received a Viſit from *Albutius* at *Athens*, he ſaluted him in *Greek*, and made all his Attendants ſalute him in the ſame Language. The Ridicule cannot be conceived without thinking on the Action itſelf. *Cicero*, upon this Occaſion, expreſſes himſelf thus. "Res vero bonas verbis electis graviter ornateque dictatas quis non legat niſi qui ſe planè Græcum dici velit, ut à Scœvola eſt Prætor ſalutatus Athenis Albutius, quem quidem locum cum multa venuſtate & omni ſale idem Lucilius, apud quem præclare Scœvola,

Græcum te, Albuti, quam Romanum atque Sabinum
Municipem Pontî, Titii, Annî, Centurionum,
Pæclarorum hominum ac primorum ſigniferumque,
Maluiſti dici. Græce ergo Prætor Athenis
Id quod maluiſti, te, cum ad me accedi' ſaluto:
Χαῖρε, inquam, Tite: Lictores, turma omni', cohorſq;
Χαῖρε. Hinc hoſtis Muti Albutius, hinc inimicus (1).

"—— *Who would refuſe to read a good Subject treated of with Weight and Beauty, and in choice Phraſes, but one, who plainly affects the Manners of* Greece; *ſuch as* Albutius; *who, when he was Prætor at* Athens, *was ſaluted in* Greek *by* Scœvola; *a Circumſtance repreſented with great Elegance and Wit by the Poet* Lucilius, *who introduces* Scœvola *addreſſing himſelf thus to* Albutius;

So fond of Grecian *Cuſtoms was you grown,*
That you abjur'd the Citizen of Rome.
Hence, when at Athens, *once ('tis known to Fame)*
To viſit me, a Prætor there, you came,
Χαῖρε, O Titus! *was my Compliment,*
And Χαῖρε, Titus! *thro' the Circle went.*
—— *The Jeſt too keen* Albutius *could not bear,*
And Wit divided the once friendly Pair.

In this Paſſage *Cicero* expreſsly declares, That *Albutius* was, at that Time, Prætor at *Athens*, and yet the Verſes of *Lucilius* teſtify, that *Albutius*, upon viſiting *Scævola*, was ſaluted in *Greek*, and in a bantering manner; which offended him, and made him *Scævola*'s Enemy. Is it not very evident, that, according to *Lucilius*, it was *Scævola*, and not *Albutius*, who was then Prætor? Had *Albutius* been Prætor, he would have received, not made Viſits; or if he had made any, he would not have met with ſo ſatirical a Reception. It is therefore ſurprizing, take it which way you will, either that *Cicero* ſhould ſay, that *Albutius* was Prætor; or, if he ſaid that *Scævola* was, as it is very likely he did, that the Error, which has crept into the Editions, has never been corrected. It ought to be read, *ut à Scævola eſt Prætore ſalutatus Athenis Albutius* (2); and not, *ut à Scævola eſt Prætor ſalutatus Athenis Albutius*. Mr *Dacier* cites theſe Verſes of *Lucilius*, and tranſlates them in ſuch a manner, as to declare, that *Scævola* was Prætor at *Athens*, when he derided *Albutius*, who was come to pay his court to him (3). *Corradus* thinks, that *Albutius* ſtudied at *Athens*, and that *Scævola* paſs'd through it, in his Way to *Rhodes*, as mentioned in the firſt Book *de Oratore* (4).

(1) Cicero de Finib. lib. 1. c. 3.

(2) Corradus, in Brutum Ciceronis, pag. 189. *would have it corrected thus. Other Critics are of the ſame Opinion. See the* Cicero *of Mr* Gronovius.

(3) Dacier *on* Horace, *Sat.* 2. *lib.* 2. *pag.* 121. *Edit.* Holl.

(4) Corradus ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *That*

could not obtain from the Senate the Proceſſion [*B*] which he deſired, to thank the Gods for his Exploits; that he was accuſed of Bribery and Corruption [*C*], and baniſhed [*D*]; and that he went to philoſophize at *Athens* (*b*). *Scævola*'s Jeſt ſowed the Seeds of Diſcord between

[*B*] *That he could not obtain from the Senate the Proceſſion*, &c.] *Cicero* relates this, in order to deprive the Friends of *Gabinius* and *Piſo* of the Conſolation they drew from it. He ſhews them that the Caſes were not parallel: “ Hac conſolatione utuntur, etiam T. Albutio ſupplicationem hunc ordinem denegaſſe, quod eſt primum diſſimile: Res in Sardinia cum maſtrucatis latrunculis à Proprætore una cohorte auxiliaria geſta, & bellum cum maximis Syriæ gentibus ac tyrannis conſulari exercitu imperioque confectum. Deinde Albutius, quod à Senatu petebat, ipſe ſibi in Sardinia ante decreverat: Conſtabat enim, Græcum hominem ac levem in ipſa provincia quaſi triumphaſſe. Itaque hanc ejus temeritatem Senatus ſupplicatione denegata notavit (5). —— *They comfort themſelves with this Reflexion, that* Titus Albutius *was denied a public Thankſgiving by the Senate; but there is a manifeſt Diſparity between the two Caſes; firſt, between the Tranſactions of a Pro-Prætor in* Sardinia, *with but one auxiliary Cohort, and a War with the greateſt Nations and Kings of* Syria, *carried on and finiſh'd with a conſular Force. In the next place,* Albutius *had decreed himſelf, in* Sardinia, *the very Thing he petition'd the Senate for: For it is well known, that this Mimic of* Greece, *this Trifler, celebrated a kind of Triumph in That Province. The Senate therefore branded this his Preſumption with the refuſal of a public Thankſgiving.*” It is thought, that *Albutius* commanded in *Sardinia*, in the Year of *Rome*, 639 (6).

[*C*] *That he was accuſed of Bribery and Corruption.*] The following Paſſage puts this paſt diſpute; “ Mutius autem Augur, quod pro ſe opus erat, ipſe dicebat, ut de pecuniis repetundis contra T. Albutium. Is oratorum in numero non fuit; juris civilis intelligentia, atque omni prudentiæ genere præſtitit (7). —— *The Augur* Mutius (Scœvola) *ſpoke, in perſon, to what regarded himſelf; as in the Accuſation of Bribery and Corruption againſt* T. Albutius. *He was not an Orator; but excell'd in a thorough Knowledge of the Civil Law.*” It is not very certain, that *Mutius Scævola* was the Accuſer: I ſhould chuſe to ſay, that he was only concern'd in the Cauſe, and obliged to clear up, or maintain, ſome Point, which related to it, and was part of the Accuſation againſt the Defendant. He had Eloquence enough for a thing of this nature; but otherwiſe he was no Orator; as plainly appears from the Words I have quoted. Some Critics prefer this reading; *Mutius autem Augur, quod opus erat, per ſe ipſe dicebat* (8); with all my Heart; this reading will ſtill leave room to conjecture, that *Scævola* was only accidentally engaged in the Cauſe, and ſpoke but to ſome particular Circumſtance of it. This Conjecture, which I ſhall mention again in the Remark [*F*], is ſtrongly confirmed by a Reaſon, which *Cicero* alledg'd againſt the Perſon, who conteſted with him the Right of accuſing *Verres*. He ſays, That *Caius Julius*, having a like Diſpute with *Cneius Pompeius*, in the Affair of *Albutius*, made uſe of two Arguments; the one was, that *Pompey* had been Quæſtor to *Albutius*; the other, that the Inhabitants of *Sardinia* had deſired him to accuſe *Albutius* (9). It was adjudg'd, that *Pompey* ſhould not be the Accuſer. This Office, therefore, remained with *Caius Julius*. The Reader, if he knew it not before, may learn from hence, by the way, that the *Romans* did not approve, that a ſuperior Magiſtrate ſhould be accuſed by his Subaltern. “ Neque fere unquam venit in contentionem de accuſando qui Quæſtor fuiſſet, quin repudiaretur. Itaque neque L. Philoni in C. Servilium nominis deferendi poteſtas eſt data, neque M. Aurelio Scauro in L. Flaccum, neque Cn. Pompejo in T. Albutium: Quorum nemo propter indignitatem repudiatus eſt, ſed ne libido violandæ neceſſitudinis autoritate judicum comprobaretur (10). —— *No Quæſtor ever demanded the Right of Accuſation, but he was rejected. Thus* L. Philo *was denied the Liberty of accuſing* C. Servilius, M. Aurelius Scaurus *of accuſing* L. Flaccus, *and* Cn. Pompeius *of accuſing* T. Albutius: *None of which were ſet aſide as unworthy; but, leſt the Authority of the Judges ſhould ſeem to countenance an Inclination to violate the Laws of Relation or Friendſhip.*” *Apuleius* ſeems to confute what I have endeavoured to prove; for he ſays, in his ſecond Apology, That *C. Mutius* accus'd *A. Albutius*. But it is eaſy to anſwer this Objection; for, on the one ſide, the Perſons of whom *Apuleius* ſpeaks, have different Names from thoſe whom I am here ſpeaking of; and, on the other, what *Apuleius* ſays of his *C. Mutius* cannot be applied to our *Scævola*. It is certain that our *Albutius*'s Name was *Titus*, and not *Aulus*, and that our *Scævola* was called *Quintus Mucius*; and, as he was *Augur*, he was often denoted by that Office; *Quintus Mucius Scævola Augur*. The Accuſer, whom *Apuleius* ſpeaks of, was a young Man, who then made his firſt Appearance at the Bar. “ Neque autem gloriæ causâ me accuſat, ut M. Antonius Cn. Carbonem, C. Mutius A. Albutium —— quippe homines eruditiſſimi juvenes laudis gratiâ primum hoc rudimentum forenſis operæ ſubibant, ut aliquo inſigni judicio civibus ſuis noſcerentur, qui mos incipientibus adoleſcentibus ad illuſtrandum ingenii florem apud antiquos conceſſus, diu exolevit (11). —— *He does not accuſe me, with a view of eſtabliſhing a Reputation, as* M. Antonius *did, when he accuſed* Cn. Carbo, *and* C. Mutius, *in his Accuſation of* A. Albutius. —— *Theſe were young Gentlemen of promiſing Geniuſes, who, ambitious of Fame, made theſe firſt Eſſays at the Bar, in order to diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſome notable Cauſe to their Fellow Citizens: A Practice, which the Ancients allowed in Youth, at their firſt ſetting out, to diſplay their opening Talents; but is now diſuſed.*” This does not agree with our *Mutius Scævola*: He was Conſul in the Year of *Rome* 636 (12); he was old, when *Cicero* was but eighteen Years of Age, that is to ſay, in the Year of *Rome* 665; and *Albutius* was not accus'd, till after his return from *Sardinia*, where he was Pro-Prætor, in the Year 649. See the following Remark. Perhaps the Tranſcribers of *Apuleius* have by degrees chang'd *C. Julius* into *C. Mutius*. It is certain, that *C. Julius* was the Accuſer of *Albutius*, and, if *Apuleius* had nam'd him, he would have been exact in this reſpect; but he cannot be juſtified in what he advances, that all the Accuſers, he names, were young Adventurers, who endeavour'd to ſignalize their ſetting out in the World, by ſome famous Cauſe. He borrows all theſe Examples from *Cicero*, as the famous *Grævius* has judiciouſly obſerved (13); why then does he reduce them all to one Species, ſince *Cicero* ranks them under different Claſſes (14)? Is it not, becauſe they would not have ſerv'd his purpoſe, if they had been divided? This is a fruitful Source of Falſifications in matters of Facts. If they do not ſuit an Author's Purpoſe, as they ſtand, it is but turning and wreſting them as he pleaſes, and they anſwer his Intention.

[*D*] *And baniſh'd.*] We do not meet with this in the ſame Paſſages of *Cicero*, where *Albutius*'s Trial is mentioned, and it muſt not be wondred at; for, when an Author does not write the Life of a Man, he ſays no more of him, than what relates to the Subject in hand. When *Cicero* took ſome notice of *Albutius*'s Trial, he had only in view the Perſons who had ſpoken, or intended to ſpeak, againſt the Accuſed; it was not, therefore, neceſſary, that he ſhould mention the Iſſue of the Cauſe. When he ſpoke of *Albutius*'s Baniſhment, his only aim was to ſhew the good Uſe a Man may make of his Exile; and therefore it was not neceſſary to remark the Cauſe of *Albutius*'s Baniſhment. It is our Buſineſs to weave theſe different Paſſages into one Contexture; by which means we ſhall find, that *Albutius*, having been accuſed of Corruption, upon the Petition of the Inhabitants of *Sardinia*, was condemn'd, and baniſh'd. “ Albutius, CUM in Sardinia triumphaſſet, Romæ damnatus eſt (15). —— Albutus, *after he had triumphed in* Sardinia, *was condemn'd at* Rome. —— Quid T. Albutius, nonne animo æquiſſimo Athenis exul philoſophabatur? Cui tamen illud ipſum non accidiſſet, ſi in republica quieſcens Epicuri legibus paruiſſet (16). —— *Did not* Titus Albutius *philoſophize, with great calmneſs of Mind, at* Athens; *which he could not have done, had he ſtaid at home, and obey'd the Laws of* Epicurus.” *Gaſſendus* cited this

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(*b*) Cicero Tuſcul 5. cap. 37.

(5) Cicero de Provinc. Conſular.

(6) *Father* Prouſt *in his Commentary* in uſum Delphini, *on* Cicero de Claris Oratoribus.

(7) Cicero in Bruto.

(8) Corradus in Brutum Ciceronis, pag. 189. Douza in Lucilium, pag. 99.

(9) Cicero, Divinat. in Verrem.

(10) Id. ib.

(11) Apul. Apolog. 2.

(12) Cicero in Lælio, *at the beginning*.

(13) Grævius, Notis in Ciceron. de Offic. lib. 2. cap. 14.

(14) *He alledges his Accuſation againſt* Verres *as one Example: Therefore he did not pretend to cite only thoſe, who had ſet up for Accuſers in their Youth.*

(15) Cicero in Piſone.

(16) Id. lib. 5. Tuſculan. cap. 37.

between them [*E*]. The Dictionaries are not free from Faults upon this Subject [*F*]. I do

this Paſſage very ill; for, inſtead of *ſi in republica —— paruiſſet*, he gave it, *niſi in republica —— paruiſſet* (17). They, who require a Proof of my Aſſertion, that *Albutius* was accuſed, at the Petition of the Inhabitants of *Sardinia*, may find one in the following Words. “Julius hoc ſecum authoritatis ad accuſandum afferebat, quod, ut hoc tempore nos ab Siculis, “ſic tum ille ab Sardis rogatus ad cauſam acceſſerat “(18). —— Julius *claim'd the Right of Accuſation,* “*upon this Authority, that he undertook the Cauſe,* “*at the Requeſt of the* Sardinians, *as we do now at* “*the Requeſt of the People of* Sicily.” To which may be added theſe Words of the 14th Chapter of the 2d Book *de Officiis: Aut patrocinio, ut nos pro Siculis, pro Sardis Julius*. So we muſt read it with *Lambinus*; or *pro Sardis contra Albutium Julius*, with *Manutius*. Conſult *Suetonius* (19).

(17) Gaſſend. de Vita Epic. lib. 2. cap. 6. pag. 188. *in* Folio. *where the Citations in the Margin are very erroneous.*

(18) Cicero, Divin. in Verrem.

(19) Sueton. in Julio, cap. 55.

[*E*] Scœvola's *Jeſt ſow'd the Seeds of Diſcord between them.*] This is what *Lucilius* particularly took notice of in his Satires,

> Hinc hoſtis Mutî Albutius, hinc inimicus.
>
> *A Jeſt divided the once friendly Pair.*

A learned Man believes, that they were frequently engaged on contrary Sides, particularly in the Cauſe of *Granius*, accuſed by *Albutius*, and defended by *Mutius*. He ſays, that at leaſt, *Mutius* was much pleaſed, that *Granius* was acquitted. He proves this by a Paſſage of *Cicero*, to which he confeſſes that others give a different Explication; to wit, That *Albutius* accuſed *Mutius* of Corruption. “Sæpe inter ſe diſſentirent “& contenderent; ut, quum Albutius Granium oppugnabat, & Mutius eum defendebat, certe illo abſoluto gaudebat, ut libro ſecundo de Oratore ſcriptum videbis, quamvis aliter alii verba illa ſint interpretati, & putarint ipſum Scœvolam ab Albutio de “pecuniis repetundis accuſatum fuiſſe, quod ut nos “de viro tali credamus adduci non poſſumus (20).” I can neither reconcile myſelf to the Senſe, which this Critic rejects, nor to that which he approves. I ſhould rather think *Cicero* meant, that *Scævola* was concern'd in the Proceſs of Corruption, entered againſt *Albutius*; and ſo far concern'd, that the Juſtification of *Albutius* was to reſult from *His* Condemnation. I ſuppoſe, in conſequence of this Conjecture, that *Scævola*'s Cauſe depended upon that of *Albutius*, and that from hence it was that he paſs'd for *Albutius*'s Accuſer. He was acquitted, I ſuppoſe, honourably; which occaſioned the Conviction of *Albutius*. I ſuppoſe farther, that the latter appeal'd to the Crier *Granius*'s Regiſters, in order to convict *Scævola*, and that his Proof was judg'd inſufficient. *Granius* was pleas'd at *Scævola*'s Acquitment, and was rallied as if he had rejoic'd, that the Judges had no regard to his Books, or his verbal Proceſſes. This I take to be the Import of *Cicero*'s Words, “Bella etiam eſt familiaris reprehenſio quaſi errantis, ut quum objurgavit Albius “Granium, quod quum ejus tabulis quiddam Albutio “probatum videretur, & valde abſoluto Scœvola gauderet, neque intelligeret contra ſuas tabulas eſſe judicatum (21).” If any other Proof is required of the Enmity between *Albutius* and *Scævola*, I can add, that *Lucilius* introduced *Scævola* jeſting upon *Albutius*'s Style (22). I ſhould be glad to know whence Father *Prouſt* had it, that *Lucilius*'s Anger againſt our *Scævola* proceeded from the Affection he had for *Albutius*, againſt whom *Scævola* had pleaded (23). If *Lucilius* was *Albutius*'s Friend, he verify'd the Maxim, *That a Jeſter prefers his Jeſt to his Friend*;

(20) Corradus in Brutum Ciceronis, p. 189.

(21) Cicero, lib. 2. de Orat. c. 70.

(22) *See below the Remark* [*G*].

(23) Prouſt Comment. in Ciceron. de Orat. lib. 1. p. 72. in uſum Delphini.

> —— dummodo riſum
> Excutiat ſibi, non hic cuiquam parcit amico (24);

for we have ſeen how this Satiriſt diverted himſelf at the Expence of *Albutius*.

(24) Horat. Sat. 4. lib. 1. ver. 34.

[*F*] *The Dictionaries are not free from Faults upon this Subject.*] I. *Charles Stephens* pretends, that *Varro* ſpoke of our *Titus Albutius*, as of a Poet, who had wrote Satires after *Lucilius*'s Manner, *Luciliano Stylo*. But, when we conſult *Varro*, we find that he ſpeaks of one *Lucius Albutius*. “Nonne item Lucius Albutius, homo (ut ſcitis) apprimè doctus, cujus Luciliano charactere ſunt libelli, dicebat, in Albano fundum “ſuum paſtionibus ſemper vinci à villa, agrum enim “minus dena millia reddere, villam plus vicena (25)? “—— *Did not* Lucius Albutius, *a very learned Man* “*(as you know) and whoſe Writings are in the Style* “*and Manner of* Lucilius, *ſay, that the Revenue of* “*his Farm at* Alba *was ſcarce half that of his* Villa?” II. It is not true, that *Lucilius* laugh'd at *Albutius* as one, who intermix'd *Greek* with *Latin* Words; *Charles Stephens* did not take the Poet's Meaning; he fancied that the χαῖρε belongs to *Albutius*; whereas it muſt be referr'd to *Scævola*, and his Attendants. *Lloyd* and *Hofman* have not corrected theſe two Faults. Obſerve, that I do not pretend to deny, that *Albutius* intermix'd *Greek* Phraſes with *Latin*. III. What *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman* ſuppoſe, is very precarious; to wit, That the Father of the Witch *Canidia* was the ſame *Albutius*, ſpoken of in the ſecond Satire of the ſecond Book of *Horace*. Mr *Dacier* believes they are two *Albutius*'s (26). IV. Theſe three Dictionary-Writers are miſtaken, when they take the *Albutius* of the ſecond Satire of the ſecond Book of *Horace* for a downright Miſer. We ſhall ſoon ſee the contrary. V. *Moreri* is miſtaken, when he fancies, that the *Albutius*, whom *Cibero* ſpeaks of, in the beginning of the firſt Book *de Finibus*, is not the ſame with him, whom he mentions in the firſt Book *de Naturâ Deorum*, and in the fifth Book of the *Tuſculan* Queſtions. VI. It is not true that *Horace* ſays, That there was an *Albutius*, *the moſt covetous of all Men, who was wont to correct his Servants before they executed his Commands, for fear, as he ſaid, he ſhould forget to do it, if they did not exactly obey his Orders.* *Moreri*, who aſcribes all this Diſcourſe to *Horace*, was deceived by *Charles Stephens*; though the latter does not expreſsly aſcribe this little Fable to *Horace*. All that *Horace* ſays of the Matter is this.

(25) Varro de Re ruſtica, lib. 3. cap. 2.

(26) Dacier's Remarks on Sat. 1. lib. 2. pag. 40.

> Mundus erit, qui non offendet ſordidus, atque
> In neutram partem cultus miſer: hic neque ſervis,
> Albutî ſenis exemplo, dum munia didit,
> Sævus erit: neque, ſic ut ſimplex Nævius, unctam
> Convivis præbebit aquam (27).
>
> —— *He lives well, who keeps the middle State,*
> *And neither leans too much to this, nor that:*
> *Such, when he bid his Slaves do this and this,*
> *Will not be rigid, as* Albutius *is;*
> *Nor yet, like* Nævius, *when he makes a Feaſt,*
> *With coſtly Ointment will he waſh his Gueſt.*
>
> CREECH.

(27) Horat. Sat. 2. lib. 2. ver. 65.

The meaning is, that true Cleanlineſs lies in the middle between Naſtineſs, and *a too ſcrupulous, and over nice Exactneſs* (28). If he had ſeen the exceſſive and ſervile Care that is taken by the People in keeping their Houſes clean in ſome Parts of *Holland*, he would have call'd it a *falſe Neatneſs*. *Albutius* and *Nævius* are produced as two Examples of vicious Extreams; the former as an Inſtance of too much Formality; the latter of too little. Some Interpreters have changed the Characters; and miſtaken *Nævius* for a Prodigal, and *Albutius* for a covetous Man (29). But, perhaps, the Words of *Horace* do not relate to Covetouſneſs and Prodigality; but only rather to Neatneſs and it's contrary. This latter Defect is ſometimes attended with ſuperfluous Expences. Some Perſons are extravagant in Dreſs, in Furniture, and in Eating; and yet have not the Reputation of being well dreſs'd, of diſpoſing the Ornaments of their Appartments to Advantage, or of keeping a good Table. However it be, *Albutius* here is not an Example of Covetouſneſs. I ſhall conclude, by obſerving, that *Albutius*'s Severity towards his Slaves is not a Circumſtance forg'd by *Moreri*; he had read it in his Patron (30): but did not know that the Original of it is in an ancient Scholiaſt. “Aſper in exigenda à ſingulis im*penſi* ratione caſtigandoque, adeò ut ſervos nonnumquam caſtigaret prius, & cæderet, quam peccaſſent, “dicens vereri ſe ne cum peccaſſent cædere tunc ei “non vacaret (31). —— *Rigid in exacting an Account* “*from every one of their Tasks; to ſuch a Degree, that* “*he ſometimes corrected, and beat his Servants, before they offended, pretending, that he fear'd he* “*ſhould not, then, have an Opportunity of doing it.*”

(28) *See Mr* Dacier *on this Paſſage.*

(29) *The old Commentators,* Lambinus, Cruquius, &c. *d. l.*

(30) Charles Stephens.

(31) Vetus Commentator in Horat. *d. l.*

[G] *I*

I do not believe, that our *Titus Albutius* is the ſame, whom *Horace* ſpeaks of [*G*] in the ſecond Satire of the ſecond Book. We meet with nothing concerning the Phyſician ALBUTIUS, whom *Pliny* ranks among the moſt Famous (*i*).

(*i*) Plin. lib. 29. cap. 1.

[*G*] *I do not believe, that our* Albutius *is the ſame, whom* Horace *ſpeaks of.*] We have ſeen, that *Horace*'s *Albutius* was a Man of too great Exactneſs; that he never forgave his Domeſtics an Offence; that he would have one do preciſely this, and another that; and that he deſcended to Particulars, in a pedantic manner. He, whom *Lucilius* deſcribes, as one *who affected ſo much the* Greek *Politeneſs and Elegancy, that he deſired to paſs for a* Greek (32), was cut out to furniſh *Horace* with the Example he wanted; ſince every Perſon, who affects the Manners of foreign Countries, mixes with them I know not what of forced and extravagant, which turns the thing into Ridicule. See the Behaviour of the Country 'Squires ſo often ridiculed by *Moliere*, with regard to Faſhions in which they never obſerve a Medium. I can ſcarce believe, that *Horace* brought upon the Stage the *Albutius* of *Lucilius*; nor do I think it ſtrange, that *Torrentius* believed he did. Mr *Dacier* chuſes to ſay, That the *Albutius*, mentioned by *Horace*, was the Son of him, whom *Lucilius* ſatirized. I believe, that *Albutius*'s Affectation of what was *Greek*, related chiefly to the Language. We find, beſides, from a Jeſt of *Lucilius*, that he was too nice in the diſpoſition of his Words. "Collocationis eſt componere & ſtruere verba, ſic ut "neve aſper eorum concurſus neque hiulcus ſit, ſed "quodammodo coagmentatus & levis. In quo lepide "ſoceri perſona luſit is, qui elegantiſſime id facere "potuit, Lucilius,

Quam lepide lexeis compoſtæ, ut teſſerulæ omnes
Arte, pavimento, atque emblemate vermiculato.

"Quæ cum dixiſſet in Albutium illudens, &c. (33) "—— *The* Collocatio (*or* Diſpoſition) *conſiſts in* "*ranging the Words in ſuch a manner, that the Period ſhall neither be harſh, nor diſcontinuous, but* "*as it were cemented and poliſh'd.* Lucilius *rallied* "*this careful Style very elegantly, as he was very* "*capable of doing, in the Perſon of* Mutius *the Augur* "(34), *comparing it to* ſmall Tyles, wrought artificially, upon a Pavement, into variety of emblematical "Figures. *Applying this in a bantering way to* Albutius, &c." The Verſes of *Lucilius* repreſent a ſort of Style in Writing, which may be called *Inlaid*, or *Moſaic*, Work.

(32) *See Mr* Dacier, ubi ſupra.

(33) Cic. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 43. *See likewiſe his* Orator, cap. 43, &c.

(34) *We learn from hence, that* Lucilius *ſometimes introduced him ſpeaking in his Satires.*

ALCASAR (**Lewis** *de*) a *Spaniſh* Jeſuit (*a*), was born at *Seville*, in the Year 1554. He entered among the Jeſuits in the Year 1569, in ſpite of the Oppoſition of his Family, which had great Poſſeſſions. After teaching Philoſophy, he taught Divinity above Twenty Years at *Corduba*, and at *Seville*. He applyed himſelf chiefly to diſcover the Myſteries contained in St *John's Revelations*, and employed near Twenty Years in this Work (*b*). The Book he compoſed upon this Subject is one of the beſt, which the *Roman* Catholics have produced on the *Apocalypſe* [*A*]. It is entituled, *Veſtigatio Arcani Senſus in Apocalypſi*, and has been printed ſeveral times [*B*]. It is pretended that *Grotius borrowed many of his Notions from it* (*c*). The Author maintains, that the *Apocalypſe* is fully accompliſhed as far as the twentieth Chapter, and finds the Two Witneſſes in it, beſides *Elias* and *Enoch* (*d*). He makes no Scruple of rejecting the Ancient Fathers; and, as his Principal Studies tended only to the Explication of this Book, the other Work, which we have of his, is but a Commentary on the Paſſages of the Old Teſtament, which have ſome relation to St *John's Revelation*. It was printed, after his Death, with this Title, *In eas Veteris Teſtamenti partes quas reſpicit Apocalypſis, nempe Cantica Canticorum, Pſalmos complures, multa Danielis, aliorumque librorum capita, libri V.* So that here are Two Volumes in *Folio*, which are, properly ſpeaking, but a Commentary on the *Revelations*; but there is an *Appendix* to each: That of the Firſt Volume is a Treatiſe *de Sacris ponderibus & menſuris*; and That of the Second a Treatiſe *de malis Medicis*. *Alcaſar* died at *Seville*, the 16th of *June*, 1613. aged ſixty Years (*e*). You will find an *Examen* of ſome of his Apocalyptic Hypotheſes, in a Work, which Mr *Heidegger* publiſhed at *Leyden*, in the Year 1687, entituled, *Myſterium Babylonis magnæ*.

(*a*) *They make him a* Portugueſe *in the Index of the Biſhop of* Meaux's *Explication of the* Revelations.

(*b*) Sotuel, Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jeſu, pag. 557.

(*c*) *Biſhop of* Meaux's *Preface to the* Revelations, *p.* 13. *Edit.* Holl.

(*d*) Id. ib.

(*e*) Alegambus *had given him* 63 *Years. Father* Sotuel *corrected this Miſtake.*

(*f*) *In the* 1*ſt and* 2*d Diſſertation.*

[*A*] *The Book —— is one of the beſt, which the* Roman *Catholics have produc'd on the* Apocalypſe.] This is *Nicolas Antonio*'s Account of it. "Inſignem "poſuit operam in adornando atque illuſtrando *Apocalypſis* libro obſcuriſſimo. Edidit namque lucubrationes ſuas ad ipſam ingenioſas quidem, eruditas, "elaborataſque, ut cenſet Cornelius à Lapide. Sed "quiſnam ſponſor erit, telo eum quamvis acuto & "forti ſcopum tetigiſſe (1). —— *He took remarkable* "*Pains in explaining and illuſtrating that obſcure* "*Book,* The Apocalypſe. *For he publiſhed his own* "*Lucubrations on it, ingenious indeed, and elaborate,* "*in the Opinion of* Cornelius à Lapide. *But, as* "*ſharp and ſtrong as his Arrow may be, who will anſwer for him, that he has hit the Mark?*" I am certain there is no Bankrupt, or impriſon'd Debtor, but could find Security much eaſier, than your Interpretors of the *Apocalypſe*, were there a Tribunal on Earth to aſſeſs thoſe at a large Fine, who ſhould warrant falſe Interpretations. When a Man flatters his Paſſions, where no Danger attends his Opinions, he is apt to be credulous; but it would be in vain to demand ſuch Securities, as *Don Nicolas Antonio* would require.

[*B*] *Printed ſeveral times.*] Father *Alegambus* mentions only the Edition of *Antwerp*, by *John Keerberge*, in 1614, and immediately after ſays, that the other Volume was poſthumous. If the firſt had been printed but in 1614, it would have been Poſthumous, and ſo there would have been no Reaſon to diſtinguiſh the one from the other. We muſt believe then, as *Don Nicolas Antonio* obſerves, that the firſt was printed at *Antwerp*, by *Keerberge*, in the Year 1604. Beſides this Edition, *Nicolas Antonio* ſpeaks of that of 1619; *Antverpiæ apud Nutios*, and that of *Lyons*, 1616. *Draudius* quotes theſe two laſt Editions, and beſides them one of *Antwerp*, by *Keerberge*, in 1611 (2). Father *Sotuel*, beſides the Edition of 1614, mentions only the two laſt of *Nicolas Antonio*, and ſays alſo, that the other Volume is poſthumous. So that his Reviſion of *Alegambus* is not ſo exact as it ought to be.

(1) Nicol. Anton. Biblioth. Script. Hiſpan. Tom. 2. pag. 14.

(2) Draud. Bibliotheca Claſſ. p. 22.

ALCÆUS, a Native of *Mitylene* in the Iſland of *Leſbos*, was one of the greateſt Lyric Poets of Antiquity. Some ſay, That he was the Inventor of this Species of Poetry.

—— Age, dic Latinum,
Barbite, carmen,
Leſbio primum modulate civi (*a*):

(*a*) Horat. Od. 32. lib. 1. ver. 3.

Begin, ſweet Harp, a Roman *Strain*
Thoſe Meaſures and thoſe Airs maintain,
Firſt ſtruck by great Alcæus' *noble Hand.* Creech.

He flouriſhed in the forty fourth *Olympiad* (b) at the ſame time with *Sappho*, who was likewiſe of *Mitylene*. *The Scandalous Chronicle* [*A*] *ſays, that* Alcæus, *one day, requeſted I know not what Favour of* Sappho, *but that* Sappho, *who was not, at that time, in ſo good a Humour as ſhe uſed to be, refuſed him what perhaps ſhe offered him the next day* (c). However it be, he had other buſineſs upon his Hands beſides making Verſes: he wanted to give a Proof of his Courage in War, but was not very ſucceſsful in it; for he ran away, and left his Arms behind him, when the *Athenians* gained a Battel againſt the *Leſbians* (d). But it was ſome Comfort to him in his Diſgrace, that the Conquerors cauſed his Arms to be hung up in the Temple of *Minerva* at *Sigeum*; which they would not have done, with ſuch a Mark of Diſtinction, had they not thought it a glorious Monument of their Victory (e). *Alcæus* did not forget this Circumſtance in the Verſes he wrote on this unlucky Adventure [*B*]. His Muſe, whom he employed in the midſt of War, either in Catches, or Love Songs, or in celebrating his Miſtreſs (f), who was ſuch another truſty Support as himſelf [*C*]: His Muſe, I ſay, was not ſilent on the Defeat of the *Leſbians*. It is well known, that ſhe was not always ludicrous, and that ſhe could treat the graveſt Subjects with a ſuitable Dignity

(b) Euſeb. in Chronic.

(c) Le Fevre's *Lives of the Greek Poets*, *pag.* 27.

(d) Herod. lib. 5. cap. 95.

(e) Id. ibid.

(f) Horace. *See his words below in the Remark* [C].

[*A*] *The ſcandalous Chronicle.*] I have ſet down Mr *le Fevre*'s own Words, and am very much miſtaken, if he fetch'd this little Fable any where elſe than from *Ariſtotle*'s Rhetoric. *Ariſtotle* cites theſe Words of *Alcæus*;

Θέλω τὶν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλά με κωλύει
Αἰδώς.

And this Anſwer of *Sappho*,

Αἰ δ' ἴκε σ' ἐσλῶν ἵμερος, ἢ καλῶν,
Καὶ μή τι εἰπεῖν γλῶσσ' ἐκύκα κακόν,
Αἰδώς κε νυ σ' οὐχ εἶχεν ὄμματ',
Ἀλλ' ἔλεγες περὶ δικαίω (1).

(1) Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 9. *Note, that I read, and accent theſe* Greek *Words, as* Scaliger *did in* Euſeb. p. 85. *Edit.* 1658.

The Import of the Verſes is This. *Alcæus* declares he has ſomething to ſay, but that Modeſty forbids him; *Sappho* replies, that if his Requeſt were honourable, and his Tongue were not prepared to utter ſomething immodeſt, Shame would not have appear'd in his Face, and he would not be at a loſs to make a reaſonable Propoſition.

ALCÆUS.

Fain wou'd I ſpeak, but muſt, thro' Shame, conceal
The Thought my eager Tongue wou'd ſtrait reveal.

SAPPHO.

Were your Requeſt, O Bard, on Honour built,
Your Cheeks wou'd not have worn theſe Marks of Guilt;
But in prompt Words the ready Thought had flown,
And your Heart's honeſt Meaning quickly ſhown.

They, who are qualified to judge of Mr *le Fevre*'s Books, *Men*, as he ſays in his firſt *Journal*, *whoſe Souls are capable of different Forms, and who underſtand, at half a Word, wherein the Beauty of Thoughts and Expreſſions conſiſts*, are ſenſible, that theſe Words of *Alcæus* are one of thoſe Declarations of Love, which require the critical Minute, and that *Sappho* apprehended perfectly what he meant. Her Anſwer is wiſe, but it is perhaps too ſerious upon this Suppoſition.

[*B*] *The Verſes he wrote on this unlucky Adventure.*] HE, among all the *Latin* Poets, who moſt reſembles *Alcæus*, confeſſes, as well as He, in his Poems, that he fled from the Battle, and threw down his Arms, as being uſeleſs in Flight.

Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam
Senſi, relicta non bene parmula,
Quum fracta virtus, & minaces
Turpe ſolum tetigere mento (3).

(3) Horat. Od. 7. lib. 2. ver. 9.

The bloody Wars, Philippi's *Field,*
Ignobly having loſt my Shield,
With thee I ſaw, ſecure from Wound;
I ſaw the Flight, when Pompey *proud*
To Cæſar'*s ſtronger Virtue bow'd,*
And baſely bit the bloody Ground.
Creech.

The ſame Adventure happen'd to *Archilochus* before *Alcæus*, and he confeſs'd it publickly (4). Perhaps *Horace* would not have been ſo ingenuous, if he had not had theſe great Examples before his Eyes. *Chabot* is miſtaken, when he maintains, that *Plutarch* refutes *Herodotus* in relation to *Alcæus*'s Flight (5). *Plutarch* ſays only, that *Herodotus* ſuppreſs'd a fine Action of *Pittacus*, but not the cowardly Behaviour of *Alcæus* (6).

(4) *See Remark* [*H*] *of his Article.*

(5) Chabot, in Horat. Od. 13. lib. 2.

(6) Plut. de Malign. Herodoti, pag. 858.

[*C*] *His Miſtreſs, who was ſuch another truſty Support as himſelf.*] *Horace* informs us, that *Alcæus*'s Miſtreſs was a Boy, whoſe Name was *Lycus*, and who had black Eyes and black Hair.

Qui ferox bello; tamen inter arma,
Sive jactatam religarat udo
Littore navim,
Liberum & Muſas, Veneremque, & illi
Semper hærentem puerum canebat,
Et Lycum nigris oculis, nigroque
Crine decorum (7).

(7) Horat. Od. 32. lib. 1. ver. 6.

He fierce in Arms; yet, midſt his Cares,
When Dangers preſs'd, and noiſy Wars,
And ſtain'd his charming Harp with Blood;
Or, when he ſtemm'd the angry Seas,
Or when, arriv'd, he ſat at eaſe,
And laugh'd at all the Fury of the Flood;
The Muſes he in ſounding Verſe,
Wou'd ſing, and Venus' *Praiſe rehearſe,*
With her th'attending wanton Boy;
Or Lyco'*s Face, ſurprizing fair,*
With coal-black Eyes, and auburn Hair,
By Nature fitted to entice to Joy.
Creech.

It is apparently He, who had a Mole upon his Finger, which, in the Poet's Eye, was a beautiful Ornament. *Nævus in articulo pueri delectat Alcæum, at eſt corporis macula nævus, illi tamen hoc lumen videbatur* (8). *Cicero* ſays, in another place, that, though *Alcæus* had ſhewed a great deal of Courage, he had filled his Verſes with an exceſſive Pederaſty; *Fortis vir in ſua republica cognitus, quæ de juvenum amore ſcripſit Alcæus* (9)? He was ſo amorous, that he compares himſelf to a Hog, who, whilſt he eats one Acorn, devours another with his Eyes; *Juſt ſo*, ſays he, *when I am enjoying one Girl, I am wiſhing for another.* Ἃ ὗς τὰν βάλανον τὰν μὲν ἔχει, τὰν δ' ἔραται λαβεῖν. Κἀγὼ παῖδα καλὴν τὰν μὲν ἔχω, τὰν δ' ἔραμαι λαβεῖν. *Scipio Gentilis* relates this in his Notes on *Apuleius*'s Apology, pag. 65.

(8) Cicero de Natur. Deor. lib. 1.

(9) Id. Tuſcul. Queſt. 4. cap. 33.

Dignity [*D*]; particularly the fine Common-place Topic againſt Tyrants. *Alcæus*, in That, followed an Inclination, which was confirmed by his own Adventures, and his perſonal Intereſts; for he had vigorouſly oppoſed the Invaders of the Liberty of his Country, and particularly *Pittacus* [*E*], who became an Uſurper, though he was one of the Seven *Sages* of *Greece*. He ſet *Alcæus* at Liberty, whom he had taken Priſoner, ſaying, that it was better to forgive, than to puniſh, an Offence (*g*). Some ſay, that *Alcæus* was *expelled with many others; but that at length he put himſelf at the head of the Exiled, made War againſt the Tyrants, and drove them out* (*h*). I find in *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* nothing more, than that the Inhabitants of *Mitylene* elected *Pittacus* for their General, againſt the Poet *Alcæus*, and his Adherents, whom they had baniſhed (*i*). Others ſay, that, having abuſed *Pittacus*'s Clemency, and continuing to cabal, and inveigh againſt him, he had no longer Favour ſhewn him (*k*); which *Ovid* expreſſed in theſe Words;

> Utque lyræ vates fertur periiſſe ſeveræ,
> Cauſa ſit exitii dextera læſa tui.

> *Or may thy Satire too ſevere be found,*
> *And Thine, like poor* Alcæus' *Muſe, be crown'd*
> *With Vengeance from the Hand it dares to wound.*

This is the more probable, as *Alcæus* paſs'd for one, who did not oppoſe Innovations, as ſuch, but becauſe others had introduced them (*l*). It is a very common Infirmity. There are only ſome ſmall Fragments of his Poems remaining.

[*D*] *His Muſe —— could treat the graveſt Subjects with a ſuitable Dignity.*] This made *Horace* ſay,

> Et te ſonantem plenius aureo,
> Alcæe, plectro, dura navis,
> Dura fugæ mala, dura belli.
> Utrumque ſacro digna ſilentio
> Mirantur umbræ dicere: ſed magis
> Pugnas & exactos tyrannos
> Denſum humeris bibit aure vulgus (10).

> Alcæus *too, whoſe golden Strings*
> *With manly Strokes ſound loftier things;*
> *He ſings the Dangers, and the Fears,*
> *Of Flights, of ſailing, and of Wars.*
> *With ſilent Awe the Shades admire*
> *The tuneful Numbers of his Lyre:*
> *The vulgar Ghoſts throng moſt to hear*
> *Of Kings depos'd; of Feats of War*
> *And drink them with a greedy Ear.*
> CREECH.

Mr *Dacier* remarks on theſe Words, I. *That* Alcæus's *Style was noble and ſtrong, and that he treated of more lofty Subjects, than* Sappho, *who ſays of him in* Ovid,

> Nec plus Alcæus conſors patriæque Lyræque
> Laudis habet, quamvis grandius ille ſonet.

> --- *The wide World reſounds with* Sappho's *Praiſe.*
> *Tho' great* Alcæus *more ſublimely ſings,*
> *And ſtrikes with bolder Rage the ſounding Strings,*
> *No leſs Renown attends the moving Lyre,*
> *Which* Cupid *tunes, and* Venus *does inſpire.*
> POPE.

II. That *Horace gives* him *a* Golden Plectrum, *becauſe he is ſpeaking of that Part of his Works, wherein he deſcribes the Civil Wars, which happened at* Mitylene, *and the different Factions of the Tyrants* Pittacus, Myrſilus, Megalagyrus, *the* Cleanactides, *and others* (11), *and that thoſe Poems were called* στασιωτικὰ ποιήματα, *Poems on Seditions.* He cites this Paſſage of *Quintilian*: "Alcæus in parte operis aureo "plectro merito donatur, qua tyrannos inſectatur. "Multum etiam moribus confert, in eloquendo bre"vis & magnificus, & diligens, plerumque Homero "ſimilis, ſed in luſus & amores deſcendit, majoribus "tamen aptior (12). —— Alcæus *deſerves the Golden* "*Plectrum, which is given him, in that Part of his* "*Poems, in which he laſhes Tyrants. In this he is* "*greatly uſeful to the Manners of Mankind, being* "*conciſe and majeſtic in his Language, and much like* "Homer; *However he ſometimes deſcends to Mirth* "*and Love; tho' naturally qualified for loftier Subjects.*" Add to this the Epithet of *Threatning*, given to his Muſe:

> ----- Alcæi MINACES
> Steſichorique graves Camænæ (13).

[*E*] *Had vigorouſly oppoſed* ——— Pittacus.] He inveighed againſt him in very vulgar Terms. He called him *Splay-Foot*, *Fat-Guts*, &c. as we learn from *Suidas* under the Word σαράπους, and from *Diogenes Laertius* in the Life of *Pittacus*. The Moderation of the latter was very praiſe worthy, and appeared ſo to *Valerius Maximus*: "Pittaci quoque modera"tione pectus inſtructum, qui Alcæum poetam & "amaritudine odii & viribus ingenii adverſus ſe pertina"ciſſimè uſum, tyrannidem à civibus delatam adep"tus, tantummodo quid in opprimendo poſſet admo"nuit (14). —— Pittacus *likewiſe was a Perſon of great* "*Moderation, who, having ſeized on the kingly Power,* "*aboliſhed by the People, only ſhewed the Poet* Al"cæus, *who employed all the Bitterneſs of Hatred,* "*and the Force of Wit, in abuſing him, what he could* "*have done in the way of Oppreſſion.*"

ALCÆUS, an *Athenian* (*a*), and a Tragic Poet, was the firſt, according to ſome, who compoſed Tragedies. If we may believe *Suidas*, he is not the ſame with the Comic Poet **ALCÆUS**, the Fifth of the Ancient Comedy, and the Son of *Miccus*. It ſeems, he renounced his Country, which was the City of *Mitylene*, and paſſed for an *Athenian* (*b*). He left ten *Pieces*, whereof one was entituled *Paſiphaë*: It was that which he produced, when he diſputed with *Ariſtophanes* in the Fourth Year of the Ninety ſeventh *Olympiad* (*c*). *Athenæus* cites ſome others: It is not certainly known, whether the *Endymion*, cited by *Pollux*, belongs to *Alcæus* the Tragic, or *Alcæus* the Comic Poet: But it is probable, that the Piece entituled *Cælum*, was written by the former, ſince *Macrobius* cites it as a Tragedy (*d*). I find, in *Plutarch*, a Poet **ALCÆUS**, different from all the preceeding (*e*), and who is perhaps the ſame, whom *Porphyry* mentioned as a Writer of Satirical *Iambic* Verſes, and Epigrams,

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(*g*) Heraclitus apud Diog. Laërt. in Pittaco, lib. 1. n. 76.

(*h*) Dacier *on the 13th Ode of the 2d Book of* Horace.

(*i*) Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. Antiq. Rom. lib. 5. cap. 82.

(*k*) *See* Dionyſ. Salvagnius Boëſſius, Comment. in Ibin. pag. 102, 103. Edit. 4to.

(*l*) Οὐδ' αὐτὸς καθαρεύων τῶν τοιούτων νεωτερισμῶν. Ne ipſe quidem purus ſtudii ejuſmodi novandarum rerum. *Strabo, lib.* 13. *pag.* 425.

(10) Horat. Od. 13. lib. 2. ver. 26.

(11) *See* Strabo, lib. 13. p. 424.

(12) Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1.

(13) Horat. Od. 9. l. 4.

(14) Valer. Maxim. lib. 4. cap. 1.

(*a*) Suidas.

(*b*) Μιτυληναῖος, εἶτα Ἀθηναῖος. Id.

(*c*) Scholiaſt. Ariſtophanis in Argumento. Pluti.

(*d*) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 5. c. 20.

(*e*) Plut. in Flaminio, pag. 373.

grams, and who wrote a Poem concerning the Plagiariſm of the Hiſtorian *Ephorus* (*f*). The *Alcæus* of *Plutarch* lived in the Hundred and forty fifth *Olympiad*, in the Year of *Rome* 555, as appears by the *Ode* he compoſed on the Battle, which *Philip*, King of *Macedon* loſt in *Theſſaly*. This *Ode* repreſented *Philip* as running away faſter than a Stag, and magnified the Number of the Slain, in order to chagrin him the more. Nevertheleſs *Plutarch* tells us, that *Titus Flaminius*, who gained the Battel, was more offended at *Alcæus*'s Verſes, than *Philip*; becauſe the *Ode* mentioned the *Ætolians* before the *Romans*, and ſeemed thereby to give the *Ætolians* the chief Honour of the Victory. *Philip* defended himſelf againſt *Alcæus*'s Song by another [*A*]. It muſt be confeſs'd, that *Plutarch* makes the *Roman* Conſul too apt to take Offence. We are told likewiſe of one ALCÆUS, a *Meſſenian*, who lived in the Reign of *Veſpaſian*, and in That of *Titus* (*g*). Some of his Epigrams are in the *Anthologia*. I know not which of theſe *Alcæus*'s ſuffered a very remarkable kind of Death [*B*] for his Lewdneſs. *Voſſius*, at the forty ſecond Page of his Notes on *Catullus*, believes it was He, who ſatirized *Philip* King of *Macedon*. He takes him for the Comedian by miſtake; for the Comic Poet was cotemporary with *Ariſtophanes*.

(*f*) Porphyr. apud Euſeb. Præp. Evangel. lib. 20. cap. 3. pag. 467.

(*g*) Tzetzes in Lycophr. apud Gyrald. de Poët. Dialog. 10. pag. 512. Edit. 1696.

[*A*] Philip *defended himſelf againſt* Alcæus's *Song by another.*] *Plutarch* gives us the Subſtance of it in theſe two Lines:

Ἄφλοιος καὶ ἄφυλλος, ὁδοιπόρε, τῷ ἐπὶ νώτῳ
Ἀλκαίῳ σταυρὸς πήγνυται ἠλίβατος (1).

This leafleſs, barkleſs Trunk, O Paſſenger, is erected as a Gibbet for Alcæus.

(1) Plutarch. in Flamin. pag. 373.

[*B*] *Suffered a very remarkable kind of Death.*] *Iſaac Voſſius* gives us (2) this Epitaph, taken out of an *Anthologia*, which was never printed:

Ἀλκαίου τάφος οὗτος, ὃν ἔκτανεν ἡ πλατύφυλλος
Τιμωρὸς μοιχῶν γῆς θυγάτηρ ῥάφανος.

This is Alcæus's *Tomb, who died by a Radiſh, the Daughter of the Earth, and Puniſher of Adulterers.*

(2) Iſaac Voſſius in Catullum, pag. 42.

The meaning of this is, that *Alcæus* ſuffered the Puniſhment of Adulterers, which conſiſted in a certain manner of impaling. They thruſt one of the largeſt Radiſhes they could find up the Adulterer's Fundament, or, for want of Radiſhes, they made uſe of a Fiſh, with a very large Head; as the Scholiaſt of *Juvenal* informs us, on theſe Words of the tenth Satyr,

---- Quoſdam Mœchos & * Mugilis intrat.

* *The* Mugilis *is a Sea-Fiſh with a large Head.*

This helps us to underſtand this Menace of *Catullus*.

Ah tum te miſerum, malique fati,
Quem, attractis pedibus patente porta,
Percurrent raphanique mugileſque (3).

(3) Catull. Epigr. 15. *See* Parthenius, Muretus, *and* Achilles Statius *on this Paſſage.*

Ah! wretched Thou, and born to luckleſs Fate,
Who art diſcovered by the un-ſhut Gate!
If once, alas! the jealous Husband come,
The Radiſh, or the Sea-Fiſh, is thy doom.

Lucian ſpeaks of this ſort of Puniſhment, but does not ſay whether the Criminal died of it, and differs but little from his Scholiaſt. They both tell us, that the Adulterer was uſually well beat; but the Scholiaſt ſays, that the Radiſh was not thruſt up his Fundament, 'till he was ready to expire under the Blows he had received. *Lucian* inſinuates the quite contrary; for the Letcher, of whom he ſpeaks, having been ſoundly beat, leaped down from the Tiling, and ran away with the Radiſh ſticking in his Poſteriors. Κατὰ τοῦ τέγους ἁλόμενος διέφυγε ῥαφανῖδι τὴν πυγὴν βεβυσμένος (4). *De tecto deſiliens aufugit natibus raphano oppletis.* *Voſſius* ought not to have concluded from this Paſſage of *Lucian*, that this Puniſhment was not Mortal; for it is very probable, that if the Patient had not run away, it would have coſt him his Life ſooner or later. The two Verſes, which *Voſſius* cites, and which he takes for the Diſcourſe of an Adultereſs, who ſaid to her Godmother, that if the Puniſhment of the Croſs was inflicted upon their Gallants, inſtead of the Radiſh, no one would have any thing more to ſay to them, are a better Poof, than the Words of *Lucian* (5). The Commentators on *Diogenes Laertius* rightly apprehended what *Menedemus* aimed at, when he ſaid to an inſolent Adulterer, that the Juice of Radiſhes was uſeful: Πρὸς δὲ τὸν θρασυνόμενον μοιχὸν, ἀγνοεῖς, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ μόνον κράμβη χυλὸν ἔχει χρηστὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥαφανῖδες (6). *Audacter exultanti adultero, ignoras, inquit, non modo braſſicæ ſuccum ineſſe utilem, ſed & raphano.*

(4) Lucian. de morte Peregrini.

(5) Ex Heſychio in ῥαφανιδωθῆναι. *See alſo the Scholiaſt of* Ariſtophanes in Nubibus.

(6) Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. n. 128. *See* Aldobrandinus & Menage.

ALCHABITIUS, an *Arabian* Aſtrologer, compoſed an Introduction to the Knowledge of the Celeſtial Influences [*A*]. He wrote likewiſe concerning *The Conjunction of the Planets*, and a Treatiſe *of Optics*, which was found in a Convent of *Germany*, and brought to the Author of the Book *de Lumine Animæ*. His Aſtrological Works, tranſlated by *John* of *Seville* (*a*), were printed at *Venice* in 1491, with the Expoſition of *John* of *Saxony*, and, in 1521, with the Corrections of *Antony de Fantis*, a Phyſician of *Treviſo* in *Italy* (*b*). It is not well known at what time *Alchabitius* lived.

(*a*) Joannes Hiſpalenſis.

(*b*) Geſner in Bibl. & *ex eo* Voſſius de Scient. Mathem. pag. 354, & 369.

[*A*] *Compoſed an Introduction to the Knowledge of the Celeſtial Influences.*] The Title of the Book in *Geſner* and in *Simler*, is, *Iſagoge ad magiſterium judiciorum aſtrorum, vel ad ſcrutanda ſtellarum magiſteria.* *Voſſius* gives it in another manner, but which comes to the ſame Senſe; *Iſagoge ad ſcrutanda aſtrorum indicia* (1). But *Moreri*, miſtaking one Word for another in *Voſſius*, *initia* for *indicia*, gives us an incomprehenſible Title; *An Introduction to the Knowledge of the beginning of the Stars.* It appears that *Voſſius* thought it ought to be *indiciorum*, where *Geſner* and *Simler* have put *judiciorum*.

(1) Voſſius de Scient. Mathem. pag. 399.

Note, That *Alchabitius*'s Treatiſe of the Conjunction of the Planets was tranſlated into *French* by *Orontius Finæus* (2), and that Mr *de la Mare*, in his Preface to the Works of the four Brothers *Guions*, quotes the Manuſcript Notes of *Peter Almatius*, Counſellor in the Parliament of *Dijon*, on *Alchabitius de inimicitiis Planetarum*. I have this from Mr *de la Monnoie*.

(2) *See* du Verdier, *pag.* 20. *of his* Bibliotheque.

ALCHINDUS, a Phyſician and Aſtrologer among the *Arabians*. *Cardan* reckoned him among the Twelve Sublime Geniuſes, whom he looked upon as the chief of thoſe, who excelled in the Sciences (*a*). This is to exceed *Albohazen Haly*, and *Haly Rodoan*, who call him the great Aſtrologer, and even *Raſis* and *Meſue*, who ſtyle him the moſt Learned and moſt Experienced Phyſician, and even *Averroes* and *Wimpina*, who call him the Subtile Philoſopher. One may judge of his Parts and Learning by his Two printed Books, *De Temporum Mutationibus*, and *De Gradibus Medicinarum*

(*a*) Card. de Subtilit. lib. 16. Naudé *in his* Apology for Great Men, *pag.* 354. *amplifies* Cardan's *Teſtimony too much.*

Medicinarum compoſitarnm inveſtigandis. We meet with many others, which are very often cited by Authors, under the Titles, *De ratione ſex quantitatum: De quinque eſſentiis: De motu diurno: De vegetabilibus,* and *De Theoricâ magicarum artium.* This laſt Work induced all the Demonographers to repreſent *Alchindus* as a dangerous Magician. *Francis Picus,* and *Conrad Wimpina,* have amply diſcourſed of the Hereſies, Blaſphemies, and Abſurdities, which are to be met with in this Book. The famous *John Picus* does not ſeem to have judged ſo diſadvantageouſly of him, ſince he ſays, that he knew but Three Men, who had ſo much as touched upon the natural and lawful Magic, to wit, *Alchindus, Roger Bacon,* and *William* Biſhop of *Paris.* What is moſt to be depended upon, according to *Gabriel Naudé,* from whom I borrow this Article, is I. That this Work is full of Superſtition, and Doctrines quite contrary to our Faith, and ſuch as are to be expected from a *Mahometan,* who writes his Thoughts with great Freedom. II. That he cannot be accuſed of Magic, ſince he was ſo far from amuſing himſelf with the *Theurgic* or *Goetic* Magic, that his ſole View was to account in a natural Way for all that is attributed to good or bad Angels; which *Petrus de Apono* and *Pomponatius* have done after him (*b*). Theſe Philoſophers, in ſupport of their Opinion, maintain that Sublunary things depend wholly on the Heavenly, and that they mutually receive their Properties from each other, and that each receives them from the whole, by means of certain material *Effluvia,* which, paſſing from the leaſt to the greateſt, are the Cauſe, they tell us, of all the *Phænomena* in Nature. We cannot certainly ſay when *Alchindus* lived; but we muſt not place him in the XII Century, ſince *Averroes* makes mention of him. There is a JAMES ALCHINDUS, whom ſome confound with the ALCHINDUS of this Article [*A*].

(*b*) Naudé, ibid. *and the following Page.*

[*A*] *Whom ſome confound with the* Alchindus *of this Article.*] *Wolfgang Juſtus* ſays, that *James Alkindus* lived under Pope *Eugenius* III. in the Year 1145, cotemporary with *Averroes* and *Avicenna*: He ſays, that he was an *Arabian* Phyſician and Philoſopher (1). The Bibliographers attribute the ſame Books to *Alchindus,* and to *James Alkindus. Voſſius* ſeems to diſtinguiſh between them; for, when he ſpeaks of *Alchindus,* he aſcribes to him only the Treatiſe *de ſex quantitatibus,* and does not mention his Age; but he places *James Alkindus* in 1235, and aſcribes to him, among other Books, a Treatiſe *de radiis ſtellarum* (2). It is, doubtleſs, the ſame Book, which *Geſner* alledges under the Title *de radiis ſtellicis,* and which he believes to be a Work of *James Alkindus,* though the Name of *James* is not joined there with that of *Alkindus.* One would imagine by the Title alone, that it belongs to Him, who was ſuſpected of Magic.

(1) Apud Merklinum in Lindenio renovato.

(2) Voſſius de Scientiis Mathem. pag. 61. & 179.

ALCIATUS (ANDREW) a great Civilian, flouriſhed in the XVI Century. He was the Son of a rich Merchant of *Milan* [*A*], and was born in the Month of *May,* 1492 (*a*). It is pretended, that his Mother in bringing him forth, felt ſcarce any of the uſual Pains of Labour (*b*). Having ſtudied Humanity under *Janus Parrhaſius,* who taught at *Milan* (*c*), he applied himſelf to the Civil-Law at *Pavia* and at *Bologna* (*d*), and attended chiefly the Lectures of *Jaſon* in the former of theſe Univerſities, and thoſe of *Charles Ruinus* in the latter (*e*). After he was created Doctor, he betook himſelf to the Bar in the City of *Milan* (*f*), till he was called to the Profeſſorſhip of Civil Law by the Univerſity of *Avignon* [*B*]. He filled the Chair

(*a*) *See Remark* [*E*].

(*b*) Panzirol. de Claris Legum Interpret. lib. 2. cap. 169.

(*c*) Minos in Vita Alciati.

(*d*) *Mr* Teiſſier *in his Elogies taken from* Thuanus, Tom. 1. pag. 35. *quoting* Minos, *ſays that* Alciatus *ſtudied at* Verona: *but I have not found this.*

(*e*) Panzirol. ibid.

(*f*) Minos in Vita Alciati.

[*A*] *He was the Son of a rich Merchant of* Milan] I have followed *Panzirolus,* the only Author, whom I have conſulted, who makes him the Son of a Perſon of that Profeſſion: "Ex Joanne pecunioſo negotiatore Mediolani ferè nullo parentis dolore natus & educatus fuit (1)." Others make him rather the Son of a Gentleman of an ancient Family; "Andreas Alciatus in pago Alciato ſeu Alzato Mediolanenſi natus è nobili Alciatorum familia." This is the Opinion of *Claudius Minos* (2). It cannot be objected to me, that in ſome Countries the quality of Merchant, and That of Gentleman, are not incompatible; for, where they are united, an Hiſtorian ſeldom takes notice of the leaſt, without ſpeaking of the moſt conſiderable. Wherefore, ſince *Panzirolus* has only mentioned the Occupation of *Alciatus*'s Father, he ſeems not to have been of *Claudius Minos*'s Opinion.

[*B*] *He applied himſelf to the Bar in the City of* Milan, *'till he was called* ——— *by the Uuniverſity of* Avignon.] I ſhall be cautious of adopting the Narrative of *Panzirolus.* That would lead me to aſſert, that *Alciatus,* having been created Doctor of the Civil and Canon Law, in the Year 1517, being a little above twenty two Years of Age, taught firſt at *Pavia,* and afterwards at *Avignon; Primum itaque Ticini profeſſus, poſtea Avenioni docuit* (3). But this would be giving the Lie to *Alciatus* himſelf, who declares in a Speech, which he made at *Pavia,* that, when he obtained ſix hundred Crowns Salary, at *Avignon,* he had never appeared in any Chair. "Avenioni cum nunquam ad eam diem cathedram aſcendiſſem ſtipendium ſexcentorum mererer (4)." *Panzirolus*'s Account is, moreover, ſuſpected of Falſhood; he betrays an extream Negligence; we find there, that *Alciatus* was not quite Twenty three Years of Age in 1517, and yet his Epitaph, related by *Panzirolus,* three Pages after, declares, that he was near Fifty nine Years of Age in the Month of *January* 1550: he was therefore Twenty five in 1517. What *Panzirolus* affirms, that *Alciatus* publiſhed his *Paradoxa* and his *Diſpunctiones* about the Year 1517, cannot be cleared up by *Claudius Minos*; for there never was a Chaos of a Book more abſurd, than the Paſſage where this laſt Writer ſpeaks of the Edition of *Alciatus*'s Paradoxes. "Duodecim poſt annos, *ſays he* (5), cum civilis & pontificii juris profeſſoriis inſignibus donatus eſſet, Paradoxa & Diſpunctiones in publicum emiſit, opus, ut ipſe dicit, elaboratum horis ſucciſſivis, & à candidato adhuc & tirone. — *Twelve Years after, when he was inveſted with the Profeſſorſhip of Civil and Canon Law, he publiſhed his* Paradoxa *and* Diſpunctiones, *a Work, according to his own Account, compoſed at his leiſure Hours, and when he was as yet but a Candidate and a Student.*" It is not eaſily ſeen, to what the Word *duodecim* relates; for all that goes before is an Account of *Alciatus*'s different Stations, and of his manner of teaching the Civil Law. If theſe Words of *Minos* imported, that *Alciatus* publiſhed his Paradoxes twelve Years after his Promotion to the Doctorate, all this Chaos would be reduced into order; but, then, what would become of *Panzirolus,* who places the Edition of That Book about the time of his taking the Degree of Doctor; that is, about the Year 1517? What would become of *Tiraquellus,*

(1) Panzir. de Claris Legum Interpretr. lib. 2. cap. 169. pag. 353.

(2) Minos, in Vita Andreæ Alciati, Ghilini, Lorenzo Craſſo, Paul Freher, Bullart, &c. *ſay he deſcended from a noble and ancient Family.*

(3) Panzir. ubi ſupra.

(4) *See the Commentaries upon his Emblems, pag.* 612. *of the* Padua *Edit.* 1661. *in* 4to.

(5) Minos in Vit. Alciati.

Chair with ſuch great Abilities, that *Francis* I. thought him a proper perſon to promote the Study of the Civil-Law in the Univerſity of *Bourges*. He invited him thither in 1529 [*C*], and, the Year following, he doubled his Penſion, which was at firſt Six hundred Crowns. *Alciatus* profeſſed the Civil-Law Five Years at *Bourges*, and acquired a great Reputation there. But he made uſe of an Artifice to obtain an Increaſe of his Salary [*D*]. He mixed a great deal of Literature with the Explication of

Tiraquellus, who ſays, that *Alciatus* wrote a conſiderable Work before he was twenty Years of Age (6)? "It is That, which is extant under the Title of *Paradoxes of the Civil Law*, which he divided into ſix Books, and dedicated to the Chancellor *du Prat*, when he was at *Bourges* in 1529, twelve Years after having publiſhed it in his own Country, when he aſſumed the Doctor's Cap; but ſeventeen or eighteen Years after the Compoſition of it (7)." The Work, which I cite, informs me, that *Alciatus*'s firſt Eſſay was an Explication and Correction of the *Greek* Terms, which we meet with in the *Digeſts*; that this Book was publiſhed firſt in *Italy*, and ſome time after at *Strasburg*, in 1515. I have read, in a certain Author (8), that *the firſt Dedication Alciatus* made of his Works, is dated in 1513, and that it is That of the three laſt Books of the *Code*. What is very certain, is, that he publiſhed his *Paradoxes*, dedicated to the Chancellor *Antony du Prat*, about the Year 1517 (9). He publiſhed his *Diſpunctiones* about the ſame time, dedicated to *John Selve*, Preſident of the Senate of *Milan*, and his *Prætermiſſa*, dedicated to *James de Minut*, Counſellor in the ſame Senate, and ancient Profeſſor of the Civil Law at *Orleans*. He was Profeſſor at *Avignon* in the Year 1521; for he ſays, in the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his Treatiſe *de Verborum ſignificatione*, dated at *Bourges* the firſt of *May*, 1529, that he had dedicated it to his Scholars eight Years before.

I have been informed, that *Budæus*, in a Letter written to *Chriſtopher Longueil*, in the Month of *February* 1520 (10), mentions a Viſit, which *Alciatus* made him ſome time before at *Avignon*. Mr *de la Monnoie* communicated to me this Particular. I add, that ſome Letters of our *Alciatus* were publiſhed at *Utrecht*, which ſhew, that he was Profeſſor of the Civil Law at *Avignon* in the Year 1518 (11); that his Salary amounted to Five hundred Crowns, and that he had Seven hundred Auditors. Two Years after he wrote, that they allowed him Six hundred Crowns, beſides other Gratuities; and that his Auditory was compoſed of above Eight hundred Perſons, among whom there were ſome Prelates, Abbots, and Counts (12). He left That Profeſſorſhip, and returned to *Milan*, about the end of *October* 1522. Among other things, which induced him to this Retreat, the principal was, that his Salary was not punctually paid him, the City of *Avignon* being in debt by Reaſon of the Contagious Diſtemper. Beſides, they gave him to underſtand, that if the Plague returned, he muſt conſent to a Diminution of his Salary. But he rejected the Condition (13). He applied himſelf to the Bar in his own Country, and found this Employment more advantageous than he expected (14). He ſtayed in *Italy*, 'till he accepted the Profeſſorſhip which was offered him in the Univerſity of *Bourges* (15).

[*C*] *He invited him thither in* 1529.] I chooſe to follow *Minos* and Mr *Catherinot* (16), rather than *Panzirolus*. The latter anticipates this Invitation by by an whole Year. "Deinde anno 1528, Bituriges, quo magna ſtudioſorum multitudo ad ejus famam confluxit, amplo 1200 aureorum ſtipendio à Rege Franciſco eſt conductus (17). —— *At length, in the Year* 1528, *he was retained at* Bourges *by King* Francis, *with a Salary of Twelve thouſand Crowns; whither the Fame of his Abilities drew from all Parts a great Number of Students.*" I do not object to *Panzirolus*, that his Penſion was at firſt but Eighteen hundred *Livres*, and that, being doubled, the next Year, it amounted to the Sum which he has laid down: I have greater Inſtances of Inaccuracy to charge him with. He ſays, I. That *Alciatus* lived but few Years in *France*; becauſe *Francis Maria*, Duke of *Milan*, ordered him to return, and threatned him with the Confiſcation of all his Effects in caſe of Diſobedience. II. That *Alciatus*, being returned home, taught for ſome Years at *Pavia*; 'till he retired to *Bologne* in 1532, on account of the Wars, It is certain, that *Alciatus* lived five Years at *Bourges*: This appears by the Verſes, he wrote on his leaving it.

Urbs Biturix, invitus amans te deſero amantem,
Quinque per æſtates terra habitata mihi (18).

And therefore, ſince, according to *Panzirolus*, he was invited thither in the Year 1528, he could not have left it till 1533. How could he then have taught for ſome Years at *Pavia*, after his Removal from *Bourges*, and retire afterwards to *Bologne*, in the Year 1532? His *Diſſertation concerning Duels*, dedicated to *Francis* I, is dated from *Avignon* the firſt of *March*, 1529. The Preface to his Paradoxes is dated from *Bourges* the Twenty fourth of *Auguſt* 1529. This is deciſive againſt *Panzirolus*. There remain yet two Errors to be cenſured, one of *Moreri*, the other of *Paul Freherus*. The former ſays, that *the Liberality of* Francis I. *drew* Alciatus *into* France, *where he taught at* Avignon; according to the latter, *Alciatus* went to teach in That City, immediately upon his leaving *Parrhaſius*'s School (19). It is an abſurd Miſtake to ſay, that the Liberality of a King of *France* invited a Profeſſor into another Prince's Country; and who does not know, that when *Alciatus* left *Parrhaſius*'s School, he went to ſtudy at *Pavia* and at *Bologne*, and that he took his Doctor's Degree in 1517, and that he publiſhed ſome Books before he was Profeſſor at *Avignon*?

[*D*] *He made uſe of an Artifice to obtain an Increaſe of his Salary.*] He contrived the matter ſo by his Intrigues, that a Profeſſorſhip was offered him by the Univerſity of *Padua*. *Voſſius*, who informs me of this, was afraid, leſt by deferring to return an Anſwer to the Offer, which was made him of a Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, he ſhould be ſuſpected of the ſame Artifice; for, adds he, it is a piece of Cunning generally put in Practice: "Quis, rerum mearum ignarus, aliud ſibi perſuadere poſſit, quam diutinam hanc in reſpondendo ceſſationem inde duntaxat, aut potiſſimum ſaltem, promanare, ut Vocatione Anglicana aliquid mihi apud Batavos lucelli acquiram? Scimus id pleriſque moris eſſe. Nec notam hanc effugit ſummus Juriſconſultus, Andreas Alciatus, cùm Biturigibus Patavium vocaretur. Et ille quidem callide hoc egerat ipſe, ut vocaretur. Mihi, ut ſcis, ne per ſomnium tale quid cogitanti ſponte apud vos profeſſio oblata eſt. Ille item, immane quantum aucto ſtipendio, apud Biturigas remanſit. Ego, uti hoc nunquam egi, ita nec quicquam acceſſionis (quam quidem ſcio mihi minimè invideres) conſequar remanendo, niſi ſimul acceſſio fiat fortè novi laboris (20). ———— *Who, that is unacquainted with the State of my Affairs, would put any other Conſtruction on my long Neglect in returning an Anſwer, than that I hoped this Invitation from* England *might be improved to my Advantage in* Holland? *Nor was the great Civilian,* Andrew Alciatus, *clear from this Suſpicion, when he was invited from* Bourges *to* Pavia. *He indeed artfully contrived this Invitation. As for myſelf, you know, that I never ſo much as dreamt of the Profeſſorſhip in your Univerſity, 'till it was offered me. He, likewiſe, continued at* Bourges, *upon his Stipend being greatly augmented. I, as I never acted in this manner, ſo I ſhall receive no additional Advantage (which I am ſure you would not envy me) by continuing here; unleſs at the ſame time an additional Service be required of me.*" I ſhould feel ſome Remorſe of Conſcience, did I not acknowledge, that Mr *de la Monnoie* acquainted me with this Paſſage of *Voſſius*. Beſides which, He has imparted to me the following Particulars. "It appears, by the twelfth Letter of the ſecond Book of *Sadolet*'s Letters, that *Alciatus*, from the firſt Year of his Abode at *Bourges*, had, or pretended to have, a Deſign to profeſs the Law at *Bologne*.

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(6) Tiraq. de Jur. Primigen. pag. 158. apud Baillet, Enfans celebres, p. 126. *where you will find the following Authors quoted, viz.* Ghilin, Theatr. Literat. pag. 1. & Picinel. Athen. Milan. pag. 26, 28.

(7) Baillet Enfans Celebres, pag. 126.

(8) Paſquier's Recherches, lib. 9. cap. 39. pag. 901.

(9) *See the Preface to the* Paradoxes, *prefix'd to the Edition of* 1529.

(10) *Beginning the Year in* January.

(11) Epiſt. Gudii, &c. pag. 76.

(12) Ibid. pag. 78.

(13) Ibid. pag. 96.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid. pag. 106.

(16) *He ſays, in the firſt Page of his Hiſtory of* Calviniſm *in* Berri, *that* Alciatus *read his firſt Lecture at* Bourges, *on* Monday, Apr. 19. 1529.

(17) Panzir. de claris Legum Interpr. lib. 2. cap. 169.

(18) *See* Minos, ubi ſupra.

(19) Freher. in Theatr. Viror. illuſt. pag. 826.

(20) Voſſius Epiſt. 48. pag. 91, 92. *It is dated from* Leyden, June 1. 1625.

of the Laws, and happily baniſhed That barbarous Language, which had prevailed, till then, in the Lectures and Writings of the Civilians. *Thuanus* extols him highly for This: I ſay, *Thuanus*, who, otherwiſe, was but little acquainted with his Hiſtory [*E*]. This Profeſſor's Extemporary Harangue to *Francis* I, who came into his Auditory [*F*], pleaſed that Monarch much. *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, thought himſelf obliged to recal into his Country ſo eminent a Man, and compaſſed his Deſign by giving him the Dignity of a Senator, beſides a great Salary. *Alciatus*, therefore, went to teach the Civil-Law at *Pavia*; but a little after he came to the Univerſity of *Bologne* (*g*), where he reſided Four Years. Afterwards he returned to *Pavia*, from whence he went to *Ferrara* (*h*), being invited thither by Duke *Hercules d'Eſt*, who endeavoured to make that Univerſity famous. It recovered it's Splendor under a Profeſſor, who was ſo much followed; but, at the end of Four Years, *Alciatus* left it, to return to *Pavia*, where at laſt he met with the true Remedy for his inconſtant

(*g*) *He made his Inaugural Speech there on the* 3d *of* Nov. 1537.

(*h*) *He made his Inaugural Speech there in* 1543.

" Two *Italian* Letters of *Bembus*, one of the ſeventh " of *July*, 1533, and the other of the Twenty third " of *February*, 1533, contain many Particulars con" cerning the Deſign, which the Republic of *Venice* " had of inviting *Alciatus* to *Padua* (21). The Pro" feſſors of That Univerſity were in terrible Appre" henſions about it; and among others, *Franceſchin* " *da Corte*, in *Latin*, *Franciſcus Curtius*; who, to " prevent the coming of ſuch a Colleague, ſpread a " Report, That the Duke of *Milan*, *Francis Sforſa*, " erroneouſly called *Francis Maria* by *Panzirolus*, " had forbad him, on very ſevere Penalties, to leave " the Profeſſorſhip of *Pavia*, *Sotto pena di confiſca*" *tione*, *Upon pain of Confiſcation of his Goods*." To clear this Account from all Intricacy, we muſt, I think, ſuppoſe, that the Twenty third of *February*, 1533, in the Letter of *Peter Bembus*, is of the Year 1534, beginning the Year in the Month of *January*; for, without, it we cannot be perſuaded, that *Alciatus* was at *Pavia*, when that Letter was dated; He, who had profeſſed five Years at *Bourges*, and who did not begin to profeſs there 'till 1529. In conſulting the *Latin* Letters of the ſame *Bembus*, I find, that he writ to our *Alciatus* on the fifteenth of *July*, 1532, to exhort him to come and take Poſſeſſion of the Profeſſorſhip, which was offered him in the Univerſity of *Padua*. He removes the Objection which kept him in ſuſpence, which was, that the Republic of *Venice* would not promiſe him the ſame Species of Crowns, which he demanded (22). *Bembus* tells him, that he ought not to diſengage himſelf from his Promiſe on ſo trivial an Account, and *if you come*, ſays he, *I will undertake, that you ſhall have in a very little time all the Money, which you deſire, and other Advantages too.* He wrote to him again on the Twenty firſt of *April*, 1534. *Alciatus* was then at *Pavia*, but diſcontented. *Bembus* declares, that, as for his Part, he was very well ſatisfy'd with his Excuſes; but that the Curators of the Univerſity of *Padua* were not; and that they were perſuaded, that the Requeſt which he had made of the Profeſſorſhip of Civil Law among them, was grounded on a Motive of Intereſt; that is to ſay, That *Alciatus* would not have deſired the Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity of *Padua*, but in order to make uſe of the Offer of this Poſt to procure a larger Salary from the Duke of *Milan*. " Utinam tam æqui in te Judices præfecti ludi Pa" tavini eſſent, neque ſibi perſuaſiſſimum haberent, " te propterea profitendi Jus Civile hac in urbe locum " poſtulaviſſe, ut eo tradito apud Ducem iſtum tuum " uterere, ad largius atque uberius ab eo ſtipendium " promerendum (23)."

Alciatus had before made uſe of the ſame Artifice, at *Avignon*. He employed one of his Friends (24) to contrive the Matter ſo, that he might be invited to *Bologne* or *Padua*. He had no Intention of accepting theſe Offers; but he hoped to procure a better Salary by this Means. This appears from ſome Letters he wrote at that Time, and which were printed at *Utrecht* in the Year 1697. " Si mille mihi aurei " Ferrariæ conſtituerentur, eo non irem: Et ſatis " non poſſum mirari, qui tibi in mentem venerit, " hanc conventionem cum eo tractare; cum de Pa" tavino, aut Bononienſi Gymnaſio ſolum tibi man" data dederim: Quamvis nec mihi diſpliceant tua " iſta conſilia: Non quod in has Academias ven" turus ſim, ſed quod Avenionenſes, ſi ſciverint ab " aliis quoque me ſollicitari, ne eos deſeram time" bunt, & augebunt ſtipendia. Quare cum eis po" tiſſimum velim hæc diſſemines, quos conjectabis ido" neos eſſe; ut in Avenionenſem Academiam literas " harum rerum indices dent (25). —— *If they would* " *ſettle upon me a thouſand Crowns a Year at* Ferrara, " *I would not go thither; and I cannot enough won*" *der how you could think of entring into ſuch a Ne*" *gotiation, ſince I commiſſioned you to treat only con*" *cerning the* Bolognian *and* Pavian *Schools: however* " *I am not diſpleaſed with your Deſigns; not that I* " *have any Thoughts of ever coming into thoſe Uni*" *verſities, but becauſe the People of* Avignon, *when* " *they find I am courted by others, will fear I* " *ſhould deſert them; to prevent which they will aug*" *ment my Stipend. Wherefore I deſire you would* " *impart this Deſign to thoſe, whom you ſhall judge* " *proper for it, that they may ſend Letters to the* " *Univerſity of* Avignon, *in Confirmation of theſe* " *Matters.*" His Friend caballed at *Padua*, to induce the *German* Scholars to deſire the Republic of *Venice* to ſend for *Alciatus* (26). The latter deſired him not to trouble himſelf about it, ſince he was engaged for two Years in the City of *Avignon*. His Letter is dated the Twenty ſixth of *September*, 1520. What Meanneſs! What ſordid Love of Gain!

INCONSISTENCIES in relation to the Age of *Alciatus*.

[*E*] Thuanus —- *who, otherwiſe, was but little acquainted with his Hiſtory.*] He ſuppoſes, I. That *Alciatus*, after having taught a long time at *Bourges*, was Profeſſor at *Avignon*; but the contrary is true. II. That *Alciatus* left *France*, in the decline of his Age; whereas he was but forty Years of Age, or thereabouts. III. That *Alciatus*, being return'd into *Italy*, read firſt at *Bologna*, and afterwards at *Ferrara*. He read at *Pavia*, before he went to *Bologna*. IV. That *Alciatus* died in the Year 1551; but his Epitaph ſays it was on the 12th of *January*, 1550. It is true, ſome Authors report, That *Alciatus*'s Epitaph mentions Fifty eight Years, eight Months, and four Days, which would prove that he died the 12th of *January*, 1551; but others report, that it gives him but Fifty ſeven Years, eight Months, and four Days (27). *Thuanus*'s Miſtake is not ſo conſiderable, as that of *Forſter*, adopted by Mr *Doujat* (28), and that of *Imperialis*. The latter places the Death of *Alciatus* in the Year 1559 (29). *Forſter* places it in the Year 1548 (30). But let us particularly remark the Error of the Aſtrologer, who, having ſaid that *Alciatus* died at *Ferrara*, in the Year 1546, adds, that it was of a Wound from *Saturn* and the *Sun*. " Andreas Alcia" tus didicit literas Græcas à Pomponio Gaurico Pa" tavii —— obiit Ferrariæ anno 1546, ex Saturno " in oppoſitione horoſcopi, & Sole Martis tetragono " ſauciato. In converſione annua non ſolum directi" ones Aphetarum, ſed annuæ converſiones penitus " commaculatæ interimunt (31)." This is what *Luke Gauric* notes, under the Figure of the Nativity of our Civilian. He ſuppoſes him to be born, the eighth of *May*, 1492, at one Hour, and thirty Minutes, after Sun-riſing. Is not this a pretty Art? It has Rules, according to which a Man ought to die ſeveral Years before his Death. I have ſeen one of *Alciatus*'s Letters, dated the third of *September*, 1530, wherein he ſays, that he is juſt entered upon his Thirty ſeventh Year, or that he is but little more than Thirty ſeven Years of Age. *Vix trigeſimum & ſeptimum annum attingenti* (32). This would prove that he was born in 1494, or 1493.

[*F*] *This Profeſſor's extemporary Harangue to* Francis I. *who came into his Auditory.*] *Minos* reports this Fact: *Panzirolus* ſays nothing of it; but, inſtead of it, tells us, That the *Dauphin*, having aſſiſted at one of *Alciatus*'s Lectures, preſented him with a Medal, to the value of Four hundred Crowns. It was ſtant Humour [*G*], I mean Death, on the 12th Day of *January*, 1550 (*i*). He was not full Fifty eight Years of Age. *Paul* III. gave him an honourable Reception, in his Paſſage through *Ferrara*, and offered to advance him to Eccleſiaſtical Dignities. *Alciatus* was contented with that of Prothonotary, and would not renounce the Profeſſion of the Civil-Law [*H*]. The Emperor created him a Count Palatine, and a Senator. *Philip*, King of *Spain* (§*), paſſing through *Pavia*, preſented him with a Gold Chain. It is thought that *Alciatus* died of a Surfeit, which he got by over eating himſelf (*k*); for he was not only very covetous, but likewiſe a greater Eater [*I*]. He

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(21) *Theſe Letters of* Bembus, *are in the* 645*th and* 646*th Pages of the Collection, entitled*, Lettere di XIII. Huomini illuſtri, *printed at* Venice, 1560. *in* 8vo. *See likewiſe the* 29*th and* 30*th Letter of the* 16*th Book of* Bembus.

(22) Cum tu nummos aureos ſolares petieris, illa tibi tantum aureos eſt pollicita. *Pet. Bembus Epiſt.* 20. *lib.* 6. *pag.* 634.

(23) Idem, Epiſt. 30. lib. 6. pag. 635.

(24) *Call'd* Franciſcus Calvus.

(25) Epiſt. Gudii, &c. pag. 79.

(26) Ibid. pag. 78.

(27) Ghilini Teatro de Literati, parte 1. pag. 11.

(28) Doujat. Prænot. Canon. p. 619.

(29) Imper. in Muſæo Hiſtor. pag. 52.

(30) Forſter. Hiſtor. Juris Civil. lib. 3. cap. 41. pag. 542.

(31) Lucas Gauricus in Schematib. fol. 73.

(32) Epiſt. Gudii, &c. pag. 106.

(*i*) Panzir. de Claris Leg. Interp. lib. 2. cap. 169. *See concerning the Time of his Death, the Remark* [*E*] *towards the End.*

(*k*) Ex cibo, quem largiorem ſumere conſueverat, morbum contraxit. *Id. ib.*

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was the ſame, which the Inhabitants had given the *Dauphin*. I have already ſaid, on other Occaſions, That, when a Fact of this nature is variouſly reported by Authors, or does not appear in moſt of thoſe, who write a Perſon's Elogy, it cannot be depended upon. Yet this Fact ought to be excepted out of this Rule; for we find among *Alciatus*'s Works (33) the Diſcourſe, which he made when *Francis* I. aſſiſted at one of his Lectures.

(33) Tom. 4. pag. 870. *Edit. of* Francfort 1617.

[*G*] *The true Remedy for his inconſtant Humour.*] If I had taken Advantage of all that I have met with in Authors, concerning the ſeveral Stations of *Alciatus*, I ſhould have repreſented him as more inconſtant, than he really was. It is ſufficient, that he went from *Avignon* to *Bourges*, from *Bourges* to *Pavia*, from *Pavia* to *Bologne*, from *Bologne* to *Pavia*, from *Pavia* to *Ferrara*, from *Ferrara* to *Pavia*, and all this before ſixty Years of Age. *Thevet* ſo ill diſpoſes his Account of this learned Civilian, that any Reader would infer from it, that *Alciatus* returned into *France*, after the Duke of *Milan* had recall'd him from *Bourges*. We have ſeen that *Panzirolus* makes him go from *Pavia* to *Avignon*. *Moreri* ſends him from *Bourges* to *Orleans*, and from *Orleans* to *Padua*. Mr *Teiſſier* makes him Profeſſor at *Milan* (34). He cites *Paſquier*, in the Twenty ninth Chapter of the ninth Book of his *Recherches*: He ſhould have cited the Thirty ninth Chapter; but *Milan* is not to be found there. Theſe are *Paſquier*'s Words: "I heard "three or four of *Alciatus*'s Lectures in the City of "*Pavia*. Coming from thence to *Bologne*, where "*Marianus Socinus*, the Nephew of *Bartholomew*, "read Lectures, I found that the *Italian* Scholars, "in general, had a greater Eſteem for him, than for "the other. Nay, thoſe, who had any Suit in Law, "choſe rather to make uſe of *Socinus*, becauſe, *ſaid* "*they*, he never loſt any time in the ſtudy of hu"man Learning, as *Alciatus* did." Mr *Teiſſier*, citing this Paſſage, ſays, *That* Bartholomew Socinus *taught the Civil Law at* Bologne, *when* Alciatus *was Profeſſor at* Milan. Theſe two Facts are not to be found in *Paſquier*. If I would have made a general Collection of all theſe Circumſtances, what a Weathercock ſhould I have made of our fickle Profeſſor? but I ſhould have been a thouſand times more to blame, than the Authors of theſe Falſhoods, if I had made uſe of them to his prejudice. He was not ignorant, that he was cenſured for his frequent Changes of Univerſities, and, among other Reaſons, he endeavour'd to juſtify himſelf by this, that no one finds fault with the Sun, for running round the Earth, to animate all things by it's Heat, and it's Beams: He added, That when any one praiſes the fixed Stars, he does not deſign to condemn the Planets (35). There was an inſufferable Vanity in theſe Compariſons; it was to conſider himſelf as a Source of Light, which was to run ſucceſſively through all the Republic of Letters, that the Darkneſs of Ignorance might be expell'd from every Place by his Preſence. But let us allow him his Compariſon, and tell him, that he ought to have reſembled *Copernicus*'s Sun, have kept his Center, and illuminated from thence all who approach'd him. It is much more honourable for a Philoſopher to be viſited by a great Number of Scholars, in the place of his Reſidence, as *Abelard* was (36), than to ramble up and down in ſearch of Scholars. And, doubtleſs, if the love of Glory alone poſſeſſes a Man's Soul, without being mix'd with the love of Gain, or a fantaſtical Humour of being ſoon diſguſted with the ſame Things, we ſhould not ſee ſo many Perſons ſtruck with *Alciatus*'s Diſtemper. The Idea of true Glory would inſpire a Man with a Reſolution not to wander in ſearch of great Theatres of Action, but to convert the Place of his own Reſidence into ſuch a Theatre, how ſmall ſoever it be: He would remember *Ageſilaus*'s Anſwer. He happened to be placed, on a Day of Ceremony, beneath his Rank; Εὖγε, *ſays he*, δείξω γαρ ὅτι οὐκ οἱ τόποι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐντίμους, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄνδρες τοὺς τοπους ἐπιδεικνύουσι· —— *I am ſatisfy'd; for I will ſhew that a Man does not receive Honour from his Place, but his Place from him* (37). He would ſee that it is much more glorious to do a thing *gratis*, than for Reward, and that the nearer a Man comes to a free Gift, that is, to a Profeſſion without a Salary, the nearer he approaches to what is great and noble; whereas he recedes from it, and becomes a Man of a mean and mercenary Spirit, in proportion as he increaſes the Wages, which he extorts. This is to reduce the Profeſſion of Learning to the Nature of the moſt Mechanic Arts. A Shoemaker, or a Hatter, who will be better paid for his Work than another, gains the Reputation of an excellent Workman by it. To pretend, that an Encreaſe of your Salary is a Proof that you are eſteem'd the greater Preacher, or more learned Profeſſor; is it not to judge of your Trade, as we judge of that of a Shoemaker, or a Hatter? This is the direct way to cry down Learning, and to draw Contempt upon thoſe, who profeſs it; for a falſe Taſte of Glory, join'd with Covetouſneſs, generally occaſions the Fault, for which *Alciatus* was blamed; I mean the violent Deſire of making the Tour of all the Univerſities; which I have already taken notice of in another Place (38). Surely this is to ſet up one's Learning to public Sale, and to proclaim, That he who bids moſt ſhall have it.

(34) Teiſſier, Eloges des Hommes illuſtres, Tom. 2. pag. 395. *Edit.* Geneva, 1683.

(3) *See the Speech he pronounced at* Ferrara, *in* 1543. Oper. Tom. 4. pag. 862. *and* Claud. Minos *in his Life.*

(36) *See Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* FOULQUES.

(37) Plut. in Apophth. Lacon. init. pag. 208.

A REFLEXION on the Rambling Humour of ſome Profeſſors.

(38) *In the Remark* [*A*], *of the Article* ACCARISI.

[*H*] *And would not renounce the Profeſſion of the Civil Law.*] He congratulates himſelf upon it, in a Letter which he wrote to *Paul Jovius*, whom Pope *Paul* III. had amus'd a long time with deceitful Promiſes. *I am very glad*, ſays he, *that I did not ſuffer myſelf to be deceived by that Pontiff, who invited me to go to* Rome, *upon the Promiſe of great Rewards*. Upon this he ſet forth the ſolid Advantages of his Profeſſion, in oppoſition to the imaginary Hopes of a Cardinalſhip. "Mihi gratulor, quod ab eo *(inveterati* "*aſtus ſene Principe)* me decipi non ſim paſſus, quum "me, uti ſcis, magnis propoſitis præmiis Ticino, "Ferraria, atque Bononia, in Urbem accerſeret. "Tum enim ex jure meo magis cautus fui, quam tu "ex ſapientiæ præceptis prudens Philoſophus. Cur "enim pro inani aut incerta ſpe purpuræ, hos tantos "primi ſuggeſtus honores relinquerem, opimis præ"ſertim firmatus ſtipendiis? Cur has tantas contem"nerem circumfuſæ juventutis ſalutationes? & hanc "denique tot conſultoribus januam pulſantibus exiſti"mationem magno lucro, & non obſcura cum laude "quæſitam, ineptè ſtulteque deſererem (39)? —— "*For why ſhould I quit theſe firſt-rate Honours, at*"*tended too with great Advantages, for the vain and* "*uncertain Hopes of the Purple? Why ſhould I de*"*ſpiſe that awful Reſpect, which is paid me by the* "*ſurrounding Crowd of Students? and why ſhould I* "*fooliſhly forſake the great Reputation I acquire, not* "*without conſiderable Gain, from ſuch a Number of* "*Perſons, who are continually knocking at my Door to* "*conſult me?*" Note, by the by, that this confutes thoſe who ſay, that he refus'd a Cardinal's Hat, which the Pope offer'd him (40). This Story is the fruit of an Hyperbole, the darling Figure of many People. The whole Truth of the Matter is this, That the Pope, the better to perſuade *Andrew Alciatus* to come to *Rome*, gave him to underſtand that it would be a means to open his Way to the Sacred College. Such a Diſcourſe is very far from the Offer of a Cardinal's Cap.

(39) Alciat. Epiſt. ad Paulum Jovium. *It is prefix'd to the firſt Volume of* Jovius's *Hiſtories, and dated from* Pavia, *the ſeventh of* October, 1549.

(40) Teiſſier. Elog. Tom. 2. pag. 394. Edit. 1683. & Tom. 1. pag. 34. Edit. 1696.

(§*) [*Alciatus*, to whom it is ſaid that *Philip* made a Preſent of a Gold Chain, died in 1550. Now this Prince came to the Crown but upon the Abdication of the Emperor his Brother. If Mr *BAYLE* had recollected this, he would have ſaid the *Prince of* Spain, and not the *King of* Spain. This little Piece of Inadvertency is properly *Panzirolus*'s, whom Mr *BAYLE* only copies here. REM. CRIT.]

[*I*] *For he was not only very covetous, but likewiſe a great Eater.*] *Panzirolus* expreſſes himſelf thus;

Avarior

He was a corpulent and tall Man (*l*). After the Death of his Mother, who was much advanced in Years, he had a mind to lay out his Eſtate in founding a College; but, having received an Affront from ſome inſolent Scholars, he gave over that Deſign, and made choice of *Francis* ALCIATUS for his Heir, a Young Man of great Hopes, whom he had educated (*m*), though he was not nearly related to him (*n*). This *Francis Alciatus* ſucceeded to *Andrew*'s Eſtate and Profeſſorſhip, and made himſelf famous at *Pavia* by his Lectures in Civil-Law. Cardinal *Borromeo*, who had been his Diſciple, invited him to *Rome*, and was ſo good a Patron to him, that he obtained for him, from Pope *Pius* V, a Biſhopric, the Office of a Datary, and a Cardinal's Hat (*o*). There are ſome Treatiſes of Civil-Law wrote by this Cardinal *Alciatus*, who died at *Rome* in the Month of *April*, 1580, being a little above fifty Years of Age. See *Nicius Erythræus*, in the Forty ſeventh Chapter of the ſecond *Pinacotheca*. Thoſe, who ſay that our *Alciatus* lived always a ſingle Life, are miſtaken [*K*]. He ſet up for an Author betimes, as I have obſerved in the Remark [*B*]. He publiſhed many Law Books, and ſome *Notes on Tacitus*, whoſe Latinity appeared to him very harſh [*L*]. *Muretus*, in one of his Speeches, very much inveighs againſt this Delicacy (*p*). *Alciatus* was not ſenſible of this; for he was already dead; but other Critics, particularly *Floridus Sabinus*, who attacked him in his Life-time, made him feel their Teeth and Nails (*q*). His *Emblems* were very much eſteemed, and ſome Learned Perſons have adorned them with Commentaries [*M*]. His Poems were

Avarior habitus eſt, & cibi avidior. He adds, That *Alciatus*, having once received Three hundred Crowns for his Advice, and hearing, that *Marianus Socinus* had received a larger Fee upon the ſame Occaſion, ſaid, they had found a better Merchant, but not a better Lawyer. Take this by the way, for a Confirmation of what has been quoted out of *Paſquier* (41). “ Here are more Tidings of *Alciatus*'s Covetouſneſs. He is taxed with two Things. The one is, That his Method ſavours of I know not what Oſtentation of the Doctor. —— The other is, that Covetouſneſs had ſo far got the Aſcendant over him, that his Tongue, his Pen, and his Doctrine, ſeemed to be at the Service of that Lord, who paid him beſt. Nay, I remember, that ſpeaking of *Jaſon*, in his *Parerga*, he ſeems to preach in favour of Money; for he praiſes him, becauſe his Salary had been augmented; which *Alciatus* knew very well how to make his Advantage of, having drawn Twelve hundred Crowns from the Univerſity of *Bourges*, beſides his Licences and Degrees; the Prices of which he cauſed to be trippled, following the Steps of Dr *Jaſon*, who was the firſt that took fifty, and an hundred, Crowns, for the Degrees and Honours he conferr'd on the Civilians; whereas before his Time they were wont to pay but three or four Crowns. And, therefore, he ſays, it is lawful for himſelf, *Decius*, *Ruinus*, and the other Doctors, to enrich themſelves by theſe Gratuities paid by the Scholars. From whence it is eaſy to gather, that he did not fail to alledge the Example of *Jaſon* againſt thoſe, who cenſured him for being ſo fond of Money, that they, who had a Mind to take a Doctor's, Bachelor's, or Licentiate's, Degree from him, were obliged to pay down their Crowns in abundance. That which makes me perſiſt in this Opinion, is, that, in the laſt Chapter of the fifth Book of his *Parerga*, renewing his Diſcource concerning *Jaſon*, he complains of Princes, and Lords, who ſet ſuch a mean Value on learned and knowing Men; whereas in former Times, and even in *Veſpaſian*'s Time (according to the Report of *Suetonius)* That Emperor cauſed Fifteen hundred Crowns of the public Money to be given to the *Greek* and *Latin* Orators, and Rhetoricians: He alſo adds the Authority of the Rhetorician *Eumanius*, who exerciſed his Profeſſion at *Autun*, to whom Fifteen thouſand Crowns of the public Money were given yearly, by Order of the Emperors *Diocleſian*, and *Maximilian*.” Theſe are *Thevet*'s Words, in the 279th Page, of the ſeventh Tome, of his Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men.

[*K*] *Thoſe, who ſay that our* Alciatus *liv'd always a ſingle Life, are miſtaken.*] Let us ſee what he ſays in a Letter, which he wrote to his Friend *Francis Calvus*, after he came from *Milan* to *Avignon*. “ Vice verſa & ego te rerum mearum admoneo; multis affectum me ærumnis patria exceſſiſſe, Uxorem vivam & ſoſpitem ibi reliquiſſe; cæteros fato functos; fortunis pleriſque amiſſis, virtuti ſoli innixum non omnino concidiſſe. Libros & Bibliothecam omnem conſervaſſe. In præſentia Jus Civile Avenione profiteo (42). —— *I will now, in my turn, give you an Account how my Affairs ſtand; I have left my Country in great Affliction of Mind; I have left behind me my Wife, alive, and in Health; the reſt of my Relations are dead* (43); *my Virtue alone ſupports me from entirely ſinking under the Loſs of the greateſt part of my Fortunes; I have preſerved my Books, and my whole Library, and, at preſent, I profeſs the Civil Law at* Avignon.” Let us then correct theſe Words of Mr *Teiſſier, he liv'd always a ſingle Life* (44).

[*L*] *Whoſe Latinity appeared to him very harſh.*] This Complaint eſcap'd him in a Letter to *Paul Jovius*: “ Alciatus non dubitat affirmare dictionem ejus præ illa Pauli Jovii eſſe ſenticeta (45) —— Alciatus *does not ſcruple to affirm, that his Style, in Compariſon of* Paul Jovius'*s, is like a Place covered with Thorns and Briars.*” On another Occaſion, he expreſſes himſelf in a very different manner: “ Certat in Tacito ſermonis gravitas cum elegantia (46). —— *In* Tacitus, *Dignity of Style contends with Elegance.*” I refer the Examination of this to the Article TACITUS.

[*M*] *His Emblems were very much eſteemed, and —— adorn'd with Commentaries.*] *Scaliger* the Father, who was not laviſh of his Praiſes, as every one knows, gives this Account of That Work: “ Alciati præter emblemata nihil mihi videre contigit. Ea vero talia ſunt, ut cum quovis ingenio certare poſſint. Dulcia ſunt, pura ſunt, elegantia ſunt, ſed non ſine nervis; ſententiæ verò tales, ut etiam ad uſus civilis vitæ conferant (47). —— *I have not met with any Work of* Alciatus, *except his Emblems. But they are, I think, equal to any Work of Genius. They are entertaining, chaſte, and elegant, and not without Strength; the Sentences likewiſe are ſuch, as may even be of Service to the Purpoſes of Civil Life.*” Theſe Emblems were tranſlated into *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniſh* (48). There are at leaſt three *French* Tranſlations; That of *Bartholomew Aneau*, That of *John le Fevre*, and That of *Claudius Minos* (49). The latter not only tranſlated, but commented upon them: One of the moſt learned Humaniſts of *Spain* (50) thought them worthy of a Commentary of his own compoſing. *Pignorius*, a learned *Italian*, formed the ſame Judgment of them; and after them, a Profeſſor of *Friburg* (51), publiſhed them with their's and his own Notes, and added thoſe of *Frederic Morel* at the end. This Edition is a very good one: 'Tis pity we cannot diſtinguiſh in it what belongs to each Commentator: It came out at *Padua*, in the Year 1661, in 4to. I do not mention *Sebaſtian Stockhamerus*, whoſe Labours are not much eſteemed. “ Sebaſtianum Stockhamerum vix Commentatoris nomine dignor, quia in ſola epigrammatis reſolutione occupatur, pauciſſimis, iiſque ſatis vulgatis, ſententiis & fabulis additis; ad hæc vix mediam emblematum partem hoc ſuo more explicat (52). —— Sebaſtian Stockhamerus *ſcarce deſerves the Name of a Commentator; for he is wholly taken up in the Analyſis of an Epigram,* “ *adding*

(*l*) Vir fuit corpulentus, proceræ ſtaturæ. *Panzir. de Claris Leg. Interpr. l. b.* 2. *cap.* 169. *Mr* Teiſſier, Tom. 2. p. 304. *of his Elogies, ſays he was a Man of a middle Stature.*

(*m*) It is not therefore, true that there was at Naples, *in* 1688. *a Grandſon of the Great* Alciatus. *See Dr* Burnet's Travels into Italy. *If there was, he muſt have been very old.*

(*n*) Moreri *ſays, he was his Nephew.*

(*o*) Panzir. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) *'Tis the* 17*th of the* 2*d Tome. See alſo* Bodin, Meth. Hiſtor. cap. 4. pag. 85.

(*q*) Cl. Minos in Vita Alciati.

(41) *In the Beginning of the Remark* [*G*], *after the Citation* (32).

(42) Epiſt. Gudii, &c. pag. 75.

(43) *Yet he ſays,* Ib d. pag 96. *in a Letter, written in* 1522, *that his Mother and his Uncle, by his Father's ſide, were living.*

(44) Teiſſier. Addit. aux Elog. Tom. 1. pag. 34.

(45) Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. lib. 1. pag. 160.

(46) Vide Canonherii Diſc. Politic. in Tacit. pag. 3.

(47) Jul. Cæſar Scalig. lib. 6. de Poetic.

(48) Joh. Matthæus Toſcanus in Peplo Italiæ, lib. 3.

(49) *See the* Bibliotheque *of* la Croix du Maine.

(50) Sanctius Brocenſis.

(51) Joannes Thuilius Mariæmontanus, *of* Tirol, *Philoſopher and Phyſician, and formerly Archdeacon of* Friburgh, *and Profeſſor in ordinary of Humanity, in the Univerſity of* Briſgaw.

(52) Thuilius in Præf. Claudius Minos, *gives much the ſame Judgment of it in his Preface.*

were much commended, as Mr *Baillet* ingeniouſly obſerves in the Third Volume of his *Jugemens ſur les Poëtes*, n. 1286. He is not one of thoſe, who have perſiſted in their firſt Sentiments; for we find, in his *Parerga*, a Work, which he publiſhed in his old Age, a Retractation of ſeveral things, which the fire of Youth had occaſioned him to advance with too great Precipitation; and, when his *Diſpunctiones* were printed in 1529, he gave the Public to underſtand (r) that, in reviſing this Work, he did not pretend to give his Approbation to every thing he had inſerted in it in his Younger Days, nor to deprive himſelf of the liberty of altering his Opinions. This Remark was made by an Apologiſt of the Emperor *Juſtinian* (s).

A Letter was printed at *Leyden* (t), in 1695, wrote by *Andrew Alciatus*, which he did not intend to make public; for it contains a lively Deſcription of the Abuſes of a Monaſtic Life. He wrote this Letter to *Bernard Mattius*, who had been his Colleague, and who turned a Fryar of the Order of St *Francis* on a ſudden, and without conſulting his Friends. He repreſented to him his Imprudence with great Learning and Eloquence. This Piece of *Alciatus* was compoſed in four Days; and was found in *Scriverius*'s Cloſet (u). It is dated the 7th of *June* 1553 [*N*].

" *adding a few, and thoſe the moſt trite and common* " *Sentences; beſides, he does not explain half the Em-* " *blems, after this his Manner.*" I omit likewiſe the Jeſuit, who explained the ſame Emblems publickly at *Paris* (53); but I believe the Reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the Title, which *Bartholomew Aneau (Bartholomæus Anulus)* prefixed to His Tranſlation. It is This. Andrew Alciatus'*s Emblems tranſlated Verſe for Verſe, according to the* Latin, *and digeſted into Common Places, with Summaries, Inſcriptions, Schemes, and brief epimythic Expoſitions, according to the Natural, Moral, or Hiſtorical Allegory.* The Editions of this Work of *Alciatus* are numberleſs; there are Two hundred and twelve Emblems in That of *Thuilius*, which I make uſe of; I am therefore ſurprized, that *Paul Freherus* ſhould ſay, That this Book contains but One hundred Emblems (54).

[*N*] *It is dated the 7th of* June, 1553.] If this Date be right, we muſt reject all the Authors, who place *Alciatus*'s Death on the twelfth of *January*, 1550, or 1551, and who alledge his Epitaph as a Proof (55). But there is a Miſtake in the Date of this Work, and I believe it was compoſed before the Year 1520, and that it is the ſame Piece, which *Alciatus* feared *Eraſmus* would cauſe to be printed. " Quod ut facias te quoque ipſe oro: Nec minus ut de unguibus Eraſmi reglutines orationem illam meam ad " Matthiam Minoritam, cum id quæſo, ne, ſi in cinerariorum iſtorum manus inciderit, parata ſint " mihi cum eis æterna bella (56). —— *This I in-* " *treat you to perform; as alſo, that you would get* " *out of* Eraſmus'*s Clutches That Oration of mine to* " Matthias Minorita; *leſt, if it falls into the Hands of* " *thoſe Blowers of the Coals, I ſhould be drawn in to* " *wage eternal War with them.*" This is what he wrote to his Friend *Francis Calvus*, the Twenty ſixth of *September*, 1520. Some of this Civilian's Letters were publiſhed at *Utrecht* in 1697, which inform us of many Particulars, and chiefly of the Encomiums he beſtowed upon himſelf with all a Boaſter's Vanity.

(r) *See the Preface to the Book.*

(s) Gabriel Trivorius, Obſervat. Apologet. ad Inſcript. Orationis ad Anteceſſores, pag. 187. *Pariſ.* 1631.

(t) *By Mr* Matthæus, *Profeſſor of the Civil Law at* Leyden.

(u) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of Mr* Matthæus.

(53) Minos, ibid.

(54) Paul. Freher. in Theatro.

(55) *See the Remark* [*E*].

(56) Epiſt. Gudii, &c. pag. 80. *ſee alſo* pag. 81, 82, *and Mr* Burman's *Preface.*

ALCIATUS (John Paul) a Gentleman of *Milan*, was one of thoſe *Italians*, who left their Country in the XVIth Century, to embrace the *Proteſtant* Religion, and who afterwards refined ſo much upon the Myſtery of the Trinity, that they formed a New Party, equally odious to the *Proteſtants* and *Catholics*. *Alciatus* had bore Arms; he began his Innovations at *Geneva*, together with a Phyſician, whoſe Name was *Blandrata*, and an Advocate, whoſe Name was *Gribaud*, to whom *Valentinus Gentilis* aſſociated himſelf (a). The Precautions, which were taken againſt them, and the ſevere Proceedings carried on againſt the latter, made the reſt more timorous, and induced them to look out for another Stage (b). They made choice of *Poland*, where *Blandrata* and *Alciatus* ſowed their Hereſies with good Succeſs. They invited *Gentilis* thither [*A*], who did not fail to join them (c). He had obligations

[*A*] *They invited* Gentilis *thither.*] I have followed *Aretius* and *Theodorus Beza*, who agree in this, That *Gentilis* did not go into *Poland*, 'till after *Blandrata* and *Alciatus* had publiſhed their Opinions there (1); and I give up the Author of the *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*, who affirms that *Alciatus* and *Gentilis* went into *Poland* together about the Year 1562 (2). *Staniſlaus Lubienietzky* ſays almoſt the ſame thing. " Valentinus iſte & Paulus Alciatus Pedemontanus, " cum Genevæ ob odia Calvini acerrima ſubſiſtere " non poſſent, anno 1563 in Poloniam venerant (3). " —*This* Valentinus *and* Paulus Alciatus *of* Piedmont, " *when they could no longer continue at* Geneva, *on* " *Account of the inveterate Prejudices againſt* Calvin, " *in the Year* 1563, *came into Poland.*" But theſe Authors are not exact enough to deſerve the Preference. *Hornius* deſerves it ſtill leſs, who ſays, That *George Blandrata*, and *Paul Alciatus*, both Phyſicians, (he is miſtaken in regard to *Alciatus*) fled from *Switzerland* into *Poland*, being terrified at the Puniſhment of *Servetus* and *Gentilis*. In the ſame Page of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, he affirms, that they followed the Tritheiſm of *Valentinus Gentilis* (4). But it is certain that *Alciatus*'s Hereſy was meer *Socinianiſm*. *Hornius*'s Chronology cannot be better confuted, than by a Letter of *Peter Martyr*, written at *Zurich*, the eleventh of *July*, 1558. He informs *Calvin*, in this Letter, that he had ſeen *Gregory* the Phyſician, and *John Paul* the *Piemontois*; that they were exhorted not to diſturb the Union of the Church, and to conform themſelves to the Formulary of the *Italian* Church of *Geneva*; that they could not prevail with them, and that, upon *Bullingerus*'s Opinion, they were adviſed to leave the City; that they did ſo; that the Phyſician ſaid, he was going into *Tranſylvania*; and that *John Paul* went to *Chiavenne*. We muſt not read *Gregorium Medicum*, in *Peter Martyr*, but *Georgium Medicum*; who is no other than *George Blandrata*, as *Johannes Paulus Pedemontanus* is no other than our *Alciatus*. If *Calvin* had not expreſly ſaid, that all theſe Heterodox *Italians*, and by Name *John Paul Alciatus*, ſigned the Formulary, I ſhould be much tempted to think, that thoſe, whom *Peter Martyr* ſpeaks of, refuſed to ſubſcribe to it. However it be, they were not at *Geneva* a little after their Subſcription; for they ſubſcribed on the eighteenth of *May*, 1558, and were at *Zurich* the eleventh of *July* following. *Gentilis* was not executed 'till 1566. He left *Geneva* ſome Months after the Subſcription, and went into the Country of *Gex*, where he conferred with *Alciatus*; which ſhews, either that *Alciatus* did not go to *Chiavenne*, when he left *Zurich*, or that he did not long continue there. See the Article BLANDRATA, where I endeavour to clear up the Chronology in relation to theſe Perſons.

(a) *See* Aretius, *in the Hiſtory of* Gentilis's *Condemnation.*

(b) Beza in Vit. Calvini.

(c) Id. ib.

(1) Aretius *in his Hiſtory of* Gentilis's *Condemnation. See alſo the* 81*ſt Letter of* Beza.

(2) Bibl. Antitrinit. pag. 26, 27.

(3) Lubieniec's Hiſtory of the Reformation in *Poland*, pag. 107.

(4) *Theſe Miſtakes are to be found in the Edition of* 1687, *enlarged with Mr* Leydecker's *Notes, and his Continuation.*

tions to *Alciatus*, at whoſe Requeſt the Bailiff of *Gex* had releaſed him out of Priſon [*B*]. It is pretended, that they went from *Poland* into *Moravia*. We ſhall relate in it's proper Place what *Gentilis*'s Fate was. As for *Alciatus*, he went to *Dantzic*, where he died in the Opinions of *Socinus* [*C*]; for it is not true that he turned *Mahometan* [*D*]. He had wrote Two Letters to *Gregorius Paulus*, the one in 1564, and the other

[*B*] *At whoſe Requeſt the Bailiff of* Gex *had releaſed him out of Priſon.*] 'Tis not certain whether his Requeſt alone effected this; *Sandius* intimates, that there was a Bribe in the Caſe; "In oppido nomine Gajum in carcerem conjicitur (*Gentilis*), unde, cum evadere non poſſet, quod eſſet pauper, à ſocio ſuo Paulo Alciato redimitur. Quem utpote locupletem, præterea vero nobili genere ortum, immo & militem, ſimili modo non audebant aggredi (6). —— *In the Town of* Gex, Gentilis *was thrown into Priſon; out of which, when he could not eſcape by reaſon of his Poverty, he was redeemed by his Aſſociate* John Paulus. *They dared not proceed againſt the latter in the ſame manner, on Account of his Wealth, the Nobility of his Extraction, and his Profeſſion, which was That of a Soldier.*"

[*C*] *Where he died in the Opinions of* Socinus.] This cannot reaſonably be queſtioned, after the Proofs which *Martin Ruarus* (7) has given of it. He ſays, That this Perſon, having lived ſome Years at *Dantzic*, as a good Chriſtian, when he was dying, recommended his Soul to *JESUS CHRIST* his Saviour; and then adds (8). "*Catherine Wemera*, my Wife's Grandmother, who was intimately acquainted with him, and who aſſiſted at his Death, told it often to her Husband, *David Werner Buttel*, who is yet living; and ſhe died but three Years ago. My Mother-in-law told me but yeſterday, that ſhe had often ſeen *Alciatus*'s Widow in this City, who ſurvived her Husband ſome Years." He adds occaſionally, that he heard *Andrew Woïdovius* ſay, That *Alciatus*, being in danger of his Life from the Scholars of *Cracow*, who took him for an *Arian*, eluded their ill Deſigns, by telling them, that he was not an *Arian*, but a *Marian*; for that he believed in *JESUS CHRIST* the Son of the Living God, and of *Mary*; the Name of *Mary* ſaved him: "Ridiculo ſchemate evaſiſſe, cum ſe non Arianum ſed Marianum eſſe diceret, quod cum illi quid ſibi vellet quærerent reſpondiſſe, credere ſe Jeſum Chriſtum Dei vivi & Mariæ filium. Illi, non minore ſtupore quam malitia obſeſſi, audito venerando Mariæ nomine incolumem dimiſerunt. This is a Caſe, in which the Maxim of the extravagant Votaries of the Holy Virgin was verified, *that one is ſometimes more ſpeedily ſaved by invoking the Name of* Mary, *than That of* Jeſus (9).

[*D*] *It is not true that he turned* Mahometan.] We have juſt now ſeen the Proofs of it; and who can forbear ſaying, upon this Occaſion, that it were to be wiſhed, that thoſe, who maintain the good Cauſe, were not ſubject to certain Faults, which prevail among the Perſecutors of Orthodoxy? An Exceſs of Credulity, a miſtaken Hate, I mean an Hate, which comprehends the Perſon of the Heretic, as well as his Hereſy, makes us ſwallow all the Stories, which are reported to the Diſadvantage of an Hereſiarch. If it be reported, that he has killed himſelf, that the Devil has carried him away, or that he died raving and blaſpheming, it is believed, without waiting 'till the Report be confirmed. Accounts of it are diſperſed up and down by Letters; nay, what is worſe, it gets into Print; and thus a Falſhood is ſown, the Seed whereof is never loſt, ſo fruitful is the Soil it falls upon. The firſt is not long the only Publiſher of it. Care is taken to convey it from Book to Book, as a great Motive of Zeal, or a Subject for Reflexions. The *Proteſtants* have been as much miſtaken as the Catholics, as to the pretended *Mahometiſm* of *John Paul Alciatus*. Both have been careful enough to report it:

Iliacos intrà muros peccatur & extra (10).

Spondanus inſerted it in his Eccleſiaſtical Annals; and no doubt Father *Maimbourg* copied it from him (11), though he did not cite the Author, as *Moreri* does. The famous *Calovius* publiſhed it; *Ruarus* wrote to him as above: His Letter had been printed two Years, when a new Edition was publiſhed of *Micrælius*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; yet he, who took ſo much Pains to add many Things to it, did not throw out the Falſhood, for which *Calovius* was cenſured. I cannot tell, whether *Ruarus* made a true Diſcovery of the Original of this Fable. He believes, that a Letter from *Theodorus Beza* (12) was the Foundation of it. This Letter relates, that *Valentinus Gentilis*, being interrogated concerning his Friend *Alciatus*, anſwered, *He is turned* Mahometan, *and I have had no Correſpondence with him a long Time.* The two Conjectures of *Ruarus* are not amiſs; I. *Gentilis* thought this would pleaſe the Judges, by whom he was tryed. We meet with, every day (13), ſomething like this in our Gazettes; to wit, That *Deſerters* relate a thouſand things, which they think will tickle the Ears of thoſe who queſtion them. II. *Gentilis*, who acknowledged a very ſingular Generation or Filiation in our Lord, was inclined enough to place the *Samoſatenians* and *Mahometans* in the ſame Category. Two Sectaries, which quarrel, hate each other more at firſt, than they hate the Stem, from whence they are ſeparated: So that *Gentilis* was an improper Evidence concerning *Alciatus*, after the violent Diſputes, which diſunited them in *Poland*. *Voetius* (14) and *Lætus* (15) cited only this Letter of *Theodorus Beza*, when they ſaid that *Alciatus* turned *Mahometan*. *Hornius* quotes no Author, though he reports the thing with the utmoſt Confidence; "Alciatus, *ſays he* (16), tranſiit ad *Turcas*, ac *Muhammediſmum* amplexus, inter eos vitam finiit. ——— Alciatus *went over to the* Turks, *and, having embraced* Mahometaniſm, *ended his Life among them.*" *Hornbeek* likewiſe cites no Authority in the *Apparatus* to his Diſputes againſt the *Socinians*, where he ſays, two or three times, that *Alciatus* embraced *Mahometiſm*. "Dignam pœnam dedit, quando eum Deus ad Muhammedanos prolabi ſivit; nempe ne alibi quam inter Infideles iſtos nomen ultra ſuum profiteretur (17). —*God deſervedly puniſhed him, by ſuffering him to deſert to the* Mahometans; *that his Name might be no longer heard of, but among thoſe Infidels.*" It may be ſuſpected, that this Story was not meerly grounded on *Beza*'s Letter, if we do but lightly examine the Hiſtory of the *Poliſh* Reformation; for, when we find there, that the Author, having mentioned one *Adam Neuſſerus* (18) who was at laſt obliged to fly to *Conſtantinople*, adds, that *Alciatus* had a like Fate, we can ſcarce doubt of the Truth of it, ſince ſuch an Hiſtorian reports it. But if this Author's Words be cloſely examined, it will be found that his Teſtimony amounts to nothing. Thus he expreſſes himſelf, Page 200. "Exacto trimeſtri neceſſe habebat (*Adamus Neuſſerus*) periculo ſibi ad exploratoribus Cæſareis imminente ſolum vertere, & Conſtantinopolim (quam & Alciati fortunam fuiſſe ſupra vidimus, adeo Turcæ ante Chriſtianos æquitate & humanitate longe ſunt!) confugere. —— *After three Months* Adam Neuſſerus *found it neceſſary to change his Reſidence, to avoid the Danger, which threatened him from* Cæſar's *Spies, and to fly to* Conſtantinople; *which was the very Fate of* Alciatus, *as we have ſeen above; ſo far do the* Turks *excel the* Chriſtians *in Equity and Humanity.*" Theſe Words refer us to a foregoing Paſſage; I think it is to Page 109. Now if, on the one ſide, we find there, that ſome Authors have charged *Alciatus* with turning *Mahometan*; we find, on the other, that they were his Enemies, who forged this Impoſture. This is, doubtleſs, what the Sieur *Staniſlaus Lubienietzky* meant. The Reader muſt perceive it, notwithſtanding the Typographical Errors, which wretchedly maim That Work. "De *Alciato*, *ſays he* (19), ſcriptum accepi eum, epiſtolis ad Gregorium Pauli anno 1564, & 1565, Huſterlitzii datis, diſſuaſiſſe ſententiam quod Chriſtus extiterit antequam ex Maria naſceretur, & accerrimè dogmati vulgari de Trinitate reſtitiſſe, ita ut Mahometiſmum conſilii in primordio reformationis ſat ancipiti & arduo ignarus ei prætuliſſe ſcribatur, ſed à Calvino & inventorum ejus æmulis odio internecino iri eum & alios veritatis amantes flagrantibus (20). —— *I have been informed,*

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(6) Bibl. Antitrinit. pag. 26.

(7) *Not* Martin Bucerus, *as it is in the* Biblioth. Antitrinit. pag. 72.

(8) *In a Letter written to* Calovius, *and dated from* Dantzic, a. d. III. Non. Apr. 1640. *'Tis the 47th of the firſt Century of* Ruarus's *Letters.*

(9) Velocior eſt nonnunquam ſalus invocato nomine Mariæ, quàm invocato nomine Jeſu. *S. Anſelmus de excellentia Virginis, cap.* 6.

(10) Horat. Epiſt. 2. lib. 1. v. 16.

(11) Maimb. Hiſt. *of* Arianiſm, Tom. 3. pag. 344. Edit. Holl.

(12) *It is the 81ſt.*

(13) *I wrote this in the Year* 1693.

(14) Voet. Diſput. Tom. 3. pag. 781.

(15) Jo. Lætus, Compend. Hiſt. Univ. pag. 436.

(16) Horn. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. pag. 351. Edit. 1681.

(17) Hornb. Appar. pag. 29. *ſee likewiſe* pag. 23.

(18) *In the printed Edition it is* Neuſnerus; *but that Edition ſwarms with Errors, eſpecially in the Proper Names.*

(19) Hiſtor. Reformat. Polonicæ. pag. 109.

(20) *I think it ſhould be* à Calvino eſſe inventum & ejus æmulis odio internecino in, &c.

other in 1565, dated from *Husterilts*, in which he maintained that Jesus Christ did not exiſt before he was born of the Holy Virgin (*d*). There was Reaſon, then, to blame *Moreri*, who made him an *Arian*, and afterwards a *Mahometan* (*e*). Perhaps, before he went to *Dantzic*, he made the Tour of *Turkey*, without any deſign of turning a Renegado, but only to ſecure himſelf from Perſecution [*E*]; which perhaps occaſioned the Report of his pretended *Mahometaniſm*. *Calvin* and *Beza* repreſented him as a Madman [*F*].

(*d*) Bibl. Antitrinit. pag. 28.

(*e*) *See his Dictionary in the Article* ALCIATUS, *where he is confuted.*

“ *that* Alciatus, *in his Letters to* Gregorius Paulus, *dated at* Husterlitz, *in the Year* 1564 *and* 1565, *diſſuaded him from the* Opinion, *that* Chriſt *exiſted before he was born of* Mary *and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Vulgar Notion of the Trinity*; *inſomuch that he is ſaid inadvertently to have recommended to him a kind of* Mahometaniſm, *even in the doubtful and hazardous beginnings of a Reformation*; *but that it was found out by* Calvin *and his Followers, who were inflamed with the moſt deadly Hate towards him, and all Lovers of Truth.*”

[*E*] *Perhaps* —— *he made the Tour of* Turkey —— *to ſecure himſelf from Perſecution.*] This puts me in mind of *Peter Abelard*, who was on the Point of ſeeking an Aſylum among the Infidels, againſt the Agents or Promoters of Orthodoxy. He had been very ill treated, and was more alarmed than any other; for, whenever he was told that there would be ſpeedily an Aſſembly of Eccleſiaſtics, he immediately believed it was deſigned to condemn HIM. Beſides he found, by Experience, the great Credit of thoſe Agents; and it was not eaſy to eſcape them under Princes of their own Party. They ſend circular Letters; and, before their Enemy arrives at any Town, the Deſcription of his Errors has already alarmed the Inhabitants of it, and exaſperated them againſt him. There was a Time, when they, who had the Pope's Ear, could make the beſt part of *Europe* an uninhabitable Country to a Perſon, whom they were reſolved to decry as an Heretic; and the poor Wretch might, in ſome Senſe, apply to himſelf the Pſalmiſt's Exclamation, *Whither ſhall I go then from thy Spirit*; *or whither ſhall I go then from thy Preſence?* —— *If I take the Wings of the Morning, and remain in the utmoſt Part of the Sea*; ——— *even there alſo thy right Hand ſhall hold me.* Pſal. cxxxix. —— Therefore, it is no wonder, that *Peter Abelard* was induced to retire among the *Mahometans* or *Pagans*. He was in hopes, that, in paying Tribute, he might have the Liberty to profeſs Chriſtianity, out of the Sphere of Activity of the *Odium Theologicum*, and he fear'd, that, unleſs he did ſo, he ſhould always find himſelf within the Influence of That Sphere. Theſe are his Words. “ Deus ipſe mihi teſtis eſt, quotiens aliquam Eccleſiaſticarum perſonarum conventum adunari noveram, hoc in damnationem meam agi credebam. Stupefactus illico, quaſi ſupervenientis ictum fulguris expectabam, ut quaſi hæreticus aut profanus in conſiliis traherer aut Synagogis ——— Sæpe autem (Deus ſcit) in tantam lapſus ſum deſperationem, ut, Chriſtianorum finibus exceſſis, ad Gentes tranſire diſponerem, atque ibi quietè ſub quacumque tributi pactione inter inimicos Chriſti chriſtianè vivere (21). —— *God himſelf is my Witneſs, that, as aften as I heard, that an Aſſembly of Eccleſiaſtics was to meet, I fancied it was called for my Condemnation. In the utmoſt Conſternation thereupon, I immediately expected, as ſome Thunder-Clap, to be dragg'd before Councils and Synagogues, and to be accuſed as an Heretic, or profane Perſon.* —— *Often likewiſe (God knows) I fell into ſuch Deſpair, that I purpoſed to quit* Chriſtendom, *and to take Refuge among the* Pagans; *there, at the Expence of a Tribute, to live as a* Chriſtian, *among the Enemies of Chriſt.*” Now, as *Alciatus* had yet more to fear from Popery, than *Abelard*, and that he found but little Safety in Countries, where other Chriſtians were Maſters,

(21) Abælardi Oper. pag. 32.

----- Tenent Danai, quà deficit Ignis (22);

Where'er the raging Fire had left a Space,
The Grecians *enter, and poſſeſs the Place.*
Dryden.

(22) Virgil Æn. lib. 2. ver. 505.

his capricious Humour might well create in him a Deſire of trying the Toleration of the *Turks*, and then might induce him to change his Mind, and reſolve upon going to *Dantzic*. Let us learn from hence to diſtruſt certain Accounts, though adopted by conſiderable Authors.

[*F*] Calvin *and* Beza *repreſented him as a Madman.*] The former ſays, that, on the Day, when the *Italians*, ſuſpected of Heterodoxy, were required to ſign a Formulary, *Alciatus* flew into a violent Paſſion. “ Inter quos Princeps fuit Joannes quidam Paulus Alciatus, homo non ſtolidi tantum & veſani ingenii ſed plane phreneticus ad rabiem uſque (23). —— *Among them the Chief was one* John Paulus Alciatus, *a Man, not only Fooliſh and Ignorant, but Frantic even to Rage.*” —— The latter ſays, that he was a giddy-headed, and frantic Fellow; “ Paulus quidem Alciatus, Mediolanenſis, homo jam antea planè phreneticus & vertiginoſus (24).”

(23) Calvin. adverſ. Valent. Gentil. pag. 659. Tractat. Theolog.

(24) Beza Epiſt. 81.

ALCIATUS (Terence) an *Italian* Jeſuit, deſcended from the ſame Family as *Alciatus* the Civilian, was born at *Rome* in the Year 1570. He ſtudied the Civil-Law five Years before he turned Jeſuit, and entered into That Society in the Month of *March*, 1591. The Employments he had in it teſtify, that they looked upon him as a conſiderable Man. He was thirteen Years Præfect of the College of *Rome*; he taught Philoſophy five Years, and Divinity ſeventeen in That City. Afterwards he was Director of the Penitentiary of the *Vatican*, and Sub-Superior of the *Maiſon Profeſſe*. He aſſiſted at the Ninth General Congregation of the Jeſuits, as Deputy of the Province of *Rome*, and, when he died of an *Apoplexy* on the 12th of *November*, 1651, he was Sub-Provincial. He was not leſs eſteemed out of the Society; for, beſides that he was a long time *Qualificator* of the Congregation of the Holy Office, and *Conſultor* of the Congregation of Rites, he was choſen by Pope *Urban* VIII to refute Father *Paul*. He prepared an Edition of the *Acts* of the *Council* of *Trent*, which he intended as an Apology for that Aſſembly againſt all kind of Adverſaries, and particularly againſt This Formidable *Venetian*. He had already collected a great number of Materials for this Important and Laborious Work, when Death took him out of the World (*a*); but, though he had ſpent ſeveral Years upon this Undertaking, he had ſcarce began to digeſt it into Form. Father *Sforza Palavicini*, who was engaged in the ſame Deſign, informs us why Father *Alciatus* was ſo backward in his Performance [*A*]. If *Moreri* had but caſt his Eye on the Preface of Cardinal *Pallavicini*,

(*a*) Sotuel's Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jeſu.

[*A*] *Father* Alciatus *was ſo backward in his Performance.*] He laid it down as a Rule, never to deny a thing, without bringing Proofs of the Negative; inſomuch that he ſpent many Years in ſearch of Memoirs, which might furniſh him with Proofs. Cardinal *Palavicini* pretends, that this was a Work of Supererogation; becauſe no Law obliges a Man to prove what he denies: It lies upon the Accuſer to prove

Palavicini, he would not have put *the Acts of the Council of* Trent among Father *Alciatus*'s Works. We muſt only inſert among them one *Sermon on the Paſſion*, preached before Pope *Clement* VIII in 1602, and the Life of *Peter Fabri*, a Companion of St *Ignatius Loyola*. Father *Alciatus*, diſguiſed under the Name of *Eminius Tacitus* (*b*), tranſlated it into *Italian* from the *Latin* of *Nicolas Orlandino* (*c*). This Tranſlation was printed at *Rome* in 1629. The *Latin* was printed at *Lyons* in 1617. *Moreri* obſerves, that Pope *Urban* VIII declared, that Father *Alciatus* deſerved a Cardinal's Hat. *Nicius Erythæus* reports the ſame (*d*). If it be aſked, what prevented this Jeſuit from obtaining what he deſerved; I anſwer, had not *Urban* the VIIIth the diſpoſal of theſe Hats? The Reply is very obvious; This Dignity is to be conferred on ſuch a number of Perſons for Political Reaſons, that, they, who are thought worthy of it, cannot always be admitted to it.

(*b*) Leo Allatius in Apibus urbanis, p. 238. *and* Alegambus, *call him* Erminius.

(*c*) Sotuel's Bibl. Societ. Jeſu.

(*d*) Nic. Erythr. Pinacoth. 2. cap. 47.

prove his Charge; and if he does not do it, he deſerves the Puniſhment of Retaliation. But the accuſed Perſon may content himſelf with a bare *I deny it*: This is ſufficient to acquit him, whilſt nothing is proved againſt him: "Là dove queſti s'era fatto lecito, " d' accuſare ſenza provare, il che dalle leggi è punito " colla pena del talione; quegli non volle negare ſenza " haver la prova della falſita; dal che ogni legge il di " obligava. Quindi fu che ſpece moltiſſimi anni in " cercar memorie certe di que' ſucceſſi (1)." By this Cardinal's good leave, I do not think, that, upon this occaſion, it was ſufficient to deny what Father *Paul* affirmed. When the Laugh is againſt us, we cannot bring too many Proofs in ſupport of our Cauſe. The Cardinal adds, that Father *Alciatus* compoſed very ſlowly, as being ſcrupulouſly exact in whatever he wrote; beſides which, old Age, and the Affairs of the Society, were new Obſtacles. "Dapoi la freddezza dell' età decrepita, la natura perpleſſa, la penna altrettanto lenta, quanto eſquiſita, le occupazioni " de' noſtri governi domeſtici hanno cagionato ch' egli " ſia morto con laſciar ſolo qualche veſtigio dell' opera " conceputa in idea (2)." We may learn from hence, that ſome Perſons, through too much care of becoming good Authors, never become Authors at all.

(1) Palavicini's Introduction to the Hiſt. of the Council of *Trent*.

(2) Id. ibid.

ALCINOE, Daughter of *Polybius*, the *Corinthian*, and Wife of *Amphilocus*, ran mad for Love of one *Xanthus*, of the Iſland of *Samos*, who lodged at her Houſe. This was not the ſtrangeſt part of her Adventure; the great Matter of Surprize is, that it was *Minerva* who inſpired her with this Diſeaſe of Love, to puniſh her for not having diſcharged her Promiſe to a Woman, who had worked for her. This Woman prayed to *Minerva* to revenge her; and thus her Prayers were heard. *Alcinoe*, influenced by this Goddeſs, fell ſo deſperately in Love with her Gueſt, that ſhe forſook her Houſe and her young Children, and embarked with him. But, at Sea, ſhe reflected on her Conduct, ſhe bewailed it, ſhe remembered, with Tears and Cries, her young Huſband, and her Children; laſtly, all the good Words of *Xanthus*, who promiſed to marry her, being too feeble a Conſolation, ſhe caſt herſelf into the Sea (*a*). A great Exploit, and highly worthy of the Goddeſs *Minerva*! See the Remark [*C*] of the Article EGIALEA, and the Remark [*D*] of the Article MYRRHA.

(*a*) Parthenii Eroticorum. c. 27.

ALCINOUS, King of the *Phæacians*, in an Iſland, which is, at preſent, called *Corfu*, was the Son of *Nauſithoüs* (*a*), and Grandſon of *Neptune* and *Periboëa* [*A*]. He married his Niece *Arete*, the only Daughter of *Rexenor*, the Son of *Nauſithoüs*, and had five Sons by her, and a Daughter whoſe Name was *Nauſicaa*, whom *Homer* greatly celebrates (*b*). He praiſes the Mother much more, and makes a Heroine of her. He gives us likewiſe very long Deſcriptions of *Alcinous*'s Palace and Gardens. According to his Account, theſe Gardens produced the moſt excellent Fruits in the World, without any viciſſitude of Winter and Summer, and in every Month of the Year. It was, doubtleſs, by his Gardens that *Alcinous* chiefly immortalized his Memory [*B*]. He received *Ulyſſes* with great Civility [*C*], whom a Storm had caſt a-ſhore

(*a*) Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 6, & 7. *We muſt not call him* Naſitoüs, *as* Moreri *does.*

(*b*) Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 6. ver. 62.

[*A*] *Grandſon of* Neptune *and* Periboëa,] *Britannicus* aſſures us, that *Alcinous* was the Son of *Phæax*, and that *Phæax* was the Son of *Neptune*, and of *Corcyra* (1). I find indeed the latter of theſe two Circumſtances in *Stephen of Byzantium*, but not that this Son of *Neptune* and *Corcyra* was the Father of *Alcinous*.

(1) Britann. in Juvenal. Sat. 5. ver. 151.

[*B*] *It was doubtleſs, by his Gardens, that* Alcinous *chiefly immortaliz'd his Memory.*] The Poets, in general, ſtrive to out-do each other in ſpeaking of his Gardens. *Lloyd* cites many Paſſages from them; let us content ourſelves with this of *Juvenal*:

——————— Illa jubebit
Poma dari, quorum ſolo paſcaris odore,
Qualia perpetuus Phæacum autumnus habebat (2).

(2) Juven. Sat. 5. ver. 149.

To him are ordered, and thoſe happy few,
Whom Fate has rais'd above Contempt and you,
Moſt fragrant Fruits; ſuch in Phæacian *Gardens grew;*
Where an eternal Autumn *ever ſmil'd,*
And golden Apples loaded Branches fill'd.
Rev^d. Mr WILLIAM BOWLES.

And let us add to this the Teſtimony of an Author in Proſe. "Antiquitas nihil prius mirata eſt quam " Heſperidum hortos, ac regum Adonis & Alcinoi " (3) —— *Antiquity admired nothing beyond the* " *Gardens of the* Heſperides, *and thoſe of the Kings* " Adonis (4) *and* Alcinous." *Lloyd* cites *Theophilus*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, who mentions theſe Gardens in his third Book *ad Autolicum*, but he ſays that we muſt correct the Reading *Antinous*, and ſubſtitute *Alcinous*. He cites likewiſe theſe Words of St *Gregory Nazianzen*;

(3) Plin. lib. 19. cap. 4.

(4) *I know not whether* Pliny *rightly underſtood what he had read, concerning the* Gardens *of* Adonis. *They were not ſuch as he takes them to be.*

Ἡ σὴ τράπεζα καὶ ἄλσεος Ἀλκινόοιο
Τερπνοτέρη (5).

Thy Table is pleaſanter than the Gardens of Alcinous.

(5) Gregor. Nazianz. Carm. ad Vitalian.

I have not obſerved, that the Poets feign, that this Prince was *the Orchard-Keeper*, as *Moreri* will have it. *Charles Stephens* led him into this Error; for in his Dictionary we find an *Alcinous* different from the King of the *Phæacians*, and diſtinguiſh'd by the Office of *Hortorum cuſtos*; which the Author proves by the ſecond Book of *Virgil*'s Georgics, and by ſome Verſes of *Ovid* and *Statius*; which relate, not to this, but only to *Alcinous*'s Gardens. Probably this Miſtake might ariſe from a Blunder of ſome Tranſcriber, or Printer, who put *cuſtos*, inſtead of *cultor*.

[*C*] *He receiv'd* Ulyſſes *with great Civility.*] Several Authors, as *Raviſius Textor* (6), and *Decimator* (7), attribute

(6) In Epithet.

(7) *In* Sylva vocabul. & *in* Theſauro linguarum.

a ſhore on the Coaſt of the *Phæacians*; he offered him his Daughter, and cauſed him to be conducted to *Ithaca* loaded with Preſents. Now, as *Ulyſſes* told the Company an hundred old Women's Stories, during the Feaſt, to which he was admitted, it is thought that this occaſioned certain Proverbs, which were in uſe among the Ancients [*D*]. However it be, *Alcinous*'s Kingdom was a jovial Country; the People there loved good Cheer, and the Conveniencies of Life [*E*], which however did not hinder them from being active, and very good Seamen (*c*), and *Alcinous* from being a very juſt Prince, as appears from theſe words:

'Αλκίνοος —— δικαιότατος βασιλήων (*d*).

Alcinous —— *the juſteſt of Kings.*

attribute this Reception to *Nauſicaa*, the Daughter of *Alcinous*, without allowing the Father any ſhare in it. But they forget, that ſhe only gave *Ulyſſes* Cloaths, and Advice, without the City; and that ſhe had a Father and Mother, who perform'd all the Honours of Reception, and Hoſpitality. See the Article NAUSICAA.

[*D*] *Certain Proverbs, which were in uſe among the Ancients.*] *Moreri* ſays, that "*Ulyſſes* related the Fable "of the *Cyclopes*, of the *Læſtrigones*, and others, "leaning, as they ſay, with his Elbow on the Table; which gave occaſion for that Proverb of the "Ancients, which *Eraſmus* did not forget, "*Alcinous*'s *Table*;" or, as *Plato* expreſſes it, Muſt I relate the Story of *Alcinous* to you?" This is nothing to the Purpoſe. I. The Phraſe *and others* is obſcure, and quite careleſs. II. The Proverb of *Alcinous*'s *Table* did not ariſe from *Ulyſſes*'s Story-telling, but from the good Cheer, which *Alcinous* uſually provided. See the following Remark. Beſides, it is not true, that *Plato* expreſſes himſelf by way of Queſtion: He declares only that he will not repeat the Fable of *Alcinous* (8). It is yet more falſe, that what he ſays is, in other Terms, the ſame thing with *the Table of* Alcinous. It is certain that we find, in the Index of *Eraſmus*'s *Adagia*, *Alcinoi Menſa*, and *Alcinoi Apologus*, as two different Proverbs. The firſt is not an Article in the Body of the Book; it is only added, by way of Supplement to the Proverb, *Sybaritica Menſa* (9); and is taken from theſe Words of *Gregory Nazianzen*, 'Ουκ ὡς λωτοφάγου πενίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀλκινόου τράπεζαν; *non ad Lotophagorum inopiam, ſed Alcinoi menſam.* *Hadrian Junius*, who made a Collection of Proverbs after *Eraſmus*, wherein he places *Alcinoi Horti* as a capital Proverb, cites, in the Explication of it, this other Paſſage of the ſame Father, concerning the Table of *Alcinous*;

Καὶ δόμον αἰγλήεντα καὶ Ἀλκινόοιο τράπεζαν.

The Dome magnificent could'ſt thou afford,
And rich Alcinous' *hoſpitable Board.*

Lloyd cites another Paſſage, in which this holy Doctor makes uſe of the ſame Phraſe. As for the *Alcinoi Apologus*, *Eraſmus* repeats it twice. Firſt he underſtands it of old Wives Tales, *de longis & anilibus fabulamentis*, and juſtifies it by the Stories, which *Ulyſſes* told at the Table of *Alcinous*. "Prodigioſas "ac deridiculas fabulas & protentuoſa mendacia de "Lotophagis, Læſtrygonibus, Circe, Cyclopibus atque id genus aliis plurimis miraculis, fretus videlicet Phæacum inſcitia barbarieque (10). —— *His "monſtrous and abſurd Tales, and portentous Lies, "concerning the* Lotophagi, *the* Læſtrigons, Circe, "*the* Cyclopes, *and the like wonderful Events, which "he told, relying upon the Ignorance and Barbarity of "the* Phæacians." But, in another Place (11), he tells us that he had met with another Signification of the ſame Proverb, in the fourth Book of *Ariſtotle*'s Rhetoric (12), but that he would ſuſpend his Deciſion, till he ſaw more clearly into the Matter, either by the Commentaries of St *Gregory Nazianzen* on thoſe Books of *Ariſtotle* (13), or by ſome other means. I ſcarce meet with any one, who pays the leaſt Regard to this latter Paſſage of *Eraſmus*. They ſtop at the firſt; as if the true Senſe were to be found there: But it is far from being to be met with in that place; for if we conſider never ſo little what *Eraſmus* ſays on *Ariſtotle*'s Words, we ſhall wholly diſtruſt the Explication he has given in another Place. I own this Paſſage of *Ariſtotle* is obſcure, that it is differently read, and that perhaps there is an *Hiatus* in it; but there is no probability, that by *the Apologue of* Alcinous, we ought to underſtand *a Tale of a Tub*. Yet *Gilbert Couſin*, who made a Collection of Proverbs after *Eraſmus*, fancies ſo; though he conſiders the thing only according to *Ariſtotle*'s Citation (14). There is a Paſſage in *Ælian*, where *Alcinoi apologi*, 'Αλκίνου ἀπόλογοι, can only be taken for the Diſcourſes of *Ulyſſes* to that Prince in the *Odyſſey* (15).

[*E*] *The People there lov'd good Cheer, and the Conveniencies of Life.*] *Alcinous* made no Secret of this to *Ulyſſes*: *We love*, ſaid he to him, *Feaſts, Muſic, Dancing, change of Apparel, Bathing, and the Bed.*

'Αιεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαίς τε φίλη, κίθαρίς τε, χοροί τε,
'Ειματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ, λοετρά τε θερμὰ, καὶ εὐναὶ (16).

To dance, to dreſs, to ſing, our ſole Delight,
The Feaſt, or Bath, by Day, and Love by Night.
POPE's Odyſſ.

Horace expreſſes it in this Manner;

—— —— —— Alcinoique
In cute curanda plus æquo operata juventus,
Cui pulcrum fuit in medios dormire dies, &
Ad ſtrepitum citharæ ceſſatum ducere curam (17).

Alcinous' *idle Youth, whoſe ſole Deſign*
Aim'd at ſoft Blandiſhments, and being fine,
Indulg'd at eaſe, who ſlept out half the Day,
And lull'd their Cares with Dancing, Songs, and Play.

I need not obſerve, that by *Alcinoi juventus*, muſt be underſtood the young Lords of *Alcinous*'s Court. *Athenæus* ſomewhere remarks the voluptuous Life of the *Phæacians*.

ALCYONIUS (PETER) was one of thoſe learned *Italians*, who cultivated uſeful Literature in the XVIth Century. He acquired a conſiderable Knowledge of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, and wrote ſome Rhetorical Pieces, which deſerved the Approbation of good Judges. He was a long time Corrector of the Preſs at *Venice*, in the Houſe of *Aldus Manutius* [*A*], and ought conſequently to have a ſhare in the Praiſes,

[*A*] *A long time Corrector of the Preſs at* Venice, *in the Houſe of* Aldus Manutius.] *Paul Jovius*'s Account falls ſhort of this. He only ſays, "Cum "diu in Chalcographorum Officinis, corrigendis erroribus menſtrua mercede operam navaſſet, multa "obſervatione ad præcellentem ſcribendi facultatem "pervenit (1). —— *Having been employ'd a long time "in Printing-Offices, in correcting Errors of the "Preſs, for a monthly Stipend, by long Obſervation he "arriv'd at an excellent Faculty of Writing.*" What relates to *Aldus Manutius*, is borrowed from *Varillas*, and I confeſs that I do it trembling, conſidering the great Number of Faults, which that Writer committed, about the learned Men, whom he has mentioned in his *Anecdotes* of *Florence*. "The Public, *ſays "he* (2), is obliged to him for that Exactneſs of *Aldus*

(*c*) Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 6. ver. 270. lib. 7. ver. 35, 107. lib. 8. ver. 247, 253, &c.

(*d*) Orpheus.

(8) Plato de Rep. lib. 10.

(9) *It is the 65th of the 2d Cent. in the 2d Chiliad.*

(10) Eraſm. Adag. n. 32. cent. 4. chil. 2. p. 469.

(11) Id. n. 82. cent. 1. chil. 5. pag. 1057.

(12) *It is the 16th Chapter of the 3d Book in the Edition of* Geneva, 1605.

(13) *I never heard of these Commentaries.*

(14) Cognat. in Proverb. n 210. *He quotes, as* Eraſmus *does, the fourth Book of the Rhetorics.*

(15) Ælian. var. Hiſt. lib. 13. c. 13.

(16) Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 8. ver. 248.

(17) Horat. Epiſt. 2. lib. 1. ver. 28.

(1) Paul. Jovius, in Elog. c. 123. pag. 265.

(2) Varillas Anecdot. pag. 168.

Praiſes, which are given to the Editions of that Learned Printer. He tranſlated ſeveral Treatiſes of *Ariſtotle* into *Latin* (*a*), but without Succeſs. *Sepulveda* wrote againſt theſe Tranſlations, and obſerved ſo many Faults in them, that *Alcyonius* found no better Remedy for his Diſgrace, than to buy up as many Copies of *Sepulveda*'s Works as he could find, in order to burn them [*B*]. *Paul Jovius* accuſes him of a ſecond Fault, which is more diſgraceful than the firſt; namely of having been an impudent Paraſite [*C*], who made no ſcruple of eating two or three times a day out of his own Houſe. I cannot tell whether we ought to give entire Credit to *Paul Jovius* in this Matter; for he quarrelled with *Alcyonius* (*b*) upon hearing, that he was his Rival in the Commiſſion of writing Hiſtory [*D*]. The Treatiſe, which *Alcyonius* publiſhed *concerning Exile*, contained ſo many fine Paſſages among other very mean ones, that it was thought he had tacked ſeveral Parts of a Treatiſe of *Cicero de Gloria* to his own Thoughts, and afterwards, to prevent being convicted of the Theft, had thrown into the Fire that Manuſcript of *Cicero* [*E*], which was the only one in the World (*c*). The Two Orations, which he made, after the taking of *Rome*, in which he

(*a*) *See the Liſt of them in the* Bibliotheque *of* Geſner.

(*b*) Epiſtles of Princes, *fol.* 92. *verſo.*

(*c*) Jovius, Elog. c. 123.

“ *Manutius*, in printing the beſt *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, which we admire at preſent; for he was all his Life-time Corrector of that famous Printing-Office.” This laſt Particular is falſe, for *Alcyonius* was Profeſſor at *Florence*, under the Pontificate of *Hadrian* VI.

[*B*] Sepulveda - - - - - - - *obſerv'd ſo many Faults in them, that* Alcyonius *found no better Remedy*, &c.] *Paul Jovius* remarks this. “ Quum aliqua ex Ariſtotele perperam inſolenterque vertiſſet, in eum Sepulveda vir Hiſpanus, egregie de literis meritus, edito volumine peracuta jacula contorſit - - - - - - - tanto quidem eruditorum applauſu, ut Alcyonius ignominiæ dolore miſere conſternatus, Hiſpani hoſtis libros in tabernis, ut concremaret, gravi pretio coemere cogeretur (3). - - - - - *Having tranſlated ſome Pieces of* Ariſtotle, *after a wretched and ignorant Manner*, Sepulveda, *a* Spaniard, *well deſerving of the learned World, attack'd him very ſeverely upon it* - - - - - *with ſuch Applauſe from the learned, that* Alcyonius, *greatly affected with Grief, at the Ignominy thrown upon him, was forced to buy up, at a great Price, the Books of his* Spaniſh *Enemy, that he might burn them.*” See the *Epiſtles of Princes*, collected by *Ruſcelli*, and tranſlated by *Belleforet*, Fol. 93. See alſo the Twenty ſeventh, and the laſt Letter of the third Book of *Longolius*. “ Si bene te novi, ipſe tu denunciabis, ut hominis, ad tantæ contumeliæ nuncium, vultum videas: quod unum ſanè ſpectaculum tibi magnopere invideo (4). - - - - *If I know you well, you will yourſelf carry the News* (namely, that *Sepulveda*'s Work was printed,) *that you may obſerve the Man's Looks, when he hears of ſuch a Slur upon his Character; a Sight, which I greatly envy you the Pleaſure of.*”

[*C*] Paul Jovius *accuſes him* - - - - - - - *of having been an impudent Paraſite.*] Let us ſet down his own Words: “ Cùm nulla ex parte ingenuis, ſed planè plebeis & ſordidis moribus fædaretur; erat enim impudens gulæ mancipium, ita ut eodem ſæpe die bis & ter, aliena tamen quadra, cænitaret; nec in ea fœditate malus omnino medicus, quod domi demum in lecti limine per vomitum ipſo crapulæ onere levaretur (5) - - - - - - *He was a Man, not of ingenuous, but downright plebeian and ſordid, Manners; he was a ſhameleſs Slave to his Appetite; inſomuch, that, in one and the ſame Day, he would dine three or four times, but always at another's Expence; nor was he altogether a bad Phyſician in this beaſtly Practice; ſince, afterwards, before he went into Bed, he diſcharged the intemperate Load of his Stomach.*” *Varillas* mentions only *Alcyonius*'s Drunkenneſs; he accuſes him *of getting drunk as often as he had an Opportunity for it*. *Latomus*, whoſe Verſes *Paul Jovius* alledges, mentions two of this Perſon's Exceſſes; that of Drinking, and that of Eating too much.

[*D*] *His Rival in the Commiſſion of writing Hiſtory.*] He, who informs us of this, adds, That it was not true, that *Alcyonius* was to compoſe an Hiſtory, and that *Paul Jovius* was told ſo, only to make them quarrel (6). Cardinal *de Medicis* diverted himſelf with theſe Feudes of the Learned; he took delight in diſquieting *Alcyonius*, by protecting *Sepulveda*. Note, that *Alcyonius* extolled to the Skies the firſt Decad of *Paulus Jovius*'s Hiſtory, in the ſecond Part of his Treatiſe *de Exilio* (7).

[*E*] *Had thrown into the Fire That Manuſcript of* Cicero.] *Paul Jovius* is not the only Perſon, who mentions this unlucky Trick. *Paul Manutius* in his Commentary on theſe Words of *Cicero*; *librum tibi celeriter mittam de glorias* (8), —— *(I will ſpeedily ſend you my Book* de Gloria), ſpeaks of it thus: “ Libros duos ſignificat, quos de gloria ſcripſit: qui uſque ad patrum noſtrorum ætatem pervenerunt. Nam Bernardus Juſtinianus in indice librorum ſuorum nominat Ciceronem de Gloria. Is liber poſtea, cum univerſam bibliothecam Bernardus monacharum monaſterio legaſſet, magna conquiſitus cura, neutiquam eſt inventus. Nemini dubium fuit, quin Petrus Alcyonius, cui monachæ medico ſuo ejus tractandæ bibliothecæ poteſtatem fecerant, homo improbus furto averterit. Et ſane, in ejus opuſculo, de Exſulio, adſperſa nonnulla deprehenduntur, quæ non olere Alcyonium auctorem, ſed aliquanto præſtantiorem artificem, videantur. —— *He means the two Books, which he wrote* de Gloria; *which were handed down to the Age of our Fathers. For* Bernardus Juſtinianus, *in the Catalogue of his Books, mentions* Cicero de Gloria. *This Book, purchaſed not without great Pains, when* Bernardus *bequeathed his Library to a Monaſtery of Nuns, was afterwards not to be found. It was generally believed, that* Peter Alcyonius, *Phyſician to the Monaſtery, to whom the Nuns entruſted the Management of this Library, privately made away with it. And, to ſay the Truth, there are ſome ſcattered Paſſages in his Work* de Exſulio, *which do not ſavour of* Alcyonius*'s Pen, but of a more excellent Artiſt.*” We underſtand, by this Paſſage, that *Alcyonius* was a Phyſician by Profeſſion. See the Remark [*I*]. Now ſince he was Phyſician to a Convent of Nuns, it cannot, I think, be true, that he ſpent all his Life in *Manutius*'s Printing-Office. This is a new Proof of *Varillas*'s Error.

Remarks upon *VARILLAS*.

I have two things to remark againſt this Hiſtorian. The firſt is, that, in the Fragment of his *Lewis* XI, he imputed the Plagiariſm, and the Deſtruction of the Treatiſe *de Gloria* to *Philelphus*, and cited the leſſer Elogies of *Paul Jovius*. He was informed (9), that there was no ſuch thing there. No doubt he profited by this Advice, in publiſhing his *Lewis* XII; for, after having obſerved the ſame thing concerning *Philelphus*, he adds: “ Nevertheleſs it is not certain that he was guilty of this Crime, which paſſes for one of the greateſt that can be committed in the Affair of Literature; and ſome Authors impute it to a learned Perſon of the ſame time, whoſe Name is *Alcyonius*, and maintain that he appropriated this Work of *Cicero* to himſelf, after having changed the Title of it, which was *de Gloria*, into that of *de Exſulio* (10).” To this latter Fact he applies the Citation of *Paul Jovius*. Had he entirely ſuppreſs'd what concerns *Philelphus*, he would have come off better; for where could he find that *Philelphus* was accuſed of this Fraud? Beſides *Alcyonius* is not charged with publiſhing *Cicero*'s Book, and changing only the Title of it; his Vanity might eaſily have been forgiven, if he had only been guilty of this; the Pleaſure of having that Work of *Cicero* would make one forget the Trick; but he is accuſed of having taken a rich Embroidery out of it, and tacking it to his own Rags, and afterwards of burning that whole Work of *Cicero*. “ Ex libro de Gloria Ciceronis, quem nefaria malignitate aboleverat, multorum judicio

(3) P. Jovius ubi ſupra.

(4) Longolius Epiſt. ultim. lib. 3. fol. 256. verſo.

(5) P. Jovius Elog. c. 123. pag. 265.

(6) Letters of Princes, *fol.* 93.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Cicero, Epiſt. 27. lib. 15. ad Atticum.

(9) Nouvelles de la Rep. de Lettres, June 1685. *Article 1ſt, towards the End.*

(10) Varillas, Hiſt. of Lewis XI. *Book* 1. *pag.* 39. *of the* Dutch *Edit.*

he very eloquently repreſented the Injuſtice of *Charles* V, and the Barbarity of his Soldiers, removed in ſome meaſure the Suſpicions, which were entertained againſt him *(d)*. They are Two very good Pieces. There is mention of a Speech which he compoſed upon the Knights, who died at the Siege of *Rhodes (e)*. He was Profeſſor at *Florence* in the Pontificate of *Hadrian* VI; and, beſides his Penſion, had Ten Ducats *per* Month from Cardinal *de Medicis*, for Tranſlating a Work of *Galen* (*f*). Having heard that this Cardinal was elected Pope, he deſired Letters of Diſmiſſion from the *Florentines*; but, not obtaining them, he went nevertheleſs to *Rome*, full of the hopes of raiſing himſelf there *(g)*. He loſt all his Eſtate, in the Troubles, which the *Colonnas* excited in *Rome*; and, ſome time after, when the Emperor's Forces took the City, in the Year 1527, he received a Wound, as he was making his Retreat to the Caſtle of St *Angelo*; into which he forced his way, notwithſtanding the Soldiers, who purſued him, and joined *Clement* VIIth. He was afterwards guilty of baſe Ingratitude towards That Pope; for, upon the raiſing of the Siege, he went over to Cardinal *Pompey Colonna*, at whoſe Houſe he fell ſick, and died in a few Months.

“ dicio confectum crederetur. In eo enim tanquam “ vario centone præclara excellentis purpuræ fila, languentibus cæteris coloribus, intertexta notabantur “ (11). —— *It is thought he compoſed it out of* “ Cicero*'s Book* de Gloria, *which he wickedly and* “ *maliciouſly deſtroyed. For in this Patch-work Compoſition there appear interſperſed ſeveral beautiful* “ *Threads of the fineſt Purple, whilſt the reſt of the* “ *Colours are faint and languid* (12).” My ſecond Remark is, that when *Varillas* mentions *Francis Philelphus*, in his *Secret Hiſtory* of *Florence*, he imputes nothing to him in relation to the Book *de Gloria*; he accuſes *Alcyonius* alone of That ſcandalous Action. He ſays (13), that “ this wretched Plagiary was o- “ bliged to comfort the Proveditor *Cornaro* in the “ Exile, to which he was condemned, for having “ been defeated in the War againſt the *Turks*, tho' “ it was not his own Fault. *Algionus* (14) ſent him “ the Book, entitled *De fortiter toleranda exilii for-* “ *tuna*. And as this Treatiſe was only compoſed out “ of Sentences, though very ill thrown together, of “ *Cicero*'s Book *de Gloria*, it was much eſteemed; “ notwithſtanding the more judicious obſerved that “ there was no Coherence in it. *Algionus*, raviſhed “ with the Succeſs of his Work, altered his Deſign “ of publiſhing This Piece of *Cicero*. And, know- “ ing very well that no one, beſides himſelf, had a “ Copy of it, he threw it into the Fire, for fear it “ ſhould be found ſome time or other among his Pa- “ pers, and his Theft ſhould be diſcovered by that “ means.” If we compare this Relation with That, which is in the Life of *Lewis* XI, we ſhall have reaſon to wonder, how one and the ſame Man could relate the ſame Fact with ſo many inconſiſtent Varieties. Having not this Treatiſe of *Alcyonius*, I cannot determine, whether *Varillas* has juſtly remarked the Subject and Occaſion of it. I can only ſay, that the Title he gives it does not agree with That which *Geſner* ſet down, *Medices Legatus, ſive de Exilio liber*; and that a Paſſage of this Book (15) diſcovers to me, that *John de Medicis*, who was Pope *Leo* X, is introduced ſpeaking in it. But what I cannot determine by myſelf, I can affirm on the Word of a Friend of mine, whoſe Exactneſs and Capacity I am thoroughly acquainted with (16). His Obſervation, communicated to me, is as follows: “ The *Legatus Me-* “ *dices, ſeu de Exilio*, of *Petrus Alcyonius* is ſo far “ from being wrote for the Conſolation of the pre- “ tended Proveditor *Cornaro*, that it is dedicated by “ the Author *ad Nicolaum Shombergum Pontificem* “ *Campanum* (17), and there is not one Word in the “ whole Book that can either directly or indirectly “ relate to *Cornaro*. This Work, printed at *Baſil* in “ 1546, is divided into two Books, the Title of which “ runs thus; *Petri Alcionii Medices Legatus, ſeu de* “ *Exilio, ad Nicolaum Shombergum Pontificem Cam-* “ *panum*. It is written by way of Dialogue; and “ *John de Medicis*, who was afterward Pope *Leo* X, “ *Julius de Medicis*, and *Laurence de Medicis*, are the “ Interlocutors. This is the Reaſon, why *Medices* “ is put in the Title; and, becauſe the Author ſup- “ poſes that theſe Interlocutors diſcourſed together a “ little while after Pope *Julius* II. had ſent *John* “ *de Medicis* as his Legate, at the Head of the Ar- “ my, which was to retake *Bologna*, the Word *Le-* “ *gatus* was added to that of *Medices*.” What follows is certainly a great Miſtake. *Nevertheleſs he repented of it before his Death* (to wit, *Alcyonius*) *and made a kind of Honourable Amends* *, *prefixed to the two Speeches, which he compoſed at* Venice *on the Deſolation cauſed by the* Lutherans *at* Rome (18). Doubtleſs *Varillas* intended to tranſlate theſe Words of *Paul Jovius*: “ Verum non multo poſt confirmatæ ſuſpi- “ cionis invidiam duabus ſplendidiſſimis orationibus “ peregregiè mitigavit, quum in clade urbis vehe- “ mentiſſime invectus in Cæſarem, populi Romani “ injurias & barbarorum immanitatem ſumma per- “ fecti Oratoris eloquentia deploraſſet. —— *Not long* “ *after he wonderfully took off from the Odium of a* “ *confirmed Suſpicion by two moſt elegant Orations,* “ *when, upon the City's Deſolation, he inveighed moſt* “ *vehemently againſt* Cæſar, *and lamented the Inju-* “ *ries of the* Roman *People, and the Cruelty of their* “ *inhuman Foes, with all the Eloquence of a perfect* “ *Orator*.” Is there the leaſt Shadow of any thing relating to the *Lutherans* in this Paſſage? Is there any Traces of Repentance in it; any Footſteps of an *Honourable Amends* on Account of the Book *de Gloria*? Has *Jovius* any other Deſign than to ſhew that *Alcyonius*'s Speeches were ſo much admired, that People were the more inclined to believe, that he might be the Author of the fine Paſſages in the Book, entitled, *de Exilio*? I don't believe theſe Speeches were compoſed at *Venice*.

I am ſurprized, that *Pierius Valerianus*, who regretted the Suppreſſion of a Work, with which he charged *Alcyonius*, took no notice of the Suppreſſion of the Treatiſe *de Gloria*. Having related that *Peter Marcellus* could not put the laſt Hand to ſome Works by Reaſon of his Sickneſs; he adds: “ Quatuor tamen “ libros exactiſſimæ interpretationis in Mathematicas “ diſciplinas Braccius ejus filius ab interitu vindicarat, “ vel ipſius auctoris de ſe teſtimonio abſolutos; at- “ que ii Barbarorum manus effugerant, Braccii ip- “ ſius diligentia in Arcem Æliam aſportati. Sed “ enim in Petri Alcyonii manus cum incidiſſent, “ ita ſuppreſſi ſunt, ut nuſquam amplius apparue- “ rint (19). —— *However, his Son* Braccius *preſer-* “ *ved from Deſtruction four Books of moſt exact* “ *Lectures upon Mathematical Learning, which were* “ *perfectly finiſhed, as appears from the Author's own* “ *Teſtimony. Theſe eſcaped the Hands of the* Barba- “ rians (20), *being conveyed by the Care of* Braccius “ *to the* Ælian *Tower. But when they fell into* “ Peter Alcyonius*'s Hands, they were ſo ſuppreſſed,* “ *as never afterwards to appear*.”

Since the firſt Edition of this Dictionary, Dr *Bourdelot*, Phyſician to the King, and to the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, did me the Favour to ſend me his Copy of the Treatiſe of *Alcyonius*. It is a ſmall Book in 4to, printed at *Venice* in the Year 1522, *in ædibus Aldi & Andreæ Aſulani Soceri*. The Title of it is, *Petri Alcyonii Medices Legatus de Exſilio*; it contains two Parts (21), which are both dedicated *ad Nicolaum Schonbergium Pontificem Campanum*. I found the Information, which Mr *de Larroque* had ſent me concerning this Work, to be true. It does not contain any thing which relates to the Exile of the *Venetian* Proveditor. The three Interlocutors conſider only their own Condition. They were all of the Houſe of *Medicis*, and continued ſtill under the Misfortune of Baniſhment. *John de Medicis* comforts himſelf, and them too: He is the chief Actor in this Piece, and alledges the Reaſons and Examples; in a Word, the Author beſtows upon him his Erudition, and his elegant Style. *Note*, that this Book of *Alcyo-*

(d) Jovius, ibid.

(e) Letters of Princes, *fol.* 93.

(f) *Viz.* De partibus Animalium.

(g) Letters of Princes, *fol.* 95.

(11) Jovius, Elog. cap. 123. p. 266.

(12) Page 169.

(13) Page 168.

(14) *So his Name is written throughout the whole Edition of the* Anecdotes.

(15) *It is very curious: read it in* Les Opuſcles de Colomies, *chap.* 15.

(16) *Mr* de Larroque.

(17) *He was afterwards a Cardinal: I mention him in the Article* SCHOMBERG (Nicholas).

* Amende Honorable.

(18) Varillas, Anecdot. pag. 168.

(19) Pierius Valerian. de Litterat. Infelicit. p. 76.

(20) *He means the Army of* Charles V. *which plundered* Rome *in* 1527.

(21) *The running Title of the firſt is,* Medices Legatus prior; *and the running Title of the ſecond is,* Medices Legatus poſterior.

Months (b). His Vanity hindered him from becoming more learned [*F*], and his Practice of Detraction raiſed him many Enemies [*G*]. The Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary is nothing to the purpoſe in this Article [*H*]. For it is only a faithful Copy of *Varillas*'s enormous Faults. Some learned Men have very much commended *Alcyonius*, and his Tranſlations [*I*].

We find ſomething concerning him in the Letters of *Longolius*, which is not much to his Advantage [*K*].

nius was printed at *Geneva*, in the Year 1624, in 8vo, with two Treatiſes of *Cardan* (22).

[*F*] *His Vanity hindred him from becoming more learned.*] This is the Opinion of *Pierius Valerianus*; " Non diſplicuiſſet mihi Alcyonius, ſi, quantum ſtylo " profecerat, amicorum conſilium de rebus adhibere " voluiſſet, qui, niſi ipſimet ſibi tantum arrogaſſet, " futurus omnino fuerat è primoribus; multam enim " Græcis, Latiniſque literis operam impenderat, & " diſciplinis variis oblectatus erat (23). —— Alcyonius " *would not have diſpleaſed me, if, as he was Maſter* " *of a good Style, he had but conſulted his Friends* " *in relation to the Subject-matter of his Compoſitions;* " *for, had he not depended ſo much upon his own Judgment, he would have been one of the firſt Claſs of* " *Authors; for he had beſtowed great Pains in the* " Greek *and* Roman *Learning, and was Maſter of* " *many Sciences.*"

[*G*] *His Practice of Detraction raiſed him many Enemies.*] Let us hear the ſame Evidence again: " Is eo primum infelicitatis incommodo flagellatus eſt, " quod dum de litteratis omnibus male ſentit, dicaciſſima omnes obtrectatione lacerabat, unde omnium tam doctorum quam imperitorum in ſe odium " concitarat. —— *He was particularly unhappy in* " *this Reſpect, that, having an ill Opinion of the Learned in general, he was perpetually detracting from* " *their Merits; by which means he drew upon himſelf the Hatred both of the Learned and the Ignorant.*" See below the Remark [*K*].

[*H*] *The Supplement to* Moreri's *Dictionary is nothing to the Purpoſe in this Article.*] I. They have not taken notice, that the *Algionus* of *Varillas*'s Anecdotes is a Chimera of the Tranſcribers. No doubt the Author gave it *Alcionius* in the Original of thoſe Memoirs; and conſequently they ſhould not have diſtinguiſhed the pretended *Algionus* from *Peter Alcyonius*, whom *Moreri* had juſtly placed in the XVIth Century. This put me in mind, that *Claude du Verdier*, in his *Cenſura in omnes penes autores* (p. 73.), ſays, that *Peter Avionius* had remarked many Errors in *Apuleius*'s Book *de Mundo*. The *Errata* corrects *Avionius* by *Alcionius*. Notwithſtanding which, *Avionius* is cited in the fifty ſixth Page of the *Plagiariorum Syllabus*, printed at *Amſterdam*, in 1694, with the *Amænitates Theologico-Philologicæ* of Mr *Almeloveen*. II. They ſhould have conſidered, that, according to *Varillas*, this pretended *Algionus*, having deplored the Ravages, which *Charles* the Fifth's Army committed at *Rome* in the Pontificate of *Clement* VII, ſhould have been placed in the XVIth Century. III. That which was taken out of the *Anecdotes* is not purged from any Errors.

[*I*] *Some learned Men have very much commended* Alcyonius, *and his Tranſlations.*] I ſhall only mention what was wrote to *Eraſmus* by *Ambroſius Leo Nolanus*, in the Year 1518. This Friend, who was an able Phyſician, informed him, that the Senate of *Venice* had cauſed it to be proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet, that all thoſe, who aſpired to the Profeſſorſhip of the *Greek* Tongue, vacant by the Death of *Mark Muſurus*, ſhould preſent themſelves; and that two Months ſhould be appointed for taking their Names; and examining their Abilities and Knowledge of the *Greek* Authors. " Statutum eſt tempus duorum menſium quo competitores & nomina dent, " & legendo & aperiendo Græcos autores oſtendant " qui viri ſint, & quantum lingua & ingenio polleant (24)." *Leo* adds, that ſeveral of *Muſurus*'s Diſciples prepared themſelves to diſpute his Succeſſion, and that *Alcyonius*, one of the moſt polite among them, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many admirable Tranſlations. It is better to expreſs this according to the Original; " Inter eorum elegantiores unus *Petrus* " *Alcyonius* multa è *Græco* in *Romanum* ſermonem " elegantiſſimè vertit. Nam Orationes pleraſque *Iſocratis* ac *Demoſthenis* tanta *Arpinitate* expreſſit, ut " *Ciceronem* ipſum nihilominus legere videris. *Ariſtoteliſque* multa vertit tam candidè ut *Latium* gloriabundum dicere poſſit; en *Ariſtotelem* noſtrum habemus. Idem ipſe juvenis, ut eſt literarum optimarum utrarumque maximus alumnus, ita tui quoque amantiſſimus, ac ſtudiorum tuorum laudator " ſummus (25). —— *Among the more polite of theſe,* " Peter Alcyonius *rendered many things from the* " Greek *into the* Roman *Tongue, with the greateſt* " *Elegance. For he expreſs'd ſeveral of the Orations* " *of* Iſocrates *and* Demoſthenes, *ſo nearly in the* Ciceronian *Style, that you would imagine you was* " *reading* Cicero *himſelf. And ſo fairly did he tranſlate many of* Ariſtotle's *Pieces, that* Latium *might* " *boaſt an* Ariſtotle *of it's own. This young Author,* " *as he is the greateſt Follower of the beſt, and of* " *both kinds of Learning, ſo is he very much your* " *Friend, and extreamly fond of your Works.*" *Eraſmus*, anſwering this Letter, the fifteenth of *October*, the Year following, caus'd *Peter Alcyonius* to be complimented in his Name, and confeſs'd, that he had never heard of him. It were to be wiſh'd, ſince there are different Opinions about *Alcyonius*'s Tranſlations, that the learned Mr *Huet* had done him the Honour to take notice of him, when he compos'd his Dialogues *de Interpretatione*.

I ſhall add at this time another Teſtimony to that of *Leo Nolanus*. I find that *Gabriel Naudé* very much commends *Alcyonius*'s Tranſlations, in his Treatiſe *de Fato & Vitæ Termino*. He tells us, that this Tranſlator, having examin'd three Objections, which may be made to thoſe, who ſay that the Treatiſe *de Mundo* is a Piece of *Ariſtotle*'s, has recourſe, afterwards, to every thing, which may prevent his being obliged to confeſs, that it is a ſpurious Piece, concluding with theſe Words; *But let us leave theſe diſagreeable Queſtions to the Grammarians.* " Difficultates " ejuſmodi amoliri tentet: atque ne ſuppoſititium " hunc fœtum, quem una cum legitimis aliis ELEGANTISSIME de Græco Latinum fecerat, agnoſcere " cogeretur, vertit ſe in omnes partes, tandemque his " verbis concludit: *Sed moroſitatem ejus generis quæſtionum Grammaticis relinquamus* (26)."

[*K*] *We find ſomething concerning him in the Letters of* Longolius, *which is not much to his Advantage.*] We have already ſeen (27), that, in the Opinion of *Longolius*, *Alcyonius*'s Looks, upon the News of the publication of *Sepulveda*'s Book, would be an entertaining Sight. Here is ſomething worſe. *Alcyonius*, having paſſionately deſired to carry one of *Longolius*'s Letters to *Mark Antony Flaminius*, went away without taking it with him, upon which *Longolius* makes this Reflexion: " Noſti hominis ingenium: Ille enim " & cœnæ quam ei opiparam hic dederamus, & laudum quibus à nobis ornatiſſimus diſceſſerat, & literarum quas ſumma contentione ut feſtinanter ſcriberem pervicerat, oblitus, profectus eſſe dicitur. " Quod vos idcirco ſcire volui, ut meis verbis hac de " inhumanitate cum eo expoſtuletis (28). —— *You* " *know the Nature of the Man: After an handſome* " *Entertainment, which I prepared for him, and the* " *many Praiſes I beſtowed upon him, he forgot it all,* " *and went away, without taking with him the Letters, which, at his own earneſt Sollicitation, I had* " *written in haſte. This I thought fit to inform you* " *of, that you may expoſtulate with him in my Name,* " *concerning this uncourteous Treatment.*" *Longolius* adds, That it was fortunate enough; ſince he had ſaid ſome things in his Letters, which he deſired *Alcyonius*, as well as others, ſhould never be acquainted with. Is not this to inſinuate that he was thought capable of breaking open a Letter? " Quanquam id ipſum de " quo queror non omnino incommodè nobis cecidiſſe videri poſſit, ea enim iis literis incautè commiſeram quæ illum in primis celatum eſſe cupiebam. " Perfecerat ſcilicet priſtinæ noſtræ conſuetudinis uſus, " ut magis quibuſcum agerem in mentem mihi veniret, quam cui literas daturus eſſem ſatis meminiſſem (29)." If he be the Perſon mentioned in another Letter of *Longolius* (30), as a learned Man conjectures (31), what a Picture is drawn of him? What

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(b) Pierius Valerianus, de Literat. Infelicitat. pag. 63.

(22) *That* de Sapientia, *and That* de Conſolatione

(23) Pierius Valerian. de Litterat. Infelicit. p. 63.

(24) Epiſt. Eraſ. 28. lib. 10. p. 530.

(25) Ibid. pag. 531.

(26) Gabr. Naudeus de Fato & Vitæ Termino, pag. 32.

(27) *In Remark* [*B*].

(28) Chriſtopher Longolius Epiſt. 21. lib. 2. fol. 203. verſo.

(29) Id. ib. fol. 204.

(30) *It is the* 20*th of the* 2*d Book.*

(31) *Mr* de la Monnoie: *I am obliged to him for theſe Paſſages of* Longolius, *or* Longueil.

unpolite Behaviour, what outrageous Detraction is imputed to him; and what Contempt is ſhewn for his Perſon! What makes it doubtful whether our *Alcyonius* is intended in that Letter, is, that a little after *Longolius* mentions him without any ſeeming diſlike to him; but this Reaſon for doubting is no convincing Proof; ſince the Picture given of him agrees with that, which another Author, of the ſame Age, has drawn of the ſame *Alcyonius*. *Gyraldus*, having ſaid (32), That *Pierius Valerianus* was a ſincere Man, adds immediately after; "diverſæ naturæ eſt "Petrus Alcyonius Venetus, mordax & maledicus, "nec pudens magis quam prudens - - - - - - mitte de "hoc nebulone plura, qui bellum bonis omnibus in"dixit, flagris & fuſte coërcendus - - - - - - - - Peter "Alcyonius, *the* Venetian, *was of a different Diſpo"ſition; a Back-biter, and a Detractor, nor more "modeſt than prudent. - - - - - - - - But no more of "this paultry Fellow, who was at open War with "all good Men; and who deſerves the Correction of "the Whipping-poſt, or a good Caneing.*" Note, that the ſame Author owns, that he compoſed very good Lyric and Iambic Verſes, and that he boaſted to have wrote an excellent Tragedy on the Death of *JESUS CHRIST* (33).

(32) Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus de Poëtis ſui temporis Dialog. 1. pag. 542. Edit. 1696.

(33) Id. ibid.

ALCMAN, a *Lyric* Poet, flouriſhed in the Twenty ſeventh Olympiad (*a*). Some ſay he was a *Lacedemonian*, and others, that he was born at *Sardes*, the chief City of *Lydia*. What is certain, is, that he was a Freeman of *Sparta* [*A*], and that the *Lacedemonians* thought it much to their Honour, that they had ſupply'd *Greece* with ſuch a Genius [*B*]. He wrote many Verſes, of which there are but few extant, which are cited by *Athenæus*, or ſome other Ancient Author. He was a Man of a very Amorous Diſpoſition, and is looked upon as the Father of *Genteel Poetry* [*C*]. Nay, it has been ſaid, I think, that he was the firſt, who introduced the Cuſtom of ſinging Love-Songs in Company (*b*). The Name of one of his Miſtreſſes is preserved (*c*): She was *Megaloſtrata*, a Poeteſs. If he had ſtopped here, there would not have been ſo much Reaſon to complain of him; but it is ſaid, that he was likewiſe in love with one *Chæeron* (*d*). *Alcman* was one of the greateſt Gluttons of his time (*e*); this Quality would have been attended with great Inconveniences, if Poetry had been in thoſe Times upon the ſame Foot it has often been; I mean, very unfit to maintain it's Maſter. He died of a very ſingular Diſeaſe; for he was eaten up with Lice (*f*). He muſt not be diſtinguiſhed from the Poet *Alcmæon* [*D*]; and I ſee no neceſſity for acknowledging Two *Alcmans*, one of *Lacedemon*, and the other of *Meſſena* [*E*].

(*a*) Suidas in Ἀλκμάν.

(*b*) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 600.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Id. lib. 10. p. 416.

(*e*) Ibid. & Ælian. Var. Hiſtor. lib. 1. cap. 27.

(*f*) Ariſtot. de Hiſtor. Anim. lib. 5. cap. 31. Plin. lib. 11. cap. 33. Plutarch, in Sylla, pag. 474.

[*A*] *A Freeman of* Sparta.] This appears from an Epigram, which *Plutarch* inſerts in his Treatiſe of *Exile* (1). The Author of that Epigram makes *Alcman* ſay, That if he had been educated in *Sardes*, the Country of his Anceſtors, he had been only a poor Prieſt of the Goddeſs *Cybele*, deprived of his Manly Parts; but that he is at preſent a Citizen of *Lacedemon*, well inſtructed in the *Greek* Learning, which makes him ſuperior to the Kings of *Lydia*. The *Latin* Interpreter has ill tranſlated the firſt Verſe of that Epigram,

- - - - - Σάρδεις ἀρχαῖος πατέρων νόμος.

- - - - - *O mea majorumque meorum Patria Sardes!*

for we muſt conclude from this Tranſlation, that *Alcman* was born at *Sardes* (2), which the *Greek* Words do not import: Thus it happens, that a Tranſlator is ſometimes a ſower of Diſſenſion, when he leaſt thinks of it. The Tranſlator of the *Greek* Epigram into *Latin* was not aware, that, by adding the Word *mea*, he ſhould induce many Authors obſtinately to maintain, that *Alcman* was not born at *Lacedemon*. How many Writers are there, who conſult only the Verſions, and who make uſe of all the Proofs, which the Verſion ſupplies them with, whether the *Greek* Original will allow it or not? *Salmaſius* has learnedly corrected this Epigram (3); but I do not well apprehend what they mean, who refer us to him, as to a Judge, who has put an end to the Diſpute about *Alcman*'s Country. The Queſtion is, whether this Poet was born at *Lacedemon*, or at *Sardes* in *Lydia*. *Suidas* maintains the former Opinion (4), *Crates* the ſecond (5). *Velleius Paterculus* (6), and *Ælian* (7), deny what *Suidas* affirms. Of what uſe is the Epigram in putting an end to this Diſpute, ſince it does not inform us, where *Alcman* was born, but only that he was not educated in *Sardes*, the Country of his Anceſtors; that he was educated after the *Greek* Manner, and that he enjoy'd the Freedom of *Lacedemon*? This may equally ſignify theſe two things; either that *Alcman* was carried into *Greece*, being a Child, or that his Father went and ſettled there, before this Son was born. In this latter Caſe, *Alcman* might have been born in the City of *Lacedemon*. *Scaliger* was of this Opinion, but he founded it upon a bad Reaſon. "Ego "Laconem fuiſſe arbitror, quum Laconica dialecto "uſus ſit (8).——*I am of Opinion that he was a* La"cedemonian, *ſince he writes in the Doric Dialect.*" If he had thought of the Epigram, mentioned by *Plutarch*, he would have ſeen the inſufficiency of this Reaſon. *Alcman*, not having been educated in *Lydia*, but in *Greece*, and living at *Lacedemon*, muſt needs have made uſe of the *Doric* Dialect, which was that of *Sparta*. How harſh ſoever it was, yet he wrote his Poems in it. Ὧ ποιήσαντι ᾄσματα, οὐδὲν ἐς ἡδονὴν αὐτῶν ἐλυμήνατο τῶν Λακώνων ἡ γλῶσσα, ἥκιστα παρεχομένη τὸ εὔφωνον (9). *Cui in canticis pangendis nihil omnino Laconica lingua obfuit, etſi nihil ea in vocibus appellandis habet ſuavitatis.*

[*B*] *The* Lacedemonians *thought it much to their Honour, that they had ſupply'd* Greece *with ſuch a Genius.*] The Paſſage of *Paterculus*, which I have cited, proves this; theſe Words of *Statius*

- - - - & tetricis Alcman cantatus Amyclis (10).

Alcman *the Theme of rough* Amyclæ'*s Song*;

is a farther Proof. Add to this the Monument erected to *Alcman*, near the Temple of *Helen* (11).

[*C*] *Is looked upon as the Father of* Genteel Poetry.] This is evident from this Paſſage of *Athenæus* (12). Ἀρχύτας δὲ ὁ Ἁρμονικὸς, ὥς φησι Καιμαιλέων, Ἀλκμᾶνα γεγονέναι τῶν ἐρωτικῶν μελῶν ἡγέμονα, καὶ ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον μέλος, ἀκόλαστον ὄντα καὶ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μοῦσαν εἰς τὰς διατείβας· Archytas Harmoniacus *writes, as* Chamæleon *tells us, that* Alcman *was the firſt Inventer of Love Verſes, that he had a great Paſſion for Women, and was the firſt, who introduced that kind of Poetry, which is ſung in Meetings and Aſſemblies.*

[*D*] *He muſt not be diſtinguiſhed from the Poet* Alcmæon.] St *Jerome*, in the Chronicle of *Euſebius*, having ſpoke of *Alcmæon*, under the thirtieth *Olympiad*, mentions *Alcman* under the Forty ſecond, and makes uſe of this Citation, *ut quibuſdam videtur*. *Scaliger* reads *Alcman* in the firſt Paſſage, inſtead of *Alcmæon*. It is plain, by the Reign of *Ardys*, King of *Lydia*, in whoſe Reign *Crates* plac'd *Alcman*, that this Poet flouriſhed about the thirtieth *Olympiad*, which is the Time, wherein *Alcmæon* is placed in the Chronicle of *Euſebius*. If this Reaſon is not ſufficient to ſhew, that thoſe two Names belong to one and the ſame Perſon, it will undeniably prove, that *Alcmæon*, Ἀλκμαίων, and *Alcman*, Ἀλκμάν, differ only in the Dialect; and that the firſt ought to be changed into the ſecond, by the Rules of the *Doric* Dialect. See the Commentary of *Salmaſius* on *Solinus*, pag. 885. The *Alcman* of the Forty ſecond *Olympiad*, is a Chimerical one. *Euſebius* placed him there, becauſe he had read ſome Authors, who were miſtaken, in relation to *Alcman*'s Age.

[*E*] *I ſee no neceſſity for acknowledging two* Alcmans, *one of* Lacedemon, *and the other of* Meſſena.] I think

(1) Oper. Moral. pag. 599.

(2) Amiot *is guilty of the ſame Error.*

(3) Salmaſ. Exercit. Plinian. p. 885.

(4) *He ſays he was born at* Meſſoa, *which was a part of* Lacedemon, *according to* Strabo, *as he is corrected by* Salmaſius, ubi ſupra.

(5) Apud Suidam in Ἀλκμάν.

(6) Alcmana Lacones falſo ſibi vindicant. *Patercul. lib.* 1. *ſub fine.*

(7) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12. cap. 50.

(8) Scalig. Animadv. in Euſeb. n. 1360.

(9) Pauſan. lib. 3. p. 96.

(10) Stat. Silv. 3. lib. 5. ver. 153.

(11) Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

(12) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 600. *See likewiſe* Suidas, in Ἀλκμάν.

Suidas is the only Author, who makes this Diſtinction. But his Authority is not very great, when he quotes no Author, and mentions no Circumſtances. This is the Caſe of his *Alcman* of *Meſſena*; he ſays nothing of him. Let us remember that he ſaid, That the true *Alcman* was born at *Meſſoa*, ἀπὸ Μεσσόας. This Place being not famous, ſome Tranſcribers thought it ſhould be ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης, in the Authors who had reported the ſame thing with *Suidas*. Their pretended Correction produced a new *Alcman*, who was tack'd to *Suidas*'s Patch-work. This Conjecture appears to me more probable, than That of *Lilius Gyraldus*. He acknowledges but one *Alcman*; but he will have him to be born at *Meſſena*, and changes ἀπὸ Μεσσόας in *Suidas* into ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης. *Scaliger* juſtly rejects this Conjecture (13).

(13) Scalig. Animadv. in Euſeb. n. 1360.

ALCMENA, the Daughter of *Electryon*, King of *Mycenæ* [*A*], was the Wife of *Amphitryon*, and the Mother of *Hercules*. She was delivered of this Son, whilſt her Huſband was living; and yet *Hercules* was not the Son of *Amphitryon*, but of *Jupiter*, who, aſſuming the Form of *Alcmena*'s Huſband [*B*], was admitted without any ſcruple to the Matrimonial Functions. He was ſo well pleaſed with the ſport, that he continued the Night to three times it's uſual Length [*C*]. Behold the Origin of *Hercules*! moſt Modern Authors ſay, that *Alcmena* was already with Child, by *Amphitryon*; but *Apollodorus* inſinuates plainly enough, that ſhe was yet a Maid [*D*]; which is more for the Honour of *Jupiter*. However it be, *Amphitryon* returned home the ſame Day, which

[*A*] *The Daughter of* Electryon, *King of* Mycenæ.] The Poet *Aſius* ſays ſhe was born of *Amphiaraus*, and *Eriphyle* (1). Others ſay indeed, That *Electryon* was her Father, but, according to them, her Mother was *Anaxo*, the Daughter of *Alcæus*, the Son of *Perſeus* (2), and not *Lyſidice*, the Daughter of *Pelops* and *Hippodamia*, as *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, *Hofman*, &c. ſay ſhe was (3). The Scholiaſt on *Pindar* is for *Lyſidice* (4).

[*B*] *Aſſuming the Form of* Alcmena's *Husband.*] *Diodorus Siculus* obſerves, that *Jupiter* took this Method, becauſe he would not uſe any Violence, and becauſe, in the way of Perſuaſion, he had no Hope of prevailing upon ſo chaſte a Lady as *Alcmena* was (5). The ſame Hiſtorian obſerves, that, on this Occaſion, *Jupiter* was not moved by that laſcivious Paſſion, which he had felt ſo often for other Women, and that his only Inclination was to get an Hero. For which Reaſon he did it not in haſte; he employ'd much time in the Work, three ſucceſſive Nights. Our Phyſicians would laugh at ſuch a Reaſon. I cannot tell why *Plautus* makes *Jupiter* ſpeak thus to *Amphitryon*.

> Tu cum Alcumena uxore antiquam in gratiam
> Redi: haud promeruit quamobrem vitio verteres,
> Mea vi ſubacta eſt facere (6).

> —— *Be reconciled, as before, to your Wife* Alcmena; *ſhe has not deſerved your Reproaches; my Power compelled her to this Action.*

For, ſince *Jupiter* had put on the Form of the Huſband, it was not neceſſary to uſe any Violence; and we have juſt now ſeen that he aſſumed this Shape, only becauſe he would not employ any violent Methods. A modern Author alledges this Example of *Alcmena*, to prove that a ſincere Ignorance is a good Excuſe, and quotes ſome fine Lines of *Moliere* (7). A thouſand things might be ſaid upon this Subject; it affords Matter for a great variety of Reflexions.

Note, that ſome Perſons will have *Plautus*'s Thought to be this. Alcmena *was conſtrained to let me enjoy her, ſince I had the Power of aſſuming your Reſemblance.* If it be ſo, it muſt be ſaid, that the Intention of the Poet was much better than his Expreſſion.

[*C*] *He continued the Night to three times it's uſual Length*] Jupiter *was ſo well pleaſed with the Lady, that he made the Night laſt all that Day, and the Night following; which moved* Lycophron *to call* Hercules τρισέσπερος λέων, *the Lion of three Nights, as* Lucian *did likewiſe* (8). Perhaps *Vigenere* alluded to theſe Words of *Hyginus*: *Qui tam libens cum ea concubuit, ut unum diem uſurparet, duas noctes congeminaret* (9). The Dialogue of *Lucian*, which takes notice of the long Night, which *Jupiter* ſpent with *Alcmena*, informs us, that *Mercury* went with Orders to the Sun, to ſtand ſtill three Days, that *Jupiter* might have time enough for the Production of *Hercules*; one Night not being ſufficient for the Generation of ſo great a Warrior. It ſeems *Jupiter* did his beſt; for the Weight of the Child had like to have burſt his Mother. Τοῦτον οὖν ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ ἀποτελεσθῆναι ἀδύνατον (10). *Hoc una nocte abſolvi non poteſt.*

> Tendebat gravitas uterum mihi, quodque ferebam
> Tantum erat, ut poſſes auctorem dicere tecti
> Ponderis eſſe Jovem (11).

> *My Womb extends with ſuch a mighty Load,*
> *As* Jove *the Parent of the Burthen ſhow'd.*
> Mr GAY.

Many Authors are of opinion, that this Night was not trippled, but only doubled (12). Others ſay, that it laſted nine times longer than uſual. St *Jerome*, who might have read this in the Writings of two Fathers of the Church (13), made no uſe of it, and kept to the Tradition of the double Night: *In Alcmenæ adulterio duas noctes Jupiter copulavit.* From that Time *Jupiter* took his leave of Women; *Alcmena* was the laſt Mortal whom he lay with. *Niobe* was the firſt; ſixteen Generations paſs'd between the one and the other (14). Such was the Duration of *Jupiter*'s Intrigues on Earth. Now, as his Diverſion with *Alcmena* was the laſt of the kind he was to take in this World, was it not reaſonable that it ſhould laſt longer than uſual? *Alcmena* wondered at the length of the Night (15): It ſeem'd therefore long to her; this makes for her Honour. And indeed ſhe was a very virtuous Woman (16), and would not have merited, though ſhe had loſt her Sight, the Satire of the following Diſtich.

> Cum longas noctes Moreta ab amore rogaret,
> Favit amor votis, perpetuaſque dedit.

> *Long Nights* Moreta (17) *ask'd, in love to burn;*
> *Love heard her Wiſh, and gave her Night etern.*

Soſia, *Amphitryon*'s Valet, made an Obſervation worthy of him, when he perceived that the Night was longer than it uſed to be; he wiſh'd thoſe Gallants Joy, who had paid dear for their Bargains.

> Ubi ſunt iſti ſcortatores qui ſoli inviti cubant?
> Hæc nox ſcita'ſt exercendo ſcorto conducto malé (18).

> *Where are thoſe intriguing Sparks, who, againſt their Will, lie alone? This Night is calculated for the full Enjoyment of a dear-bought Wench.*

[*D*] *That ſhe was yet a Maid.*] *Apollodorus* relates, That *Electryon*, going to revenge the Death of his Sons, put his Kingdom, and his Daughter *Alcmena* into the Hands of *Amphitryon*, after having made him ſwear, that he would abſtain from *Alcmena*, till his Return (19). *Amphitryon*, having inadvertently killed him, a little while after, was obliged to ſeek a Retreat. He went with *Alcmena* into *Bœotia*, and as ſhe declared that ſhe would marry Him, who ſhould revenge the Death of her Brothers, he engaged in purſuit of this Revenge, and, aſſociating himſelf with others, made War with the *Teleboes*, who had killed *Alcmena*'s Brothers (20). Being returned to *Thebes* victorious, and triumphant, he underſtood that ANOTHER HIMSELF had enjoy'd the Lady. It is plain that he had not the firſt Favour; doubtleſs *Alcmena* had put off the Ceremony of the Wedding, or at leaſt the Conſummation of her Marriage, till *Amphitryon*

(1) Pauſan. l. 5. p. 165.

(2) Apollodor. Bibl. lib. 2. p. 96. Scholiaſt. Homeri in Iliad. ξ. ver. 323.

(3) *See their Dictionaries.*

(4) In Olymp. Od. 7.

(5) Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. cap. 2.

(6) Plaut. in Amphitr. ſub finem.

(7) *See the new Letters againſt* Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of* Calviniſm, *pag.* 280, &c.

(8) Vigenere *upon* Philoſtrat. Tom. 2. fol. 17. Edit. 4to.

(9) Hygin. cap. 29.

(10) Lucian. Dial. Merc. & Solis. *See* Diod. Sicul. lib. 5. c. 2.

(11) Ovid. Metam. lib. 9. ver. 288.

(12) Amor. lib. 1. Eleg. 13. Propert. lib. 2. Eleg. 22. Capella, lib. 2. c. 39.

(13) Clem. Alexandr. in Protrept. pag. 20. Arnobius, lib. 4. pag. 145. *whoſe Words are theſe*, Quis illum in Alcmena novem noctibus fecit pervigilaſſe continuis?

(14) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 5. cap. 2.

(15) Hygin. cap. 29.

(16) *See Remark* [*B*].

(17) *The Counteſs* de Moret, Henry *the Great's Miſtreſs.*

(18) Amphitr. Act. 1. Scen. 1. ver. 130.

(19) Apollodor. Bibliothec. lib. 2. pag 99.

(20) Id. ib. pag. 101.

which ſucceeded the Long Night, which That God had paſſed with *Alcmena*. He was not ſo well received by his Wife, as he might have expected, after Abſence; and he ſoon diſcovered the Reaſon of it, by the account, which She gave him of the Tranſactions of the preceeding Night. They, who ſhall put themſelves in his Place, may tell us what he thought of the Matter. He immediately had recourſe to the Soothſayer, and learnt from *Tireſias*, that *Jupiter*, in the Form of *Amphitryon*, had enjoyed *Alcmena*. He muſt bear it, as well as he could; and it does not appear, that his Chagrin continued very long; for, the Night following, he got his Wife with Child, who was already ſo by a God (*a*). *Juno*, out of her uſual Jealouſy, prevented the Delivery of this Lady, as long as ſhe could; it was only the Dexterity of a Servant Maid, which eluded the Ill Intentions of *Lucina* [*E*], who hindered *Alcmena* from being

phitryon had conquered the *Teleboes*. *Jupiter*, knowing that *Amphitryon* was upon his Return, and that there was no other time to crop this Flower of Virginity, but whilſt *Amphitryon* was on his Journey, prevented him, and did his Buſineſs before the Huſband's Arrival. *Apollodorus* adds, That *Amphitryon*, having enjoy'd *Alcmena*, got her with Child; this Child was a Night younger than *Hercules*. Ἀλκμήνη δὲ δύο ἐγέννησε παῖδας. Διῒ μὲν Ἡρακλέα μιᾷ νυκτὶ πρεσβύτερον, Ἀμφιτρύωνι Ἰφικλέα (21). *Alcmena vero duos peperit filios: Jovi quidem Herculem una nocte grandiorem, atque Amphitryoni Iphiclem.* This is a farther Confirmation of what I am to prove. The Scholiaſt upon *Homer* is more preciſe than *Apollodorus*: He ſays plainly, That the Marriage was not conſummated 'till after the return of *Amphitryon* (22). In *Plautus*'s Comedy Matters go otherwiſe. *Amphitryon* leaves his Wife with Child, when he goes to the War (23). A great Temptation indeed to *Jupiter*! It would be much worſe, if *Plautus* had obſerved the Unity of Time, as Mademoiſelle *le Fevre* will have it. In that Caſe, it muſt be ſaid, That *Jupiter* interrupted the whole courſe of Nature, by ſtopping the Sun, to divert himſelf the longer with a Woman big with two Children, and ſo near her time, that, if he had ſtay'd a little longer, the Midwife would have been obliged to ſay to him, *give me your Place*. This is an unlucky Alternative for *Plautus*. For either the Time of his Comedy muſt be ſeveral Months; or he muſt ſuppoſe a Woman, ready to be delivered of Twins, a very tempting Morſel to the greateſt of all Monarchs; and this, with ſuppoſing at the ſame time, that the King of Gods and Men had already begot one of theſe Twins. Take notice that the Poet does not feign, that *Jupiter* diſguiſed himſelf in the Shape of *Amphitryon*, in order to come like a good Huſband to the Aſſiſtance of *Alcmena*, in her Labour; it was the Viſit of a very amorous Spark. See how *Mercury* expreſſes himſelf in the Prologue,

Et meus Pater nunc intus hic cum illa cubat,
Et hæc ob eam rem nox eſt facta longior,
Dum ille qua cum volt voluptatem capit.

My Father, within there, is now in Bed with her; and it is upon this Account that the Night is longer than uſual, to give him an Opportunity of ſatisfying his Appetite.

As for theſe Words of *Soſia*,

Hæc nox ſcita eſt exercendo ſcorto malè conducto.

This Night is calculated for the full Enjoyment of a dear-bought Wench.

He illuſtrates them thus:

Meus Pater nunc pro hujus verbis recte & ſapienter facit
Qui complexus cum Alcumena cubat amans animo obſequens (24).

—— *My Father in this Buſineſs acts a very wiſe Part; as he loves the Sport, he has pitched upon* Alcmena *for a Bedfellow.*

He congratulates himſelf for having removed all Interruptions to *Jupiter*'s Joy, and prepares to continue his good Offices, 'till the Gallant be ſatisfied.

Bene & proſperè hoc hodie operis proceſſit mihi;
Amovi à foribus maximam moleſtiam,
Patri ut liceret tuto illam amplexarier.
- - - - - -
Erroris ambo ego illos & dementiæ
Complebo, atque omnem Amphitruonis familiam
Adeo, uſque ſatietatem dum capiet Pater
Illius quam amat (25).

Thus far Succeſs attends upon my Counſels; I have removed the greateſt Obſtacle from the Door, that my Father may take his ſwing of Pleaſure in full Security. —— *I will perplex them both with Miſtakes, and fill them with Madneſs; and not only the Maſter and Man, but* Amphitryon's *whole Family; 'till my Father is cloy'd with the Enjoyment of his Miſtreſs.*

[*E*] *The Dexterity of a Servant Maid, which eluded the ill Intentions of* Lucina (26).] I follow *Ovid*'s Narrative. *Alcmena* had been ſeven Days in Labour, with horrible Pains. *Galanthis*, one of her Women, came in, and went out, and, being apprehenſive of ſome Charm, upon ſeeing a Woman ſetting at the Door, and muttering to herſelf, with her Hands joined on her Knees, ſhe told her that *Alcmena* was delivered. *Lucina* (for it was ſhe, who was ſitting in that Poſture) no ſooner heard theſe Words, but ſhe disjoined her Hands, and roſe up, which cauſed *Alcmena* to be delivered.

- - - - ſubſedit in illa
Ante fores ara, dextroque à poplite lævum
Preſſa genu, digitis inter ſe pectine junctis,
Suſtinuit partus, tacita quoque carmina voce
Dixit, & inceptos tenuerunt carmina partus.
- -
Una miniſtrarum, media de plebe, Galanthis
Flava comas, aderat, faciendis ſtrenua juſſis,
Officiis dilecta ſuis. Ea ſenſit iniqua
Neſcio quid Junone geri, dumque exit & intrat
Sæpe fores, Divam reſidentem vidit in ara,
Brachiaque in genibus digitis connexa tenentem;
Et, quæcunque es, ait, dominæ gratare; levata eſt
Argolis Alcmene, potiturque puerpera voto.
Exſiluit, junctaſque manus patefacta remiſit
Diva potens uteri: vinclis levor ipſa remiſſis (27).

She hears the groaning Anguiſh of my Fits,
And on the Altar at my Door ſhe ſits.
O'er her left Knee her croſſing Leg ſhe caſt,
Then knits her Fingers cloſe, and wrings them faſt.
This ſtay'd the Birth; in muttering Verſe ſhe pray'd.
The muttering Verſe th' unfiniſh'd Birth delay'd.
- -
Among the Theban *Dames* Galanthis *ſtands,*
Strong limb'd, red hair'd, and juſt to my Commands.
She firſt perceiv'd, that all theſe racking Woes
From the perſiſting Hate of Juno *roſe.*
As here and there ſhe paſs'd, by chance ſhe ſees
The ſeated Goddeſs; on her cloſe-preſs'd Knees
Her faſt-knit Hands ſhe leans; with chearful Voice
Galanthis *cries, whoe'er thou art, rejoice,*
Congratulate the Dame, ſhe lies at Reſt,
At length the Gods Alcmena's *Womb have bleſt.*
Swift from her Seat the ſtartled Goddeſs ſprings,
No more concealed, her Hands abroad ſhe flings;
The Charm unloos'd, the Birth my Pangs reliev'd;
Galanthis' *Laughter vex'd the Pow'r deceiv'd.*

GAY.

Pauſanias,

(*a*) Hyginus, c. 29. *ſays*, That he lay no more with her, and ſpeaks only of *Hercules*. *See* Apollod. Biblioth. lib. 2. pag. 97.

(21) Id. ib. pag. 103.

(22) Schol. Homeri in Iliad. ξ. ver. 323.

(23) Gravidam ego illam hic reliqui cum abeo. *Act.* 2. *Scen.* 2. *ver.* 34. Et cum te gravidam, cum te pulcrè plenam adſpicio, gaudeo. *Ibid. ver.* 52. Mercury *affirms the ſame thing in the Prologue.*

(24) Plauti Amphytr. Act. 1. Sc. 1. ver. 133.

(25) Ibid. Act. 1. Sc. 2. ver. 1, 2, 3, 5, &c.

(26) *She was the Goddeſs of Child-birth.*

(27) Ovid. Metamorph. lib 9. ver. 298, &c.

being delivered. She was brought to bed of Two Boys; He, of whom *Jupiter* was Father, was called *Hercules*; and He, who was the Son of *Amphitryon*, was named *Iphiclus* (*b*). It is ſaid, That ſhe married *Rhadamanthus*, after the Death of *Amphitryon*, and that her Tomb was to be ſeen adjoining to That of *Rhadamanthus*, near *Haliartus*, in *Bœotia* (*c*). Others ſay, That ſhe was buried at *Megara*, and that the Oracle ordered it ſo, when *Hercules*'s Children conſulted it, on a Diſpute between them, ſome being willing that ſhe ſhould be carried to *Argos*, and others maintaining that ſhe ought to be brought to *Thebes* (*d*). She died on the Frontiers of *Megara*, as ſhe was returning from *Argos* to *Thebes* (*e*). *Hercules* was already dead; ſhe ſurvived him to her great Grief; but on the other hand ſhe had the Satisfaction of holding in her hands the Head of *Hercules*'s Perſecutor, and of tearing out his Eyes [*F*]. It is related, that her Corps diſappeared in the Ceremony of the Funeral, and that a Stone was found in her Bed (*f*). Which made *Pauſanias* ſay, That ſhe was metamorphoſed into a Stone (*g*). *Antoninus Liberalis* tells us, that, whilſt the *Heraclidæ* were preparing the Funeral Rites of *Alcmena*, *Jupiter* ordered *Mercury* to ſteal her away, and to tranſport her to the *Fortunate Iſlands*, in order to marry her to *Rhadamanthus*. This Order was obey'd; and a Stone was placed in her Coffin. They who carried it, finding it very heavy, opened it, and, inſtead of a dead Body, found a Stone, which they depoſited in the ſacred Grove, where was afterwards a Chapel of *Alcmena*, at *Thebes* (*h*). *Diodorus Siculus* remarks only, That ſhe diſappear'd, and that the *Thebans* paid her Divine Honours (*i*). They continued to ſhew her Chamber in *Pauſanias*'s Time (*k*). Her Altar was ſeen at *Athens* at the ſame time (*l*). The Preſent, which ſhe received from *Jupiter*, for the long Night's Lodging he had with her, was ſhewed many Ages after at *Lacedemon*, as a ſingular Curioſity (*m*). Very ſurprizing things have been related concerning her Tomb [*G*]. Conſult the Article AMPHITRYON.

(*b*) Apollod. Biblioth. pag. 103.

(*c*) Plutarch. in Lyſandro, pag. 449. Antonini Liberalis Metamorph. cap. 33.

(*d*) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 39.

(*e*) Id. ibid.

(*f*) Plut. in Romulo, pag. 35.

(*g*) Pauſan. lib. 9. pag. 294.

(*h*) Antonin. Liberal. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 4.

(*k*) Pauſan. lib. 9. pag. 290. *He liv'd about 150 Years after the Birth of* Chriſt.

(*l*) Id. lib. 1. pag. 17.

(*m*) *See the Article* TELEBOES, *Remark* [*D*].

Pauſanias does not relate the Story with the ſame Circumſtances. He ſays, That the Figures of certain Women (28) were ſeen at *Thebes*, whom *Juno* had ſent to prevent *Alcmena*'s Delivery. The Daughter of *Tireſias* (29) deceived them, by crying out that *Alcmena* was delivered (30). In *Pliny*'s Time they looked upon the Poſture I have mentioned as a kind of Witchcraft. "Adſidere gravidis, vel cum remedium alicui adhibetur, digitis pectinatim inter ſe implexis, veneficium eſt: idque compertum tradunt Alcmena Herculem pariente. Pejus, ſi circa unum ambove genua: item poplites alternis genibus imponi (31). —— *To ſit by Women with Child, or when a Medicine is adminiſtered to any one, with one's Fingers joined together in the Faſhion of a Comb, is Witchcraft; and this was experienced, when* Alcmena *was in Labour of* Hercules. *The Charm is ſtronger, if this be done upon one or both Knees; as alſo if the Poſture be croſs-legged.*" We ſhall ſee in another Place the Licence, which *Plautus* took, in ſuppoſing that *Alcmena* was delivered without Pain (32).

[*Rabelais, B.* 3. *cap.* 48. has very properly rendered the Text of *Ovid* and *Pliny*. If Mr *BAYLE* had known this, he would doubtleſs have produced it here. REM. CRIT.]

[*F*] *The Satisfaction of holding in her Hands the Head of* Hercules's *Perſecutor, and of tearing out his Eyes.*] *Apollodorus* informs us, that the Sons of this Hero found a good Aſylum in *Athens* againſt *Euryſtheus* and that *Hyllus*, one of them, having killed him, cut off his Head, and gave it to *Alcmena*, who dug out the Eyes with a Weaver's Shuttle: Καὶ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμὼν Ἀλκμήνῃ δίδωσιν, ἡ δὲ κερκίσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξώρυξεν αὐτοῦ (33). *Ejuſque caput amputatum Alcmenæ dedit. Hæc autem ille textoriis radiis oculos effodit.*

[*G*] *Very ſurprizing things —— concerning her Tomb.*] *Ageſilaus*, King of *Sparta*, intending to remove the Relicks of *Alcmena* to *Lacedemon*, ſent ſome People to *Haliartus*, who opened her Monument. They found in it two earthen Veſſels, a Bracelet of Braſs, and a copper Table, on which certain Letters were engraven, which no one underſtood. As they reſembled the *Egyptian* manner of Writing, *Ageſilaus* cauſed them to be tranſcribed, and ſent the Copy to the King of *Egypt*, deſiring him to enquire of his Prieſts the Purport of them (34). *Plutarch* adds, that *Agetoridas*, who was deputed for this Purpoſe by *Ageſilaus*, went to *Memphis*, where the Prophet *Chonuphis* decyphered the Inſcription. It contained a Precept addreſſed to the *Greeks*, to live in Peace, to honour the Muſes, and to compoſe their Differences according to the Rules of Equity. The Letters of the Inſcription were like the writing, which *Hercules* learnt in the Reign of King *Proteus*. The moſt remarkable Particular is, that the Inhabitants of *Haliartus*, having had a very bad Harveſt, and great Inundations, believed that theſe Evils proceeded from having permitted the Removal of *Alcmena*'s Tomb. We read the ſame Reflexions in divers Legends, concerning the diſmembring or tranſlating of the Bodies of Saints.

(28) *They were called* Φαρμακίδες. *We ſhould call them at preſent,* Witches.

(29) *Her Name was* Hiſtoris.

(30) Pauſan. lib. 9. pag. 290.

(31) Plin. lib. 28. cap. 6. pag. 579.

(32) *In the Remark* [*E*], *of the Article* TELEBOES.

(33) Apollod. Bibl. lib. 2. pag. 151.

(34) Plutarch. in libro de Socratis Genio, pag. 576, &c.

ALCMÆON. Many Perſons have been called by this Name. The laſt Perpetual *Archon* of *Athens* was called ALCMÆON. After him other *Archons* were created, whoſe Office continued but ten Years. This Alteration happen'd in the VIth Olympiad, a little before *Romulus* built the City of *Rome* (*a*). *Herodotus* ſpeaks of an ALCMÆON, who lived at *Athens* in *Cræſus*'s Time, and who performed many good Offices to the Ambaſſadors, whom That King ſent to *Delphi* (*b*). *Cræſus*, having heard of it, invited him to his Court, and gave him leave to take as much Gold out of his Treaſury as he could carry. We read, in *Herodotus*, the Expedient, which ALCMÆON made uſe of to carry a great Weight of it. *Cræſus* made him many other Preſents, inſomuch that he put him in a Condition of adding a very great Luſtre to his Family at *Athens*, where it became one of the moſt conſiderable. The ALCMÆONIDÆ (ſo they called ALCMÆON's Poſterity) diſtinguiſh'd themſelves on ſeveral Occaſions, and chiefly by ſtrenuouſly oppoſing the Tyranny, which *Piſiſtratus* and his Sons endeavoured in vain to perpetuate there. I believe this ALCMÆON was the ſame, who was General of the *Athenians*, in the War, which was undertaken for the Protection of the Temple of *Delphi*, at the Sollicitation of *Solon* (*c*). I find an ALCMÆON in *Plutarch*, who was a great Enemy of *Themiſtocles* (*d*). There are many Faults in *Moreri*'s Dictionary relating to the Word

(*a*) Euſebii Chron.

(*b*) Herod. lib. 6. cap. 125.

(*c*) Plut. in Solone, pag. 84.

(*d*) Id. in Vita Ariſtid. ſub fin. pag. 334. E.

ALCMÆON [A]. I am going to give ſeparate Articles of two Perſons who bore this Name.

[A] *There are many Faults in* Moreri's *Dictionary relating to the Word* Alcmæon.] I. It is not true, that *Alcmæon*, the laſt perpetual *Archon*, lived about the Year 301, or 300, of *Rome*. *Euſebius*, who is cited for it, places the end of the perpetual *Archons* before the Foundation of *Rome*. II. Beſides, the Year 301 of *Rome* does not anſwer to the Year of the World 3300, but to the Year 3530, or thereabouts, according to *Petavius*; or the Year 3498, according to *Sethus Calviſius*. III. *Alcmæon*, the perpetual *Archon*, is not the ſame *Alcmæon*, who received ſo many Preſents from *Cræſus* (1). He preceded the beginning of That King's Reign about One hundred and ninety Years. IV. The laſt Year of That Reign anſwers to the 206th Year of *Rome*. V. *Herodotus*, who is cited, does not ſay, that *Alcmæon* ſucceeded his Father *Megacles* in the Office of Annual *Archon*; nor that the Ambaſſadors of *Cræſus* asked *Alcmæon, whether he would accompany* their Maſter *to* Delphi; nor *that, after he had promiſed them to do it, That King preſented him with as much Gold as he could carry*; nor that, perceiving that *Alcmæon* had loaded himſelf with Gold *beyond his Strength, he cauſed him to be carried with the Burthen to his Houſe, becauſe he could not walk under it*. I cannot imagine for what Reaſon *Herodotus* is quoted, when his Narrative is ſo ſtrangely falſified. VI. *Alcmæon*, the Son of *Amphiaraus*, did not marry *Callirhoe*, after the Death of *Alpheſibea* his firſt Wife; the latter was yet living at the time of the ſecond Marriage,

Amphilochi frater ne Phegida ſemper amaret,
  Callirhoe fecit parte recepta tori (2).

Leſt Phegeus' *Daughter ſhou'd engroſs his Heart,*
Callirhoë *in his Bed obtained a Part.*

VII. *Plutarch* does not ſay, that the Fable of *Alcmæon* ſignifies *that he killed his Mother, that is to ſay, his* Part, *in order to go and live in the Country, which is expreſſed by the River his Father-in-law*. One would think, that *Moreri* read in *Plutarch*, that *Alcmæon* caſtrated himſelf; which ſeems to be the Natural Senſe of theſe Words, *he killed his Mother, that is to ſay, his Part*. I am willing to believe, that inſtead of *Partie* (Part), the Author gave it *Patrie* (Native Country); but this does not juſtify him; for *Plutarch* does not ſay, that *Alcmæon* killed his Native Country, or that he abuſed it: On the contrary he tells us, that *Alcmæon*, ſhunning Magiſtracies, Seditions, Factions, and Calumnies, made choice of a ſmall Retreat, in order to live quietly, and that thus he fled from the Furies (3). VIII. The Chronicle of *Euſebius* is cited ſtill more improperly, to explain what the Fable ſays of *Alcmæon*; for of what uſe is it towards explaining this Fable, to ſay, That the City of *Thebes* was plundered, that *Tireſias* was taken Priſoner, and that his Daughter *Manto* was conſecrated to the Service of *Apollo*? IX. It is not true, that *Euſebius* relates theſe Things, as falling out *in the One hundred and eighty ſeventh Year of* Abraham. He ſays nothing of the ſacking of *Thebes*; he ſpeaks in general of the ſeven Captains, who attacked this City, and of their Poſterity, which renewed the War; I ſay, he ſpeaks of the firſt of theſe two Expeditions under the Year 784, and of the laſt under the Year 823. X. Neither *Euſebius*, nor any other Hiſtorian, obſerve that *Alcmæon*'s Expedition againſt *Thebes* was unſucceſsful (4); for it was at that Time that the *Epigones* plundered the City, &c. XI. *They did not carry away the poor blind* Tereſias: He had fled, with the other *Thebans*, before the Enemy entered the City. XII. *They did not collect a great Booty, to revenge the Diſgrace of their Fathers.* It ought to have been ſaid, that, *to revenge the Diſgrace of their Fathers*, they undertook a ſecond Expedition. XIII. It is not true, that the Philoſopher *Alcmæon made it appear, that the Moon has a peculiar Property, which never ends*; he ſuppoſed the Eternity of this Planet: It can only be a Suppoſition; and it is a more unpardonable Negligence in a Prieſt, than any other Author, to ſay, That *it has been made appear*, that the Moon is eternal, and *that the Immortal Soul turns continually as the Sun*. XIV. *Euſebius* does not ſpeak of *Alcmæon* the Philoſopher; doubtleſs he meant the Poet, when he ſaid; *Alcmæon clarus habetur, & Leſches Lesbius, qui parvam fecit Iliadem.* —— Alcmæon *is reckoned famous, as is* Leſches *of* Lesbos, *who wrote the leſſer* Iliad. XV. Theſe Words of his are in the Thirty firſt *Olympiad*, and not in the Sixty ninth. XVI. It is equally falſe, that *Plutarch*, in the *Life of Solon*, cites an Hiſtorian, whoſe Name is *Alcmæon*. Theſe are *Plutarch*'s Words; they will ſerve to ſhew how haſty Tranſcribers fall into the greateſt Miſtakes. Ὀυ μήν τοι στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀπεδείχθη τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς λέγειν φησὶν Ἕρμιππος Εὐάνθη τὸν Σάμιον. Οὔτε γὰρ Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ τοῦτ᾽ εἴρηκεν, ἔντε τοῖς τῶν Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀλκμαίων, οὐ Σόλον, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἀναγέγραπται (5). *He was not appointed General for this War, as* Hermippus *ſays* Euanthes *of* Samos *delivered. For the Orator* Æſchines *ſaid no ſuch thing, and, in the Commentaries of* Delphi, Alcmæon, *not* Solon, *is the* Athenian *General. Lloyd* and *Hofman* found the pretended Hiſtorian *Alcmæon* in this Paſſage of *Plutarch: In Delphorum Commentariis*, ſay they, *citatur à Plutarcho in Solone*. It is plain that theſe *Commentaries of Delphi* are the Work, which they aſcribe to *Alcmæon*, and which they pretend to have been cited by *Plutarch*. I wonder that *Voſſius* fell into this Miſtake: *Alcmæon*, ſays he (6), *in Delphorum commentariis*, Ἀλκμαίων ἐν τοῖς τῶν Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασι, *citatur à Plutarcho in Solone.*

(1) *Yet it is ſo affirmed in the* Dutch *Edition of* Moreri's *Dictionary. The Supplement to the Dictionary ſays only, that this* Alcmæon *had been an annual* Archon *of* Athens.

(2) Ovid. de Remed. Amor. ver. 455.

(3) Plut. de Exilio. pag. 602.

(4) Moreri, *both in the* Lyons *Edition*, 1688, *and in that of* Holland, *expreſſes himſelf thus*; After his unfortunate Expedition to *Thebes*.

(5) Plut. in Solone, pag. 84. A.

(6) Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græc. pag. 501.

ALCMÆON, the Son of *Amphiaraus* and *Eriphyle*, the Siſter of *Adraſtus*, kill'd his Mother in obedience to his Father's Command. I am going to tell you the Reaſon of ſo ſtrange a Command. *Amphiaraus* looked upon *Eriphyle* as the Cauſe of his Death. He had reſolv'd not to go to the *Theban War*; for, being a great Soothſayer, he foreſaw, that, if he went, he ſhould die there. Moreover, he had promiſed with an Oath, That, if he ſhould have any Diſpute with *Adraſtus*, he would refer the whole Matter to the Deciſion of his Wife. They differ'd about the Expedition to *Thebes*. *Adraſtus* would have *Amphiaraus* engage in it; but *Amphiaraus* refuſed, and diſſuaded others from it. *Eriphyle* decided the Affair, as *Adraſtus* deſir'd, being bribed by a fine Necklace (a), which *Polynices* offered her (b), and which ſhe accepted, contrary to her Huſband's Command not to take any thing of *Polynices*. Hence ſhe has furniſhed many Topics and moral Thoughts to the Cenſors of the Fair Sex. It is well known, that *Amphiaraus*, flying, when the Army was routed, was ſwallowed up in an Abyſs, which a Clap of Thunder opened under his Feet. He had ordered his Sons, before he march'd againſt *Thebes*, to kill *Eriphyle*, as ſoon as their Age would permit. All the Generals, except *Adraſtus*, periſhed in this War. Ten Years after, their Sons reſolv'd to revenge this Affront, and made choice of *Alcmæon* for their Generaliſſimo. *Eriphyle*, bribed again by Preſents, ſollicited them to this War. *Therſander*, the Son of *Polynices*, preſented her with a Necklace (c), and a Robe (d). *Alcmæon*, tho' greatly inclin'd to kill his Mother before he accepted the Command of the Forces, yet marched againſt *Thebes*, without executing *Amphiaraus*'s Order. This Expedition proved very fortunate; the *Thebans*, by the Advice of

(a) *See concerning this Necklace the Remarks on the Article* CALLIRHOE.

(b) Hyginus *ſays*, c. 73. That *Adraſtus* gave her the Necklace, and that *Eriphyle* diſcover'd the Place where *Amphiaraus* hid himſelf.

(c) Diod. Siculus *is rather to be credited, who ſays*, That *Therſander* gave her only the *Peplum*, or Robe; he could not give the Necklace, ſince *Eriphyle* had it already.

(d) *Called in* Greek πέπλος.

of *Tireſias*, abandoned their City; it was plundered, and deſtroyed. *Alcmæon*, tranſported with new Rage, upon hearing, that *Eriphyle* had ſuffered herſelf to be corrupted by Preſents againſt him alſo, no longer ſcrupled to kill her, after conſulting the Oracle about it. Some maintain, that his Brother *Amphilochus* aſſiſted him in this Parricide; but moſt Authors deny it. *Alcmæon*, haunted by the Furies for this Action, retired to *Pſophis* in *Arcadia*, where he expiated his Crime, with the uſual Forms, under the Protection of *Phegeus*, and married *Arſinoe* (*e*), the Daughter of the ſame *Phegeus*, to whom he made a Preſent of the Necklace and the Robe, which were given to *Eriphyle*. A great Famine ariſing, recourſe was had to the Oracle, which ordered *Alcmæon* to fly to *Achelous*. He arrived there, after much rambling up and down, where he renewed the Ceremonies of the Expiation, and married *Callirhoë*, the Daughter of *Achelous*; and ſettled on a Corner of Land, which that River had form'd by throwing up a quantity of Sand [*A*]. *Callirhoë* declared ſhe would not lie with him, if he did not make her a Preſent of *Eriphyle*'s Necklace and Robe. This obliged him to return to *Phegeus*, from whom he obtained the Necklace, having made him believe that the Oracle had declared to him, that the Furies would not ceaſe to perſecute him, 'till he had offered the Necklace to *Apollo*. *Phegeus* was afterwards informed, that *Alcmæon* deſigned this Preſent for *Callirhoë*; upon which he ordered his two Sons to purſue and kill him, which they did: And, becauſe *Arſinoë* was offended at it, they carried her in a Box to *Tegea*, and charged her with the Murther. Some ſay that *Alcmæon*, during his Madneſs, diverted himſelf with the Propheteſs *Manto*, the Daughter of *Tireſias*; and that he had two Children by her (*f*). See the Sequel to this in the Article of CALLIRHOE. *Alcmæon*'s *Furies* made a great Noiſe on the Stage of Ancient *Greece* (*g*), but we have none of thoſe Tragedies left [*B*]. What has been ſaid of his Tomb, deſerves to be conſidered [*C*]. The *Oropians*, who were beforehand with all other Nations in placing *Amphiaraus* among the Gods, excluded *Alcmæon* from Divine Honours, which they conferred on his Father and his Brother (*h*), on account of his Parricide (*i*). It is obſerved, that a *Perſian*, called *Orontes*, reſembled him perfectly (*k*).

Some Hiſtorians ſay, that, after the ſecond War of *Thebes*, *Alcmæon* went into *Ætolia*, being invited thither by *Diomedes*, and that he aſſiſted him in conquering That Country, and *Acarnania*; and that being both ſummoned to accompany the Expedition of *Troy*, *Diomedes* went, but *Alcmæon* ſtaid in *Acarnania*, and built a City there, which he called *Argos* of *Amphilochus*, in Honour of his Brother (*l*). Note, that he practiſed the Trade of Divination in *Acarnania* (*m*).

(*e*) Pauſan. lib. 8. pag. 255. *calls her* Alpheſibea.

(*f*) *Taken from* Apollodorus l. 3. p. 187, &c. *See alſo* Diodor. Sicul. lib. 5. c. 6.

(*g*) Alcmæon olim Tragicorum pulpita laſſavit cum furore ſuo, nunc nullam ſui nominis fabulam habet. *Barth. in Statium*, Tom. 2. p. 449.

(*h*) Pauſan. lib. 1. pag. 33.

(*i*) Plutarch, in Arato, p. 1028.

(*k*) *His Name was* AMPHILOCHUS: *See the Remarks on his Article.*

(*l*) Strabo, lib. 7. pag. 225. *See alſo* lib. 10. pag. 318.

(*m*) Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. 1. pag. 334.

[*A*] *He ſettled on a Corner of Land, which that River had formed by throwing up a Quantity of Sand.*] It will not be amiſs to illuſtrate *Apollodorus* by a Paſſage of *Pauſanias*, which imports, that, after *Alcmæon* had killed his Mother, he fled from *Argos* to *Pſophis*, where he married *Alpheſibea* the Daughter of *Phegeus* (1). His Marriage did not cure him of his Phrenzy; ſo that he had recourſe to the Oracle, which ordered him to retire to a new Land, which was made ſince the Murther of *Eriphyle*. He was aſſured that the Furies would not purſue him thither. Meeting, then, with a Piece of Land, thrown up by the Waters, at the Entrance of the River *Achelous*, he ſettled there, and married *Callirhoe*.

[*B*] *We have none of thoſe Tragedies left.*] I queſtion not but the two Verſes, mentioned by *Plutarch*, in one of his Books, are taken out of ſome of thoſe Pieces. The common-place Topic, which *Plutarch* there touches upon, is of greater Importance than is generally believed to be. It relates to a general Fault, to wit, of thoſe who reproach their Neighbours with a Vice, which they themſelves are guilty of, or which is leſs than their own. *Alcmæon* reproaches *Adraſtus* for being the Brother of a Woman, who had killed her Husband: *Adraſtus* anſwers, *And you have killed your own Mother*. He, who is very guilty himſelf, muſt not ſet up for a *Cato*, and a Cenſor. Οὐκοῦν μηδὲ μοιχὸν λοιδορήσῃς, αὐτὸς ὢν παιδομανής. Μηδ᾽ ἄσωτον αὐτὸς ὢν ἀνελεύθερος,

Ἀνδροκτόνου γυναικὸς ὁμογενὴς ἔφυς;

Τὸν Ἄδραστον ὁ Ἀλκμαίων. Τί οὖν ἐκεῖνος; οὐκ ἀλλότριον ἀλλὰ ἴδιον ἑαυτῷ προσφέρων ὄνειδος,

Σὺ δ᾽ αὐτόχειρ γε μητρὸς ἥ σ᾽ ἐγείνατο (2).

Non itaque adulterium objice alteri, ipſe inſano puerorum amore flagrans, neque prodigalitatem ſordidus ipſe. Alcmæon Adraſtum hoc maledicto inceſſit,

Tibi quæ maritum ſuum interfecit eſt ſoror.

Quid Adraſtus? Non alienum ſed proprium ei reponit opprobrium,

Matrem necaſti tu manu tua tuam.

[*C*] *What has been ſaid of his Tomb, deſerves to be conſidered.*] This Tomb was at *Pſophis* in *Arcadia*; it was but indifferently adorned; but it was ſurrounded with ſuch high Cypreſſes, that they covered with their Shade the Hill, which commanded the City. They were never cut, becauſe it was thought they were conſecrated to *Alcmæon*; and they were called *the Virgins* (3).

(1) Pauſan. lib. 8. pag. 255.

(2) Plut. de capienda ex inimic. utilit. pag. 88.

(3) Id. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 8. pag. 255.

ALCMÆON, born at *Crotona*, was a Diſciple of *Pythagoras*. It is thought he was the firſt who wrote upon *Phyſics* (*a*). He held very heterodox Opinions; as, that the Moon was eternal, and that the Soul always turned round like the Sun. This is what *Laërtius* ſays of him. *Cicero* repreſents this Philoſopher's Syſtem better; for how careleſs is it, among all the Planets, to which *Alcmæon* attributed an eternal Nature, to pitch upon That, whoſe Alterations are the moſt ſenſible, I mean the Moon? *Laërtius* ſhould therefore have ſaid, as *Cicero* did (*b*), that This Philoſopher aſcribed a Divine Nature to all the Celeſtial Bodies, and even to our Souls. But, as it is the Fate of falſe Syſtems to be incoherent, we find that our *Alcmæon* argued very inconſequentially, when he made ſo great a Diſtinction between the Knowledge of the Gods, and that of Men. He ſaid, that the Gods knew things *evidently*, and Men only *conjecturally*. This may be ſaid by thoſe who acknowledge One only True God; but they who take the Planets, and human Souls, for ſo many Gods, become ridi-

culous,

(*a*) Phavorin. in omnimoda Hiſtor. apud Laërt. l. 8. in Alcmæone. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 1. Theodoret. Serm. 1.

(*b*) Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 11. Laërt. ubi ſupra.

culous when they pretend, that Human and Divine Knowledge do eſſentially differ. It is not true that *Alcmæon* died of a pedicular Diſtemper [*A*].

[*A*] *It is not true that he died of a pedicular Diſtemper.*] *Antigonus Caryſtius* miſtook the one for the other, when he ſaid (1) that *Alcmæon* the Philoſopher, had this Diſeaſe; he took *Alcmæon*, the Diſciple of *Pythagoras*, for *Alcman* the Poet. *Charles Stephens* does not only ſay, that the Philoſopher *Alcmæon* died of a pedicular Diſeaſe, but alſo that he was the firſt, who died of it; for which he alledges *Ælian*. Both theſe Aſſertions are falſe; *Ælian* is not ſpeaking of our *Alcmæon*; but obſerves ſeveral things concerning *Alcman* the Poet: Having ſaid, that the Philoſopher *Pherecydes* died of the Diſtemper here in Queſtion (2), he would doubtleſs have given him the Precedence over *Alcmæon*, if he had mentioned the latter in relation to this kind of Diſeaſe. *Charles Stephens*'s Errors are likewiſe to be met with in Father *Leſcalopier* (3).

(1) Antig. Caryſt. Hiſtor. mirab. cap. 95. Meurſius *took notice of this Error in his Notes.*

(2) Ælian. Var. Hiſtor. lib. 4. c. 28.

(3) In Cicero de Nat. Deor. p. 41.

ALDRINGER, a famous General, in the Reign of the Emperor *Ferdinand* the Second, raiſed himſelf ſolely by his Merit. He was of the Country of *Luxemburgh*, and of very obſcure Birth [*A*]. In his younger Days he engaged in the Service of ſome Gentlemen, who went into *France*; he apply'd himſelf with them to Study, and made a great Progreſs in it. Being come into *Italy*, he was made Chancellor to Count *Madrucci*. He went afterwards to *Trent*, where he had an honourable Employment in the Chancery; but the Jealouſy of his Colleagues, and their Conduct, ſo greatly diſguſted him, that he left his Poſt, and, enrag'd at Fortune, determined to follow the Profeſſion of the firſt Man he ſhould meet with in his Way. He took the Way of *Inſpruck*, and, meeting a Soldier near the Bridge, who was returning into *Italy*, he entered himſelf a private Soldier. He became a Sergeant ſoon after; and, as he was Maſter of his Pen, he was employ'd to draw up all the Accounts of the Company, and to write the Anſwers, which the Captain was to give. He gave his Captain ſuch an Inſight into Affairs, as opened to him the Way to an higher Employment. This Promotion occaſioned the Lieutenant of the Company to be made Captain, and *Aldringer* to be advanced to the Lieutenant's Place. He defended himſelf ſo well, with but fifty Men, in a diſadvantageous Poſt, that he maintained it, notwithſtanding all the Attacks of the Enemy. From that time the Reputation of his Courage ſpread as far as that of his Capacity: Several Colonels offered him a Company; the Nephew of the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg* was one of them. On account of his Youth, he had occaſion for ſuch a Man in his Regiment; he gained him, and acquired ſo much Honour, by *Aldringer*'s good Counſels, that, to teſtify his Acknowledgment, he made him his Sergeant-Major. *Aldringer* was afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel, and then Colonel; and made it ſo fully appear, that he underſtood his Profeſſion thoroughly, that he was thought worthy to command in Chief, in the Expedition to *Mantua* (*a*). He joined the broken Remains of the Battle of *Leipſic* (*b*), very opportunely, with the Troops which he brought from *Italy*; and perhaps, if Count *Tilly* had delay'd giving Battle till the Arrival of theſe Troops, as he was adviſed to do, the Event would not have been ſo fatal to the Imperialiſts. *Aldringer* left *Tilly*, ſome time after, to retire into *Bohemia*, on account of the Jealouſies, which the ill State of Affairs ſowed between the *Imperialiſts* and the *Bavarians* (*c*); but this Diſ-union did not continue long. He was, in the Month of *March* 1632, with *Tilly* on the Banks of the *Leck*, to diſpute the Paſſage of that River with the King of *Sweden*. He was at that time Great Maſter of the Artillery (*d*). The Wound, he received in his Head, contributed much to the Advantage the Enemy had in paſſing the River; but did not hinder him from ſerving the ſame Campaign; he joined Count *Walleſtein* in *Bohemia*, notwithſtanding the Efforts of the Enemy to hinder this Junction: he was obliged to return in haſte into *Bavaria*, to oppoſe General *Horn*'s Troops. The Succeſs was various, on both ſides, in thoſe Parts, all the Remainder of that Year, and the beginning of the following. The moſt glorious Exploit of *Aldringer*, during that time, was his contributing, in 1633, to the raiſing the Siege of the City of *Conſtance*. He march'd afterwards to join the Duke of *Feria*, who had brought ſome *Spaniſh* Troops from *Italy*. It has been thought, that *Walleſtein* had given *Aldringer* private Orders to fruſtrate the Duke's Deſigns [*B*]; and

(*a*) *In* 1630. *Taken from* Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato *in the* 6th *Book of the Hiſtory of the Wars of* Germany.

(*b*) *In* 1631.

(*c*) Priorato lib. 2. *at the Year* 1631.

(*d*) Blanc's Hiſtory of Bavaria, Tom. 4. pag. 374.

[*A*] *Of very obſcure Birth.*] *Puffendorf* ſays, *Humili apud Lucemburgicos loco ortus*; and adds (1), that he was, at firſt, Footman to certain *French* Barons, and afterwards a Secretaty. According to another Hiſtorian, his Condition was not ſo mean; he makes him firſt ſtudy, then go to the War, then ſerve as a Secretary, and afterwards take up Arms again. "Luxemburgi tenui ſed honeſto loco editus, primam "ætatem literis dedit (2). —— *Born at* Luxemburg, "*of private, but reputable, Parents; he ſpent the* "*firſt part of his Life in Study.*" He makes him naturally abſtemious, *Ingenio prompto atque acri, & natura vini abſtinens* (3). which was a very bad, and very prejudicial, Quality, in a Soldier, in *Germany*.

[*B*] *It has been thought, that* Walleſtein *had given* Aldringer *private Orders to fruſtrate the Duke's Deſigns.*] The Hiſtorian of *Bavaria*, whom I have cited, ſays (4), "That the *Swedes* deſired only to come to a "general Engagement, though they were not ſo advantageouſly poſted, as the Catholics. The Duke "of *Feria, continues he*, ſeeing a fair Opportunity, "endeavoured in vain to oblige *Aldringer* to engage "with the Enemy, and could never obtain any thing "from a Man, who was under the Correction of "*Walleſtein*; and the *Swedes* retiring as it were in "Triumph, about the end of *October*, the ill Conduct "of *Aldringer*, which coſt the Catholic Union dear, "diſpleas'd the Duke of *Feria* ſo much, that he died "ſoon after of Grief" This Hiſtorian had ſaid, in the foregoing Page, that "*Aldringer*, being in the "Secret of *Walleſtein*, ſeldom acted without his "Orders; and that a Piece was publiſhed, at that "time, which imported, that, whilſt *Walleſtein* wrote "to the Emperor, that he was about to ſend *Al*-"*dringer* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, to get rid of him "entirely, he gave him private Orders to ſerve him

only

(1) Puffendorf, Rerum Suecicarum, lib. 6. pag. 157.

(2) Joh. Cluverus Epit. Hiſtor. lib. 11. Append.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Blanc's Hiſtory of Bavaria, Tom. 4. pag. 424.

and that this was the true Reaſon, and the ſecret Motive, why *Aldringer* would never conſent to give Battle. However we muſt not imagine, that he was privy to all the Plots of *Walleſtein*; he had only a certain Complaiſance for him, which, without ruining the Affairs of their common Maſter, very much advanced the private Intereſts of That General. The like Intelligences are practiſed in moſt Armies. He was kill'd in the Year 1634, at *Landſhut* a Town of *Bavaria*, and it was never known, whether it was by his own Soldiers, or by the *Swedes*. He had been created a Count *(e)*. He was a Man of excellent Qualities [*C*]; 'tis pity they were attended with an exceſſive Avarice and Cruelty [*D*]. Such is commonly the Fate of Man; He reſembles thoſe Lands, which promiſcuouſly produce both good and bad Herbs.

(*e*) Blanc, ibid. p. 435.

" only by acting upon the defenſive with the little " Reinforcement, which he commanded: Which *Aldringer* not having punctually performed, *Galas* " let him know from *Walleſtein*, that he would never " pardon him this Diſobedience."

[*C*] *He was a Man of excellent Qualities.*] He had a very quick and penetrating Wit, great Skill, a refined Underſtanding, and great Courage; he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Councils of War by the Force of his Reaſons, and by the Probability of his Conjectures; he was beſides a good Writer; he ſpoke ſeveral Languages, and had extracted the Quinteſſence of the Maxims of ſeveral Countries. The Politics of an *Italianiz'd Spaniard* did not out-do his; " Le da " lui praticate varie nationi, l' oſſervate diverſe maſ" ſime, è gli inveſtigati genii è inclinationi di molti " popoli lo reſero coſi accorto nelle attioni, che alcuno " Spagnuolo Italianato non lo avanzava (5)."

[*D*] *Attended with an exceſſive Avarice and Cruelty.*] He was void of Compaſſion, and exacted Contributions with the utmoſt Rigour; he had no regard to the neceſſities of the Soldiers, ſo that he was neither belov'd by the People, nor by the Army. He made a good hand of it at the ſacking of *Mantua*; and no Officer in the Imperial Army gained ſo large a ſhare of Plunder as he (6). It was believed that his own Soldiers ſlew him on the Bridge of *Landſhut*, the Opportunity of doing it without diſcovery being favourable. " Fu colpito è fatto cader morto, non ſenza ſuſ" petto ciò diveniſſe dalla parte de' ſuoi per vendetta " d' alcune ingiurie fatte lero, eſſendo egli per la ſua " ſeverita piu temuto che amato della militia (7)."

(5) Priorato's Hiſtory of the Wars of Germany, lib. 9. pag. 291. Edit. 4to

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Idem, pag. 289.

ALDROVANDUS *(a)* (ULYSSES) Profeſſor of Philoſophy, and Phyſic, at *Bologne*, his Native Country, was one of the moſt inquiſitive Men in the World with reſpect to Natural Hiſtory. His Cares, his Labours, and his Expences, on that account, are incredible. He travelled into the remoteſt Countries, without any other Motive, than that of enquiring into the Productions of Nature there. Minerals, Metals, Plants, and Animals, were the Objects of his Enquiries, and of his Curioſity: But he applied himſelf chiefly to the Knowledge of Birds; and, in order to have very exact and lively Repreſentations of them, he employed the moſt excellent Artiſts of *Europe* [*A*], for above thirty Years, at his own Expence. Theſe Expences ruin'd him; he found himſelf at laſt reduced to the utmoſt Neceſſity; and it is ſaid that he died in the Hoſpital of *Bologne*, loaded with Years *(b)*, and blind, in the Year 1605 *(c)*. A remarkable Example both of Publick Ingratitude [*B*], and Private Curioſity. A thouſand Reflexions might be made on this Adventure; but I leave them to others, and ſhall only content myſelf with this ſingle Obſervation, That Antiquity does not afford any Example of ſo extenſive and difficult an Undertaking, as This of our *Ulyſſes*, with regard to Natural Hiſtory. *Pliny*, I confeſs, treats of a greater Variety of Subjects, but he only glances upon them, and ſays but little of each; whereas *Aldrovandus* collected every thing he could meet with. His Compilation comprehends ſeveral large Volumes in *Folio (d)*; but the whole Honour of it muſt not be aſcribed to him [*C*]; for there came out a Work, after his Death, in which it is thought

(*a*) *Deſcended from the Counts of this Name, according to* Aubertus Miræus de Scriptor. ſæc. XVI. pag. 154.

(*b*) Bullart. Academy of Sciences, Tom. 2. pag. 110, *ſays he was* 80 *Years old.*

(*c*) *See* Mercklinus in Lindenio renovato, p. 1047.

(*d*) *See Remark* [*D*].

[*A*] *He employ'd the moſt excellent Artiſts of* Europe.] Let us ſee what *Aubertus Miræus* has collected on this Subject: " Pictori cuidam ea in arte " unico triginta & amplius annos annuum aureorum " ducentorum ſtipendium perſolvit. Delineatores ce" leberrimos, *Laurentium Benninum* Florentinum, " & *Cornelium Suintum* Francofurtenſem ære ſuo con" duxit, nec non *Jacobi Ligotti*, Sereniſſimi *Etruriæ* " ducis Pictoris eximii, opera in hac eadem provincia " Florentiæ quandoque uſus eſt, ut quo maximo fieri " poſſet artificio aves eæ deſignarentur. Tandem Sculp" torem habuit inſignem *Chriſtophorum Coriolanum* " Norimbergenſem, atque ejus nepotem, qui eas " adeo venuſte adoeque eleganter exſculpſerat, ut " non in ligno ſed in ære factæ videantur (1). " —— *He paid an annual Stipend of Two hundred* " *Crowns, for more than thirty Years, to a Painter,* " *the firſt of his Profeſſion. He hired the moſt cele*" *brated Drawers,* Laurentius Benninus *the* Floren" tine, *and* Cornelius Suintus *of* Francfort; *beſides* " *which he employ'd, at* Florence, *the moſt ſerene* " *Duke of* Tuſcany*'s famous Painter,* James Ligotius, " *to delineate his Birds, in the moſt exquiſite manner* " *poſſible. At laſt he engag'd, as his Sculptors,* Chri" ſtopher Coriolanus, *of* Nuremberg, *and his Ne*" *phew, who carved them ſo beautifully, and elegant*" *ly, that they ſeemed not expreſs'd in Wood, but in* " *Braſs.*"

(1) Aubert. Miræus de Scriptoribus ſæculi XVI. pag. 154.

[*B*] *A remarkable Example of publick Ingratitude.*] We muſt not imagine that no one helped this Naturaliſt in the Expences he was at. " The Senate of " *Bologne*, Cardinal *Montalto*, *Francis Maria*, Duke " of *Urbino*, and others of the chief Perſons of *Italy*, " contributed willingly to it, by ſupplying the Pain" ters, and Sculptors, which *Aldrovandus* had under " him, with Money for their Maintenance —— " After having dedicated twelve Books of his *Orni*" *thologia*, or Hiſtory of Birds, to Pope *Clement* VIII, " and ſome others to thoſe, who had favour'd his " Labours with their Benefactions, he bequeathed the " the reſt by Will to the magnificent Senate of *Bo*" *logne* - - - - - - - who aſſigned a conſiderable Sum of " Money to *John Cornelius Uterverius*, born at *Delft*, " in *Holland*, Profeſſor in that Univerſity, and ſince " to *Thomas Demſter*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, Profeſſor " likewiſe in the ſame Place, to collect, and cauſe " theſe Books to be printed, which ſo highly deſer" ved Publication (2)."

[*C*] *The whole Honour of it muſt not be aſcribed to him.*] It appears, by the Catalogue of Books of Phyſic, that moſt of the Volumes of *Aldrovandus*'s Natural Hiſtory, were printed after his Death (3). The *Ornithology* (4), in three Volumes in Folio, and the ſeven Books of Inſects, in one Volume of the ſame ſize, are the only Works, which he publiſhed. The Volume of Serpents, the three Volumes of Four-footed Beaſts, the Volume of Fiſhes, that of Bloodleſs Animals. The Hiſtory of Monſters, with the Supplement to that of Animals, in twelve Volumes, the Treatiſe of Metals, and the *Dendrology* (5), came out at different Times, under the Care of different Perſons, after the Death of *Aldrovandus*. The Volume of

(2) Bullart, *Academy of Sciences*, Tom. 2. p. 110.

(3) Mercklinus in Lindenio renovato, pag. 1047.

(4) *i. e.* The Hiſtory of Birds.

(5) *i. e.* The Hiſtory of Trees.

thought he had no other ſhare, than that of furniſhing the Plan [*D*], or at moſt ſome imperfect Memoirs. I explain this in the Remarks. It is impoſſible, I think, that he could write ſuch a prodigious Number of Books, as *Imperialis* gives us a Catalogue of (*e*); and it is not to be wondered at, that, being imploy'd in ſuch different Reſearches, which require the greateſt Attention, he often gave for Verſe, what was moſt contrary to the Rules of Poetry (*f*); and that he was not much ſkilled in *Greek* (*g*). A Poet, who was once Pope, has given us a pretty Elogium of him [*E*].

(*e*) In Muſæo Hiſtorico. *See alſo* Paul Freherus's Theatr. pag. 1317.

(*f*) Voſſius de Orig. Idolol. lib. 3. cap. 91. pag. 1227.

(*g*) Ezek. Spanhem. apud Konig. Bibl. p. 24.

of Serpents was prepared for the Preſs by *Bartholomew Ambroſin* (6). That of *Quadrupedes*, with cloven Feet, was firſt digeſted by *John Cornelius Uterverius*, and afterwards by *Thomas Demſter*, and publiſhed by *Mark Antony Bernia*, and by *Jerome Tamburin*. That of *Quadrupedes* with continuous Feet, and that of Fiſhes, was prepared for the Preſs by *Uterverius*, and publiſhed by *Tamburin*. That of *Quadrupedes*, with Fingers or Claws, was compiled by *Ambroſin*. The Hiſtory of Monſters, and the Supplement, were collected by the ſame, and publiſhed at the Expence of *Mark Antony Bernia*. The *Dendrology* is the Work of *Ovid Montalbanius* (7).

[*D*] *There came out a Work after his Death, in which he had no other ſhare, than that of furniſhing the Plan.*] The Abbot *Gallois* has ſo well repreſented the Judgment, which ought to be formed of this great Work, that I believe I ſhall oblige the Reader more by producing the Paſſage at length, than by abridging it. His own Words, then, are as follows. “ *Aldrovandus* is not the Author of this Book (8), nor of “ many others, which nevertheleſs were publiſhed in “ his Name. But it happened to the Collection of “ Natural Hiſtory, of which theſe Books make a part, “ as to thoſe great Rivers, which, during their whole “ Courſe, preſerve the Name they had at their Spring, “ though, at laſt, the greateſt part of the Waters “ they diſembogue into the Sea, does not belong to “ them, but to other Rivers, which mix with them. “ As the ſix firſt Volumes of this great Work were “ *Aldrovandus*'s, though the others were compoſed “ by different Authors, after his Death, they are yet “ aſcribed to him, either becauſe they are a Continu“ation of his Deſign, or compiled out of his Me“moirs, or wrote upon his Plan, or, perhaps, with “ a View of recommending the latter Volumes by “ ſo famous a Name (9).” They, who would be acquainted with the Plan of this Compilation, need only caſt their Eyes on the following Words; the Abbot *Gallois* goes on thus: “ There is ſcarce any “ thing written about theſe Trees but what has been “ collected in this Volume. For this Author is not “ ſatisfy'd with mentioning all that he had read in “ Naturaliſts concerning them; but he obſerves alſo, “ according to the Method of *Aldrovandus*, what the “ Hiſtorians have wrote, what the Legiſlators have “ ordained, and what the Poets have feigned, about “ them. Moreover he explains the different uſes “ theſe Trees are put to in Oeconomics, in Phyſic, “ in Architecture, and in other Arts. Laſtly, he “ takes Notice of the moral Sayings, Proverbs, De“vices, Enigmas, Hieroglyphics, and many other “ things, which relate to his Subject (10).” He did not forget to conſult Medals, and to borrow from them what might be uſeful to his Deſign (11).

[*E*] *A Poet, who was once a Pope, has given us a pretty Elogium of him.*] I mean *Mapheo Barberini*, or *Urban* VIII. He wrote the following Epigram, in Praiſe of *Aldrovandus*.

Multiplices rerum formas, quas pontus & æther
  Exhibet, & quidquid promit & abdit humus,
Mens haurit, ſpectant oculi, dum cuncta ſagaci,
  Aldrobande, tuus digerit arte liber.
Miratur proprios ſolers induſtria fœtus,
  Quamque tulit moli ſe negat eſſe parem.
Obſtupet ipſa ſimul rerum fœcunda creatrix,
  Et cupit eſſe ſuum quod videt Artis opus (12).

Curious retiring Nature to purſue,
And dreſs'd in all her Shapes the Pow'r to view;
Whether in Earth's dark Womb conceal'd they lie,
Or on her Surface catch th' admiring Eye;
Whether in Seas they ſwim, or cut the yielding Skie;
Thro' ev'ry Form thy tow'ring Genius ſoars,
And all the vaſt Variety explores.
Great Nature's Comment, hence, theſe Volumes roſe;
Here Art, ſagacious, all her Beauties ſhows.
See Induſtry, unconſcious of her Worth,
Start at her Offſpring, and deny the Birth;
While Nature fain would claim the better Part,
And call that Her's, which is the Work of Art.

Lorenzo Craſſo has given us another Epigram with this.

(6) *Profeſſor of Phyſic of the Univerſity of* Bononia, *and Keeper of the* Muſæum *and Phyſic Garden.*

(7) Ex Lindenio renovato, ubi ſupra.

(8) The Dendrology.

(9) Journ. of the Learned, *Nov.* 12. 1668. pag. 425.

(10) Ibid.

(11) *See* Spanhem. de Præſt. Numiſm. Differt. 3. ſub fin. pag. 252.

(12) Lorenzo Craſſo, *Elogies of Learned Men*, Tom. I. pag. 137, 138.

ALEANDER (Jerom) Archbiſhop of *Brindiſi*, and Cardinal, in the XVIth Century. *Alexander* VI. deſired to have him in his Service [*A*], and intended him for Secretary to his Son. He changed his Mind ſoon after, and ſent him to negotiate in *Hungary*; but *Aleander* happened to be ſick at that time, and could not go from *Venice*, where he reſided. *Lewis* XII. ſent for him into *France*, in the Year 1508 [*B*], to be Profeſſor of Philology in the Univerſity of *Paris*. *Aleander* was then Twenty eight

[*A*] Alexander VI. *deſired to have him in his Service*] I make uſe of this Expreſſion, becauſe the Author, whom I follow, reduces the thing to a meer Deſign, which was never put in Execution. According to his manner of Expreſſion, *Aleander* was never in the Service of that wicked Pope. If ſo, all thoſe Reflexions, which were made to the Diſadvantage of *Aleander*, occaſioned by the pernicious School of *Alexander* VI, and *Cæſar Borgia*, wherein it is pretended that he was educated, ſtand for nothing. I ſhall not pretend to decide the Matter, and leave the Reader the trouble of examining into the Affair. “ Aleandrum (qui paulo ante *Cancellarius Leodienſis*, “ & olim famoſiſſimi *Cæſaris* illius *Borgiæ* ſeu Ducis “ Valentini *Secretarius* fuerat, famulus hero dignus, “ & pars aulæ *Romanæ* ſub *Alexandro* VI.) peſſime “ deſcribit Lutherus (1). —— Luther *gives a very bad* “ *Character of* Aleander, *who a little before was* “ *Chancellor of* Leige, *and lately Secretary to the* “ *moſt infamous* Cæſar Borgia, *or Duke* Valentine; “ *a Servant worthy of his Maſter, and part of the* “ Roman *Court, in the Pontificat of* Alexander VI.”

[*B*] Lewis XII. *ſent for him into* France, *in the Year* 1508.] *Pallavicini* does not mention this Year; but, becauſe he ſays that *Aleander* was ſent for to *Paris* at Twenty eight Years of Age, I did not think myſelf miſtaken in ſetting it down; ſince, as a farther Confirmation, *Aleander*'s Epitaph imports, that he died in the Year 1542, aged Sixty two Years within thirteen Days (2). He was therefore born the thirteenth of *February*, 1480. For thoſe, who remark the Day of his Death, place it on the firſt Day of *February* (3). I am ſurprized at the Negligence of the Authors of his Epitaph. They ſay that he was born in *Carniola*, in the Year 1479, and that he died at *Rome* in the Year 1542, being within thirteen days of Sixty two Years. This cannot be true, except by ſuppoſing, that the Year 1479 did not begin in *January*, and that the Year 1542 begun with it: Now it is ridiculous to ſuppoſe, in an Epitaph, a manner of reckoning time ſo deſtitute of Uniformity. I wonder that the Author of the *Nomenclator* did not perceive this falſe Suppoſition. He ſays one thing, which is inconſiſtent with Father *Pallavicini*; to wit, That *Aleander* was but twenty Years of Age, when he taught in the Univerſity of *Paris*.

(1) Seckendorf de Lutheran. lib. I. pag. 125. n. 3.

(2) In Nomenclatore Cardinalium pag. 132. & in Iſtoria de' Poeti Greci *of* Lorenzo Craſſo, pag. 278.

(3) Oldoinus in Athenæo Romano, pag. 317.

eight Years of Age. He gained a great Reputation in this Poſt. He entered into the Service of *Everard de la Mark* Biſhop of *Liege*, who ſent him to *Rome*, to facilitate his Promotion to the Purple, againſt the Oppoſition of *France*. *Leo* X. found him a Perſon of ſuch good Parts, that he deſired to retain him, to which the Biſhop of *Liege* conſented. *Aleander* was at firſt placed with the Cardinal *de Medicis* (*a*), whom he ſerved as his Secretary: After the Death of *Acciaioli*, he was made Library-Keeper of the *Vatican*. But the great Stage, on which he began to appear with conſiderable Luſtre, was *Germany*, at the beginning of the Troubles, which the Reformation raiſed there. He was ſent thither as the Pope's Nuncio, in the Year 1519. He acted the Part of an Ambaſſador, and a Doctor, as occaſion required. He ſpoke three Hours ſucceſſively in the Diet of *Worms*, againſt the Doctrine of *Luther* (*b*), but it is ſaid, that he did not repreſent it faithfully (*c*). He could not prevent *Luther*'s being heard in that Diet, and refuſed to diſpute with him; but he obtained, that his Books ſhould be burnt, and his Perſon proſcribed; and drew up the Edict which proſcribed him (*d*). He was the Pope's Nuncio to *Francis* I, before *Pavia*, in the Year 1525, and fell into the Hands of certain Soldiers, who uſed him ill [*C*]. He was ſent a ſecond time into *Germany*, in the Year 1531, where he found a conſiderable Alteration of Affairs, if we may believe what we are told he wrote concerning them. The People, in the Proteſtant Towns, had in ſome meaſure laid aſide their Animoſity againſt the Pope; but, in the Catholic Towns, they ſhewed an extream Deſire to ſhake off the Yoke of *Rome*, and to enrich themſelves with the Treaſures of the Church, as the Proteſtants had done. The Occaſion of this Change in the latter was, that, having expected great Liberty, provided they could ſhake off the Pope's Yoke, they found, that the Yoke of the Secular Power, under which they lived, was not eaſier. *Aleander* did what he could to hinder *Charles* the Fifth from making a Truce with the Proteſtants of *Germany*, but without Succeſs. He was created Cardinal by *Paul* III, and deſigned to preſide in the Council with two other Legates (*e*). In the mean time he went into *Germany* as the Pope's Legate, in the Year 1538. This Commiſſion continued a Year. His Death happening on the firſt Day of *February* 1542, hindered him from preſiding in the Council. Some ſay that he died by the Ignorance of his Phyſician [*D*]. I have not mentioned all his Nunciatures. *Moreri* will ſupply what I have omitted. *Aleander* publiſhed ſome Books [*E*]. He underſtood *Hebrew* and *Greek* very well: and they attribute a ſurprizing Memory

[*C*] *He fell into the Hands of certain Soldiers, who uſed him ill.*] We meet with the following Account of this Matter in a Letter of *Jerom Negro* to *Mark Antony Michieli*, dated from *Rome* the twentieth of *March*, 1525 (4). "The Archbiſhop of *Capua* has related to us a ſtrange Adventure of *Aleander*, Biſhop Elect of *Brindiſi*, and *Nuncio* of his Holineſs to the Moſt Chriſtian King: namely that, in the greateſt Fury of the Fight, and in ſuch a Confuſion as you may imagine, the poor Gentleman running away, dreſt in a manner becoming his Epiſcopal Dignity, fell into the Hands of three *Spaniards*, who, not knowing him, forced him with Threats and Bravadoes to ſet himſelf at Three thouſand Ducats Ranſom, and led him in this Equipage through the Camp, turning ſometimes back, and commanding him ſharply to follow them. The frighted Biſhop ran after them like a Footman, without daring to diſcover that he was an Apoſtolical *Nuncio*. But, being come to *Pavia*, he was known by the Viceroy of *Naples*, and by the Marquis of *Peſcara*, who delivered him with great Trouble and Difficulty from this Priſon and Servitude: Nevertheleſs, to acquit himſelf of his Oath, he was obliged to give each of the aboveſaid Soldiers Two hundred Ducats, to ſatisfy them. I underſtand he is going to *Venice*; he will tell you the Story of his Misfortunes himſelf.

[*D*] *Some ſay that he died by the Ignorance of his Phyſician* (5).] This does not well agree with his Epitaph, which teſtifies, that a languiſhing Diſeaſe contracted by the Toils of his Embaſſies, killed him; *Mox diverſis legationibus pro ſummis Pontificibus ad omnes fere Chriſtianos Principes fideliter & diligenter perfuncto, & IDEO IN TABEM DELAPSO.* Perhaps a Paſſage of *Paul Jovius*, ill underſtood at firſt, and afterwards metamorphos'd, from hand to hand, into different Senſes, occaſioned what has been ſaid of the Ignorance of *Aleander*'s Phyſician. However it be, we learn from *Paul Jovius*, that *Aleander* ruined his Health by taking too much care of it, and that he was a very bad Phyſician to himſelf, in making uſe of too many unneceſſary Remedies. *Lætatus eſt ea purpura per annos quinque* (6), *perventurus haud dubie ad exactam ætatem, niſi nimia tuendæ valetudinis ſolicitudine intempeſtivis medicamentis, ſibi hercle inſanus & infelix medicus, viſcera corrupiſſet* (7).

[*E*] Aleander *publiſhed ſome Books.*] Mr *de la Rochepozai* (8) gives me new Reaſon to complain of his Careleſſneſs. He ſays, that *Aleander*, though very capable of treating on the moſt ſublime Subjects, condeſcended to write on Human Learning, and to publiſh ſome ſmall Pieces, the Subject whereof was very inconſiderable; *De re - - - literaria licet inferiori bene mereri non dedignatus eſt, exilis argumenti operulis editis, quæ tamen autoris nomen & famam nec elevant neque imminutum eunt* (9). Every one, who reads this, will expect to find nothing but *Opuſcula* in the Catalogue of *Aleander*'s Works, which follows theſe Words of the *Nomenclator*. Yet the next Sentence run thus. "Scripſit vaſtum opus adverſus ſingulos diſciplinarum profeſſores, in quos cenſuram acerbius & felicem exercuit calamum; Tabulas in Grammaticam Græcam, ſeu potius Grammaticam ad literas Græcas; Dialogos duos feſtiviſſimos, quorum alter Cicero relegatus inſcribitur, alter vero Cicero revocatus; Carmina quædam illuſtrium poetarum Italorum carminibus indita; Epiſtolas multas, quarum quatuor habes inter epiſtolas Federici Nauſeæ, & alias in quibus de rebus Eccleſiaſticis agit; Annotationes item quaſdam in Bibliotheca Cardinalis Sirleti. —— *He wrote a very large Work againſt Profeſſors of all kinds: whom he cenſured with great Bitterneſs, and upon whom he exerciſed his happy Talent of Writing. He wrote likewiſe Tables of the* Greek *Grammar, or rather a Grammar itſelf of the* Greek *Tongue: Two very diverting Dialogues, one inſcribed* Cicero baniſh'd, *the other* Cicero recall'd (10): *The Works of ſome famous* Italian *Poets inſerted among his own Poetical Compoſitions: Several Epiſtles; four of which you have among the Epiſtles of* Frederic Nauſeas; *and others, in which he treats of Eccleſiaſtical Matters: Laſtly, Some Annotations on the* Bibliotheca *of Cardinal* Sirlet." If the Reader is offended at finding a large and immenſe Work, where he expected but a ſmall Diſſertation; his Diſguſt encreaſes, when he finds in a Catalogue of an Author's Works no Mark of Diſtinction between what is printed, and

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(*a*) *Who was Pope* Clement VII.

(*b*) *See* Palavicini's Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*. *It was in the Year* 1521.

(*c*) *See* Seckendorf's Hiſtory of Lutheraniſm lib. 1. pag. 149.

(*d*) Palavic. lib. 1. cap. 28. n. 5.

(*e*) *The Cardinals* Campegius *and* Simonetta.

(4) Letters of Princes, *tranſlated by* Belleforet, *fol.* 96.

(5) *See* The Judgment of the Learned on the Poets, *Tom.* 3. *n.* 1273. *pag.* 194.

(6) *It ſhould be concluded from hence, that he was made a Cardinal in* 1537.

(7) Paulus Jovius Elog. cap. 98. p. 231.

(8) *Biſhop of* Poictiers, *who wrote the* Nomenclator Cardinalium.

(9) Nomenclator Cardinal. p. 131. Edit. 1614.

(10) *I have ſhewn this to be falſe in the Article* LANDO (HORTENSIO).

Memory to him [*F*]. I do not believe there was any reaſon to ſay, that the *Hebrew* was his Mother-Tongue, or, to expreſs myſelf more plainly, that he was born a *Jew* [*G*]. There was more reaſon to accuſe him of being paſſionate (*f*). He wrote his own

and what is not. This Defect reigns throughout the *Nomenclator*, the *Athenæum* of *Oldoini*, and ſeveral other Bibliographers. *Aleander*'s great Work, wherein he cenſured all ſorts of Profeſſors, was never printed. It is ſaid, that he was finiſhing it, when he died. *Mentre andava compiendo una vaſtiſſima Opera contra i Profeſſori di tutte le Scienze, fu aſſalito in Roma dalla morte* (11). This is what *Moreri* meant by theſe Words, *He died the firſt of* February 1542, *when he was about publiſhing a conſiderable Work.* Moſt Writers have copied *Paul Jovius* in this Point. “ Quum vaſtum opus vaſta illa memoria adverſus “ ſingulos diſciplinarum profeſſores agitaret, Romæ “ interiit (12). —— *He was preparing a prodigious* “ *Work, by the help of that prodigious Memory of* “ *His, againſt Profeſſors of all kinds, when Death* “ *ſeized him at* Rome.” The Continuators of *Geſner* and *Konig* were acquainted only with the Tables of the *Greek Grammar*, among *Aleander*'s Works. *Draudius* did not know ſo much. The Catalogue of *Oxford* contains but a ſmall Poem of this Author's.

[*F*] *Attribute a ſurprizing Memory to him.*] I look upon *Paul Jovius*'s Account of this Matter as a meer Poetical Flight, tho' he gave it in Proſe; which is, that *Aleander* remembred every thing that he read, and could repeat it a long time after, without miſtaking Things, or Words. “ Detur hoc incomparabili “ inuſitatæ memoriæ felicitati, quæ in Hieronymo “ Aleandro ſupra cujuſque vel antiqui ſeculi captum “ admiranter excelluit, ut ejus ex vero depicta facies “ vel in pudenda ingenii ſterilitate inter fœcundiſſimas imagines conſpiciatur, quando nihil eum cuncta volumina cupide perlegentem vel rerum vel “ verborum omnino ſubterfugerit, quin ſingula memoriter vel à multis annis longo ſepulta ſilentio “ recitaret (13). ——*We muſt aſcribe this to that uncommon Happineſs of Memory, which was remarkable in* Jerom Aleander, *beyond the Comprehenſion* “ *even of ancient Times; inſomuch that a true Picture* “ *of this Author, tho' of a ſhameful barrenneſs of* “ *Genius, might claim a Place among the Repreſentations of the moſt fertile Wits; ſince, notwithſtanding his univerſal Knowledge of Books, which he* “ *read over with great Eagerneſs, nothing, either as* “ *to the Matter or the Expreſſion, eſcaped his Memory; but he could repeat every Particular by Heart,* “ *though many Years after he firſt read them.*” It is hard to believe this without Experience: but, as a Memory does not ceaſe to be very good, though it does not come up to the Degree, which *Paul Jovius* mentions, I do not queſtion the perfect Knowledge of divers Languages, which *Aleander*'s Epitaph attributes to him; *Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Latinæ, aliquotque aliarum linguarum exoticarum ita exacte docto, ut eas recte & apte loqueretur & ſcriberet.* —— *So perfectly skilled in the* Hebrew, Greek, Latin, *and other foreign Tongues, that he could both ſpeak and write them juſtly and properly.*

[G] *I do not believe there was any Reaſon to ſay ----- That he was born a* Jew.] *Luther* and his Diſciples gave it out as a certain Truth, during *Aleander*'s firſt Nunciature in *Germany*; and we find the following Account of it in *Luther*'s Works (14). “ Venit his diebus Hieronymus Aleander, vir ſua opinione longe maximus, non ſolum propter linguas “ quas eximie callet, ſiquidem Ebræa illi vernacula “ eſt, Græca à puero illi coaluit, Latinam autem “ didicit diutina profeſſione, ſed etiam mirabilis ſuis “ videtur ob antiquitatem generis. Nam Judæus natus eſt, quæ gens immodicè gloriatur de Abraham “ vetuſtiſſimo ſe originem ducere. An vero baptiſatus “ ſit neſcitur. Certum eſt eum non eſſe Phrariſæum, “ quia non credit reſurrectionem mortuorum, quoniam “ vivit perinde atque cum corpore ſit totus periturus, “ adeo nullum à ſe pravum affectum abſtinens. Uſque ad inſaniam iracundus eſt, quavis occaſione “ furens. Impotentis arrogantiæ, avaritiæ inexplebilis, nefandæ libidinis & immodicæ, ſummum “ gloriæ mancipium, quamquam mollior quam qui “ poſſit elaborato ſtylo gloriam parare, & pejor quam “ qui vel conetur in argumento honeſto. At ne neſciamus, ceſſit feliciſſime ſimulata defectio ad Chriſtianos. —— *Here is juſt arrived* Jerom Aleander, “ *in his own Opinion the moſt famous of Men, not* “ *only on account of the Languages he perfectly underſtands; for* Hebrew *is his Mother-Tongue,* Greek “ *grew familiar to him from his Youth, and* Latin “ *he attained by long exerciſe; but admired likewiſe* “ *by his own Country-men for the Antiquity of his* “ *Race. For he was a* Jew *by birth; a People which* “ *boaſts extravagantly of their Deſcent from* Abraham “ *who lived ſo many Ages ago. Whether he was* “ *ever baptized, is unknown. But it is certain that* “ *he is not a Phariſee, becauſe he does not believe the* “ *Reſurrection of the dead; ſince he lives, as if he* “ *were to periſh entirely with the Body, and denies* “ *himſelf no Gratification of his depraved Affections.* “ *He is choleric even to Madneſs, falling into a* “ *Paſſion upon every Occaſion; of outrageous Arrogance, unſatiable Avarice, ſhameful and immoderate* “ *Luſt; an abandoned Slave to Fame, though too indolent to acquire it by an elaborate Style* (15), “ *and too diſhoneſt even to attempt it by juſt and* “ *proper Reaſoning. As for his pretended Converſion* “ *to Chriſtianity, it has turned out greatly to his* “ *Advantage.*” This Picture repreſents *Aleander* to us not only as a *Jew*, who pretended to become a Convert to Chriſtianity, and whoſe Baptiſm was doubtful, but alſo as one, who did not believe the Immortality of the Soul, and who plunged himſelf into the moſt infamous Pleaſures; as a Man furiouſly paſſionate, covetous, and proud to the higheſt Degree. He anſwered the Accuſation of being born a *Jew*, and declared before the Diet of *Worms*, that his Anceſtors had the Dignity of Marquis in *Iſtria*, and that he had given good Proofs of his Noble and Illuſtrious Extraction, when he was made Canon of *Liege*. He appealed to ſeveral Perſons, who heard him, and knew his Family. Mr *Seckendorf* informs us of this Particular. He found it in the Archives of the Duke of *Weimar*, where the Acts of the Diet of *Worms* are kept, among other Manuſcripts of that time. *Aleander*'s long Speech is abbreviated in thoſe Acts, and it is from thence that this illuſtrious *Lutheran* furniſhed us with the above-mentioned Account of *Aleander*'s Family, which he tranſlated from his own Words into *Latin* (16). “ *Tandem* “ *queſtus eſt à Luthero ſpargi quaſi Aleander gente* “ *Judæus eſſet:* Deum immortalem! *dixit*, multi hic “ ſunt boni viri quibus notus ſum ego & familia mea, “ & aſſerere ego vere poſſum, majores meos Marchiones in Iſtria fuiſſe (17); quod vero parentes mei “ ad inopiam redacti ſunt, fato tribui debet. Natales “ meos ita legitimavi, ut in Canonicum Leodienſem “ receptus ſim, quod factum non foret, niſi ortus “ eſſem ex familia illuſtri vel ſpectabili.” What induces me to believe, that this Reproach of being born a *Jew* was unjuſt, is no trifling Reaſon. *Hulric Hutten* publiſhed an Invective againſt *Aleander*, wherein he was ſo angry, that he threatened to kill him: “ Omnem advertam diligentiam, omne adhibebo ſtudium, omnia tentabo conaborque, ut qui “ furore, amentia, & iniquitate gravis acceſſiſti, vita “ inanis hinc efferaris. Neque enim exſpectandum “ adhuc tibi eſt, ut ſtilos hic doctorum virorum ſentias, ſed futurum crede, ut fortium gladiis confodiare (18). —— *I will watch every Opportunity,* “ *I will make it my whole Buſineſs, I will try every* “ *Art and Means, that one ſo full of Rage, Madneſs, and Iniquity, may not depart with his Life.* “ *For you muſt not expect, that the Learned here will* “ *expreſs their Reſentments againſt you with their* “ *Pens; depend upon it, the Swords of the Brave* “ *will revenge their Quarrel on you.*” He was not ignorant that our *Nuncio* had refuted the Reproach of Judaiſm before the Diet, and had boaſted that he deſcended from a moſt illuſtrious Family; but he is ſo far from engaging to maintain this Charge, that he denies it was ever brought againſt him. I am not concerned, whether he had reaſon to deny it, or not; the Proof I draw from his Silence is the ſame; for if he had believed there was any Ground for this Accuſation, he would, at leaſt, have maintained, that *Aleander* denied his Jewiſh Extraction falſly. But, on the contrary, does he not affirm, that the Counts, to whom he ſaid he was related, did not acknowledge

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(*f*) *See the end of the Remark* [G].

(11) Lor. Craſſo, Iſtor. de Poeti Greci, pag. 277.

(12) Jovius in Elog. cap. 98. pag. 231.

(13) Id. ib. pag. 230.

(14) Tom. 1. fol. 496. apud Seckendorf. de Luther. lib. 1. pag. 125. n. 4.

(15) Paul Jovius *ſays*, That *Aleander* learn'd only to ſpeak well, and that, when he attempted to write, he perceiv'd his weak ſide too late.

(16) Secken. de Lutheran. pag. 149. lit. k.

(17) *It is ſaid in his Epitaph, that he deſcended* è Comitibus Landri, in Carnia Petræpiloſæ in Hiſtria.

(18) Hutten in Aleandrum.

own Epitaph, which ſhews that he was not diſſatisfied with his Condition, as ſome have charged him with being [*H*]. *Eraſmus* mentions him frequently in his Letters, and almoſt always to his Diſadvantage [*I*]. He complains, among other things, of the

acknowledge him for their Kinſman? “ Nihil intellexiſti proxima auditione, cum multis quidem excuſares Judaicam originem, nemo objiceret. Nam “ eſſe malum, quacunque etiam gente editum, ſciebant omnes. Itaque nemo magnopere putabat generis pravitatem tibi objiciendam: adverſum mores “ fremebant infenſe multi. Et poterat ſentiri jam “ manifeſte quæ eſſet animorum commotio: tu tamen, quaſi illic potiſſimum expurgatione opus eſſet, “ multis tractabas locum eum ad faſtidium uſque audientium: ſed tanta cum fiducia, ut plane certus “ tibi eſſe videreris neminem intelligere, quam impudenter ibi mentireris omnia. Illo enim poſt “ multa erupiſti, ut ad nobiliſſ. Comitum, qui te “ penitus ignorant, & quos tu haud ſatis noſti, genus, originem tuam referres (19). —— *At the next* “ *Hearing, you behaved quite like a Fool, when you* “ *took ſo much Pains to refute, what no one objected* “ *to you, the Charge of having been born of Jewiſh* “ *Parents. Every one knew you to be a Raſcal, whatever was your Extraction. Therefore no one thought* “ *it of much Importance to object to you the Vileneſs* “ *of your Origin; whereas many inveighed ſtrongly* “ *againſt your Morals. The Diſpoſition of the Audience towards you was very evident; yet, as if* “ *the Refutation of this Charge was of the higheſt* “ *Conſequence, you dwelt upon it with ſuch tireſome* “ *Prolixity, that the Hearers were quite ſick of the* “ *Subject; and That, with ſuch an Air of Aſſurance,* “ *as if you were convinced, that no one underſtood,* “ *how impudently falſe every thing you ſaid was. For,* “ *at laſt, you had the Confidence to refer your Birth and* “ *Origin to a Noble Family of Counts, who know* “ *nothing of you, and whom you yourſelf know very* “ *little of.*” Now, as the leaſt Story, which is handed about, becomes at laſt conſiderable; I would not deny, that the Slander, which was ſpread againſt this *Nuncio*, was grounded upon what *Paul Jovius* ſays, that the *Jews* admired *Aleander*'s Skill in the *Hebrew* Tongue, and that they were much inclined to believe that he was of their Nation: “ Latinæ “ Græcæque literæ quum ſæpe alacriter jactabundo “ pro vernaculis haberentur, Hebraicas admirantibus “ Judæis & ſuæ ſtirpis eum facile credentibus, ſolertiſſime didicit (20).” They, who ſhall have a mind to criticize upon me, are deſired to obſerve, that I do not pretend, that *Paul Jovius*'s Book occaſioned this Calumny; the Notion, I think, might have been broached long before *Paul Jovius* took any Notice of it.

“ What *Luther* ſays, that *Aleander* was very choleric, is very true: We may believe *Joſſe Gentin*, “ this Cardinal's Secretary, in a Letter to *Nauſea* “ Biſhop of *Vienna* *. He tells him, with the greateſt Simplicity, after having informed him of the “ Death of *Aleander*, that he knows not where to “ go, after the Death of his Maſter, for fear of finding one more paſſionate ſtill. Hactenus, *ſays he*, “ alium Mecenatem Romæ non quæſivi, eo quod immodeſtia & furor hujus mei defuncti inculcat mihi “ timorem ne faciam Glauci cum Diomede permutationem. —— *Hitherto I have not looked out for* “ *another* Mecenas *at* Rome; *for the intemperate* “ *Diſpoſition of my deceaſed Patron makes me afraid* “ *of making* Glaucus's *Exchange with* Diomedes.” See the Margin (21).

[*H*] *He wrote his own Epitaph, which ſhews that he was not diſſatisfied with his Condition, as ſome have charged him with being.*] It conſiſts of two *Greek* Verſes, importing, that he died willingly; ſince he ſhould thereby avoid being a Witneſs of many things, the Sight of which was more inſufferable than Death.

Κάτθανον οὐκ ἀέκων, ὅτι παύσομαι ὧν ἐπιμάρτυς
Πολλῶν, ὧνπερ ἰδεῖν ἄλγιον ἦν θανάτου.

This would be the Diſpoſition of all Men, if Reflexion, Reaſon, and Senſe were capable of ſurmounting thoſe Mechanical Impreſſions, which make us in love with Life. But, ſetting aſide this profound Morality, I ſay it is very ſtrange, that *Paul Jovius* ſhould produce ſuch an expreſs Evidence againſt himſelf, as this Epitaph. He had ſaid, that *Aleander*, angry with his Fate, which took him off one Year before his Climacteric, died complaining of this Anticipation: *Interiit fato ſuo vehementer indignatus, quum ſe præreptum anno uno ante climactericum inter anxia ſupremaque ſuſpiria quereretur* (22): and, immediately after, he adds, that *Aleander* ordered, by his Will, that a *Greek* Diſtich of his own Compoſition, ſhould be inſerted in his Epitaph, containing this Thought:

Exceſſi è vitæ ærumnis faciliſque lubenſque,
Ne pejora ipſa morte dehinc videam.

Tranquil of Heart, and with a willing Mind,
The World, and all it's Miſeries, I reſign'd;
Pleas'd to awake from Life's uneaſy Dream,
Nor longer ſee what worſe than Death I deem.

Lorenzo Craſſo gives nearly the ſame Account of *Aleander*'s Indignation at his Fate: “ Fu aſſalito in “ Roma dalla Morte, contro la quale moſtroſſi anche “ negli ultimi ſoſpiri ſdegnato (23). —— *He was* “ *ſeized with Death at* Rome, *at which he ex-* “ *preſſed great Indignation, even with his laſt Breath.*” He foretels, ſays *Paul Jovius*, new Misfortunes ready to fall on our Heads, *novas clades imminere nobis ominatur*; but nothing is more falſe than this: *Aleander* conſidered the time to come only accidentally; all his Thoughts were employ'd on the paſt; he only declared his Belief, that the World would not mend. So that here is a ſecond Error of *Paul Jovius*. As to the firſt, he cannot be juſtified, without being moreover charged with monſtrous Calumny, in repreſenting *Aleander* as a Cheat upon his Death-bed, who ordered, by his Will, that Poſterity ſhould be made to believe a notorious Falſhood, to wit, that he died in great Diſcontent of Mind. *Lorenzo Craſſo* ſays, that *Scraderus* inſerted the Sepulchral Inſcription of *Aleander* in his Monuments of *Italy*, with the *Latin* Tranſlation of the two *Greek* Verſes (24); This Tranſlation is the ſame which *Paul Jovius* mentions; and is about as good as this; “ Non invitus obii, quia quieſco; teſtis multorum quæ “ videre pejus eſt morte (25). —— *I did not die* “ *unwillingly, becauſe I am at Reſt; having been Wit-* “ *neſs of many things, which to ſee is worſe than* “ *Death.*” This is the Conſequence of making uſe of a Language but little known; all the Force and Grace of the *Greek* Diſtich have eſcaped the Tranſlators.

Let me inſert in this Place a Remark, which was communicated to me by a learned Perſon: Joſſe Gentin *ſays, in his Letter to* Nauſea, *that* Aleander, *having diſpoſed his Affairs three Days before he died,* ſervitoribus & aliis præſentibus pronunciavit ſuum quod fieri cupiebat epitaphium, —— *declared to his Servants and others what kind of Epitaph he deſired to have,* quod hoc diſticho clauſit; κάτθανον, &c. *which he concluded with this Diſtich,* κάτθανον &c. *This ſhews*, adds he, *that the Epitaph did not conſiſt altogether of two Verſes, but that they were only the Concluſion of the Epitaph.* I am not of this Opinion. I believe *Gentin* meant that his Maſter comprehended in this Diſtich all the Inſcription he intended for his Tomb.

[*I*] Eraſmus *mentions him frequently in his Letters, and almoſt always to his Diſadvantage.*] *Aleander*, being naturally of a warm Temper, and being moreover intereſted in the Ruin of Lutheraniſm, by his Quality of *Nuncio*, ſent into *Germany* to ſtifle that Party in it's Birth, could not ſuffer the Moderation of *Eraſmus*. This was not all; *Eraſmus*'s Enemies did not ceaſe to defame him, as a Favourer of Lutheraniſm: Thus the reciprocal Friendſhip and Eſteem, which was between him and the *Nuncio*, ſuffered a great Diminution upon *Aleander*'s firſt coming into *Germany*. “ Hieronymum Aleandrum Nun- “ cium apoſtolicum, hominem apprime doctum, mi- “ hique vetere ac jucundiſſima neceſſitudine conjunctum, miris mendaciis in me conati ſunt irritare “ —— Quid multis? perſuaſerant homini, ut acri “ ingenio prædito, ita credulo, me parum amice de “ ipſo & ſentire & loqui. Nec defuerunt qui coaleſ-

“ centem

(19) Id. ib.

(20) Jovius Elog. cap. 98. p. 231.

* Lib. 8. Epiſt. ad Nauſeam à variis Scriptarum, p. 353.

(21) *This Supplement comes from Mr* de la Monnoie.

(22) Jovius, ubi ſupra.

(23) Lor. Craſſo. Hiſt. di Poet. Gr. pag. 278.

(24) Id. ib. pag. 278.

(25) Chytræus, l. 17. fol. 458. *relates it*, apud Seckendorf, lib. 1. pag. 128. lit. b.

the ill Offices he had done him with the Biſhop of *Liege*, with whom *Aleander* had

“ centem amicitiam novis ſubinde delationibus diſcinderent (26). ——*They endeavoured by ſurprizing Falſhood to exaſperate againſt me* Jerom Aleander, *a very learned Perſon, and my old and intimate Friend.* —— *In ſhort, he was ſo credulous, though a Man of acute Parts, as to be perſuaded by them, that I thought and ſpoke of him not like a Friend. Nor were there wanting ſome, who contrived, by new Calumnies, to prevent the Renewal of our Friendſhip.*” This is to ſpeak but ſlightly of *Aleander*'s ill Diſpoſitions, if it be true, as it is highly probable, that it is He, who is denoted elſwhere (27), by the Title of *Bull-Carrier*, διπλωματοφόρος; for That *Bull-Carrier* did his utmoſt Endeavours to ruin *Eraſmus*; and it was well for the latter, that the Emperor did not comply with every thing he deſired of him; “ Me quo minus oppreſſerit, per illum non ſtetit: perierat Eraſmus, ſi pronas aures Principum reperiſſet. —— *If I was not ruined, no Thanks to him:* Eraſmus *had been loſt, if the Great had lent a favourable Ear to him.*” A Letter, which *Eraſmus* had written to *Luther*, and which the Friends of the latter had made public, exaſperated *Aleander* to that Degree, that he endeavoured to ruin his ancient Friend, both with the Pope, and with the Biſhop of *Liege*. “ Hæc (Epiſtola) dedit anſam Aleandro, jampridem iniquo in me animo, ut me perditum iret, conatus Leonis animum irritare in me, ſimul Leodienſis Epiſcopi, qui prius pene deperibat, ut ita loquar, Eraſmum. Nam ipſe Leodienſis oſtendit mihi literas, quas ad eum à Roma ſcripſerat Aleander, ſatis odioſe me attingentes (28). —— *His Letter induced* Aleander, *already prepoſſeſſed againſt me, to contrive my Ruin, which he endeavoured to do, by exaſperating Pope* Leo *againſt me; as alſo the Biſhop of* Leige, *who before was doatingly fond, if I may uſe the Expreſſion, of* Eraſmus. *For the Biſhop himſelf ſhewed me the Letters, which* Aleander *wrote to him from* Rome, *in which he ſufficiently diſcovered his Spleen againſt me.*” He affected to ſay that *Eraſmus*'s Works were the Source of all the Heretical Doctrines, then maintained. “ Jam audio multis perſuaſum ex meis ſcriptis extitiſſe totam hanc Eccleſiæ procellam. Cujus vaniſſimi rumoris præcipuus autor fuit *Hieronymus Aleander*, homo, ut nihil aliud dicam, non ſuperſtitioſe verax (29). —— *I am now informed, that it is a general Perſuaſion, that all this Storm, which has fallen upon the Church, was raiſed by my Writings. The chief Author of this groundleſs Report was* Jerom Aleander, *a Perſon, to ſay no more of him, not over ſcrupulous with regard to Truth.*” He not only found fault with *Eraſmus*'s Religion, but reflected alſo upon that great Man's Learning, and his Works. This appears by a Letter, which *Eraſmus* wrote to him in the Year 1524 (30), in which he opens his Heart to him. He looked upon him as ſo enraged an Enemy, that he took him for one of the chief Promoters of the Cenſures, which the *Sorbonne* had publiſhed againſt his Books, and for the true Author of the Invective, which paſſed under the Name of *Julius Cæſar Scaliger*. “ Non tamen erant proditeræ Cenſuræ, niſi quidam oleum camino addidiſſent. Lutetiæ fuit *Eccius*, &, ut ſuſpicor, *Aleander*; quem ſuſpicor hac de cauſa præcipue veniſſe, ut Eraſmo moliatur exitium. *Julii Scaligeri* libellum tam ſcio illius eſſe, quam ſcio me vivere. Id tamen diſſimulandum eſt, ne magis inſaniat prodito fuco (31). —— *However theſe Cenſures would never have appeared, had not a certain Perſon thrown Oil upon the Fire. It is well known, that* Eccius *was at* Paris, *and, as I ſuſpect,* Aleander; *whoſe principal Deſign in coming thither, I ſuſpect to have been, a Plot againſt* Eraſmus. *I am as ſure, that the Book of* Julius Scaliger *is His, as that I am now alive. But this muſt be diſſembled, leaſt he ſhould grow more furious, upon pulling off the Maſk.*” I have ſhewn elſewhere (32), that *Eraſmus* was miſtaken in relation to this laſt Fact; *Scaliger*'s Oration was the Work of Him, whoſe Name it bears; and, to ſay, that, in the Year 1531, *Aleander* went to *Paris*, chiefly to contrive *Eraſmus*'s Ruin, is to think one's ſelf too conſiderable a Man, and to be ignorant of the Nature of the Charge, which the Pope gave this Nuncio. We ſhall ſee in another Place (33), whether *Eraſmus* had reaſon to attribute a Book, which bore the Name of *Dolet*, to *Aleander*. He meant this Nuncio in the twenty fourth Letter of the twenty fifth Book. *Aleander*'s Paſſion muſt therefore have been extream; for he, whom *Eraſmus* complains of, had handed about a Paper (34) at the Court of *Rome*, wherein he told the Pope, that he wondered that, ſo many thouſands of Men having periſhed in *Germany*, in the War of the Peaſants, *Eraſmus*, the Author of this furious Tumult, was yet living. We cannot be ignorant, who the Author is, whom *Eraſmus* denotes, ſince we find theſe Words in another Letter: “ In me impudentiſſimis argumentis cauſam agit (*Albertus Pius*) & agit hoſtiliter, docere laborans, me fuiſſe occaſionem, cauſam, autorem & principem, totius hujus negotii. Quod idem agit *Aleander* in ſuo *Racha*, demirans me adhuc ſpirare, quum in *Germania* tot hominum millia ſint trucidata (35). —— Albertus Pius *carries on the Cauſe againſt me with moſt impudent Arguments, and declares open War againſt me; taking a great deal of Pains to ſhew, that I was the Occaſion, the Cauſe, the Author, and Ringleader of this whole Affair.* Aleander *does the ſame, in his* Racha, *in which he expreſſes his Wonder, that I am yet alive, after the Slaughter of ſo many thouſand Men in* Germany.” In another Place (36) he denotes him by the Name of VERPUS, which ſhews that he believed ſtill, that *Aleander* was born a Jew. If *Aleander* wrote this Book, he held a very ſtrict Correſpondence with *Eraſmus*, and had the ſame Table, the ſame Chamber, and the ſame Bed with him; and had received beſides good Offices from him; for thus *Eraſmus* expreſſes himſelf: “ Cum altero fuit mihi olim non tectum modo ac menſa, verum etiam cubiculum & lectus communis: adeoque à me nulla læſus eſt injuria, ut, quum illi res eſſent anguſtiores, commendatricibus literis meis nonnihil etiam adjutus ſit, nec uſquam illius in ſcriptis meis niſi honorifica mentio (37). —— *The other ſhared not only my Houſe and my Table, but even my Bed* (38); *and ſo far was He from receiving an Injury from me, that, when his Circumſtances were a little embaraſſed, I aſſiſted him in ſome meaſure by Letters of Recommendation; nor did I ever mention him in my Writings but with Reſpect.*” We muſt neceſſarily underſtand this of *Aleander*, when we remember another Letter (39), wherein we find theſe Words: “ Ut video, tibi propemodum perſuaſit (*Aleander*); at ego, qui è domeſtico convictu ac lectuli quoque contubernio totum intus & in cute novi, tam ſcio eſſe ovum illius, quàm ſcio me vivere. —— *I find,* Aleander *has perſuaded you of the contrary; but I, who, from my Intimacy with him, ſee into his very Thoughts, am as certain This Work* (40) *is His, as that I am alive.*” Let us end this diſadvantageous Relation with a Paſſage, which concerns *Aleander*'s Morals. If we may believe *Eraſmus*, he lived at *Venice* the Life of an Epicurean in the Year 1533. *Nunc Venetiæ planè vivit Epicureum, non ſine dignitate tamen* (41). ——*Not without Dignity.* Doubtleſs he means, by this Dignity, the double Mitre, which he had mentioned in the ſixtieth Letter. *Aleander gemina mitra inſignitus, nam Brunduſinus & Oretinus eſt; apud Cæſarem agit legatum Anglicum* (42). This latter Term is equivocal, and perhaps *Eraſmus* did not write *Anglicum*, but *Angelicum*, to denote the Office of Apoſtolical Nuncio, which *Aleander* had at that time in *Germany*. However, it had not been amiſs to have hinted, in a marginal Note, that he was not the King of *England*'s Ambaſſador to the Emperor *Charles* V; for the Reader will naturally underſtand it ſo. Monſ. *de la Monnoie* happily conjectures, that *Anglicum* was owing to *Eraſmus*'s having written, by way of Abbreviation, *āplicum* for *apoſtolicum*.

The Reader ſhould, at leaſt, ſee one Paſſage of *Eraſmus*, to the Advantage of *Aleander*: “ Etiamſi nominaſſes iſtum, qui *Aleandrum Eraſmo* præfert in omnibus, nihil erat periculi. Nam & ipſe plurimum tribuere ſoleo *Aleandro*, præſertim in literis, nihiloque magis me lædi puto, ſi doctior eſt, quam quod ditior eſt aut formoſior (43). —— *You might ſafely have named him, who prefers* Aleander *to* Eraſmus *in every thing. For I always pay a* had a Brother, who was a much greater Maſter, than he, of the Art of Diſſimulation [*K*].

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(26) Eraſm. Epiſt. 24. lib. 17. pag. 767.

(27) Idem, *in the 24th Letter of the 25th Book, pag.* 1379.

(28) Id. Ep. 113. lib. 19. pag. 949.

(29) Id. Ep. 84. lib. 20. pag. 1040.

(30) *The 53d of the 18th Book.*

(31) Id. Ep. 56. lib. 30. pag. 1941.

(32) *In Remark* [M] *of the Article* ERASMUS.

(33) *In the ſame Remark.*

(34) *In which he explained the meaning of the* Hebrew *Word* Racha.

(35) Eraſm. Epiſt. 69. lib. 20. pag. 1052. *It is dated from* Baſil, *Dec.* 23. 1523.

(36) *In the 43th Letter of the 30th Book, pag.* 1931. *See alſo the 74th Letter of the ſame Book.*

(37) Epiſt. 24. lib. 25. pag. 1379.

(38) *It was probably at* Venice, *when* Eraſmus *was employ'd by* Aldus Manutius.

(39) *The 58th Letter of the 30th Book of* Eraſmus, *pag.* 1945.

(40) *He means* Scaliger's *Oration.*

(41) Epiſt. 62. lib. 30. pag. 1945.

(42) Epiſt. 60. lib. 30.

(43) Epiſt. 4. lib. 21. pag. 1065. *See likewiſe pag.* 814.

" *great Deference to* Aleander, *eſpecially in Matters* " *of Learning; nor is it more injurious to me, if he* " *is a better Scholar, than if he is richer, or handſomer.*" The Letter, wherein *Eraſmus* ſpeaks thus, is dated the Thirty firſt of *Auguſt*, 1524.

[*K*] *He had a Brother - - - - - - - a much greater Maſter, than he, of the Art of Diſſimulation.*] *Eraſmus*, who informs us of this Particular, adds, that this Brother was, upon this Account, more dangerous than *Aleander*, who knew not ſo well to conceal his Deſigns. I will give you his own Words: " Habet " Fratrem apud Leodienſem hoc pernicioſiorem, quod " omnia poteſt diſſimulare, id quod non poteſt Ale- " ander (44)."

(44) Ep. 51. lib. 20. pag. 1011.

ALEANDER (Jerom) of the ſame Family with the Preceding *(a)*, and Grandſon of *Jerom Amalthus*, by the Mother's ſide, was one of the learned Men of the XVIIth Century. Upon his quitting *Frioul*, his Native Country, to go to *Rome*, he was made Secretary to Cardinal *Octavio Bandini*, which Employ he diſcharged with Honour near twenty Years. He ventured early to appear in Print; for he had ſcarce taken his Degree of Civilian, before he publiſhed a *Commentary on the Inſtitutes of Caius*. He did not ſuffer his Pen to be idle at *Rome*; for being one of the firſt who was admitted into the riſing Academy of the *Humouriſts*, he had always ſome Compoſition ready to produce before them, and wrote likewiſe a very learned Treatiſe, in *Italian*, on the Device of that Aſſembly. The Fertility of his Genius, and his Studies, appeared in ſeveral Works on different Subjects. He explained ſome Pieces of Antiquity [*A*]; he wrote on the Queſtion concerning *Suburbian Churches*, and publiſhed a Book againſt That, which an anonymous Author (*b*) had compoſed on this Subject, in Favour of the Proteſtants. A Volume of his *Verſes* was publiſhed, and was followed by an Apology for the *Adonis* of the Cavalier *Marini*, againſt the rude Attacks of the Cavalier *Stiliani*. *Urban* VIII. expreſſed his Eſteem for him advantageouſly; for he laboured to draw him from the Service of Cardinal *Bandini*, in order to place him in That of the *Barberinis*: ſo that *Aleander* became Secretary to Cardinal *Francis Barberini*, the Pope's Nephew. He went with this Cardinal into *France*, when he was ſent thither with the Character of Legate *à Latere*. He did not ſink under the Fatigues of this long Journey, but bore them with Reſolution, notwithſtanding the Weakneſs of his Conſtitution, and his want of Health. He was not ſo much Maſter of himſelf, with regard to good Cheer. He had agreed, with ſome of his intimate Friends, to treat one another every three Days by turns. Amidſt ſuch a Variety of Delicacies, he could not forbear eating more than was proper, conſidering his weak Stomach; ſo that he fell ſick, and could not recover of his Illneſs (*c*). The Cardinal his Maſter, made a magnificent Funeral for him in the Academy of the *Humouriſts*, and his Brethren, the Academics, carried his Body to the Grave (*d*). *Gaſpar de Simeonibus* ſpoke his Funeral Oration on the 31ſt of *December* 1631. It was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1636. *Aleander* had ſuch an elegant and genteel way of writing, that the Compliment, which one of his Friends made him upon it, deſerves our Notice [*B*].

(*a*) *They are diſtinguiſhed by the Appellations of* Aleander *the elder, and* Aleander *the younger.*

(*b*) Salmaſius.

(*c*) *Mr* Baillet, *in his* Judgment on the Poets, n. 1420. *and* Witte *in his* Diarium Biograph. part. 2. pag. 40. *place his Death in the Year* 1631. Witte *calls him* Alexander.

(*d*) *Taken from* Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth 1. *See alſo* Allatius in Apibus Urbanis, pag. 123, 124, 125.

[*A*] *He explained ſome pieces of Antiquity.*] They were two Marbles, a Table, and a Statue. The Table contained the Figure, and the Symbols, of the Sun; the Statue was ſurrounded with a Girdle full of carved Work. The Title of this Work of *Aleander* is as follows: *Explicatio antiquæ tabulæ marmoreæ ſolis effigie ſymboliſque exculptæ: explicatio ſigillorum zonæ veterem ſtatuam marmoream cingentis.* It is in Quarto, printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1616, and at *Paris*, in the Year 1617. I do not queſtion but his Acquaintance with Father *Morin* was owing to this Work. It appears, by the Book, entituled, *Eccleſiæ Orientalis antiquitates* (1), that they correſponded by Letters.

(1) *It was printed at* London *in* 1682. *and at* Francfort *in* 1683. 12mo.

[*B*] *Such an elegant and genteel way of Writing, that the Compliment —— deſerves our notice.*] *Nicius Erythræus* told him often, *When I read your Works, I find myſelf a learned Man; but when I read thoſe of other Writers, who pretend to Eloquence, I find myſelf very Ignorant; for I underſtand nothing in them.* How few *Latin* Authors are there, at preſent, who deſerve this Compliment? I do not ſpeak of thoſe, who write in the Chancery, or Scholaſtic, Style, but of thoſe, who write as Orators, and who labour their Phraſes. They are generally fit only to mortify the Preſumption of their Readers, who find themſelves every Moment ſtopt by ſome Alluſion, or ſome Metaphor, ſo confuſedly expreſt, that they are altogether in the Dark. The Misfortune is, that the Reader is ſeldom mortify'd by this means, ſince Self-love prompts him to impute the Cauſe of theſe Obſcurities, not to his own Ignorance, but to the Nonſenſe of the Author. However, I fancy the Reader will be pleaſed to read *Nicius Erythræus*'s genteel Compliment in the Original. " Scribendi ejuſdem ratio tum in ſoluta " oratione tum in verſibus adeo erat pura, adeo perſpi- " cua, ut ſæpe ex me audiret tum demum me mihi- " met doctum eruditumque videri, cum ſua legerem; " cum autem in aliorum ſcripta, qui ſe eloquentes di- " ci vellent, incurrerem, tum plane me indoctum om- " niumque rerum rudem agnoſcere, eò quod verbum " prorſus in illis nullum intelligerem (2)." This ought to have been a ſtrong Inducement to him, not to leave any Obſcurities in his Elogies; and yet they are not altogether free from it. Some think he has not expreſs'd clearly, whether it was at *Rome* or *Paris*, that good Cheer was ſo fatal to *Aleander*; they believe it was at *Paris* (3). As for myſelf, I do not queſtion the contrary; the Agreement of treating one another two or three times a Week, by turns, ſavours more of Perſons, at eaſe, and at Home, than of Travellers. Beſides, the Journey, which the Legate *Francis Barberini* took into *France*, in the Year 1625, laſted but few Months; and *Aleander* did not die 'till the Year 1631.

(2) Nicius Erythr. Pinacoth. 1. pag. 46.

(3) *See the* Judgment of the Learned on the Poets, Tom. 4. n. 1420. pag. 54.

ALEGAMBUS (Philip) a *Flemiſh* Jeſuit, was born at *Bruſſels*, the Twenty ſecond of *January* 1592. He ſtudied Claſſical Learning in his own Country; after which he went into *Spain*, and entered into the Duke of *Oſſuna*'s Service; whom he followed into *Sicily*, when he went to take upon him the Office of Viceroy there. Finding within himſelf a Call to a Religious Life, he took the Jeſuit's Habit at *Palermo*,

lermo, on the ſeventh Day of *September*, 1613. He performed his Noviciate, and his Courſe of Philoſophy, in the ſame City, and his Divinity Studies at *Rome*; from whence he was ſent into *Stiria*, to teach Philoſophy in the Univerſity of *Gratz*. Having diſcharged the Duties of this Function to the Satisfaction of his Maſters, he was made Profeſſor of School-Divinity, and ſolemnly promoted to the Doctorate in the Year 1629. During theſe Tranſactions, the Prince of *Eggemberg*, Favourite of the Emperor *Ferdinand* II, had a mind to ſend his Son to travel, and to appoint a prudent and learned Jeſuit to be his Confeſſor in his Travels. Father *Alegambus* was thought fit for this Employ, and was taken out of the Schools to travel with this young Lord. He was five Years with him, and ſaw *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*. Being returned to *Gratz*, he taught Moral Divinity there, and was the Spiritual Father of the Youth. In the Year 1638, the young Prince, whom he had accompanied in his Travels, was nominated by the Emperor *Ferdinand* III, for the Embaſſy of Obedience to Pope *Urban* VIII. He deſired Father *Alegambus* to accompany him; upon which this Jeſuit travelled to *Rome*, in Quality of the Ambaſſador's Confeſſor. When this Function was over, the General of the Jeſuits retained him to be his Secretary for the *Latin* Diſpatches, which related to *Germany*. *Alegambus*, having diſcharged the Duties of this laborious Function for four Years ſucceſſively, was obliged to leave it; a continual Application to Writing having greatly impaired his Sight. Upon this they gave him the *Prefecture of Spirituals* in the *Maiſon Profeſſe*, and the Office of confeſſing in the Church; of which it is ſaid he acquitted himſelf with great Applauſe. He died at *Rome* of a Dropſy, on the ſixth Day of *September* 1652 *(a)*. He wrote but few Books [*A*]; and yet he deſerves the Elogy of a very good Author; for the *Bibliotheque of the Writers of his Order* is a good Book in it's kind, and excels by much all the Works of this Nature, which were wrote before That time. He muſt neceſſarily have taken a great deal of Pains in collecting the Materials; a Work, which requires two Talents, ſeldom found together, great Patience, and great Eagerneſs. He was obliged afterwards to put theſe Materials in order; and this was the moſt laborious part of his Work; becauſe a Man is no longer ſupported by the ſtrong Inclination, which prompted him to ſearch for the Materials, which he wanted. It was at *Rome* that *Alegambus* compoſed his *Bibliotheque*; for which he had collected ſo many Memoirs *(b)*; and it was printed at *Antwerp* in 1643. He ſo greatly enlarged the Work, which the Jeſuit *Ribadeneira* had begun on this Subject [*B*], that, whereas the Work of the latter is but a very ſmall *Octavo*, his is a pretty large *Folio*. I ſhall mention, in the Remarks, what has been ſaid for or againſt it [*C*]. He intended a new Edition, and, during the nine Years he ſurvived the former,

(*a*) *Taken from* Sotuel's Bibl. Scriptor Societ. Jeſu. *Rome* 1675. pag. 706, 707.

(*b*) Sotuel, ibid.

[*A*] *He wrote but few Books.*] The Catalogue of his Works, according to Father *Sotuel*, is as follows: *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jeſu, Antverpiæ*, 1643, in Folio. *Vita P. Johannis Cardin Luſitani ex Societate Jeſu, Romæ*, 1649, in 12°. *Heroes & Victimæ charitatis Societatis Jeſu, Romæ*, 1658, in 4to. *Mortes illuſtres & geſta eorum de Societate Jeſu, qui in odium fidei ab Hæreticis vel aliis occiſi ſunt, Romæ*, 1557, in Folio.

[*B*] *The Work, which the Jeſuit* Ribadeneira *had begun on this Subject.*] That the Reader, who deſires to know the Hiſtory of the *Bibliotheque*, of which we ſpeak, may not have the trouble of turning to another Volume, I ſhall obſerve here, that *Peter Ribadeneira* begun, in the Year 1602, the Catalogue of the Jeſuit Authors. This Catalogue conſiſted of but few Sheets; he enlarged it afterwards, and publiſhed it at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1608. It was printed at *Lyons*, the Year following, with ſome Additions, and Corrections, in relation to ſome Particulars concerning the *French* Jeſuits, with which the Author was unacquainted. Father *Julius Nigroni* perceived, that this Work ſtood in need of Correction in many other Places, particularly with reſpect to the *Italian* Jeſuits; upon which a new Edition was publiſhed, in the Year 1613, at *Antwerp*. Father *Andrew Schott* had the Care of it; and it was conſiderably enlarged (1); but was ſtill a very defective Work; which was the Reaſon why *Alegambus* undertook to put it into a better Condition, and to make it fitter to give an advantageous Idea of the Erudition of the Society. He publiſhed it in the Year 1643. It was ſtill farther enlarged by the Jeſuit *Sotuel*, whoſe Edition was publiſhed at *Rome*, in the Year 1675, and no doubt it will require ſtill farther Additions, both becauſe the Society of the Jeſuits continually affords new Authors, and becauſe many things eſcaped the laſt Continuator, which might make the *Bibliotheque* of the Order more perfect. The ſecond Tome of the *Bibliotheque Romaine* (2), informs us, that the Jeſuit *Bonanni* is preparing a Catalogue of the Writers of his Society, who have publiſhed any thing ſince the Year 1675. The Exactneſs of *Alegambus* is doubtleſs wonderful; but yet there are ſome Faults, both of Omiſſion and Commiſſion, in his Book. He does not always mention the firſt Edition of Books, which is a conſiderable Fault, to be found in all the Compilations, which have hitherto appeared. No one has yet undertaken to publiſh an exact Collection of all the Editions, and carefully to obſerve the firſt. *Geſner*, and his Continuators, have been very negligent in this reſpect. Father *Sotuel*, willing to avoid the minute Particulars, on which *Alegambus* ſometimes enlarges a little too much, is too conciſe and barren. He was not ſo well qualify'd for this Work, as *Alegambus*. The Curious, and even thoſe, who excuſe him on account of the Orders, which he might have received from his Superiors, in relation to the anonymous, and pſeudonymous Writers, look upon his Work, in this reſpect, as much inferior to that of the former, in which ſo many obſcure Authors are brought to light.

[*C*] *What has been ſaid for or againſt it.*] Mr *Baillet* will ſupply us with a Comment on the Text of this Remark. Let us begin with the fair ſide.

He ſays (3), that “ the *Bibliotheque* of the Writers “ of the Society --------- is a grand Collection, “ which ſurpaſſes all thoſe of the ſame Nature, and “ that it ought to be conſidered as one of the moſt “ perfect of the kind:” That, according to *Nicolas Antonio* (4), “ the Jeſuits have ſhewn, by this Work, “ how curious and induſtrious they are in the things “ which concern them, and that, having built on the “ Foundation of *Ribadeneira*, they raiſed this great “ Edifice; the Beauty whereof conſiſts particularly in “ the Exactneſs and Proportion of it's Parts, and of “ which the whole Credit is due to *Alegambus*, a “ Writer ſo careful and exact, that there is no Danger “ of being deceived by him; becauſe he is not only “ free from Confuſion, and never takes one Author “ for another, but alſo becauſe he does not attribute “ any Book to the Jeſuits, which they did not write, “ and becauſe he is exact and faithful, in his Repreſentation of thoſe, which really come from the So“ciety.” Mr *Baillet* adds, “ that it is no ſmall Praiſe

(1) *See* Alegambus's *Preface.*

(2) *Printed at* Rome *in* 1692. *The Author's Name is* Proſper Mandoſio.

(3) Baillet's Judgment of the Learned, Tom. 2. n. 112. p. 130.

(4) Præf. Biblioth. Scriptor. Hiſpan.

mer, he collected many Particulars, which might ſerve for Corrections, or Additions. Father *Sotuel* made uſe of them, when he publiſhed a new Edition of this *Bibliotheque* at *Rome*, in 1675 (*c*).

It cannot be denied that there are many inconſiderable Authors taken Notice of in this Book, and many Authors of the firſt Rank. But ſome pretend, that ſhould it be continued, there would be a very ſenſible Diſproportion in it; that is to ſay, the great Men would be incomparably fewer in the Continuation, than in what has hitherto appeared. This gives me an Opportunity of communicating to the Public what paſſed in a Converſation between ſome learned Perſons in the Year 1697 [*D*].

“ - - - - - - - - to have avoided a Fault with ſo much Care, into which moſt of the other Regulars have fallen, who have given an account of the illuſtrious Men of their Order; who, thinking to do Honour to their Communities, by increaſing the Number of their learned Men and Saints, indifferently, and without Choice, have plac'd a great many Authors among their Brethren, who did not belong to them; whereas there is ſcarce one to be ſeen in the *Bibliotheque* of the Society, who had not been a Jeſuit. Nay, that the Writers, who left their Society, as *Papyrius Maſſo, Gaſpar Scioppius, Mark Antony de Dominis, Chriſtian Francken*, &c. do not appear in it.” Or that if they are ſeen there, it is only in relation to their Works, which preceded their Departure; that, in this View, we find there *Francis de Macedo*, a *Portugueſe*, who from a Jeſuit became a Cordelier, and *Claudius Dauſquey*, a *Fleming*, who left the Society for a Canonſhip at *Tournay*. Laſtly, Mr *Baillet* obſerves, that, according to the Author of the *News from the Republic of Letters* (5), *Alegambus*, “ſuited himſelf to the Taſte of our Age, that is, of all Perſons of good Senſe; that this Taſte conſiſts in obſerving a Chronological Exactneſs in every thing relating to Hiſtory; that it is this, which occaſioned the Approbation of the Applauſes beſtowed upon *Alegambus*, who takes notice every where of the Time, and Place, of the Birth of Authors, the Age when they became Jeſuits, their Employments, and their chief Actions, according to the Series of Time, and that there is ſomething extreamly pleaſing in this Exactneſs. Laſtly, *continues Mr* Baillet (6), as the Society of the Jeſuits has been hitherto the moſt Learned of all regular Societies, that is to ſay, at leaſt, the moſt abundant in all ſorts of Writers (except in Phyſic) - - - - - - - - we may judge from thence of the Advantage, which may be drawn from this copious *Bibliotheque*, which is well enough written, without any affectation of a particular Style, and without too far-fetch'd Ornaments - - - - - - - - diſpos'd in a very fine Method, and embelliſh'd with a great Number of laborious and uſeful Tables.” This is the fair Side of it's Character. Let us now proceed to the Imperfections of this *Bibliotheque*.

Mr *Baillet* ſays (7), that “as the moſt perfect Bodies are not always free from Spots and Defects, when their Beauty conſiſts only in the Size and Proportion of their Parts, it will be no ſurprize to hear, that this fine *Bibliotheque* has met with it's Cenſors as well as others; that ſome think they diſcover in it ſomething of that Affection for one's own Society, which inclines a Man to repreſent the Writers of it always to their Advantage; that they add, that, in effect, there is nothing to be met with in this huge Volume, but Elogies; and that, among ſuch a great Number of Authors and Books, it does not appear that *Alegambus* and *Sotuel* acknowledge one that is bad, except, perhaps, thoſe, who have been put into the Inquiſition, or into the *Index*; that others have obſerved, that there is ſcarce one Writer in all this *Bibliotheque*, who is not repreſented to us as a Saint. It is true, that reaſonable Perſons ought to be ſatisfied with ſeeing a ſolemn Proteſtation at the beginning, and end of the Book, that he does not pretend to warrant what is ſaid of the Holineſs and Virtues attributed to his Brethren, no more than the other Encomiums, which are beſtowed upon them.” It is more difficult, according to Mr *Baillet* (8), “to anſwer two other Accuſations; the firſt is, that *Alegambus*, being deceived by ſome falſe Memoirs, which ill affected Perſons ſent him, calls Mr *Marion*, Mr *Servin*, and ſome other illuſtrious Magiſtrates, and good Catholics, Heretics. The ſecond is, that he was ſo indiſcreet as to reveal certain things, which it was of the utmoſt Importance to the Society, to keep private and ſuppreſs; as for Example, when he affirms, that the *Amphitheatre of Honour* [* §], written againſt the Royal Authority, by one *Bonarſcius*, is the Work of a famous Jeſuit, though Father *Coton* had aſſured King *Henry the Great* of the contrary; and that ſome other Books, written againſt Epiſcopacy and Hierarchy in general, and againſt the Clergy of *France*, and the *Sorbonne* in particular, were compoſed by ſome Fathers of the Society; though the chief among the Jeſuits of *France*, who governed the Houſes of *Paris*, having been called upon to anſwer this Charge, had proteſted, even under their own Hands, that the Jeſuits were not the Authors of theſe Libels.” Mr *Baillet* adds, that “*Sotuel*, was more diſcreet in this Point than *Alegambus*; for in his Edition we do not find the Writings of the falſe *Smith*, and of the falſe *Of-Jeſu*, which gave ſo much Offence; nor the Books of *Guimenius*, of *Vernant*, and of *the Apologiſt for the Caſuiſts*; nay, he took care to tell us beforehand, that his Silence, in relation to theſe Books, ought to paſs for a diſowning, and a private Condemnation, which the Society makes of them. But it cannot be denied, on the other ſide, that he has preſerved *Alegambus*'s Faults in many other Places, and that his Edition is not ſo exact and fine, as that of *Alegambus*.” See the foregoing Remark. I ſhall take notice of a ſmall Defect of this *Bibliotheque*, at the End of the Remark [C], of the Article ANNAT.

[§*] [This Book is aſcribed to the Jeſuit *Carolus Scrivonius*, in the Catalogue of *Ribadeneira*; at *Lyons*, in 8vo. for *Pillchotte*; and, at *Antwerp, ex officina Plantiniana*, 1613, 8vo. REM. CRIT.]

Whether there are as learned Jeſuits now, as formerly.

[*D*] *What paſs'd in a Converſation of ſome learned Perſons in the Year* 1697.] Some Gentlemen, who came to *Delft*, with the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, being one Day in Company with ſome *French* Refugees, and ſome Perſons of the Country, the Converſation, according to the Cuſtom of Men of Letters, turned upon Books and learned Men. Moſt of them acknowledged the Decay of Learning; and they obſerved, more than once, with great Joy, that the Society of Jeſuits ſcarce produces any learned Men at preſent. *The* Bellarmins, *the* Sirmonds, *and the* Petaviuſes, add they, *have left no Succeſſors; their Places, and thoſe of many other leſs famous Men, are ſtill vacant*. Mr ***** was almoſt the only Perſon, who did not approve of this Cenſure, and who deſired the Company to conſider, that thoſe, who take Delight in ſuch Diſcourſes, are guilty of two Faults; for “in the firſt place, *ſaid he*, they lightly touch upon what concerns other Orders, and Communities, but inſiſt much on That of the Jeſuits. This reſpect of Perſons is very unjuſt. Have the Univerſities of *France* any Profeſſors of Phyſic, which make ſo great a Noiſe as *Fernel*, and *Sylvius*? Or any Profeſſors of the Civil Law, who come near *Deneau, Duaren, Hotman*, and *Cujacius*? Shew us, if you can, a *Caſaubon*, a *Scaliger*, or a *Salmaſius*, in the Proteſtant Party. Shew us a *Grotius*, an *Heinſius*, or a *Voſſius*, in *Holland*. Did not theſe Men die without leaving any Succeſſors? Have they left Places, which are filled up? Let us confeſs then, that the Decline, which you affect to appropriate to the Jeſuits, is common to all the Parties and Communities of *Europe*; it is a Defect of the Times, and not of their Society. Do not imagine, *ſays he, (which was his ſecond Reflexion)* that I pretend, that this part of the XVIIth Century, in which we live, is inferior to the former Part, or to the foregoing Age. I believe, on the contrary, that, upon the whole, it ought to have the Preference, and that it is the Alteration of our Taſte, which is the only Reaſon of what you call the Decay of Literature. The Study of Critical Learning is fallen; Men apply themſelves to the reaſon-

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(*c*) Id. ibid.

(5) *In* July 1684. *Art.* 5. *where he indirectly condemns thoſe, who are contented to expreſs a Man's Qualities in fine Phraſes, without taking notice of his Country, Family, and Employments; and where he ſays*, That one cannot read the Lives of ſeveral *Roman* Emperors, without being diſguſted, and without complaining of the Careleſſneſs of the Hiſtorians, who mention neither the Place where they were born, nor their Family, nor their Age, nor by what means they raiſed themſelves.

(6) Baillet, ubi ſupra, pag. 137.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 13.

(8) Id. ibid. pag. 135.

“ ing Part (9); they improve their Minds much more than their Memory; they are deſirous to think delicately, and to expreſs themſelves politely. This Application does not indeed produce thoſe great Volumes, which impoſe on the Publick, and which raiſe a Man to a great Reputation; but in truth it ſtrikes out more Light, and forms a Genius more valuable than the great Learning of the Grammarians, and Philologers. The Jeſuits have followed this new Taſte; and this is the Reaſon, why their learned Men are not of the ſame Stamp with thoſe, who lived formerly. Have you obſerved, as I have done, *continued he*, the conſiderable Number of illuſtrious Men, at preſent in their College at *Paris?* Father *Benier* is ſo conſummate in Languages, that all the Strangers of *Europe* and *Aſia* deſire his Company, and converſe with him, as if he was their Countryman: Can a more extenſive ſhare of Literature be ſeen, than That of Father *Hardouin?* Is not Father *Commire* one of the beſt *Latin* Poets at preſent in the World? Is there any Writer, who exceeds Father *Bouhours*, in the Purity of the *French* Language, and in the Beauty of his Compoſitions, or Father *Jouvency*, in point of Philology, or Father *de la Beaune* in a fine *Latin* Style, by whoſe Care Father *Sirmond*'s Works have been lately publiſhed? Are there better Pens in *France* than Father *le Tellier*, Father *Daniel*, Father *Doucin*, &c.? I name you ſome of them, but without pretending to wrong many others, whom I do not name.” This was the Diſcourſe of Mr ****, if the Perſon, who informed me of this Converſation, related it faithfully. My Readers may judge of it as they think fit.

(9) *See Remark* [*D*] *of the Article* ACONTIUS.

ALESIUS (Alexander) a famous Divine of the Confeſſion of *Augsburg*, and Author of ſeveral Books *(a)*, was born at *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*, the Twenty third of *April* 1500. He made a wonderful Progreſs in School-Divinity; and entered early the Liſts againſt *Luther*. It was at that time the Controverſy in faſhion, and the great Field of Battle, wherein young and old Authors endeavoured to give Proofs of their Merit. He had his Share, a little while after, in the Verbal Diſpute, which *Patrick Hamilton* maintained againſt the Eccleſiaſtics [*A*], concerning certain new Opinions, which he had gained a Reliſh of at *Marpurg*. He endeavoured to bring him back to the Catholic Religion, but could not prevail upon him; and began himſelf to entertain Doubts concerning his own Religion, from this Gentleman's Diſcourſe, but much more from the Conſtancy he ſhewed on the Wood-Pile, on which *David Beton*, Archbiſhop of *St Andrews*, cauſed him to be burnt. The Doubts of our *Aleſius* would perhaps have been attended with no Conſequence, if they had let him quietly enjoy the Canonſhip, which he poſſeſſed in the Metropolitan Church of *St Andrews*; but he was perſecuted with ſo much Violence, that he was forced to retire into *Germany* [*B*], where at length all his Doubts vaniſhed. At firſt indeed he wavered a little between the two Religions, as may be ſeen in his Anſwers to *Cochleus:* But at laſt he embraced *Lutheraniſm*, and perſevered in it to his Death. It is true, that, between ſeveral Parties, which aroſe in that Sect, he ſometimes inclined to the ſide of the leſs Orthodox. Thus, in 1560, he maintained the Doctrine of *George Major* concerning the Neceſſity of Good Works [*C*]. I forgot to obſerve, that the Alteration, which happened in *England*, with reſpect to Religion, after the Marriage of *Henry* VIII with *Anne Bullen*, occaſioned *Aleſius* to repair to *London* in 1535. He was greatly countenanced

(a) *See Remark* [*C*].

[*A*] *He had his Share, a little while after, in the Verbal Diſpute, which* Patrick Hamilton *maintained againſt the Eccleſiaſtics.*] *Beza* has, in few Words, given us the Elogy of this Proteſtant Martyr, who was of a Family related to the Kings of *Scotland*. He places his Martyrdom in the Year 1530 (1). *Buchanan* places it in the Year 1528 (2), and ſays, the Earl of *Arran*'s Brother was his Father, and the Duke of *Albigni*'s Siſter, was his Mother. He obſerves, that, a little after his Execution, the Death of a Dominican, who had been his Accuſer, occaſioned a great Conſternation in the Minds of the People. This Dominican's Name was *Alexander Campbell*; he was a young Man of great Genius, and Learning: He had often diſcourſed with *Hamilton*, about the Interpretation of Scripture, and had confeſſed to him, that he acknowledged moſt of the Doctrines for true, which paſs'd at that time for Paradoxes. *Hamilton*, remembring this Confeſſion, treated him as a vile Wretch, when he found that he was his Accuſer, and cited him before the Throne of God. Theſe Words affected him in ſuch a Manner, that he loſt his Senſes, and died mad ſome time after (3). *Aleſius* relates many Particulars concerning the Execution of *Patrick Hamilton* (4), which *Rabus* inſerted in his *German* Hiſtory of Martyrs.

[*B*] *He was perſecuted with ſo much Violence, that he was forced to retire into* Germany.] This Perſecution was raiſed againſt him, for preaching warmly before a Provincial Synod, in 1529, againſt fornicating Prieſts. The Provoſt of *St Andrews*, whoſe lewd Intercourſes were known to every body, apply'd the Sermon to himſelf, and fancied it was preach'd on purpoſe to turn the Eyes of the whole Congregation upon him. He reſolved to be revenged the firſt Opportunity; and, as he was of a Temper a thouſand times more fit for a Soldier than a Canon, he made choice only of violent means. Hearing that the whole Chapter was aſſembled to ſend Complaints againſt him to King *James* V, he came to the Aſſembly with an armed Retinue, and ordered *Aleſius* to be ſeized; who exhorted him to moderate his Anger; nay, he drew a Sword upon him, in anſwer to his juſt Remonſtrance. The poor Canon was ſo terrified, that he threw himſelf at the Provoſt's Feet, and humbly begged his Life of him. He came off with a kick on the Stomach, which made him fall into a Swoon: After which he was carried to Priſon: All the reſt of the Canons were likewiſe impriſoned; but the King, being informed of the Matter, ordered them to be ſet at Liberty. *Aleſius* alone was not releaſed; on the contrary, he was clapped into a dreadful Dungeon, where he remained One and twenty Days. His Liberty was of no long Continuance; he thought he ought to acquaint the Magiſtrates with the ill Treatment he had ſuffered: Whereupon the Provoſt, who had forbid him to acquaint them with it, cauſed him to be impriſoned again, and repreſented to the Archbiſhop, that he had publiſhed heretical Opinions in his Synodal Sermon, and that he deſerved to be puniſhed. He was ſo vexed at *Aleſius*'s being let out of Priſon, while he was on a Journey, that he wanted by all means to ſend him thither again, without ſuffering him to finiſh a Maſs, which he had began. But at laſt the Intreaties of the Canons ſoftened him; he waited 'till the end of the Maſs, to remand him back to Priſon. Now, as they knew he would be confined again in the Dungeon the next Day, they adviſed the Priſoner to make his eſcape in the Night, and to leave *Scotland*. He followed this Advice, and went into *Germany*, in the Year 1532 (5).

[*C*] *He maintained the Doctrine of* George Major, *concerning the Neceſſity of good Works.*] The Title of his Book is, *De neceſſitate & merito bonorum operum diſputatio propoſita in celebri Academia Lipſica, ad* xxix *diem Novemb.* 1560. This Diſpute is the fifth *inter Anti-Tapperianas*; and thus we have an *Anti* to add to Mr *Baillet*'s Collection. Upon this Occaſion, I ſhall ſet down the Titles of his principal Works. *Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis, & in utramque Epiſtolam* countenanced there by *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by *Latimer*, and by *Thomas Cromwell*, who was at time in great Credit with the King; and he taught publickly. The Fall of theſe Favourites obliged him to return into *Germany*, where the Elector of *Brandenburgh* made him Profeſſor of Divinity, at *Francfort* on the *Oder*, in the Year 1540. *Aleſius* had a Diſpute, there, two Years after, upon the Queſtion, *Whether the Magiſtrate may and ought to puniſh Fornication* [D]. He held the Affirmative,

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(1) Beza in Iconibus.

(2) Lewis Rabus, *in the 4th Book of his Hiſtory of Martyrs*; Budæus in θανατολ. pag. 38. Hondorf Prompt. pag. 64. Juſtus de Academiis, p. 45. *place it as* Buchanan *does. See* Jacobi Thomaſii Orat. de Alexandro Aleſio, pag. 307.

(3) Buchan. Rerum Scoticarum, lib. 14.

(4) Expoſit. in Pſal. 37. fol. 164. *See alſo his Anſwer to* Cochleus, p. 9.

(5) Jacobus Thomaſius in Oratione de Joh. Aleſio.

Epiſtolam ad Timotheum. Expoſitio in Pſalmos Davidis. De juſtificatione, contra Oſiandrum. De ſancta Trinitate, cum confutatione erroris Valentini Gentilis. Reſponſio ad 32 articulos Theologorum Lovanienſium, &c.

[*D*] *He had a Diſpute —— upon the queſtion, whether the Magiſtrate may and ought to puniſh Fornication.*] This Diſpute did not turn upon Adultery, but on ſimple Fornication: for though the Puniſhment of Adultery is as rare, as the Crime is frequent, yet it is accounted lawful among Chriſtian Doctors. So that *Aleſius* had only an Antagoniſt to oppoſe, who maintained againſt him, that the Magiſtrate neither can, nor ought, to puniſh Fornication. The final Deciſion of this Diſpute was put off; and it is very probable, that *Aleſius*, being angry at this Delay, would live no longer among People, who appeared ſuch Favourers of the Impunity of Fornication. “Cum A. 1542, *ſays* Thomaſius (6), inter ipſum & alium quendam exorta eſſet controverſia de quæſtione, poſſit ne ac debeat Magiſtratus Politicus ſcortationem punire? veramque ſententiam, hoc eſt affirmantem, ac Philippi quoque Melanchthonis calculo approbatam *, defendente Aleſio, nihilominùs hujus diſputationis deciſio juberetur differri: offenſus, ut apparet, hâc bonæ cauſæ procaſtinatione Aleſius, non expectato Principis adventu, diſceſſit †.” Such an indignation did not ill become a Profeſſor of Divinity, who had ſeen the riſe of the Reformation, and who would naturally wiſh that he might not live to ſee Morality return to it's former Relaxation. Nothing could reflect greater Honour upon the Proteſtant Religion, than the Severity of it's Maxims, in relation to Chaſtity; for the Obſervation of theſe Maxims is the moſt difficult Victory we can obtain over Nature, and that which beſt ſhews our Dependance upon God, by the reciprocal Ties of his Protection and Love. It was, therefore, matter of great Scandal, that, in the Year 1542, a Proteſtant Divine, who maintained, that Magiſtrates may, and ought to, puniſh Fornication, ſhould meet with Oppoſition, and, in ſome meaſure, ſink under it. At preſent, as we are accuſtomed to a Toleration of this Crime, ſcarce any one is offended at it. A very honeſt Man aſſured me, lately, that the Magiſtrates of *Strasburg* have ſuch an Indulgence for a Girl, who ſuffers herſelf to be got with Child, that, provided ſhe pays the Fine, at which this kind of Fault is taxed, they reſtore her to her former Character, and inflict Penalties on thoſe, who dare, in the leaſt, to reproach her for the future. This is, doubtleſs, a more ſingular Privilege, than that of reſtoring, by Patent, ſuch Families as have derogated from their Nobility; and if I may be allowed to laugh upon ſo ſerious an Occaſion, I would ſay, that the Magiſtrates of *Strasburg* ought to have ſtipulated the Preſervation of this Privilege, when they capitulated with *France*, and when, after the Peace of *Ryſwick*, they demanded a Renewal of their Capitulation (7). I am aware, that they do not pretend, by this Prerogative, to overthrow the Truth of that ancient and undeniable Axiom.

> - - - - Nulla reparabilis arte
> Læſa Pudicitia eſt, deperit illa ſemel.
>
> *No Art can Modeſty, when loſt, reſtore,*
> *Once forfeited, 'tis ne'er recover'd more.*

They do not pretend, phyſically ſpeaking, to reſtore a loſt Maiden-head; this would be to oppoſe the true Senſe of the Axiom: but, morally ſpeaking, they pretend to reſtore it; ſince they patronize the Reputation of a lewd Girl, and ſecure her from Reproach; inſomuch that ſhe may carry her Head as lofty as an honeſt Woman. Nay, 'tis ſaid, that the Efficacy of their Sentence is ſuch, that Women, who have had Children, and who, by paying their Fine, have renewed their Reputation, meet with Husbands as eaſily, and almoſt as advantageouſly, as if they had not committed the Fault. But I would rather aſcribe this to the weakneſs of the Men, who marry them, than to their Perſuaſion of the Efficacy of the Sentence (8). However, we may apply to thoſe, who ſuppoſe that the Payment of a Fine makes amends for Crimes of this Nature, what was ſaid to thoſe, who fancied that a little fair Water could waſh away the Stain of Murder.

> Ah! nimium faciles, qui triſtia crimina cædis
> Fluminea tolli poſſe putatis aqua (9).
>
> *Fools! on external Sprinklings Streſs to lay,*
> *And think that they can waſh the Stains of Guilt away.*

The ſame honeſt Man aſſured me, that what he knew for certain of the Cuſtoms of *Strasburg*; he had been informed was practiſed in ſome other Parts of *Germany*. Such Laws would have made the Divine, whoſe Article I am writing, very angry; for this is ſo far from puniſhing Fornication, that it is in ſome degree to reward it, ſince the Advantage of appearing every where without fear of Reproach, is a Benefit, which greatly exceeds the Damage ſuſtained by the Payment of the Fine, which ſometimes is not one half of the Money, which is got by Proſtitution.

I have heard ſome very judicious Perſons ſay, that the Practice of a great many Countries is rather a Reward, than a Puniſhment, of Fornication. This Practice requires, that whoever owns himſelf to be the Father of a Baſtard, ſhall be condemned to keep it, and to give the Mother a Sum of Money. An Order for the Maintenance of the Child cannot paſs for a Puniſhment; ſince the Law of Nature plainly lays this Obligation on every Man. Nothing therefore but the Money, which is paid to the Girl, can be called a Puniſhment; but, beſides that it is a very light Puniſhment to the Father, it is, properly ſpeaking, a Reward to the Mother. “Now it is very ſtrange, *ſay theſe Gentlemen*, that Chriſtian Tribunals ſhould decree Rewards to Women for loſing their Honour, and ſcandalizing the Public.” Some one replied, that the Loſs they ſuffered, and which rendered it more difficult for them to get a Husband, required ſome Amends, as an Act of Juſtice. “No, *anſwered they*, it is not an Act of Juſtice, but meer Favour and Grace: Juſtice does not require, that thoſe who ſuffer by a voluntary Tranſgreſſion of the Laws of God, and of Human Honour, ſhould be indemnified. And, if the Sovereign will beſtow Favours, he ought to make choice of more worthy Objects. Would a Man be obliged to reward a Girl, who, in committing a Robbery for his Sake, or through his Inſtigation, ſhould loſe an Arm or a Leg? The Judge would be ſo far from decreeing her any Reparation for the Loſs ſhe ſuſtained, that he would condemn her to a corporal Puniſhment. The ſame would happen in all puniſhable Caſes, wherein ſhe ſhould loſe a Limb, in executing her Lover's Counſels. Fornication alone is excepted out of this Rule: Let us call it then *the common Offence, and the privileged Caſe*, Words ſeparately appropriated to other things (10), and about which a Book was publiſhed at *Paris*, in the Year 1611 (11).” Upon this ſome one alledged, that the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, being tired with the Complaints of ſo many Servant Maids, who accuſed their young Maſters of having got them with Child, had made a Law, that, for the future, theſe ſort of Creatures ſhould be paid but twenty five *Florins*; for which they ſhould be obliged to keep the Child; that they thought by this means to lay a reſtraint upon Lewdneſs: for they were ſenſible that the Profit, which accrued to theſe Girls from their ill Conduct, induced them either to make Advances, or to yield to the firſt Sollicitation; and that, in a Word, their Lewdneſs ought to be deprived of all Hopes of Gain, and not encouraged by the Expectation of what the tive, with *Melancthon*. I cannot tell, whether he took it ill, that the Deciſion of this Diſpute was delay'd; and whether this Diſcontent was the occaſion of his leaving *Francfort* with ſo much Precipitation; but it is certain, that the Court of *Brandenburgh* complained of him, and that they wrote to the Univerſity of *Wittemburgh* to have him puniſhed. The Affection he had for *Melancthon* made People believe, that he was retired to *Wittemburgh* [*E*]; but he choſe rather to go to *Leipſic*, where he refuſed, in 1543, a Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity, which *Albert*, Duke of *Pruſſia*, deſigned to erect at *Koningsberg*, and which was erected there the following Year. It is not certain, whether he had a Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity of *Leipſic* at that time; or whether they only gave him Hopes of the Divinity-Chair, which he afterwards enjoy'd till his Death, which happened on the ſeventeenth of *March* 1565 [*F*]. He was miraculouſly preſerved from Death in his Youth [*G*]. The Eſteem and Authority he poſſeſſed appear from the great Number of Conferences, at which he aſſiſted [*H*]. He married an *Engliſh* Woman, by whom he had two Daughters, and a Son.

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(6) Thomaſ. ubi ſupra, pag. 318.

* In Epiſtolâ Reſponſoria ad Academiam Francofordianam; *ſee* Part. 1. Conſil. Theol. Phil. Melanchton. pag. 523.

† *See* Phil. Melancht. Epiſt. ad Cimer. pag. 413, 414.

(7) *See the* Mercure Hiſtorique *of* June, 1698.

(8) *I have been aſſured, that they themſelves make a jeſt of it, and ſay, that this kind of Injury carries nothing off the Premiſes; imitating thoſe, who rally themſelves firſt to weaken the Raillery of others. See the beginning of the Remark* [*B*] *of the Article AGESILAUS* II.

(9) Ovidius Faſtor. lib. 2. ver. 45.

(10) *They call a* common Offence *the Crimes of an Eccleſiaſtic, which are judged by the Tribunals of the Church; and* a privileged Caſe *the Crimes of an Eccleſiaſtic, which come under Cognizance of Secular Judges.*

(11) *Written by* Benigne Milletot, *Counſellor in the Parliament of* Dijon.

Courts ſhould think proper to adjudge them. To this it was anſwered, that it is not certain, that ſuch Laws have been made at *Amſterdam*, tho' the Fame of them was ſpread over other Towns of that Country. Whether it be true or falſe, it is very certain, that this proves, that People are not ignorant, that the common Conduct of the Courts of Judicature is too favourable to Fornication, and that it encourages young Women to Debauchery, rather than lays a Reſtraint upon their Modeſty. And this is plain from hence, that Sovereigns, in puniſhing Tranſgreſſors of the Decalogue, are not directed by the Sinfulneſs of the Action, but by the temporal Prejudice, which the State receives from it. Hence it is that they puniſh Robbers and Murderers; but, becauſe Fornication ſeems more uſeful than prejudicial to the temporal Good of the State, they connive at it, and behave in ſuch a manner, as to make People think, that they are not diſpleaſed with having their Towns peopled *per fas & nefas*. If they laid the Law of God to Heart in this Point, they would increaſe the Fear of Infamy, inſtead of removing it; they would impoſe large Fines, to be paid, not to the Girls, who tranſgreſs, but to Hoſpitals; they would brand with Diſgrace both the Tempter, and her, who could not reſiſt the Temptation; and, becauſe Infamy is not ſufficient among Perſons of mean Birth to ſtop a certain Coquetry, which animates the Tempter, which prevents him, and aſſures him of Victory with the utmoſt eaſe, they would inflict a more ſenſible Puniſhment, for which they could not fail of finding the proper Methods.

Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline is very near fallen into the ſame Relaxation. It is but few Years (12) ſince a young Gentleman's Tutor made his Addreſſes, in a Town of - - - - - to a young Coquet; and ſoon obtained what he deſired of her. As ſoon as her Relations perceived that ſhe was with Child, they endeavoured to marry her to our Spark. He refuſed it; for, beſides that the eaſineſs of his Conqueſt was no great Inducement to him to think of marrying her, he did not believe himſelf to be the only Perſon, who had a Finger in the Pye, or that the Child was more his own Manufacture than another's. The only Method of obliging him to take her to Wife, was to threaten him, that, if he did not marry her, he ſhould loſe the Benefice he had in *England*. He married her, and thereby preſerved his Benefice. Such was the Reward of Coquetry; a Coquetry, which had been carried to the moſt ſcandalous Exceſs. What would the ancient Fathers ſay, if they were to return into the World? they might well cry out, caſting their Eyes on the Face of the Church, *O domus antiqua, quam diſpari dominaris domino!* It is the Fate of all Religions, as well as all Politic Bodies, to be the worſe for Age. Men, indeed, are more corrupt in their Youth, than in an advanced Age. But it is quite otherwiſe with Republics. There is nothing like new Laws (13). Laws are like Bread and Eggs, *pan d' un di, ovo d' un' hora.* —— *Bread for a Day, an Egg for an Hour.* The flouriſhing State of a *Code*, (I mean the Practice and Obſervation of the Laws) is That of Infancy. See the Complaint of a Poet, who had deſcribed ſome Abuſes of *Auguſtus*'s Age. It reſembles that of *Jeſus Chriſt*, *from the beginning it was not ſo* (14).

> - - - - - Non ita Romuli
> Præſcriptum, & intonſi Catonis
> Auſpiciis, veterumque norma (15).

> *Not ſo, at firſt, great* Romulus *preſcribed;*
> *Severe the Laws, when* Cato *was our Guide.*
> *With better Principles our Fathers liv'd,*
> *And juſter Maxims were, of old, receiv'd.*

In this reſpect, Sects and Communities, &c. reſemble MAN, who is innocent only in the Cradle, and a Year or two after. Let us obſerve, that there are ſome Proteſtant Countries (16), where they ſtill uſe ſome Severity againſt Fornication, both with reſpect to Women and Men. But I am ſure that our *Alexander Aleſius* would require ſomething farther ſtill. What would he ſay of other Countries?

I muſt farther obſerve, that the Courts, which adjudge a Pecuniary Profit to looſe Women, or which condemn them to marry thoſe, who debauched them, do it to avoid many Inconveniencies: but they increaſe thereby the Diſorders of Impurity; for every Sentence they pronounce of this kind is a real Advantage to one naughty Woman, and a Motive of Hope to twenty more. Every Girl, who gets a Huſband this way, is an Encouragement to others to attempt the ſame Methods. This abuſe has been perceived in *France*: The new Laws are not ſo favourable there, as the old ones were, to thoſe Ladies, who make too great an Advantage of the Privileges of Marriage. It is a Sacrament, which has a retroactive Virtue, and which, like that of Penance, is a Plank after Shipwreck. It makes one enter again into the Port of Honour; it repairs old Breaches; it legitimates Children unlawfully begotten (17); To ſay nothing of the thick Veil, with which it covers new Breaches, current Faults, and daily Offences.

[*E*] *The Affection, which he had for* Melancthon, *made People believe he was retired to* Wittemburgh.] *Melancthon*, in his Two hundred and ninetieth Letter, expreſſes ſome uncertainty, whether *Aleſius* did not doubt of his Friendſhip. In his Two hundred eighty eighth Letter, he declares, that he obſerved in him certain Whims and Starts of Temper, παραβόλȣς ϗ παραλόγȣ ὁρμάς.

[*F*] *His Death happened on the ſeventeenth of* March 1565.] The Calendar of *Peter Eberus* notes, that *Aleſius* died on the eighteenth of *March*, 1565, being Seventy five Years of Age: the firſt Fault is very ſmall, ſince it is but of one Day; but the ſecond is of ten Years, and therefore more conſiderable. *Aleſius* himſelf wrote, in the Regiſter of the Univerſity of *Leipſic*, that he was born in the Year 1500. *Bucholcerus* (18), and *Reuſnerus* (19), give him as long a Life as *Paul Eberus*. This whole Remark is taken out of *Thomaſius*. *Bucholcerus* might have been reprimanded for another thing, *viz.* for ſaying that *Aleſius* lived and taught in *Germany*, after his coming to *Wittemburgh*; that is to ſay, after the Year 1533.

[*G*] *He was miraculouſly preſerved from Death in his Youth.*] He ſays, in one of his Books (20), that he often recollects (but that the Thought chills his very Blood), that as he was tumbling towards a Precipice, on the Top of a very high Mountain, he felt himſelf tranſported to another Place, without knowing how, or by whom; which he attributes to the Faith of his Relations, and not to the ſmall Papers, which he carried about him, containing ſome Verſes of St *John*'s Goſpel, according to the Cuſtom of Children in thoſe Times.

[*H*] *The great Number of Conferences, at which he aſſiſted.*] In the Year 1555, when thoſe of *Nuremberg* deſired *Melancthon* to come and compoſe the Diſſentions

(12) *I write this in* 1698.

(13) *See the beginning of the Remark* [*M*] *of the Article NESTORIUS.*

(14) Matth. xix. 8.

(15) Horat. Od. 15. lib. 2.

(16) Geneva, *and more ſtill, in the Canton of* Bern.

(17) *See Remark* [*A*] *of the Article ARIOSTA.*

(18) Chronol. p. 613.

(19) Iſagog. Hiſt. p. 636.

(20) Epiſtola dedicatoria Commentar. in Joannem. *See likewiſe* Præfat. in alteram ad Timotheum, apud Jacobum Thomaſium, in Orat. de Aleſio, pag. 305.

a Son. He had but one Daughter living, when he died. I have extracted this from a Speech of *James Thomaſius*, Profeſſor at *Leipſic*, in the Year 1683, in 8*vo*. His whole Account is accompanied with Citations. I did not think my ſelf obliged to copy them: They, who would apply to the Originals, will eaſily meet with the Speech, which points them out.

Diſſentions, which the Diſciples of *Andrew Oſiander* cauſed in their City (21), he brought *Aleſius* along with him, who performed his Part very well in the Diſputes they engaged in (22). *Melancthon* knew him to be very capable of this; he had had him for his Aſſiſtant in 1554, in the Conference of *Naumburg*, which was held to appeaſe the Theological Troubles of *Pruſſia*. *Camerarius* praiſes *Aleſius* very much on this Account. "Alexander Aleſius, patria Scotus, "valde carus Philippo Melancthoni, rei Theologicæ "intelligentiſſimus, & artifex excellens congruentium "diſputationum, & vir dignitate atque doctrina ex"quiſita præſtans (23). —— Alexander Aleſius, *a* "Scotch *Man, greatly in Favour with* Philip Melancthon, *thoroughly verſed in Divinity, who had an excel*"*lent Talent at Diſputation, and famous for his extra*"*ordinary Merit and Learning.*" He had obſerved in another Place, that *Granvelle*, who preſided in the Conference of *Worms*, in the Name of *Charles* V, in 1541, would not let *Aleſius* ſpeak, whom the Elector of *Brandenburg* had ſent thither. "Qui qui"dem & paratus erat & cupidus conflictus, ſed huic "obſtitit juſſum præſidis, qui & Aleſium ad pugnam "inſtructum ſciret, & talem adminſtrationem rei vi"cioſam eſſe animadverteret. —— *Who was both* "*ready and eager to engage; but was prevented by* "*Order of the Preſident, who knew that* Aleſius *was* "*come prepared for the Combat, and obſerved, that* "*ſuch a Management of the Affair would be wrong.*"

(21) Camerar. in vita Melancthonis. Thomaſius ubi ſupra pag. 321.

(22) Beza in Iconibus.

(23) Camerarius, ubi ſupra, ibid.

ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO [*A*], a *Neapolitan* Civilian of great Learning, flouriſhed about the end of the XVth Century, and beginning of the XVIth [*B*]. He applied himſelf to the Profeſſion of the Law with ardor, firſt at *Naples*, and afterwards at *Rome* (*a*); but he ſpent all the Time he could ſteal from the Fatigues of Pleading, in the Study of polite Literature, and at laſt entirely quitted the Bar, to lead a more calm and agreeable Life with the Muſes. The Reaſon he alledges for abandoning the Profeſſion of an Advocate [*C*], was the Ignorance or Corruption of thoſe who adminiſtered Juſtice; which inclined him rather to live a retired Life, than to take much Pains in ſtudying the Civil Law, ſince his Labours would avail nothing againſt the Raſhneſs of a corrupt Judge (*b*). He had ſeen many Examples of this Diſorder at *Rome*, which he mentioned to *Raphael Volaterranus*, who aſked him the Reaſon of his Retreat. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that, among ſo many Men of Learning, who were his Cotemporaries, or who wrote Elogies of the learned Men of thoſe

(*a*) Alexander ab Alex. Genial. dier. lib. 2. cap. 1.

(*b*) Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 7.

[*A*] Alexander ab Alexandro.] I give him his *Latin* Name according to the Grammarians. They who tranſlate it *Alexander of Alexandria* are miſtaken (1). Our Author was of a *Neapolitan* Family of the Name of *Alexander*. It is pretended, that it had before produced ſome Illuſtrious Perſons, as *Moreri* relates after *Lorenzo Craſſo*. Every one knows *Balzac's* pleaſant Reflexion. "Was there not, *ſays he* (2), "a Grammatico-Civilian in the Kingdom of *Naples*, "who aſſumed the Name of ALEXANDER AB "ALEXANDRO? Can any thing be more mag"nificent and more glorious than to be twice an "*Alexander*, an *Alexander* by one's Name, and an "*Alexander* by one's Lordſhip (3)?"

[*B*] *Flouriſhed about the End of the* XV*th Century and beginning of the* XVI*th*.] My reaſon for ſaying this, is, that our Author, ſpeaking of the Calamities of the Kingdom of *Naples*, carries them down to the Death of *Frederic*, the Son of *Ferdinand* I (4), that is, to the Year 1504. beſides, he ſpeaks of *Jovianus Pontanus*, as of a Perſon no longer in being (5). Now *Jovianus Pontanus* did not die before the Year 1505. This is what eſcaped thoſe, who placed the Death of our *Alexander* in the Year 1494, in which *Moreri* gives them a much ſtronger Proof of his Approbation than of his Uncertainty.

[*C*] *The Reaſon he alledges for abandoning the Profeſſion of an Advocate.*] To give the Author's Reaſon it's full Force, I muſt ſet it down in his own Words. "Quæ cum viderem, *ſays he* (6), patro"niſque contra vim potentiorum aut gratiam nihil "præſidii eſſe, nihil opis, fruſtra nos in legum con"troverſiis & ediſcendis tot caſuum varietatibus tam "penſiculate editis tantum laboris & vigiliarum ſuſ"cipere, tantoque nos ſtudio fatigari dicebam, cum "ad ignaviſſimi impuriſſimique cujuſque temeritatem, "qui juri dicendo præſideret, quem leges virum bo"num eſſe volunt, non æquo jure ſed ad gratiam "& libidinem judicia ferri, decretaque legum tanto "conſilio edita convelli & labefactari viderem. —— "*When I ſaw theſe things, and that it was impoſ*"*ſible for the Advocates to ſupport their Clients a*"*gainſt the Power and Favour of the Great, I ſaid,* "*it was to no Purpoſe to take ſo much Pains, and* "*undergo ſo great a Fatigue, in ſtudying the Law,* "*and thoroughly conſidering all it's Variety of Caſes;* "*ſince I could not but obſerve, that the Iſſue of Suits* "*depended not on the Juſtice of the Cauſe, but on* "*the Favour and Affection of a lazy and corrupt* "*Judge, whom the Laws ſuppoſe to be a good and* "*upright Man; and that the judicial Decrees, ſo* "*equitably contrived, were every Day broke in upon,* "*and weakened.*" It was much better to quit the Bar, than to imitate the Practice of ſome Advocates, who, having loſt many good Caſes, undertake to defend the worſt. I have read not long ago, "That "one of the moſt famous Advocates of this Age, "whom his Brethren asked, why he took upon him "to plead bad Cauſes, anſwer'd them ſmiling, that "He did it, becauſe he had loſt a great many good "ones. This is a bad excuſe, *continues the Author*; "an Advocate, who, having examined a Cauſe, "finds it unjuſtifiable, ought to leave it (7). I have met with another Paſſage in the Book of *Alexander ab Alexandro*, which ſhews the Integrity of his Heart (8). One of his Friends, ſeeing, that he did not puſh his Fortune, adviſed him to make uſe of the Expedients, which had ſucceeded ſo well with ſuch and ſuch Perſons, whom he named to him; who had been raiſed by Favour to Honours and Mitres, in ſpite of the Merit of their Competitors, and who had attained to Favour by unlawful Methods. Our Author was not ignorant of theſe Examples, and knew ſome that were worſe; he had ſeen in his Youth a very honeſt Man, well verſed in *Latin* and *Greek*, who, having ſtruggled with an extream Poverty, while he relied only on his Virtue and Learning, reſolved to try another way: He engaged in ſuch villanous Arts, as are improper to be mentioned, and in a little while he became Rich and Powerful, and was poſſeſſed of good Preferments. "Eo veſaniæ proceſſit, ut, coactus "inopia, obſcœnis & libero homine indignis artibus "vacaret (quibus vero artibus non libet dicere, ita "fœdæ & pudendæ ſunt) confectaque fuit ſibi res "ex ſententia; namque haud multo poſt & ſacerdotio "& opibus auctus, affluens & beatus, tranquilliſſime "vitam egit (9)." But theſe Examples did not ſtagger our Advocate; he choſe rather to be contented with a mean Fortune, than to hazard his Conſcience. "Longe igitur multumque præſtat, ſatiuſque fuit "uti ingenio meo, vacuumque his moleſtiis modico "civilique cultu contentum eſſe, neque in ambitio"nem non neceſſariam incurrere, quam bona animi, ſi "qua ſibi homo ſtudio & labore paravit, ea turpi quæſtu

"peſſimo

(1) Simon Goulart *did ſo in his Tranſlation of* Philip de Comines.

(2) Balzac's *Preface to his* Socrate Chretien.

(3) *To ſpeak accurately he ſhould have ſaid, that* Alexander *was both his Chriſtian Name, and the Name of his Family. We meet with the ſame in other Perſons: See* Mollerus, *in his Treatiſe* De Scriptoribus Homonymis.

(4) Alexander. ab Alex. Genial. dier. lib. 3. c. 15. ſub fin. pag. 736.

(5) Id. lib. 1. cap. 1.

(6) Id. lib. 6. cap. 7.

(7) Journal des Sçavans, 1690. pag. 301. Dutch Edit.

(8) Alex. ab Alex. lib. 6. cap. 16.

(9) Id. ibid.

thoſe times, ſcarce any one mentions him [*D*]. We ſhould know but few Particulars of his Life, if he himſelf had not touched upon ſome of them in his Work (*c*). We find there, that he lodged in a Houſe, at *Rome*, which was haunted with Spirits (*d*); ſo that here is an Evidence to be produced againſt the Incredulous; an Evidence, I ſay, who pretends to have ſeen, and who relates the ſurprizing Pranks of the Apparition, which diſturbed the Houſe. He tells us farther, that, when he was very young, he went to *Philelphus*'s Lectures, who explained *Cicero's Tuſculan Queſtions* at *Rome* (*e*). We may gather from the Twenty firſt Chapter of the fourth Book, that he was at *Rome*, when *Nicolas Perottus*, and *Domitius Calderinus*, read public Lectures there on *Martial* [*E*]. I do not find, that he ſpeaks of the Office of Prothonotary of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which it is ſaid he exerciſed with great Reputation (*f*). I cannot tell when he died, but I know that he was buried in the Monaſtery of the *Olivetans* (*g*). Every one blamed him for the Affectation he ſhewed, in not quoting the Authors, who furniſhed him with his Materials (*h*). *Tiraquellus* remedied this Omiſſion by a learned Commentary, which was printed at *Lyons* in 1587 (*i*). It was reprinted at *Leyden* in two Volumes in 8*vo*, in the Year 1673, with the Notes of *Dionyſius Gothofredus*, *Chriſtopher Colerus*, and *Nicolas Mercerus*, on the ſame Text. I find by *Geſner's Bibliotheque*, that the Edition, publiſhed at *Paris*, of this Work of *Alexander ab Alexandro*, in the Year 1532, was more exact than the reſt, and that *Gerard Morrhius*, who corrected it, had collated with the Originals the Paſſages, which the Author had taken from others. He muſt, then, have collated a great many; for the ſix Books of the *Dies Geniales* are ſcarce any thing but a large Collection, relating to the Hiſtory and Cuſtoms of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*; beſides ſeveral Grammatical Queſtions. Exactneſs is not in it's Perfection in this Work [*F*]. I do not believe, that the *French* Tranſlation of this Work, by *Bernard de la Roche* (*k*), was ever printed. The Author of the *Neapolitan Bibliotheque* had no Succeſs in the Article of our *Alexander* [*G*]; but the Additions of *Leonardo Nicodemo* are very curious on this Subject [*H*].

(*c*) *Entituled*, Genialium dierum libri VI.

(*d*) Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 23.

(*e*) Eum ego adoleſcentulus ſenem inter cæteros coævos meos colui & obſervavi. Ibid. lib. 1. cap. 23.

(*f*) Panzirol. de clar. leg. Interpret. lib. 2. cap. 122.

(*g*) Leand. Albert. Deſcript. Ital. pag. 277.

(*h*) Barclaius, de regno, lib. 6. cap. 5. Cypræus de Sponſal. cap. 13. n. 61. Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 609. Meibomius de Vita Mæcœnatis, pag. 138.

(*i*) *Entituled*, Semeſtria in Genialium dierum Alexandri ab Alexandro, lib. 6. in fol. *It was reprinted at* Francfort, *in* fol. *in* 1594.

(*k*) La Croix du Maine, pag. 476.

Alciatus

“ peſſimo Exemplo fœdare (10).” The Advice, which was given him, is much like this.

Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris & carcere dignum,
Si vis eſſe aliquis. Probitas laudatur & alget (11).

Would'ſt thou to Honours and Preferments clime?
Be bold in Miſchief, dare ſome mighty Crime;
Which Dungeons, Death, or Baniſhment deſerves,
For Virtue is but dryly prais'd, and ſtarves.
DRYDEN.

He dedicated his Book to the Duke of *Atri*. This Duke was very learned, as we ſhall obſerve under AQUAVIVA.

[*D*] *Scarce any one mentions him.*] Yet, if we may believe *Moreri*, all the great Men of That Age, as *Georgius Trapezuntius*, *Theodorus Gaza*, *Domitius Calderinus*, *Pontanus*, &c. *were his Friends and his Admirers*. All that can be gathered from the Book itſelf of *Alexander ab Alexandro*, is, that, in his Youth, he heard the Lectures, which *Philelphus* read at *Rome*, who was then very old (12), and that he was entertained ſometimes, together with ſome very learned Men, at the Houſes of *Jovian Pontanus* (13), *Hermolaus Barbarus* (14), *Sannazarius* (15), *Gabriel Altilius* (16), &c. This is not a ſufficient Warrant to affirm, that certain Perſons admire certain Perſons. See the following Remark.

[*E*] *Was at* Rome, *when* Nicolas Perottus, *and* Domitius Calderinus, *read public Lectures there on* Martial.] This is all that can be gathered from what he relates concerning *Nicolas Perottus*, and *Domitius Calderinus*: As for that great Intimacy, which *Panzirolus* pretends there was between them (17), it muſt be looked for elſewhere, and I cannot tell whether it be poſſible to find any Proofs of it. I queſtion not, but *Panzirolus* truſted to his Memory for this Particular, without conſidering, that the Memory is a Mould, in which Objects change their Form very eaſily.

[*F*] *Exactneſs is not in it's Perfection in this Work.*] I chuſe rather to alledge the Teſtimony of one of the Commentators, than to paſs this Cenſure on my own Authority. Let us hear then what *Nicolas Mercerus* ſays. “ Eſt profecto, mi Linoceri (18), verum quod aiunt. “ Fuit Alexander vir eruditus & multæ lectionis: multa ad utilitatem publicam ſcripſit eleganter, multa tamen, ut hominum eſt infirmitas, minus accuratè, vel memoriæ vitio, vel imprudentia lapſus. “ Quæ lectoribus indicari magni interfuit. —— *The* “ *common Opinion, Friend* Linocerius, *is very true.* “ Alexander *was a Man of Learning and great reading. He wrote many Things for public Uſe with* “ *Elegance; but in many things, ſuch is human Infirmity, he was deficient, for want either of Memory* “ *or Skill. It was highly proper to inform the Reader* “ *of this.*” I am not the only Perſon, who complains, that Editors of Books, *cum notis Variorum*, leave out the Epiſtles Dedicatory, and the Prefaces (19). They ſhould do, as was done in the laſt Edition of *Diogenes Laertius* (20). If the ſame had been practiſed in that of *Alexander ab Alexandro*, I might have given a better account of this Author and his Book.

[*G*] *The Author of the* Neapolitan Bibliotheque *had no Succeſs in the Article of our* Alexander.] He only refers his Readers to three or four other Books (21), and was ignorant, that *Alexander Juriſconſultus Neapolitanus*, Author of the four Diſſertations, of which he gives the Title (22), is the ſame with *Alexander ab Alexandro*; inſomuch that he ſpeaks twice of the ſame Man, without knowing that they are different Authors. The Title of the four Diſſertations is as follows. “ Alexandri Juriſconſulti Neapolitani Diſſertationes quatuor de rebus admirandis, quæ in “ Italia nuper contigere, id eſt, de ſomniis quæ à viris ſpectatæ fidei prodita ſunt, inibique de laudibus “ Juniani Maii ſomniorum conjectoris: de umbrarum “ figuris & falſis imaginibus: de illuſionibus malorum “ dæmonum, qui diverſis imaginibus homines deluſere: de quibuſdam ædibus, quæ Romæ infames “ ſunt ob frequentiſſimos lemures, & terrificas imagines, quas author ipſe ſingulis fere noctibus in “ Urbe expertus eſt: Romæ, in 4to. Abſque anno “ nec apud quem. —— Alexander, *the* Neapolitan “ *Civilian, his four Diſſertations concerning the wonderful Things, which have lately happened in* Italy, “ viz. *of Dreams, related by Men of unqueſtionable* “ *Veracity, herein this of the Praiſes of* Junianus “ Maius, *Interpreter of Dreams; of the Shapes and* “ *deceitful Appearances of Spectres; of the Illuſions* “ *of Evil Spirits, who deceive Men by various Appearances; of certain Houſes at* Rome, *which are* “ *infamous on account of frequent Apparitions, and* “ *frightful Sights, which the Author himſelf was every* “ *Night a Witneſs of at* Rome, *in 4to.*” They have neither ſet down the Printer's Name, nor the Year of the Impreſſion. We ſhall ſee, in the following Remark, that theſe Pieces have been incorporated with the *Dies Genialis*.

[*H*] *The Additions of* Leonardo Nicodemo *are very curious on this Subject.*] He proves, that *Alexander*

(10) Id. ib.

(11) Juven. Sat. 1. ver. 73.

(12) Alex. ab Alex. lib. 1. cap. 23.

(13) Id. ib. lib. 1. cap. 1. *See alſo* lib. 3. cap. 8.

(14) Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1.

(15) Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 1.

(16) Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 1.

(17) *Admodum familiaris fuit:* Panzirol. de claris legum Interpret. lib. 2. cap. 122.

(18) *He, to whom he dedicates his Notes.*

(19) *See* Crenius, *Chap* 1, *of the firſt pa t of the* Animadverſiones Philologicæ & Hiſtoricæ, *and the Remark* [*R*], *of the Article* MAROT.

(20) *That of* Amſterdam, 1692, *which contains moſt of the Prefaces, &c. of the foregoing Editions.*

(21) Nicolo Toppi Biblioth. Napolet. pag. 6.

(22) Id. ib. pag. 7.

ab

Alciatus believed, that ALEXANDER *ab Alexandro* was yet living, in the Year 1521. I ſhall give his own Words, becauſe they contain his Opinion of this Writer [*I*].

ab Alexandro is the Author of the four Diſſertations, becauſe moſt of the Particulars they contain are to be met with in the *Dies Geniales*: For Example, that which relates to the Praiſes of *Juninnus Maius*, and the Interpretation of Dreams (23), is to be found in the eleventh Chapter of the firſt Book, where this *Junianus* is repreſented as one, who had daily a crowd of Dreamers attending him, whoſe Dreams he interpreted in a very intelligible manner, whereby many Perſons avoided Death, or great Troubles. Read the Twenty third Chapter of the fifth Book (24), where you will find what concerns the Apparitions and Hobgobblings, which haunted the Author's own Houſe. We find the Title of an Edition in Folio, of the *Dies Geniales* in *Nicodemo*'s Additions: I ſhould take it for the firſt, if a Paſſage of *Alciatus* did not hinder me (25). The Title is this. "Alexandri de Alexandro Dies Geniales. Ne quis opus excudat denuo infra ſeptennium, ſub diris imprecationibus Apoſtolica autoritate interdictum eſt. —— Alexander ab Alexandro, *his* Dies Geniales. *It is ordered by Apoſtolical Authority, and upon pain of dreadful Anathemas, that no one reprint this Work, 'till ſeven Years are expired.*" There is at the end, "Romæ, in ædibus Jacobi Mazochii, Rom. Academiæ Bibliopolæ. Anno Virginei partus 1522, Kalend. April. Pontif. S. D. N. de cujus nomine pontificali adhuc non conſtat, anno primo. —— *At* Rome, *for* James Mazochius, *Bookſeller to the Academy of* Rome, *in the Year of Chriſt* 1522, *the Kalends of* April, *in the firſt Year of the Pontificate of* S. D. N. *whoſe pontifical Name is not yet known.*" *Nicodemo* mentions a Fragment of a Letter of *Jerome Niger* (26), which is not very complaiſant to the *Neapolitans* in general, or our *Alexander* in particular. "Quel libro d' Aleſſandro de gli Aleſſandri è intitolato *Dies Geniales*, à ſimilitudine delle notti Attiche d' Aulo Gellio, è de' Saturnali di Macrobio, coſe cavate di quà è di là. Ed in vero ha molto del Napoletano, con ſopportazion del Sannazaro parlando. Vendeſi ſei carlini, al parer mio troppo caro. —— *This Book of* Alexander ab Alexandro *is entituled*, Dies Geniales, *in imitation of the* Noctes Atticæ *of* Aulus Gellius, *and the* Saturnalia *of* Macrobius, *which are Collections from different Authors. In truth it ſavours much of the* Neapolitan, *in ſpeaking of* Sannazarius *with Patience. It is ſold for ſix Carlins, a Price, in my Opinion, much too great.*" I ſhall give an Article concerning *Junianus Maius*, the *Artemidorus* of his Age.

(23) *Entituled*, Miracula de ſomniis apud nonnullos cognita & comperta, & quæ ipſe expertus fui.

(24) Leonardo Nicodemo, *ſays the ninth Book, thro' miſtake.*

(25) *I quote it in the Remark* [*I*].

(26) *This Letter is dated from* Rome, *the* 26th *of* June, 1522.

[*I*] *I ſhall give his own Words, becauſe they contain his Opinion of this Writer.*] I take them out of a Letter, which he wrote from *Milan*, the ſixth of *May*, 1521, and which was printed in the Year 1697 (27). "Alexandri Juriſconſulti Neapolitani librum, quem ad nos miſiſti, diligenter legi. Vir eſt doctus & diligens, & non parum ſtudioſos adjuvabit: ſuſpicor tamen eum quandoque falli. —— Si is aliqua tecum familiaritate junctus eſt, velim ab eo exquiras, ut Alpheni Juriſconſulti vetuſtiſſima ſcripta, commentarioſque Senatus conſultorum, quæ vidiſſe ſe, emiſſeque Romæ, ait, commodato det. Eorum autem mentionem facit capite quarto & ſeptimo primi libri: ſuſpicor enim neſcio quid Parrhaſianum, quem ſcis eos authores plerumque adducere ſolitum, quos nunquam viderat. —— *I have carefully peruſed the Book of* Alexander *the* Neapolitan *Civilian, which you ſent me. He is a learned and induſtrious Writer, and not a little uſeful to the Studious; but I ſuſpect he is ſometimes miſtaken.* —— *If you have any acquaintance with him, pray beg the favour of him to lend you the ancient Works of* Alphenus *the Civilian, and the Commentaries on the* Senatus Conſulta, *which he ſays he ſaw, and purchaſed, at* Rome; *he mentions them in the fourth and ſeventh Chapters of his firſt Book: For I ſuſpect him of imitating* Parrhaſius, *who, you know, was wont to alledge Authors, whom he never ſaw.*"

(27) Epiſt. Gudii, &c. pag. 91.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, King of *Macedonia*. Look for MACEDONIA.

ALEXANDER VII. Pope. Look for CHIGI.

ALEXANDER VIII. Pope. Look for OTTOBONI.

ALEXIS, a *Piemontois.* There is a Book of SECRETS under the Name of this *Alexis*. It was printed at *Baſil* in 8*vo*, in the Year 1563, being tranſlated from the *Italian* into *Latin* by *Wecker* (*a*). It was likewiſe tranſlated into *French*, and printed ſeveral times with Additions. There is a Preface to it, wherein Signor *Alexis* informs the Public, that he was born of a Noble Family; that he applied himſelf to ſtudy from his Childhood; that he learned *Latin*, *Greek*, *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, and ſeveral other Languages; that, being particularly fond of the Secrets of Nature, he had collected as many of them as he could in his Fifty ſeven Years Travels; that he had piqued himſelf upon not communicating them to any one, but that, at the Age of Eighty two Years and ſeven Months, ſeeing a poor Man dead at *Milan*, whom he could have cured, if he had communicated one of his *Noſtrums* to the Chirurgeon, he was touched with ſo great a Remorſe of Conſcience, that he nearly turned Hermit, and in this Solitude diſpoſed his *Recipes* for Publication. The Hawkers carry them to Country-Fairs, with their other little Books, covered with blue Paper. It is true they have only the choice Remedies of Signor *Alexis*; the whole Collection would be too great a Volume for them.

(*a*) Mercklin. in Lindenio renovato, pag. 28.

ALFENUS VARUS (PUBLIUS) born at *Cremona*, firſt a Shoemaker, and afterwards a Diſciple of the famous Civilian, *Servius Sulpitius* (*a*), and at laſt Conſul, was a very learned Man in the Civil Law [*A*]. He was buried at the Public Expence. This is all that is ſaid of him by one of the old Scholiaſts upon *Horace*, in his

(*a*) Acron calls him Marcus, *but it ſhould be* Servius, *according to* William Grotius, Vit. Juriſc. pag. 86. *See* Aulus Gellius, lib. 6. cap. 5. & Pomponius, in lib. 2. D. de Orig. Juris.

[*A*] *A very learned Man in the Civil Law.*] This Paſſage of *Ammianus Marcellinus* againſt the Advocates of his Time; "Hi, ut altius videantur jura callere, Trebatium loquuntur, & Caſcellium, & Alfenum, & Auruncorum Sicanorumque jamdiu leges ignotas (1). —— *Theſe Men, that they may be thought more deeply verſed in the Science of the Law, are ever talking of* Trebatius, Caſcellius, *and* Alfenus, *and the obſolete Laws of the* Aurunci *and* Sicani." This Paſſage, I ſay, is ſufficient to convince us of the great Authority of the Name of *Alfenus*, in matters of Law. Add to this the Teſtimonies alledged by *Bertrand*, in the firſt Book of his Civilians (2).

(1) Amm. Marcel. lib. 3. cap. 4. pag. 594.

(2) Pag. 56, 57. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1675.

[*B*] On

his Notes on a Paſſage, which relates to our *Alfenus* [*B*], whoſe Conſulſhip, they ſay, fell out in the Year of *Rome* 754 (*b*). I will not warrant this. *Alfenus* wrote Forty Books of *Digeſts*, which are mentioned in the Index of the *Pandects*, and ſome Books of Collections, *Collectaneorum*. *Aulus Gellius* cites both theſe Works; and, tho' he refutes what he quotes out of them, yet he repreſents the Author as a Man, who was a great Enquirer into Antiquities [*C*]. The Civilian *Paulus* wrote an Abridgment of *Alfenus*'s Books (*c*). If it were true, that there was an *Alfenus* among the Counſellors of the Emperor *Alexander Severus* [*D*], who was a Diſciple of *Papinian*, as ſome affirm from a very intricate Paſſage of *Lampridius*, he might be deſcended from the other; tho' it muſt be confeſſed that there were ſome *Alfenus's* different from the Diſciple of *Sulpitius*. There was an *Alfenus* mentioned by *Cicero* in his Oration for *Quinctius*, and an *Alfenus*, General of the Army under *Vitellius*, and Prefect of the *Prætorium*, who did not behave like a Man of Courage, when his Party was overcome by That of *Veſpaſian (d)*. *Donatus*, in the Life of *Virgil*, ſpeaks of an *Alfenus* [*E*], who, with ſome others, exempted the Lands of that Poet from the Fate, to which thoſe of the Neighbourhood were expoſed, when, after the Defeat of *Brutus*, they were aſſigned to the Soldiers. Very learned Perſons believe, that He, who did *Virgil* that kind Office, was the ſame *Alfenus*, who had been formerly a Shoemaker, and the ſame *Alfenus*, whom *Catullus* ſpeaks of (*e*). This is attended with ſome Difficulty [*F*]. See my Remarks, in which *Moreri* is ſometimes ſhewn to be guilty of unpardonable Miſtakes.

(*b*) *See* Cruquius in Hor. Sat. 3. lib. 1.

(*c*) Guil. Grot. Vitæ Juriſconſ. pag. 86.

(*d*) Tacit. Hiſtor. lib. 2. cap. 29, 43. & lib. 3. cap. 36, 55, 61. & lib. 4. cap. 11.

(*e*) Dacier *upon* Horace Sat. 3. lib. 1.

[*B*] *On a Paſſage, which relates to our* Alfenus.] The Words of *Horace* deſerve to be produc'd.

——— ——— Alfenus vaſer, omni
Abjecto inſtrumento artis, clauſaque taberna,
Sutor erat, ſapiens operis ſic optimus omnes
Eſt opifex, ſic rex ſolus (3).

Skillful Alfenus, *though he loſt his Awl,*
And threw away his Laſt, and ſhut his Stall,
And broke his Threads, yet was a Cobler ſtill;
Thus each Mechanic, if he has but skill,
Is wiſe, and only King. CREECH.

(3) Horat. Sat. 3. l. 1. ver. 130.

[*C*] Aulus Gellius ——— *though he refutes what he quotes out of them, yet repreſents him as a great Enquirer into Antiquities.*] This relates to the Signification of theſe Words, *argentum purum putum*, which were in the Treaty of Peace, concluded between the Republic of *Rome*, and that of *Carthage*. The *Romans* were to receive every Year a certain Tribute of Money, *purum putum*, that is of good Alloy. *Moreri* imagined, that the proper name of that Tribute was *purum putum*, which is a pleaſant Conceit enough. *Aulus Gellius* rejects, not without reaſon, the Senſe, which *Alfenus* gave to theſe Words (4); and, if we were to judge of this Civilian's Capacity from hence, he would ſoon loſe his great Reputation. He believed that *purum putum* was formed from *purus*, as *novicius* and *propicius* are form'd from *novus* and *propius*, in order to give more Force to the Signification of the primitive Word. *Aulus Gellius* refutes him ſolidly, and ſhews that *putum* ſignifies That, from which all Superfluities are retrench'd. He does not cite the Book, which *Moreri* quotes, to wit, the fourth and thirtieth of the *Digeſts*, nor That, which *Bertrand* alledges, to wit, the thirtieth of the ſame *Digeſts*; but he cites the Thirty fourth. As for the other Work, which he cites, it is entituled, *Conjectaneorum*, in the Edition of *Henry Stephens*; but I find that *Bertrand*, and *William Grotius*, read it *Collectaneorum*. This laſt Title ſeems to agree better with the Paſſages of the *Pandects*, where *Servius* is cited upon the Teſtimony of *Alfenus*, *Servius apud Alfenum notat, putat*; but it would be wrong to prefer, upon this Account, the latter Title to That, which *Henry Stephens* preferred. *Bertrand* makes *Aulus Gellius* ſay what he does not, to wit, that the Work, entituled *Collectanea*, conſiſted of four Books. Theſe are *Aulus Gellius*'s Words: *In libro digeſtorum trigeſimo & quarto, conjectaneorum autem ſecundo, in fœdere, inquit*, &c (5). I do not queſtion, but that, ſince *Bertrand* ſaid, that *Aulus Gellius* quoted the thirtieth Book of the *Digeſts*, he believed that *& quarto* related to the following Words, and that, without taking notice of what follows, he concluded, that the fourth Book of the *Collectanea* had been cited; from whence, neverthleſs, he had no reaſon to infer, that the Work contained but four Books, and that *Aulus Gellius* ſaid ſo. Neither the critical Remarks on this Work of *Bertrand*, inſerted in the Edition of *Leyden*, nor *William Grotius*, have taken notice of theſe ſmall Miſtakes. *Aulus Gellius* ſpeaks to the Advantage of *Alfenus*: "Alfenus Juriſconſultus, Servii Sulpitii Diſcipulus, Rerumque antiquarum non incurioſus (6). ——— Alfenus, *the Civilian, Diſciple of* Servius Sulpitius, *and a curious Enquirer into Antiquity.*"

(4) Aulus Gell. lib. 6. cap. 5.

(5) Id. ib.

(6) Lib. 6. cap. 5.

[*D*] *That there was an* ALFENUS *among the Counſellors of the Emperor* Alexander Severus.] The Paſſage of *Lampridius*, as it is printed, is ſo erroneous in ſome reſpects, that nothing can be concluded from it, for the Exiſtence of an *Alfenus*, in the Reign of *Alexander Severus*. See *Caſaubon* on that Paſſage. However *Moreri* ſhould not have cited *Horace*, nor *Aulus Gellius*, for his *Alfenius*, *ſurnamed the younger*, who *lived*, ſays he, *in the Reign of* Alexander Severus.

[*E*] Donatus ——— *ſpeaks of an* ALFENUS.] *Moreri*, giving an Article of this Perſon, pag. 170, calls him *Alphenius Varus*, *a* Roman *Knight*, and cites *Donatus in vita Virgilii*. But *Donatus* does not ſtyle him a *Roman* Knight; and, beſides, in the beſt Editions (7), it is *Alphenus*, *Varius*, as two different Perſons, and not *Alphenius Varus*, as one Perſon. It muſt, nevertheleſs, be confeſs'd, that theſe Verſes of the ninth Eclogue of *Virgil*, ver. 26.

(7) *That of* Hackius *at* Leyden 1680.

Immo hæc, quæ Varo necdum perfecta canebat,
Vare, tuum nomen (ſuperet modo Mantua nobis,
Mantua væ miſeræ nimium vicina Cremonæ)
Cantantes ſublime ferent ad ſidera cygni;

Or what unfiniſh'd he to Varus *read;*
Thy Name, O Varus *(if the kinder Powers*
Preſerve our Plains, and ſheild the Mantuan *Towers,*
Obnoxious by Cremona's *neighbouring Crime)*
The Wings of Swans, and ſtronger-pinion'd Rhyme,
Shall raiſe aloft, and ſoaring bear above,
Th' immortal Gift of Gratitude to Jove.
DRYDEN.

are applied, by the Grammarian *Servius*, to an *Alfenus Varus*, who was ſent by *Auguſtus* to command beyond the *Po*, after *Pollio* had loſt that Government. The ſame Grammarian obſerves, that ſome Perſons have applied theſe other Verſes of *Virgil* to the Civilian *Alfenus Varus*, Succeſſor of *Servius Sulpitius*;

Nam neque adhuc Varo videor, nec dicere Cinna
Digna, ſed argutos inter ſtrepere anſer olores (8).

I nor to Cinna's *Ears, nor* Varus *dare aſpire,*
But gabble, like a Gooſe, amidſt the Swan-like Quire.
DRYDEN.

(8) Virgil. Eclog. 9. ver. 35.

The reaſon was, becauſe *Alfenus Varus* the Civilian was ſomething of a Poet. *Servius* confutes them, by ſhewing, that this Elogy ought to be underſtood of the Poet *Varius*, whom *Horace* praiſed ſo much.

[*F*] *This is attended with ſome Difficulty.*] A Perſon, who applies himſelf with ſuch Ardour to the Civil Law, that, by his great Progreſs, he notonly wipes off the Diſgrace, ariſing from the Mechanic Trade, which he had exerciſed in his Native Country, but ſucceeds likewiſe the greateſt Civilian at that time in the Republic of *Rome*, muſt probably be too ſedate, to join with *Catullus*, and other Sparks of the ſame Stamp, in their Debauchery. But the *Alfenus*, of whom *Catullus* ſpeaks, was of this Knot of Rakes.

Alphene immemor, & unanimis falſe ſodalibus (9)!

Forgetful Alphenus, *and falſe to your unanimous Companions!*

He introduced *Catullus* to his own Whore;

Varus me meus ad ſuos Amores
Viſum duxerat è fore otioſum,
Scortillum, ut mihi tum repente viſum eſt,
Non illepidum, nec invenuſtum (10).

Varus *carried me Home from the* Forum, *being diſengaged, to ſee his Miſtreſs; who appeared to me, upon a ſudden View, a ſmart, pretty, Wench.*

And therefore it is not very likely, that he was the Diſciple of *Sulpitius*. *Muretus* was cenſured for ſaying, that *Varus*, who carried *Catullus* to his Miſtreſs, was *Quintilius Varus*; and the Cenſure was grounded on this, that there were at leaſt Fifty ſeven Years between the Defeat of the three Legions of *Varus*, and and the Viſit, which *Catullus* ſpeaks of. I make uſe of this Reaſon (11). There muſt be fifty Years, more or leſs, between this Viſit, and the Conſulſhip of *Alfenus* (12), and therefore it is very unlikely, that the Shoemaker of *Cremona*, if he was Conſul in the Year of *Rome* 754, had ſuch an intimate Acquaintance with *Catullus* fifty Years before: For a Country Shoemaker, who leaves his Trade, in order to ſtudy in the Capital City, can be no Boy, when he is intimate with Perſons of Diſtinction. Add to this, that he, who did *Virgil* that good Office, commanded beyond the *Po* forty Years before the Conſulſhip in Queſtion (13). So that there is reaſon to doubt, whether *Alfenus*, who was Conſul in the Year of *Rome* 754, be the ſame with *Virgil*'s Benefactor: For it is ſeldom that a Man attains to great Dignities, when the uſual time of arriving at them has been long over. This was the Caſe of thoſe, who, after a Government of a Province, were forty Years without obtaining the Conſular Dignity.

(9) Catull. Epig. 31. *Mr* Dacier *upon* Horace, Sat. 3. lib. 1. *cites the 27th Epigram of* Catullus.

(10) Catull. Epig. 10.

(11) Scalig. in Catull. Epigr. 10.

(12) *It is placed in the 754th Year of* Rome.

(13) Servius in Ecl. 9. ver. 29.

ALFONSUS. See the Kings of this Name under That of their reſpective Kingdoms.

ALYPIUS, of *Antioch*, lived in the Reign of *Julian* the Apoſtate. He had already commanded in *England*, when That Prince took it into his Head to rebuild the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and appointed him Overſeer of the Work. *Alypius* promoted the Deſign with great Application, and was aſſiſted in it by the Governor of the Province (*a*). Yet he was obliged to deſiſt from the Undertaking; the Flames, which iſſued out of the Earth, rendring the Place inacceſſible. Eight Years after, he found himſelf involved in a terrible Perſecution, which deſtroyed a great number of People, and which was firſt raiſed againſt thoſe, who had made uſe of Magic to diſcover the Succeſſor of *Valens*. When the Commiſſioners for informing againſt the Guilty had ſet the Affair a-going, nothing was to be ſeen but accuſed Perſons, who were immediately Condemned and Puniſhed. *Alypius*, who had betaken himſelf to a private Life, in order to enjoy the Pleaſures of Quiet, was attacked by the Informers, and accuſed of being a Poiſoner (*b*). He was baniſhed, and all his Eſtate confiſcated. His Son *Hierocles*, being condemned to Death on the ſame Accuſation, was happily ſaved, as he was led to the Place of Execution (*c*). The News of this fortunate Event mitigated *Alypius*'s Affliction in his Exile. It is very probable, that the Author of the *Geographical Piece*, which pleaſed *Julian* the Apoſtate very much, is the ſame with our *Alypius* [*A*]; but I do not believe, that this Work is a Deſcription of the Old World, which *James Godfrey* tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Latin* [*B*]. I know nothing of one **ALYPIUS**, who wrote a Treatiſe of Muſic, entitled Εισαγωγὴ μȣσικὴ, *Introductio Muſica*, mentioned by *Caſſiodorus*; *Meurſius* was

(*a*) *See Remark* [*A*].

(*b*) *See Remark* [*A*].

(*c*) *See the manner how, in the Article* HIEROCLES.

[*A*] *The Author of the Geographical Piece, which pleaſed* Julian *the Apoſtate, is the ſame with our* Alypius.] This Author lived in the Reign of *Julian* the Apoſtate. We have two Letters, which that Prince wrote to him, which teſtify, that *Alypius* was the Brother of *Cæſarius*, and that he exerciſed a conſiderable Employ (1). This laſt Character agrees admirably well with *Alypius* of *Antioch*, who, after having been Deputy-Governor in *England*, was ſent to *Judæa* to ſuperintend the Building of the Temple. *Ammianus Marcellinus* informs us of theſe Particulars. "Ambitioſum quondam apud Hieroſolymam templum —— inſtaurare ſumptibus cogitabat immodicis: Negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochenſi, qui olim Brittannias curaverat pro præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter inſtaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris aſſultibus erumpentes fecere locum, exuſtis aliquoties operantibus, inacceſſum (2).—— *He reſolved to rebuild the magnificent Temple, which was formerly at* Jeruſalem, *at an immenſe Expence, and committed the Diſpatch of the Work to* Alypius *of* Antioch, *who had formerly commanded in* Brittain *under the Præfects. But, as* Alypius *was carrying on the Work with great Expedition, and was aſſiſted in it by the Governor of the Province, there iſſued forth dreadful Balls of Fire, with frequent Eruptions, near the Foundations, which ſometimes burnt the Workmen, and rendered the Place inacceſſible.*" Thus he ſpeaks in the Twenty ninth Book: "Ecce autem Alypius quoque, ex Vicario Britanniarum, placiditatis homo jocundæ, poſt otioſam & repoſitam vitam (quoniam huc uſque injuſtitia tetenderat manus) in ſqualore maximo volutatus, ut veneficii reus, citatus eſt cum Hierocle filio (3).—— Alypius *too, formerly Deputy-Governor of* Brittain, *a Man of a pleaſant and eaſy Temper, after a Life of Eaſe and Retirement (for the Hand of Injuſtice reached even thither) was treated as the greateſt Criminal, and arraigned for poiſoning, with his Son* Hierocles."

[*B*] *I do not believe, that this Work is the Deſcription of the old World, which* James Godfrey *tranſlated out of* Greek *into* Latin.] This Deſcription is an anonymous Work, compoſed in the Reign of the Emperors *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans*. There was an ancient and very barbarous *Latin* Tranſlation of it, which *Salmaſius* communicated to the learned *James Godfrey*, who cauſed it to be printed, with the *Greek* Text, and with a new Tranſlation, accompanied with Notes (4). *Voſſius* ſeems to believe, that the Author of this Deſcriptiption is the ſame *Alypius*, who ſent a Geographical Treatiſe to *Julian* the Apoſtate; but *if ſo*, continues he, *it muſt be ſaid, according to the Remark of* James Godfrey, *that* Alypius *compoſed it before he commanded in* England, *for there is nothing ſaid of that Iſland in it, but on the Credit of others: "Britannia Provincia, ſicut qui fuerunt narrant, valde maxima."* As for me, I ſhould readily conclude from this Paſſage, that *Alypius* did not write this Deſcription; and this is my Reaſon. It was long, ſince his having been Lieutenant in *England*, when *Julian*

(1) *See Remark* [*B*].

(2) Amm. Marcell. lib. 23. cap. 1. pag. 350. ad ann. 363.

(3) Id. lib. 29. cap. 1. pag. 556. ad ann. 371.

(4) Voſſius de Scient. Math. pag. 248.

was the firſt who publiſhed it in *Greek* (*d*). Mr *Hoſman* would have done better to have omitted this Article entirely [*C*].

(*d*) Voſſius de Scient. Math. pag. 94.

Julian gave him a Commiſſion to rebuild the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. "Negotiumque maturandum Alypio "dederat Antiochenſi, qui OLIM Brittannias cura-"verat pro Præfectis (5). —— *He committed the* "*Diſpatch of the Work to* Alypius *of* Antioch, *who* "*had* FORMERLY *commanded in* Britain *under the* "*Prefects*." He ſent his Geography to the Emperor, while he commanded under him in ſome Province. He was therefore able to ſpeak of *England*, as an Eye-witneſs. He is not, then, the Author of the Deſcription of the old World, in which there is nothing ſaid of that Iſland, but on the Credit of others, who had travelled thither. Let no one object to me, that he wrote two Books, the one before he went into *England*, the other under *Julian* the Apoſtate, and that the firſt is the Deſcription, publiſhed by *Godfrey*; for it is very probable, that, if he was Author of that Deſcription, he would have inſerted it in the Work, which he ſent to *Julian*, and thus the firſt Work would have been diſregarded. It would have been loſt, then, and the Book, which *Godfrey* tranſlated and adorned with Notes, would not be extant at this preſent time. We underſtand from *Julian*, that *Alypius* was a Poet: Ἔχει γὰρ, ſays he (6), καὶ τὰ διαγράμματα τῶν πρόσθεν βέλτιον, καὶ κατεμούσωσας αὐτὸ προσθεὶς τοὺς ἰάμβους. —— *It contains likewiſe much better Deſcriptions than the former; beſides which you have given it a Poetical Turn by the Iambics, which you have added to it.* Afterwards he approves of the manner, in which *Alypius* treated the People, and praiſes him for uſing ſometimes Mildneſs, and ſometimes great Reſolution. Περὶ δὲ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅτι δραστηρίως ἅμα καὶ πρᾴως ἅπαντα περαίνειν προθυμῇ, συνηδόμεθα. μῖξαι γὰρ πρᾳότητα καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ ῥώμῃ, καὶ τῇ μὲν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους, τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀπαραιτήτως πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, οὐ μικρᾶς ἐστι φύσεως, οὐδ' ἀρετῆς ἔργον. —— *As to your Conduct in Affairs of Government, I am pleaſed to find, that you ſtudy to tranſact every thing with Aſſiduity and Humanity; for it requires no ſmall Ability and Virtue ſo to temper Lenity and Moderation with Vigor and Reſolution, as to uſe the former towards good Men, and exert the latter for the Puniſhment of the bad.*

(5) Amm. Marcell. lib. 23. c. 1.

(6) Julian. Epiſt. 30.

[*C*] *Mr* Hoſman *would have done better to have omitted this Article entirely*] I. In the firſt Place, he writes *Alipius*. II. He ſays, that *Alipius* of *Antioch* is Author of the Deſcription of the old World. III. That this Deſcription was publiſhed in *Latin*, in the Reign of *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans*. IV. That there was another *Alipius* of *Antioch*, who wrote a Treatiſe of Geography. V. That *Ammianus Marcellinus* aſſerts This. This is all Mr *Hoſman*'s Account; in which there are many Faults of Omiſſion; but the worſt is, the little he has ſaid is quite full of Faults of Commiſſion.

ALYPIUS, a Philoſopher of *Alexandria*, cotemporary with *Jamblicus*, and one of the ſubtileſt Logicians of his Time, was as little as a Dwarf; but his Wit made up for this Imperfection. He had many Diſciples, to whom he gave only verbal Inſtructions, without dictating any Thing to them. Which was the reaſon why they left him, to follow *Jamblicus*, under whom they might improve both by Lectures and Writings. *Jamblicus*, having had ſome Converſation with our *Alypius*, admired his Judgment, and his Genius; and even compoſed his Life, wherein he praiſed his Virtue, and the firmneſs of his Soul. *Alypius* died, very old, in the City of *Alexandria* (*a*).

(*a*) Eunapius in Vita Jamblic.

ALYPIUS, Biſhop of *Tagaſta*, where he was born (*a*), was one of St *Auſtin*'s good Friends. He was baptized, with him, at *Milan*, in the Year 388. Five Years after, he travelled into *Paleſtine*; and if, on the one hand, the great Character he gave St *Jerom* of St *Auſtin*, ſerved to cement the Friendſhip of thoſe Fathers, it ſeems, on the other hand that, at his return into *Africa*, he cooled St *Auſtin*'s Affection. This is aſcribed to his relating the ſcandalous things, which St *Jerom*'s Adverſaries ſpoke of him at *Jeruſalem*. *Alypius* was not promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Tagaſta*, till the Year 394, a Year after his Travels into *Paleſtine*. He aſſiſted at the Council of *Carthage*, in the Year 403, in which an Attempt was made to bring over the *Donatiſts* to the Unity of the Church. The Benefactions, which *Pinianus* beſtowed on the Church of *Tagaſta*, when he went thither in the Year 409, with the two *Melania*'s, and *Albina* his Mother-in-law, expoſed *Alypius* to Calumny, as if, by his fine Diſcourſe and Dexterity, he had extorted too much from theſe good and charitable Perſons. The Inhabitants of *Hippo* murmured furiouſly againſt him, becauſe they looked upon him as the cauſe of their looſing the Prey, which they thought they had in their Hands. They had obliged *Pinianus*, even againſt his Will, to promiſe them that he wou'd embrace the Prieſthood in their City; His great Eſtate induced them to this Violence; but, the next Day, he left *Hippo*, and returned to *Tagaſta*, and did not think himſelf obliged by ſuch a forced Promiſe as his was. *Alypius* was one of the ſeven Catholic Prelates, who diſputed, in 411, with ſeven *Donatiſt* Biſhops, in the famous Conference of *Carthage*. In 419, he was deputed to *Honorius*, by the Church of *Africa*. Pope *Boniface* received him with many Marks of Friendſhip, and employed him to tranſmit to St *Auſtin* ſome artful Letters, which the *Pelagians* diſperſed in the Churches. St *Auſtin*, the beſt Writer of his Time, was deſired to refute them. He undertook it, and exerted all his Skill in it (*b*); but *Alypius* confuted this Hereſy more ſtrongly, by the ſevere Decrees, which he obtained at the Court of *Honorius*, againſt the *Pelagians* [*A*]. We ſhould be better acquainted with his Actions and

(*a*) *It is a Town in* Africa.

(*b*) *Taken from* Baronius's *Annals, under the Years, which I have mentioned.*

[*A*] *The ſevere Decrees,* —— *againſt the* Pelagians.] *Baronius* does not affirm, that the *African* Churches ſent *Alypius* to the Emperor, to deſire leave to make uſe of the ſecular Arm againſt the Followers of *Pelagius*; he only conjectures it, and grounds his Conjecture on the Orders, which were diſpatched, in the ſame Year, by the Emperor *Honorius*, againſt the *Pelagians* of *Africa*. But Mr *Maimbourg* does not ſpeak of this as a doubtful Matter; for, having made an odious Compariſon between the Conduct of the Proteſtant Miniſters and that of the *Pelagians*, he adds (1), "That which has "filled

(1) Maimbourg Hiſtoire du Pontificat de St Leon, lib. 1. pag. 33. *Dutch Edit.*

and his Merit, if we had the Work, which St *Auſtin* promiſed, in a Letter, which he wrote to St *Paulinus* [*B*]. To conclude, *Alypius* was very near being married. See the Remark [*B*] of the Article St AUGUSTIN.

“ filled all *France* with Joy, is, that ſo juſt a Decree
“ was ſoon followed by That famous Edict of *October*,
“ which gave the fatal Blow to this Hereſy, by for-
“ bidding the public Exerciſe of the pretended Re-
“ formation, deſtroying all their Temples, and ba-
“ niſhing thoſe Miniſters, who refuſed to renounce
“ their Errors. And this is exactly what the Em-
“ peror *Honorius* did againſt the *Pelagians*, at the
“ Requeſt of the Clergy of *Africa*, preſented by *Aly-*
“ *pius*. For, by the Edict which that Prince granted
“ him for the Good of the whole Church, that He-
“ reſy was exterminated out of the Empire; they,
“ who might yet be ſuſpected of it, were forbid-
“ den to meet, and thoſe falſe Biſhops, who would
“ not ſubſcribe to it's Condemnation, were expelled
“ from their Sees.”

[*B*] *The Work, which St* Auſtin *promiſed in a Letter —— to St* Paulinus.] Becauſe what he ſays in that Letter (2) may give a general Notion of *Alypius*'s Merit, it will not be improper to produce it here,
“ Eſt etiam aliud quo iſtum fratrem amplius diligas,
“ nam eſt cognatus venerabilis & verè beati Epiſcopi
“ Alypii, quem toto pectore amplecteris & merito:
“ nam quiſquis de illo viro benigne cogitat, de mag-
“ na Dei miſericordia & de mirabilibus Dei mune-
“ ribus cogitat. Itaque, cum legiſſet petitionem
“ tuam, quâ deſiderare te indicaſti, ut hiſtoriam ſuam
“ tibi ſcriberet, & volebat facere propter benevolen-
“ tiam tuam, & nolebat propter verecundiam ſuam,
“ quem cum viderim inter amorem pudoremque
“ fluctuantem, onus ab illo in humeros meos tran-
“ ſtuli: nam hoc mihi etiam per epiſtolam juſſit.
“ Cito ergo, ſi Dominus adjuverit, totum Alypium
“ inſeram præcordiis tuis: nam hoc ſum ego maxime
“ veritus, ne ille vereretur aperire omnia, quæ in
“ eum Dominus contulit, ne alicubi minus intelli-
“ genti (non enim abs te ſolo illa legerentur) non
“ divina munera conceſſa hominibus, ſed ſeipſum
“ prædicare videretur, & tu, qui noſti quomodo
“ hæc legas, propter aliorum cavendam infirmitatem,
“ fraternæ notitiæ debito fraudareris. —— *This Bro-*
“ *ther has ſtill a farther claim to your Affection; for*
“ *he is related to the venerable, and truly bleſſed*
“ *Biſhop* Alypius, *whom you embrace with your whole*
“ *Heart, an deſervedly: for whoever thinks favou-*
“ *rably of him, reflects upon the great Mercy, and*
“ *the wonderful Gifts, of God. Therefore, when he*
“ *had read your Petition, in which you expreſſed your*
“ *Deſire, that he would write to you his own Hiſto-*
“ *ry, he was inclined to do it out of good Will to you,*
“ *but deterred from it by his own Modeſty; whom when*
“ *I ſaw fluctuating between Love and Modeſty, I tranſ-*
“ *ferred the Burthen from his Shoulders to my own;*
“ *as he had deſired me by Letter to do. Speedily*
“ *therefore, with God's Aſſiſtance, I ſhall infuſe all*
“ Alypius *into your Breaſt; for my greateſt Fear was,*
“ *leaſt he ſhould conceal Part of the Favours beſtowed*
“ *on him by God, out of a dread of appearing to the*
“ *Ignorant (for you would not have been his only Rea-*
“ *der) rather to preach up himſelf, than the Divine*
“ *Gifts beſtowed on Men; and that, out of Regard*
“ *to the Weakneſs of others, you, who would have*
“ *rightly underſtood him, would be defrauded of the*
“ *Debt of Brotherly Information.*”

ALYPIUS (FALTONIUS PROBUS) Brother of *Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius* (*a*), was Prefect of *Rome* in the Reign of the Emperor *Theodoſius*. *Baronius* proves it by ſome Inſcriptions (*b*). He adds, that there are ſeveral Letters from *Symmachus* to this *Alypius* [*A*]; he cites the *Roman* Martyrology, which ſays, that St *Almachius* was killed by the *Gladiators* [*B*] in the Prefecture of *Alypius*; Laſtly, he conjectures, I. That *Alypius*, Governor of *Egypt*, with whom *John* the Hermit had a Conference [*C*], is the ſame with Him, who is the Subject of this Article. II. That this Converſation with the Hermit converted *Alypius*. A learned *Engliſhman* conjectures, that the Martyr St *Almachius* is an imaginary Saint, and that the Title of the *Almanack* produced this wonderful Canonization [*D*].

[*A*] *There are ſeveral Letters from* Symmachus *to this* Alypius.] His Words are theſe: “ Ad eundem
“ quoque Alypium complures extant Epiſtolæ Sym-
“ machi, deque eo, meminit in Epiſtola ad Flavi-
“ anum (1).” He cites the Eighty ſecond Letter of the ſecond Book of *Symmachus*. In my Edition, I find, at the Eighty ſecond, theſe Words; “ Jampri-
“ dem Domino & fratri meo Alipio comitatum ſacrum
“ viſere atque adire cupienti. —— *My Maſter and*
“ *Brother* Alypius, *deſirous of going to ſee and attend*
“ *the ſacred Proceſſion.*”

[*B*] *St* Almachius *was killed by the* Gladiators.] He endeavoured to ſuppreſs the Worſhip of falſe Gods, on the Day of the Octave of *Chriſtmas*, (which is the firſt Day of the Year) and it coſt him his Life. Theſe are the Words of the Martyrology, on the firſt of *January*, “ Romæ S. Almachii martyris, qui, ju-
“ bente Alypio Urbis præfecto, cum diceret, hodie
“ Octavæ Dominici diei ſunt, ceſſate à ſuperſtitio-
“ nibus idolorum, & à ſacrificiis pollutis, à gladiato-
“ ribus occiſus eſt (2). —— *St* Almachius, *Martyr at*
“ Rome; *who, at the Command of* Alypius, *Prefect*
“ *of the City, having ſaid, To Day is the Octave of*
“ Chriſtmas; *lay aſide your idolatrous Superſtitions,*
“ *and polluted Sacrifices; was thereupon ſlain by the*
“ Gladiators.” *Theodoret*, in the Twenty ſixth Chapter of the fifth Book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſpeaks of a Monk, whoſe Name was *Telemachus*, who came from the utmoſt Parts of the Eaſt to *Rome*, to endeavour at the aboliſhing the Shews of the *Gladiators*. He had the Courage to catechiſe theſe People; but the Spectators were ſo offended at it, that they ſtoned him to Death. *Honorius*, hearing of it, cauſed him to be ranked among the Martyrs, and commanded theſe ſort of Games to be aboliſhed. *Baronius* (3) would reduce what you have juſt now read, and what I have cited out of the Martyrology, to one and the ſame Fact, and would willingly make us believe, that *Theodoret* called Him *Telemachus*, whom he ought to have called *Almachius*; that he placed in the Reign of *Honorius* what was done in that of *Theodoſius*, and that he imputed the Action of the *Gladiators* to the Spectators. At this rate *Theodoret* muſt be guilty of three Miſtakes.

[*C*] Alypius —— *with whom* John *the Hermit had a Conference.*] *Baronius* cites hereupon a long Paſſage (4), by which we are given to underſtand, that Good *Palladius* took it very ill, that the Hermit ſhould leave him, to go and converſe with *Alypius*, Governor of the Province. His Reſentment hereupon inſpired him with ſome Contempt for the Hermit, and with a Reſolution to retire. He would have done ſo, if the Hermit had not ſent him Word to defer his Intentions a little while. *Palladius* perceived from hence, that the Man had a great Fund of Spirituality in him, and a very particular Talent of gueſſing at a Man's Thoughts. He ſtaid 'till the Governor was gone, and then the Hermit made his Excuſes.

[*D*] *The Title of the* Almanack *produced this wonderful Canonization.*] They, who cannot procure the *Engliſh* Book, printed at *London* in 1688, entitled, *The Enthuſiaſm of the Church of* Rome, may conſult the eleventh Volume of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, at the One hundred thirty ninth Page. They will ſee there, that, according to the Conjecture of the *Engliſh* Author, “ Some ignorant Monk, of the VIIth
“ or VIIIth Century, ſeeing at the beginning of
“ the Calender, S. *Almanachum*, written, by way of
“ abbreviation, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe
“ Times, S. *Almâchum*, took the Word, ſeldom
“ uſed in thoſe Times, for the Name of a Saint,

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(2) *It is the* 32d.

(*a*) Demetrias, *his Daughter, is very much praiſed by the Fathers.*

(*b*) Baronius ad Ann. 395. n. 18.

(1) Baronius ad Ann. 395. n. 18.

(2) Ibid. n. 19.

(3) Baron. ad ann. 395. n. 20.

(4) Pallad. in Lauſiac. cap. 22. apud Lipom. tom. 3.

" gave it a Termination in *us*, and placed it *on the* " *firſt Day of the Year.* Ignorance and Chance had " no ſooner brought this new Saint into World, but he " found Martyrologiſts, who affirmed that he was kil- " led in the Amphitheatre of *Rome* in the Prefecture of " *Alypius*, by the Gladiators, whom he endeavoured " to hinder from fighting. No ancient Author men- " tions this holy Courage (5). *Alcuinus* * is the firſt, who " ſpeaks of it, but with ſome Doubt."

(5) *Yet* Theodoret *aſcribes it to the Monk* Telemachus. *See Remark* [*B*].

* De Divin. Offic. cap. 4.

ALKINDUS. Look for ALCHINDUS.

ALLATIUS (LEO) Librarian of the *Vatican*, born in the Iſland of *Chios*, was one of the moſt famous Writers of the XVIIth Century. He was laborious, and indefatigable, greedy after Manuſcripts, endowed with a great Memory, very fit to collect Materials, and conſequently deſerving of the Place which he enjoyed; though he had no very great Penetration, nor a manner of arguing, which ſavoured of the good Logician. I omit the Employments which he had, before he was made the Pope's Librarian, nor have I examined, whether *Moreri*, who ſpeaks of him at large, is very exact. If I have any thing to ſay upon this Head, it ſhall be in the Remarks [*A*]. So that, omitting here what may be found in his Dictionary, I ſhall only touch upon ſome Particulars, which he has omitted. *Allatius* was very ſerviceable to the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal*, in the Diſpute they had with Mr *Claude*, about the Belief of the *Greeks* in regard to the Euchariſt. Mr *Claude* often calls him *the great Author of Mr* Arnaud, and gives him but an indifferent Character [*B*]. Mr *Simon* repreſents him as a Man of no Sincerity [*C*]. Never was a *Latin* by Birth more zealous againſt the ſchiſmatical *Greeks*, than *Allatius*, nor more devoted to the See of *Rome*. He never was married, nor in Eccleſiaſtical Orders; the Reaſon he gives for it deſerves to be known [*D*]. It would be difficult to find in the Hiſtory of Authors, a more remarkable Particular, than That, which relates to a Pen, which he uſed [*E*]. He publiſhed ſeveral Manuſcripts, ſeveral Tranſlations of *Greek* Authors and ſeveral Books of his own compoſing. The Liſt of them in *Moreri*'s Dictionary does not diſtinguiſh

[*A*] *If I have any thing to ſay upon this Head, it ſhall be in the Remarks.*] I find in *Lorenzo Craſſo* (1), that *Leone Allacci* (ſo he calls him) was but nine Years of Age, when he was carried from the Iſland of *Chios* into *Calabria*, where he met with the Protection of a powerful Family (2). After ſome time, he was ſent to *Rome*, where he ſtudied claſſical Learning, Philoſophy, and Divinity, in the *Grecian* College. He was elected at *Naples* great Vicar to *Bernard Juſtiniani*, Biſhop of *Anglona*. He returned to his Native Country; but, finding nothing there agreeable to his Inclinations, he returned to *Rome*, where he ſtudied Phyſic under *Julius Cæſar Lagalla*, and was admitted Doctor in That Science. Afterwards he applied himſelf to Polite Literature, and taught *Greek* in the College of his Nation. The death of *Gregory* XV. deprived him of the Reward of the Commiſſion, which he had received, to tranſport the Library of the Elector *Palatine* to *Rome* (3). Some time after, he went into the Service of Cardinal *Bichi*, afterwards of Cardinal *Francis Barberini*, and at laſt had the Care of the Library of the Vatican from Pope *Alexander* VII. *Lorenzo Craſſo* ſays nothing more in the Book, which I have quoted. I add, that *Allatius* had been a long time Librarian to Cardinal *Barberini*.

(1) Lorenzo Craſſo Iſtoria de' Poeti Greci, pag. 306. *See alſo his* Elogii d'Huomini Letterati, Tom. I. pag. 397. & ſeq.

(2) *That of the* Spinelli.

(3) Moreri *places this in the Year* 1621. *but* Heidelberg *was not taken till* 1622.

[*B*] *Mr* Claude —— *gives him but an indifferent Character.*] "*Allatius* was a *Greek*, who had left his " Religion to embrace the *Romiſh*; a *Greek*, whom " the Pope had made his Library-keeper, a Man the " moſt attached to the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome*, " a Man the moſt malicious, and moſt outrageous " againſt Perſons; a Man the moſt zealous againſt " the *Greeks*, who are called Schiſmatics, particu- " larly againſt *Cyril*, and, after all, a true Dealer in " Smoak (4). ——— His Zeal for the Court of " *Rome* appears in the very beginning of his Book, " *De perpetua Conſenſione*; for thus he ſpeaks in fa- " vour of the Pope *: *The* Roman *Pontiff holds of* " *no one; he judges every one, and is judged of none;* " *Obedience is to be paid to him, though he governs* " *unjuſtly; he gives Laws without receiving any; he* " *alters them as he pleaſes, he creates Magiſtrates,* " *he determines Matters of Faith, he orders the great* " *Affairs of the Church, as he pleaſes. He cannot* " *err, if he would; for no Infidelity or Error can* " *come near him; and if an Angel ſhould ſay other-* " *wiſe, being inveſted as he is with the Authority* " *of* Jeſus Chriſt, *he cannot change.* The ill Nature, " with which he treats thoſe, againſt whom he diſ- " putes, as *Chytræus*, *Creygthon*, the Archbiſhop of " *Corfu*, and others, whom he attacks out of Wan- " tonneſs, appears from the meer reading of his " Works; each Period honours them with ſome of " theſe fine Appellations: *Fools*, *Lyars*, *Blockheads*, " *Rotten Muſhrooms*, *Infernal Mouths*, *Wicked*, *Im-* " *pudent*, and ſuch like Terms †, which are not " the Marks of a Temper extreamly moderate. To " prove to us the Conformity of the *Greek* Church " with the *Romiſh* in Eſſentials, he lays it down as " a Principle, that we muſt acknowledge, as the true " *Greek* Church, no other Party, but that which " obeys the See of *Rome*; as for the other *Greeks*, " whom he calls *Heretics and Schiſmatics*, he fairly " maintains, that it would be right to reduce them " to obedience by Fire and Sword. *That Heretics* " *ought to be proſcribed, exterminated, and puniſhed,* " *and, if they are obſtinate, put to death and burnt* ‖. " They are his own Words." Had *Moreri* reaſon then to call him *good Man?* Is this contemptuous Elogy due to thoſe, who talk of nothing but penal Laws, Extirpation, and Fire and Sword, when the Queſtion is, How Heretics are to be dealt with?

(4) Claude's *Anſwer to* Mr Arnaud, *Book* 3. *ch.* 12. Tom. I. pag. 452. Edit. 8vo.

* Allat. de Perpet. Conſ. lib. I. c. 2.

† Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 15, 16, 17, 18. & adverſ. Creygth. paſſim.

‖ Allat. de Perpet. Conſ. lib. 2. c. 13. Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 11.

[*C*] *Mr* Simon *repreſents him as a Man of no Sincerity.*] The Deſign of the whole firſt Chapter of the *Critical Hiſtory of the* Levant, is to ſhew, that *Leo Allatius* had no Reaſon to be in a Paſſion with *Caucas*, *Archbiſhop* of *Corfu*; that *Caucas* has not imputed any Opinions and Practices to the *Greeks*, which they diſown; and that *Allatius*, *to pleaſe Pope* Urban VIII, *who had at that time formed the Deſign of re-uniting the* Greeks *to the Church of* Rome *by ſoftning Methods*, had abated of the Rigour of ſeveral of the *Greek* Opinions. This is plainly to inſinuate, that he wanted Sincerity; for if *Caucas* was in the right, he could not be contradicted, out of Complaiſance to the Pope, without ſacrificing Candour to Maxims of State.

[*D*] *The Reaſon he gives for it deſerves to be known.*] Pope *Alexander* VII. asked him one Day, why he did not take Orders. *It is*, anſwered he, *becauſe I would be always ready to marry. Why then*, replied the Pope, *don't you marry? It is*, replied *Allatius*, *becauſe I would always be at liberty to take Orders* (5). Thus he ſpent his whole Life in deliberating between a Pariſh and a Wife: Perhaps, at his Death, he repented, that he had not choſen one or other of them; but he might have repented thirty or forty Years ſucceſſively, if he had actually made his Choice.

(5) Mabillon Muſæum Ital. Tom. I. pag. 61.

[*E*] *A remarkable Particular relating to a Pen, which he uſed.*] This Particularity comes from the ſame Hand with the foregoing, to wit, *John Paſtricius*, *Allatius*'s good Friend, Heir of his Books, and diſtinguiſh theſe Three ſorts of Works, nor does it comprehend all that *Allatius* publiſhed. There is more of Reading and Learning in his Productions, than of Wit and Judgment. He knew how to diſcover the Faults of thoſe, againſt whom he wrote, but he did it with too much Sharpneſs, and after an inſulting manner. This is chiefly to be ſeen in the Diſſertations, which he publiſhed againſt Mr *Creygthon* (*a*), concerning the Council of *Florence*. His Genius and his Memory appear in the Digreſſions he made from one Subject to another in the ſame Volume. Mr *Sallo* was far from being his Admirer upon this Account [*F*]. *Allatius* died at *Rome*, in the Month of *January*, 1669 (*b*), being Eighty three Years old. He often wrote *Greek* Verſes. He compoſed a Poem in *Greek* on the Birth of *Lewis* XIV, wherein *Greece* is introduced Speaking. This Poem was printed before his Book, *de Perpetua Conſenſione*, which he dedicated to that King. I forgot to obſerve, that the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal* did not fail to reply to Mr *Claude*, in Favour of *Allatius* [*G*].

(*a*) *See the* Journal des Sçavans *of* Nov. 15. 1666.

(*b*) Henn. Witte, Diarium Biograph. Moreri *places his Death in* 1670.

and Principal of the College *de propaganda fide*. He told *Mabillon* (6), that *Allatius*, having made uſe of the ſame Pen (7) for forty Years in writing *Greek*, and looſing it at laſt, was ready to cry for Grief. He wrote very faſt; for he tranſcribed in one Night the *Diarium Romanorum Pontificum*, which *Hilarion Rancatus*, a *Ciſtertian* Monk had lent him (8). *Allatius* was not permitted to publiſh it.

[*F*] *Mr* Sallo *was far from being his Admirer on this Account.*] Having obſerved, that the chief Piece of one of *Allatius*'s Works was a Complaint of the Virgin, he goes on thus: "This Complaint "was compoſed by *Metaphraſtes*, from which *Leo* "*Allatius* - - - - - takes occaſion to give us an Elogium of *Metaphraſtes*, written by *Pſellus*. And, "becauſe *Metaphraſtes*'s Name was *Simeon*, he takes "occaſion likewiſe from hence to make a very long "Diſſertation on the Lives and Works of great "Men, of the Name of *Simeon*. From the *Simeons* "he proceeds to the *Simons*, from thoſe to the *Simonides*, and laſtly to the *Simonactides*. This way "of writing is the Taſte of *Leo Allatius*. For he "had before compoſed Diſſertations on the Lives "and Works of ſome Authors, who had *equivocal* "Names, as That of *George*, *Methodius*, *Nicetas*, "*Philo*, and *Pſellus*. This is a new invented Project; at leaſt we have nothing like it in the Works "of the Ancients (9)." *Diogenes Laertius* ſeldom forgets to mention, at the end of each Philoſopher's Life, thoſe who bore the ſame Name; and he cites *Demetrius Magnes*, who had wrote a Book, ϖεὶ ὁμονύμων ϖοιητῶν τε ϗ συγγραφέων (10). *Of Poets, and Authors, of the ſame Name.* See the Remark [*H*] of the Article APOLLONIUS TYANEUS. Nor is *Allatius* the Reſtorer of this Project: *Meurſius* had publiſhed ſeveral Treatiſes of this Nature before him. See Mr *Teiſſier*, in his *Catalogus Authorum Bibliothecarum*, where he gives us a Liſt of the Authors, who exerciſed their Pens on this Subject (11). He calls them *Scriptores de Homonymis.* According to Mr *Sallo*, *Homonymi* ought to be tranſlated *thoſe who have Equivocal Names*; but, by his Leave, This would be a wrong Tranſlation. It was never ſaid, that Princes of the ſame Name, as the *Charles*'s, the *Lewis*'s, the *Henry*'s, had *equivocal* Names. Names of this Sort are ſuch as may be taken in different Senſes; ſuch is their Species and their Uſe, both in Logic, and in common Speech. But, to return to *Leo Allatius*, I muſt obſerve, that he was very fit to draw up Liſts or Catalogues. He made this appear when he publiſhed his *Apes Urbanæ*; it is a Book, which grows ſcarce, and is already very dear in *Holland* (12). It contains a Liſt of all the learned Men, who flouriſhed in *Rome*, from the Year 1630 to 1632, with a Catalogue of their Works. The Reaſon of the Title is taken from the Bees, which Pope *Urban* VIII. bore in his Coat of Arms. There is another Liſt of *Allatius*, which is leſs known than this, the Title whereof is *Dramaturgia*. It relates to Dramatical Works, and their Authors. The Book, which he publiſhed at *Rome*, in the Year 1636, *De Erroribus magnorum virorum in dicendo*, contains ſeveral Remarks ſtollen from *Claudius Du Verdier*. Mr *Morhof* charges him with it (13).

[*G*] *The Gentlemen of* Port Royal *did not fail to reply to Mr* Claude *in Favour of* Allatius.] Firſt, they mention part of what Mr *Claude* ſays of him; and then they go on thus. "But, beſides, that theſe empty "Reproaches carry an ill Face; that *Allatius*'s "Writings give quite another Idea of him, and that "his Brethren * ſpeak of him in a very different "manner, and cite him with Commendation; they "are likewiſe contrary to good Senſe: for a Man "may be zealous or bitter againſt an Author, whom "he refutes, without being a Cheat, and a Forger "of falſe Paſſages, and falſe Stories; and there is no "Conſequence from the one to the other. It is not "with the Vices, as it is with the Virtues of Men; "there is no Affinity between them; nay, they are "often contrary the one to the other; and Perſons "may be Paſſionate, Violent, Flatterers, Intereſted, "without giving any occaſion to believe, that the "Paſſages, which they cite, are ſuppoſititious. There "is yet leſs Reaſon to believe it of *Allatius*, than of "another, becauſe ſome Books, which he cited, when "they were but in Manuſcript, having been afterwards printed, have juſtified his Faithfulneſs; and "becauſe it appears, farther, that he always pretended to the Reputation of a learned Critic; and it is "well known, that ſuch Perſons are very far from "falſifying Authors." It is certain, that Mr *Drelincourt* cites him with Commendation, and makes uſe of his Doctrine concerning the Witch of *Endor*, who conjured up the Ghoſt of *Samuel*. He cites his Treatiſe *De Engaſtrimytho*, publiſhed in the Year 1630.

(6) Ibid.

(7) *See the Article of* LANCELOT *an* Olivetan *Monk.*

(8) Id. Mabillon. pag. 77.

(9) Journal des Sçavans, *of* Jan. 19. 1665.

(10) Diog. Laert. in Epimenide, lib. 1. n. 112.

(11) Teiſſier, Catalog. pag. 355.

(12) *It is not to be met with in Bookſellers Shops; but ſometimes at Auctions.*

(13) Morhof de Patavin. pag. 86. Polyhiſt. pag. 179.

* Drelincourt Dialog. de la deſcente aux enfers, pag. 290, &c. Note, *That in my Edition, which is the ſecond, you muſt turn to page* 456, *and the following, for what concerns* Leo Allatius.

ALMAIN (James) Profeſſor of Divinity at *Paris*, in the College of *Navarre*, flouriſhed in the beginning of the XVIth Century. He was born at *Sens*, and acquired the Reputation of one of the moſt ſubtle Logicians, and beſt Schoolmen of the Times. The great Inclination he had for the Doctrine of *Scotus*, and that of *Occam*, and *Gabriel Biel*, ſhews the Character of his Genius. He taught Logic and Phyſics, before he was admitted into the *Houſe of Navarre*, in the Year 1508, and publiſhed ſome Treatiſes on theſe two branches of Philoſophy, in 1505, and 1508. He took his Doctor of Divinity's Degree in the Year 1511, and the Year following he explained the three Books of *Sentences* in the College of *Navarre*. He was employed at the ſame time to write for King *Lewis* XII againſt Pope *Julius* II, and to vindicate the Authority of the Councils againſt a Piece of Cardinal *Cajetan*. The Council of *Piſa* had ſent that Cardinal's Book to the Faculty of Divinity of *Paris* to be confuted by them; they made choice of *Almain* for this Drudgery, and had no reaſon to repent of their choice. This Doctor died very young in the Year 1515. An Edition of all his Works was publiſhed [*A*] at

[*A*] *An Edition of all his Works was publiſhed.*] *Oliver Lugduneus* took this pains, and added a Preface to it, wherein *Almain* is amply praiſed. The beſt of his Works are four moral Treatiſes. *Expo-*

at *Paris* two Years after (*a*). They who pretend, that he was a Monk, are miſtaken [*B*].

(*a*) Launoius Hiſtor. Gymn. Navarr. p. 611.

ſitio circa deciſiones quæſtionum Magiſtri Gulielmi Occam de poteſtate ſummi Pontificis. De auctoritate Eccleſiæ & Conciliorum. Dictata ſuper ſententias Magiſtri Roberti Holcot (1).

[*B*] *They who pretend that he was a Monk, are miſtaken.*] Father *Labbé* (2) accuſes *Geſner*, and his Abbreviator *Simler*, of having falſly advanced this Fact; *Moreri* did not fail, in this point, to copy after Father *Labbé*. Mr *de Launoy* is more particular in his Accuſation againſt *Geſner*; he blames him for ſaying, in his *Bibliotheque*, that *Almain* was of the Order of the *Franciſcans*: He adds, that *Poſſevin*, in his *Apparatus*, makes him only a Monk (3). Father *Labbé* did not make uſe of this Diſtinction; he ſays that *Almain* was a Monk, according to *Geſner*, but that, according to others, he was of the Order of St *Francis*. I do not believe, that *Geſner* has ſaid what is imputed to him; for I have not been able to find any Paſſage in his *Bibliotheque*, which mentions *Almain*. I find indeed a Benedictin, whoſe Name was *Almannus*; but he makes him live in the Year 890. As for *Simler*, it is true he ſays, that *James Almain*, a Monk, wrote a Book againſt Cardinal *Cajetan*. *Moreri* was not acquainted with this Writer's Age; *he flouriſh'd ſtill*, ſays he, *in the beginning of the XVIth Century*. Say rather, that he did not begin to flouriſh 'till that time.

(1) Launoius Hiſt. Gymn. Navarr. pag. 611.

(2) De Scrip. Eccleſ. Tom. I. pag. 488.

(3) Ibid. pag. 614.

ALPAIDE, a Concubine of *Pepin*, and Mother of *Charles Martel*. Some Authors ſay, without good Grounds, that *Pepin* married her, after he had divorced *Plectrude* [*A*]. It is a general Opinion, that *Lambert*, Biſhop of *Liege*, was never ſo much a Courtier, as to approve of *Pepin*'s Amours with this Lady; and that *Alpaide*, enraged at the Liberty he took in cenſuring them, made *Pepin* conſent to the Deſign ſhe had formed againſt that Prelate's Life [*B*]. They add, that *Dodon*, *Alpaide*'s Brother, executed this villanous Deſign, and that, having committed the Murder, he fell into a Diſtemper, which bred a prodigious Number of Worms in his Body, and obliged him to throw himſelf into the *Maëſe* (*a*). *Lambert* has been canonized: He was the only Prelate, they ſay, who durſt tell *Pepin* the Truth [*C*], for which he met with the Fate of St *John* the Baptiſt. His Morality was ſo refined, that he refuſed the Benediction, which was deſired of him at Table, for *Alpaide*'s Glaſs [*D*]. This Lady retired at laſt into a Monaſtery (*b*), where ſhe died. A Cloiſter is commonly to this kind of Perſons, what *Leghorn* was formerly to Bankrupts.

(*a*) Mezerai, Abregé Chron. Tom. I. pag. 171. ad ann. 707. Cordemoi, Hiſt. de Fr. Tom. I. pag. 381.

(*b*) Moreri *ſays, that this Monaſtery had been founded by* Alpaide *at* Orp-le-grand *in* Brabant.

[*A*] *Some Authors ſay, without good Grounds, that* Pepin *married her, after he had divorced* Plectrude.] Mr *de Cordemoi* (1) obſerves, that they built only on the Authority of the ſecond Continuator of *Fredegarius*, who ſays that *Pepin* married *Alpaide*. "But "beſides that this Author, who wrote (as every one "knows) by the Order of *Charles Martel*'s Brother "and Nephew, took care not to repreſent the Amours "of *Pepin* and *Alpaide*, otherwiſe than as a Marriage; "he does not ſay, that *Plectrude* was divorced: Nay, "there are ſeveral Acts remaining, which ſhew that "*Plectrude* was never ſeparated from *Pepin*; ſo that, "according to Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Laws, *Alpaide* "could not be look'd upon as his lawful Wife, and "if he married her, he had two Wives at once."

[*B*] *Enrag'd at the Liberty he took in cenſuring them - - - - - - ſhe form'd a Deſign againſt that Prelate's Life.*] We need not wonder, that the ſecond Continuator of *Fredegarius* ſhould ſay nothing of *Lambert*'s Conduct, nor of the fatal Conſequences it was attended with. He could not touch upon it, without incurring the Diſpleaſure of *Charles Martel*'s Relations, who made uſe of his Pen; and therefore his Silence is of no Weight: But the Author of the *Geſta* likewiſe ſays nothing of it (2). An Author, who liv'd in thoſe Times, ſays only, "That St *Lambert* "was killed by a Lord, whoſe Name was *Dodon*, "in revenge for the Death of two of his Relations, "whom the Servants of that holy Biſhop had ſlain, "without his Knowledge (3)." If we knew of what Party this Author was, whether he was for *Charles Martel*, or for *Plectrude*, whether he had any thing to hope for, or to fear, we might know how to judge of his Silence. Mr *de Cordemoi* adds, that it does not appear "by any Memoirs of that Time, either "that *Dodon* was the Brother of *Alpaide*, or that ſhe "induced him to kill St *Lambert*; that there are in"deed ſome Expreſſions in the Martyrologies com"pos'd about that time, which ſhew, that this Vio"lence had been done by Order from the Court, "and that, as *Pepin* was Maſter of it, thoſe, who "wrote afterwards, thought they ought to explain, "to the Diſadvantage of that Prince, and of *Alpaide*, "the conceal'd meaning of the Martyrologies (4)." The ſafeſt way, I think, is to place this in the Number of doubtful Facts. They, who tell us, that *Lambert*, Biſhop of *Liege*, was the only Perſon, who durſt reprimand *Pepin*, and ſpeak openly of his Bigamy *as of a public Adultery*, without ſuffering himſelf to be influenced either by the Promiſes, or the Threats, of *Dodon*, *Alpaide*'s Brother (5), *did not write 'till a long time after* (6); which makes their Teſtimony leſs to be depended upon: Beſides, the Son of *Alpaide* was ſo formidable a Perſon, that nothing can be inferred from the Silence of cotemporary Writers.

[*C*] *The only Prelate, who durſt tell* Pepin *the Truth.*] An Author of an Hiſtorical Dictionary will have a thouſand Opportunities of obſerving, that there are no greater Flatterers of Princes than Churchmen. Their Sermons, their Prayers, their Speeches, their Epiſtles Dedicatory, are ſo full of extravagant Elogies, that the Condition they put an honeſt Hearer or Reader into, cannot be better repreſented, than by the Proverb, *Date mihi pelvim* *. - - - - - *Give me the Baſon*. If it be ſaid that *Pepin* was no King; I anſwer, that he had the Key of Tongues and Pens, Rewards and Puniſhments in his Hands; he only wanted the Title of Sovereign; he had the Reality, and performed the Functions of it. Flatterers do not regard a meer Title: They adore him more devoutly, who has the Power without the Title, than him who has the Title without the Power.

[*D*] *He refuſed the Benediction, which was deſired of him at Table, for* Alpaide's *Glaſs.*] Let us ſee how a modern Hiſtorian relates the Matter. "Ad epulas "invitatur *(B. Landebertus)* à principe. Pippinus, "cæterique illuſtres viri qui aderant, ſcyphum quiſ"que ſuum ab Antiſtite benedici, aut, ut alii dicunt, "de manu ejus poculum accipere, pia ambitione cu"piebant. Cum Alpais (nam & ipſa pleno convivio "intererat) ſcyphum ſuum à Landeberto ſignari op"taret, indignabundus Epiſcopus palatio exceſſit, con"vivarum hilaritate confuſa (7). —— Lambert *was* "*invited by the Prince to an Entertainment.* Pepin, "*and the reſt of his illuſtrious Gueſts, were piouſly* "*ambitious, that their Glaſſes might be bleſs'd by the* "*Prelate, or, as others ſay, to receive the Glaſs from* "*his Hand. But when* Alpais *(who was preſent at* "*this grand Feaſt) deſired, that her Glaſs likewiſe* "*might receive* Lambert'*s Benediction, the Biſhop* "*left the Palace with Indignation, to the Interrup*"*tion of the Company's Mirth.*" Compare with this the Stories related in the new Letters againſt *Maimbourg*'s Hiſtory of *Calviniſm* (8).

(1) Cordemoi's Hiſt. of France, Vol. I. pag. 381.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Godeſcalc. in Vita S. Lamberti, cap. 7. apud Cordemoi, ibid.

(4) Cordemoi, ibid. pag. 382.

(5) Anſelm. Laodicenſ. Canonicus. Sigibert. Monachus Gemblacenſ. Nicolaus Laodic. Canonic. Vener. *and others cited by* Cordemoi, pag. 381.

(6) Cordemoi, p. 381.

* *A Proverbial Saying of Thoſe, who, when any thing becomes ſo very troubleſome, as not to be any longer born, (for inſtance, a ſtupid or fulſome Harangue) call for a Baſon, or Pot, as if they were ſick, and wanted to diſcharge. See* Suidas, *and* Eraſm. Adag.

(7) Hadrian. Valeſius Rerum Francicarum, lib. 33.

(8) Page 614, & ſeq.

ALSTEDIUS (JOHN HENRY) a *German* Divine of the Reformed Religion, was one of the moſt voluminous Writers of the XVIIth Century. He was an indefatigable Author, and one who anſwered his Anagram perfectly well (*a*). He was a long time Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Divinity at *Herborn*, in the County of *Naſſau*, from whence he went into *Tranſylvania*, to be Profeſſor at *Alba-Julia* (*b*), where he died in the Year 1638, being fifty Years of Age. He was one of the Fathers at the Synod of *Dort*. His chief Employment was to compoſe *Methods*, and to reduce the ſeveral Branches of Arts and Sciences into certain *Syſtems*. His *Encyclopædia* (*c*) found Favour with the *Roman* Catholics [*A*]; for it was reprinted at *Lyons*, and ſold very well in *France*. Some are of Opinion, that one of his beſt Works is his *Theſaurus Chronologicus*, of which there are ſeveral Editions; others ſpeak with Contempt of it. *Voſſius* ſays nothing of it; he only mentions the *Encyclopædia* in general, and in particular the Treatiſe of Arithmetic (*d*). He acknowledges, that the Author had read much, and that his Learning was very extenſive. They, who judge of him with the leaſt Flattery, own that there are ſome good things in his *Methods* and *Syſtems* [*B*]. He did not perſuade many People of what he endeavoured to prove in his *Triumphus Biblicus*, that the Materials and Principles of all Arts and Sciences may be fetched from the Scripture. It was impoſſible for him to publiſh ſo many Books, without making uſe of the Labours of others; but he borrowed too much from other Authors, whom he tranſcribed without any Scruple [*C*]. *John Himmelius*, a Divine of the Confeſſion of *Augsburg*, and Divinity-Profeſſor at *Jena*, is one of thoſe who wrote againſt him [*D*]. *Moreri* was not acquainted with the Year of *Alſtedius*'s Death [*E*], and he had better have ſaid nothing about it.

I muſt not omit, that he was a *Millenarian*. He publiſhed, in 1627, a Treatiſe *De Mille Annis*. He taught, that the Faithful ſhall reign, with JESUS CHRIST, upon Earth, a Thouſand Years; after which will be the General Reſurrection, and the laſt Judgment. He pretended, that This Reign would commence in the Year 1694. We are fully aſſured he was miſtaken. His Son-in-law *Biſterfeldius* was of the ſame Opinion (*e*).

[*A*] *His* Encyclopædia *found favour with the Roman Catholics.*] *Lorenzo Craſſo* places *Alſtedius* among the great Men, whoſe Elogies he has publiſhed. It is very probable, that *Moreri* borrowed from thence the Incenſe, which he beſtows upon *Alſtedius*. I find the Reader is referred to a Work of *Sorel* (1), to be informed concerning this learned *German*. He muſt have been better known, and more eſteemed than many others among the *Roman* Catholics. Father *Lami*, of the Oratory, is of Opinion, that *Alſtedius is almoſt the only one among all the Writers of Encyclopedias, and Syſtems of Sciences, who deſerves to be read, and to keep his Rank in a choice Library* (2). See the following Remark.

[*B*] *There are ſome good things in his* Methods *and* Syſtems.] The following Quotation from Mr *Baillet* is borrowed by him from the anonymous *German*, who wrote the *Bibliographia curioſa Hiſtorico-philologica*. "*Alſtedius* has indeed many good things; but "he is not exact enough in many Places: Nevertheleſs, upon his firſt Appearance, he was received by "the Public with great Applauſe, and he is of ſome "uſe to thoſe, who, being deſtitute of other helps, "and not having the Authors, would acquire ſome "Knowledge of the Terms of each Profeſſion and "Science. One cannot ſufficiently praiſe his Patience "and Labour, and his Judgment and Choice of good "Authors, out of whom he made his Abridgments, "for they are not mere Scraps and unconnected Rhapſodies; but he lays down the Principles of Sciences and Arts with great Order, and endeavours to "be uniform every where, though ſome Pieces are "better than others, and ſome of them are of no "value, as his Hiſtory, Chronology, &c. - - - - - - "It muſt be confeſs'd, that he is often confus'd, by "endeavouring to be too clear; that he is too full "of Diviſions and Subdiviſions, and that he affects "a Method too much conſtrain'd (3)." *Lorenzo Craſſo* ſays, that though there is much more of Labour, than Genius, in *Alſtedius*'s Works, yet they are eſteemed, and that People admire his Induſtry, which gives him admittance into the Temple of Fame. "Con gloria del ſuo nome s'e ammirata la fatica fatta "nelle Storie, è nella Cronologia de' Tempi: le quali coſe, quantunque in libri diverſi di Scrittori illuſtri ſacri è profani truovanſi, ò vi concorra in tale "raccoglimento piu ſudore che ingegno, tuttavia l'ordine dato da Giovanni Errico alle ſudette fatiche "ſtoriche è ſtato da gli huomini amatori delle antichita, è dell' erudizioni aſſai commendato (4). —— "*The great Pains he has taken in Hiſtory and Chronology, is much to the Reputation of his Name: "which Sciences, though they are to be met in ſeveral Works of illuſtrious Authors, ſacred and prophane, and though more of Labour than Genius is "requiſite in ſuch Collections, nevertheleſs the Order "beſtowed by* John Henry, *on the abovesaid Hiſtorical "Labours, has been ſufficiently admired by the Lovers "of Antiquity and Learning.*"

[*C*] *Whom he tranſcribed without any Scruple.*] Read this Paſſage of *Thomaſius* (5). Hunc in Paratitlis Theologicis quicquid de ſilentio ſacrorum affert *, obſervo prope de verbo deſcripſiſſe è Caſaubono †, quem nominari tamen etiam lectoris intererat, ut ſciret unde plura ſibi haurienda forent. "vereor autem ne quercum eandem alibi quoque excuſſerit, cum in ipſo ad lectorem principio reperiam "periodum unam alteramque dedicationis Caſaubonianæ. —— *Whatever this Author advances, in his "Theological Titles, concerning the Silence of the ſacred Writers, he has copied, I find, Word for Word "from* Caſaubon; *whom it was the Reader's Intereſt "he ſhould have nam'd, that he might know where to "have farther recourſe. But I am afraid, he has "ſhaken the ſame Oak elſewhere; for, in the very beginning of his Addreſs to the Reader, I find a "Period or two* Caſaubon'*s Dedication.*

[*D*] Himmelius —— *is one of thoſe, who wrote againſt him.*] His Work is entituled *Anti-Alſtedius, ſive examen Theologiæ Polemicæ Johannis Henrici Alſtedii*. Though this Remark ſhould ſerve only to give the Title of one of *Alſtedius*'s beſt Works, it would not be altogether uſeleſs.

[*E*] Moreri *was not acquainted with the Year of* Alſtedius'*s Death.*] *Alſtedius*, ſays he, *died about the Year* 1645, *or* 46; *others ſay in the Year* 1640, *being the Fifty ſecond Year of his Age*. Two of the three Authors, whom he cites (6), ſay nothing of it. *Lorenzo Craſſo*, who is the third, ſays only, that *Alſtedius* publiſhed the four *Tomes* of his *Encyclopædia*, at the Age of Fifty two Years (7).

ALTAEMPS (MARK) Son of a Siſter of *Pius* IV, was one of the Cardinals, who preſided in the Council of *Trent*. *Wolfgang Altaemps*, his Father, was a Count of the Empire in the Dioceſe of *Conſtance*. How ſplendid ſoever the Dignity of the Pope's Legate was in That Council, this Cardinal obtained it only by the Artifices of ſome ill affected Perſons. The *Borromeo's*, related to the Pope in the ſame Degree

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(*a*) *The word* ſedulitas *is preciſely contained in* Alſtedius.

(*b*) Witte, Diar. Biogr. Tom. 1.

(*c*) *It is in* Folio, *divided into* 4 *Tomes*.

(*d*) Voſſius de Scient. Mathem. pag. 326.

(*e*) Heidegg. Diſſert. de Chiliaſmo, pag. 652.

(1) Of the Perfection of a Chriſtian, *pag*. 591. apud Konig, Bibl. p. 29.

(2) Dialogues on the Sciences, *cited by* Baillet, *in his* Jugemens des Sçavans, Tom. 2. n. 269. p. 328.

(3) Baillet, ubi ſupra.

(4) L. Craſſo Elog. d'Huomini Letterati, p. 214.

(5) Thomaſius de Plagio Literario, n. 354. pag. 155.

* Tit. *Initiati*, pag. 166, 167, 168.

† Exerc. 16. ad Baron. n. 43. p. 399.

(6) Voſſius & Zeiller.

(7) L. Craſſo Elog. d'Huomini Letterati, Tom. 2. pag. 212.

with him, deſiring to remove him from Court, cauſed him to be ſent to *Trent* (*a*), where he remained from the Month of *January* 1562, till about the Beginning of Spring 1563 [*A*]. The Pope recalled him, to raiſe Troops; for, hearing that the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Wirtemberg*, and the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, were raiſing Forces, and that the *Germans* had a mind to plunder *Rome*, where they had found ſo great a Booty in the Year 1527; he was not willing to be ſurprized (*b*). This Cardinal was very much diſpleaſed with *Pibrac*'s Speech. His Opinion was, that it ought to be ſtrongly anſwered; and ſaid *that the Inſolence of this Civilian ought to be reſtrained, who was accuſtomed to treat only with Perſons of the meaneſt Rank* (*c*). He was promoted to the Purple in the Year 1561, and, a little before his Legation, the Canons of *Conſtance* had choſen him for their Biſhop. He had neither the Learning, nor Experience, requiſite for preſiding in a Council; but his Uncle, *Pius* IV, was not ignorant that the other Preſidents would ſupply what was wanting in him (*d*), and would teach him the Intrigues of Oecumenical Councils. When That Pope ſent him Nuncio to the Emperor *Ferdinand* in the Year 1560, he ſent with him the famous *Cornelius Muſſo*, Biſhop of *Bitonto*, as his Inſtructor (*e*). *Altaemps* was then Biſhop of *Caſſano*. That Family roſe in Dignity afterwards; for we find a Duke of *ALTAEMPS*, who died in the Year 1620 (*f*). He was a Man of Learning; and, if I am not miſtaken, it was He, who collected the Library, which was ſo long famous at *Rome*, under that Name, and which was not quite ſold, when Father *Mabillon* travelled into *Italy* (*g*). This Duke of *Altaemps*'s Name was *John Angeli*, and he publiſhed the Life of Pope *Anicetus*. Another Duke of *ALTAEMPS*, whoſe Name was *Gaudentius*, and who died in the Year 1677, was no leſs curious in Books, nor leſs learned. He publiſhed the Life of St *Chryſoſtom*, and the *Perſecuted Sanctity triumphant* (*h*).

(*a*) *See* Amelot de la Houſſaie, (*who quotes a Letter of Mr* de l'Ile *to the King, of the* 9*th of* Dec. 1561.) *in the Marginal Notes of his Verſion of* Paolo's Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, pag. 445.

(*b*) F. Paolo, lib. 7. pag. 648. *of Amelot's Tranſlation.*

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 491.

(*d*) Pallavic. Hiſt. Concil. Trident. lib. 15. cap. 13. n. 10.

(*e*) Ibid. lib. 14. cap. 13.

(*f*) Witte, Diar. Biogr. Tom. 2. pag. 26.

(*g*) *In* 168 *See his* Muſæum Italicam, Tom. 1. pag. 78, 79.

(*h*) Witte, ib. pag. 116.

[*A*] *Where he remained from the Month of* January, 1562, *'till about the beginning of the Spring* 1563.] *Pallavicini* reproved Father *Paul* for having ſaid, that Cardinal *Simonetta*, and Cardinal *Altaemps*, were named the Pope's Legates both at one time, to be added to the Legates that were already named. He knew not, that *Simonetta* was honoured with the Legation of the Council, at the ſame time with *Oſius* and *Seripandus*, ſeveral Months before Cardinal *Altaemps* was made their Colleague (1). He cenſures him for another thing; which is, his mentioning *Oſius* and *Seripandus*, only when he is ſpeaking of what happened a conſiderable time after their Legation. Such Faults are not very material; yet it cannot be thought wrong in a Cenſor, to take notice of them; ſince it is the Duty of an Hiſtorian to avoid them.

(1) Pallavic. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. l. 15. cap. 13. n. 11.

ALTENSTAIG (John) Doctor of Divinity, lived in the XVIth Century. He was of *Mindleheim*, in *Germany*, and compoſed a *Lexicon Theologicum*, which is tolerably good [*A*].

[*A*] *He compoſed a* Lexicon Theologicum, *which is tolerably good.*] He dedicated it to the Biſhop of *Augsbourg*, the firſt of *October*, 1517. *Konig* places the firſt Edition of it in 1519 (1). I never ſaw it; but I have met with the ſecond, which is of *Antwerp*, for *Peter Bellerus*, in 1576, in Folio; with this Title; "Lexicon Theologicum continens Vocabulorum Deſcriptiones, Definitiones, & Interpretationes perutiles, Theologiæ Studioſis concinnatum. —— *A Theological Lexicon, containing very uſeful Deſcriptions, Definitions, and Interpretations of Words, compiled for the Uſe of Students in Divinity.*"

(1) Konig. Bibl. p. 29.

ALTHAMERUS (Andrew) a *Lutheran* Miniſter at *Nuremberg*, about the middle of the XVIth Century (*a*), publiſhed, not only ſome Works in Divinity [*A*], but likewiſe Notes on the Treatiſe of *Tacitus*, *De Situ*, *Moribus*, *&* *Populis Germaniæ* —— *Of the Situation*, *Manners*, *and People of* Germany. They were printed at *Nuremberg* in the Year 1529, in 4*to* (*b*), and at *Amberg* in the Year 1609, in 8*vo* (*c*); and they were inſerted by *Simon Schardius* in the firſt Volume of the *German Authors*. He was ſo eager to reject the Doctrine of the *Merit of Works*, that he attacked the Apoſtle St *James* with the utmoſt Brutality (*d*). This gives us an Opportunity of examining a Paſſage of the Controverſy between *Grotius* and *Rivetus* [*B*]. We ſhall ſee in this Diſquiſition, that our *Althamerus* aſſiſted, in 1528, at the Conferences of *Bern*, which were the Forerunners of the Eccleſiaſtical Reformation in this Canton.

(*a*) Micrælii Hiſt. Eccleſ. pag. 734.

(*b*) Geſner, Biblioth. fol. 38. verſo.

(*c*) Hertzii Biblioth. German.

(*d*) *See Remark* [*B*].

[*A*] *Not only ſome Works in Divinity.*] The Titles of them are; *Conciliationes Locorum Scripturæ, quæ Specie tenus inter ſe pugnare videntur. Annotationes in D. Jacobi Epiſtolam. De Peccato Originis. De Sacramento Altaris.* He compoſed likewiſe a Dictionary of the proper Names, which are to be met with in the Bible, *Sylva Biblicorum Nominum*, &c. This Work was printed at *Baſil*, in 1535. The *Conciliationes Locorum Scripturæ*, was printed at *Nuremberg*, the ſame Year, and at *Wittemberg*, in the Year 1582. The Abridgment of *Geſner* takes notice of but theſe two Editions; but it is certain they were preceded by another, which appeared before the Year 1528 (1).

[*B*] *An Opportunity of examining a Paſſage of the Controverſy between* Grotius *and* Rivetus.] The firſt Piece of this Part of their Diſpute contains theſe Words (2): "Gaudeo D. Rivetum non accedere iis, qui Jacobi Epiſtolam rejecerunt, quorum quidam hoc amplius dixere, *Mentiris Jacobe in caput tuum*; that is, *I am pleaſed, that* Rivetus *does not follow thoſe, who reject the Epiſtles of St* James, *among whom ſome go ſtill farther, and in plain Terms* give St *James* the Lye." The ſecond Piece is This: *Rivetus* demanded (3), *Who are They, who talk in this manner? How many are They?* and added, that, having ſearched among the Writings of the Jeſuits, and other Controvertiſts, who eagerly collect Facts of this kind, whether the Proteſtants were ever reproached with a Blaſphemy of this Nature, he had met with no ſuch thing. The third Piece ſhews us, that *Grotius* mentioned no Author by Name, in his Reply to his Adverſary (4), who had called upon him ſo expreſly and warmly. This Silence made *Rivetus* conclude, that *Grotius* had no Author to alledge. *Quod nunc Autores non indicet harum contumeliarum, oſtendit ſe nullos habere* (5). We find, by the fourth Piece, that *Grotius*, in rejoyning, cited the Words of *Andrew Althamerus*: "Is, qui Jacobum accuſavit Mendacii, fuit Andreas "Althamerus

(1) Hoſpiniani Hiſt. Sacram. part. 2. pag. 84.

(2) Grotii Animadv. in Notas Riveti pag. 1029. Tom. 3. Oper. Riveti.

(3) Riveti Examen Animadv. Grotii, pag. 1029. Tom. 3. Op. ejus.

(4) Grotii Votum pro Pace Eccleſ. ibid. pag. 1034.

(5) Riveti Apologet. ibid. p. 1120.

“ Althamerus (6). Liber editus eſt Argentorati, Anno CIƆIƆXXVII. Verba ejus inter cætera ſunt: *Vult nunc probare ſuam ſententiam, ſed directè contra ſcripturam agit. Non poſſumus hic defendere Jacobum. Citat enim ſcripturas falſo; & ſolus ſpiritui ſancto, Legi, Prophetis, Chriſto, Apoſtoliſque omnibus, contradicit. Teſtimonium ipſius vanum eſt. Uni ipſi teſti non eſſe credendum, ſupra annotavimus, præſertim cum quo ipſe Spiritus ſanctus & tot teſtes veritatis diſſentiant. Credendum Multitudini. Paulus multo dignius ſanctiuſque rem tractat. Si Abraham ex operibus juſtificatus, habet quod glorietur, ſed non apud Deum; quid enim dicit ſcriptura? Abraham credidit Deo, videlicet promiſioni divinæ de ſemine; & reputatum, ſcilicet quia credidit, illi ad juſtitiam. Nonne quod ex filii immolatione juſtificatam dicit, recte mentitus eſt in caput ſuum? Quindecim enim annos ante immolatum Iſaachum juſtificatus fuit Abraham, etiam nondum nato Iſaacho; non ex circumciſione, neque filii immolatione, ſed ex ſola Fide. Dicit enim ſcriptura,* Credidit, *&c. ut nihil habet Jacobus ad quod refugiat. Nos Fidei magiſtrum conſtituimus, & jam ſuis ipſiſſimis verbis ſcimus, neſciviſſe quid ſit Fides.* Et in fine Libri; *Ne igitur ſuccenſeas nobis, Lector, ſi durius & vehementius calamo quandoque in Autorem invecti ſumus. Meretur enim hoc Odium & hunc Spiritus vehementiam, dum aliam à nobis perfectionem atque Juſtitiam contendit, quam Fidei.* —— *He, who gave St* James *the Lye, was* Andrew Althamerus. *His Book was publiſhed at* Strasbourg, *in the Year* 1527. *His Words, among others, are Theſe.* He then endeavours to confirm his Doctrine; but his Proof is directly contrary to Scripture. We cannot here vindicate St *James*. For he cites Scripture falſly, and oppoſes his ſingle Authority to That of the Holy Ghoſt, the Law, the Prophets, *Jeſus Chriſt*, and all the Apoſtles. His Teſtimony is nothing. I have ſhewn above, that his ſingle Evidence is not to be believed, eſpecially when it claſhes with That of the Holy Ghoſt, and ſo many Witneſſes of the Truth. We muſt be governed by Numbers. St *Paul* treats the Subject with greater Dignity and Sanctity. *For, if* Abraham *were juſtified by Works, he hath whereof to Glory, but not before God. For what ſaith the Scripture? Abraham* believed God *(to wit, the Divine Promiſe in relation to his Seed)* and it was counted to him *(namely, his Faith)* for Righteouſneſs *. Does not St *James* truly lie againſt his own Head, in ſaying that he was juſtified by the offering up of his Son? For *Abraham* was juſtified fifteen Years before the intended Sacrifice of his Son *Iſaac*; even before *Iſaac* was born; not by Circumciſion, nor by the Sacrifice of his Son, but by Faith alone. For the Scripture ſaith, *He believed*, &c. So that St *James* is left without Excuſe. I formerly looked upon this Apoſtle as a Rule of Faith; but am now convinced, from his own Words, that he did not himſelf know what Faith was. *And at the end of his Book,* Be not angry with me, Reader, if I ſometimes inveigh too roughly and vehemently againſt this Author. For he deſerves theſe Reproaches, and this Indignation of Mind, for requiring of us another kind of Perfection and Juſtification than that of Faith.” The laſt Piece ſhall be, that *Rivetus*, finding at laſt an expreſs Citation, anſwered (7), that it was inſufficient; that *Grotius* had uſed the Plural Number; and that *one* is not *many*; *unus non ſunt multi*. He condemns the Words of *Althamerus*; but he complains, that *Grotius* had not declared, that he was not a Calviniſt. He proves, that He was a Lutheran; and charges him with having undertaken the Popiſh Cauſe, at the Conferences of *Bern*, and with having maintained the Doctrine of the *Real Preſence*. “ Qui cum in diſputatione Bernenſi (8), quam ſecuta eſt Reformatio Anni 1528, libera ei facta eſt diſputandi copia, volens paſſus eſt ſe à parte Pontificia deligi, ut Oratoris munere in ſuggeſtu fungeretur, & carnalem Chriſti præſentiam in cœna defenderet. —— *At the Conference of* Bern, *which was followed by the Reformation of the Year* 1528, *tho' he had free Liberty of Diſputation, yet he ſuffered himſelf to be choſen by the Pope's Party, to play the Orator in the Roſtrum, and to defend the corporeal Preſence of Chriſt in the Euchariſt.*” “ His injurious Treatment of St *James*, *concludes* Rivetus, does not in the leaſt affect us. The whole Diſgrace of it recoils upon the Papiſts, and the Lutherans, whoſe Cauſe he pleaded.”

From what we have here produced, it is eaſy to judge; I. That *Rivetus* ingaged unneceſſarily in an incidental Diſpute. He might have paſſed by this Remark of *Grotius*, without any Prejudice to his Cauſe; and he might have been ſatisfied with demanding the Names of Thoſe, who had the Boldneſs to treat an Apoſtle with ſuch Indignity. II. That he was miſtaken, in believing, that his Adverſary could not name any ſuch. III. That, by dint of importunity, he occaſioned a Diſcovery of his own Ignorance in a Matter of Fact; the Knowledge of which might have been to the Credit of his Reading and his Library. IV. That he flies for Refuge to little Evaſions, which only ſerve to prolong Diſputes, and to multiply unneceſſary Additions. It is certain, that, in common Speech, when we know that an Author has publiſhed any thing, it is very allowable to ſay, that Authors have advanced it. Nor are we obliged to produce more than one Witneſs; unleſs when we expreſsly ſay, that *ſeveral* Perſons have caſt ſuch a Reproach. But this is not *Grotius*'s manner of ſpeaking; his Expreſſion is indeterminate; *quidam dixere, there are, who have ſaid*; or, *ſome have ſaid*. He would have fully acquitted himſelf, tho' the Author, whom he cited, were not a Calviniſt, but a Lutheran; and it is idle in *Rivetus* to alledge what paſſed in the Conferences of *Bern*. That is no Proof of *Althamerus*'s being a Papiſt. We can only conclude from thence, that he was ſo oppoſite in Opinion to the *Zuinglians*, on the Doctrine of the *Real Preſence*, that he made no Scruple of maintaing it, even in favour of Popery. If *Rivetus* was Self-content in this part of his Diſpute, it is a Proof, that Controvertiſts know not how to diſtinguiſh between what is to the Purpoſe, and what is meer caviling.

ALTHUSIUS (JOHN) a *German* Civilian, flouriſhed near the End of the XVIth Century. He wrote a Book of Politics. Some Civilians of his Country are ſtrangely angry with him, for maintaining, that the Sovereignty of States belongs to the People [*A*]. He wrote a Treatiſe *De Juriſprudentia Romana*, another *De Civili Converſatione*, another intituled *Dicæologia*, &c. I forgot to obſerve, in the former Editions,

[*A*] *Some Civilians — are ſtrangely angry with him for maintaining, that the Sovereignty of States belongs to the People.*] *Boeclerus* maintains, that *Althuſius*'s Principle is only fit to break all the Bonds of Civil Society, and that his Work is ſo far from deſerving to be recommended to Students, as is done by ſeveral Perſons, that it rather deſerves to be burnt. “ Omnes reges nihil aliud eſſe quam Magiſtratus —— *Althuſio* inter ſolennia carmina placet, cujus *Politica* non tradit ſane, qui civitatis finis & felicitas & tranquillitas obtineri debeat, ſed quibus modis omne vinculum ſocietatis ac ſalutis civilis diſſolvi ac everti poſſit. *Demagogica* appelles merito; & tamen, quia Juriſconſulti nomen præfert, & quædam ſubinde in oſtentationem ejus ſcientiæ jacit, commendari juventuti Academicæ audimus librum, orco damnandum, judicio eorum qui venena à cibis diſtinguere didicerunt (1). —— *That all Kings are nothing but Officers of the People* —— *is* Althuſius'*s darling Principle; whoſe Book of* Politics *is not deſigned to ſhew, how the End, the Happineſs, and Tranquility of a State is beſt to be obtained, but in what manner every Tye of Society and Civil Security may be diſſolved, and overturned. It may properly be called* Democratical Politics; *and yet, becauſe the Name of a Civilian is prefixed to it, and there is here and there a pompous Diſplay of that Science in it; the Book is, we hear, recommended to the Univerſity Youth; though in the Opinion of thoſe, who have learned to diſtinguiſh*

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(6) Grotii Diſcuſſio Apologet. Rivetiani, pag. 722. Opuſc. Grotii Edit. Amſtelod. apud Bleau, ann. 1679, in folio.

* Rom. iv. 2, 3.

(7) Rivet. Grotian. Diſcuſſ. Διάλυσις, pag. 1201. Oper. Tom. 3.

(8) *He uſes* Hoſpinian'*s own Words,* Hiſt. ſacr. part. 2. p. 84. *without citing them.*

(1) Boecler. in Grotium de Jure Belli, lib. 1. cap. 3. n. 8. pag. 235.

Editions, that he was of the *Proteſtant* Religion; that, after having been Profeſſor of Law at *Herborn*, he had the Dignity of *Syndic* conferred upon him at *Breme*, and that the Jeſuits, in anſwering the *Anti-Coton*, placed him in the Liſt of thoſe *Proteſtants*, who have ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the Regal Power [*B*].

“ *Poiſon from wholeſome Food, it deſerves the ſevereſt Cenſure.*” The learned *Conringius*'s Opinion of it is as follows: “ Fundamentum doctrinæ ſuæ politicæ collocat in eo, quod ſumma Reip. cujuſvis jure ſit penes ſolum populum: qui error peſtilens eſt, & turbando orbi aptus (2). —— *He lays the Foundation of his Political Doctrine in this; that the Sovereignty of every Republic is in the Hands of the People; which is a contagious Error, and calculated to diſturb the Repoſe of the World.*” Another *German* Writer expreſſes himſelf with more Force: “ In claſſem iſtam, *ſays he* (3), referendi ſunt illi politicorum qui majeſtatis πρῶτον δεικτικὸν populum faciunt, inde *politici populares*; &, quia jugulum omnium principum ac Regum petunt, *Monarchomachi* dicti. Horum hominum nefanda dogmata refertim habet Althuſius in ſua politica, Vulcano publico edicto conſecranda. —— *In this Claſs we muſt rank thoſe Politicians, who make the People the Source of all Majeſty; hence they are called* Popular Politicians; *and, becauſe they would cut the Throats all Princes and Kings, they are called* Anti-Royaliſts. Althuſius *has made great uſe of theſe Gentlemens wicked Doctrines in his* Politics; *a Work, which deſerves to be publickly condemned to the Flames.*”

(2) Conring. de Civ. Prudent. c. 14.

(3) Meyer. in Analyſ. libri 3. Polit. Ariſtot.

[*B*] *The Jeſuits - - - - - placed him in the Liſt of thoſe Proteſtants, who have ſpoken diſrepectfully of the Regal Power.*] I will give you the Words of Him, who preſented to the Queen-Mother an Apologetical Anſwer to the Anti-Coton; “ After *Hottoman, ſays he* (4), let us add the Doctrines and expreſs Words of *John Arthuſius* (5), Doctor of Law, in his Politics, methodically digeſted, and printed at *Herborn*, in the Year 1603, in his Chapter of the *Ephori*; in which, to look no farther, he aſſerts, among other things, that *it is lawful to dethrone a Tyrant, to take from him the Adminiſtration of Affairs, with which he was intruſted; and even to put him to death, if no other Remedy can be found, and to ſubſtitute another in his Place.*” *Althuſius*'s Words are theſe (6). “ Ejuſmodi Tyrannum ab officio removere, adminiſtratione demandata privare, imo etiam, ſi aliter contra vim ſe defendere non poſſunt, interficere, & alium in ejus locum ſubſtituere, poſſunt.”

(4) Réponſe. Apolog. à l'Anti coton p. 185, 186.

(5) *It ſhould be* Althuſius.

(6) Althuſii Politica methodicè digeſta, cap. 14.

ALTIERI. The Dictionary of *Moreri* mentions two Cardinals of this Name. The One died in the Year 1654; the Other was Pope *Clement* X. We may add to theſe two the Cardinal *Altieri*, who died at *Rome*, the 29th of *June*, 1698.

ALTILIUS (GABRIEL) born in the Kingdom of *Naples*, flouriſhed about the End of the XVth Century *(a)*. He was chiefly eſteemed for his *Latin Verſes*, which ſhewed, that he cultivated polite Literature, and that he read the Ancients to great Advantage. This contributed to his Advancement in the Court of *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, which ſtill retained ſome thing of the good Taſte it had acquired in the Reign of King *Alphonſus*. He was choſen Preceptor to the young Prince *Ferdinand* [*A*]. It appears alſo, that he was employed in State-Affairs, and that he accompanied *Jovian Pontanus* to *Rome*, upon a Negotiation of Peace between King *Ferdinand* and Pope *Innocent* VIII *(b)*. He had a great Share in the Friendſhip and Eſteem of *Pontanus*, as appears from the Writings of the latter *(c)*. *Sannazarius* gave him likewiſe ſeveral Marks of his Eſteem in his Poems *(d)*: Theſe two Authors are not the only Perſons, who have commended him [*B*]. One of *Gabriel Altilius*'s fineſt Poems, is That, which he compoſed on the Marriage of *Iſabella* of *Arragon* [*C*]. One would ſcarce believe, that *Latin* Poetry raiſed him to the Prelature; but it is certain, that it greatly contributed to his obtaining the Biſhoprick of *Policaſtro*. Some find fault with him for neglecting the Muſes, after his Advancement, which had

(a) And not of the XIVth, *as* Moreri *ſays.*

(*b*) Pontanus Præf. Tractatus de Magnificentia.

(*c*) *He wrote an Epitaph for* Altilius, *and dedicated to him his Treatiſe de* Magnificentia. *See likewiſe his Dialogue* Ægidius, pag. 1471.

(*d*) Eleg. 11. ver. 17. & Epigr. 7.

[*A*] *He was choſen Preceptor to the young Prince* Ferdinand.] This is what *Paul Jovius* meant, when he uſed this Expreſſion, *junioris Ferdinandi regis* (1). *Ughelli* makes uſe of it likewiſe (2). *Toppi* is of another Opinion: “ Fu maeſtro, *ſays he*, di Re Ferdinando I. d' Aragona, è Veſcovo di Policaſtro nel 1471 (3). —— *He was Preceptor of King* Ferdinand I. *of* Arragon, *and Biſhop of* Policaſtro, *in* 1471.” I believe he is miſtaken. *Ferdinand* I. died in the Year 1494, being above ſeventy Years old: So that he muſt have been born about the Year 1424; and *Altilius* muſt have been his Preceptor about the Year 1440. The Preceptor of a King's Son is ſeldom very young; he muſt have had time to gain the Reputation of a Man of Learning: And doubtleſs King *Alphonſus*, who was himſelf learned, and ſurrounded with learned Men, would not have choſen *Altilius*, without full Proof of his Abilities. Upon this Suppoſition *Altilius* muſt have been thirty Years of Age, in 1440; but, at that time, he was ſcarce born. He lived but a little more than ſixty Years (4); and died in the Year 1501 (5).

(1) Jovius Elog. cap. 125.

(2) Ughelli Italia ſacra, Tom. 3. pag. 796.

(3) Toppi Bibliotheca Napoletana, pag. 101.

(4) Jovius in Elog. cap. 125.

(5) *See below Citat.* (17).

[*B*] *Theſe two Authors are not the only Perſons, who have commended him.*] *Gyraldus* mentions him greatly to his Advantage. *Baſil Zanchius* wrote ſeveral Verſes in praiſe of *Altilius*, which are to be found in the *Delights of the* Italian *Poets*. *John Matthæus Tuſcanus* ſpeaks well of him both in Verſe and Proſe (6). But if any one is deſirous to ſee an Encomium upon his Wit and Diſpoſition of Mind, let him read *Alexander ab Alexandro*, who deſcribes at large the manner how he and ſome others were entertained by *Altilius*, when they went to wiſh him Joy of his Biſhoprick (7). He gave them a Supper more becoming his firſt Condition, that the Dignity of a Biſhop, with which he was then inveſted; he had not yet diſmiſt the Muſes, his firſt Miſtreſſes (ſuppoſing he ever diſmiſſed them); thus the Converſation turned upon ſome Verſes of *Martial*, which were ſung by a young Muſician.

(6) In Peplo Italiæ.

(7) Genial. dierum, lib. 5. cap. 1.

[*C*] *One of* Gabriel Altilius'*s fineſt Poems is That, which he compoſed on the Marriage of* Iſabella *of* Arragon.] It was by This, and by his Elegies, that he acquired his Reputation. “ Uſque adeo molliter ac admirande in Elegis & Heroico carmine excelluit, ſicuti ex Epithalamio Iſabellæ Aragoniæ perſpici poteſt, ut Pontani atque Actii teſtimonio antiquis vatibus æquaretur (8). —— *He was ſo great a Maſter of Elegiac and Heroic Poetry (as may be ſeen by his* Epithalamium *of* Iſabella *of* Arragon) *that, in the Opinion of* Pontanus *and* Actius, *he was equal to the antient Poets.*” *Julius Scaliger* found too great a Profuſion of Thought and Expreſſion in his *Epithalamium*. His Opinion of it is this: “ Gabriel Altilius Epithalamium cecinit longe optimum, excellentiſſimum vero futurum, ſi ſibi ille temperaſſet. Dum enim vult omnia dicere, afficit auditorem aliquando faſtidio tanto, quanta in aliis voluptate. Eſt enim nimius, quod vitium illi genti eſt peculiare. Eſt enim totis illis Italiæ tractibus perpetua loquendi fames (9). —— Gabriel Altilius *compoſed an excellent* Epithalamium; *which*

(8) Jovius, ubi ſupra.

(9) Jul. Cæſar Scalig. Poetic. l. 6. pag. 736.

(e) *See below the beginning of the Remark* [D].

had been ſo ſerviceable to him [*D*]. They diſcover Ingratitude and Shameleſſneſs *(e)* in the precipitate manner of his leaving them; and his Fault would ſeem unpardonable to them, had they not ſome Regard to the Excuſes he might make, that Epiſcopacy required he ſhould apply himſelf earneſtly to the Study of Holy Writ. I ſhall endeavour to rectify what is ſaid concerning the time of his Death *(f)*. We find only the *Epithalamium* of *Iſabella* of *Arragon* in the Collection of *Gruterus*, and in That of *John Matthæus Tuſcanus* [*E*]. It is very probable that moſt of *Altilius*'s other Verſes are loſt.

(f) *See the End of Remark* [D].

“ *however would have been much better, had he re-* “ *ſtrained his Genius. For, by endeavouring to ſay* “ *every thing upon this Subject, he becomes as tedious* “ *to the Reader, as he is entertaining upon others.* “ *He is too diffuſe; a Vice peculiar to his Nation;* “ *for in all that Tract of* Italy *they are never tired* “ *with talking.*” This is not very complaiſant to the *Neapolitans* (10).

(10) *See Remark* [*H*] *of the Article* ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO, *towards the End.*

[*D*] *Some find Fault with him for neglecting the Muſes, —— which had been ſo ſerviceable to him.*] 'Tis hard of Digeſtion, that a Biſhop ſhould be the Author of this Reproach, and that he ſhould expreſs it in ſuch harſh Terms: “ Is virtutis merito Policaſtri (ea “ urbs olim Buxentum fuit) antiſtes factus, à Muſis, “ per quas profecerat, celeriter IMPUDENTERQUE “ diſceſſit, MAGNO hercle INGRATI animi PIACULO, “ niſi ad ſpem non injuſtæ veniæ ob id culpa tegeretur, quod ad ſacras literas nequaquam ordinis oblitus tempeſtivè confugiſſet (11). —— *Being raiſed,* “ *on Account of his Virtues, to the Biſhoprick of* Po- “ licaſtro *(formerly* Buxentum), *he quickly and* “ SHAMEFULLY *deſerted the Muſes, his Benefactreſſes;* “ *Guilty, in this, of the* HEINOUS CRIME *of* INGRATITUDE; *unleſs he thought to ſcreen himſelf* “ *from reproach, by pleading that, in conſideration* “ *of his Order, he had opportunely applied himſelf to* “ *the Study of the Scriptures.*” See Mr *Baillet*'s judicious Reflexions upon this (12). Theſe four Verſes of *Latomus* are not amiſs.

(11) Paul Jovius, ubi ſupra

(12) Baillet Jugemens ſur les Poet. Tom. 1. pag. 138. *See alſo* Tom. 3. pag. 82.

Audiit Altilius deſertis transfuga Muſis,
In quarum tabulis nobile nomen erat.
Sed quid peccavit, ſi demereatur, ut olim
Carminibus Phœbum, nunc pietate Deum?

Cenſors the Bard Altilius *may accuſe*
Of baſe Deſertion from his friendly Muſe;
But where's the Crime,
If He, who in Apollo'*s Temple trod,*
His Prieſt - - - now ſerves in pious Proſe his God?

Altilius would have been more to blame, if, after having obtained a Mitre by preaching, he had behaved like many others, who preach no more, after they are made Biſhops. The reaſon is, becauſe, to preſerve this kind of Power, it is not neceſſary to continue the ſame Expedients, which are made uſe of to procure it (13). *Paul Jovius* is as unfortunate in Point of Fact. He pretends, that *Altilius* left off writing Verſes, after his Promotion to a Biſhoprick; and that the fineſt of his Poems is his *Epithalamium* of *Iſabella* of *Arragon* (14). I make no doubt but this *Iſabella* is ſhe, who was contracted, the firſt of *November* 1472, to *John Galeas Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*. I cannot therefore perſuade myſelf, that *Altilius* is guilty of the Deſertion, with which he is charged. He was made a Biſhop in 1471: now the beſt of his Poems was compoſed after this time: ought we therefore to complain that the Mitre made him abandon *Parnaſſus*? Obſerve, that He wrote this *Epithalamium*, not at the time of the Contract, but upon the Nuptials of *Iſabella* of *Arragon*; that is, in the Year 1489 (15). This is proved by the firſt Lines of it.

(13) Salluſt *ſays*, Imperium facile iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum eſt. - - - - *Power is eaſily kept up by the ſame Arts, by which it is at firſt obtained.*

(14) Jovius in Elog. c. 125.

(15) *Mr* de la Monnoie *communicated this Remark to me.*

Purpureos jam læta ſinus Tithonia Conjux
Extulerat, roſeoque diem patefecerat Ortu,
Cœruleum tremulo percurrens lumine pontum,
Qui cupido ſua vota viro DESPONSAQUE DUDUM
Connubia, OPTATOSQUE locos & gaudia ferret.

Aurora *now, from* Tithon *riſing gay,*
Bluſh'd in the Roſy Eaſt, and gave the Day;
Whilſt trembling Beams upon the Ocean play;
The Day, which to the Happy Bridegroom's Arms
Conſigns the PROMIS'D *Fair, with all her Charms.*

By this we may convict the Abbot *Ughelli* of a groſs Miſtake; who ſays, that *Altilius* died in his Biſhoprick of *Policaſtro*, in the Year 1484 (16). It may be proved, that he did not die 'till about the Year 1501; for *Jovian Pontanus* obſerves, in mentioning the News of his Death, that *Sannazarius* was upon the point of going into *France* with King *Frederic* (17).

(16) Ughelli Ital. ſacr. p. 796.

(17) Jov. Pontan. in Dial. Ægidius p. 1471 1487. *Mr* de la Monnoie *ſhewed me this.*

[*E*] *We find only the* Epithalamium *in the Collection of* Gruterus, *and That of* J. M. Tuſcanus.] I underſtand by this Collection the Work, entituled *Deliciæ* C C. *Italorum Poëtarum, collectore Ranutio Ghero.* The Collection of *John Matthæus Tuſcanus* is entituled, *Carmina illuſtrium poëtarum Italorum.* This Author ſays, in his *Peplum*, that he had only read the *Epithalamium*, and ſome few Epigrams of *Altilius*. He, who procured a new Edition of *Sannazarius*'s [*] *Latin* Poems, in 1689, and illuſtrated them with Notes, obſerves, that he does not remember to have ſeen any printed Pieces of *Altilius*, but the *Epithalamium*, and an Epigram; from whence he infers, that many of them are loſt, ſince *Paul Jovius* mentions this Poet's Elogies, and *Sannazarius* aſcribes ſome Odes to him (18). To repair this Loſs in ſome meaſure, he has given us, in the Notes on *Sannazarius*, three or four Pieces of *Altilius*, which he had in Manuſcript. *Toppi* mentions three Pieces of *Altilius* inſerted “ ne' fiori delle Rime de' Poëti “ illuſtri raccolti & ordinati da Girolamo Ruſcelli, “ ſtampati in Venetia, nel 1558. in 8vo. —— *In* “ *the Poetical Flowers of the celebrated Poets col-* “ *lected and diſpoſed by* William Ruſcelli, *and printed* “ *at* Venice, *in* 1558, *in 8vo.*” Theſe three Pieces are, *Gabrielis Altilii lamentatio, Ejuſdem Epithalamium, Ejuſdem Elegia.*

(18) Notæ in Sannazar. pag. 184.

(19) Toppi, Biblioth. Napolet. pag. 102.

[*] [It was the late Mr *Brockhuſius*. REM. CRIT.]

ALTINGIUS (HENRY) Profeſſor of Divinity at *Heidelberg*, and at *Groningen*, was born at *Embden*, the 17th of *February* 1583. His Family had been a long time very conſiderable in *Frieſland*. He was deſigned, from the Cradle, for an Office, wherein his Father had ſignalized himſelf [*A*], I mean the ſacred Miniſtry. For this end

[*A*] *An Office wherein his Father had ſignalized himſelf.*] His Name was *Menſo Altingius*; and he was the Grandſon of another *Menſo*, who was given in Hoſtage to the Duke of *Guelderland* by the States of *Drent* in the Year 1523. Another *Menſo Altingius*, Great Grandfather to Him, who was given in Hoſtage, had been Counſellor to *Reinold the Fat*, Duke of *Guelderland*, and retired into the Country of *Drent*, in the Year 1361 (1). *Menſo Altingius*, the Miniſter, was the firſt, who, with two others, preached the Reformation in the Territory of *Groningen*, about the Year 1566, during the Tyranny of the Duke of *Alba*, *Sub ipſa Albani ducis graſſante Tyrannide* (2). He was alſo the firſt Miniſter, who preached in the great Church of *Groningen*, after the Reduction of that Place to the Power of the States-General, in the Year 1594. He ſerved the Church of *Embden* thirty eight Years faithfully, and oppoſed, with great Courage, the Fury of the Anabaptiſts, and the Plots of the *Ubiquitarians*. He died, the ſeventh of *October* 1612, the ſame Day that his Son and *Abraham Scultetus* were in danger of being caſt away on the Lake of *Harlem*. “ Subita ac pro- “ celloſa coorta tempeſtate, naufragio ac ſubmerſioni “ proximi *(Scultetus & Altingius)* ægrè tandem, “ toto corpore madentes, ſalve tamen, divina cle-

“ mentia

(1) Vita Jacobi Alting.

(2) *I muſt acquaint the Reader, that the Duke of* Alba *did not arrive in the* Low-Countries *before* 1567; *and therefore the Author of* Henry Altingius's *Life has not been ſo exact in this Particular, as he ſhould have been.*

end he was ſent very early to the Schools, and, after he had acquired Claſſical Learning, and gone thro' a Courſe of Philoſophy at *Groningen*, he was ſent into *Germany* in the Year 1602. He was three Years at *Herborn*, where he made ſo great a Progreſs under the famous *Piſcator*, and under *Matthias Martinius*, and *William Zepperus*, that he obtained leave to teach Philoſophy and Divinity. He was preparing to travel into *Switzerland* and *France*, when he was made Preceptor to three young Counts (*a*) who ſtudied at *Sedan*, with the Electoral Prince *Palatine*. He entered upon this Employ, the beginning of *September* 1605. The Storm, which threatened the Duke of *Boüillon* from *Henry* IV, and which was attended with no Conſequence, induced the Electoral Prince to leave *Sedan*, with theſe young Lords, in the Year 1606. *Altingius* followed them to *Heidelberg*, where he continued to inſtruct the three young Counts. He was alſo admitted to read ſome Geographical and Hiſtorical Lectures to the Electoral Prince, and became his ſole Preceptor in the Year 1608. We may meet with Proofs of this in the *Vatican* Library [*B*]. He accompanied him to *Sedan* in this Quality, and inſtructed him in ſo accompliſhed a manner, that the young Prince, upon his Return to *Heidelberg*, in 1610, being interrogated on all Points of Religion before the Duke of *Deux Ponts*, Adminiſtrator of the Electorate, and ſeveral other Perſons of Note, anſwered very pertinently, and in *Latin*. He was one of thoſe, who was choſen to accompany the young Elector into *England*, in the Year 1612, where he became acquainted with *George Abbot*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; Dr *King*, Biſhop of *London*; and Dr *Hakwell*, Preceptor of the Prince of *Wales*. He had likewiſe the Honour to converſe with King *James*. The Marriage of the Elector with the Princeſs of *England* being celebrated in *London* in the Month of *February* 1613 (*b*), *Altingius* went before with his former Pupils, and arrived at *Heidelberg*, the Firſt of *April*. In the Month of *Auguſt* following, he was made Profeſſor of Divinity Common Places; and, becauſe he could not preſide in the Diſputes, without being Doctor of Divinity, he took that Degree in the Month of *November*, with the uſual Ceremonies. In 1616, he had a laborious Office conferred upon him, which was the Direction of the *Seminary*, if I may be permitted ſo to call the *College of Wiſdom* at *Heidelberg*. He was offered the Profeſſorſhip, vacant by the Death of *Coppenius*, in the Year 1618, which was the ſecond Profeſſorſhip in the Faculty of Divinity; but he refuſed it, and procured it for *Scultetus*. He gave great Proofs of his Learning in the Synod of *Dort*, whither he was ſent with two other Deputies of the *Palatinate* (*c*). It was at that time that the Degree of Doctor, which the Univerſity of *Leyden* had ſuffered to be extinct, was revived. *Altingius* ſolemnly created the Profeſſor, *John Polyander*, Licentiate in Divinity, who afterwards received his Doctor's Degree from *Scultetus*, by which means he became inveſted with the Authority requiſite for conferring the Degree of Doctor on his Colleagues. *Altingius*, no doubt, entertained great Expectations a little after his Return to *Heidelberg*. The Troubles of *Bohemia* gave a Crown to the Elector *Palatine*; but theſe happy Beginnings were ſoon attended with a dreadful Ruin. *Tilly* took *Heidelberg* by Aſſault, in the Month of *September*, 1622, and ſuffered all imaginable Diſorders to be committed in it [*C*]. *Altingius*, having eſcaped the Fury of the Soldiers, as it were by Miracle [*D*], followed his Family, which he had ſent ſome time

(*a*) *The Counts of* Naſſau, Solms, *and* Iſenberg.

(*b*) Konig *does not allow him a proper time, when he ſays* vixit anno 1613. *His moſt flouriſhing State was not then arrived.*

(*c*) Abraham Scultetus, *and* Paul Tuſſanus. *The latter was deputed by the Eccleſiaſtical Senate, and the other two by the Univerſity.*

" mentia in proximam ripam evaſerunt (3). —— *A* " *ſudden and ſtormy Tempeſt ariſing, They* (Scultetus " *and* Altingius) *were in danger of being caſt away* " *and drowned; but, at laſt, they providentially eſcaped, drenched and wet to the Skin, on the next* " *Shore.*" His Life, written at large by *Ubbo Emmius*, is among the Papers of his Heirs (4).

[*B*] *We may meet with Proofs of This in the Vatican Library.*] The Exerciſes of the King of *Bohemia*, corrected by *Altingius*, are preſerved there, and ſhewn to Travellers, as the Author of That Profeſſor's Life informs us. He adds, that theſe Monuments deſerve as much to be ſhewn to the Curious, as moſt Relicks which they ſee. " Hujus magiſterii " ejus ne unquam apud poſteros inteſtata queat eſſe " induſtria, vel Roma, quod miremur, faciet, quæ in " Bibliotheca Vaticana inter Heidelbergenſia cimelia, " dicam an ſpolia, oſtentat themata & exercitia ſtyli " Regis Bohemiæ *Altingii* manu emendata, *eruditis* " *peregrinatoribus* minimeque ſuperſtitioſis viſenda, " atque non minus credo, quàm pleræque ipſorum " reliquiæ ἀξιοθέατα, digna ſpectatu (5).

[*C*] *Suffered all imaginable Diſorders to be committed.*] They plunder'd, they raviſh'd, they kill'd, they tortur'd; in a Word, they committed every Outrage, which the Fury of Soldiers, animated by a falſe Zeal for Religion, is capable of. " Urbs —— impetu & " vi capta, omniaque dira exempla paſſa direptionis, " lanienæ, libidinis, quæ militaris licentia, victoris " inſolentia, odium religionis, barbarorum Croatarum " feritas comminiſci potuere, aut patrare —— Ea " nocte inſomni & mœſta, inter lamenta & ejulatus, " quibus omnia undique perſtrepebant, aut ſequioris " ſexus vim patientis, aut virorum equuleis ſubditorum, ac per varia tormenta ac vulnere lenta citave " morte affectorum, &c. (6) —— *The Town was taken* " *by Aſſault; and every dreadful Inſtance was permitted, of Plunder, Butchery, and Luſt, which the* " *Licentiouſneſs of an Army, the Inſolence of a Conqueror, religious Hatred, and the Brutality of barbarous* Croatians, *could contrive or perpetrate.* —— " *In that ſleepleſs and calamitous Night, amidſt the* " *Cries and Groans, which were heard on all Sides,* " *either of violated Women, or Men ſuffering variety* " *of Tortures, ſome dying a quick, ſome a lingring* " *Death*, &c." Theſe are the uſual Fruits of War; enough to make thoſe tremble, who undertake to adviſe it, to prevent Evils, which, perhaps, may never happen, and which, at the worſt, would often be leſs than thoſe, which neceſſarily follow a Rupture. I ſhall have occaſion, more than once, to remark the Anguiſh of Mind, to which great Commanders have been reduced, when their Conſciences have reproached them with the Ravages they have occaſioned.

[*D*] *Having eſcaped the Fury of the Soldiers, as it were by Miracle.*] The Circumſtances of his Eſcape deſerve to be related. He was in his Cloſet, when he heard that the Enemy, being Maſters of the City, began to plunder it. He bolted his Door, and betook himſelf to Prayer. One of his Friends, accompanied by two Soldiers, came to him, and adviſed him to retire, by the Back-door, to the Chancellor's Houſe, which was put under a ſtrong Guard: Count *Tilly* intending to ſecure all the Papers, which were there. The

(3) Vit. Hen. Altingii.

(4) Vit. Jacobi Alting.

(5) Vita Hen. Altingii.

(6) Ex Vita Henr. Alting.

time before to *Heilbron*. He met it at *Schorndorf*, where with much Difficulty he abode a few Months: for the *Lutheran* Miniſters put in practice the Doctrine of Non-Toleration againſt him [*E*]. In the Year 1623, he retired with his Family to *Embden*, and went from thence to wait upon the King of *Bohemia* at the *Hague*. This Prince retained him as Preceptor to his eldeſt Son (*d*), and would not permit him to ſerve the Church of *Embden*, which deſired him for their Miniſter, nor the Univerſity of *Franeker*, which offered him, in the Year 1625, the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, vacant by the Death of *Sibrandus Lubbertus*. This Prince was prevailed upon, with great Difficulty, to give him leave, the next Year, to accept of a Profeſſorſhip of Divinty at *Groningen*. *Altingius* took Poſſeſſion of it, the ſixteenth of *June* 1627, and kept it 'till he died. It is true, that, in 1633, he was fully reſolved to leave *Groningen* for *Leyden*; but it was upon this Condition, that the States of *Groningen* ſhould conſent to it, which they refuſed to do. It is true likewiſe, that he liſtened to the Propoſals, which Prince *Lewis Philip* (*e*) made him in 1634, to come and re-eſtabliſh the Univerſity of *Heidelberg*, and the Churches of the Palatinate; and that he was already arrived at *Francfort*, through many Dangers; but this Deſign proved abortive by reaſon of the Battel of *Norlingen*, which the Imperialiſts won. He was obliged to return to *Groningen* through By-ways. It does not appear, that he had any Thoughts afterwards of removing to any other Place. The laſt Years of his Life were full of Trouble; Grief and Diſeaſes gave him great Uneaſineſs. He was ſo afflicted at the Death of his eldeſt Daughter in 1639, that he fell into an obſtinate Melancholy, which brought him into a Quartan-Ague, of which he was with great Difficulty cured, though not perfectly; for the Remains of it turned to a Lethargy in 1641. Scarce had the Phyſicians, by repeated Applications, removed this Diſtemper, when a domeſtic Affliction came upon him, which occaſioned his bodily Infirmities to return upon him ſtronger than ever. *Altingius* loſt his Wife in the Year 1643, and grieved ſo much for her, that he was no longer able to overcome his Melancholy. From this time to the Day of his Death his Infirmities

continued

The Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Hohenzollern* guarded this Houſe: *With this Battle-axe*, ſaid he, *I have killed ten Men this Day*; *Doctor* Altingius *ſhould ſoon be the eleventh, if I knew where he lies hid: Who are you?* continued he, directing his Diſcourſe to the Doctor. *Altingius* was not ſo confounded, but he readily replied; *I was Teacher in the College of Wiſdom*; an Anſwer not the fartheſt from Truth. The Author of his Elogium compares this Anſwer to that, which St *Athanaſius* made, “ Sanè “ ille Vultus, ille Habitus, ille Sermo, is rerum ar- “ ticulus, quemvis alium percellere poterat: at noſter “ imperterritus, ſolerti tamen uſus reſponſo, nec “ aperte ſe negavit Altingium, nec tamen intempeſtive “ ſe prodidit, eadem fere qua olim in caſu ſimili S. A- “ thanaſius dexteritate uſus, Ego, (inquit) Ludimagi- “ ſter fui in Collegio Sapientiæ. —— *In truth, ſuch* “ *a Look, ſuch a Mein, and ſuch Language, might* “ *have coufounded any one elſe: But our Hero, undiſ-* “ *may'd, returned, however, an artful Anſwer; nei-* “ *ther poſitively denying that he was* Altingius, *nor* “ *unſeaſonably betraying himſelf; in which he had re-* “ *courſe to the ſame Artifice, which was put in practice,* “ *in a like Caſe, by St* Athanaſius. *I was a School-* “ *maſter*, ſays he, *in the College of Wiſdom*.” The Lieutenant Colonel promiſed to ſave him. The next Day the Jeſuits took Poſſeſſion of the Houſe, and ſent away this Officer ſo ſuddenly, that he had not time to enquire after his *Teacher of the College of Wiſdom*. Thus *Altingius* found himſelf in the Hands of the Jeſuits; but he hid himſelf in a Garret; and, by good Fortune, a Cook of the Electoral Court was employed by Count *Tilly*, whoſe Kitchen was in the Chancellor's Houſe. This Man privately convey'd Victuals to *Altingius* in the Garret, and even gave him an Opportunity of going to ſee what paſt at his own Houſe, attended by three Soldiers of the *Bavarian* Army for his Guard. *Altingius* found his Houſe in great Diſorder, and his Cloſet in the Power of a Captain; who told him, either in a bantering way, or out of Civility, that he gave him leave to carry away what Book he pleaſed. He declined the Offer, and only anſwered, that, if thoſe things belonged to him, he deſired God would give him a longer Poſſeſſion of them, than their firſt Maſter had. *Altingius* ran many Dangers in his return; and, after three Days, *Tilly* gave him leave to retire. I have read, ſomewhere, that, had not *Altingius* been afraid of being thought a *Plagiary*, he might have ſaved many Books of the Electoral Library; and that he had removed many of them to the College of *Wiſdom*; but I confeſs I do not underſtand this; I find a Contradiction in it. If he convey'd no Books out of the Electoral Library into his own Cloſet, for fear of being accounted a *Plagiary*; why do you ſay, that he carried away ſeveral of them to the College of *Wiſdom*, and that he might have ſaved many? Beſides, according to the Author of his Life, he was permitted only to carry away one Volume. Read the following Paſſage. “ Hunc *(Quin-* “ *tilianum)* & alios illius Bibliothecæ libros ſua manu “ in Collegio Sapientiæ exceperat Henricus Altingius, “ atque ex communi illo incendio Bavarico eripuiſſet, “ niſi ſuis reculis timuiſſet, & ne plagiarius haberetur, “ ſi antiquus liber in ejus ſupellectile reperiretur, ve- “ ritus fuiſſet (7). —— Henry Altingius *had picked* “ *out this* (Quintilian) *and other Books of that Library,* “ *with his own Hands, in the College of* Wiſdom; “ *and might have ſaved them from that general* Bava- “ rian *Conflagration, had he not been afraid of paſ-* “ *ſing for a* Plagiary, *if the ancient Copy was found* “ *in his Poſſeſſion.*”

[*E*] *The* Lutheran *Miniſters put in practice the Doctrine of Non-Toleration againſt him.*] At the Requeſt of the Elect'reſs, he obtained leave of the Duke of *Wirtemberg* to reſide at *Schorndorf*. He continued there 'till the Month of *February*, which followed the Deſolation of the Palatinate. The *Lutheran* Miniſters murmured at his living there, and at the Permiſſion, which the Duke had given him; the Reaſon of their Diſcontent was, that *Altingius* was a Profeſſor of *Heidelberg*. “ Ibi ad Februarium uſque hæſit, fa- “ cultate hac per ſereniſſimam Electricem impetrata “ à Duce Wirtembergico, cujus alias Miniſtri Lu- “ therani, quaſi Ponti Axeni accolæ, aut aves Dio- “ medeæ, quæ ſolos ſocios gratanter accipiunt, id fe- “ rebant ægerrime, non alia de cauſa quàm quod Al- “ tingius Profeſſor eſſet Heidelbergenſis (8). - - - - - - “ *He continued there 'till* February, *having obtained* “ *leave from the Duke of* Wirtemberg, *by means of* “ *the Serene Elect'reſs; which was taken ill by the* “ Lutheran *Miniſters, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe* “ Altingius *was Profeſſor at* Heidelberg, *reſembling* “ *in this the People bordering on the* Euxine *Sea, or* “ Diomedes's *Birds, who receive joyfully only their* “ *Fellows.*” I believe they would have more ſtrictly obſerved the Laws of Hoſpitality towards a Merchant of the Palatinate, or towards a *Calviniſt* Profeſſor of a very remote Country, than towards a Profeſſor of *Heidelberg*. The Palatinate was near the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*; the Profeſſors of *Tubingen*, and thoſe of *Heidelberg*, frequently attack'd each other in Diſputations, and Polemical Writings. Behold the Source of Theological and Profeſſorial Enmity! But after all, we cannot excuſe their ill Treatment of *Altingius*. He had eſcaped from the Popiſh Flames; the Injuries he had received from the com-

mon

(*d*) *Who was caſt away in the Sea of* Harlem, Jan. 7. 1629.

(*e*) *He was Adminiſtrator of the* Palatinate, *and, in* 1633, *offered to make* Altingius *Profeſſor of Divinity, and Eccleſiaſtical Senator.*

(7) Lemeier de Biblioth. pag. 278. *I know not whether a Man may be called a* Plagiary, *who ſteals, not the Thoughts of an Author, but a Book or a Volume in kind, without publiſhing it in his own Name.*

(8) Vita Altingii.

continued to increaſe. He died chriſtianly, and devoutly, on the Twenty fifth of *Auguſt*, 1644. He was a Man of great Merit. The Books he compoſed [*F*] are a Proof of his Learning, and his Application to the Diſcharge of the Academical Duties; and it is well known, that he employed his Abilities other ways, in ſerving his Neighbours. He went to ſee the King of *Bohemia* every Year, and reviewed the Studies of the Royal Family. He took a great deal of Pains in the Collections, which were made every where in the Proteſtant Countries for the Churches of *Germany*, and particularly for thoſe of the Palatinate. He was one of the three Commiſſioners for the Collections from *England*, and diſpoſed of the Alms of *Lewis de Geer*. I omit the two conſiderable Commiſſions he was charged with; one relating to the Reviſal, which was made at *Leyden*, of the new *Dutch* Tranſlation of the Scripture, and the other relating to the Viſitation of the County of *Steinfurt*. He had Colleagues in the firſt; but he was ſole Inſpector-General in the ſecond; the Count of *Bentheim* having ſent for him to make Inquiſition againſt *Socinianiſm*, which threatened his Country, and to regulate the Churches. *Altingius*'s Elogy ſays, that he was not a quarrelſome Divine [*G*]; he did not ſpend his Time in trifling, inſignificant, Scruples; he was not fond of Novelty; he was zealous for the antient Doctrine; an Enemy to the Subtilties of the Schools; and relied only on the Scripture [*H*]. All Perſons of his Profeſſion ought to imitate his Conduct in the Management of their domeſtic Affairs [*I*]. They were ſpoken of no otherwiſe, than as being, in general, right. They afforded no other Topic for Converſation. He married at *Heidelberg* in the Year 1614, and had ſeven Children, of which one Daughter and two Sons ſurvived him. The eldeſt was Profeſſor of the Civil Law at *Deventer* (*f*). The following Article treats of the other.

(*f*) *Taken from* James Altingius's *Life, among thoſe of the Profeſſors of* Groningen, *printed in Folio, in* 1654.

mon Enemy, ſhould have ſerved as a powerful Recommendation of him; his Belief did not differ from that of *Wirtemberg*, but in things not eſſential. If Men muſt hate and perſecute each other for Religion, they ſhould wait, at leaſt, 'till they are like the People of *Egypt*, ſome in the Service of one God, and ſome in the Service of quite a different God.

Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua ſimultas,
Immortale odium, & nunquam ſanabile Vulnus,
Ardet adhuc Ombos, & Tentyra, ſummus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, quum ſolos credit habendos
Eſſe deos, quos ipſe colit (9).

(9) Juvenal. Sat. xv. ver. 33.

Ombus *and* Tentyr, *neighb'ring Towns, of late*
Broke into Outrage of deep-feſter'd Hate.
A Grudge in both, time out of mind, begun,
And mutually bequeath'd from Sire to Son.
Religious Spite, and pious Spleen, bred firſt
This Quarrel, which ſo long the Bigots nurſt.
Each calls the other's God a ſenſeleſs Stock,
His own Divine; tho' from the ſelf-ſame Block
One Carver fram'd them. TATE.

Thus we ſee, that the Promoters of Eccleſiaſtical Wars always ſuppoſe, that their religious Diſputes are of the greateſt Conſequence. *It is a Gangrene*, ſay they, *it is undermining the Foundations of Religion.*

[*F*] *The Books he compos'd.*] Thoſe, which have been publiſhed, are as follows. *Notæ in Decadem problematum Johannes Behm, de glorioſo Dei & beatorum cælo*, Heidelbergæ, 1618. *Loci communes cum didactici tum elenctici: Problemata tam theoretica quàm practica: Explicatio Catecheſeos Palatinæ cum vindiciis ab Arminianis & Socinianis*, Amſtelodami, 1646, in 3 Volumes. *Exegeſis Auguſtanæ Confeſſionis unà cum ſyllabo controverſiarum Lutheranarum*, Amſtelodami, 1647. *Methodus Theologiæ Didacticæ & Catecheticæ*, Amſtelodami, 1650. Thoſe, which are not publiſhed, are more in Number, and ſome of them are imperfect: The Liſt of them is to be ſeen at the end of the Author's Life. I find there, that the *Medulla Hiſtoriæ Prophanæ*, publiſhed by *Daniel Pareus*, is a Work of our *Altingius*. It is a *Plagiariſm*, which has not been obſerved by *Thomaſius*, nor Mr *Almeloveen* (10). The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Palatinate, from the Reformation down to the Adminiſtrator *John Caſimir*, is one of the moſt conſiderable among the Manuſcript Works of *Altingius*.

(10) *He has publiſhed a Catalogue of the Plagiaries at the End of his* Amœnitates Theologico-Philologicæ, Amſt. 1694.

[G] *He was not a quarrelſome Divine.*] I ſhall ſet down the very Words of his Hiſtorian. "Alienus "à jurgiis & vitilitigiis cuminiſectorum, ab iis diſtin-"ctiunculis & ineptiis Sophiſtarum, quibus myſteria "ſalutis potius implicantur quàm explicantur; à ſcru-"puloſitatibus præciſiſtarum, qui nodum quærunt in "ſcirpo, colant culicem, camelum deglutientes (11). "- - - - - - *He avoided all Quarrels and Diſputes about* "*Trifles, together with the idle Diſtinctions of the* "Sophiſts, *in which the Myſteries of Salvation are* "*rather taken for granted, than explained; likewiſe* "*the ſcrupulous Behaviour of the Fanatics, who carry* "*Religion to Superſtition, ſtrain out a Gnat, and ſwal-*"*low a Camel.*" The Sect of the *Fanatics* made a noiſe in *Holland*, about forty Years ago (12). It is very well characteriſed by theſe Words; they ſtrain out a Gnat, and ſwallow a Camel *; they open a Door to Diſputes, which ſerve only to furniſh the Prophane and Libertine with Arms. To go on; "Ab "omni denique καινωφονία & novatione in Theolo-"gicis, quaſi illud ſemper Tertulliani tenens, *primum* "*quodque veriſſimum.* —— *Laſtly, he avoided all In-*"*novations in Divinity, adhering always to that Ma-*"*xim of* Tertullian, The firſt is the trueſt." There is no doubt, but that the love of Novelty is a Plague, which, having thrown Univerſities and Synods into a Flame, ſhakes and diſorders a State, and ſometimes overthrows it: So that we cannot too much commend thoſe Profeſſors, who recommend to their Pupils, to avoid this Spirit of Innovation. I confeſs, the Care, which is taken to recommend the Obſervation of the ancient and commonly received Doctrine, ſeems to imply a Principle of Authority in the Church, which is conſtantly rejected by the Proteſtants, when they have occaſion to diſpute with the *Roman* Catholics. But this ought not to diſcourage any one from preventing Innovations; for if a Reaſon were never to be made uſe of, 'till it were free from all Difficulties, every thing would be at a ſtand.

(11) Vit. Jacobi Alting.

(12) *I write this in* 1698.

* *See* REM. CRIT. *below.*

[Give me leave to remark here, an Error in our *Engliſh* Verſion of this proverbial Saying. We render it *ſtrain* AT *a Gnat, and ſwallow a Camel*; whereas both the *Greek* Term διϋλίζω, and the *Latin Colo*, ſignifie to STRAIN OUT any thing, out of a Cup, or drinking Veſſel, for inſtance, into which a *Gnat* or other Inſect may have fallen. REM. CRIT.]

[*H*] *An Enemy to the Subtilties of the Schools, and relied only on the Scripture.*] See what follows: "Theo-"logiam probabat ac tuebatur ſolidam ac maſculam, "non ex lacunis Scholaſticorum, etſi illarum inex-"pertus non eſſet, ſed ex fontibus Siloë & Scriptura-"rum derivatam; ut gloriæ ſibi duceret, ſe ab im-"peritis nonnullis ac naſutis Palæmonibus traduci, "tanquam Theologum Scripturarum & Biblicum (13). "—— *He approved of, and maintained, a ſound and* "*manly Divinity, not derived from the ſtanding Pools* "*of the Schoolmen, though he was not unacquainted* "*with them, but from the running Brooks of* Siloë, "*and the Scriptures; inſomuch that he thought it an* "*Honour to be traduced by ignorant and ſcoffing Gram-*"*marians, as a Scriptural Bible-Divine.*"

(13) Vita Altingii.

[*I*] *Perſons of his Profeſſion ought to imitate his Conduct, in the management of their domeſtic Affairs.*] It was only known, that no one knew the Tranſactions of his Family, farther than that all things were done decently, and according to the fear of God. "Hinc in familia ejus omnia ſemper pacata, omnia "ordinata, de qua hoc ſolum ſciretur, quod à nemi"ne ſciretur quid in illa fieret, niſi quod piè, com"poſite, decenter omnia fieri neminem lateret (14)." This is much better than that whatever is ſaid or done in a Miniſter's Houſe ſhould be the Subject of public Converſation. *Such a Piece of News was talk'd of there this Morning*, ſays one (15); *laſt Night ſuch a Reflexion of a News-Writer was controverted there*, will another ſay; *he may excuſe himſelf as* Adam *did*, ſays a third, *and ſay, The Wife whom thou gaveſt me, made me do it. What!* ſays a fourth, *you only heard this Circumſtance at that Place; I miſtruſt it; it is an ill Office of Intelligence: The* Nympha loquax, *who preſides there, adds what ſhe pleaſes to Relations: Give me none of her Gloſſes, or her Commentaries; I appeal to the Text, how uncertain ſoever it may be.* It can be no wonder, that *Altingius* was ſo inconſolable after the Death of his Spouſe, if it be true, as his Hiſtorian Relates, that he lived near thirty Years with her, without any Complaint or Quarrel. *Cum ea per annos prope 30 ſine rixa ſine querela conjunctiſſime vixit* (16). Few Perſons can make this boaſt, and complain, that they are ignorant, whether the Effects of Reconciliation are as ſweet in Marriage, as in Gallantry.

(14) Ibid.

(15) *Compare with this the Remark* [*N*] *of the Article* GRUTERUS.

(16) Ibid.

Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio eſt (17).

Quarrels of Lovers only prove
New Fewel to the Fire of Love.

(17) Ter. Andr. Act. 3. Sc. 3. ver. 23.

ALTINGIUS (JAMES) Son of the preceding, was Profeſſor of Divinity at *Groningen*. He was born at *Heidelberg* on the Twenty ſeventh of *September* 1618, during his Father's Deputation to the Synod of *Dort*. His Childhood was a perpetual change of Place [*A*]. He went thro' his Studies at *Groningen* with great Succeſs; and, having a great Inclination to the Oriental Languages, he went to *Embden*, in the Year 1638, to ſtudy under Rabbi *Gumprecht Ben-Abraham*. He went into *England*, in the Year 1640; where he made himſelf known to the greateſt Men: he preached there, and was admitted a Prieſt of the Church of *England* by the learned *John Prideaux* Biſhop of *Worceſter*. He had once reſolved to paſs his Life there; but he accepted the *Hebrew* Profeſſorſhip, vacant by the Death of *Gomarus*, at *Groningen*. He was inſtalled there, the thirteenth of *January* 1643, the ſame Day that *Samuel Des Marets* was inſtalled in the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, which the ſame *Gomarus* had exerciſed. *Altingius*'s Titles and Offices increaſed with Time; He was admitted Doctor of Philoſophy, the Twenty firſt of *October* 1645; Academical Preacher in the Year 1647; and Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity in 1667. He travelled twice to *Heidelberg*; once in the Year 1651, and afterward in the Year 1662, and had received a thouſand Marks of Eſteem from the Elector Palatine *Charles Lewis*; who ſollicited him ſeveral times to accept a Profeſſorſhip of Divinity there; but he civilly declined it. He ſoon quarrelled with *Samuel Des Marets*, his Colleague, and it was almoſt impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe; ſince their Method of teaching was quite different, nor did they agree in Principles on ſeveral Points. *Altingius* applied himſelf to the Scripture, without any Mixture of Scholaſtic Divinity; He was in the full Career of Glory; he ſtill preſſed forward, and wanted neither Wit nor Learning to ſupport his Opinions. The firſt Lectures, which he read, at his own Houſe, on the *Catechiſm*, drew ſo many Auditors, that, for want of Room in his Chamber, he was obliged to make uſe of the Univerſity Auditory. He had moſt of the Foreign Students on his ſide. His Colleague accuſtomed himſelf to the Diſtinctions and Method of the Schoolmen; he had been a long time famous; he publiſhed many Books, had a ready Wit, and great Learning; and the Students in Divinity of that Country applied themſelves to him, as the ſureſt way to obtain a Church; for all the Pariſhes were ſerved by Miniſters, who had ſtudied according to his Method. This was more than ſufficient to raiſe, and keep up a Diviſion, tho' Temper were not concerned in it. *Altingius* had very great Obſtacles to ſurmount. The Majority of Voices, and Authority of Age, were on his Adverſary's ſide: Beſides, *Des Marets* had an Advantage in his Favour, ſufficient to arm all the World againſt his Antagoniſt, and to awaken the moſt venerable Prejudices; which was to repreſent *Altingius* as an Innovator; one who removed the ſacred Boundaries, which our Fathers had ſo wiſely placed on the Confines of Truth and Falſhood. He ſet up for a publick Accuſer; and imputed Thirty one Erroneous Propoſitions to *James Altingius*. The Curators of the Univerſity ſent the Accuſer's Writing, and the Anſwer of the Accuſed Perſon, to the Divines of *Leyden*, without giving the Parties notice of it, and deſired them to give their Opinion upon it. The Judgment they gave deſerves to be taken notice of [*B*]. *Altingius* was declared innocent of

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[*A*] *His Childhood was a perpetual Change of Place.*] For, at two Years of Age, he was ſent to *Chriſtian Chytræus*, Miniſter of *Bretten*. The Year following, his Mother was obliged, on account of the impending Siege of *Heidelberg*, to retire to *Heilborn*, notwithſtanding her being with Child, and ſhe carried him with her; from whence, at the end of the Year, they were obliged to retire to *Schorndorf*. "Sequente mox anno, propter imminentem Heidelbergæ "obſidionem, matre etiam comite, eaque tum gravidâ, "Hailbronnam, indeque exacto anno Schorndorfium "miſſus eſt (1)." His Father, *Henry Altingius*, afterwards brought his whole Family to *Embden*, through By-ways. From *Embden* he removed to *Leyden*, where he was Preceptor to the King of *Bohemia*. The Plague obliged him to go from *Leyden* to *Honſlaerdijk*; laſtly, he went from *Honſlaerdijk* to *Groningen*, being invited thither to be Profeſſor of Divinity, in the Year 1627. *James Altingius* was then nine Years of Age.

(1) Vita Jacobi Alting.

[*B*] *The Judgment they gave deſerves to be taken notice of.*] I pretend not to take any part in the particular Affair here in queſtion; and ſhall content myſelf with remarking, that, in general, one cannot forbear, on occaſion of the like Diſputes, to judge, as the Divines of *Leyden* did. They, who advance new Hypotheſes, pique themſelves too much upon maintaining them, to the prejudice of Peace, and of the Eccleſiaſtical and Academical Tranquillity. They may be as Orthodox as they pleaſe; but they have not Prudence of Hereſy; they only blamed his Imprudence in framing new Hypotheſes; on the other hand, *Des Marets* was declared to want Modeſty and Charity (*a*). The latter refuſed to acquieſce in this Judgment, and would not accept the Offer of Silence. He inſiſted upon having the Cauſe examined by the Conſiſtories, the Claſſes, and the Synods; but the Superiors would not conſent to it, and prohibited writing either for or againſt the Judgment of the Divines of *Leyden:* Thus *Des Marets*'s Book, *Audi & alteram partem*, was ſuppreſſed. This Conteſt made a great Noiſe, and might have been attended with bad Conſequences, by the calling of *Des Marets* to the Univerſity of *Leyden* (*b*); but he died at *Groningen* (*c*) before he took Poſſeſſion of that Employ. He made a kind of Reconciliation on his Death-Bed [*C*]; I ſhall ſpeak of it in the Remarks. *Altingius* thought he had reaſon to complain, that he was play'd upon [*D*]; and was not eaſy after he was delivered from ſo formidable an Adverſary. The Clergy murmured continually againſt what they called Innovations [*E*]; but the Secular Power calm'd by it's Prudence theſe Synodal or Conſiſtorial Storms, and threatened to interdict thoſe, who ſhould revive the Quarrel of theſe two Champions in any Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly. *Altingius* enjoyed but little Health during the three laſt Years of his Life; at length a continual Fever, which laſted but nine Days, took him out of the World on the Twentieth of *Auguſt*, 1679. He died piouſly, reſigning himſelf to the Will of God; and recommended the Edition of all his Works ſeveral times to his Couſin *Menſo Altingius*, Burgo-Maſter of *Groningen*.

(*a*) Cum Altingium ab omni Hæreſeos notâ abſolverent, in ipſo autem prudentiam in procudendis novè inventis, in Mareſio modeſtiam & charitatem requirerent. *Vit. Jac. Altingii.*

(*b*) Et rei miram habituri cataſtrophen, Mareſio quamquam ſene ad Theologiæ Profeſſionem Lugdunum in Batavis vocato. *Ibid.*

(*c*) *In May* 1673.

Prudence enough: They are guilty of Raſhneſs; for it is raſh Conduct to diſturb the public Peace, without great and urgent Neceſſity. They, who oppoſe a new Method of Teaching, betray too much Paſſion: I am apt to believe, that, ſometimes, they are not guided by any perſonal Conſiderations in their Proceedings; but they carry matters too far, they alarm the whole Church for trifles; they ſpread Apprehenſions among the People of a total Depravation of the Confeſſion of Faith, when there is yet no Attempt made againſt it. They are zealous, but neither moderate, nor charitable, nor equitable. Nay, they are as impudent, as their Adverſaries: They do not conſider, that a new Method, of which no notice appears to be taken, falls of itſelf; whereas, if it be zealouſly oppoſed, it degenerates into a Party. The new Methodiſt ſhall have ſome Relations in the Government, who will ſupport him with all their Intereſt; and thus you will ſoon ſee a Combination of the Civil and Canon Law, and the Factions of the Church and State, matched together. What may not one apprehend from ſuch a Conflict? How many Evils would Religion and the State avoid, if People were only contented to oppoſe Fundamental Innovations?

[*C*] *A kind of Reconciliation on his Death-Bed.*] A Miniſter of *Groningen*, ſeeing *Des Marets* paſt recovery, propoſed to him a Reconciliation between him and his Colleague; and, having his Conſent, went and propoſed the ſame thing to *Altingius*; who anſwered, that the Silence he had obſerved, notwithſtanding the Clamours, and the Writings of his Adverſary, was a Proof of his peaceable Diſpoſition; that he was always ready to accept of Peace on reaſonable Terms; but that he deſired Satisfaction for the Injuries, which had been publiſhed againſt his Honour; and that he did not ſee, how any one could deſire any Friendſhip with him, while he thought him to be ſuch a Perſon, as he had repreſented him. The Mediator went away, without propoſing any thing farther. A little while after, a Report was ſpread all over the Town, that Mr *Altingius* was ſo hard-hearted, as to refuſe to be reconciled to his dying Colleague: So true it is, that Town Reports are little conſiſtent with Truth. The Mediator returned with another Miniſter to Mr *Altingius*, and got a Formulary of Satisfaction from him. This Formulary did not pleaſe the ſick Perſon; and That, which the ſick Perſon dictated, did not pleaſe *Altingius*; more Goings and Comings were employed, than in the Capitulation of a Fortreſs. At laſt, the Alteration, which *Altingius* inſerted in the Formulary of *Des Marets*, being accepted, on condition, that *Altingius* ſhould accept what *Des Marets* ſhould add to it, that the Conditions might be equal on both Sides, they ſigned it; and this was all the Reconciliation. Note, that the Parties retracted only perſonal Injuries; as for doctrinal Accuſations, the Accuſer left them to the Judgment of the Church (2).

(2) *Taken from a Letter of* James Altingius, *in the 5th Volume of his Works.*

[*D*] Altingius *thought he had reaſon to complain that he was play'd upon.*] He founded his Complaint on the laſt Edition of *Des Marets*'s Syſtem, in which he was very ill treated. He pretended, that his Adverſary was bound to ſuppreſs all Monuments of their Diſagreement; and that, ſince he had not ſuppreſs'd ſo outrageous a Libel, his Reconciliation was not ſincere. “Poſteaquam autem ad plures abiit (*Mareſius*) - - - - - monitus ſui ego (3) de Syſtematis novi perpetuis annotationibus, quæ infandis maledictis cum in alios, tum in me, conſtarent. Liber ille paucis ante mortem ipſius diebus vendi quidem cœperat, ſed nondum in meas ædes fuerat illatus. - - - - - - - Curavi ergo afferri, atque inde didici quantopere D. Mareſius mihi illuſiſſet, quando in ſpeciem concordiam redintegrari expetiit. Etenim quotieſcunque verum illud eſt ac ſincerum votum, non tantum verbis pax initur, ſed etiam abolentur omnia monumenta prioris inimicitiæ. Tenera namque conſcientia ad ſuam ipſius infamiam ſpectare retur, ſi, quod ipſamet damnavit, atque ex ſua memoria abolitum voluit, univerſorum notitiæ ac Memoriæ infixum dederit, editis contumelioſis chartis per univerſum orbem diſſeminatis. - - - - - - *After the Deceaſe of* Des Marets, *I was informed of the perpetual Commentary of the New Syſtem, which was fraught with unjuſt Aſperſions, both on others, and myſelf. The Book indeed begun to be ſold a few Days before his Death, but had not, as yet, come to my Hands. I took Care to procure it, and was convinced by it, how greatly* Des Marets *impoſed upon me, when he appeared to ſollicit a Reconciliation. For, when ſuch a Deſire is real and ſincere, a verbal Reconciliation is not thought ſufficient, but all Remains of former Enmity are aboliſhed. A tender Conſcience will ſcruple to perpetuate and ſpread over the World, by libellous Writings, what itſelf has condemned, and would willingly forget.*” If I may be allowed to ſpeak my Opinion freely, it ſeems to me unreaſonable to expect that *Des Marets* ſhould ſuppreſs a whole large Volume; if he had, the Bookſeller ought certainly to have been indemnified; and thus the Expence of the Reconciliation would not have been a meer *unſaying*, a *nollem factum*; it would have been a pecuniary Loſs to the Family. The Queſtion was not concerning three or four Leaves only, but the whole Work, as *Altingius* himſelf acknowledged. “Cum in ipſius eſſet poteſtate totum opus ſuppreſſiſſe, quæ unica ſupererat in opere uſque quaque ſibi conformi emendatio (4). - - - - - - *When it was in his own Power to have ſuppreſs'd the whole Work; which was the only Emendation left in a Work ſo uniform from Beginning to End.*” It was enough, that he declared in a Writing under his Hand, that he retracted whatever he might have ſaid or publiſhed againſt his Adverſary's Reputation. “Ita ut indicta velit Cl. D. Mareſius, ſi quæ in dictis & ſcriptis ipſius in famam Cl. D. Altingii incurrere videantur (5).” With that alone he might die in form; *è morto cannonicamente**, as they ſay beyond the *Alps*.

(3) Alting. Tom. 5. Mantiſſe, pag. 425.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) Id. ibid.

* *He died canonically.*

[*E*] *The Clergy murmur'd continually againſt what they called Innovations.*] The following Words will inform us of the Matter. “Qualis fuerit utriuſque ante mortem mutua reconciliatio, ipſiuſmet Autoris *Epiſtola*, initio *Mantiſſæ* tomi quinti poſita, teſtatur.

“Quieſcente

Groningen. His Requeſt was complied with ſome Years after his Death, by the Publication of Five Volumes in *Folio* [*F*]. He lived a ſingle Life, 'till he was almoſt Thirty Years of Age; at which time he grew weary of that State, and married [*G*]. He purpoſed, if he had lived longer, to have compoſed two Books, one in *Latin*, and the other in *Dutch*; the firſt was to have been *An Apology for his Doctrine*, and the other *An Hiſtory of his Life*, from the time of his Profeſſorſhip; by which means we ſhould have ſeen the Injuſtice which was done him *(d)*, in creating him ſo many Troubles [*H*]. This is what I have extracted from his Life, prefixed to the Firſt Volume of his Works. If any one finds Miſtakes in this Article, I deſire him not to impute them to me, who have only faithfully reported what I find in the Book, which I have cited. I advertiſe once for all, that I will not warrant the Truth of ſuch Accounts. I conclude with this Remark; that *Altingius* was a Divine much attached to the Text of the Scripture, and to *Cocceianiſm* and *Rabbiniſm*. This latter Application expoſed him to a terrible Injury [*I*]. He preached well in three Languages, in *German*, *Dutch*, and *Engliſh*.

(d) Ex Vita Jacobi Altingii, in limine Operum, Edit. Amſt. 1687.

“ Quieſcente *Mareſio*, non ſic tamen quieſcendum ſibi “ duxerunt, qui ipſius partium fuerant. Nihil autem “ adeo dediſſe operam videntur, quam ut via quaſi “ eccleſiaſtica per Synodos, Claſſes, & quas dicimus “ Correſpondentias, *Altingii* opinionibus obſiſterent. “ Ita variis quidem fluctibus poſtea jactatus vir optimus, ſuæ autem ſententiæ tenaciſſimus, tandem “ fere enatavit; ſiquidem quotieſcunque aliquid proponeret Eccleſiaſticorum ordo, illud mox procerum “ edicto vel conſulto rejectum eſt. Imo exauctorationis etiam pœna in eos conſtituta, qui de controverſiis *Mareſio-Altingianis* in cœtu aliquo Paſtorum “ quidquam moverent. Ita factum ſæpius eſt, ut generalibus etiam verbis concepta gravamina *de periculoſis novitatibus* in ſpongiam incubuerint (6). - - - - “ *What kind of mutual Reconciliation was between them* “ *before his Death, we learn from the Author's own* “ *Epiſtle, at the beginning of the fifth Tome of the* “ Mantiſſa. *Though* Des Marets *laid aſide his Reſentment, thoſe of his Party did not ſo eaſily quit* “ *theirs. But they had no other Aim, than to oppoſe* “ Altingius's *Opinions, in an Eccleſiaſtical Way, by* “ *Synods, Claſſes, and what we call Correſpondencies.* “ *Thus this beſt of Men, but tenacious to the laſt of* “ *his Opinions, after being toſſed with various Storms,* “ *with much Difficulty at length ſwam a-ſhore; for,* “ *whenever the Order of Eccleſiaſtics propoſed any* “ *thing againſt him, it was immediately rejected by* “ *the Authority of the Civil Power. Nay, the Penalty* “ *of Deprivation was decreed againſt thoſe, who ſhould,* “ *in any Aſſembly of Paſtors, revive the* Mareſio-Altingian *Controverſy. Thus Complaints* of dangerous “ Novelties, *though couched in general Terms, often* “ *undergo the Spunge.*” Hence it appears, that *James Altingius* would have been in great Danger from the Divines, if he had not been protected by the Magiſtrate. It is certain that the Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Power ſtand in need of each other: The latter ſerves ſometimes as a Spur to the former, and the former as a Bridle to the latter.

(6) In Vita Jac. Alting.

—— —— —— alterius ſic
Altera poſcit opem res, & conjurat amice (7).

Thus mutually they need each others Aid.

Roscommon.

(7) Horat. de Arte Poët. ver. 410.

[*F*] *By the Publication of five Volumes in* Folio.] The late Mr *Bekker*, then Miniſter at *Amſterdam*, who had been a Diſciple, and good Friend of the Author's, took a particular Care of this Edition. It was publiſhed at *Amſterdam*, in the Year 1687, and contains ſeveral kinds of Treatiſes, *Analytical*, *Exegetical*, *Practical*, *Problematical*, and *Philoſophical*, which witneſſes not only the laborious Life of *James Altingius*, but likewiſe his great Knowledge. His Diligence may be diſcovered in another Inſtance. Moſt learned Men become at length tired of writing Letters; but he never knew this Fault: He wrote Five thouſand Letters; but they publiſhed but few of them. “ Loquuntur Epiſtolæ, quarum tam paucas “ ex 5000 publicari potuiſſe, id equidem dolendum. “ Erat autem ad ſcribendas literas impiger (8). The bare Names of the Divines, with whom he correſponded, ſhew that he was no *Voëtian*.

(8) Vita Jacobi Alting.

[*G*] *He lived a ſingle Life 'till he was almoſt thirty Years of Age —— and then married.*] *Vitam cœlibem ad annum ætatis trigeſimum fere perduxit, cujus tandem pertæſus junxit ſibi tori ſociam* (9). Of eight Children, which God had given him, but three were living when he died; one whereof was a Phyſician, another an Advocate, and the third bore Arms. The firſt and the laſt died ſoon after their Father.

(9) Ibid.

[*H*] *The Injuſtice which was done him, in creating him ſo many Troubles.*] They, who chooſe the Words of the Original, rather than my Abridgment, may here be ſatisfy'd. “ Dixit inter alia *(Altingius)* ſi “ Deus ſibi vitam vireſque concederet, ſtare ſibi animum duos libellos in lucem mittendi, alterum quidem, quem orſus etiam eſt, quo ſe purgaret coram “ Eccleſiâ ab heteredoxias & hæreſeos crimine ſibi intentato, alterum verò quo hiſtoriam vitæ ſuæ publicæ panderet, ab eo tempore quando in Academia docere cœpiſſet; unde cuivis judicandum relinqueret, quo jure qua injuria tantum ipſi moleſtiarum creatum fuiſſet. - - - - - - - Præ cæteris autem “ conquerebatur à malevolorum inſidiis atque inimicitiis ſtetiſſe, quo minus ut vellet publico inſervire “ potuiſſet (10). - - - - - - Altingius *declared, among* “ *other things, that, if God granted him Life and* “ *Strength, he had determined to publiſh two Books;* “ *one of them (which he had even begun) in Vindication of himſelf, before the Church, from the Charge* “ *of Heterodoxy and Hereſy, which had been brought* “ *againſt him; the other, the Hiſtory of his public* “ *Life, from the time of his commencing Teacher in the* “ *Univerſity; from whence every one might judge,* “ *how juſtly, or unjuſtly, he had been involved in ſo* “ *many Troubles. - - - - - - - But he particularly complained, that the Treachery and Enmity of ill deſigning Men, had prevented his being as ſerviceable to* “ *the Public, as he could have wiſh'd.*” It is certainly a very melancholy Conſideration, that Civil Diſcord ſhould prevent ſo many excellent Operators from exerting their Abilities in the Service of their Community, and againſt foreign Enemies; againſt whom all the Forces of a Party ought conſtantly to be kept united. I do not ſpeak of the Scandal it occaſions; for, on the contrary, we ought to be ſcandaliz'd at the little Scandal it gives. Is it, becauſe to be properly diſguſted requires a Degree of Wit, to which few Perſons attain? Is it becauſe Cuſtom renders Men at length leſs ſenſible; *ab aſſuetis non fit paſſio?* Whatever the Cauſe of it may be, it is certain that People have an exceſſive Indulgence for thoſe, who keep up Diſcord, by violent, injurious, and cavilling Writings, under the falſe Pretence of Zeal. Nothing would more effectually correct the prevailing Itch in ſome People of libelling their Brethren by Book after Book, than for the World to ſhew they are offended in earneſt at ſuch a Conduct, and publickly to expreſs their Contempt and Indignation. But while we ſee them follow the Party, which knows how to make the moſt Noiſe and Buſtle, the Diſeaſe muſt be look'd upon as incurable.

(10) Ibid.

In what the Scandal of Controverſy at preſent conſiſts.

[*I*] *This latter Application expoſed him to a terrible Injury.*] He was called a half *Jew*; one who differed from a *Jew* only in the Foreskin; in ſhort, one, who complained ſometimes of not being Circumciſed, and whoſe Foreskin was troubleſome to him. The Occaſion of theſe Abuſes was, his having maintained, that the Points of the *Tetragamma* are not proper to That Name, and that therefore the true Pronunciation of it is not known, and that we ought not to accuſe thoſe of Jewiſh Superſtition, who read it *Adonaï*. The Judgment paſſed upon this Opinion was as follows: “ Impudentia eſt Grammaticorum “ nonnullorum & filiorum Bicri negare ex ſuperſtitione Judaica oriri, quod id nomen aliter pronuncietur quam legitur - - - - Sed per nos homines ſemi- “ Judæi doctrina, ſtudio, affectu, commercio, & qui ſolo

“ fere pondere præputii, & quo interdum ſe gravari do- “ lent, diſtant à recutitis, inſaniant ut libuerit—Veſtræ “ eſt impudentiæ, petulantiæ, & ſuperbiæ in primo gra- “ du, quod auſitis dicam ſcribere imperitiæ & ignoran- “ tiæ tot illuſtribus Eccleſiæ viris vobis etiam longe “ doctioribus, quod id nominis enuncient & pro- “ nuncient uti ſcribitur (11). —— *It is downright* “ *Impudence in certain Grammarians, and Sons of* Bicri, “ *to deny, that the Pronunciation of this Word dif-* “ *ferently from what it is read is owing to Jewiſh* “ *Superſtition - - - - But let theſe Men, who are Half-* “ *Jews in Doctrine, Study, Affection, and Commerce,* “ *and who differ from the Circumciſed almoſt only in the* “ *Weight of the Prepuce, with which they ſometimes* “ *complain of being burthened; let theſe Men, I ſay,* “ *be as mad as they pleaſe - - - - Your Impudence,* “ *Saucineſs, and Pride, is of the higheſt Degree, in* “ *daring to charge with Unskilfulneſs and Ignorance* “ *ſo many Ornaments of the Church, whoſe Learning* “ *far exceeds your own, for uttering and pronouncing* “ *this Name as it's wrote.*” Was this a ſufficient Reaſon for being ſo very angry? and have we not here an Example of what an Heathen Philoſopher judiciouſly remarked? “ Crede mihi, levia ſunt, propter “ quæ non leviter excandeſcimus, qualia quæ pueros “ in rixam & jurgium concitant. Nihil ex his, quæ “ tam triſtes agimus, ſerium eſt, nihil magnum. Inde, “ inquam, vobis ira & infantia eſt, quod exigua “ magno æſtimatis (12). —— *Believe me, we fall* “ *into a violent Paſſion for meer Trifles; ſuch as ſet* “ *Children a fighting. None of thoſe things, which* “ *give us ſo much Uneaſineſs, are ſerious; none of* “ *them of Importance. From hence, I ſay, ariſes this* “ *childiſh Anger of your's, that you ſet a great Value* “ *upon things of little Moment.*” Could there be a ſeverer Cenſure, than this, of one who ſhould ſet his Apoſtacy to ſale, and ſhould only wait for the Solution of three or four ſmall Difficulties in order to turn Jew?

(11) Oper. Altingii Tom. 5. in Mantiſſa, pag. 426.

(12) Seneca de Ira, lib. 3. cap. 34.

AMABLE, a Prieſt of *Riom* in *Auvergne*, in the Vth Century, is praiſed by *Gregory* of *Tours*, as a Man admirable for his Holineſs, and who wrought many Miracles (*a*). *It is ſaid he had Power over Serpents:* Thus that Hiſtorian expreſſes himſelf; but he ſpeaks of another Particular, as an Eye-Witneſs. *I have ſeen at his Sepulchre*, ſays he, *a Dæmoniac diſpoſſeſſed; I have ſeen a perjured Perſon there become as ſtiff as an Iron Bar, and, after confeſſing his Crime, become as free as before.* When ſuch a Man as *Gregory* of *Tours* makes uſe of an *it is ſaid*, 'tis a ſign, that the thing is not very certain; nevertheleſs this Empire over Serpents has paſſed for the moſt unqueſtionable Fact among all that are attributed to St *Amable*. One would think it was his Lot, or, to ſpeak like a *Mallebranchiſt* (*b*), that God had eſtabliſhed him the occaſional Cauſe of the Cure of thoſe, who were bit by Serpents. A modern Author, tho' a Canon in the City, of which St *Amable* is Patron (*c*), confeſſes *that he does not believe all the Miracles, which are reported of him in the Lives of the Saints of* Auvergne, *and in ſeveral other Legends* (*d*); but declares on the other ſide, *that he firmly believes* That Saint *had a Sovereign Power over Serpents, becauſe the wonderful Effects of it had been univerſally atteſted for the Space of* 1300 *Years* [*A*]; *and becauſe he had had the Happineſs of ſeeing ſome of them himſelf* (*e*). *He queſtions much the Truth of a certain Tradition, which prevailed at* Riom *concerning this Saint; to wit, that, when he went to* Rome *on foot, the Sun attended upon him as his Valet, and carried his Gloves and Cloak in the Air, like an Umbrello, during the great Heat, and kept off the Rain from him in bad Weather* (*f*). *This Tradition paſſeth for ſo certain in that Country, that they ſeldom draw St* Amable's *Picture, without his Gloves and his Cloak being ſupported in the Air by a Sun-Beam. Credat Judæus Appelles* (*g*), ſays he, *non ego*. This is ſufficient, without any Reflexion of my own, to give to this Article the Form, which this Dictionary ſeems to require. A mere Relation of ſuch things is an Heap of Errors.

(*a*) Gregorius Turon. de Gloria Confeſſorum, cap. 33.

(*b*) *See the Abbot* Faydit's Supplement to the Diſſertation on the Sermon of St Polycarpe, pag. 30.

(*c*) Riom.

(*d*) Faydit, ubi ſupra. pag. 102.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 101.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 103.

(*g*) *Thus he writes the Word.* Horace, Sat. 5. lib. 1. *gives it* Apella, *which is more agreeable to the Rules of Quantity.*

[*A*] *The wonderful Effects of it were univerſally atteſted for the Space of* 1300 *Years.*] This Calculation does not agree exactly with what is ſaid in the following Page; that *Gregory* of *Tours lived but about fifty or ſixty Years* after St *Amable.* It is not neceſſary to prove, that the Words do not ſignify, that he was born fifty or ſixty Years after that Saint; it is plain enough that they import, that he was arrived to Manhood, when St *Amable* had been dead fifty or ſixty Years. According to this, the Death of this Saint ſhould fall about the beginning of the VIth Century; for *Gregory* of *Tours* lived but about Fifty two Years, and died in the Year 594 (1). Now if the Miracles of this Saint of *Riom* had been ſeen for the Space of 1300 Years, about the end of the XVIIth Century, he muſt have flouriſhed about the end of the IVth Century; and, upon this Suppoſition, it cannot be ſaid that a Man of twenty Years of Age in 562 lived fifty or ſixty Years after him.

(1) *Father* Labbé de Script. Eccl. Tom. 1. p. 358. *Moſt Authors place his Death in the Year* 596.

AMAMA (SIXTINUS) Profeſſor of the *Hebrew* Tongue, in the Univerſity of *Franeker*, was a very learned Man. He was of *Frieſland*, and had been a Diſciple of *Druſius* [*A*]. The Univerſity of *Leyden*, which endeavours to procure the moſt famous Profeſſors of the neighbouring Univerſities, by offering them more conſiderable Advantages, endeavoured to draw him from the Univerſity of *Franeker* (*a*). It was to ſucceed *Erpenius*, who had been one of the moſt learned Men of his Age in the Oriental Languages. *Amama* did not abſolutely refuſe this Invitation, neither did he abſolutely accept of it; he conſented, upon condition of obtaining his Diſmiſſion from his Superiors of *Frieſland*. But they did not grant it (*b*), and no doubt they gave him ſuch additional Advantages, that he had no reaſon to repent his not being Profeſſor at *Leyden*. The firſt Book he publiſhed was a Specimen of a noble Deſign he had conceived. He had undertaken to cenſure the Vulgar Tranſlation, which the Council of *Trent* had declared authentic; and, before his whole Deſign was executed, he publiſhed a Criticiſm on the Verſion of the Pentateuch (*c*); Thus he commenced Author (*d*). He was preparing the Continuation of this Criticiſm, when he was called off

(*a*) *In* 1625.

(*b*) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the* Anti barbarus Biblicus.

(*c*) Cenſura Vulgatæ Latinæ Editionis Pentateuchi. *Franek.* 1620. in 4to.

(*d*) Te obſtetricante (*ſays he to* Gomarus) primus ille adoleſcentiæ meæ fœtus in dias luminis oras prodiit. *Sixt. Amama Anti-barb. Bibl. pag.* 205. *I believe he had already publiſhed, in* 1618, *a ſmall Treatiſe* de Decimis Moſaicis *of* 9 *Pages in* 4to, *which was reprinted at* London *in* 1660.

[*A*] *And had been a Diſciple of* Druſius.] This is evident from ſeveral Paſſages of the *Antibarbarus Biblicus.* As for *Sineſius*, whoſe Diſciple they make him in the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary, I confeſs he is abſolutely unknown to me: and I queſtion much whether they ever heard of him in the United Provinces.

off to other Matters; I mean to collate the *Dutch* Verſion of the Scripture with the Originals, and the exacteſt Tranſlations. This *Dutch* Tranſlation had been made from *Luther*'s *German* Verſion. He gave the Public an Account of his Labours, in a Work, which he publiſhed (*e*) at *Amſterdam* in the Vulgar Language, intituled *Bybelſche Conferentié*. This Work is taken notice of in the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary [*B*]. This Care of collating was full Employment for *Amama*; inſomuch that the Publication of this Book, and of ſome *Grammatical Pieces*, prevented him a conſiderable time from applying himſelf to his Cenſure of the Vulgate (*f*). He reſumed this Work, upon hearing that Father *Merſennus* had undertaken to refute him, as to the Six firſt Chapters of *Geneſis* [*C*]. Leaving, then, every other Work, he applied himſelf to juſtify his Criticiſms againſt that Author. His Anſwer is one of the Pieces, of which the *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, which he publiſhed in 1628, is compoſed. The other Pieces are a Criticiſm on the Vulgate in relation to the Hiſtorical Books of the Old Teſtament, on *Job*, the *Pſalms*, and the Books of *Solomon*; with ſome particular Diſſertations. One of them is on the famous Paſſage of the *Proverbs*, *The Lord poſſeſſed me in the beginning of his Way*, wherein *Amama* ſhews, that they, who accuſed *Druſius* of favouring *Arianiſm*, were downright Calumniators. The *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus* was intended to conſiſt of Two Parts, each containing three Books. The Author publiſhed only the firſt. It was reprinted after his Death [*D*]; and the fourth Book was added to it, which contains the Cenſure of the Vulgar Tranſlation, on *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah*. It is impoſſible to ward the Blows he gives to the Vulgate, and to anſwer the Reaſons, by which he ſhews the Neceſſity of conſulting the Originals. And indeed few learned Men of the *Romiſh* Communion will deny it; they only maintain (to ſave the Honour of the laſt Council) that they did not pretend to ſubmit the Originals to the Authority of the Vulgar Tranſlation. It is not the Queſtion here to examine, whether this can be ſaid in earneſt. Our *Sixtinus* ſo ſtrongly perſuaded to the Study of the Original Languages of the Bible, that ſome Synods, influenced by his Reaſons, ordered, that thenceforth no one ſhould be admitted a Miniſter, without at leaſt a moderate Skill in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* of the Bible [*E*]. I muſt not forget the Zeal he ſhewed in putting

(*e*) *In* 1623.

(*f*) Amama ubi ſupra, pag. 160.

[*B*] *This Work is taken Notice of in the Supplement to* Moreri's *Dictionary.*] The Supplement ſays, that, according to Mr *Simon*, *The deſign of* Sixtinus Amama, *in his Book, is to ſhew, that the* Dutch *Bible, which was read among the Proteſtants of the Low Countries, and had been tranſlated from the* German *of* Luther, *was full of Faults; this he ſhews very plainly*, add they. To give the Reader fuller Information in this Matter, I ſhall ſet down the very Words of the Author, who is here cited. *The Proteſtants of the Low Countries*, ſays Mr *Simon*, in his Letter to Mr *P.* concerning the Inſpiration of the ſacred Books, Page 10. *built their Reformation only on a* Dutch *Verſion, which was made from that of* Luther; *but at laſt* ——— *they reſolved to ſet about a new Tranſlation. For this Purpoſe* Sixtinus Amama *compoſed a Book in* Dutch, *entituled* Bybelſche Conferentié, *wherein he ſhews at large, that it was neceſſary to publiſh a new Bible for the* Dutch *Churches. He ſays, that the* Dutch *Tranſlation, which they read in their Churches, and which had been taken from that of* Luther, *contained in certain Places more Faults than Verſes; and gives a great many Examples of it in that Work.* At Page 11. Mr *Simon* has theſe Words - - - - - *It is true that the* Calviniſts *of the* Netherlands *rejected their ancient Tranſlation, and compoſed a new one. But if they followed, in their new Tranſlation, the Method, which* Sixtinus Amama *propoſes in his* Bybelſche Conferentié, *it cannot be exact; for, to make his Reformation, he only follows* Pagninus, Junius, *and* Tremellius, *the Bible of* Zurich, *the* French *of* Geneva, *the* German *of* Piſcator, *the* Spaniſh *of* Cyprian de Valera, *the* Italian *of* Diodati, *the* Engliſh *of* Geneva, *and other new Tranſlations* - - - - - - *which are all faulty.*

[*C*] *Father* Merſennus *had undertaken to refute him, as to the ſix firſt Chapters of* Geneſis.] *Rivetus* informed him of it; otherwiſe he had run the Riſque of being unacquainted with it a long time; for he had never before heard of ſuch a Man as Father *Merſennus*. Theſe are his Words, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory (1). "Abſque te fuiſſet, Cl. *Rivete*, nomen Merſenni, qui VI. "priorum Geneſeos capitum adverſus meas ſtricturas "ſuſcepit patrocinium, etiamnum juxta cum ignariſ"ſimis ignoraſſem. Tu primus mihi indicium, tu vo"luminis copiam feciſti, tu ad modeſtam & manſue"tam replicationem hortamentis tuis me animaſti. "—— *Had it not been for you*, Rivetus, *I had known* "*no more, than the moſt ignorant, of the Name of* "Merſennus, *who has patronized the ſix firſt Chap*"*ters of* Geneſis *againſt my Strictures. You gave me* "*the firſt Notice of, you procured me a Sight of, the* "*Work, and you animated me by your Advice to a* "*moderate and good-natured Reply.*" I wonder he did not inſert in his *Antibarbarus* the Prelude to his Anſwer, which he had publiſhed in the Year 1627, with this Title *Epiſtola* προδρομος *ad Marinum Marſennum* (2). *Crenius* has inſerted it in the third Part of his *Animadverſiones* (3).

[*D*] *It was reprinted after his Death.*] At *Franeker*, in 4to, in the Year 1656. Mr *Baillet* mentioned this Edition in his *Anti*'s, at the Three hundred and fifteenth Page of the ſecond Tome. "I muſt not for"get, *ſays he*, the *Anti-Barbarus*, which a Profeſ"ſor of *Hebrew* of the Univerſity of *Franeker*, in "*Frieſland*, whoſe Name is *Sixtinus Amama*, pub"liſhed on the Text of the Holy Scripture, in the "Year 1656, in 4to, in the Town where he taught. "—— The Work is intermixed with ſeveral ſmall "Diſſertations and Diſcourſes, which ſpoil it's Oeco"nomy." Note, that they have inſerted in the new Edition of the *Great Critics* (4), his Criticiſm on the Vulgate of the *Pentateuch*, and his Notes on *the Hiſtorical Books, on the* Pſalms, Proverbs, *and* Eccleſiaſtes, which had never been printed.

[*E*] *Some Synods, influenced by his Reaſons, ordered, that thenceforth no one ſhould be admitted a Miniſter without a moderate skill in the* Greek *and* Hebrew *of the Bible.*] Theſe are the Words of the Act, which was paſſed upon this Account by the Synod of *Frieſland*, held at *Harlingen* in the Year 1624. "Decretum eſt, ut in poſterum Theologiæ "Candidati quotquot ad examen Miniſterii Eccleſ. "admitti deſiderabunt, præter teſtimonia Senatus Aca"demici & Theologiæ Profeſſorum, exhibeant etiam "teſtimonia Profeſſorum Ebrææ & Græcæ linguæ, "quibus doceant ſe in prædictis linguis eos ſaltem "progreſſus feciſſe, ut originalem Veteris Novique "Teſtamenti textum mediocriter poſſint intelligere, "utque in Claſſe iſta, cujus examini ſe offerunt, e"jus quoque rei ſpecimen edere teneantur. —— *It* "*is decreed, that, for the future, whatever Candi*"*dates in Divinity ſhall deſire to be admitted to the* "*Examination of the Miniſtry of the Church, be*"*ſides the Teſtimonials of the Univerſity Senate, and* "*the Profeſſors of Divinity, ſhall produce likewiſe*

" *Thoſe*

(1) *It is dated* Dec. 27. 1626.

(2) *See the* Oxford *Catalogue, where inſtead of* Marſennum, *they have put* Marſennam.

(3) *Printed at* Leyden *in* 1698.

(4) *Publiſh'd in* Holland, 1698. *See* Bibliotheca novorum librorum, *for* July *and* Aug. 1698. pag. 453.

putting a ſtop to a Vice, which prevailed as much in the Univerſity of *Franeker*, as in thoſe of *Germany*, I mean Drunkenneſs [*F*]. He made a warm Speech on this Subject in 1621. They were ſo well ſatisfied with him in *Frieſland*, that, after his Death, which happened in the Month of *December* 1629 (g), they were very liberal to his Children, as *Nicholas Amama*, one of them, teſtifies with great Acknowledgment, in the Epiſtle Dedicatory of a certain Book [*G*].

(g) Konig, *who ſays he was living in* 1630, *and Father* Morin, *who ſuppoſes*, Exercit. Biblic. part. 1. pag. 61, *that he taught at* Franeker, *in* 1633, *are therefore miſtaken.*

“*Thoſe of the* Hebrew *and* Greek *Profeſſors, teſtifying, that they have made ſuch a Progreſs at leaſt in the aforeſaid Tongues, as to have acquired a moderate Skill in the Original Text of the Old and New Teſtament; and that they ſhall be obliged to give a Specimen of their Abilities, in that Claſs, to whoſe Examination they offer themſelves.*” It appears, by the ſame Act, that it was the *Supplex Paræneſis* of *Amama* (5), ſome Copies of which had been diſtributed among the Aſſembly, which occaſioned the taking of this good Reſolution.

(5) *It is a part of the* Anti-barbarus Biblicus, *and had been already printed twice.*

[*F*] *The Zeal he ſhewed in putting a Stop to —— Drunkenneſs.*] We muſt not aſcribe the vigorous Reſolutions, which were taken againſt this Irregularity, principally to *Sixtinus Amama*; it is enough if we ſay that he contributed to it; and had he only harangued, and publickly congratulated thoſe, who reformed the Univerſity in this reſpect, he would merit great Praiſe. He acknowledges, that *Ameſius*, Profeſſor of Divinity, and *Hachting*, Profeſſor of Logic, having been admitted into the Academical Senate, and finding themſelves ſupported by the Rector of the Univerſity, undertook the Reformation of this Diſorder courageouſly, and with happy Succeſs. He congratulates them upon it, and dedicates his Speech *de barbarie morum* to them upon that account. The Reader will be pleaſed to ſee how he expreſſes himſelf, and the Difficulties which thoſe Reformers met with. “Ad primam occaſionem —— intrepidis & commaſculatis animis horrendas illas & feroces belluas *Ebrietatem* & *Licentiam*, quæ hic ſtabulabantur, ex Academia ejeciſtis, ac Chriſtianam diſciplinam, jam deſperatam, Deo ſupra quam à quoquam ſperari potuiſſet benedicente, Academiæ redonaſtis. Cujus præclari & æterna gratitudine digniſſimi facinoris, ſicuti invidiam apud diſſolutam & barbaram juventutem ſuſtinuiſtis, & quaſi præpilatis haſtis objecti fuiſtis ſoli, ita & æquiſſimum cenſeo, ut vobis quoque præ aliis tam egregii operis gloria tranſcribatur (6). —— *Upon the firſt Opportunity ---- with great Courage and Reſolution, you drove out of the Univerſity thoſe horrible and fierce Monſters,* Drunkenneſs *and* Licentiouſneſs, *which had here ſtabled, and, by an extraordinary Aſſiſtance from Heaven, reſtored to the Univerſity That Chriſtian Diſcipline, which it deſpaired to recover. And as this glorious Exploit, ſo worthy of eternal Gratitude, expoſed you to the Envy and rude Attacks of a diſſolute and barbarous Youth, ſo I think it but juſt, that the Honour of ſo excellent a Work ſhould be principally aſcribed to you.*” He gives a ſhocking Account of the Debauchery, which reigned in ſome Univerſities. All the new Comers liſted themſelves in the Service of *Bacchus* with certain Solemnities, and were obliged to ſwear by a St *Stephen* of Wood, that they would ſpend all their Money. If any one had more regard to the Oath, which he had taken to the Rector of the Univerſity, than to this pretended Bacchanalian Oath, he was ſo perſecuted by the debauched Scholars, that he was obliged either to leave the Univerſity, or to comply with the reſt. He added to his Speech ſome Fragments of *Alſtedius*'s Complaints on the ſame Subject. *Bellarmin* deplores, with great Vehemence, in his twentieth Sermon, the Drunkenneſs, which prevailed in the Univerſity of *Louvain* (7).

(6) Sixt. Amama, in Præliminar. Anti-barbari Bibl.

(7) Amama *obſerves this in the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his Speech* de Ebrietate.

[*G*] NICOLAS AMAMA —— *teſtifies, with great Acknowledgment, in the Epiſtle Dedicatory of a certain Book.*] It was printed in the Year 1651. It is an Octavo of Six hundred Pages, entituled, *Diſſertationum marinarum decas*, wherein there is much Reading; and the Author departs in many things from *Ariſtotle*'s Opinions, without addicting himſelf to the new Philoſophy. He has innovated in the very Orthography.

AMASÆUS (ROMULUS) Profeſſor of *Greek* and *Latin* at *Bologne*, in the XVIth Century [*A*], and Secretary to the Senate *(a)*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Learning, and his Employments. He was originally of *Bologne*, and born at *Udine*, in *Frioul*. Pope *Paul* III appointed him Preceptor to his Grandſon, *Alexander Farneſe (b)*. He was afterwards employed in more important Affairs; he was deputed to the Emperor and to the Princes of the Empire, and to the Court of *Poland*. No Man of Learning appeared with greater Luſtre at the Court of *Rome*, under the Pontificate of *Julius* III. He was that Pope's Secretary. He gave Proofs of his Knowledge in the *Greek* Language by a *Tranſlation of Pauſanias*, and another of a *Work of Xenophon* (*c*). He compoſed likewiſe a Volume of Speeches, and a Work intituled *Scholæ duæ de ratione inſtituendi*. As for the two Pieces he had written, in which he made it appear, that the *Latin Language is more beautiful than the Italian*, they were never printed (*d*). Some ſay that he died in the Year 1558, being 69 Years old [*B*]. He left a Son, whoſe Name was *Pompilius*, and who did not degenerate; for he underſtood, and tranſlated, *Greek*. He was likewiſe Profeſſor of That Tongue at *Bologne* (*e*). I believe he tranſlated only

(*a*) *See Remark* [*B*].

(*b*) *And not his Nephew, as* Du Rier *renders the word* Nepos *of* Thuanus.

(*c*) *His Expedition of* Cyrus *the younger.*

(*d*) Thuan. lib. 21. pag. 432. *and the Additions of Mr* Teiſſier.

(*e*) Bumaldus *cited by* Baillet, Jugem. des Sçavans, Tom. 4. pag. 400.

[*A*] AMASÆUS (ROMULUS) *Profeſſor of* Greek *and* Latin —— *in the* XVI*th Century.*] *Moreri* was not miſtaken in his Chronology: It ſhould not therefore have been altered, as it is, in the *Dutch* Edition, where, inſtead of the XVIth Century, they have put the XIVth. Three things wanted Correction in this Article, which ought not to have been paſſed over. I. It was too dry, and lean. II. It ſhould have been under AMASÆUS, not ROMULUS. III. It ſhould not have been ſaid, that *Amaſæus* tranſlated the Works of *Xenophon*, but that he tranſlated the ſeven Books, which *Xenophon* compoſed of *the Expedition of* Cyrus *the Younger*.

[*B*] *Some ſay, that he died in the Year* 1558, *being Sixty nine Years old.*] *Thuanus* is miſtaken in placing the Death of *Romulus Amaſæus* in the Year 1558. For this *Romulus was dead from the Year* 1552. *We have a Proof of this in a Letter of* Giovanni Antonio Serone, *an intimate Friend of* Romulus, *dated the twentieth of* October *of That Year, and inſerted in the Collection of* Turchi, pag. 257. This is what M. *de la Monnoie* did me the Favour to write to me. Beſides, if *Amaſæus* died in the Year 1558, there would be reaſon to ſay, that he lived Sixty nine Years; for the Day of his Birth is marked, in the Figures of *Luke Gauric*, on the Twenty fourth of *June* 1489 (1). I have met with three or four Particulars in This Work of *Gauric*, which I ſhall inſert here. *Amaſæus* was lean, very tall, bald, and had a ſmall Head. He was Secretary to the Senate of *Bologne*, and taught Eloquence in the ſame City, having a Salary of Three hundred Crowns *per Annum*. He taught afterwards at *Rome* in the Time of *Paul* III, having a Penſion of Six hundred Crowns, *nutu Pauli III. ex lectura in urbe habebat* 600 *aureos*. *Thuanus* was ignorant of this.

(1) *Figures of* Gauric, Folio 72. Edit. Venet. 1552.

only two Fragments of the ſixth Book of *Polybius* [C]; in which he diſcovered a greater Capacity, than *Perottus* and *Muſculus* did in tranſlating That Author (*f*). Yet a learned Man accuſed him of omitting all the difficult Paſſages, and contenting himſelf with referring the Reader elſewhere, for the Interpretation of them (*g*). As for his Father, it is agreed, that he was a great Lover of Elegancy, and Perſpicuity; he enlarged what was too conciſe, and contracted what was too diffuſe; and cleared up obſcure Paſſages (*h*). His Tranſlation of *Pauſanias* ſtood in need of *Sylburgius*'s Reviſal.

(*f*) *This is* Caſaubon's *Judgment, in* Baillet, ibid.

(*g*) Huetius de claris Interpretr. pag. 122. Edit. Batav.

(*h*) *This is* Huetius's *Judgment of him*, ibid.

[C] *Tranſlated only two Fragments of the ſixth Book of* Polybius.] *Pompilius Amaſæus*, having tranſlated thoſe Fragments, which treat of the Military Diſcipline of the *Romans*, explained them in a Commentary, which is among the Manuſcripts of *Thuanus*'s Library (2). This Manuſcript is in *Italian*. The Author tranſlated thoſe Fragments both into *Latin*, and his Mother Tongue.

(2) Page 453.

AMASTRIS, Niece of the laſt *Darius*, and Wife of *Dionyſius* Tyrant of *Heraclea*. Look for her Hiſtory in the Article of That *Dionyſius*. You will likewiſe find there the Town of AMASTRIS, built by this Princeſs.

AMBOISE (Francis *d'*) a *Pariſian*, deſerves to be ranked among thoſe, whom the Profeſſion of Letters raiſed to worldly Honours. He was the Son of a Chirurgeon to *Charles* the Ninth, and was maintained, by the Liberality of That Prince, in the College of *Navarre*, whilſt he purſued his Rhetorical and Philoſophical Studies. He taught afterwards in That College; for we find, that, in 1572, he had already taught the ſecond Claſs four Years. He was then made Procurator of the *French* Nation. He applied himſelf afterwards to the Civil Law, and became a very good Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*; after which he had the Poſt of Chancellor in the Parliament of *Brittany*; laſtly he was Maſter of the Requeſts (*a*), and Counſellor of State (*b*). He travelled into ſeveral remote Countries [*A*]. He publiſhed ſeveral pieces of *French* Poetry in his Youth, and ſome *Latin* Verſes; which doubtleſs he did not think much to his Reputation, when he was advanced to Dignities; for they repreſent to us a Poet, who ſent his Muſe backwards and forwards, ſometimes with Compliments of Condolance, at other times with Compliments of Congratulation; in a word, they give us the Idea of a Compliment-Bearer of *Parnaſſus* to the great Lords. You will ſee below the Titles of ſome Books of our *Francis d'Amboiſe*. They ſeem to me leſs fit to immortalize his Name, than the Pains he took in collecting the Manuſcripts of *Peter Abelard* [C], and in adding an *Apologetical Preface*,

(*a*) Ex Michaele Thirioto in laudatione Hadriani Amboiſii. *See* Launoi Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navarr. pag. 799, 800. *See alſo* pag. 356.

(*b*) *In the Edition of* Abelard's *Works he has the Title of* Equitis Regis in ſanctiore Conſiſtorio Conſiliarii, Baronis Chartræ, &c.

[*A*] *He travelled into ſeveral remote Countries* (1)] *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* remarks, that *Francis d'Amboiſe made a Deſcription of the Kingdom of* Poland *at* Warſaw, *when the Duke of* Anjou, *at preſent King of* France, *was elected King of* Poland (2). This was one of his Expeditions. It cannot be determined by the Words, which I have cited, whether he went into *Poland* in the Retinue of the new King, or whether he was there, when the Duke of *Anjou* was elected. This latter Senſe would be the only one, which ought to be given to theſe Words, if *du Verdier Vau-Privas* were an exact Writer. See *Francis d'Amboiſe*'s *Treatiſe of Devices*, where we find (3), that, at the Time of that Election, he was in That Country at the Houſe of the Biſhop of *Valence*. This *Treatiſe of Devices* is a Poſthumous Work. It was printed at *Paris*, for *ADRIAN d'AMBOISE*, the Author's Son. This Son publiſhed, the follow-Year, at *Paris*, a little Treatiſe of his own, entitled *Moral Devices*.

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[*B*] *The Titles of ſome Books of our* Francis d'Amboiſe.] Viz. *An Elegy on the Death of* Anne de Montmorency, *Peer and Conſtable of* France, *with a* Latin *Panegyric, and a* French *Ode on the Diſaſter of* France, *in* 1568 (4). *A Panegyric on the Marriage of* Henry *of* Lorrain, *Duke of* Guiſe, *and* Catherine *of* Cleves, *Counteſs of* Eu, *in* 1570 (5). *The Tomb of* Meſſire Giles Bourdin, *the King's Attorney-General in the Parliament at* Paris, *being three Sonnets, an Elegy tranſlated from the* Latin *of* Antony Valet, *and ſome* Latin *Hendeca-ſyllabic Verſes, in* 1570 (6). *The Loves of Clio*; in which there is a Poem intituled, *The Deſperadoes*, or *Amorous Eclogues, in* 1572 (7). *Comical Amours, containing ſeveral facetious Hiſtories*, and, among others, That, which he calls the *Neapolitan Ladies*, in 1584. The *Neapolitan Ladies* is a Tranſlation of an *Italian* Comedy. He calls himſelf at the beginning of this Tranſlation *Thierry de Timophile G. Picard*, and he takes the ſame Diſguiſe in the Title of the *Funeral Lamentations of certain Animals*, which he tranſlated from the *Italian* in 1576, and in the Title of the *Familiar Dialogue of Young Ladies*, which he publiſhed in 1583. *La Croix du Maine*, who informed me of this, ſays that this Author underſtood many Languages, and that he had publiſhed ſeveral Works in *Latin*. His Collection of *Devices* was publiſhed after his Death, in the Year 1620.

[C] *The Pains he took in collecting the Manuſcripts of Peter Abelard.*] His Diligence in this deſerved a publick Acknowledgment. We are indebted to him for a very good Edition of the Writings of that famous Logician. It contains I. The Letters, which paſſed between *Abelard* and *Heloiſa*, to which is prefixed his own Account of his Misfortunes. II. The Letters which he wrote to other Perſons; with thoſe of St *Bernard*, the Abbot of *Clugni*, &c. concerning his Errors, his Condemnation, or his Death; and ſome Treatiſes, which one of his Diſciples publiſhed for him. III. Some Dogmatical Treatiſes of *Abelard*; as his Expoſition of the Lord's Prayer, That of the Apoſtle's Creed; That of St *Athanaſius*'s Creed; His Anſwer to ſome of *Heloiſa*'s Queſtions; a Commentary on St *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Romans*. IV. Several Sermons on the principal Holidays. V. An Introduction to Theology, containing his Book of the Trinity. VI. The learned Notes of *Andrew du Cheſne* on the Hiſtory of *Abelard*'s Calamities. There are beſides ſome other Works of this Author, which are not printed. You may find the Titles of them in the Supplement of Father *Oudin* (8), with the Libraries where they are to be found. *Francis d'Amboiſe* procured a *French* Tranſlation of the Rules, which *Abelard* preſcribed to the Nuns of the *Paraclet*. His Apologetical Preface diſpleaſed ſeveral People, and it was the Opinion of ſome, that it occaſioned the Proceedings of the Court of *Rome* againſt the Work, which he publiſhed. "And if, not long ago, the printed Works "of *ABAJELARD* were put in the expurgatory "Index of *Rome*, I believe the Fault is not ſo much "to be imputed to the Author, as to the Preface-"Writer, who, inſtead of cautioning the Reader a-"gainſt ſuch and ſuch Paſſages of *ABAJELARD*, "undertook to defend them." They are the Words of the Author of the Antiquities of *Melun*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris* (9). It cannot be ſaid, that he wrote the Life of *Peter Abelard* (10); he only

(1) La Croix du Main, Bibl. Franc. pag. 86.

(2) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 365.

(3) *At Page* 42.

(4) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 365.

(5) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franc p 87.

(6) Du Verdier, ubi ſupra.

(7) La Croix du Maine, pag. 87.

(8) *Page* 413.

(9) Sebaſtian Roüillard, pag. 350. *His Book was printed at* Paris 1628.

(10) *Yet it is ſo ſaid in the* Catalogus Autorum Catalogorum &c. *of* Mr Teiſſier, pag. 290.

Preface, which is prefixed to the Edition of the Year 1616 [*D*]. This Preface informs me of a Particular, which I have not met with in the Hiſtory of the College of *Navarre*; to wit, that he publiſhed a ſmall Treatiſe of the Council, and a Preface to the Hiſtory of *Gregory* of *Tours* [*E*]; in which he vindicates that Hiſtorian from the Accuſations of *Flacius Illyricus*; but gives him up in relation to the two *Dionyſius*'s, the *Areopagite*, and him of *Corinth*. He holds his Rank, under the fictitious Name of *Thierry de Timophile*, in the Liſt of *Diſguiſed Authors*, publiſhed by Mr *Baillet*. I have ſomething to add concerning the Edition of *Peter Abelard*'s Works commonly aſcribed to our *Francis d'Amboiſe* [*F*].

only gave a ſhort Account of his principal Adventures. There are many Errors in that Account; this is not a proper Place to take notice of them: But, without departing from the true Subject of this Remark, I may very well ſay, that *Francis d'Amboiſe* did not procure to *Peter Abelard* all the Glory he intended him by the Edition of his Works. The Public did not find, in the Writings of That Author, that great Subtilty, and Force, which rendered him ſo Famous during his Life. Let us hear *Sebaſtian Roüillard* once more: “As to *ABAJELARD*'s Writings, they do not ſeem to me to anſwer the great Praiſes and Encomiums beſtowed upon him by ſo many eminent Authors. And therefore I am perſuaded, that the Excellency of That Author conſiſted in a ready Wit, an eloquent and copious Diſcourſe, and a Philoſophical Genius, which rendered him formidable and invincible in all kinds of Diſputation. As, in our time, we have ſeen two or three Perſons, who acquired a great Eſteem by ſome of theſe Perfections; and yet what they have printed has fallen very ſhort of what every one would have expected from them (11).”

CHARACTER of *Abelard*'s Works.

[*D*] *An Apologetical Preface, which is prefixed to the Edition of the Year* 1616.] The Conveniency of Arithmetical Figures has likewiſe it's Inconveniencies. Printers commit a thouſand Faults in them, which Correctors overlook; this multiplies Beings extravagantly, and without any Neceſſity. We have an Example of it here. Some place this Edition of *Abelard* in the Year 1606 (12), others in the Year 1626 (13). No doubt This will induce ſome Authors to ſay, that *Abelard*'s Works were printed three times in the Space of twenty Years; and, as ſome tell us they were printed in *Folio* in the Year 1616 (14), this is another way of multiplying the Editions without Neceſſity.

[*E*] *A Preface on the Hiſtory of* Gregory *of* Tours.] I queſtion not but it is that, of which the Abbot *de Marolles* ſpeaks thus (15): “His Hiſtory of the *French* (ſpeaking of *Gregory* of *Tours*) which is the fineſt of all his Works, was formerly tranſlated by *Claudius Bonnet*, a Gentleman of *Dauphiné* (16), who ſtiled himſelf Doctor of the Civil and Canon Law; on which Mr *Henry d'Amboiſe*, Maſter of the Requeſts, made a pretty long Preface, addreſs'd to Madame *Henrietta de Belzac*, Marchioneſs of *Verneuil*, which was printed at *Paris*, in 8vo, for *Claudius de la Tour*, in 1610.”

[*F*] *I have ſomething to add concerning the Edition of* Peter Abelard's *Works, commonly aſcribed to our* Francis d'Amboiſe.] This Remark is not my own; I give it in the expreſs Terms of it's Author (17). “There are Copies of *Abelard*'s Works, which carry in their Title-page the Name of Mr *d'Amboiſe*; but there are others, to which the Name of *Andrew du Cheſne* is prefixed, with this Title; “Petri Abælardi, Sancti Gildaſii in Brittannia Abbatis, & Heloiſſæ conjugis ejus, quæ poſtmodum prima cœnobii Paraclitenſis Abbatiſſa fuit, Opera, nunc primum eruta ex M.SS. Codicibus, & in lucem edita, ſtudio ac diligentia Andreæ Quercætani, Turonenſis, Pariſiis, Nic. Buon, 1616, in 4to. - - - - - - - *The Works of* Peter Abelard, *Abbot of* St Gildas, *in* Brittany, *and* Eloiſa *his Wife, afterwards firſt Abbeſs of the Convent of the* Paraclet, *now firſt publiſhed from the Manuſcripts, by* Andrew du Cheſne *of* Tours, Paris, N. Buon, 1616, *in* 4to.” It is highly probable, that we are indebted to this famous Native of *Tours* for this Edition. In the Abſtract of the Privilege, prefixed to the Copy, which bears the Name of *du Cheſne*, we are expreſsly told, that theſe Works were printed under the Care of *Andrew du Cheſne, edita Studio Andreæ Quercetani*; whereas in the Copy, which bears the Name of *Amboiſe*, the Privilege ſays not a Word of the Perſon, who had the Care of collecting theſe Works. Whence, if a Conjecture may be allowed, we may infer, that, through ſome ſecret Motive, which it was not thought proper to tranſmit to Poſterity, *du Cheſne* made over the Credit of this Work to Mr *d'Amboiſe*, who, at that time, was in a Condition of being obliged to him for ſuch a Sacrifice. However this be, the two Copies of *du Cheſne* and *d'Amboiſe*, which I have ſeen, are not in all reſpects alike; for inſtance, that of *du Cheſne* begins with an Epiſtle Dedicatory, addreſs'd to Monſ. *Benjamin Brichanteau*, Biſhop of *Laon*, and Abbot of St *Genevieve*. This Dedication is wanting in the pretended Edition of *d'Amboiſe*, as well as the Preface, which *du Cheſne* added; in which, after telling us, in general, who *Abelard* and *Eloiſa* were, he gives an Account of what he had done, to render this Edition of that famous Logician as perfect as he could: He ſpeaks reſpectfully of all thoſe, who had aſſiſted him with their Manuſcripts; and acknowledges himſelf obliged to Mr *d'Amboiſe* for the Letters, and other ſmall Pieces. After this Preface follow the *Teſtmonia Veterum de Abælardo & Heloiſſa*, which are wanting likewiſe in the Copy of Mr *d'Amboiſe*. The Edition of this Counſellor of State, on it's Part, has an Apologetical Preface for *Abelard*, which is wanting in *du Cheſne*'s Edition. In every thing elſe they are alike; and the two Copies anſwer Page for Page. It will not, perhaps, be unneceſſary to inform the Public of this double Title, for fear it ſhould occaſion hereafter another increaſe of the Editions of *Abelard*, as has been already remarked.”

(11) Hiſt. of Melun. pag. 348.

(12) Launoius, Hiſt. Gymn. Navarr. p. 801.

(13) *Father* Oudin. Supplem. de Script. Eccl. pag. 413.

(14) Spizelius Specim. Biblioth. Univerſal. Konig. Bibl. vet. & nov. Chriſtoph. Hendreich. Pandectæ Brandenburgicæ, initio.

(15) *Preface, on* Gregor. Turonenſis.

(16) *It is not to be found in* Allard's Bibliotheque de Dauphiné.

(17) *A Manuſcript Memoir communicated by Mr* Lancelot *one of the Under-Librarians of the* Mazarine *Library at* Paris.

AMBOISE (ADRIAN *d'*) younger Brother of the preceding, advanced himſelf no leſs than *Francis*; for he was made a Biſhop. He had his ſhare likewiſe in the Liberality of *Charles* IX; who maintained him a conſiderable time in the College of *Navarre*; and he met with the ſame Favour from *Henry* III. He was of the Houſe of *Navarre* (*a*), when, in 1579, he was choſen Rector of the Univerſity of *Paris*. During his Rectorſhip, the Univerſity petitioned the King for a Confirmation of their Privileges; and he was their Speaker, attended by a great number of Doctors. He took his Licentiate's Degree in Divinity, in the Year 1582, and was preconiſed* on that occaſion by *Michael Thiriot*, who, among other Encomiums, ſaid, that he was deſcended from a very noble Family [*A*]. He was the King's Preacher and Almoner, and

(*a*) Socius Navarricus, *Fellow of the College of* Navarre; Launoius, Hiſt. Gymn. Nav. p. 360.

* Preconiſer *in French ſignifies to make a Report in the Pope's Conſiſtory, that the Party preſented to a Benefice is qualified for the ſame.*

[*A*] *Said he was deſcended from a very noble Family.*] Neverthleſs this Author mentions the Ocupation of the Father, who was a Chirurgeon, in his Elogy of the Son. I borrow this *Nevertheleſs* from Monſ. *de Launoi*, for thus he expreſſes himſelf. “*Attamen Thiriotus ait*, Hadrianum fundatiſſima & nobiliſſima ſatum eſſe familia. *His enim verbis utitur*: Franciſcus primum in duorum inferiorum Navarræ ſodalitiorum diſciplinam receptus eſt, & Caroli IX. liberalitate ad Rhetoricas ac Philoſophicas inſtitutiones eruditus. Deinde humaniores literas ibidem docuit, *&c.* (1) —— Neverthelеſs Thiriot ſays, “*that*

(1) Launoius Hiſt. Gymn. Navarr. pag. 799, 800.

and Great Maſter of the College of *Navarre* (*b*), when, in 1594, the Univerſity of *Paris* took an Oath of Allegiance to *Henry the Great*. About this time he obtained the Rectory of St *Andrew* at *Paris*; and, laſtly, in the Year 1604, he was made Biſhop of *Treguier*. He died the Twenty eighth of *July* 1616, and was buried in his Cathedral,

“ *that* Adrian *was deſcended from a ſubſtantial and honourable Family*. For theſe are his Words. Francis
“ *was firſt initiated in the Studies of the two inferior*
“ *Claſſes of the College of* Navarre ; *and brought up,*
“ *by the Liberality of* Charles IX, *to Rhetoric and*
“ *Philoſophy. Afterwards he taught Claſſical Learning in the ſame Place.*” A very good Way to reconcile theſe two Authors, would be to ſay, that *Nobiliſſima Familia* does not ſignify what the *French* call a *very noble Family, a Gentleman's Family*; for if *Thiriot* underſtood his *Latin* ſo, he would not have expreſſed himſelf with Accuracy. Chirurgery is not the Profeſſion of a Gentleman in *France*. If Monſ. *de Launoi* had underſtood it in the ſame Senſe, he would have produced Proofs unneceſſarily; nor would his Proofs have been of any Force. It is ſuperfluous to prove that the Quality of Gentleman has been aſcribed to any one, when it has been ſaid in expreſs Terms, that he was deſcended from a very noble Family, in the Senſe in which the *French* underſtand this Phraſe; and if, in proof of a Fact of this Evidence, any one ſhould alledge the Quality of Fellow of a College, and that of Teacher of the ſecond Claſs, which ſuch an one had poſſeſſed in the College of *Navarre*, it is certain he would ſpeak very inconſiderately. Such Proofs of Nobility were never admitted. Perhaps, then, not only *Michael Thiriot*, but alſo Monſ. *de Launoi*, took *Nobliſſima Familia* for a conſiderable Family, and which had made a good Figure, and not for a noble Family. This muſt be carefully remembered in reading the *Latin* Elogies of Men of Letters; we ſhould be miſtaken, if we ſhould take all thoſe to be nobly deſcended, of whom it is ſaid, *nobili loco, nobili genere, nobili proſapia oriundi*. I am not ignorant, that *Francis d'Amboiſe* ſtyles himſelf *Eſquire*, in the Edition of *Abelard*; but the moſt this proves, is, that his Father or himſelf were ennobled, but not at all that his Father was both a Chirurgeon, and a Gentleman. A Conjecture is juſt come into my Mind, which is at the Reader's Service; and that is, that perhaps, the Predeceſſors of *Francis d'Amboiſe* having been degraded, he obtained the Reſtoration of his Family. Nay, how do we know but he might deſcend from a Baſtard of the illuſtrious Family of *Amboiſe?* This ſeems to be the moſt probable Conjecture; for he tells us, that he went to the Convent of the *Paraclet*, to collect what he could of the Works of *Peter Abelard*; and that he was very well received by the Abbeſs *de la Rochefoucaut, whoſe Grandmother, by the Father's ſide*, ſays he, Antoinette d'Amboiſe, *Wife of the Lord* de Barbeſieux, *Knight of the Order, was the only Daughter of* Guy d'Amboiſe, *and Grand-daughter and Heireſs of* Charles, *Lord of* Chaumont, *Marſhal of* France: So that the whole Succeſſion of that moſt ancient Family devolved upon her; and ſhe transferred the Eſtate of the eldeſt Branch into the Family of *la Rochefoucaut*. *Totam vetuſtiſſimam familiam crevit, & primogenita* NOSTRA *ad Rupifocaldos tranſtulit* (2). It is very extraordinary, that the Son of a Chirurgeon of *Charles* IX ſhould ſpeak thus. Note, that we muſt not abſolutely deny, that a Branch of the illuſtrious Family of *Amboiſe* remained in, or fell into, Obſcurity. The Chirurgeon of *Charles* IX was, perhaps, of this Branch.

[This Perſon's Family takes it for granted, at preſent, (but falſly) from a ſameneſs of Name, that it is a Branch of the illuſtrious Family of *d'Amboiſe*; but we can poſitively affirm,

I. That *JOHN d'AMBOISE*, Father of *Francis d'Amboiſe*, was a Native of the Town of *Doüay*, in *Flanders*; that he was ſucceſſively Chirurgeon to *Francis* I, *Charles* II, and *Henry* III; that he was naturalized by Letters of the Twenty ninth of *January*, in the Year 1566, being at that Time in quality of *Valet de Chambre* and Chirurgeon to *Charles* IX; that he died on the thirteenth of *December*, 1584; and that he was buried in the Church of St *Jervaſe*, at *Paris*, with *Mary Fromager*, his Wife, Daughter of *John Fromager*, ſworn Chirurgeon to the *Chatelet de Paris*, and Chirurgeon to the King.

II. That *FRANCIS d'AMBOISE*, ſon of *John*, was Baron of *Chartre* on the *Loire*, and Lord of *Hemeri* and *Vezeul*, in *Touraine*, &c. Counſellor, then Preſident of the Parliament of *Bretange*; Advocate General to the Grand Council, in the Year 1586; Maſter of the Requeſts, in 1597; and Counſellor to the Privy Council; afterwards Counſellor of State, in 1604; that he married, on the 15th of *January*, 1594, *Margaret Couſinet*, Daughter of a Notary of the Town of *Meaux*, who was ſtill alive in the Year 1634; that, in the Month of *July*, of the Year 1589, King *Henry* III. created him a Knight, in Conſideration of his Father's Services done to four of this Prince's Predeceſſors. A Copy of this Letter of Knight-hood is as follows.

Letters of Knight-hood; granted by King Henry III, *in the Month of* July, 1589, *to* FRANCIS d'AMBOISE, *Preſident of the Parliament of* Bretagne.

“ HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of
“ *France* and *Poland*, to all preſent, and to
“ come, greeting. Whereas it is juſt and reaſonable,
“ that Perſons of eminent Virtue ſhould be diſtinguiſhed
“ by a Title and Degree of Honour ſuitable to their
“ Merit, that others may be encouraged thereby to
“ riſe by their Virtue to the ſame, or greater Dignity
“ and Exaltation; we give you to underſtand, that,
“ being fully ſatisfied of the noble, commendable,
“ and virtuous Deeds, Actions and Conduct, of our
“ dear and well beloved Monſ. *Francis d'Amboiſe*,
“ Lord of *Vezeul*, our Counſellor, and Advocate
“ General in our Grand Council, and Preſident of
“ our Parliament of *Bretagne*; in remembrance of
“ the Services, which his late Father ſhewed to four
“ Kings, our Predeceſſors, and to ourſelves; and in
“ Conſideration of the great, acceptable, and faithful
“ Services, which the ſaid *d'Amboiſe* has done to us,
“ as well in the ſeveral Charges and Commiſſions,
“ which he has had in this our Realm, and the
“ Journey which he took into *Poland*, at the time
“ of our Election, as in the Exerciſe of his two
“ Functions, in two of our ſupreme Courts; and
“ which Services the ſaid *d'Amboiſe* continues ordinarily
“ to perform near and about our Perſon, in ſeveral
“ and various Ways; and in Expectation of his
“ farther and ſtill greater Services; WE, being willing
“ to reward him in ſome meaſure, and to raiſe
“ him to the Title and Degree of Honour, which his
“ ſaid Virtues and Actions deſerve, that his own Deſcendants,
“ and other Perſons of Honour and Virtue
“ may be induced, by his Example, to be equally
“ ſerviceable to us and our Crown; theſe and other
“ Reaſons moving us thereto, we have made and created
“ him A KNIGHT; and have honoured, and do
“ honour him with this Title, in the Preſence of ſeveral
“ Lords and Princes of our Blood, and other great
“ and noble Perſonages of our Court, and have permitted
“ him to enjoy, and for the future to aſſume, the
“ ſaid Title of Knight, with all the Rights of Nobility,
“ Honours, Authorities, Privileges, Exemptions,
“ Prerogatives, and Precedencies, in all honourable
“ Aſſemblies, as well in Courts of Juſtice,
“ as elſewhere, where it ſhall be needful; in like
“ manner as is enjoy'd by other Knights, created
“ as well by Our Hand, as by that of our Royal
“ Predeceſſors. In Conſequence of which, we have
“ directed our truſty and well-beloved, the Bailiffs,
“ Seneſchals, Judges, or their Deputies, belonging to
“ our Courts of Parliaments, and our well-beloved
“ Juſtices, Officers, and Subjects, in their reſpective
“ Capacities, to cauſe, ſuffer, and permit, the ſaid
“ *d'Amboiſe* to enjoy fully and peaceably the ſaid
“ Rights of Knight-hood, Honours, Prerogatives,
“ Privileges, Franchiſes, and Liberties, thereto belonging,
“ as is above declared, and as is cuſtomary
“ upon the like Occaſion. For ſuch is our Pleaſure;
“ and to the Intent that this our preſent Gift and
“ Grant may be, and remain for ever, in Force, to
“ the Honour of the ſaid *d'Amboiſe*, and his Sucoeſſors,
“ and that there may be a perpetual Memo-
“ rial

(*b*) Id. pag. 371, 372.

(2) Franc. Amboëſius, Prefat. Apologet. in Oper. Abælardi.

thedral, where his Epitaph beſtows great Commendations on him [*B*]. I know not whether he wrote any thing beſide a *French* Tragedy, entituled, *Holophernes*, which was printed in the Year 1580 (*c*).

(*c*) Launoius Hiſt. Gymn. Navarr. pag. 800.

“ rial thereof; we have affixed our Seal to theſe Preſents.”

Given at Pontoiſe, *in the Month of* July, Anno Dom. 1589, *in the ſixteenth Year of our Reign.*

Signed HENRY, *and on the Fold by the King*, POTIER; *and on the Side is written* VISA CONTENTOR; *ſigned* COMBAND; *and ſeal'd with the Great Seal of green Wax, with Strings of green and red Silk.*

III. That *ANTONY d'AMBOISE*, his Son, Baron of *Hémeri*, &c. eſpouſed, on the twentieth of *October*, in the Year 1632, *Anne de la Hiliére*, Daughter of *John Gabriel de la Hiliére*, Governor of *Amboiſe*, and of *Louiſa de Gaſt*; and that, after having been Lieutenant of the Artillery, in 1634, then Camp-Maſter of the Regiment of *Touraine*, and Governor of the Town and Citadel of *Trin* in *Piedmont*, he died Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies.

IV. That *CHARLES JULIUS d'AMBOISE*, his Son, Camp-Maſter likewiſe of the Regiment of *Touraine*, eſpouſed, on the Twenty ſecond of *September*, 1672, *Charlotte du Gaſt*, his Couſin. And

V. That from this Marriage ſprang *GILES-ANTONY d'AMBOISE*, now living, and dwelling in the City of *Amboiſe*, in *Touraine*, where he eſpouſed, on the ſeventeenth of *January*, 1700, *Paula Guichard*, Daughter of the Mayor of the ſaid Town, by whom he has had one Son and two Daughters, all alive in 1716.

It is ſuppoſed, in a ſmall Book, entituled, *Index Funereus Chirurgorum Pariſienſium ab Anno* 1315 *ad Annum* 1714, printed at *Trevoux*, for *Stephen Ganeau*, in 1714, in 12mo, that *Francis*, *Adrian*, and *James d'Amboiſe* *, Sons of *John*, ſprang from the illuſtrious Houſe of *Amboiſe* †; and it is upon this falſe Suppoſition, that the only one at preſent remaining of the Poſterity of *Francis d'Amboiſe* aſſumes the Arms entire of this powerful Houſe.

Had the late Mr *BAYLE*, when he ſet about his Hiſtorical Dictionary, conſulted me, he might have treated with more exactneſs and certainty, than he has done, ſeveral Genealogical Facts, which he has advanced in his Work; which have never yet been ſet right, and which continue, in Oppoſition to Truth, in all the Editions, as yet publiſhed, of this excellent Work ‖. REM. CRIT.]

‖ *Taken from a* Memorandum, *communicated by Mr* d'Hozier *in* 1716.

[*B*] *His Epitaph beſtows great Commendations on him.*] I believe the Reader will be pleas'd to find it here. I take it from Monſ. *de Launoi*.

Amboeſi, pater eruditionum,
Argiva & Latia madens Minerva,
Paulina in Cathedra diſerte præco,
Idemque hæreſeos ſevere cenſor,
Priſcorum nova norma Epiſcoporum,
Antiſtes pie, pauperum patrone,
Cuſtos virginitatis atque amator,
Tu quocumque ieris, ſequeris agnum.

Capacious Soul, with Learning fraught,
From Stores of Greece *and* Latium *brought,*
Perſuaſive from the Preacher's Chair,
Cenſor of Hereſy ſevere;
By whoſe Example taught, we ſee,
What Biſhops were, and ought to be;
Prelate, with ev'ry Virtue crown'd,
Still to the Poor a Patron found;
Adorn'd with Chriſtian Piety;
Guardian and Friend of Chaſtity;
Where'er thou go'ſt, the Lamb ſhall be
A Guide, divine Amboiſe, *to Thee.*

* JAMES d'AMBOISE, *Brother of* Francis, *eſpouſed* Mary Longis *Daughter of* Joſeph Longis, *Procurator of the Parliament*; *he died the* 5th *of* Aug. 1605; *and was buried in the Church-Yard of St* Nicolas *in the Fields at* Paris. *He was the Father of* Anne d'Amboiſe, *his only Daughter*, *married to* David de Mondezir, *Governor of* Fére *in* Picardy, *afterwards Deputy-Governor of* Verdun.

† JOHANNES d'AMBOISE, Pater, Caſteletti Chirurgus Regius, ex nobiliſſima Amboëſianorum gente oriundus, tres habuit filios, in ſuo quiſque ſtatu percelebres. ------------- FRANCISCUS, ſcilicet, ADRIANUS, & JACOBUS. *Index funereus Chirurgorum Pariſienſium*, pag. 22, 30, 32, &c.

AMBOISE (JAMES *de*) younger Brother of the foregoing, followed his Father's Profeſſion, and became very ſkillful in it; but, after he had ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed his Capacity in Chirurgery, he advanced ſome degrees higher, and became Doctor of Phyſic [*A*]. This Promotion fell out between the Year 1582, and 1597; for *Pinæus* declares, in the Book, which he wrote, in 1597, concerning the Tokens of Virginity, that at that time *James d'Amboiſe* was Doctor of Phyſic; but that he was only Maſter of Arts and Batchelor of Chirurgery, when, with great Dexterity, and in the Preſence of many great Maſters, he diſſected a Woman, who was hanged in the Year 1579 for deſtroying her Child (*a*). We know, farther, that he was nothing more than Chirurgeon in the Year 1582 (*b*), and that he was Licentiate in Phyſic, and the King's Phyſician in the Year 1594, when he was choſen Rector of the Univerſity of *Paris* (*c*). The Oath, which that Univerſity took to *Henry the Great*, and the Proceſs which they entered againſt the Jeſuits, fell out under his Rectorſhip. There are two *Latin* Speeches, which *James d'Amboiſe* made to the Parliament, in quality of Rector, on the 12th of *May*, and the 13th of *July* 1594; they are very ſevere againſt the Jeſuits. He had been a Member of the College of *Navarre*, before he was Rector (*d*).

(*a*) *See Remark* [*A*].

(*b*) Mich. Thiriot. Laud. Hadr. Amboëſii, 1584, apud Launoium, Hiſt. Gymn. Nav. pag. 799.

(*c*) Launoius, Hiſt. Gymn. Nav. pag. 368. *See likewiſe the Apology for* John Chaſtel, p. 194.

(*d*) Launoius, ibid.

[*A*] *He advanc'd ſome Degrees higher, and became Doctor of Phyſic.*] This appears from two Paſſages; one is of *Thiriot* (1); “ Natu minimus paternam, hoc eſt ulceribus medendi artem, amplexatus, multis ſalutarem manum feliciſſime præbet. —— *The youngeſt Son, embracing his Father's Profeſſion of Chirurgery, has great Succeſs in the Cure of his Patients.*” The other of *Pinæus* (2); “ Jacobus Ambosianus, in Artibus Magiſter, & in Chirurgia Baccalaureus, nunc autem in utraque Medicina Doctor, & Medicus Regius. —— James Amboiſe, *Maſter of Arts, and Batchelor of Chirurgery; now Doctor of both Faculties, and Phyſician to the King.*” Monſ. *de Launoi* underſtands by this the Chirurgeon of *Charles* IX; but he is miſtaken.

(1) Apud Launoium, Hiſt. Gymn. Nav. pag. 799.

(2) Pinæus, de Virginit. Notis, lib. 2. cap. 8.

AMBOISE (MICHAEL *de*) Eſquire, and Lord of *Chevillon*, lived in the XVIth Century. He gave himſelf in his Works a Nick-Name, or rather a Poetical one (*a*), which was no great Ornament to them, and did not prevent his falling, with his Numberleſs Poems, into the Obſcurity of Oblivion. He does not appear, any more than *Francis d'Amboiſe*, in the vaſt Collection of Mr *Baillet*: Yet he ſeems to have expected, that the Title of his Works would continue to excite the Curioſity of Readers a long time. One of his Books entituled, *Amorous Epiſtles*, *Fancies*, *Complaints*,

(*a*) L'Eſclave fortuné, *The happy Slave.*

plaints, Epitaphs, Thirty Four Roundo's, and Three Ballads, was printed at *Paris* in 1556. Another is entitled, *The Encomium of the Tooth (b).* The *Counter Epiſtles of* Ovid (*c*), that is, Letters compoſed in anſwer to thoſe, which the Heroines of *Ovid* wrote to their Huſbands or Gallants, ſeemed to promiſe great Entertainment; and yet they underwent the Fate of his other Poems; They are quite unknown. He undertook ſome Tranſlations; he turned four Satires of *Juvenal (d)* into *French* Verſe, the 10th Book of *Ovid's Metamorphoſis*, the Eclogues of *Baptiſta Mantano (e)*, and the *Italian* Treatiſe of *Antonio Phileremo Fregoſo*, entituled, *Ris de Democrite, & pleur d' Heraclite* (*Democritus*'s Laughter, and *Heraclitus*'s Tears) (*f*). He wrote in Heroics *A Lamentation for the Death of* Meſſire William du Bellai, *Lord of* Langey (*g*), and the *Standard of the Soldiery (h)* in Proſe. See the *Bibliotheque* of *du Verdier-Vau-Privas.*

(*b*) *Printed at* Lyons, *in* 1537.

(*c*) *Printed at* Paris, *in* 1541.

(*d*) *Printed at* Paris, *in* 1543.

(*e*) *Printed at* Paris, *in* 1530.

(*f*) *Printed at* Paris, *in* 1547.

(*g*) *Printed at* Paris, *in* 1543. La Croix du Maine, Bibl. Franc. pag. 322.

(*h*) *Printed at* Paris, *in* 1543.

AMBROSIUS, General of the Order of CAMALDOLI. Look for CAMALDOLI.

AMELIA, a City of *Italy*. It was anciently called AMERIA. It is ſituated between the *Tiber* and the *Nera*. *Cato* ſays it was founded 964 Years before the War of *Perſeus (a):* So that, as this War began in the Year 581 of *Rome*, it ſhould follow, that *Ameria* was 383 Years older than *Rome*. *Feſtus* calls the Founder of this City *Amirus*. It appears from Inſcriptions, that it became one of thoſe Cities, which the *Romans* called *Municipia*. *Cicero* confirms this in his fine Oration in defence of *Roſcius Amerinus*. It acquired the Privileges of a *Roman* Colony under *Auguſtus* (*b*). It ſtands in a fruitful Soil; and the Hills, which ſurround it, are covered with fine Vineyards (*c*). It is not certain that the Vines of *Ameria* were formerly in great Eſteem. My View in this Article is only to rectify That of *Moreri* [*A*], and therefore I forbear enlarging upon it. *Leander Albertus* wants likewiſe to be ſet right [*B*].

(*a*) Apud Plinium, lib. 3. cap. 14.

(*b*) *See* Cluverius, Ital. Antiq. lib. 2. cap. 7.

(*c*) Leandri Alberti Deſcript. Ital. pag. 144.

[*A*] *My View in this Article, is only to rectify that of* Moreri.] I. No Author *ſays, that* Ameria *was built at the time of the War of* Perſeus. II. *Pliny* does not *maintain, that it was built in* 964, *before that War.* He only tells us, that *Cato* had ſaid ſo. III. *Cicero* did not plead for a Comedian, born in that Town; *Roſcius Amerinus*, for whom he pleaded, was different from *Roſcius* the Player, whoſe Cauſe he likewiſe undertook. IV. Theſe Words of *Virgil*,

> Atque Amerina parant lentæ retinacula viti (1).
>
> —— —— *and twine*
> AMERIAN *Twigs, to tie the ſtraggling Vine.*
> DRYDEN.

do not prove, that *the Vines of* Amelia *were eſteemed* in his time. This Verſe only implies, that in the Territory of that City there was found a great quantity of Boughs, as pliant as Ozier, which they make uſe of in dreſſing their Vineyards. "Virgas de quibus vites religantur: quæ virgæ abundant circa Amerinum "oppidum —— alii genus ſalicis dicunt, diſpari colore à cætera ſalice: nam eſt rubra & ad connectendum "aptior, quia præter morem lenta eſt (2). —— *Twigs, "with which Vines are tied; they are found in great "plenty about* Ameria. —— *Others ſay, it is a "kind of Willow, of a different Colour from other "Willows; for it is red, and fitter for tying, as "being uncommonly pliant.*"

[*B*] Leander Albertus *wants likewiſe to be ſet right.*] He makes *Cato* ſay, that *Ameria* was rebuilt above Nine hundred Years before the War of *Perſeus*, and that it was firſt built by the *Vejentes*, a People of *Tuſcany*, under the Conduct of *Ameroë*, Daughter of the *Italian Atlas*, and of *Pleione*. He ſuppoſes, that *Pliny* ſaid it was built Nine hundred ſixty four Years before the War of *Perſeus*, and repreſents *Cato* and *Pliny* as being of two different Opinions. Afterwards he endeavours to reconcile them; which he does in the following manner. "The Chronology of the "one, *ſays he*, agrees well enough with the Chrono"logy of the other: *Cato* mentions above Nine hun"dred Years before the War of *Perſeus*, and *Pliny* "ſpeaks of Nine hundred ſixty four Years before that "War: So that it is eaſy to reconcile them. Tho' "one of them uſes the Term *Rebuilding*, and the "other the Term *Building*, it muſt not be inferred "from thence, that they affirm contrary things; for "the Word *condere*, which *Pliny* makes uſe of, is "indifferently taken both for *Founding* and *Repair"ing*." Theſe vain and chimerical Diſputes fall to the Ground, to the ſhame of their Author, as ſoon as *Pliny* is conſulted; for it appears, that he gives no Opinion of his own; and is contented to ſay, "Ame"riam —— Cato ante Perſei bellum conditam annis "964 prodidit (3). —— Cato *gave out, that* Ameria "*was built Nine hundred ſixty four Years before the* "*War of* Perſius."

(1) Virgil. Georg. lib. 1, ver. 265. *This Verſe is very ill cited by* Moreri, Atque Amerina parent lenta retinacula vita.

(2) Servius in Virgil. ibid.

(3) Plin. lib. 3. cap. 14. in fine.

AMELIUS, a Platonic Philoſopher, of the IIId Century, was of *Tuſcany*. His true Name was *Gentilianus*; and he preferred the Sirname of *Amerius* to That of *Amelius*. He was 24 Years a Diſciple of *Plotinus* at *Rome*, after which he retired to *Apamea*, a City of *Syria*, where he reſided, when *Plotinus* died. He adopted one *Juſtin Heſychius*, born in the ſame City (*a*). This doubtleſs occaſioned the Miſtake of *Suidas*, who ſaid that *Amelius* was of *Apamea*. He is not leſs miſtaken, when he affirms, that *Porphyry* was a Diſciple of *Amelius* [*A*]. What is certain is, that *Amelius* was

(*a*) Porphyrius in Vita Plotini.

[*A*] Suidas —— *is miſtaken, when he affirms, that* Porphyry *was a Diſciple of* Amelius.] *Porphyry* himſelf tells us (1), that, when he began to be a Diſciple of *Plotinus*, *Amelius* had ſtudied eighteen Years under that Philoſopher. He adds, that he was *Amelius*'s Fellow-Pupil ſix Years; after which they both departed from *Rome*, himſelf for *Sicily*, and *Amelius* for *Apamea*. They continued in the Places, to which they had retired, at leaſt 'till the Death of *Plotinus*. Now as *Porphyry* was then about Thirty eight Years of Age, and was in greater Reputation at *Rome*, than *Amelius*, it is improbable he ſhould be a Diſciple of the latter. Add to this, that *Amelius*, in dedicating to him his Apology for *Plotinus*, deſires him to excuſe and correct the Faults of it (2). Laſtly, the Silence of *Porphyry* is a very ſtrong Argument againſt *Suidas*. *Porphyry* mentions *Amelius* every Moment, in the Life of *Plotinus*; and would he not have ſaid ſomething of his having been the Scholar of ſuch a Maſter? *Suidas* might have been deceived by *Theodoret*, who *calls* Amelius *the Head of* Porphyry'*s School* (3), *that is*, according to the Interpretation of Monſ. *de Tillemont, of* Plotinus'*s School, in which* Porphyry *ſtudied* (4). *And indeed* Suidas *ſays he was* Porphyry'*s Maſter:* (They are Monſ. *de Tillemont*'s Words.) *We may reckon likewiſe among his Diſciples* Caſtricius Firmus,

(1) Porphyr. in Vita Plotini.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Theodor. Græcar. Affect. pag. 500.

(4) Tillem. Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 3. pag. 1084. *printed at Bruſſels.*

was very much eſteemed by his Maſter, and that he returned This Eſteem by a ſingular Veneration for *Plotinus.* When he began to ſtudy under This famous Philoſopher, all he knew was what he had learned from one *Lyſimachus (b)*; but by his great Application, he ſoon ſurpaſſed all his Fellow Pupils. He retained Part of *Numenius's* Lectures by heart, having collected and tranſcribed moſt of 'em. He made likewiſe ample Collections of all that he had heard in the Philoſophical Conferences; and out of theſe Collections he drew up an hundred Treatiſes, which he gave to his adopted Son. He had not yet ventured to produce any thing elſe, when *Porphyry* came to *Rome (c)*; that is to ſay, after having profited by *Plotinus*'s Inſtructions for the ſpace of 18 Years. Afterwards he compoſed 40 Books againſt *Zoſtrianus*, one of thoſe ancient Heretics, both in Philoſophy, and Religion, who made ſuch an horrible jumble of the Doctrines of the Goſpel, and of the Philoſophers. There aroſe a great number of theſe Heretics in *Plotinus*'s time, which obliged him to declare War againſt them. He undertook the Defeat of the *Gnoſtics*, whilſt *Amelius* oppoſed *Zoſtrianus*, and *Porphyry* attacked the pretended Revelations of *Zoroaſter*. *Amelius*, having heard afterwards, that *Plotinus* was accuſed of adorning himſelf with the Spoils of *Numenius*, took Pen in Hand to juſtify his Maſter, and, in three days, wrote a Book, which he dedicated to *Porphyry*, and which the latter entituled, *Of the difference between the Doctrine of* Numenius *and That of* Plotinus. What I am going to ſay is ſufficient to ſhew the Eſteem, which *Plotinus* had for *Amelius*. *Plotinus* took no great pains to exert himſelf; upon which Account he generally left ſome doubts upon the Minds of his Hearers, and ſtood in need in ſome manner of being forced to ſhew the beſt ſide of his Doctrine. This made *Porphyry* propoſe ſeveral Objections to him in Writing, to prove that our Ideas are diſtinct from our Underſtanding *(d)*. This Doctrine Father *Mallebranche* has revived in our days. *Plotinus*, having read theſe Objections, gave them *Amelius* to refute 'em. The Opponent replyed; *Amelius* rejoined; and at laſt *Porphyry*, apprehending *Plotinus* Doctrine, approved it, and read his Retractation in a full Auditory. *Longinus*, whoſe Taſte was ſo juſt, and whoſe Cenſures were ſo formidable, found indeed *Amelius*'s Writings to be too verboſe; but ranked him nevertheleſs among the few Philoſophers, whoſe Works ſeemed to him worthy of Conſideration [*B*]. He wrote a long Letter in anſwer to That, which he had received from *Amelius*, concerning *Plotinus*'s Philoſophy. *Amelius* was a Votary of Paganiſm, and a great Obſerver of new Moons and Feaſts (*e*) [*C*]. In one of his Books he cites the beginning of St *John*'s Goſpel, in confirmation of *Plato*'s Doctrine. *Euſebius* alledges this Paſſage *(f)*, but not ſo fully as *Theodoret* (g) and St *Cyril* (*h*).

Firmus, *a Man —— who was very ſerviceable to* Amelius. So that here is a modern Author, who falls into the Error of *Suidas*, and goes ſtill farther; for it is plain from the Life of *Plotinus*, to which he refers us concerning *Caſtricius*, that it was in *Plotinus*'s Life-time that *Caſtricius* had ſo great an Inclination for *Amelius* at *Rome*. Now it is undeniable, that, whilſt the latter was at *Rome*, he had no Diſciples. He was *Plotinus*'s Diſciple, and did not ſet up Altar againſt Altar.

[*B*] Longinus - - - - - - *ranked him among the few Philoſophers, whoſe Works ſeemed to him worthy of Conſideration.*] The Number of them was ſo ſmall, that it comprehended but two Authors, *Plotinus* and *Amelius*. The Reputation of the latter was upon this Account the greater; yet this did not prevent his Writings from loſing, in a little time, their firſt Reputation. *Eunapius* places them in the ſame Category with thoſe of two other Fellow-Students of *Porphyry*, and paſſes this Cenſure upon them all: Συγγράμματά γε αὐτῶν ϖερισώζεται, λόγος δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἷς (5). *Their Works indeed are extant, but their Reputation is nothing.* He gives this as a Reaſon for it, that they were deſtitute of the Ornaments of Language, and meerly dogmatical.

[C] *A great Obſerver of New Moons and Feaſts.*] I am aware, that, inſtead *of New Moons*, it would be better to ſay, *the firſt Days of the Month*, as *Marſilius Ficinus* did (6), but I thought my Expreſſion would be more eaſily underſtood. Theſe are *Porphyry*'s Words: Φιλοθύτου δὲ γεγονότος τοῦ Ἀμελίου, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κατὰ νουμηνίαν, καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἐκπεριϊόντος (7). Amelius *being fond of Sacrifices, and a religious Obſerver of new Moons and Feaſts.* After this let any one ſay, that Philoſophers are impious Men? If they had been ſo, they would not have wrote ſo much in favour of Paganiſm; they would not have been the only Writers, whom the Chriſtians had to oppoſe; for, as for the Prieſts and Sacrificators, they did not concern themſelves with it; their Ignorance excuſed them from it.

AMESIUS (WILLIAM)

AMESIUS (WILLIAM) an *Engliſhman*, and Profeſſor of Divinity at *Franeker*, flouriſhed in the XVIIth Century. He was concerned in the *Arminian* Controverſy; and wrote ſeveral learned Books againſt That Sect [*A*]. He is one of the reformed Divines, who have treated Caſes of Conſcience moſt exactly and methodically. It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that he wrote againſt *Bellarmin* (*a*); for no one is ignorant, that in thoſe times the Works of that Jeſuit were refuted by the greateſt part of the Proteſtant Controvertiſts. *Ameſius* wrote a Book entituled, *Medulla Theologiæ*. He wrote likewiſe againſt the *Socinians*, and againſt Metaphyſics, and in favour

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral learned Books againſt that Sect.*] He begun the Controverſy *viva voce* with *Grevinchovius*, Miniſter of *Rotterdam*; but, being prevented by frequent Interruptions from ſpeaking his whole Mind, carried on the Diſpute by Letters, and publiſhed what he had objected, and his Adverſary's Replies. The Points in queſtion were, The Redemption of Man by the Death of *JESUS CHRIST*, and Election grounded on the *Fore-ſight* of Faith. *Grevinchovius* publiſhed another Edition of their Diſpute at *Rotterdam*, in the Year 1615, in 4to. *Ameſius* replied, in a Piece entitled, *Reſcriptio Scholaſtica & brevis*, &c. He wrote a Book likewiſe under the Title of *Coronis ad Collationem Hagienſem*, in which he replied to the Anſwers, which the *Armenians* had made to the Objections of the Miniſters of *Holland*.

(*b*) *He was a Stoic Philoſopher.*

(*c*) *In* 263.

(*d*) Διὸ καὶ ἀντιγράψας, προσήγαγον δεικνῦναι πειράμενος, ὅτι ἔξω τοῦ νοῦ ὑφέστηκε τὸ νόημα. Quapropter eum contra ſcribendo provocare tentavi, conatus oſtendere ea quæ intelliguntur extra intellectum eſſe. *Porphyr. in Vita Plot.*

(*e*) *Taken from* Plotinus's *Life, written by* Porphyry.

(*f*) De Præpar. Evang. lib. 11. cap. 19.

(*g*) Græc. Affection. lib. 2. pag. 500.

(*h*) In Julian. lib. 8.

(5) Eunap. in Vitis Sophiſtarum, pag. 20.

(6) Per Calendas ſacra faceret, *ſays he.*

(7) Porphyr. in Vita Plotini.

(*a*) *His Book is intituled,* Bellarminus Enervatus.

favour of Puritaniſm, of which he was a ſtrict Follower [*B*]. He publiſhed this laſt Work in *England* in 1610. I ſay nothing of his Lectures on the *Pſalms*, nor of his Explication of the Epiſtles of St *Peter*. He did not die in the Year 1639, as *Henningus Witte* affirms in his *Diarium Biographicum*. The Epiſtle Dedicatory of his *Lectures on the Pſalms*, in 1635, are a proof that he was then dead. We find in the ſame Epiſtle, that, after having been twelve years Profeſſor at *Franeker*, he had obtained his Diſmiſſion, in order to be Profeſſor at *Rotterdam*.

His Work, entituled, *Anti Synodalia*, contains ſome Remarks on the *Scripta Synodalia* of the Remonſtrants. It was printed at *Franeker* in the Year 1629.

[*B*] *He wrote —— in Favour of Puritaniſm, of which he was a ſtrict Follower*] You will find in the Preface, which I cite (1), ſome Extracts of the Book, which he publiſhed againſt Epiſcopacy, in the Year 1610, where you will ſee, that, in his Opinion, there were no good Men in *England*, but the Puritans. They diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Averſion for Stage-Plays, Oaths, Dancing, Gaming, and Treats: The reſt were only Gameſters, Drinkers, Swearers, and Children of *Belial*. There was no *Medium* between theſe two Extreams, either to ſuppreſs Epiſcopacy, or to bring back the Church of *Rome* from Hell. "Hi ſcil. ſoli inter Anglos *viri boni, ſimplices, quadrati:* quos *ex ſcelerifugio* ſit "cognoſcere, quibus ex repudio ſpectaculorum, ju"ramentorum, chorearum, alearum & commeſſatio"num, inditum ſit nomen *Puritanorum:* reliqui ve"ro inſignes aleatores, potatores ſtrenui, religionis "officia ſuſque deque habentes, verſati inſtitores pa"piſtarum, ambitionibus pravis corrupti, juratores "impii, homines denique vani, injuſti, turpes, & "omnes filii Belial. —— Adeoque vel è medio tol"lendum *ementitum hunc Epiſcoporum ordinem, vel* "*denuo Papam revocandum ab orco* (2).

AMESTRIS, Wife of XERXES King of *Perſia*. See the firſt Remark of the Article MASISTES.

AMYOT (JAMES) Biſhop of *Auxerre*, and Great Almoner of *France*, was one of the moſt illuſtrious learned Men of the XVIth Century. He was born at *Melun* the Thirtieth of *October* 1514. His Father and Mother, who were good honeſt Folks, but of a very mean Condition [*A*], uſed all their Induſtry to maintain him at *Paris*, where he went thro' his School-Learning, and a Courſe of Philoſophy, in the College of Cardinal *le Moine*. He had naturally a heavy Genius; but Labour and Application ſupplied this Defect. Having taken his Maſter of Arts Degree at 19 Years of Age, he continued to ſtudy under the Royal Profeſſors, whom *Francis* I. had eſtabliſhed. He heard *James Tuſanus*, who explained the *Greek* Poets, *Peter Danæus*, who was Profeſſor of Eloquence, and *Orontius Finæus*, who taught Mathematics. He left *Paris* at Twenty three Years of Age, to go to *Bourges* with the Sieur

[*A*] *His Father and Mother —— were but of a very mean Condition.*] Some ſay that *Amyot*'s Father, was *a Currier of* Melun (1); according to others *he made and ſold Purſes, and tagged Points* (2); laſtly, others ſay that he was a Butcher. I find three good Authorities for this latter Opinion, *Thuanus* (3), *Papyrius Maſſo* (4), and *Brantome*. I believe the Reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the Words of this laſt mentioned Author a little at length, for they contain another Particular, which deſerves to be known, though it ſhould be falſe. *Brantome*, having ſaid, that *Charles* IX, in a Speech to the Parliament, ſaid, *with a courageous and threatning Boldneſs*, "It is "your Buſineſs to obey my Ordinances, without diſ"puting or conteſting them; for I know better, than "you, what is fit and expedient for the Good of my "Kingdom", Adds: "Being as yet beardleſs, he ſpoke "theſe Words before thoſe old and wiſe Men, who "all wondered at ſuch a bold and grave Speech; "which ſavoured more of a generous Courage, than "of the Leſſons of his Preceptor, Mr *Amyot*; who "had nevertheleſs inſtructed him well, and whom "he greatly loved, and had given him very good "Benefices, and made him Biſhop of *Lizieux* (5), "and called him always his Maſter; and ſometimes, "in jeſt, reproached him with his Avarice, telling "him, that he lived only on Neats-Tongues; and "indeed he was a Butcher's Son of *Melun*, and might "well be fond of the Meat, which he had ſeen his "Father prepare. Setting aſide his Avarice, he "was a Great and Learned Man, both in *Greek* "and *Latin*; witneſs the beautiful and elegant Tran"ſlation he made of *Plutarch*; though ſome envious "Perſons gave out, that he was not the ſole Author "of it; but that he was aſſiſted by a certain great "Man, well skilled in the *Greek* Tongue, who hap"pened, luckily for him, to be confined in the Pri"ſon of the Palace of *Paris*, and in Neceſſity; whom "he releaſed and took into his Service; and that "they two privately compoſed this Tranſlation, "which *Amyot* afterwards publiſhed in his own "Name. But this is entirely falſe, for He alone "wrote it; and they, who were acquainted, and "converſed with him, can truly ſay, that he wanted "no Aſſiſtance in ſuch a Work. To conclude, he "educated That brave King very well, and chiefly "in the Catholic Religion." Were I to call in queſtion the three mean Profeſſions, which are aſcribed to our *Amyot*'s Father, my reaſon would not be, becauſe his Son has mentioned none of them in the Manuſcript of his Life; He was contented to ſay, that he was born of Parents more virtuous than rich, *parentibus honeſtis magis quam copioſis* (6). This Reaſon has no Weight with me; for there are few great Men, of mean Extraction, who are not very willing to paſs lightly over the Obſcurity of their Birth: Particulars on that Subject are diſagreeable to them. They will own in general, that they were not Men of Quality; but you muſt not expect that they ſhould give you any Memoirs, in which you may read, that their Fathers were Butchers, Coblers, Sellers of tagged Points, or Matches; that they lived upon Alms in their Childhood, *&c.* They, who make ſuch Confeſſions, and are willing they ſhould be inſerted in their Elogies, are ſo few, that, though it were true, that *Amyot* had begged for ſome time in the Streets of *Paris*, I ſhould not be ſurprized, that he did not mention ſuch a Particular in his Memoirs of his Life. I ſhall not therefore refute by his Silence what is related of his Beggary, and of his having been a Foot-Boy, and of his Abode in the Hoſpital of *Orleans* (7). It is true, I cannot reconcile this Silence with That part of his Will, wherein he leaves Twelve hundred Crowns to That Hoſpital, *as an acknowledgement for the Charity*, which he had met with there (8). It has been obſerved, that in *his Works he never adds his Country's Name to his own*, and that, during his proſperous Condition, he had *very little Correſpondence* with the Place of his Birth (9). No doubt he was weak enough to be mortified at That City, and to fancy that his Correſpondence with *Melun* would make People talk of the Meanneſs of his Birth. Yet I have read, that he advanced ſome Perſons of his Family. "He died "inveſted with great Dignities, and worth above Two "hundred thouſand Crowns, beſides a great many "other means which he had of advancing his Re"lations, ſome of which ſhared in his Liberality (10)."

[*B*] He

(1) Grevinchovii Præf. Diſſertat. Theolog. de duabus Quæſtionibus.

(2) Grev. ib. fol. **** iii.

(1) St Real, Of the Uſe of Hiſtory, p. 74.

(2) Roulliard's Antiquities of Melun, *pag.* 605.

(3) Thuan. Hiſtor. lib. 100. ad ann. 1591. pag. 405.

(4) Lanii filius erat, Meloduno oppido ortus, vir excellenti ingenio, Latineque & Græce doctiſſimus. Carolus Magiſtrum eum appellabat, inter jocos avaritiam objiciens & ſordes, quod linguis bubulis uteretur. *Papyr. Maſſo in Hiſtoria Vit. Caroli* IX.

(5) *This is a Miſtake; he ſhould have ſaid* Auxerre *and not* Liſieux.

(6) Roulliard, ubi ſupra.

(7) St Real, ubi ſupra, pag. 76.

(8) Id. pag. 75.

(9) Roulliard, ubi ſupra.

(10) *They are* la Popelinere's *Words*, pag. 259. *of his* Idea of Hiſtory.

Sieur *Colin* (*a*), who was poſſeſſed of the Abbey of St *Ambroſe* in that City [*B*]. At the Recommendation of this Abbot, a Secretary of State there (*b*) took *Amyot* into his Houſe to be Tutor to his Children. The Progreſs they made under him induced their Father to recommend him to the Princeſs *Margaret*, Ducheſs of *Berry*, only Siſter of *Francis* I. Upon this Recommendation *Amyot* was made public Lecturer in *Greek* and *Latin*, in the Univerſity of *Bourges.* He read two Lectures every day for ten Years, a *Latin* Lecture in the Morning, and a *Greek* one in the Afternoon. It was during that time that he tranſlated into *French*, *The Loves of* Theagenes *and* Chariclea (*c*). This Tranſlation pleaſed *Francis* the Firſt ſo well, that he ſoon provided the Author with a Benefice. He gave him the Abbey of *Belloſane*, which became vacant by the Death of *Francis Vetablus* [*C*]. That Prince died ſoon after; upon which *Amyot* thought it more for his Intereſt to go into *Italy*, in hopes of Preferment there, than to expect any thing from the Court of *France*. He went to *Venice* with *Morvillier*, whom *Henry* II. ſent on an Embaſſy thither. *Morvillier* employed him in ſome Affairs, and ſent him to carry the King's Letters to the Council of *Trent*, in 1551 [*D*]. Being recalled from his Embaſſy, *Amyot* refuſed to repaſs the Alps with him, and choſe rather to go to *Rome*, where he met with a very kind reception from the Biſhop of *Mirepoix*. He lodged about Two Years at his Houſe. It was then, that, examining the Manuſcripts of the *Vatican*, to which *Romulus Amaſæus*, who was the Keeper of That famous Library, gave him free Acceſs, he diſcovered, that *Heliodorus*, Biſhop of *Trica*, was the Author of *the Loves of Theagenes*. He met with a more correct and more perfect Manuſcript of This Work, than That which he had tranſlated, and was not wanting in taking proper Care to publiſh a better Edition. His learned Occupations did not take off his Thoughts from the Intereſt of his Fortune. He made his Court very dexterouſly to Cardinal *de Tournon*, and inſinuated himſelf ſo far into his Favour, that the Cardinal nominated him to the King, when That Prince, having recalled him to *France*, deſired him to recommend to him a good Preceptor for his Two Younger Sons (*d*). This was about the Year 1558. Thus *Amyot* became Preceptor to Two of *Henry* the Second's Sons. Whilſt he was in this Poſt, he finiſhed his Tranſlation of *Plutarch*'s Lives, and dedicated it to That Prince (*e*): Afterwards he undertook a Tranſlation of *Plutarch*'s Morals, and finiſhed it in the Reign of *Charles* IX, to whom he dedicated it. *Charles* IX. was his great Benefactor; He gave him the Abbey of St *Cornelius* of *Compiegne*, and made him Great Almoner of *France*, and Biſhop of *Auxerre* [*E*]; and, as the Dignity of Great Almoner,

(*a*) *He was Reader of Lectures to* Francis I.

(*b*) William Bouchetel, Sieur de Saſſy.

(*c*) *This Book is uſually called* Heliodorus's Ethiopic Hiſtory.

(*d*) *They reigned ſucceſſively, under the Names of* Charles IX. *and* Henry III.

(*e*) *He began it in the Reign of* Francis I. *to whom he preſented ſome of Thoſe Lives written in a fair hand by* Adam Charles, *a Writing-Maſter of* Paris, Roulliard's Antiquities of Melun, pag. 605.

[*B*] *He left* Paris —— *to go to* Bourges *with the Sieur* Colin, *who was poſſeſs'd of the Abbey of St* Ambroſe *in That City.*] *Bullart*, who generally follows the Antiquities of *Melun*, goes out of his way here, to inform us of a Particular very little known (11), which is, that *Amyot turned Monk in the Abbey of St* Ambroſe *in the Town of* Bourges. But that *the Abbot, judging him worthy of a more conſpicuous Life, than that of a Cloyſter, brought him acquainted with the* Sieur de Sacy Bouchetel. 'Tis pity he quotes no written Authority for a Particular ſo little known.

[*C*] *He gave him the Abbey of* Belloſane, *which became vacant by the Death of* Francis Vetablus.] This is altogether inconſiſtent with the Narrative of the Abbot *de St Real.* The Author will have it, that, in the Reign of *Henry* II, *Amyot* was ſtill in the Obſcurity of a ſmall Tutorſhip, in the Houſe of a *Gentleman, who was a Friend of his*, and that M. *de l'Hoſpital*, who did not know him, recommended him only on Account of a *Greek* Epigram, which was preſented to That Monarch (12). This muſt neceſſarily be falſe, if it be true, as the Manuſcript of *Amyot*'s Life ſays, that this learned Man had been ſeveral Years Profeſſor at *Bourges*, before the Death of *Francis* I; and that his Works, which were preſented to That King, procured him a very good Abbey. Can any one believe, that M. *de l'Hoſpital* was unacquainted with a *Frenchman*, who had publiſhed, in 1549, at fartheſt (13), a Tranſlation of *Heliodorus's Hiſtoria Æthiopica?* How are we ſure, that *Henry* II. took a Journey to *Bourges* before the firſt Edition of That Tranſlation? Add, that the Manuſcript Life of *Amyot* makes him go into *Italy* ſoon after the Death of *Francis* I. Reconcile this if you can with the Abbot *de St Real*, who makes him a Tutor at *Bourges* at the Time of *Henry* the Second's Journey to That Town.

[*D*] Morvillier —— *ſent him to carry the King's Letters to the Council of* Trent, *in* 1551.] It will be neceſſary to correct the Author, who ſupplies me with this Article (14), though he tells us, that he made uſe of a Life of *Amyot*, begun by himſelf, and finiſhed by his Secretary. We have a Letter of *Amyot*, which contains the Relation of his Journey to *Trent*. A few Days after this Journey, he wrote to Mr *de Morvillier*, Maſter of the Requeſts. Now he is ſo far from ſaying, that Mr *de Morvillier*, Ambaſſador of *France* at *Venice*, had ſent him to carry the King's Letters to the Council, that he declares in expreſs Terms, that he was choſen for That Buſineſs by Cardinal *de Tournon*; and by the Ambaſſador *de Selve*. This is a convincing Proof, that *Morvillier* was not Ambaſſador at *Venice*, at that time: and this appears ſtill plainer by *Amyot*'s Letter; for it is directed to M. *de Morvillier* at Court. Obſerve well theſe Words of *Amyot*; *Cardinal* de Tournon, *and the Ambaſſador* de Selve, *were pleaſed to pitch upon me to execute this Commiſſion, when ſuch a thing was the fartheſt from my Thoughts* (15). —— *It is obſervable, that not only I was not ſo much as mentioned in That Letter* (16), *but the worſt is, They had not ſo much as ſent a Copy of it, by which one might know the Contents of it. So that I never ſaw any Thing ſo ill managed* (17). It was not then the King, who ſent him to proteſt in his Name againſt the Council; but it was Cardinal *de Tournon*, and the *French* Ambaſſador at *Venice*, who made choice of him to carry the King's Letter, and to read his Majeſty's Proteſtation Word for Word before the Aſſembly. He acquitted himſelf very well of this Commiſſion. You ſee what I aim at. The Abbot *de St Real* takes it for granted, that *Amyot* was Preceptor of the Children of *France*, before the Negotiation, which I have juſt now mentioned; and he ſuppoſes that *Henry* II. employed Him in that Buſineſs, becauſe he had experienced the Reality of the good Character which M. *de l'Hoſpital* had given of him, when he told the King, that *Amyot deſerved to be Preceptor of the Children of* France. All this is irrefragably confuted by *Amyot*'s Letter to *Morvillier*. Correct, therefore, without Fear, this Falſhood, in *de Sauſſai*. "Cæterum Amyotus, adhuc Abbas, ad Concilium Tri-"dentinum ab Henrico II. miſſus fuit, negotiorum "magni momenti cauſa (18). —— *But* Amyot, *yet* "*an Abbot, was diſpatched by* Henry II. *to the Coun-*"*cil of* Trent *upon Affairs of great Moment.*" *Henry* II. had no Part in this Tranſaction.

[*E*] *Made him Great Almoner of* France, *and Biſhop of* Auxerre.] The firſt of theſe two Dignities was conferred

(11) Acad. des Sciences, Tom. I. p. 166.

(12) S. Real, ubi ſupra, pag. 80.

(13) *I expreſs myſelf thus, becauſe* du Verdier Vau-Privas *mentions an Edition of* 1549. *But this does not prove that it was the firſt.*

(14) Sebaſt. Roulliard's Antiquities of *Melun.*

(15) *Inſtructions and Letters of the Moſt Chriſtian King, and other Papers relating to the Council of* Trent.

(16) *It is that, which the King wrote to the Fathers of the Council of* Trent.

(17) *Inſtructions and Letters, &c.* pag. 23.

(18) Andr. Suaſſaius, de Scriptor. Eccleſ. n. 52.

Almoner, and the Office of Curator of the Univerſity of *Paris*, were vacant at the ſame time, he preſented him to them both. *Thuanus* complains very much of this Plurality *(f)*. *Henry* III. had perhaps yielded to the importunate Sollicitations of the Biſhop of *St Flour*, who had followed him into *Poland*, and earneſtly deſired the Dignity of Great Almoner; but the Ducheſs of *Savoy*, the King's Aunt, ſo ſtrongly recommended *Amyot* to him, when he paſſed through *Turin*, in his Return from *Poland*, that not only His Office was continued to him, but a new Luſtre was added to it, in his Favour: for when *Henry* III. made *Amyot* Commander of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt (*g*), he ordained that, in Conſideration of his Merits, all the Great Almoners of *France* ſhould, for the future, be, in virtue of their Office, Commanders of That Order. *Amyot*, in the midſt of his Dignities did not neglect his Studies; he carefully reviſed all his Tranſlations, and compared them with the *Greek* Text, and made many Alterations in them: in a word, he deſigned to publiſh a more perfect Edition, with the various Readings of the Manuſcripts; but he did not live to finiſh this Work. The Civil Wars and the rebellious Spirit of the People of his Dioceſe gave him a thouſand Diſquiets [*G*]: He was robbed, in his Return from the States of *Blois*, in 1589. He died the 6th of *February* 1593, in his 79th Year [*H*]. He had preached ſometimes on ſolemn Feſtival days. He made uſe of the *Latin* Tongue in compoſing his Sermons, though he ſpoke them in *French*. He had a very particular Cuſtom in Preaching; He turned the Door of the Pulpit towards the People, and ſat in the middle of it, on a great Chair. He attempted Poetry, but without Succeſs [*I*]. This is what I have extracted out

(f) Thuan. de Vita ſua, lib. 5. pag. 1222.

(g) *At the firſt Inſtitution of this Order, on the 31ſt of* December, 1578.

ferred on *Amyot*, the ſixth of *December*, 1560, by *Charles* IX. at *Orleans*. *Du Peyrat*, who had peruſed the Regiſters of the Great Almoners of *France*, mentions this Date as extracted out of the Regiſters of *Amyot* (19). It is therefore matter of Fact. Now by this means above one half of the Hiſtory, which the Abbot *de St Real* relates concerning This Prelate's Fortune, comes to nothing. He ſays, that *Amyot*, in the Reign of his Pupils, *Francis* II. and *Charles* IX. had only the Abbey of *Belloſane*, with the Honour of having ſpoke the *judicious* and *bold* Proteſtation of *Henry* II. *before the whole Council*, and that *his Fortune would probably have ſtopped there, had it not been for a lucky Chance, which raiſed him higher than ever he had hoped for, and which wonderfully ſhews the Spirit of the Court.* This lucky Hit was This: It happened one Day, that, at That Prince's Table, *Charles* V. *was praiſed for ſeveral things, but chiefly for having made his Preceptor a Pope.* - - - - - *This made ſuch an Impreſſion on* Charles the Ninth's *Mind, that he ſaid, that* upon Occaſion he would do as much for his own. *And, in fact, ſoon after the Place of Almoner of* France *became vacant, the King gave it to* Amyot. All this falls to the Ground, when we conſult the Regiſters of this Great Office, in which we find the Poſt of Great Almoner conferred on *Amyot*, the ſecond Day of the Reign of *Charles* IX. Beſides, *Francis* II. was not a Diſciple of *Amyot*, but of *Peter Danés*. But to proceed; M. *de St Real* ſuppoſes, that the Queen-Mother, upon hearing what *Charles* IX. had done for his Preceptor, *ſent for the latter into her Cloſet, where ſhe received him with theſe dreadful Words:* "I have made the *Guiſes* and "the *Chatillons*, the Conſtables and the Chancellors, "the Kings of *Navarre*, and the Princes of *Conde*, "buckle to, and ſhall an inſignificant little Prieſt "pretend to oppoſe me." *Notwithſtanding the Submiſſion of* Amyot, *the Concluſion was, That if he had the Office, he was not to live Twenty four Hours.* The Abbot ſays afterwards, that *Amyot* abſconded, and that *Charles* IX. immediately *gueſſing at the Occaſion of it,* - - - - - *fell into ſuch a Paſſion* - - - - *that the Queen, who had much ado to govern him, and who feared him, as much as ſhe loved him, gave immediately Orders to look for* Amyot. This is to ſuppoſe, that *Charles* IX. had been King, long before he gave this Office to his Preceptor. But nothing can be more falſe; He gave it him the next Day after his Acceſſion to the Crown, before *Catherine de Medicis* had taſted of the Regency, and had exerted her Power over ſo many Perſons. Every one knows how little Influence ſhe had in the Reign of *Francis* II. After all, I allow the Reflexions of M. *de St Real*, on this Occaſion, conſidered in themſelves, to be fine and ſolid. As for the Biſhoprick of *Auxerre*, it was not given to *Amyot* in the Year 1568, as *du Peyrat* affirms (20), but in the Year 1570 (21), after the Death of Cardinal *Philibert Babou*, who was poſſeſſed of it.

[*F*] *All the Great Almoners of* France *were, for the future, to be, in Virtue of their Office, Commanders of That Order.*] Another Author (22) gives this Account of it. "*Henry* III. in the Year 1578, inſti- "tuting the Order of the Holy Ghoſt, ordained, "in * Favour of *Amyot*, that the Great Almoner, "and his Succeſſors, ſhould be aſſociated in the ſame "Order with the Title of Commanders; who ne- "vertheleſs *(ſay he)* ſhall not be obliged to prove "their Nobility; which he added, to gratify the "ſaid *Amyot*, who was not of a noble Extraction, "but entered into the Temple of Honour through "that of Virtue." See in *du Sauſſai* (23), King *Henry the Second*'s Anſwer to the Courtiers, who murmured at the Promotion of a Man of ſuch mean Birth. The ſame Author ſays, that *Amyot* drew up, with Skill and Learning, the Statutes and Litanies, or rather the Office of the Order; *Hujus ſtatuta & horarias preces ſcite & ſcienter compoſuit.*

[*G*] *The rebellious Spirit of the People of his Dioceſe gave him a Thouſand Diſquiets.*] *Thuanus* makes a Remark, very diſadvantageous to the Memory of our *Amyot*; for he accuſes him of having forgot the Favours, which the two Princes, his Pupils, had heaped upon him, and of having too much indulged the Seditious and Factious Rage of the Inhabitants of *Auxerre*. The Love of *Study*, together with old Age, induced him to reſide upon his Dioceſe; and he had not the Courage to oppoſe the Torrent of Rebellion (24). *Sebaſtian Roulliard* does not ſpeak of him in this manner; but inſinuates that he was ill uſed for his Fidelity. "Afflictions, *ſay he* (25), overtook him, "when he left the States of *Blois*, in the Year 1589; "for, through the Fury of the Troubles, which grew "hot at that time, he was robbed and plundered "half-way in his return to *Auxerre*; and, being ar- "rived there, he met with great Vexation from the "Inhabitants, and even his Clergy. At laſt, things "were pacified by Degrees; ſo that he continued "his Reſidence, but daily complained, that the Loſs "of his Eſtate, and of the Conveniencies he enjoyed "before, deprived him of the Pleaſure of Study." *Sammarthius* owns indeed, that ſome ill Reports had been ſpread, but does not believe them to be true (26).

[*H*] *He died the ſixth of* February 1593, *in his Seventy ninth Year.*] *Thuanus* applied himſelf to Perſons, very ill informed concerning *Amyot*, ſince they could neither tell him, when he died, nor at what Age. He ſays, in general, that *Amyot*, whoſe Death he places in the Month of *July*, 1591, was above ſixty Years of Age. *Sammarthius* places it in the Year 1592. "Triennio poſt Henricum tertium de- "teſtabili parricidarum coitione ſublatum è vivis ex- "ceſſit (27). —— *He died three Years after the de- "teſtable Aſſaſſination of* Henry III."

[*I*] *He attempted Poetry, but without Succeſs.*] *Sebaſtian Roulliard*, his Countryman, would doubtleſs have ſpared him on this Head, if it had been poſſible. Theſe are his Words: "As for the *Latin* "Poem, out of a Life of *Amyot*, begun by himſelf, and finiſhed by his Secretary (*b*). His Tranſlations are the beſt of his Compoſitions [*K*], though the Critics are not all favourable to him [*L*] upon this Account; ſome of whom tax him with Plagiariſm [*M*]. Others have imputed Avarice to him [*N*]. The Abbot *de St Real* was acquainted with many curious Particulars, which are not in the Life of *Amyot* (*i*). They are to be ſeen in *Moreri*'s Dictionary: Which is the Reaſon why I omit them, though I have no reaſon to queſtion the Truth of them. If I have any Supplement, or Explication, to add to what I have ſaid, I ſhall give them in the Remarks.

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(19) Will. du Peyrat's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Court, or an Enquiry into the Antiquities of the Chapel and Oratory of the King of *France*, pag. 102.

(20) Hiſt. Eccleſ. de la Cour. pag. 481.

(21) *There is therefore a Miſtake in the Table of* Fra-Paolo's *Tranſlation, where 'tis ſaid that* Amyot went Ambaſſador to *Rome*, under the Name of Biſhop of *Auxerre, in* 1562. *The Biſhop of* Auxerre *mentioned by* Fra-Paolo *was not* James Amyot.

(22) Will. du Peyrat, ubi ſupra, pag. 385.

* *The Ordinance is to be found in the 18th Book of* Henry's Code, *Tit.* 11. *Of the Holy Ghoſt.*

(23) Sauſ. de Script. Eccleſ. n. 52.

(24) Thuan. ubi ſupra.

(25) Roull. ubi ſupra. pag. 612.

(26) Sammarth. in Elog. p. 96.

(27) Id. ib.

What *Varillas* relates concerning *Amyot* is full of Falſhoods [*O*]. It ſtands in need of a Critical Examination; which may ſerve to diſembroil the Chaos.

“Poem, which he wrote on the Coronation of King *Charles* IX, it appears from thence that he had read *Horace* very much; but he would have proved a very indifferent Poet (28).” The Tranſlation of *Greek* Verſes into *French*, to which *Amyot* confined himſelf in his *Plutarch*, is frightful. *Charles* IX thought it very coarſe, *in which his Opinion was followed by many others* (29). *Roulliard* alledges a pitiful excuſe; “It is, *ſays he*, a Collection out of ſeveral Authors, and of different Styles.” His Opinion of *Amyot*'s Proſe is This. “In ſhort, *ſays he*, in my Opinion he was more happy in Tranſlation, than in Compoſition, either in *French* or *Latin*: for what I have ſeen of the latter appears to me ſtrangely heavy and dull.”

[*K*] *His Tranſlations are the beſt of his Compoſitions.*] The firſt was That of *The Loves of* Theagenes *and* Chariclea; but That of *Plutarch* procured him his chief Reputation.. He tranſlated likewiſe the Paſtorals of *Longus* (30), ſeveral Books of *Diodorus Siculus*, and ſome *Greek* Tragedies. The Ducheſs of *Savoy*, not finding in *Plutarch* the Life of *Epaminondas*, nor that of *Scipio*, deſired him to compoſe them. He did ſo; but they were not publiſhed. The Preface was ready. *Peter Matthieu* ſaw it (31), and therefore we may believe that *Amyot* had put the laſt hand to That Work. It is ſaid (32), that he was afraid to undertake a Tranſlation of *Philoſtratus*, though King *Henry* III. had often deſired him to ſet about it; but he excuſed himſelf, on the Impoſſibility; and, when that Prince, having ſeen the Verſion of *Vigenere*, ſaid to *Amyot*, *Well, Sir! you told me that* Philoſtratus *could not be tranſlated*; *Amyot* anſwered, that 'till then he had thought ſo.

[*L*] *The Critics are not all favourable to him.*] Mr *Baillet* has happily collected the Praiſes beſtowed upon *Amyot*'s Tranſlation of *Plutarch* (33). They are fine and greatly to his Credit. I add to them what I heard Mr *Conrart* ſay in the Year 1675, upon being told, that moſt of the Copies of *Plutarch*, tranſlated by the Abbot *Tallemant*, had been loſt in the burning of a Bookſeller's Warehouſe; *The Loſs*, ſaid he, *will be eaſily born, whilſt we have the Tranſlation of* Amyot, *which contains the fineſt Turns of our Language, and the beſt Oeconomy of our Periods.* Mr *Baillet* has not been leſs careful in collecting the Cenſures of That Work: He did not forget, that *Thuanus* commends This Tranſlator's Elegancy in his Verſions of *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, more than his Faithfulneſs. *Diodoro ac præcipue Plutarcho, licet majore plerumque elegantia quam fide, Gallice redditis* (34). But he forgot another Paſſage of *Thuanus*, mentioned by Mr *de Girac*. This laſt Author ſhall be the only one, whoſe Words I ſhall alledge, as a kind of Supplement to Mr *Baillet*'s fine Collection; “As for *Epitimius*, *ſays he* (35), who is killed in *Amyot*, whereas in the *Greek* Text it is only his Horſe; I ſhould rather think, that this famous Interpreter made uſe of Copies, different from thoſe at preſent, than ſay, as *Thuanus* does *, that *his Verſions are much more Polite, than Faithful, and that he was not ſo curious after Truth, as ſtudious, even to Affectation, of pleaſing delicate Ears.* I know that a learned † and wiſe Civilian charges him with not comprehending a fine Piece of Antiquity in relation to a Law of *Solon*; for, inſtead of ſaying, that this Lawgiver had boaſted ſomewhere in his Poems, that he had delivered the *Athenians* from all the Debts they had contracted, *and taken away the Wiſps of lighted Straw, or Pennons* ‖, *which were fixed in many Places on Mortgaged Lands*; he had rendered it *Removing the Boundaries* ‡, *which before ſeparated the Inheritances of the whole Territory of* Attica. I could add ſeveral Remarks on many Paſſages, in which good *Amyot* was miſtaken; but I cannot commend Mr *de Meziriac*, who ** in a Diſcourſe concerning Tranſlations, *after having praiſed the Wit, Labour, and Style of this Eloquent Tranſlator in his Verſion of* Plutarch, *pretends to ſhew that he has groſly miſtaken the Senſe of* Plutarch *in Two thouſand Places.*”

[*M*] *Some of whom tax him with* Plagiariſm.] We have ſeen (36), what *Brantome* ſays on this Subject. Let us now ſee what others have ſaid concerning it. “I have heard M. *Patin* ſay, *ſays Mr* Colomies (37), that he had it from the good Man *Lawrence Bochel* (who cauſed the Decrees of the *Gallican* Church, &c. to be printed) that *Amyot* had tranſlated *Plutarch*'s Lives from an old *Italian* Verſion in the King's Library, and that this was the Cauſe of the Faults he had committed. I cannot tell whether this Verſion be That, which *Baptiſt Alexander Jaconel* of *Rieti* made from the *Latin*, in the Year 1428, which is in the ſame Library.” *La Popeliniere* cenſures *Amyot* for denying *Turnebus* the Honour which was due to him, in not informing the Public of the Aſſiſtance he had from him in underſtanding the difficult Paſſages (38). He pretends, that *Turnebus* ſent him *whole Paſſages turned into* French, where *Amyot* was at a loſs, and that ſeveral other learned Men aſſiſted him with their good Advice (39).

[*N*] *Others have imputed Avarice to him.*] I have cited a long Paſſage of *Brantome* in the Remark [*A*], wherein *Charles* IX. taxes his Preceptor with this Fault. Another Book informs me, that *Amyot*, asking one Day a Benefice of a great Revenue, That Prince ſaid to him, *How now Maſter? you told me, that if you had a thouſand Crowns a Year, you would be ſatisfied; I believe you have that and more. Sir*, anſwered he, *Appetite comes by eating; and yet he obtained what he deſired* (40). You may if you pleaſe look upon the Two hundred thouſand Crowns, which he amaſſed, as an ambiguous Proof of his Avarice (41).

[*O*] *What* Varillas *relates — is full of Falſhoods.*] He ſays, that, the Court of *Francis* I. ſtopping ſome Hours at the Caſtle of a Gentleman of *Berry*, *Amyot*, who was Preceptor in the Gentleman's Houſe, “took Occaſion to preſent to his Majeſty an Epigram of four *Greek* Verſes, which he had juſt compoſed. The learned Perſons, who followed his Majeſty, were ſo well pleaſed with the Epigram, that it was thought improper to leave the Author of it any longer in a Province ſo remote from *Paris*. The King took him into his Service, and gave him a conſiderable Penſion (42). This whole Account is full of Tranſpoſitions of Circumſtances; for we have ſeen (43), that the good Effect which ſome of *Amyot*'s *Greek* Verſes, preſented to *Henry* II, produced, is attributed to *Michael de l' Hoſpital*. *Varillas* relates in another Book (44), that *Amyot*, Profeſſor of the *Greek* Tongue at *Bourges*, made himſelf known to the Court *by his Politeneſs in writing* French, and that *Bouchetel* and *Morvillier*, Secretaries of State, recalled him at that time to *Paris*, and, having brought him back *to the Communion of the Catholic Church, recommended him to Cardinal* de Tournon, *who procured him the Abbey of* Belloſane, *and the Commiſſion of Secretary to the Ambaſſador at* Venice, *from whence he ſet out to execute the King's Orders at* Trent, *in the Year* 1551. Thus this Hiſtorian refutes in one Book what he advances in another. He adds, that *Amyot* made a Speech before the Fathers of the Council: He gives the Subſtance of it, and quotes *Amyot's Speech*. But this Speech is a Chimera; *Amyot* only read the King's Proteſt. What Aſſurance is it to cite Manuſcripts, which ne-

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(*b*) *It is in* Latin, *and has not been printed; but* Sebaſtian Roulliard *Advocate in the Parliament of* Paris, *who read it, publiſhed an Abſtract of it in his* Antiquitez de Melun, pag. 605. *I have taken this Article from that Abſtract.*

(*i*) *See his* Treatiſe of the Uſe of Hiſtory. *Mr* Teiſſier *has borrow'd from it whatever relates to* Amyot, (*always citing his Author*) *in his Additions to the Elogies taken from* Thuanus, Tom. 2. pag. 152.

(28) Roulliard's Antiquities of Melun, pag. 614.

(29) Id. ib.

(30) *It is thus we muſt render the* Longi Poëmenica *of* Thuanus, *and not with* du Ryer, *The Poëmenics of* Longus.

(31) Bullart's Academy of Sciences, p. 168.

(32) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Proſopograph. Tom. 3. p. 2572.

(33) Jugem. des Sçavans, Tom. 4. p. 521. *See alſo Sir* Thomas Pope Blount, Cenſura celebr. Aut. pag. 521.

(34) Thuan. Hiſt. l. 100. pag. 405.

(35) Girac's *Reply to* Coſtar, § 51. pag. 438. Dutch *Edit.*

* Amiotus hic Poëmenica Longi, Heliodori Æthiopica, Diodori Siculi Hiſtorica, ac poſtremo Plutarchum in linguam noſtram Gallicam de Græcis verterat, ſed hunc majore elegantia quam fide, dum auribus noſtris placere, quam de ſenſus veritate laborare, potius exiſtimat. *Thuan. de Vita ſua, lib.* 5.

† L'Oiſeau, de l'action hypotheque (*Of Mortgaging*) book 3.

Ὅτι τῆς τε προὐποκειμένης γῆς ὅρους ἀνεῖλε πολλαχῆ πεπηγότας. Quod ſuſtulit ſigna oppignoratis Terris paſſim affixa.

‖ *Marks or Signals to diſtinguiſh mortgaged Lands.*

‡ *The Word* ὅρος *ſignifies indifferently a* Boundary, *and a* Mark of a Mortgage.

** Peliſſon's Hiſtory of the Academy, p. 232.

(36) *Above, in Remark* [*A*].

(37) Colomies, Opuſc. pag. 124. Edit. *of* Utrecht.

(38) Popelin's Compleat Idea of Hiſtory, lib. 3. pag. 259.

(39) Hiſtory of Hiſtories, pag. 359.

(40) Du Verdier's Proſopography, Tom. 3. pag. 2573.

(41) *See Remark* [*A*] *at the end.*

(42) Varillas's Hiſtory of Hereſy, lib. 10. pag. 310. Dutch Edit.

(43) *In Remark* [*C*].

(44) Varillas's Hiſtory of Henry II. lib. 2. pag. 204.

ver were in Being? *Varillas* affirms, that, at the Age of ten Years, *Amyot* was found ſick on the Road to *Paris* lying near a Ditch, and that “a Gentleman going by - - - - - - ſet him upon his Horſe, and carried him to a Houſe, which was near; where he recovered, and was charitably furniſhed with ſixteen Pence for the Expences of his Journey home; which he afterwards repaid with Uſury, by leaving to the Heirs of his Benefactor Sixteen hundred Crowns a Year (45).” 'Tis ſaid in *Amyot*'s Life, that he left Twelve hundred Crowns to the Hoſpital of *Orleans* (46). It was there that the Gentleman carried him; there he was cured; and there he received ſixteen Pence: It was to That Hoſpital that he *left afterwards a Legacy of Twelve hundred Crowns*, according to the Relation of Mr *de St Real* (47). Why does *Varillas* alter theſe Circumſtances, and exaggerate *Amyot*'s Gratitude? Why does he by his Hyperboles convert a meer Legacy of Three thouſand ſix hundred Livres into a yearly Rent of Six thouſand two hundred Livres (48). He tells us, that “*Amyot*, being a Student, changed his Religion, and was inſtrumental in ſeducing his School-Fellows; 'till, being diſcovered, he fled to *Bourges*; where the ſame *Volmar*, who had inſtructed *Calvin* and *Beza*, procured him a Tutor's Place in the Houſe of the Abbot of *St Ambroſe*, whoſe Nephews were committed to his Care; and choſe him aſtwards for his Succeſſor in teaching *Greek*. *Amyot* was ſoon weary of teaching publickly.” This Account cannot be reconciled with the Memoirs of *Amyot*'s Life, publiſhed by *Sebaſtian Roulliard*. We find there, that he was about Twenty three Years of Age, when he went to *Bourges* with the Abbot of *St Ambroſe*, who perſuaded him to undertake That Journey (49), and therefore he went thither in the Year 1537. Now *Volmar* left *Bourges* in the Year 1535 (50), and conſequently it was not He, who introduced him to the Acquaintance of that Abbot. We find in the ſame Memoirs, that *Amyot* filled the Profeſſor's Place *ten Years*, and that *he was often heard to ſay among his Friends, that he had a ſufficient Maintenance; that he had never enjoyed better Times than thoſe; and that he took great Delight in performing That Function, becauſe he was perfectly at his Eaſe* (51). And therefore 'tis not true, that he was ſoon weary of teaching publickly. *Varillas* obſerves, that *Bouchetel* and *Morvillier repreſented to him the Obſtacles, which his Hereſy threw in the Way of his Salvation, and of his Fortune, and that he profited by their Advice. Bouchetel* knew him, then, to be a *Calviniſt*; but would he, in ſuch a Caſe, have made him Tutor to his Children, as he actually did (52)?

(45) Varillas, ibid. p. 203.

(46) *See Remark* [*A*].

(47) St Real, of the Uſe of Hiſtory, pag. 75.

(48) Varillas, ibid. pag. 204.

(49) Roulliard's Antiq. of Melun. p. 607.

(50) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philoſoph. p. 233.

(51) Roulliard, ubi ſupra.

(52) Roulliard. ibid.

AMYRAUT (in *Latin* AMYRALDUS) (MOSES) Miniſter, and Profeſſor of Divinity, at *Saumur*, was one of the moſt illuſtrious Divines of *France*, in the XVIIth Century. He was of a good and ancient Family, which came originally from *Orleans* [*A*]; and he was born at *Bourgueil*, a ſmall Town of *Touraine*, in the Month of *September*, 1596. Having performed his Courſe of Philoſophy, he was ſent to *Poitiers*, to ſtudy the Civil Law; and applied himſelf to it with ſo much diligence, that he ſpent 14 Hours every day in Study. He became a Licentiate at the end of one Year (*a*), but proceeded no farther. Mr *Bouchereau* his Countryman, and Miniſter of *Saumur*, adviſed him to ſtudy Divinity. The reading of *Calvin's Inſtitutions* gave him an high Reliſh for this Advice; ſo that, having told his Father, who had his views in deſigning him for the Bar [*B*], that he paſſionately deſired to be a Miniſter, he obtained, though with much difficulty, the Conſent, which he deſired. He went to ſtudy at *Saumur*, under *Cameron*, who loved and eſteemed him in a particular manner; and he was for a conſiderable time a Student in Divinity. When he was admitted a Miniſter, he was preſented to the Church of St *Aignan*, in the Country of *Maine*, where having lived eighteen Months, he was invited to *Saumur*, to ſucceed Mr *Daillé*, who quitted his Poſt, to be Miniſter of *Charenton* (*b*). At the ſame time, that the Church of *Saumur* deſired to have him for their Miniſter, the Academical Council caſt their Eyes upon him for the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity. By this means the Church of *Rouen* and *Tours*, who at the ſame time requeſted him of the Synod, were diſappointed in their Hopes; for the National Synods had made a Regulation, that the Intereſt of the Univerſities ſhould be preferred to That of the Churches. His Admiſſion to the Profeſſorſhip in 1633, his Examination, which preceded it, and his Inaugural *Theſis, de Sacerdotio Chriſti*, procured him great Applauſe. Two other excellent Profeſſors were admitted with him, to wit, *Lewis Cappel*, and *Joſhua de la Place*: Thus the Univerſity of *Saumur* obtained, at one and the ſame time, Three Perſons who were extremely well qualified to make it flouriſh; for, beſides

(*a*) *In* 1616.

(*b*) *We find in Mr* Daillé's *Life, that he was invited to* Paris *in* 1626.

[*A*] *Of a good and ancient Family, which came originally from* Orleans.] His Great-Grand-father, *Stephen L'Amyrault*, was *Echevin** of *Orleans*, when the Common Law was reformed there in 1509. The Verbal Proceſs of the Common Law proves this. It is pretended, that the firſt of the Family was one *L'Amyrault*, on whoſe Tomb is inſcribed the Year 1370; which is to be ſeen in the Church of St *Pierre en Pont*. His Epitaph ſays, that he came from *Haguenaw*, a Town of *Alſace*, being Captain of a Company of *Reiſters* †. This Family were Benefactors to the Convent and Church of the *Minimes* at *Orleans*, and, as ſuch, their Coat of Arms is to be ſeen upon the Glaſs Windows of the Church. Let me obſerve, by the way, that an *Engliſhman* of the *Romiſh* Communion has very ill latiniz'd the Name of *Amyraut*; for, inſtead of *Amyraldus*, he calls him *Amurath*. This would be but a ſmall Fault; if, by a cold and mean Alluſion, he had not added to it a very ridiculous Doubt. “*Moſes* quidam *Amurath*, *ſays he* (1), Miniſter Salmurienſis, homo ſaltem nomine (neſcio an & progenie) Judæo-Turca - - - - - *One* Moſes Amurath, *Miniſter of* Saumur, *a Man, in Name at leaſt (if not by Birth) a Jew-Turk.*” In the following Pages he calls him *Amyrath*. The following Words of Father *Bartolocci* are very ſurprizing. “Moſes Amyraldus, *ſays he* (2), *videtur Judæus Converſus ad fidem*, ſcripſitque eruditiſſimam & Catholicam diſſertationem de Myſterio Trinitatis, deque vocibus, & phraſibus, quibus tam in ſcriptura, quam apud Patres explicatur. *Pars IV. quæ eſt* de Primordiis Revelationis Myſterii Trinitatis in veteri Teſtamento, *habetur in libro Wagenſeilii inſcripto*, Tela Ignea Satanæ, pag. 140. —— Moſes Amyraut *ſeems to have been* a *Jew*, converted to the Faith; *he wrote a moſt Learned and Catholic Diſſertation on the Myſtery of the Trinity, and on the Words and Phraſes, by which it is explained, both in Scripture, and in the Writings of the Fathers. The fourth Part, which treats of the Beginning of the Revelation of the Myſtery of the Trinity, in the Old Teſtament, is to be found in a Book of* Wagenſeilius, *entitled,* The Fiery Darts of Satan.” Thus the moſt famous Authors are ſometimes unknown to one another. Father *Bartolocci*, not knowing Mr *Amyraut*, otherwiſe than by a Piece adopted by Mr *Wagenſeil*, took him in earneſt for a converted *Jew*.

[*B*] *His Father, who had his Views in deſigning him for the Bar.*] He intended him for the Office of *Seneſchal*, poſſeſſed by his Uncle, who had no Children.

[*C*] *He*

* *A kind of Sheriff.*

† *The* German *Horſe, which came into* France, *during the Regency of* Catherine de Medicis.

(1) *In his Notes upon ſome Extracts of* Edward Dering's *Speeches. This was printed at* London, *in* 1659, *with a Piece intituled,* Nuncius à mortuis, (*News from the Dead*) *which is a Dialogue between the Ghoſts of* Henry VIII. *and* Charles I.

(2) Bartol. Biblioth. Rabin. Tom. 4. pag. 66.

beſides their great Learning, there was a wonderful Sympathy between them; which produced a very uſeful and happy Agreement; a Circumſtance, which deſerves the greater Commendation, as it is rarely to be met with in Academic Land. Mr *Amyraut* was deputed to the National Synod of *Charenton* in the Year 1631. This Aſſembly choſe him to make a Speech to the King, and to repreſent to his Majeſty their Complaints concerning the Infractions of the Edicts. He was particularly charged to order it ſo, as not to deliver his Speech upon his Knees [*C*], as the Deputies of the laſt National Synod had done; and he managed the Affair with ſo much Dexterity and Reſolution, that he was at laſt admitted to his Audience according to the ancient Uſage, and according to the Deſire of the Aſſembly (*c*). This Deputation brought him acquainted with Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who was ſurprized to find ſo many Qualities in him, which did not ſavour of the Man of Study. Some time after he publiſhed a Piece, wherein he explained the Myſtery of Predeſtination and Grace, according to the Hypotheſis of *Cameron* [*D*]. This Piece raiſed a kind of Civil War among the Proteſtant Divines of *France* [*E*]. They, who diſliked this Hypotheſis, decried it as a Novelty, eſpecially when they ſaw the great *du Moulin* join them; who inceſſantly accuſed Mr *Amyraut* of oppoſing the Synod of *Dort*, and of favouring *Arminianiſm*. The Authority of this famous Divine, who had gained the Veneration

(*c*) *The Speech, which he made to the King, is inſert'd in the* Mercure François *for* 1631.

[*C*] *He was particularly charged to order it ſo, as not to deliver his Speech on his Knees.*] Mr *Amyraut* was the Perſon, who repreſented the State of the Queſtion to the Synod; and who promiſed, at the ſame time, to make all poſſible Inſtances, if the Aſſembly gave him their Inſtructions about it. They charged him, then, to demand the Reſtoration of the Privilege, which the Miniſters had enjoy'd, of ſpeaking to his Majeſty ſtanding, as the Clergy of the Kingdom do. He went, accompanied by two Elders, to *Monceaux*, where the Court was; and, having applied to Monſ. *de la Vrilliere*, Secretary of State, he underſtood from him, that the King expected, that the Deputies of the Synod ſhould not addreſs him in any other Manner, than thoſe of the preceding Synod had done. There being always a Commiſſary on the part of the King in our Synods, he, who aſſiſted at that Time in the National Synod of *Charenton*, had notified to the King, what they had commiſſioned the Deputies to aſk; and, the Court not thinking fit to grant their Requeſt, Monſ. *de la Vrilliere* was ordered to declare this Reſolution immediately to the Deputies. Mr *Amyraut* repreſented to him very dextrouſly, and, at the ſame time, very reſpectfully, the Reaſons of the Synod; and above a Fortnight paſſed without any Conceſſions on either Side. Cardinal *de Richelieu*, being informed of this Miniſter's Reſolution, deſired to confer with him on that Subject, and endeavoured to perſuade him not to inſiſt any longer upon it. He anſwered, and replied to all the moſt plauſible Reaſons alledged by the Cardinal; at laſt an Audience was granted, in the manner Mr *Amyraut* deſired. The Cardinal diſcourſed ſeveral times with him concerning the Complaints of the Proteſtants, and was mightily pleaſed with this Miniſter's Wit and Behaviour.

[*D*] *He publiſhed a Piece, wherein he explained the Myſtery of Predeſtination, according the Hypotheſis of* Cameron.] A *Roman* Catholic of Quality occaſioned this Piece. He had dined, with Mr *Amyraut*, at *Bourgueil*, at the Biſhop of *Chartres*', to whom this Miniſter was very well known (3). After Dinner, he turned the Converſation upon a Matter of Controverſy, and charged the Proteſtants with teaching very harſh Doctrines concerning Predeſtination. Mr *Amyraut* took up the Diſpute; and there enſued a kind of Controverſy, in a very civil way, between him and the Biſhop of *Chartres*, on this difficult Queſtion. The Evening being come, the Company parted; the next Day Mr *Amyraut*, in his return to *Saumur*, called upon the Perſon of Quality (4), as he had promiſed, and found him well affected to the Proteſtant Religion, but very unſatisfied with the Doctrine of Predeſtination, as *Calvin* had explained it. He removed his Scruples, as well as he could; and, in compliance with the Gentleman's Requeſt, who deſired him to write a Treatiſe, in which the Subject might be more fully diſcuſſed, than it could be in Converſation, he wrote and publiſhed (5) the Book, which I am ſpeaking of. This is what I find in my Manuſcript Memoirs. Mr *Amyraut* does not give this Reaſon for compoſing this Piece; he aſſigns another, which is very different (6).

[*E*] *A kind of Civil War among the Proteſtant Divines of* France.] This Diſpute was conſiderable enough to furniſh out a large Article in the Eccleſiaſtical Annals of the Proteſtants. The *Engliſh* Author of a very curious Hiſtory of our Synods of *France* (7), can inform us of the Quarrels, which the Doctrine of Univerſal Grace raiſed there. I think it would be a cruel Reflexion, to ſay, that the firſt Movers of this Queſtion would have done it, though they had foreſeen all the Evils, which were to reſult from it: For where is the Uſe, the *Cui bono* of ſuch Diſputes? Will no Difficulty remain, provided the Hypotheſis of *Cameron* be admitted? Is it not true, on the contrary, that there never was a Remedy more palliative than that? Something farther is wanting to ſatisfy Reaſon; and if you ſtop here, you might as well have ſtaid where you was, and have ſtuck to *Particulariſm*. But granting, that *Univerſaliſm* has in ſome reſpects the Advantage, and furniſhes the beſt Anſwers to ſome Objections; is that ſufficient to counter-balance ſo many ſpiritual Crimes, which Factions draw after them, ſo many wicked Surmiſes, ſo many ſiniſter Interpretations, ſo many falſe Imputations, ſo much Animoſity, ſo many injurious Words, ſo many Libels, and ſo many other Confuſions, which attend upon ſuch a Theological War? If you believe, that *Particulariſm* damns People, you do well to refute it at any rate. I ſay the ſame to thoſe, who may take *Univerſaliſm* to be a damnable Hereſy. But, ſince, on either ſide, you do not pretend to refute a pernicious Opinion, diſpute no farther than is conſiſtent with the Public Peace; and be ſilent, when the Event ſhews you, that you divide Families, or that two Parties are forming. Continue not to rouze a thouſand Paſſions, which ought to be chained up, like ſo many wild Beaſts; and Wo be to you, if you are the Occaſion of their breaking their Chains. Thank Heaven, the Civil War of univerſal Grace, and ſome others, have not deſerved the Application, which was made, in my hearing, of ſome Verſes to ſchiſmatical Diſputes. The Preparations, and the auxiliary Troops of the two Leaders, were compared to theſe Decorations of the Stage.

A Reflexion on the Miſchiefs occaſioned by Theological Diſputes.

Aigles, Vautours, Serpens, Griffons,
Hippocentaures, & Typhons,
Des taureaux furieux, dont la gueule beante
Eût tranſi de frayeur le grand cheval d' Atlante,
Un char que des dragons étincelans d' éclairs
Promenoient en ſifflant par le vuide des airs,
Demogorgon encor à la triſte figure,
Et l' Horreur & la Mort s'y voyoient en peinture (8).

Theatric Horrors ſtrike upon the Sight;
Eagles and Vultures on the Scene ariſe;
With hiſſing Serpents, winged Griffins join;
Typhons *with* Hippocentaurs; *furious Bulls,*
Whoſe gaping Months affright Atlanta's *Horſe*;
A Car, by fiery Dragons drawn through Air,
With Demogorgon, *dreadful to behold;*
And Death and Horror cloſe the pictur'd Scene.

Mr *Amyraut* had the Satisfaction to be reconciled to his moſt violent Oppoſers; and, tho' it be not neceſſary, that the Great ſhould always interpoſe in pacifying

Quarrels;

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(3) *He was of the Houſe of* Etampes Valençai, *and was afterwards Archbiſhop of* Rheims.

(4) *At* Pleſſis-Rideau.

(5) *In* 1634.

(6) Præfat. Speciminis Animadverſ. de Gratia Univerſ.

(7) John Quick, *a* London *Miniſter: His Book, intituled,* Synodicon in Gallia reformata, *was printed in* Fol. 1692.

(8) *See* Æſchylus's *Life, written by* Tanaquil Faber.

ration of the People by many Books of Controverſy, made ſuch an Impreſſion upon ſeveral Miniſters, that, though Mr *Amyraut* had publiſhed a piece (*d*), in which he maintained, that *Calvin* had taught the Doctrine of Univerſal Grace, there appeared, in the National Synod of *Alençon* (*e*) ſeveral Deputies, charged with Inſtructions againſt Him; ſome of whom were ſo hot, that they talked of nothing but depoſing him [*F*]. The Deputies of the Provinces beyond the *Loire* were the moſt violent againſt him. Nevertheleſs the Aſſembly, having heard Mr *Amyraut*, who explained his Opinion in ſeveral Seſſions, and who ſolved the Difficulties, which were propoſed to him, honourably acquitted him, and enjoyned a Silence in reſpect to theſe Queſtions, which was not too well obſerved. Complaints were made againſt Mr *Amyraut*, in the National Synod of *Charenton*, in 1645, *for having acted contrary to the Regulation*, which impoſed this Silence; and He, in his turn, complained *of ſome Violations of the ſame Regulations* (*f*). The Aſſembly, *by an holy Amneſty*, ſuppreſſed theſe reciprocal Complaints, renewed the Injunctions of Silence, diſmiſt Mr *Amyraut* with Honour, and permitted him to oppoſe Foreigners, who ſhould write againſt him, in what manner the Synod of *Anjou* ſhould think proper. This Synod permitted him to publiſh an Anſwer to the three Volumes of *Spanhemius* concerning *Univerſal Grace* [*G*], which occaſioned many other Books (*g*). During the National Synod of the Year 1645, Mr *Amyraut* was deſired by the Aſſembly to enter into Conference with Mr *de la Milletiere*, in order to bring him over to His Opinion. The Conference continued ſeveral Days; but they did not come to a better Agreement in this oral Diſputation, than they had done in the Books, which they had already publiſhed againſt each other. The Doctrine of Mr *de la Place* concerning Original Sin was attacked in That Synod. Mr *Amyraut*, hearing of it, appeared before the Aſſembly, to plead the Cauſe of his Colleague, and ſhewed, in a long Diſcourſe, that the Doctrine complained of was not at all dangerous. This Action was not only extolled on account of the great Skill, with which the Doctrine of Mr *de la Place* was defended, but alſo becauſe Mr *Amyraut*'s only aim was the Intereſt of his Colleague; for his own Opinion in that point was not That of Mr *de la Place*. If I add, that Mr *Cappel* diſſented from the common Opinion of the Proteſtants concerning the Antiquity of the Points of the *Hebrew* Text, I ſhall have mentioned all the Complaints, which were made againſt the Academy of *Saumur*. But, notwithſtanding theſe Complaints, a great Number of Students in Divinity reſorted thither; which viſibly decreaſed, after the death of theſe three illuſtrious Profeſſors (*h*). Mr *Amyraut* ſurvived his two Colleagues, and had time to publiſh a very great

(*d*) *Intituled* A Specimen of *Calvin*'s Doctrine.

(*e*) *In* 1637.

(*f*) Blondel, Actes authent. p. 36.

(*g*) Blondel, ibid. pag. 40, 41.

(*h*) *They are the Authors of what is called* Theſes Salmurienſes; *a Work very much eſteemed.*

Quarrels; yet the Prince of *Tarentum* imploy'd his good Offices in this Reconciliation, in the Year 1649. I know not whether the contending Parties gave him more trouble, than the Marſhals of *France* meet with from the Differences, which fall under their Cogniſance; however he ſucceeded in his Undertaking (9), and perhaps better than a Synod would have done. As to his Reconciliation with Mr *du Moulin*, it was brought about by Mr *de Langle*, Miniſter of *Rouen*. Upon the firſt Propoſal, Mr *Amyraut* joyfully conſented, and offered to make all the Advances. He wrote a Letter firſt; which Mr *du Moulin* anſwered very civilly. Theſe letters were publiſhed for the Edification of the Church. They are dated in the Year 1655. Mr *Daillé* has inſerted Mr *du Moulin*'s Anſwer in one of his Books (10). Reaſon and Charity allow us to believe, that they, who made ſo much Noiſe, and raiſed ſo many Storms againſt a Doctrine, which they afterwards acknowledged to be harmleſs, and the Aſſerter of which ſeem'd at laſt, in their Opinion, a faithful Servant of God, did not die without being covered with Shame and Confuſion, at leaſt before the Throne of the Divine Majeſty, when they reflected on that mortifying Prepoſſeſſion, which had repreſented to them an innocent, inoffenſive, Hypotheſis, as a dangerous and ſhocking Doctrine. See what follows.

[*F*] *Some of whom were ſo hot, that they talked of nothing but depoſing him.*] Had they lived thirty or forty Years longer, they muſt have been greatly mortified; for, at laſt, that Doctrine, which they judged worthy of the moſt thundering Anathema's, was found to be that of the greateſt Men, who ſerved the reformed Churches of *France*. It was the Doctrine of Mr *Meſtrezat*, Mr *le Faucheur*, Mr *Blondel*, Mr *Daillé*, Mr *Claudé*, Mr *du Boſc*. The *Particulariſts* were ſoon obliged to acknowledge the Favourers of *Univerſal Grace* for their Brethren, and faithful Miniſters of *JESUS CHRIST*; and we have ſeen, that the *French* Miniſters, who fled into *Holland*, and who ſign'd a Formulary in the Synod of *Rotterdam*, in the Year 1686, were not obliged to make any Declaration, which reflected in the leaſt upon the Syſtem of Mr *Amyraut* (11). From whence, then, came the Clamour, which was raiſed at firſt againſt that Syſtem? Whence was it, that the ſame Doctrine was accounted at firſt a Monſter, and afterwards an innocent Thing? Muſt we not in this acknowledge the Finger of Original Sin, and the Influence of a thouſand dark Paſſions, which ought at laſt to produce in us, if we are of the Number of the Elect, a ſalutary and mortifying Humiliation? The worſt is, Men do not profit by what is paſt; every Generation betrays the ſame Symptoms, ſometimes in a greater, ſometimes in a leſs Degree. For we ſhall often have occaſion to ſay, when we ſee Caſes, Denunciations, Apologies, and Diſputations, take the Field, and whole Vollies of Books fly about;

Jamque faces & ſaxa volant—— (12).

Now Stones and Brands in rattling Vollies fly,
And all the Arms, which Fury can ſupply.

DRYDEN.

but let them alone; they will ſoon agree;

Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compreſſa quieſcunt (13).

Yet all theſe dreadful Deeds, this deadly Fray,
A caſt of ſcatter'd Duſt will ſoon allay,
And undecided leave the Fortune of the Day.

DRYDEN.

But this cannot always be ſaid. Things are ſometimes carried to extremities: *Res in nervum erumpit.*

[*G*] *This Synod permitted him to publiſh an Anſwer to* Spanhemius's *three Volumes concerning* Univerſal Grace.] It is entituled, *Specimen Animadverſionum in Exercitationes de Gratia Univerſali*; and was printed at *Saumur*, in 1648, in 4to. It is not true, as is inſerted in the *Melange Critique*, Tom. I. pag. 129, that Mr *Amyraut* attack'd *Spanhemius* firſt, nor that his Work is againſt the Theſis of *Spanhemius*. It is againſt a Work of the latter, in three Volumes; who was likewiſe the Aggreſſor.

(9) *He reconciled (in the Caſtle of* Thouars, October 16. 1649) *Mr* Amyraut *with Mr* de Champvernou, *Miniſter of* Taillebourg, *and with Mr* Vincent, *Miniſter of* Rochelle. *See the* Actes Authentiques, *by* David Blondel, pag. 85. *This* Champvernou *was called* William Rivetus, *and was the Brother of* Andrew Rivetus, *Profeſſor of* Divinity *at* Leyden.

(10) Vindiciæ Apologiæ, &c. pag. 418.

(11) *See Remark* [*M*] *of the Article* Daillé.

(12) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 1. ver. 154.

(12) Virgil. Georg. lib. 4. ver. 86.

great number of Books [*H*]. He wrote as readily as he ſpoke; and this is to ſay a great deal; for he had a ſurprizing Fluency of Tongue both in *Latin* and *French*, and as well in his Divinity Lectures, as in his Sermons. He knew the World; and could furniſh a great Variety of Matter for Converſation, in Points, which did not belong to his Profeſſion: And, doubtleſs, it was This, which contributed, as much, or more, than the Reputation of his Learning, to the Happineſs he enjoyed, all his Life, of being conſidered and reſpected by the great Men of the Contrary Religion. I have already obſerved, that Cardinal *de Richelieu* had a great Eſteem for him: I ſhall not add, that he communicated to him his Grand Deſign of re-uniting the two Churches [*I*]; for this would not be a ſufficient Proof of his great Regard for him; ſince the Cardinal had ſounded ſeveral Miniſters upon this Head, who were much inferior to *Amyraut*. The Marſhal *de Breze* [*K*], and the Marſhal *de la Meilleraie* [*L*], ought to be reckoned among the great Lords, who had a particular Eſteem for our *Amyraut*. Mr *le Goux de la Berchere*, firſt Preſident in the Parliament of *Burgundy* [*M*], and

[*H*] *He publiſhed a great Number of Book.*] He publiſhed his *Treatiſe of Religions* in 1631. Five Years after he publiſhed *ſix Sermons on the Nature, Extent, &c, of the Goſpel.* He publiſhed ſeveral other Sermons at different Times. His Book concerning *the Elevation of Faith, and Abaſement of Reaſon* appeared in 1641. The *Defence of* Calvin *in relation to the Doctrine of Abſolute Reprobation* appeared in *Latin* the ſame Year, and in *French* in the Year 1644. He begun his *Paraphraſes on the Scripture* in 1644. The *Epiſtle to the* Romans was paraphraſed firſt; he then proceeded to the other *Epiſtles*, and concluded with the *Goſpels*; but he had the Prudence, as well as *Calvin*, not to meddle with St *John's Revelation.* For fear his Name ſhould hinder the *Roman* Catholics from reading his Paraphraſes, he did not prefix it. In 1647, he publiſhed *an Apology for the Proteſtants*, a *Treatiſe of Free Will*, and another *De Seceſſione ab Eccleſia Romana, deque pace inter Evangelicos in negotio religionis conſtituenda.* He treated more amply afterwards of the Re-union of the *Calviniſts* and *Lutherans*, in his *Irenicon*, printed in the Year 1662. His Book, *Of the Calling of Paſtors*, was publiſhed in 1649. He preached on that Subject before the Prince of *Tarentum*, during the holding of a Provincial Synod, of which he was Moderator. This Prince deſired that the Sermon might be printed, and that the Matter might be more amply treated; for it was a great Common-Place Topick among the Miſſionaries. For which Reaſon Mr *Amyraut* not only printed his Sermon, but publiſhed alſo a compleat Treatiſe on that important Controverſy, and dedicated the whole to the Prince of *Tarentum*. His *Chriſtian Morality*, in ſix Volumes in Octavo, the firſt of which was printed in the Year 1652, was the Product of the Converſation he had often had with Mr *de Villarnoul*, a Lord of extraordinary Merit, and one of the moſt learned Gentlemen of *Europe*, who was Heir, in this reſpect likewiſe, to Mr *du Pleſſis Mornai*, his Grandfather, by the Mother's Side. There are but few Subjects, on which Mr *Amyraut* did not write. He publiſhed a *Treatiſe of Dreams*; two Volumes concerning the *Millenium*, in which he refutes an Advocate of *Paris*, whoſe Name is Mr *de Launai*, who was a great *Chiliaſt* * (14); the Life of the brave *la Noue*, ſurnamed *Bras de fer*, i. e. *Iron-Arm*: and ſeveral other Works which I omit, or mention in the Sequel of this Article. He mounted likewiſe on *Parnaſſus*; for he wrote a Poem, entituled, *St* Stephen's *Apology to his Judges*. This Work was attack'd from a Quarter, which was the leſs to be dreaded for certain Reaſons; for the Attack was not made by the Poets, but by the Miſſionaries. They pretended, that the Author had ſpoken *of the holy Sacrament of the Altar*, with the utmoſt Irreverence; but he publiſhed a Piece in his Vindication, of which I can ſay nothing more to the purpoſe, that what Mr *Daillé* has ſaid of it. Let us hear him then. "As for *St* Stephen's *Apology to his Judges*, which you (15) make uſe of to "convict us of having abuſed your Sacrament; if you "and they, who are ſo much offended at it, had vouchſafed to read the Letter, which the Author has publiſhed "in Vindication of himſelf, you, and they, would "not have entertained ſo ill an Opinion of it; nay, "you would perhaps have wondered at the Illuſion, "which your Prejudices had produced in your Mind, "in pretending, that what he has written againſt the "Extravagancy of Pagan Idolatry, was meant of you "and your Tranſubſtantiation (16)."

[*I*] *Cardinal* de Richelieu -------- *communicated to him his grand Deſign of re-uniting the two Churches.*] The Jeſuit, who diſcourſed with Mr *Amyraut* upon this Subject, was Father *Audebert*. Mr *de Villeneuve*, who was, at that time, the King's Lieutenant at *Saumur*, having engaged them to dine together, and with ſo much Complaiſance for the Miniſter, that he gave him the upper Hand of the Jeſuit, and that no Grace was ſaid at his Table for that Time, contrived it ſo, after Dinner, that they had a private Conference. It is true, Mr *Amyraut* declared he muſt neceſſarily communicate to his Collegues the whole Subject of their Conference. The Jeſuit told him, that the King, and his Eminence, had ſent him to make Propoſals of Agreement in Matters of Religion; and then gave him to underſtand, that they would ſacrifice to Peace the Invocation of Creatures, Purgatory, and the Merit of Works; that the Pope's Power ſhould be limited, and that, if the Court of *Rome* ſhould refuſe to conſent to it, they would take occaſion from thence to create a Patriarch; that the Cup ſhould be given to the Laity; and that, perhaps, they might give up ſome other Points, if they found a ſincere Inclination in the Proteſtants to Peace and Re-union. But he declared, when Mr *Amyraut* mentioned the Doctrine of the Euchariſt, that they were determined to make no Alteration in that; upon which the other replied, that, if ſo, there was an end of the Affair. Their Converſation laſted about four Hours; the Jeſuit would have exacted Secrecy. But Mr *Amyraut* proteſted to him, that, according to the Declaration he had made at firſt to Mr *de Villeneuve*, he muſt communicate their Conference to his Collegues; but that he would anſwer for their Diſcretion. That very Evening he gave them an Account of the Conference, and made no ſcruple to ſpeak of it, upon Occaſion, after the Death of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, and Father *Audebert*.

[*K*] *The Marſhal* de Breze —— *had a particular Eſteem for him.*] He was Governor of *Saumur*, and never went thither, without ſending to deſire Mr *Amyraut* to come and viſit him. He often invited him to his Caſtle of *Milly*, where he commonly reſided; and, when he received the News of the Death of his Son, the Duke of *Fronſac*, Admiral of *France*, he would always have Mr *Amyraut* near him. He received ſeveral Viſits from him in his laſt Sickneſs, and even recommended himſelf to his Prayers, and deſired to be prayed for in the Proteſtant Church of *Saumur*. He died in the Caſtle of *Milly*, in 1650.

[*L*] *The Marſhal* de la Meilleraie —— *had a particular Eſteem for him.*] When he was a Proteſtant, he ſtudied with Mr *Amyraut* at *Saumur*. He always remembred his old Acquaintance, and, the Day after his coming to *Saumur*, when the Court was there, in 1652, he ſent to compliment this Miniſter; who did not fail to go and pay his Reſpects to him immediately; and he was received by him, as uſual, with a thouſand Marks of Eſteem. This Marſhal hearing of Mr *Amyraut*'s laſt Sickneſs, ſent a Gentleman to ſee him, and to tell him, that if his Gout would have permitted him to bear the Motion of a Coach, he would have paid him a Viſit. He was at that time at his Caſtle of *Montreuil-Bellai*, four Leagues from *Saumur*.

[*M*] *Mr* le Goux de la Berchere —— *firſt Preſident in the Parliament of* Burgundy, &c.] He was exiled to *Saumur*, in the Year 1637, where he lived 'till the Year 1644. Being himſelf a Man of great Merit and Learning, he was fond of learned Men of all

* Millenarian.

(14) *See pag.* 129, 130. *of* Tom. I. *of* *M.* Ancillon's Melange Critique de Literature.

(15) *He addreſſes himſelf to Father* Adam.

(16) Daillé, Reply to two Books of Adam *and* de Cottiby, *part* 2. *chap.* 17. *p.* 108.

and the Intendants of the Province of *Anjou* [*N*], are of this Number; and we may add to them ſome Biſhops and Archbiſhops [*O*], and, above all, Cardinal *Mazarine* [*P*], whoſe Civilities to this Profeſſor were extraordinary. It is very probable he found Favour with this Cardinal, among other Reaſons, becauſe he declared openly for the Doctrine of the Obedience of Subjects to their Princes. His Declaration was of Uſe to the Court of *France*, during the Commotions, in which the Fortune of Cardinal *Mazarine* was ſo much toſſed; and, on ſeveral other occaſions, he ſhewed that it was his favourite Doctrine [*Q*], ſo far as to quarrel about it with a Miniſter of *Rochelle*

all Religions. He ſoon deſired to be acquainted with Mr *Amyraut*, and found him ſo worthy of his Friendſhip, that they became very intimate. They ſaw each other commonly twice a Week; ſo that it is no wonder, if this Miniſter could ſupply ſome Memoirs for the Life of that Preſident. It is not neceſſary to obſerve, that Mr *de la Berchere* died firſt Preſident of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, and that his Brother ſucceeded him; but it may be proper to remark, that the latter, deſiring to have his Brother's Life written, requeſted Mr *Amyraut* to communicate his Memoirs of the Particulars, which paſſed between them. Mr *Amyraut* ſent him, among other things, the Account of the Conference, which he had with Father *Audebert*; for, as ſoon as the Report was ſpread in *Saumur*, that he had a private Conference with that Jeſuit, Mr *de la Berchere* deſired an Account of it from his own Mouth. Mr *Amyraut* recited a great part of it, and deſired him not to mention it. That part of his Memoirs was not made uſe of in the Life of Mr *de la Berchere*, which was publiſhed. In 1648 he dedicated his Book, *Of the Rights of Marriage*, to that illuſtrious Magiſtrate, who was at that time firſt Preſident of *Grenoble*.

[*N*] *The Intendants of the Province of* Anjou.] He never failed to wait upon them, and they all returned him his Viſit, and ſhewed a great Reſpect for him. When he went, in 1658, to drink the Waters of *Bourbon*, he received many Civilities at *Bourges*, from Mr *Mandat*, Intendant of the Province. He might have lodged at that Intendant's Houſe, who deſired it. He dined, there, with the Archdeacon of *Bourges* and ſome other Clergymen.

[*O*] *Biſhops and Archbiſhops.*] See what is ſaid above (17), concerning the Biſhop of *Chartres*. I add here, that, in the Year 1662, the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, *Hardouin de Perefixe*, being gone to *Saumur*, on a Vow, which the Queen-Mother had made to *Our Lady des Ardilliers* (18), ſent Word to Mr *Amyraut*, that he ſhould be very glad to ſee him. Mr *Amyraut* was very ready to pay him a Viſit, but he let him know that he would not ſtyle him *My Lord*. The Archbiſhop, agreeing to this, received two Viſits from this Miniſter, diſcourſed two Hours with him every time, and treated him very civilly. They talked, among other things, of Mr *Daillé*'s Books, which the Prelate gave a good Character of, as to the Learning in them.

[*P*] *And above all Cardinal* Mazarine.] He came to *Saumur* in 1642, ſome Days after the King and the Queen-Mother; and, hearing, that a Sermon of Mr *Amyraut* had been much talked of at the Queen's Table, he deſired the Count *de Comminges* to tell that Miniſter, that he ſhould be very glad to be acquainted with him. This Count was Governor of *Saumur*, and had a great Affection for Mr *Amyraut*: He promiſed him, that the Proteſtants ſhould meet on *Sundays* as uſual, though the King was in the City; but he told him, at the ſame time, that they muſt omit their Aſſemblies the three firſt Days after the King's Arrival. This Promiſe was performed. Mr *Amyraut* preached on the *Sunday*, upon theſe Words, *Fear God, Honour the King*, and was heard by many Perſons of the Court, who were very well ſatisfied with him, and ſpoke of his Sermon with Commendation, not only to the King, as ſoon as they came from Church, but likewiſe in the Evening, during the Queen's Supper. It was then, that Cardinal *Mazarine* heard of this Sermon, and was informed by Mr *de Comminges* of the Zeal, which Mr *Amyraut*, and all the Proteſtants of thoſe Parts, had expreſſed for the King's Service in the laſt Troubles. The Cardinal was ſo deſirous to ſee this Miniſter, that he ſent him word of it the very next Morning, by the Judge of the Provoſtſhip: So that Mr *de Comminges*, finding that he was not the firſt Meſſenger, ſaid to Mr *Amyraut*, ſmiling: *I ſee, Sir, that we ſhall ſoon ſtand in need of your Interceſſion with his Eminence; which will convince you of the Uſefulneſs of the Invocation of Saints.* The firſt Viſit was very ſhort; but Mr *Amyraut* was deſired to come again the next Morning at eight o'Clock. The Cardinal ſhewed him all manner of Reſpect, made him ſit near the Fire, talked with him about State-Affairs, gave him a particular Account of all the Efforts, which were uſed in *Xaintonge*, to bring over the Proteſtants to the Prince's Party, and deſired him to endeavour to make all thoſe Attempts uſeleſs. Mr *Amyraut* aſſured him, that there was nothing to fear from the Proteſtants of *France*, and that he would write to ſeveral Miniſters of *Xaintonge*, to the end that the Synod, which they were ſpeedily to hold, ſhould authentically teſtify their Fidelity. The thing was performed. Two Days after this Audience, the Cardinal, under pretence of ſeeing the Proteſtant College, and the Library of Mr *du Pleſſis Mornay*, had another Conference with Mr *Amyraut*, in that Miniſter's Cloſet. They converſed about the Edict of *Nantes*, and, upon Mr *Amyraut*'s being aſked, whether *Henry* IV. was under an Obligation of making it, and anſwering yes, but that, if it were a meer Favour at firſt, the Obſervation of it would be indiſpenſible at preſent; the Cardinal told him, he was in the right, and cited this Maxim of Law, *quod initio fuit voluntatis, ex poſt facto fit neceſſitatis.* i. e. *What at firſt is Voluntary, becomes afterwards Neceſſary.* The Reader will be pleaſed to find here, what Mr *de Guitaut* (19) ſaid to Madam *de la Trimouille*, in the Queen's Preſence. "His Eminence is with the Miniſter *Amyraut*; they are both Eccleſiaſtics; but I am ſure they will not talk of Religion; his Eminence will not find his Account in it." During the five Weeks that the King was at *Saumur*, Mr *Amyraut* paid the Cardinal ſeveral Viſits, and was always kindly received by him; and, when he took his leave, his Eminence told him, that he might write to him directly, whenever he had any Requeſt to make, either for the Party in general, or for his own private Intereſts. He made no uſe of this Permiſſion, 'till after the Journey he took to *Paris*, about the end of the Year 1658. He ſaw his Eminence three or four times, who uſed him with great Civility. He ſpoke to him about the National Synod, the calling of which had been deſired ſo many Years. The Cardinal anſwered, that the Reaſons, which had prevented the granting of it, ſtill ſubſiſted, and deſired Mr *Amyraut* to write to him about it. He did himſelf the Honour to write twice to him upon this Affair. The Cardinal anſwered him with his own Hand; and afterwards, whenever he returned him an Anſwer, he made uſe of his Secretary's Pen, but ſigned *Proprio pugno*, with his own Hand.

[*Q*] *And, on ſeveral other Occaſions, he ſhewed, that it was his favourite Doctrine.*] In the Apology, which he publiſhed for the Proteſtants, in the Year 1647, he excuſes their Civil Wars in *France*, as well as he can; but he declares, nevertheleſs, "That he will not in any wiſe pretend to juſtify the taking up Arms againſt one's Prince, upon any Occaſion whatever, —— and that he always believed it much more agreeable to the Nature of the Goſpel, and the Practice of the Ancient Church, to have recourſe to no other Arms, than Patience, Tears, and Prayers (20). - - - - - And every time, *ſays he* (21), that I reflect upon the Hiſtory of our Fathers, I cannot help ſenſibly regretting, that they did not crown ſo many other fine Virtues, of which they have left us Examples, with an Imitation of the firſt Chriſtians, in that invincible Patience, which they ſhewed under the Perſecutions of the Emperors." A *Latin* Piece (22) which he publiſhed two Years after, ſhews how he maintained his Cauſe againſt the Complaints of a Miniſter of *Rochelle*, who would have done better not to have taken notice of Mr *Amyraut*'s Book, than to have taken Offence at it. The Book entituled, *Of the Sovereignty of Kings*, publiſhed

(17) *In Remark* [*D*].

(18) *In the Church of the Fathers of the Oratory, at the End of a Suburb of* Saumur.

(19) *He was Captain of the Queen's Guard, and Uncle to M.* de Comminges.

(20) Apology for the Proteſtants, *pag.* 75.

(21) Ibid. pag. 76.

(22) *Intituled*, Adverſus Epiſtolæ Hiſtoricæ Criminationes Moſis Amyraldi Defenſio.

Rochelle (*i*): but this did not hinder him, at the ſame time, from declaring, that, in Caſes of Conſcience, a King is not to be obeyed [*R*]. I need not ſay, that he was much reſpected by the great Proteſtant Lords. This is ſufficiently evident of itſelf. He quarrelled with a Miniſter of *Saumur*, whoſe Name was Mr *d'Huiſſeau*, and did not meet with all the Satisfaction, which he expected, in the National Synod of *Loudon* (*k*). It is thought, that his great Reputation was prejudicial to him on this occaſion; like a great Tree, which ſhades the little ones, and whoſe Branches muſt therefore be lopped. Beſides, the Relations of thoſe, who had declared againſt the Doctrine of Univerſal Grace, favoured his Enemy as much as poſſible. He would, 'tis probable, have been one of thoſe, who ſat at the Table in This Synod [*S*]; to which he was deputed by his Province, if he had not been thought to be perſonally concerned in the Affairs of Mr *d'Huiſſeau* with the Church of *Saumur*. He died very chriſtianly on the Eighth of *January* 1664 (*l*), and was interred with all the Academical Ceremonies. He had a great Command of Mind in his laſt Sickneſs, which gave him an Opportunity of making ſeveral very edifying Diſcourſes, and of giving ſtrong Proofs of his Faith, in the Preſence of many Perſons of both Religions. Among his other Virtues, his Charity to the Poor ought to be obſerved. He gave them the Salary of his Miniſtry during the Ten laſt Years of his Life. He gave Alms without diſtinction of Catholics and Reformed: the Mendicant Friars, who applied to him, never went away with empty hands; and he recommended to Mr *Hervart* (*m*) the Recollects of *Saumur*, when they had recourſe to the King's Treaſury for rebuilding their Cloyſter, which was burnt: They thanked him for the good Effect of his Recommendation. He left but one Son, who was a very learned Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, and who fled to the *Hague*, after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*. He had a Daughter, who died in 1645, Eighteen Months after her Marriage with *Bernard de Harnont*, who was afterwards the King's Advocate at *Saumur*. The Grief, which this Loſs threw his Wife into, induced him to write a Treatiſe *of the State of the Faithful after Death*; which he dedicated to her. It was printed the Year after. The Reader will be pleaſed to ſee here the Diſtich which Mr *du Boſc* wrote with his own hand under a *Print* of Mr *Amyraut*. It is an Alluſion to what the *Jews* have ſaid in praiſe of the famous Rabbi *Moſes Maimonides*.

A Moſe ad Moſem par Moſi non fuit ullus:
More, ore, & calamo, mirus uterque fuit.

From Moſes *down to* Moſes, *none*,
Among the Sons of Men,
With equal Luſtre ever ſhone,
In Manners, *Tongue*, *and Pen*.

It

(*i*) Philip Vincent.

(*k*) *In* 1659.

(*l*) Konig *in his* Biblioth. *and* Witte *in his* Diarium, *place his Death* (*wrong*) *in* 1665.

(*m*) *He was Comptroller of the* Finances.

publiſhed in 1650, on occaſion of the Tragical Death of *Charles* I. King of *England*, is a yet ſtronger Proof of Mr *Amyraut*'s Opinion in relation to Subjects taking up Arms againſt their Prince. There was no room to be ſilent; for the Catholics inceſſantly imputed this Tragedy to the Presbyterian Party, and drew a thouſand odious Conſequences from it againſt the Proteſtants of *France*. Mr *Amyraut* thought proper not to leave the Injuſtice of theſe Reproaches unanſwered. During the Troubles of the laſt Minority, This Miniſter conſtantly exhorted the People, in his Sermons, to Obedience; and, being conſulted in what manner to behave, he anſwered, *That the only way was to adhere to the Royal Party*. It is probable that the Perſons, who conſulted him, were ſincere, and did not dive into the Artifice, which prevails in theſe kinds of Confuſions. Rebels ever pretend, that their Aim is only to remedy Abuſes, and drive away evil Counſellors from about their Maſter's Perſon. One muſt be very weak to be catched in this Trap, and to want the Opinion of a Caſuiſt. The Diſtinction of the Pope and the Holy See is not ſo groſs a Sophiſm. Laſtly, Mr *Amyraut* ſpoke his Thoughts fully in the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his *Latin* Paraphraſe on the *Pſalms*. It is there that he maintains and lays down, that, according to the true Principles of Chriſtianity, Subjects ought not to take up Arms againſt their Sovereigns. He declares openly for that which is called *Paſſive Obedience*. That Work was dedicated to *Charles* II. King of *England*, ſoon after That Prince's Reſtauration. The Author had made himſelf acquainted at *Paris* with one of that Prince's Chaplains, in the Year 1658. Two Years after, he expreſſed to him his Joy for the King's Reſtauration, and congratulated him on the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. He was anſwered, that the King thanked him. This encouraged Mr *Amyraut* to dedicate to him his Paraphraſe on the *Pſalms*, but not 'till he knew from the Biſhop of *Durham*, whether That Monarch would be pleaſed with it.

[*R*] *That, in Caſes of Conſcience, a King is not to be obeyed.*] This appeared, when the *Seneſchal* of *Saumur* notified to him an *Arrêt* of the Council of State, which ordered all the Proteſtants to put out Hangings before their Houſes on *Corpus Chriſti* Day. He communicated it to him, on the Eve of that Feaſt, and deſired him to order the Proteſtants to conform to it, for fear their Diſobedience ſhould excite the People againſt them. Mr *Amyraut* anſwered, that, on the contrary, he was going to exhort his Flock, to put out no Hangings, and that he would be the firſt, who ſhould refuſe it; That he had always preached up Obedience to the Superior Powers; but that he never meant it in ſuch things as concern the Conſcience. Leaving the *Seneſchal*, he went from Houſe to Houſe to exhort his Pariſhioners rather to ſuffer any thing, than to obey that *Arrêt*. The *Seneſchal* cauſed it to be publiſhed with Sound of Trumpet; the Conſiſtory met, thanked Mr *Amyraut* for his Conduct, and charged the Elders to take care that there ſhould be no Hangings put out. The King's Lieutenant refuſed to aſſiſt the *Seneſchal*, and prevented the Tumult, which began to be raiſed. The *Arrêt* was revoked ſome time after.

[*S*] *He would, 'tis probable, have been one of thoſe, who ſat at the Table, in this Synod.*] If all my Readers were *French* Proteſtants, this Remark would be unneceſſary, but it will not be ſo to other Readers. In our Synods of *France* there were commonly four Perſons, who formed what was called *the Table*. One of theſe four Perſons was the Preſident of the Company, and was called the *Moderator*, the other three were the Moderator's Aſſiſtant, the Secretary, and the Collector of the Acts.

[*T*] I

It was ſome Yeas after the Death of this Profeſſor, that his Picture was engraved by his Son's Care *(n)*.

Some Particulars concerning Mr *Amyraut* are to be found in a Work entituled *Melange Critique de Literature recueilli des Converſations de feu Mr* Ancillon *(o)*.—— *A Critical Miſcellany of Literature, collected from the Converſation of the late Mr* Ancillon; by which it appears, among other things, that a Paſſage in a Letter of Mr *Balzac (p)*, wherein the Author of an Apology is much praiſed, is to be underſtood of him. We find alſo there, that *Patin* eſteemed him very much: But take notice, that what is diſobliging in *Patin*'s Letter does not relate to the Miniſter of *Saumur*. I ſhall take notice of this in a Remark, as alſo of ſome other trifling Miſtakes [*T*].

(n) *Taken from the* Memoirs *communicated by* M. Amyraut *the Son. Whatever is not founded upon publick Proofs, in the Remarks of this Article, is taken from These Memoirs*

(o) *Printed at* Baſil *in* 1698.

(p) *The firſt to Mr* Conrart.

[*T*] *I ſhall take Notice of it in a Remark, as alſo of ſome other trifling Miſtakes.*] *Patin* ſays, in his Hundred and thirteenth Letter of the firſt Edition (23), " That there was a Phyſician of *Nyort*, in 1663, " whoſe Name was Mr *Luſſand*, who propoſed to " publiſh an Apology for the Phyſicians, againſt thoſe, " who accuſed them of truſting too much to Nature: " he ſays, that This Phyſician had principally in view " Mr *Amyraut*, a Miniſter of *Saumur*, who caſt this " Reflexion upon them in the laſt Volume of his *Chriſtian Morality*." - - - - He ſeems (24) not to be very well ſatisfied with Mr *Amyraut* on this Account; for he adds, " If Mr *Amyraut* will be pleaſed to give " himſelf the trouble to anſwer that Book, he is " one who can ſay fine Things upon the Occaſion, " which *Luſſand* is unacquainted with, and which " are not in his Book. I have ſuggeſted ſome " of them to him, *ſays he*, and among others, " fine Paſſages, and good Authorities; but he pays " no Regard to them." This plainly diſguſted him; for he afterwards expreſſes himſelf thus: " And indeed he is in a Province, which is not far from " *Gaſcony*, where they are generally more vain than " learned, &c." I omit the reſt of the Paſſage as it ſtands in Mr *Ancillon*, which is very diſobliging; but I muſt inform my Readers, that the Perſon, ſo much abuſed by *Patin*, is the Phyſician of *Nyort*, and not the Divine, who makes the Subject of this Article. I muſt alſo acquaint them, that the *Treatiſe of Religions againſt thoſe who think them indifferent*, is not Mr *Amyraut*'s only Book, of which there have been two Editions (25). I am very certain, that the Apology for the Proteſtants was printed more than once; that the Treatiſe of Predeſtination, printed in 1634, was reprinted at *Saumur* in the Year 1658, with the Specimen of *Calvin*'s Doctrine, and the Reply to Mr *de la Milletiere*, concerning his offer of a Friendly Conference to examine his Method for procuring a Reunion; that theſe two laſt Treatiſes had been publiſhed in the Year 1638, and that the Bookſeller, who reprinted them in 1658, with the Treatiſe of Predeſtination, declares (26), that he republiſhes theſe three Books, becauſe they were not to be met with. I am aſſured likewiſe, that eleven of *Amyraut*'s Sermons on ſeveral Texts of Scripture were reprinted in the Year 1653; that the Life of *la Noüe* was reprinted at *Leyden*; that the *Theſes* of This Profeſſor, and thoſe of his Colleagues, were reprinted at *Geneva*; and that his Treatiſe of the State of the Faithful after Death, was printed at *London* in *Engliſh*, and at *Utrecht* in *Dutch*.

(23) Melange Critique de Literature, Tom. 1. p. 133, 134.

(24) Patin, Letter 114. Edit. 1.

(25) *As is affirmed by the Author of the* Melange Critique, pag. 132. *The firſt is in* 1631. *and the ſecond in* 1652.

(26) *In the Epiſtle dedicatory to the Students in* Divinity.

AMYRUTZES *(a)*, a Peripatetic Philoſopher, born at *Trebizond*, was greatly eſteemed in the Court of the Emperor *David*, his Maſter, and wrote in Favour of the *Greeks* againſt the Deciſions of the Council of *Florence (b)*; but he loſt all his Reputation by his Apoſtacy. He was one of thoſe, who accompanied the Emperor *David* to *Conſtantinople*, when *Mahomet* II. cauſed him to be brought thither, after the taking of *Trebizond*, in the Year 1461. This Philoſopher, being gained over by the Promiſes of the *Sultan*, renounced Chriſtianity, and turned *Turk*, with his Children; one of whom, under the Name of *Mehemet-beg*, tranſlated ſeveral Books of the Chriſtians into *Arabic*, by order of *Mahomet* II. This Prince gave *Amyrutzes* conſiderable Employments in the Seraglio, and converſed ſometimes about Learning and Matters of Religion with Him, or with *Mehemet-beg (c)*. According to *Allatius*'s manner of Expreſſion, one would be apt to take this Philoſopher for *Groom of the Stole* * to the Emperor of *Trebizond* [*A*]. I muſt not forget to obſerve, that *Amyrutzes* did not *then* begin to be in Eſteem with Princes, when the Emperor of *Trebizond* honoured him with his Affection; for he had been a long time greatly reſpected in the Court of *Conſtantinople*. He was one of the chief learned Perſons, whom the Emperor *John Paleologus* conſulted about his Journey into *Italy (d)*, and he accompanied that Emperor in his Expedition *(e)*, as he himſelf relates *(f)* in his Account of what had paſſed in the Council of *Florence*, and which he inſcribed to *Demetrius* Governor of *Napoli di Romania*. He affirms, among other things, that the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* was ſtrangled during the Seſſion of that Council, and that the Phyſicians atteſted the Fact *(g)*.

(a) *He is called, by miſtake,* Amyruta, *in the Supplement to* Moreri's *Dictionary.*

(b) Leo Allatius de Perpet. Conſ. lib. 3. cap. 3. pag. 935, & 1379.

(c) Guillet's Hiſt. of Mahomet II. Tom. 1. p. 441. & Tom. 2. p. 136.

* Protoveſtiarius.

(d) The Political Hiſtory of Conſtantinople *names him before* Beſſarion, *and* Gemiſtius. *See* Allat. de Perpet. Conſenſ. p. 883.

(e) *This Emperor arriv'd at* Venice, Feb. 8. 1438.

(f) Apud Allatium, pag. 886.

(g) Id. ib. pag. 908.

[*A*] *According to* Allatius'*s manner of Expreſſion, one would be apt to take him for Groom of the Stole to the Emperor.*] *Allatius*, in the Nine hundred and thirty ſixth Page of his *Perpetuus conſenſus*, ſpeaks only by Conjecture of the Book, which this *Amyrutzes* compoſed againſt the Council of *Florence*; but, in the Additions, he tells us, that the Work itſelf was ſent him from the Iſle of *Chio*: Afterwards he ſays, that *Dorotheus*, Archbiſhop of *Monembaſa*, diſcovers the Condition of this Perſon *, *cujuſnam conditionis vir iſte fuerit*. He inſerts the Paſſage of *Dorotheus* in *Greek* and *Latin*. The *Greek* imports, that *Mahomet* cauſed the Emperor *David*, and ſome other Perſons to embark for *Conſtantinople*, and among others τὸν φιλόσοφον' Αμυρύτσην τὸν πρωτοβεςιάειον, *Philoſophum Amyrutzium Protoveſtiarium*. Thus *Allatius* tranſlates and Points. And therefore doubtleſs he believed, that *Amyrutzes*, and the *Proveſtiarius*, were one and the ſame Perſon, and that he underſtands of him the Sequel of the Paſſage of *Dorotheus*, which informs us, that this Perſon was firſt Couſin of *Mahomet Baſſa*, that he had betrayed the Emperor *David*, and that, after the taking of *Trebizond*, he received great Honours from his Couſin, and from *Sultan Mahomet*; that he was Cunning, Tall, Well-ſhaped, a good Archer, and qualified for every thing. His Relation to *Mahomet* aroſe from his Mother's being *Mahomet*'s Mother's Siſter; theſe two Siſters were Daughters of *Jagrus*. I give no great Credit to this Account; for I find that Mr *Guillet*, citing the *Turco-Græcia* of *Cruſius*, ſays, that the Name of the *Protoveſtiarius* (*Groom of the Stole*) of the Emperor of *Trebizond* was *George*; that he was of a graceful Mien, and had ſuch great Skill in Archery, that he ſurpaſſed therein all the *Greeks* and *Turks*; that he was the Son of a Daughter of a Chriſtian Prince, called *Jagrus*, who had married his other Daughter in *Servia*, where ſhe had a Son, who was the Re-

* In Synopſi Hiſtoriarum.

negado *Machmut* (1). I would willingly therefore place a *Comma*, in the Paſſage of *Dorotheus*, 'Αμυρῦτσιν, in order to make This Philoſopher, and the *Protoveſtiarius*, whom *Allatius* confounds together, Two Perſons.

(1) Guillet, Hiſtory of *Mahomet* II. Tom. I. pag. 439.

AMMONIUS. Many Writers have been called by this Name. *Athenæus* cites two Works of a very different Nature, compoſed by an Author, whom he calls AMMONIUS. One of them treats of *Altars and Sacrifices* (a); the other of the *Courtezans of Athens* [*A*]. He does not poſitively ſay, that theſe two Books were wrote by the ſame *Ammonius*; neither does he ſay any thing, which intimates the contrary; beſides he makes no mention of the Author's Country, nor of the Age, in which he lived. We are informed by another Author, that he, who wrote the Book concerning *Altars and Sacrifices*, was a Native of *Lampria* (b) [*B*]. *Suidas*, ſuch as we have him at preſent, ſpeaks only of *Ammonius Saccas*: but, without doubt, he mentioned an *Ammonius* different from this; for what we find in his Dictionary cannot be applied to one and the ſame Perſon. It is impoſſible, that the ſame *Ammonius* ſhould have abjured the Chriſtian Faith, and have ſucceeded *Ariſtarchus* in the School of *Alexandria*, before the Reign of *Auguſtus*. Theſe are the two Particulars we find in *Suidas* concerning *Ammonius*. Was he ſo ignorant as to believe they were not inconſiſtent? I ſee no probability of it. One Author (c) conjectures, that there is an *Hiatus* in this Paſſage (d), and that *Suidas* might have ſpoken in this *Hiatus* of the *Ammonius* mentioned by *Athenæus*. If this were true, we muſt ſay, that the Treatiſe of Sacrifices and Altars, or that of the Courtezans of *Athens*, or both, were written by a Grammarian, who was *Ariſtarchus*'s Succeſſor. The ſecond AMMONIUS, I propoſe to ſpeak of, is a Philoſopher of *Egypt* (e). *Plutarch*, whoſe Preceptor he was, makes frequent mention of him. See particularly the 70th and 385th Pages of his *Moral Works* in the Edition of *Francfort* 1620. But it is falſely pretended in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, that he ſpeaks of him *with Praiſe, particularly towards the end of the Life of* Ariſtotle [*C*]. *Moreri* is not more ſucceſsful in his Account of AMMONIUS the Son of *Hermeas* [*D*]; to whom he attributes, among other Works, a Book compoſed in the Reign of *Valentinian*. That *Ammonius* was Son and Brother of a Philoſopher (*f*). The Learned believe, that he flouriſhed in the Reign of *Anaſtaſius*, in the beginning of the VIth Century; and that it is He who compoſed the Commentaries we have, under the Name of *Ammonius*, on ſome Treatiſes of *Ariſtotle*, and particularly on his Book *de Interpretatione* (g). The Author of this laſt Commentary ſays, at the beginning, that he was a Diſciple of *Proclus*. It is to him that ſome aſcribe the Life of *Ariſtotle*, which goes under the Name of *Ammonius* (h). He is the ſame, no doubt, who was refuted by *Zacharias Mitylenenſis*: See the Remark [*H*] of the following Article. He is likewiſe the ſame, of whom *Jonſius* (i) underſtands a Paſſage of *Photius*, in which he mentions One *Ammonius*, who took great Delight in explaining the old Poets, and making Critical Remarks on the *Greek* Language (k). This induces ſome to believe, that the Treatiſe *Of the Difference of* Greek *Words* ought to be aſcribed to him (*l*). But Mr *Menage* ſays, that *Herennius Philo* was the Author of it (m). The ſame *Ammonius*, to whom the abovementioned Paſſage of *Photius* relates, had an Aſs of a wonderful

(a) Athen. lib. 11. pag. 476.

(b) *It was a Town in Attica.*

(c) Jonſius, de Scriptor. Hiſtor. Philoſ. pag. 169. *and in the Index.*

(d) Geſner, in Biblioth. *cites it without intimating, that he is ſenſible of the Abſurdity of it.*

(e) Eunapius Proëm. Vit. Soph.

(*f*) Suidas in Ἑρμείας. *See (above) the Article* HERMIAS

(g) Voſſius de Philoſ. Sectis, p. 90. & 113. Labbé, de Script. Eccl. Tom. I. pag. 59.

(h) Jonſius, Hiſt. Philoſ. pag. 300.

(i) Id. ib.

(k) Photii Biblioth. n. 242. pag. 1040.

(*l*) Jonſius, ubi ſupra.

(m) In Laërt. lib. 2. n. 5.

[*A*] *Of the Courtezans of* Athens (1).] They, who, in theſe latter times, have wrote Books entituled *The Harlotry of* Rome, or of ſome other great City, were not original Authors. Antiquity ſaw many Works of this Nature, which are happily loſt. Not one of them is come down to us.

[*B*] *We are informed by another Author, that he who wrote the Book — was a Native of* Lampria.] We are not indebted to *Harpocration* for this Information, as Mr *Lloyd* affirms, but to the Author of the Book *De differentiis vocum*. *Voſſius*, and ſeveral others, call him *Ammonius*. If Mr *Lloyd* had tranſlated *Voſſius* right, he would not have ſaid, *Ammonius hiſtoricus* ἐν τῷ περὶ βωμῶν καὶ θυσιῶν *citatur ab Harpocratione in* 'Αμαζόνιον, *uti & in voce* 'Εσχάρα, *Ex quo etiam diſcimus Lamprienſem fuiſſe, ut Geſnerus falſo Alexandrinum vocet.* —— Ammonius *the Hiſtorian, in his* Treatiſe of Altars and Sacrifices, *is cited by* Harpocration *under the Words* 'Αμαζόνιον *and* 'Εσχάρα; *who informs us likewiſe, that he was of* Lampria; *ſo that* Geſner *is miſtaken in ſaying that he was of* Alexandria. This is one of the Faults of the Abbreviators, which I have ſo often mentioned. *Voſſius*, having ſaid, as far as the Word 'Εσχάρα, what I have juſt now quoted from *Lloyd*, adds ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ θυσιῶν *ab Ammonio lib. de differ. voc. in* βωμὸς. *Ubi &* Λαμπτρεὺς *fuiſſe dicitur, ut Geſnerus falſo Alexandrinum vocet* (2). *Lloyd*, being unwilling to tranſcribe the whole Paſſage of *Voſſius*, and having skipt a Line of it, fell into a great Miſtake; for it is not true, that *Harpocration* informs us, that *Ammonius*, whom he cites, was a Native of *Lampria*. If he had a mind to have omitted any part of it, he ſhould have left out the laſt Line, in which *Voſſius* tells an Untruth. *Geſner* does not ſay, that *Ammonius*, the Author of the Book concerning Sacrifices, was an *Alexandrian*. There is a third Paſſage of *Harpocration* (3), in which our *Ammonius* is cited; 'Αμμώνιος ἐν τετάρτῃ περὶ Βωμῶν γράφει ταῦτα; Ammonius *in the fourth Book of* Altars *writes theſe things*. The learned *Mauſſac* has thus corrected the Text of *Harpocration*; he puts βωμῶν (*Altars*) inſtead of κώμων (*Towns* or *Villages*), becauſe no one ever ſaid that this Author wrote a Book, *De oppidis vel pagis*. *Valeſius* approves of this Correction (4). One might conjecture, that, ſince *Ammonius* wrote a Book concerning the Courtezans of *Athens*, he likewiſe compoſed one of *Feaſts* or *Revellings*, περὶ κώμων; upon which Suppoſition, there will be no occaſion to pretend, that, according to the common reading of *Harpocration*, the Book of *Ammonius* related to the Towns, or the People, of *Attica*; Yet *Mauſſac*'s Correction appears to me highly probable. It appeared ſo to *Voſſius*, who mentions it as his own. *Valeſius* cites a Paſſage of the Scholiaſt upon *Hermogenes*, in which the Author of the Book concerning *Altars* is called *Ammonius* of *Lampria* (5).

[*C*] *It is falſly pretended in* Moreri'*s Dictionary, that* Plutarch *ſpeaks of him with Praiſe, particularly towards the end of the Life of* Ariſtotle.] This Life of *Ariſtotle* is a Chimera. *Moreri* ſhould have ſaid *Themiſtocles*, and not *Ariſtotle*. Now it is true, indeed, that *Plutarch* mentions *Ammonius* at the end of the Life of *Themiſtocles*; but it is not true, that he praiſes him. He ſpeaks neither well nor ill of him.

[*D*] Moreri *is not more ſucceſsful in his Account of* Ammonius *the Son of* Hermeas.] He has committed at leaſt three or four groſs Faults. I. He is ignorant, that *Proclus* flouriſhed in the Reign of *Theodoſius* the Younger, and a long time after; for, if he

(1) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 567.

(2) Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græcis, pag. 502.

(3) In Voce θόλος.

(4) Henr. Valeſius, Notis in Notas Mauſſaci, pag. 111.

(5) Ibid.

wonderful Taſte for Poetry; for he would abſtain from eating his Provender and ſuffer hunger, rather than interrupt his Attention, upon the reading of a Poem (*n*). The third AMMONIUS, of whom I intend to ſpeak, was a Poet, who lived in the Vth Century. He compoſed a Poem on the War with *Gainas* King of the *Goths*, and, upon his repeating it before the Emperor *Theodoſius* the younger, was greatly applauded (*o*). I propoſe to ſpeak, in ſeparate Articles, not only of ſome Moderns, who have born the Name of *Ammonius*, but likewiſe of an ancient Philoſopher, who has given greater Luſtre to it than all the reſt.

(*n*) Phot. Biblioth. n. 242. ex Damaſcio, in Vita Iſidori Philoſophi.

(*o*) Socrates, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 6. c. 6. & ex eo Nicephor. lib. 13. cap. 6.

he had known it, would he have ſaid that *Ammonius*, Diſciple of *Proclus*, wrote a Book *in the Reign of* Valentinian? Would he have been ſuch a faithful Tranſcriber of Father *Rapin*'s Errors (6)? II. What a ſtrange way is this of denoting Emperors? There were three of this Name; and the firſt muſt be underſtood to be meant, when we talk of *Valentinian* without any Addition. The firſt *Valentinian* died in the Year 375; judge then whether the Diſciple of *Proclus* could write in That Emperor's Reign. III. If *Moreri* had underſtood the Author, whom he followed, I mean Father *Labbé*, he would have learned, that *Ammonius*, the Diſciple of *Proclus*, and Son of *Hermeas*, flouriſhed in the Reign of the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*; who did not begin to reign 'till above thirty five Years after the Death of *Valentinian* III. IV. Father *Labbé* obſerves, that frequent mention is made of One *Ammonius* in the *Catenæ* of the *Greek* Fathers on St *John*'s Goſpel, and other Books of the Scripture; and he believes, that *Ammonius*, the Son of *Hermeas*, is different from Him. Inſtead of this, Mr *Moreri* tells us, that ſome Authors aſcribe the Explication of the *Greek* Fathers on the Goſpel of St *John* to *Ammonius*, the Son of *Hermeas*.

(6) Proclus *in the Reign of* Julian; *the ſecond* Ammonius, *his Diſciple, who wrote ſo well on* Ariſtotle's *Book of* Interpretation, *in the Reign of* Valentinian. Rapin Compar. de Platon. & d'Ariſtote, pag. 391.

AMMONIUS, ſirnamed *Saccas* [*A*], was one of the moſt famous Philoſophers of his Time. He flouriſhed about the beginning of the IIId Century. He was of *Alexandria*, and, as he was bred up in the Chriſtian Faith from his Infancy, he perſevered in it to the laſt, as his Works teſtify. *Euſebius*, who ſays this, accuſes *Porphyry* of a manifeſt Falſhood (*a*), in ſaying, that *Ammonius* renounced Chriſtianity, in which he had been educated, and embraced the public Religion, when he was of Age to philoſophize [*B*]. This great Philoſopher gave a wonderful Luſtre to the School of *Alexandria*, and put the Science, which he profeſſed, upon an honourable Foot. He found it miſerably depraved by the vain Subtilties of the Diſputants. We have ſeen, in *Chriſtendom*, what they are able to do; I ſay, we have ſeen it in the Controverſies of the *Thomiſts* and *Scotiſts*, and of the *Realiſts* and *Nominaliſts*. They all profeſſed to follow *Ariſtotle*, and yet they multiplied Diſputes *in infinitum*. What can we think, then, of the Diſputes, which prevailed in ancient times, when, the Philoſophers, being divided into ſeveral Sects, under different Heads, ſome condemned *Plato*, and others *Ariſtotle*, &c.? It was a Chaos of mere Chicanery, which diſhonoured the Profeſſion. The right way to reſtore the Science to it's former Credit was to baniſh all uſeleſs Diſputes, and to adhere to the Doctrines, in which *Plato* and his Diſciples were agreed. No doubt they were the moſt certain, and conſequently the moſt important, Doctrines. This was the Reaſon, why *Ammonius* thought himſelf particularly obliged to reconcile theſe two Heads of Sects [*C*], and to clear up the Miſunderſtanding, on which their pretended Oppoſitions were built; and it is difficult to expreſs the great Reputation he acquired by this manner of philoſophizing. He was extoll'd as a Perſon inſpired, as one taught by God [*D*]; and

(*a*) Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 6. cap. 19.

[*A*] AMMONIUS, *ſirnamed* Saccas.] *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1) and *Suidas* (2) witneſs, that he had this Sirname. It is generally believed, that, by his firſt Trade, he was a Carrier of Sacks, and *Suidas* is alledged in proof of it. Theſe are the Words of the learned *Henry Valeſius*: "Saccas videtur ex eo "dictus Ammonius, quod mercibus ex portu Alex"andrino comportandis victum ſibi quæſiviſſet, cu"juſmodi homines Saccarios antiqui vocabant; ut "videre eſt in Codice Th. tit. de Saccariis portus ur"bis Romæ. Suidas, πλωτῖνος, *inquit*, μαθητὴς "Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ πρῶην γενομένου σακκοφόρου (3). "—— Ammonius *ſeems to have been ſirnamed* Saccas, "*becauſe he gained his Living by carrying Goods from* "*the Port of* Alexandria; *which kind of Men were* "*called by the Ancients* Saccarii; *as may be ſeen in* "Cod. Th. tit. Of the *Saccarii* of the Port of *Rome*. "Suidas *ſays*, *Plotinus*, a Diſciple of *Ammonius*, who "was originally a Sack-Bearer."

(1) Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. circa fin.

(2) Suidas in Ὠριγένης.

(3) Henr. Valeſ. in Amm. Marcell. lib. 22.

[*B*] *A manifeſt Falſhood, in ſaying that* Ammonius *renounced Chriſtianity, - - - - when he was of Age to philoſophize.*] Let us ſee the Original. Ὅτε τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἥψατο, εὐθὺς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ νόμους πολιτείαν μετεβάλετο (4). —— *As ſoon as he was capable of thinking for himſelf, and had began to taſte Philoſophy, he exchanged his manner of Life for That which was agreeable to the Laws.* *Porphyry*, in ſaying this, was animated by the Spirit, which I have mentioned in the Remark [*E*] of the Article ABULPHARAGIUS.

(4) Porphyr. lib. 3. adv. Chriſtianos, apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 6. c. 19.

[*C*] *Thought himſelf particularly obliged to reconcile theſe two Heads of Sects.*] We learn this from *Hierocles*, Author of a Book concerning Providence, of which we have ſome Extracts in the *Bibliotheque* of *Photius*. According to this Author, none but Men, governed by a Spirit of Contradiction, and an itching Deſire of Diſputation, or by their Prejudices, and the Darkneſs of their Minds, found any Diſagreement between the Doctrines of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*. Τοὺς μὲν ἑκόντας ἔριδι καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς προσαναθέντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ προλήψει καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ δεδουλωμένους (5). —— *Some voluntarily giving themſelves up to Strife and Madneſs, others enſlaved to Prejudice and Ignorance.* The firſt of theſe kind of Diſputants were very numerous, before the Light of *Ammonius* came to enlighten the World. "Donec Ammonii aliquando ſapientia orbi illuxit, "quem etiam *divinitus edoctum* appellari prædicat. "Hunc enim veterum philoſophorum opinionibus "perpurgatis, & reſectis quæ utrimque excreverant "nugis, in præcipuis quibuſque & maxime neceſſa"riis dogmatibus concordem eſſe Platonis & Ariſtote"lis ſententiam demonſtraſſe (6). —— *'Till at length* "*the Philoſophy of* Ammonius *ſhone upon the World,* "*who, he tells us, was called* the Inſpired. *For, ha*"*ving thoroughly purged the Doctrines of the old Phi*"*loſophers, and pared off every uſeleſs Excreſcnce,* "*he demonſtrated, that* Plato *and* Ariſtotle *agreed* "*in the principal and moſt important Points.*"

(5) Photii Biblioth. n. 214. p. 549.

(6) Hierocl. apud Phot. ibid.

[*D*] *He was extolled as a Perſon Inſpired, as One taught by God.*] I have ſet down a Paſſage of *Hierocles*, wherein theſe Words are to be found "Ὃν καὶ θεοδίδακτον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ὑμνεῖ, *who, he tells us, was called* the INSPIRED. I ſhall add another, in which the ſame Author relates, that the Followers of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* were ſo fond of perpetuating their Quarrels, that they corrupted the Text of theſe two great Philoſophers, to demonſtrate more eaſily the Oppoſition between them. This Diſorder, adds He, continued 'till the Time of *Ammonius*, and whom a Divine Inſtinct had guided into this Path. *Moreri* and many others were ignorant of the true Foundation of this Elogy [*E*]. Others are no leſs miſtaken, when they ſay, that *Ammonius* taught his Diſciples the Myſteries of the Goſpel, under the Seal of Secrecy [*F*]. Some have confounded his Theological Works with thoſe of other Writers [*G*]; but at laſt they have been diſtinguiſhed. He had, among other Scholars, *Plotinus* and *Origen*. He died about the Year 230 (*b*). I believe we ought to

nius, the Diſciple of the great God; for, being carried away by an Enthuſiaſm in ſearch of Philoſophical Truth, he dived into the bottom of both Sects, and reconciled them together, and gave his Hearers, particularly his learned Equals, *Plotinus*, *Origen*, and their Succeſſors, a Syſtem of Philoſophy free from Strife and Contention. Ἕως Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ θεοδιδάκτου· οὗτος γὰρ πρῶτος ἐνθουσιάσας πρὸς τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀληθινὸν, καὶ τας τῶν πολλῶν δόξας ὑπεριδὼν, τὰς πλεῖστον ὄνειδος φιλοσοφίᾳ προστριβομένας, εἶδε καλῶς τὰ ἑκατέρου, καὶ συνήγαγεν εἰς ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν καὶ ἀστασίαστον τὴν φιλοσοφίαν παραδέδωκε πᾶσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ γνωρίμοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν αὐτῷ συγγεγονότων Πλωτίνῳ καὶ Ὠριγένει καὶ τοῖς ἑξῆς ἀπὸ τούτων (7). *Uſque ad divinitus edoctum Ammonium. Hic enim primus æſtu quodam raptus ad Philoſophiæ veritatem, multorumque opiniones, qui magnum dedecus Philoſophiæ attulerunt, contemnens, utramque ſectam probe calluit, & in concordiam adduxit, & à contentionibus liberam Philoſophiam tradidit omnibus ſuis auditoribus, & maxime doctiſſimis æqualibus ſuis Plotino & Origeni & ſucceſſoribus.*

[*E*] Moreri *and many others were ignorant of the true Foundation of this Elogy.*] According to Mr *Moreri*, *Ammonius* "applied himſelf more particularly "to the Divine Philoſophy of JESUS CHRIST. "He acquired ſuch an Eſteem by it, that he was "looked upon as a Man, who had been particularly "inſtructed by God, and for that Reaſon he had "the Name of *THEODIDACTUS* given him." He is miſtaken: I ſhall not not conteſt with *Ammonius* his Theological Learning; but certainly, it was not upon that Account, that he was called *Theodidactus*. He was honoured with this Title on Account of his Philoſophical Lectures, which ſpoke only of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, but made no mention of JESUS CHRIST and the Goſpel. His Auditors were divided; ſome profeſſed Paganiſm, and others Chriſtianity; and therefore it was neceſſary he ſhould ſet aſide Matters of Religion, and chiefly thoſe, which related to Piety. Would *Hierocles*, who was a Pagan Philoſopher, have expreſſed himſelf in the manner he has done, if the Knowledge of the Goſpel had procured *Ammonius* the Elogy we are ſpeaking of? I can eaſily believe, that *Ammonius* was not accounted a Chriſtian among the Pagans, and that it is This, which moved *Porphyry* to ſay, that *Ammonius* renounced Chriſtianity, as ſoon as he was capable of philoſophizing. He was known to be a Chriſtian among his Brethren, and gave Proofs of his Faith in certain Writings, which were, in all likelihood, little known to the Pagans. Would *Plotinus* have followed *Ammonius* ſo long, if he had believed him to be an Enemy to the Eſtabliſhed Religion? The Chriſtians were not yet ſo conſiderable.

[*F*] *Others are no leſs miſtaken, when they ſay, that* Ammonius *taught his Diſciples the Myſteries of the Goſpel, under the Seal of Secrecy.*] I was ſurprized to find Father *Labbé* ſo greatly miſtaken in theſe Words. "Idem Porphyrius, *ſays he* (8) in vita Plo-"tini Platonicæ ſectæ Philoſophi, narrat Ammonium "Religionis Chriſtianæ arcana diſcipulis ſuis ſub ſi-"lentii religione communicaſſe, & Herennium, Ori-"genem atque Plotinum obſtrinxiſſe, cumque He-"rennius primus eam fregiſſet, nec Originem nec "Plotinum promiſſis ſtetiſſe. —— *The ſame* Porphy-"ry, *in the Life of* Plotinus, *a Philoſopher of the* "Platonic *Sect, relates, that* Ammonius *communi-*"*cated the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion, to* "*his Diſciples, upon an Oath of Secrecy; which when* "Herennius *had firſt broken, neither* Origen *nor* Plo-"tinus *ſtood to their Promiſe.*" Here are two notorious Miſtakes: Firſt, it is not true, that *Ammonius* made his Diſciples ſwear not to impart to any one what they had learned of him. In the ſecond place, it is falſe, that *Porphyry* ſpeaks of any other Doctrines, but Thoſe of Philoſophy. All that he ſays may be reduced to this. *Erennius*, *Origen*, and *Plotinus*, had agreed not to make public the Leſſons they had been taught by *Ammonius*, and which appeared to them to be greatly laboured, and very refined. *Plotinus* kept his Word; but *Erennius*, having broke his, was ſoon imitated by *Origen*. This is not a proper place to ſhew, that this *Origen* is not He, who wrote ſo many Books, and who ſo greatly allegorized the Scripture; but, as great part of my Readers may not have a *Plotinus* at hand, I ſhall ſet down his own Words. Ἐρεννίῳ δὲ καὶ Ὠριγένει καὶ Πλωτίνῳ συνθηκῶν γογονυιῶν μηδὴν ἐκκαλύπτειν τῶν Ἀμμωνίου δογμάτων ἃ δὴ ἐν ταῖς ἀκροάσεσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνεκεκάθαρτο, ἔμενε καὶ ὁ Πλωτῖνος, συνὼν μὲν τισι τῶν προσιόντων, τηρῶν δὲ ἀνέκπυστα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου δόγματα. Ἐρεννίου δὲ πρώτου τὰς συνθήκας παραβάντος, Ὠριγένης μεν ἠκολούθει τῷ φθάσαντι Ἐρεννίῳ (9). *Cum vero Erennius & Origenes & Plotinus olim inter ſe conſtituiſſent, ne Ammonii dogmata ederent, quæ audita ab eo tanquam in primis purgata præcipue comprobaverant; Plotinus quidem ſtetit promiſſis, familiariter quidem nonnullos excipiens ſalutantes, inſtituta verò Ammonii ſecreta integraque conſervans. Erennius autem primus pacta diſſolvit, & Origenes anticipantem Erennium eſt deinde ſequutus.*" Another Cauſe of wonder is, that theſe two Faults of Father *Labbé* are to be found likewiſe in *Lucas Holſtenius* (10).

[*G*] *Some have confounded his Theological Works with thoſe of other Writers.*] St *Jerom* places *Ammonius* among the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and aſcribes to him, among other Works, the Invention of the Goſpel-Canons (11), and adds, that *Euſebius* copied after this Model upon a like Deſign. If this were true, *Euſebius* would be a great Impoſtor, ſince he affirms in a Letter (12), wherein he explains the Nature and Uſe of his ten Canons on the Harmony of the Goſpels, that he invented them, on occaſion of a Book of *Ammonius*. This Book is entituled, *Monoteſſaron*, or *Diateſſaron*. It's Difference from the Goſpel-Canons conſiſts in this. "Theſe Canons are only In-"dexes of the Paſſages of the Goſpels, which are "continued in one, two, three, or four Evangeliſts; "whereas *Ammonius*'s Harmony (*the ſame with the* "Diateſſaron *or* Monoteſſaron) contained the entire "Text of the four Evangeliſts, which *Euſebius* had "made uſe of in compiling his Canons; which re-"lated to this Harmony, and were in the Nature "of an Index to it (13)." 'Tis therefore a Miſtake to ſay, as *Moreri* does, that the *Goſpel Canons*, and the *Harmony of the Goſpel*, are the ſame thing. *Victor*, Biſhop of *Capua*; *Zacharias*, Biſhop of *Chriſopolis*, *Trithemius*, and ſeveral modern Authors, relying upon St *Jerom*'s Authority, and not attending to the abovementioned Letter of *Euſebius*, ſay, that *Ammonius* invented the Goſpel-Canons. Here is another Confuſion. There are in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* two *Harmonies* of the four Goſpels. One of them was aſcribed to *Tatian* by *Victor*, Biſhop of *Capua*, who tranſlated it into *Latin* (14) about the Year 545, and added a Preface to it (15). Hence it came to paſs, that the other *Harmony* was aſcribed to *Ammonius*. But the *Harmony*, fathered upon *Tatian* by the Biſhop of *Capua*, cannot be That Author's, ſince it contains all the Genealogies of JESUS CHRIST mentioned by the Evangeliſts; whereas *Tatian* left out of his *Harmony* all the Paſſages of the Goſpels, which ſhew that JESUS CHRIST ſprung from *David* (16). On the other hand, the *Harmony*, aſcribed to *Ammonius*, wants theſe Paſſages (17). *Sixtus Sienenſis*, *George Ederus*, and ſeveral others have followed *Victor*'s Error. But *Zacharias*, Biſhop of *Chryſopolis*, made it appear, above Five hundred Years ago, that *Ammonius* is the Author of That *Harmony* (18), which is *Baronius*'s Opinion. We ought to take particular notice of a Circumſtance, which we learn from Father *Oudin*, *viz.* that the *Harmony*, to which *Ammonius*'s Name is prefixed, which is in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, printed in the Year 1575, and which has been tranſlated into *Latin* by *Ottomarus Luſcinius*, is neither *Ammonius*'s, nor *Tatian*'s

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(*b*) *According to* Cave, Hiſtor. Liter. pag. 72.

(7) Hierocl. apud. Phot. n. 251. pag. 1381.

(8) Labbé de Script. Eccl. Tom. 1. pag. 58.

(9) Porphyr. in Vita Plotini.

(10) Lucas Holſten. de Vita & Script. Porphyr. p. 28.

(11) Hieron. de Script. Eccl. c. 55.

(12) Ad Carpianum: *It is prefixed, with the ten Canons* de Conſonantia quatuor Evangeliorum, *to the* Greek *Teſtament of* Rob. Stephens, Paris 1550. *See Father* Labbé de Script. Eccl. Tom. 1. p. 308. item pag. 58.

(13) Du Pin. Biblioth. Tom. 1. p. 120. Edit. Amſt.

(14) Oudin, Supplem. de Script. Eccl. pag. 15. Bellarmin. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. pag. 226.

(15) Labbé, de Script. Eccleſ. Tom. 1. pag. 57.

(16) Euſebius *and* Theodoret *affirm this. See* Labbé, ubi ſupra, p. 57.

(17) Cave, Hiſtor. Literar. p. 72.

(18) Comm. in eam Harmoniam, apud Labbé, ibid.

to diſtinguiſh him from the Peripatetic AMMONIUS [*H*], who was, according to *Philoſtratus*, the moſt learned, and the beſt read Man of his Age.

I find a very groſs Miſtake in one of the Commentators upon *Boëthius*. He ſays, Our *Ammonius* corrupted *Plato*'s Doctrine about the Eternity of the World more than any one elſe: but nothing can be more falſe, than this Accuſation [*I*].

Tatian's (19). We have loſt *Ammonius*'s Book, *de conſenſu Moſis & Jeſu.* If we may believe *Henry Valeſius*, all his other Books are alſo loſt: *Hujus Ammonii, quod ſciam, hodie nihil extat*, ſays he, in his Commentary upon the laſt Chapter of the Twenty ſecond Book of *Ammianus Marcellinus*. Had he forgot the *Harmony of the Goſpels*, which is to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, or did he believe that *Ammonius* was not the Author of it? *Hadrian Valeſius*, having made no Obſervation upon this in the ſecond Edition, plainly ſhews, that he is of his Brother's Opinion.

(10) Oudin, ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *I believe we ought to diſtinguiſh him from the Peripatetic* Ammonius.] A very learned Man ſeems not inclined to make this Diſtinction. “ Hic eſſe vi- “ detur, *ſays he* (20), Ammonius Peripateticus Phi- “ loſophus, quem πολυγραμματώτατον fuiſſe ſæ- “ culi ſui teſtatur Philoſtratus in Sophiſtæ Hippo- “ dromi vita, quo qui plura legiſſet neminem ſe “ vidiſſe. —— *This ſeems to be the Peripatetic Phi-* “ *loſopher* Ammonius, *who, according to* Philoſtra- “ tus, *in his Life of the Sophiſt* Hippodromus, *was* “ *a Man of the moſt extenſive Reading he had ever* “ *met with.*” But if he had attended to the Words of *Longinus*, inſerted in *Plotinus*'s Life, he would have made no ſcruple to diſtinguiſh between theſe two Philoſophers. *Longinus* obſerves, that ſome Philolophers compoſed Books, and others taught only *viva voce.* He mentions ſome of each of theſe two Claſſes; ſome are Platoniſts, others are Stoics or Peripatetics. He reckons *Ammonius* and *Origen* among thoſe of the ſecond Claſs, and ſays they followed *Plato*'s Philoſophy. He adds that he was acquainted with them, and that they ſurpaſſed all the Philoſophers of their Time. Οἷς ἡμεῖς τὸ πλεῖςον τȣ̃ χρόνȣ προσεφοιτήσαμεν, ἀνδράσιν ȣ̓κ ὀλίγῳ τῶν καθ᾽ ἑαυτȣ̀ς εἰς σύνεσιν διενεγκȣ̃σι (21). *Quibuſcum nos diu verſati ſumus, viris profecto intervallo non parvo ſui ſæculi Philoſophos intelligentia ſuperantibus.* Afterwards he names ſome Stoics, who belonged to the ſecond Claſs of Philoſophers, *viz.* of Thoſe, who wrote nothing, or but very little. Laſtly, he mentions two Peripatetics of the ſame Claſs, *viz. Ammonius* and *Ptolemy*, who exceeded all the learned Men of their Age in Philology: This he ſays particularly of *Ammonius.* Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος φιλολογώτατοι μὲν τῶν καθ᾽ ἑαυτȣ̀ς ἄμφω γενόμενοι, καὶ μάλιςα ὁ Ἀμμώνιος. ȣ̓ γὰρ ἐςιν ὅςις ἐκείνῳ γέγονεν εἰς πολυμάθειαν παραπλήσιος (22). *Ammonius atque Ptolemæus, diſciplinarum ambo profecto maxime omnium ſuo tempore pleni, præſertim Ammonius: nullus enim ad diſciplinarum illius copiam prope acceſſiſſe videtur.* Here we have the Philoſopher *Ammonius* mentioned by *Philoſtratus*; he is therefore a very different Perſon from Him, who taught Philoſophy at *Alexandria*, and who was the Maſter of *Plotinus* and *Origen*. It appears from *Longinus*'s Letter, that theſe learned Peripatetics wrote only ſome Poems and Orations. This great Critic ſuppoſes they did not intend thoſe Pieces for Poſterity; for, ſays he, if they had, they would have been more exact in their Compoſitions.

(20) Hadr. Valeſius in Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. pag. 344. Edit. Folio.

(21) Longinus, apud Porphyr. in Vita Plotini.

(22) Id. ib.

[*I*] *Nothing can be more falſe than this Accuſation.*] I ſhall ſet down the Words of the Commentator at large, that the Reader may the better underſtand his Error. “ Nulla autem Platonis ſententia eſt, “ quam fœdius corruperint, & obſtinatius defenderint, “ veteres Platonis interpretes; ſeu quia eorum alii “ ita ſentirent, ſeu ut Chriſtianam fidem impugna- “ rent. Eorum ſignifer Ammonius fuit, fidus alio- “ quin ac illuſtris doctrinæ Platonicæ aſſertor; quem “ Zacharias dialogo, cui *Ammonius* titulus eſt, con- “ futavit. Mox ejus diſcipuli, Plotinus paſſim libr. “ ſuis; & quod mirum eſt, ne à magiſtro diſſentiret, “ fax illa fidei Origenes; cujus errorem S. Metho- “ dius lib. περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν, ut eſt apud Photium, “ redarguit (23). ——— *There is no Doctrine of* “ Plato, *which has been more baſely corrupted, and* “ *more obſtinately defended, by the ancient Interpre-* “ *ters of* Plato, *than This; either becauſe ſome of* “ *them really thought ſo, or with a view of oppoſing* “ *the Chriſtian Faith. At the Head of theſe is* Am- “ monius, *in other Reſpects a Faithful and Illuſtrious* “ *Aſſertor of Platoniſm; whom* Zacharias *confuted* “ *in his Dialogue entituled* Ammonius. *Next to* “ *Him were His Diſciples,* Plotinus *in ſeveral Parts* “ *of his Works, and, what is wonderful, That Lumi-* “ *nary of Faith,* Origen, *who would not diſſent from* “ *his Maſter; whoſe Error* S. Methodius *refutes in* “ *his Book* περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν, *as it is in* Photius.” You ſee plainly, that he ſpeaks of *Ammonius*, who was *Origen*'s Maſter. Would he have been guilty of ſuch an Overſight, if he had conſulted the Originals, and if he had not cited the Treatiſe of *Zacharias* upon the Authority of others? For we read at the very beginning of That Treatiſe, that *Ammonius*, againſt whom it was written, was ſtill living, and taught at *Alexandria* with great Oſtentation, after he had been *Proclus*'s Diſciple at *Athens*. The Author, I mean *Zacharias* Biſhop of *Mitylene*, lived in the VIth Century; for he aſſiſted at the Council of *Conſtantinople*, in the Year 536; and therefore 'tis not true, that he confuted *Origen*'s Maſter. But it is true, that the Philoſopher *Ammonius*, whom he refuted, taught, that God and the World were, and would always be, Co-eternal. This Book of *Zacharias* was tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Latin* by *Genebrard*, and inſerted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (24). *Poſſevin* obſerves, that *Caniſius* cenſures *Geſner*, for ſaying, that *Zacharias*'s Book *de Mundi Æternitate* was different from That, which is entituled *Ammonius* (25). This Cenſure would be very well grounded with reſpect to *Simler*, who abridged *Geſner*; but it is unjuſt with reſpect to *Geſner* himſelf, who ſays, in expreſs Words, that the Dialogue, entituled *Ammonius*, ſeems to him to be the Same with the Treatiſe *de Rerum Æternitate.* I muſt obſerve, that I was ſurprized to find that a Heathen Philoſopher was permitted to be a Profeſſor at *Alexandria*, in the VIth Century, and to teach openly the *Eternity of the World*, in oppoſition to the Doctrine of the Chriſtians. He was ſo far from concealing his Opinion, that he publickly maintained it in his Lectures, and no one could be ignorant that many of his Scholars imbibed This Doctrine. One of them (26), who was afterwards the chief Profeſſor of Phyſic in That City, warmly maintained the ſame Opinion. This appears from the Treatiſe of *Zacharias Mitylenenſis*.

(23) Renatus Vallinus, Not. ad lib. 5. Boëtii de Conſolat. Philoſoph. pag. 96.

(24) *It is in Vol.* 9. *of the* Biblioth. Patrum, p. 331, &c. *of the* Paris *Edition* 1644.

(25) Poſſevin. Appar. Tom. 2. p. 552.

(26) *His Name was* Geſſius. *See the* Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. 11. pag. 339.

AMMONIUS (ANDREW) born at *Lucca*, went to ſeek his Fortune in *England*, towards the beginning of the XVIth Century, and would probably have advanced himſelf there, if he had lived longer [*A*]. He applied himſelf to polite Literature, and

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[*A*] *Would probably have advanced himſelf there if he had lived longer.*] This is not my own Conjecture; it is the Sentiment of *Eraſmus.* “ Periit, “ *ſays he* (1), & apud Gallos Fauſtus, & apud Bri- “ tannos Andreas Ammonius, quorum alter diu reg- “ navit Lutetiæ, alter ad ſummam dignitatem emer- “ ſurus erat, ſi vita diuturnior contigiſſet. —— *In* “ France *died* Fauſtus, *in* England Andrew Ammo- “ nius; *the former of whom flouriſhed long at* Paris; “ *the latter would have riſen to the higheſt Honours,* “ *had he enjoyed a longer Life.*” He gave this Judgment of him, not only whilſt the Wound was freſh, that is, when, a little after the Death of *Ammonius*, Affliction prompted him to celebrate his Praiſe, but even when a conſiderable number of Years had effaced the firſt Impreſſions of Regret and Sorrow. “ Quam “ multos, *ſays he in a Letter, which he wrote in* “ *the Year* 1524 (2), hic ex vetere ſodalitio deſidero. “ Primum Andream Ammonium Lucenſem. Deum “ immortalem quanta ingenii dexteritate, quàm fideli memoria

(1) Eraſm. Epiſt. 24. lib. 2. pag. 132. ſcripta anno 1518.

(2) Id. Ep. 5. lib. 23. p. 1210.

and *Latin* Poetry: His Merit, as an Author, ariſes chiefly from his *Latin* Verſes [*B*]. *Eraſmus* and He were intimate Friends, and maintained a conſtant Epiſtolary Correſpondence. *Ammonius* lodged ſome time with Sir *Thomas More* (*a*), and afterwards in St *Thomas*'s Hoſpital (*b*), for he had not Money enough to hire, and keep, a Houſe. He declared to *Eraſmus*, that he repented of having left *Rome*, and that he was not very well pleaſed with his Condition in *England* (*c*). The Advice *Eraſmus* gave him was very conformable to the fraudulent Ways, which are neceſſary to be uſed in advancing ones ſelf in the World [*C*]; but we muſt ſuppoſe that *Eraſmus* gave it only in jeſt. He wrote very fine Iambic Verſes in his Praiſe, which ſhew, that *Ammonius* had a great many Perfections both of Body and Mind (*d*). But we muſt not rely much on Poëtical Elogies; *Eraſmus*'s Proſe (which we ſhall produce in our Remarks) will be a greater Confirmation of the Worth of his Friend. Fortune becoming more favourable to *Ammonius*, He was made Secretary to King *Henry* VIII (*e*), and had likewiſe a public Character in the Court of That Monarch, conferred upon him by Pope *Leo* X (*f*). Had he not died before the Age of Forty Years, he might have been advanced higher. He was in the Army in the Year 1513 (*g*), when the *Engliſh* gained the Battel of the *Spurs*, and took *Teroüenne* and *Tournay*; he wrote Verſes on theſe Victories, as alſo on that which they obtained over *James* IV, King of *Scotland*. He died of the Sweating Sickneſs in *England* [*D*], in the Year 1517 [*E*]. One of the greateſt pieces

“ memoria præditum! Tum animus quàm erat ex“ celſus, quàm alienus à livore, quàm alienus à ſor“ dibus! Hunc & ſuis dotibus & omni principum “ applauſu florentem, maximis rebus deſtinatum, ſu“ bita mors intercepit, natu minorem annis quadra“ ginta. Cujus equidem deceſſum non poſſum non “ dolere, quoties in mentem venit quàm mihi fuerit “ jucunda ejus familiaritas. —— *How many of my* “ *old Acquaintance do I lament the Loſs of in this* “ *Place? Firſt*, Andrew Ammonius *of* Lucca; *a Man*, “ *bleſt with the Happieſt Genius, and moſt Faithful* “ *Memory. Then his Mind, how free was it from* “ *Envy, how remote from every thing Low and Sordid!* “ *This Illuſtrious Man, flouriſhing by his own Abi*“ *lities, and the general Applauſe of the Great, and* “ *deſtined to the higheſt Honours, was taken off by* “ *a ſudden Death, before he was forty Years old. Whoſe* “ *Deceaſe I cannot but lament, when I recollect how* “ *happy I was in his Acquaintance and Converſation.*”

[*B*] *His Merit, as an Author, ariſes chiefly from his* Latin *Verſes.*] The Abridgment of *Geſner's Bibliotheque* gives us this Catalogue of *Ammonius*'s Poems. *Scotici conflictus Hiſtoria lib.* 1. *Bucolica, ſeu Eclogæ lib.* 1. *De rebus nihili lib.* 1. *Panegyricus quidam lib.* 1. *Epigrammata lib.* 1. *Poëmata diverſa lib.* 1. *Balæus* is quoted for it. What is called here *Panegyricus quidam* is a Poem on the Victories, which the *Engliſh* obtained, in the Year 1513, at the Battel of the *Spurs*, at the taking of *Teroüenne, Tournay*, &c. *Eraſmus* gives his Opinion of this Poem in a Letter (3) which is dated on St *Thomas*'s Day, 1510. This is an undeniable Proof, that ſometimes they have added the date of his Letters without any care; beſides they are miſplaced. The Anſwer precedes, ſometimes by ſeveral Pages, the Letter, which is the Subject of the Anſwer (4).

[*C*] *The Advice* Eraſmus *gave him was very conformable to the fraudulent ways, which are neceſſary to be uſed in advancing ones ſelf in the World.*] “ Be “ aſhamed of nothing, *ſaid he to him*, interfere in “ every one's Buſineſs;

Coudoyez un chacun, point du tout de quartier (5).

Elbow each one; no Quarter ever give.

“ make your Intereſt the Rule of your Love and “ Hatred; give nothing but to thoſe, who will re“ turn it with Uſury; be complaiſant to every one “ in every thing; have two Strings to your Bow; “ ſuborn ſome to invite you away; pretend you are “ going, and ſeem to prepare for your Departure; “ produce Letters, in which you are promiſed a thou“ ſand Advantages.” “ Principio perfrica frontem, “ ne quid uſquam pudeat. Deinde omnibus omnium “ negociis te miſce, protrude quemcunque potes cubi“ to. Neminem nec ames nec oderis ex animo, ſed “ omnia tuo compendio metiare. Ad hunc ſcopum “ omnis vitæ ratio ſpectet. Ne quid des, niſi unde “ ſperes fœnus: aſſentare omnibus omnia. At iſta “ vulgaria ſunt, inquis. Age quando ita vis, accipe “ peculiare conſilium, ſed heus in aurem. Noſti τὴν “ Βρεταννικὴν ζηλοτυπίαν, hac in tuum bonum a“ butere. Duabus ſedeto ſellis. Suborna diverſos “ procos qui te ambiant. Minare & appara diſceſſum. “ Oſtende literas quibus magnis pollicitis avocaris. “ Subducito te nonnunquam, ut ſubtracta copia de“ ſiderium acuat (6).” *Alciatus* made uſe of the laſt mentioned Artifice (7).

[*D*] *He died of the Sweating-Sickneſs in* England.] Conſult the Hiſtory of the Divorce of *Henry* VIII. compoſed by Mr *le Grand*, and you will find there what kind of Sickneſs This was. It was called the “ *Sweat*, becauſe People died Sweating. This kind “ of Plague began to be felt the firſt time in 1486, “ and was not known before. All the Reme“ dies, which were uſed againſt it, were in vain, “ and it carried off a great Number of People, be“ fore the Phyſicians knew how to treat it. It “ was a Scourge, with which God was pleaſed at “ firſt to puniſh the *Engliſh* alone. In what place “ ſoever they were, they were attacked with it, “ without it's having any Effect upon Strangers, with “ whom they converſed (8).” Among the Proofs which Mr *le Grand* has produced (9), there are ſome Letters from the Biſhop of *Bayonne*, the *French* Ambaſſador in *England*, which ſpeak of this Diſeaſe. *Anne Bullen* was infected with it, as alſo that Ambaſſador. This Diſtemper had already infected, for ſome time, others beſides the *Engliſh*; for our *Italian Ammonius* died of it in the Year 1517, notwithſtanding the Hopes he had conceived of preſerving himſelf from it by his great Sobriety. Sir *Thomas More* wrote to *Eraſmus* about it in theſe Terms. “ In his, (quod “ tibi quoque dolori eſſe doleo) Andrea noſtro Am“ monio, in quo & literæ & omnes boni magnam “ fecere jacturam. Is valdè ſibi videbatur adverſus “ contagionem victus moderatione munitus: qua fa“ ctum putavit ut quum in nullum pene incideret “ cujus non tota familia laboraverat, neminem adhuc “ è ſuis id malum attigerit; id quod mihi & multis “ præterea jactavit non admodum multis horis ante“ quam extinctus eſt, nam hoc ſudore nemo niſi pri“ mo die perit. Ego uxorque ac liberi adhuc intacti, “ reliqua familia tota revaluit. Hoc tibi affirmo, mi“ nus periculi in acie quàm in urbe eſſe (10). —— “ *Among Thoſe, who have died, is our Friend* Andrew “ Ammonius, *in whoſe Death Learning and all good* “ *Men have ſuffered a Loſs. He thought he had ſuf*“ *ficiently guarded againſt the Contagion by Sobriety* “ *and Moderation in his Diet; which was the Reaſon*, “ *as he thought, why none of his Domeſtics had been* “ *viſited with the Diſtemper, at the ſame time that* “ *he ſcarce met with any one, whoſe whole Family* “ *was not afflicted with it. This he boaſted of to me* “ *and ſeveral others not many Hours before he died;* “ *for This* Sweat *is not mortal after the firſt Day.* “ *I and my Wife and Children have hitherto eſcaped;* “ *and the reſt of my Family has recovered from it.* “ *This I affirm to you, that there is leſs danger in* “ *a Field of Battel, than in this City.*”

[*E*] *He died in the Year* 1517.] Sir *Thomas More*'s Letter, from whence I have juſt now cited a long Paſſage, is dated the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, 1520. It ſeems, then, as if *Ammonius* did not die in the Year 1517; for how unlikely is it that Sir *Thomas More* ſhould

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(*a*) Eraſm. Epiſt. 2. lib. 8. pag. 408.

(*b*) Id. Epiſt. 23. pag. 422.

(*c*) Id. Epiſt. 25. pag. 426. item Epiſt. 11. pag. 413.

(*d*) Id. Epiſt. 22. pag. 422.

(*e*) Balæus, apud Simlerum Epit. Geſneri.

(*f*) *Andreas Ammonius* tuæ Sanctitatis apud Anglos Nuncius literis ſignificabit. - - - - Andrew Ammonius, *your Holineſs's Nuncio in* England, *will inform you by Letter.* Eraſm. Ep. 6. lib. 2. pag. 104.

(*g*) Id. Epiſt. 40. lib. 8. pag. 434.

(3) *The* 20*th of the* 8*th Book.*

(4) *See the Article* CARMILIANUS.

(5) Moliere; *in his* Remerciment au Roi. *The whole Paſſage is as follows:* Jettez vous dans le foule, & tranchez du notable; Coudoyez un chacun, point du tout de Quartier; Preſſez, Pouſſez, Faites le Diable, Pour vous mettre le Premier.

(6) Eraſm. Ep. 13. lib. 8. pag. 414.

(7) *See the Remark* [*D*] *of the Article* ALCIATUS.

(8) Le Grand's *Hiſtory of the Divorce of* Henry VIII. *He cites* Goodwin.

(9) Ibid. Tom. 3. p. 137, 152.

(10) Mori Epiſt. 4. lib. 7. *among thoſe of* Eraſmus.

pieces of Service he did *Eraſmus*, was his ſupplying him conſtantly with the beſt Wines at *Cambridge* [*F*]. He uſes an hyperbolical Expreſſion in one of his Letters, in which he ſays, that ſo many Heretics were daily burnt, that it raiſed the Price of Wood [*G*].

ſhould let three Years paſs without taking any notice of it to *Eraſmus*? I anſwer, that this Objection can be of no Force againſt the Letters, in which *Eraſmus* himſelf mentions the Death of *Ammonius*. He obſerves in the Twenty fourth Letter of the ſecond Book, and in the twentieth of the third Book, both dated in the Year 1518, that That Year was fatal to learned Men, as *Muſurus*, *Paleottus*, *Fauſtus*, *Andrelius*, and *Ammonius*. In the Thirty firſt Letter of the third Book, dated the ninth of *September*, 1517, he mentions *Ammonius*'s Death (11). This Letter is dated right; for *Eraſmus* mentions the Departure of the King of *Spain* as a Piece of News. Now it is well known, that the King ſet ſail in the beginning of *September*, 1517. Let us ſay, then, that *Baleus* is miſtaken one whole Year, when he places the Death of *Ammonius* in the Year 1518 (12). *Eraſmus* might well ſay, in the Year 1518, that ſeveral great Men had died that Year. One of his Letters, in which he ſays ſo, is dated in *March*; when he ſaid *this Year*, he meant the ten or twelve preceding Months. This is confirmed by a Letter of *Bombaſtus* (13), juſtly dated the ſixth of *December*, 1517, in which we find, that *Muſurus* died at *Rome* the laſt Autumn, and that *Paleottus* died eight Months before.

[F] *His ſupplying him conſtantly with the beſt Wines at* Cambridge.] The Letters of theſe Friends frequently mention the ſending of Wine; but the following Paſſage proves, that *Eraſmus* was not quite averſe to this Liquor, and that he rather choſe to ſtay in a Country infected with the Plague, than drink Water. "Simul atque Anglicum ſolum tetigi, ubi locorum eſſes rogare cœpi, ſiquidem Cantabrigienſem peſtem fugere te ſcripſiſti. Unus tandem Sixtinus mihi dixit, te quidem Cantabrigiam ob peſtem reliquiſſe, & conceſſiſſe neſcio quo, ubi cum vini penuria laborares, & eo carere gravius peſte duceres, Cantabrigiam repetiiſſe, atque inibi te nunc eſſe. O fortem Baſſarei commilitonem, qui in ſummo periculo ducem deſerere nolueris (14). —— *Upon my firſt Arrival in* England, *I immediately enquired the Place of your Abode; for you had informed me by Letter, that you had left* Cambridge *for fear of the Plague.* Sixtinus *at laſt told me, that you had indeed left* Cambridge *for fear of the Plague, and had retired I know not whither; but that, not meeting with plenty of Wine, the want of which you eſteemed worſe than the Plague itſelf, you were returned to* Cambridge; *and that you continue to reſide there. O valiant Fellow-Soldier of* Baſſareus, *who in the greateſt Danger didſt refuſe to deſert your Leader!*" Thus *Ammonius* writes to *Eraſmus*.

[G] *He uſes an hyperbolical Expreſſion in one of his Letters, in which he ſays, that ſo many Heretics * were daily burnt, that it raiſed the Price of Wood.*] They were neither thoſe Papiſts, nor Proteſtants, who ran equal Hazard of being puniſhed in *England*, under King *Henry* VIII, after he had renounced the Pope's Supremacy, but another Set of Men; ſince the Letter, which mentions theſe Executions, is dated in the Month of *November*, 1511. The Flames could not extirpate their Opinions. Read this. "Lignorum precium auctum eſſe non miror; multi quotidie Hæretici holocauſtum nobis præbent, plures tamen ſuccreſcunt. Quin & Frater Germanus mei Thomæ, ſtipes verius quam homo, ſectam (ſi diis placet) & ipſe inſtituit, & diſcipulos habet (15). —— *I do not wonder, that the Price of Wood is enhanced; for though every Day affords us Holocauſts of Heretics, yet more daily ſpring up. Even the Brother of my Friend Sir* Thomas More, *a Stock rather than a Man, is, forſooth, Author of a Sect, and has his Followers.*"

[* They were the Remains of the *Wickliffites*. See Burnet's *Hiſtory of the Reformation*. REM. CRIT.]

(11) Ammonii mortem acerbiſſime fero. --- *I am greatly afflicted at the Death of* Ammonius. pag. 198.

(12) Apud Simlerum Epit. Geſneri.

(13) *The 23d of the 2d Book.*

(14) Ammonius, Epiſt. ad Eraſm. inter Eraſmian.] Epiſt. 40. lib. 8.

(15) Ammonius, Epiſt. 8. lib. 8. inter Eraſmianas, pag. 410.

AMMONIUS (LIVINUS) (*a*) diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the *Carthuſians* in *Flanders*, not only by the Character of Procurator, with which he was honoured at *Ghent*, the Place of his Birth, but alſo by his Learning and Piety (*b*). *Eraſmus* had a great Eſteem for him; and it appears, by two Letters (*c*), which he wrote to him, that he thought he was free from the Prejudices and Paſſions of Perſons of his Rank [*A*]. *Ammonius* diſcovered to him the Uneaſineſs of his Situation, and the Reſolution he had taken to ſubmit to the Hardſhip of his Condition. We may eaſily conjecture, that he could have wiſhed for more leiſure to improve his Mind and Studies. But his Superiors were not pleaſed that he ſhould; they rather deſired that he might be ignorant, and attend only to the external Obſervances of their Order. However, he had the Credit of being an Author: The Titles of his Works are to be ſeen in *Moreri*; but there is no depending upon the Citation of *Vander-Linden* [*B*].

(*a*) Eraſmus *calls him ſo.* Valerius Andreas *ſays* Lævinus.

(*b*) Livinus Ammonius, vir eruditione juxta ac pietate inſignis. *Eraſm. Epiſt.* 23. *lib.* 28. *pag.* 1704.

(*c*) *The ninety fourth of the twentieth Book, and the twentieth of the Twenty fifth.*

[A] Eraſmus— *thought he was free from the Prejudices and Paſſions of Perſons of his Rank.*] If he had not, he would not have taken the Liberty of telling him, that, when he recollected what kind of Perſons the Monks were, he could not help thinking, that the Enemy of Mankind had a ſhare in the Inſtitution of Monaſteries; he added, that in thoſe Places the Ignorant acquire the greateſt Eſteem by placing their Merit in the exact Obſervation of outward Ceremonies. "Quum interdum mecum reputo, Ammoni chariſſime, cujuſmodi ingenia premantur ac ſepeliantur in iſtis ceremoniis, interdum ſubit animum cogitatio fortaſſis humana, iſtiuſmodi vitæ ergaſtula non ſine inſtinctu ſatanæ fuiſſe inſtituta. —— Ac fere fit ut quo quiſque indoctior ſtupidiorque eſt, hoc in iſto vitæ inſtituto pluris habeatur, tumidus fiducia ceremoniarum, & alieni ſpiritus iniquus æſtimator (1)."

[B] *Upon the Citation of* Vander Linden.] This Author did not write the *Bibliotheca Belgica*; he is there put for *Valerius Andreas*. It was the *Bibliotheca Medicorum*, which he compoſed.

(1) Eraſm. Epiſt. 20. lib. 25. pag. 1361.

AMPHARES, one of the *Lacedemonian Ephori*, was the chief Inſtrument in the Tragical Death of King *Agis*. We have obſerved in another Place (*a*), that, after the Re-eſtabliſhment of his Colleague *Leonidas*, This Prince took Sanctuary in a Temple. *Amphares* was one of thoſe, who familiarly viſited him there, and accompanied him, when he went from thence to the Bath, and back again to the Temple. As he was returning one day in this manner from the Bath, *Amphares* ſeized on him, and obliged him to appear before the *Ephori*, and give an account of his Conduct: He carried him by force to a Priſon; The *Ephori*, and their Aſſiſtants, immediately repaired thither to ſet in Judgment upon the King. He aſſured them, that he had no other Intention than to ſettle Affairs on the ſame foot as *Lycurgus* had left them, and that he ſhould never repent of ſo good a Deſign. Whereupon he was condemned to Death, and the Officers were commanded to conduct him to the

(*a*) *In the Article* AGIS.

Place of Execution (*b*). The Officers thought it ſo ſtrange and unheard of a thing to lay violent Hands on the Perſon of a King, that they expreſſed an Abhorrence of their Orders (*c*), and *Demochares*, a Friend of *Amphares*, was obliged in Perſon to perform the Office. *Ageſiſtrata*, the Mother of *Agis*, and her Mother *Archidamia*, came immediately to the Priſon Doors, and requeſted, that This Prince might be permitted to plead his Cauſe before the People; which occaſioned the Execution to be haſtened. As ſoon as *Agis* was ſtrangled, *Amphares* came out, and aſſured *Ageſiſtrata* that no Injury ſhould be offered to her Son, and that, if ſhe pleaſed, ſhe might go in and ſee him; the ſame Permiſſion was granted to the Grand-mother; and both went into the Priſon. *Amphares* cauſed *Archidamia* immediately to be hanged; and then ordered *Ageſiſtrata* to be brought to the Place, where the Execution was performed. The firſt thing, which preſented itſelf to the View of this Lady, was the dead Corps of her Son, extended on the Ground, and next that of her Mother yet hanging. She aſſiſted the Executioners in taking her down, and laid her near the Body of *Agis*; then, kiſſing her Son, ſhe cried out, *That he had undone himſelf, and drawn them into theſe Miſfortunes, by his too great Lenity.* *Amphares*, hearing theſe Words, told her, *That ſince ſhe approved the Conduct of* Agis, *ſhe ſhould be treated like him.* *Ageſiſtrata*, without ſhowing any Surprize, held out her Neck to the Executioner to be hanged, ſaying only, *That ſhe wiſhed all Things might turn to the Good and Welfare of her Country* (*d*). The People were incens'd at ſuch an extraordinary Piece of Cruelty, and murmured at it; but it was attended with no farther Conſequences. Then was verified the Truth of a Maxim, which may by applied on ſeveral Occaſions, *People clamour, and then are quiet.* The ſtrongeſt Inducement to *Amphares* to perpretrate this Crime, was the Deſire of not returning what *Ageſiſtrata* had lent him. *Plutarch*, from whom I have borrowed this Article, tells us what was ſaid of the Execution of King *Agis* [*A*], which I ſet down according to my Promiſe (*e*).

(*b*) *It was in the Priſon it ſelf, and was called* Decas.

(*c*) Ἀποστρεφομένους καὶ φεύγοντας τὸ ἔργον, ὡς οὐ θεμιτὸν οὐδὲ νενομισμένον βασιλέως σώματι τὰς χεῖρας προσφέρειν. Avertentes ſe & refugientes facinus ut nefarium & inſolens, ut corpori regis quis admoveret manus. *Plut. in Agide.* pag. 803, 804.

(*d*) Μονον ἔφη συνενέγκαι ταῦτα τῇ Σπάρτῃ. Tantum ſint hæc, inquit, ex uſu reipublicæ Spartanæ. Id. pag. 804.

(*e*) *Above, in the Article* AGIS.

[*A*] *What was ſaid of the Execution of King* Agis.] Theſe three Executions did not put the People into ſuch a Conſternation, as prevented them from diſcovering that they were extreamly afflicted at them, and that they deteſted *Leonidas* and *Amphares*. It was thought, that nothing more cruel or abominable had ever been perpetrated at *Lacedæmon*, ſince the *Dorians* came and peopled *Peloponneſus*. For their very Enemies ſhewed always, in Battel, a great regard for the Perſons of the Kings of *Sparta*; and, when they ſaw them approach, they turned aſide from them, out of Veneration for their Majeſty: And hence it was that, in ſo many Battels, which the *Spartans* fought with the other People of *Greece*, before the Reign of *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, there was but one King of *Sparta* killed (1). The *Meſſenians* were not allowed to ſay, that *Ariſtodemus* had killed *Theopompus*, but only that he had wounded him. *Agis* is the firſt King of *Lacedæmon*, who was put to death in the City: A Prince, who had entertained a very noble Deſign, and moſt worthy of his Country, and at an Age, in which thoſe who commit Errors are generally excuſed. His Friends blamed him with more Juſtice, than his Enemies; his Friends, I ſay, who upbraided him for being too good Natur'd, and for having ſaved *Leonidas*, and truſted too much to others. His Mother's Words are remarkable. Ἡ πολλή σε, ὦ παῖ, εὐλάβεια καὶ τὸ πρᾶον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἀπώλεσε μεθ' ἡμῶν. *Your too great Moderation, Lenity, and good Nature, O my Son, have ruined you, together with us.* This is what *Plutarch* informs us of, in the Life of *Agis*. I have related it without adding or omitting any thing. Let me ſubjoin this Obſervation, That, upon a careful reading of Hiſtory, it will appear, that more Princes have been dethroned for being too Good, or too Weak, than for being too Wicked. The latter find more Strength in their own Wickedneſs againſt the Plots of their Enemies, than the former do in the Juſtice of their Cauſe, and the Fidelity of their People. See the Remark [*F*], of the Article of EDWARD IV.

(1) *Viz.* Cleombrotus, *at the Battel of* Leuctra.

AMPHIARAUS, one of the greateſt Prophets of *Paganiſm*, was the Son of Oicles, and Great-Grand-Son of *Melampus* [*A*], who had received part of the Kingdom of *Argos* as a Reward for a conſiderable piece of Service, which he did to the Women of that Country (*a*). This Diviſion of the Kingdom was a Source of Diſcord; the fatal Effects of which appeared in the Time of *Adraſtus*, King of *Argos*, who found himſelf obliged to leave his Dominions, not being able to ſupport himſelf againſt the Faction of *Amphiaraus* (*b*). The latter had cauſed *Talaus*, the Father of *Adraſtus*, to be put to Death, and had ſeized on the Crown (*c*). This Quarrel was made up by the Marriage of *Amphiaraus* with *Eriphyle*, the Siſter of *Adraſtus*; upon which the latter was reſtored. I mention this in another place (*d*); not forgetting the new Conteſts, in which *Eriphyle*, being appointed Judge, declared in Favour of *Adraſtus*, to the Prejudice of her Huſband. The Trick, which ſhe put upon

(*a*) *See the Article* MELAMPUS.

(*b*) Pindarus, Od. 9. Nemeor. pag. 608.

(*c*) *See* Benedictus's *Commentary upon* Pindar, ib. pag. 608, 609.

(*d*) *In the Remark* [*F*] *of the Article* ADRASTUS.

[*A*] *And Great-Grand-Son of* Melampus.] This is the Genealogy of *Amphiaraus*. His Father *Oicles* was the Son of *Antiphates*, Son of *Melampus*, Son of *Amythaon*, Son of *Cretheus* and *Tyro*, who was the Daughter of *Salmoneus*, whoſe Great-Grand-father, by his Father's ſide, was *Deucalion* (1). This you will find in *Diodorus Siculus*. If you conſult *Homer* (2), he will carry you no farther than to *Melampus*, Father of *Antiphates*, Father of *Oicles*, Father of *Amphiaraus*. Each of theſe two Authors makes *Melampus* to be the Great-Grand-father of *Amphiaraus*; but he is only his Grand-father, in the Scholiaſt upon *Æſchylus*, who reckons the Deſcent thus. *Amphiaraus*, the Son of *Oicles*, Son of *Melampus*, Son of *Amythaon*, Son of *Cretheus*, Son of *Æolus*, Son of *Hellen*, Son of *Jupiter* (3). Let us remember, that *Hypermneſtra* (4), Daughter of *Theſtius* (5), was the Mother of *Amphiaraus*, and that ſome Authors ſay he was the Son of *Apollo* (6). Note, That we read in *Apollodorus*, as alſo in the Scholiaſt upon *Æſchylus*, that *Cretheus* was the Son of *Æolus* (7), and therefore he was the Brother of *Salmoneus*, and of *Syſiphus*, &c. Before he married his Niece *Tyro*, ſhe had had Twins, *Pelias* and *Neleus*, by *Neptune* (8). He had three Sons by her, *Æton*, *Amythaon*, and *Pheres* (9). The eldeſt was the Father of *Jaſon*. Conſult *Apollodorus*, who will inform you, that *Amphiaraus* was related to moſt of the illuſtrious Perſons of *Greece*.

(1) *Taken from* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 4. cap. 70. pag. 257, 258.

(2) Homeri Odyſſ. lib. 15. pag. 460, 461.

(3) Schol. Æſchyli in ſeptem ad Thebas, v. 575.

(4) Pauſan. lib. 2. pag. 63.

(5) Hygin. cap. 70.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Apollod. lib. 1. pag. 27, 43.

(8) Id. ibid. pag. 43.

(9) Id. ibid. pag. 45.

upon her Huſband, at the Time of the Preparation for the *Theban* Expedition, was a villanous Action. *Amphiaraus*, diſcovering by his prophetic Spirit, that he ſhould periſh in this War, concealed himſelf, and refuſed to go; but his Wife, being bribed by a Preſent, diſcovered where he was (*e*). He was obliged, therefore, againſt his Will, to accompany the other Princes to the Expedition of *Thebes*; which proved unfortunate; and he periſhed in it after a very extraordinary Manner; for, the Earth being opened by a Thunder-bolt, he was ſwallowed up in the Abyſs, with his Chariot [*B*]. They (*f*) who pretend, that this Misfortune happend to him the ſame Day

[B] He was ſwallowed up in the Abyſs, with his Chariot.] *Pindar* and *Apollodorus*, are among thoſe who ſay that a Thunder-bolt opened the Earth, and that it was a Stroke of Favour from *Jupiter*; for otherwiſe *Amphiaraus* would have had the Diſgrace of being killed by *Periclymenus*, who purſued him.

- - - - ὁ δ’ Ἀμφιάρηϊ
σχίσεν κεραυνῷ παμβίᾳ
Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερνον χθόνα,
κρύψεν δ’ ἅμ’ ἵπποις,
δουρὶ Περικλυμένȣ πρὶν
νῶτα τυπέντα μαχατὰν
θυμὸν αἰσχυνθῆμεν (10).

Jove *ſaw* Amphiarus’ *threatned Shame,*
And darted from on high the miſſive Flame.
The Womb of Earth, diſcloſing at the Blow,
Abſorpt the Hero to the Shades below,
Quick with his Car deſcending; ’ere the Spear
Of Periclymenus, *approaching near,*
Had in his Back infix’d the Coward Wound,
And an inglorious Death the warlike Chief had found.

You find in this, and another Paſſage of the ſame Poet (11), that *Amphiaraus* and his Chariot fell both together into the Precipice. This is the moſt general Tradition (12): But others pretend, that he fell from his Chariot during the Battle, and that the Chariot was afterwards tranſported empty to another Place (13). Their Reaſon is, becauſe the Temple of *Amphiaraus* was but a little diſtant from a certain Village, which was called *Harma* *, and which borrowed it’s Name from his Chariot. They pretended, that the Temple was built where the Prophet died, and that the Village *Harma* was built where the Chariot was tranſported (14). *Pauſanias* calls it a Town, and ſays expreſsly, that it was built, where it is pretended that the Earth had ſwallowed up *Amphiaraus* and his Chariot (15). This was the Pretenſion of the *Tanagrians*; for thoſe of *Thebes* ſhewed another Place, ſituate on the great Road from *Potniæ* to *Thebes*, and encompaſſed with Columns, concerning which they related two pleaſant Miracles. One was, that the Birds never perched on thoſe Columes; the other, that no Beaſt touched the Graſs, which grew in that Place (16). *Stephen* of *Byzantium*, in mentioning the Town of *Harma*, entirely contradicts the Tradition, and the very Author, whom he cites (17); for he aſſerts, that this Town was ſo called, becauſe it was ſaid, that *Amphiaraus* retreated thither in his Chariot, and that the Inhabitants would not deliver him up to thoſe, who purſued him (18). Is not this to pretend, that he ſaved his Life, and to give the Lye to a great number of Authors, who tell us, that he was ſwallowed up in the Bowels of the Earth? The great *Salmaſius* imagined, that there are wanting two or three Words in this Article of *Stephens*; namely, that, after mentioning the Chariot of *Amphiaraus*, he turned the Diſcourſe to that of *Adraſtus*; ſo that what relates to the Refuſal of the Inhabitants, muſt be referred to the latter (19). This Conjecture is ingenious, and may be confirmed by a Paſſage of *Strabo*, where it is ſaid, that the Inhabitants of *Harma*, in *Bœotia*, ſaved the Life of *Adraſtus*, after his Chariot had been broke in that Place (20). The like Conjecture cannot be made in Favour of *Euſtathius*. It muſt be affirmed, without any Heſitation, that, according to his Account (21), the Chief, whom the Inhabitants of *Harma* ſaved, was *Amphiaraus*, and not *Adraſtus*.

Note, That *Strabo* has committed a Miſtake, which *Salmaſius* has not failed to cenſure. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ πȣ καὶ τὸ Ἀμφιαράϊον ἐστι τετιμημένον ποτὲ μαντεῖον, ὅπȣ φυγόντα τὸν, Ἀμφιάρεων, ὥς φησὶ Σοφοκλῆς,

Ἐδέξατο ῥαγεῖσα Θηβαία κόνις,
Αὐτοῖσιν ὅπλοις, καὶ τετραρύμῳ δίφρῳ (22).

Near which Place was the Oracle of Amphiaraus, *formerly had in Veneration, where, according to* Sophocles,

The Theban *Earth, wide opening, ſwallowed down*
The ſinking Chief, his Chariot, and his Arms.

Strabo would prove, that the Oracle of *Amphiaraus*, in the Territory of *Oropus*, was ſituated in the ſame Place, where this Prophet was ſwallowed up by the Earth; and, as a Proof of this, he cites two Verſes of *Sophocles*, which teſtify, that the Earth opened itſelf in the Territory of *Thebes*, to ſwallow up *Amphiaraus* and his Chariot. *Salmaſius* cenſures this with a great deal of Reaſon (23). *Iſaac Voſſius* has taken *Strabo*’s part; but, on this Occaſion, he has made it appear, that too eager a Deſire of finding Faults in the Writings of an Adverſary is a dangerous guide. “Deſinat quoque mirari, *ſays he* (24), quod multi Oropum urbem in regione ſive agro Thebano collocarint. Recte enim hoc ab illis factum, cum Oropus non ſui juris, ſed propia fuerit Thebanorum. Hoc manifeſte Dicæarchus docet, ἡ δὲ πόλις τῶν Ὠρωπίων οἰκεία Θηβῶν ἐστι. - - - - - *Let him ceaſe to wonder, that many place the City* Oropus *in the Region or Territory of* Thebes. *For this is rightly done by them, ſince* Oropus *is not an independant Town, but under the Juriſdiction of* Thebes. *This* Dicæarchus *plainly teaches*; The City of *Oropus*, *ſays he*, belongs to *Thebes*.” In the firſt place, what is advanced by *Dicæarchus*, being taken in general Terms, and ſo as to ſuit to all Times, is not true. *Oropus* was a long time a Matter of Diſpute between the *Athenians* and the *Thebans*. At laſt the former obtained a full Poſſeſſion of it, after *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken the City of *Thebes* (25). In the ſecond place, becauſe *Oropus* belonged to the *Thebans*, it does not follow, that it was in the Territory of *Thebes*, *in agro Thebano*. An Author, quoted by *Plutarch*, affirms that the Town of *Harma* was built, where the Battel was fought between the *Argives* and *Thebans*, and where *Amphiaraus* was ſwallowed up (26). It is a Geographical Error; but much leſs ridiculous, than what the ſame Author relates, that, on the Day, which preceded the Battel, an Eagle carried away the Lance of *Amphiaraus*, while the Generals were at Dinner together, and, having carried it aloft, let it fall again: It took root in the Earth, and became a Tree. Τὸ δὲ παγὲν ἐν γῇ δάφνη ἐγένετο (27). *Being fixed in the Earth, it became a Laurel.* The following Words of the Scholiaſt upon *Statius* have been cenſured. “Civitas in illo loco poſt eſt condita, in quo hiatus terræ Amphiaraum recepit, quæ Amphiarma vocatur, ut Homerus ait, quod illic curru, quem Græci ἅρμα vocant, deciderit, in quo etiam Oraculum eſt, quod Græcè Amphiaraon vocatur. - - - - - - *A City was afterwards built in the Place, where the opening Earth ſwallowed up* Amphiaraus, *which, according to* Homer, *is called* Amphiarma, *becauſe there he fell from his Chariot, called by the* Greeks ἅρμα; *where likewiſe is an Oracle, called in* Greek Amphiaraon.” *Barthius* (28) pretends, that this Scholiaſt alledges, improperly, the Teſtimony of *Homer*, ſince nothing like it is to be found in the Book of the *Odyſſey*, where mention is made of *Amphiaraus* (29). He adds, that, perhaps, the Name of *Homer* crept in by the Error of the Copyiſts; and that, without this Suppoſition, we muſt ſay, that the Scholiaſt’s Memory failed him; a Miſfortune to which he is frequently ſubject, as well as others. “Vel alium ergo autorem nominavit intruſo nunc Homeri ti-

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(*e*) *See the Article* ALCMÆON, *Son of* AMPHIARAUS.

(*f*) Charles Stephens, *and* Lloyd, *in their Dictionaries.* Oliverius *upon* Val. Max. lib. 8. ſub. finem, *and many others.*

(10) Pindar. Nemeor. Od. 9. pag. 611, 612. *See* Apollodorus, lib. 3. pag. 193.

(11) Id. Pind. Od. 6. Olymp. pag. 98.

(12) *See* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 4. cap. 68.

(13) Strabo- lib. 9. pag. 2,8.

* Ἅρμα, *in* Greek, *ſignifies a* Chariot.

(14) Id. ib.

(15) Pauſan. lib. 9. pag. 296.

(16) Id. ib. pag. 288.

(17) *He quotes the 9th Book of* Pauſanias.

(18) Steph. Byzantin in voce Ἅρμα.

(19) *See* Berkelius’s *Notes upon this Paſſage of* Steph. Byzant.

(20) Strabo, lib. 9. pag. 278.

(21) Euſtathius, in Il. lib. 2. pag. 266.

(22) Strabo, ibid. pag. 275.

(23) Salmaſ. Exercit. Plin. pag. 167.

(24) Iſ. Voſſius, in Pompon. Melam. pag. 152.

(25) Pauſan. lib. 1. pag. 33. *See in* Pinedo’s *Notes upon* Stephanus Byzantinus, voce Ὠρωπός, *ſome Paſſages, which ſhew that this Town belonged to the* Athenians.

(26) Triſimachus, lib. 3. de conditis urbibus, apud Plut. in Parallelis, pag. 307.

(27) Id. ib.

(28) Barthius, in Statii Theb. lib. 8. ver. 207. pag. 831. Tom. 2.

(29) Odyſſ. O. ver. 245.

Day the Army drew near *Thebes*, are miſtaken; for he did not die till the Day of the Retreat; and the Siege had continued for ſome time. This Tragical Adventure has been the Theme of many Writers; whence it has happened, that the Circumſtances have not been uniformly related. Several weak Reflexions have been made on this kind of Death [*C*]. It was believed, that *Amphiaraus* returned from Hell

" tulo Lutatius, vel errorem erravit nec ipſi inſolitum, nec aliis paris momenti auctoribus infrequentem (30)." This Criticiſm is not juſt; it ſhould have been applied another Way. *Barthius* ſhould have ſaid, in the firſt place, that the Town, built where *Amphiaraus* periſhed, was called *Harma*, and not *Amphiarma:* Secondly, that *Homer* has only mentioned it, without making any Etymological Remark.

> Οἱ τ' ἀμφ' Ἁρμ' ἐνέμοντο· (31)
>
> *Or* Harma, *where* Apollo's *Prophet fell.* POPE.

In the third place, that the Oracle of that Prophet was not at *Harma*.

I ſhall conclude this Remark with a Paſſage of *Barthius*, who informs us, that ſome have thought, that the Pagans alluded here to the Story of *Korah* and *Abiram*. " Placet non plane abſurdam conjecturam veteris adnotatoris proponere; per hunc caſum alludi à paganis ſcriptoribus ad vindictam divinam in Sacerdotes Hebræi populi, *Datamum* nimirum, & *Abiramum*, quos, non rite rebus ſacris miniſtrantes, Deus Omnipotens coram omni illa gente vivos ad inferos per hiatum terræ ſubitum dejecerit. Ei rei reſpondere nonnihil etiam poſterius dicti vocabulum; facile enim ex *Abiramo* gentilium deliria *Amphiaraum* feciſſe, quem, *Iſraëlita* gente jam eo loco remota, quo loco iſta abſorptio acciderit, conſecraſſe poſtmodum, Satana inſtituente oraculum. Et inde cultum impii hominis alorſum longe lateque propagatum (32). - - - - - - - *I ſhall ſet before you the plauſible Conjecture of an old Annotator; namely, that the Pagan Writers, in this Event, alluded to the Divine Vengeance on the* Hebrew *Prieſts*, Dathan *and* Abiram, *whom, at the Command of God, the Earth opening ſwallowed up alive, in the ſight of all the People, as a Puniſhment for their prophane Miniſtration of the Sacred Rites. And indeed the Name of the laſt mentioned in ſome manner confirms this Conjecture; it being eaſy for the wild Imaginations of the* Gentiles, *to convert* Abiramus *into* Amphiaraus; *and, as the People of* Iſrael *were removed from that Place, where this ſwallowing-up happened, they afterwards deify'd this Perſon; the Devil at the ſame time inſtituting an Oracle to him. Thus the Worſhip of an otherwiſe impious Man was ſpread far and near.*"

[*C*] *Several weak Reflexions have been made on this kind of Death.*] Some have thought, that the Order of Nature was overturned by it; That Order, I mean, according to which the Parts of a Compound, when diſſolved, ought to return each to it's proper Place: For Example, when a Man dies, his Soul ought to fly up to Heaven, from whence it came; and his Body, taken from the Earth, ſhould return thither. *Amphiaraus* did not enjoy this Privilege; for the Earth ſwallowed him up, Body and Soul: She was not ſatisfied with reſuming what belonged to her; ſhe muſt needs detain likewiſe what ſhe had no right to. The Soothſayer *Theodamas* ſeems to complain of this.

> - - - - - - liceat, precor, ordine belli
> Pugnaces efflare animas, & reddere cœlo.
> Ne rape tam ſubitis ſpirantia corpora buſtis,
> Ne propera: veniemus enim quo limite cuncti
> Qua licet ire via (33).
>
> *Let us the common Fate of Battel ſhare;*
> *O! let us breath our warlike Souls in Air;*
> *Permit the Hero's Spirit, when he dies,*
> *Aſcending to regain it's native Skies;*
> *Nor bid our Chiefs thus immaturely go,*
> *Alive and breathing, to the Shades below.*
> *Forbear to haſten Life's approaching Date,*
> *Nor thus anticipate the Hero's Fate.*
> *Death, ſuited to their Lives, awaits the Brave,*
> *And ſoon we all ſhall reach th' appointed Grave.*

A Commentator ſays hereupon, " Iniquitas manifeſta *Telluri* hic exprobratur, qua animam Amphiarai cum corpore egerit deorſum (34) - - - - - - *The Earth is here charged with a manifeſt Act of Injuſtice, in carrying downwards the Soul of* Amphiaraus, *together with his Body.*" He had juſt before mentioned an excellent Doctrine of *Epicharmus*. *Man was made by an Union of two Parts; they ſeparate; and each returns from whence it came; the Earth to the Earth, and the Spirit on high: There is nothing amiſs in this.* Καλῶς οὖν Ἐπίχαρμος, συνεκρίθη, φησὶ, καὶ διεκρίθη, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὅθεν ἦλθε πάλιν, γᾶ μὲν εἰς γᾶν, πνεῦμα δὲ ἄνωτι. τῶν δὲ χαλεπὸν οὐδὲ ἕν. *Præclarè igitur Epicharmus, concretum, inquit, fuit, & diſcretum eſt, rediitque unde venerat, terra deorſum, Spiritus ſurſum. Quid ex his omnibus iniquum eſt? nihil* (35). This Thought is to be met with in the Writings of ſeveral Pagan Authors (36), and even in the Verſes of *Lucretius*, as I have obſerved in another Place (37). This was at leaſt to have a general Notion of the Truth: But they, who imagined that the Soul of *Amphiaraus* did not enjoy the Liberty of re-uniting itſelf to it's Principle, were groſly miſtaken. Although it had not been immaterial, but of the Nature of the Stars, it would eaſily have found the Means of remounting. The Poets, who ſaid, that he was yet alive, when he came into Hell, made the return of his Soul to the Celeſtial Regions more difficult; for it ſeems to be more eaſy to mount upwards, if the tendency that way begins but a little below the Surface of the Earth, than if we ſink to the Center of it, before we begin our Flight towards Heaven. But theſe Poetical Fancies are not ſerious enough to be regarded, and I fear my Readers will ſcarce excuſe me, if I inſert the following Lines.

> —ecce alte præceps humus, ore profundo,
> Diſſilit, inque vicem timuerunt ſidera, & umbræ.
> Illum ingens haurit ſpecus, & tranſire parantes
> Mergit equos: non arma manu, non frena remiſit;
> Sicut erat, rectos defert in Tartara currus (38).
>
> - - - - - - *when lo! the Ground,*
> *Parting, diſclos'd it's opening Mouth profound.*
> *Stars trembled at the Sight; Ghoſts fled diſmay'd,*
> *And mutual Fear both Heav'n and Hell betray'd.*
> *As o'er the Plain the rattling Car he drove,*
> *And to o're-leap th' Abyſs his Horſes ſtrove,*
> *Deep in Earth's Womb engulph'd the Hero fell,*
> *And, arm'd, deſcended to the Shades of Hell.*
> *Even in his Fall, he govern'd ſtill the Car,*
> *And, ſinking, brandiſh'd ſtill the threat'ning Spear.*

He was yet alive, when he firſt ſaw the *Deſtinies*; they did not cut the Thread of his Life, 'till after their ſurprize at ſeeing the Prophet in his Chariot, in the infernal Regions.

> - - - - - - - quin cominus ipſa
> Fatorum deprenſa colus; viſoque paventes
> Augure, tum demum rumpebant ſtamina Parcæ (39).
>
> *His Thread of Life not yet it's Length had run;*
> *The Wheel revolv'd, and ſtill the* Parcæ *ſpun.*
> *When* Pluto's *Courts they ſaw the Augur tread,*
> *Then firſt th' aſtoniſh'd Siſters cut the Thread.*

It will be thought leſs ſtrange, that I obſerve the Contradiction, into which this Poet is fallen. He ſuppoſes, that *Amphiaraus*, a little before he was ſwallowed up, reſtored to *Phœbus* the Prophetic Enſigns, as things, which ought not to be carried down to *Pluto*'s Kingdom.

> Accipe commiſſum capiti decus, accipe laurus,
> Quas Erebo deferre nefas (40).

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(30) Barthius, ubi ſupra.

(31) Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. ver. 499.

(32) Barth. in ſept. lib. Thebaid. Statii, ver. 784. p. 773. Tom. 3.

(33) Statius, Thebaid. lib. 8. ver. 323.

(34) Barth. in Statium, Tom 3. pag. 862.

(35) Plutarch. de Conſolat. pag. 110.

(36) *See* Barthius, *who quotes many of them, in his Comment. upon* Statius, Tom. 2. pag. 284.

(37) *In the Remark* [*E*] *of the Article* PRUDENTIUS.

(38) Statius, Thebaid. lib. 7. ver. 816.

(39) Id. ib. lib. 8. v. 11.

(40) Id. ib. lib. 7. ver. 784.

Hell [*D*], and the Scene of his Reſurrection has been deſcribed: he was placed among the Gods: Temples were conſecrated to him: His Oracle was very famous [*E*]. The Games, which were inſtituted in Honour of him (*b*), made a great Noiſe. 'Tis

(*b*) *See* Benedictus *upon* Pindar. Od. 7. Olymp. pag. 143.

- - - - - - - - - - *and now,*
Receive theſe Lawrels, Phœbus, *from my Brow.*
To Death, thus crown'd, your Prophet muſt not go,
Nor bear theſe Honours to the Shades below.

In another place, he ſuppoſes, that *Phœbus* confeſſed, that his Prophet deſcended into Hell, with all the Enſigns of his Office:

- - - - - utinam indulgere precanti
Fata darent! en ipſe mei (pudet) irritus arma
Cultoris, frondeſque ſacras, ad inania vidi
Tartara, & in memet verſos deſcendere vultus (41).

(41) Id. ib. lib. 9. ver. 652.

O! that Apollo *might have lent an Ear,*
Propitious, to his dying Prophet's Prayer!
But Fate withſtood: Unable to aſſiſt,
I ſaw deſcend to Hell my fav'rite Prieſt.
MY Laurels grac'd him, in that fatal Hour,
And all the ſacred Enſigns of my Power.
In vain with ſupplicating Looks he pray'd;
In vain Apollo's *Prieſt implor'd* Apollo's *Aid.*

Barthius, who has taken notice of this Miſtake, obſerves, that there are ſeveral of the ſame Nature in the *Thebaid* of this Poet. "Hoc genus plurima connivet magnanimus hic Vates; & duodecim tamen annorum limam referre vult ſuam Thebaidem (42). — *This lofty Poet has inadvertently let ſlip ſeveral Errors of this kind; and yet he pretends, that his* Thebaïd *carries the Poliſh of twelve Years.*"

(42) Barth. in Stat. Tom. 3. pag. 773.

[*D*] *It was believed that* Amphiaraus *returned from Hell.*] Some Authors affect to ſay, that he *diſappeared*: Ἀμφιάραος δὲ χανέσης τῆς γῆς ἐμπεσων εἰς τὸ χάσμα μετὰ τοῦ ἅρματος ἀφάνης ἐγένετο (43). *Amphiaraus vero dehiſcente terra cadens in hiatum cum curru inconſpicuus evaſit. Apollodorus* adds this Reaſon, becauſe *Jupiter* had immortalized him. Ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ ἅρματι --- ἐκρύφθη, καὶ Ζεὺς ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν. *Is vero cum curru abſorptus eſt, & poſtea nunquam viſus: illum enim Jupiter immortalitate donavit* (44). This was ſufficient to induce the *Hebraizers* to ſay, that the Pagans alluded in him to the Hiſtory of *Enoch*. Some other Authors are poſitive in the matter: They ſuppoſe that *Amphiaraus* died, and that he actually deſcended into *Pluto*'s Kingdom; but that, afterwards, he re-aſcended to the upper Regions; nay they marked the very place, where he aſcended; which was a Fountain near the Temple, which the Inhabitants of *Oropus* (45) built in Honour of him. The Devotion paid to this Fountain was remarkable: No Sacrifices were offered there; the Water of it was not uſed, either in Purifications, or in waſhing of Hands; *only* thoſe, who were healed of any Diſeaſe, by means of the Oracle, caſt a piece of Gold or Silver into it. Ἔστι δὲ Ὠρωπίοις πηγὴ πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, ἣν Ἀμφιαράου καλοῦσιν, οὔτε θύοντες οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὴν, οὔτ᾽ ἐπικαθαρσίοις ἢ χέρνιβι χρῆσθαι νομίζοντες. Νόσου δὲ ἀκεσθείσης ἀνδρὶ μαντεύματος γινομένου, καθέστηκεν ἄργυρον ἀφεῖναι καὶ χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον ἐς τὴν πηγήν. ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀνελθεῖν τὸν Ἀμφιάραον λέγουσιν ἤδη θεόν (46). *Eſt etiam apud Oropios fons templo proximus, quem Amphiarai nuncupant: ad quem neque divinam rem faciunt, neque aut ad luſtrandum, aut ad manus lavandas, aqua ea uti fas putant:* Solum, *qui morbo oraculi monitu levati fuerint, ſignatum aurum argentumve more majorum in fontem abjiciunt. Hinc enim jam deum Amphiaraum aſcendiſſe tradunt.* Note, that the Reſurrection of *Amphiaraus* was not univerſally believed, and that there were ſome, who ventured to deny it upon the Stage: Witneſs this Verſe, quoted by *Cicero*.

(43) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 4.

(44) Apollodor. lib. 3. pag. 193.

(45) *A Town ſituated between* Attica *and* Bœotia.

(46) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 33.

Audiſne hæc, Amphiarae ſub terram abdite (47)?

From Earth's dark Womb, O Prophet, do'ſt thou hear?

(47) Cicero Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 2. ſub fin.

[*E*] *Temples were conſecrated to him: His Oracle was very famous.*] The Inhabitants of *Oropus* were the firſt, who deified *Amphiaraus*. They built a Temple to him, twelve *Stadia* from their Town, in the place where the Earth opened and ſwallowed up him, and his Chariot (48). We have already ſeen (49), that there were divers Opinions about the true Situation of the Place, where he was ſwallowed up. However it be, all *Greece* joined with the *Oropians* (50), in the Apotheoſis of this Prophet. They agreed, that the Oracle of this new God was to be conſulted in the Temple, which they had built to him. *Pauſanias* informs us, that a Collection of Oracles in *Hexameter* Verſe contributed greatly to give the People an high Opinion of *Amphiaraus*; becauſe the Author of this Collection inſerted the Anſwer, which this Diviner had given, concerning the War of *Thebes*. This was much to his Reputation; for People were prejudiced with an Opinion, that, in former times, only Perſons inſpired by *Apollo* gave Anſwers *viva voce*; I mean, after the manner of an Oracle. Other Soothſayers were employed only in explaining the Preſages of Birds, and Victims, or Dreams. But, whatever Advantage this gave our *Amphiaraus* over his Fellows, yet People were not perſuaded, that his true Function was the ſame with that of the Divinity of *Delphi*; for they conſulted him only to receive Anſwers from him by Dreams; which is a Proof, that, during his Life, he chiefly applied himſelf to the Interpretation of Dreams. This ſeems to me to be the Subſtance of *Pauſanias*'s Narrative (51). I do not find that *Romulus Amaſæus* has rightly tranſlated it; and I chuſe to depend upon the Verſion of *Vigenere*, though not very exact. It is this. "Jophon Cnoſſien, l'un des interpretes des Oracles, publia ceux d'Amphiaraus, en vers hexametres, *&c. i. e. Jophon* of *Cnoſſus*, one of the Interpreters of Oracles, publiſhed thoſe of *Amphiaraus* in *Hexameter* Verſe; which had ſuch an Influence upon the People, that they flocked to them on a ſudden from all Parts. For none of the Soothſayers, except thoſe, who formerly were inſpired by the Enthuſiaſm of *Apollo*, pronounced any Oracles, but were all Interpreters of Dreams, or foretold things to come by the Flight of Birds, or by the Entrails of ſacrificed Beaſts. Whence it appears, that *Amphiaraus* addicted himſelf chiefly to the Interpretation of Dreams; which we infer from hence, that, after his Deification, he inſtituted this manner of Divination. And, in the firſt place, thoſe, who go to his Oracle, muſt be well and duly purified: Which Purgation or Cleanſing conſiſts in orderly ſacrificing to this God, and performing the requiſite Ceremonies as well towards him, as towards all the reſt, whoſe Names are written there. After this, having offered a Sheep, they ſtretch the Skin on the Ground, and ſleep upon it, expecting the Anſwer to their Requeſt, which they are to receive in a Dream (52)." *Philoſtratus* informs us of ſome other Ceremonies, which were obſerved in that Place. "The Gods, *ſays he* (53), are wont to grant Oracles to thoſe, who are ſober; for there was once a Prophet in *Greece*, whoſe Name was *Amphiaraus*. I believe, *interrupted the King*, you mean him, who was the Son of *Iocles*, who, in his return from *Thebes*, was ſwallowed up by the Earth. Him, and none elſe, anſwered *Apollonius*; who, to this Day, pronounces Oracles in the *Athenian* Territory, and ſends to thoſe, who require it of him, an Anſwer to their Demands by Dreams. But the Prieſts of the Place enjoin thoſe, who come thither to conſult him, to abſtain a whole Day from all manner of Fleſh, and three Days from Wine, to the end that they may the better conceive and retain in their pure Thoughts the Reaſons of the Things, which ſhall be declared to them in Dreams. If Wine were a proper means to cauſe Sleep, the ſage *Amphiaraus* would, without doubt, have preſcribed it to the Dreamers; and would have enjoined them to eat and drink to exceſs, before they deſcended into the moſt private Receſſes of the Temple, where ſuch Oracles were given." Obſerve, that *Philoſtratus* aſſures us, that, in the Time of *Apollonius*, the Oracle of *Amphiaraus* was ſtill in Repute; and yet *Plutarch* confeſſes, that all the Oracles of *Bœotia* (54),

(48) Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

(49) *In Remark* [*B*].

(50) Pauſan. ibid.

(51) Id. ib.

(52) Vigenere *upon the* Amphiaraus *of* Philoſtratus, p. 400. Tom. 1.

(53) Philoſtrati Vita Apollon. lib. 2. cap. 11. pag. 476. *agreeable to the Tranſlation of* Vigenere.

(54) Plutarch de Oraculorum defectu, pag. 411.

'Tis thought that he chiefly excelled in Divination by Dreams; but this was not all; for he was the Inventor likewiſe of Divination by Fire [*F*]. He conceived ſuch an inveterate Hatred againſt his Wife, that he commanded the Children, whom he had by her, to kill her (*i*), as ſoon as their Age would permit. Great Praiſes have been beſtowed upon him; and among others This, That he endeavoured to *be* an honeſt Man,

among which he reckons this, were ceaſed (55). Let us lay no Streſs upon *Apollonius*'s placing this Oracle in *Attica*, and not, as *Plutarch* does, in *Bœotia*. They both mean the ſame Place; for the Country of *Oropus* being conteſted between the *Athenians* and the *Thebans*, the former pretending it belonged to *Attica* (56), and the latter, that it was part of *Bœotia*; hence it was, that ſome Authors tell us, that the Temple of *Amphiaraus* was in *Bœotia*, and others, that it was in *Attica*. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, objecting to the Pagans the Ceſſation of their Oracles, mentions That of *Amphiaraus* by Name (57); thus here is a ſecond Evidence againſt the Hero of *Philoſtratus*. Let us remark by the Way, that he takes notice of it in another Place, which his Tranſlator has perverted. It is this: Ἢ τὸν Ἀμφιάρεον τὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατεύσασι μιᾷ γενεᾷ τῆς Ἰλίου ἁλώσεως πρεσβύτερον φερόμενον· The Tranſlator ſays *Aut Amphiaraum, qui, cum ſeptem qui adverſus Thebas bellum geſſerunt, fertur Troja capta una generatione fuiſſe* poſterior. He ſhould have ſaid *prior* (58). The Senſe is; Or *Amphiaraus*, who, with the ſeven, who warred againſt *Thebes*, is ſaid to have lived one Generation before the taking of *Troy*.

Herodotus can inform us, how much this Oracle was eſteemed; for he ſays, that of all thoſe, which *Crœſus*, King of *Lydia*, ſent to conſult, this alone, and That of *Delphi*, returned proper Anſwers, and received noble Gifts from that Monarch (59). I am ſurprized at what he obſerves, that the Preſents, ſent by *Crœſus* to the Oracle of *Amphiaraus*, were depoſited in the Temple of *Apollo Iſmenius*, in the City of *Thebes* (60). Why were they not conſecrated in *Amphiaraus*'s own Temple? Or why, in default of this, were they not rather carried to any other City, than *Thebes*, whoſe Inhabitants had incurred a Mark of Ignominy, with reſpect to this Oracle; for they were forbidden to ſleep in the Temple of *Amphiaraus*; which was the only way to be informed of future Events in that Place? The Reaſon of this Prohibition was, that, *Amphiaraus* having offered the *Thebans* to be their Soothſayer, or their Fellow-Soldier, they made choice of the latter. You will find theſe Particulars in *Herodotus* (61), with ſo clear a Diſtinction between the Temple of *Apollo Iſmenius*, and that of *Amphiaraus*, that I wonder how *Barthius* (62) could ſay, there was no Difference between them. *Herodotus* relates this, ſpeaking of an *European*, who was ſent by *Mardonius*, to conſult the Oracles of *Greece*. He could not tell by what Dream *Amphiaraus* diſcovered to this General of the King of *Perſia* the ill Fortune which attended him. *Plutarch* was better informed of it; for he relates the Dream (63). Some Authors ſay, that *Amphiaraus* appeared to thoſe who conſulted him. Ἀμφιάρεος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Τροφώνιος ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ Ἀμφίλοχος ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ χρησμῳδοῦσί τε καὶ φαίνονται. οὗτοι δὲ πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς διατάττουσιν ὥσπερ ἀστέρες περίπολοι (64). I believe they mean, that he appeared to them in a Dream. However it be, his Oracle was no leſs eſteemed, than that of *Delphi*, or that of *Dodona*, or that of *Jupiter Hammon*. *Valerius Maximus* tells us this. "Eadem gens ſummo conſenſu ad Amphiaraum decorandum incubuit, locum, in quo humatus eſt, in formam conditionemque templi redigendo, atque inde oracula capi inſtituendo. Cujus cineres idem honoris poſſident, quod Pythicæ Cortinæ, quod aheno Dodonæ, quod Hammonis fonti datur (65). ------ *The ſame People were unanimous in honouring* Amphiaraus, *by building a Temple over the Place, where he was buried, and ordering that he ſhould be enquired of, as an Oracle. The ſame Honour was paid to his Aſhes, as to the* Pythian *Tripod, the Cauldron of* Dodona, *and the Fountain of* Jupiter Hammon." *Cicero* does not ſay ſo much; yet he ſpeaks with Commendation of it. "Amphiaraum ſic honoravit fama Græciæ, deus ut haberetur, atque ut ab ejus ſolo, in quo eſt humatus, oracula peterentur (66). —— Amphiaraus *was ſo honoured by* Greece, *that he was deified, and the Place, where he was buried, became oracular.*"

Note, That there was at *Corinth* a Temple of *Amphiaraus* (67); but give no credit to *Pomponius Mela* (68), nor to *Solinus* (69), who ſay there was one at *Rhamnus*; for they are miſtaken: It was not there, but near *Oropus*, as I have already obſerved, and as may be proved from *Dicæarchus*, *Strabo*, and *Pauſanias*, &c. See *Iſaac Voſſius*, pag. 151 of his Commentary on *Pomponius Mela*.

[*F*] *He chiefly excelled in Divination by Dreams ------ for he was the Inventor likewiſe of Divination by Fire.*] As to this Invention, I can only cite theſe Words of *Pliny*: "Aruſpicium Delphus (*invenit*) igniſpicia Amphiaraus, auſpicia avium Tireſias Thebanus, interpretationem oſtentorum & ſomniorum Amphictyon (70). —— Delphus *was the Inventor of Divination by the Entrails of Beaſts,* Amphiaraus *of that by Fire,* Tireſias *the* Theban *of that of Birds, and* Amphictyon *of the Interpretation of Prodigies and Dreams.*" *Statius* makes no mention of this Particular; though he is pleaſed frequently to take notice of the Ability of *Amphiaraus*, in propheſying by ſeveral Methods. His Words are;

> Quis mihi ſidereos lapſus, mentemque ſiniſtri
> Fulguris, aut cæſis ſaliat quod numen in extis,
> Quando iter, unde moræ, quæ ſævis utilis armis,
> Quæ pacem magis hora velit, quis jam omne futurum
> Proferet? aut cum quo volucres mea fata loquentur (71)?

> *Who now ſhall read the Omens of the Skies,*
> *Or tell the Thunder's meaning, as it flies?*
> *Who in the panting Entrails ſhall explore*
> *What Heaven decrees, and read each lucky Hour;*
> *For journeying which or beſt or worſt is found;*
> *When War or Peace ſhall with Succeſs be crown'd?*
> *Who, after him, Futurity ſhall ſcan,*
> *And from the Birds enquire the Fate of Man?*

Thus he expreſſes the Grief of the whole Army for the Death of this Prophet. He ſays, in another place:

> ----- quantum ſubito diverſus ab illo,
> Qui tripodas lauruſque ſequi, qui doctus in omni
> Nube ſalutato volucrem cognoſcere Phœbo (72).

> *How on a ſudden chang'd from him, who late*
> *Learn'd from the Tripod the Decrees of Fate;*
> *Skillful (due Honours firſt to* Phœbus *paid)*
> *The winged* Oracles *of Air to read!*

I omit ſeveral other Paſſages of the ſame Nature; chuſing rather to obſerve, that this Poet does not inſiſt on the chief Character of this Prophet, which was to foretel by Dreams, as I have already obſerved (73). He was the firſt who abſtained from Beans, as being prejudicial to this Science (74). Πρῶτος δὲ ἀπέσχετο κυάμων Ἀμφιάρεος δια τὴν δι' ὀνείρων μαντείαν· *Amphiaraus primus abſtinuit à fabis ob divinationem per ſomnia* (75). It will not be improper to take notice, in this place, how he became a Prophet. "He went into a certain Houſe, as ignorant of Futurity as any one elſe; but the next Day he came out of it perfectly qualified to be a Prophet. The Houſe was ſhut up from that time, and was called *Fatidica, The Houſe of Prediction.*" It had, with reſpect to Divination, the ſame Virtue, which the Poets aſcribed to *Parnaſſus*, with reſpect to Poetry.

> Nec in bicipiti ſomniaſſe Parnaſſo
> Memini, ut ſic derepente Poeta prodirem (76).

> *Nor on* Parnaſſus *(well I know it)*
> *Slept I myſelf into a Poet.*

It made a Man a Prophet in one Night; and it might then be ſaid, that Good comes by ſleeping. We learn this from a Paſſage of *Pauſanias*; and that this Metamorphoſis

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(*i*) *This was executed by his Son* Alcmæon. *See his Article.*

(55) *He excepts that of* Lebadia.

(56) *See* Pauſanias, lib. 1. pag. 33. *and* Strabo, lib. 9. pag. 275.

(57) Clemens Alexandrin. in Protreptico, pag. 9.

(58) Id. Strom. lib. 1. p. 334. C. Barthius in Stat. Tom. 2. pag. 138. *adopts the Fault of the Tranſlator, and imputes it to* Clemens Alexandrinus.

(59) Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 46. & ſeq.

(60) Id. ib. cap. 52.

(61) Id. lib. 8. cap. 134.

(62) Barthius, ubi ſupra, pag. 137.

(63) Plutarch de Orac. defectu, pag. 412.

(64) Ariſtides Orat. in Aſclepiadas, apud Barthium, in Statium, pag. 138.

(65) Valer. Maximus, l. 8. ſub fin.

(66) Cicero de Divinat. l. 1. cap 40.

(67) Pauſan. lib. 2. p. 65.

(68) Pomponius Mela, lib. 2. cap. 3.

(69) Solin. cap. 7.

(70) Plinius, lib. 7. c. 56.

(71) Statius, Thebaid l. 8. ver. 177.

(72) Id. ib. lib. 7. ver. 706.

(73) *In Remark* [*E*].

(74) *See Remark* [*I*] *of the Article* PYTHAGORAS.

(75) Geoponic. lib. 2. apud Barthium, ubi ſupra, Tom. 2. pag. 137.

(76) Perſius, in Prologo.

Man, and not to *appear* ſo [*G*]. A noble Subject for Reflexions [*H*]. If I am not miſtaken,

Metamorphoſis of *Amphiaraus* came to paſs at *Phthia* (77). Ὄπισθεν δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἐστὶν οἶκος ὀνομαζόμενος ὑπὸ Φλιασίων μαντικός. ἐς τοῦτον Ἀμφιάρεως ἐλθὼν, καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἐγκατακοιμηθεὶς, μαντεύσθαι τότε πρῶτον, ὡς οἱ Φλιάσιοί φασιν, ἤξατο. τέως δὲ ἦν Ἀμφιάραος τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ἰδιώτης τὲ καὶ οὐ μάντις. καὶ τὸ οἴκημα ἀπὸ τούτου συγκέκλεισται τὸν πάντα ἤδη χρόνον. *In poſtica fori parte domus eſt, quam Phliaſii* Fatidicam *nuncupant: in eam enim ingreſſus* Amphiaraus *(quemadmodum ipſi narrant Phliaſii) cum noctem unam obdormiſſet, ſtatim divinare cœpit, cum antè indoctus plane fuiſſet. Id cum ita eveniſſet, in reliquum omne tempus occluſæ illæ ædes fuerunt.*

[G] *Great Praiſes have been beſtowed upon him - - - - - - that he endeavoured to* be *a Virtuous Man, and not to* appear *ſo.*] *Adraſtus,* in his Complaint for the Death of *Amphiaraus*, declares, that he had loſt the Eye of his Army, both a Prophet, and a good Soldier.

Ποθέω στρατιᾶς
Ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς, ἀμφότερον,
Μαντίν τ' ἀγαθὸν
Καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθαι (78).

Deſidero exercitus oculum mei
Utrumque vatem bonum & ad pugnandum haſta.

Indeed he was a Diviner, not active in Mind alone; His Arm of Fleſh was formidable, and he excelled in bodily Exerciſes. It is ſaid that he made a terrible Slaughter of the Enemy the Day in which he died.

Ardet inexpleto ſævi mavortis amore,
Et fruitur dextra, atque anima flagrante ſuperbit.
Hic hominum caſus lenire & demere fatis
Jura frequens, quantum ſubito diverſus ab illo,
(80). - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Innumeram ferro plebem, ceu letifer annus,
Aut jubar adverſi grave ſideris, immolat umbris
Ipſe ſuis (81).

Inſatiate Love of Battle fires his Breaſt,
And his Soul's cruel Tranſport ſtands confeſt.
He triumphs in his own unconquer'd Might,
Exults in Slaughter, and enjoys the Fight.
He, who was wont to mitigate, of late,
The Woes of Mortals, and controul their Fate,
How on a ſudden chang'd, &c.
By his dire Sword, with Blood of thouſands red,
(So baleful Stars their murd'rous Influence ſhed),
To his own Ghoſt, e'er yet it ſunk to Hell,
Whole Hecatombs of human Victims fell.

In a Word, he was an Hero, as well as a Prophet; a Quality proper for one, who to Royalty joined the Knowledge of Futurity. *Statius* calls him the Royal Prophet.

Jamque erit ille dies, quo te quoque conſcia fati
Templa colant, reddatque tuus reſponſa ſacerdos,
Talia FATIDICO peragunt ſolennia REGI (82).

Altars and Temples ſoon ſhall riſe to Thee,
And Prieſts, thy own, reveal the Fates' Decree;
Such Rites be thine, as at his Votaries Hands
Even now the ſage PROPHETIC KING *demands.*

As for what concerns his Dexterity in the Exerciſes, in which the *Greeks* ſtrove ſo much to obtain the Victory, I need only obſerve, that our *Amphiaraus* obtained the Prize of the *Race*, and That of the *Diſcus*, in the *Nemean* Games, which the Generals celebrated in their March againſt the City of *Thebes* (83). Take notice of theſe Words of *Steſichorus*:

Θρώσκων μὲν γὰρ Ἀμφιάραος
Ἄκοντι δὲ νίκασεν Μελέαγρος (84).

Amphiaraus *bore away the Prize in Vaulting,* Meleager *in throwing the Launce.*

As to the rare Qualities of his Soul, ſee the eighth Book of the *Thebaid*, and the Tragedy of *Æſchylus*, entituled ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, *ſeptem contra Thebas*, out of which I ſhall produce a Paſſage in the Remark [*I*], and three fine Verſes in the following Remark. See likewiſe the Commendations beſtowed on his Modeſty, in a Fragment of the Emperor *Julian* (85).

[*H*] *A noble Subject for Reflexions*] The Matter of Fact, according to *Plutarch*, is this. "*Ariſtides* "was never puffed up with any Honour which was "paid him, nor dejected and troubled at any Repulſe or Refuſal; being always of Opinion that a "good Citizen ought to offer himſelf Body and Soul "for the Service of his Country without hoping or "expecting the mercenary Hire either of Riches or "Glory. For which Reaſon it was, that, at the recital of theſe Verſes of *Æſchylus*, on the Stage, in "Commendation of the old *Augur Amphiaraus*,

Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει,
Βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,
Ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα *.

He aims at being *juſt, not* ſeeming *ſo;*
The Fruit of Virtue grows up in his Mind,
Whence ſage Advice and prudent Counſels ſpring;

"The Eyes of all the Spectators were immediately "turned on *Ariſtides*, as if the Elogium of this Virtue was particularly applicable to him. For he was "a moſt ſtrenuous Champion for Juſtice, nor was "ever induced to violate it, either by Favour and "Friendſhip, or by Hate and Reſentment (86)." This is the fineſt Encomium in the World. *Amphiaraus* was worthy of Admiration, if he deſerved it: *Ariſtides*, who ſeemed to deſerve it, is an incomparable Man.

Let us make a few Reflexions on a Subject, which will afford an infinite Number, and obſerve, I. That if the Pagans did not practiſe true Virtue, at leaſt they perfectly underſtood it; for they praiſed thoſe, who, in doing a good Action, did not propoſe to themſelves either a pecuniary Intereſt, or public Applauſe; and they deſpiſed thoſe, whoſe End, in the Exerciſe of Virtue, was Reputation, Glory, or the Applauſe of their Neighbour. Be as diſintereſted as you pleaſe with reſpect to Riches and Employments; if you are not ſo, with reſpect to Praiſe, you ſtill act meanly; you are not recovered from the Diſeaſe of Self-love; you are only diſengaged from the groſſeſt Snares; you only wear finer Chains: In a word, you will find your Picture drawn in the Treatiſe of Mr *Eſprit*, concerning the Deceitfulneſs of human Virtues. Apply to all Virtues the excellent Rule, which *Seneca* has preſcribed concerning Liberality, and then they will be *True*; but, without That They will not be ſo. The Philoſopher anſwers this Objection, *May not he, to whom I have done good, know of whom he has received it?* "Quid ergo? ille neſciet à quo accepit? "Primum neſciat, ſi hoc ipſum beneficii pars "eſt: deinde multa alia faciam, multa tribuam, per "quæ intelligat & illius auctorem. Denique ille "neſciat accepiſſe ſe: ego ſciam me dediſſe. Parum "eſt inquis; parum, ſi fœnerare cogitas; ſed ſi dare "quo genere accipienti maxime profuturum erit, dabis, contentus eris te teſte. Alioquin non benefacere delectat, ſed videri benefeciſſe. Volo, inquis, "ſciat: debitorem quæris. Volo utique ſciat: quid, ſi "illi utilius eſt neſcire? ſi honeſtius? ſi gratius? non in "aliam partem abibis? Volo ſciat: ita tu hominem "non ſervabis in tenebris? Non nego, quoties patitur res, percipiendum gaudium ex accipientis "voluntate: ſin adjuvari illum & oportet, & pudet; "ſi quod præſtamus, offendit, niſi abſconditur: beneficium in acta non mitto. Quidni? ego illi "non ſum indicaturus me dediſſe; cum inter prima "præcepta ac maxime neceſſaria ſit, ne unquam exprobrem, imo ne admoneam quidem? Hæc enim "beneficii inter duos lex eſt, alter ſtatim obliviſci "debet dati, alter accepti numquam (87). —— *What!* "*Shall be not know to whom he is obliged? I anſwer,* "*firſt, no; if this very Ignorance be Part of the Benefit. I will continue to be his Benefactor, I will* "*oblige him farther, 'till by repeated Services he* "*diſcovers the Author of them. Nay, let him not* "*even know, that he has received a Favour, ſo long* miſtaken, *Apollodorus* is the only Author, who has inſerted him in the Catalogue of the *Argonauts* (*k*); for neither *Apollonius*, nor *Hyginus*, nor *Valerius Flaccus*, have done ſo. He is ranked among the wiſe Men, who have had the misfortune to be engaged in Undertakings directed by hot-head Men [*I*]. This is without doubt a very deplorable

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(77) *A Town of* Peloponneſus.

(78) Pindar. Od. 6. Olymp. p. 99.

(80) *What is wanting, here, has been cited in the foregoing Remark.*

(81) Statius, Thebaid. lib. 7. ver. 703.

(82) Id. ib. l. 8. v. 206.

(83) Apollodor. lib. 3. pag. 189.

(84) Athen. lib. 4. c. 21. pag. 172.

(85) *Page* 303, *Of Julian's Works*, Edit. Lipſ. 1696.

* Æſchyl. Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, ver. 598.

(86) Plutarch. in Vit. Ariſt. pag. 320. Apoph'h. pag. 186. & de audiend. Poët. p. 32.

(87) Seneca de Benefic. lib. 2. c. 10.

" *as I am conſcious of having conferred one on him. This* " *is too little, you ſay. Too little indeed, if you propoſe to* " *lend out your Favours to Uſury; but, if you will beſtow* " *them in the manner moſt advantageous to the Receiver,* " *you will freely give them; you will be ſatisfied with* " *your own Conſciouſneſs. Otherwiſe you are not pleaſed* " *with* being *ſerviceable, but with* appearing *to be* " *ſo. Still you inſiſt upon his knowing it. But,* " *What if it is more to his Advantage not to know* " *it, if it is more honourable, if it is more acceptable?* " *Will you not alter your Opinion? Still you perſiſt.* " *Will you not even upon theſe Accounts keep him in* " *the Dark? I do not deny you the Pleaſure, which* " *ariſes from the Diſpoſition of the Receiver, whenever* " *it is proper: but, if your Aſſiſtance be required,* " *where it is inconſiſtent with Decency to let it be* " *known; if the Service you do offends, unleſs it be concealed;* " *the Benefit muſt not be made public. Why* " *not? Shall I not let him know, that I am his Benefactor,* " *becauſe it is one of the principal and moſt* " *neceſſary Precepts, that I muſt never reproach another* " *with, nor even hint at, the Favours I have* " *once conferred upon him? For This is a Law between* " *the Giver and Receiver, that the former* " *ought immediately to forget, that he has beſtowed,* " *the latter never, that he has received, a Benefit.*"

My ſecond Reflexion is, That it ſeldom happens, that the Deſire of Applauſe is the only End of thoſe, who are not ſatisfied with the Teſtimony of their own Conſciences. Obſerve the Perſons, who aſpire to theſe two Things; the one to *be* virtuous, and the other to *appear* ſo; and you will find, that the Ambition of the former is not contented with the Reality, nor That of the latter with the Appearance, of Virtue. The meer Steam of Incenſe does not ſatisfy their Deſires; they wiſh for ſomething more ſolid to attend it. Reputation alone ſeems to them a Reward too ſpiritual; they endeavour to incorporate it with the Conveniencies of Life: They ſoon make a Merit of the Praiſe and Approbations of the World to thoſe, who have the Diſtribution of Honours and Employments, and then make uſe of this Credit, to enrich themſelves, or to gratify all their Paſſions. The ſureſt way therefore to preſerve the Purity of the Soul, is to follow the Example of *Amphiaraus* and *Ariſtides*. Endeavour to *be* a virtuous Man; let That be your chief End; ſeek not to *appear* ſo, for ſuch an Endeavour is attended with more dangerous Conſequences, than you are aware of.

III. *Socrates* is reported to have ſaid, "That the " ſhorteſt way of attaining to Virtue, was to endeavour " to be ſuch as one would deſire to be thought." " *Semper id egiſti, ut qualis haberi velles talis eſſes:* " *quam viam ad gloriam proximam & quaſi com-* " *pendiariam Socrates eſſe dicebat* (88)." *Socrates*'s own Words are; Συντομωτάτη τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτη καὶ καλλίστη ὁδὸς, ὦ κριτόβουλε, ὅτι ἂν βούλη δοκεῖν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, τοῦτο καὶ γενέσθαι ἀγαθὸν πειρᾶσται (89). " Velim, O Critobule, ſcias " hanc eſſe breviſſimam, ſecuriſſimam, optimamque " ad hæc omnia viam, in quocunque volueris bonus " apparere, in eodem effici quoque bonus conari." So likewiſe *Horace*

Tu rectè vivis, ſi curas eſſe quod audis *.

This Advice is very judicious; for the Deſire of appearing with Luſtre, and of obtaining public Applauſe, is ſo ſtrong and common, even among thoſe, who have no great Inclination to be internally virtuous, that we may expect great Advancements in Virtue from him, who will endeavour to produce a perfect Conformity between the real State of his Soul, and the Opinion he would have others entertain of Him. But it muſt be confeſſed, that there is leſs diſintereſtedneſs in This way, than in That of *Amphiaraus*. " Seem to be an honeſt Man, and be ſo: enjoy " a fair Reputation, but deſerve it; do not uſurp " the Eſteem of your Neighbour." This is the Counſel of *Socrates*: He would not deprive any one of the Incenſe of Praiſe. *Amphiaraus* would have ſaid, " Be an honeſt Man, and do not trouble yourſelf " whether it be known to others, or whether you are " praiſed for it.

IV. You will ſay, perhaps, that theſe two things generally go together, and that, if a good Reputation may be acquired by falſe Virtues, that is to ſay, by the Art of concealing a bad Heart under the Appearance of Honeſty, it may be more certainly obtained by real Virtues. You will conclude from hence, that *Amphiaraus*, and others like him, valued themſelves upon deſpiſing a thing, which they very well knew they could not want. I anſwer, that oftentimes it is eaſier to *be* an honeſt Man, than to be accounted ſo; and that there is no neceſſary Conſequence from one of theſe things to the other, wherever you begin. To become a virtuous Man, you have nothing to do but to conquer your own Paſſions; but to appear ſo, you muſt conquer thoſe of others, and triumph over them. You have cunning and violent Enemies, who ſpread many ill Reports of you: Thoſe who hear them give Credit to them, and become new Spreaders of Calumny: If they are incredulous, they form Difficulties, by which they teach your Enemies how to propoſe their Calumnies after a more plauſible manner. Sometimes you are ignorant of theſe Machinations; and, if you knew them, either wholly, or in part, can you go from place to place to juſtify yourſelf? If you are an honeſt Man, as I ſuppoſe you to be, are you able to diſcover the Contrivances of your Enemies, and the oblique ways of working upon the Minds of the Vulgar? Had you not rather leave the Vulgar in an Error, than ſpend all your Leiſure in diſputing the ground with Calumniators? Will your Vigilance be ſufficient to remove the Impreſſions, which their Malignity has made upon credulous Men, who are infinitely more ſuſceptible of Calumny, than of the beſt Reaſons you can alledge in your Vindication?

You may ſee in the Remark [*L*] of the Article CÆSAR, that the ſame Commendation, which *Æſchylus* beſtows upon our *Amphiaraus*, was beſtowed by *Salluſt* upon *CATO* of *Utica*.

[*I*] *He is ranked among the wiſe Men, who have had the Miſfortune to be engaged in Undertakings directed by hot-headed Men.*] It is of little Conſequence, whether I myſelf, or another, furniſh a Commentary on this Text. We are not here to conſider Style, but Facts, and Sentiments. I ſhall therefore boldly produce the *Old French* of the Commentator on *Philoſtratus* (90). " *Icy pouvons nous remarquer,* " *& appercevoir des eſchantillons de noſtre pauvrete* " *& miſere,* &c. i. e. Here we have an Inſtance of " our Wretchedneſs and Miſery; ſince prudent and " good Men are obliged to ſuffer for the Folly of " thoſe, who are inconſiderate and wicked. Is it " not ſtrange, that *Tideus*, a hot-headed, peeviſh, " quarrelſome, and brainleſs Fool, a diſturber of the " public Quiet, though a Stranger, and notwith- " ſtanding all the Remonſtrances, Predictions, and " Admonitions of the wiſeſt Man of *Greece*, who was " alſo accounted a Prophet, ſhould have a Voice in " the Council, and be ſo far credited, as to cauſe a " War to be undertaken, which was no way neceſ- " ſary, and would turn to the Ruin and Deſtruction " of them all? Nay, thoſe who oppoſe the ſame with " the moſt probable and beſt Reaſons, muſt be Par- " takers of, and even have a great ſhare in, the Danger " of theſe giddy-headed Men. So true it is, that bad " and pernicious Counſels have always prevailed over " good and wholeſome ones! Wherefore, not without " Reaſon, or at Random, the Poet *Æſchylus*, in the " Tragedy, entituled *Septem contra Thebas*, laments, " in the Perſon of *Eteocles*, the good and wiſe *Amphiaraus*, in this manner:

Φεῦ τοῦ ξυναλλάσσοντος ὄρνιθος βροτοῖς
Δίκαιον ἄνδρα τοῖσι δυσσεβεστέροις.
Ἐν παντὶ πράγει δ' ἔσθ' ὁμιλίας κακῆς
Κάκιον, οὐδὲν καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος.

" *What an unhappy thing it is,* ſays he, *that a* " *good Man ſhould be aſſociated with impious and* " *wicked People! Certainly there is nothing worſe* " *than bad Company; from whence no Good can* " *come*

(*k*) Apollod. lib. 1. pag. 53.

(88) Petrus Alcyonius, in Medice legato priore, circa finem.

(89) Xenophon. Memorab. l. 2. pag. 474. *See alſo* Plato, Epiſt. 4. pag. 1274. *and* Cicero, de Officiis, lib. 2. c. 12.

* Lib. 1. Epiſt. 16. *See* Poſtel *on this Paſſage, in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to his Oriental Hiſtory.*

(90) Vigenere *upon the* Amphiaraus *of* Philoſtratus, p. 403, 404. *of the firſt Vol. Edit in 4to.*

deplorable Caſe, and is but too common. The manner, in which he comforted a Woman, who bewailed the Death of her Son, deſerves a Remark [*K*]. I would willingly ſee the Particulars of the Action, which the Farmers of the Taxes * brought againſt his Prieſts [*L*]. I have ſhewn, in another place (*l*), the Invalidity of an Argument,

"*come* - - - - - - This Soothſayer (I mean the Son of *Oicleus*) a prudent, juſt, ſincere, and devout Man, a Foreteller of things to come, by keeping Company with Men, wicked and preſumptuous, and deprived of all Senſe and Reaſon, who endeavour to come againſt us with a great Army, (*Jupiter* permitting it to be ſo) ſhall be drawn in with them to his final Perdition and Ruin." This is what *Vigenere* ſays. We muſt not imagine that *Amphiaraus* was in hopes, that the Errors of the Managers would be repaired by the Juſtice of the Cauſe (91). He was too underſtanding a Man to believe This: he knew that a juſt War ſtands as much in need of human Aſſiſtance, as an unjuſt one (92), and that, without being at leaſt very near as powerful as the Defenders of Injuſtice, we ſhall generally come off by the worſt. He is therefore juſtly alledged as an Example of the Sacrifice, which upon ſome Occaſions we ought to make of our Lives or our Prudence to other Conſiderations. Read theſe Words of *Cicero* (93). "Valuit apud me plus pudor meus, quam timor. Veritus ſum deeſſe Pompeii ſaluti, cum ille aliquando non defuiſſet meæ. Itaque, vel officio, vel fama bonorum, vel pudore, victus, ut in fabulis Amphiaraus, ſic ego prudens & ſciens ad peſtem ante oculos poſitam ſum profectus. —— *Upon this Occaſion, Shame had a greater Influence on me than Fear. I was afraid of being wanting to* Pompey's *Health, who once was not wanting to mine. Therefore, being prevailed upon by Duty, or Reputation, or Shame, like* Amphiaraus *in the Fable, I ran prudently and knowingly into the midſt of a Plague, which was before my Eyes.*" To conclude; there is ſome Reaſon to upbraid this Prophet with the Imperfection of his Knowledge, and to rally him upon this Account. He foreſaw, that, if he went to the War, he ſhould be killed; but he did not foreſee, that he ſhould go, and that, notwithſtanding his Precautions, he ſhould be forced to engage in the Undertaking (94).

[*K*] *The manner in which he comforted a Woman - - - - - - deſerves a Remark.*] Plutarch, having mentioned the Reaſons, which ought to be employed in conforting thoſe, who are afflicted at the untimely Death of their Children, adds (95): "And *Amphiaraus*, in a Poem, ſeems to me to offer no impertinent Conſolation to the Mother of *Archemorus*, who was uncommonly afflicted for the Loſs of her Son, who died unexpectedly: For he ſays to her: *No Man was ever happy all his Life; he produces Children upon the Earth; then buries them; at laſt he dies himſelf; and Men always lament thoſe, whom they carry in their Coffins to their Grave, in like manner as Ears of Corn grow out of the Earth, and are afterwards cut down. Thus it muſt be, that ſome, newly born, come into Being, and others go out of it. Why then ſhould Men grieve for all this, which, according to the Courſe of Nature, ought always to be ſo? It is never grievous to ſuffer, or do, what cannot be avoided by Man.* In general, every one, whether in meditating by himſelf, or in diſcourſing with others, ſhould take this for a Rule, that not the longeſt Life is the beſt, but That, which is the moſt virtuous." *Plutarch* ſeems to me to have alledged this Paſſage improperly; for it doth not relate more to the Death of young People, than of others. I might obſerve likewiſe, that the Compariſon drawn from *Ears of Corn* would be abſurd, if the Deſign was to moderate an Affliction, grounded on the Youth of the Perſon, who is bewailed; for, according to the uſual courſe of things, the Harveſt of Corn is not 'till the Ears are ripe. It would be more proper to make the afflicted Perſon conſider the State of Fruit-Trees. Count the Apples, when they are in the Bud; and count them every Week afterwards, and you will find that the Number of them is always decreaſing. It is extraordinary if one half of them remains 'till the time of gathering. As for the other Reaſons of *Amphiaraus*, they are good enough; but there is nothing in them but what is common; nay, he concludes with a Maxim, which in one Senſe is more apt to encreaſe Grief, than to cure it (96). We ſhall ſee preſently how the Philoſopher *Carneades* cenſured this Reaſoning.

Amyot has not juſtly rendered the *Greek* of *Plutarch*, ὁ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ Ἀμφιάρεως, by *Amphiaraus, in a Poem* *. This Verſion manifeſtly inſinuates, that *Amphiaraus* wrote a Poem; but *Plutarch* means, that there was a Poet, who introduced *Amphiaraus* making uſe of thoſe Reaſons. It was *Euripides*. "Dicuntur nonnulli in mœrore, quum de hac communi omnium conditione audiviſſent, ea lege nos eſſe natos, ut nemo in perpetuum eſſe poſſet expers mali, gravius etiam tuliſſe. Quo circa Carneades, ut video noſtrum ſcribere Antiochum, reprehendere Chryſippum ſolebat laudantem Euripideum carmen illud:

Nemo mortalis eſt, quem non attingat dolor,
Morbuſque: multi ſunt humandi liberi,
Rurſus creandi, morſque eſt finita omnibus.
Quæ generi humano angorem nequicquam afferunt.
Reddenda eſt terræ terra (97). Tum vita omnibus
Metenda ut fruges, ſic jubet neceſſitas.

Negabat genus hoc orationis quicquam omnino ad levandam ægritudinem pertinere. Id enim ipſum dolendum eſſe dicebat, quod in tam crudelem neceſſitatem incidiſſemus. Nam illam quidem orationem ex commemoratione alienorum malorum ad malevolos conſolandos eſſe accommodatam (98). — *It is ſaid, that ſome Perſons in Affliction, when they have been put in mind of the common Fate of all Men, that the Condition of our Birth is ſuch, that no Man can be perpetually exempt from Miſery, inſtead of receiving Conſolation, have thought This an Aggravation of their Miſfortunes. For which reaſon* Carneades, *as* Antiochus *informs us, was wont to reprove* Chryſippus *for commending theſe Verſes of* Euripides;

No mortal lives, whom Grief does ne'er attack,
Or whom Diſeaſes ſpare; our Children die;
Others are born; and Death attends us all.
No Anguiſh hence the human Breaſt ſhould feel;
Earth muſt to Earth, and Duſt to Duſt, return;
And Life be gathered like matureſt Fruits:
Such is th' inevitable Law of Fate.

He denied that this way of ſpeaking tended in the leaſt to mitigate Sorrow. For this very thing, he ſaid, was matter of Affliction, that we are obnoxious to ſo cruel a Neceſſity: For ſuch a Conſolation, as ariſes from the Recollection of other Men's Miſfortunes, can adminiſter Relief only to the Ill-natured." Let us now produce the Anſwer to this Criticiſm of *Carneades*. "Mihi vero longe videtur ſecus. Nam & neceſſitas ferendæ conditionis humanæ quaſi cum deo pugnare cohibet, admonetque eſſe hominem, quæ cogitatio magnopere luctum levat: & enumeratio exemplorum, non ut animum malevolum oblectet, affertur, ſed ut ille, qui mœret, ferendum ſibi eſſe ſentiat, quod videat multos moderatè & tranquillè tuliſſe (99). —— *I am of a very different Opinion. For the Neceſſity of ſubmitting to the Condition of Humanity both reſtrains us from fighting, as it were, againſt God, and admoniſhes us, that we are Men; a Conſideration which contributes greatly to mitigate Affliction: Beſides which, the ſetting Examples before our Eyes is not intended to gratify a malevolent Ill-natured Diſpoſition, but to convince the afflicted Perſon, that his Grief is to be born, by ſhewing him that many have endured the like with Patience, and Compoſure of Mind.*"

[*L*] *The Action which the Farmers of the Taxes brought againſt his Prieſts.*] Give me leave to apply this Application to thoſe, who levy'd the Tribute of the *Roman* Republic in the Provinces. There was a Law, which exempted the Lands conſecrated to the immortal Gods from all Taxes: upon which *Amphiaraus*'s Prieſts pretended to this Exemption, and

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(*l*) *In Remark* [*F*] *of the Article* MELAMPUS.

* *In* French Les Partiſans.

(91) *The* Thebans *were wholly to blame in this War, and yet they came off victorious in the Battle.*

(92) *See Remark* [*C*] *of the Article* BRUTUS (MARCUS).

(93) Cicero, Epiſt. 6. lib. 6. ad Familiar. p. 319.

(94) *See the Commentary on the Life of* Apollonius, *tranſlated into* French *by* Vigenere, *Book* 2. *chap.* 11. *p.* 488.

(95) Plutarch. de Conſolatione ad Apollonium, p. 110, 111. *Mr* Bayle *cites the* French *Verſion of* Amyot; *which therefore we follow.*

(96) *See Remark* [*E*] *of the Article* FOULQUES.

* Amphiaraus, en un Poem. *Amiot.*

(97) *The* Greek *Verſe mentioned by* Plutarch, *which anſwers this, is,* εἰς γῆν φέροντες. τὴν δ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχει. Barthius in Statium, Tom. 3. p. 275. *conjectures that it ſhould be read,* εἰς γῆν φέροντες γῆν, ὡ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχει.

(98) Cicero Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 3. cap. 25.

(99) Id. ib.

gument. by which they pretended to prove the Certainty of his Prophecies. He left ſeveral Children [*M*], one of which was the Founder of *Tibur* in *Italy*. *Pliny* makes this Remark in a Paſſage, wherein he relates ſeveral curious Particulars concerning the long Life of Trees.

and maintained, that the Lands, which belonged to that Deity, were not ſubject to any Taxes; and without doubt they pretended, that *the Text of the Law was clear and expreſs in their Favour*. The Farmers replied, that theſe Lands did not come within the Intent of the Law; ſince they were conſecrated to a dead Man, and that it was plain, that a Perſon, who is dead, is not one of the immortal Gods. This Argument, ſuggeſted to them by Covetouſneſs, and not by a Zeal for Religion, which ſuch Men ſeldom regard, where their Intereſt is concerned, yet it was ſo demonſtrative, that they ought to have carried the Cauſe: But I believe they loſt it. It is pity all the Records of this Trial are not extant: All we know of it is this; "An Amphiaraus Deus erit "& Trophonius? Noſtri quidem publicani, cum eſſent agri in Bœotia deorum immortalium excepti "lege cenſoria, negabant immortales eſſe ullos, qui "aliquando homines fuiſſent (100) —— *The Queſtion "was, whether* Amphiaraus *and* Trophonius *ſhould "be eſteemed as Gods. Our Publicans, allowing the "Cenſorial Law, by which the Lands in* Bœotia, *conſecrated to the immortal Gods, were exempt from "Taxation, denied thoſe to be Immortals, who had once "been Men.*" If they had been ſuffered to go on, they might have aſſeſs'd moſt of the Gods, and have ſubjected much conſecrated Ground to Taxes; for what Titles to Divinity or Immortality would have been Proof againſt their Exceptions? What would they not have obtained at the Tribunal of an Intendant, who ſhould have had Orders to favour their Proceedings? If Farmers of the public Revenues were ordered to make an Enquiry into falſe Worſhips, the Number of them would quickly decreaſe. But where would ſuch Inquiſitors be ſafe? We ſhall ſee in another place (101), how ſolid this Argument appeared to many Heathens; *He is dead, therefore he ought not to be worſhipped as a God.*

[*M*] *He left ſeveral Children.*] I have compoſed the Articles of *ALCMÆON* and *AMPHILOCHUS*, who were his Sons. I do not find that any *Greek* Author, now extant, mentions *Tiburtus*, who was likewiſe his Son; but they mention *Eurydice*, *Demonaſſa*, and *Alcmena*, Daughters of *Amphiaraus* and *Eriphyle* (102). *Pliny* ſpeaks of *Tiburtus* in this Manner: "Tiburtes originem multo ante urbem Romam "habent. Apud eos exſtant ilices tres, etiam Tiburto conditore eorum vetuſtiores, apud quas inau"guratus traditur. Fuiſſe autem eum tradunt filium "Amphiarai, qui apud Thebas obierit una ætate ante "Iliacum bellum (103). —— *The* Tiburtes *are more "ancient than the building of* Rome. *They ſhew "three Oaks, older than* Tiburtus *their Founder, "where Tradition ſays he was inaugurated. They tell "us he was the Son of* Amphiaraus, *who died in the "Expedition to* Thebes, *about an hundred Years be"fore the* Trojan *War.*" I fancy *Pliny*'s Account of this Matter is not true: how could the three Oaks, under which *Tiburtus*, Founder of *Tibur*, and Son of *Amphiaraus*, was inaugurated, have remained 'till the Time of *Veſpaſian*? Note, that *Solinus* ſays, that *Tiburtus* was Grand-Son, and not Son of *Amphiaraus*. I ſhall ſet down his Words in the Article TIBUR.

AMPHILOCHUS, the Son of *Amphiaraus* and *Eriphyle* (*a*), was a famous Soothſayer. He accompanied his Brother *Alcmæon* to the ſecond War of *Thebes* (*b*), and ſome ſay he aſſiſted him in the Murther of *Eriphyle* (*c*); but moſt Authors are of a different Opinion. The Altar, which was conſecrated, to him at *Athens* (*d*) contributed much leſs to the Glory of his Name, than the Oracle which he had at *Mallus* in *Cilicia* [*A*]. He and *Mopſus* founded That City after the *Trojan* War (*e*); afterwards they quarrelled, and kill'd each other in a Duel, as I have obſerved elſewhere (*f*). Some affirm, that *Amphilochus* was kill'd by *Apollo* (*g*). He was both a King and a Prophet (*h*), for he reigned at *Argos*. It is true he could not ſupport himſelf in That Kingdom, but left it in diſcontent, and built a City upon the Gulph of

[*A*] *The Oracle which he had at* Mallus *in* Cilicia.] *Pauſanias* affirms, that, in his Time, there was no Oracle ſo much to be depended upon as this: From whence we may infer, that all the *Pagan* Oracles did not ceaſe upon the planting of Chriſtianity. Τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βωμὸς, καὶ Κιλικίας ἐν Μαλλῷ μαντεῖον ἀψευδέστατον τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἐμοῦ (1). *Amphilocho in ipſa urbe apud Atheninenſes ara ſua eſt: in Ciliciæ vero urbe Mallo ejuſdem oraculum quod omnium eſt quæ ætate mea extant minime fallax.* The Anſwers of this Oracle were given by Dreams. Ἐστὶν ἐν Μαλλῷ πόλει τῆς Κιλικίας Ἀμφιλόχου χρηστήριον, καὶ χρᾷ δι᾽ ὀνειράτων (2). *Eſt Malli, quod eſt oppidum Ciliciæ Oraculum Amphilochi, quod per ſomnia conſulentibus reſpondit.* They, who conſulted it, paſſed the Night in the Temple, and what they dreamed was the Reſolution of their Queſtion. *Dion Caſſius* mentions a Picture, wherein *Sextus Condianus* cauſed the Anſwer, which he had received from this Oracle, in the Reign of *Commodus*, to be repreſented (3). The following Paſſage of *Lucian*, induces me to believe, that *Amphilochus* was accounted a great Prophet at that time. Ὁπότε γὰρ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐπανῄειν οἴκαδε, ἀκούων τὸ ἐν Μαλλῷ τοῦτο μαντεῖον ἐπιφανέστατόν τε καὶ ἀληθέστατον εἶναι, καὶ χρᾷν ἐναργῶς πρὸς ἔπος ἀποκρινόμενον, οἷς ἂν ἐγγράψας τις εἰς τὸ γραμματεῖον παραδῷ τῷ προφήτῃ, καλῶς ἂν ἔχειν ἡγησάμην ἐν παράπλῳ πειραθῆναι τοῦ χρηστηρίου, καὶ τι περὶ μελλόντων συμβουλεύσασθαι τῷ θεῷ (4). —— *When I returned from* Egypt, *and was informed that the Oracle at* Mallus *was the plaineſt, and at the ſame time the trueſt, and that it's Anſwers were ſo clear, as to give a particular and diſtinct Solution of all Queſtions, which were propoſed to the Prophet, written on a ſcroll of Paper; I thought it would be right, as I ſailed by, to try the Oracle, and propoſe ſome Queſtions to this Divinity, concerning future Events.* Take notice of the Circumſtance mentioned by *Lucian*, which is, that the Queſtions, to which an Anſwer was demanded of *Amphilochus*, were propoſed in Writing. Let no one ſay, that *Lucian* forged the Stories, which he relates in this Work; for this does not weaken our Proof; ſince it is certain he would not have ſaid, that this Oracle was famous, if it had never been conſulted for the ſpace of an hundred Years. Thus Mr *Van Dale* ſolves this Objection (5). He cites another Paſſage, taken out of the Hiſtory of the falſe Prophet *Alexander*, wherein *Lucian* teſtifies, that the Oracle at *Mallus* was famous. He might have quoted a third Paſſage, which I find ſo favourable to this Obſervation, that I will give it at length. Τὸν Τροφώνιον, ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ ὃ μάλιστά με ἀποπνίγει, τὸν Ἀμφόλοχον. ὃς ἐναγοῦς ἀνθρώπου, καὶ μητραλοίου υἱὸς ὢν, θεσπιῳδεῖ ὁ γενναῖος ἐν Κιλικία, ψευδόμενος τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ γοητεύων τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἕνεκα (6). — *I am more angry, O Jupiter, with* Amphilochus, *than with* Trophonius; *for the former, though the Son of a Villain and a Parricide, yet is famous for prophecying in* Cilicia, *lying much, and playing the Wizzard for two* Oboli. I ſhall examine hereafter what *Lucian* ſays, that *Amphilochus* was not the Son, but the Grand-ſon of *Amphiaraus*. In the mean time I ſhall obſerve, that the Oracle of *Amphilochus* was ſtill famous in *Plutarch*'s Time. Ἔτι ἤκμαζεν ἐμοῦ παρόντος, καὶ τὸ Μόψου καὶ τὸ Ἀμφιλόχου μαντεῖον (7). *Cum autem eſſem in Patria, florebant adhuc Mopſi & Amphilochi Oracula.*

[*B*] *He*

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(100) Cicero de Nat. Deorum, lib. 3. pag. 631.

(101) In Remark [*A*] of the Article *TROPHONIUS*.

(102) Pauſanias, lib. 5. pag. 165.

(103) Plinius. lib. 16. cap 44.

(*a*) Pauſan. lib. 5. pag. 165.

(*b*) Apollod. lib. 3. pag. 195.

(*c*) Id. ib. pag. 197.

(*d*) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 33.

(*e*) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 464. *See alſo* Cicero, de Divinat. lib. 1. c. 40.

(*f*) *In the Article MOPSUS.*

(*g*) Strabo, lib. 14.

(*h*) Cicero, ubi ſupra.

(1) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 33.

(2) Xiphilin. in Epitome Dionis, pag. 285, 286.

(3) Id. ib.

(4) Lucian. in Philopſeude, pag. 500. Tom. 2.

(5) VanDale, de Oraculis, pag. 98.

(6) Lucian. in Deor. concilio, p. 957. Tom. 2.

(7) Plut. de Oraculor. Defectu, p. 434. C.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

of *Ambracia* [*B*]. *Livy* has miſtaken him for another, in a Paſſage which I ſhall quote [*C*]. *Moreri* too is liable to Cenſure [*D*]. We muſt not confound our Soothſayer with one *Amphilochus*, whom a Gooſe fell in Love with [*E*]. In the Remark below I ſhall give *Pliny*'s, and other Authors, Account of this Matter.

[*B*] *He left* Argos *in diſcontent, and built a City upon the Gulph of* Ambracia.] We have this from a grave Hiſtorian. Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίαν τὴν ἄλλην ἔκτισε μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ οἴκαδε ἀναχωρήσας, καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ ἐν Ἄργει καταστάσει Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω, ἐν τῷ Ἀμπρακικῷ κόλπῳ, ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι Ἄργος ὀνομάσας. Καὶ ἦν ἡ πόλις αὕτη μεγίστη τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας, καὶ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους εἶχεν οἰκήτορας (8). Amphilochus, *the Son of* Amphiaraus, *returning home, after the* Trojan *War, and being diſſatisfied with the State of Affairs at* Argos, *founded* Amphilochian Argos, *and all the Region of* Amphilochia, *upon the Gulph of* Ambracia, *calling the City, after the Name of his native Town,* Argos; *which City was the largeſt and moſt powerful of the whole* Amphilochian *Territory*. *Strabo* alledges this Teſtimony of *Thucydides*; but adds a Circumſtance to it; to wit, that *Amphilochus*, being diſſatisfied with the Government eſtabliſhed in *Argos*, went into *Acarnania*, where he took poſſeſſion of his Brother's Eſtate (9). *Thucydides* does not ſay this; and conſequently *Strabo* is in the wrong to aſcribe it to him. They, who pretend, that he follows the Opinion of *Thucydides* (10), are miſtaken; for he ſeems to prefer the Hiſtorian *Ephorus*, who ſaid, that the City of *Amphilochian Argos* was built by *Alcmæon*, and that it's Founder gave it the Name of his Brother. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμβρακίαν τὸ Ἄργος ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν κτίσμα Ἀλκμαίωνος καὶ τῶν παίδων (11). *After* Ambracia *follows* Amphilochian Argos, *a City built by* Alcmæon *and his Sons*. It cannot be ſaid, that *Apollodorus* has neither followed *Thucydides*, nor any other Writer, when he ſays that *Amphilochus* was the Son of *Alcmæon* (12); for he reports this only on the Credit of *Euripides* (13). *Note*, He obſerves, that this *Amphilochus* went, by the Advice of *Apollo*, to live at *Amphilochian Argos*.

I muſt take notice of a great Difference between *Thucydides* and *Strabo*. The one ſays, that *Amphilochus*, being returned to *Argos*, after the taking of *Troy*, and not finding Affairs in ſuch a Condition as he could have wiſhed, retired towards the Gulph of *Ambracia*, where he built a Town (14). The other tells us, that *Amphilochus*, having built *Mallus* in *Cilicia*, after the taking of *Troy*, returned to *Argos*, and being diſpleaſed with the poſture of Affairs there, went back into *Cilicia*, where he was killed, and buried (15). But there are other Difficulties ſtill. *Euripides* ſays, that *Alcmæon*, being mad, lay with *Manto*, the Daughter of *Tireſias*, by whom he had a Son and a Daughter; the Son was called *Amphilochus*, and the Daughter *Tiſiphone* (16). This *Amphilochus*, in Obedience to an Oracle, ſettled in *Amphilochian Argos*. We have ſeen (17), that *Lucian* ſays, that *Amphilochus*, whoſe Oracle was ſo famous at *Mallus*, was the Son of *Alcmæon*; others ſay that he was the Son of *Amphiaraus*. Amidſt all this Confuſion there are two ways to chooſe. One is, to ſay, that there was but one *Amphilochus*, whoſe Hiſtory has only been related by Piece-meal, that is, by Authors who have omitted part of his Adventures. The other is to aſſert, that there were two *Amphilochus*'s, one the Son of *Amphiaraus*, and the other the Son of *Alcmæon*; and that Authors have ſometimes aſcribed to one what belonged to the other. I could eaſily believe that *Amphilochus*, whoſe Oracle was in *Cilicia*, was the Son of *Amphiaraus*; and that he, who ſettled in *Acarnania*, was the Son of *Alcmæon*. The City of *Argos*, in that Country, was built by *Alcmæon* and his Sons. Τὸ Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν κτίσμα Ἀλκμαίωνος καὶ τῶν παίδων (18). *Argos Amphilochicum Urbs ab Alcmæone ejuſque liberis condita.* This is my firſt Argument. *Amphilochus*, the Son of *Alcmæon*, was admoniſhed by the Oracle to go and reſide in this City of *Argos* (19). This is my ſecond Argument. *Pauſanias* obſerves, that the Poſterity of *Melampus* reigned in *Argos*, 'till *Amphilochus*, after the taking of *Troy*, retired into the Country, which was called, from his Name, *Amphilochia* (20). This is the *Amphilochian Argos*, and the adjacent Country. Now there are ſix Generations from *Melampus* to this *Amphilochus*; Ἀπὸ δὲ Μελάμποδος γενεαί τε ἓξ καὶ ἄνδρες εἰσὶ μέχρις Ἀμφιλόχου τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου (21). *A Melampode ſex per totidem ætates uſque ad Amphilochum Amphiarai filium*; and therefore the latter cannot be the Son of *Amphiaraus*, as *Pauſanias* affirms, but of *Alcmæon*. And indeed *Melampus* was the Father of *Antiphates*, who was the Father of *Oicles*, who was the Father of *Amphiaraus*, who was the Father of *Alcmæon*, who was the Father of *Amphilochus*. If you end with *Amphilochus*, the ſecond Son of *Amphiaraus*, you will not find the ſix Deſcents which *Pauſanias* mentions. This is my third Argument.

[*C*] Livy *has miſtaken him for another*, &c.] He has miſtaken the Son for the Father, in theſe Words of the Forty fifth Book: "Oropum Atticæ, ubi pro "Deo vates Amphilochus colitur, templumque vetu"ſtum eſt fontibus riviſque circa amœnum (22). —— "Oropus *of* Attica; *where the Prophet* Amphilochus "*is worſhipped as a God, whoſe Temple is pleaſantly* "*ſituated amidſt Fountains and Rivulets.*" It is certain that the chief Deity of the Temple, which this Hiſtorian mentions, was *Amphiaraus*: he ſhould therefore have ſaid, *ubi pro Deo vates Amphiaraus* (not *Amphilochus*) *colitur*. *Pauſanias*, who made theſe things his particular Study, and had a Genius capable of Succeſs therein, is much more to be credited than *Livy*. Now he not only affirms, that the Inhabitants of *Oropus* built a Temple to the Soothſayer *Amphiaraus*; but ſeems likewiſe to ſay, that *Amphilochus* had no ſhare in the Altar, which was divided into five Portions, each of which belonged to ſome Hero or God (23). Indeed we find in this Partition the Children of *Amphilochus*, but not *Amphilochus* himſelf. I confeſs, the Sequel of the Reaſoning might induce one to believe, that *Pauſanias* has not omitted him. I could willingly make a Correction in the *Greek* Text of this Author; I would read, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀμφιλόχου, *& filio Amphilocho*, and not καὶ τῶν παίδων Ἀμφιλόχου, *& filiis Amphilochi*; ſee the Margin (24). But, after all, this is no Proof, that *Amphilochus* was the God of the Temple of *Oropus*.

[*D*] Moreri *too is liable to Cenſure*] I. *Amphilochus* is not *a certain* Greek *Captain, whom* Homer *mentions in his* Odyſſey; for *Homer* only ſays, that *Alcmæon* and *Amphilochus* were the Sons of *Amphiaraus* (25). II. This being ſo, *Moreri* ſhould not have expreſſed himſelf in this manner, *It is ſaid that he was the Son of* Amphiaraus *and of* Eriphyle. He ſhould have had more Regard to the Authority of *Homer*; and no Author, ever ſo little acquainted with the Ancients, would have made uſe of an, *It is ſaid*, upon this Occaſion. III. *Amphilochus*, mentioned by *Plutarch*, is not different from the *Amphilochus* of *Homer*: It was the ſame, whoſe Oracle was conſulted at *Mallus* in *Cilicia*. IV. He ought not to have ſaid, that he *carried the Oracle to one* Theſpeſius *of* Solos (26). This is to metamorphoſe a God into a Meſſenger. V. He has omitted a Circumſtance, which ſhould have been expreſs'd, *viz*. That this *Theſpeſius* led a good Life after his Reſurrection. See *Plutarch* (27).

[*E*] *One* AMPHILOCHUS, *whom a Gooſe fell in Love with.*] *Pliny*'s Account is this: "Quin "& fama amoris *(anſeri)* Ægii dilecta forma pueri "Olenii (28). —— *It is reported that a Gooſe fell in* "*love with an* Olenian *Youth at* Ægium." Thus Father *Hardouin* has corrected this Paſſage. In the other Editions it runs thus; *Argis dilecta forma pueri nomine Oleni*. Thus two Errors had crept into the Text of *Pliny*; one concerning the Place, where the Gooſe was in Love, and the other concerning the Name of the beloved Youth. This Adventure did not happen at *Argos*, but in the Town of *Ægium* (29). The Gooſe's Favourite was called *Amphilochus*, and not *Olenus*; but, becauſe he was born at *Olenus*, he had the Appellation of *Olenius*. A Paſſage of *Ælian* enabled Father *Hardouin* to correct the Paſſage of *Pliny*. Ἐν Αἰγείῳ τῆς Ἀχαΐας παιδὸς Ὠλενίου γένος ὄνομα Ἀμφιλόχου ἠράσθη χήν. Θεόφραστος λέγει τοῦτο (30). *At* Ægium, *a Town of* Achaia, *a Gooſe fell in love with a Youth of* Olenus, *named* Amphilochus.

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(8) Thucydides, lib. 2.

(9) Strabo, lib. 7. pag. 225.

(10) Berkelius, in Steph. Byzant. p. 124.

(11) Ephorus apud Strabonem, lib. 7. pag. 225.

(12) *Yet* Berkelius *ſays ſo in his Notes on* Steph. Byzant. p. 124.

(13) Apollodor. lib. 3. pag. 201.

(14) Thucydid. lib. 2.

(15) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 484, 485.

(16) Euripides apud Apollodorum, l. 3. p. 201.

(17) *In the preceding Remark, Citation* (6).

(18) Strabo, lib. 7. pag. 225.

(19) Apollodorus, lib. 3. pag. 201.

(20) Pauſan. l. 2. pag. 60.

(21) Id. ib.

(22) Titus Livius, lib. 45. c. 27.

(23) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 33.

(24) *Perhaps the Words of* Pauſanias *ſhould be rendered thus*, & ex filiis (*Amphiarai*) Amphilocho

(25) Homer. Odyſſ. l. 15. ver. 248.

(26) *This Error has been corrected in the* Dutch *Editions.*

(27) Plutarch de Sera numinis vindicta, pag. 563, & ſeq.

(28) Plinius lib. 10. cap. 22. p. 408.

(29) *Situated in* Achaia, *near* Sicyon. *See* Pauſanias lib. 7. p. 230.

(30) Ælian. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 5. c. 29. *See Father* Hardouin's Emendat. 21. in l. 10. Plinii, pag. 474.

chus. Theophraſtus *relates this.* *Athenæus* relates the ſame Story, and quotes *Clearchus* and *Theophraſtus*; but correct a Fault, which has crept into his Book. Read ἐν Ἀιγείῳ, and not ἐν Ἀργείῳ. Were it not for this, it might be ſaid, that Father *Hardouin* is too bold in theſe Words, “ Neque enim Argis ſed Ægii “ prope Sicyonem res geſta narratur (31). —— *The* “ *Affair did not happen at* Argos, *but at* Ægium “ *near* Sicyon.” Do we not find in the Tranſlation of *Athenæus*, *apud Argivos puerum amavit anſer*, and in the *Greek*, ἐν Ἀργείῳ δὲ παιδὸς ἠράσθεν χήν (32)? *At* Argos, *a Gooſe fell in love with a Boy:*

(31) Hardouin. ibid.

(32) Athen. lib 13. c. 8. pag. 606.

AMPHITRYON, the Son of *Alcæus* [*A*], Son of *Perſeus*, is leſs known by his Exploits, than by the Adventure of his Wife *Alcmena*, who afforded a Subject to the Comic Poets [*B*]. She was the Daughter of *Electryon*, King of *Mycenæ*. The Sons of *Pterelaus* had made an Incurſion into the Territories of This Prince, which proved fatal to them; for they all periſhed in it (*a*); but they had before deſtroyed all the Sons of *Electryon* (*b*). The latter, making the neceſſary Preparations to revenge the Death of his Sons, left his Kingdom and his Daughter *Alcmena* in the hands of *Amphitryon*, and made him promiſe, with an Oath, not to lie with his Daughter. They, who accompanied the Sons of *Pterelaus*, had brought the Flocks of *Electryon* into the Country of *Elis*. The Flocks were recovered by *Amphitryon*; but, in delivering them up to their Maſter, he had the Misfortune to be the innocent Cauſe of the Death of That unhappy Prince [*C*]. Upon this, being obliged to leave the Country of the *Argians* (*c*), he retired with *Alcmena* to *Creon* King of *Thebes*, and received from him the Ceremonies of Expiation. After this he made Preparations for a War againſt the *Teleboës* [*D*], in Revenge for the Death of *Alcmena*'s Brothers; a Condition, which ſhe required of the Perſon, who deſired to marry her [*E*]. In order to engage *Creon* to follow him, he agreed to free him from a Fox, which did him a great deal of Miſchief: This he did by the Aſſiſtance of *Cephalus*, who lent him the Dog, which *Procris* had brought from the Iſle of *Crete*. *Amphitryon*, aſſiſted by ſeveral Nations, entred the Territories of *Pterelaus*, and ravaged them; but the great Succeſs of this War was owing to the Treachery of *Cometha*, the Daughter of *Pterelaus*. This Lady fell in Love with *Amphitryon*; for whoſe ſake ſhe plucked off the golden Lock of Hair from her Father's Head, on which his Life depended. The unhappy Father died immediately; and *Amphitryon* took poſſeſſion of all his Dominions. He cauſed *Cometha* to be put to death, and returned to *Thebes*, loaded with Booty. The firſt News, with which he was greeted, was, that He had ſpent the laſt Night with *Alcmena*, tho' he had good reaſon to be aſſured, that it was falſe. At laſt it was diſcovered, that *Jupiter* had play'd this Trick, by aſſuming the Shape of *Amphitryon*. The latter, without any Concern for the matter, lay with *Alcmena*, and made her an inſtance of *Superfœtation*, which has been quoted a thouſand times. She had already conceived *Hercules*, and became pregnant with another Son. But, to diſtinguiſh which was his own Son, and which was *Jupiter*'s, he threw two Snakes on their Beds. *Hercules* was not afraid of them; but the other fled. There wanted no other Proof, to ſhew, that *Hercules* was not the Son of *Amphitryon*. It is ſaid, that *Alcmena* put an Ornament on her Head, which informed the World, that *Jupiter* had tripled

(*a*) *Except one, who ſtaid behind to guard the Ships.* Apollodor. lib. 2. pag. 97.

(*b*) *Except* Licymnius *a Baſtard.* Id. pag. 99.

(*c*) *It is there fore not true, as is ſaid in the Supplement to* Moreri's *Dictionary, that* Amphitryon *ſucceeded* Electryon.

[*A*] *The Son of* Alcæus.] *Apollodorus* ſays, that *Hipponome*, the Daughter of *Menæceus*, was the Mother of *Amphitryon* (1). Others make him the Son of *Lyſidice*, the Daughter of *Pelops*; and others ſay, that *Laonome*, the Daughter of *Guneus*, was his Mother (2). Note, that he was Uncle to his Wife; for his Siſter *Anaxo* was the Mother of *Alcmena* (3).

(1) Apollod. lib. 2. p. 97.

(2) Pauſan. lib. 8. pag. 248.

(3) Id. ib.

[*B*] *Who afforded a Subject to the Comic Poets.*] *Amphitryon* is one of the beſt of *Plautus*'s Comedies, in the Opinion of Madam *Dacier*, who tranſlated it into *French* with excellent Notes. See the laſt Remarks of the Article TELEBOES. *Moliere* wrote a Comedy with the ſame Title; which is one of his beſt Pieces. He has borrowed many things from *Plautus*, but gives them a different turn: And, were a Compariſon between theſe two Pieces to decide the Controverſy, which has been raiſed of late Years, about the Superiority or Inferiority of the Ancients, I believe Mr *Perrault* would ſoon carry his Cauſe. There are many fine Turns in the *Amphitryon* of *Moliere*, which greatly exceed the Pleaſantry of the *Latin Amphitryon*. How many things in the Comedy of *Plautus* were neceſſary to be omitted, which would not have ſucceeded on the *French* Stage? How many Ornaments and Touches of a new Invention has *Moliere* been obliged to inſert in his Work, to procure it the Applauſe, which it has received? The bare Compariſon of the Prologue is ſufficient to adjudge the Advantage to the modern Author. *Lucian* has furniſhed the Subject, on which the Prologue of *Moliere* turns, but not the Thoughts. A good Judge will never ſay upon this Occaſion, that of a good Original he has made a bad Copy, applying the Words of *Terence*

> Qui bene vertendo, & eas deſcribendo male, ex
> Græcis bonis Latinas fecit non bonas (4).

I beſeech the Reader not to take me wrong: I grant, not only that the *Amphitryon* of *Plautus* is one of his beſt Pieces, but alſo that it is moſt excellent in ſome Reſpects. It ſeems it was ſtill acted in the Time of *Arnobius*. “ Ponit animos Jupiter, ſi Amphitryo “ fuerit actus pronuntiatuſque Plautinus (5). —— “ Jupiter *lays by haughty Carriage, in the Repreſenta-* “ *tion of the* Amphitryon *of* Plautus.” I wiſh we had the *Amphitryon* of *Euripides*, and the two *Amphitryons* of *Archippus*.

(4) Terent. Prol. Eunuch.

(5) Arnob. lib. 7. pag. 238.

[*C*] *In delivering up the Flocks to their Maſter, he had the Misfortune to be the innocent Cauſe of the Death of that unhappy Prince.*] The thing fell out thus: “ Cum bos una aufugeret, in ipſam Amphi- “ tryo tum quam manibus forte clavam geſtabat im- “ miſit, quæ de bovis cornibus repulſa in Electryonis “ caput reſiliens ipſum vita privavit (6). - - - - - - “ *One of the Cows endeavouring to run away,* Am- “ phitryon *threw a Club after it, which he hap-* “ *pened to have in his Hand; which rebounding from* “ *the Horns of the Cow daſhed againſt* Electryon's “ *Head, and killed him.*” In the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary inſtead of a *Club* it is a *Stone*.

(6) Apollod. lib. 2. p. 99.

[*D*] *He made Preparations for a War againſt the* Teleboës.] I obſerve in another Place (7), who the *Teleboës* were, and wherein *Apollodorus*, whom I follow, differs from the Scholiaſt on *Apollonius*.

(7) *In the Article* TELEBOES.

[*E*] *A Condition, which ſhe required of the Perſon, who deſired to marry her.*] We ſhall ſee in the Article, to which I refer the Reader in the foregoing Remark, that *Alcmena* chiefly required, that the Death of her Father ſhould be revenged.

tripled the length of the Night, in order to careſs her the longer [*F*]. It is not true, that *Amphitryon* taught Men to mix Water with their Wine [*G*]. *Alcmena* ſurvived her Huſband (*d*). The Ruins of their Houſe were ſtill to be ſeen at *Thebes*, in the Time of *Pauſanias* (*e*). We muſt remember, that *Amphitryon* was born at *Argos* (*f*). Some Authors call him King of *Thebes* (*g*).

(*d*) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 39.

(*e*) Id. lib. 9. pag. 290.

(*f*) Plaut. Amphitr. in Prolog.

(*g*) Servius in Æneid. lib. 8. ver. 103.

[*F*] *Put an Ornament on her Head, which informed the World, that* Jupiter *had tripled the Length of the Night, in order to careſs her the longer* (8).] This is very ſingular. She might have been ſatisfied with ſeeing the Head of her Huſband loaded with Horn-work and half Moons, which might have vied with the Towers of the Goddeſs *Cybele*.

(8) Apollod. lib. 2. p. 97.

> - - - - - qualis Berecynthia mater
> Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes (9).

(9) Virgil. Æneid. l. 6. ver. 785.

> *High as the Mother of the Gods - - - -*
> *Then, when in Pomp ſhe makes the* Phrygian *round,*
> *With Golden Turrets on her Temples crown'd.*
>
> **Dryden.**

Why did ſhe wear three entire Moons on her Forehead?

> - - - - - - - parvoque Alcmena ſuperbit
> Hercule, tergemina crinem circumdata Luna (10).

(10) Statius, Theb. lib. 6. ver. 288.

> *Proud of her Son, behold* Alcmena *wear*
> *Three Moons, an Ornament to grace her Hair.*

Moſt Interpreters underſtand theſe three Moons to be a Symbol of the three Nights, which *Jupiter* paſſed with her. A fine Trophy for poor *Amphitryon!* A noble Monument of the Safety of his Honour! Would ſhe have every one, who looked on her Head-dreſs, remember the triple Night, which her Charms had produced. Her Huſband could not be well pleaſed with ſuch a Dreſs. I appeal to *Moliere*, who makes him approve the Reflexions of his Servant. *Amphitryon*'s Friends being informed, that *Jupiter* was willing to make amends for the Injury, began to expreſs their Joy: But *Soſia* interrupted them.

> Meſſieurs, voulez-vous bien ſuivre mon ſentiment?
> Ne vous embarquez nullement,
> Dans ces douceurs congratulantes:
> C'eſt un mauvais embarquement,
> Et d'une & d'autre part, pour un tel compliment,
> Les phraſes ſont embarraſſantes.
> Le grand Dieu Jupiter nous fait beaucoup d'honneur,
> Et ſa bonté ſans doute eſt pour nous ſans ſeconde,
> Il nous promet l'infaillible bonheur,
> D'une fortune en mille biens feconde,
> Et chez nous il doit naitre un fils d'un très-grand cœur;
> Tout cela va le mieux du monde.
> Mais enfin coupons aux diſcours,
> Et que chacun chez ſoi doucement ſe retire.
> Sur telles affaires toujours
> Le meilleur eſt de ne rien dire.

Gentlemen, will you pleaſe to follow my Advice? —— By no means embark in theſe Congratulations; 'tis a ſcurvy Venture: and both one ſide and t'other is at a loſs to find Expreſſions for ſuch a Compliment. The great God Jupiter *does us abundance of Honour, and his Goodneſs towards us is, undoubtedly, not to be equalled; he promiſes us the certain Felicity of a Fortune, abounding with a thouſand Bleſſings; and in our Houſe ſhall be born a mighty ſtout-hearted Son. —— All this goes on the beſt that can be. But, in ſhort, let's cut the Diſcourſe off here, and let every Body go Home in Peace. In theſe kind of Affairs, 'tis always beſt to ſay nothing.*

Moliere *tranſlated by ſeveral Hands.*

Amphitryon found this ſo reaſonable, that by his Silence, he gave entire conſent to it.

[*G*] *It is not true, that* Amphitryon *taught Men to mix Water with their Wine.*] If *Athenæus* may be believed, this Invention is another's (11). But this other's Name being *Amphictyon*, a learned Critic has confounded him with the Huſband of *Alcmena*. I make no doubt, that the like Miſtakes often occaſion the various Opinions, which are to be found among Authors. Read *Athenæus*, and you will ſay that *Amphictyon*, King of *Athens*, invented the mixing of Water with Wine. Read *Caſaubon* and you will aſcribe this Secret to *Amphitryon*, King of *Thebes*. Whence it will happen, that ſome pretty good Compilers will form two Opinions: *Some, will they ſay, aſcribe this Invention to* Amphitryon, *and others to* Amphictyon. *Caſaubon*'s Words are; "Quod mox de Amphitryonis *(I make no Alteration in the Orthography of the Words)* invento temperandi vinum ſequitur quo pertineat ſubobſcurum eſt. Spectat autem eo, ne quis miretur, quod poſtea dicit Homerum varia temperamenta vini habuiſſe nota, cum τῆς τȣ͂ οἴνȣ κεράσεως inventor ſit Amphitryo, quem ante Iliaca Tempora Thebis regnaſſe nemo dubitat. (12). —— *The Deſign of mentioning* Amphitryon's *Invention of tempering Wine is to prevent any one's being ſurprized, to find, that* Homer *was acquainted with the various ways of mixing Wine, ſince no one doubts, that* Amphitryon, *the Inventor, reigned at* Thebes *before the* Trojan *War.*"

(11) Athen. lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 179.

(12) Caſaub. in Athen. p. 323, 324.

ANABAPTISTS, a Sect, which ſprung up ſoon after the Riſe of *Lutheraniſm*. *Nicolas Storch*, *Mark Stubner*, and *Thomas Munzer*, gave birth to it, in the Year 1521. It was founded upon the Abuſe of a Doctrine, which they had read in a Book, publiſhed by *Luther*, in the Year 1520, *De Libertate Chriſtianâ*. This Propoſition, which they met with in it, *A Chriſtian Man is Maſter of every thing, and is ſubject to no one*, and which *Luther* intended in a very good Senſe [*A*], ſeemed to them

[*A*] *It was founded upon the Abuſe of a Propoſition - - - - - - which* Luther *intended in a very good Senſe.*] Namely That, which he affixed to it, in explaining his meaning, when he perceived in what manner theſe People perverted his Expreſſions. "Quæ verba ſano ſenſu à Luthero —— Scripta & prolixè ἐξηγητὲς declarata, oppoſitoque aphoriſmo, *eundem omnium ſervum eſſe, & omnibus ſubjectum*, expoſita, detorta fuere in ſenſum ſequiorem ab hominibus ſuæ pariter & alienæ quietis impatientibus (1). —— *Which Words, written and interpreted by* Luther *in a good Senſe, and explained by the oppoſite Aphoriſm,* The ſame is a Servant of All, and Subject to All, *were perverted to a worſe meaning by Men, impatient of their Own, and the Peace of Others.*" His moſt zealous Adverſaries confeſſed, that he diſapproved of a ſeditious Behaviour, which ſeemed to be accidentally owing to his Doctrine. Father *Maimbourg* relates, that the Rebels, having ſent their public Declaration to *Martin Luther*, were diſappointed in their Expectation of it's receiving his Approbation (2); "For, *adds he*, *Luther* perceiving that many accuſed him of giving Occaſion to this Rebellion, by the Books, which he had written in the Vulgar Tongue, in Defence of Evangelical Liberty, againſt the Tyranny of thoſe, who overlaid it by human Traditions, anſwered this Accuſation in a long Diſcourſe, in which he ſhews them, that the Scripture enjoins Obedience to Princes and Magiſtrates, even though they ſhould abuſe the Power, which God has intruſted them with; that they ought to addreſs themſelves to God, and in the mean time ſuffer with Patience, in Expecta-

(1) Frider. Spanhemius, de Origine, Progreſſu, Sectis, & Nominibus, Anabaptiſtarum, p. 196. *I make uſe of the Edition inſerted in the* Gangræna Theologiæ Anabaptiſticæ *of* Cloppenbourg.

(2) Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of Lutheraniſm, Book* 1. *pag.* 114. Dutch *Edit.*

them calculated to influence the Vulgar. This they employ'd all their Induſtry in doing, each according to his Abilities. *Storch*, being wholly illiterate, boaſted of Divine Inſpiration. *Stubner*, who had Wit and Knowledge, looked out for crafty Explications of the Word of God. *Munzer*, who was bold and vehement, truſted to Aſſurance, and gave the Reins to the moſt reſtleſs and diſorderly Paſſions. They were not ſatisfied with decrying the Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny of the Court of *Rome*, and the Authority of Conſiſtories; they taught likewiſe, that the Power of Princes was meer Uſurpation, and that, under the Goſpel, Men ought to enjoy full and abſolute Liberty. They *re-baptized* their Followers; and, the better to encourage this Practice, they taught that *Infant-Baptiſm* was invalid. As to the reſt of their Tenets, they inſiſted much on ſtrict Morality; they recommended Mortifications, Faſts, and a Simplicity of Dreſs; by which means they gained a prodigious number of Followers. After theſe ſucceſsful Beginnings, *Munzer* became ſo raſh, as loudly to exhort the People to reſiſt Magiſtrates, and conſtrain Princes to diveſt themſelves of their Authority. A Goſpel of this kind was ſo pleaſing to the Peaſants of *Germany*, who were weary of their Maſters Yoke, that they roſe in ſeveral Places, and committed infinite Diſorders. They were ſoon reduced, and great numbers put to death. *Munzer*, who had ſeduced them by his Pretences to Inſpiration (*a*), was taken, and beheaded, in the Year 1525 (*b*). His Diſciples, whom he had left in *Switzerland*, increaſed the Sect in that Country, and were the occaſion of great Troubles; inſomuch that the Magiſtrates were obliged to have recourſe to the moſt ſevere penal Laws, to ſtop the Progreſs of *Anabaptiſm*. The ſame was neceſſary in ſeveral Towns of *Germany*, and other Places. The Proteſtant Clergy, it is true, were very diligent in refuting theſe Sectaries; but as this was found not effectual, the Magiſtrates interpoſed, and ſupplied this Defect by their Authority [*B*]. The *Anabaptiſts*

(*a*) *See his Article.*

(*b*) Moreri *is miſtaken in ſaying, that* this Hæreſiarch pretended, about the Year 1542, that the Holy Ghoſt revealed to him, &c.

tion of his good Pleaſure; and that the Way of Arms, which they had taken up, would be the Occaſion of their Damnation, if they refuſed to lay them down." We ſhall ſee in the Article MUNZER, that he rejected the Propoſitions of this Fanatic.

[*B*] *The Proteſtant Clergy were very diligent in refuting theſe Sectaries; but —— the Magiſtrates interpoſed —— with their Authority.*] It would have been difficult for the moſt violent Oppoſers of Lutheraniſm to conceive a more effectual way of ſtifling it in the Birth, than this Schiſm of *Munzer* and his Adherents. They preached up a Doctrine deſtructive of all Society, and they put it in practice with inconceivable Havock and Devaſtation. They had been united to *Luther*, and agreed with him in this, that Chriſtianity ought to be reformed according to the pure Word of God (3). Thus the Reſentment, conceived againſt *Them*, recoiled upon *Him*, and his Followers; and, when Men beheld the fatal Conſequences, which the Enterprize of the Reformation had ſo ſoon produced, they were tempted to believe, that it was not the Work of God. This, no doubt greatly retarded the Progreſs of *The Reform*. We are not to wonder, that the Proteſtant Divines called it the Depths of *Satan*; and ſaid, that the Enemy of our Salvation had made uſe of this Artifice to ſupport his Kingdom againſt the new Apoſtles, which God had raiſed up againſt him (4). This Language is the natural Reſult of Theological Hypotheſes. The Diſputants of the Romiſh Party took Advantage of this Conjuncture with extraordinary Addreſs, to cry down the Reformation, and to animate all the Powers againſt it. But the Reformers were not leſs vigilant to guard againſt the *Odium*, which their Enemies attempted to throw upon them. They exclaimed with all their Force againſt the *Anabaptiſts*; they refuted them by Writing; they engaged them in Diſputation as much as poſſible. "Ut labem iſtam ſibi æque ac doctrinæ Evangelicæ adſperſam abſterſum irent, Heroes illi Dei cauſam publicis ſcriptis ſibi agendam cenſuêre. Quod inter alios alacriter præſtitere *Lutherus*, *Melancthon*, *Zwinglius*, *Bullingerus*, *Menius*, *Regius*, alii, & in ſeditiones & ſeditioſos graviter invecti, ſubditos perduelles, de ſuo erga poteſtates ſuperiores officio ex Dei verbo monendo, tribunitios iſtos concionatores perſtringendo, & omnes ad quietam & debitam Principibus ſuis reverentiam hortando, nihil reliqui fecere, ut impetum hominum ad ſcelera & cruces furibundis animis ruentium ſufflaminarent. *Lutherus* vel imprimis concitatior non παραινετικὰ tantum ſcripta contra ſeditioſos, verum etiam στηλιτευτικὰ emiſit, & peculiari libello *contrà Latrones & Homicidas Ruſticos* vulgato ipſe claſſicum in illos cecinit, Principes hortatus, ut vi & armis latrociniorum iſtorum impetum ſiſterent, & eos ad quietem cogerent, qui perſuaderi nollent (5). —— *To wipe off theſe Aſperſions from themſelves and the Doctrine of the Goſpel, theſe Heroes determined publickly to write in Defence of the Cauſe of God. This was readily undertaken, among others, by* Luther, Melancthon, Zwinglius, Bullinger, Menius, Regius, &c. *who inveighed ſtrongly againſt Sedition and the Seditious, admoniſhing rebellious Subjects, from the Word of God, of their Duty towards the higher Powers; reproving thoſe turbulent Haranguers of the Mob; and exhorting all to a peaceable and due Reverence for their Princes: in ſhort they omitted nothing, which might reſtrain the Fury of Perſons, ruſhing on to Acts of Villany and Outrage.* Luther *in particular, more zealous than the reſt, publiſhed not only* Exhortatory *Writings, but even* Invectives *againſt the Seditious; and, in a ſingular Work* againſt the ruſtic Robbers and Murderers, *ſounded the Alarm againſt them, exhorting Princes to repreſs by Force of Arms their violent Proceedings, and oblige thoſe to be quiet by Compulſion, who refuſed to be ſo by Perſuaſion.*" The Miniſter, whoſe *Latin* I cite, mentions certain Towns, in which theſe Sectaries were confounded in Diſputation; but the Burden of the Song is always, that at the laſt the Magiſtrates exerted their Authority. He tells us, that, at *Zurich*, the Heads of the *Anabaptiſts*, having diſputed three times, to their Confuſion, with *Zwinglius* (6), were condemned to Silence by a ſolemn Decree. "Senatus Tigurinus ſolenni Edicto Pædobaptiſmum ſancit, & Anabaptiſmi Doctoribus ſilentium & quietem imperat (7). —— *The Senate of* Zurich *confirms Infant-Baptiſm by a ſolemn Edict, and enjoins the Teachers of* Anabaptiſm *to be ſilent.*" *Balthaſar Hubmeyer*, one of them, having promiſed to make a public Recantation, yet continuing to preach up his Errors, was compelled to abjure them, and then expelled the City (8). And, becauſe this Sect encreaſed daily, in ſpight of all Obſtacles, it was thought neceſſary to have recourſe to the moſt violent Remedies. The Senate publiſhed an Edict, condemning to death the Anabaptiſt Teachers, and laying a ſevere Fine upon thoſe, who gave them Reception. "Capitis pœna in Anabaptiſtarum Doctores decreta, & gravibus in eorum receptatores mulctis (9)." This Decree was made in the Year 1530. *Oecolampadus* diſputed at *Baſil* with theſe Heretics, in the Years 1525, 1527, and 1529. He maintained his Cauſe with great Force of Reaſon, but could not ſurmount the Obſtinacy of theſe People. For which Reaſon the Magiſtrates laid ſuch Reſtraints upon them, that the Church recovered it's Peace. "Cauſæ quidem abundè ſatisfecit;

(3) *See* Spanhem. ubi ſupra.

(4) *See the Remark* [*KK*] *of the Article* MAHOMET.

(5) Spanh. ubi ſupra, pag. 198.

(6) *In* January, March, *and* November, 1525.

(7) Spanh. ubi ſupra, pag. 202.

(8) Id. ib.

(9) Id. ib.

Anabaptiſts made a conſiderable Progreſs in *Moravia*, and would have done ſo more, in ſpight of the Severity, with which they were oppoſed by the Secular Arm, had they not been divided into two Factions (*c*). No Town was more infeſted with theſe People, than That of *Munſter* [*C*]. Every one knows, that they became Maſters of it; and that *John* of *Leyden*, King of this New Jeruſalem, defended himſelf as long as he could; but that at length, the Town being taken, he was put to death in the Year 1536. The *Anabaptiſts* of *Frieſland* and *Holland* diſapproved, in many things, of the Conduct of their Brothers of *Munſter*; and yet they were the occaſion of great Troubles (*d*). One of their principal Chiefs was named *Mennon*. The moſt effectual Means that could be thought of were put in practice for the Extirpation of this Sect; but in vain (*e*). It ſtill ſubſiſts in the *United Provinces*. It is true, the principal Follies of the Sect have by degrees been worn off [*D*]: It no longer pretends to Enthuſiaſm;

“ cit; actoribus vero pervicacibus non item; ita in “ prudentiſſimi ſenatus, & ſtrenui Gloriæ divinæ “ vindicis, in Anabaptiſtarum ſectariis coërcendis au- “ thoritate, Eccleſiæ Baſilienſis tranquillitati ſimul & “ puritati conſulendum ibidem fuerit (10).” They were refuted at *Bern*, in a public Diſputation, in the Year 1527; yet they privately declared, that their own Reaſons ſtill appeared to them to be good. In order therefore to confirm the Triumph of Truth, another Diſputation was appointed; which laſted nine Days. The Acts of it were publiſhed. This had great Effect; but the rigorous Edicts of the Senate of *Bern* were incomparably more uſeful (11). Theſe ſeditious Perſons would have eſtabliſhed their ſafe Retreat at *St Gal*, had not the Magiſtrates baniſhed them from thence (12). It was there, that *Thomas Schucker* cut off his Brother's Head, in the Year 1527. He called together a numerous Aſſembly, and declared to the Company, that he perceived himſelf under the Influence of the Spirit of God. Upon which, he commanded his Brother to kneel down, and took a Sword. His Father, and Mother, and ſome others, demanded what he was about to do. *Be ſatisfied*, replied he, *I will do nothing but what is revealed to me by our heavenly Father*. The Company waited impatiently for the Event; when they ſaw him draw the Sword, and cut off his Brother's Head. He was puniſhed by the Magiſtrates as his Crime deſerved; but he ſhewed no Signs of Repentance, and declared upon the Scaffold, that he had only executed the Orders of God. You may imagine, that the Decrees of Baniſhment were repeated with greater Severity, upon ſuch an Inſtance of Fanaticiſm (13). At *Straſbourg*, there were both Diſputations, and rigorous Edicts, againſt this Sect (14). *Melchior Hofman*, one of it's Ringleaders, was confined there, and died in Priſon (15). The Sect ſpread itſelf over *Moravia*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Auſtria*, and *Sileſia*. Some of it's Heads were delivered over to the Executioner. *Balthaſar Hubmeyer*, being conducted to *Vienna*, was burnt there. This Execution paſſed with the Sect for a Martyrdom, and inflamed their Zeal.

Add to this, that, upon their firſt Arrival in *England*, in the Year 1560, Queen *Elizabeth*, by a Proclamation, commanded them inſtantly to leave the Kingdom (17). The Elector *Palatine* drove them out of his Dominions, in the Year 1594. The Diets of *Spire*, in the Years 1529, and 1544, and That of *Ausbourg*, in the Year 1551, put out cruel and bloody Decrees againſt them (18). *Philip* II. ordered the Governeſs of the *Netherlands* to be very ſevere in puniſhing the *Anabaptiſts* (19). Conſult the Annals of this Sect, compoſed by *Henry Ottius*; you will there find an ample Recital of all the Edicts publiſhed againſt them in ſeveral Parts of *Europe*. What is ſometimes ſaid of Artillery, that it is *the laſt Argument of Kings*, *Ratio ultima Regum*, is applicable to penal Laws: they are the *Ratio ultima* of Divines, their moſt convincing Argument, their *Achilles* *, &c.

[*C*] *No Town was more infeſted with theſe People, than that of* Munſter.] What paſſed in this Town, from the time that *Anabaptiſm* got footing in it, to the Death of *John of Leyden*, is one of the moſt memorable Events of the XVIth Century. We meet with an Account of it in ſeveral Books. See particularly the Letter, which was written to *Eraſmus* by *Conrad Heresbachius* (20), in the Year 1536, and which was printed at *Amſterdam*, in the Year 1637, *cum Hypomnematis ac notis Theologicis, Hiſtoricis, ac Politicis, Theodori Strackii, Paſtoris Pudericenſis*. See likewiſe *Lambert Hortenſius*'s Book, *De Tumultibus Anabaptiſtarum*, That of *John Wigand*, *De Anabaptiſmo Publicato*, and the Relation of *Henry Dorpius*, a Citizen of *Munſter*, publiſhed in the Year 1536.

[§ Mr BAYLE has omitted, through inadvertence I believe, a *Latin* Heroic Poem in two Books, compoſed by *Herman Kerſenbroeck*, recited by the Author in a full Aſſembly of the Univerſity of *Cologne*, and printed at *Cologne* in the Year 1445, in 8vo. This Piece is dedicated to the Biſhop of *Munſter* and *Oſnabrug*, *Francis*, Count of *Waldeck*; and the Title is, *Belli Monaſterienſis contra Anabaptiſtica Monſtra Geſti brevis atque ſuccincta deſcriptio*. REM. CRIT.]

[*D*] *The principal Follies of this Sect have by Degrees been worn off.*] It is upon this Account, that the *Anabaptiſts* of theſe times complain, that they are refuted in the ſame manner their Anceſtors were. An illuſtrious Divine of the *Dutch* Academy found himſelf expoſed to this Cenſure, in a Letter, which an *Anabaptiſt* publiſhed in *Dutch*; but he replied to the Author, that he did not pretend to impute all the Errors he had taken notice of to the Sect in general. “ Has *(Sectas)* ut minime confundimus in “ controverſiis *ſingulis*, ita nec notatos errores *omnes* “ *omnibus* imputamus - - - - - minus voluimus imputatos illis qui intra *Waterlandorum* dictas confeſſiones, “ bona fide, procul fallaciis Mennoniticis, hærere ſeſe “ profitentur. Abſit ut cuiquam invito & deprecanti “ Hæreſim impingamus! Sed nec iſti aliorum apologiam ſuſcipiant, aut alios eſſe ac fuiſſe negent, “ quos hic Elenchus ſub generali *Enthuſiaſtarum* & “ *Anabaptiſtarum* nomine, ne neſciat Juventus noſtra, “ coarguit. Factum tamen noviſſime, ut diximus “ modo, à *Rypenſi* ſcriptore *Epiſtolæ* in modum Belgico ſermone mihi opponendæ. Qui errores hic “ complures notatos dum à ſuis Waterlandis amolitur, “ ſi modo verè & ſincerè, hoc ipſo non ſe aut ſuos “ in talibus controverſiis peti, ſed familias alias ex “ dicto grege, intellexiſſe debuit. Fruſtra ergo eſt “ omnis ipſius expoſtulatio, quaſi ignorem quid Rypenſes Anabaptiſtæ ſentiant, aut quaſi Lectoribus “ meis imponam (21). ——— *As I do not confound* “ *theſe ſeveral Sects in* particular *Controverſies*, *ſo* “ *neither do I impute* all *the Errors*, *which I remark*, “ *to All without Diſtinction* - - - - - - *much leſs would* “ *I impute them to thoſe*, *who profeſs to adhere to* “ *the aforeſaid Confeſſions of the* Waterlandians, *in* “ *Sincerity*, *and free from the Fallacies of* Mennon. “ *Far be it from me to fix Hereſy upon any Man againſt his Will*, *and againſt his expreſs Declaration to the contrary. But let not ſuch Men undertake the Defence of others*, *and deny that there are*, “ *or ever were*, *ſuch others*, *as this Table*, *for the* “ *Information of our Youth*, *reprehends under the general Name of* Enthuſiaſts *and* Anabaptiſts. *Yet this* “ *was lately done*, *as I obſerved before*, *by the* Rypenſian *Author of an Epiſtle againſt me in the* “ Dutch *Language. Who*, *whilſt he endeavours to* “ *vindicate his own* Waterlandians *from many Errors* “ *here taken notice of*, *if indeed he does it with Truth* “ *and Sincerity*, *might in this very Attempt have ſeen*, “ *that neither himſelf nor his Friends were aimed at* “ *in ſuch kind of Controverſies*; *which were levelled* “ *againſt other Folds of the aboveſaid Flock. All his* “ *Expoſtulation therefore*, *inſinuating that I am unacquainted with the Opinions of the Anabaptiſts of* “ Rypen, *and that I impoſe upon my Readers*, *is nothing to the Purpoſe*.” *Hornbeeck* has been ſo juſt, as not to impute the Hereſies of particular Perſons to the Sect in general. “ Hic quidem imprimis à “ *communibus* illorum & *ſingularibus* cœtuum dogmatis ſecernenda ſunt *propria* aliqua doctorum ipſorum (22). ——— *We muſt here diſtinguiſh between* “ *the*

(*c*) *That of the* Hutterians, *and that of the* Gabrieliſts.

(*d*) *See Remark* [*D*] *of the Article* PICARDS.

(*e*) *Taken from a Diſſertat on of* Frider. Spanhem. *the Father*, De Origine, Progreſſu, Sectis & Nominib. Anabaptiſtarum; *printed at* Leyden. John Cloppenbourg *has inſerted it in his* Gangrænæ Theologiæ Anabaptiſticæ, *printed at* Francfort *in* 1556, *in* 4to.

(10) Spanhemius, ubi ſupra, pag. 203.

(11) Id. ib. p. 203, 204.

(12) Turbones urbe ejecti fuere. *Id. ib. pag.* 204.

(13) Id. ib.

(14) Id. ib. pag. 205.

(15) Id. ib. pag. 212.

(17) Hornbeeck ſumma Controverſ. pag. 381.

(18) Id. ib.

(19) Id. ib. *citing* Strada's Hiſt. Belg. lib. 4.

* *An invincible Argument is proverbially called* Argumentum Achilleum. *See the Article* ACHILLES, *Remark* [*L*]. REM. CRIT.

(20) *He was Governor of the Sons of the Duke of* Cleves, *and afterwards Counſellor to the Duke*, *and was at the Siege of* Munſter.

(21) Frider. Spanhem. F. filius, in Elencho Controverſiarum pag. 87. Edit. Amſt. 1694.

(22) Hornbeeck ſumma Controv. pag. 189.

Enthuſiaſm; it does not oppoſe Magiſtrates; nor does it at preſent preach up an entire Freedom from all Subjection, a Community of Goods, and the like. It has been ſplit into a great Variety of Subdiviſions [*E*]; as muſt always happen to every Sect, which is not ſupported by Authority. It boaſts of a great number of Martyrs [*F*]: It's Martyrology is a large Volume in *Folio*. I believe no Author has repreſented this Sect with ſo much Juſtice, as *George Caſſander* [*G*]. The Proteſtant Divines

“ *the* particular *Opinions of ſome learned Men among them, and the* common *and* ſingular *Tenets of the Sect.*” He mentions two by Name, the Opinion of *James Outreman*, and That of *Weke Walles*. The former admits three Eſſences in the Deity, and pretends, that the Eſſence of the Father is confined to Heaven, and does not paſs this Boundary. The other teaches, that *Judas* was a good Man, and that he was ſaved; that he committed no Crime in betraying *JESUS CHRIST*; that the Prieſts and Scribes were no more guilty, in perſecuting our Lord even to Death; and that both the Thieves were ſaved. *Outreman* taught at *Harlem* in 1605. *Walles* taught in the Territory of *Groningen*, in 1673. He was baniſhed from the Province; and, as he retired into *Frieſland*, the Proteſtant Synod, which was held at *Franeker*, in the Year 1644, cauſed him to be expelled that Country.

[E] *It has been ſplit into a great Variety of Subdiviſions.*] I ſhould be afraid of tiring my Readers, were I to produce here the Catalogue of the ſeveral *Anabaptiſt Sects*: I ſhall content myſelf therefore with pointing out a Book, where the Curioſity of thoſe, who deſire to ſee this Liſt, may be ſatisfied. Conſult, then, the *Preface to* John Henry Ottius'*s Annals of* Anabaptiſm.

[F] *It boaſts of a great Number of Martyrs.*] Could it only produce thoſe, who were put to Death for Attempts againſt the Government, it's bulky Martyrology would make but a ridiculous Figure; but it is certain, that ſeveral *Anabaptiſts*, who ſuffered Death courageouſly for their Opinions, had never any Intention of rebelling. Give me leave to cite an Evidence, which cannot be ſuſpected. It is that of a Writer, who has exerted his whole Force in refuting this Sect (23). He obſerves, that it's great Progreſs was owing to three Things. The firſt was, that it's Teachers deafened their Hearers with numberleſs Paſſages of Scripture: The ſecond, that they affected a great Appearance of Sanctity: The third, that their Followers diſcovered great *Conſtancy in their Sufferings and Deaths*. He ſhews, that not one of theſe three Particulars is a Mark of Orthodoxy. Concerning the laſt, he expreſſes himſelf thus. “ The third Diſtinction, by which the *Anabaptiſts* ſeduce the Simple and Wavering, is their Conſtancy in Sufferings and Death. But this can never make their Anti-Chriſtian Doctrine good and wholeſome; ſince, according to St *Cyprian*, it is not the Puniſhment that makes the Martyr, but the Cauſe, for which he ſuffers. The Scripture (24) aſſures us, that thoſe only are truly Martyrs and Saints, who ſuffer for Righteouſneſs, for Truth, and for the Name of *CHRIST*. But the *Anabaptiſts*, which is to be lamented, do not ſuffer for this Truth, but for a Doctrine of Anti-Chriſt. And ſurely Princes and Kings do not take the proper Method to extirpate this Sect, when they put to death theſe ignorant Wretches, the greateſt part of whom have been ſeduced. They ſhould rather imitate the good Kings *Ezechias* and *Joſias*, who extirpated all kinds of Idolatry out of their Kingdom, and, as far as they could, reformed the true Religion. Thus they ſhould cauſe the true Apoſtolical Doctrine to be publickly preached; and, when this done, I am of Opinion, there would be no Occaſion for ſo much Fire, to put to death theſe poor, ignorant, ſeduced, People (25).” Afterwards he alledges Examples of Perſons, who have ſuffered courageouſly, though not in the Cauſe of Juſtice. He inſtances in the impenitent Thief, the *Eſſenians*, the Popiſh Martyrs, *Arians*, *Mahometans*, and the Philoſophers *Zeno*, and *Socrates*. But he gives not the leaſt Hint, that the *Anabaptiſt* Martyrs ſuffered Death for taking up Arms againſt the State, or ſtirring up the People to Rebellion. He repreſents their Martyrs, as weak, ignorant, People. See what is cited below, in relation to *George Caſſander*.

Obſerve, by the Way, that this Author refutes his Adverſaries, juſt as the Catholics refute the Proteſtants. “ The firſt Mark, *ſays he* (26), by which they impoſe upon ſo many People, is, when, without Senſe, Judgment, or Reaſon, they quote numberleſs Texts of Scripture at random, as if they fed upon the Bible; whereas, generally ſpeaking, they know not an Hawk from an Handſaw, according to the Proverb. However, the poor Wretches are at a ſtand, and amazed at ſuch a Profuſion of Scripture; and believe they have met with moſt learned Inſtructors. But I beſeech theſe poor Wretches to conſider, that there never was an Hereſy, which did not make uſe of Scripture, by corrupting and perverting it, to ſupport it's Blaſphemies. The Knowledge of Scripture is not the Occaſion of Error and Hereſy, but the contrary, according to Chriſt. *Do ye not therefore err, becauſe ye know not the Scripture* *? As to the ſecond Mark, by which the *Anabaptiſts* ſeduce and ſubvert the Minds of the Simple, namely, the Appearance of Sanctity,” he proves by Examples, that it is often the Character of falſe Teachers. It is certain, that the Catholics had to reply to theſe three Difficulties, I. That the Proteſtants talk of nothing but the Bible, and are for ever citing it; II. That they condemn Dancing, Finery, frequenting Taverns, &c. III. That many among them die courageouſly for their Religion. They refute theſe Difficulties, juſt as the Proteſtant Author above-mentioned has refuted them. This is a farther Proof, how greatly prejudicial the Sect of the *Anabaptiſts* has been to the Proteſtants; who were obliged to refute it by Arguments, which were turned againſt themſelves by the Papiſts.

There are ſome *Anabaptiſts*, likewiſe, in the Martyrology of *Geneva*. Take notice, that they have publiſhed two Martyrologies, one at *Haerlem*, in the Year 1615, the other at *Horn*, in 1617. Theſe two Works diſcovered the Diſagreement between the *Anabaptiſts*; for thoſe of *Horn* cenſured (27) the Martyrology of *Haerlem*, as an unfair Work. In anſwer to this Cenſure (28), they had recourſe to Recrimination; they charged the Compilers of the Martyrology of *Haerlem* with inſerting Perſons, who had ſubſcribed the Confeſſion of the Reformed, in relation to the Article of the Incarnation of *JESUS CHRIST* (29). The principal Compiler of the Martyrology of *Horn*, was one *James Outerman*. The Preface to this Work is as injurious to the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, as to the Papiſts: It accuſes them all of Tyranny (30).

[G] *No Author has repreſented this Sect with ſo much Juſtice as* George Caſſander.] He ſays, that the *Mennonites* diſcovered an honeſt Mind, a pious Mind; and that they erred from the Faith through a miſtaken Zeal, rather than an evil Diſpoſition; that they condemned the outrageous Behaviour of their Brethren of *Munſter*; that they taught, that the Kingdom of *JESUS CHRIST* was to be eſtabliſhed only by the Croſs: *They deſerve therefore*, adds he, *to be pitied and inſtructed, rather than to be perſecuted*; and he applies to them a fine Paſſage of St *Auſtin*. “ Hujus, quem dixi, Mennonis, cui nunc hic Theodoricus ſucceſſit, Sectatores ferè ſunt omnes, qui per hæc Belgicæ & Germaniæ inferioris loca huic Anabaptiſticæ Hæreſi affines deprehenduntur; in quibus magna ex parte pii cujuſdam animi Argumenta cernas, qui, imperito quodam zelo incitati, errore potius quam animi malitia à vero divinarum literarum ſenſu, & concordi totius Eccleſiæ conſenſu, deſciverunt; quod ex eo perſpici poteſt, quod Monaſterienſibus & Batenburgicis furoribus, novam quandam reſtitutionem regni Chriſti, quod in deletione impiorum per vim externam poſitum ſit, meditantibus, acerrimè ſemper reſtiterunt, & in ſola Cruce regni Chriſti inſtaurationem & propagationem conſiſtere docuerunt; quo fit, ut qui hujuſmodi ſunt, commiſeratione potius & emendatione quam inſectatione & perditione digni videantur. His enim multo magis convenire videtur, quod de Manichæis diſputans inquit Auguſtinus †. Quan-

(23) Guy de Bres, *Epiſtle Dedicatory to his* Racine, Source & Fondement des Anabaptiſtes. *This Book was printed in* 1565.

(24) Matth. v. 11. × 1 Pet. iv. 20. 1 Joh. iv. 3.

(25) Guy de Bres, ubi ſupra, p. 9.

(26) Ibid. pag. 5.

* Mark xii. 24.

(27) *In the Preface to the Edition of* 1626.

(28) *They anſwered it in a* Dutch *Piece printed at* Haerlem *in* 1630, *and compoſed by* Haris Alenſon.

(29) Ottius's Annals, ad ann. 1615. num. 6. pag. 233.

(30) Id. ib. ann. 1626. num. 2. pag. 251.

† Contra Epiſtolam Fundamenti.

× there is but 19 Verses in the Oxford Edition by Basketts, in Fol. for ye use of Churches. —

Divines have zealouſly oppoſed It in the *United Provinces*, and have obtained at different Times ſeveral Edicts to reſtrain it [*H*]. Yet it continues to be tolerated there. They ſay that Mr *van Beuning* reaſoned one *Day* upon this Affair with Mr *de Turenne* [*I*] in a very ſtrong and lively manner. The Books, which have been wrote

concerning

quam Dominus per ſervos ſuos regna ſubvertat Erroris, ipſos tamen homines, in quantum homines ſunt, emendandos eſſe potius quam perdendos jubet. —— Atque Utinam, qui atrociore in hoſce miſeros ſunt animo, manſuetudinem & prudentiam hujus ſancti viri imitentur, qui in diſputatione adverſus Manichæos —— his verbis eſt uſus ‖. Illi, inquit, in vos ſæviant, qui neſciunt cum quo labore verum inveniatur, & quam difficile caveantur Errores. Illi in vos ſæviant, qui neſciunt cum quanta difficultate ſanetur oculus interioris Hominis, ut poſſit intueri ſolem ſuum. Illi in vos ſæviant, qui neſciunt quibus ſuſpiriis & gemitibus fiat, ut ex quantulacunque parte poſſit intelligi Deus (31). —— *Almoſt all thoſe of* Lower Germany, *who lean to the* Anabaptiſt *Hereſy, are followers of* Mennon, *who is now ſucceeded by* Theodoric; *in which People you may, in general, diſcover Marks of a certain pious Diſpoſition of Mind; who, carried away by a Zeal, not according to Knowledge, have, erroneouſly, not maliciouſly, departed from the true Senſe of the Inſpired Writings, and the general Conſent of the whole Church; which is evident from hence, in that they always ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the raſh Attempts of thoſe of* Munſter, *who were contriving a new ſort of Eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom of* CHRIST, *which conſiſted in deſtroying the Impious, by external Force; and have always taught, that the Eſtabliſhment and Propagation of* CHRIST*'s Kingdom depended ſolely upon the Croſs; whence it is, that ſuch Perſons as theſe ſeem rather to merit Pity and Inſtruction, than Perſecution and Extirpation. And indeed* St Auſtin*'s Words, in his Controverſy with the* Manichæans, *is more applicable to theſe People. Though the Lord,* ſays he, *overthrows the Kingdom of Error by his Servants, yet he commands that Men, conſidered as Men, ſhould be inſtructed and ſet right, not deſtroyed. —— And I heartily wiſh, that they, who are ſo very angry with theſe poor Creatures, would imitate the Temper and Prudence of this holy Man, who, in his Controverſy with the* Manichæans, *expreſſed himſelf thus.* Let thoſe, ſays he, *be angry with you, who know not the Difficulty of coming at Truth, and avoiding Error. Let thoſe be angry with you, who know not the Difficulty of curing the Mind's Eye, and enabling it to bear the Light of it's proper Sun. Let thoſe, I ſay, be angry with you, who know not with what Groaning and Pains the leaſt Knowledge of the Deity is acquired.*" Thus our Author expreſſes himſelf in a Book, which he dedicated to the Duke of *Cleves*, in which he proves, that Infant Baptiſm was always allowed by the Primitive Church. He looked upon the univerſal Conſent of all Chriſtians for many Centuries, as ſo ſtrong, a Proof that a Doctrine is Apoſtolical, that he thought the *Anabaptiſts* could not be better refuted, than by the force of this Argument. He had experienced it's Virtue; for he tells us, that an *Anabaptiſt* Teacher, who was Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Cleves*, together with ſeveral of his Adherents, were converted, upon ſeeing this Collection of Teſtimonies, in proof of the Antiquity of Tradition in this Point. It was this, which induced *Caſſander* to publiſh his Work. Let me obſerve, that he had two Conferences with the *Anabaptiſts*, the firſt at *Cologne*, with one *Matthias*, in the Year 1556; the other with *John Kremer*, who was Priſoner in the County of *Mark*, in the Year 1558. I tranſpoſe the Method of the Writer I borrowed this from; for his *Iterum* is a Contradiction. "Georgius Caſſander, *ſays he* (32), bis cum illis coram diſputavit, de quo inter ejus Opera fol. 1227: ſemel cum Johanne Kremer, a. CIↃ IↃ LVIII captivo in comitatu Marciæ, iterum, a. CIↃ IↃ LVI, cum Matthia aliquo, Coloniæ."

[*H*] *The Proteſtant Divines have zealouſly oppoſed this Sect in the United Provinces, and have obtained ſeveral Edicts to reſtrain it.*] They have often challenged the *Anabaptiſts* to Diſputation. The Synod of *Horn* paſſed an Act hereupon, and even had recourſe to the Authority of the Governor. "Eccleſiæ noſtræ ſemper bonum ac utile cenſuerunt, Adverſarios ad Diſputationem & Colloquia provocare. Synodus Hornana, a. CIↃ IↃ LXXX; & a. CIↃ IↃ LXXVI, implorata eum in finem Gubernatoris Theod. Sonnoyi auctoritate — decernit provocandum, *&c.* (33)" Three or four Synods paſſed like Acts before the End of the XVIth Century (34). The Churches thought proper, in the Year 1599, to compoſe a Work, comprehending a Body of *Anabaptiſt* Controverſies. *Arminius*, Miniſter of *Amſterdam*, undertook it, and began it; but laid it aſide, when he was made Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*; and alledged the Reaſons, in the Synod of *Alcmaer* in 1605, why he could not go on with ſuch a Work. The Synod of *Enchuyſe*, in the Year 1624, employed two Miniſters to examine the Confeſſions of the *Mennonites*, and diſcuſs the Points in queſtion. One of them being left alone, in the Year 1626, demanded a new Partner; the Synod of *Amſterdam*, in 1628, appointed *Doreſlaar* to be his Aſſiſtant. They applied themſelves diligently to their Commiſſion, and publiſhed a very good Book, in *Dutch*, in the Year 1637. It is a Body of *Anabaptiſt* Controverſies; in which the Variations of this Sect are exactly diſtinguiſhed (35). The Author, who tells us theſe Particulars, obſerves, that the Churches, in Conjunction with the Secular Arm, took care, that this Sect ſhould not encreaſe; they ſtand Centinel, *ſays he*, to check it, if it produces new Branches, or attempts to exceed it's Bounds. *Pro coërcendis aut noviter pullulantibus aut ſua pomæria extendentibus juxta cum Politicis Eccleſiæ vigilant* (36). He adds, that the Synod of *Frieſland* is perpetually ſolliciting the States of that Province, to revive the Edict, which was publiſhed againſt the *Anabaptiſts*, in the Year 1598; and that they preſs the Execution of it, with regard to the new Aſſemblies, and new Places of Worſhip, which this Sect has ventured to ſet up. He adds farther, that it being diſcovered, that the Synod of the *Anabaptiſts*, held at *Haerlem*, in the Month of *July*, 1649, had ſet up ſeveral new Congregations, it behoved the Orthodox Paſtors to reſtrain, by ſome Means or other, theſe Innovations; and the rather, as they were authorized ſo to do, by an Edict of the Year 1651, by which their High Mightineſſes decree, that the Sects ſhould be reſtrained, and not ſuffered to ſpread. *Sectas cohibendas & in ordinem redigendas, neque permittendum ut in plura loca quam hodie ſunt diffundantur* (37). After the ſame manner, the Proteſtants, in *France*, were forbid all Places of religious Worſhip, which they could not prove they were in poſſeſſion of at the time of the Edicts. See *Voëtius*'s *Politica Eccleſiaſtica* (38), in which he examines, whether this Sect ought to be tolerated; he diſtinguiſhes upon it; but, generally ſpeaking, he inclines moſt to the Negative.

[*I*] *Mr* van Beuning *reaſoned one Day upon this Affair, with Mr* de Turenne.] Mr *de Turenne*, being in a Coach with this Ambaſſador, expreſſed to him his diſlike at the Toleration, which the *States General* granted to all ſorts of Religions. I omit Mr *van Beuning*'s Anſwer, with regard to the other Sects; and confine myſelf to that Part of it, which reſpects the *Mennonites*: "Why are you, *ſays he*, averſe to a Toleration of this Sect? They are very honeſt People, and the moſt eaſy in the World; they never aſpire to Employments; they thwart no Man's Ambition; they traverſe no Man's Views, by Competition or Intrigues. It were to be wiſhed, that in every Country half the People would make a Conſcience of aiming at Dignities; the other half would arrive at them with leſs Difficulty, and without employing ſo many mean Arts, and unlawful Methods. We have no reaſon to apprehend the Rebellion of a Sect, one of whoſe Articles of Faith is, that it is unlawful to bear Arms. How great a Security is it to a Sovereign, to know that his Subjects are reſtrained from mutinying by ſuch a Bridle, whatever Impoſts or Tallage are laid upon them? The *Mennonites* contribute their Share to the Charges of the Government. This is ſufficient; with this we levy Troops, which are more uſeful to us, than theſe People would be, were they to enliſt themſelves. They edify us by the Simpli-

city,

‖ Id. ibid.

(31) G. Caſſander, Præfat. Tractat. de Baptiſmo Infantium.

(32) Hornbeeck, ſumma Controverſ. p. 394.

(33) Id. ib. *Note, that he tranſpoſes the Order of Time: he places the Synod of* 1576, *after that of* 1580.

(34) Id. ib.

(35) Id. ib. p. 395, 396.

(36) Id. ib. pag. 391.

(37) Id. ib. pag. 392.

(38) *Book* 4. *Part* 1. *pag.* 538.

concerning this Sect, and againſt it's Tenets, are innumerable [*K*]. I muſt not omit, that they have not been able as yet to extinguiſh it in *Switzerland*, notwithſtanding the rigorous Methods made uſe of at different times (*f*). I ſhall produce ſome of the Reaſons alledged in Juſtification of their Severity [*L*]. The *Dutch* Edition

"city of their Manners; they apply themſelves to "Arts and Buſineſs, without ſquandring away their "own Patrimony, or the Wealth they acquire, in "Luxury and Vice. Other Communions behave "differently: Voluptuouſneſs, and the Expences of "Vanity, are in them a conſtant Source of Scandal, "and a weakening of the State. But they refuſe to "ſwear; a mighty matter indeed. The Authority "of the Tribunals receive, no Prejudice thereby. "Theſe People think themſelves as much obliged by "an Affirmation of the Truth, as they could be by "an Oath. All the uſe of adminiſtering an Oath "conſiſts in this, that the Perſon, who violates it, "is in fear of being the more ſeverely puniſhed by "God, and expoſes himſelf to Infamy, and even corporal Puniſhment from Men. The *Mennonites* fear "the ſame Conſequences, if they violate their Affirmation; they are therefore bound by the ſame "Obligation with other Men."

[*K*] *The Books, which have been wrote concerning this Sect, and againſt it's Doctrines, are innumerable.*] I have pointed out ſome in the Remark [*C*]. Others are as follows. *Herman Modæus* wrote a Book *de initiis Sectæ Anabaptiſticæ*. *Andrew Meſhovius* wrote, in *Latin*, *An Hiſtory of the* Anabaptiſts. An anonymous Author publiſhed, in *Dutch*, *The* Anabaptiſtic *Succeſſion*, printed at *Cologne*, in the Year 1603. There is likewiſe a Book in *Dutch*, *De Origine & Progreſſu Sectarum inter Anabaptiſtas*. Mr *Ottius*, Profeſſor at *Zurich*, compiled the Annals of this Sect, down to the Year 1671. All theſe Works are taken notice of, either by *Hornbeeck* (39), or by *Micrælius* (40), or by *Spanheim* (41). I do not find, that they mention a Book, which *Caſſander* deſcribes after this manner. "De Origine vero hujus Anabaptiſticæ "Sectæ, ejuſque Progreſſu, & quæ ex hoc capite "monſtra quam varia & abſurda atque inter ſe pugnantia prodierunt, luculente, copioſè, ſummâque "cum fide ſcripſit Nicolaus Bleſdick, qui, quod aliquando hujuſmodi errore per imperitiam ætatis deceptus fuerit, eo nunc inſtructior & vehementior "eſt in iis erroribus refellendis, id quod ei cum B. Auguſtino commune eſt (42). —— *As to the Origin* "*and Progreſs of this Sect, with the various, abſurd,* "*and diſcordant Monſters, which it has produced,* "*they have been clearly, fully, and faithfully deſcribed,* "*by* Nicolas Bleſdick, *who, having been formerly deceived by this Error, through the unskillfulneſs of* "*Youth, was the better qualified, and the more eager* "*to oppoſe it; a Circumſtance common to him with* "*St* Auſtin." *Hornbeeck* mentions only *an Hiſtory of* David George, compoſed by *Nicolas Bleſdick*, Son-in-law of this *David*, and publiſhed by *Revius* (43). *An Hiſtory of the* Anabaptiſts, in *French*, was publiſhed at *Amſterdam*, in 1695, and one more ample in 1700. The Authors, who have wrote againſt them, are *Zwinglius*, *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Melancthon*, *Oecolampadus*, *Urbain Regius*, *Juſtus Menius*, *Bullinger*, *John Laſcus*, *Guy de Bres*, *Taffinus*, *Hunnius*, *Oſiander*, *Cloppenbourg*, *Spanheim*, and ſeveral others, whom it would be tedious to recount (44). But I muſt not forget a Book called *Babel*, publiſhed in the Year 1621, by *Herman Faukelius*, Miniſter of *Middelbourg*, and one of the Fathers of the Synod of *Dort*. He ſhews, in this Work, the prodigious Variety of Opinions, which prevail among the *Anabaptiſts*. The latter appealed from him to a Confeſſion of Faith, which they publiſhed in the Year 1624, at *Amſterdam*. They made Reprizals; for they publiſhed *a Babel of Pædobaptiſts* (45). The Author of it was *Antony Jacob* (46). Obſerve, that, at firſt, they wrote but few Books; at length they produced ſeveral Authors, and publiſhed many Books, ſome Didactic or Hiſtorical, others Polemical. They printed, at *Horn*, in 1624, *A Confeſſion of Faith*, which they confirmed by Paſſages of Scripture, and other Authorities. At the end of twelve Years, they publiſhed another (47), to ſhew the Agreement of their Sentiments. There have appeared *Apologies for their Confeſſions*; likewiſe *Catechiſms*, and *Manuals of Religion*. They refute the Declaration of *Zurich*, in 1644. *Abraham de David* (48), one of them, publiſhed a Book, the ſame Year, againſt a Miniſter of *Haerlem*, named *Bontemps*, entituled, "Smegna Holandicum "contra maculas quas P. Bontemps Mennonitis adſperſit. —— *The* Dutch *Soap againſt the Aſperſions,* "*which* Peter Bontemps *has thrown upon the* Mennonites." The ſame Miniſter was attacked in other Works; in the *Abſterſio Accuſationum gravium Petri Bontemps, facta per P. V. K.* 1643; the *Confutatio argumentorum quibus P. Bontemps probare conatur, Anabaptiſtas injurioſos eſſe in Deum & Homines*, 1643; the *Spongia ad abluendas Maculas Petri Bontemps contra certam Anabaptiſtarum Sectam*; the *Jodici Henrici Lixivium contra ejuſdem maculas*; and the *Probatio Lixivii D. Bontemps ubi per G. V. V. fidei potiſſimum Authoris & Methodus agendi ſolicitatur* (49).

[*L*] *Some of the Reaſons alledged in juſtification of their Severity.*] Let me produce here the Subſtance of a Letter, written the Twenty firſt of *Auguſt*, 1642, to Mr *Hotten*, Miniſter of the *Walloon* Church at *Amſterdam*, by Mr *Breitinger*, Dean of the Miniſters of the Church of *Zurich*. A War being kindled almoſt all over *Europe*, in 1622, the Magiſtrates of *Zurich* gave orders, that, conformably to the uſual Practice of all times, in the like Caſes, the People of that Canton ſhould be exerciſed to the Trade of Arms by Reviews. The *Anabaptiſts* refuſed to obey, and repreſented to thoſe, who were preparing to comply, that a War ought to be conſidered as a divine Chaſtiſement, and that the State was to be defended by a good Life, and not by taking up Arms. They intimated, that they ſhould chuſe to abandon their Country, their Wives, their Children, and all their Poſſeſſions, rather than repulſe the common Enemy by Arms. The good Subjects conceived ſuch Indignation at this, that they were for extirpating the whole Sect; but the Magiſtrates tried Expedients of a milder Nature. They employed the wiſeſt Heads of the Senate, to regulate with the moſt moderate Divines, what was to be done in this Conjuncture. This Committee began with recommending themſelves to the Prayers of the whole Church; after which they came to theſe Reſolutions; that nothing ſhould be omitted, which might ſeem proper to remove the ill-grounded Scruples of the *Anabaptiſts*; that none of them ſhould be condemned either to Death, or to the Gallies; and that nothing ſhould be done, which ſavoured of Cruelty, Precipitation, or Paſſion. After this, it was thought proper to confer with them; and they had their choice of three Places to aſſemble at, where they might hear what was to be propoſed to them. They met at an appointed Place; where the principal Points of the Chriſtian Faith were propoſed to them, both by Word of Mouth, and in Writing; all of which they admitted, except one, which related to Magiſtracy. The Senate, being informed of what paſſed in theſe Aſſemblies, ſent for ſome of their Heads. They appeared; they gave in their Reaſons, which were anſwered with Calmneſs; but nothing could influence them; yet they were diſmiſſed with a great deal of Clemency. They retired, however, as if they were afraid of ſome Deſign upon their Perſons; which they confeſſed the next Day, when they were asked why they ſhewed a Diſtruſt of the ſafe Conduct, which the Magiſtracy had granted them. This Mildneſs of the Government was diſpleaſing to many Perſons; however, it was reſolved to try moderate Methods ſtill farther. The principal Heads of the *Anabaptiſts* were called together; they were aſſured, that the uſual Oath upon theſe Occaſions ſhould be diſpenſed with, and that the Government would be ſatisfied with their Affirmation, or Negation; that they ſhould be excuſed from bearing Arms, provided they would contribute, by their Prayers, and other pious Means, to the public Good; and that, in requiring of them to be preſent at the Sermons of the Miniſters, they did not pretend to abridge them of the Liberty of diſapproving what they ſhould judge contrary to the Word of God; that they only deſired they would not paſs their Cenſures, 'till they had conferred either with their Paſtors, or with ſome other Eccleſiaſtical Perſon. They concluded with Promiſes of Protection, and pathetic Exhortations. But when

(*f*) *See* Stoupp. Relig. of Hol. Lett. 4. pag. 300, &c. *But, principally, See* Ottius's Annals of Anabaptiſm, *printed at* Baſil, 1672.

(39) In ſumma Controverſiarum.

(40) In Syntagmate Hiſtor. Eccleſ.

(41) In Elencho Controverſiarum.

(42) G. Caſſander, Epiſt. Dedicat. Tractat. de Baptiſmo Infantium.

(43) Hornb. ſumma Controv. p. 373.

(44) Id. ib. pag. 394. *and* John Vaget, *in the Theſis which he maintained at* Wittenburg *in* 1688, de Secta Mennonitarum.

(45) *Thoſe, who hold Infant-Baptiſm*

(46) *An* Anabaptiſt *Teacher, and Phyſician at* Amſterdam.

(47) *At* Dort.

(48) *He prefixes the three initial Letters* G. V. V. *i. e.* Gerard Vryburg. Hottingeri. Biblioth. Theolog.

(49) Id. ib.

dition of *Moreri* diſtinguiſhes the Tenets, which are at preſent peculiar to the *Anabaptiſts*; for which reaſon I ſhall not give a particular Account of them. It is certain, that the Deſcription, which the Sieur *Moreri* gives of this Sect, does not agree with the Time, in which he wrote; and I doubt a little, whether ever there was reaſon to charge them with two Doctrines, which he imputes to them [*M*]: one is, that *they held, that a Woman was obliged to conſent to the Paſſion of thoſe, who deſired to obtain her*; the other is, that *they condemned the Marriage of Perſons, who did not adhere to their Sentiments*. We muſt conſider as a Legendary Tale what is reported by ſome Authors, that there have been *Roman* Catholics, who, upon becoming *Anabaptiſts*, have immediately been able to read, and diſcourſe on Matters of Religion; but who, upon returning to Popery, have forgot every thing, and become as ignorant as before (g).

when they found, that theſe People perſiſted in their Opinion, they civilly entreated them to retire ſomewhere elſe; they gave them permiſſion to carry away as much of their Effects, as was neceſſary for their Subſiſtance; they promiſed Reſtitution to thoſe, who, being cured of their Errors, ſhould return; and they declared, that the Children and Wives, who ſhould renounce the Sect, and continue in the Country, ſhould enjoy a ſuitable Portion of the Goods of their Fathers and Husbands. The *Anabaptiſts* replied, that the Earth is the Lord's, and not the Magiſtrate's, and rejected the Conditions. Then they had recourſe to Mulcts and Fines; and, upon their refuſal to pay them, and proteſting againſt the Tyranny of theſe Proceedings, they confiſcated their Eſtates. They now murmured more; they aſſembled by Night; they petitioned Heaven to repreſs the Madneſs of the Government by Plague, Famine, and ſuch other Calamities. It was now abſolutely neceſſary to have recourſe to more effectual Remedies; ſeveral were impriſoned; moſt of whom made their eſcape (50) thro' a Breach, which they made in the Wall, and appeared no leſs turbulent than before: They were remanded to Priſon; they were exhorted from time to time to ſubmit, or willingly to quit the Country; they perſiſted to demand unconditional Liberty. They offered to give an account of their Doctrine before the whole People; this was denied them; but it was thought proper to offer them a Diſputation in Writing, and even to propoſe to them the Points of Controverſy: Their conſtant Anſwer was, that they could not defend themſelves, whilſt they were in Priſon. Note, that thoſe of them, who eſcaped, ſpread grievous Complaints every where, of the barbarous Treatment they pretended to have met with, during their Impriſonment.

This Apology, you ſee, is founded upon that long Patience, which preceded ſo rigorous a Treatment; but there are other more particular Reaſons, reſulting from the Nature and Conſtitution of the Government of this Country. The *Swiſs* do not repulſe the Enemy with auxiliary or hired Troops, but by fighting every Man in Perſon; and one way of their Subſtance is the Permiſſion they give, of levying Troops among them, for the Service of Strangers. It is therefore for the Intereſt of their Governors, that all their Subjects ſhould be trained to Arms, and be fond of War. This is the Reaſon, why the *Anabaptiſts* were diſagreeable to them; People who would neither wound nor kill any one, and who endeavoured to intimidate the moſt Warlike, by inſpiring them with Scruples of Conſcience, in relation to the effuſion of human Blood, and the Paſſions inſeparable from the Trade of Arms.

[*M*] *I believe there never was reaſon to charge them with the two Doctrines, which* Moreri *imputes to them.*] He learned from *Prateolus*, that, according to the *Anabaptiſts*, the Women were obliged to lend the Uſe of their Bodies to every Man, who demands it of them; and that the Men, in their turns, are obliged to ſatisfy the Deſires of every Woman, who requires it. *Dicunt poſtremo quamlibet mulierem obligatam eſſe ad coëundum cum quolibet viro eam petente, & contrà eodem vinculo adſtringunt omnem virum ad tantundem reddendum cuilibet mulieri hoc ab illo petenti* (52). Upon this Principle, there would be a natural Marriage between all Men, and all Women; I mean, that the Sexes would be mutually obliged, in point of Duty, to gratify each other upon Demand. The Duties, which St *Paul* lays down (53), which teach, that *the Husband has not Power over his own Body*, and that he ought to conſider it as transferred to his Wife; and that ſhe, in like manner, ought to conſider *the Power over her Body*, as transferred to her Husband; thoſe Duties, I ſay, ſo juſt and reaſonable in the Marriage of one with one, would have no Bounds; they would extend to the Power of every Man over every Woman, and of every Woman over every Man; a Doctrine ſo extravagant, ſo villanous, ſo abominable, that it is difficult to conceive, that any Sect of the *Anabaptiſts* really taught it. The Laws of Nature would, upon this Foundation, be much more difficult to be fulfilled, than the Laws of the Goſpel; and we might juſtly, upon this Account, renew the Complaint, *It is a Yoke, which neither we, nor our Fathers, were able to bear.* In a Word, it cannot be a Law of Nature; for Nature obliges us to nothing impoſſible (54). Beauty, and a tender Conſcience, united under ſuch a Law, would be a Weight, under which the moſt Vigorous and Robuſt would ſink. The Handſome, and the Conſcientious would have the moſt reaſon to complain. And obſerve, that the Doctrine of a Community of Wives, is much leſs ſhocking than this. That does not deprive us of the Liberty of refuſing; it does not tie down the Conſcience to an indiſpenſible Compliance.

Perhaps I ſhall not be miſtaken, in conjecturing, that the Writers of *Hæretical Catalogues*, *Prateolus*'s Originals, have forged this Chimæra, by giving a bad turn, through Ignorance or Malice, to one of the Conſequences of the Doctrine of *Equality of Condition*. It is certain, that the *Anabaptiſts*, at firſt, taught this Equality; the Conſequence of which was, that a young Lady, of a good Family, ought not to refuſe Propoſitions of Marriage from the Son of a Peaſant, and that a Gentleman ought not to decline the Courtſhip of a Country Girl. If our Catalogue-Writers built the abſurd Doctrine, which they impute to the *Anabaptiſts*, upon this Foundation, are they leſs impertinent, than the Doctrine itſelf?

I am as little ſatisfied, that theſe Sectaries looked upon the Marriage of other Chriſtians as unlawful; and that they confounded Baſtards with the Children of married Perſons; that they thought, for inſtance, that the Birth of *Calvin* was not leſs ſullied, than that of *Eraſmus*. But Mr *Moreri* did not look ſo nearly into the Matter; and, provided he could diffame Heretics, he was ſatisfied.

ANACREON, a *Greek* Poet, born at *Teos*, a Town of *Ionia* [*A*], flouriſhed, when *Polycrates* reigned in *Samos* [*B*], and when *Hipparchus* enjoyed at *Athens* the Dominion

[*A*] Teos *a Town of* Ionia.] In the Article TEOS I confute thoſe, who ſay, that *Anacreon* was a Native of *Teium*, on the *Euxine* Sea.

[*B*] *Flouriſhed when* Polycrates *reigned in* Samos.] I have not ſet down the Olympiad; for I think we need not be ſo very exact, in regard to a Perſon who lived Eighty five Years; and indeed thoſe, who pretend to it, differ very much. *Euſebius* (1), who pitched upon the LXIId Olympiad, could not hinder *Suidas* from chuſing the XXXIId, and *Tanaquil Faber* (2) from pitching upon the LXXIId. But I ſhall decide nothing as to *Suidas*; for his Text is certainly corrupted, and his Tranſlators are unpardonable, for having ſuffered the horrid Blunder, which

(g) Lindanus, Dial. 3. Dubitantii, & Thyræus de Dæmoniacis, cap. 21. apud Theoph. Raynaud. Theologiæ Natur. Diſt. 4. n. 330. p. 404.

(50) *The Day after* Rogation *Sunday*.

(52) Prateolus in Elencho Hæreſeôn.

(53) 1 Cor. vii. 4.

(54) Impoſſibili nemo tenetur.

(1) Calviſius *makes him ſay, that* Anacreon *flouriſhed in the* 2cth *Olympiad, I don't find this in* Euſebius's Chronicon, *publiſhed by* Scaliger.

(2) Life of the *Greek* Poets.

minion, which his Father *Piſiſtratus* had uſurped. This cannot be doubted of, if we read *Plato* and *Herodotus*; for we find in *Plato*, that *Hipparchus* invited *Anacreon* to come to *Athens* (*a*) [*C*]; and *Herodotus* ſays, that *Anacreon* was in the Chamber of *Polycrates*, when Audience was given to an Envoy of *Oretes*, Governor of *Sardes* (*b*) [*D*]. *Cambyſes* was then King of *Perſia*: This I obſerve, that my Readers may more readily apprehend the Time, in which *Anacreon* lived. This Poet had a delicate Genius; and there are inexpreſſible Graces, and Charms, in his Poetry: but he was too fond of Pleaſures; and of ſuch an amorous Complexion, that he muſt have Boys, as well as Girls [*E*]; and, beſides, he was addicted to drinking. Doubtleſs this laſt Fault made him very remakable at *Athens*; ſince his Statue, which was erected there, repreſented him as a drunken Man ſinging (*c*). If we had all his Poems, we ſhould find in them many Strokes of his voluptuous Humour [*F*]; but the few Remains we have of them ſufficiently prove it. There

we

(*a*) Plato in Hipparcho. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap 2.

(*b*) Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 121. *See alſo* Pauſanias, lib. 1. p. 2.

(*c*) Pauſan. ibid. p. 23.

is found in his Book, to paſs uncorrected. It is ſaid there, that *Anacreon* lived in the Time of *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*, in the LIId Olympiad; or, according to others, in the time of *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes*, in the XXVth Olympiad. It appears from *Herodotus*, that *Polycrates* and *Cambyſes* died much about the ſame time (3). *Euſebius* makes them Cotemporaries under the LXIIId Olympiad; and he is in the right: Therefore it is not true, that we ought to reckon Twenty ſeven Olympiads between theſe two, and bring back *Cyrus* from the LVth Olympiad, in which the Epoch of the *Perſian* Monarchy is generally fixed, to the XXVth. *Voſſius* makes *Suidas* ſay, that *Anacreon* lived in the LXIſt or LXIId Olympiad (4), which is not to be found in the printed *Suidas*. As for *Tanaquil Faber*, who pitched upon the LXXIId Olympiad for the exact time of the Life of *Anacreon*, it is eaſier to confute his Arguments, than to ſhew that our Poet did not live at that time. That Critic argues thus: *Anacreon* came to *Athens* in the time of *Hipparchus*: The latter had a Brother, whoſe Name was *Hippias*, *who ſollicited* Darius, *the Son of* Hyſtaſpes, *to undertake the Expedition, which he made againſt the* Athenians. *This being ſo*, ſays he, *you ſee exactly the Year* 489, *before JESUS CHRIST, and the* LXXII*d Olympiad*. I confeſs, that the Expedition of the *Perſians* againſt the *Athenians*, ſpoken of here, in which *Darius* was not in Perſon, though the Expreſſion of *Tanaquil Faber* implies that he was, belongs to the LXXIId Olympiad, and the Year 489 before JESUS CHRIST (5). But we muſt remember, that this pretended Expedition of *Darius* was not 'till twenty Years after that *Hippias* was expelled from *Athens* (6), and that his Expulſion was in the fourth Year after the Death of *Hipparchus*, and the eighteenth after the Death of *Piſiſtratus*; from whence it muſt be concluded, that *Hipparchus* had reigned fourteen or fifteen Years. It is therefore very poſſible, I. That he might have invited *Anacreon* to come to *Athens* thirty Years before *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtapſes* complied with the Inſtigations of *Hippias* againſt the *Athenians*. II. That the Death of *Anacreon* might have fallen out ſome Years before the LXXIId, and the Four hundred and eighty ninth Year before JESUS CHRIST, which is ſo preciſely ſet down by *Tanaquil Faber*, as the time, in which *Anacreon* lived. I have another Remark to make. He wrote his *Lives of the* Greek *Poets* in 1659 (7). Now in his *Anacreon*, printed in 1660, he makes this Poet flouriſh Five hundred and fifty five Years, or thereabouts, before JESUS CHRIST; and he agrees with *Suidas*, that *Anacreon* might have lived in the LIId Olympiad, *Since*, ſays he, *he lived very familiarly with* Polycrates, *who flouriſhed at the ſame time that* Amaſis *reigned in* Egypt. This Critic has been therefore a little too inconſiſtent in his Chronology as to *Anacreon*. It can never be ſaid, without a Miſtake, of one, who might have flouriſhed in the LIId Olympiad, that he lived preciſely in the LXXIId Olympiad. Beſides, it is a wrong way of proving, that a Man might live in the LIId Olympiad, to alledge his Intimacy with *Polycrates*, who was Cotemporary with *Amaſis*: For the latter died at the end of the LXIVth Olympiad; and the former two Years after (8).

(3) Herod. lib. 3. cap. 120. & ſeq.

REMARKS on *Tanaquil Faber*.

(4) Voſſius, de Poët. Gr. pag. 22. Hofman *ſays the ſame after him; but* Moreri, *who tranſcribes him likewiſe, ſays* 60 *inſtead of* 61.

(5) *See* Calviſius.

(6) Petav. Ration. Temporum, lib. 3. cap. 2. & part. 2. lib. 3. c. 9.

(7) *See the End of the Preface.*

(8) *See* Calviſius.

[*C*] Hipparchus *invited* Anacreon *to come to* Athens.] I pretend not to cenſure *Tanaquil Faber* for ſaying, that "*Hipparchus*, the Son of *Piſiſtratus* (9), "ſent a Ship of fifty Oars to *Teos*, with very civil "and obliging Letters, in which he invited *Anacreon* to croſs the *Ægean* Sea, and make a Voyage "to *Athens*; aſſuring him that he would find there "ſome Admirers of his Virtue, who were good "Judges of the value of noble Compoſitions, and of "the Merit of excellent Perſons." I ſhall not cenſure theſe Words, on pretence that I find nothing in *Plato* but this; Ἐπ' Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήϊον πεντηκόντορον στείλας ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν πύλιν (10). *He cauſed* Anacreon, *born at* Teos, *to come to our City, by ſending a Veſſel of fifty Oars for him*; nor on pretence that *Ælian* uſes the ſame general Expreſſion (11). For, beſides that *Faber* might have read, in Books unknown to me, the Particulars, which he relates; the Rules of Probability will allow, that *Hipparchus* wrote, or cauſed obliging Letters to be written, to *Anacreon*: and then we may adopt the Suppoſition of this Critic; I ſay, we may adopt it with the leſs ſcruple, becauſe a Narrative would generally be jejune and ungrateful, if the Originals were literally tranſlated. But I confeſs I cannot forbear cenſuring him, when he alledges *Plato* as his Author.

(9) Moreri *and* Hofman *ſay* Philoſtratus.

(10) Plato in Hipparcho.

(11) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. c. 2.

[*D*] *He was in the Chamber of* Polycrates, *when Audience was given to an Envoy of* Oretes, *Governor of* Sardes.] This is all the Account *Herodotus* gives us of it; nevertheleſs I am very ſure, that *Tanaquil Faber* might ſay, as he did, *That* Polycrates, *Tyrant of* Samos, *generally kept* Anacreon *near his Perſon, and would have him bear a ſhare both in his Buſineſs and Pleaſures*. For, it being certain on the one hand, that *Anacreon* (12) was in great Favour with *Polycrates*, and on the other, that the chief Employment of this Tyrant (13) was his Diverſions, we run no great Riſque in believing *Faber*'s Account. *You know it* (adds he); *for 'tis not two Years ago ſince* Herodotus *was read at your Father's Table*. This to me does not ſeem exact; ſince there is nothing in *Herodotus*, from whence we may reaſonably infer, that *Anacreon* had any concern in the Affairs of *Polycrates*. I am ſorry, that ſome Men of good Parts, and great Learning, ſhould believe, without examining the Matter, that *Plato* and *Herodotus* have ſaid all that this learned Critic has fathered upon them. They ſhould have diſtinguiſhed the Text from the Flouriſhes and Gloſſes of the Author, who quotes it.

(12) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 2. Ælian. ubi ſupra, l. 9. cap. 4. Strabo, l. 14.

(13) Athen. lib. 12. cap. 9, 10.

[*E*] *Of ſuch an amorous Complexion, that he muſt have Boys, as well as Girls.*] Beſides *Bathyllus*, and *Smerdias*, of whom more hereafter (14), he was in love with the fair *Cleobulus*. He had like to have killed him in the Arms of his Nurſe, by rudely joſtling her, as he realed one Day through the Streets, when he was in his Cups; and, not content with this, he abuſed the Child with railing Language (15). The Nurſe wiſhed, that he might one Day commend him more, than he had then abuſed him. Her Wiſhes were fulfilled; for *Cleobulus* grew to be a beautiful Youth; *Anacreon* fell in love with him, and wrote ſeveral Verſes in his Commendation (16). Behold a pretty kind of Puniſhment, and a Nurſe finely revenged!

(14) *In Remark* [*G*].

(15) Maximus Tyr. Orat. 11. circa init.

(16) Dion Chryſoſtom *mentions ſome of them.*

[*F*] *Many Strokes of his voluptuous Humour.*] The following Paſſages, among others, mention the general Theme of his Poetry. Ἄτοπος ὁ Ἀνακρέων, ὁ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν ἐξαρτήσας μέθης (17). *Fooliſh* Anacreon, *whoſe Poetry turns upon nothing but Drinking*. Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήϊος πρῶτος μετὰ Σαπφὼ τὴν Λεσϐίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐρωτικὰ ποιήσας (18). Anacreon *of* Teos, *who firſt, after* Leſbian Sappho, *ſpent the greateſt Part of his Poems in Love Matters*. Let us hear what *Horace* ſays of the Amours of *Anacreon*;

(17) Athen. lib. 10. c. 7. pag. 429.

(18) Pauſanias, lib. 1. pag. 23.

Non

we meet with his violent Paſſion for *Bathyllus* [*G*]; and if, as this ſort of Love was not then branded with Infamy, as it is among Chriſtians, he does not merit ſuch Deteſtation, as a Chriſtian Poet would in the like Caſe, the hardened Age he lived in ought to ſuffer for him: I mean, That the Reader ought to vent his Indignation againſt the Times, when it cannot diſcharge itſelf againſt particular Perſons. *Anacreon*, notwithſtanding his Debaucheries, lived Eighty five Years, if we may believe *Lucian*, who places him among the long-lived. It is ſaid, that he ſupported himſelf, at this great Age, by eating dry Grapes; and that a Grape-Stone, happening to ſtick in his Throat, choaked him. *Valerius Maximus* aſcribes ſo eaſy a Death to a particular Favour of the Gods [*H*]. No Author that I know of has remarked either the Time or Place of his Death [*I*], or decided what was his Father's Name [*K*]. There

Non aliter Samio dicunt arſiſſe Bathyllo
  Anacreonta Teium,
Qui perſæpe cava teſtudine flevit amorem (19).

(19) Horat. Epod. 14. ver. 9.

Thus ſoft Anacreon *for* Bathyllus *burn'd,*
  And oft his Love he ſadly mourn'd;
He to his Harp did various Grief rehearſe,
  And wept in an unpoliſh'd Verſe.

CREECH.

See alſo *Cicero* in the fourth Book of his *Tuſculan Queſtions*, and *Suidas*.

[*G*] *His violent Paſſion for* Bathyllus.] This Inſtance refutes the exceſſive Charity of *Ælian*, who will not allow us to entertain any ill Suſpicion of our Poet's Love for *Smerdias*, one of *Polycrates*'s Minions (20). What is moſt to be wondered at is, that *Ælian* goes upon this general Reaſon, that we ought not to accuſe *Anacreon* of Incontinency, and Intemperance. Μὴ γάρ τις ἡμῖν διαβαλλέτω πρὸς Θεῶν τὸν Ποιητὴν τὸν Τήϊον, μὴ δ' ἀκόλαστον εἶναι λεγέτω (21). *I intreat that no one would ſlander the* Teian *Bard, or call him intemperate. Polycrates* became furiouſly jealous, when he perceived, that our Poet had inſinuated himſelf very far into the good Graces of *Smerdias*, by the flattering Verſes he made on him; and his Jealouſy roſe ſo high, that he cauſed the Youth to be ſhaved (22). The Rival, apprehending very well the meaning of this, very complaiſantly wrote a Poem upon the Occaſion, in which he took care not to diſpleaſe *Polycrates*. They, who remember theſe four Verſes of *Petronius*,

(20) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 4.

(21) Id. ib.

(22) Id. ib. *See alſo* Athenæus, lib. 12. cap. 9.

Quod ſolum formæ decus eſt, cecidere capilli,
  Vernanteſque comas triſtis abegit hyems.
Nunc umbra nudata ſua jam tempora mœrent,
  Areaque * attritis ridet aduſta pilis.

* Area, Ulceris genus eſt in capite. *Celſ. A Sore in the Head, which makes the Hair fall.* REM. CRIT.

His Form's ſole Ornament, his Locks are ſhed;
Cropt are the ſpringing Honours of his Head,
And his vex'd Temples mourn their raviſh'd Shade.
Whilſt the gall'd Wound rejoices to be bare,
Free from the fretting Load of cumbrous Hair.

will conclude, from the Action of *Polycrates*, that he had rather his Minion ſhould loſe his Beauty, than find him unfaithful. *Strabo* obſerves, that *Anacreon* perpetually mentions this Tyrant of *Samos* in his Verſes; τούτῳ συνεβίωσεν Ἀνακρέων ὁ μελοποιός, καὶ δὴ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ποίησις πλήρης ἐστὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ μνήμης (23). *Cum hoc vixit Anacreon Lyricus, & mentione ejus opplevit ſua carmina*; from whence *Voſſius* had Reaſon to conclude, that it was no wonder he was beloved by him. "Polycrati, *ſays he* (24), carus "fuit. Quod mirum? cum verſibus ſuis cum cele"braret? *It ſhould be* quid mirum? cum verſibus ſuis "eum celebraret? —— *He was dear to* Polycrates; "*and no wonder, ſince he celebrated him in his Verſes.*" We ſhall ſee, in the Article BATHYLLUS, how *Tanaquil Faber* has juſtified the Amours of *Anacreon*.

(23) Strabo, lib. 14.

(24) Voſſ. de Poët. Græc. pag. 22.

[*H*] *A Grape-Stone —— choaked him.* Valerius Maximus *aſcribes ſo eaſy a Death to a particular Favour of the Gods.*] His Words are theſe: "Cui "quidem (*Pindaro*) crediderim eadem benignitate "Deorum & tantum poëticæ facundiæ, & tam pla"cidum vitæ finem attributum; ſicut Anacreonti "quoque, quamvis ſtatum humanæ vitæ modum ſu"pergreſſo; quem uvæ paſſæ ſucco tenues & exiles "virium reliquias foventem unius grani pertinacior "in aridis faucibus humor abſumpſit (25). —— *This* "*Poet* (Pindar), *in my Opinion, owed his great Genius* "*for Poetry, and the eaſineſs of his Death, to the* "*ſame Kindneſs and Favour of the Gods; as was like*"*wiſe the Caſe of* Anacreon, *though he had exceeded* "*the uſual Bounds of human Life; for, as he che*"*riſhed his little Remains of Strength with dried* "*Grapes, the Stone of one, which he endeavoured in* "*vain to ſwallow, was the cauſe of his Death.*"

(25) Valer. Max. lib. 9. cap. 12. *See alſo* Plin. l. 7. cap. 7.

[*I*] *No Author that I know of has remarked the Time or Place of his Death.*] It is true, *Suidas* ſays, that *Anacreon*, being driven from *Teos*, on account of the Revolt of *Hiſtieus*, retired to *Abdera*, in *Thrace*: But this does not imply, that he died there; we can only conjecture from it, with ſome Probability, that he did. And, indeed, *Anacreon* muſt have been very old at that time, ſince the Victories, which the *Perſians* obtained over the Favourers of the Revolt of *Hiſtieus*, are much later than the Death of *Hipparchus*, and fall under the LXXIſt Olympiad. It may be conjectured from this Paſſage of *Suidas*, that, after *Anacreon* had left *Athens*, whither *Hipparchus* had invited him, he retired to *Teos*; which makes it probable, that he retired alſo to *Teos*, after the Ruin of *Polycrates*; and that *Hipparchus* ſent him thither the Fifty-Oar'd Veſſel, as *Tanaquil Faber* aſſerts. We need not wonder, that *Anacreon* made choice of *Abdera* for his Retirement; it being a Town, which thoſe of *Teos* had built, after they had left their Habitations, when *Harpagus*, the Lieutenant of *Cyrus*, made himſelf Maſter of *Ionia* (26). *Strabo* does not ſpeak of their Tranſmigration in this manner; He only ſays, that the *Teians*, in the time of *Anacreon*, being unable to bear the Inſults of the *Perſians*, retired to *Abdera* (27). This may be the ſame Event, mentioned by *Herodotus*; for *Harpagus* invaded *Ionia* in the LIXth Olympiad, at which time *Anacreon* made ſome Figure in the World.

(26) Herod. lib. 1. cap. 168.

(27) Strabo, lib. 14.

[*K*] *No Author has - - - - - - decided what was his Father's Name.*] *Suidas* mentions four Perſons, who have paſſed for the Father of *Anacreon*. If it be a Compliment to *Homer*, that ſeveral Towns contended for his Birth; it muſt be confeſſed, that this is a very poor one to *Anacreon*; for, in ſhort, it is a Proof of the Obſcurity of his Family, rather than any thing elſe. For had his Father been a noted Man in *Teos*, Authors would not ſo eaſily have loſt ſight of him, or have confounded him with others. Neverthleſs I find, that Madam *Dacier* cites *Plato* to prove, *That* Anacreon *was a Man of great Birth, and related to* Solon, *whoſe Father was of the ancient Family of King* Codrus, *and his Mother Couſin German to the Mother of* Piſiſtratus (28). She pretends to prove this from a Paſſage in the Dialogue of *Temperance*, where ſhe finds, that the Father of *Charmidas* deſcended from the *ancient Family of* Dropidas, *and of* Anacreon, *and* Solon, *which had been always diſtinguiſhed from others by their Beauty, Virtue, and Riches.* Perſuaded as I am of the Learning of this Lady, I find myſelf reduced to believe one of theſe three things; either that *her Plato* is very different from *mine*; or that ſhe has not taken this Paſſage from the Original; or that ſhe has too cloſely followed the ill Tranſlation of *Serranus*. I find in my *Plato* nothing more, than that the paternal Family of *Charmidas* had been celebrated by *Solon*, *Anacreon*, and ſeveral other Poets, as being remarkably endowed with the Advantages of Beauty, Virtue, &c. Ἥ τε γὰρ πατρῴα ὑμῖν οἰκία ἡ Κριτίου τοῦ Δρωπίδου καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀνακρέοντος καὶ ὑπὸ Σόλωνος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν Ποιητῶν ἐγκεκωμιασμένη παραδέδοται ἡμῖν ὡς διαφέρουσα κάλλει τε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ λεγομένῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ· This is the Paſſage, as it ſtands in the Edition of *Frankfort* in 1602. That of *Serranus* differs

Whether *ANACREON* was a Man of great Birth.

(28) *Life of* Anacreon.

There are ſeveral Tranſlations of his Poems [*L*]: But ſome Critics will not allow, that all the Verſes, which are at this day extant under his Name, are His (*d*). They, who have mentioned his Love for *Sappho*, have not regarded Chronology, as I ſhall prove in the Article of That Lady. It is ſaid that a Preſent of Money, which *Polycrates* ſent him, gave him ſo much diſturbance, that he could not ſleep for ſeveral Nights; and that he returned it to That Prince. This is not very probable, tho' *Stobæus* gives us *Ariſtotle* for his Voucher. *Gyraldus* cites only the *Greek* Collections of *Arſenius* in proof of it (*e*).

(*d*) Tanaquil. Faber, Notis in Anacreon. *Madam* Dacier *his, Daughter, does not always agree with him in this. See her Preface to* Anacreon.

(*e*) Gyrald. Hiſt. Poet. Dial. 9. pag. 471.

fers only in the Word ἐγκεκοσμιαμένη, which, by a Miſtake of the Printers of *Frankfort*, has been put inſtead of the ἐγκεκωμιασμένη of the Edition of *Serranus*; but *Ficinus*'s Verſion is much better, though perhaps not ſo good as the following. " Nam, " quæ paternum vobis genus eſt, domus Critiæ filii " Dropidæ, tum ab Anacreonte, tum à Solone, mul- " tiſque aliis Poetis laudata nobis tradita fuit, ut " præcellens forma, virtute, cæteriſque quæ felicitatis " nomine veniunt.——*For we find, that the Houſe of* " Critias, *the Son of* Dropidas, *from which you are* " *deſcended by the Father's ſide, was celebrated by* " Anacreon, Solon, *and many other Poets, as being* " *remarkable for Beauty, Virtue, and other Perfe-* " *ctions, which Happineſs includes.*" *Serranus*'s Verſion is as follows. " Nam Paternum quidem Genus, " quod cum iſto Critia commune habes, à Dropida, " Anacreonte, Solone, & aliis multis celeberrimis " Poetis, deducitur, & vobis traditur, veluti robore " & virtute & alio omni genere felicitatis inſtructiſ- " ſimum. —— *For your paternal Deſcent, which is* " *common to you with* Critias, *is derived from* Dro- " pidas, Solon, *and many famous Poets, and deſcends* " *to you adorned with Strength, Virtue, and every* " *kind of Happineſs.*" I omit obſerving, that one might be deſcended, by the Father's Side, from *Solon* and *Anacreon*, without *Solon* and *Anacreon* being related to each other. Every Perſon has two ſorts of paternal Relations, the Family of his Father's Father, and That of his Father's Mother.

[*L*] *There are ſeveral Tranſlations of his Poems.*] Thoſe, which Madam *Dacier* has mentioned, are as follows. The Reader will be pleaſed to ſee her Opinion of them. " It is a long time, *ſays ſhe*, ſince " *Anacreon* was tranſlated into *French* by *Remi Bel-* " *leau*; but, beſides that his Tranſlation is in Verſe, " and conſequently very unfaithful, it is in ſuch an " antiquated Style, that it is impoſſible to find any " Pleaſure in reading it. It was tranſlated into *Ita-* " *lian* ſome Years ſince; but the Tranſlator has no " more kept to the *Greek*, than *Remi Belleau*; ne- " vertheleſs his Tranſlation is pleaſing enough, tho' " it be ſometimes very different from the Senſe of " *Anacreon*, and though he takes every Moment ſo " great a Liberty, that it ought rather to be account- " ed a Paraphraſe, than a Tranſlation. The *Latin* " Verſion, part whereof was done by *Henry Stephens*, " and the other by *Elias Andreas*, which is gene- " rally uſed, ſeems to me to be the beſt; yet it is " not without Faults, and, being alſo in Verſe, it " is often very obſcure, and, in ſeveral Places, at- " tributes to *Anacreon* what he never thought of." This is what Madam *Dacier* ſays, in the Preface to her *Anacreon*, publiſhed at *Paris*, in the Year 1681, with the *Greek* Text on one ſide, and the Tranſlation in *French* Proſe on the other, and ſome Remarks on each Piece of *Anacreon*. Give me leave to add, that the Tranſlation of *Remi Belleau* appeared in the Year 1556. It has been ſaid, that *Daurat* was the true Author of the Tranſlation, which *Henry Stephens* aſcribed to himſelf. *Colomies* aſſures us, that *Iſaac Voſſius* told him, *That he had an* Anacreon *in his Poſſeſſion, in which* Scaliger *had remarked with his own Hand, that* Henry Stephens *was not the Author of the* Latin *Verſion of the Odes of That Poet, but* John Dorat (29). The *Italian* Tranſlation, which Madam *Dacier* ſpeaks of, is That of *Bartholomew Corſini*, which Mr *Regnier des Marais* cauſed to be printed, at *Paris*, in the Year 1672 (30). I do not wonder, that Madam *Dacier* takes no Notice of the Tranſlation of *Anacreon* done by a Youth, who is ſince become very famous under the Name of the Abbot *de la TRAPPE*; for I believe That Tranſlation was never printed. Mr *Baillet* informs us of many things relating to it. " He knew ſo well, " (*ſays he* (31), *ſpeaking of* Armand Bouthiller de " Rance) how to improve under his Maſters, by his " Aſſiduity and Application to his Studies, that at " ten Years of Age, he underſtood the *Greek* Poets " very well, eſpecially *Homer*; and he had ſcarce at- " tained to the Age of twelve or thirteen Years, " when he publiſhed a new Edition of the Works " of *Anacreon*, with *Greek* Remarks, which were " admired by the Learned. This Edition appeared " in 8vo, at *Paris*, in the Year 1639; and Time " has not in the leaſt diminiſhed the Aſtoniſhment, " which theſe Remarks ſtill give to thoſe, who com- " pare them with the tender Age of the Author. " I ſay nothing of a *French* Tranſlation, which he " then compoſed of the ſame Poet; tho' it pleaſed " very much thoſe, who, at that time, were per- " fecting our Language, and ſhewed, that he could " write as politely in *French*, as he underſtood *Greek* " and *Latin*." Mr *Baillet* mentions neither the Place, nor the Year of the Impreſſion, and does not ſo much as ſay, in general, that the Work had been publiſhed; which makes me believe, that it had only appeared in Manuſcript. I am the more confirmed in this Thought, by finding, that Mr *de Longe-Pierre* ſays not a Word of this Tranſlation; though he takes notice, that *Henry Stephens* rendered the ſame ſame *Odes of* Anacreon *into* French *Verſe, which he afterwards turned into* Latin. He obſerves likewiſe, that *Ronſard* tranſlated many of them; he ſays this in the Preface to his Verſion. His Work was publiſhed in the Year 1684. The *Greek* (2) is on one ſide, and the *French* Tranſlation in Verſe on the other: And there are critical Remarks at the end of each Piece. Mr *Regnier des Marais*, perpetual Secretary to the *French* Academy, gave, in the Year 1693, a Verſion of *Anacreon* in *Italian* Verſe, with Remarks.

The following curious Supplement is taken Word for Word out of a Letter, which I have received from Mr *de la Monnoie*. " No care has been " taken, hitherto, to collect, and examine ſeveral " curious Particulars, concerning the Poems, which " are extant, of *Anacreon*. It has been ſaid, that " *Henry Stephens* firſt brought them to light; but, " Where or How, few Perſons know. He met with " the Ode Λέγουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, on the Cover of " an old Book, as we read in *Victorius*, who inſerted " it in the ſeventeenth Chapter of the twentieth " Book of his *Variæ Lectiones*. 'Till then, nothing " had been ſeen of *Anacreon*, but what *Aulus Gellius* " and the *Anthologia* had preſerved. By chance two " Manuſcripts, containing ſeveral Pieces of this Poet, " fell into the Hands of the ſame *Henry Stephens*. " He was obliged for the firſt to *John Clement*, an " *Engliſhman*, Servant to Sir *Thomas More*; and he " brought the ſecond, after a long Journey, from " *Italy* into *France*. And, having carefully compared " the one with the other, he formed the Edition, " which he publiſhed, the firſt time, at *Paris*, in " the Year 1554. This Book met with a Reception " attended with different Opinions. Moſt of the " Learned looked upon it as an happy Diſcovery; " ſome diſtruſted it. *Robertel*, in his Diſſertation " concerning the Art of correcting Books, did not " acknowledge it to be genuine. *Fulvius Urſinus* " inſerted no other Poems of *Anacreon* in his Edi- " tion of the *Greek* Lyrics, but thoſe, which he " found mentioned by the ancient Authors, as ſuſ- " pecting the reſt. It were to be wiſhed, that the " two Manuſcripts, before mentioned, and which " are the only ones, which have been ſeen, had " been preſerved. But *Henry Stephens*, unhappily " falling into a kind of Diſtraction towards the latter " end of his Days, ſuffered them to periſh with ſe- " veral others, which he communicated to no one, not " ſo much as to his Son-in-law *Caſaubon*. He tran- " ſlated into *French* Verſe the ſame Odes of *Anacreon*, " which he rendered into *Latin* Verſe. *Eas Ana-* " *creontis Odas*, ſays he, in the Preface to his An- " notations upon the *Paris* Edition of *Anacreon*, in " 4to, 1554, *quas jam ante Gallicas feceram, in a-* " *liquot*

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(29) Colomies, Opuſc. pag. 108.

(30) *See the* Acta Erudit. 1693. pag. 236.

(31) Baillet, Enfans celebres, p. 359.

(32) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republiq; des Lettres, *for* Novem. 1684. Art. 8.

“*liquot amicorum gratiam Latinè quoque aggreſſus ſum vertere.* What has been reported of *Iſaac Voſſius*, who ſaid, that he had an *Anacreon* in his Poſſeſſion, wherein *Scaliger* had noted with his own Hand, that *John Dorat* was the Author of the *Latin* Tranſlation of this Poet, aſcribed to *Henry Stephens*, ought not to be regarded. Either *Voſſius* was miſtaken, or *Scaliger* was miſinformed. *Henry Stephens*, who was no Plagiary, was very capable of making ſuch a Verſion as That; and, if it had been *Dorat*'s, he would not have failed to have laid claim to it. It was from this that *Remi Belleau* made his in *French* Verſe, which perhaps appeared ſo fine to *Henry Stephens*, that, after he had read it, he durſt not publiſh That, which he had compoſed in the ſame Language. *Richard Renvoiſy*, Maſter of the ſinging Boys of the Holy Chapel at *Dijon*, made, according to the Teſtimony of *Antony du Verdier*, page 34 of his *Bibliotheque*, another *French* Verſion of the Odes of *Anacreon*. In This probably *du Verdier* is miſtaken. I take it to be the Verſion of *Belleau*, which *Renvoiſy* ſet to Muſick in the Year 1558, or 1559; which *du Verdier* himſelf gives us ſufficiently to underſtand, when, at Page 1222, he quotes this *Renvoiſy* only as a Muſician. As for the *French* Verſion of the ſame Poet, compoſed by Mr *Bouthillier de Rance*, at the Age of twelve or thirteen Years, it was never printed; and it is very likely, that, if there was ſuch an one, it was in Proſe, though the Authors, who have mentioned it, do not poſitively ſay ſo.”

ANANIA (JOHN LAURENCE *d*') a Native of *Taverna (a)* in *Calabria*, lived about the End of the XVIth Century. He is Author of a Geographical Book in *Italian*, and a *Latin* Work, intituled, *De Natura Dæmonum*, which was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1582, in 8*vo*. The other Work is intituled *Coſmographia, overo l'univerſale Fabrica del Mondo*——*Coſmography, or the Univerſal Fabric of the World*, and was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1576, in 4*to (b)*. *Voſſius* has omitted this Author in his Catalogue of Geographers.

(*a*) *In Latin* Taberna. *Hence it is called* Tabernas.

(*b*) Baudrand Tom. 2. pag. 445. *mentions only the Edition of* Venice *in* 1584.

ANAXAGORAS, one of the moſt illuſtrious Philoſophers of Antiquity, was born at *Clazomenæ*, in *Ionia*, about the LXXth Olympiad, and was a Diſciple of *Anaximenes*. His noble Extraction, his Riches, and the Generoſity, which induced him to reſign his whole Patrimony to his Relations [*A*], made him very famous. He applied

[*A*] *To reſign all his Patrimony to his Relations.*] Before the Goſpel had taught Men to renounce the World and it's Riches, in order to make a ſwift Progreſs towards Perfection, ſome Philoſophers were ſenſible of this, and parted with their worldly Goods, to attend more freely to the Study of Wiſdom, and the Search of Truth. They believed, that the Cares of a Family, and an Inheritance, were Clogs, which hindered our Advancement towards the End moſt worthy of our Eſteem. *Anaxagoras* and *Democritus* (1), were of this Opinion. “Quid ergo, (*ſays* Cicero) (2), aut Homero ad delectationem animi ac voluptatem, aut cuiquam docto defuiſſe unquam arbitramur? An ni ita ſe res haberet, Anaxagoras, aut hic ipſe Democritus, agros & Patrimonia ſua relinquiſſent, huic diſcendi quærendique divinæ delectationi toto ſe animo dediſſent? —— *What then can we think wanting to compleat the Satisfaction and Pleaſure of* Homer, *or any other learned Man? Without this perfect Happineſs, would* Anaxagoras, *or this* Democritus, *have reſigned their Poſſeſſions and Patrimonies, and given themſelves up entirely to the divine Pleaſure of acquiring Knowledge?*” It was to ſuch a Renouncing of the World, that *Anaxagoras* thought himſelf indebted for his Learning, or, to uſe his own Expreſſion, for his Safety. “Quali porro ſtudio Anaxagoram flagraſſe credimus? Qui, cum è diutina preregrinatione patriam repetiiſſet, poſſeſſioneſque deſertas vidiſſet, “non eſſem,” inquit “ego ſalvus,” niſi iſta periiſſent (3). —— *How eager after Knowledge muſt we ſuppoſe* Anaxagoras *to have been; who, upon returning home, after a long Abſence from his native Country, and ſeeing his Poſſeſſions lying deſolate and in ruins, made uſe of this Expreſſion, “Had not theſe periſhed, I myſelf ſhould not have been ſafe.”* *Socrates*, with his uſual Irony, ſhews, that “the Sophiſts of his Time were wiſer than *Anaxagoras*; for, inſtead of quitting their Patrimonies, as he had done, they took a great deal of pains to enrich themſelves, being convinced of the Folly of the old Times, and perſuaded, that the principal Wiſdom conſiſted in promoting one's own Intereſt; that is to ſay, in the Art of heaping up great Riches.” Τοὐναντίον γὰρ Ἀναξαγόρᾳ φασὶ συμβῆναι ἢ ὑμῖν. καταλειφθέντων γὰρ αὐτῷ πολλῶν χρημάτων καταμελῆσαι, καὶ ἀπολέσαι πάντα. οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀνόητα σοφίζεσθαι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τῶν παλαιῶν ἕτερα τοιαῦτα. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν μοι δοκεῖς καλὸν τεκμήριον ἀποφαίνειν περὶ σοφίας τῶν νῦν πρὸς τοὺς προτέρους· καὶ πολλοῖς συνδοκεῖ, ὅτι τὸν σοφὸν αὐτὸν αὑτῷ μάλιστα δεῖ σωφὸν εἶναι. τούτου δ' ὅρος ἐστὶν ἄρα ὃς ἂν πλεῖστον ἀργύριον ἐργάσηται (4). *Cum Anaxagoras, contra ac vobis contigit, amplum patrimonium cum accepiſſet, neglexiſſe diſſipaſſeque dicatur, adeo ſtulte philoſophatus eſt: deque cæteris illorum temporum ſapientibus alia quædam hujuſmodi tradunt. Quapropter optimam hanc attuliſſe conjecturam videris, quod ſapientes noſtri ſuperioribus præſtant, multique in hoc conſentiunt, ſapientem in primis ſibi ipſi ſapere oportere. Hujus autem hæc eſt ſumma, ut argentum plurimum acquiratur.* This puts me in mind of a Diſtinction which I have read in *Ariſtotle*. “We find, *ſays he* (5), that *Anaxagoras*, and *Thales*, and ſuch like Philoſophers, were wiſe, but not prudent Men, becauſe they were ignorant of what was uſeful to them (6): They were acquainted with abſtruſe, lofty, wonderful, and divine Things; but they turned to no account; for they diſregarded the good things, and Advantages of this Life.” This is the Senſe of a great many Men; they condemn all Employments, which do not tend to raiſe a Fortune. Whatever does not treat *de pane lucrando*, or is of no uſe, πρὸς τὰ ἄλφιτα, that is, in the vulgar Phraſe, *to make the Pot boil* (7), ſeems to them vain and ſuperfluous. *Anaxagoras* had quite another Notion. He abandoned his Lands to the Mercy of the Sheep, that he might apply himſelf wholly to Aſtronomy and Phyſic. *Philo* (8), *Plutarch* (9), *Philoſtratus* (10), *Himerius* (11), and *Suidas*, ſpeak of it. *Democritus* and *Crates* are ſeldom forgot upon this Occaſion. The Fathers of the Church likewiſe mention it (12): But St *Chryſoſtom* (13) declares, that the Conduct of theſe Philoſophers was mere Folly, and not a Contempt of Riches. *The Devil*, ſays he, *has always been ſtudious to depreciate and defame God's Creatures, becauſe of the Incapacity of ſome Men to make a right uſe of their Money.* This is paying the Heathens in their own Coin, who accounted all the Chriſtians, who parted with their Poſſeſſions, and retired into Solitudes, Fools and Madmen (14). Thus things are praiſed or blamed, according to the different Prejudices of Men. Obſerve, that *Apollonius Tyanæus* cenſured the Conduct of *Anaxagoras*, as the Action of a Philoſopher, who *had more regard to the Advantage of the Beaſts, than that of Men* (15). *Vigenere* has miſerably rendered the Paſſage of *Apollonius*: he makes him ſay, that *Anaxagoras, giving himſelf up to the feeding of Camels, and white Cattle, employed his Philoſophy rather in the Service of the Brute Creation, than of Men.* The *Latin* Verſion of *Rhinuccinus* is equally bad. *Aiebat Clazemenium Anaxagoram gregibus & camelorum armentis nutriendis intentum pecorum gratia magis quam hominum philoſophatum eſſe.*

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(1) *See Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* DEMOCRITUS.

(2) Cicero, Tuſculan. lib. 5. circa finem.

(3) Valer. Maxim. l. 8. cap. 7. n. 6. in extern.

(4) Plato, in Hippia majore, (*and not in* Phædro, *as* Menage *quotes it, in* Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 6.) pag. 1246.

(5) Ariſt. Eudemior. lib. 5. cap. 7. pag. 184.

(6) Σοφοὺς μὲν, φρονίμους δ' οὔ φασιν εἶναι, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ συμφέροντ' αὑτοῖς. Sapientes quidem eſſe dicunt, prudentes vero nequaquam, cum videant eos quæ ſibi utilia ſint ignorare. *Id. ibid.*

(7) *Pour faire bouillier la marmite.*

(8) Philo de Vita contempl.

(9) *I quote his Words in the Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* DEMOCRITUS.

(10) Philoſtr. in Vita Apollon. lib. 1. c. 8.

(11) Himer. apud Phot. pag. 1088.

(12) Lact. l. 3. cap. 22. Origen. contra Celſum, lib. 2.

(13) *See his 7th Homily upon the* Acts of the Apoſtles, *pag.* 67. Edit. Pariſ. 1636.

(14) *See* Rutilius Numatianus, *in his* Itinerarium.

(15) Philoſtr. in Vita Apollonii, l. 1. cap. 8.

applied himſelf wholly to the Study of Nature, without intermeddling in any public Affairs; which occaſioned ſome One to aſk him, whether he had no Concern at all for his Country. His Anſwer was admirable; nor could a Chriſtian Philoſopher have given a better; *Yes*, ſaid he, ſtretching his Hands towards Heaven, *I have an extraordinary Concern for my Country* (*a*). He was aſked, another time, *To what End are you born?* he replied, *To contemplate the Sun, the Moon, and the Heavens* (*b*). Accordingly he placed the ſupreme Good, or the End of Human Life, in Contemplation, and that Freedom of Condition, which it produces (*c*). He was but Twenty Years of Age, when he began to philoſophize at *Athens* (*d*). Some Authors ſay, He was the Firſt, who removed the School of Philoſophy thither, which had flouriſhed in *Ionia* from the Time of it's Founder *Thales*; which I ſhall examine in the Article of the Philoſopher ARCHELAUS. It is certain he had ſeveral Famous Diſciples at *Athens*, and particularly *Pericles*, and *Euripides*; and ſome add *Themiſtocles* and *Socrates*. But Chronology is againſt them as to *Themiſtocles* (*e*). There is ſcarce any thing, which gives us a greater Idea of his Ability, than the Nature of the Progreſs, which *Pericles* made under him; for he inſpired him with thoſe grave and majeſtic Manners, which enabled him to govern the Republic (*f*); he qualified him for that ſublime and victorious Eloquence, which made him ſo powerful (*g*); and he taught him to fear the Gods (*h*) without Superſtition. Add to this, that his Counſels aſſiſted him greatly in ſupporting the Weight of Government (*i*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the Novelty and Singularity of his Doctrines. He taught, that there were Hills, Vallies, and Inhabitants in

(*a*) Diogen. Laërt. l. 2. n. 6, 7.

(*b*) Id. ib. n. 10.

(*c*) Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat. lib. 2. pag. 416.

(*d*) Diogen. Laërt. ibid. n. 7.

(*e*) Plutarch. in Themiſt. pag. 112.

(*f*) Id. in Pericle, pag. 154.

(*g*) *See Remark* [*E*] *of the Article* PERICLES, *at the end.*

(*h*) *See Remarks* [*A*] *and* [*B*] *of the ſame Article.*

(*i*) *See Citation* (19).

This Cenſure looks like a Cavil; for, to ſay nothing of the Profit, which public Paſturage bring to Men, is it not plain, that *Anaxagoras* had reaſon to believe, that thoſe Lands, which he forſook, would be cultivated by his Relations? The four Verſes in the Life of *Virgil*, which begin with *Sic vos non vobis*, contain a great Truth, which is, that the Care, which is taken of Sheep, Oxen, *&c.* redounds to the good of Men. *Euſebius* has been more juſt to *Anaxagoras*, than *Apollonius Tyanæus*; for he repreſents the abandoning of his Lands, as a greater Proof of his Attachment to Philoſophy, than all the other Philoſophers had ever given. Φασὶ γοῦν ὡς ἄρα οὗτος μάλιςα παρὰ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐθαύμασε φυσιολογίαν· μηλόϐοτον γοῦν τοί τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν δι' αὐτὴν εἴασε (16). *Et vero ſuperiores omnes quantum is Phyſiologiæ ſtudio ſuperarit, vel ex eo intelligi, quod agros ipſe ſuos magnitudine paſtionis uberrimos ejus amore reliquerit.* I make uſe of the Vulgar Verſion, which is that of *Francis Vigerus*; but I obſerve, that it is faulty as to μηλόϐοτον χώραν, which ought to be rendred *agros ovibus depaſcendos*, and not *agros magnitudine paſtionis uberrimos*.

There remain ſtill ſome Remarks to be made on the Diſintereſtedneſs of *Anaxagoras*. He was one, who would have very well diſcharged the Duties of public Offices; for his Counſels were not only very ſerviceable to Him, who governed the *Athenians*, but even neceſſary (17); yet he always avoided interfering with the Government. He would never make uſe of the Authority and Credit of *Pericles*, to raiſe himſelf to Employs; but confined his Deſires to Philoſophical Speculations, being altogether free from an Ambition, which many other learned Men are incapable of ſubduing, even when they have not, as he had, an inſight into Affairs of State, or the Protection and Favour of thoſe in Authority. I queſtion not but *Cicero* had our Philoſopher particularly in view, when, ſpeaking of ſeveral great Men, he ſays, That it was a Misfortune to the Commonwealth, that they wholly applied themſelves to the Study of Nature. His Words are, “Eadem autem alii prudentia, ſed conſilio ad vitæ ſtudia diſpari, quietem atque otium ſequuti, ut Pythagoras, Democritus, Anaxagoras, à regendis civitatibus totos ſe ad cognitionem rerum tranſtulerunt; quæ vita propter tranquillitatem, & propter ipſius ſcientiæ ſuavitatem, qua nihil eſt hominibus jucundius, plures quàm utile fuit rebus publicis delectavit (18). —— *With the ſame Prudence, but with a view to different Studies, others, ſeeking for Retirement and Eaſe, as* Pythagoras, Democritus, *and* Anaxagoras, *have quitted the Government of States, to give themſelves wholly up to the Study of Nature; a Life, which, on account of it's Tranquillity, and the Sweetneſs of Knowledge itſelf, has engaged more Perſons to embrace it, than the public Good can ſpare.*” He not only ſlighted all Honours, but was careleſs, even with regard to the Neceſſaries of Life. He conſidered not, how eaſy it was for him to heap up Riches, by the Credit and Friendſhip of *Pericles*; nor did he provide againſt the Wants of old Age. His Enquiries into the Secrets of Nature ſwallowed up all his other Paſſions. He found, at laſt, that his Contempt of Riches ought not to have been ſo great; for, in his old Age, he was reduced to Want, and, in this Neceſſity, he took up a calm Reſolution to ſtarve himſelf to death; but *Pericles*, having notice of it, prevented it. Let us hear *Plutarch*; “*Pericles, ſays he* (19), aſſiſted ſeveral poor People with his Riches, and, among others, *Anaxagoras*; of whom it is related, that, *Pericles* being ſo buſy, that he had no leiſure to think of him, he found himſelf forſaken by every one in his old Age, and, having muffled up his Head, laid himſelf down with a Reſolution to die of Hunger. *Pericles*, being informed thereof, went immediately to him in great Concern, and earneſtly entreated him to alter his Reſolution, and live, bewailing, not *Anaxagoras*, but himſelf, that he ſhould loſe ſuch a faithful and wiſe Counſellor in the Occurrences of public Affairs. *Anaxagoras*, upon this, uncovered his Face, and ſaid to him; “They, *Pericles*, who deſire the Light of a Lamp, put Oil into it to keep it alive.” Would you ſee another Proof of the little Ambition of this Philoſopher? They offered to pay to his Memory all the Honours he could deſire; but he rejected the Favour, and only deſired, that the Day of his Death might be a Play-day for School-Boys. Τὰς διδομένας ἀφεὶς τιμὰς, ἠτήσατο τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην καθ' ἣν ἂν τελευτήσῃ τοὺς παῖδας ἀφίεναι παίζειν σχολάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτον (20). *Honoribus qui offerebantur recuſatis, poſtulavit ut ea qua deceſſiſſet è vivis die pueris ſcholarum vacatio & diſcendi concederetur.* Was not this to wiſh, that his Death might be a Subject of Pleaſure to many, and not of Affliction; and that he had an extraordinary contempt for every thing, which flatters moſt the Vanity of Mortals?

I ſhall make two ſhort Reflexions on this Paſſage of the Life of *Pericles*. It informs us, that *Anaxagoras* was very well ſkilled in Politics, though he only made Profeſſion of ſpeculative Philoſophy. Why then ſhould we not believe, that he compoſed the Treatiſe *de Regno*, out of which *Ælian* alledges a Sentence (21)? Granting it to be the Work of another *Anaxagoras*, as *Meurſius* and *Menage* ſuppoſe (22), yet the Reaſon, which *Menage* gives for it, is not a good one (23): He himſelf would have been ſenſible of it, if he had recollected this Paſſage of *Plutarch*. This is my firſt Reflexion. The other is, that the old Age, aſcribed to our Philoſopher, does not agree with the Account of thoſe, who ſay, that he came to *Athens* at twenty Years of Age, and that he lived there thirty Years. He muſt then have received *Pericles*'s Viſit, mentioned by *Plutarch*, at about fifty Years of Age. I ſhall conclude with a Paſſage of *Ovid*, which tells us, that the firſt Aſtronomers muſt needs have been free from Senſuality, and from the

(16) Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 14. cap. 14. pag. 750.

(17) *See below*, Plutarch's *Words, Citation* (19).

(18) Cicero de Oratore, lib. 3. c. 15. (*and not* lib. 2. *as Mr* Menage *quotes it in* Diog. Laërt. n. 7.) fol. 91. B.

(19) Plutarch. in Vit. Periclis, pag. 162.

(20) Id. in Præcept. Reip. gerendæ, p. 820. D. Diog. Laërtius, *as appears by the Text of this Article, relates the Circumſtances ſomewhat differently.*

(21) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. c. 14.

(22) *See* Kuhnius's *Notes upon this Paſſage of* Ælian.

(23) Alius igitur fuerit ab Anaxagora noſtro, &c. *Menag. in Laërt. l.* 2. *n.* 7. *He draws this Conſequence from* Anaxagoras's *never applying himſelf to Affairs of Government.*

in the Moon; and that the Sun was a fiery Maſs of Matter [*B*], and bigger than *Peloponneſus (k)*. He ſaid, that Snow was black *(l)*, for which he aſſigned a very poor reaſon; for he built his Notion, on the one Side, upon this, that Snow is condenſed Water; and he ſuppoſed, on the other ſide, that black is the true Colour of Water (*m*). He believed, in general, that our Eyes are incapable of diſcerning the true Colour of Objects, and that our Senſes deceive us; and that therefore it is the buſineſs of Reaſon, not of our Eyes, to judge of things (*n*). He held that the Heavens were made of Stone *(o)*, and that it was the Swiftneſs of their Motion, which hindered them from falling *(p)*. Others aſſure us, that he believed the Heavens to be *of the Nature of Fire as to their Eſſence*; and that the Stones of the Earth being ſnatched upwards, and ſet on fire, by the Rapidity of it's Revolution, became Stars (*q*); and that, at the beginning, Animals were formed out of the Earth, and a warm Moiſture (*r*), and that afterwards they produced each other, the Males on the right ſide, and the Females on the left (*s*). He admitted as many ſorts of Principles, as compound Bodies; for he ſuppoſed, that each kind of Body was made up of many ſimilar Particles, which he called *Homœomeriæ*, by reaſon of this Conformity. But this led him to grant a thing, which perplexed his Syſtem; namely, that the Seeds, or Principles, of all Species, are to be found in each Individual. *Moreri* has miſrepreſented this Opinion [*C*]. *Lucretius* has well explained, and ſolidly refuted

(*k*) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 8.

(*l*) Cicero, Acad. Quæſt. lib. 2. cap. 23, & 31. Lactant. lib. 5. cap. 3.

(*m*) Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypotypoſ. lib. 1. c. 13.

(*n*) Id. adv. Mathem. l. 7. p. 133.

(*o*) *See the beginning of the Remark* [*I*].

(*p*) Diogen. Laërtius, lib. 2. n. 12.

(*q*) Plutarch. de Placitis Philoſoph. lib. 2. c. 13.

(*r*) Diogen. Laërt. ibid. n. 12.

(*s*) Id. ib. n. 9.

Care of attaining to Honours and Riches: *Anaxagoras* is a pregnant Inſtance of it.

Felices animos, quibus hæc cognoſcere primis,
Inque domos ſuperas ſcandere cura fuit!
Credibile eſt illos pariter vitiiſque locíſque
Altius humanis exſeruiſſe caput.
Non Venus & vinum ſublimia pectora fregit;
Officiumque fori, militiæve labor.
Nec levis ambitio, perfuſaque gloria fuco;
Magnarumve fames ſollicitavit opum.
Admovêre oculis diſtantia ſidera noſtris;
Ætheraque ingenio ſuppoſuêre ſuo.
Sic petitur cœlum: non ut ferat Oſſan Olympus;
Summaque Peliacus ſidera tangat apex.
Nos quoque ſub ducibus cœlum metabimur illis,
Ponemuſque ſuos ad ſtata ſigna dies (24).

Thrice happy they, who firſt, with Souls refin'd,
To theſe Purſuits their generous Care confined;
Who, nobly ſpurning Earth's impure Abodes,
Aſſay'd to climb the Manſions of the Gods.
Such Breaſts, ſublime, Intemp'rance never broke;
Such ne'er ſubmitted to Love's ſhameful Yoke.
Such fled the wrangling of the noiſy Bar,
The hideous Din of Arms, and painful Toils of War;
Foes to Ambition, and her idle Lure,
From Thirſt of Fame, from Thirſt of Gold, ſecure.
Such Souls, examining the diſtant Skies,
Unveil'd it's hidden Lights to mortal Eyes.
Let huge Olympus *lofty* Oſſa *bear;*
Let Pelion *tow'r on* Oſſa *high in Air;*
Mountains on Mountains ſhort of Heav'n muſt riſe;
This only Ladder reaches to the Skies.
Led by theſe Guides, to meaſure Heav'n we try,
And to each Sign it's ſtated Days apply.

[*B*] *He taught —— that the Sun was a fiery Maſs of Matter.*] I make uſe of this general Expreſſion, becauſe the Interpreters do not agree about the true Senſe of theſe Words of *Diogenes Laërtius*; Τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον (25). Some will have them to ſignify a Maſs of burning Iron; others rather underſtand by them a flaming Stone; and others, a fiery Globe, neither of Iron nor Stone. *Videtur mihi Anaxagoras,* (thus ſpeaks *Caſaubon) per* μύδρον διάπυρον *non tam lapidem aut ferrum, quàm globum quendam igneum,* λιθώδη *&* βαρὺν, *ut ait Plutarchus, intelligere voluiſſe* (26). Moſt of thoſe, who have mentioned this Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*, have adhered to the ſecond Explication; which agrees perfectly with the Hypotheſis of this Philoſopher, as will appear hereafter (27). I begin with *Xenophon*'s Words. Φάσκων δὲ τὸν ἥλιον λίθον διάπυρον εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο ἠγνόει ὅτι λίθος μὲν ἐν πυρὶ ὢν οὔτε λάμπει, οὔτε πολὺν χρόνον ἀντέχει. ὁ δὲ ἥλιος τὸν πάντα χρόνον πάντων λαμπρότερος ὢν διαμένει (28).

This is, according to Mr *Charpentier*'s Tranſlation, *Saying alſo, That the Sun was only a fiery Stone, he did not conſider, that a Stone does not ſhine in the Fire, neither can it continue long there, without being conſumed; whereas the Sun continues always, and is an inexhauſtible Source of Light. Plato* ſhall be my ſecond Evidence. He introduces *Socrates*, who, finding himſelf charged with ſaying, that the *Sun* was *a Stone*, and the *Moon an Earth*, anſwers, *They take me for* Anaxagoras, *whoſe Books are full of ſuch Diſcourſes; and they fancy that I am ſo fooliſh as to teach young People theſe Abſurdities: They would laugh at me, if I ſhould aſcribe to myſelf a Doctrine, contained in the Works of another Man, which are ſold very cheap* (29). I have only given a general Notion of the Words of *Plato*; and therefore I ſhall ſet down the very Words of that Philoſopher, for the Satisfaction of thoſe, who are not contented with the Subſtance of an Evidence. Ἀναξαγόρου οἴει κατηγορεῖν ὦ φίλε Μέλιτε. καὶ οὕτω καταφρονεῖς τῶνδε, καὶ οἴει αὐτοὺς ἀπείρους γραμμάτων εἶναι, ὥστε οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι τ' Ἀναξαγόρου βιβλία τοῦ Κλαζομενίου γέμει τούτων τῶν λόγων. καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ νέοι ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ μανθάνουσιν ἃ ἔξεστιν ἐνίοτε, εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ, δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας πριαμένοις, Σωκράτους καταγελᾷν, ἐαν προσποιῆται ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὕτως ἄτοπα ὄντα (30). *Axaxagoram tu quidem, ô amice Melite, accuſare tibi videris, atque ita hos parui facis, exiſtimans eos literarum ignaros eſſe, quaſi neſciant libros Anaxagoræ Clazomenii ejuſmodi opinionibus eſſe plenos. Juvenes vero hæc à me diſcant? quibus liceret interdum, etiam ſi multa ſint, unius drachmæ pretio ementibus ex orcheſtra Socratem deridere, ſi ſua eſſe fingeret, præſertim quum tam abſurda ſint.* You will find in *Plutarch*, that *Anaxagoras* was condemned as an impious Man, for having ſaid, that the Sun was a Stone (31). St *Cyril* of *Alexandria* (32), and St *Auſtin* (33), are to be reckoned among thoſe, who have ſaid, that, according to *Anaxagoras*, the Sun was a fiery Stone. *Suidas* renders μύδρον διάπυρον, in *Diogenes Laërtius*, by πύρινον λίθον. And therefore I wonder, that Mr *Charpentier* choſe rather to ſay, that *Anaxagoras* maintained, that *the Sun was only a fiery Maſs of Iron* (34).

[*C*] Moreri *has miſrepreſented this Opinion.* Lucretius *has well explained, and ſolidly confuted it.*] I ſhall ſum up, in this Remark, all the Miſtakes of *Moreri*.

I. He ſuppoſes, that *Anaxagoras* taught, *That the firſt Cauſes of Things had in them the Characters of the Parts; for, as Gold is compoſed of ſmall Particles united together, ſo likewiſe this great World is compoſed of ſimilar Particles, which make up the whole, and are the* Primum Mobile *of all things.* What Nonſenſe! What Darkneſs! Did ever *Heraclitus* expreſs himſelf ſo obſcurely? To what purpoſe is the Example of *Gold compoſed of ſmall Particles united together?* Does this belong to Gold, more than to any other compound Body? He ſhould have added, that thoſe little Particles, of which Gold is compounded, are alſo Gold themſelves. This *Anaxagoras* taught: He believed, that a viſible Bone was compoſed

(24) Ovid. Faſt. lib. 1. ver. 297.

(25) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 8.

(26) Iſ. Caſaub. *in hunc locum* Diog. Laërtii.

(27) *In Remark* [*I*].

(28) Xenophon. Memorabil. l. 4.

(29) Τὸν μὲν ἥλιον, λίθον φησὶν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ σελήνην, γῆν. Solem quidem lapidem eſſe dicit, Lunam vero terram. *Plato in Apologia Socratis, p.* 21. *A.*

(30) Id. ibid.

(31) Plutarch. de Superſtitione, pag. 169. E.

(32) Cyrillus lib 6. contra Julian.

(33) Auguſt. de Civitat. Dei, lib. 18. cap. 41.

(34) Charpentier's Life of Socrates, p. 7.

refuted it. This will give us an Opportunity of making ſome Reflexions on this Doctrine. What was moſt excellent in his Syſtem, was, that, whereas, till then, they had reaſoned about the Formation of the World, by admitting only, on one ſide, *unformed Matter*, and, on the other, *mere Chance*, or *a blind Fatality*, which put

it

poſed of ſeveral inviſible Bones, and that the Blood, which we ſee, was compoſed of divers ſmall Drops, each whereof was Blood; and therefore he called his Principles ὁμοιμερείας (35), *ſimilaritates*. Read theſe Verſes of *Lucretius*.

Nunc & Anaxagoræ ſcrutemur Homœomerian,
Quam Græci memorant, nec noſtrâ dicere linguâ
Concedit nobis patrii ſermonis egeſtas.
Sed tamen ipſam rem facile eſt exponere verbis,
Principum rerum quam dicit Homœomerian.
Oſſa videlicet è pauxillis atque minutis
Oſſibus; ſic & de pauxillis atque minutis
Viſceribus viſcus gigni; ſanguenque creari
Sanguinis inter ſe multis coëuntibu' guttis;
Ex aurique putat micis conſiſtere poſſe
Aurum; & de terris terram concreſcere parvis;
Ignibus ex ignem; humorem ex humoribus eſſe.
Cætera conſimili fingit ratione, putatque (36).

Now let's examine with a curious Eye
Sage Anaxagoras' *Philoſophy*,
By copious Greece *term'd Homœomery.*
For which our Latin *Language, poor in Words,*
Not one expreſſive ſingle Voice affords.
Yet by an eaſy ſhort Periphraſis
We plainly can diſcover what it is.
For this it means: That Bones of minute Bones,
That Fleſh of Fleſh, and Stones of little Stones,
That Nerves take other little Nerves for Food,
And Blood is made of little drops of Blood.
That Gold from parts of the ſame Nature roſe,
That Earths do Earth, Fires Fire, Airs Air compoſe;
And ſo in all things elſe alike to thoſe.

CREECH.

I will not repeat all the Arguments alledged by *Lucretius* againſt this Doctrine; I ſhall only inſiſt on the firſt. He ſhews, that, upon this Hypotheſis, the firſt Principles of things would be as corruptible as the moſt Compound Bodies themſelves. This Conſequence draws two great Inconveniencies after it; one is, that the Difference, which ought to be between Principles and Compounds, is not to be found in *Anaxagoras*'s Hypotheſis. The Difference I ſpeak of is, that the firſt Principles (37) ought always to continue the ſame, how often ſoever Compound Bodies be deſtroyed. Compound Bodies alone are born, and die, and paſs through a thouſand Viciſſitudes of Generation and Corruption; but Principles retain their Nature unchangeably under all the Forms, which are ſucceſſively produced. *Anaxagoras* could not ſay this of HIS Principles; for (to give an Inſtance) if thoſe of Fleſh had the Nature of Fleſh, they would be no leſs ſubject to Deſtruction, than a great Maſs of Fleſh; and ſo of the reſt, for he admitted no indiviſible Parts in Matter.

Nec tamen eſſe ulla parte idem in rebus inane,
Concedit, neque corporibus finem eſſe ſecandis (38).

But he admits no void, *he grants no* leaſt,
And therefore errs in that, with all the reſt.

CREECH.

We ſhall ſee hereafter (39), whether he could have ſuppoſed, that Principles, being eternal and uncreated, ought to be Incorruptible. The other inconvenience is, that the Deſtruction of firſt Principles is the ſame with what is called *Annihilation*; for when they ceaſe to *be*, they do not reſolve themſelves into other things, of which they are compoſed, ſince the Simplicity, which is peculiar to them, will not admit of any Compoſition. They periſh therefore entirely, and are annihilated. Now the Light of Nature cannot conceive the Poſſibility of ſuch a Change.

At neque recidere ad nihilum res poſſe, neque autem
Creſcere ex nihilo, teſtor res ante probatas (40).

But former Arguments have clearly taught,
That things nor periſh to, nor riſe from, nought.

CREECH.

The Deſtruction of Compound Bodies is not liable to this Difficulty; they ſubſiſt always in their Principles; for inſtance, Wood, when deſtroyed by Fire, ceaſes not to exiſt as Matter, or extended Subſtance. Thus there is a great Defect in the Syſtem of *Anaxagoras*: His Principles are compoſed of Matter and Form, and have not conſequently the Simplicity and Immutability, which Order requires. This Defect could not be remedied, by ſuppoſing, that the Intelligence, which preſides over Generations, never ſuffers them to be deſtroyed. Was it not a ſufficient Inconveniency, that of their own Nature they were ſubject to Corruption, and could not be preſerved from it but by a Privilege, or, rather, by a Miracle? I ſay nothing of their great Number, which is likewiſe a remarkable Defect; for it is eſſential to a good Syſtem, that an infinite number of Effects ſhould flow from a very few Cauſes.

Lucretius was not aware of an Objection, which would have deſtroyed the very Foundation of *Anaxagoras*'s Hypotheſis. This Philoſopher's Motive, in his Suppoſition of the *Homœomeries*, or *Homogeneities*, was, that no Being can be made out of Nothing, or reduced to nothing (41). Now if the Earth, for Example, was formed of Things, which were not Earth, it would be made of nothing; and if, having been Earth, it ſhould ceaſe to be Earth, it would be annihilated: It muſt then be formed of what is Earth, and, in that which is called Deſtruction or Corruption, it muſt needs be reduced to, or reſolve itſelf into, Parts, which are Earth. According to this, there is no Generation, or Corruption, properly ſo called; no Birth, or Death. The production of an Herb is nothing elſe but the Aſſemblage of ſeveral ſmall Herbs: The Deſtruction of a Tree is nothing but the Separation and Diſperſion of ſeveral Trees. "We ſee, *added he* (42), that the ſimpleſt Food, as Bread and Water, is converted into Hair, Veins, Arteries, "Nerves, Bones, *&c.* there muſt be therefore little "Hairs, Veins, and Arteries, *&c.* which indeed our "Senſes do not diſcover; but they are not inviſible "to our Reaſon or Underſtanding." It is evident, that he went upon this falſe Suppoſition, to wit, that ſomething would be made out of nothing, if the parts of Bread, which ſupply the Bones with Nouriſhment, had not the Nature of Bones, in the Bread itſelf. It is ſurprizing, that ſo great a Genius ſhould reaſon in this manner. Could he not perceive, that a Houſe is not made out of nothing, though it be built with Materials, which are not an Houſe? Do not four Lines, none of which are ſquares, make a Square? Is it not enough, that they are placed in a certain manner? Is not a Doublet made of ſeveral Pieces of Cloth, none of which is a Doublet? Is there any Creation in this? Since, then, in artificial Things, the bare change of Figure, and ſituation of Parts, is ſufficient to form a whole, which, as to it's Species and Properties, differs from each of it's Parts; could he not apprehend, that Nature, which infinitely exceeds human Art, can form Bones and Veins, without putting together Parts, which are already Bones and Veins; and that it need only work upon ſuch Particles, as are capable of receiving ſuch or ſuch a Situation or Figure? By this means, without any Creation, properly ſo called, That, which was not Fleſh, will become Fleſh, *&c.* This is what *Lucretius* might have objected to our *Anaxagoras*; and by this he would have entirely deſtroyed his Hypotheſis of the *Homœomeriæ*. I proceed to other Faults of *Moriri* (43).

II. *Anaxagoras*, ſays he, was ſirnamed Νους, *or the* Mind, *on account of the Subtilty of his Doctrine. Diogenes Laërtius* ſays nothing of this Reaſon; he only tells us, that he had this Sirname given him, becauſe he taught, that an intelligent Being had cleared up the

Chaos

(35) Plutarch. de Placit. Philoſoph. l. 1. c. 3. p. 876. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 8.

(36) Lucret. l. 1. v. 830.

(37) *I underſtand by This Word the Matter, or* Subjectum ex quo.

(38) Lucret. lib. 1. ver. 843.

(39) *In Remark* [*G*].

(40) Lucret. ib. ver. 857.

(41) Plutarch. ubi ſupra. *See alſo* Ariſtot. Phyſicor. lib. 1. c. 4. pag. 256.

(42) Plut. ibid.

(43) *I ſhall not take notice of his wrong Quotations. He quotes* Plutarch, *only* in Vita Nicias, (*it ſhould be* Niciæ) *beſides he mentions nothing of what* Plutarch *ſays there; and there are other Tracts of* Plutarch, *which might have been more properly quoted.*

it in order; he was the Firſt, who ſuppoſed, that an Intelligence produced Motion in Matter,

Chaos (44). *Timon* (45), and *Harpocration* (46), ſay the ſame. I do not deny, that *Plutarch* mentions the Reaſon alledged by *Moreri*; but, ſince he alledges alſo That, which we find in *Diogenes Laërtius* (47), and which is the more probable one, *Moreri* ſhould not have ſuppreſs'd it.

III. He falſely charges our *Anaxagoras* with having admitted of Atoms (48). This Error is ſo much the groſſer, becauſe he had before ſaid, that *Anaxagoras* admitted *of infinite Parts in all Bodies*. Theſe two Opinions deſtroy each other; for, though, generally ſpeaking, the *Atomic* Syſtem may admit of an infinity of Corpuſcles; yet it requires, that their Number ſhould be determinate in each Body; ſince one of the Reaſons of the Atomiſts, in their Syſtem, is, that they avoid the Abſurdities of a *Diviſibility in infinitum*, which neceſſarily follows from the Suppoſition, that each Body is compoſed of an infinite Number of Parts.

IV. It is not true, that *Lucian* feigns, that *Jupiter* ſtruck *Anaxagoras* dead with a Thunder-bolt. We ſhall ſee, below, the Words of *Lucian*.

V. I know not upon what Foundation *Moreri* ſays, that *Anaxagoras travelled into* Egypt, *where he learned the Secrets and Myſteries of the learned Men of that Country*: I do not remember to have read this in any ancient Author. For I deſire I may be allowed to place *Theodoret* among the Moderns, in this reſpect; *Theodoret*, I ſay, who mentions this Journey of *Anaxagoras* (50), but who is otherwiſe miſtaken, in ſuppoſing this Philoſopher to be cotemporary with *Pythagoras*. However, I ſhall have ſtill reaſon to cenſure *Moreri*, ſince he has not quoted *Theodoret*, nor any Author, who mentions this Journey.

VI. *He believed, that the Stars* (they are *Moreri*'s Words) *had at firſt a confuſed Motion, which was afterwards regulated.* This was not at all the Opinion of *Anaxagoras*. According to *Diogenes Laërtius*, he believed, that, at firſt, the Stars moved in ſuch a manner, that the Heavens, being in the Form of a Vault, the Pole, which never ſets, was vertical to the Earth, but that it inclined itſelf afterwards (51). By his leave, this was to have a very imperfect Knowledge of the Sphere. He was ignorant, that the North Pole, inclining to the Horizon of *Ionia*, and ſeveral other Countries, is no leſs vertical to the Earth, with reſpect to a certain Place, than it could be at the beginning. If *Anaxagoras* meant, that this Pole, being formerly in the Zenith of *Ionia*, afterwards declined towards the Horizon, he expreſſed himſelf very ill, and muſt have believed, that *Ionia* was formerly a very miſerable and unhappy Country. *Plutarch* relates this ſomewhat differently. He ſays, that *Anaxagoras* believed, that, after the World was created, and the Earth had produced living Creatures, the Earth of itſelf (ἐκ τȣ̃ αυτομάτȣ) inclined towards the South; perhaps providentially (ἴσως ὑπὸ ϖρονοίας) that there might be habitable and uninhabitable Parts, through exceſſive Cold, ſcorching Heat, and Temperature (52).

VII. It is not true, that *Diogenes Laërtius* mentions an Orator, whoſe Name was *Anaxagoras*, and who was Diſciple of *Socrates*. He makes him a Diſciple of *Iſocrates* (53).

VIII. It is ſtill falſer, that our *Anaxagoras* taught, that the *ſimilar Parts* were *the* Primum Mobile *of all Things*. We ſhall ſee, in the following Remark, that, according his Opinion, the *firſt Mover* was a Spirit, diſtinct from the *Homæomeriæ*. If *Moreri* had underſtood the Author of the Life of this Philoſopher, he would not have fallen into this Miſtake. Ἐκ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν μικρῶν σωμάτων τὸ ϖᾶν συγκεκρίσθαι, καὶ νȣ̃ν μὲν ἀρχὴν κινήσεως (54). *Ex parvis ſimilium partium corporibus hoc totum eſſe compoſitum*, MENTEMQUE INITIUM ESSE MOTUS.

IX. *Moreri* has miſrepreſented the Senſe of the firſt part of this *Greek* of *Diogenes Laërtius*. *All this great World*, ſays he, *is made up of ſimilar Parts, which conſtitute the whole.* I have already complained of the Nonſenſe of theſe Words; but I ſhall here conſider them more fully, in order to ſhew, in what manner a Modern Writer ought to guard againſt Ambiguities, to which he is liable, when he forgets, that an Expreſſion, which was clear to the *Greeks*, may be very obſcure at preſent, unleſs expreſſed by a Periphraſis. I ſay this, without intending to juſtify good *Diogenes Laërtius*, who generally did not know what he ſaid, when he abridged the Opinions of the Philoſophers. I wiſh *Moreri* had expreſſed himſelf thus; *The World is the Effect or Reſult of the Choice of ſmall ſimilar Parts.* According to his own Expreſſion, one would take the World to be an Whole, each of whoſe Parts has the ſame Name and Quality with all the reſt (55). This is ſo falſe, that it is but opening one's Eyes, to be convinced of it. The very Blind may know it, and cannot be ignorant of it; for they know, that they are compoſed of Fleſh and Bones; and that their Hair is not like their Nails. They, who have the leaſt Tincture of School-Philoſophy, know, that an *Homogeneous* Compound is That, whoſe Parts have the ſame Nature and Qualities with the Whole; and that an *Heterogeneous* Compound is That, whoſe Parts are not named as their whole is, and have not each the ſame common Properties. Water, Milk, Wine, Fleſh, and Bones, are *Homogeneous* Compounds; for Inſtance, each drop of the Liquid, which compoſes a River, is called Water, and has the Eſſence of it. But it is quite otherwiſe with an *Heterogeneous* Compound; it's Parts have not it's Name, nor it's Nature; neither have they the Names and Qualities of each other. Such, for Example, is the Body of an Ox; it is compoſed of Blood, Fleſh, and Bones, and of ſeveral other Parts, which have each their diſtinct Names and Qualities. This being ſo, no one can ſay, that the Univerſe is an *Homogeneous* Compound. Some of it's Parts are opake, and others tranſparent; ſome liquid, and others hard: Here is Earth; there Air and Water; here a Meadow, and there a Wood. *Anaxagoras* would have been more extravagant, than the moſt abſurd Viſionary that ever was put into a Mad-Houſe, had he entertained any Doubts about it; and yet *Moreri*'s Expreſſions plainly intimate, that he taught, that the Univerſe was *Homogeneous*; and therefore he falſely charges him with a ſhocking Abſurdity. He ſhould have made uſe of another Phraſe to deſcribe his Opinion, and pitched upon ſuch Terms, as would not confound the *collective Senſe* of the Word *Whole*, with the *diſtributive* (56). I will explain myſelf by an Example. Let us ſuppoſe, that all the Citizens of a great City are divided into ten Claſſes; and that thoſe, who have Twenty thouſand Livres are placed in the firſt, thoſe, who have Fifteen thouſand, in the next, and the reſt accordingly. Now whoever ſhould ſay, *This Town is compoſed of Inhabitants equally Rich*, muſt intend it only in a *diſtributive* Senſe. His meaning muſt be, that the ten Parts, which conſtitute this People, are each of them compoſed of Men equally Rich; But his Thought would be involved in improper, obſcure, and intricate Words; and, to make himſelf underſtood, he ought to add, *That this equality of Riches is only to be found, in comparing the People of the ſame Claſs with each other; for if thoſe of the tenth Claſs be compared with thoſe of the firſt, there will be a great Inequality.* This is the ill Office, which thoſe do our *Anaxagoras*, who maintain, that he ſaid, that the Univerſe was altogether compoſed of ſimilar Parts: They make their Readers ſuſpect, that he advanced a ridiculous Enigma; and, if the Writer does not explain himſelf by a *that is to ſay*, they are at a loſs to underſtand him, and grow very angry with ſuch an Author. To free them from ſuch a Perplexity, I will endeavour to explain the Sentiment of this Philoſopher.

AN EXPLICATION *of the Doctrine of* Anaxagoras.

His meaning ſeems to me to be, that the Intelligence, which formed the World, had, in infinite Matter, found infinite Kinds of minute Corpuſcles, which reſembled each other; but which by a confuſed Mixture were ſurrounded with other Corpuſcles, or ſmall Bodies, not of the ſame Nature. The Intelligence united the ſeveral Corpuſcles of the ſame Species; and, by this means, formed here a Planet, there a Stone, in other places Water, Air, Wood, &c. This Action divided the Univerſe into ſeveral Maſſes of ſimilar Parts; but in ſuch a manner, that the Particles of one Maſs did not reſemble thoſe of another. And, therefore, the Word *All* or *Whole*, muſt not be taken in a *Collective*, but in a *Diſtributive* Senſe; otherwiſe you will have as much Reaſon to ſay, that the World is made of Diſſimilar, as of Similar, Parts. *Ludovicus Vives*, having obſerved, that this Paſſage of St *Auſtin*,

(44) Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. n. 6.

(45) Timon Philiaſius, in Sillis, apud Laërt. lib. 2. n. 6.

(46) Harpocrat. in voce Αναξαγόρας.

(47) Plutarch's *Words may be ſeen in the Remark* [*D*], *Citation* (62)

(48) *See, above, the Verſes of* Lucretius, *Citation* (36).

(49) *In the Remark* [*K*], *Citation* (156).

(50) Theodoret. de Græc. Affect. Serm. 2. pag. 489.

(51) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 9.

(52) Plut. de Placit. Phil. lib. 2. cap. 8. pag. 887.

(53) Diog. Laërt ibid. n. 13.

(54) Id. ib. n. 8.

(55) *That is, according to* Anaxagoras's *Opinion.*

(56) *Mr* Arnaud, *in his Difficulties to Mr* Steyaert, part 6. pag. 122, &c. *makes ſome Obſervations on theſe two Senſes of the Word* WHOLE.

Matter, and reduced the Chaos into Form [*D*]. This was, without doubt, the true Reaſon,

Anaxagoras —— *dixit ex infinita materia quæ conſtaret diſſimilibus inter ſe particulis*, &c. - - - - - Anaxagoras —— *ſaid, that of infinite Matter, conſiſting of diſſimilar Particles*, &c. —— was read in the old Manuſcripts, *Similibus inter ſe particulis* —— *of ſimilar Particles* —— adds, *utrumque rectè* —— *both Readings are right*.

As to the Objections, which *Anaxagoras* had to fear, I ſhall take ſome notice of them in the Remark [*G*].

[*D*] *He was the firſt, who ſuppoſed that an Intelligence produced motion in Matter, and reduced the Chaos into Form.*] Theſe are Facts well atteſted. Πρῶτος τῇ ὕλῃ νοῦν ἐπέστησεν, ἀρξάμενος οὕτω τοῦ συγγράμματος, ὅ ἐστιν ἡδέως καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως ἡρμηνευμένον. πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ, εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε (57). *He was the firſt, who ſuperadded a* MIND *to Matter, expreſſing himſelf at the beginning of his Work, in this pleaſing and ſublime manner*; "all Things were confuſed; afterwards an Intelligence, interpoſing, reduced them into Form and Order." I thought it proper to begin with this Paſſage of *Diogenes Laërtius*, becauſe it contains *Anaxagoras*'s own Words (58).

(57) Diogen. Laërt. in Anaxagora, init. lib. 2. n. 6.

(58) *They are to be found likewiſe in* Plutarch, de Placitis Philoſophor. lib. 1. c. 3. pag. 876. D.

Let us take a view of *Ariſtotle*'s Remarks on this Subject. He condemns the Philoſophers, who, treating of the Principles of Things, ſtopped at the material, without ſearching for the efficient, Cauſe of Generation and Corruption. *The material Cauſe*, ſays he, *never changes*; *Braſs does not convert itſelf into a Statue, nor Wood into a Bedſtead*; *there is another Principle of this Change. To ſearch after this Principle, is to aſcend to the firſt Mover.* His Words are ſo remarkable, that it is proper to repeat them. Εἰ γὰρ ὅτι μάλιστα πᾶσα φθορὰ καὶ γένεσις ἔκ τινος, ὡς ἑνὸς ἢ καὶ πλειόνων ἐστὶν, διὰ τί τοῦτο συμβαίνει, καὶ τί τὸ αἴτιον; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε ὑποκείμενον αὐτὸ ποιεῖ μεταβάλλειν ἑαυτό. λέγω δ᾽ οἷον, οὔτε τὸ ξύλον οὔτε ὁ χαλκὸς αἴτιον τοῦ μεταβάλλειν ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν. οὐδὲ ποιεῖ τὸ μὲν ξύλον κλίνην, ὁ δὲ χαλκὸς ἀνδριάντα, ἀλλ᾽ ἕτερόν τι τῆς μεταβολῆς τὸ αἴτιον. τὸ δὲ τοῦτο ζητεῖν, ἐστὶ τὸ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν ζητεῖν, ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς φαίημεν, ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως (59). *Nam etſi quàm maxime omnis corruptio, & generatio ex aliquo ut ex uno aut ex pluribus ſit, cur hoc accidit, & quæ cauſa eſt? Non enim ipſum ſubjectum ſeſe mutari facit, utputa, dico quod neque lignum, neque æs cauſa eſt, ut utrumque eorum mutetur. Neque lignum quidem lectum, æs vero ſtatuam facit, ſed aliud quippiam mutationis cauſa eſt. Hoc autem quærere, aliud principium quærere eſt, perinde atque id, quod nos unde principium motus dicimus.* He adds, I. That, when the Inſufficiency of the Elements came to be known, the Force of Truth obliged the Philoſophers to look for another Mover. II. That it is not probable, that Fire and Earth, *&c.* are the Cauſes of the beautiful State of certain Beings, and of the Generation of others; nor that thoſe ancient Philoſophers believed it. III. That it would be unreaſonable to attribute ſo grand an Effect to Chance and Fortune. Οὐδ᾽ αὐτῷ αὐτομάτῳ καὶ τύχῃ τοσοῦτον ἐπιτρέψαι πρᾶγμα καλῶς ἔχει· *Nec rurſus Caſui & Fortunæ tantam attribuere rem probè ſe habet* (60). IV. That, for this Reaſon, *Anaxagoras*, who ſaid that there is a Spirit in Nature, as well as in Animals, which is the Author of the World, and of Order, ſeemed to be a Perſon of good Senſe, in compariſon of the Philoſophers his Predeceſſors, who were great Talkers about nothing. There is more Force in the Original, than in the Idea which I give of it. Thoſe, who are able to underſtand the *Greek*, which I am going to produce, will find my Confeſſion ſincere. Νοῦν δέ τις εἰπὼν εἶναι, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ζώοις καὶ ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸν αἴτιον καὶ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ τῆς τάξεως πάσης, οἷον νήφων ἐφάνη παρ᾽ εἰκῆ λέγοντας τοὺς πρότερον. φανερῶς μὲν οὖν Ἀναξαγόραν ἴσμεν ἁψάμενον τούτων τῶν λόγων (61). *Wherefore he, who ſaid, that an Intelligence, in Nature, as well as in Animals, produced the World, and the Order of Things, appeared a ſober Reaſoner, in compariſon of the vain Diſcourſes of the more ancient Philoſophers. We know, that* Anaxagoras *was the Perſon, who openly taught this Doctrine.* If theſe Teſtimonies are expreſs, That of *Plutarch* is, perhaps, ſtill more ſo. Let us produce the Words of That Author. Ὃν (Ἀναξαγόραν) οἱ τότ᾽ ἄνθρωποι νοῦν προσηγόρευον, εἴτε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην εἰς φυσιολογίαν καὶ περιττὴν διαφανεῖσαν θαυμάσαντες, εἴθ᾽ ὅτι τοῖς ὅλοις πρῶτος οὐ τύχην οὐδ᾽ ἀνάγκην, διακοσμήσεως ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἐπέστησε καθαρὸν καὶ ἄκρατον, ἐμμεμιγμένοις πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀποκρίνοντα τὰς ὁμοιομερείας (62). *Who* (Anaxagoras) *was by his Cotemporaries ſtiled* The Mind, *either becauſe they admired his ſingular and excellent Penetration in Natural Philoſophy*; *or, becauſe he was the firſt, who did not aſcribe the Formation of the Univerſe to Chance or Fate, but to a ſimple and uncompounded Intelligence, which ſeparated the ſimilar Particles of Matter from all others, with which they were confuſed.* This Paſſage is quoted by ſome Authors, as if it ought to be read ἐμμεμιγμένον, inſtead of ἐμμεμιγμένοις; but I chooſe to reject both theſe readings, and ſubſtitute ἐμμεμιγμένας. So the Author of the *Latin* Tranſlation ſuppoſes it ought to be read, *Quem* (Anaxagoram) *illius temporis æquales* Mentem *appellavere, vel quod perſpicaciam ejus ſingularem excellentemque in Natura perſcrutanda admirarentur*; *vel quod univerſitatis, non Fortunam neque Fatum ordinatæ deſcriptionis Principium, ſed mentem princeps puram ac ſinceram præfecerit, cum omnibus aliis* confuſas *ſecernentem particulas ſimiles*. Though *Voſſius* quotes this Paſſage in *Greek*, with the Word ἐμμεμιγμένον, yet he renders it as if it was ἐμμεμιγμένοις: This is his Tranſlation (63); *Non fortunam neque fatum ordinatæ deſcriptionis principium, ſed mentem puram ac ſinceram præfecerit, ab aliis omnibus* ADMIXTIS *ſimiles particulas ſecernentem*. Within a few Pages after, he makes uſe of the ſame Paſſage, to prove, that *Anaxagoras* taught, that God is entirely blended with Matter. *Quare ex ejus ſententia opifex mundi Deus eſt, ut ex Plutarcho antea monitum*, νοῦς καθαρὸς καὶ ἄκρατος ἐμμεμιγμένος πᾶσι, *Mens pura ac ſincera omnibus permixta* (64). I do not believe, that *Plutarch* intended any Mixture of the Divine Nature with the parts of Matter; this would be inconſiſtent with the Epithets καθαρὸς & ἄκρατος, which he had juſt before made uſe of, and by which he clearly ſhews, that *Anaxagoras* believed, that God is a pure and unmixed Spirit, diſtinct and ſeparate from Matter. His meaning, in my Opinion, is, that this Immaterial Spirit ſeparated the *Homœomeriæ*, or ſimilar Parts, which lay confuſed with all other Bodies. Thus we ſee how difficult it is for the moſt learned Men, ſuch as *Voſſius* was, to write much, and to be always upon their Guard: Their Attention frequently fails them, and they forget, in one Place, what they have ſaid in another: Nay, ſometimes what they ſay in the beginning of a Period does not perfectly agree with the Concluſion of it.

(59) Ariſtot. Metaphyſ. lib. 1. cap. 3. pag. 645. H.

(60) Id. ib. pag. 646. C.

(61) Id. ib.

(62) Plut. in Pericle, pag. 1;4. B.

(63) Voſſius de Origine & Progreſſu Idololatriæ, lib. 1. c. 1. pag. 5.

(64) Id. ib. cap. 2. p. 12.

I have farther Reaſon to believe, that *Plutarch* meant what I attribute to him; for, beſides what I ſhall alledge out of *Tertullian* (65), I find in *Ariſtotle*, that *Anaxagoras* ſaid, that the Spirit, which had put Matter into Motion, was free from all Mixture. Πλὴν ἀρχήν γε τὸν νοῦν τίθεται μάλιστα πάντων. μόνον γοῦν φησὶν αὐτὸν τῶν ὄντων ἁπλοῦν εἶναι, καὶ ἀμιγῆ τε καὶ καθαρόν. ἀποδίδωσι δ᾽ ἄμφω τῇ αὐτῇ ἀρχῇ, τό, τε γινώσκειν καὶ τὸ κινεῖν, λέγων νοῦν κινῆσαι τὸ πᾶν (66). *He lays down an* Intelligent Mind *as the Principle of all Things*; *and ſays, that That alone, of all Things, is ſimple and unmixed, pure and uncompounded. And to this Principle he aſcribes two Properties, to wit, Knowledge and Motion*; *ſaying that the* Mind *put the Univerſe into Motion.* This is more clearly expreſſed in the following Words. Φησὶ (Ἀναξαγόρας) δ᾽ εἶναι μεμιγμένα πάντα, πλὴν τοῦ νοῦ· τοῦτον δὲ ἀμιγῆ μόνον καὶ καθαρόν (67). Anaxagoras *taught, that all things were compounded, except the* Mind, *but that This was unmixed and pure.* The next is the Teſtimony of *Plutarch*; from which it manifeſtly appears, That *Anaxagoras* aſcribed to God the firſt Production of Motion and Order. Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξαγόρας φησὶν ὡς εἱστήκει καθ᾽ ἀρχὰς τὰ σώματα, νοῦς δὲ αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε θεοῦ, καὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ὅλων ἐποίησεν. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων οὐχ ἑστηκότα ὑπέθετο τὰ πρῶτα σώματα, ἀτάκτως δὲ κινούμενα. διὸ καὶ θεὸς (φησὶν) ἐπιστήσας ὡς τάξις ἀταξίας ἐστὶ βελτίων, διεκόσμησε ταῦ-

(65) *In Remark* [*E*].

(66) Ariſtot. de Anima, lib. 1. cap. 2. pag. 479. D. *See alſo the 4th Chapter of the 3d Book p.* 503. *G. where we find, that* Anaxagoras *ſaid, that the Intelligence muſt be free from all Mixture, in order to be Maſter.* Ἀμιγῆ εἶναι ἵνα κράτῃ· τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐστιν ἵνα γνωρίσῃ. Non miſtum eſſe, ut ſuperet atque vincat, id eſt ut cognoſcat.

(67) Ariſtot. Metaphyſ. lib. 1. c. 7. pag. 651. E.

Reaſon, why this great Philoſopher was ſirnamed Νȣ̃ς, that is to ſay, *The Mind*, or *Underſtanding* (u). But his Orthodoxy was not ſufficiently refin'd [*E*]; there remained ſtill

τα (68). Anaxagoras *taught, that, in the beginning, Matter was without Motion, and that the Mind of God put it in order, and gave riſe to every thing.* Plato *laid it down, that the firſt Bodies were not motionleſs, but that they moved irregularly. But God, ſays he, perceiving that Order was preferable to Confuſion, adjuſted them.* You ſee here a remarkable Diſference between *Anaxagoras* and *Plato*. The firſt ſuppoſes, that God found Matter at Reſt. The ſecond, on the contrary, that God found it in Motion. I am amazed at the Reflexion, which *Plutarch* makes upon theſe two Doctrines; it not only contains an horrible Impiety, but likewiſe a very groſs Contradiction. He had blamed the Philoſophers, who acknowledged but one Principle. He had ſaid (69), that "it is impoſſible, that Matter ſhould be the "ſole Principle of all things, and that an efficient "Cauſe muſt be added to it; for Silver alone is not "ſufficient to produce a Veſſel, unleſs there be a "Workman to make the Veſſel. The ſame may be "ſaid of Braſs, Wood, and of all other Materials." In the ſame Page he had commended *Anaxagoras* for admitting an Intelligence, which had united the ſimilar Particles; Τὰς μὲν ὁμοιομερείας ὕλην, τὸ δὲ ποιȣ̃ν αἴτιον τὸν νȣ̃ν τὰ πάντα διαταξάμενον (70). *Homœomerias ſtatuit materiam, cauſam vero efficientem mentem quæ diſponeret univerſa*; that is, for adding the efficient Cauſe to the paſſive Subject, and the Artificer to the Materials. Ἀποδεκτέος ȣ̂τος ἐςὶν ὅτι τῇ ὕλῃ τὸν τεχνίτην προσέζευξεν (71). *Hic Approbandus eſt, quod materiæ Artificem adjunxerit.* What does he mean then, when, five Pages after, he cenſures *Anaxagoras* and *Plato*; the firſt for having attributed to God the Motion and Diſpoſition of Bodies, and the latter for having attributed to Him the ranging of them? *Their common Error*, ſays he, *is in thinking, that God takes care of human Things, and that he has framed a World to that end.* Κοινῶς ȣ̂ν ἁμαρτάνȣσιν ἀμφότεροι, ὅτι τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησαν ἐπιςρεφόμενον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἢ καὶ τȣ́τȣ χάριν τὸν κόσμον κατασκευάζοντα (72). *Communis ambobus hic eſt error, quod deum faciunt res humanas curantem, ac ea de cauſa mundum adornantem.* After which, he lays down the moſt ſpecious Reaſons, which an Atheiſt can alledge, againſt thoſe, who attribute to God the Creation and Government of the World. How then? Does he approve of *Anaxagoras* for admitting an Intelligence, which was the firſt Mover of Matter, and the efficient Cauſe of the World; and does he blame him for taking this firſt Mover to be God? Can any one reaſon in a more pitiful and incoherent manner than he does? And, ſhould we ſuppoſe, that there is no Contradiction in this, muſt we not confeſs at leaſt, that he has confuted, in this Place, a great many other Paſſages in his Books, in which he ſuppoſes a Providence?

I ſhould be tedious, were I to ſet down all the Teſtimonies, which prove one or both of theſe Truths. I. That *Anaxagoras* admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the *Homogeneities*. II. That he was the firſt Philoſopher, who advanced This Syſtem. Let it ſuffice, then, to point out *Plato* (73), *Tertullian* (74), *Clemens Alexandrinus* (75), *Euſebius* (76), *Themiſtius* (77), St *Auſtin* (78), *Theodoret* (79), *Proclus* (80), and *Simplicius* (81). I ſhall not do the ſame with reſpect to *Cicero*; but I ſhall produce his Words; becauſe they furniſh a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, *ſays* "*he* (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene diſciplinam, "PRIMUS omnium rerum deſcriptionem & mo-"dum mentis infinitæ vi ac ratione deſignari ac "confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum "ſenſui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum "eſſe poſſe, neque ſenſum omnino, quo non ipſa na-"tura pulſa ſentiret. Deinde ſi mentem iſtam qua-"ſi animal aliquod eſſe voluit, erit aliquid interius "ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem in-"terius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. "Quod quoniam non placet, aperta ſimplexque mens "nulla re adjunctâ quæ ſentire poſſit, fugere intelli-"gentiæ noſtræ vim & notionem videtur. ——— "Anaxagoras *next, who was brought up at the Feet* "*of* Anaximenes, *was the* FIRST, *who held, that* "*the Diſpoſition and Order of all Things was planned* "*and effected by the Power and Underſtanding of an* "*infinite Mind. In which he is not aware, firſt,* "*that there can be no Motion joined with Senſe in* "*what is infinite, nor any Senſe at all, which can-*"*not affect it's Nature In the next place, if he* "*would have this Mind to be a kind of Animal, there* "*will be ſomething more internal, from whence to de-*"*nominate this Animal. But what is there more in-*"*ternal than a Mind? It is therefore ſurrounded with* "*an external Body. Though you will not allow this, I* "*am of Opinion, that an unbodied, ſimple, Mind, unaſſi-*"*ſted by any thing, which may have Senſe, is beyond the* "*Force and Comprehenſion of our Underſtanding.*" It is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that *Cicero* ſhould ſay, that *Anaxagoras* was the firſt Philoſopher, who acknowledged ſuch a Doctrine, ſince he had before told us, that *Thales* (83) had acknowledged a Mind, or a God, who had formed all things out of Water. "Thales Mileſius, qui "primus de talibus rebus quæſivit, aquam dixit eſſe "initium rerum: deum autem, eam mentem, quæ "ex aqua cuncta fingeret (84). How could *Cicero* ſo ſoon forget his own Words? Can it be imagined, that he meant, that *Thales* only aſcribed to God the Power of converting Water into other Bodies; but that *Anaxagoras* made God the Author of the Order and noble Symmetry of the Parts of the World? This does not ſeem to me to be probable, and I ſhould rather ſuſpect that this Paſſage is corrupted. The Confuſion and Obſcurity, which is to be found in the following Words, may confirm this Conjecture. However it be, I would not have this Teſtimony of *Cicero* be oppoſed to thoſe of ſo many ancient and celebrated Writers, who unanimouſly affirm, that *Anaxagoras* was the *firſt*, who ſuperadded the efficient Cauſe to the material, that is to ſay, who acknowledged an Intelligence to be the Author of the Oeconomy, or Architecture, of the Univerſe. St *Auſtin* paid ſo little regard to this Teſtimony of *Cicero*, that, in the very Place, where he mentions the Opinion of the Philoſophers of the *Ionian* Sect, agreeably to that of *Cicero* in other Reſpects, he expreſly contradicts him as to what concerns *Thales*. "Iſte autem Thales, - - - - - rerum naturam ſcru-"tatus, ſuaſque diſputationes literis mandans, eminuit "- - - - - aquam - - - - - - putavit rerum eſſe princi-"pium, & hinc omnia elementa mundi ipſumque "mundum, & quæ in eo gignuntur, exiſtere. NI-"HIL autem huic operi, quod, mundo conſiderato, "tam admirabile aſpicimus, EX DIVINA MEN-"TE præpoſuit (85). ——— *This* Thales, *examining* "*into the Nature of Things, and committing his Diſ-*"*putations to Writing, taught that Water was the* "*Principle of all Things; and that to This the ſeve-*"*ral Elements of the World, the World itſelf, and* "*all things in it, owed their Exiſtence. He ſuppoſed* "*NO DIVINE MIND to preſide over the won-*"*derful Works of the Creation.*" Obſerve, that *Cicero* himſelf, in another Book, denies, that *Thales* was the firſt, who taught the Doctrine we are ſpeaking of, and that he aſcribes it ſolely and abſolutely to the Philoſopher *Anaxagoras*. I ſhall ſet down his Words in the Remark [*F*].

The Jeſuit *Leſcalopier* (86) endeavours to reconcile this Contradiction, by ſuppoſing, that *Anaxagoras* was the firſt, who *publiſhed* this Doctrine; the Philoſophers, who lived before him, having only taught it in their Auditories. This is no very good Solution; for, ſince the Doctrines of the Predeceſſors of *Anaxagoras* were known, and wherein they differed from each other; I ſay, ſince this was known, tho' *Anaxagoras* was the firſt, who publiſhed Books, it might as well have been known what they taught concerning the efficient Cauſe of the World. As to the Objections againſt the Doctrine of this Philoſopher, contained in the above-cited Paſſage of *Cicero*, I refer you to St *Auſtin*, who confutes them ſolidly (87).

[*E*] *His Orthodoxy was not ſufficiently refin'd.*] *Tertullian* blames him for being inconſiſtent with himſelf; for, on the one hand, he ſaid, that God was a pure and ſimple Intelligence, and, on the other, he mixed and confounded him with the Soul. "Quam "Anaxagoræ turbata ſententia eſt! initium enim om-"nium commentatus animum, univerſitatis oſcillum "de

(u) *See Remark* [*C*] *n.* 2.

(68) Plutarch. de Placit. Philoſoph. l. 1. cap. 7. pag. 881. A.

(69) Id. ib. cap. 3. pag. 876.

(70) Id. ib.

(71) Id. ib.

(72) Id. ib. cap 7. pag. 881. A.

(73) Plato, in Phædone, pag. 72.

(74) Tertull. de Anim.

(75) Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. l. 2. pag. 364.

(76) Euſeb. de Præpar. Evang. l. 14. cap. 14. pag. 750.

(77) Themiſt. Orat. 15.

(78) Auguſt. de Civit. Dei lib. 8. c. 2.

(79) *I ſet down his Words at the end of Remark* [*F*].

(80) Proclus in Timæum Platonis.

(81) Simplic. in Ariſtotel. de Phyſ. auſcult.

(82) Cicero, de Nat. Deorum, lib. 1. cap. 10, 11.

(83) *He was the 4th Predeceſſor of* Anaxagoras.

(84) Id. ib. pag. 36.

(85) Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8. cap. 2. pag. 711.

(86) Leſcalop. in Cic. de Nat Deor. p. 40.

(87) *See the 56th Letter of St* Auſtin, *pag.* 2[illegible]1, & ſeq.

ſtill many Imperfections in it; which is leſs to be wondered at, than to find, that the Philoſophers, who lived before him, were ignorant of the great Truth, which he diſcovered; a Truth ſo very plain, and ſo often ſung by the Poets [*F*]. It will be proper

" de illius axe ſuſpendens, purumque eum adfirmans, " & ſimplicem & incommiſcibilem, hoc vel maxime " titulo ſegregat ab animæ commiſſione, & tamen " eundem alibi animæ addicit (88)." *Ariſtotle* had made this Remark before *Tertullian*. Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ἧττον διασαφεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν. πολλαχοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ καλῶς καὶ ὀρθῶς τὸν νοῦν λέγει· ἑτέρωθι δὲ, τὸν νοῦν εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν τῇ ψυχῇ. ἐν ἅπασι γὰρ ὑπάρχειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ζώοις, καὶ μεγάλοις, καὶ μικροῖς, καὶ τιμίοις καὶ ἀτιμιωτέροις. οὐ φαίνεται δὲ ὅ γε κατὰ φρόνησιν λεγόμενος νοῦς, πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ζώοις, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν (89). *But* Anaxagoras *is leſs explicit in this Matter; for, in many Places, he aſcribes the Origin of Good and Right to a* Mind; *but, in other Places, he aſſerts the Soul itſelf to be a* Mind; *for he tells us, that there is a* Mind *in all Animals, both great and ſmall, excellent and leſs excellent. But This Mind and Underſtanding, to which he aſcribes Prudence, does not ſeem to be contained in all Animals alike, nor even in all Men.* This Paſſage of *Ariſtotle* informs us, that *Anaxagoras* admitted of a Soul in Brutes, to which he gave the ſame Name of a *Mind* or *Intelligence*, which he had given to the firſt Mover of Matter, and the Director of the Fabric of the World. The ſame *Ariſtotle* obſerves, that " *Anaxagoras* admitted an Intelligence for the Production of Things, " only as a Θέος ἀπὸ μηχάνης; that is, he never " had recourſe to it, but in Caſes of neceſſity, " and when all other Reaſons failed him." Ἀναξαγόρας τε γὰρ μηχανῇ χρῆται τῷ νῷ πρὸς τὴν κοσμοποιΐαν, καὶ ὅταν ἀπορήσῃ διὰ τίν᾽ αἰτίαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐστὶ τότε ἕλκει αὐτόν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάντα μᾶλλον αἰτιᾶται τῶν γινομένων ἢ νοῦν (90). *Nam & Anaxagoras tanquam machina utitur Intellectu ad mundi generationem. Et cum dubitat propter quam cauſam neceſſario eſt, tunc eum attrahit. In cæteris vero, magis cætera omnia, quam intellectum, cauſam eorum, quæ fiunt, ponit.* This is, without doubt, the Foundation of an Obſervation, made by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that *Anaxagoras* has not ſupported the Rights and Dignity of the Efficient Cauſe, whoſe Functions he attributed to a Mind; for he mentioned ſeveral Revolutions, which were made without the Knowledge or Co-operation of This Spirit. This, if I am not miſtaken, is the true Senſe of the *Greek* Words of that Father of the Church. Ἀναξαγόρας πρῶτος, *ſay he*, ἐπέστησε τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασιν· ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ οὗτος ἐτήρησε τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν ποιητικὴν, δίνους τινας ἀνοήτους ἀναζωγράφων, σὺν τῇ τοῦ νοῦ ἀπραξίᾳ τε καὶ ἀνοίᾳ (91). *Primus Anaxagoras mentem rebus adhibuit. Sed nec ille dignitatem ſervavit efficientem, neſcio quas amentes deſcribens revolutiones cum mentis ab agendo ceſſatione & amentia.* Without doubt *Euſebius* copied this Paſſage, when, giving it another turn, he ſaid, that *Anaxagoras* did not preſerve ſafe and ſound his Doctrine, which teaches, that all things were produced by an Intelligence. Λέγεται δε μηδὲ οὗτος σῶον φυλάξαι τὸ δόγμα. ἐπιστῆσαι μὲν γὰρ τὸν Νοῦν τοῖς πᾶσι, οὐκέτι δὲ κατὰ νοῦν καὶ λογισμὸν τὴν περὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀποδοῦναι τὴν φυσιολογίαν (92). *But even he himſelf did not preſerve his own Doctrine ſafe and ſound. For he aſcribed a Mind to All Things, in ſuch a Manner, as to diſpute concerning the Nature of Things inconſiſtently with the Rule of a Mind and Reaſon.* Which he proves by this Argument, that *Anaxagorus* philoſophized upon Nature, and explained it's *Phænomena*, without ſuppoſing ſuch an Intelligence. I know it may be ſaid, that *Euſebius* does not mean ſo; and that he only declares, that *Anaxagoras* aſſigned phyſical Reaſons, which were contrary to good Senſe. But three things convince me, that my Interpretation of *Clemens Alexandrinus*'s and *Euſebius*'s Words, is truer than This. In the firſt Place, it is no good Proof, that a Philoſopher deſerts or weakens the Hypotheſis of a Providence, and of the univerſal Activity of God, to ſay, that he argues ſometimes impertinently, fooliſhly, or irregularly. All the Sects of Philoſophy among the Chriſtians reproach each other after the ſame manner; and yet they do not accuſe each other of Heterodoxy, with reſpect to the univerſal Interpoſition of God, the firſt Cauſe of all Beings. Therefore, if no other Complaint could be brought againſt *Anaxagoras*, but that, in explaining ſeveral Effects of Nature, he reaſoned ill, and without Senſe; it would have been unjuſt to reproach him with abandoning or ſpoiling the Hypotheſis, in which he admitted of an Intelligence, which preſided over the Production of the World. This Reproach therefore muſt have been grounded, not upon the impertinent Explications, which he gave, but upon what he advanced to the Prejudice and Excluſion of that Intelligence. In the ſecond place, *Euſebius* alledges, as his Authority, a long Paſſage of *Plato*, which contains a Complaint, that *Anaxagoras* explained Things, without having Recourſe to an Intelligence, or to the Cauſes of the Beauty and Order of the Univerſe; but that he ſtopped at the Air, the Æther, the Water, *&c.* as the Cauſes of Beings (93). Who does not perceive from hence, that 'tis very probable *Euſebius* meant the ſame Defect? In the third place, I obſerve, that *Anaxagoras*, as *Plutarch* informs us, taught, that certain things come to paſs by Neceſſity, others by Deſtiny, others by Deliberation, others by Fortune, and others by Chance. Ἃ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην, ἃ δὲ καθ᾽ εἱμαρμένην, ἃ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἃ δὲ κατὰ τύχην, ἃ δὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτόματον (94). *Fieri enim alia neceſſario, alia fato, alia inſtituto animi, alia forte fortuna, alia caſu.* There is no queſtion, but that, in the detail of theſe inexplicable Diſtinctions, he robbed the Divine Intelligence of ſeveral Events; and that this was the Reaſon of the Complaint of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, copied by *Euſebius*.

I know not whether what *Anaxagoras* ſaid of our *Hands* ought to be placed among his Errors. He aſſerted, that they have been the Cauſe of the Wiſdom and Induſtry of Man. *Plutarch* takes him to taſk for this. " The contrary is true, *ſays he* (95), for " Man is not the wiſeſt of Animals becauſe he has " Hands; but, becauſe he is naturally rational and " ingenious, he has obtained ſuch Tools from Na- " ture." The Books of *Anaxagoras* are not extant; and therefore it cannot be decided, whether he gave occaſion for this Cenſure; but I am apt to think he did not deſerve it. His Syſtem engaged him to think quite otherwiſe in this Matter, than thoſe Philoſophers did, who attributed to Chance all the Beings, of which the World is compoſed. This impious Tenet induced them to maintain, that Organs were not given to Man for his Uſe, but that, finding them fit for certain Purpoſes, he employed them to ſuch Uſes. See the fourth Book of *Lucretius* (96).

Obſerve theſe Words of a Father of the Church: " Anaxagoras autem, qui & ATHEUS cognominatus " eſt, dogmatizavit facta animalia decidentibus è cœlo " in terram ſeminibus, quod & hi ipſi in matris ſuæ " tranſtulerunt ſemina, & eſſe hoc ſemen ſeipſos ſtatim confitentes apud eos qui ſenſum habent, & ipſos eſſe quæ ſunt Anaxagoræ IRRELIGIOSI ſemina (97). *But* Anaxagoras, *ſirnamed the* ATHEIST, " *taught, that Animals were formed of Seeds, which* " *fell from Heaven; which theſe Perſons have tranſferred to the Seeds of their Mother, readily acknowledging to Men of Senſe, that this Seed is* " *Themſelves, and that Themſelves are* IMPIOUS " Anaxagoras'*s Seeds.*" You ſee here, that *Anaxagoras* was ſirnamed the ATHEIST; and that St *Irenæus* treats him as an IMPIOUS Man. *Voſſius* does not complain of this; he only ſays, That *Juſtin Martyr*, in his Exhortation to the *Greeks*, calls this Philoſopher an Atheiſt; and he makes ſome Reflexions upon it (98). I meet with nothing like it in this Work of *Juſtin Martyr*; and I think *Voſſius* had better have reſerved his Excuſes for St *Iræneus*. If *Juſtin Martyr* ſtands in need of them, it is only for having miſrepreſented the Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*. He ſuppreſſes the beautiful Part of it; and ſays nothing of the Intelligence, the firſt Mover, but only ſpeaks of his *Homœomeriæ* (99).

[*F*] *The Philoſophers, who lived before him, were ignorant of the great Truth - - - - - ſo often ſung by the Poets.*] We might bring a Cloud of Witneſſes in proof of this Fact, that *Anaxagoras* is the firſt Philoſopher, who per to examine, whether the Doctrine of the *Homœomeriæ* does not imply many Contradictions

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(88) Tertull. de Anima.

(89) Ariſtot. de Anima, lib. 1. c. 2. pag. 478. G.

(90) Id. Metaphyſ. lib. 1. cap. 4. pag. 646. H.

(91) Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat. lib. 2. pag. 364.

(92) Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 14. c. 14. p. 750.

(93) *See Remark* [*R*].

(94) Plut. de Placit. Philoſoph. l. 1. cap. ult. p. 885. *See alſo the Paſſage quoted by* Menage in Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 6. *and taken from a Book falſly aſcribed to* Galen. *'Tis the* Φιλοσόφου ἱστορία.

(95) Plut. de Amicitia fraterna init. pag. 478.

(96) Lucret lib. 4. ver. 821. & ſeq.

(97) Irenæus lib. 2. adv. Hæreſ. c. 19.

(98) Voſſius de Orig. & Progr. Idolol. lib. 1. cap. 1. pag. 5.

(99) Juſt. Martyr. Orat. ad Græcos, pag. 4.

who aſcribed the Arrangement of Matter to the Wiſdom of a firſt Mover (100). *Thales*, *Anaximander*, and *Anaximenes*, who preceeded him in the School of *Ionia*, endeavoured to explain every thing without it. “Princeps Thales, unus è ſeptem, cui ſex reliquos conceſſiſſe primas ferunt, ex aqua dixit conſtare omnia. At hoc Anaximandro populari & ſodali ſuo non perſuaſit. Is enim infinitatem naturæ dixit eſſe è qua omnia gignerentur. Poſt ejus auditor Anaximenes infinitum aëra, ſed ea quæ ex eo orirentur definita: gigni autem terram, aquam, & ignem, tum ex his omnia. Anaxagoras materiam infinitam, ſed ex ea particulas ſimiles inter ſe minutas, eas primum confuſas, poſtea in ordinem adductas mente divina (101). —— Thales, *one of the ſeven, whom they ſay the remaining ſix acknowledged as their Maſter, was the firſt, who taught, that all Things were formed of Water. But he could not convince his Countryman and Companion* Anaximander *of this. For the latter held, that all things ſprung from an infinite Nature. After him, his Scholar* Anaximenes *taught, that Air was infinite, but that thoſe things, which were produced from it, were finite; that Earth, Air, and Fire, were firſt produced; then all things out of theſe;* Anaxagoras *held the Infinity of Matter; but that it's minute ſimilar Parts, which were at firſt confuſed and blended together, were afterwards reduced into Order by a divine Mind.*” Who can forbear wondering, that ſuch great Men ſhould be guilty of ſuch groſs Ignorance? This Reflexion has not been neglected by the Jeſuit *Pererius*. “Ferunt primos Philoſophorum, *ſays he* (102), Pherecydem Syrum & Anaxagoram, illum quidem, immortalitatem animi noſtri, hunc autem, Deum, quem ipſe Mentem vel Intellectum vocabat, eſſe mundi cunctarumque rerum opificem, Græcos docuiſſe: ut permirum ſit, priores Philoſophos, qui hæc ignorarunt, ſapientum nomen, & honorem habuiſſe; & duas has res, quarum cognitio cunctis mortalibus optatiſſima eſt, & ad bene pieque vivendum maxime neceſſaria, tam ſerò ad Græcorum notitiam perveniſſe. —— *The Chief of the Philoſophers*, Pherecydes *and* Anaxagoras, *are ſaid to have taught the* Greeks, *the one, that our Souls are immortal; the other, that God, whom he calls the Mind or Intelligence, created the World, and all things in it; whence it is very ſtrange, that the preceeding Philoſophers, who were ignorant of theſe things, were honoured with the Name of wiſe Men; and that theſe two Principles, the Knowledge of which is ſo highly beneficial to all Mankind, and ſo neceſſary to a good and pious Life, ſhould ſo late come to the Knowledge of the* Greeks.” Father *Thomaſſin* has a remarkable Sentiment upon this Occaſion. “All the Poets, *ſays he* (103), who were the moſt ancient Philoſophers, and all the Sages of the fabulous Times, as they are called, not having mentioned, or celebrated, in their Writings, any other Cauſe, than the firſt and ſupreme Deity; how came it to paſs, that, preſently after, *Thales*, and his immediate Succeſſors, were ignorant of, or paſſed over in Silence, that which had employed all the Sages, and every Age 'till then? It is therefore probable, that theſe firſt *Ionian* Philoſophers, preſuppoſing what was inconteſtable, and 'till then unconteſted, concerning the firſt efficient Cauſe of all Things, treated only of ſecond Cauſes, which were 'till then unknown, and had not been ſo much as enquired after. They were afraid, that, if they ſhould refer all particular Effects to God, Men would fall again into the old Cuſtom of neglecting to enquire into ſecond Cauſes, and reſting contented with the firſt. The ſame may be ſaid of Angels. *Homer*, and the other ancient Poets or Philoſophers, made them the ſole Authors of all Things, under God. The Diſciples of *Thales*, to eſtabliſh the Power of corporeal or immediate Cauſes, omitted the mention of Angels. - - - - - - But, at laſt, *Anaxagoras* judged, that, in his time, the World was able to apprehend the Subordination of corporeal Cauſes to angelical Subſtances, and of both to the Wiſdom and Power of God. - - - - - - It was purely on a Suppoſition of the Truth of theſe Parts of Philoſophy, in which the World had been ſufficiently inſtructed, that *Thales* and his Diſciples made no mention of Ethics, or Metaphyſics; and with a View of engaging Mens Attention wholly in cultivating that Branch, which 'till then was unknown. But, when it was perceived, that the Knowledge of ſecond Cauſes was very uncertain, and that it was to be feared it would make Men forget the Knowledge of God, of Angels, and Morality, which was more conſtant, uſeful, and neceſſary, *Anaxagoras*, *Socrates*, and *Plato*, reſtored Theology and Morality to their ancient Luſtre and Credit.”

This is a fine Sentiment; an ingenious Notion: But perhaps it has more of Brilliant than Solid; for we ſee, that *Anaximenes*, the Maſter of *Anaxagoras*, did not treat of Philoſophy, as one, who ſuppoſed, that the Exiſtence of God, in quality of the firſt Cauſe, was ſo well known, that there was no occaſion to mention it. He ſpoke of the Gods; but he was ſo far from conſidering them as Principles, that he maintained, that they themſelves owed their Exiſtence to the Principle, which he eſtabliſhed. “Qui (*Anaximenes*) omnes rerum cauſas infinito aëri dedit: nec deos negavit aut tacuit: non tamen ab ipſis aërem factum, ſed ipſos ex aëre ortos credidit (104). —— *Who* (Anaximenes) *aſcribed the Cauſes of all Things to the infinite Air; nor did he deny the Gods, or was ſilent concerning them: yet he did not believe, that the Air was created by them, but that They were formed of the Air.*” *Cicero* attributes a like Opinion to *Anaximander*, Maſter of *Anaximenes*. “Anaximandri opinio eſt nativos eſſe deos, longis intervallis orientes, occidenteſque, eoſque innumerabiles eſſe mundos. —— Anaximander *was of Opinion, that the Gods were born and died; that they roſe and ſet at very diſtant Intervals; and that they were innumerable Worlds.*” Note, that the two Diſciples of *Anaximenes* (105) corrected the Hypotheſis of their Maſter; either by admitting an Intelligence diſtinct from Matter, and the Cauſe of the World; or by ſuppoſing, that the Air, the Principle of all Things, was a Principle, only as it was endowed with a Divine Spirit. The firſt of theſe two Suppoſitions is That of *Anaxagoras*; the other That of *Diogenes Apollonius*. “Diogenes quoque, Anaximenis alter auditor, aërem quidem dixit rerum eſſe materiam de qua omnia fierent, ſed eum eſſe compotem divinæ rationis, ſine qua nihil ex eo fieri poſſet. (106). —— Diogenes *likewiſe, the other Diſciple of* Anaximenes, *held, indeed, that the Air was the Principle of all Things; but that it was endowed with a divine Mind; without which it was incapable of producing any thing.*” All this contradicts Father *Thomaſſin*. The Queſtion is not concerning the Philoſophers, who only paſſed over in ſilence the Doctrine of the Exiſtence of God; the Queſtion relates to thoſe, who ſpoke of it; but in a manner quite contrary to That of the Poets, and of *Anaxagoras*. I add, that their Silence is a ſtrong Proof; for, in thoſe Times, the Philoſophers went back as far as the Chaos, and the firſt Origin of all Things (107).

Namque canebat, uti magnum per inane coacta
Semina terrarumque, animæque, mariſque, fuiſſent,
Et liquidi ſimul ignis; ut his exordia primis
Omnia, & ipſe tener mundi concreverit orbis *.

He ſung the ſecret Seeds of Nature's Frame;
How Seas, and Earth, and Air, and active Flame
Fell thro' the mighty Void, and in their Fall
Were blindly gather'd in this goodly Ball.

DRYDEN.

It was therefore neceſſary that they ſhould explain themſelves about the Nature of God, and exhauſt the whole Doctrine of firſt Principles; after which they might be permitted to account for the particular and conſtant Effects of Nature, without going back to the firſt Cauſe. At preſent the Philoſophers conſider only ſecond Cauſes, Matter, and Form, *&c.* But it is not, becauſe they ſuppoſe, that the Knowledge of God, as the firſt Cauſe, is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. It is, becauſe they treat of it at large, in a part of their Courſes of Philoſophy, diſtinct from

(100) *See the Remark* [*D*].

(101) Cicero, Academ. Quæſt. lib. 4. cap. 37.

(102) Pererius, de communibus omnium rerum naturalium principiis, lib. 4. cap. 4. pag. 206.

(103) Thomaſſin's Method of ſtudying and teaching Philoſophy, *Book* 1. *chap.* 14. *pag.* 162, 163. *See alſo pag.* 165.

(104) Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8. cap. 2. *See alſo* Cicero, lib. 1. de Nat. Deorum, pag. 38. *where he ſays*, Anaximenes aëra Deum ſtatuit, eumque gigni.

(105) *Viz.* Anaxagoras, & Diogenes Apollonius.

(106) Auguſt. ubi ſupra. *See alſo* Cicero, ubi ſupra. *where he ſays*, Quid aër, quo Diogenes Apolloniates utitur Deo?

(107) *See* Cicero Tuſcul. 5. circa init.

* Virgil. Ecl. 6. ver. 31.

Contradictions [*G*]. It ſeems to me to be full of them; and, in general, the Ideas of Phyſics (108). However, we may be ſure, that theſe ancient Philoſophers were not ignorant of what the Poets had ſaid of God. Why then did they not imitate them? Was it, becauſe they laid no great ſtreſs on Poems, in which they found ſo many Trifles, and ſo many popular Opinions, which were not proof againſt a philoſophical Enquiry (109)? *Ariſtotle* inſinuates this Reaſon (110). Did they judge of the Poets, as *Socrates* did, when he ſaid, that they reſembled Fanatics, and that, like them, they underſtood not what they advanced? Ἔγνων οὖν αὖ καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ σοφίᾳ ποιοῖεν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ, καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ θεομάντεις καὶ οἱ χρησμῳδοί. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἴσασι δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν λέγουσι. τοιοῦτόν τί μοι ἐφάνησαν πάθος καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ πεπονθότες (111). *I ſoon diſcovered this in the Poets; namely that they were not directed by Wiſdom, but by a kind of natural Enthuſiaſm; not unlike thoſe, who propheſy by Inſpiration. For theſe indeed utter many excellent Things; but underſtand nothing of what they ſay. After the ſame manner the Poets appear to me to be affected.* It is certain, that the moſt Orthodox Poets have greatly erred concerning the Nature of God; for *Orpheus*, who ſung, that God made Heaven, calls him only the Firſtborn of all Creatures, and ſays, that the Air was his Father,

Πρωτόγονος Φαέτων περιμήκεος ἠέρος υἱός (112).

Primo-genitus Phaëton, Alti Aëris filius.

Diogenes Laërtius pretends, that *Anaxagoras* borrowed one of his Tenets from the Poet *Linus* (113), but it was not with reſpect to the Intelligence, the firſt Mover. Note, that *Ariſtotle*, in this Particular, makes a great Difference between *Anaxagoras* and *Thales* (114). I ſhall conclude with a fine Paſſage of *Theodoret*, from whence it appears, that the Philoſophers, who lived before *Anaxagoras*, were altogether ignorant of the firſt Cauſe. Ἀναξαγόρας ---- τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένων φιλοσόφων οὐδὲν περαιτέρω τῶν ὁρωμένων νενοηκότων, πρῶτος νοῦν ἔφησεν ἐφεστάναι τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ τοῦτον εἰς τάξιν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας ἀγαγεῖν τὰ στοιχεῖα (115). Anaxagoras ---- *whereas the Philoſophers before him carried their Thoughts no higher than the Viſible Creation, was the* FIRST, *who taught, that an Intelligence preſided over the World, and reduced the Elements from Confuſion into Order.*

[*G*] *Whether the Doctrine of the* Homœomeriæ *does not imply many Contradictions.*] I ſhall not make uſe of *Ariſtotle*'s Arguments (116), however ſolid and refined they may be; and, if it appears that my Reflexions agree with his, it will be meerly accidental.

I. We have ſeen (117), why *Anaxagoras* taught, that every thing was compoſed of ſimilar Particles: This he aſſerted, to ſhew, that Bodies were not made out of nothing. Now, as the ſimpleſt Food may adminiſter Nouriſhment to all the Parts of an Animal, he was neceſſarily obliged to acknowledge, that the Graſs of a Meadow contains Bones, Nails, Horns, Blood, Fleſh, Skin, Hair, *&c.* It is not therefore compoſed of ſimilar Particles; it is rather a Collection of all kinds of *Heterogeneities*: To what purpoſe then was the Doctrine of the *Homœomeriæ*? Was he not obliged to depart from it in all particular Caſes, after having ſuppoſed it in general? What I have ſaid of Graſs, may be applied likewiſe to Milk, Wine, Water, Bread, and many other things. Is there any *Body*, which does not ſerve as Matter to ſeveral others, in the Changes, which are called Generation and Corruption? Therefore theſe firſt Principles both are, and are not, *Homogeneous*. They are *Homogeneous*, according to the Suppoſition of *Anaxagoras*; but in reality they are not ſo; for ſince compound Bodies, according to his Opinion, ought to be of the ſame Nature with their Principles, and are only a Mixture of diſſimilar Parts, it follows, that the Principles are *Heterogeneous*. I ſhall retouch this Argument in the Vth Paragraph.

II. Beſides, it will be found, that, upon this Suppoſition, Names have been wrong impoſed; for (to give an Inſtance of it) if the Blood of Animals was contained in the Herbage they have fed upon, it would better deſerve the Name of Blood, than that of Hay. *Anaxagoras* anſwered, that certain Particles being more numerous in a compound Body, or placed on the Surface, made it appear uniform, and procured it a ſpecific Name (118). *Lucretius* has refuted this Anſwer by the falſe Conſequences which ariſe from it. *It would reſult from hence*, ſays he, *that, when Corn is bruiſed, ſome Particles of Blood may be drawn from it, or of ſome other Organs, of which our Body is compoſed.* But this is contrary to Experience.

Linquitur hic tenuis latitandi copia quædam;
Id quod Anaxagoras ſibi ſumit, ut omnibus omnes
Res putet immiſtas rebus latitare; ſed illud
Apparere unum, cujus ſint pluria mixta,
Et magis in promtu, primâque in fronte locata.
Quod tamen à verâ longe ratione repulſum eſt.
Conveniebat enim fruges quoque ſæpe minutas,
Robore cùm ſaxi franguntur, mittere ſignum
Sanguinis, aut aliûm, noſtro quæ corpore aluntur.
Conſimili ratione herbas quoque ſæpe decebat,
Et laticis dulces guttas, ſimilique ſapore,
Mittere, lanigeræ quali ſunt ubera lactis:
Scilicet & glebis terrarum ſæpe friatis
Herbarum genera, & fruges, frondeſque videri,
Diſpertita, ac in terris latitare minute:
Poſtremo in lignis cinerem fumumque videri,
Cum præfracta forent, igneſque latere minutos.
Quorum nil fieri quoniam manifeſta docet res,
Scire licet non eſſe in rebus res ita mixtas (119).

But there's a little Shift, a ſlight Excuſe,
Which Anaxagoras's *Scholars uſe.*
Tho' ſuch lie mix'd in All; That Part alone
Appears, That only to the Senſe is ſhown,
Which, in the Compoſition, does comprize
The greateſt Part, and on the Surface lies.
But this is falſe; or, through the weighty Mill,
From broken Corn wou'd bloody drops diſtil,
Or ſome ſuch Parts, as in our Bodies grow,
From Herbs and Flow'rs a milky juice would flow;
In broken Clods each ſearching Eye might ſee
Some lurking, ſcatter'd, Herb, or Leaf, or Tree;
And in cleft Wood, and broken Sticks, admire
Smoak, Aſhes, Flame, and little Sparks of Fire.
But, ſince, on ſtricteſt Search, no Parts *appear,*
We muſt not fondly fancy they are there.

CREECH.

This Confutation is not amiſs; for, in ſhort, mix ſeveral Sorts of Grain together as you pleaſe; take an hundred times more Wheat, than Barley; put as many Grains of Barley as you can in an Incloſure of Wheat; what will you get by it? Will you make People believe, that there is nothing but Wheat there? Will any one continue in this Error, even after your Heap is ſcattered? Will no Grain of Barley appear; Nothing can be more fooliſh, than ſuch an Aſſertion. *Anaxagoras* could not have ſolved this Objection, but by ſuppoſing, that each ſenſible Part of a Grain of Corn is ſo qualified, that the *Heterogeneities* are there in a leſs Number, and wrapt up in the Particles of Corn; and that this is the Reaſon why, when Corn is bruiſed between two Mill-Stones, we never diſcover the *Heterogeneous* Parts; but that, if we could proceed in the Diviſion as far as the inſenſible Particles, then the Blood, the Fleſh, the Bones, *&c.* would appear to Eyes finer than ours. In a word, he could not get clear of this Difficulty, but by the diviſibility of Matter *in Infinitum*; which is to imitate a Man, who, to avoid the thruſt of a Sword, throws himſelf headlong down a Precipice of an inconceivable Height. But I will inſiſt only on the Difficulties, which imply ſome kind of Contradiction.

III. I ſay, in third the place, that *Anaxagoras* ought to have ſuppoſed, that the ſimilar Particles are found, both in *greater* and *leſſer* Numbers, in Bread: In greater Numbers, becauſe the Compound is called Bread; in leſſer Numbers, becauſe a few Hours after the Bread

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(108) *In their Metaphyſics.*

(109) *As in* Heſiod's Theogony; *in which are ſo many abſurd things concerning the Gods; and even, as* Lactantius *complains,* lib. 1. cap. 5. *the Chaos is there repreſented as being more ancient than the Gods.*

(110) Ariſt. Metaphyſ. lib. 3. c. 4. pag. 662. B.

(111) Plato in Apologia Socratis, p. 17. F.

(112) Lact. lib. 1. c. 5.

(113) Diog. Laërt. in Proœm. n. 4.

(114) Ariſt. de Anima, lib. 1. c. 2. pag. 479.

(115) Theodor. de Gr. Affect. Serm. 2. p. 489.

(116) *See the 7th Chapter of the 1ſt Book of his Metaphyſics, and the 4th Chapter of the 1ſt Book of his Phyſics.*

(117) *In Remark* [*C*].

(118) *See* Ariſtotle's *Phyſics,* lib. 1. cap. 4. pag. 456.

(119) Lucret. lib. 1. vet. 874.

of the Ancients, who have mentioned the Chaos, were no leſs confuſed than the Chaos itſelf.

is eat, it becomes *Chyle*, and diſcovers nothing in all it's ſenſible Particles, but the Qualities of *Chyle*. This Objection will be more eaſily apprehended, if Dough be compared with Corn, or Bread with Dough. It will appear, that this Philoſopher muſt have owned, that the *Homogeneities* are both more and leſs numerous in the ſame mixed Body; In Dough, for Inſtance; for, while it is Dough, it contains more Corpuſcles of Dough, than of any other Species of Body: But, when it is converted into Bread, it contains fewer Corpuſcles of Dough, than of Bread; and yet the Corpuſcles of Bread are only derived from Dough.

IV. Here follows another Contradiction. It is contradicting one's ſelf, to lay down an Hypotheſis, which involves on one ſide the ſame Inconvenience it removes on the other. This is the Misfortune of *Anaxagoras*'s Syſtem. This Philoſopher, having ſuppoſed, that the Parts of Matter had eternally been in a State of Confuſion; that is to ſay, that the ſmalleſt *Homogeneous* Particles had been every where ſurrounded with *Heterogeneous* ones, ſuppoſed, that, at laſt, an intelligent Being put an end to This Diſorder, by ſeparating the ſimilar Particles from thoſe, which were diſſimilar. But He himſelf overthrew his own Suppoſition; being obliged to confeſs, that all the kinds of *Homœomeriæ* were blended together in all kinds of Bodies; and This even with reſpect to the inſenſible Particles. According to His Opinion, there is an Infinity of ſmall Bones, and little Drops of Blood, &c. in each Blade of Graſs, and in each Morſel of Bread: Every thing was mixed with every thing, ſince every thing was made of every thing. Διὸ φασὶ πᾶν ἐν παντὶ μεμίχθαι, διότι πᾶν ἐκ παντὸς ἑώρων γενόμενον (120). *Qua propter inquiunt quodque in quolibet eſſe miſtum, quia quodlibet ex quovis oriri videbant.* Ἀναξαγόρας μεμίχθαι πᾶν ἐν παντί φήσι (121). *Anaxagoras omne in omni miſceri ait.* Can there be a greater State of Confuſion? It was *Plato*'s Opinion of it; for more than once he alledges the Doctrine of *Anaxagoras* as a Symbol of the Chaos. Κἂν εἰ συγκρίνοιτο μὲν πάντα, διακρίνοιτο δὲ μὴ, ταχὺ ἂν τὸ τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου γεγονὸς εἴη, ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα (122). *Moreover, if all things were confuſed, and never ſeparated,* Anaxagoras's *Doctrine would preſently be verified, that all Things were together.* He ſays, in another place, Τὸ τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου ἂν πολὺ ἦν, ὦ φίλε Πῶλε ---- ὁμοῦ ἂν πάντα χρήματα ἐφύρετο ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ἀκρίτων τ᾽ ὄντων τῶν τε ὑγιεινῶν καὶ ἰατρικῶν καὶ ὀψοποιητικῶν (123). *That of* Anaxargoras *would come to paſs, Friend* Polus. ---- *All things would be blended together, Thoſe which relate to Medicine, and Health, and Thoſe which relate to Cookery. Menage* tells us, that *Luther* called thoſe Divines *Anaxagoriſts*, who find every thing in every Text of Scripture. “ Atque inde eſt, quod “ Luthero *Theologicus Anaxagoricus* dicitur is, qui “ quodlibet in quolibet loco ſcripturæ ſacræ invenire “ poſſit (124).

V. His firſt Principles were, and were not, ſuch: they were firſt Principles, according to his Suppoſition; and were not in reality ſo; ſince they were as much compounded and corruptible, as any other Body. He admitted of a Diviſibility *in Infinitum*; and therefore muſt have believed, that there is an Infinity of Corpuſcles in the leaſt Drop of Water; and conſequently that it contains as many of them, as the whole Earth. Beſides, this infinite number of Corpuſcles was an Heap of all kinds of *Heterogeneities*. It was not, then, more ſimple than a Tree; and, in this reſpect alone, it differed from mixed Bodies, that human Eyes could not diſcover the *diſſimilar* Parts, as they diſcover them in a Tree. Laſtly, the Intelligence, which moved Matter, could as eaſily have divided theſe pretended firſt Principles, as Fire divides Wood: They were, then, as periſhable as Wood; from whence it follows, that, if they exiſted in the Nature of things, it was not in quality of firſt Principles. Beſides, can any thing be more abſurd, than to lay down for Principles what has no Exiſtence at all? Now, according to the Hypotheſis of *Anaxagoras*, it is certain there were no *Homœomeriæ* in the Univerſe.

Let us examine an Anſwer, which he might have made: He might have ſuppoſed, that the Eſſence of the *Homœomeriæ* does not conſiſt in the Reſemblance of all their Parts, but in the Conformity, which is found, between the Contexture of the *Heterogeneities* of a ſmall Bone, for inſtance, and the Contexture of the *Heterogeneities* of any other Bone. He might have ſaid; “ I do not pretend, that a Bone “ of ten Inches, divided into an Hundred thouſand “ Parts, or, which is the ſame thing in my Hypo- “ theſis, into an Hundred thouſand Bones, does not “ abſolutely contain any Particle, but what is ſimi- “ lar to all the reſt; I own, that each of theſe ſmall “ Bones is a Mixture of all kinds of Principles; it “ contains Fleſh, it contains Blood and Membranes, “ &c. But, becauſe theſe different Materials are “ ranged according to the ſame Symmetry in each “ of theſe ſmall Bones, I have reaſon to maintain, “ that the Collection of an Hundred thouſand of theſe “ ſmall Bones is an *Homogeneous* Compound, or an “ Heap of *Homœomeriæ*; and, whereas I ſuppoſe, that “ the Intelligence, which made the Choice of them, “ found them ready made; I may very well aſſert, that “ each of them, taken ſeparately, is incapable of De- “ ſtruction; for they always exiſted of themſelves.”

This Anſwer conſiſts of two Heads: one is the Explication of the Hypotheſis with reſpect to the Senſe of the Word *Homœomeriæ*; the other concerns the Incorruptibility of theſe *Homœomeriæ*. I am going to illuſtrate the firſt by an Example. Put all the Copies of the ſame Book, bound after the ſame manner, into a Library: it will be a Collection of Books, which are all alike; an *Homogeneous* Collection; not becauſe each of theſe Volumes is compoſed of Parts, which are perfectly alike; but becauſe the White and the Black, the Spaces, Letters, Accents, Points, Comma's, and the other *Heterogeneous* Parts, have the ſame Symmetry in one, as in all the reſt. Setting aſide this Explication of *Anaxagoras*, I ſhall only argue againſt the ſecond Part of his Anſwer.

VI. I aſk him not, why the Intelligence, which he acknowledged, left the *Homœomeriæ* in Confuſion, from all Eternity; nor how It came to think ſo late of moving and uniting them; nor why he denies, that ſomething may be formed out of nothing; he, who confeſſes, that Motion had a beginning? Theſe three Objections, and ſome others, ſtrangely puzzle thoſe, who admit of a Matter, eternal, uncreated, and diſtinct from the divine Being; but, becauſe theſe Difficulties may be urged againſt other Philoſophers, as well as againſt *Anaxagoras*, it will not be proper to inſiſt upon them. I will only illuſtrate the laſt. It is certain, that the Production of a Quality, diſtinct from it's Subject, does not differ from a true Creation. This the modern Philoſophers (125), prove demonſtratively againſt the *Ariſtotelians*; who admit an Infinity of ſubſtantial and accidental Forms, diſtinct from Matter; for, ſince they are not compoſed of any pre-exiſtent Subject, it follows, that they are formed out of nothing. The beſt Anſwer, that the Followers of *Ariſtotle* can make, is to retort this Objection, and to ſay, that the *Carteſians* are obliged to acknowledge, that Motion cannot be produced, but by Creation. The *Carteſians* own this Conſequence; and attribute the Production of Motion only to God; and they ſay, that to put Matter in Motion, is to create it at every Moment, in different Places. Let us conclude from hence, that *Anaxagoras*, and ſeveral others, contradicted themſelves, when, on the one ſide, they would not acknowledge, that ſomething might be made out of nothing, and owned, on the other ſide, that Motion, or ſome other Modification, had a beginning in the eternal Chaos (126). But, waving this, I ſhall only inſiſt on the Difficulties, which relate particularly to *Anaxagoras*.

VII. I alledge this Maxim againſt him: All things, which are diſtinct between themſelves, may be ſeparated or divided from each other; and from hence I conclude, that each *Homœomery* may be divided *in infinitum*; for it is compoſed of all Kinds of Principles jumbled together. And, therefore, ſince Motion is a neceſſary Principle of Diviſion, and God has produced Motion in Matter, it follows, that, by this moving Force, he might diſunite each part of the Univerſe, and break in pieces any *Homœomery* whatever, which you would take for an Unit. If it was an *Epicurean* Atom, a Body perfectly ſimple, ſingle, and

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(120) Ariſtot. Phyſic. lib. 1. c. 4. pag. 256. G.

(121) Id. Metaphyſ. lib. 3. c. 5. pag. 671. C.

(122) Plato, in Phædone, pag. 54.

(123) Id. in Gorgia, 317.

(124) Menage in Laert. lib. 2. pag. 73.

(125) *See* Gaſſendus Phyſ. § 1. lib. 7. c. 3.

(126) *See* Methodius, apud Phot. cod. 236. pag. 943.

itſelf. I may venture to ſay, without an Hyperbole, that they are not juſt, and that theſe Philoſophers

free from all Compoſition, I own, that nothing could divide it: but *Anaxagoras* does not acknowledge any ſuch Bodies, nor any *Homœomery*, be it ever ſo little, but what contains an Infinity of diſtinct Corpuſcles, and even different from each other in their Qualities. It is therefore true, that what he calls firſt Principles are as ſubject to Deſtruction, as the moſt compounded Bodies; for inſtance, an Ox; this, I ſay, is very true, even though it be ſuppoſed, that the *Homœomeriæ* exiſt eternally of themſelves; for it is ſufficient, that an external Cauſe can make them paſs from Motion to Reſt; though it has not the Power of giving them Being, or of annihilating them. To recur to a Progreſs *in infinitum*, would be unneceſſary upon this Occaſion. It cannot be ſaid, in anſwer to this Objection, that, the *Homœomeriæ* being compoſed of an Infinity of Corpuſcles, thoſe, which compoſe a ſmall Bone, may be divided *in infinitum*, without ceaſing to be a ſmall Bone, and that they only become a ſmaller Bone, after each Diviſion. This is no good Reply; for there are two things to be conſidered in each *Homœomery*: I. That it contains an Infinity of Particles; this is common to it with others. II. That the Particles are ranged after a certain Manner; this is peculiar to it; this is it's ſpecific Form; it's Eſſence; by this it is either a little Bone, or a drop of Blood, rather than any other Species of the firſt Principles. And, therefore, in order to take from the *Homœomery* of a Bone it's Eſſence, and it's Species, it is ſufficient to range the Particles, which compoſe the ſame, after another manner. Now, if it be admitted, that the Intelligence, which was the firſt Mover, could divide Bodies, and diſentangle them from each other, it might alſo have divided the Corpuſcles of each particular *Homœomery*, and given them another Combination; it would therefore change their Species, as Flower changes it's Species, when it is kneaded; that is, when it's Particles are jumbled and combined in a different manner.x

[illegible]

I do not object to this Philoſopher, That he acknowledged a Difference between the Parts of Matter, before they were put in Motion. This Objection always appeared to me very weak. I conceive very clearly, that a Diviſion ſuppoſes a Diſtinction, and that an Iron Pin, fixed into a piece of Wood, and perfectly at Reſt, is as different from the Wood, as if it moved together with the Wood.

VIII. I proceed to the laſt Objection. What would be the Conſequence, if we ſhould grant this Philoſopher, That the ſame neceſſity, which cauſes Bodies to exiſt, cauſes them to exiſt diſtinct, in an infinite Number of *Homœomeriæ*; each of which muſt neceſſarily continue for ever entire; the Nature of things being ſuch, that there muſt be fixed Bounds in each Species; as we uſually ſay, there is a *minimum quod ſic* (127), in each Species of living Bodies? Would not ſuch a Conceſſion be of great Service to the Hypotheſis of *Anaxagoras*? Would it not allow him the Incorruptibility, and internal Immutability, of his firſt Principles? Would they not be ſo ſmall a Bone, that, becoming leſs by the actual Diviſion of their Parts, they would ceaſe to be a Bone; and ſo with regard to other Species? And would it not ſignify, that natural Neceſſity made them Indiviſible? I allow all this; but it is only avoiding one Inconvenience by another: I ſhould ſtill find this Fault with the Syſtem; that the Νοῦς, or Intelligence, would come in, againſt all Rules, to undertake the eaſieſt Task, after the moſt difficult was performed by a blind Neceſſity. It is inconteſtably true, that every Philoſopher, who will give a good Account of the Order, which appears in the ſeveral parts of the Univerſe, muſt ſuppoſe an Intelligence as the Author of this beautiful Regularity. He need not fear, that reaſonable Perſons will reproach him with imitating certain Poets, who introduce a God, a θεὸς ἀπό μηχάνης, upon the Stage, to unravel Difficulties, which are not worth his Trouble. But if, after having ſuppoſed, that the *Homœomeriæ* were formed without the Direction of an intelligent Cauſe, he pretends, that ſuch a Cauſe diſentangled, and put them in order, he may be told, that he imitates ſuch Poets, contrary to all Rules.

Nec Deus interſit, niſi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit (128).

Never preſume to make a God appear,
But for a Buſineſs worthy of God.

Roscommon.

To be ſenſible of the Force of this Objection, we need only obſerve, that it is much more difficult to make good Watches, than to ſeparate them from a parcel of Medals and Shells, with which they are intermixed, and then to range and mix them after a better manner. A young Apprentice, a Child, could make this Choice, and produce this new Regulation. Every one will grant me, that the Formation of Men (129) is a Work, which requires more Direction and Ability, than the Art of ranging them according to Military Evolutions. The greateſt part of modern Philoſophers ſuppoſe, that the general Laws of Nature are ſufficient to make a *Fœtus* grow, provided it has been well formed, and well organized, in the Seed; but they ſuppoſe, that the *Animalcula*, which are organized in the Seed, are the Work of a moſt wiſe and powerful Creator. They believe, therefore, that the principal Difficulty, which ſtands in need of the Direction of an Intelligence, conſiſts in the firſt formation of an organized Machine; that is to ſay, in the forming thoſe *Animalcula*, which they ſuppoſe to be in the Seed. To ſpeak properly, each of theſe *Animalcula* is an *Homœomeria* of *Anaxagoras*. It is, therefore, more difficult to form *Homœomeriæ*, than to cauſe Animals to grow by the help of Nouriſhment. It is, therefore, in order to explain the Formation of the *Homœomeriæ*, that the Direction of an intelligent Being is chiefly requiſite; for every *Homœomeria* is a certain Collection of infinite kinds of Bodies: And this Collection muſt be made according to certain Proportions and Situations: The Collection, neceſſary for the *Homœomeria* of a Bone, is different from that, which is neceſſary for the *Homœomeria* of Fleſh; and, if you were not exactly to follow this Symmetry, you would not have the firſt Principles of Blood or Marrow, but thoſe of ſome other Mixture. Now *Anaxagoras* did not ſuppoſe the Neceſſity of an Intelligence, towards the Formation of infinite Species of *Homœomeriæ*; each of which is a certain Conjunction of all kinds of Bodies, mixed together in ſuch a manner, that thoſe of one Species muſt prevail in Number, and be placed in one certain manner, rather than in any other, and that, in general, one Proportion and Symmetry muſt prevail more than another. He has therefore aſſigned a blind Neceſſity as the Cauſe of what was moſt difficult. And therefore he did not reaſon conſequentially, when he believed an Intelligence to be neceſſary for what was leſs difficult. According to his Doctrine, the whole Function of the Intelligence conſiſts in ranging what was confuſed, in moving what was at Reſt, in ſeparating ſuch things as were mixed, and adorning thoſe, which were deſtitute of Ornament. Ἀναξαγόρας - - - - ταῦτα παιδεύει, ἀρχὴ πάντων ὁ νοῦς, καὶ οὗτος αἴτιος καὶ κύριος τῶν ὅλων, καὶ παρέχει τάξιν τοῖς ἀτάκτοις, καὶ κίνησιν τοῖς ἀκινήτοις, καὶ διάκρισιν τοῖς μεμιγμένοις, καὶ κόσμον τοῖς ἀκόσμοις (130). *Anaxagoras hæc docet. Mens omnium eſt initium, eaque cauſa & omnium domina eſt, & ordinem confuſis præbet, & motionem immobilibus, & diſcrimen commixtis, & ornatum inornatis.* He might have been attacked both in Front and Rear. He might have been told, *You ſay both too much, and too little. If you believe, that Nature, without any Direction or Knowledge, formed all the* Homœomeriæ, *you muſt believe, that ſhe could have moved, ſeparated, and diſtributed them: And therefore your Intelligence is ſuperfluous. But if you believe it neceſſary for the Separation and Diſtribution of theſe* Homœomeriæ, *you ought likewiſe to aſcribe their Formation to it; you do not extend it's Influence wherever it is wanted. Thus one part of your Syſtem deſtroys the other: It is not made up of well ſorted and well connected Pieces* (131). If this Philoſopher's Works were extant, or all thoſe of *Theophraſtus* (132), we might perhaps find, that he anſwered ſome of the Difficulties, which I have juſt now ſtarted; that he owned he was not ſatisfied with his own Hypotheſis; and that he ſunk under the weight of the Myſteries of Nature. He ſaid, that every thing was ſurrounded with Darkneſs. *Anaxagoras pronuntiat circumfuſa eſſe tenebris Omnia* (133). Several other Philoſophers make the ſame

Complaint;

(127) *That is a Degree of Smallneſs, below which An Animal, for inſtance, an Ant, could not be an Ant.*

(128) Horat. de Art. Poet. ver. 191.

(129) *I do not mean what Parents contribute towards it; I do not mean the Material, but the Efficient, Cauſe, which organizes the* Fœtus, *and forms this admirable Machine.*

(130) Hermias in Philoſoph. Irriſione. *This Work of* Hermias *is to be found in the* Bibliotheca Patrum, *and at the end of* Juſtin Martyr's *Works,* Paris, 1636, *and* Cologne, 1686.

(131) *See a Paſſage of* Ariſtotle *in Remark* [*R*].

(132) *He wrote a Book* περὶ τῶν Ἀναξαγόρου, de Anaxagoræ decretis. *See* Laërt. in Theophr. lib. 5. n. 42.

(133) Lact. lib. 3. c. 2. pag. 217.

Philoſophers could not pretend, with any ſhew of Reaſon, that this ſtate of Confuſion ſubſiſted no longer [*H*]. It is related, that *Anaxagoras* foretold, that the Stone, which fell from Heaven into the River *Ægos*, and was preſerved and honoured as a holy Relick, would fall from the Body of the Sun [*I*]. Some other Predictions are likewiſe aſcribed to him (*x*). He applied himſelf very much to Geometry (*y*); and it was found, that, in Priſon, he wrote concerning the Quadrature of the Circle (*z*). His vaſt Genius was equal to every thing; the moſt difficult *Phænomena* of Nature, Comets, the Milky-way, Earthquakes, Winds, Thunder, Lightening (*aa*), the overflowing of the *Nile* (*bb*), Eclipſes, and ſuch like things, which he accounted for. All Theſe, together with his Aſtronomical and Geometrical Speculations, did not prevent his reading the Poems of *Homer*, with the attention of a Man, who was deſirous of making Diſcoveries, and improving Litterature. He was the firſt, who ſuppoſed them to be Moral Works, in which Virtue and Juſtice are explained by Allegorical Narrations (*cc*). The Circumſtances and Iſſue of the Action, which was brought againſt him at *Athens* for Impiety, are variouſly reported; ſome ſay, that he was condemned; others,

(*x*) *See Remark* [*I*].

(*y*) Proclus Diadochus, lib. 2. in I. librum Euclidis.

(*z*) Plutarch. de Exilio, pag. 607.

(*aa*) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 9.

(*bb*) Diod. Sicul. lib. 1. cap. 38.

(*cc*) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 12.

Complaint; ſo far as to imagine, that the removal of the Darkneſs mentioned by *Moſes*, which was upon the Deep, before God created the Light (134), was only with reſpect to the corporeal Eye; *for*, ſay they, *the Darkneſs of the Mind ſtill covers the Face of the Deep. The Light of Truth, concentered in this Abyſs, never emerges from it; it only ſends out a few Rays, which reach our Minds, after ſo many Reflexions and Refractions, and after having mixed their Brightneſs with ſo many obſcure Corpuſcles, in the dark Spaces, through which they paſs, that they are only proper to form falſe Images.*

[*H*] *They could not pretend, with any ſhew of Reaſon, that this State of Confuſion ſubſiſted no longer.*] I had reſolved to make ſome Reflexions on this Subject; but ſince the foregoing Remarks, and thoſe which remain to be made, will ſufficiently, if not too much, enlarge this Article, I have altered my Reſolution, to avoid Prolixity. I ſhall not want an Opportunity of giving, in another Article, what I ſuppreſs here.

[*I*] Anaxagoras *foretold, that the Stone —— would fall from the Body of the Sun.*] This is related by *Diogenes Laërtius* (135); and *Plutarch* mentions this Prodigy in theſe Words: “Others fancied, that a “Stone, which ſeemed to fall from Heaven, was an “Omen of this great Overthrow (136). It was of “a vaſt bigneſs; and fell by the River *Ægos*. The “*Peloponneſians* eſteem it very much; and ſhew it “among their Curioſities to this Day. And it is ſaid, “that the Philoſopher *Anaxagoras* foretold, that one “of thoſe Bodies, which are fixed to the Vault of “Heaven, ſhould one day be looſened by a violent “Shock or Convulſion of the whole Machine, and fall “to the Earth. For he ſaid, that the Stars were not “in the very places, in which they were firſt formed; “ſeeing they were heavy Bodies, and of the Nature of “Stones; and that they ſhone by the Reflection of the “elementary Fire, and had been drawn up by force “and were kept there by the Impetuoſity and Violence of the circular Motion of the Heavens; “having been placed there at the beginning of the “World, and hindered from falling upon the Earth, “when cold and heavy bodies were ſeparated from “the other ſubſtances of the Univerſe (137).” I have ſet down the whole Paſſage, that the Tradition of this Prodigy, and the Singularity of the Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*, may be ſeen at the ſame time. The Words of *Pliny* deſerve no leſs to be quoted. “Celebrant Græci, *ſays he* (138), Anaxagoram Clazomenium, Olympiadis ſeptuageſimæ octavæ ſecundo “anno, prædixiſſe cœleſtium literarum ſcientia, qui“bus diebus ſaxum caſurum eſſet è Sole. Idque fa“ctum interdiu in Thraciæ parte ad Ægos flumen. “Qui lapis etiam nunc oſtenditur, magnitudine ve“ctis, colore aduſto, comete quoque illis noctibus fla“grante. Quod ſiquis prædictum credat, ſimul fa“teatur neceſſe eſt, majoris miraculi divinitatem A“naxagoræ fuiſſe: ſolvique rerum naturæ intellectum, “& confundi omnia, ſi aut ipſe Sol lapis eſſe, aut “unquam lapidem in eo fuiſſe credatur: decidere “tamen crebro, non erit dubium. In Abydi gymna“ſio ex ea cauſa colitur hodieque, modicus quidem, “ſed quem in medio terrarum caſurum idem Anaxa“goras prædixiſſe narratur. Colitur & Caſſandriæ, “quæ Potidæa vocitata eſt. —— *The* Greeks *have a* “*Tradition, that, in the ſecond Year of the Seventy* “*eighth* Olympiad, Anaxagoras *of* Clazomenæ *foretold, by his Knowledge of the Heavens, at what time* “*a Stone would fall from the Sun; which came to paſs* “*in the Day-time, in a part of* Thrace, *by the River* “Ægos. *This Stone is ſtill ſhewn, of the bigneſs of* “*a Bar, and of a burnt Colour, and as having been* “*attended with the Appearance of a Comet. But if* “*any one really believes, that this Prodigy was foretold, he muſt own, at the ſame time, that the divine Knowledge of* Anaxagoras, *is the greater Miracle of the Two; and that the Knowledge of na*“*tural Cauſes is deſtroyed, and all things confuſed,* “*if it be believed, either that the Sun is a Stone,* “*or that there ever were Stones in it; though there* “*would be no room to doubt of their frequent fall.* “*Upon this Account a Stone is at preſent had in reverence by the School of* Abydus; *it's Size is but* “*ſmall; but it is that, whoſe fall to the Earth was* “*foretold by* Anaxagoras. *It is reverenced likewiſe* “*at* Caſſandria, *now called* Potidæa.” By this you ſee, that *Anaxagoras* had more than once foretold the falling of theſe Stones, and that the Worſhip of them increaſed proportionably. Note, that *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Tzetzes*, make uſe of the Plural Number, in relation to the Prodigy of the River *Ægos*. They pretend, that *Anaxagoras* foretold, that Stones would fall from Heaven (139). *Philoſtratus* has expreſſed himſelf after the ſame manner. I ſhall ſet down his Words at length, becauſe they will afford Matter for Criticiſm. “*Apollonius*, then, would have “been unjuſtly charged with Impiety and Error, for “having foreſeen ſeveral things, and foretold others, “after the ſame manner as *Socrates* was fully informed of them by Spirits, before they came to paſs. “And *Anaxagoras* alſo; for who knows not, that, “once upon a time, being gone to the *Olympic* “Games, covered with a Cloak, as a Prediction that “it would Rain (140), though the Day was ſo clear “and ſerene, that there was no probability of it; yet “a little while after it rained violently? Having, another time, foretold that a Houſe would fall in a few “Days, it fell accordingly. Again, having foretold, “that the Day at Noon would in an Inſtant become “as dark as Night; and, another time, that great “Stones would fall from Heaven into the River “*Ægos*, it came ſo to paſs. Now, if it be acknowledged, that theſe Things, and others of the like “Nature, foreſeen by *Anaxagoras*, were only a Proof “of his very great Skill, how can they be imputed “to *Apollonius* as Art Magic (141).” Upon this a Commentator has made a very ridiculous Obſervation. “There are no Aſtrologers at preſent, tho' “ever ſo mean, who cannot do as much as *Philo*“*ſtratus* ſays *Anaxagoras* did, in foretelling Rain, “and the fall of a Stone from Heaven, and the “like (142).” What an Abſurdity is this! As great Fools as the Aſtrologers of our Days may be, they have not the Raſhneſs to foretel, that Stones will fall from Heaven. Our Almanack-makers, and our moſt renowned Calculators of Horoſcopes, are careful not to hazard their Reputation ſo ſhamefully. They know too well, that to foreſee ſuch Falls ſurpaſſes all their Skill. *Pliny* had reaſon to ſay, that the Prediction of *Anaxagoras* would have been a greater Miracle, than to ſee the Stone fall from the Body of the Sun (143). Obſerve, that there is an Interval of about ſixty Years between the Time of this Prediction, according to *Pliny*, and it's Accompliſhment, according to *Plutarch*. I have another Obſervation to make.

Photius,

(134) *See* Geneſis I.

(135) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 10.

(136) *Namely, The Deſtruction of the* Athenian *Fleet by* Lyſander.

(137) Plutarch. in Lyſandro, pag. 439.

(138) Plin. lib. 2. c. 58.

(139) Amm. Marcellin. lib. 22. c. 8. pag. 308. Tzetzes. chil. 2. ver. 892.

(140) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 10. Ælian. de Animal. l. 7. cap. 8. *and* Suidas, *mention it likewiſe.*

(141) Philoſtr. in Vita Apollonii, lib. 1. cap. 2.

(142) Artus Thomas, Sr. d'Embri, *Annotations on the Life of* Apollonius, Tom. 1. p. 91.

(143) *See his Words above, Citat.* (138).

others, that he was acquitted [*K*]. *Pericles*, who protected him on this occaſion, was ſuſpected of Atheiſm, for having been inſtructed by ſuch a Maſter. I have taken notice of this in another place *(dd)*. *Diogenes Laërtius*, in reporting a witty Saying of *Anaxagoras*,

Photius, in his Abſtract of the Life of *Apollonius*, pretends, that *Anaxagoras* was accounted a great Prophet, for having foretold, by Magic, that it would rain (144). I cannot believe, that *Photius* ſo little underſtood *Philoſtratus*'s Meaning; I aſcribe this egregious Miſtake to the ill State his Work has been put into by Tranſcribers. And I cannot ſufficiently wonder, how the Tranſlator (145) could reſolve to let this Paſſage be printed. His Tranſlation is a Series of ſuch groſs Impertinence, and monſtrous Reaſoning, and withal ſo expreſsly contrary to the Original of *Philoſtratus*, that we can comprehend nothing of his Conduct. Did he believe, that the Text of *Photius* was correct? He muſt, then, have dream't of ſomething elſe. Did he believe his Readers would be ſo ſtupid as to think his Performance a good one? He was, then, ſtrangely ſecure. I deſire thoſe, who are qualified for it, to examine this Paſſage of *Photius*; they will find ſuch Wounds in it, as require the Dexterity of the ableſt Hand; and perhaps they may heal them, by the Aſſiſtance of the Manuſcripts, compared with the Text, of *Philoſtratus*.

[*K*] *Some ſay that he was condemned, others that he was acquitted.*] He was accuſed of Impiety, by *Cleon*, for having ſaid, that the Sun was a Maſs of inflamed Matter; and, notwithſtanding *Pericles*'s Protection, he was condemned to Baniſhment, and fined five Talents, as *Sotion* relates (146). But others ſay, that *Thucydides* informed againſt him, and accuſed him not only of Impiety, but of Treaſon likewiſe; and that the Accuſed was condemned to Death for Contumacy (147). Others relate, that he was in Priſon, when Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt him. They add, that *Pericles*, addreſſing himſelf to the Judges, ſaid, *Do you find that he has committed any Crime?* And, perceiving that none was imputed to him, he ſaid, *I am his Diſciple*; *deſtroy him not, therefore, through Prejudice*; *believe me rather*; *and give him his Liberty*. He obtained his Requeſt; but the Accuſed took his Trial ſo much to heart, that he reſolved to die (148). Others report, that he was brought before the Judges by *Pericles*; and that his Melancholy had reduced him ſo low, that he could ſcarce walk; inſomuch that he was diſcharged; not on account of his Innocence, but becauſe of the Compaſſion, which he excited (149). I have obſerved elſewhere (150), that *Pericles* found no better means of ſaving this Philoſopher, than by cauſing him to leave *Athens*.

Take notice of four Things. I. The Accuſers of *Anaxagoras* (151) were Men of a Faction contrary to *Pericles*. It was not, therefore, out of Zeal for Religion, that they perſecuted this Philoſopher; but with a Deſign of ſupporting their Cabal, and weakening the Authority of *Pericles*, by maliciouſly cauſing the Suſpicion of Irreligion to fall upon him. The moſt probable means of ſucceeding in this Deſign was to accuſe *Anaxagoras* of Impiety. This is generally the firſt Inducement to this kind of Accuſations; we want to be revenged of ſome one, or to remove an Obſtacle to our Authority, and Fortune; we call the Paſſions of the People to our Aſſiſtance, and pretend, that the Honour of God is concerned in our Cauſe. II. It is not true, that the Accuſers of *Anaxagoras* grounded their Accuſation on his acknowledging, that the divine Intelligence created the World; they proceeded upon this, that, in ſaying the Sun was a Stone, he robbed it of it's Divinity; which was likewiſe the Foundation of his Sentence of Condemnation (152). And therefore *Voſſius* is guilty of an Error in theſe Words. "Laërtii induſtria nobis ipſa "Anaxagoræ verba conſervavit. Sunt autem hujuſ"modi: Πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ. εἶτα νοῦς ἐλ"θὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε. *Omnia ſimul erant: de"inde acceſſit Mens, eaque compoſuit.* Quàm apertè "hic opificem ab opificio diſtinguit! Hoc ferre non "potuere Athenienſes, ac ἀθεότητα vel ἀσέβειαν "vocarunt (153).——*We are obliged to the Care of* "Diogenes Laërtius, *for preſerving the very Words* "*of* Anaxagoras; *they are theſe*: All things were con"fuſed; afterwards an Intelligence, interpoſing, re"duced them into Order. *How plainly does he di"ſtinguiſh here between the Workmanſhip and the Ar"tificer!* *The* Athenians *could not bear this*; *and* "*charged him with* Atheiſm *or* Impiety." *Anaxagoras* was not condemned merely for diſtinguiſhing between God; and his Works; but for not teaching, as the Poets did, that the Sun was both the Work of God, and itſelf a God: For, according to the Belief of the People, grounded upon the Writings of the Poets, the Sun was *Apollo*, the Son of *Jupiter*, and one of the great Deities. *Voſſius*'s Error is, as if one ſhould ſay, That the Inquiſition has condemned a Perſon to death, for teaching, that God alone, the Author, Preſerver, and ſovereign Lord of all things, deſerves the ſupreme Worſhip, Λατρεία, and that no Creature in Paradice merits our Invocation, or the Worſhip Δουλεία. This Doctrine comprehends two Points; and a Man would be puniſhed in *Salamanca* only for the ſecond. Would not a Proteſtant be in the wrong to ſay, that ſuch a Man was puniſhed for maintaining the firſt Point? However, *Euſebius* had reaſon to think it ſtrange, that *Anaxagoras* was in danger of being ſtoned, as an Atheiſt, notwithſtanding his Orthodoxy as to the Exiſtence of a God, the Author of this World; a Doctrine, which he was the firſt who taught, among the *Greeks*. Θαυμάσαι δ' ἐστὶν ὡς οὗτος πρῶτος παρ' Ἕλλησι τοῦτον θεολογήσας τὸν τρόπον, δόξας Ἀθηναίοις ἄθεος εἶναι, ὅτι μη τὸν Ἥλιον ἐθεολόγει, τὸν δὲ Ἡλίου ποιητὴν, μικροῦ δεῖν καταλευσθεὶς ἔθανε (154). *In quo ſane permirum illud eſt, qui princeps apud Græcos eam Theologiæ rationem intulerat, eum Athenienſibus, quod non jam Solem, at Solis ipſius effectorem Deum ſtatueret, atheum eſſe viſum, ac propterea parum abfuiſſe, quin ab iis lapidibus necaretur.* This, I ſay, is aſtoniſhing; for, in ſhort, (which is my third Remark) it is ſcarce conceivable, that, in ſo learned a City as *Athens*, a Philoſopher could not explain the Properties of the Stars by Phyſical Reaſons, without running the riſque of his Life. Is it not a deplorable thing for a Man to be more knowing than a ſuperſtitious Mob, conducted by ſenſeleſs Men? To what purpoſe ſerves this Superiority of Genius and Knowledge among ſuch a People? Is it not rather a Crime? Does it not expoſe a Man to a thouſand Infamies and Dangers? And might we not enjoy the Conveniencies of Life much better, by following the Current of Ignorance and Superſtition? Οἱ προγεγεννημένοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον λόγῳ πειραθέντες τὰ πράγματα θεωρῆσαι καὶ ἐλέγξαι, ὡς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ περίεργοι εἰς δικαστήρια ἤχθησαν (155). *The Philoſophers before* CHRIST *were dragged before Tribunals, as impious and officious Perſons, for endeavouring to ſpeculate upon, and explain, things, to the Underſtanding of Men.* I obſerve, in the fourth Place, that we cannot but wonder, that ſo remarkable a Trial as That of *Anaxagoras*, in which *Pericles*, the chief Man of *Athens*, was ſo far concerned, was not better known to Hiſtorians. They mention it with a Thouſand Variations; nay, ſome of them, in the principal Points, aſſert what others deny; which is not for the Honour of Antiquity.

I muſt not omit a fine Paſſage of *Lucian*, in which he ſuppoſes, that the greateſt of the Gods endeavoured to cruſh *Anaxagoras* to pieces, but that he miſſed him; and that the Thunder-bolt, being averted by *Pericles*, burnt a Temple, and was almoſt broken to pieces againſt a Rock. Δίκην δώσουσι ἐπειδὰν τὸν κεραυνὸν ἐπισκευάσω· κατεαγμέναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπεστομωμέναι εἰσὶ δύο ἀκτῖνες αἱ μέγισται, ὁπότε φιλοτιμότερον ἠκόντισα πρῴην ἐπὶ τὸν σοφιστὴν Ἀναξαγόραν, ὃς ἔπειθε τοὺς ὁμιλητὰς μηδὲ ὅλως εἶναί τινας ἡμᾶς τοὺς θεούς. ἀλλ' ἐκείνου μὲν διήμαρτον. ὑπερέσχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα Περικλῆς. ὁ δὲ κεραυνὸς, εἰς τὸ Ἀνάκειον παρασκήψας, ἐκεῖνό τε κατέφλεξε, καὶ αὐτὸς ὀλίγου δεῖν συνετρίβη παρὰ τὴν πέτραν (156). *They ſhall ſmart for it, as ſoon as my Thunder is in Order. For two of it's largeſt Forks were bent and broken*; *when, not long ago, I darted it too eagerly at the Sophiſt* Anaxagoras; *who endeavoured to perſuade his Acquaintance, that there were no ſuch Folks, as we Gods. I miſſed my aim, it is true*; *for* Pericles *interpoſed with his Hand, and protected him*; *and the averted Bolt, falling on the Temple of* Caſtor *and* Pollux, *burnt it down,*

(*dd*) *In the Remarks* [*C*] *and* [*D*] *of the Article* PERICLES.

(144) Phot. Biblioth. cod. 241. pag. 1017.

(145) Andr. Schottus.

(146) Sotion, in Succeſſionibus Philoſophorum, apud Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 12.

(147) Satyrus, in Vitis apud Diogen. Laërt. ubi ſupra.

(148) Hermippus, in Vitis apud Diog. Laert. ubi ſupra, n. 13.

(149) Hieronymus, in ſecundo libro Commentor. Varior. apud Diog. Laert. ubi ſupra.

(150) *In Remark* [*M*] *of the Article* PERICLES.

(151) Cleon, or Thucydides. *See* Plutarch *in the Life of* Pericles, *p.* 170, & 155.

(152) *See* Joſephus, l. 2. contra App. p. 1079. F. S. Cyril. lib. 2. contra Julian.

(153) Voſſius de Orig. & Progr. Idolol. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 5.

(154) Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. l. 14. cap. 14. pag. 750. C.

(155) Juſt. Martyr. Apol. 1. p. 48.

(156) Lucian. in Timon. p. 65. Tom. 1. Operum.

Anaxagoras, has committed a Blunder in Chronology [*L*], which I wonder has been ſo long unobſerved. The Conſtancy of this Philoſopher on the News of his own Condemnation, and at That of the Death of his Sons, was wonderful [*M*]. He was very little concerned, whether he lived and died out of his own Country (*ee*); and he had a true Diſcernment of human Happineſs [*N*]. Some Authors pretend, that he was never ſeen to laugh, or even to ſmile (*ff*). *Cicero* aſcribes a remarkable Gravity to him; *Maxima fuit & gravitatis & ingenii gloria (gg)*. He died at *Lampſacus*, where he had an honourable Burial, and a very glorious Epitaph; nay, they went ſo far as to build

down, and was itſelf almoſt broke in pieces againſt a Rock. Voſſius, who ſays only, that *Jupiter* darted his Thunder-bolt againſt this Philoſopher (157), occaſioned *Moreri* to ſay, that *Anaxagoras* was cruſhed to pieces by it. It was very natural to believe ſo; for we cannot eaſily conceive, that a Thunder-bolt, deſigned for the Death of any Perſon, ſhould not kill him. But this ſhould teach us to have recourſe to the Originals, and not to ſtop at modern Authors, who mention only ſuch Circumſtances of a Fact, as they have preſent Occaſion for. *Voſſius*, for Example, who had no occaſion, in this Place, to tell us, whether *Jupiter* ſucceeded or not, ſuppreſſed *Lucian*'s Raillery. This Omiſſion led *Moreri* into a Snare, which he might have avoided, if he had but tranſlated the *Latin* of *Voſſius*. Why did he act the part of a Paraphraſt? *Lambert Barleus*, commenting on this Paſſage of *Lucian*, aſſerts, that *Anaxagoras* was accuſed of Atheiſm, on account of his Doctrine concerning the divine Intelligence, The firſt Mover, *&c* (158). This is an Untruth, which he borrowed from *Voſſius*, and which I have already confuted. He ſays, farther, that a Talent was promiſed as a Reward to any one, who ſhould kill this Philoſopher (159). This ſeems to me to confound *Anaxagoras* with the Atheiſt *Diagoras*. Laſtly, in point of Orthodoxy, he compares *Anaxagoras* with *Lucian*, and complains, that *Juſtin Martyr* ranks *Lucian* among the Atheiſts. "Anaxagoræ non abſimilis fuit Lucianus noſter, quem immerito ἄθεον vocat Juſtinus Martyr, in oratione contra Græcos (160). —— *Our* Lucian *was not unlike* Anaxagoras, *whom* Juſtin Martyr, *in his Oration againſt the* Greeks, *unjuſtly ſtiles* The Atheiſt." But his Compariſon is as falſe, as his Complaint; the Occaſion of his Error was as follows. He had read in *Voſſius*, "Lucianus, in Timone, ait Jovem in Anaxagoræ caput - - - - - ſed Lucianum quid dico? Ecce Juſtinus Martyr, oratione ad Græcos, eum ἄθεον vocat (161) - - - - - Lucian, *in his* Timon, *ſays, that* Jupiter *darted on the Head of* Anaxagoras —— *but why do I mention* Lucian? Juſtin Martyr, *in his Oration againſt the* Greeks, *calls him an* Atheiſt?" And he did not apprehend, that *eum (him)* relates to the Philoſopher *Anaxagoras*, and not to *Lucian*.

[*L*] Diogenes Laërtius, *in reporting a witty Saying of* Anaxagoras, *has committed a Blunder in Chronology*.] He ſays, that *Anaxagoras*, ſeeing the Tomb of *Mauſolus*, cried out, *It is a Monument of the Converſion of Gold into Stone*. I do not confine myſelf to a literal Tranſlation; but theſe are the *Greek* Terms: Τάφος πολυτελὴς λελιθωμένης ἐστὶν οὐσίας εἴδωλον (162). *Monumentum pretioſum in lapides converſarum divitiarum imago eſt.* We may ſuppoſe, that he really expreſſed himſelf thus, at the Sight of a ſumptuous Sepulchre; but it was not upon ſeeing That of *Mauſolus*; for his Death preceeded the building of that Monument by ſeveral Olympiads. "Anaxagoras —— Olymp. LXXXVIII. mortuus eſt. Mauſoli autem ſepulchrum ante Olymp. CVII. conditum non eſt. Aut igitur hæc verba Philoſophus ille non dixit: aut alia certè occaſione dixit: Mauſoleum enim nunquam vidit: quod ab Illuſtratoribus Laërtii nondum opinor obſervatum eſt. Verba ſunt Joannis Pearſonii viri undecunque doctiſſimi, in libro de epiſtolis Sancti Ignatii, pag. 9. ſecundæ partis; quibus ego aſſentior. Id ipſum obſervatum à Giſberto Cupero in antiquis numiſmatibus explicatis viro elegantiſſimi ingenii (163). —— Anaxagoras *died in the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad. But the Sepulchre of* Mauſolus *was not built 'till the CVIIth Olympiad. Either, therefore, our Philoſopher did not ſpeak theſe Words, or he ſpoke them on ſome other Occaſion; for he never ſaw the* Mauſoleum; *which I think has never been obſerved by the Commentators on* Laërtius. *They are the Words of* John Pearſon, *a Man of great Learning, in his Book concerning the Epiſtles of St* Ignatius, p. 9. Part II. *with which I agree. The ſame Obſervation was made by That great Genius* Gisbert Cuperus, *in his ancient Coins explained.*"

[*M*] *The Conſtancy of this Philoſopher on the News of his own Condemnation, and at That of the Death of his Sons, was wonderful.*] On the firſt News, he ſaid, *Nature has long ago pronounced her Sentence as well againſt them* (164), *as againſt me*; and on the ſecond, *I knew very well, that I begot them mortal* (165). *Diogenes Laërtius* intimates, that he loſt them all; and adds, that, according to *Demetrius Phalereus*, his Sons buried him with their own Hands (166); which would be a Contradiction among Authors. But it may be cleared up, by ſuppoſing, that, after he had ſhewed this Conſtancy, he had other Children; or that he gave this Anſwer, only upon hearing of the Death of one of his Sons. *Cicero* employs the ſingular Number. "Quem *(Anaxagoram)* ferunt nunciata morte filii, dixiſſe, ſciebam me genuiſſe mortalem (167). —— *Who* (Anaxagoras) *is reported, upon hearing of the Death of his Son, to have ſaid, I knew that I begot him mortal.*" *Valerius Maximus* (168), *Plutarch* (169), and *Simplicius* (170), uſe the ſame Number; but *Ælian* obſerves, that *Anaxagoras* had only two Sons, and that he ſpoke theſe Words, upon hearing of the Death of both (171). Note, that he received this News, whilſt he was reading a Lecture in Philoſophy (172).

I ſhall inſert here his Anſwer to his Friends, who asked him, at *Lampſacus*, whether he deſired, after his Death, to be carried to *Clazomenæ*, where he was born. *That is unneceſſary*, ſaid he, *the Infernal Road is as ſhort from one Place, as from another. Præclare Anaxagoras, qui quum Lampſaci moriretur, quærentibus amicis, velletne Clazomenas in patriam, ſi quid ei accidiſſet afferri, nihil neceſſe eſt, inquit, undique enim ad inferos tantundem viæ eſt* (173). *Diogenes Laërtius* ſuppoſes, that he ſaid this to a Perſon, who was unwilling to die out of his own Country (174). I have often wondred, that the fine Sayings of the Ancients are ſo variouſly reported: I have enquired into the Reaſon of it; and the moſt probable ſeems to be this. Readers retain the Subſtance of a Fact better than the Circumſtances; and therefore, when they have a mind to relate it, they ſupply what they have forgotten in the beſt manner they can; and, as their Taſtes are different, it happens, that ſome ſupply one thing, and ſome another. I ſay nothing of the Supplements, which are deſignedly made to accommodate things better to the Subject in hand. They are artificial Variations, and proceed from Inſincerity: I ſay nothing of them. What I have ſaid of Readers, may be univerſally applied. We are ſtill more apt to falſify what we hear, than what we read.

[*N*] *He had a true Diſcernment of human Happineſs.*] He believed thoſe to be moſt happy, who ſeem leaſt to be ſo; and that we muſt not look, among the Rich and Great, for Perſons, who taſte true Happineſs; but among thoſe, who till a ſmall Parcel of Ground, or apply themſelves to the Sciences, without Ambition. *Valerius Maximus* will expreſs it better than I can. "Nec parum prudenter Anaxagoras interroganti cuidam, quiſnam eſſet beatus: Nemo, inquit, ex his quos tu felices exiſtimas: ſed eum in illo numero reperies, qui à te ex miſeris conſtare creditur. Non erit ille divitiis & honoribus abundans: ſed aut exigui ruris, aut non ambitioſæ doctrinæ fidelis ac pertinax cultor, in ſeceſſu quam in fronte beatior (175). —— Anaxagoras, *being asked, who was happy, replied, with great Prudence, none of thoſe, whom you eſteem to be ſo, but He, whom you think to be miſerable, will be found to be of the number. He will not be one, who abounds with Riches and Honours; but either one, who cultivates a ſmall Farm, or is a true and conſtant Follower of unambitious Sciences, happier in his Retirement, than he appears to be.*"

[*O*] *He*

(*ee*) *See Remark* [*M*].

(*ff*) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. c. 13. Plutarch *in the Life of* Pericles.

(*gg*) Cicero, Quæſt. Academ. lib. 2. cap. 23.

(157) Voſſius de Philoſ. ſectis, p. 27.

(158) Lambert. Barleus in Luciani Timon. pag. 62.

(159) Id. ib.

(160) Id. ib. pag. 63.

(161) Voſſius de Orig. & Progr. Idol. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 5.

(162) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 10.

(163) Menage, in Diogen. Laërt. p. 77. col. 2.

(164) *That is, againſt his Judges.*

(165) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 13.

(166) Id. ib.

(167) Cicero, Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 3. fol. 261.

(168) Valer. Max. lib. 5. in fine.

(169) Plutarch. Conſol. ad Apollon. p. 118. de cohib. Ira, p. 463. & de tranquill. Animi pag. 474. *Mr* Menage *in* Laërt. lib. 2. n. 13. *quotes, as two Treatiſes of* Plutarch, *the Treatiſe* de cohibenda Ira, *and* περὶ ἀοργησίας.

(170) Simplic. in Epictet. Enchirid. c. 22.

(171) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 2.

(172) Plutarch. de Conſol. ad Apollon. p. 118. Ælian. ubi ſupra. Stobæus Serm. 106.

(173) Cicero Tuſculan. Quæſt. l. 2. fol. 252. D.

(174) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 11.

(175) Valer. Max. lib. 7. cap. 2. n. 9. in extern. pag. 604.

build an Altar to Him [*O*]. A little before his Death, the Chief Perſons of the City paid him a Viſit; and aſked him whether he had any Commands for them; to which he anſwered, That he only deſired, that Children might be permitted to play, every Year, in the Month of his Death *(bb)*. This was performed; and the Cuſtom ſtill continued in the Time of *Diogenes Laërtius*. It is ſaid, that he lived Seventy-two Years *(ii)*. It is not certain, that he maintained the Doctrine of Predeſtination [*P*]. He is the firſt Philoſopher *, who publiſhed Books [*Q*]. *Socrates*, who expected to be informed of certain Particulars by them, was diſſatisfied with the Peruſal of them: This was plainly his own Fault [*R*], as I ſhall ſhew in the Reflexions

I have

(*bb*) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 14. *See Remark* [*A*] *towards the end.*

(*ii*) Id. ib. n. 7.

* Id. ibid. n. 11.

[O] *He had —— a very glorious Epitaph: Nay, they went ſo far as to build an Altar to him.*] *Ælian* and *Diogenes Laërtius* have preſerved this Epitaph; which conſiſts of theſe two Verſes.

Ἐνθάδε ϖλεῖςον ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τέρμα ϖερήσας
 Οὐρανίȣ κόσμȣ κεῖται Ἀναξαγόρας (176).

Entomb'd here Anaxagoras *lies,*
Who taught the Secret of the Skies.

There is as much Energy in this Diſtich as in theſe ſeven *French* Verſes, which contain a like Encomium.

Deſcartes, dont tu vois icy la ſepulture,
A deſſille les yeux des aveugles mortels,
Et gardant le reſpect que l'on doit aux Autels,
Leur à du monde entier demontré la ſtructure.
 Son nom par mille ecrits ſe rendit glorieux,
Son eſprit meſurant & la terre & les cieux
En penetra l' abime, & perca les nuages (177).

Deſcartes, *whoſe Aſhes here are laid,*
 Diſpell'd the Miſts from mortal Eyes,
And, due reſpect to Altars paid,
 The Structure ſhow'd of Earth and Skies.

A thouſand Works his Name ſhall ſpread;
 Who, meaſuring Nature's wond'rous Frame,
Div'd to Earth's deepeſt, central Bed,
 And, ſoaring, reach'd the Ætherial Flame.

Diogenes Laërtius ſays nothing of *Anaxagoras*'s Altar. But *Ælian* mentions it (178), and ſeems to ſay, that two were conſecrated to him, one under the Name of *The Intelligence*, the other under That of *Truth*. But a very learned Critic (179), does not underſtand the Paſſage ſo; he ſays, it ſignifies, that, according to ſome, the Altar was dedicated to the *Intelligence*, and according to others, to *Truth*. *Ariſtotle* obſerves, that the Inhabitants of *Lampſacus* continued to honour *Anaxagoras* (180). We may obſerve, that, in St *Auſtin*'s Time, the Authority of this Philoſopher was ſtill very conſiderable. "Quam (*veritatem*) ſi ſenſit "Anaxagoras, eamque Deum eſſe vidit, mentemque "appellavit, non ſolum nomen Anaxagoræ, quod "propter literatam vetuſtatem, omnes, ut militariter "loquar, literatiores libenter ſufflant, nos doctos & "ſapientes non facit, ſed ne ipſa quidem ejus cog"nitio, qua id verum eſſe cognovit (181). —— *If* "Anaxagoras *was ſenſible of* Truth, *and ſaw that* "*it was God, and called it* The Mind *or* Intelli"gence; *the Name of* Anaxagoras, *which the Learn*"*ed, on account of it's literary Antiquity, willingly* "*blow up, to expreſs myſelf in a military Phraſe;* "*the Name of* Anaxagoras, *I ſay, does not only not* "*make us learned and wiſe; but even his Judgment, by* "*which he diſcovered it to be true, contributes no*"*thing towards making us ſo.*"

[*P*] *It is not certain, that he maintained the Doctrine of Predeſtination.*] It is ſaid, that he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this Doctrine (182), and confuted it in his Works; but *Alexander Aphrodiſienſis* is the only Author, who aſſerts this; and he does it in ſuch a manner, as to keep us in ſuſpence; for he obſerves, that *Anaxagoras* confuted this Doctrine, by engaging in Controverſy, and not out of a premeditated and previous Choice. It was neceſſary for him to oppoſe it, in order to maintain another Doctrine; that is, being ſenſible, that, without oppoſing it, he ſhould be unable to anſwer thoſe, who ſhould attack That Doctrine, he wrote againſt *Fate*. *Alexander Aphrodiſienſis* judiciouſly obſerves, that ſuch a Circumſtance renders the true Opinion of *Anaxagoras* doubtful. And, indeed, an Author will do any thing, in the Heat of a Diſpute, to deprive his Adverſaries of the Advantages, which they might draw from his Silence, or Confeſſion. He will rather contradict himſelf, and affirm what he does not believe, than ſuffer his own Weapons to be turned againſt himſelf. However, read this Paſſage of *Gabriel Naudé*. "Obtulit ſe tandem Alexander ex Aphrodiſiade *, "facemque in his tenebris verſanti prætulit, quam"quam eo ſcrupulo injecto, quod fide dignus Anaxa"goras, dum iſtud aſſereret, minime fuerit, non "quod propoſitio ejuſmodi vera non eſſet, verum "quia in alterius opinionis ſuæ defenſionem, quam "ſuſcipere cogebatur, non autem ex ſola determina"taque voluntate adverſus fatum ſcribendi, illam "protuliſſet (183). —— *At length* Alexander A"phrodiſienſis *appeared, and in ſome Meaſure cleared* "*up this Obſcurity; tho' with this Difficulty in the* "*way, that* Anaxagoras, *in this Aſſertion, by no means* "*deſerved Credit; not, becauſe the Propoſition, which* "*he laid down, was not true; but becauſe he produced* "*it in Defence of another Opinion, which he was* "*obliged to ſupport, and not through a fixed Intention* "*of writing againſt Fate.*" This Author had juſt ſaid, that the Moderns, who aſſert, that *Anaxagoras* oppoſed Predeſtination, quote no ancient Author, who takes any notice of it. He had ſaid likewiſe, that *Diogenes Laërtius, Cicero, Galen, Plutarch,* and *Origen*, are ſilent in this Matter.

[*Q*] *He is the firſt Philoſopher, who publiſhed Books.*] *Diogenes Laërtius* expreſsly aſſerts this. Πρῶτος δὲ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ βιϐλίον ἐξέδωκε συγγραφῆς (184). Anaxagoras *was the firſt, who publiſhed a Book of his own Writing*. But, as he ſeems to declare, in another Place, for *Phavorinus*, who ſaid, that *Alcmæon*, the Diſciple of *Pythagoras*, was the firſt, who wrote upon Phyſics (185), he renders his own Teſtimony very doubtful. *Clemens Alexandrinus* leaves the Matter undecided; he only ſays, that ſome aſcribe to *Alcmæon* the firſt Work, which was publiſhed concerning Nature; and that others pretend, that *Anaxagoras* was the firſt, who gave the Public a Book (186). Both theſe Opinions would be falſe, if *Thales* had wrote Books, as St *Auſtin* aſſerts (187), and if the *Greek* Tradition, mentioned by *Suidas* (188), were true, *viz.* that the Philoſopher *Pherecydes* was the firſt, who wrote Books. Note, that *Ariſtotle* obſerves, that the Writings of *Anaxagoras* were later than thoſe of *Empedocles*, tho' the latter was younger than *Anaxagoras* (189).

[*R*] Socrates - - - - - - *was not ſatisfied with the peruſal of them: This was plainly his own Fault.*] I propoſe two things; an Abridgment of *Socrates*'s Complaint, and afterwards ſome Reflexions upon it.

"Being informed, *ſays he* (190), that *Anaxagoras* "had laid down, in one of his Books, that an In"telligence produces and governs all things (191), "I was well pleaſed with this kind of Cauſe; and "imagined, that the Conſequence muſt be, that each "Being was circumſtanced, and ſituated, after the "moſt excellent manner. I expected therefore, with "great Joy, to find, at laſt, in this Book of *Anaxa*"*goras*, a Maſter, who ſhould inſtruct me in the "Cauſes of every thing, and inform me, whether "the Earth be round or flat; and then give me the "Reaſon of his Determination; and, as I believed, "that this Reaſon would be grounded on the Idea "of the higheſt Perfection, I was in hopes he would "ſhew me, that the State, in which the Earth is, "is the beſt it could have; and that, if he placed "it in the Center, he would tell us, why This Si"tuation is the beſt of all. I reſolved to look for "no other Cauſe, provided he made This clear to "me;

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(176) Diog. Laërt. l. 2. n. 15.

(177) Baillet's Life of Deſcartes, c. 2. p. 443.

(178) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 19.

(179) Kuhnius *upon this Paſſage of* Ælian.

(180) Ariſt. Rhetoricor. lib. 2. c. 23. pag. 445.

(181) Auguſt. Ep. 56. pag. 272.

(182) Communi hominum opinioni de Fato quantum potuit reluctatus eſt. *Naud. de Fato et Vit. termino, pag.* 20.

* Lib. de Fato, cap 1. & lib. de Anima, cap. ult.

(183) Id. ib.

(184) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 11.

(185) Id. lib. 8. n. 83.

(186) Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. 2. pag. 308.

(187) *See above, Citat.* (85).

(188) Suidas in Ἑκαταῖος.

(189) Ariſt. Metaphyſ. lib. 1. c 3. *See hereupon* Fonſeca's *Commentary*, pag. 218.

(190) Plato in Phædone, pag. 72, & ſeq.

(191) Ὡς ἄρα νȣ̃ς ἐςὶν ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πάντων αἴτιος. Mentem omnia exornare, omniumque cauſam eſſe. *Id. ib.*

I have to make on his Diſcourſe. One of the Reaſons, why he neglected Aſtronomy, was, becauſe *Anaxagoras*, who had extreamly applied himſelf to it, was very much miſtaken

“ me; and only to enquire, with reſpect to the Proportions of Swiftneſs and Revolution, *&c.* which are found between the Sun, Moon, and other Planets, what is the beſt Reaſon that can be aſſigned, why theſe Bodies, in Quality of Agents and Patients, are what they are; for I could never have imagined, that a Philoſopher, who ſays, that an Intelligence governs all theſe Things, would alledge any other Cauſe; but prove, that the State, in which they are, is the beſt that can be. I believed likewiſe, that, having in this manner explained the particular Nature of each Body by ſuch a Cauſe, he would, in general, explain their common Good. Full of this Hope, I applied myſelf with the greateſt Eagerneſs to the reading of his Writings, that I might ſpeedily know what is moſt excellent, and what is wrong; but I found that this Philoſopher does not employ an Intelligence, nor any Cauſe of Arrangement; but refers all Things to the Air, the Æther, the Water, and ſuch other impertinent Subjects, as to their Original (192). This is juſt as if any one, after having ſaid, that whatever I do, I do by my Underſtanding, ſhould afterwards account for all my particular Actions after this manner. *Socrates* ſits, becauſe his Body is compoſed of Bones and Nerves, which, by the Rules of Mechaniſm, are the Cauſe, that he can bend his Limbs. He ſpeaks, becauſe the Motion of his Tongue impels the Air, and conveys it's Impreſſion to the Ear, *&c.* Such an one would forget the true Cauſe, to wit, that the *Athenians* having judged it beſt to condemn me, I thought it better for me to ſit down here; and that it was more juſt, that I ſhould ſuffer the Puniſhment, which they have ordained. Now, if any one objects, that, without my Bones and Nerves, *&c.* I cannot perform what I would, he judges right; but if he pretends, that I perform it, becauſe of my Bones and Nerves, *&c.* and not thro' a Choice of what is beſt, ſince he ſuppoſes that I act by my Underſtanding, his Diſcourſe is very abſurd (193).

You ſee plainly the Taſte of *Socrates.* He had forſaken the Study of Natural Philoſophy, and applied himſelf wholly to Moral; wherefore he required, that all Natural Things ſhould be explained by moral Reaſons, and by the Ideas of Order and Perfection. I dare aſſert, that he cenſured *Anaxagoras* improperly. Every Philoſopher, who has once ſuppoſed, that an Intelligence has moved Matter, and ranged the Parts of the Univerſe in order, is no longer obliged to have recourſe to This Cauſe, when he is to give a Reaſon for each Effect of Nature; his Buſineſs is to explain, by the Action and Re-action of Bodies, by the Qualities of the Elements, by the Configuration of the Parts of Matter, *&c.* the Vegetation of Plants, Meteors, Light, Gravity, Opacity, Fluidity, *&c.* Such is the Method of the Chriſtian Philoſophers, whatever Sect they are of. The Schoolmen have an Axiom, That a Philoſopher ought not to have recourſe to God, *Non eſt Philoſophi recurrere ad Deum:* They call this Recourſe the Sanctuary of Ignorance. And indeed what could you ſay more abſurd, in a Piece of Phyſics than this; Stones are hard, Fire is hot, and Cold freezes Rivers; becauſe God has ordered it ſo? The *Carteſians* themſelves, who make God not only the firſt Mover, but alſo the only, continual, and perpetual Mover of Matter, make no uſe of his Will and Actions in explaining the Effects of Fire, the Properties of the Loadſtone, Colours, Smells, *&c.* they only conſider the ſecond Cauſes, the Motion, Figure, and Situation of the Corpuſcles. So that if the Remark of *Clemens Alexandrinus,* mentioned above (194), was grounded only on this Diſcourſe of *Socrates,* it would be very unjuſt. To approve of it, we ſhould know, not that *Anaxagoras* explained many Things without mentioning the Divine Intelligence; but that he expreſly excluded it, in explaining part of the *Phænomena* of Nature. Perhaps, he had ſaid in ſome Parts of his Writings, what his Diſciple *Euripides* afterwards ſaid, *viz.* that God concerns himſelf only with great Things, and leaves the leſſer to Chance: Τῶν ἄγαν γὰρ ἅπτεται Θεός, τὰ μικρὰ δ' εἰς τύχην ἀνεὶς ἐᾷ, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην (195). *Summa procurat modo Deus, inque fortunam minora rejicit, ut ait Euripides.* As if the World was like the Tribunal of the Prætors; *de minimis non curat Prætor.* We have obſerved above (196), that this Philoſopher attributed ſome Effects to Chance, and others to Neceſſity, *&c.* and that he only called the ſupreme Intelligence to his Aſſiſtance, when he could not make it appear, that Neceſſity had produced a Thing (197). It may be ſuppoſed, in general, that he had not fully explained his Syſtem, and that he had left many Parts of it ill connected. *Ariſtotle* intimates as much, when he ſpeaks of the firſt Philoſophers, who acknowledged two Cauſes, the Material, and the Efficient. He compared them to Men, who have not learned the Art of Fighting, and yet often wound their Enemies; which they do, without obſerving the Rules of That Art. In like manner theſe Philoſophers were not Maſters of their Subjects. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ------ δυεῖν αἰτίαιν ἐφήψαντο ------ τῆς τε ὕλης, καὶ τοῦ ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις. ἀμυδρῶς μὲν τοι καὶ οὐδὲν σαφῶς, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οἱ ἀγύμναστοι ποιοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι περιφερόμενοι τύπτουσι πολλάκις καλὰς πληγάς. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι ἀπὸ ἐπιστήμης, οὔτε οὗτοι ἐοίκασιν εἰδόσι λέγειν ἃ λέγουσι (198). *Atque hi quidem ---- duas cauſas ------ attigerunt, materiam, & unde motus obſcure tamen, & non clarè: ſed quemadmodum inexercitati in prælio faciunt. Etenim illi circumeuntes, egregias plerumque plagas infligunt. Sed nec illi ex ſcientia, nec iſti videntur ſcire quid dicant.* You will ſee in another Place (199), that there are ſome Things, which *Anaxagoras* did not explain, and which he would infallibly have admitted, if any one had made the Diſcovery to him; and, laſtly, that many fine Doctrines would reſult from his Principles, if they were cleared up and explained.

I ſhould not condemn *Socrates* for deſiring ſuch an Explication of the Univerſe, as he mentions; for what could be more excellent, or curious, than to know diſtinctly and particularly, why the Perfection of the Machine of the World required, that each Planet ſhould have the Figure, Magnitude, Situation, and Swiftneſs, which it has, and ſo of all the reſt? But this Science was not deſigned for Man; and it was very unjuſt to expect it from *Anaxagoras.* And unleſs we had the Idea, which God followed in creating the World, it will be impoſſible to give the Explications, which *Socrates* deſired. All that the greateſt Philoſophers can ſay, upon this Occaſion, amounts to this: That, ſince the Earth is round, and ſituated at ſuch a Diſtance from the Sun; This Figure and Situation were neceſſary to the Beauty and Symmetry of the Univerſe; the Author of this vaſt Machine having an infinite Intelligence, and Wiſdom. From hence we know, in general, that every thing is right in this Machine, and that there is no Defect in it: But, if we ſhould undertake to make it appear, Piece by Piece, that every thing is in the beſt State it could poſſibly be in, we ſhould infallibly aſſign very wrong Reaſons. We ſhould act like a Peaſant, who, having no Notion of a Clock, ſhould undertake to prove, that, the Wheel, which he ſees through a Chink, muſt neceſſarily be of ſuch a Thickneſs, and Bigneſs, and preciſely placed there; becauſe if it were leſs, thinner, and ſet in another Place, great Inconveniences would follow. He would judge of this Machine, as a blind Man doth of Colours, and without doubt he would be a wretched Reaſoner. The Philoſophers are not much better qualified to judge of the Machine of the World, than this Peaſant of a Clock. They know but a ſmall part of it, and are ignorant of the Model of the Artiſt, his Deſign, his Ends, and the reciprocal Relation of all the Parts. If you ſay, that the Earth muſt be round, that it may turn the eaſier on it's Axis, you may be anſwered, that it would be better if it were ſquare, that it might turn more ſlowly, and afford us longer Days. What could you reaſonably reply, if you were obliged to ſpecify the Inconveniencies the World would ſuffer, if *Mercury* were greater, or nearer the Earth? Would Sir *Iſaac Newton,* who has diſcovered ſo many Methematical and Mechanical Beauties in the Heavens, pretend to

WHY we cannot demonſtrate by particular Reaſons, that each Body in the the Univerſe is in the beſt State it could poſſibly be in.

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(192) Ὁρῶ ἄνδρα τῷ μὲν νῷ οὐδὲν χρώμενον, οὐδέ τινας αἰτίας ἐπαιτιώμενον εἰς τὸ διακοσμεῖν τὰ πράγματα, ἀέρας δὲ καὶ αἰθέρας καὶ ὕδατα αἰτιώμενον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα. Hominem video mente nuſquam uti, ornatuſque rerum cauſas afferre nullas; Sed aëreas naturas & æthereas aqueaſque & talia multa abſurda pro rerum cauſis aſſignare. *Id. ib. pag.* 73. *D.*

(193) Πολλὴ ἂν καὶ μακρὰ ῥᾳθυμία εἴη τοῦ λόγου. Negligens admodum ac ſupina futura eſt hæc ejus oratio. *Id. ib. pag.* 74. *A.*

(194) *In Remark* [*F*] *Citation*(91).

(195) Plutarch. in Reip. ger. præcept. pag. 811. *D.*

(196) *In Remark* [*E*] *Citat.* (94).

(197) *Above, Citat.* (97).

(198) Ariſt. Metaphyſ. lib. 1. c. 4. pag. 146. G.

(199) Id. ib. cap. 7. pag. 651. C.

miſtaken in it [*S*]. What is obſerved concerning the *Treatiſe*, in which he reaſoned about Eclipſes, is very curious. You will find it at the End of the Remark [*B*] of the Article PERICLES. I muſt not forget, that Mount *Mimas*, near *Clazomenæ*, was the Place, from whence he viewed the Stars (*kk*). Much leſs ſhould we forget, that the Strength and Sublimity of his Genius, his Labour, his Application, and his many Diſcoveries, led him only to Uncertainties; for he complained, that every thing was full of Darkneſs (*ll*). This was, perhaps, what obliged him to ſay, that all things conſiſt in Opinion, and that Objects are ſuch as we would have them, that is, ſuch or ſuch, according as they appear to us (*mm*). Tho' he taught, that the Soul of Man was an aërial Being (*nn*), yet he believed it to be immortal (*oo*). He honoured It more than the World; for he was one of thoſe, who judged, that Heaven and Earth would periſh (*pp*); and being aſked, *If the Mountains of* Lampſacus *ſhould one day be part of the Sea*, he anſwered, *Yes*, provided Time does not fail them (*qq*). I have obſerved, elſewhere (*rr*), what his Opinion was concerning the Souls of Beaſts. 'Tis pity He was not a Friend of *Democritus*, and that theſe two great Men did not concert together their Hypotheſes; the Defects of the one might have been ſupplied by the Perfections of the other; but there was no Intimacy between them. *Anaxagoras* bore *Democritus* a Grudge; becauſe the Viſit, which he offered to make him, was refuſed (*ss*). *Servius*, and *Sidonius Apollinaris*, were ignorant of his Opinions [*T*]. To avoid being too tedious in this Article, I have referred ſuch Chronological Enquiries, as I have to propoſe, to another place (*tt*).

warrant, that, if Things were not ſuch, as he ſuppoſes them, as to Magnitude, Diſtances, and Velocities, the World would be an irregular Work, ill built, or ill contrived? Is not the Divine Underſtanding infinite? God has therefore the Ideas of an Infinity of Worlds, different from each other, all of them Beautiful, Regular, and Mathematical, to the laſt Degree. Do you think he could not, from an Earth of a ſquare Figure, and nearer *Saturn*, draw ſuch Uſes, as would be equivalent to thoſe of our Earth. Let us conclude, then, that *Socrates* ought not to have expected, that *Anaxagoras* ſhould prove to him, by a Particular Deduction, that the preſent State of every thing is the beſt it can be. God only can prove it after this manner.

How ſhould we perform what *Socrates* required, with regard to the Machine of the World; ſince we are at a loſs to do it, with reſpect to the Machine of an Animal, after ſo many Diſſections, and ſo many Lectures of Anatomy, which have taught us the Number, Situation, and Uſe, *&c.* of it's principal Organs? By what particular Reaſons can it be proved, that the Perfection of Man, and That of the Univerſe, require, that our two Eyes be ſituated as they are, and that ſix Eyes, placed round the Head, would occaſion a Diſorder in our Body, and in the Univerſe? It may be reaſonably pretended, that, in order to give a Man ſix Eyes round his Head, without departing from the general Laws of Mechaniſm, the other Organs muſt have been ſo altered, that Man's Body would have been framed after another Model, and would have been another kind of Machine: but no particular Reaſons can be given for this; for all that you could ſay would be oppoſed with Objections as probable as your Proofs. We muſt ſtick to this general Reaſon: The Wiſdom of the Artificer is infinite; therefore the Work is ſuch as it ought to be; the Particulars are out of our reach; and they, who pretend to engage in a Detail of them, generally expoſe themſelves to ridicule (200).

We can prove, by this Diſcourſe of *Socrates*, that he was not the Diſciple of *Anaxagoras*; for, if he were, would he have ſtood in need of being informed, by one, who had read the Books of *Anaxagoras*, that, according to That Philoſopher, a Divine Intelligence was the Cauſe of all things (201).

[*S*] Socrates *neglected Aſtronomy - - - - - - becauſe* Anaxagoras, *who had extreamly applied himſelf to it, was very much miſtaken in it.*] That *Socrates*'s Thoughts upon this Subject may more clearly appear, I ſhall ſet down at length the Words of his Hiſtorian. "He "was of Opinion, that ſome time ſhould be ſpent "in Aſtronomy, in order to know what o' Clock "it is by the Stars; and in what Day of the Month, "and what Seaſon of the Year, we are; to know "when a Centinel is to be relieved in the Night; "when it is proper to travel by Sea, and when "by Land; and this, he ſaid, would eaſily be learned "by converſing with Seamen, or Night-Hunters. "But, to endeavour to dive farther, ſo far as to "know, what Planets are not in the ſame De"clination; to aim at explaining all the diffe"rent Motions of the Planets; and to know their "Diſtances from the Earth; in what time they per"form their Revolutions; and what their Influences "are; was what he very much diſſuaded others "from; for theſe Sciences appeared to him quite "uſeleſs, not becauſe he was ignorant of them, but "becauſe they required the whole Man, and diverted "him from ſeveral other uſeful Occupations. In a "Word, he adviſed, not to ſearch too curiouſly in"to the admirable Art, with which the Gods have "diſpoſed the Univerſe; becauſe it is a Secret, which "the Mind of Man cannot comprehend. And the "Gods are diſpleaſed, that any one ſhould endeavour "to diſcover, what they intend to conceal from us. "He believed, moreover, that there was Danger "of falling into Error in theſe high Speculations; "as *Anaxagoras* did, who boaſted of being greatly "skilled in them. For, teaching, that the Sun "is the ſame thing with Fire, he did not con"ſider, that Fire does not dazzle the Eyes; but "that it is impoſſible to bear the Brightneſs of "the Sun (202)." I omit two other Reaſons, alledged by the Hiſtorian, againſt this Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*. They are no better than the firſt, and deſerve not ſo much Attention, as the Idea, which *Socrates* entertained of the Gods: He believed them to be very jealous of their Secrets, and much inclined to be diſpleaſed with thoſe Men, whoſe Curioſity led them to enquire into them. *Xenophon*'s Words are; Ὅλως δὲ τῶν οὐρανίων ᾗ ἕκαστα ὁ Θεὸς μηχανᾶται, φροντιστὴν γίγνεσθαι ἀπέτρεπεν· οὔτε γὰρ εὑρετὰ ἀνθρώποις αὐτὰ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, οὔτε χαρίζεσθαι Θεοῖς ἂν ἡγεῖτο τὸν ζητοῦντα ἃ ἐκεῖνοι σαφηνίσαι οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν (203). *Ut una omnia complectar, cæleſtium unumquodque quomodo Dii machinentur ſcrutari dehortabatur, neque enim hominibus facile eſſe adinvenire; neque Diis eos facere grata arbitrabatur, qui ea quærant, quæ ipſi Dii in promptu & manifeſta eſſe noluerant.*

Note, that *Ariſtotle* entertained a more Advantageous Opinion of the Deity; He does not deny, that, if God were capable of Jealouſy, he would chiefly envy Man the Knowledge of the ſublimeſt Sciences; but he denies what the Poets affirmed of the pretended Envy of the Gods. His Words are very remarkable. Εἰ δὲ λέγουσί τι οἱ ποιηταὶ, καὶ πέφυκε φθονεῖν τὸ θεῖον, ἐπὶ τούτου συμβῆναι μάλιστα εἰκὸς, καὶ δυστυχεῖς εἶναι πάντας τοὺς περιττούς. ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ θεῖον φθονερὸν ἐνδέχεται εἶναι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἀοιδοί (204). *But if, according to the Poets, the Divine Nature be capable of Jealouſy, it is moſt probable it would be ſo in this Inſtance, and that all thoſe would be unhappy, who aſpired after Knowledge, which is above them* (205). *But neither is the Deity capable of Envy, and the Poets are Lyars to a Proverb.*

[*T*] Servius *and* Sidonius Apollinaris *were ignorant of the Opinions of* Anaxagoras.] The firſt affirms that he aſſigned Fire as the Principle of all things (206): This is to confound him with *Heraclitus*. The other pretends, that, like *Thales*, he aſſerted, that Water was the Principle of all Bodies, and that he ſuperadded an Intelligence to this Principle.

(*kk*) Philoſtr. in Vita Apollon. lib. 2. cap. 2.

(*ll*) *See Remark* [*G*] *towards the end.*

(*mm*) Ariſtot. Metaphyſ. lib. 3. cap. 5. pag. 671. G.

(*nn*) Theodor. de Gr. Affect. Serm. 5. p. 547.

(*oo*) Id. ib. pag. 548.

(*pp*) *See the Jeſuits of* Coimbr. *in* Ariſtot. lib. 1. de Cœlo cap. 3. p. 65.

(*qq*) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 10.

(*rr*) *In Remark* [*E*] *of the Article PEREIRA.*

(*ss*) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 14.

(*tt*) *To the Remark* [*A*] *of the Article of* Archelaus *the Philoſopher.*

(200) *See the* Anatomical Diſcourſes *of* W. Lami, *a Phyſician of* Paris.

(201) *See* Plato in Phædone, pag. 72.

(202) Xenophon, de Socrat. Memorab. lib. 4. pag. 384. & ſeq.

(203) Xenophon. ἀπομν. lib. 4. pag. 474.

(204) Ariſt. Metaphyſ. lib. 1. c. 2. pag. 644. E.

(205) Beſſarion, *in his* Latin *Tranſlation, renders* περιττοὺς qui *altiora* ſe quærunt; Argyropilus *renders it* qui *ſuperflua* quærunt. *See* Fonſeca *on this Paſſage*, p. 130.

(206) Servius in Virgil. Ecl. 6. ver. 31.

This is to rob him of his Doctrine of the *Homœomeriæ*. It was not unknown to *Sidonius Apollinaris*; but he aſcribed it, without Reaſon, to the Philoſopher *Anaximander*. He attributed likewiſe to him the πανσπερμία, that is, that the Seeds of all things were every where; a Doctrine, which belonged to the Philoſopher *Anaxagoras*. It was likewiſe *Democritus*'s Doctrine, as *Ariſtotle* has obſerved, in the fourth Chapter of the third Book of his Phyſics.

> - - - - - - - ſed rebus inutile ponit
> Principium, dum credit aquis ſubſiſtere mundum.
> Hujus diſcipuli verſa eſt ſententia, dicens,
> Principiis propriis ſemper res quaſque creari,
> Singula qui quoſdam fontes decrevit habere
> Æternum irriguos, ac rerum ſemine plenos.
> Hunc etiam ſequitur, qui gignere cuncta putabat
> Hunc aërem, pariterque Deos ſic autumat ortos.
> Quartus Anaxagoras Thaletica dogmata ſervat:
> Sed divinum animum ſentit, qui feceritorbem (207).

> *An uſeleſs Principle to Things He* (208) *gives,*
> *Who Water makes the World's Original.*
> *A different Sentiment his Scholar held;*
> *That all Things had their proper Principles;*
> *Each Principle it's everlaſting Spring,*
> *From whence the Seeds of all things ever flow'd.*
> *Him follow'd That Philoſopher, who taught,*
> *That this ſurrounding Air gave Nature birth,*
> *And peopled Heaven itſelf with all it's Gods.*
> *The fourth in order,* Anaxagoras,
> *Subſcribed to* Thales' *Doctrine; yet acknowledg'd*
> *A* Mind Divine, *Creatreſs of the World.*

The learned *Savaron* has taken no Notice of theſe Miſtakes in his Remarks on this Poem of *Sidonius Apollonaris*.

(207) Sidon. Apoll. Carm. 15. ver. 81. p. 151, 152.

(208) i. e. Thales.

ANAXANDRIDES, King of *Lacedemon*, the Son of *Leo*, was the only Man of his Country, who had two Wives at once (*a*). It was not ſo much his own Fault, as That of the *Ephori*, who would have obliged him to divorce his Wife, becauſe ſhe was barren, and to marry another, who might bring him Children: As he was very fond of his Wife (*b*), he proteſted, that he would never divorce her. The *Ephori*, finding him reſolute, propoſed to him to marry another Wife, without divorcing the firſt; and gave him to underſtand, that, if he refuſed, it would be the worſe for him. He accepted the ſecond Propoſal; but would not lodge his two Wives under the ſame Roof, but in ſeparate Houſes. His new Spouſe was ſoon delivered of *Cleomenes:* This good Fortune of *Anaxandrides* extended likewiſe to his firſt Wife: ſhe alſo proved with Child. The Domeſticks of the other Queen, being diſpleaſed at this, ſpread many ſcandalous Reports, and pretended it was but a Feint to deceive the World by a ſuppoſititious Child. Theſe Slanders had ſuch an Influence on the *Ephori*, that, when the time of her Delivery drew near, they placed Guards about the Queen (*c*), to prevent being deceived. It proved no Feint; for the Lady was delivered of a Boy, who was named *Dorieüs*. Some time after ſhe was delivered of Twins, one of which was the brave King *Leonidas*, who died ſo glorioufly at the Streights of *Thermopylæ*; the other's Name was *Cleombrotus* (*d*). The Son of the ſecond Wife had ſcarce common Senſe; on the contrary *Dorieüs* ſurpaſſed his Equals in every thing. Nevertheleſs his Pretenſions, which were, that they ſhould pay more regard to Merit than Birthright, were rejected; and *Cleomenes*, notwithſtanding his Unworthineſs, ſucceeded to the Crown (*e*): the Laws of the Country required it, and were obſerved. *Anaxandrides* was more favoured by Fortune, than the Kings his Predeceſſors, with reſpect to the *Tegeates*; for the *Lacedemonians* began to conquer them in his Reign (*f*); I mean about the LXth Olympiad [*A*]. *Plutarch* has left us a Collection of the Apophthegms of *Anaxandrides* among thoſe of the *Lacedemonians*. The Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary is full of Miſtakes on this Head [*B*.]

(*a*) Pauſan. lib. 3. p. 84.

(*b*) *She was the Daughter of* Anaxandrides's *Siſter.*

(*c*) *The words of* Herodotus *may be rendred ſo as to import, That They themſelves were the Queen's Inſpectors, or Guards.*

(*d*) *Some ſay, that* Leonidas *and* Cleombrotus *were born at different Times.*

(*e*) Herodot. lib. 5. c. 39. & ſeq. *See alſo* Pauſan. lib. 3. p. 84.

(*f*) Pauſan. ibid. Herod. lib. 1. cap. 67.

[*A*] *The* Lacedemonians *began to conquer the* Tegeates *about the LXth Olympiad.*] Hiſtorians obſerve, that the *Tegeates* were not overcome by the *Lacedemonians*, 'till the latter had tranſported to their City the Bones of *Oreſtes*, who was buried at *Tegea*. This Tranſlation was made in the LVIIIth Olympiad. "Priſcorum autem teſtantur molem etiam "Oreſtis ſuprema, cujus oſſa Olympiade quinquageſima & octava Tegeæ inventa à Spartanis Oraculo "monitis diſcimus impleſſe longitudinem cubitorum "ſeptem (1).—*The Ancients inform us likewiſe of the* "*Stature of* Oreſtes; *whoſe Bones, which the* Spartans, "*by the Advice of the Oracle, found at* Tegea, *in the* "*LVIIIth Olympiad, were ſeven Cubits long.*" We know farther, that *Cleomenes*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Anaxandrides*, was exhorted to wage War againſt *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos* (2), who died a miſerable Death, in the ſecond Year of the LXIVth Olympiad (3). I omit, that *Cleomenes* had reigned a conſiderable time, when the Succeſſors of *Piſiſtratus* were obliged to leave *Athens*, which happened about the LXVIIth Olympiad (4). *Moreri* ought not to have ſaid, That *the Time, when* Anaxandrides *lived, is unknown*, nor that *the* Ephori *obliged him to divorce his firſt Wife*, nor that the eldeſt Son of his firſt Wife was called *Dorceus*. He ſhould have called him *Dorieüs*. I ſay nothing of his Omiſſions, tho' they are not inconſiderable. I muſt not paſs over in Silence, that it is not difficult to reconcile *Solinus* and *Herodotus*, with reſpect to Chronology. *Solinus* places the Tranſlation of *Oreſtes*'s Bones in the LVIIIth Olympiad. But, according to *Herodotus* (5), the *Lacedemonians* had already obtained ſeveral Advantages over the *Tegeates*, after this Tranſlation, when *Cræſus* courted their Alliance; which he did, before he made War with *Cyrus*; and his Expedition againſt *Cyrus* fell out at the end of the fifty ſixth Olympiad (6); how then can the Chronology of *Solinus* be reconciled with That of *Herodotus?* However it be, *Moreri* ought not to have ſaid, that the time, when *Anaxandrides* reigned, is unknown; for do we not find in *Herodotus*, that he reigned in the Days of *Cræſus* (7)?

[*B*] *The Supplement to* Moreri's *Dictionary is full of Miſtakes on this Head.*] To the Three Faults of *Moreri*, which I have mention'd, I add thoſe of his Continuator. I. It is not true, that *Anaxandrides* was the Son of *Eurycrates* the Second: He was his Grandſon, (8) and the Son of *Leo*. II. It is not true, that *Anaxandrides* took the City of *Tegea*, before the Bones of *Oreſtes* were carried away from thence. It was not till after this Tranſlation, that Fortune ceas'd to favour the *Tegeates*. How then could their Capital City have been taken before the Removal of theſe Bones? Is not the taking of the Principal City the entire Ruin of ſuch little Republics? III. It is not true, that *Glycas* (9) made his Entry into *Tegea* in the Retinue of the Victorious *Anaxandrides:* He enter'd it, as People, in peaceable Times, do the Cities of their Neighbours. IV. It was not He, who found the Tomb of *Oreſtes*, and carried his Bones away; He only reported, at his Return to *Lacedemon*, that he

(1) Solinus, cap. 1. p. 9.

(2) Plut. in Apoph. pag. 233. C.

(3) Calviſius, ad Ann. mundi 3428.

(4) Id. ib. ad Ann. mundi 3440.

(5) Lib. 1. cap. 68, 69.

(6) *See* Calviſius, ad Annum mundi 3398.

(7) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 67.

(8) Pauſan. lib. 3. p. 83.

(9) *It ſhould be* Lychas, *as before.*

believ'd, that the Sepulchre of *Oreſtes* was at a Blackſmith's in *Tegea*. For this Blackſmith had inform'd him, that, as he was digging a Well in the Court of his Houſe, he met with a Tomb of ſeven Cubits, and that it appeared, by the Bones, that the Perſon, for whom it was made, was of That Stature. *Lychas* concluded from hence, that it was the Tomb of *Oreſtes*, becauſe the Oracle had ſaid, that it ſhould be found at *Tegea*, in a Place, where two Winds were driven with Violence, and where a Repreſentation of a Fight, and Wounds upon Wounds, were to be ſeen. He applied all this to the Smith's Bellows, Hammer, and Anvil. He only conjectur'd this, and communicated it to his Superiors, who thereupon baniſhed a Criminal. This Man retired to *Tegea*, and hired of the Blackſmith the Place, where the Tomb of ſeven Cubits had been diſcover'd; and took away the Bones of *Oreſtes*, and brought them to *Lacedemon*. V. It is not true, that the Oracle had ſaid, *That, in order to this Tranſlation, the Winds, the Striker, and the Stricken, were to be removed, with the Plague and Ruin of Men. Herodotus*, who is quoted in the Supplement, ſays no ſuch Thing. VI. There was no occaſion to *remove all theſe things*, in order to find the Tomb of *Oreſtes*; for it was not under the Forge; but in a Court, where the Smith ſet himſelf to dig a Well. VII. *The War did not ceaſe* as ſoon as the Bones of this Prince *were buried* at *Lacedemon. Herodotus* ſays only, that from That time the *Lacedemonians* had the Advantage in all their Wars with the Inhabitants of *Tegea*. Ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ὅκως ἐπειρῶατο ἀλλήλων πολλῷ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι (10). *Quo ex tempore Lacedæmonii, quoties cum Tegeatibus congreſſi ſunt, ſuperiores extitere.* VIII. And therefore it is not true, that the latter were *wholly ſubdued by the Lacedemonians*, as ſoon as the Bones of *Oreſtes* were buried in *Lacedemon*. IX. There was no occaſion to quote *Plutarch*; for he ſays nothing of what the Article imports.

(10) Herod. lib. 1. c. 68.

ANAXANDRIDES, a Comic Poet, a Native of *Camirum* [*A*], in the Iſle of *Rhodes*, flouriſhed about the CIſt Olympiad [*B*]. According to *Suidas*, he was the firſt, who brought upon the Stage Love-Adventures, and the Diſgrace, which attends young Ladies, who forfeit their Virginity (*a*). I can eaſily believe, that it was not till the Cth Olympiad, that they began to introduce upon the Stage a Character ſo difficult to ſupport as is That of ſuch young Ladies; but I cannot believe they deferred till that time intermixing Love in their Comedies. *Anaxandrides* was tall, and of a graceful Mien; he was very careful of his Hair, and dreſſed magnificently; he wore a purple Gown fringed with Gold (*b*). This Equipage did not ſuit with a Poet. He affected Pomp to ſuch a degree, that, on a day, when he was to read a Poem at *Athens*, he rode to the appointed Place, and recited part of the Piece on Horſeback. This Behaviour makes what is farther ſaid of him probable; *viz.* That he was extreamly diſguſted, whenever his Pieces did not obtain the Prize (*c*). He did not, like Others of his Profeſſion, reviſe and correct his Comedies, that they might enter the Liſts again with more Advantage. This capricious and moroſe Behaviour towards his Audiences occaſioned the Loſs of ſeveral fine Comedies of his Compoſition. But his Diſguſt muſt have often given way to paternal Affection; for he carried the Prize but ten times (*e*), and we find above twenty of his Plays quoted (ſee, in the Remark [*C*], the Reflexion of *Athenæus*); he compoſed Sixty five (*f*). The *Athenians* condemned him to be ſtarved to Death, for cenſuring their Government [*D*]. Perhaps the Comic Poet *Alexandrides* is only a Fault of the Tranſcriber; if ſo, we may ſubſtitute our *Anaxandrides* wherever we meet with the other [*E*].

(*a*) Πρῶτος ἔρωτας καὶ παρθένων φθορὰς εἰσήγαγεν. Primus amores, & ſtupra virginum introduxit in ſcænam. *Suidas.*

(*b*) Chamæleon Heracleotes, l. 6. de Comœdia apud Athen. lib. 9. pag. 374.

(*c*) Ὅτε γὰρ μὴ νικῴη λαμβάνων ἔδωκεν εἰς τὸν λιβανωτὸν κατατεμεῖν. *When he was conquered, he gave his Plays to be torn to pieces, and to wrap up Frankincenſe with.* Id. ib.

(*e*) Suidas.

(*f*) Idem.

[*A*] *A Native of* Camirum (1).] *Suidas* ſays ſo as well as *Chamæleon*; but he obſerves, that it was not the Opinion of all Authors. They were divided in their Sentiments concerning it; ſome of them would have *Anaxandrides* to be a *Colophonian*; others a *Rhodian*.

[*B*] *He flouriſh'd about the CIſt Olympiad.*] The anonymous Author of the Olympiads agrees, in this, with *Suidas*; and, as the latter obſerves, that *Anaxandrides* aſſiſted at the Games of King *Philip* of *Macedon*, he gives us a Matter of Fact, which fixes this Age of *Anaxandrides*. Beſides, it is well known, that this Poet abuſed *Plato* (2), and that ſome of his Comedies were cited by *Ariſtotle* (3). He muſt, therefore, have lived at the time mention'd by *Suidas*.

[*C*] *See in the Remark the Reflexion of* Athenæus.] Having quoted (4) a Verſe out of the *Tereus* of *Anaxandrides*, a Piece of no great Value, he takes an opportunity of mentioning what I have quoted from *Chamæleon*; after which, he aſks, with an Air of Aſtoniſhment, how it came to paſs, that the *Tereus*, and ſuch other Pieces of the ſame Author, which had not come off with Victory, were preſerv'd? He might have found the Solution of this Difficulty in the very Words of *Chamæleon*; for they clearly intimate, that *Anaxandrides* did not vent the Spleen, he had conceived from the Judgment of the Spectators, againſt his own Pieces, till he was an old Man. He, therefore, ſpared ſeveral of his vanquiſh'd Comedies, before Old Age had ſour'd his Temper. Πολλὰ ἔχοντα κομψῶς τῶν δραμάτων ἠφάνιζε, δυσκολαίνων τοῖς θεαταῖς διὰ τὸ γῆρας (5). *He deſtroy'd many excellent Performances, being exaſperated, through the peeviſhneſs of old Age, againſt the Spectators.*

[*D*] *The Athenians condemn'd him to be ſtarv'd to Death, for cenſuring their Government.*] In one of his Comedies he has this Verſe,

Ἡ πόλις ἐβούλεθ᾽ ᾗ νόμων οὐδὲν μέλει,
that is,
The State will have it ſo; the State, which pays no regard to the Laws.

He only alter'd a ſingle Word in this Verſe of *Euripides*.

Ἡ φύσις ἐβούλεθ᾽ ᾗ νόμων οὐδὲν μέλει (6).
that is
Nature, which obſerves no Laws, will have it ſo.

See *Euſtratius*, on the Tenth Chapter of the Sixth and Seventh Books of *Ariſtotle*'s Morals. It is thought, that *Ovid* intended this Puniſhment of *Anaxandrides*, when he ſaid in his Poem, in *Ibin. ver.* 523.

Utque parum ſtabili qui carmine læſit Athenas,
Inviſus pereas deficiente cibo.

Depriv'd of Food, may ſtarving be thy Fate,
Like His, whoſe Satire laſh'd the Athenian *State.*

[*E*] *We may ſubſtitute our* Anaxandrides *wherever we meet with the other.*] This is the Opinion of *Caſaubon* (7). His Reaſon is, becauſe *Suidas* makes no mention of *Alexandrides*; and becauſe the ſame Piece (8), which he aſcrib'd to *Alexandrides*, in the Eleventh Book of *Athenæus* (9), is cited under the Name of *Anaxandrides*, in the Fourteenth Book (10). *Caſaubon* adds a Third Reaſon. *Pollux*, in the Sixth Chapter of the Ninth Book, quotes the *Anchiſes* of *Alexandrides*: Now it is certain, that *Anaxandrides* compos'd a Piece with this Name; *Athenæus* cites it in the 18th Chapter of his 6th Book (11). *Meurſius* is altogether of *Caſaubon*'s Opinion. He will have the two or three Dramatic Pieces, which are aſcrib'd to *Alexandrides*.

(1) Camæleon Heracleotes, l. 6. de Comœdia, apud Athen. lib. 9. pag. 374.

(2) Laërtius, in Platon. lib. 3. n. 26. Edit. 1692.

(3) Ariſtot. Rhetor. l. 3. cap. 12.

(4) Athen. l. 9. p. 373.

(5) Id. ib. pag. 374.

(6) Euripid. ver. 295. inter incerta in Edit. Barneſii.

(7) Caſaub. in Athen. l. 6. cap. 18. pag. 455.

(8) *Entituled* μελίλωτος.

(9) Cap. 2. pag. 460.

(10) Cap. 20. pag. 654.

(11) P. 263.

Alexandrides, in the Editions of *Athenæus*, to belong to *Anaxandrides*. And he aſcribes the *Helena* (12) and the *Piſander* (13), mention'd by *Suidas*, under the Name of *Alexandrides*, to *Anaxandrides*. See page 87. of his Treatiſe of the Iſle of *Rhodes*. *Voſſius* is of the ſame Opinion (14). So that, according to this Account, which is probable enough, there are Thirty Pieces of *Anaxandrides* quoted. His *Theſeus*, mention'd by *Diogenes Laërtius* (15), was unknown to *Meurſius*. There is the like Confuſion with reſpect to one ANAXANDRIDES of *Delphos*. The Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* cites him, (16) Ἀναξανδρίδης ὁ Δελφὸς, in relation to the Penalty, impos'd on *Apollo*, of ſerving *Admetus* for Wages, as a puniſhment for having kill'd the Serpent *Python*. *Plutarch* cites him, (17) Ἀλεξανδρίδης ὁ Δελφὸς, in relation to the Money, which *Lyſander* depoſited in the Temple of *Delphos*. He mentions elſewhere (18) an *Anaxandrides*, in ſpeaking of the Times, when the Prieſteſs of *Delphos* delivered her Oracles. At firſt ſhe delivered them but once a Year. A long time after, ſhe delivered them once a Month. It is very probable, that, in theſe two Places, *Plutarch* quotes the ſame Author, and that this Author is the ſame with Him, who is mention'd by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*. The Queſtion is, whether his Name be *Alexandrides* or *Anaxandrides*. *Voſſius* cannot tell what to think of it (19). Without doubt, The Work, mention'd in the Collection of Proverbs, publiſh'd by *Andreas Schottus*, from a Manuſcript of the *Vatican*, muſt be aſcrib'd to the ſame *Anaxandrides*. The Subject of the Work, mention'd in That Collection, relates to the Sacrileges committed in the Temple of *Delphos*, Περὶ τῶν συληθέντων ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων, *de anathematis quæ ſacrilegio Delphis fuere ſublata*; and was written by one, whoſe Name was *Anaxandrides*. He relates a Story, which occaſion'd the Greek Proverb, ἄκρον λάβε, καὶ μέσον ἕξεις, *Take the upper Part, and you'll be ſure of the Middle*. See *Voſſius*, pag. 320. *de Hiſtoricis Græcis*.

(12) Suidas in Ἀβέλτερος.

(13) Id. in Ἀρεοπαγίτης.

(14) Voſſius de Poët. Gr. pag. 49.

(15) Diogen. Laërt. l. 3. n. 26.

(16) In Alceſtid. init.

(17) Plut. in Lyſandro, pag. 443.

(18) Id in Quæſt. Romanis, pag. 292.

(19) Voſſ. de Hiſt. Græc. pag. 502.

ANCHISES, a *Trojan* Prince, deſcended from *Dardanus*, and the Son of *Capys* (*a*), pleaſed *Venus* ſo much, that ſhe appeared to him in the Shape of a Nymph, in order to declare her Paſſion to him. She told him, that her Deſtiny obliged her to offer herſelf to him in Marriage; aſſuring him, that he ſhould find her a Virgin (*b*), and intreating him to preſent her to his Relations, that the Contract of Marriage might be ſpeedily drawn up. *Anchiſes* replied, like a briſk Man, that, ſince ſhe was no Goddeſs, nothing ſhould hinder him from enjoying her upon the Spot (*c*). She took him at his Word, and to Bed they went, *&c.* Towards Evening, *Anchiſes* fell aſleep, and, when he awaked, he perceived, that he had lain with a Goddeſs. He feared he ſhould not long ſurvive ſuch an Adventure [*A*]; but *Venus* revived his Spirits, and told him, ſhe ſhould have a Son by him, whoſe Name ſhould be *Æneas*; that ſhe would employ the Wood-Nymphs to nurſe the Child, 'till he was five Years of Age; and that, then, he ſhould be put into His Hands. She deſired him to beware of boaſting, that he had lain with *Venus*; and aſſured him, that if ever he ſhould be ſo indiſcreet, he would be Thunder-ſtruck by *Jupiter* (*d*). It is ſaid, that *Anchiſes* could

(*a*) Homer. Il. lib. 20. ver. 239.

(*b*) Ἀπειρήτην φιλότητος. Imperitam venerei congreſſus. *Hom. in Hymno Veneris.*

(*c*) Πρὶν σῇ φιλότητι μιγῆναι αὐτίκα νῦν. Quo minus tibi in amore miſcear ſtatim nunc. *Id. ib.*

(*d*) Id. ib.

[*A*] *He fear'd he ſhould not long ſurvive ſuch an Adventure.*] It was a Tradition, in thoſe Times, that Mortals, who lay with Goddeſſes, were not long liv'd. Wherefore *Anchiſes*, diſcovering his Adventure, ſupplicated *Venus* to have Compaſſion on him.

Ἀλλά σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι αἰγιόχοιο
Μή με ζῶντ' ἀμενηνὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐάσῃς
Ναίειν· ἀλλ' ἐλέαιρ', ἐπεὶ οὐ βιοθάλμιος ἀνὴρ
Γίγνεται, ὅστε θεαῖς εὐνάζεται ἀθανάτῃσι (1).

By Jove *I beg, the Pow'r who gave thee Birth,*
Let me not drag a wretched Life on Earth;
But, O! ſome pity ſhew; ſince ſhort the Date
(Such is th' irrevocable Will of Fate)
Of Him, who takes a Goddeſs to his Arms,
And boaſts th' Enjoyment of immortal Charms.

(1) Homer. in hymno Veneris pag. 848.

This Sentiment of the Antients appears, at firſt View, to be ill-grounded; for this intimate Union of Mortal with Immortal Beings, this Mixture, this Confuſion of Principles, ought to have been look'd upon as productive of Immortality, not as tending to ſhorten Life. Hence it is, that the moſt refined *Cabala* teaches, that the Elementary Inhabitants repair the Misfortune of their Deſtiny, which ſubjects them to Annihilation, *by the Alliance, which they contract with Mankind——Thus a Nymph, or Sylphid, becomes immortal, and capable of the Beatitude, to which we aſpire, when ſhe is ſo happy as to be married to a Philoſopher: And a Gnome, or Sylphe, ceaſes to be mortal, as ſoon as he marries one of our Females* (2). But if we conſider the Matter in all it's Lights, we ſhall find, that *Anchiſes*'s Fear, and the Maxim he alledged, were founded upon a ſpecious Reaſon. According to the Notions of the *Pagans*, The Gods were jealous of their Superiority, and took great Care, that Men ſhould not forget their Inferiority: It was therefore their Buſineſs to exclude them from the Enjoyment of Goddeſſes, to make them underſtand, that ſuch dainty Morſels were not for Them. It was proper to threaten an exemplary Puniſhment, ſuch as a ſpeedy Death, if they preſumed to taſte a Pleaſure of this Nature, which the Gods reſerv'd for themſelves. It was requiſite to deter Mortals, not only from being ſo bold as to tempt a Goddeſs, but even from yielding to Declarations of Love made them by Goddeſſes, tho' under the Appearance and Diſguiſe of Women. Don't we ſee, that Human Laws puniſh with Death Servants, who debauch their Maſters Wives, or Daughters? 'Tis in vain for them to alledge in their Excuſe, that they have reſiſted repeated Sollicitations; and that ſo many Advances have been made them, and ſo many Threatnings denounc'd againſt them, that it was impoſſible for them to avoid the Snare; the Judge delivers them up to the Executioner, even upon a Suppoſition that their Excuſes are real and undeniable. The Gazettes have lately (3) inform'd us, that a Footman was hang'd at *Paris* for ſuch an Act. And, as, in ſome Caſes, the Publick Intereſt requires, that the Rigour of the Law ſhould go beyond Juſtice, becauſe an Injury done to a private Perſon (4) is leſs an Evil, politically ſpeaking, than the Publick Advantage, which accrues from it, is a Good; I do not believe, that Judges, animated with a rigorous Zeal for the Preſervation of Chaſtity in Families, would regard the Apology of a Servant, who ſhould alledge, that his Maſter's Daughter, or Wife, came to him in the Diſguiſe of a Servant-Maid, *&c.* It is neceſſary, that Lacqueys ſhould have no Pardon to hope for, even when they can plead Ignorance; becauſe ſuch Severity will keep them more upon their Guard, and make them look with Horror upon the pretended Advantage of being belov'd. It will ſerve them as a Precaution againſt Promiſes, Threats, and cunning Diſguiſes. If they could promiſe themſelves Impunity, in caſe they debauch'd a Lady in Diſguiſe, they would expect it in the Caſe of Simple Seduction; and, might they hope to go unpuniſhed, by pleading Sollicitation, they would quickly venture to turn Sollicitors themſelves, wherever they had the leaſt Hopes of Succeſs. It is neceſſary, therefore, to keep them in awe as much as poſſible; for a Maſter, who has no reaſon to believe, that his Servant will be ſo honeſt as to reſiſt all Sollicitation, can never be entirely free from Suſpicion. Now, as the Pagans look'd upon Men of the higheſt Rank to be more inferior to the Gods, than a Lacquey is to a Great Lord, we cannot wonder, that the Courts above expos'd *Anchiſes* to a ſevere Puniſhment, tho' he enjoy'd *Venus* under the Diſguiſe of a Woman.

(2) *See the* Comte de Gabalis, p. 54.

(3) *I write this in* 1698.

(4) *See* Tacitus, Annal. l. 14. c. 44.

could not keep the Secret of his good Fortune [*B*]; and that it eſcaped him, as he was one day drinking with his Friends. *Venus*'s Menace had it's Effect; he was ſtruck with a Thunder-Bolt; but was not killed by it [*C*]. Some ſay he only loſt his Sight by it [*D*]; others pretend, that the Wound could never be cloſed [*E*]. It is

[*B*] *It is ſaid, that* Anchiſes *cou'd not keep the Secret of his good Fortune.*] Yet *Venus*'s Menace was very terrible.

> Εἰ δὲ κεν ἐξείπῃς καὶ ἐπεύξεαι ἄφρονι θυμῷ
> Ἐν φιλότητι μιγῆναι ἐϋστεφάνῳ Κυθερείῃ,
> Ζεύς σε χολωσάμενος βαλέει ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ (5)
>
> *But, indiſcreet, ſhould'ſt thou reveal my Love,*
> *Thunder ſhall blaſt Thee from the Hand of* Jove.

This Adventure is a Picture, which is often copied. Ladies of the higheſt Quality, who fall in Love with their Inferiors, are obliged to make all the Advances. They exact Secrecy, and threaten Indiſcretion with terrible Puniſhment: And yet The Favourite, when he is a little heated with Wine, will be blabbing. Sometimes Vanity prompts him to ſay too much, even when he is ſober. I ſhall quote ſome Authorities in relation to this Indiſcretion of *Anchiſes*. "Fulminatus eſt Anchiſes, quia ſe cum Venere concubuiſſe jactabat." —— Anchiſes *was thunder-ſtruck for boaſting, that he had lain with* Venus." They are *Servius*'s Words (6). *Hyginus* ſays, "Venus Anchiſem Aſſaraci filium amaſſe, & cum eo concubuiſſe dicitur: Procreavit Æneam, eique præcepit ne id apud homines enunciaret. Quod Anchiſes inter ſodales per vinum eſt elocutus. Ob id à Jove fulmine eſt ictus (7). —— "Venus *is ſaid to have fallen in Love with* Anchiſes, *the Son of* Aſſaracus (8), *and to have lain with him. She conceiv'd* Æneas *by him, and enjoyn'd him not to reveal it to Men. But* Anchiſes *in his Cups diſclos'd the Secret to his Companions; for which Reaſon he was thunder-ſtruck by* Jupiter".

[*C*] *He was ſtruck with a Thunder-bolt, but was not kill'd by it.*] *Venus*, diſcovering that *Anchiſes* had boaſted of the Favours ſhe had beſtowed upon him, made her complaints to *Jupiter*, and obtain'd that he ſhould be Thunder-ſtruck: But, not being willing to deſtroy him, and knowing he could not recover from the Stroke of a Thunder-bolt, ſhe took care to turn it aſide. "Cum inter æquales exultaret Anchiſes, gloriatus traditur de concubitu Veneris, quod cum Jovi Venus queſta eſſet, emeruit ut in Anchiſem fulmina mitterentur. Sed Venus eum cum fulmine poſſe vidiſſet interimi, miſerata juvenem in aliam partem detorſit. Anchiſes tamen afflatus igne cœleſti ſemper debilis vixit (9)." This is another Original, of which Copies have been taken in all Ages. The Fair are angry with an indiſcreet Gallant, and are fond of making him ſenſible of his Fault; but They do not carry it too far; there is room left for Repentance.

[*D*] *He only loſt his Sight by it.*] *Servius* informs us, that *Anchiſes*'s Sight was blaſted by Lightning for boaſting of the Favours he had received from *Venus*; *Quod cum jactaret Anchiſes afflatus eſt fulmine, oculoque privatus eſt* (10). The *Singular Oculo* muſt not make us think, that he loſt but one Eye; for, in another Place (11), *Servius* makes uſe of the Authority of *Theocritus* to inform us, that it was a real Blindneſs.

[*E*] *Others pretend, that the Wound could never be cloſed.*] In *Virgil*, he complains only of a great Weakneſs, which the Thunder had occaſioned in him.

> Jampridem inviſus divis & inutilis annos
> Demoror, ex quo me divum pater atque hominum Rex
> Fulminis adflavit ventis, & contigit igni (12).
>
> *'Tis long, ſince I, for my cœleſtial Wife,*
> *Loath'd by the Gods, have dragged a lingring Life;*
> *Since ev'ry Hour and Moment I expire,*
> *Blaſted from Heav'n by* Jove'*s avenging Fire.*
>
> DRYDEN.

I wonder, that *Scarron*, whoſe Burleſque Paraphraſe of this Paſſage of *Virgil*, ſhews that he was not ignorant of the Cauſe of this Misfortune, has not given it a more humorous Turn; the Subject, I think, was capable of being ſet in a very ludicrous Light, eſpecially in the Hands of ſuch a Poet. However, this is his Tranſlation.

> Vieil, caſſé, mal propre à la guerre,
> Je ne ſers de rien ſur la terre;
> Spectre qui n'ai plus que la voix,
> J'y ſuis un inutile poids.
> Depuis le tems que de ſon foudre
> Jupin me voulut mettre en poudre,
> Depuis le tems qu'il m'effraya
> Ce grand Dieu qui me giboya,
> Par une vengeance ſecrette;
> Mais je ſuis perſonne diſcrete,
> Je n'en dirai point le ſujet;
> Suffit que j'aurois eu mon fait
> Sans Venus qui ſauva ma vie.
> J'ay depuis eu cent fois envie
> De m' aller pendre un beau matin,
> Et finir mon chien de deſtin.
>
> *Crazy, and old, I curſe my Birth,*
> *An uſeleſs Load to Mother Earth;*
> *Since* Jove, *to cruſh* Anchiſes *dead,*
> *Darted his Thunder at my Head.*
> *A ſecret Vengeance on me fell;*
> *The Reaſon why - - - - - I muſt not tell - - - -*
> *A Vengeance, which had been my end,*
> *Had not Dame* Venus *ſtood my Friend.*
> *An hundred times I have intended*
> *This wretched Corps ſhould be ſuſpended;*
> *And, hanging on ſome fatal Tree,*
> *To end That Bitch, my Deſtiny.*

If we compare together a Paſſage of *Plutarch*, and another of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, we ſhall prove, that the Thunderbolt inflicted a Wound, which never cloſed up. *Plutarch* ſays (13), that if Musk gives a good Scent to the moſt ragged Cloaths (14); on the other hand, an Ulcer makes the richeſt Garments ſtink. This is his Thought; but, whereas I make him ſpeak in general, he inſtances particularly in *Anchiſes*. The *Greek* runs thus;

> Τοῦ δ' Ἀγχίσου τὸ ῥάκος ἰχῶρα πονηρὸν ἐξεδίδου,
> Μοτοῦ καταστάζοντα βύσσινον φαρος.

Now, ſince, according to the common Acceptation, the Word ῥάκος ſignifies Rags and Tatters; it is not probable, that it is the true reading of the *Greek* Text: Wherefore a learned Critic reads ἕλκος, *a Wound, or an Ulcer,* inſtead of ῥάκος (15). The Senſe, then, is This; Anchiſes's *Wound, oozing thro' the dreſſing, diſtained his Linnen Garment.* It it not ſufficient to know, that *Plutarch* quotes the Words of a Poet; we ſhould know who he is (16). *Meziriac* will inform us of this; He found them in *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* (17), who quotes ſome Lines of *Sophocles*, the third whereof is the ſame which *Plutarch* quotes.

> Νῦν δ' ἐν πύλαισιν Αἰνείας ὁ τῆς θεοῦ
> Πάρεσ' ἐπ' ὤμων πατέρ' ἔχων, κεραυνίου
> Μοτοῦ καταστάζοντα βύσσινον φάρος (18).
>
> *Next the Son of* Venus *appeared at the Gates, carrying his Father on his Shoulders, whoſe Wound, cauſed by Thunder, ſtill continued to ſtain his Linnen Garment.*

Meziriac has corrected a Fault in the beginning of the third Verſe of *Sophocles*; inſtead of νώτου, as we read in all the Editions *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, he has put μοτοῦ. In which there is nothing contrary to the Rules of Criticiſm. The comparing of Authors, who is ſaid he lived to the Age of Eighty Years, and was buried on Mount *Ida* [*F*], where his Tomb was honoured by the Shepherds. This Opinion differs very much from That of *Virgil*; for, according to That Poet, the ſame Night that *Troy* was taken, *Æneas* took his Father upon his Shoulders [*G*], and carried him to a Place of Safety; nor did the old Man die, before the *Trojans*, who joined *Æneas*, arrived in *Sicily*, after innumerable Fatigues. This Affection of *Æneas* for his Father, and the Care he took to ſave the *Penates*, are the Foundation of the Character, which diſtinguiſhes him from other Heroes: This Character conſiſts in Piety *(e)*. Some ſay, that *Anchiſes* lived 'till his Son's Arrival in *Italy*, That Land of Promiſe, which the Deſtinies commanded him to go in ſearch of, amidſt a thouſand Dangers *(f)*. *Cato*, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, and *Strabo*, are of this Opinion. See the end of the Remark [*F*]. Laſtly, the Love of *Venus* for *Anchiſes* was not a tranſient Paſſion; her firſt Lying-in did not ſatisfy her; ſhe bore a ſecond Son to *Anchiſes*, as *Apollodorus* tells us in the third Book of his *Bibliotheca*.

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(5) Homer. in Hymn. Vener. ſub finem.

(6) Servius in Æneid. lib. 2. ver. 649.

(7) Hyg. cap. 94.

(8) Hyginus *ſhould have ſaid that* Capys *was his Father, and not* Aſſaracus, *who was* Capys's *Father.*

(9) Servius in Æneid. lib. 2. ver. 649.

(10) Servius *upon theſe two Lines of the firſt Book of the Æneid;* Tunc ille Æneas, quem Dardanio Anchiſæ Alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoënitis ad undas?

(11) In Æneid. lib. 2. ver. 687.

(12) Virgil. Æn. lib. 2. ver. 647.

(13) Plutarch de Vitio & Virtute, Oper. moral. pag. 100.

(14) *I keep to the Senſe, not the Words, of* Plutarch.

(15) Meziriac, Ovid's Epiſtles, p. 671.

(16) Ibid. pag. 670.

(17) Dion. Halicarn. lib. 1. c. 48.

(18) *These Verſes of* Sophocles *are taken from his* Laocoon.

(e) Virgil *often calls him* Pius Æneas.

(f) *See among other Paſſages the firſt Book of the* Æneids, ver. 205, & 258.

who have, at different times, quoted the ſame Paſſage, often diſcovers the true Reading. *Sylburgius*, who reviſed the *Latin* Tranſlation of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, done by *Sigiſmund Gelenius*, has not corrected the third Verſe of *Sophocles*. *Gelenius*'s Verſion of the three Lines is This;

Nunc in porta eſt Æneas Deæ filius,
Humeris bajulans Patrem fulminata
Terga amictum fluxa veſte byſſina.

Here is nothing of the ſuppurating Wound; beſides, *Anchiſes* is repreſented as wounded in the Back; that is, the Tranſlator has omitted what *Sophocles* ſaid, and added what he did not ſay. If the ancient Writers were to return into the World, they would be amazed to find ſo many things in their Books, which they never dreamt of.

[*F*] *He was buried on Mount* Ida.] *Euſtathius* relates this (19), but *Pauſanias* is of a different Opinion. He ſays, that *Æneas*, going to *Sicily*, put into *Laconia*, and built there two Cities; and that *Anchiſes*, dying at the Foot of a Mountain in *Arcadia*, was buried there; for which Reaſon the Mountain was called *Anchiſia* (20). *Pauſanias* adds, That the Ruins of a Temple of *Venus* were ſeen near this Sepulchre of *Anchiſes*; and that the Inhabitants of *Troy* could no where ſhew the Tomb of This old Man. *Stephen* of *Byzantium* ſays, that *Anchiſes* was buried in a City of *Thrace*, built by *Æneas* (21); or rather, he quotes an old Scholiaſt, whoſe Name was *Theon*, who ſaid ſo. *Tzetzes* is of the ſame Opinion; only he ſays, that This City was in *Macedonia* (22). *Virgil* carries the good Man as far as *Sicily*, where he makes him die; with this he concludes the long Story, which his Hero related to Queen *Dido*.

Hinc Drepani me portus & illætabilis ora
Accipit. Hinc pelagi tot tempeſtatibus actus,
Heu genitorem, omnis curæ caſuſque levamen,
Amitto Anchiſen. Hic me, pater optime, feſſum
Deſeris, heu tantis nequicquam erepte periclis (23).

At length on Shore the weary Fleet arriv'd;
Which Drepanum's *unhappy Port receiv'd.*
Here, after endleſs Labours, often toſt
By raging Storms, and driven on ev'ry Coaſt,
My dear, dear Father, ſpent with Age, I loſt;
Eaſe of my Care, and Solace of my Pain,
Sav'd thro' a thouſand Toils, but ſav'd in vain.

DRYDEN.

(19) Euſtathius, in Iliad. l. 12.

(20) Pauſan. lib. 8. pag. 247.

(21) Steph. Byzant. in Αἰνεια.

(22) In Lycophr.

(23) Virgil. Æn. lib. 3. ver. 707.

Servius tells us, that *Anchiſes*'s Tomb was on Mount *Eryce* near *Drepanum* (24). I have named three Writers, who ſay, that *Anchiſes* died in *Italy*. *Cato* (25), *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* (26), *Strabo* (27), are my Authorities.

[*G*] *Took his Father upon his Shoulders.*] The Words of *Virgil* are ſo excellent, that they deſerve to be inſerted in this place.

Ergo age, chare pater, cervici imponere noſtræ,
Ipſe ſubibo humeris, nec me labor iſte gravabit (28).
- - - - - - - - -
Hæc fatus, latos humeros ſubjectaque colla
Veſte ſuper, fulvique inſternor pelle leonis,
Succedoque oneri. Dextræ ſe parvus Iülus
Implicuit, ſequiturque patrem non paſſibus æquis
- - - - - - - (29).
Nunc omnes terrent auræ: ſonus excitat omnis
Suſpenſum, & pariter comitique onerique timentem (30).

Haſte, my dear Father, ('tis no time to wait)
And load my Shoulders with a willing Freight.
- - - - - - - -
Thus, ordering all that Prudence could provide,
I cloath my Shoulders with a Lion's Hide,
And yellow Spoils; then on my bending Back
The welcome Load of my dear Father take:
While on my better Hand Anchiſes *hung,*
And with unequal Paces tript along.
- - - - - - - -
At ev'ry Shadow I am ſeiz'd with Fear,
Not for myſelf, but for the Charge I bear.

DRYDEN.

The Poets have highly extolled this Action; and it deſerved it. They ſay, that the Flames had a regard for *Æneas*, and that, for fear of hurting a Son, who ſhewed ſo great an Affection for his Father, they divided, and left a free Paſſage for him (31).

(24) Serv. in Æn. lib. 1. ver. 570.

(25) Apud Servium ib.

(26) Antiq. lib. 1. c. 64.

(27) Lib. 5. pag. 158.

(28) Virgil. Æn. lib. 2. ver. 707.

(29) Ibid. ver. 721.

(30) Ibid. ver. 728.

(31) *See ſeveral Authorities for this in* La Cerda's *Commentary upon this Paſſage of* Virgil.

ANCILLON (DAVID), Miniſter of the Reformed Church at *Metz*, was born in that Town *(a)*, the Seventeenth of *March*, 1617. *At Nine or Ten Years of Age*, he ſtudied in the College of the Jeſuits, which was then *the only One at* Metz, *where good Literature was taught (b)*; and from the very firſt he proved ſo hopeful a Youth, that the chief Perſons of the Society *neglected nothing to give him a Reliſh of their Religion, and make him one of their Order*; but he vigorouſly oppoſed them; *and from that time took up a Reſolution to ſtudy Divinity (c)*. He was ſo indefatigable in his Studies *(d)*, that it was often neceſſary to employ the paternal Authority to interrupt them; for *he was exceſſively, and, if I may ſo ſay, intemperately ſtudious (e)*. He took a Journey to *Geneva*, in the Year 1633 *(f)*, where he went through a Courſe of Philoſophy under Mr *du Pan (g)*, and ſtudied Divinity under the Profeſſors *Spanheim*, *Deodati*, and *Tronchin*, who had a particular Love and Eſteem for him *(h)*. He left *Geneva*, in the Month of *April* 1641, and preſented himſelf to the Synod of *Charenton*, to be admitted into the Miniſtry *(i)*. His Examiners admired his Capacity, and the Miniſters of *Paris* his Modeſty *(k)*; and the whole Aſſembly

(a) *Diſcourſe on the Life of Mr* Ancillon, p. 6.

(b) Ib. p. 8.

(c) Ib. p. 9.

(d) Ib. p. 13.

(e) Ibid. p. 13, 14.

(f) Ibid. pag. 14.

(g) Ibid. pag. 18.

(h) Ibid. pag. 20, 21.

(i) Ibid. pag. 31.

(k) Ibid. pag. 35.

ſembly was ſo well pleaſed with him, that they gave him the moſt *conſiderable vacant Benefice* (*l*); which was That of *Meaux*. He exerciſed his Miniſtry there, with all imaginable Satisfaction, 'till the Year 1653. He was tenderly beloved by his Flock; and He married very advantageouſly [*A*]. He acquired a great Reputation by his Learning, Eloquence, and Virtue; and the *Roman* Catholics themſelves had a particular Eſteem for him. He diſplay'd his fine Talents, with greater Luſtre and Succeſs, at *Metz*, where he was Miniſter from the Year 1653, 'till the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantz* in 1685. After this fatal Blow, he retired to *Francfort* (*m*), and, having preached in the *French* Church at *Hanaw*, *the whole Congregation were ſo edified, that they immediately deſired a meeting of the Heads of each Family, to requeſt him to afford them his Miniſtry* (*n*).—He agreed to the Propoſal, which was made to him by ſome Deputies, who *obtained all that they deſired. He began to exerciſe his Miniſtry in That Church, at the end of the Year* 1685 (*o*). We ſhall ſee, why he ſoon returned to *Francfort* [*B*]; where he would have taken up his Reſidence, had not the Condition of his Family, *which was numerous*, obliged him *to go where he might ſettle them* (*p*). He made choice of *Berlin*, and met with a very favourable Reception from his Electoral Highneſs of *Brandenburg* (*q*). He was made Miniſter of *Berlin*, and had the Satisfaction to ſee his eldeſt Son appointed *Judge and Director of the* French, *who were in that City* (*r*); and his other Son gratified with a Penſion, and maintained in the Univerſity of *Francfort* on the *Oder*, and at laſt Miniſter in Ordinary at the Capital (*s*). He had likewiſe the Satisfaction of ſeeing his Brother *made Judge of the* French,

[*A*] *He married very advantageouſly.*] The manner how this Affair was managed is very curious. “The chief Heads of the Families at *Meaux*, being ſenſible of the great Worth of their Miniſter, and and hearing him often give out, that he would return to *Metz*, to viſit his Father, and his Relations, whom he had not ſeen for ſeveral Years, were afraid of loſing him. They ſought a thouſand Expedients to engage his longer Continuance among them. The ſureſt way, they thought, was to marry him to a rich Perſon, worthy of him, and whoſe Eſtate lay in that Country, or in the Neighbourhood. Some one recollected, that he had heard ſay, that Mr *Ancillon*, having preached one Sunday Morning at *Charenton*, met with a general Applauſe; but that, above all others, Mr *Macaire*, a venerable old Man, of an exemplary Virtue and Piety, and who had a great Eſtate in *Paris*, and about *Meaux*, beſtowed on him a thouſand Benedictions, and Praiſes, and ſaid in the hearing of many, who ſat near him at Church, *That he but one Daughter, his only Child, whom he tenderly loved, but that, if That Gentleman*, meaning Mr *Ancillon*, *ſhould come and demand her of him in Marriage, he would give her to him with all his Heart.* They went to him, and asked him, whether he continued in the ſame Mind. He anſwered, that he did; and added new Teſtimonies of Eſteem and Affection for Mr *Ancillon*; inſomuch, that the Marriage was concluded in the Year 1649, and conſummated a little while after. *D. Mary Macaire*, his Spouſe, was very young, being but fourteen Years of Age. But, having, at theſe tender Years, every growing Virtue, it will appear, by the Sequel of this Diſcourſe, that ſhe proved not only an Help to him in Piety, and an agreeable Companion; but that he relied upon her entirely in the Management of his domeſtic Concerns (1).

[*B*] *He ſoon returned to* Francfort.] His Sermons were ſoon the Subject of Converſation at *Hanaw* (2). “Several Perſons, who had left the *French* Congregation out of Diſcontent, returned to it again. The Profeſſors of Divinity, the *German* and *Dutch* Miniſters, were often his Hearers. The Count of *Hanaw* himſelf, who had never been ſeen in that Church, was pleaſed to come and hear Mr *Ancillon*: They came thither from the neighbouring Places, and even from *Francfort*. - - - - - People, who did not underſtand *French*, came thither in Crouds, ſaying, *it was a Pleaſure to them to ſee him ſpeak. Inde iræ & lachrymæ.* This Diſtinction gave Jealouſy to the other two Miniſters: Nature, diſordered by this Paſſion, forgot her Duty (3). They took Umbrage at the Marks of Eſteem and and Affection, which were ſhewn to this new Colleague; they were chagrin'd at it; and created him a thouſand Diſquiets, to oblige him voluntarily to quit a Poſt, from which they could not drive him. The Virtue of Mr *Ancillon* was expoſed to a ſecond Trial. For his two Relations (4), who had ſhewn a great Readineſs to oblige him, and ſeemed to wiſh they could turn Stones into Bread, for his Comfort, all the Time he was in their City, as [illegible]tranger, began to ſhun him, when he had the [illegible]ion of their Flock: They created him a thouſand Mortifications; and, if it had been in their Power, they would willingly have turned Bread into Stones, to expel him; ſo burthenſome was he grown to them. - - - - - - - This Conduct produced two conſiderable Effects (5): One was, That the *Roman* Catholics, and the Prophane, made it a Subject of Raillery. The other, that it exaſperated the People (6). Mr *Ancillon* was their Favorite, and, if he would have made uſe of it, might, perhaps, have ſurmounted the Malice of his Enemies; but, as he was of Opinion, that a faithful Paſtor ought not to eſtabliſh himſelf at the expence of a Diviſion between the Flock, and their Miniſters, and as he had ever been an Enemy to Parties, and exclaimed againſt Cabals and Factions, he would take no Advantage of the Diſpoſition of the People towards him, nor ſuffer them to ſtir in the Affair. ——— Having, therefore, tried whatever Charity and Honeſty ſuggeſted to him, in Order to bring theſe two Men to their Duty, he reſolv'd to leave *Hanaw*; a Town, which he had looked upon as a Place of Refuge, or a ſecure Harbour, after a Storm; but which was now become a Field of Battel, in which he muſt continually fight, and where his Patience, which had already undergone ſeveral great Trials, might at laſt be overcome; he therefore determined to abandon it (7). ——— He left *Hanaw*, without Noiſe, when it was leaſt expected; or rather, he ſuffered himſelf to be reſcued out of the Hands of his Enemies, and of his Friends (8). The former, holding him, as it were, by one Hand, treated him ill; the latter, holding him by the other, endeavoured to reſcue him from Oppreſſion; and both were ready to come to an Engagement, and try their Strength. To avoid this Scandal, he ſacrificed his Intereſt to the Public Peace; he went away privately, leaſt his Friends, by endeavouring to ſtop him, ſhould kindle a Fire, lurking under the Aſhes, which he was willing to extinguiſh.”

A REMARK upon the Jealouſy of Eloquence.

I have obſerved, I think, elſewhere (9), that the Jealouſy of Eloquence is of all the moſt violent; the ſcandalous Diviſions it produces are but too frequently ſeen. The Reflexions, which may be made upon it, are only fit to be ſuppreſſed. The Subject is too nice, and too invidious. I ſhall only remark, without alluding to any particular Caſe, that, in this Affair, the People do not behave with due Prudence and Charity. They ſhould chuſe Paſtors of nearly equal Abilities; or, if one among them is remarkably ſuperior to his Colleagues, they ſhould not diſtinguiſh him in ſo particular a manner. They have no regard to human Weakneſs; they run in Crowds to the Sermons of one Preacher, and leave the Auditory of the

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(*l*) Ibid. pag. 36.

(*m*) Ibid. pag. 352.

(*n*) Ibid. pag. 353.

(*o*) Ibid. pag. 354.

(*p*) Ibid. pag. 366.

(*q*) Ibid. pag. 372, & ſeq.

(*r*) Ibid. pag. 375.

(*s*) Ibid. pag. 397.

(1) *Diſcourſe on the Life of Mr* Ancillon, pag. 75. & ſeq.

(2) Ibid. pag. 354.

(3) Ibid. pag. 356.

(4) *One of them had been married to Mr* Ancillon's *Siſter, and the other was actually married to his Niece.* ibid. pag. 353.

(5) Ibid. pag. 357.

(6) Ibid. pag. 359.

(7) Ibid. pag. 360.

(8) Ibid. pag. 361.

(9) *In the Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* ATTICUS.

French, *in the States of* Brandenburg [*C*]; and Mr *Cayart*, his Son-in-law, Engineer to his Electoral Highneſs (*t*). He enjoyed theſe Comforts, and ſeveral others, 'till his Death, which he underwent with all the Sentiments of Piety of a true Miniſter of JESUS CHRIST, at *Berlin*, on the 3d of *September* 1692, being Seventy five Years of Age (*u*). I could have made this Article much longer than I have done; for the Book, out of which I have taken it, contains many Particulars: But it being a Work, which it will be more eaſy to conſult, than to procure this Dictionary, I thought it more adviſeable to refer the Reader to it, than to make too many Extracts from it (*x*). I ſhould take another Method, if I had only Manuſcript Memoirs. I ſhall inſiſt but upon two Particulars; one of which relates to the Library of the late Mr *Ancillon*, and his manner of ſtudying [*D*]; the other relates to the Books, which

(*t*) Ibid. pag. 395.

(*u*) Ibid. pag. 487.

(*x*) *It is intituled*, A Diſcourſe on the Life of the late Mr *Ancillon*, and his laſt Moments. *It was printed at* Baſil *in* 1698, *and contains* 500 *pages in* 12mo.

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reſt almoſt empty. They take ſo little Care to conceal their Preference, that their Imprudence may be accounted the chief Cauſe of the Diſcord. It is a Seed of Diſſenſion: wiſe Men are not ſo indiſcreet: All Auditors ſhould follow this Model; but, becauſe it can ſcarce be expected that the People will be ſo prudent, perhaps the beſt way would be, that thoſe, who proceed to Elections, ſhould avoid too great an Inequality of Talents, and conſider, that, in ſome Profeſſions, many Perſons approve of this Law of the *Epheſians*, *Let no one among us excel; and, if any one has this Advantage, let him be rather any where elſe, than in our City* (10). This Law was condemned by *Heraclitus* (11); but he was a Philoſopher. The following Remark was made by the Author of the Book, which I have often quoted. “Mr *Ancillon*, *ſays he* (12), having none of the Faults, which have been obſerved to be the uſual Cauſes of the Diviſions, which happen among Miniſters of the ſame Church, *viz*. I. A fond Conceit of one's own Opinions, and a Deſire of ſpreading them; II. A love of Eſteem and worldly Glory; III. A love of Power; IV. A love of Intereſt; and having beſides a reſpect for Mr *Ferry*'s old Age (13), and his Merit, which was Proof againſt a great Number of Years, forced, as it were, that great Man to remain conſtantly united to him.”

[*C*] *He had the Satisfaction of ſeeing his Brother* (14) *made Judge of the* French, *in the States of* Brandenburg.] “An Office, which he ſtill actually exerciſes with Honour; but, as laborious as it is, it does not ſo wholly engroſs his Time, as to prevent him from publiſhing ſeveral ſolid and judicious Pieces, in the Journals of *Berlin*, which ſhews the Solidity, and vaſt Extent, of his Knowledge and Learning (15).”

[*D*] *The Library of the late Mr* Ancillon, *and his manner of Studying.*] The Eſtate, which he gained by his Marriage, having put him in a Condition of “gratifying his favourite Paſſion (16), he bought all the capital Books, which may be called *the Pillars of a great Library*; ſuch as the moſt curious Bibles, either for the Editions or Notes; ſeveral Dictionaries; the moſt excellent Commentaries on the Scripture; the Works of the Fathers; Collections of Councils; Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories; and ſeveral others of the like Nature; all of the beſt Editions (17). He obſerved this Maxim ever after, and gave good Reaſons for it. An Account of which would be too tedious; however, the Subſtance of them, in few Words, is this. He ſaid, that the leſs the Eye is fatigued in reading a Book, the more at liberty the Mind is to judge of it. That, as the Beauties and Faults of it are more eaſily perceived, when it is printed, than in Manuſcript; ſo the ſame Beauties and Faults are more clearly ſeen, when it is printed in a fair Character, and upon good Paper, than when it is printed on bad Paper, or with a bad Letter. Having thus laid a good Foundation for a Library, he increaſed it with all the good Books, which came out afterwards. He had the Pleaſure of reading all the new Books; for his Friends in *Paris*, *Holland*, *England*, *Germany*, *Swiſſerland*, and *Geneva*, with whom he kept a ſtrict Correſpondence, ſent them to him, as ſoon as they were expoſed to Sale. The Opinion of thoſe, who ſay, that the firſt Editions are the leaſt valuable, becauſe they are of no uſe, but to make the Works of an Author appear in a fairer Character, did not abate his Curioſity. He was not ignorant, that the famous Mr *Menage*, Dean of St *Peter*'s, at *Angers*, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to his Etymologies of the *French* Tongue, ſpeaking to Mr *Du Puy*, tells him, That he had formerly learnt from him, that Mr *Loyſel*, a famous Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, uſed to ſay of firſt Editions, That they only ſerve to make the Works of an Author appear in a fairer Character; that it was very probable this Judicious Gentleman ſaid this of all ſorts of Books, but that it was more true of Dictionaries, than of any other kind of Books. He knew very well, that others were of Opinion, that the firſt Editions of Books were only to be looked upon as imperfect Eſſays, which Authors propoſe to the Learned, to have their Opinion of them. But this was no reſtraint to his Eagerneſs; and, the Event teaching him afterwards, that he ran no great riſque (18), he did not diſcontinue it. And, indeed, we have ſeen, hitherto, but few Authors, in this reſpect, like Cardinal *du Perron*, who ſpared neither Pains nor Expence in his Works, and who had them twice printed; the firſt time, to diſtribute only a few Copies to particular Friends, on which they might make their Obſervations; and the ſecond time, to give them to the Public, ſuch as he at laſt determined to publiſh them; and who, to prevent their being publiſhed againſt his Will, after the firſt Manner, cauſed them to be printed in his own Houſe, where he ſet up a Printing-Preſs for that purpoſe.”

Mr *Ancillon*'s Library was “very curious and large; he increaſed it, daily, with all that appeared new and valuable in the Republic of Letters; inſomuch, that, at laſt, it became one of the fineſt of any private Man in the Kingdom. Foreigners of Curioſity did not fail to ſee it, as they went through the City of *Metz*; it being the greateſt Rarity of that Town (19).” As ſoon as he ſaw the Catalogue *of the pretended Heretical Books*, drawn up by the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, in the Year 1685, he ſelected all the Books, “which were ordered to be ſuppreſſed, which made up his Library in foreign Countries (20); his own having been, as it were, given up to be plundred, after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*. None would have remained, if thoſe, which he concealed, had not eſcaped the Greedineſs, with which the reſt were carried away. —— The Monks, and the Clergy of *Metz*, and the adjacent Towns, had long coveted Mr *Ancillon*'s Library (21); his forced and haſty Departure ſupplied them with a fair Pretence to appropriate it to themſelves. Some propoſed to buy it in the Groſs; others would have it ſold by Retail; but neither of them intended to pay for it; they only deſired to get it into their Poſſeſſion. The laſt Expedient was followed, as being more proper to favour this unjuſt Deſign: A Crowd of Eccleſiaſtics of all Orders came in, from all Parts, to this noble and rich Library; which had been Forty four Years in collecting, with Pleaſure and Choice; and which conſiſted only of rare Books, and worthy of the Curioſity of the moſt learned Men: They made ſeveral Parcels of them, and, going away, they gave Money to a young Girl, of about twelve or thirteen Years of Age, who was looking upon them, that they might ſay they had paid the Price of them. In this manner Mr *Ancillon* ſaw his precious Collection diſperſed, which he had made, and on which he had ſet his Affections, and, as we may ſay, his very Heart.” Note, That the loſs of this Library was attended with the loſs of a vaſt Number of Letters, which were deſigned for the Preſs (22), and which Mr *Ancillon*

(10) *See the following Citation.*

(11) Eſt apud Heraclitum phyſicum de principe Epheſiorum Hermodoro. Univerſos ait Epheſios eſſe morte mulctandos, quod quum civitate expellerent Hermodorum ita locuti ſunt: *Nemo de nobis unus excellat, ſed, ſi quis extiterit, alio in loco, et apud alios ſit.* Cicero, Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 5. fol. 278.

(12) Diſcourſe on the Life of Mr *Ancillon*, p. 93.

(13) *He was Mr* Ancillon's *Collegue at* Metz.

(14) *He had been a famous Advocate at* Metz.

(15) Diſcourſe, &c. pag. 102, 392, 393.

(16) *He often ſaid, of himſelf, that he was* Book-mad, ibid. pag. 105.

(17) Ibid. pag. 77.

(18) *See below Citat.* (29).

(19) Diſcourſe, &c. p. 102, 103.

(20) Ibid. pag. 328.

(21) Ibid. pag. 383.

(22) Ibid. pag. 342.

which he publiſhed [E]. As to the reſt, I ſhall obſerve, in general, that the *Diſcourſe*, which

cillon had received from many learned Men. He deſigned chiefly to print thoſe, which Mr *Daillé*, his intimate Friend (24), had wrote to him. What a Loſs was this!

REFLECTION on the Fate of ſome Libraries, and the Indolence of thoſe, who wait for ſecond Editions.

This may afford copious Matter for Reflexion: For is it not a deplorable Conſideration, to think, that a ſingle Day may undo, what has been compleated with a thouſand Cares, and, at a vaſt Expence, during many Years? Is it not a melancholy Fate, to be expoſed to loſe, in a Moment, what has been a long time purchaſing, by innocent Means, and been treaſured up, as a perpetual Source of very lawful Pleaſure, and honeſt Inſtruction? To be deprived, in a Moment, of a vaſt Number of Volumes, which have been ſo carefully collected, and ſo much one's Delight, is it not an hard and cruel Deſtiny? If the Flames had devoured them, one could more eaſily bear the Loſs; but, without a ſpecial Grace of God, one cannot ſupport, that they ſhould become the Prey of an unjuſt Poſſeſſor, who is at no other Trouble, than that of tranſporting them to his own Houſe. The *Triumvirate*, which diſpoſſeſt of their Lands, thoſe, who had cultivated them, during their whole Life, and gave them to others, who had contributed nothing towards their Improvement, did not occaſion ſo ſenſible a Grief, as that of the Learned, who have ſeen their Libraries plundred, and fallen into the Hands of a Perſecutor, worthy of hatred, if he acted againſt his Conſcience, and deſerving of Pity, if his falſe Devotion perſuaded him, that it was a thing acceptable to God.

Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit,
Barbarus has ſegetes (25)?

Did we for theſe Barbarians *plant, and ſow?*
On theſe, on theſe, our happy Fields beſtow?
DRYDEN.

This was the Complaint of thoſe good People of *Italy*, who found themſelves obliged to ſurrender their Patrimony to the Soldier of the *Triumvirate*.

- - - - en! queis conſevimus agros!
Inſere nunc, Melibœe pyros, pone ordine vites (26).

Now let me graft my Pears, and prune my Vine;
The Fruit is theirs, the Labour only mine.
DRYDEN.

- - - - vivi pervenimus advena noſtri,
Quod nunquam veriti ſumus, ut poſſeſſor agelli
Diceret, hæc mea ſunt, veteres migrate coloni (27).

The Time is come, I never thought to ſee,
(Strange Revolution for my Farm and me)
When the grim Captain, in a ſurly tone,
Cries out, pack up, ye Raſcals, and be gone.
DRYDEN.

Mr *Ancillon*, and many others, might have adapted moſt of theſe Expreſſions to their Fortune. Perhaps it were better to have no Affections, than to ſet them on a Library; when, perhaps we may be reduced to addreſs it in this manner:

Nuper ſollicitum quæ mihi tædium,
Nunc deſiderium, curaque non levis (28).

O! lately, thou, my anxious Fear,
Now my ſad Loſs, and heavy Care!

But, if poſſible, let us forget the unhappy and fatal Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, which was attended with ſo many Acts of Injuſtice. Let us rather caſt our Eyes on Objects, which do not raiſe the Paſſions into a Ferment. Let us praiſe the good Taſte of this able Divine. He was for having the firſt Editions of Books, though it was very *probable* they would be reprinted, with Additions and Corrections (29). This was to underſtand things; this we may call Love of Books, and Eagerneſs after Inſtruction: But they, who can reſt ſatisfied without a Book, 'till it be reprinted, make it appear, that they are ſatisfied with their Ignorance, and that they had rather ſave a few Piſtoles, than acquire Inſtruction. I ſpeak of thoſe, (and the Number of them is very great) who are perſuaded, on the one ſide, that a new Book will afford them much Information; and who, though they are able to purchaſe it, defer the buying of it, becauſe they are told, that there will be publiſhed better, or cheaper, Editions. This Delay cannot be ſufficiently blamed: It is a ſhameful Neglect of Learning. Mr *Bigot* told me, one Day, that a Man of *Roüen*, who applied himſelf to the Study of Genealogies, would willingly have improved by the Works of Father *Anſelm*; and yet he did not purchaſe them; but waited for the ſecond Edition, which never came out; thus he died, without ſatisfying his Curioſity. Mr *Bigot* repreſented to him, ſeveral times, that it was better to have two Editions of a Book, than to deprive one's ſelf of the Advantage, which might accrue by reading the firſt; and that a Man judges wrong of the value of things, who prefers three or four Crowns to ſuch a Profit. They, who can afford it, ought to provide themſelves with the firſt Editions. I confeſs the foreign Editions of Books are not ſo expenſive: But are they faithful? Is there nothing altered in, or added to, them? Did not the Abbot *de la Roque* publickly complain (30), that the Printers of *Holland* had corrupted his Book? I have been aſſured, but a few Days ago, that the Hiſtory of *Davila*, and That of *Strada*, printed in the *Netherlands*, are not exactly the ſame with the *Italian* Editions; the Bookſellers of *Flanders* having ſuppreſſed, or altered, ſome things, out of Complaiſance to ſome illuſtrious Families. I may be told, that the Author often corrects his Faults in the ſecond Edition; I own it: But they are not always real Faults; they are Alterations, which he ſacrifices to prudential Reaſons, to his Repoſe, and to the Injuſtice of his too powerful Cenſurers. The ſecond Edition, which *Mezerai* publiſh'd, of his Chronological Abridgment, is the moſt correct; for he left out ſome Miſtakes; but he omitted likewiſe ſome Truths, which were ungrateful; and, for this Reaſon, the Curious endeavour to get the Edition in Quarto, which is the firſt; and pay a great Price for it. I ſay nothing of the Advantage of comparing Editions. It is ſo great, when an able Writer has carefully reviſed his Work, that his firſt Eſſay deſerves to be kept. All this will make you ſenſible, that Mr *Ancillon* knew very well what belonged to a Library.

I proceed to his Method of Studying. "He ſpent no time in vain and uſeleſs Studies. He read, indeed, all ſorts of Books, even the ancient and modern Romances. He believed, that there was no Book, but what might be uſeful; and uſed to repeat theſe Words, aſcribed to *Virgil*, *Aurum ex ſtercore Ennii colligo* (31). —— *I collect Gold out of* Ennius's *Dung*. We find, *ſaid he ſometimes*, even in neglected Authors, very curious Particulars, which are not to be met with elſewhere; and, if it were only the Style, there is always ſomething to be got by the reading of them. But he did not apply his Mind to them; he made only important Books, and ſerious Things, the principal Subject of his Studies. —— He made a very great Difference between the reading of Books, which, as he himſelf ſaid, he only looked into, that he might not be ignorant of any thing, and the reading of thoſe, which were uſeful to his Profeſſion. He read the firſt but once, and curſorily, *perfunctoriè*, and, as the *Latin* Proverb ſays, *ſicut canis ad Nilum bibens & fugiens*; but he read other Books ſeveral times over, with Care and Application. The firſt time, *he ſaid*, ſerved only to give him a general Notion of the Subject, and the ſecond enabled him to obſerve the Beauties of it. Indexes, which other great Men have called *The Soul of Books*, were entirely uſeleſs to him, becauſe he read them with Application, and oftener than once. Beſides, he had a very happy Memory, and, particularly, a local one, of great uſe to Men of Letters. He read them exactly, without omitting the very Title, the Name of the Printer, or the Place, and Year, of the Impreſſion: In his Opinion, every thing was of ſome uſe. He marked his Books with his Pen, as he read them, and placed in the Margin References to other Authors, who had treated the which has been publiſhed, *on his Life*, repreſents him as a Perſon of extraordinary Merit. It is, properly ſpeaking, the Idea of an accompliſh'd Paſtor. He appears in it Learned, Eloquent, Wiſe, Pious, Modeſt, and Charitable; diſpenſing his Cenſures meekly, or rigorouſly, according to the Exigency of the Caſe; practiſing what he

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(24) *Inſtead of the uſual Title* Monſieur, *they call'd each other* My Dear Atticus. *Ibid.*

(25) Virgil. Ecl. I. ver. 71.

(26) Id. ib.

(27) Idem, Ecl. 9. v. 2.

(28) Horat. Od. 14. lib. I. ver. 17.

(29) *He often found that this* probable *was without any Effect. See, above, Citat.* (18).

(30) *In a Preface to his* Journal des Sçavans. *See alſo the Remark* [F] *of the Article* PELISSON, *towards the end.*

(31) Diſcourſe on the Life of Mr *Ancillon*, p. 107.

“ the ſame Subject, or had made uſe of Expreſſions a-kin to what he read (32). —— Sometimes he changed his Reading, which ſerved him inſtead of Reſt †. He did not read every Book through; ſometimes he ſtudied the Subject thoroughly, and then conſulted Authors, who had treated of it; he often met with the ſame thing in different Books, at which he was not diſguſted; on the contrary, he ſaid, they were ſo many new Strokes, which compleated the Idea he had conceived, and brought it to an entire Perfection. He had a great Table in the midle of his Chamber, which was commonly full of Books, moſt of them open (33). The famous *Fra-Paolo*, whom I have mentioned, ſtudied alſo in the ſame manner; and, as the exact and faithful Author of his Life informs us, he never left off, 'till he had ſeen all; that is to ſay, 'till he had confronted Authors, Places, Times, and Opinions. He perſiſted in this Practice, that he might have no more Occaſion to doubt, or think again on the ſame Subject; and that he might know what to depend upon. Thus Mr *Ancillon* ſtudied ſometimes, and he has often been heard to give the ſame Reaſons for it. As he read much, he found many things worth taking notice of; and, though he had an admirable Memory, he had Books, in which he collected what he thought moſt conſiderable. He was not ignorant, that *Govean*, for Example, who would not have ſo much as an Inkhorn in his Study, *Salmaſius*, *Menage*, and ſeveral other great Men, have condemned Collections, and that, ſo far from thinking, that they facilitated the Acquiſition of Learning, on the contrary, they looked upon them as an Obſtacle, which interrupts the Courſe of Reading and Meditation, and deſtroys the Effect of them. But he was of Opinion, that, ſince, thro' the Unhappineſs of the preſent Age, it is not ſufficient to be Maſter of a Subject, and all the Reaſons, on which it is built, but it is neceſſary likewiſe to produce Authorities, and expreſs Texts; there was occaſion for a Book, which, like a Vein, or Stream of Water, may direct one to the Fountain Head, and the rather, becauſe, being to ſpeak in public before certain People, who were rather his Spies, than his Hearers, and who often demanded of him Authorities and Proofs for what he advanced; it was in ſome ſort neceſſary to have a Repertory, to aſſiſt his Memory, and to prevent his looking a long time for what he wanted, according to the different Conjunctures he was in.” Theſe Particulars may, I think, be of uſe to many Readers. I ſhall ſpeak below (34), of his conſtant Application to Study.

[*E*] *The Books he publiſh'd.*] In the Year 1657, he publiſh'd a Book in Quarto at *Sedan*, *wherein the whole Controverſy concerning Traditions is fully and ſolidly examined* (35). 'Tis *a faithful Relation of what paſſed* in the Conference, which he had with Mr *de Bedacier*, *Doctor of the* Sorbonne, *Biſhop of* Auguſta, *and Suffragan of the Biſhop of* Metz (36). He diſputed with him, Firſt, in his own Houſe (37), in the Preſence of many Perſons, and afterwards at the Biſhop's Palace (38), before a Crowd of People. All the Articles were committed to writing, and ſign'd. “ He maintain'd this Diſputation with Honour, and finiſh'd it with Succeſs. Having anſwer'd, methodically, all the Objections, which were made to him, he repreſented, that He was likewiſe to propoſe his Arguments, in his Turn; but, as he had given ſeveral Mortal Blows to Error, in his Anſwer, it was fear'd he would utterly deſtroy it, if he was allowed to eſtabliſh what he pretended to be the Truth. Mr *de Bedacier* reſolv'd to break up the Conference, and, in order to conceal the real Motive of his Conduct, he pretended, that, for the future, it would be better to carry on the Diſpute in Writing, than by Word of Mouth: Neverthele ſs it was agreed, on both Sides, that neither Party ſhould cauſe the Acts of This Conference to be printed (39)”. But there was a Monk, who publiſh'd ſpurious Acts of it, (40). And *whoſe Impudence was ſo great, that, though Mr* Ancillon *had obtain'd very great Honour in This Conference, he endeavour'd to perſuade the Publick, that it had prov'd fatal both to him and his Party, and that he had been entirely vanquiſh'd* (41). This oblig'd Mr *Ancillon* to publiſh the Work I have mention'd. *Hottinger* commends it very much, in the 6th Chapter of the 3d Book of his *Bibliothecarius Quadripartitus* (42). Father *Clivier*, a *Minime*, and Provincial of his Order, *undertook to confute this Work*; *in order to which, he compos'd a Book, intituled*, Le Fort des Traditiones abbatu par les Maximes de Mr *David Ancillon*. —— *The Fort* (*or ſtrong Hold*) *of Traditions demoliſh'd by the Maxims of Mr* David Ancillon. Others wrote Satires againſt it; but all theſe Libels were unſucceſsful (43). The *Roman* Catholics themſelves adviſed Mr *Ancillon* not to anſwer them, as he had undertaken to do; they aſſur'd him, that He, and his Book, *were ſo far ſuperior to theſe Hackney Writers, that it was beneath him to enter the Liſts with them* (44). As ſoon as the *Method* of Cardinal *Richelieu* came out, “ He wrote a large and excellent Anſwer to it. But he was inform'd, that Mr *Martel*, Profeſſor at *Montauban*, had wrote one, which was juſt upon the Point of being publiſh'd; and that Mr *Claudé*, who had the ſame Deſign, had laid it aſide for the like Reaſon, as it now appears by the Sixth Letter, in the Collection of his Letters, in the Fifth Volume of his Poſthumous Works. He, therefore, ſuppreſs'd what he had wrote; and nothing of it was made Publick, but a few Sheets, which contain'd an Anſwer to the 6th Chapter of That *Method*, or, to ſpeak more properly, an Apology for *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, and *Beza*, which is the Title of it in the Edition of *Hanaw*, 1666. Mr *Ancillon* wrote the Life of *William Farel*; or, *The Idea of a Faithful Miniſter of Chriſt*. The famous Mr *Conrart*, who was one of his intimate Friends, read, and approv'd of it, and with his own Hand wrote ſome Notes in the Margins of the Manuſcript. It was a Work, which deſerved to be publiſh'd; but he could not be perſuaded by any means to give his Conſent to it; and his Refuſal occaſion'd a Copy, full of Errors, to be taken from it, which fell into the Hands of a Bookſeller in *Holland*, who put it to the Preſs, on the Reputation of the Author. Every one was ſurpriz'd to ſee ſuch a wretched Edition, as That was; and, if ever the ſame Book ſhould be printed from the Copy, reviſed by Mr *Conrart*, This Piece will appear ſo mangled, that it will not eaſily be known again. Tho' Mr *Ancillon* had expounded ſome entire Books of the Holy Scripture, and committed all his Sermons to Writing, he could never be perſuaded to print them - - - (45) All of this kind, which was printed, is a Sermon, which he preach'd at *Metz*, on a Faſt-day: His Conſiſtory exerted ſome Authority over him, to force it out of his Hands, and caus'd it to be printed at *Paris* in the Year 1676. This Sermon, was compos'd on the 18th and 19th Verſes of the third Chapter of St *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, and is intitled, *The Tears of St* Paul. Laſtly, he wrote an excellent Anſwer to the *Paſtoral Advice*, the *Circular Letters*, and the *Methods*, which the Clergy addreſs'd to the Reformed of *France*, in the Year 1682; but he kept it cloſe in his Study, till, ſome conſiderable Perſons having oblig'd him to publiſh it, he ſent it to his old Friend Mr *Turretin*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Geneva*, giving him full Liberty to diſpoſe of it, as he ſhould think fit; but it is probable, that the Copy miſcarried, for it has been never heard of ſince. Mr *Ancillon* had ſo little concern for his own Works, that he never enquir'd after it; and yet this was the Anſwer, which the Public expected, and of which mention is made in the Preface to a ſolid and judicious Book, intituled, *Examen des Methodes*, &c. in the Place, where it is ſaid, *There will be publiſh'd an Anſwer by an able Hand at* Metz (46).

[*F*] *He*

(32) Ibid. pag. 109.

† Πόνȣ μεταβολὴ εἶδως ἐςιν ἀναπαύσεως.

(33) Ibid. pag. 111.

(34) *In Remark* [*F*].

(35) Ibid. pag. 218.

(36) Ibid. p. 207, 208.

(37) Ibid. pag. 212.

(38) Ibid. pag. 213.

(39) Ibid. pag. 214.

(40) Ibid. pag. 217.

(41) Ibid. pag. 218.

(42) Ibid. pag. 220.

(43) Ibid.

(44) Ibid. pag. 221.

(45) Ibid. pag. 255.

(46) Ibid. pag. 258.

he preached (y); wholly employ'd in the Diſcharge of his Miniſtry [*F*], without interfering, as many others do, with what belongs only to Laymen; or keeping his Doors open to Informers, and Newſmongers [*G*]. How learned his Converſation was [*H*],

[*F*] *He was wholly employ'd in the diſcharge of his Miniſtry.*] They, who devote themſelves to the Paſtoral Office, “Stand in need of all their time, to ſtudy, labour, and to perform worthily the Duties of their Calling; and, without doubt, this is the reaſon, why the Sixth Canon, among thoſe which are call'd Apoſtolical, imports, that no Biſhop, Prieſt, or Deacon, ſhall meddle with Secular Matters, or engage in any Public Office; and that the Sixth Canon, among thoſe of *Africa*, forbids Perſons of This Character to take upon themſelves the Management of the Affairs, or Law-Suits, of other People. The Loſs of time, which is ſpent in theſe Worldly Occupations, is not the leaſt Motive of theſe excellent Conſtitutions; but I believe they are not the only Conſiderations, which occaſion'd them. Experience has made it appear, that the Intrigues of the World, the Hurry of Buſineſs, and the Ambition of making their Court to great Perſons, are three Rocks, which have always been, and ever will be, fatal to them. They depart inſenſibly from That Apoſtolical Simplicity, which ought to be one of their chief Ornaments; they learn the Maxims of the World; they accuſtom themſelves to it's Subtilties, and Artifices, and are led inſenſibly to practiſe them (47).” The Miniſter, I am ſpeaking of, ſhunn'd all theſe Rocks; he lov'd Study, Repoſe, and Retirement; and never embarraſs'd himſelf with Worldly Affairs (48). “He was appointed, by the Laws of his Country, and againſt his Will, Guardian to his Brother and Siſter: But he left the Adminiſtration of the Eſtate, and the Management of Affairs, to his Brother, who, though under Age, was already a very able Man ——— So that, the Pupillage being ended by the Majority of the Orphans, the Minor gave an Account to his Guardian, and the Guardian, for Form ſake, did the like to his Minors; quite contrary to the uſual, natural, and common Cuſtom. He abſolutely renounced all Worldly Affairs, and, like a true Anchoret, baniſh'd himſelf from the Converſation of Men, and employ'd his whole Thoughts on God, and his Church (49). He had a very curious and large Library ——— He was always to be found in it ——— (50). He never went out of his Houſe, but in order to go to Church, or to perform, elſewhere, ſome other Function of his Office. He never left his Books, but upon this Account; and, as if the Day were not long enough, he ſpent part of the Night in Meditation, or Study. Though he had ſeveral Country Houſes, and One had been purchas'd for him very near the City, the more eaſily to engage him to ſpend a few Days, or at leaſt Hours, at it; yet he was never ſeen there above three or four times, in two and thirty Years, that he exercis'd his Miniſtry at *Metz*. He was conſtantly in his Chamber, being a Stranger to Jealouſy, which makes other Men paſs ſo many uneaſy Moments: In this manner he liv'd peaceably at home, regardleſs of the Credit which is got by frequent Viſits, troubleſome Cares, and great Meaſures, which are exactly to be obſerv'd.”

This is the Model, by which all Miniſters of the Goſpel ſhould regulate their Lives. They have all, like *Mary*, *choſen the good part* (5); but ſome of them imitate *Martha*, who was *careful and troubled about many things* (52). They meddle with State Affairs; They enter into the Intrigues of the Town; They are inquiſitive after all kinds of News; They traffick in them, and make uſe of them in making their court to their Superiors. Nay, They ſometimes venture to ſuggeſt Advice, in regard to War, or Negotiations; and are not diſcouraged at the Contempt, which is artfully ſhewn for their idle Projects. They are often ſeen in the Anti-Chambers of Princes; and wait impatiently for an Opportunity of being introduced; not upon Matters of Conſcience, but to aſk a thouſand Favours, to recommend their Children, their Relations, and their Friends, with reſpect to honourable and profitable Places. They have the firſt Intelligence of a Vacancy, and endeavour to get it fill'd up upon their Recommendation. They would deſerve Commendation, if they employ'd their Credit only in procuring Bread to thoſe, who want it; but they employ it chiefly in favour of thoſe, who are already rich, and who wou'd not dare to have recourſe to their Sollicitations, if they believ'd them to be true Miniſters of JESUS CHRIST; for then they would expect a Cenſure; they would be afraid of being put in Mind of St *Paul's* Precept, that, provided we have Food and Raiment, we ſhou'd be therewith content (53). It is not the Duty of a Paſtor to procure to his Flock a ſtronger Attachment to worldly Things; he ſhould rather endeavour to draw them off from it, and combat their Covetouſneſs and Ambition; and no doubt he would do ſo, were he himſelf free from the gnawing Cares of Vain-glory. But, becauſe, in order to gratify his Paſſions, he wants to have the Offices of a Town in the Hands of Men, who may be obliged to him for them, and who, by way of Acknowledgment, or in hopes of new Favours, will always be ready to ſerve him, he uſes his utmoſt endeavours to raiſe them; he commends their ambitious Views; and, to ſupport himſelf in the Management of Affairs, he is obliged to be a Man of Intrigue, and to have his Emiſſaries every where. Such a Man ſtands in need of being threatned, as Biſhops are ſometimes, when they act againſt the Canons, which oblige them to Reſidence; and little thinks, that his Office is of ſuch a Nature, that the utmoſt Human Ability is ſcarce ſufficient for it. They, who conſider this, will imitate Mr *Ancillon*, and not throw away ſo much time in Viſits of Intereſt.

> Forumque vitat, & ſuperba civium
> Potentiorum limina (54).

> *The Clamours of contentious Law,*
> *And Court and State he wiſely ſhuns,*
> *Nor, brib'd with Hopes, nor dar'd with Awe,*
> *To ſervile Salutations runs.*
>
> DRYDEN.

Note, that they, who do not imitate his Conduct, ſometimes employ their Intereſt for Perſons, who are diſtreſs'd in their Circumſtances; but if you obſerve, you will find, that theſe Perſons are ſerviceable Men, fit for any thing, and inclin'd to conſecrate all their Leiſure to the Paſſions of Him, whoſe Protection has procur'd it for them. He is their Deity;

> - - - - - - Deus nobis hæc otia fecit;
> Namque erit Ille mihi ſemper Deus; illius aram
> Sæpe tener noſtris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus (55).

> *Theſe Bleſſings, Friend, a Deity beſtow'd;*
> *For never can I deem him leſs than God.*
> *The tender Firſtlings of my woolly Breed*
> *Shall on his Holy Altar often bleed.*
>
> DRYDEN.

They acknowledge themſelves his Creatures, and perform all the Duties, which This Character requires.

[*G*] *His Doors were not open to Informers and Newſmongers.*] “He neither loved Tales, nor Tale-bearers; and laid it down as a Maxim, that little Credit was to be given to them; ſaying, that a Report is never ſo pure, but it reliſhes of the Paſſions of him, who makes it; and that It is like Water, which always retains the Quality of the Veins of Earth, or Minerals, through which it runs. He had, particularly, a vaſt Averſion to thoſe, who go into Houſes to learn what paſſes there, and to ſet People a talking, and then report what they have, as it were, extorted from their Mouths by Cunning and Artifice - - - - (56). He ſaid, that it was very dangerous lightly to believe what is ſaid of others. He was upon his Guard in this Reſpect (57). The Houſe of ſuch a Paſtor was far from being a Place of Reſort for News-Writers. I have conſider'd this matter above, in the Remark [*H*] of the Article ALTING

(HENRY)

(y) *See, concerning the Abſurdity of practiſing otherwiſe,* Diſcourſe, &c. p. 175, & ſeq.

(47) Ibid. p. 95, 96.

(48) Ibid. pag. 100.

(49) Ibid. pag. 102.

(50) Ibid. pag. 103.

(51) Luke x. 42.

(52) Ibid. ver. 41.

(53) 1 Tim. vi. 8.

(54) Horat. Epod. Od. 2. ver. 7.

(55) Virgil. Ecl. 1. v. 6.

(56) Diſcourſe on the Life of *Mr* Ancillon, p. 229.

(57) Ibid. pag. 230.

was [*H*], cannot be better known, than from the Book mentioned in the Remark [*G*]. I ſhall, in another Place (*z*), examine ſome Particulars concerning a *Print* of Him. But I muſt not paſs over in ſilence, That he was the Son of a Learned Civilian; that one of his Anceſtors *was formerly Preſident* au Mortier *in one of the chief Sovereign Courts of* France; and that *Georgin* ANCILLON, *one of the Principal Members of the Church of* Metz, *was alſo one of the firſt Founders and Governors of it* (*aa*).

(*z*) *In Remark* [*G*] *of the Article* FERRI.

(*aa*) *Diſcourſe*, &c. pag. 7.

" (Henry); and I ſhall farther conſider it in the " Remark [*N*] of the Article GRUTERUS " (Janus).

[*H*] *How Learned his Converſation was.*] The Work, from whence we have our Information, is intituled, *Melange critique de Litterature*, and was collected out of Mr *Ancillon*'s Converſations (58). It was printed at *Baſil*, in the Year 1698, in Two Volumes in Twelves, by the Care of Mr *Ancillon* the Advocate, eldeſt Son to This Miniſter, who had already diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the Common-Wealth of Learning (59). I ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of this Miſcellany; and if, ſometimes, I do not find every thing in it ſo exact as it ſhould be, I do not intend to prejudice, thereby, the Author or Publiſher of theſe Pieces. It is much more ſurprizing, that the late Mr *Ancillon*, in ſpeaking off-hand, ſhould be ſo exact in many things, than ſtrange, that his Memory fail'd him in ſome particulars. As to his Son, it was his Duty to deliver things as he had them from Mr *Ancillon*'s Mouth. See what I have obſerved concerning the *Menagiana* (60); the Caſe here is the ſame. You may ſee, in the Preface to This Miſcellany, why it was intituled *Ancilloniana*.

(58) *See the* Acta Eruditorum *for* June 1698. pag. 287.

(59) *He publiſhed ſeveral Books; moſt of them anonymous.*

(60) *In Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* MENAGE.

ANCRE (The *Mareſchal d'*). Look for CONCINI.

ANDLO (Petrus ab), a fictitious Name, under which a *Carteſian* diſguiſed himſelf, in order to write againſt the Diſſertation *De Abuſu Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ ſurrepente, & vitando in rebus Theologicis & Fidei.* Mr *Des Marets*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Groningen*, the Author of this Diſſertation, publiſhed it in the Year 1670, to repreſent to the Proteſtant Churches the great Evils, which were to be feared, if the Opinions of *Des Cartes* were ſuffered to paſs from the Schools of Philoſophy to thoſe of Divinity. Some Months after, there came out a Piece intituled, *Petri ab Andlo Batavi Specimen Confutationis Diſſertationis de Abuſu Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ*, &c. Never was any Confutation written in a more vehement Style. *Des Marets* was treated in it after the moſt diſobliging manner. He quickly publiſhed an Apology, intituled, *Vindiciæ poſteriores Diſſertationis de Abuſu Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ*, in which he loaded his Adverſary with all kinds of Abuſe. He treated him as a moſt impudent *Socinian*, a *Spinoziſt*, an impious and unchriſtian Man, and an Atheiſt. *Petrus ab Andlo* ſpeedily publiſhed a Reply, intituled *Animadverſiones ad Vindicias Diſſertationis, quam Samuel Mareſius edidit, de Abuſu Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ.* If he was paſſionate in his firſt Diſſertation, he was ſtill more ſo in his ſecond; intermixing, nevertheleſs, as he had done at firſt, ſeveral Strokes of Raillery with his Anger. He poſitively denied, that he had any Acquaintance with *Spinoza*, that he had ever ſeen him, or that he approved his Opinions (*a*). *Des Marets* received this ſecond Piece of *Petrus ab Andlo*, the Nineteenth of *December* 1670, and confuted it ſo ſpeedily, that his Rejoinder was finiſhed the Third of *January* following (*b*). It was intituled, *Samuelis Mareſii Clypeus Orthodoxiæ, ſive Vindiciarum ſuarum priorum pro ſua Diſſertatione de Abuſu Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ*, &c. The Author declared, that he would write no more againſt ſo obſcure an Author [*A*], but ſhould be always ready to enter the Liſts, in Defence of Truth, with a Learned, and Honeſt Adverſary, who was not aſhamed of his Name. He kept his Word; for he left the third Piece of *Petrus ab Andlo* unanſwered; It was intituled, *Specimina Bombomachiæ Samuelis Mareſii ſe defendentis Clypeo Orthodoxiæ, ſeu vindiciis vindiciarum Diſſertationis de Abuſu Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ.* Thus ended this Controverſy, which verified the Proverb, *Nullum violentum durabile*,——*Nothing violent is of long Continuance*; tho' it frequently proves falſe in a Paper-War [*B*]. *Des Marets* could never diſcover the true Name of his Adverſary [*C*]. There appeared, in 1673, a ſmall Book in 4to, intituled Danielis ab Andlo, *Petri filii*, Καλήσοεγς ἀδελφῶν ἐλεγχόμενος, *ſive ad Clariſſimi Theologi Samuelis Mareſii Tractatum brevem de Studio Theologico Notæ breves.*

Note, That there is a true ANDLO among Authors (*c*). He was a Native of *Alſace*, Doctor of the Canon Law, and Canon of *Colmar* (*d*). The two Books, which he wrote, *De Imperio Romano, Regis & Auguſti Inauguratione*, &c. *deque Officio & Poteſtate Electorum*, &c. were publiſhed at *Straſburg*, with Notes, in the Year 1603, by *Marquardus Freherus*.

(*a*) Spinozam nec novit Petrus, nec vidit, nec audivit, nec abſurda ejus dogmata probat. *Animadv. ad Vindicias, pag.* 7.

(*b*) Vindic. Vindiciarum Diſſertat. ſub fin.

(*c*) Petrus de Andlo.

(*d*) Mich. Hertzius, Biblioth. German. n. 224.

[*A*] *Declar'd he would write no more againſt ſo obſcure an Author.*] The Term he makes uſe of, is the ſame, which the Scripture uſes againſt the Gods of the Gentiles, calling them Gods of Dung. " Animo non ulterius hanc ſerram cum hoc ſtercoreo homine reciprocandi (1) —— *Having reſolv'd to diſpute no longer with this dirty Fellow*". " In anteceſſum me proteſtari nihil amplius mihi futurum " negotii cum hoc hominis ſterquilinio & infami nebulone quem pudet ſui ipſus (2). —— *I proteſted before-hand, that I wou'd have nothing more to do with this Dunghil of a Man; this infamous Raſcal, who is aſham'd of being known.*

(1) Mareſ. Vindic. Vindiciarum Diſſertat. ſub fin.

(2) Id. in Judicio de Theolog. Pacifica Wittichii ſub fin.

[*B*] *The Proverb* nullum violentum durabile *frequently proves falſe in a Paper-War.*] I need not go far to find an Inſtance of what I ſay. The Quarrels between *Des Marets* and *Voëtius* were extremely violent, and continued near thirty Years, as long as the *German* War, which ended at the Peace of *Munſter*.

[*C*] Des Marets *could never diſcover the true Name of his Adverſary.*] All his Conjectures, and the Enquiries of his Friends, were to no purpoſe: So that, being weary of ſuch an unſucceſsful Chace, he reſolved to leave his Adverſary masked. *Quis ſit ille larvatus* Petrus ab Andlo, Batavus —— *ut nec hactenus conjectura aſſequi, nec amicorum diligentia reſcire potui,*

potui, ita nolo amplius inquirere. —— *Who this diſguiſed* Petrus ab Andlo Batavus *is* —— *as I could never yet gueſs, nor diſcover by the Diligence of my Friends, I reſolve to make no farther Enquiry after him.* This is what he ſays, at the beginning of his *Clypeus Orthodoxiæ*. He had Friends every where, who, being more zealous than diſcreet, which is the uſual Character of thoſe, who are accounted the Flail of Innovators, made him believe, that there was a Miniſter in *Zealand*, whoſe Name was *Petrus ab Andlo*, married to the Daughter of *Cocceius*. He publiſhed this News; but, being informed, that the Son-in-law of *Cocceius* was called *Anſelaer*, he cauſed his Excuſes to be made to him. “ Apud R. D. Anſelaer curavi me honeſtè excuſari, quod id mihi “ excidiſſet ex relatione honeſti cujuſdam R. viri, “ etiam in Carteſianiſmum - - - - - pronioris, cui non “ erat cur ultro aſſerenti fidem detractarem (3). —— “ *I took care to excuſe myſelf honourably to* Anſelaer “ *for ſpreading a Report, the Truth of which I could not* “ *queſtion, as it came from a Reverend and Honourable* “ *Perſon, and one who was even inclined to* Carteſianiſm.” He ſays ſomewhere (4), that there was a Report, that three Perſons had been concerned in the Defence of *Wittichius*, and that they had publiſhed their Work under the feigned Name of *Petrus ab Andlo*. We ſhall ſee, whether Mr *Placcius*, or Mr *Baillet*, will be more lucky, than I have been, in unmasking this Pſeudonymous Writer, whom I take to be *Regnier Manſvelt*, Profeſſor of Philoſophy at *Utrecht*.

(3) Vindic. Vindiciarum, pag. 6.

(4) In Judicio de Theol. Pacifica Wittichii.

ANDRADA (Diego de Payva d'), in *Latin Andradius*, a learned *Portugueſe*, born at *Coimbra*, ſignalized himſelf in the Council of *Trent*, whither King *Sebaſtian* ſent him, as one of his Divines *(a)*. He preached before the Aſſembly, the ſecond *Sunday* after *Eaſter*, 1562. He was not contented with the Service he did, in explaining the Matters, about which he was conſulted; he employed his Pen likewiſe in Defence of the Canons of That Council. This he did in a Book, intituled, *Orthodoxarum Explicationum Libri X* (*b*). In which he particularly anſwers a Piece publiſhed by *Chemnitius* againſt the Doctrine of the Jeſuits [*A*], before the breaking up of the Council of *Trent*; and, as *Chemnitius* took this Opportunity to write a very large Book, which he intituled, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*; *Andrada* thought himſelf obliged to vindicate his firſt Piece againſt this learned Adverſary [*B*]. He, therefore, compoſed a Book, which his two Brothers publiſhed after his Death at *Liſbon*, in the Year 1578. It is intituled, *Defenſio Tridentinæ Fidei Catholicæ, quinque Libris comprehenſa, adverſus Hæreticorum calumnias, & præſertim Martini Kemnitii*. Theſe Works of *Andrada* have been printed ſeveral times (*c*), and yet they are ſo ſcarce at *Paris*, that Mr *Pelliſſon* could not meet with them in the *Rue de St Jaques* * [*C*]. There is ſcarce any Catholic Author, who has been more quoted by the Proteſtants,

(*a*) Palavic. *Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent, lib. 19. cap. 16. n. 7.

(*b*) *Printed at* Cologn. *in* 1564. *The firſt of theſe ten Books, which is an Apology for the Jeſuits, was printed in* French, *at* Lyons, *in* 1565. Du Verdier. Bibl. Françoiſe, pag. 266.

(*c*) Ex Nicolai Antonii Bibliotheca Hiſpan. Tom. 1. pag. 236.

* St James's *Street*.

[*A*] *A Piece publiſhed by* Chemnitius *againſt the Doctrine of the Jeſuits.*] A *Lutheran* Miniſter, who wrote an Encomium upon *Chemnitius*, expreſſes himſelf thus; “ Breve quidem, ſed nervoſum ſcriptum, “ durante adhuc Concilio Tridentino, Jeſuitarum “ Theologiæ oppoſuit, cujus opuſculi cum Andradius Luſitanus in ſe ſuſcepiſſet refutationem, Chemnitio occaſionem ſubminiſtravit conſcribendi inſigne “ illud - - - - - - opus, quod *Tridentini Concilii examen* nuncupavit (1). - - - - - - *During the Seſſion* “ *of the Council of* Trent, *he wrote a ſhort, but nervous, Piece againſt the Doctrine of the Jeſuits;* “ *which when* Andradius *the* Portugueſe *undertook* “ *to refute,* Chemnitius *laid hold of the Opportunity of writing That famous Work, which he called,* “ An Enquiry into the Council of Trent.” To which I add a Paſſage of *Eiſengreinius*, becauſe it will give occaſion to a ſmall Remark. This Author pretends, that *Andrada* did Wonders againſt the Heretics, in his Orthodox Explications, and chiefly againſt *Chemnitius*: “ Præſertim contra Martini Kemnitii “ petulantem audaciam, qui Colonienſem cenſuram “ quam à viris ſocietatis Jeſu compoſitam eſſe ait, “ una cum ejuſdem ſanctiſſimæ Societatis vitæ ratione temerè calumniandam ſuſcepit (2). —— *Particularly againſt the inſolent Boldneſs of* Martin “ Chemnitius, *who took upon him to abuſe the Cenſure of* Cologn, *which he ſays was drawn up by the* “ *Jeſuits, together with the manner of Life of the* “ *Gentlemen of That venerable Society.*” *Nicolas Antonio*, having quoted this Paſſage, cenſures *Eiſengreinius*, for believing that *Andrada* was a Jeſuit. *Hæc ille*, ſays he, *falſus, ſaltem in eo quod Andradam noſtrum unum ex Jeſuitico ſodalitio credidit*. If this Cenſure be only grounded upon the Words, quoted by *Don Antonio*, I believe it to be falſe.

[*B*] *Thought himſelf obliged to vindicate his firſt Piece againſt this learned Adverſary.*] This Epithet is due to *Chemnitius*; and, at the Bottom I ſay no more in his Favour, than *Don Nicolas Antonio* does. At firſt Sight, indeed, theſe Words of the *Spaniſh* Author, “ Cui cum repoſuiſſet profligatiſſimus hæreticus “ librum, in quo graviſſimas adverſus univerſalem “ Eccleſiam contumelias intorquebat, deſcendere denuo in campum ſibi opus eſſe Païva vidit, ut immanem hoſtem totis viribus profligaret. —— *This* “ *abandoned Heretic having publiſhed a Reply, in* “ *which he moſt ſcandalouſly abuſed the whole Church,* “ Payva *thought himſelf obliged to enter the Liſts* “ *once more, and exert his whole Strength in demoliſhing this Gigantic Adverſary.*” Theſe Words, I ſay, at firſt Sight, appear not very much to the Credit of *Chemnitius*; but, if they be well conſidered, they will be found to redound greatly to his Honour; for muſt it not be very pleaſing to a Man, to find himſelf repreſented as the *Goliath*, or the *Polyphemus*, of his Party, by thoſe of the contrary Side, when, beſides, he believes himſelf engaged in a good Cauſe?

a Gyant has been foyled
by a Man of common
[illegible] than it can
X In [illegible] redound to his
Honour or give pleasure
to himself or his Party

[*C*] *That Mr* Pelliſſon *could not meet with them in the* Rue de St Jaques.] An Account of this Matter will not diſpleaſe the Curious. Mr *Leibnitz*, in his Remarks on the *Reflexions on the Diſputes in Religion* (3), alledged, among other things, that *Andrada* had compoſed a Work entituled, *Explicationes Orthodoxæ de controverſis Religionis capitibus*; in which he teaches in expreſs Terms, “ That the Philoſophers, “ who uſed all their Induſtry to come at the Knowledge of the true God, and to honour him religiouſly, had That Faith, by which the Juſt live. “ - - - - - That it would be the greateſt Cruelty in “ the World (*neque immanitas deterior ulla eſſe poteſt*) “ to condemn Men to eternal Torments, for wanting “ a Faith, which they could not attain to (4).” Mr *Pelliſſon* immediately replied, “ That he had “ never met with This Author, and that, to ſatisfy “ his Curioſity, he would enquire after his Book, “ when he came to *Paris* (5).” Some time after he acquainted the Public, that he had *carefully enquired after the Book of the* Portugueſe *Doctor*, Payva Andradius; but he added, “ It is no eaſy thing to “ find it in *Paris*: It is unknown in the *Rue de* “ *St Jaques*; nor is it to be met with in the moſt “ voluminous Libraries; no, not in That of the Jeſuits; which is very remarkable, becauſe he wrote “ in their Favour. At laſt, It has been found in “ the Library of the *Sorbonne*. The Abbot *Pirot*, “ a Perſon of Merit, if there be one this Day in “ *France*, or elſewhere, and one of the moſt eminent and illuſtrious Members of that Houſe, who “ knew as little of the Author, as myſelf, has given “ himſelf the Trouble to peruſe it at my Requeſt. “ - - - - - This Writer has Merit, and is no dry or “ jejune Scholaſtic, as ſo many others are; he diſcovers a more than ordinary Elegance, and Vivacity; in a Word, he anſwers the Reputation, “ which he bore in the Council of *Trent* (6).” It is ſurprizing,

(1) Spizelius, in Templo Honoris pag. 4.

(2) In Catalogo Teſtium Veritatis, apud Nicol. Anton. Bibl. Hiſp. Tom. 1. pag 235.

(3) *It is the Title of a Book of Mr* Pelliſſon.

(4) *See Mr* Pelliſſon's *Book, entituled,* Of a Toleration of Religions, pag. 19. *It was printed at* Paris, *in* 1692.

(5) Ibid. pag. 71.

(6) Ibid. pag. 83.

Proteſtants, than He, becauſe he maintained ſome Opinions a little too extravagant, concerning the Salvation of the Pagan Philoſophers. He was a Preacher; His Sermons have been publiſhed in three Parts; the ſecond of which was tranſlated out of *Portugueſe* into *Spaniſh*, by *Benedict de Alarcon* (*d*). The *Bibliotheque* of the *Spaniſh* Writers does not mention all his Works [*D*]. Many Encomiums have been beſtow'd upon *Andrada* [*E*], which may be ſeen in the Remarks.

(*d*) Id. ib.

prizing, that a Book, ſo little known to the greateſt Bookſellers, and ſcarce to be found in the largeſt Libraries, ſhould be quoted by an hundred Authors, whoſe Collections are very ſmall. This, I ſay, is ſurprizing to thoſe, who are ignorant, that the *Enquiry into the Council of* Trent, by *Chemnitius*, is a very common Book, and that Dr *Andradius* is frequently quoted in it. An hundred other Authors have expreſſed them as poſitively as he has done on this Subject, as *la Mothe la Vayer* ſhews in one of his Books (7). How comes it, then, that they have not been quoted ſo often as *Andradius*, when the Queſtion was to excuſe *Zuinglius*, by way of Recrimination, or to object to the Papiſts, that they have leaned towards the *Pelagian Hereſy?* What, I ſay, can be the Reaſon of this, if I have not hinted at the true Cauſe of the frequent Quotations of *Andradius?*

[*D*] *The Bibliotheque of the* Spaniſh *Writers does not mention all his Works.*] The Book he wrote concerning the Pope's Authority, during the Council, in the Year 1562, is not to be found in it (8). The Pope's Legates, being very well pleaſed with This Work, ſent it to Cardinal *Borromeo*. The Court of *Rome* liked it extreamly, and the Pope very obligingly returned the Author Thanks. I believe this Work is the ſame with That, which is entituled, *De Conciliorum Autoritate*, the firſt Book of which has been quoted by *Palavicini* (9).

[*E*] *Many Encomiums have been beſtowed upon* Andrada.] You have already ſeen Mr *Pelliſſon*'s Opinion of him. *Oſorius*, in his Preface to the Orthodox Explications of *Andradius*, aſcribes to him a great Wit, an eager Application, a Knowledge of Languages, and the Zeal and Eloquence of a good Preacher. *Roſweide* ſpeaks of him thus: "Ad Concilium Tri-"dentinum & profundiſſimi Theologi mentem, & "linguam eloquentiſſimi Oratoris, attulit (10). —— "*He carried with him to the Council of* Trent *the* "*Underſtanding of a moſt profound Divine, and the* "*Eloquence of a conſummate Orator.*"

(7) *At the end of his Treatiſe concerning the Virtue of the Heathens.*

(8) Palavic. lib. 19. cap. 16. n. 7.

(9) Id. lib. 24. cap. 10. n. 17.

(10) In Lege Talionis Caſaubono retaliata, apud Nicol. Antonium, Tom. I. pag. 236.

ANDREAS (JOHN), a famous Canoniſt of the XIVth Century, was the Son of a Prieſt [*A*], and was born at *Mugello*, near *Florence*. He was yet very young, when he went to ſtudy at *Bologne* (*a*); where he would have ſcarce been able to maintain himſelf, had he not met with a Tutor's Place; but, by the help of this Employment, he was in a Condition to apply himſelf, at his Eaſe, to the Study of the Canon Law, in which he made a great Progreſs, under the Profeſſor *Gui de Baif* (*b*). He had always a particular Reſpect for the Perſon, and Gloſſes, of this Profeſſor; He paid as great a Deference to his Gloſſes, as to the Text itſelf. He was beholden to him in a Particular, which we are, generally, more thankful for, than for Inſtruction. *Gui de Baif*, perceiving, that, for want of Money, he durſt not petition for his Doctor's Degree, put him upon demanding it, and obtained it for him *gratis*. *Andreas* himſelf confeſſes this (*c*). The ſame *Gui* encouraged him likewiſe to ſtand for a Profeſſorſhip; which was attended with all the Succeſs he could wiſh. Our *Andreas*, we find, was Profeſſor at *Padua*, about the Year 1330, and alſo at *Piſa*; but he was recalled to *Bologne* (*d*), where he acquired a greater Reputation, than any where elſe. We are told wonderful things concerning his auſtere Life [*B*]. He mortified

(*a*) Bononiam admodum adoleſcens venit, ubi ob paupertatem Pædagogum geſſit, Scarpectam filium Mainardi Ubaldini erudiendo. *Volaterr. lib.* 21.

(*b*) *He is more known by the Name of* Archidiaconus, *which was that of the Eccleſiaſtical Dignity he was poſſeſſed of at* Bologne. Doujatius Præn. Canon. pag. 602.

(*c*) In prim. Sexti Decretal. apud Doujat. ibid. pag. 603.

(*d*) Panzirol. de claris legum Interpret. lib. 3. cap. 19.

[*A*] *Was the Son of a Prieſt.*] All Authors agree, that the Father of *John Andreas* was a Prieſt, but not that he was ſo, when he begot this Child. "Pa-"trem conſtat Presbyterum fuiſſe; an filium ante, "an poſt Sacerdotium genuerit, incertum. - - - - *It* "*is certain, that his Father was a Prieſt, but un-*"*certain whether he begat his Son before, or after,* "*his Prieſthood.*" Thus Mr *Doujat* ſpeaks of him (1), after having read *Panzirolus*, who poſitively aſſerts, that *John Andreas* was born, before his Father was a Prieſt. "Is ex Andrea Presbytero, antequam Sacer-"dos fieret, & matre nomine Novella, genitus (2)." It is a Sign Mr *Doujat* laid no great Streſs on *Panzirolus*'s Deciſion of the Matter; and for what Reaſon, I deſire to know, ſhould the latter be credited in it, rather than *Volaterran*, who has affirmed the quite contrary? "Joannes Andreas patre Andrea Preſ-"bytero & matre concubina natus, apud Mugellum "agri Florentini Oppidum, juris ſcientia virtutibuſ-"que aliis natalium pudorem contexit (3). —— John "Andreas, *Son of* John Andreas, *a Prieſt, and his* "*Concubine, born at* Mugello, *near* Florence, *covered* "*the meanneſs of his Birth by his Knowledge of the* "*Law, and his other Virtues.*" He has expreſsly ſaid, that *John Andreas* was the Son of a Concubinary Prieſt; and no one will venture to affirm, that *Novella* was ever married to the Father of *John Andreas*. It is, therefore, paſt doubt, that our celebrated Canoniſt was, at leaſt, born, like *Eraſmus*, out of lawful Marriage, of a Father, who was a Prieſt. We muſt not imagine, that *Forſter* ſays he was not ordained a Prieſt, 'till after he had begot this Child. He only means, that the Father of *John Andreas* was a Prieſt, in the Place, where he was born. "Patre "Joanne Andrea, cive initio, deinde Presbytero "Mugellano, natus eſt (4). - - - - - - - *Son of* John "Andreas, *firſt a Citizen, afterwards a Prieſt, of* "Mugello."

[*B*] *We are told wonderful Things concerning his auſtere Life.*] The following Commentary has been communicated to me (5): I make no Alteration in it. "What you obſerve concerning the auſtere Life "of *John Andreas*, is atteſted by good Authors. "But if the Story, which *Poggius* tells of him, in "his *Facetiæ* be true, there is Reaſon to believe, "that afterwards this Doctor degenerated very much "from his former Continence. *Joannem Andream*, "ſays *Poggius*, *Doctorem Bononienſem, cujus fama* "*admodum vulgata eſt, ſubagitantem ancillam dome-*"*ſticam uxor deprehendit. Re inſueta ſtupefacta mu-*"*lier in virum verſa: ubi nunc, ait, Joannes, eſt* "*ſapientia veſtra? Ille nil amplius locutus, in vulva* "*iſtius, reſpondit: loco admodum ſapientiæ accommo-*"*dato.*" Perhaps the Tranſlation of theſe Words into *French* Verſe will not be unacceptable to the Reader.

Jean dit André, fameux docteur és loix,
Fut pris un jour au peché d'amourette:
Il accolloit une jeune ſoubrette.
Sa femme vint, fit un ſigne de croix.
Ho ho, dit-elle, eſt ce-vous? non je penſe;
Vous, dont par tout on vante la prudence.
Qu'eſt devenu cet eſprit ſi ſubtil?
Le bon André, pourſuivant ſon negoce,
Honteux pourtant: ma foi, repondit-il,
Prudence, eſprit, tout giſt dans cette foſſe.

In *Engliſh*, thus,

(1) Prænot. Canonic. pag. 604.

(2) De claris legum interpret. lib. 3. cap. 19. init.

(3) Volaterr. lib. 21. pag. 781.

(4) Forſt. Hiſtor. Juris Civil. lib. 3. cap. 26.

(5) *By Mr* de la Monnoie.

A learned

tified his Body with Faſting and Prayers, and ſlept every Night, for twenty Years together, on the hard Ground, wrapped in a Bear's Skin (e). He pretended, that he had obtained ſeveral things by his Prayers (f). He married a Woman called *Milantia*, whom he mentions ſometimes in his Writings; and confeſſes, that he had learned ſeveral things of her; and, among others, that, if Names were to be ſold, Fathers and Mothers ought to buy fine ones for their Children (g). I forgot to tell you, that his Mother's Name was *Novella*, and that he had a Daughter of the ſame Name, who was ſo learned, that ſhe read Lectures for him [C], when he had no leiſure to mount the Chair. It was out of Love to his Mother and Daughter, that he intituled his Commentary on the Decretals of *Gregory* IX, *Novellæ* (h). He had a Natural Son, whoſe Name was *Banicontius*, who publiſhed ſome Books [D]; and it is ſaid, that, having loſt him, he adopted *John Calderini*, a learned Canoniſt, and married him to his Daughter *Novella* [E]. He had another Daughter, whom he married to a celebrated Profeſſor of the Canon Law at *Bologne*. Her Name was *Betina*; and ſhe died at *Padua*, in the Year 1355 (i), whither her Huſband had been invited, to accept of the like Profeſſorſhip. *Andreas* died of the Plague at *Bologne*, in the Year 1348, after he had been Forty five Years Profeſſor, and was buried in the Church

A learned Canoniſt, of Fame,
*(*John Andreas *was the Doctor's Name)*
Once on a time in bed was laid,
Solacing it with Madam's Maid.
When Chance, That Sower of all Strife,
Brought in, curſt Luck! the Doctor's Wife.
And is it you, the Lady cries?
Bleſs me, I ſcarce can truſt my Eyes.
Inconſtant Wretch, of ſhameleſs Brow!
Where is your boaſted Wiſdom now?
'Tis here, the Doctor, bluſhing, cries,
'Tis here, dear Wife! my Wiſdom lies;
A proper Place (the Place he ſhows)
For wearied Wiſdom to repoſe.

Since it is agreed, on all Hands, that *John Andreas* had a Baſtard, this Story might be true at the bottom, and perhaps his Wife ſurprized him with the Mother of *Banicontius*: If it be ſo, we may place him in the Liſt of the *Menagiana* (6).

[C] *His Daughter read Lectures for him.*] I have met with this Particular, not in *Forſter*, or *Panzirolus*, or Mr *Doujat*; but in the *Cite des Dames*, written by *Chriſtina de Piſe*. This Book was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1536, and compoſed in the Reign of *Charles* VI. The following Paſſage is taken from it. "To ſpeak of the late times, without quoting Ancient Hiſtories, about ſixty Years ago *John Andreas*, a noted Civilian at *Bologne*, did not think there was any harm in a Woman's having ſome Learning. For he took care, that his handſome Daughter *Novella*, whom he was very fond of, ſhould be bred a Scholar; and ſo well verſed was ſhe in the Knowledge of the Law, that, when he had not leiſure to read Lectures to his Scholars, he ſent his Daughter *Novella*, to ſupply his Place in the Schools; and, to prevent her Beauty from diverting the Thoughts of the Auditors, a little Curtain was drawn before her. Thus ſhe ſometimes aſſiſted her Father, who loved her ſo well, that, to preſerve the Memory of her, he wrote a famous Book of Law, which he intituled *Novella*, it being the Name of his Daughter (7)." It is ſtrange, that a Particular of this Nature, ſo ſingular and rare, ſhould not be found in all the Authors, who mention *John Andreas*, or at leaſt in moſt of them; and I confeſs this inclines me to doubt of the Truth of it. But, be that as it will, it may occaſion a diverting Problem, *viz.* Whether this Lady promoted, or retarded, the Improvement of her Hearers, by hiding her handſome Face. An hundred things may be ſaid *pro* and *con*. I am apt to think the Scholars would have amuſed themſelves ſo much with her Beauty, as to be little attentive to her Lectures; but, on the other hand, what proceeds from a fine Mouth, is much more taking, and perſuaſive; and ſome Women, though charmed with the good Air and Mein of a Preacher, remember, nevertheleſs, what he ſays. What an ancient Poet ſays of Virtue, that it is more pleaſing in a beautiful Body, *Gratior & pulchro veniens in corpore virtus* (8); may be applied to Learning. However it be, if the Daughter of the Profeſſor, *John Andreas*, drew a Curtain between her and her Hearers, leaſt the Darts of her Beauty ſhould wound their Hearts, and interrupt their Attention, ſhe made them a conſiderable Sacrifice, which they would willingly have diſpenſed with. They would, probably, have been very well pleaſed to ſee her; and ſhe, on her part, would not have been diſpleaſed to be ſeen, had ſhe not preferred *their* Improvement to her *own* Satisfaction. This is a probable and natural Account; ſince ſhe was not one of thoſe learned Women, who have reaſon to ſay, with *Sappho*,

Si mihi difficilis formam natura negavit,
Ingenio formæ damna rependo meæ (9).

To me what Nature has in Charms deny'd,
Is well by Wit's more laſting Charms ſupply'd.

POPE.

[D] Banicontius, *who publiſhed ſome Books.*] It was the Name of his Grandfather. The Books he publiſhed are, *De privilegiis & immunitate Clericorum: De accuſationibus & inquiſitionibus: De appellationibus.* This I find in *Panzirolus*.

[E] *And married him to his Daughter* Novella.] The ancient practice of Adoption would not have permitted ſuch a Marriage (10): And perhaps the Adoption of *Calderini* is only to be underſtood in this Senſe, that *John Andreas* made him his Son-in-law. It is ſaid, that *Calderini* frequently conſulted his Wife. *Is conjugem velut eruditis parentibus (Milentia,* the Wife of *John Andreas,* was a learned Woman) *ortam prudentem nactus ſæpe ob ſapientiam conſulere conſueverat* (11). But, if we may judge of other Points, in which he had recourſe to this domeſtic Oracle, by that which *Calderini* has mentioned, we ſhall find nothing, which comes up to the Character *Chriſtina de Piſe* gives us of *Novella*; and moſt Women may be ſaid to be as knowing, as ſhe was. The Fact is this. "*Calderini* asked his Wife, one Day, whether he, who gives an Invitation, ought to ſend to the Perſons invited, when the Hour of Eating is come: She anſwered, that this ought to be done to Ladies and Strangers, but not to others, unleſs they happen to be Perſons of Importance." *Francis Hotomanus* tells us this Story in his ludicrous Way. *Verum enimvero medius fidius*, ſays he (12), *nequaquam inficiandum aut dubitandum eſt quin mulieres concilium dare poſſint, quando quidem (ô dignam hiſtoriam & digito ligandam) refert Joh. Calderinus Canoniſt. famoſiſſimus, quod ſemel conſuluit ſuam uxorem, an convivator teneatur hora prandii mittere ad convivas, ut veniant; quæ ſapienter & tanquam altera Sybilla reſpondit, ad fœminas & extraneos eſſe mittendum, qui ſe facile non ingerunt, ſed non ad alios niſi eſſent graves perſonæ. Johan. Calderin. in c. ult. de renunt. & poſt eum Ægid. Bell. in c. quidam col. 3. verſ. tertio quæro. eo. ti. & Panormit. in c. cum inter univerſal. in fin. de elect. & de hoc etiam per Collect. in cap. à crapula, Ext. de vit. & bon. cleric. & Bal. in procem. Gregor. col. 5. verſ. quære, quidam ſcholaris.* What moſt inclines me to believe, that *Calderini* was married to a Daughter of *John Andreas*, is, that one *John Calderini*, who cauſed the Tomb of *John Andreas* to be repaired, in the Year 1501, calls him his fourth Grand-Father, his *Atavus*; and ſays, that one *John Calderini* was his

(e) Volaterr. lib. 21. pag. 781.

(f) Apud Panzirol. ubi ſupra.

(g) *In cap. cum ſecundum, Extravag.* de præbend.

(h) Panzirol. de claris Legum Interpret. lib. 3. cap. 19.

(i) *His Epitaph is to be ſeen in* Panzirolus, ubi ſupra.

(6) *See the Remark* [E] *on the Article* BRISEIS.

(7) Cite de Dames de Chriſtine de Piſa, part 2. cap. 38.

(8) Virgil, Æn. lib. 5. ver. 344.

(9) Ovidius Epiſt. Sapph. ver. 31.

(10) Octaviam Claudius, antequam Neroni traderet, ne ſororem is ſuam ducere videretur, Claudii & ipſe filius adoptivus, in aliam familiam adoptandam dedit.----- Claudius, *before he gave* Octavia *in marriage to* Nero, *leſt it ſhould ſeem as if he married his Siſter, being himſelf the adopted Son of* Claudius, *cauſed her to be firſt adopted into another Family.* Torrentius in Sueton. Claudii, cap. 3[illegible]. ex Xiphil. & Zonara.

(11) Panzirol. lib. 3. cap. 21.

(12) Adverſus Italogalliam Matharelli, pag. 214.

Church of the *Dominicans*. He wrote many Books [*F*]. Extravagant Commendations have been beſtowed upon him [*G*]; but he is ſaid to have been an egregious Plagiary [*H*]. We are told, that the exceſſive Smallneſs of his Stature made the Cardinals laugh heartily [*I*], at the Audience, which *Boniface* VIII, gave him in a full Conſiſtory. It is ſaid, that he foretold his Death a Year before it happened (*k*).

(*k*) Ex Panzirolo. ibid.

his third Grand-Father, his *Abavus* (13). I queſtion whether the Adoption of theſe latter Ages has laid down ſuch Degrees of Kindred, to the fifth Generation. And I ſcarce think, that, if *Madamoiſelle de Gournai* had left a Family, her Deſcendants would, at this Day, ſimply and abſolutely ſtile themſelves, in a public Inſcription, the Grand-Children, or Great-Grand-Children, of *Michael de Montagne*.

(13) *See* Panzir. lib. 3. cap. 19.

[*F*] *He wrote many Books.*] His firſt Work was a Gloſs on the ſixth Book of the Decretals. He was very young, when he compoſed it; afterwards he reviſed, and enlarged it. He wrote alſo ſome Gloſſes on the *Clementines*, and afterwards a Commentary on the *Decretals*, which he entituled *Novellæ*, for the Reaſon above-mentioned. He publiſhed a Commentary, *In regulas Sexti*, which he entituled *Mercuriales*; either becauſe he wrote it on *Wedneſdays*, or becauſe he inſerted his *Wedneſdays* Diſputations in it. He enlarged the *Speculum* of *Durandus*, in the Year 1347. I omit ſome other Treatiſes, which he publiſhed. It is pity he followed ſo cloſely the Method of the *Pyrrhoniſts*; for he very ſtrongly confirmed his own Opinion, when he thought proper; but this he very ſeldom did; he choſe rather to report the Sentiments of others, and to leave his Readers in the middle of a Controverſy (14).

(14) Ex Panzirolo, ubi ſupra.

[*G*] *Extravagant Commendations have been beſtowed upon him.*] In the Epitaph of his Daughter *Betina*, he is called *Archidoctor Decretorum* —— *Arch-doctor of the* Decretals; in his own Epitaph, he is ſtiled *Rabbi Doctorum, lux, cenſor, normaque morum.* —— *The Rabbi of the Doctors, the Light, Cenſor, and Rule of Manners.* It is reported, that Pope *Boniface* VIII. called him *Lumen Mundi* - - - - - - *the Light of the World* (15).

(15) Id. ib.

[*H*] *He is ſaid to have been an egregious Plagiary.*] Moſt of his Additions to the *Speculum* of *Durandus* were taken, Word for Word, out of a Work of *Oldradus* (16); inſomuch, that *Baldus*, who diſcovered it, could not forbear calling him *a notorious Pilferer of other Men's Works, inſignis alienorum fur* (17). This was the more inexcuſable, becauſe, in theſe very Additions, he proves *Durandus* to have been a great Plagiary (18). He is accuſed likewiſe of having ſtolen the Treatiſe *De Sponſalibus ac Matrimoniis*, compoſed by *John Anguiſſola* of *Ceſena* (19).

(16) *Intituled* Conſilia.

(17) Panzirol. de Clar. Leg. Interp. lib. 3. c. 19.

(18) *See* Thomaſius, de Plagio Literario, n. 359, 414.

(19) Panzirol. ubi ſupra. Doujatius Præn. Canon. p. 604.

[*I*] *The exceſſive Smallneſs of his Stature made the Cardinals laugh heartily.*] Some Decretals, they ſay, being ſuſpected of Falſity, the Univerſity of *Bologne* deputed *James de Caſtello*, a little ugly Man, to *Boniface* VIII. He came into the Conſiſtory, attended by a great many Perſons. The Pope received him very graciouſly; and, thinking that he was ſtill upon his Knees, ordered him, three times ſucceſſively, to riſe (20). The Deputy was ſo aſhamed, that he had not a Word to ſay. A Cardinal ſaid, That he was another *Zaccheus*; which raiſed a general Laugh. Many Writers affirm, that it was not *Caſtello*, but our *Andreas*, a Man of ſmall Stature, and very ugly, who met with this Adventure (21).

(20) *See Remark* [*I*] *of the Article* ALBERTUS (MAGNUS).

(21) Panzirol. ubi ſup.

ANDREAS (JOHN), Author of a Book, intituled *The Sect of* Mahomet *demoliſhed*, was born a *Mahometan*, at *Xativa*, in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, and ſucceeded his Father in the Dignity of *Alfaqui*, in the ſame Town. He was converted to the Chriſtian Faith, by a Sermon, which he heard in the Great Church of *Valencia*, on the Day of the Aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin, in 1488 (*a*). He demanded Baptiſm, and, remembring the Call of St *John* and St *Andrew*, he obtained the Name of *John-Andrew*, or *Andreas*. "Having received Holy Orders (*ſays he*) (*b*), "and, from an *Alfaqui*, and Slave of *Lucifer*, become a Prieſt and Miniſter of "CHRIST, I began, like St *Paul*, to preach and publiſh the contrary to what I "had falſly believed and affirmed; and, by the Aſſiſtance of the moſt high Lord, "firſt converted, and led to Salvation, ſeveral Souls, among the unbelieving Moors, "who would otherwiſe have loſt them in Hell, under the Power of *Lucifer*. After "which I was invited by the moſt Catholic Princes, King *Ferdinand* and Queen "*Iſabella*, to come and preach to the Moors of the Kingdom of *Granada*, which "they had conquered. By my preaching, and the Will of GOD (who would have "it ſo) a prodigious Number of Moors renounced *Mahomet*, and were converted "to CHRIST. A little after I was created a Canon by their Bounty, and was "again invited by the moſt Chriſtian Queen *Iſabella*, to come into *Arragon*, and "endeavour the Converſion of the Moors of that Kingdom; who, to the great Contempt and Diſhonour of our crucified Saviour, and the Peril of the Chriſtian "Princes, perſevere to this day in their Error; but this moſt pious Intention of Her "Highneſs was prevented, by her Death, from taking Effect." He adds, that, *to employ his leiſure Hours, he tranſlated, out of* Arabic *into the Language of* Arragon, *the whole Law of the Moors*, to wit, *The Koran*, and it's Gloſſes, and the Five Books of *Suna*. He did This at the Command of *Martin Garcia*, Biſhop of *Barcelona*, and *Inquiſitor of* Arragon (*c*). After he had finiſhed this Undertaking, he wrote the Work, which I mentioned at the beginning [*A*]; and which has been thought tolerably good [*B*].

(*a*) *The Preacher's Name was* Marques Adeſora.

(*b*) John Andreas's *Preface to* The Sect of *Mahomet* demoliſhed, fol. 3. verſo.

(*c*) *Taken from the ſame Preface.*

[*A*] *The Work, which I mentioned at the Beginning.*] I mean the Book, entituled, *The Sect of* Mahomet *demoliſhed*. It contains twelve Chapters; in which the Author has collected *The fabulous Inventions, Impoſtures, Follies, Abſurdities, Inconſiſtencies, Impoſſibilities, Lies, and Contradictions, which the Impoſtor* Mahomet, *to deceive the ignorant People, ſcattered up and down in the Books of the Sect; particularly in* The Koran; *which, he tells us, was revealed to him, in one Night, by an Angel, in the City of* Mecca; *though, upon the other Occaſions, he affirmed, in Contradiction to himſelf, that he was twenty Years in compoſing it; which aforeſaid Work I have intituled*, The Sect of *Mahomet* demoliſhed (1). He informs us (2), that he compoſed this Work, *to the end, that Chriſtians, not only the Wiſe and Underſtanding, but the Simple and Ignorant likewiſe, may, on the one ſide, laugh at ſuch Follies and Abſurdities, and, on the other ſide, expreſs their Concern for the Blindneſs and Perdition of this People.*

(1) John Andreas's Preface, fol. 4.

(2) Ibid.

This Work, which was firſt publiſhed in *Spaniſh*, has been tranſlated into ſeveral Languages; particularly into *French*, by *Guy de la Boderi*, from the *Italian*; and was publiſhed at *Paris*, for *Martin le June*, in the Year 1574, in 8vo.

[*B*] *This Work* —— *has been thought tolerably good.*] All the Writers againſt *Mahometaniſm* cite it frequently. Among others, see *Hornbeeck* in his *Diſputatio de Muhammediſmo* (3); *Hottinger*, in his *Hiſtoria Orientalis*, and *Samuel Schultetus*, in his *Eccleſia Mahummedana breviter delineata.*

(3) *It is part of his* Summa Controverſiarum.

[*A*] *Where*

ANDREAS (Tobias) Profeſſor of Hiſtory, and the *Greek* Tongue, at *Groningen*, was born at *Braunfels*, in the County of *Solms*, the Nineteenth of *Auguſt* 1604. His Father was Miniſter of the Count of *Solms-Braunfels*, and Overſeer of the Churches dependant on That Count. His Mother was the Daughter of *John Piſcator*, a famous Profeſſor of Divinity at *Herborn*, in the County of *Naſſau*. He went through his School-Learning at *Herborn*; and, then, ſtudied Philoſophy, in the ſame Place, under the Direction of *Alſtedius*, and his Uncle *Piſcator* (*a*); after which, he went to *Bremen*, where he lived ſeven Years [*A*]. He was one of the moſt conſtant Attendants on the Lectures of *Gerard de Neuville*, a Phyſician, and a Philoſopher; and, as he aſpired to the Office of Teaching publickly, he prepared himſelf for it, by reading private Lectures in Philoſophy. He returned to his own Country in the Year 1628; and, after a ſhort Stay, he went to *Groningen*, being invited thither by his good Patron *Henry Altingius*. He read there, for ſome time, private Lectures in all Parts of Philoſophy: After which *Altingius* gave him his Children to inſtruct; and, when they had no longer occaſion for a Tutor, he procured him the ſame Employment with a Prince *Palatine*; this continued three Years, which he ſpent partly at *Leyden*, and partly at the *Hague*, in the Court of the Prince of *Orange*. In the Year 1634, he was invited to *Groningen*, to ſucceed *James Gebhardus*, who had been Profeſſor of Hiſtory, and the *Greek* Tongue (*b*). He diſcharged the Duties of this Employ with an extraordinary Application, till his Death, which happened the Seventeenth of *October* 1676 (*c*). He had been Library-Keeper to the Univerſity, and a great Friend of *Des Cartes* [*B*]; which he teſtified, both during the Life [*C*], and after the Death, of that Illuſtrious Philoſopher [*D*]. He wrote ſome Books in his Vindication, as will appear in the Remarks. He married the Daughter of a *Swede* (*d*), who, among other things, was famous for his Charity towards thoſe, who ſuffered for the ſake of the Goſpel.

(*a*) *Son of the Profeſſor of Divinity.*

(*b*) *See the Lives of the Profeſſors of* Groningen, pag. 124.

(*c*) Witte, Diar. Biograph.

(*d*) Lewis de Geer.

[*A*] *Where he lived ſeven Years.*] My Reader ought not to have believed this, if the Author of the Lives of the Profeſſors of *Groningen* had not been more exact in this Calculation, than he is, as to the time, when *Tobias Andreas* was at *Herborn*. It is ſtrange, that a Corrector of the Preſs ſhould overlook ſuch Errors in the Space of five or ſix Lines, though the Avocations of the Author hindered him from perceiving them. You will find, in the Life of our *Andreas*, that he went to *Herborn*, in the Year CIↃ IↃ CXVII; that he ſtudied five Years, there, in the Schools, and one Year in Philoſophy, and that he purſued the ſame Studies at *Bremen*, for ſeven Years; and that, afterwards, having taken a turn home, he came to *Groningen*, in the Year CIↃ IↃ CXXVIII. There is nothing written in Cyphers; the Errrors, probably, were in the Copy. *Paul Freherus* has very innocently tranſcribed it (1), without perceiving any Error in the Calculation.

[*B*] *A great Friend of* Des Cartes.] He heartily ſerved him in his Law Suit with *Martin Schoockius*, Profeſſor of Philoſophy at *Groningen*. This Profeſſor was proſecuted by *Des Cartes* for Scandal, in having publickly accuſed him of Atheiſm. Though *Des Cartes* had not ſeen our *Andreas* more than once in his Life, he recommended his Cauſe to him, perceiving, that he was very much in his Intereſt. The *French* Ambaſſador, Monſ. *de la Thuillerie*, and *Des Cartes*'s Friends acted on one Hand (2); the Enemies of *Voëtius*, at *Groningen*, acted on the other; and by this means *Des Cartes* had Juſtice done him. His Accuſer acknowledged his Innocence (3), and was thereupon acquitted; which was a ſcandalous Indulgence, and a bad Example: For, if they had made him ſuffer the Puniſhment of Retaliation, as he very well deſerved, it would have reſtrained, in ſome meaſure, the boldneſs of thoſe ſeditious Writers, who ſo readily, and ſo raſhly, accuſe ſo many honeſt Men of Atheiſm. "*Des Cartes* wrote, the Twenty ſixth "of *May*, 1645, to Mr *Andreas*, to thank him for "his good Offices, and to deſire him to return his "moſt humble thanks to the Judges. Seeing how "mildly his Adverſary had been treated, though he "deſerved to be puniſhed as a Calumniator —— "he nevertheleſs acknowledged, that the Judges had "given him all the Satisfaction he deſired, or could "lawfully pretend to. For, *ſaid he* (4), *to the Magiſtrates of* Utrecht, private Perſons have no right "to demand either the Death of their Enemies, or "that they ſhould ſuffer in their Honour or Eſtates. "It is ſufficient they are indemnified by the Judges. "Any thing farther does not concern them, but the "Public alone." The Text of my Remark neceſſarily obliging me to mention the good Offices done by *Andreas* to *Des Cartes*; I believed the Reader would be pleaſed to know, in general, the Iſſue of this Affair, without turning to another Page.

[*C*] *Which he teſtified during the Life*, &c.] We have juſt ſeen a Proof of this. I add, that he favoured *Des Cartes*'s Diſciples, and procured him as many Followers as he could. It was by his Advice, that *Claubergius* became a *Carteſian* (5); which was a glorious and uſeful Victory for the whole Party.

[*D*] *And after the Death of that illuſtrious Philoſopher.*] He wrote in his Defence, againſt a Profeſſor of *Leyden*, whoſe Name was *Revius*, and publiſhed a vigorous Reply, in the Year 1653, entituled, *Methodi Carteſianæ aſſertio oppoſita Jacobii Revii ---- Præf. Methodi Carteſianæ conſiderationi Theologicæ.* The ſecond Part of this Anſwer came out the following Year. He wrote alſo, in the Year 1653, againſt Mr *Regius*, in Vindication of the Remarks, which *Des Cartes* had made on a *Programma*, containing an Explication of the human Mind (6). He taught, in his own Houſe, the *Carteſian* Philoſophy, though his Profeſſion did not require it of him, and even when Age had very much impaired his Strength. Mr *Des Marets* informed me of theſe Particulars, on account of a *Swiſs* Student in Divinity, who durſt not attend the Philoſophical Lectures of *Andreas*, for fear it ſhould be known in his own Country, and ſhould prove an Obſtacle to his Promotion to the Miniſtry. "Nec defuit unus ex illis, cujus nomini "parco, bene alias doctus, & in Philoſophiam Carteſianam valde propenſus, qui, dum hic eſſet, pro"feſſus eſt, non audere ſe frequentare Collegia Car"teſiana Cl. Tobiæ Andreæ (qui, Clinicus licet, "quod ſummopere doleo, Deumque veneror ut illi "ſuas vires reſtituat, ea ſolet habere in ſuperpondium "ſuæ profeſſionis, nec enim ad philoſophiam, ſed "ad linguam Græcam & Hiſtorias eſt vocatus) ne "hoc in ſua patria reſciretur, & ſuæ promotioni obeſ"ſet (7). —— *Nor was there wanting one, among* "*them, whoſe Name I forbear to mention; a Man,* "*otherwiſe, of good Learning; who, during his abode* "*here, declared, that he durſt not frequent the* Car"teſian *School of* Tobias Andreas, *leſt it ſhould be* "*known in his own Country, and hinder his Pro*"*motion; I mean the* Carteſian *School of That* An"dreas; *who, tho' almoſt Bed-rid (which I am very* "*much concerned for, and beg of God to reſtore him* "*to his Strength) yet continues to teach a Science,* "*over and above his Profeſſion; which requires of him* "*a Knowledge of Hiſtory, and the* Greek *Tongue, not* "*of Philoſophy.*"

(1) Theatr. Virorum Illuſtr. pag. 1538.

The exceſſive Indulgence towards him, who accuſed *Des Cartes* of Atheiſm.

(2) *The Condemnation of* Schoockius *fell indirectly upon* Voëtius.

(3) *See the Life of* Des Cartes *by M.* Baillet, Tom. 2. p. 252. & ſeq. ad annum 1645.

(4) Tom. 3. *of his Letters pag.* 17. ap. Baillet, ubi ſupra, pag. 257.

(5) Clauberg. Epiſt. Dedicat. Logicæ.

(6) *This Piece is intituled,* Brevis Replicatio brevi Explicationi Mentis Humanæ Dn. Henrici Regii repoſita.

(7) Mareſius, in Judicio de Theologia pacifica Wittichii, printed in 1671.

ANDREINI (**Iſabella**) born at *Padua*, was, towards the end of the XVIth and beginning of the XVIIth Century, one of the beſt Actreſſes of *Italy*. This was not the only Qualification, for which ſhe was admired; ſhe was likewiſe a compleat Poeteſs. This we learn, not only from the Praiſes, which many learned Men, and great Wits, have beſtowed upon her, (tho' this would be but a doubtful Proof) but alſo by the Works, which ſhe publiſhed. The *Intenti* (*a*) of *Pavia* thought it an Honour to them to admit her into their Society; and, to teſtify her Acknowledgment, ſhe never forgot, among her Titles, That of *Academica Intenta*; but, without doubt, ſhe looked upon it as an Honour done to her. Her Titles were, *Iſabella Andreini*, *Comica Geloſa*, *Academica Intenta*, *detta l'Acceſa*. In one thing ſhe excelled the moſt excellent Actreſſes; for ſhe was a beautiful Woman; ſo that, on the Stage, ſhe charmed, at once, the Eyes and Ears of the Audience [*A*]. Cardinal *Cinthio Aldobrandini*, Nephew to *Clement* VIII, had a great Eſteem for her, as appears by many Poems, which ſhe compoſed for him, and by the Epiſtle Dedicatory of her Works. She came into *France*, and was graciouſly received by their Majeſties, and Perſons of the firſt Quality at Court (*b*). She compoſed many Sonnets in their Praiſe, which are to be ſeen in the ſecond Part of her Poems. She died, at *Lyons*, the Tenth of *June* 1604, of a Miſcarriage, in the Forty ſecond Year of her Age. Her Huſband, *Francis* ANDREINI, buried her in the ſame City; and honoured her with an Epitaph [*B*], which imports that ſhe was very pious and chaſte. Since That, he diſcovered, how greatly he regretted [*C*], and eſteemed her. The Death of this excellent Actreſs ſet all *Parnaſſus* in Tears. Nothing but Funeral Elegies appeared, in *Latin* and *Italian*. Many of them were prefixed to her Poems, in the Edition of *Milan*, 1605. Nor did they forget the ingenious Inſcription, made in her Praiſe, whilſt ſhe was ſtill alive, by *Erycius Puteanus*, at that Time Profeſſor at *Milan* (*c*). Beſides her *Sonnets*, *Madrigals*, *Songs*, and *Eclogues*, there is a Paſtoral of her Compoſition, intituled *Myrtilla*. There are extant likewiſe ſome of her Letters, which were printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1610. She ſung well, and play'd admirably on ſeveral Inſtruments; ſhe was not ignorant of Philoſophy (*d*), and underſtood *French* and *Spaniſh*.

(*a*) So the Academicians of Pavia are called.

(*b*) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the ſecond Part of her Poems.

(*c*) See Remark [*A*].

(*d*) See the Verſes wrote in her Praiſe, prefixed to her Poems.

[*A*] *She charmed, at once, the Eyes and Ears of the Audience.*] This ſupplied Flatterers with many Thoughts. Theſe Words were wrote under her Picture, “ Hoc Hiſtricæ eloquentiæ caput, lector admi-“ raris? quid ſi auditor fies? —— *Do you admire,* “ *Reader, this Head of Theatric Eloquence? What* “ *would you have done, had you been her Hearer?*” The *Antitheſes* and Witticiſms of *Erycius Puteanus* turn chiefly upon this.

Hanc vides, & hanc audis;
Tu diſputa, Argus eſſe malis, ut videas,
An Midas, ut audias.
Tantum enim ſermonem vultus,
Quantum ſermo vultum commendat.
Quorum alterutro æterna eſſe potuiſſet,
Cum vultum omnibus ſimulacris emendatiorem,
Et ſermonem omni Suada venuſtiorem poſſideat.

You ſee her; and you hear her;
Conſider now, whether you would be an Argus, *to ſee,*
Or a Midas, *to hear.*
For her Looks as much recommend her Voice,
As her Voice her Looks.
Either of which might have rendered her Immortal;
Since no Painting can equal the Charms of her Face;
No Muſic the Harmony of her Voice.

[*B*] *Her Huſband —— honoured her with an Epitaph.*] If it be but to undeceive thoſe, who talk ſo much of the Rigour of the Church, in regard to the Burial of Players in Holy Ground, I ſhall copy the Epitaph of *Iſabella Andreini*, in which her Profeſſion, as an Actreſs, is mentioned next to her Hopes of the Reſurrection

D. O. M.

Iſabella Andreina, Patavina, mulier magna virtute prædita, honeſtatis ornamentum, maritaliſque pudicitiæ decus, ore facunda, mente fecunda, religioſa, pia, Muſis amica, & artis Scenicæ caput, hic reſurrectionem expectat.

Ob abortum obiit 4. Idus Junii 1604. annum agens 42.

Franciſcus Andreinus mœſtiſſimus poſuit.

Iſabella Andreini, *of* Pavia, *a Lady remarkable for Virtue, Honour, and Conjugal Fidelity, Eloquent, and Ingenious; Religious, and Devout; A Friend to the Muſes, and Head of the Theatric Art; lies Here, in expectation of the Reſurrection.*

She died of a Miſcarriage, June 10, 1604.
Ætat. 42.

This Monument was erected by Francis Andreini, her afflicted Huſband.

You will ſee, in the next Remark, how tenderly ſhe was beloved by her Huſband *Francis Andreini*.

[*C*] *Since That, he diſcover'd, how much he regretted her.*] The Preface to his *Bravure del Capitano Spavento*, informs us, that he was born at *Piſtoia*, and that, whilſt he was among the Company of Comedians *Geloſi*, he took great delight in acting the Part of a Braggadocio, He took upon him the Title of *Capitan Spavento da Vall' Inferna*, *Captain Bluff of the Infernal Vale*; and left off perſonating the part of a Lover, in which he had chiefly ſignaliz'd himſelf: *io laſciai di recitare la parte mia principale, laquelle era quella dell' innamorato.* This Company of Players acquir'd a ſurprizing Reputation; which began to decay after the Death of *Iſabella Andreini*. Her Huſband thought it beſt from a Player to turn Author; and, for the Subject of his Works, he made choice of That, in which he had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf on the Stage, I mean the Rhodomontades of a *Captain Bluff*. He publiſh'd ſome Dialogues, or *Ragionamenti*, in Proſe, with the Title above-mentioned. The 4th Edition, which I make uſe of, is of *Venice*, 1623, in Quarto; but, the Licence being dated in the Year 1607, the firſt Edition ought to be placed in That Year. The Complaints of the Shepherd *Corinto alla defunta ſua Fillide* (he calls her his Wife) & *alla ſua Boſcareccia Sampogna*, are prefixed to the Book. Never did Lover utter more tender Expreſſions, or complain more ſtrongly of the inexorable Rigor of Deſtiny. They are *Andreini*'s Lamentation for the Death of his *Iſabella*; the following Words put it paſt doubt: “ Finito che fu quel termine, e venuto meno il vi-“ vere d' Iſabella mia dilettiſſima conſorte (la quale “ fu lume e ſplendore di quella virtuoſa e honorata “ compagnia) fui da molti amici miei conſigliato à “ ſcrivere alcuna coſa e donarla alla ſtampa per laſciar “ qualche memoria di me, e per ſeguitare l'honorato “ grido della moglie mia, la quale haveva laſciato al

“ mondo

mondo con tanta ſua gloria e con tanto ſuo honore il ſuo bellizzimo Canzoniero, la ſua belliſſima Mirtilla Favola Boſcareccia, e il compendio delle ſue belliſſime lettere (1). —— *After the Death of my deareſt Conſort* Iſabella *(who was the Light and Ornament of this ingenious and honourable Company); I was adviſed by many of my Friends to write, or publiſh ſomething, to perpetuate my Memory, and to emulate the Reputation of my Wiſe, who left behind her, ſo much to her Glory, and ſo much to her Honour, her beautiful Collection of Sonnets, her Paſtoral of* Myrtilla, *and the Abridgement of her beautiful Letters.*” There is one *John Baptiſt ANDREINI*, who wrote a Tragedy, entituled *La Florinda*; printed at *Milan*, in the Year 1606.

(1) *Preface to the* Capitano Spavento.

ANDRELINUS (P. Faustus) born at *Forli*, in *Italy*, was a long time Profeſſor of Poetry in the Univerſity of *Paris*. *Lewis* XII. made him Poet Laureat *(a)*. I know not, whether Queen *Anne* of *Bretagne*, or ſome other Queen, honoured him with her ſpecial Protection; but I am not ignorant, that *Eraſmus*, who was intimately acquainted with him, ſays, that he was not only Laureat to the King, but to the Queen likewiſe [*A*]. He was not contented with *Poetry*; He wrote likewiſe ſome *Moral, and Proverbial, Letters* in Proſe, which have been printed ſeveral times. They were printed at *Straſburg*, in the Year 1517, and again, from the ſecond Reviſal of the Author, in the Year 1519 *(b)*. *Beatus Rhenanus* prefixed a Preface to them, in which he greatly commends them [*B*]. *John Arboreus*, a Divine of *Paris*, wrote a Commentary upon them. Moſt of his Poetry conſiſts of Diſtichs; they have been printed, with a Commentary of *Jodocus Badius Aſcenſius*, being tranſlated, Verſe for Verſe, into *French* by a Poet of *Paris*, whoſe Name was *Stephen Privé* (*c*). This Tranſlation came out in 1604, and is only fit to bring the Original into Contempt. *John Paradin* had before turned (*d*) into *French Tetraſtics* about an hundred Diſtichs, *which Andrelinus inſcribed to* John Ruzé, *Treaſurer-General of the* Finances *of King* Charles VIII, *to return him Thanks for a large and honourable Penſion, which that Prince cauſed to be paid him with extraordinary Care; and which did not deſerve the Contempt this pleaſant Poet deſigned to throw upon it, by leaving us room to think he was paid for his Verſes by the Quarter, or the Hundred* (*e*) [*C*]. The Poems of *Andrelinus* have been inſerted in the firſt Volume of the *Delights of the* Italian *Poets*; tho' good Judges ſet no

(*a*) Fauſtus Andrelinus item, Poëta ſuaviſſimus, à Ludovico XII, Franciæ rege, laurea coronatus. *Lean. Albert. Deſcript. Ital. pag.* 478.

(*b*) Geſner. Biblioth. pag. 573.

(*c*) Baillet, Jugem. ſur les Poetes, Tom. 3. p. 121.

(*d*) *In* 1545.

(*e*) Baillet, ibid. *who quotes* Colletet, p. 118, 125, 126. Art. Poët.

[*A*] Eraſmus, *who knew him very intimately, ſays, that he was not only Laureat to the King, but to the Queen likewiſe.*] Theſe are his Words. “ Fauſtus Andrelinus Forolivienſis, poëta non ſolum laureatus, verum etiam regius, atque etiam, ſi diis placet, regineus, vetus congerro meus, qui plus quam triginta jam annos in celeberrima Pariſiorum Academia poëticen docet, in carmine quod de Pavimento Pariſienſi inſcripſit, adagionem (*Syracuſana Menſa*) in Anglos derivavit, Menſa, inquiens, Britanna placet (1). —— *My old Friend*, Fauſtus Andrelinus, *of* Forli, *Poet-Laureat both to the King and Queen, who has taught Poetry more than thirty Years in the famous Univerſity of* Paris, *in his Poem* de Pariſienſi Pavimento, *applies the Adage* Syracuſana Menſa * *to the Engliſh, ſaying,* Give me a Britiſh Table”. There are, among *Eraſmus*'s Letters (2), two or three Billets, which *Andrelinus* wrote to him, in ſuch a Laconick Style, that *Brutus*'s Letters, if compared with them, would paſs for long ones. *Eraſmus*, who anſwer'd him in the ſame Style, is ſomewhat more diffuſe, when he deſires him to promote the Sale of his *Adagies* (3); and when he deſcribes the Pleaſures of *England*, to induce him to take a Journey into that Country (4). I ſhall, by the way, take notice of an ill Cuſtom, which prevails among Authors, of denoting the time, when they write, by ſuch general Words only as, *Nunc, jam,* &c. whereas they ought preciſely to mark the Year; for, beſides that ſome Books take up an Author ſeveral Years, or are not publiſh'd till a long time after they are finiſh'd, are there not many printed ſeveral times? How, then, can a Reader know, at what time a Book was written, when he meets only with theſe Words, *hoc anno, nunc*, and the like? *Eraſmus* ſpeaks of *Andrelinus* as one, who was then alive, and had taught Poetry at *Paris*, for the ſpace of 30 Years. This he ſays, in a Book printed in 1546; there is no Date to the Preface; but the Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated the 13th of *Auguſt* 1528. Wou'd not this induce one to believe, that *Andrelinus* was alive in the Year 1528? and muſt we not infer from hence, that the greateſt Men, when they reviſe their Works for a new Edition, leave a great many things in them, which ceaſe to be true? I have obſerved this Fault in the laſt Edition of the large Hiſtory of *Mezerai.*

(1) Eraſm. Adag. 68. cent. 2. chiliad. 2.

* A Syracuſian Table. *The People of* Syracuſe *were remarkably luxurious.*

(2) Lib. 5. pag. 316. Edit. Londinenſis.

(3) Epiſt. 23. lib. 5. pag. 321.

(4) Epiſt. 10. lib. 5. pag. 315.

AUTHORS cenſured, who uſe the indefinite Term NUNC. *See Remark* [*B*] *of the Article ABULFEDA*, n. 4.

[*B*] Beatus Rhenanus—— *greatly commends them.*] Theſe are *Geſner*'s Words. “ Beatus Rhenanus, in præfatione, commendat has epiſtolas tanquam eruditas, lepidas, & utiles; “ *etſi enim hic Author (inquit) in nonnullis opuſculis genuino poëtarum more laſciviuſculus ſit, hic tamen integrum ac modeſtum oratorem agit* (5). —— Beatus Rhenanus, *in his Preface, commends theſe Epiſtles, as being learned, entertaining, and uſeful.* For” “ Tho' this Author (*ſays he*) like other Poets, is a little too obſcene, in ſome of his Works; yet here he aſſumes the perfect and modeſt Orator.

(5) Geſn. in Biblioth. fol. 573.

[*C*] *By leaving us room to think, he was paid for his Verſes by the Quarter or the Hundred.*] M. *Baillet* proves it by theſe four Verſes, tranſlated from the *Latin* of *Andrelinus*, by *Paradin* (6).

(6) Judgm. of the Poets, Tom. 3. p. 122.

Croiſſez mes vers, ſoyez en plus grand nombre,
Car c'eſt aux frais & ſalaries du Roi.
Seure richeſſe, empeſchant tout encombre,
Exige vers en copieux arroi.

A freſh Recruit, my Muſe, of Numbers bring;
'Tis at a Monarch's ſole Expence you ſing.
The ſure Reward, which bids each Care retire,
With copious Fewel feeds the Poet's Fire.

We meet with a remarkable Inſtance in the Tenth Eclogue of *Andrelinus*; I mean of a Poet, who, far from complaining of the Ingratitude of the Age, or finding fault with the Muſes for not taking care to maintain thoſe, who engage in their Service, acknowledges that he had a large Penſion, and that, when he recited his Poem on the Conqueſt of *Naples*, before *Charles* VIII, that Prince preſented him with a Bag of Money, which he had much a-do to carry upon his Shoulders.

Dum ſtupeo totus viſu defixus in iſto,
Jupiter ecce venit magno ſtipatus honore,
Ipſe olim vultus inter nutritus agreſtes.
Admiror primo aſpectu; mox poplite flexo
Ante ipſum quæſita Jovem modulamina fundo;
Scilicet ut bello claram expugnavit aperto
Parthenopem, patrios victorque redivit in agros,
Quamvis Heſperio vetitus foret orbe regreſſus.
Neſcio qua noſtri captus dulcedine cantus
Ipſe fuit, fulvi ſaccum donavit & æris;
Vix iſtis delatum humeris, cunctoſque per annos
Penſio larga datur, qualem non lentus habebat
Tityrus umbroſis reſonans ſua gaudia ſylvis.

Whilſt on this Sight, with fixt Regard, I gaze,
See Jupiter *in ſplendid Pomp appear;*

Himſelf

no great Value on them [*D*]. His Death is placed in the Year 1518 [*E*]. The Letters, which he wrote, by way of Proverbs, were thought worthy of a new Impreſſion at *Helmſtadt*, in the Year 1662, after the Edition of *Cologne* of the Year 1509 (*f*). The Morals of this Author, tho' none of the beſt, were not taken notice of, becauſe he was an Ornament to the Univerſity of *Paris*. He was ſo happy, that the Liberty he took of offending the Divines brought him into no Trouble. *Eraſmus* informs us of theſe Particulars [*F*].

(*f*) Morhof. Polyhiſt. pag. 258.

Note, That I have left this whole Article, in this Edition, juſt as it ſtood in the firſt, tho' I have been informed, that it ſtood in need of Correction in ſeveral Places. I thought it would be more modeſt to give the Corrections, which have been ſince imparted to me, by themſelves [*G*]. You'll find them in the Remark [*G*].

Himſelf once converſant with Ruſtic Looks;
At firſt, in Admiration loſt, I ſtand;
Then, on my Knee, preſent the Verſe, required;
The Verſe, which paints Parthenope * *deſtroy'd,*
And from Heſperia † Charles's *bleſt Return,*
In vain forbidden, to his native Land.
Pleas'd with the Numbers, which his Conqueſts ſung,
A Load of Gold the generous Prince beſtow'd,
Too weighty for the ſinking Bard to bear;
A Penſion too, larger than what of old,
Reclin'd at Eaſe, gay Tityrus ‖ *enjoy'd,*
Courting his Muſe beneath the Beachen Shade.

* Naples.

† Italy.

‖ VIRGIL, under the Character of TITYRUS.

[In this Poem, *Andrelinus* ſays, that the Brand (the *Stigmata*) of *Charles* VIIIth's Victories, appeared ſtill imprinted on the Brows of the *Italians*. *Brantome*, who, inſtead of *vera Stigmata*, read *vera Stemmata*, makes this Poet ſay, that the Victories and warlike Actions of *Charles* VIII appeared on the Brows of the *Italians*, as ſo many Crowns or Laurels. See *Brantome*'s *Illuſtrious Frenchmen*, Tom. 4. pag. 25. REM. CRIT.]

[*D*] *Good Judges ſet no great Value on them.*] *Voſſius* mentions three Authors, who abounded in Words without Meaning (7); the firſt is the Orator *Anaximenes*; the ſecond is *Longolius*, who was likewiſe an Orator, and the third is the Poet *Andrelinus*. As to the firſt he ſays, that *Theocritus* of *Chios*, ſeeing him about to make a Speech, cried out, *A River of Words begins to flow with but a Drop of Senſe.* Ἄρχεται λέξεων μὲν πόταμος, νοῦ δὲ σταλαγμός. He ſays, upon the Authority of *Francis Luiſinus*, that *Conſtantin Laſcaris* paſſed the ſame Judgment upon *Longolius*; and that *Andrelinus* was ſtill more liable to Cenſure, in whoſe Poems there was wanting but one Syllable, as *Eraſmus* very ingeniouſly obſerved. This Syllable was νοῦς, which ſignifies *Senſe*, *Underſtanding*, *Wit*. If I knew where this Paſſage of *Eraſmus*, ſo little agreeable to the great Compliments and Praiſes he beſtows upon *Andrelinus* (8), is to be found, I would inform the Reader. I make no doubt, that the Judgment, which *Julius Scaliger* paſſed on the Poet *Fauſtus*, relates to our *Andrelinus*, rather than *Gerhardus Fauſtus*. "Fauſti facilitas, *ſays he* (9), "viventis in ſcribendo ſecundo plauſu excepta eſt; "ſcholas tamen ſapit illa juniorum, à qua nihil aliud "quam hoc ipſum expectes. - - - - - *The Knack of "Writing, which* Fauſtus, *when alive, was Maſter of, "was received with Favour and Applauſe; yet it ſavours of the Schools of Youth; from which you can "expect nothing farther.*"

(7) Voſſ. Inſtitut. Poët. pag. 2.

(8) *See the 23d Letter of the* 5*th Book of* Eraſmus.

(9) Jul. Cæſ. Scalig. de Poetic. l. 6. pag 736. *See* Baillet, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *His Death is placed in the Year* 1518.] I ſhall not cite *Konig*'s *Bibliotheque*, nor the Letters of the learned *Reineſius* to *Dauminus* (10). I can produce a cotemporary Writer, who, in a Letter, dated the ſixth of *March*, 1518, takes notice, that That Year had carried off ſeveral learned Men. "Hic annus "multos eximios viros tui ſimiles abſumpſit, Marcum "Muſurum Romæ, jam Archiepiſcopum deſignatum, "& ante hunc Paleotum Camillum, Lutetiæ Fauſtum immortalitate dignum (11). —— *Several great "Men, like yourſelf, have died this Year; particularly,* Marcus Muſurus, *Archbiſhop Elect, at* Rome, "*and, before him,* Paleotus Camillus; *at* Paris, Fauſtus, *worthy of Immortality.*" It cannot be concluded, from theſe Words, that *Andrelinus* died in the Year 1518; for it is certain, that *Muſurus* died in the Year 1517 (12).

(10) Pag. 15.

(11) Eraſm. Epiſt. 20. l. 3. ad Petrum Barbirium. *See alſo* Epiſt. 24. lib. 2.

(12) *See the Remarks on his Article.*

[*F*] Eraſmus *informs us of theſe Particulars.*] The Reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the Original. "Pariſienſis Academiæ candorem ac civilitatem jam "olim ſum admiratus, quæ tot annos Fauſtum tulerit, "nec tulerit ſolum, verum etiam aluerit evexeritque. "Cum Fauſtum dico, multa tibi ſuccurrunt quæ nolim literis committere. Qua petulantia ſolitus eſt "ille in Theologorum ordinem debacchari? Quàm "non caſta erat illius profeſſio? Neque cuiquam obſcurum erat qualis eſſet vita. Tantum malorum "Galli doctrinæ hominis condonabant, quæ tamen "ultra mediocritatem non admodum erat progreſſa "(13). —— *I have long wondered at the Good-nature "and Courteſy of the Univerſity of* Paris, *which bore, "ſo many Yeaas, with* Fauſtus; *and not only bore "with, but ſupported, and advanced, him. When "I mention* Fauſtus, *many things occur to you* (14), "*which I avoid committing to Writing. How virulently was he wont to inveigh againſt the ſacred "Order? How far from Chaſt was his Profeſſion? "Nor was his manner of Life a Secret to any one. "The* French, *however, pardoned his bad Qualities, "in reſpect to his Learning, which yet did not very "far exceed the Bounds of Mediocrity.*" You may obſerve, that *Eraſmus*'s Letters to *Andrelinus*, and thoſe he wrote to others concerning him, are written in a very different Strain. However, it cannot be denied, that he ſometimes commends him in his Letters to other Perſons (15).

(13) Eraſm. Epiſt. 20. lib. 21. pag. 1090.

(14) *He writes to* Ludovicus Vives.

(15) *See Remark* [*E*].

[*G*] *Give the Corrections, which have been imparted to me, by themſelves.*] The following Remarks were communicated to me by Monſ. *de la Monnoie*. "I. Inſtead of *P. Fauſtus*, it ſhould be *Publius Fauſtus*, at length; leaſt any one ſhould think that *P.* "ſignifies *Petrus*, *Paulus*, or ſome ſuch other Chriſtian Name. It is probable, that *Fauſtus* aſſumed "the Name of *Publius* at *Rome*, in imitation of "thoſe Academicians, great Lovers of Antiquity, of "whom *Pomponius Lætus* was the head. II. It ought "not to be ſaid, in a Dictionary, that *Fauſtus* was "only Profeſſor of Poetry in the Univerſity of *Paris*. "He taught, there, not only Poetry, but Rhetoric, "and the Doctrine of the Sphere, and even explained the *Pſalms* of *David*. III. It was at *Rome*, "long before the Reign of *Lewis* XII, that *Fauſtus*, "who was not then Twenty two Years of Age, carried the Laurel (16). His Love Verſes divided "into four Books, entituled, *Livia*, which was his "Miſtreſs's Name, appeared ſo fine to the *Roman* Academy, that they adjudged him the Prize of the *Latin* Elegy; which was the Reaſon why, when he "printed his *Livia* in 4to, at *Paris*, in the Year "1490, and his three Books of Elegies, four Years "after, in the ſame City, he ſtiled himſelf *Poëta Laureatus*, and afterwards *Regius*, and *Regineus*, with "reſpect to *Charles* VIII, *Lewis* XII, and Queen "*Anne*. IV. To find the thirty Years that *Fauſtus* was Profeſſor at *Paris*, we muſt ſuppoſe, that "*Eraſmus* made this Computation in the Year 1517. "By this means we go back as far as 1487, at which "Time, or thereabout, *Fauſtus* ſettled at *Paris*. This "Chronology is ſo much the more certain, becauſe "there was an Edition of *Eraſmus*'s *Adagies* (17), in "1517, which he mentions in the *Chœnici ne inſideas*. V. *Fauſtus* did not compoſe above two hundred Diſtichs, and conſequently they were but "a very ſmall part of his Poems; for, beſides the "four Books of his Love Verſes, and the three Books "of Miſcellaneous Elegies, which I have mentioned, "there are twelve Eclogues of his writing, printed "in 8vo, in the Year 1546, in the Collection of "Thirty eight Bucolic Poets, publiſhed by *Oporinus*. "*Fauſtus* promiſed ſeveral other Pieces in Proſe and in "Verſe; *Ten moral Satires*; *an hundred Epiſtles*; *and "the Chriſtian Advent*; (which, perhaps, is the ſame "with what he calls, in another place, *a Treatiſe of "the true Religion*;) *a Dialogue on the Sphere*; and "*Obſervations on the* Latin *Tongue*."

(16) *This concerns* Leander Albertus, *whom I have quoted.*

(17) Eraſmus's *Fault, as I have obſerved in the Remark* [*A*] *lies in this, that he did not alter the Chronology, in the laſt Editions.*

I ſhall

I ſhould certainly have ſupplied the Defects of my Article of ANDRELINUS, if I had had the Works of this Author; but, not being able to procure them, I was obliged to follow thoſe, who have mentioned him, without conſulting them; and thus *the Blind lead the Blind*. It is a great Misfortune, not to have all the neceſſary Books, in the Compoſition of ſuch a Dictionary, as this; but it is a Misfortune, I cannot avoid, in the Situation I am at preſent in.

ANDRINOPLE, or ADRIANOPLE, a City of *Thrace*. It owes it's Name to the Madneſs of the Emperor *Hadrian*. *Moreri* mentions this; but very confuſedly [*A*]. It has been ſaid, that this Town was built by *Oreſtes*, and bore his Name [*B*]. It was alſo called *Uſcudama* (*a*). The two *Latin* Verſes, quoted by *Moreri*, ſerve only to ſhew, that he was a careleſs Writer [*C*]. I omit what he further ſays of *Andrinople*: The Reader may have Recourſe to his Dictionary.

(*a*) *See the Remark* [*C*].

[*A*] Moreri *mentions this; but very confuſedly.*] Theſe are his Words. “Some *Pagan* Authors ſay, that this Prince, having been cured there of a Dropſy, by invoking the mad *Oreſtes*, took delight in beautifying this City.” Theſe Pagan Authors are not *Spartian*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the two cited by *Moreri*; and I am very much miſtaken, if we muſt not reduce them to *Ælius Lampridius* alone. Let us ſee then how the latter expreſſes himſelf. “Et Oreſtam quidem urbem Adrianus ſuo nomini vindicari juſſit, eo tempore quo furore cœperat laborare, ut ex reſponſo quum ei dictum eſſet ut in furioſi alicujus domum vel nomen irreperet. Nam ex eo emollitam inſaniam ferunt, per quam multos ſenatores occidi juſſerat (1).” If we compare theſe Words with Thoſe of *Moreri*; we ſhall find him guilty of three, or four, groſs Miſtakes. I. It is not true, that *Hadrian* was cured in the City of *Adrianople*. II. It is not true, that his Diſtemper was a Dropſy. III. It is not true, that he recovered his Health, by invoking *Oreſtes*. IV. It is not true, that he took delight in beautifying This City, after his Recovery. *Lampridius* only ſays, “That *Hadrian*, being fallen into a Phrenzy, commanded the City *Oreſta* to be called by his Name, in Obedience to an Oracle, which adviſed him to ſeize on the Houſe, or Name, of ſome Mad-Man;” and we are told, that by this Means his Fits of Madneſs went off.

[*B*] *That it was founded by* Oreſtes, *and bore his Name.*] I ſhall cite only *Lampridius* for this. “Et Oreſtem quidem ferunt, *ſays he* (2), non unum ſimulachrum Dianæ, nec uno in loco poſuiſſe, ſed multa in multis. Poſteaquam ſe apud tria flumina circa Hebrum ex reſponſo purificavit, etiam Oreſtam condidit civitatem, quam ſæpe cruentari hominum ſanguine neceſſe eſt. Et Oreſtam quidem urbem Adrianus ſuo nomini vindicari juſſit, *&c.* - - - - - - *They ſay likewiſe, that* Oreſtes *erected, not one Statue alone of* Diana, *or in one Place only, but many in ſeveral. And after that, in Obedience to the Oracle, he had purified himſelf at three Streams, near* Hebrus, *he built, likewiſe, the City* Oreſta, *which muſt frequently be polluted with human Blood. This City*, Oreſta, Hadrian *ordered to be called by his own Name*, &c.” I have ſet down this Paſſage at length, to ſhew what City of *Adrianople* is here meant. The Emperor *Hadrian* gave his Name to ſeveral Towns at a great Diſtance from each other (3): But it is plain, that *Lampridius* meant That of *Thrace*; and that *Oreſtes* built it, where the *Hebrus* receives two other Rivers. Note, that *Pinedo* makes *Lampridius* ſay, that *Heliogabalus* built a Town near the *Hebrus*, which he called *Oreſta*; and that, afterwards, *Hadrian* gave it his own Name (4). This is an Inſtance of the uſual Diſtraction of Mind, from which the moſt learned Writers are not free.

[*C*] *The two* Latin *Verſes, quoted by* Moreri - - - - *ſhew, that he was a careleſs Writer.*] Theſe are his Words. “It is ſaid to have been built, firſt of all, by *Oreſtes*, who called it *Oreſta*; which Name was afterwards changed into That of *Uſcada* or *Uſcudama*.

Tandemque Uſcudamæ mutato nomine priſco
Matricida ſuo de nomine dixit Oreſtam.

At length the Parricide Oreſtes, *changing it's ancient Name* Uſcudama, *called it* Oreſta, *after his own Name.*

Theſe two Verſes prove quite the contrary to what *Moreri* produces them for. They evidently prove, that *Oreſtes* found This Town with the Name *Uſcudama*; and that he afterwards changed it to his own. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, cited by *Moreri*, at *Lib.* 4. (5), informs us, in the fourth Chapter of the Twenty ſeventh Book, that *Adrianople* had been called *Uſcudama*. *Poſt hanc Æmimontus Hadrianopolim habet, quæ dicebatur Uſcudama.*

(1) Lamprid. in Antonino Heliogabalo, pag. 809.

(2) Id. ib.

(3) Quum titulos in operibus non amaret, multas civitates *Adrianopolis* appellavit, ut ipſam Carthaginem & Athenarum partem. *Spartianus in Adriano cap.* 20. *See likewiſe* Ortelius's Theſaurus Geographicus.

(4) Pinedo, in Steph. Byzant. pag. 211. n. 48.

(5) *The thirteen firſt Books of this Hiſtory are loſt.*

ANDROMACHE, Wife of the Valiant *Hector*, was the Daughter of *Æetion*, King of *Thebes* in *Cilicia* (*a*). She was advantageouſly married on all accounts; for, beſides that her Huſband was accounted the Bulwark of his Country, and the greateſt Support of the Throne, he proved very kind to her; and they ſay, that ſhe was free from the Diſquiets, which commonly attend the Wives of Great Heroes; I mean, that he ever preſerved his Conjugal Fidelity towards her [*A*]. *Euripides* denies this; but, at the ſame Time, he informs us, that it did not in the leaſt diſturb the Happineſs of this Lady; her Diſpoſition being very eaſy and complaiſant in this reſpect

(*a*) Homer. Il. lib. 6. *This* Cilicia *was not far from* Troy.

[*A*] Hector - - - - *ever preſerved his conjugal Fidelity towards her.*] *Andromache*, in ſome Verſes of *Euripides*, declares, that ſhe loves the very Miſtreſſes of her Husband, to pleaſe him, and that ſhe gave ſuck to his Baſtards (1). The Scholiaſt upon this ſays, that *Anaxicrates* gave out, that *Hector* left behind him two legitimate Sons (2), who eſcaped from the Hands of the *Grecians*, and a Baſtard (3), who was taken at *Troy* (4), but he pretends, that *Euripides* and *Anaxicrates* advance a Falſhood; and maintains againſt them, that *Hector* never had a Baſtard, and that it muſt be very inconſiderate to advance the contrary. *Ovid* repreſents *Hector* as a good Husband, who overlooked every thing, that was diſagreeable, in his Wife.

Felix Andromache, certo benè nupta marito!
Uxor ad exemplum fratris habenda ſui (5).

Happy Andromache, *who juſtly art*
Poſſeſſed of a firm and loyal Heart.

A Faith like Hers Thou haſt beheld in me,
And Hector's *Virtue ſhould have ſhined in Thee.*

Mr J. COOPER.

Thus he makes *OEnone*, the Wife of *Paris*, expreſs herſelf. In another Place he ſays, that every one thought *Andromache* too tall; but that ſhe ſeemed to her Husband to be of a middle Stature.

Omnibus Andromache viſa eſt ſpatioſior æquo:
Unus, qui modicam diceret, Hector erat.

Colomies has rightly obſerved (7), that *Mercerus*, in his Notes on the fourth Book of *Dictys Cretenſis*, ſhould not have ſaid, *That Antiquity knew nothing of* Hector's *loving any Woman beſide his Wife, or that he had Children beſides thoſe ſhe brought him.* *Mercerus* had forgot the Hiſtorian *Anaxicrates*, and the Poet *Euripides*. But *Colomies*, who farther obſerves, that this Hiſtorian was unknown to *Voſſius*, ſhould have told us, that he had from *Meziriac* the

(1) Eurip. in Androm.

(2) Amphineus, *and* Scamandrius.

(3) *Called* Palæterus.

(4) Anaxicrat. Argolicor. lib. 2.

(5) Ovidius, in Epiſt. Oenon. ad Paridem, ver. 107.

(6) Id. lib. 2. de Arte Amandi.

(7) Bibl. choiſ. pag. 169.

ſpect [*B*]. The Death of *Hector* proved, therefore, a terrible Blow to *Andromache*; yet ſhe ſurvived it, as well as the Grief ſhe conceived, ſome time after, upon the taking of *Troy*, upon the Loſs of her dear Son *Aſtyandx*, who was thrown headlong from the Top of a Tower, and her own Slavery. She fell to the Lot of a Maſter, who, tho' of a fierce and bloody Diſpoſition, uſed her very kindly. *Pyrrhus*, the cruel Son of the cruel *Achilles*, proved gentle and tractable towards *Andromacke*; ſhared his Bed with her [*C*], and made her Condition ſo happy, that the beautiful *Hermione*, whom he married ſome time after, grew very jealous at it (*b*). After the Death of This Prince, or even in his Life-time, *Andromache* married *Helenus* [*D*], the Son of *Priam*, her Fellow-Captive; and reigned with him in part of *Epirus*. She had Children by *Pyrrhus* [*E*], and one likewiſe by *Helenus*. Some Authors are of Opinion, that the Kings of *Epirus* down to That *Pyrrhus*, who made War with the *Romans* (*c*), deſcended from a Son of *Pyrrhus* and *Andromache*. This Princeſs had ſeven Brothers, who were ſlain by *Achilles*, together with their Father, in one and the ſame Day (*d*). An Author tells us, that ſhe accompanied *Priam*, when he went to beg of *Achilles*, that he would ſell him the dead Body of *Hector* (*e*); and that, to excite the greater Compaſſion, ſhe carried with her her two Sons, who were but Infants (*f*). She has been the Subject of many fine Tragedies both Ancient and Modern

(*b*) Euripid. in Andromacha.

(*c*) *See the Remark* [*E*].

(*d*) Il. lib. 6. ver. 414, & ſeq.

(*e*) Dictys Cretenſis, lib. 3.

(*f*) Aſtyanacta quem nonnulli Scamandrum appellabant, & Laodamanta parvulos admodum filios præ ſe habens. - - - - *Carrying with her* Aſtyanax, *whom ſome call* Scamander, *and* Laodamus, *as yet but Infants.* Id. ibid.

Paſſages alledged by him, and that *Mallincrot* (8) mentions *Anaxicrates*, without ſaying any thing of the Work quoted by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*: He only ſays, that *Strabo* alledges the Authority of *Anaxicrates*, in ſpeaking of *Arabia*, in the fourteenth Book.

[*B*] *Her Diſpoſition was very eaſy and complaiſant in this Reſpect.*] See the foregoing Remark. It does not appear from hence, that *Andromache* carried her Complaiſance ſo far, as *Livia* and *Cromwell*'s Wife did. The latter, out of Ambition, favoured the amorous Intrigues of her Husband (9). *Livia* occaſionally acted the Part of a Bawd to *Auguſtus*, to keep up her Credit. "Circa libidines hæſit (*Auguſtus*) "poſtea quoque ut ferunt, ad vitiandas Virgines "promptior, quæ ſibi undique etiam ab uxore conquirerentur (10). - - - - - Auguſtus *continued afterwards his Debaucheries, being fond of violating "young Women, whom even his Wife procured for "him from all Parts."* *Andromache* propoſed only domeſtic Peace, by giving her Husband no Diſquiet.

[*C*] Pyrrhus - - - - *ſhared his Bed with her.*] *Virgil*, in order to preſerve a *Decorum*, introduces *Andromache* grieving chiefly at This; for *Æneas* no ſooner asked her, whether *Hector*'s Widow was married, but ſhe caſt down her Eyes, and told him, bluſhing, that ſhe was ſo againſt her Will; and that ſhe envied the Fate of *Polyxena*, whom Death had freed from the like Neceſſity. We are not obliged to underſtand this altogether in a literal Senſe.

Hectoris, Andromache, Pyrrhin' connubia ſervas?
Dejecit vultum, & demiſſa voce locuta eſt,
O felix una ante alias Priameïa Virgo,
Hoſtilem ad tumulum Trojæ ſub mœnibus altis
Juſſa mori, quæ ſortitus non pertulit ullos,
Nec victoris heri tetigit captiva cubile!
Nos, patria incenſa, diverſa per æquora vectæ
Stirpis Achilleæ faſtus, juvenemque ſuperbum,
Servitio enixæ tulimus, qui deinde ſecutus
Ledæam Hermionem Lacedæmonioſque Hymenæos,
Me famulam famuloque Heleno tranſmiſit habendam (11).

Still are you Hector'*s, or is* Hector *fled,*
And his Remembrance loſt in Pyrrhus' *Bed?*
With Eyes dejected, in a lowly Tone,
After a modeſt Pauſe ſhe thus begun.
Oh only happy Maid of Priam'*s Race,*
Whom Death deliver'd from the Foe's Embrace!
Commanded on Achilles' *Tomb to die;*
Not forced, like us, to hard Captivity,
Or in a haughty Maſter's Arms to lie.
In Grecian *Ships unhappy we were born;*
Endur'd the Victor's Luſt, ſuſtain'd the Scorn.
Thus I ſubmitted to the lawleſs Pride
Of Pyrrhus, *more a Handmaid, than a Bride.*
Cloy'd with Poſſeſſion, he forſook my Bed,
And Helen'*s lovely Daughter ſought to wed.*
Then Me to Trojan Helenus *reſign'd,*
And his two Slaves in equal Marriage joyn'd.

DRYDEN.

But we muſt do her Juſtice; ſhe is not repreſented as a Woman of an amorous Complexion. Tho' ſhe was a Mother, *Ovid* could ſcarce believe, that ſhe had lain with her Husband.

Nunquam ego te, Andromache, nec te, Tecmeſſa, rogarem,
Ut mea de vobis altera amica foret.
Credere vix videor, cum cogar credere partu,
Vos ego cum veſtris concubuiſſe viris (12).

When youthful Heat, inſpir'd by female Charms,
Prompts me to take a Miſtreſs to my Arms;
Nor you, Andromache, *ſhould gain my Voice,*
Nor you, Tecmeſſa, *be the Poet's Choice.*
Scarce can I think ſuch cold and lifeleſs Dames
(But that the Fruit the ſure Embrace proclaims)
'Ere bleſt the Nuptial Bed, or burnt in Hymen'*s [Flames.*

[*D*] *Or even in his Life time.*] I thought this Alternative neceſſary, becauſe Authors are not agreed about the Time, when *Andromache* married *Helenus*. We have juſt now ſeen, that, according to *Virgil*, this Marriage preceeded the Death of *Pyrrhus*. *Juſtin* is of the ſame Opinion (13). But, according to *Servius*, the only Reaſon for her becoming *Helenus*'s Wife, was, that *Pyrrhus* ordered it ſo upon his Deathbed (14). *Pauſanias* likewiſe places their Nuptials after the Death of This Prince. Τῷ γὰρ Ἀνδρομάχη συνῴκησεν ἀποθανόντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Πύῤῥου (15). *Huic enim Andromache nupſit, mortuo Delphis Pyrrho.*

[*E*] *She had Children by* Pyrrhus.] Some compute, that ſhe had three Sons by him, *viz. Moloſſus*, *Pielus*, and *Pergamus* (16); or *Pyrrhus*, *Moloſſus*, and *Æacides* (17). Others mention only *Moloſſus* (18), from whom, according to *Euripides* (19), the Kings of *Moloſſia* deſcended. *Pauſanias* ſays, they ſprung from *Pielus*. As for *Pergamus*, the ſame *Pauſanias* informs us, that he went into *Aſia*; that his Mother *Andromache* followed him thither; and that he killed *Atreus*, Prince of *Teuthrania*, having fought with him in ſingle Combat for the Sovereignty; that he called the Town by his Name; and that his Tomb, and That of his Mother, were to be ſeen there. *Servius*, upon the Seventy ſecond Verſe of the ſixth Eclogue of *Virgil*, gives a very different Account of the whole Matter. As for the Son of *Helenus*, by *Andromache*, his Name was *Ceſtrinus*; and he went and ſettled, with a Company of *Epirots*, who willingly followed him, in a Province ſituated above the River *Thyatis*: This he did after his Father's Death, and when the Kingdom had been reſtored to *Moloſſus*, Son of *Pyrrhus* (20).

(8) Paralipom. de Hiſtor. Græcis, pag. 5.

(9) Leti's Life of Cromwell, *in Monſ.* de Beauval's *Journal*, 1692, pag. 499.

(10) Sueton. in Aug. cap. 71.

(11) Virg. Æneid. lib. 3. ver. 320.

(12) Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib. 3. ver. 519.

(13) Juſtin lib. 17. cap. 3.

(14) Servius in lib. 3. Æneid. ver. 519.

(15) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 10.

(16) Id. ib.

(17) Schol. Euripid. in Andromach.

(18) Servius in Æneid. lib. 3. ver. 319.

(19) In Andromach.

(20) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 10.

Modern [*F*]. Her lofty Stature was known to all Poſterity [*G*]. Her Dialogue with *Hector*, in the ſixth Book of the *Iliad*, is one of the beſt Paſſages of That Poem [*H*].

She was ſo careful of *Hector*'s Horſes, that ſhe fed and watered them, before ſhe ſerved Him (g). Some have alledged this Example, to ſhew, that Women ought to condeſcend to the moſt ſervile Offices of a Family [*I*].

(g) Homer. Iliad. lib. 8. ver. 188.

[*F*] *She has been the Subject of many fine Tragedies both ancient and modern.*] That of *Euripides* is ſtill extant; and, if the Reader deſires to know what was the Succeſs of That, which was acted upon the *French* Stage at *Paris*, he need only read what *Montfleury*, a famous Player, ſays, in the *Parnaſſus Reformed*; to which he may add a Paſſage of a modern Poet. “If any one deſires to know what I died of, *(they are* Montfleury'*s Words)* he muſt not aſk, whether it was of a Fever, a Dropſy, or the Gout: No, it was of *Andromache* - - - - I wiſh all thoſe Writers of Tragedies, who invent theſe murth'rous Paſſions, had to do, like *Corneille*, with ſuch a Man as the Abbot *d'Aubignac*; they would abate of their Fury. But what vexes me moſt, is, that *Andromache* will grow more famous by the Circumſtance of my Death; and that, for the future, every Poet will want to have the Honour of killing a Player once in his Life (21).” Add to this theſe few Verſes.

(21) Gueret's *Parnaſſus Reformed*, pag. 108, 109.

- - - - - - - - Un Marquis
Enflé de ſon ſavoir chez les Dames aquis,
Ennemi du bon ſens qu' à grand bruit il attaque,
Va pleurer au Tartuffe & rire à l' Andromaque.

- - - - - - *A Marquis*
Vain of Experience, gain'd among the Fair,
And Foe to Senſe, which rudely he attacks,
Shall, by inverted Rule, make Tartuff *weep,*
And paint Andromache *a laughing Dame.*

[*G*] *Her lofty Stature was known to all Poſterity.*] I have already produced two Verſes of *Ovid* upon this Subject, in the Remark [*A*]. Here are two more of the ſame Author.

Parva vehatur equo: quod erat Longissima, nunquam
Thebais Hectoreo nupta reſedit equo (22).

(22) Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib. 3. ver. 777.

The Dapper *only ſhou'd the Steed beſtride;*
The Wife of Hector *walk'd, too* tall *to ride.*

Martial refutes *Ovid*, as well in this Particular, as in what has been already cited. Theſe are his Words,

Maſturbabantur Phrygii poſt oſtia ſervi,
Hectoreo quoties ſederat uxor equo (23).

(23) Mart. Epigr. 105. lib. 11. ver. 13.

Behind the Doors the Phrygian *Slaves were fired,*
Oft as on Hector's *Horſe his Conſort rode.*

Juvenal was not ignorant of *Andromache*'s Stature; for, ſpeaking of thoſe Ladies, who raiſed ſeveral Stories of Ornaments and Hair upon their Heads, he ſays, they reſembled ſo many *Andromache*'s before, but appeared very little behind.

Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput. Andromachen à fronte videbis,
Poſt minor eſt (24).

(24) Juv. Sat. 6. ver. 500.

With Curls on Curls they build her Head before,
And mount it with a formidable Tow'r.
*A Gianteſs * ſhe ſeems; but look behind,*
And there ſhe dwindles to the Pigmy kind.
Dryden.

* *An* Andromache.

Thus the old *Roman* Ladies wore ſomething like our *Top-Knots*. Another Poet expreſſes himſelf in the following Manner,

(25) Stat. Silv. 2. lib. 1. ver. 113.

- - - - - Celſæ procul aſpice frontis honores
Suggeſtumque comæ (25).

- - - - *behold the tow'ring Honours of her Head,*
The riſing Mount of Hair. - - - - - -

(26) *Qualis Berecynthia mater Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes.* Virg. Æn. lib. 6. ver. 785.

The Mother of the Gods, with her Towers upon her Head (26), would be nothing to our Ladies, if once they ſhould enlarge the Mode of their *Top-Knots*. See Mr *Almeloveen*'s *Amœnitates Theologico-Philologicæ*, where you will find (27), a Collection of curious Learning about the Antiquity of *Top-Knots*. See alſo the Article *Conecte*, and this Paſſage of *Syneſius*. Μέλλει γὰρ (28), ſpeaking of a Bride, *καὶ εἰς τὴν ἠθισμένην ἑβδόμην ταινιώσεσθαί τε καὶ πυργοφόρος καθάπερ ἡ Κυβέλη περιελεύσεσθαι. She will be adorn'd with this Head-dreſs, theſe ſeven Days, and walk about, like* Cybele, *with Turrets on her Head.* But, to return to *Andromache*, I muſt obſerve, that *Dares Phrygius* ſays, ſhe was endowed with many fine Qualities; and he does not forget her tall Stature, “Andromacham oculis claris, candidam, longam, formoſam, modeſtam, ſapientem, pudicam, blandam. - - - - Andromache, *Fine-Eyed, Fair,* Tall, *Handſome, Modeſt, Wiſe, Chaſte, and Good-natur'd.*”

(27) Pag. 106, &c.

(28) Syneſ. Epiſt. 3.

[*H*] *Her Dialogue with* Hector - - - *is one of the beſt Paſſages of That Poem.*] This is the Judgment Mr *Perrault* paſſes upon it. He tranſlated This Dialogue into *French* Verſe, and read his Verſion to the *French* Academy, when the Abbot *Fenelon* was admitted into it (29). He firſt made a ſhort and ingenious Diſcourſe, in which he declared, that he believed *Homer to be the moſt Excellent, the moſt Copious, and the fineſt Genius, Poetry ever knew*; and that, in order to convince the Incredulous, that he honoured him according to his Merit, he had tranſlated This Part of the Iliad into *French*. He owns, that he has left out ſome Digreſſions, which ſeemed to him too languid. This is *Homer*'s Fault; he is too talkative, and too downright; though otherwiſe a Writer of great Genius, and ſo full of noble Thoughts, that were he now alive, he would write an Epic Poem, free from all Defects. He would not introduce *Andromache*, among other Complaints for the Death of her Husband, lamenting, that young *Aſtyanax* muſt no longer eat, upon his Father's Knees, the Fat and Marrow of Sheep. This is to paint after Nature, it muſt be confeſſed; but ſuch Simplicity is not allowable, at preſent, in Epic Poetry; it appears to us too Citizen-like; and only fit for Comedy. I believe our Counteſſes and Marchioneſſes would think they expreſſed themſelves too much like City Dames, ſhould they ſay, as the Queen of *Carthage* does in *Virgil*,

A Reflection *on the Epic Poetry of the Ancients.*

(29) *On the Thirty firſt of* March, 1693. *This Verſion was printed in the firſt part of the* Recueil de Pieces curieuſes, *at the* Hague, *for* Moetjens, 1694.

- - - - - - *ſi quis mihi parvulus Aula*
Luderet Æneas.

This Fault is not to be aſcribed to the ancient Poets, but to the time they lived in. Properly ſpeaking, the Queſtion is not, whether Men have better Parts now, than they had in former times; but whether we have better Notions of Perfection, and may apply to *Homer* what *Horace* ſays of another Poet.

- - - - - - ſed ille,
Si foret hoc noſtrum fato dilapſus in ævum,
Detereret ſibi multa, recideret omne, quod ultra
Perfectum traheretur (30).

(30) Horat. Sat. 10. lib. 1. ver. 67.

Yet did he now again new Life commence,
He wou'd correct; he wou'd retrench his Senſe,
And pare off all that was not Excellence.
Creech.

[*I*] *Some have alledged this Example, to ſhew, that Women ought to condeſcend to the moſt ſervile Offices of a Family.*] Read theſe Words of *Tiraquellus* (31). “Quæ loca Franciſcus Barbarus in ſuo libello de re uxoria quem apud Gallos imprimendum primi omnium dedimus, ſolerter ſciteque annotavit, monens his exemplis uxores ne res hujuſmodi contemnant quas Andromache, *&c.* - - - - - & hoc quoque è noſtris commemoravit Jo. Lupus *in rep. rubr. de don. inter vir. & uxor.* & Bo. Curtil. *in tract. nobilitatis, in* 38. *privilegio.* —— *Which Paſſages* Franciſcus Barbarus, *in his Treatiſe* de re Uxoria, *firſt publiſhed by me in* France, *wiſely diſtinguiſhed, putting Wives in mind, from theſe Examples, not to overlook thoſe things, which* Andromache, &c. ——— *The ſame Remark has been made by our Countryman* Jo. Lupus, *in his* Rep. Rubr. *&c. and by* Bo. Curtil *in his Treatiſe*

(31) Andr. Tiraquel. de Nobilit. cap. 20. n. 101. pag. 78.

“ *Treatiſe* de Nobilitat. *&c.*” *Tiraquellus* made no Reflexion upon this Circumſtance, *viz.* that *Andromache*'s Husband was not firſt ſerved. Doubtleſs he thought this Example would prove too much; and that the Reader ought not to be entertained with ſuch a Notion.

ANDROMACHUS. I ſhall mention but ſix Perſons of this Name. The Firſt ANDROMACHUS, born in *Sicily*, was the Father of the Hiſtorian *Timæus*, and the Founder of *Tauromenium*, now called *Taormina*. He was a Man of Courage, and very rich. He gathered together *(a)* upon a riſing Ground, called *Taurus*, near *Naxus*, the Inhabitants of That Town, who had fled away, when the Tyrant *Dionyſius* deſtroyed it. He ſupported himſelf a long time in this Poſt; which was the Reaſon why he called it *Tauromenium*. The Fugitives of *Naxus* were very proſperous in this new Habitation; ſo that in a little time it became a very conſiderable Town *(b)*. *Andromachus* received *Timoleon* into it, and permitted him to make it a Place of Arms. This *Corinthian* General came only to deliver *Sicily* from the Tyrants, who oppreſſed it. *Andromachus* was a profeſſed Enemy to Tyrants, and had a long time ſollicited the *Corinthians* to undertake the Deliverance of *Sicily*. He, therefore, and *Timoleon*, quickly reſolved to act in Concert, in order to reſtore the Public Liberty *(c)*. The Second ANDROMACHUS ſerved under *Alexander* the Great, and was Governour of *Cælo-Syria*. The *Samaritans* burnt him alive; but *Alexander* puniſhed the Authors of this cruel Action according to their Deſerts *(d)*. I find no other *Andromachus* in *Quintus Curtius*, tho' *Moreri* pretends there are many Perſons of this Name mentioned by That Hiſtorian. The Third ANDROMACHUS was Brother-in-law to *Seleucus Callinicus* King of *Syria*, and had a Son *(e)*, who invaded the Provinces, ſituated on this ſide of Mount *Taurus*, and cauſed him to be proclaimed King, in the time of *Antiochus* the Great. This *Andromachus* was kept Priſoner a conſiderable time in *Egypt*. The *Rhodians* obtained his Liberty, not from *Ptolemy Evergetes*, as is ſaid in the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary, but from *Ptolemy Philopator* [*A*]. The Fourth ANDROMACHUS was a Traytor, who diſcovered to the *Parthians* all the Deſigns of *Craſſus*, and, being choſen as a Guide, led the *Roman* Army into a Place, where they could not avoid being cut to pieces. See *Plutarch*, *pag.* 562, of the Life of *Craſſus*. The Fifth ANDROMACHUS was *Nero*'s Phyſician, who makes the Subject of the following Article. The Sixth ANDROMACHUS was a Sophiſt, who taught in *Nicomedia* under the Reign of *Diocleſian*; as we read in *Suidas*.

(*a*) *In the CVth Olympiad, about the Year of* Rome, 395.

(*b*) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 16. pag. 411.

(*c*) Plutarch. in Timoleonte, pag. 240. *See alſo* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 16.

(*d*) Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 9. Euſebius ad Olympiad. CXII.

(*e*) *His Name was* ACHÆUS. *See his Article.*

[*A*] *The* Rhodians *obtained his Liberty, not from* Ptolemy Evergetes —— *but from* Ptolemy Philopator.] The Fault of the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary will be manifeſt to any one, who conſiders, that, when the *Rhodians* obtained *Andromachus*'s Liberty, his Son had been gone, two Years, over Mount *Taurus*, with *Seleucus Ceraunus*, King of *Syria*, to make War upon *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*. Now this Expedition was undertaken the ſame Year, that *Ptolemy Evergetes* died, and was ſucceeded by *Ptolemy Philopator* (1). It was therefore *Ptolemy Philopator*, who ſet *Andromachus* at Liberty, to pleaſe the *Rhodians*, who wanted to deprive the City of *Byzantium* of the Favour of *Achæus*, and who thought, that the moſt effectual way to make a Friend of that Prince, was to procure the Liberty of his Father. See the Remark [*A*], of the Article ACHÆUS.

(1) *See* Calviſius ad ann. 3. Olympiadis CXXXIX.

ANDROMACHUS, a Native of the Iſle of *Crete*, and Phyſician to the Emperor *Nero* *(a)*, is chiefly known by the Antidote, which he invented, by mixing the Fleſh of Vipers with *Mithridate* *(b)*. This Antidote was called *Theriace*, on Account of this Mixture. We call it *Treacle*. Θηρίον ſignifies a Beaſt; but Phyſicians underſtand by Θηρία particularly venomous Beaſts *(c)*. This Antidote baniſhed the uſe of *Mithridate*, which 'till then had been in great Eſteem *(d)*. *Andromachus* wrote a Deſcription of his Antidote in Elegiac Verſe, and dedicated it to *Nero* *(e)*. His Son, whoſe Name was ANDROMACHUS, wrote the like Deſcription in Proſe *(f)*. *Democrates* did it in Iambic Verſe, in a Poem which he wrote concerning Antidotes *(g)*. We read, in *Galen*, that *Andromachus*, the Father, wrote a Treatiſe *De Medicamentis compoſitis ad adfectus externos* *(h)*, and that he was a Learned and an Eloquent Man *(i)*. *Erotian* dedicated his *Lexicon* to him. I wonder how *Meurſius* could forget ſo famous a Phyſician, in his Liſt of the Illuſtrious Men of the Iſle of *Crete*, in the fourth Book of his Treatiſe of That Iſland. Some will have it, that this Phyſician was a good Aſtrologer [*A*].

(*a*) Galen. de Theriaca, ad Piſonem.

(*b*) Voſſius de Philoſophia, cap. 12. pag. 95.

(*c*) Galen de Ther. ad Pamphilianum.

(*d*) Voſſius ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Galen. lib. 1. de Antidotis. Tzetzes Chil. 12. n. 397. pag. 224.

(*f*) Galen. ibid.

(*g*) Id. de Theriaca ad Piſon.

(*h*) Apud Voſſium de Philoſoph. pag. 96.

(*i*) Lib. 1. de Antid. cap. 1.

[*A*] *That this Phyſician was a good Aſtrologer.*] I begin with *Voſſius*'s Words. “ Circa Olympiadem “ CXI, (*the Printer has left out a* C; *it ſhould be* “ CCXI) ac deinceps, nempe extremis Neronis temporibus, & ſub Veſpaſiano, magnum ſibi decus “ hac ſcientia peperit Andromachus, Cretenſis, qui “ primus dicitur edidiſſe theoricas Planetarum. —— “ *About the CCXIth Olympiad, and afterwards, namely, about the end of the Reign of* Nero, *and in that* “ *of* Veſpaſian, Andromachus, *of* Crete, *acquired great* “ *Reputation in this Science, who is ſaid to be the* “ *firſt, who publiſhed Theories of the Planets.*” This is *Voſſius*'s Text in the Hundred ſixty firſt Page of his Book, *de Scientiis Mathematicis*, to which he adds the following Commentary, according to his uſual Method. “ Conſentiunt de eo Lucas Gauricus, “ & Chriſtophorus Clavius, niſi quod Gauricus perperam Andronicum vocat, qui Clavio rectius Andro“ machus. Illum vide in Calendario Eccleſiaſtico *, “ hunc Commentario † in Sphæram Joan. de Sacro“ boſco. —— Luke Gauric, *and* Chriſtopher Clavius, “ *agree in relation to this Perſon*; *except that* Gauric, “ *by miſtake, called Him* Andronicus, *whom* Clavius “ *rightly calls* Andromachus. *See the former in his* “ Eccleſiaſtical Calander, *the latter in his Commen*“*tary on* the Sphere of *John de Sacroboſco.*” I wonder *Voſſius* did not tell us, whether, or no, he believed this *Andromachus*, the Aſtrologer, to be the ſame, with him, who invented Treacle. The Time, wherein he places him, and the Country, he ſays he was born in, would induce one to think he means one and the ſame *Andromachus*. I am apt to believe, that

* Fol. 16. Edit. Venet. apud Juntas, ann. 1552.

† Commentar. in cap. 1. pag. 4.

that *Voſſius*'s Silence in this matter was the Effect of Prudence: He wanted farther Information; and therefore would not venture to decide peremptorily. *Moreri*, a much bolder Author, affirms, that *Andromachus*, *Nero*'s Phyſician, and *Andromachus* the Aſtrologer, the firſt who wrote concerning the Theory of the Planets, are one and the ſame Perſon. *Andromachus*, the Aſtrologer, ſeems to me to be a Chimera; for Mr *Drelincourt*, whom I never conſulted, without admiring his vaſt and accurate Learning, was pleaſed to acquaint me, among many other things, which I make uſe of in this Article, that the Words *Inventor Theoricarum*, in *Clavius*, ought to be read *Inventor Theriacarum*. This Correction utterly deſtroys the two Authorities alledged by *Voſſius*, as to what concerns the Theory of the Planets; one ſpeaks only of *Andromachus*, and the other aſcribes the Invention of Treacle alone to *Andromachus*. We have here a plain Inſtance of the Miſtakes of learned Men, occaſioned by the Errors of Printers and Tranſcribers. *Blancanus* places *Andromachus* among the Mathematicians: “Andromachus Cretenſis, quem Theoricarum inventorem facit Clavius (1). —— Andromachus *of* Crete, *whom* Clavius *makes the Inventer of Theories.*” The ſame may be ſaid of *Voſſius*. So that they, who pretend, that *Andromachus* was the firſt, who wrote concerning the Theory of the Planets, have no Ground for it, but a Falſe-Print, by which the Word *Theriacarum* has been changed into *Theoricarum*. Mr *Drelincourt* alledged this Reaſon, among others, for his Conjecture, *viz.* that the Epithet *Inventor* has nothing to do with the Theory of the Planets; which, beſides, was known before *Nero*'s Reign; whereas *Inventor*, added to *Theriacarum*, is very properly applied to *Andromachus*. Perhaps the ſame kind of Miſtake of the Printers, or Tranſcribers, occaſioned our *Andromachus* to be taken for an Aſtrologer, by *Clavius*, or by the Author, whom *Clavius*, mediately, or immediately, followed. The Word *Andromachus* was, perhaps, printed inſtead of *Andronicus*, or ſome ſuch Name. Whence it was, that they, who knew, that one *Andromachus*, of *Crete*, was *Nero*'s Phyſician, and the Inventer of Treacle, added theſe Titles and Encomiums to the Word *Andromachus*, in their Liſts of Aſtrologers.

(1) Blancan. in Mathem. Chronol. pag. 50.

ANDRONICUS, a *Peripatetic* Philoſopher, born in the Iſland of *Rhodes*, came to *Rome*, in the time of *Pompey* and *Cicero* [*A*]; where he laboured powerfully to raiſe the Credit of *Ariſtotle*, whoſe Works he brought into requeſt [*B*], after having regulated, and diſpoſed them after a better Method [*C*]. There was ſomething very ſingular in the Fate of theſe Writings, as I ſhall ſhew in another place (*a*). One cannot ſufficiently expreſs, what great Service *Andronicus* did to the Sect of the *Peripatetics*. Perhaps, It had never been ſo famous, if he had not taken a particular Care of the Works of it's Founder. *Andronicus* acquired a great Reputation by it (*b*). Some learned Men do not aſcribe to him the *Paraphraſe upon* Ariſtotle's

(*a*) *In the Remarks on the Article* TYRANNION.

(*b*) Quem cum acutum diligentemque Ariſtotelicorum librorum & judicem & repertorem judicaverit antiquitas. *Boëtius Proœm. Libri de interpretat.*

[*A*] *Came to* Rome *in the Time of* Pompey *and* Cicero.] This may be inferred from two Paſſages of *Plutarch*; one in the Life of *Sylla* (1), and the other in the Life of *Lucullus* (2). The firſt informs us of three things; I. That *Sylla* ſent, from *Athens* to *Rome*, *Apellicon*'s Library, in which moſt of *Ariſtotle*'s Works were to be found. II. That the Grammarian *Tyrannion* took many Books out of *Sylla*'s Library. III. That *Andronicus*, the *Rhodian*, had *Ariſtotle*'s Works from *Tyrannion*. We learn, from the ſecond Paſſage of *Plutarch*, that *Tyrannion* was taken by *Lucullus*, when *Mithridates* was defeated, and that *Murena*, having asked him of *Lucullus*, gave him his Freedom. We know, beſides, that this Grammarian enriched himſelf at *Rome*, and collected a large Library. *Andronicus* muſt, therefore, have been at *Rome*, at the time I have mentioned, ſince he had *Ariſtotle*'s Works from *Tyrannion*. We ſhall ſee, in the Remark [*C*], whether Father *Rapin* is in the right, to ſay, that *Andronicus* did not come to *Rome*, 'till after the Death of *Tyrannion*.

[*B*] *Whoſe Works he brought into requeſt.*] This ſuppoſes they were before unknown at *Rome*; and I have reaſon to affirm it, ſince *Cicero* does; nay, *Plutarch* tells us, that they were little known to the *Athenians*, when *Sylla* ſeized on *Apellicon*'s Books (3). Father *Rapin* has before obſerved, what I here ſuppoſe. “It was That *Andronicus*, *ſays he* (4), who brought *Ariſtotle* into requeſt at the time, when *Cicero* was raiſing himſelf, by his great Reputation, to the moſt conſiderable Dignities of the Republic. —— *Cicero* had heard of *Ariſtotle* in *Greece*. He was acquainted with part of his Merit, which was not very well known at *Rome*; as appears from the Surprize of *Trebatius*, who paid a Viſit to *Cicero*, at his Country Seat of *Tuſculum*, and, going into his Library with him, happened to light upon *Ariſtotle*'s Topics, of which *Cicero* had a Copy. *Trebatius* asked him, what Book it was, and what it treated of; for, though he was no ignorant Man, he had never heard of *Ariſtotle*. *Cicero* told him, That it was no wonder, *ſince that Philoſopher was known to very few* (5).” I cannot forbear ſaying, that this agreeable Writer is not exact, in reporting this Paſſage of *Cicero*. This, I think, ought not to be aſcribed to Inadvertency; but to a Deſire of Brevity. It is an Inconvenience inſeparable from exact Writers; they cannot avoid a Prolixity, which tires the Reader; who is better pleaſed with an eaſy and ſhort Account of a thing, though not perfectly exact, than with a long one, though ever ſo accurate. Father *Rapin*, in order to give the Subſtance of *Cicero*'s Paſſage, ſhould have ſaid, that *Trebatius*, turning over ſeveral Books in *Cicero*'s Library, met with *Ariſtotle*'s Topics; that, being ſurprized at the Title, he immediately asked *Cicero* what Book it was, and, being informed, deſired him to explain it to him; that *Cicero* adviſed him to read it himſelf, or to get it explained to him by an able Rhetorician; that *Trebatius* tried both theſe Methods without any Succeſs, being himſelf diſcouraged by the Obſcurity of the Book, and being told by the Rhetorician, that *Ariſtotle* was an Author unknown to him; that *Cicero* was not ſurprized at it, though ſuch an Ignorance appeared to him inexcuſable; and that, at the Requeſt of *Trebatius*, who was a learned Civilian, he wrote upon *Ariſtotle*'s Topics (6). “Utrumque, ut à te audiebam, es expertus. Sed à libris te obſcuritas rejecit. Rhetor autem ille, magnus ut opinor, Ariſtotelica ſe ignorare reſpondit. Quod quidem minime ſum admiratus, cum Philoſophum rhetori non eſſe cognitum, qui ab ipſis Philoſophis præter admodum paucos ignoretur. Quibus eo minus ignoſcendum eſt, quod non modo rebus iis quæ ab illo dictæ & inventæ ſunt allici debuerunt; ſed dicendi quoque incredibili quandam cum copia, tum etiam ſuavitate (7). —— *You have, as you yourſelf informed me, try'd both theſe Methods. But the Obſcurity of the Books deterred you. Beſides which, your Rhetorician, of great Fame, I think, replied, that he knew nothing of* Ariſtotle. *Which I was not at all ſurprized at; namely, that a Rhetorician was unacquainted with this Philoſopher, who is unknown to the Philoſophers themſelves, a very few excepted. This they are the leſs to be forgiven; ſince not only the Subject of his Writings, but even the wonderful Copiouſneſs and Elegance of his Style, ought to have engaged them to read him.*” To conceal nothing from the Reader, I muſt acquaint him, that *Strabo* informs us (8), that the Library-Keeper of *Sylla* permitted the Bookſellers to get *Ariſtotle*'s Works tranſcribed; but that they made uſe of ignorant Tranſcribers, who, beſides, did not compare the Copies with the Originals; which occaſioned theſe Works to be publiſhed with abundance of Faults. This cannot be alledged in confutation of what I have ſaid; for I may anſwer, that *Andronicus*'s Edition, being more correct, raiſed the Curioſity of the Learned, who made no account of the faulty Editions. See the Marginal Note (6).

[*C*] *Diſpoſed them after a better Method.*] *Plutarch* ſays, that *Andronicus*, having received *Ariſtotle*'s and *Theophraſtus*'s

(1) Pag. 468.

(2) Pag. 584.

(3) Οὔπω τοτε σαφῶς γνωριζόμενα τοῖς πολλοῖς. Haud dum ſatis in vulgus noti. *Plut. in Sylla, pag.* 468.

(4) Rapin. Comparaiſon de Platon. & d'Ariſtot. pag. 374.

(5) *Father* Rapin *quotes the following Words in the Margin.* Quod quidem minime ſum admiratus eum Philoſophum Trebatio non eſſe cognitum, qui ab ipſis Philoſophis, præter admodum paucos, ignoretur. *Cicero Topicor. init.*

(6) *He compoſed this Work, after* Cæſar's *Death; whence we may infer, that the Edition of* Andronicus *did not immediately make* Ariſtotle's *Works commonly known at* Rome.

(7) Cicero init. Topicorum.

(8) Lib. 13. pag. 419.

Ariſtotles's *Ethics* [*D*]; others pretend he is the Author of it, and likewiſe of a ſmall Treatiſe *on the Paſſions*, publiſhed by *David Hoeſchelius*, in 1593. It is certain, that *Andronicus* was an Author; for *Aulus Gellius*, in a Chapter (*c*), wherein he mentions the two kinds of Leſſons, which *Ariſtotle* gave his Scholars, ſets down word for word a Letter of *Alexander* to *Ariſtotle*, and *Ariſtotle*'s Anſwer; and informs us, that he met with theſe two Letters in a Work of the Philoſopher *Andronicus*. No one can ſay, whether this Work was the Paraphraſe upon the Categories, or That on The Phyſics. It is well known, that *Andronicus* paraphraſed thoſe two Treatiſes of *Ariſtotle* [*E*]. I am not of Opinion, that he was *Strabo*'s Maſter [*F*].

Theophraſtus's Books from *Tyrannion*, publiſhed them with Indexes. Παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ῥόδιον Ἀνδρόνικον εὐπορήσαντα τῶν ἀντιγράφων εἰς μέσον θεῖναι, καὶ ἀναγράψαι τοὺς νῦν φερομένους πίνακα (9). The following Paſſage of *Porphyry* may be added to this of *Plutarch*. Μιμησάμενος δ' Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Περιπατητικόν, ὧν ὁ μὲν Ἐπιχαρμον τὸν κωμοδόγραφον εἰς δέκα τόμους φέρων συνήγαγε, ὁ δ' Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου βιβλία εἰς πραγματείας διεῖλε, τὰς οἰκείας ὑποθέσεις εἰς ταυτὸ συναγαγών. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐγώ (10). *Imitatus Apollodorum Athenienſem & Andronicum Peripateticum, quorum ille Epicharmum Comicum in decem collegit tomos, iſte vero Ariſtotelis & Theophraſti libros in tractatus diſtribuit, proprias ſuppoſitiones in idem conducens; ſic & ego.* I confeſs I do not very well underſtand the *Greek* Words, τὰς οἰκείας ὑποθέσεις εἰς ταυτὸ συναγαγών. Much leſs do I underſtand the Tranſlation, *proprias ſuppoſitiones in idem conducens*; but I think either of the two following Senſes may be allowed. *Porphyry* means, either that *Andronicus* collected into one Body all the Tracts, which belonged to the ſame Subject, or that he added a proper Summary to each Tract. The firſt Senſe ſeems to me the beſt, and agrees better with *Plutarch*, and the Compariſon, which *Porphyry* makes between *Andronicus* and himſelf; for *Porphyry* only prefixed Titles to the Writings of his Maſter *Plotinus*, and digeſted them into ſeveral Claſſes. I have not met with any Author, who ſays what I have read in Father *Rapin*; and, as he quotes only *Plotinus*, I know not, whether he had it from a Work, which I have not conſulted, or whether he paraphraſes *Plotinus* and *Plutarch*. However it be, theſe are his Words, which have been faithfully tranſcribed by *Moreri*. "After *Tyrannion*'s Death, *Andronicus*, "the *Rhodian*, came to *Rome*, and, being ſenſible "of *Ariſtotle*'s Worth, having been bred up in the "*Lyceum*, he bought thoſe Writings of *Tyrannion*'s "Heirs, and examined them ſo carefully, that he "was, in a manner, the firſt Reſtorer of them, as "*Porphyry* affirms in *Plotinus*'s Life. For he not "only reſtored what had been injured by length of "Time, and the Careleſneſs of thoſe, who were in "poſſeſſion of theſe Works, but took them out of "that ſtrange Confuſion they were in, and got them "tranſcribed (11)." The beginning of this Paſſage contradicts *Plutarch*, who affirms, that *Andronicus* had *Ariſtotle*'s Works from *Tyrannion* himſelf. I confeſs, *Plutarch* is not ſo exact, but we may give up his Authority in Circumſtances; but, ſince we have no Author, who ſays, that *Tyrannion*'s Heirs, and not *Tyrannion* himſelf, ſold to *Andronicus* the Writings of *Ariſtotle*; I think we had better adhere to *Plutarch*, ſince Chronology is not againſt him. See the Remarks on the Article TYRANNION. Some ſay, that *Andronicus* was the tenth Succeſſor of *Ariſtotle*, and that he flouriſhed in the CLXXXth Olympiad (12).

[*D*] *Some learned Men do not aſcribe to him the Paraphraſe upon* Ariſtotle's *Ethics.*] *Daniel Heinſius*, who tranſlated this Paraphraſe into *Latin*, plainly enough intimates, that he takes it to be the Work of this famous Peripatetic. He publiſhed it, in *Greek* and *Latin*, at *Leyden*, in the Year 1607, in 4to. It had never been printed before, either in *Greek*, or *Latin*. Many Errors crept into this Edition, which were corrected, at leaſt in part, in That of the Year 1617, in 8vo. *Heinſius* prefixed the Name of *Andronicus Rhodius* to the ſecond Edition. He was contented, in the firſt, to aſcribe this Work to an ancient Philoſopher, who was a famous Peripatetic. There is a Parentheſis in a Paſſage of *Naudé*, which may ſerve to vindicate him againſt *Placcius*. "Cui ſe Danielis Heinſii - - - - - - diligentiâ ſocium "non ita pridem adjunxit Andronicus Rhodius (aut "potius Olympiodorus:) talem enim appellationem in "poſteriori editione conſulto ſortitus eſt, cum in priori "ab eodem Heinſio facta Lugduni Batavorum ſub "anonymi nomine latens - - - - - fuiſſet - - - - - avide "à cunctis receptus. - - - - - *To whom* Andronicus "Rhodius *joined himſelf, by the Care of* Daniel "Heinſius; *(or rather* Olympiodorus:) *for this Appellation was purpoſely aſſumed in the latter Edition; ſince, in the former, publiſh'd by the ſame* Heinſius *at* Leyden, *though without a Name, He was "eagerly received by the Public.*" They are *Naudé*'s Words, in his *Bibliographia politica*; upon which *Placcius* makes this Remark: "Ubi lapſus memoriæ "ſit oportet, quod de *Olympiodoro* memorat, cum "ejus nullam unquam in alterutra editione mentionem Heinſius fecerit (13). - - - - - *Where his Memory certainly fails him, as to what he ſays of* "Olympiodorus; *ſince* Heinſius *makes no mention "of him in either Edition.*" It appears from *Naudé*'s Parentheſis, that the Words *Andronicus Rhodius* only, and not *Olympiodorus*, are to be referred to *Heinſius*. *Meurſius* does not doubt, that *Andronicus* is the Author of this Paraphraſe, and of the Treatiſe περὶ παθῶν, publiſhed by *Hoeſchelius*, from two Manuſcripts; one of which he received from *Margunius*; the other was ſent to *Sylburgius*, from *Spain*, by *Andrew Schottus* (14). *Voſſius* aſcribes this laſt Work to one *Andronicus*, not ſo ancient, as He who makes the Subject of this Article (15). *Reineſius* is of *Meurſius*'s Opinion (16); but *Salmaſius* aſſerts, that *Andronicus Rhodius* was not the Author of the Paraphraſe, tranſlated by *Daniel Heinſius* (17). *They*, ſays he, *who firſt publiſhed this Paraphraſe, injudiciouſly aſcribed it to* Andronicus; and he laughs at them for boaſting, that they had met with very good Proofs of it, in the ancient Interpreters of *Ariſtotle* (18). He ſhews, that the true *Andronicus*, in *Aulus Gellius*, explains *Ariſtotle*'s ἐξωτερικὰ and ἀκροατικὰ differently from the Paraphraſt. *Salmaſius* enlarges very much upon this: and adds, that This Paraphraſt does not agree with *Ariſtotle* in many things (19). "In tam multis abit "à mente Ariſtotelis, ut Andronici eſſe genuinum "opus ſoli poſſint credere, qui nihil in literis his "vident. - - - - - *He departs in ſo many things from* "Ariſtotle's *meaning, that They alone, who are wholly unacquainted with theſe Studies, can poſſibly miſtake it for the Genuine Work of* Andronicus." He cannot believe, that ſo great a Philoſopher as *Andronicus* would have miſpent his time ſo far as to paraphraſe a Book the moſt intelligible in the World. *Quis credat tanti nominis Peripateticum otium ſuum occupaſſe in Ethicis Ariſtotelis paraphraſi elucidandis, quo libro nihil lucidius?* This laſt Proof ſeems to me to be very weak.

[*E*] Andronicus *paraphraſed thoſe two Treatiſes of* Ariſtotle.] *Simplicius* witneſſes this in ſeveral Paſſages of his Commentaries. See *Franciſcus Patricius* (20).

[*F*] *I am not of Opinion, that he was* Strabo's *Maſter.*] I know not, whether the Printers have omitted ſome Words, or Lines, in *Reineſius*'s Copy, or whether *Reineſius* be the true Author of theſe Words, pag. 312 (21). *Amaſiæ Magiſter (Andronicus Rhodius) Strabonis: hic lib.* XIV. They mean, that *Strabo* ſays, in his fourteenth Book, that he was *Andronicus Rhodius*'s Scholar at *Amaſia*. But it appears, that he was the Diſciple of the Grammarian *Ariſtodemus* at *Nyſa* (22), and of *Xenarchus*, the Peripatetic Philoſopher, in another Place (23). And, if I am not very much miſtaken, all that he ſays of *Andronicus*, in his 14th Book, is, That he was one of the illuſtrious Men of the Iſland of *Rhodes* (24); and I dare affirm, that he no where ſays, in his Writings, either that he was *Andronicus*'s Scholar, or that *Andronicus* taught at *Amaſia*.

(*c*) *It is the fifth of the twentieth Book.*

(9) Plutarch in Sylla, pag. 468.

(10) Porphyr. in vita Plotini.

(11) Rapin. Comparaiſon de Platon. & Ariſtot. pag. 373, 374.

(12) Ammonius apud Jonſium de Scriptor. Hiſt. Philoſ. pag. 60.

(13) Placcius de Anonym. pag. 62.

(14) Meurſ. de Rhodo, lib. 2. cap. 5. pag. 88.

(15) Voſſ. de Philoſophia, cap. 5. pag. 36.

(16) Reineſ. Epiſt. ad Rupertum, pag. 312.

(17) Salmaſ. in Epictet. & Simplic. pag. 227.

(18) Ibid. pag. 228.

(19) Ibid. pag. 241.

(20) Diſcuſſionum Peripateticarum, Tom. 1. lib. 4. pag. 40, 41.

(21) *Of his Letters to* Rupert.

(22) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 447.

(23) Ibid. pag. 461.

(24) Pag. 451.

ANDRONICUS (Marcus Pompilius) a *Syrian*, taught Grammar at *Rome*. His too great Application to the Study of Philoſophy [*A*] diſqualified him for performing the Part of a Grammarian as diligently, as he ought to have done; which occaſioned his School to be neglected. When he ſaw, that *Antonius Gniphon*, and even ſome Grammarians, inferior to himſelf, were yet preferred to him, he quitted his School, and retired to *Cumæ*, where he ſpent his time in writing Books. This Employment was no Relief to him in his wretched Condition. His great Poverty obliged him to ſell the Beſt of his Works at a very low Price [*B*]. This Work was ſuppreſſed; but *Orbilius* repurchaſed it, and publiſhed it under the Author's Name; at leaſt he pretended ſo to do. *Andronicus* followed the Sect of *Epicurus*, and lived in *Cicero*'s time *(a)*. *Moreri* has been guilty of many Errors in relation to this Perſon [*C*].

(a) Ex Suetonio de Illuſtrib. Grammaticis, cap. 8.

[*A*] *His too great Application to the ſtudy of Philoſophy.*] *Suetonius* makes uſe of very proper Terms. "Studio Epicureæ ſectæ deſidioſior in profeſſione "Grammaticæ habebatur, minuſque idoneus ad tuen-"dam ſcholam. - - - - - *His Attachment to the Sect "of* Epicurus *was thought to have rendered him too "indolent for the Profeſſion of Grammar, and unfit "for the Care of a School.*" This ought to ſerve as a Leſſon to thoſe, who deſire to have a great many Scholars. They ought to apply themſelves entirely to their Profeſſion, or take care, at leaſt, that no one knows they follow other Studies. A Philologiſt, who ſets up for a Philoſopher, who is curious after Phyſical Experiments, and carefully examines, whether *Des Cartes* has been more ſucceſsful, than *Gaſſendus*, runs a great hazard of ſeeing his Claſs deſerted. A Phyſician, fond of Medals, Mathematics, and Genealogies, muſt not expect to have a great many Patients. And this was the Reaſon, why Dr *Spon* thought fit to acquaint the Public, that they would be very much miſtaken, if they thought, that he made the Study of Antiquity his principal Employ (1). He found, by Experience, that this Opinion was very prejudicial to him, in reſpect to his Practice, as a Phyſician. Beſides, it is certain, that a Profeſſor, who is known to write many Books, is not looked upon as a Man fit to improve his Scholars; and therefore they, who deſire to grow rich by teaching Youth, will not ſucceed in it, if they ſet up for Authors.

Advice to thoſe, who exerciſe any particular Profeſſion.

[*B*] *Obliged him to ſell the beſt of his Works at a very low Price.*] *Suetonius* calls it a *ſmall Tract*. *Opuſculum*, ſays he (2), *Annalium Elenchorum*. The Title, therefore, of this Work muſt have been *Elenchi Annalium*. Some Manuſcripts of *Suetonius* have the following Reading, *Opuſculum ſuum Annalium Ennii elenchorum* (3). *Achilles Statius* (4), and *Voſſius* (5), declare for this Reading; and I think they are in the right. Whatever Reading we follow, it appears, that *Andronicus* had cenſured an Annaliſt.

[*C*] Moreri *has been guilty of many Errors, in relation to this Perſon.*] I. He calls him *Pompinius*, inſtead of *Pompilius*. II. He falſly ſays, that *Andronicus had been Preceptor to* Julius Cæſar, *and that* Cicero, *though a Prætor, was very well pleaſed to be one of his Hearers*. III. He renders *Annalium Elenchi*, *Annals digeſted into Tables*. IV. He ſays, that *ſome have aſcribed* theſe Tables *to* Ennius. Thus he underſtands theſe Words of *Voſſius*, *in quibuſdam tamen libris eſt* annalium Ennii Elenchorum. V. He weakens *Suetonius*'s Argument. That Hiſtorian mentions two Circumſtances, which plainly diſcover *Andronicus*'s Poverty: One of them is taken from the Importance of what was ſold; *viz*, the beſt of the Author's Works; the other from the ſmall Price, at which it was ſold. *Moreri* thought he expreſſed the whole Senſe of *Suetonius* in theſe Words: *He was ſo poor, that he was obliged, in order to ſupport himſelf, to ſell a ſmall Tract, which he had compoſed.* How came he not to perceive, that he enervated, in a great Meaſure, the Proof of This Hiſtorian? The Reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee what was the Occaſion of his ſecond Miſtake, which contains two or three notorious Falſhoods. He did not apprehend *Voſſius*'s Argument. That Author was to prove, that *Andronicus* lived in the time of *Siſenna*, and *Quadrigarius*, and ſome others. He proves it by this Reaſon; becauſe *Antonius Gniphon*, and *Andronicus*, lived at the ſame time; and, becauſe *Gniphon*, as *Suetonius* relates, taught in the Houſe of *Julius Cæſar*, and had *Cicero* among his Hearers. He taught in *Cæſar*'s Houſe, when *Cæſar* was but a Child. *Cicero*, who was Prætor, went to hear him: Here are two Circumſtances of Time, which *Voſſius* alledges out of *Suetonius* to fix the Age of *Pompilius Andronicus*; to which he adds another Particular, atteſted by *Suetonius*, *viz.* that *Andronicus* and *Gniphon* kept School at the ſame time. *Moreri* underſtands of *Andronicus* what *Voſſius* ſays of *Gniphon*. Beſides, he thought that the keeping of a School in a Perſon's Houſe meant only being Tutor to his Son.

(1) *See the Letter, which he wrote to the Author of the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *for* January, 1685, Art. 5.

(2) Sueton. de Illuſtr. Gramm. cap. 8.

(3) *See* Caſaubon, *upon this Paſſage of* Suetonius.

(4) In Sueton. ibid.

(5) De Hiſtor. Latin. pag. 47.

ANDRONICUS, of *Theſſalonica*, was one of the Fugitive *Greeks*, who reſtored Learning in the Weſt, in the XVth Century. He paſſed for the beſt Profeſſor, next to *Theodorus Gaza*; and perhaps he exceeded him in the Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue; for he had read all the Authors, who had wrote in that Language, and was a perfect Maſter of *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy. He taught at *Rome*; and lodged in Cardinal *Beſſarion*'s Houſe. His Salary was ſo inconſiderable, that Poverty obliged him to leave *Rome*. He went to *Florence*, where he was Profeſſor a conſiderable time, and had a great many Hearers; but, hoping to meet with better Fortune in *France*, he removed into That Country, and died there ſoon after, being very far advanced in Years. He had a bad Pronunciation; and regarded nothing but his Studies *(a)*. *Platina* gives him the Character of being perfectly ſkilled in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues *(b)*. I ſhall take notice, in the Remarks, of a Miſtake of *Gabriel Naudé* [*A*]. There

(a) *Taken from* Volaterran. lib. 21. pag. 775.

(b) Græcâ & Latinâ linguâ apprimè eruditus. *Platina in Panegyr. Beſſarionis.*

[*A*] *A Miſtake of* Gabriel Naudé.] Having ſaid, that one *Hermonymus* of *Sparta* taught at *Paris*, he adds; *Afterwards there arrived another, called* Tranquillus Andronicus Dalmata, *who was the laſt of thoſe, who came thither in the Reign of* Lewis XI. (1). It is plain, that he confounds *Andronicus* of *Theſſalonica* with him, who is the Subject of the following Article. *Moreri* has committed the ſame Fault; and, by endeavouring to diſtinguiſh, he is become more embroiled. He will have it, that *Tranquillus Andronicus*, Profeſſor of the *Greek* Tongue at *Paris*, was not the ſame, who *had a great Share in Cardinal* Beſſarion's *Friendſhip*; and yet 'tis certain, that the Client of That Cardinal is the ſame with him, who was Profeſſor at *Paris*. *Moreri* ſhould not have called him *Calixtus Andronicus*, but *Andronicus Calliſtus*. Conſider theſe Words; which inform us, that he was related to the famous *Theodorus Gaza*. "Gaudeo equidem plurimum, *they are* Philelphus's *Words*, "*in a Letter, which he wrote, from* Milan *to* Gaza, "*the Twenty firſt of* January 1469, Eruditiſſimum "virum mihique amiciſſimum Andronicum Kalliſtum, "neceſſarium tuum, apud vos agere, id eſt in Muſarum & ſapientiæ domicilio, quem ut verbis meis "ſalvere jubeas abs te peto, meque τοῖς ϖερὶ Βησσαρίωνα τὸν δεσϖότην commenda (2). - - - - *I "am*

(1) Naudé's *Additions to the Hiſtory of* Lewis XI, pag. 187.

(2) Philelph. Epiſtol. lib. 29. *See alſo a Paſſage of the ſixteenth Book, and another of the ſeventeenth. Theſe Paſſages were pointed out to me, by Monſ.* de la Monnoie.

There was, at the ſame time, another ANDRONICUS, a Native of *Conſtantinople*, who taught at *Bologne* [*B*].

“*am overjoyed, that my dear Friend, and your Relation, the learned* Andronicus Calliſtus, *is with you, that is in the Reſidence of Philoſophy and the Muſes; whom I deſire you to compliment in my Name; and commend me to* Beſſarion*'s Family.*” This *Andronicus Calliſtus* was a Peripatetic, and wrote a Book *de Phyſica ſcientia & fortuna*, another *de miſera Conſtantinopoli*, and ſome other Tracts mentioned by Father *Labbé* (3). Once more; *Moreri* ſhould not have diſtinguiſhed between him and the other, who taught at *Paris*; nor ſhould he have ſaid, that the latter was Profeſſor at *Baſil*. The Author of the *Athenes ancienne & nouvelle* places *Antonicus* among the learned *Greeks*, who came into *Italy*, *about the middle of the fourteenth Century* (4). He meant, doubtleſs, *Andronicus*, and put *fourteenth* inſtead of *fifteenth*.

[*B*] *There was, at the ſame time, another* ANDRONICUS, *a Native of* Conſtantinople, *who taught at* Bologne.] *Philelphus* commends him in ſeveral of his Letters. I ſhall tranſcribe but one Paſſage out of the firſt Letter of the Twenty fourth Book, dated the laſt of *October*, 1464. “Quare non poſſum vos omnes, qui Bononiæ agitis, non mirari plurimum, quod cum vobis viri doctiſſimè eruditi copia data ſit ad Græcam diſciplinam penitus conſequendam, malitis indocti eſſe quam docti. Nunquam equidem diſcendi gratia trajeciſſem in Græciam Conſtantinopolim, qua in urbe ſeptennium egi, ſi iſtiuſmodi mihi Andronicus Byzantius eſſet oblatus. - - - - - - *Wherefore I cannot ſufficiently wonder at all you, who live at* Bologne, *who chuſe to contiuue in Ignorance, when the Preſence of one of the moſt learned Men puts it in your Power to acquire a perfect Knowledge of the* Greek Tongue. *For my own Part, I ſhould never have paſſed into* Greece, *as far as* Conſtantinople, *where I reſided ſeven Years, for the ſake of learning it, if it had been in my Power to have had Recourſe, at Home, to ſuch a* Byzantian Andronicus.”

(3) *In his* Nova Biblioth. Manuſc. libror. *I have this from Monſ.* de la Monnoie, *as alſo what is contained in the following Remark.*

(4) Athen. Ancienne & Nouv. pag. 130, *of the third Edition of* Paris, 1676.

ANDRONICUS (TRANQUILLUS) born in *Dalmatia*, towards the end of the XVth Century, was about a Work, which he promiſed to publiſh [*A*]. He taught in the Univerſity of *Leipſic*, at the ſame time with *Moſellan* [*B*]. It will appear by my Remarks, that he was an Author (*a*). *Eraſmus* wrote a Letter to him: It is the Tenth of the fourth Book.

(*a*) *See the Remark* [*B*].

[*A*] *Was about a Work, which he promiſed to publiſh.*] *Paul Jovius* having ſaid, that the ſad Condition *Dalmatia* had been reduced to, by the *Turks*, was an Obſtacle to the Study of Literature; and that, therefore, he would not mention any learned Men of That Country, adds, *unleſs* Tranquillus Andronicus *acquaints us with the Merit of his Countrymen*. Let us produce the very Words of *Paul Jovius*. “Sic ut nemo dignus elogio compareat, niſi in Lucem ſtudioſè producat cives ſuos Tranquillus Andronicus, præclarus Ciceronis æmulator, dum graviſſimarum actionum ac Othomanicæ legationis obſcurorumque nobis itinerum Commentaria perſcribit (1). —— *Inſomuch that there ſeems to be no one worthy of an Elogy, unleſs* Tranquillus Andronicus, *the famous modern* Cicero, *ſhall diſplay the Merits of his Country-men, in his Commentaries on the important Tranſactions of the dark Embaſſy to* Turkey.” This Paſſage intimates, that *Andronicus* took a Journey to *Conſtantinople*, either as Envoy, or in the Retinue of an Ambaſſador. *Konig* is not ſo reſerved; he ſays poſitively, that *Andronicus* was deputed to *Turkey*, and wrote a Book concerning his Negotiation: *Legationem ad Turcam obiit, eamque ſuis commentariis illuſtravit*. Authors, who amplify what they quote, cannot be ſufficiently cenſured for it. *Jovius* ſpeaks only of a Work, which *Andronicus* was about; *Konig* converts it into a Book actually publiſh'd.

[*B*] *He taught in the Univerſity of* Leipſic, *at the ſame time with* Moſellan.] This I find in *Simler*: *Hic*, ſays he (2), *literas docuit Lipſiæ Pet. Moſellani tempore*. He calls him *Tranquillus Parthenius Andronicus, Dalmata*, and makes him the Author of a Speech, printed at *Ausburg*, in 1518, and at *Vienna*, in 1541. The Subject of this Speech is to exhort all the Princes of *Germany* to make War againſt the *Turks*. There is another Speech of his *de Laudibus Eloquentiæ*, and ſome *Latin* Verſes (3). *Du Verdier*'s Supplements mention a Dialogue of the ſame Author, entituled *Sylla* (4): The Interlocutors are *Cæſar*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, and *Minos*. It was printed at *Leipſic* in 8vo. The Year of the Impreſſion is not ſet down in *Du Verdier*'s Supplements.

(1) Jovius in Elog. pag. 299.

(2) Epitom. Biblioth. Geſneri, p. 806.

(3) Id ibid.

(4) Id. ibid.

ANGIOLELLO (JOHN MARIA), a Native of *Vicenza*, wrote an Hiſtory of *Mahomet* II, in the *Italian* and *Turkiſh* Languages; which he dedicated to him. It was very well received by that haughty *Sultan*, who not only greatly careſſed *Angiolello*, but gratified him likewiſe with a Reward. The Author had been an Eye-witneſs of what he related; for, being one of the Slaves of the young *Sultan Muſtapha*, he followed him in the Expedition to *Perſia*, in the Year 1573. I ſpeak of the dreadful War, which *Mahomet* made, in Perſon, with near Two hundred thouſand Men, in the States of *Uſſun-Caſſan*. We may well wonder, that *Angiolello*, who doubtleſs knew the Haughtineſs of this *Turkiſh* Emperor, ventured to inſert, in his Hiſtory, the injurious Words, ſpoken by *Uſſun-Caſſan* againſt *Mahomet*; when, diſcovering his Army from a riſing Ground, near the *Euphrates*, he reproached him with Illegitimacy. Perhaps *Mahomet* never knew, that theſe Reproaches were perpetuated in this Hiſtory; for Princes are not acquainted with every thing, which is contained in Books dedicated to them. However it be, *Angiolello*'s Work was kindly received, and well rewarded (*a*). They, who ſay, that he flouriſhed in 1524 (*b*), are not exact; but what they add, that he wrote the Life of *Uſſun-Caſſan*, is more accurate. A Work of *Giov. Mario Angiolello, della vita è de' fatti di Re di Perſia*, —— J. M. Angiolello, *of the Life and Actions of the King of* Perſia, was printed at *Venice*, in 1553 (*c*). And I find in the Catalogue of *Thuanus*'s Library (*d*), *Relatione della vita è de' fatti del Signor Uſuncaſſan*, —— *A Relation of the Life and Actions of* Uſuncaſſon, by our *Angiolello*. The Year, and the Place of the Impreſſion, are omitted.

(*a*) *See the Hiſtory of* Mahomet II, *by* Guillet, Tom. 2. pag. 210, 218, 234.

(*b*) Konig. Bibl. vet. & nova, voce Angelellus.

(*c*) *See the Catalogue of the* Bodleian *Library.*

(*d*) *In the firſt Part, pag.* 4

ANGLUS (THOMAS) an *Engliſh* Prieſt, diſtinguiſhed himſelf no leſs by the Singularity of his Opinions, than by a Multitude of ſmall Books, which he publiſhed in the XVIIth Century. He was of a very good Family; which he took Care to acquaint the World with, in the Title-Pages of his Books [*A*]. He went by ſeveral Names [*B*]; and made ſome ſtay in moſt parts of *Europe*. He was Principal of a College at *Liſbon*, and Sub-Principal at *Douay* (*a*). *Rome* and *Paris* afforded him long Stations. He was a conſiderable time a Domeſtic of Sir *Kenelm Digby*'s, for whoſe Opinions he had a very particular Value [*C*]. He reſolved to continue a Peripatetic, and to oppoſe the Lights, which Mr *Des Cartes* would have afforded him [*D*]. Nay, he undertook to clear up the moſt impenetrable Myſteries of Religion by *Ariſtotle*'s Principles; and, in order to it, he diſcuſſed the Doctrines of Liberty, and Grace; in which he entangled himſelf; and, becauſe He gave free Scope to his private Opinions, he pleaſed neither the *Moliniſts*, nor the *Janſeniſts*. He was a Man of a penetrating and vaſt Genius; but he had not the Talent of diſtinguiſhing thoſe Ideas, which are proper to ſerve as a Rule and Foundation, or of clearing up Difficulties (*b*). There was ſomething Irregular in his Philoſophy and Theology. Some of his Works were cenſured at *Rome* by the Congregation of the *Index*, and by ſome Univerſities [*E*], elſewhere. He

[*A*] *Which he often took care to acquaint the World with, in the Title-Pages of his Books.*] For Inſtance, his three Dialogues *De Mundo*, printed at *Paris* in 1642, have theſe Words in the Title-Page, *Authore* Thoma Anglo, *è generoſa Albiorum in Oriente Trinobantum proſapia oriundo.*

[*B*] *He went by ſeveral Names.*] Mr *Baillet*'s Remark (1) on this Subject is This. “Sir *Kenelm Digby* entertained the famous *Thomas Anglus*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman, and a Catholic Prieſt, of one of the moſt ancient Families in *England*. He had an *Iriſh* Outſide, and lived in great, but voluntary, Poverty. His true Sirname was *White*; which he diſguiſed ſometimes under That of *Candidus*, ſometimes That of *Albius* *; ſometimes he called himſelf *Bianchi*, and ſometimes *Richworth*; but he is ſcarce known in *France* by any other Name, than That of *Thomas Anglus*. - - - - *Des Cartes* generally called him Mr *Vitus*.” *Thomas Anglus* ſubſcribes himſelf, at the end of ſeveral Epiſtles Dedicatory, *Thomas ex Albiis.*

[*C*] *For whoſe Opinions he had a very particular Value.*] This is the Title of one of his Books, printed at *Lyons*, in 1646. *Inſtitutionum Peripateticarum ad mentem ſummi viri clariſſimique Philoſophi KENELMI EQUITIS DIGBÆI.* — *Peripatetick Inſtitutions, according to the Opinions of the Great and Famous Philoſopher Sir* Kenelm Digby. The Reaſon of this Title is to be ſeen in the Preface; “Quòd ad mentem ſummi viri & clariſſimi Philoſophi Kenelmi Equitis Digbæi ſcriptas pronunciem, inde eſt quod cum invidendo illo de animæ immortalitate libro totam naturæ compoſitionem à prima corporis ratione uſque ad inviſibiles animæ ſpiritualis articulos deſſecuerit, & in omnium oculos intulerit, alia quam ipſe præceſſerat incedere neque volui neque potui. Quicquid itaque de illo ſubjecto vides, inde tranſlatum eſt. —— *The Reaſon, why I ſay, they are according to the Opinions of the Great and Famous Philoſopher Sir* Kenelm Digby, *is, becauſe, in that admirable Book, of the Immortality of the Soul, This Great Man having diſſected, and explain'd, the whole Human Compoſition, from the firſt OEconomy of the Body, to the inviſible Conſtruction of the Spiritual Soul, I neither would, nor could, tread in a different Path from him. Whatever, therefore, you meet with, in relation to this Subject, is borrowed from That Work*”. He acknowledged himſelf indebted to him, not only for his Philoſophical Knowledge, but likewiſe for his great Skill in Divinity, with reſpect to the greateſt Myſteries; as appears from his Book, intituled, “Quæſtio Theologica, quomodo ſecundum principia Peripatetices Digbæanæ, ſive ſecundum rationem, & abſtrahendo quantum materia patitur, authoritate, *humani arbitrii libertas* ſit explicanda, & cum *gratia efficaci* concilianda (2). —— *A Theological Enquiry; How, according to the Principles of the Digbæan Peripateticiſm, or according to Reaſon, and by abſtracting from the Paſſiveneſs of Matter, Free-will is to be explain'd, and reconcil'd with Effectual Grace.*” He publiſh'd, in 1652, his *Inſtitutiones Theologicæ, ſuper fundamentis in Peripateticâ* Digbæana jactis, extructæ.

[*D*] *And to oppoſe the Lights, which Mr* Des Cartes *wou'd have afforded him.*] *Thomas Anglus* (to have recourſe once more to M. *Baillet*.) (3) “was a Peripatetick, more extraordinary ſtill, than Sir *Kenelm Digby*; and certainly he exceeded him in the Obſcurity of his Notions, and the Incomprehenſibility of his Thoughts. He was, otherwiſe, one of the moſt ſubtle Philoſophers of his time, and had ſhaken off the Yoke of the Schools, which moſt Peripatetics ſubmit to. *Des Cartes* —— conceiv'd an high Eſteem for him, from the advantageous Character given of him by Sir *Kenelm Digby*. He willingly ſuffer'd *Thomas Anglus* to propoſe his Objections. The Nature of theſe Objections, and the high Idea Sir *Kenelm* had given him of his Genius, made *Des Cartes* hope, that he would ſoon be one of the Followers of his Philoſophy; but it appear'd, by the Event, that he depended too much on the Tractableneſs of *Thomas Anglus*. *Anglus* puzzled his Brains with the knotty Queſtions concerning Predeſtination, Liberty, and Grace, which began to make a noiſe in the Univerſities of *Louvain* and *Paris*. Being perſwaded, that *Des Cartes* was not a Man appointed by God to give him the Solution of theſe Supernatural Difficulties; he choſe rather to have recourſe to the Lights of *Ariſtotle*, in order diſpel this myſterious Darkneſs. What he wrote concerning theſe Matters, by the help of *Ariſtotle*, is not unlike the Obſcurity of Oracles; which, perhaps, made him unintelligible to the *Roman* Congregation of the *Index* (4), and was the Reaſon, why the Jeſuits conſider'd him as a ſavage Divine (5)”. It will not be improper to take notice, in this Place, of his Anſwer to thoſe, who charg'd him with being an obſcure Writer: It will farther diſcover to us the Character of his Genius. “I value, myſelf, *ſaid he*, (6), upon a Brevity, which becomes the Maſters and Diſpenſers of Sciences. If my Writings are obſcure, it is the fault of the Divines, who give me no Opportunity of explaining myſelf. In ſhort, either the Learned underſtand, or do not underſtand, me: If they underſtand me, and find me in an Error, they may eaſily confute me: If they do not underſtand me, they have no reaſon to exclaim againſt my Doctrine”. This ſavours of one, who is extremely deſirous of being talk'd of; and concern'd, that he has not a ſufficient number of Adverſaries to excite the Attention of the Publick. *Riſerunt aliqui hominem quod evidentiam jactet, cum tamen perobſcure ipſum ſcribere, quotquot eum legant, queritentur. Reſpondet ille, ſe brevitati ſcientiarum traditoribus aptæ ſtudere: Theologos in cauſa eſſe quod obſcura maneant ipſius ſcripta, dum ſeſe explicandi anſam præbere refugiunt. Addit vel doctos eum intelligere poſſe, unde &, ſi errores ſcribat, ipſum confutare in proclivi eſt; vel non intelligere, & ſic neque debere ipſi occlamitare; cùm peſſimus ſit animi morbus calumniari quod neſcis.* This *Dilemma* is ſomewhat ſophiſtical.

[*E*] *Some of his Works were cenſur'd at* Rome, *by the Congregation of the* Index, *and by ſome Univerſities.*] This Congregation, by a Decree of the 10th of *June* 1658, condemn'd theſe Four Treatiſes of *Thomas Anglus*; *Inſtitutiones Peripateticæ*; *Appendix Theologica de origine mundi*; *Tabula ſuffragialis de terminandis fidei litibus ab Eccleſia Catholica fixa*; *Teſſeræ Romanæ evulgatio*. The two laſt Pieces were publiſh'd againſt the famous Father *Macedo*, who, in a Paper War, was a perfect Knight-Errant; always ready to enter the Liſts. He attack'd *Thomas Anglus* (7), but, inſtead of replying to the *Tabulæ ſuffragiales*, and to the *Teſſeræ Romanæ evulgatio*, he made uſe of Intrigues, by which he cauſed theſe Pieces to be condemn'd by the Congregation of the *Index* (8). The

(*a*) *See the Book, entituled,* Staterá appenſa, *pag.* 50.

(*b*) *See the Remark* [D] *in regard to his Obſcurity.*

(1) Baillet's *Life of* Des Cartes, Tom. 2. p. 245. ad ann. 1644.

* Albius *was an equivocal Word, as alluding to* Albion, *or* Albus.

(2) *It is a Book in* 12mo, *without the Place, or the Year, of the Impreſſion. It appears, from the Preface, that the Author was, at that time, an old Man.*

(3) Baillet, ubi ſupra.

(4) Decret. ſacr. congr. collect.

(5) Labbæo dictus Theologaſter.

(6) Præfat. Stateræ appenſæ.

(7) *He publiſhed, in* 1654, Sonus litui adverſus ſonum tubæ. Thomas Anglus *had publiſh'd, in* 1653, Sonus buccinæ, cum appendice adverſus mentem divinitus inſpiratam Innocentio X.

(8) *See the Preface to the Book, entituled,* Statera appenſa, quoad ſalutis aſſequendæ facilitatem, *printed at* London, *in* 1661, *in* 12mo.

He held a very particular Opinion, in relation to the State of departed Souls, and the Eaſineſs of obtaining Salvation. I know not in what Year he died: He was ſtill living, when *Charles* the Second was reſtored to the Throne of *England*. I have ſeen ſome Works of His, written after the Marriage of That Prince with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*. He was no Friend to the Jeſuits; and he would willingly have been thought worthy of their Reſentment [*F*]. I have been told, that, in the beginning of the War between *Charles* the Firſt, and the Parliament, he wrote an *Engliſh* Book, in Defence of *Paſſive Obedience*, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

The Divines of *Douay* cenſured Twenty two Propoſitions, extracted out of *Thomas Anglus*'s *Inſtitutiones Sacræ*.

He publiſh'd a *Supplicatio poſtulativa Juſtitiæ*, in Oppoſition to their Cenſure; wherein he complain'd, that they had been contented with an indeterminate Cenſure, attended with a *reſpectivè*, without particularizing each Propoſition (9). He ſhews them, that they acted like prevaricating Divines. And, in truth, all ſimple People are by this means in danger of being miſtaken, or of ſlandering their Neighbours. If you pronounce, in general, on Thirty Propoſitions, that they are *reſpectively* raſh, dangerous, and heretical, may not any one take That to be heretical, which is only raſh, and That, which is downright Hereſy, to be only a raſh Aſſertion? This Reflexion will appear more ſtrong in the Words of an anonymous Writer, who ſeems to be a Man of Parts and Judgment. He ſpeaks in the following manner *concerning the Decree of the Inquiſition, of the 7th of* December 1690, *againſt Thirty one Propoſitions*. "I know not, Sir, ſays the Prelate, addreſſing himſelf to the Doctor, whether you have obſerv'd all the Addreſs and Art of the Cenſure. You are not ignorant how theſe Gentlemen uſually ſtyle Propoſitions; they do not ſay, that Each of them, in particular, is ſcandalous, or erroneous, &c. but they ſet them all down, one after another, though there were Five hundred, and then qualify theſe Propoſitions, thus placed in a heap, as they think fit; adding a *reſpectivè* at the end. So that private Divines are left to gueſs which of theſe Propoſitions have been condemn'd only as Scandalous, and which as Heretical, or in another Senſe (10)". In the next Page a Counſellor of the Parliament is introduc'd expreſſing himſelf thus: "We ſhould think it a Contempt of Juſtice, and a juſt Cauſe of being laugh'd at, and expoſed to the Indignation of the Publick, ſhould we, when we give Judgment in a Cauſe, ſet down, on one ſide, all the Heads of it, and all the Claims of the Parties; and, on the other, the different Deciſions confuſedly, and in a heap, with a *reſpectivè*; by which means the Judgment, being unintelligible, would occaſion a thouſand endleſs Suits". See the Reflexions, made on the ſame Decree of *Alexander* VIII, by the Author of the Difficulties propoſed to M. *Steyaert* (11). To return to *Thomas Anglus*; he raiſed ſeveral Doubts in relation to each Cenſure of the Divines of *Douay*; pretending, that, if they were not vindicated, it would redound to Their ſhame, and his own Glory (12). When Intrigue has a greater ſhare in the Cenſure of a Book, than Reaſon, the cenſured Perſon ſeldom fails to get the better of his Cenſors. We need only remember the Letter written by M. *Arnauld*, in 1683, to the Univerſity of *Douay*.

I have ſomething more to add, concerning the Cenſures paſt upon *Thomas Anglus*'s Books. His *Statera morum* no ſooner appear'd, but the Archbiſhop of *Mechlen*, and the Biſhop of *Antwerp*, complained of it to the Internuncio at *Bruſſels*. A pragmatical Fellow went into *England*, to extort Subſcriptions againſt the Doctrine of This Author (13), and it appears, that the Biſhop of *Chalcedon* diſapproved of the Treatiſe *de medio animorum ſtatu*; and that a Report was ſpread, that he had publickly cenſured it (14). Father *Baron* obſerves, that the *Sonitus buccinæ* was cenſur'd, and that the Author maintains in it, that the Church has not the Power of determining, but only of giving her Teſtimony, concerning Tradition (15).

[*F*] *He would willingly have been thought worthy of their Reſentment*.] This appears from the Preface, I have ſo often quoted (16). The Author of the Preface, and of the Book printed with it, is, perhaps, The ſame with *Thomas Anglus*. Perhaps he himſelf wrote againſt his *Statera morum*, as well to clear up ſome Difficulties, as to make the Publick take notice of a Book, which was in danger of being confounded with the Multitude of new Books. However it be, the Author of That Preface ſeems to be well acquainted with *Anglus*'s Opinions, and well affected towards him. He expreſſes himſelf thus concerning the Jeſuits. "Increbuerunt ſæpiuſcule rumores comminatam eſſe doctam illam Societatem ſe contra D. Albii Opera ſtricturam calamum. Hoc idem ab iis maxime exſpectabant omnes, ut quos præcipue ac pene unice ſcriptis ſuis laceſſiverat. Attamen, ſive ex motivis prudentialibus ſuppreſſi ſint libri illi jam ſcripti, ſive nulli omnino ſcripti fuerint, nihil dum editum eſt. Hic triumphat maxime D. Albius, & cauſam ſuam hoc diſcurſu tueri ſolet; Minas illas, quas intendebant, clamores, quibus ipſi paſſim obſtrepebant, manifeſta eſſe indicia non defuiſſe *voluntatem* illum confutandi: Neque eo genio eſſe PP. Societatis ut quicquam fama ſua charius habeant; unde evidenter conſtare ſolam eis defuiſſe *potentiam*, poſtquam ad tam inſignem ignominiam propellendam adeo tardi extiterint. —— *It was frequently given out, that This Learned Society had threatned to draw their Pens againſt the Works of* D. Albius. *This was generally expected from them, and for this Reaſon in particular, becauſe This Author had principally, and almoſt ſolely, exerted himſelf againſt the Jeſuits in his Writings. But, whether the Books, already written, were ſuppreſs'd for prudential Reaſons, or whether none were ever written, nothing as yet has been publiſh'd againſt him. In this* Albius *chiefly triumphs; to this he appeals in Defence of his Cauſe; that the Threatnings, which they gave out, and the Clamour, which they every where rais'd againſt him, were plain Proofs, that they did not want the* Will *to confute him; that their Reputation was the deareſt Thing to the Society; conſequently, that they wanted only the* Power; *ſince they enter'd the Liſts ſo late in Defence of themſelves, againſt ſo ſtrong an Attack upon their Reputation.*" This Man, you ſee, who could not procure himſelf the Honour of being attack'd by the Jeſuits, takes Advantage of their Silence, by imputing it to their Inability, not to their Inſenſibility.

(9) *See the ſame Preface.*

A REFLECTION on Cenſures of Propoſitions, extracted from Books.

(10) *Letter of an Abbot, to a Prelate of the Court of* Rome, pag. 29. *The Title-Page of my Edition* has according to the Copy, printed at *Toulouſe*, 1691.

(11) Difficul. à Steyaert *Part* 9. *pag.* 249.

(12) Præf. Stateræ. *See Citation* (8).

(13) In eadem Præf. Stateræ.

(14) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of* Th. Anglus's *Book, entituled,* Vellicationis ſuæ de medio animarum ſtatu Ratio, *printed in the Year* 1653.

(15) Baron. lib. 4. Apolog. pag. 144.

(16) Stateræ appenſæ. *See Citation* (8).

ANICIUS, a *Roman* Family. It was more Illuſtrious under the Chriſtian Emperors, than in the time of the Republic, though it produced ſome Conſuls before the Birth of *Julius Cæſar*. We read, in *Pliny*, of one *Q. ANICIUS Præneſtinus*, who was made *Curule Ædile* in the Vth Century of *Rome* (*a*). *L. ANICIUS Gallus* was Prætor in the following Century; *viz.* in the Year 585, and was ſo ſucceſsful in *Illyricum*, that, in a Month's Time, he conquered it, and took King *Gentius* Priſoner [*A*]. He obtained the Honour of a Triumph the Year following (*b*). One

[*A*] *In a Month's time he conquered* Illyricum, &c.] This was the firſt time, that the End of a War was ſooner heard of at *Rome*, than the beginning of it; and yet *Anicius* was obliged, in carrying it on, to take *Scodra*, a very ſtrong Place. His Victory was ſo compleat, that the King of this Country fell into

(*a*) Plin. lib. 33. cap. 1.

(*b*) *See* Sigonius de Faſtis Roman.

One of the Conſuls of the Year 593 was called *L. ANICIUS Gallus.* I find, under the firſt Emperors, but one *ANICIUS Cerealis*, who was nominated to the Conſulſhip in the Year of *Rome* 818 (*c*). He was engaged in a Plot againſt *Nero*; and killed himſelf in the Year of *Rome* 819. His Death was the leſs lamented, becauſe it was remember'd, that he had diſcovered to *Caligula* a Conſpiracy carried on againſt his Life (*d*). Many Perſons of this Family were raiſed to the Conſulſhip, after *Diocleſian*'s Reign; and it had never been ſeen, that two Brothers were Conſuls at the ſame time, before the Year of *CHRIST* 395, when *Probinus* and *Olybrius* diſcharged this Office. They were the Sons of *Probus*, of whom I ſhall ſpeak in his proper Place, and deſcended from *ANICIUS*, the firſt Great Man of *Rome*, who turned Chriſtian [*B*]. The great Riches of this Family expoſed it to many Slanders, as I ſhall ſhew, in ſpeaking of *Probus*. The *Benedictine* Monks pretend, that the Founder of their Order was of the Family of the *Anicii*, and have publiſhed ſome Books, wherein they endeavour to prove, that the Auguſt Houſe of *Auſtria* likewiſe derives it's Pedigree from it. This Fable was confuted by *Streinius*, in a Book intituled *Anti-Anicianus*, which was never printed: the Manuſcript Copy is in the Emperor's Library (*e*). I ſhall take notice of a curious Particular in relation to the Subject of this Work [*C*].

(*c*) Tacit. Ann. lib. 15. cap. 74.

(*d*) Id. lib. 16. cap. 17.

(*e*) Lambecius, Commentar. Biblioth. Vindobon. Tom. 1. n 50.

his hands, together with his Mother, his Wife, his Children, his Brother, and all the chief Perſons of his Dominions; and he obtain'd a conſiderable Booty. This is *Livy*'s Account of the matter: *Anicius bello Illyrico intra triginta dies perfecto nuncium victoriæ Perpennam Romam miſit, & poſt dies paucos Gentium regem ipſum cum parente, conjuge, ac liberis, ac fratre, aliiſque principibus Illyricorum. Hoc unum bellum prius perpetratum, quam cœptum Romæ auditum eſt* (1). “ Hoc Bellum (*ſays* Florus) (2) ante finitum “ eſt, quam geri Romæ nuntiaretur. —— *This* “ *War was at an end, before it was known at* Rome, “ *that it was begun.*” Theſe Priſoners of Quality were only part of the Ornaments of the Triumph: The Wealth, and Spoils brought from *Illyricum*, and the Liberalities beſtowed upon the Soldiers, made it very conſiderable. The General was more applauded by his Army, than *Paulus Æmilius*, who had triumphed not long before, was by his. *Lætior hunc triumphum eſt ſecutus miles, multiſque dux ipſe carminibus celebratus* (3). *Lloyd* obſerves, that the Conſul of the Year 593 is the Son of Him, who conquered *Gentius*; but he quotes no Authority for it.

[*B*] ANICIUS, *The firſt Great Man of* Rome, *who turned Chriſtian.*] Theſe Words of *Prudentius* are the only Proof I can alledge for it:

> Fertur enim ante alios generoſus Anicius urbis
> Inluſtraſſe caput (4).

The Noble Anicius *is reported to be the Firſt Ornament of the City.*

Baronius conjectures, that this Poet meant *Anicius Julianus*, who was Conſul in the Year 322. *Lloyd*, being more poſitive, affirms, without quoting any Authority for it, that *Anicius Julianus* was the firſt *Roman* Senator, who embrac'd the Goſpel; and that this was the Reaſon why moſt of the Emperors, from that time, took the Sirname of *Flavius*, and moſt of the Senators That of *Anicius*. I ſhould be glad to ſee ſome Proofs of this. If *Baronius*'s Conjecture be well grounded, *Anicius Julianus* may be compared to That *French* Lord, who procured himſelf to be the firſt baptiz'd in Imitation of *Clovis*, and took this Motto, *God preſerve the firſt Chriſtian.* 'Tis ſaid, that the Lords *de Montmorency* are deſcended from Him; for which Reaſon they ſtiled themſelves *the firſt Chriſtian Barons.*

[C] *I ſhall take notice of a curious Particular, in relation to the Subject of this Work.*] Mr *Baillet* is of Opinion, that *Streinius*'s Manuſcript will never be printed, for two Reaſons: One is That mentioned by *Lambecius, viz.* that it is an imperfect Work; the Second, more important than the Firſt, and of which he took care to ſay nothing, is, that the “ *Anti-Anicianus* does “ not favour the Prejudices of the Vulgar, in the “ hereditary Countries, nor the Notions of thoſe, “ who, to make their Court to the Emperor, have “ derived the Pedigree of the Houſe of *Auſtria* “ from the *Anicii* of ancient *Rome.* —— The Author “ undertook this Work, in Oppoſition to the *Benedictine* Monks, who ſeem to be infatuated with “ their being related to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and “ particularly to confute the Book of a *Flemiſh* Benedictine, called *Arnold Wion*, who, by a Concatenation of extravagant Conceits, produced the two “ Branches of the *Roman* Family *Anicia*, one, as the “ Origin of the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the “ other of his Patriarch St *Benedict* (5).” Mr *Baillet* adds, that *Streinius* ſaid nothing of the *Anicii*, in his Book concerning the *Roman* Families, *becauſe it was not one of the Families of the old Stock.* He informs us, that “ *Lambecius* deſigned to anſwer “ *Streinius*'s *Anti-Anicianus*, in his *Prolegomena* to the “ Annals of *Auſtria*, which he promiſed.” —— And that it ſeems, he “ had choſen for the Ground and “ Model of his Anſwer (6), the Book, which a *Benedictine* Abbot, but of the Order of the *Ciſtertians*, “ whoſe Name was *John Seyfrid*, publiſhed twelve “ Years after *Streinius*'s Death, under the Title of “ *Arbor Aniciana*; but that, though *Seyfrid* had intended to write againſt the *Anti-Anicianus*, it may “ be ſaid, that *Streinius* would have been ſufficiently “ revenged by *Scioppius*, who publiſhed, in the Year “ 1651, a ſmall Diſſertation, to ridicule this *Seyfrid*, “ and thoſe of the ſame Stamp; at the very ſame “ Time, that another Monk, called *Bucelin*, to increaſe the Number of the Ridiculous, publiſhed his “ *Aquila Imperii Benedicta. Scioppius*, (Mr *Baillet* “ goes on) was not, upon this Occaſion, the ſlanderous and ſatirical Writer he uſually is; he appears “ a faithful and zealous Servant of the Houſe of “ *Auſtria*; a Counſellor to the Emperor, and the “ King of *Spain*; engaged in the Intereſt of the “ Princes of their Name, upon ſeveral Accounts; infinitely more learned, than theſe idle Dreamers; “ and who had made himſelf formidable, in point of “ falſe Genealogy, above forty Years before, by his “ *Scaliger Hypobolimæus.* If, therefore, *Scioppius*, “ though otherwiſe devoted to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, thought himſelf obliged to oppoſe the Vanity and idle Fancies of theſe Monks, concerning “ the *Anician* Genealogy; we may very well infer “ from hence, that their Inventions are not for the “ Honour of the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, or “ of St *Benedict*'s Diſciples; and that *Streinius*'s *Anti-Anicianus*, muſt needs be a conſiderable Work. —— “ Though *Seyfrid* gave out, that St *Thomas* was deſcended from the illuſtrious Family of the *Anicii*; “ it is not to be expected, that a *French Dominican* “ will ever publiſh an *Aquila Imperii Thomiſtica.* “ This is reſerved, perhaps, for ſome *German*, or “ *Spaniſh Dominican*, a zealous Friend to the Houſe “ of *Auſtria*.” I deſire the Reader to conſider me, in this whole Matter, as a bare Tranſcriber.

(1) Livius, lib. 44. cap. 32.

(2) Florus, lib. 2. cap. 13.

(3) Livius, lib. 45. cap. 43.

(4) Prudent. in Symm. lib. 1. ver. 553.

(5) Tom. 2. *of the* Antis, n. 154. pag. 228, & ſeq.

(6) Tom. 2. Comment. Biblioth. Vind. pag. 418, & ſeq.

ANNA, the Name of ſome Perſons, mentioned in the Scripture. The Mother of the Prophet *Samuel* was called ANNA or HANNAH. She was a very pious Woman, and very much beloved by her Huſband *Elkanah*. She was barren; and this Misfortune afflicted her the more ſenſibly, as it expoſed her to the Raillery and

Inſults of the other Wife of *Elkanah*. She ſo importunately petitioned Heaven for a Son, that her Prayers were at length heard *(a)*; for God gave her *Samuel*, and afterwards three Sons, and two Daughters *(b)*. The Book of *Tobit*, an Apocryphal Book among the Proteſtants, mentions one ANNA, the Wife of *Tobit*, and Mother of *Tobias*. In St *Luke*'s Goſpel, we read of ANNA the Propheteſs, Daughter of *Phanuel (c)*. She was a very devout Woman, about Eighty four Years of Age, and had lived but Seven Years with her Huſband. *Baronius*, who makes her a Cloyſter'd Religious, is miſtaken [*A*]. The Goſpel mentions, likewiſe, a Man named ANNAS, who was High-Prieſt, among the *Jews*, in our Saviour's Time. His Son-in-law, *Caïphas*, had the ſame Dignity, when CHRIST was put to Death. As for SAINT ANNE, Mother of the Holy Virgin, and the moſt celebrated Lady of this Name, among the *Roman* Catholics, ſhe is no where ſpoken of in the Scriptures, nor in the Writings of the Three firſt Centuries. St *Epiphanius* is the firſt, who mentions her; and yet the following Ages trumped up a long Legend concerning St *Anne*, as may be ſeen in the Article of S. JOACHIM, her Huſband. I am ſurprized, that *Eraſmus* met with but three Women of the Name of ANNA in ancient Books [*B*].

(*a*) 1 Sam. chap. i.

(*b*) Ibid. chap. ii. ver. 36.

(*c*) Luke chap. ii. ver. 21.

[*A*] Baronius, *who makes her a Cloyſter'd Religious, is miſtaken.*] Theſe are his Words: "Quomodo autem Anna nunquam è templo diſceſſiſſe "dicatur, ut merito eamdem S. Cyrillus * Hieroſoly"mitanus religioſiſſimam monialem appellet, con"ſule quæ ſuperius dicta ſunt de præſentatione Dei "genitricis in templo (1). - - - - - *How* Anna *is ſaid* "*never to have departed from the Temple, upon which* "*account St* Cyril *of* Jeruſalem *juſtly calls her a moſt* "*devout Nun, conſult what has been ſaid, above,* "*concerning the Preſentation of the Mother of God* "*in the Temple.*" Here are two things: I. *Baronius* takes in a literal Senſe St *Luke*'s Phraſe, *She departed not from the Temple* (2). II. He thinks S. *Cyril* very much in the right in calling *Anna a moſt religious Nun*. But it is plain, that St *Luke*'s Words ought not to be ſtretched beyond the Senſe, which is commonly put upon ſuch Expeſſions, when, to ſignify that a Man goes frequently to any Particular Houſe, we ſay, *That he never ſtirs from it, that he is there Night and Day*. This is particularly ſaid of your devout Ladies, who go to Church ſeveral times in a Day; we uſually ſay, that *they never ſtir from Church, that they are continually praying at Church*. As to what concerns St *Cyril*, it is not true, that he calls the Propheteſs *Anna* a Nun. The *Latin* Tranſlator of That Father ſhould have conſidered, that the Words ἀσκητης, ἀσκητρία, were uſed, not only to denote Monks and Nuns, but all thoſe, likewiſe, who exactly practiſed religious Exerciſes. This is what the learned *Caſaubon* clearly ſhewed againſt *Baronius* (3).

[*B*] *I am ſurprized, that* Eraſmus *met with but three Women of the Name of* Anna *in ancient Books.*] The firſt is *Dido*'s Siſter; ſhe was called *Perenna*; and he ſays, *ſhe was placed among the Gods, on account of the extraordiuary Affection ſhe ſhew'd for her Siſter*. The Adventures of this *Anna* are ſo fully related in other Dictionaries, that I think it unneceſſary to mention them. The ſecond is *Elkanah*'s Wife: *It is ſufficient Commendation of her*, ſays he, *to ſay, that, by the particular Favour of God, ſhe brought forth, in her old Age*, Samuel, *who was a very pious Prieſt, and a moſt uncorrupt Judge.* "Cujus ad laudem abunde ſatis eſt, quod & anus, "& auſpice Deo, Samuelem pepererit, non utique "ſibi ſed Deo quidem ſacerdotem religioſiſſimum, "populo vero judicem incorruptiſſimum (4)." The third is the Mother of the Holy Virgin. He ſays, that this laſt *Anna* was greatly celebrated by *Rhodolphus Agricola*, and *Baptiſta Mantuanus*. Thus *Eraſmus* is guilty of Errors both of Omiſſion and Commiſſion. How came he to forget *Phanuel*'s Daughter, and *Tobias*'s Mother? Where did he find, that *Samuel*'s Mother was an old Woman? The ſacred Writer ſays no ſuch thing; but rather gives us to underſtand, that ſhe was ſtill young enough. Had ſhe not five Children, after ſhe had weaned *Samuel*? The ſame Hiſtorian makes her reply to the High Prieſt *Eli*, who charged her with Drunkenneſs, that ſhe had drank neither Wine, nor Beer. *Joſephus*, not thinking this Anſwer extraordinary enough, furniſhes her with another, to wit, that ſhe never drank any thing but Water. Mr *Moreri* choſe to follow the Jewiſh Hiſtorian, rather than the Scripture. By the way, the Lady, to whom *Eraſmus* wrote the Letter, which mentions theſe three *Anna*'s, might very well deſerve an Article: He calls her *Anna Berſala Princeps Veriana*. If I can diſcover her Family and Adventures, I here engage myſelf to take Notice of her.

Since the firſt Edition of this Work, I have made ſome Diſcoveries in relation to this Lady. See the Article BERSALA.

* Catecheſ. 10.

(1) Baron. in Annal. Eccleſ. Tom. 1. ad ann. 1. n. 41.

(2) Οὐκ ἀφίςατο ἀπὸ τȣ͂ ἱερȣ͂ νηςείαις καὶ δεήσεσι λατρεύȣσα νυκτα καὶ ἡμέραν - - - *She departed not from the Temple, but ſerved God with Faſting and Prayers, Night and Day.*

(3) Caſaubon. Exercit. 2. n. 13.

(4) Eraſm. Epiſt. 38. lib. 9. pag. 500.

ANNAT (FRANCIS), Confeſſor to *Lewis* XIV, was a Native of *Rovergue (a)*. He was born the fifth of *February*, 1590, admitted Jeſuit in *February* 1607, and profeſſed the fourth Vow, in the Year 1624. He taught Philoſophy at *Toulouſe*, for the ſpace of ſix Years, and Divinity for the ſpace of ſeven; and, having honourably diſcharged the Duties of thoſe Places, he was invited to *Rome*, to exerciſe the Function of Cenſor-General of the Books publiſhed by the Society, and That of Theologiſt to the General of the Order. Being returned into his own Country, he was made Rector of the College of *Montpellier*, and afterwards of That of *Toulouſe*. He aſſiſted, as Deputy of his Province, at the eighth General Aſſembly of the Jeſuits, held at *Rome*, in 1645, and gave ſo many Proofs of his Merit, that Father *Vincent Caraſa*, General of the Jeſuits, found no one better qualified to fill the Place of Aſſiſtant of *France*, which became vacant ſixteen Months after. The ninth General Aſſembly gave him again the ſame Employment, under *Francis Picolomini*, General of the Society; after whoſe Death he was made Provincial of the Province of *France*. Whilſt he was inveſted with this Dignity, he was choſen Confeſſor to *Lewis* XIV; and, after he had been ſixteen Years in this Poſt, he was obliged to demand his Diſmiſſion, his great Age having very much impaired his Hearing. As the King was very well pleaſed with him, it was with Reluctance He granted his Requeſt. Father *Annat* lived but four Months, after his leaving the Court, and died in the *Maiſon Profeſſé* of *Paris*, the fourteenth of *June*, 1670. Father *Sotuel*, who ſupplies me with theſe Particulars, repreſents him as a Man endowed with great Virtues; as perfectly diſintereſted, modeſt, and humble; and exact in practiſing the Obſervances

(*a*) Ruthenenſis.

Obſervances and Diſcipline of his Order; as never employing his Intereſt for his own Advantage, or in order to raiſe his Family; and as expreſſing a great Zeal for Religion (*b*). *He was the Flail of Heretics*, (ſays *Sotuel*) (*c*) *and particularly attacked, with incredible Zeal, the new Hereſy of the* Janſeniſts; *he left nothing unattempted to get their Hereſy condemned by the Pope, and reſtrained by the Authority of the Moſt Chriſtian King; beſides, he wrote with ſuch Force of Reaſon againſt it, that his Adverſaries have not been able to make any ſolid Reply.* Some will not grant Father *Sotuel* this laſt Point; but as to what concerns the Diſintereſtedneſs of Father *Annat*, it will eaſily meet with Credit; for they, who would be informed, may know, that this Father Confeſſor never raiſed his Family. It is reported, that the King had been heard to ſay, that he did not know, whether Father *Annat* had any Relations (*d*). Some he had, who did not forget themſelves, and who paid him a Viſit at the *Louvre*; but they did not return with any Preferment. There are times, when the Greater and Leſſer Nepotiſm, are both in vogue; ſometimes the Leſſer Nepotiſm prevails, whilſt the Greater is ſuppreſs'd. In Father *Annat*'s Time, the greater Nepotiſm was at it's Height (*e*); but the Leſſer, with regard to the Father Confeſſor's, was, in *Paris*, at it's loweſt Ebb. I make uſe of this Reſtriction, becauſe there are many other dignified Clergymen, who heap upon their Relations all the Preferments they can procure. Many, no doubt, followed the uſual Courſe, whilſt Father *Annat* gave no Encouragement to his greedy Relations of *Roüergue*. We may read, in the *Amours du Palais Royal*, that he deſired to lay down his Place [*A*], when Madam *de la Valiere* was taken into Favour. Were this true, it would be the fineſt Circumſtance of his Life, and the nobleſt Subject for Encomium, that the Life of a King's Confeſſor can afford. The Author of this Satire, who, according to the Nature of this kind of Works, made it his Buſineſs to give a malicious Turn to every Thing, was very ſenſible of this; and, therefore, took care, that the Reader ſhould find nothing commendable in it. A Satire of a much later Date has been handed about, which, beſides Father *Annat*'s deſiring his Diſmiſſion, whether true or not, contains ſo many notorious Falſhoods [*B*], that it is hard to conceive how any Man can tell publick

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(*b*) Biblioth. Scriptor. Societ. Jeſu, pag. 211.

(*c*) Hæreſium malleus, & nominatim Janſeniſtarum hæreſis oppugnator acerrimus. *Ibid.*

(*d*) Adeo ut dixiſſe aliquando perhibeatur ſua Majeſtas neſcire ſe an P. Annatus haberet aliquos ſanguine ſibi conjunctos. *Ib.*

(*e*) *That of the Court of* Rome.

[*A*] *We may read, in the* Amours du Palais Royal (1), *that he deſired to lay down his Place.*] Here is the Paſſage. "Poor Father *Annat* went alſo to him, by "the Suggeſtion of the Queens, and pretended a "Deſire of quitting the Court, artfully inſinuating, "that it was on account of his Amours. The King "fell a laughing, and immediately granted him his "Diſmiſſion. The Father, finding himſelf taken at "his Word, would fain have accommodated the "Matter; but the King, laughing on, told him, "that, for the future, he would have no other Con"feſſor than the Rector of the Pariſh. It is difficult "to expreſs, how vexed the whole Society was at "his Indiſcretion." Upon this, I may be asked three Queſtions. I. Whether it be true, that Father *Annat* deſired to lay down his Place. II. Whether it was a mere Feint, and out of Complaiſance to the Queens. III. Whether he actually left the Court; or whether the Jeſuits made up the Matter. All I can ſay, in Anſwer to the firſt Queſtion, is, that I know nothing of the Matter, and that the Authority of a Satiriſt is of no Weight. I believe him, no farther than he proves what he advances. Writers of Hiſtory are diſpenſed from taking an Oath, and producing their Witneſſes (2); their Word is ſufficient to procure Credit to what they ſay; but as to Writers of Libels, it is a Favour, a piece of Civility, to believe them, even upon their Oath, confirmed by Witneſſes. I am ſtill more ignorant, as to the ſecond Queſtion: I do not pretend to dive into the Hearts of Men. And, as to the third, I only know what is publickly known, *viz.* that Father *Annat* was the *French* King's Confeſſor, without Interruption, 'till the Spring of the Year 1670.

[*B*] *A Satire of a much later Date* (3), —— *contains ſo many notorious Falſhoods*, &c.] The Author of this Satire ſuppoſes, that Father *La Chaize was very inſtrumental in moving the Pope to grant what the King deſired of him*, and that Cardinal *Mazarin*, as an Acknowledgment for this Service, *was very kind to him, recommended him to the King, and even got him admitted into the Council of Conſcience, which was properly to make him the Confeſſor's Coadjutor* (4). The Year 1663 is ſet down in the Margin, for the Date of the Cardinal's firſt Marks of Favour, and the Year 1665, for the Admiſſion into the Council of Conſcience. What an Ignorance of modern Hiſtory is here? Who does not know, that Cardinal *Mazarin* died in 1661? The Author adds, that Father *la Chaize* ſupplanted Father *Annat*, by excuſing the King's Love for Madam *de la Valiere*, from the Infirmity of Human Nature, whilſt the Confeſſor *teized the King every Day on that Account, and would never ſuffer him to reſt* (5). He farther adds, that Madam *de la Valiere*, being informed of Father *la Chaize*'s Maxims, deſired to have him for her Confeſſor, and propoſed it to him, by Mr *de Montauzier* (6); but, having afterwards diſcourſed with this Jeſuit, ſhe choſe rather to procure him Father *Annat*'s Place; and, having ſpoke to the King about it, the Affair was concluded in a few Days; Father *Annat*, who denounced the dreadful Judgments of God, and deſired leave to retire, being taken at his Word (7). The Year 1667 is ſet down in the Margin. This is an unaccountable piece of Aſſurance; for it is notorious, that Father *Annat* did not take leave of the Court, 'till the Year 1670; and that a Jeſuit of *Roüergue*, called Father *Ferrier*, ſucceeded him in his place of Confeſſor to the King; and that Father *la Chaize* had not this Employ, 'till after the Death of Father *Ferrier*, who died the Twenty ninth of *October* 1674 (8). What do theſe Writers mean, when they publiſh ſuch groſs Falſhoods? Do they not perceive, that they act contrary to their main Deſign? For do they not prejudice the Reader againſt their Books, when they appear ſo ignorant of Things, which are publickly known, or ſo void of Shame, as boldly to publiſh evident Untruths? Do they approve the Maxims of thoſe, who preach up pious Frauds to a numerous Congregation, reaſoning with themſelves in this manner? *For one Hearer, who will know that I am miſtaken, a thouſand will not diſcover it; a thouſand, therefore, will be edified by my Fraud; one only will be offended at it; the Miſchief, therefore, will be trifling, in compariſon of the Advantage, which will accrue from it: It is therefore a Point of Charity and Prudence to maintain ſuch a Falſhood before this numerous Aſſembly.* I know not whether our Libellers argue in the ſame manner; but I am ſure they would ſucceed better in their Deſign, if they took more care to obſerve Chronology, and the Rules of Fiction. *Eſt ars etiam maledicendi*, ſays *Scaliger* (9), there is an Art of Slandering; they, who are ignorant of it, do not ſo much defame their Enemies, as ſhew how deſirous they are of defaming them. To conclude, I make this Remark, rather for the Advantage of the Public, than for the Intereſt of any private Perſon. It is fit, that, in our Age, we ſhould be able to judge of the Satires, which have been publiſhed within theſe thouſand Years; and that Poſterity ſhould know how to judge of thoſe, which appear in

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SOME Thoughts concerning Satire.

(1) Intrigues of the Court. *This Book made it's firſt Appearance about the Year* 1665.

(2) Quis unquam ab Hiſtorico juratores exegit? *Seneca de morte Claudii init.*

(3) *Entituled*, Hiſtory of Father *la Chaize*, a Jeſuit, and Confeſſor to *Lewis* XIV. Cologne, *for* Peter Marteau, 1693, *in* 12mo. *The ſecond Part was printed two Years after.*

(4) Pag. 106.

(5) Pag. 107.

(6) Pag. 108.

(7) Pag. 115.

(8) Ex Nathan. Sotuelli Biblioth. Societ. pag. 449.

(9) Scaligerana 2. pag. 10.

Lyes with ſo little Caution. Father *Annat* wrote many Books [C] both in *French* and *Latin*. The *Latin* are much more in Eſteem, than the *French*; becauſe he was more capable of handling a Point of Divinity, according to the Dogmatical Method of the Schools, than of turning it according to the Genius of the Age he lived in. Nevertheleſs his *French* Works are very much commended in an Anſwer to the *Lettres Provinciales* (*f*). What I have ſaid in general of the Nephews of this Father Confeſſor, ought not to prejudice any one againſt them; for One of them, who is General of the Fathers of the Chriſtian Doctrine, is accounted a very learned Man, and has publiſhed a *Latin* Book of Divinity, which is very much eſteemed. It is *A Methodical Apparatus to Poſitive Divinity* (*g*). You will meet with an Abſtract of it in the *Journal des Sçavans*, of the Thirteenth of *September*, 1700.

(*f*) *See the end o the Remark* [C].

(*g*) Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres, *for* April, 1700. pag. 477.

our Days. In order to judge rightly of them, we muſt pay no regard to this Principle, *It is not probable, that, if this thing were evidently falſe, any one would dare to publiſh it.*

This will, no doubt, be the principal Uſe of this Remark: for, in ſhort, the beſt grounded Reflexions or Cenſures will never be able to ſtop the Pens of this Species of Writers. Notwithſtanding the Indignation of honeſt Men againſt the fabulous and ſatirical Hiſtory of Father *la Chaize*, another Piece, much worſe than this, appeared five Years after. It is, from beginning to end, an Heap of Falſhoods and chimerical Adventures, related with the utmoſt Impudence, and in a Style ſtuffed with Obſcenities. The Title of this fine Performance is as follows. *Hiſtoire des Intrigues amoureuſes du P. Peters*, &c. —— *The Hiſtory of the amorous Intrigues of Father* Peters, *a Jeſuit, Confeſſor to* James II, *late King of* England, *containing his moſt private Adventures, and his true Character, and likewiſe the Counſels he gave to that Prince, concerning his Government. Cologne*, for *Peter Marteau, junior*, 1698. As long as there are Perſons, who take a Pleaſure in purchaſing this kind of Books, there will be Bookſellers, who will be at the Charge of the Compoſition and Impreſſion of them, and, conſequently, baſe and mercenary Writers will never be wanting for ſuch a Work. It is therefore an incurable Diſeaſe.

[C] *Father* Annat *wrote many Books.*] His *Latin* Treatiſes, publiſhed at ſeveral Times, were collected into three Volumes, in 4to, and printed at *Paris*, for *Cramoiſy*, in 1666. The firſt contains a Work entituled De Scientia media contra novos ejus impugnatores, *una* cum exercitatione ſcholaſtica ſub nomine Eugenii Philadelphi, & appendice ad Guilhelmum Camerarium. —— *Of the middle Science, againſt it's new Oppoſers; together with a Scholaſtic Diſcourſe, under the Name of* Eugenius Philadelphus, *and an Appendix to* William Camerarius." The ſecond contains a Piece entituled. Auguſtinus à Bajanis, *hoc eſt Janſenianis*, vindicatus. —— *St* Auſtin *vindicated againſt the* Janſeniſts." The following Treatiſes are in the third. Catholica diſputatio de Eccleſia præſentis temporis. - - - - - De incoacta libertate contra novum Auguſtinum Iprenſis Epiſcopi, Vincentium Lenem, Apologiſtam Janſenii & Commentatorem quinque propoſitionum. - - - - Informatio de quinque propoſitionibus ex Theologia Janſenii collectis, quas Epiſcopi Galliæ Romano Pontifici ad cenſuram obtulerunt. - - - - - Janſenius à Thomiſtis gratiæ per ſe ipſam efficacis defenſoribus condemnatus. - - - - Cavilli Janſenianorum contra latam in ipſo à ſede Apoſtolica ſententiam, ſeu confutatio libelli trium Columnarum (10). i. e. *A Catholic Diſputation concerning the preſent Church.* - - - - - *Of unreſtrained Liberty, againſt the new* Auguſtin *of the Biſhop of* Ypres, Vincentius Lenes, *Apologiſt for* Janſenius, *and Commentator on the five Propoſitions.* - - - - - *An Information concerning five Propoſitions collected from the Divinity of* Janſenius, *preſented by the* French *Biſhops to the Pope, for his Cenſure.* - - - - Janſenius *condemned by the* Thomiſts, *Defenders of the Notion of Grace efficacious of itſelf.* - - - - - - - *The Cavils of the Janſeniſts againſt the Sentence pronounced againſt them by the Apoſtolical See; or a Confutation of the Book of three Columns.* Thus there are five Treatiſes in the three Volumes; to which are prefixed ſome Advertiſements to the Readers, and ſome Notes on the *Journal de Santi-amour*. The following are the Titles of ſome of his *French* Works. *An Anſwer to a Book entituled*, la Theologie morale des Jeſuites. - - - - *An Anſwer to ſome Queries about Mr* Arnauld's *firſt Letter.* - - - - - *The Fairneſs of the* Janſeniſts *in quoting their Authors.* - - - - *A Collection of ſeveral Falſhoods, and Impoſtures, contained in the Journal of what paſſed in* France, *on Account of the Morality and Apology of the Caſuiſts* (11). *Remedies againſt the Scruples, which hinder the ſubſcribing the Formulary.* - - - - - *Remarks on the Conduct of the Janſeniſts, in printing and publiſhing the New Teſtament, printed at* Mons. - - - - - Janſenius's *Doctrine contrary to the Holy Apoſtolic See, and to St* Auguſtin. I omit the Titles of ſome other Books, which may be ſeen in Father *Sotuel*. But, let me obſerve, by the way, that He, and *Alegambus* his Predeceſſor, have forgot one thing, which ſhould not have been omitted. They ſhould have ſet down the Titles of Books in the Language the Author made uſe of, and then have tranſlated them into *Latin*. It is a common thing to be diſappointed, when we enquire after a Book, not by it's true Title, but by the Senſe of it, when, perhaps, it is really in the Bookſeller's Shop or Warehouſe. To conclude, though Father *Annat* was a very old Man, at the time of the Diſpute with the Janſeniſts about ſubſcribing the Formulary, and the Verſion of *Mons*, he publiſhed ſeveral ſmall Works, in 4to. He was not contented to uſe his Intereſt with the Prince, in order to ſerve the Cauſe, but defended it, likewiſe, with his Pen, to the laſt Drop of his Ink.

(10) *It is in Father* Sotuel Calumniarum.

(11) *The Clergy of* Paris *made an Apology for this Journal, in their eighth and ninth Writings.*

I muſt not forget the Praiſes, beſtowed upon him, in an Anſwer to the *Lettres Provinciales* of Mr *Paſcal*, which was reprinted in *Holland*, in the Year 1696 (12). "As for the Jeſuits, who ventured to "write againſt *Paſcal*, what do you think of Father *Annat*, who is the Author of the Book, entituled, *La bonne foy des Janſeniſtes*, and to whom "the ſeventeenth and eighteenth *Provincial Letters* "are inſcribed? Father *Annat*, anſwered *Cleander*, "was, in my Opinion, a Man of very good Parts: "The Jeſuits publiſhed nothing better, than what "he wrote on the Points controverted at that Time. "This good Man (for I knew him to be ſuch; and "indeed he was Modeſty itſelf) would have been "qualified for a Writer, even in *French*, if he had "but applied himſelf a little more to the Study "of our Language. He has ſome Strokes as elegant, as lively, and as agreeable, as any I ever met "with in other Authors. I am of your Opinion, "replied *Eudoxus*: And, not to mention his Virtue, "for which I have heard him commended even by "ſome of the contrary Party, I have beſides obſerved in him an accurate Judgment, and ſometimes ſuch a Delicacy of Expreſſion and Raillery, "as is ſeldom to be met with in a Scholaſtic Divine."

(12) Entretiens de Cleandre & d' Eudoxe, pag. 70, 80. Dutch *Edition.*

ANNIUS of *Viterbo*, a famous Impoſtor. See NANNIUS.

ANSELM, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, one of the moſt illuſtrious Prelates of his Times, died the Twenty firſt of *April*, 1109, in the Seventy ſixth Year of his Age (*a*). He wiſhed to have lived a little longer, to finiſh *a Treatiſe on the Origin of the*

(*a*) Cave's Hiſtoria Literaria Scriptorum Eccleſiaſt. pag. 627.

the Soul [*A*]. His Article is very long in *Moreri*'s Dictionary; to which I refer the Reader. The Monks of *Lerins*, *who placed this great Prelate in the Chronology of their Saints and famous Monks*, are confuted by the Author (*b*) of a Book, intituled, *The Monks traveſtied* (*c*). We ſhall ſee, below, that he made uſe of an Argument for the Exiſtence of a God, which Mr *Des Cartes* very much improved [*B*].

(*b*) *He calls himſelf Monſ.* Peter Joſeph. *His Work was printed in* 1698, *in* 12mo.

(*c*) Moines Traveſtis, Tom. 1. pag. 49.

[*A*] *He wiſhed - - - - - to have finiſhed a Treatiſe on the Origin of the Soul.*] This Wiſh of his made a Doctor of *Louvain* ſay, That the Doctrine of the Propagation of Souls ſubſiſted to the end of the eleventh Century. Theſe are his Words. "Imo "uſque ad tempora S. Anſelmi, hoc eſt Annum "Chriſti M. C. in Occidente duraſſe videtur hæc de "animarum traductione dubitatio. Nam cum paulo "poſt moriturus S. Pater decumberet, dixiſſe ſcribit "familiaris & convictor ejus Edinerus, *Si Deus mallet* "*me adhuc inter vos ſaltem tam diu manere, donec* "*quæſtionem, quam de animæ origine mente revolvo,* "*abſolvere poſſem, gratioſus acciperem: eo quòd neſcio,* "*utrum aliquis eam, me defuncto, ſit abſoluturus* (1). "- - - - - - *This doubtful Opinion concerning the Propagation of Souls,* ex traduce, *ſeems to have con*"*tinued to the Time of St* Anſelm; i. e. *to the* "*end of the eleventh Century. For* Edinerus *, *his* "*Acquaintance, and Companion, informs us, that* "*the Holy Father, on his Death-bed, ſaid*; I ſhould "be thankful, if God would grant me a longer "Life; at leaſt 'till I have finiſhed the Queſtion, "which imploys my Thoughts, concerning the "Origin of the Soul; ſince I know not, whe"ther, after my Deceaſe, any one will undertake to "finiſh it." I have elſewhere (2) cited *Thomas Bartholin*, who has made a Reflexion on this Thought of *Anſelm*.

(1) Libertus Fromondus Philoſoph. Chriſt. de Anima, lib. 4. cap. 3. pag. 812.

* Ediner. *in the Life of* S. Anſelm apud Surium, April 21.

(2) *In the Remark* [*E*], *of the Article* AVERROES.

[*B*] *He made uſe of an Argument for the Exiſtence of a God, which Mr* Des Cartes *very much improved.*] The Catalogue, which Mr *Baillet* has given of the Authors, whom they ſay Mr *Des Cartes* pirated, contains theſe Words. "St *Anſelm* likewiſe is placed "in the Number of the Ancients, to whom Mr *Des* "*Cartes* † was obliged for his Argument, in proof "of the Exiſtence of a God; drawn from hence, "That a moſt perfect Being, or at leaſt the moſt "perfect that we are able to conceive, implies Exi"ſtence. The Argument is to be found in a Book, "which this Saint ‖ wrote againſt *The Fool*, in An"ſwer to an anonymous Author, who had wrote "in Defence of *The Fool*, againſt an Argument, "which St *Anſelm* had advanced in his Book, en"tituled, *Proſologion* (3)." Obſerve, that *Huetius* remarks, that *Thomas Aquinas* refuted this Argument. "Celebris illa argumentatio - - - - tota eſt Anſelmi, "& in Proſologio, & in Apologetico contra Gau"nilonem · eandemque expoſuit Thomas Aquinas, "& refellit (4). - - - - *This famous Argument* - - - - "*belongs ſolely to* Anſelm, *both in his Proſologion, and* "*his Apologetic againſt* Gaunilo: *it has been explained* "*and refuted by* Thomas Aquinas."

† Tom. 2. *of his Letters*, pag. 276, &c.

‖ Wilh. Leibnitz. Epiſt. MS. Tom. 3. Oper. Anſelm. Edit. Colonien.

(3) Baillet's *Life of* Des Cartes, Tom. 2. pag. 536.

(4) Huetii Cenſ. Philoſ. Carteſ. pag. 204.

ANSELM, a bare-footed *Auguſtin*, born at *Paris*, will be too often quoted in this Dictionary, and has ſupplied Mr *Moreri* with too many Materials, not to deſerve a Place here. He died at *Paris*, the ſeventeenth of *January*, 1694, in his Sixty ninth Year. He paſſed fifty Years of this Time, free from all Monaſtical Offices, and applying himſelf wholly to the Duties of a religious Life, and the Writing of Books. He was preparing a ſecond Edition of his *Genealogical Hiſtory of the Houſe of* France [*A*], *and the great Officers of the Crown*, with Corrections and Additions, which had employed him a long time. He had alſo undertaken a Work, which treats *of the Royal Houſes, and other moſt illuſtrious Families, of* Europe, and had already put the finiſhing Hand to it (*a*). I know not what will become of his Manuſcripts; but I wiſh they may be publiſhed.

(*a*) Mercure Gallant, *for the Month of* January, 1694. *See alſo the Journal* des Sçavans, *of the eighth of* February, 1694, pag. 157.

[*A*] *He was preparing a ſecond Edition of his Genealogical Hiſtory of the Houſe of* France, *&c.*] He publiſhed it, together with That of the great Officers of the Crown, in the Year 1674, in two Volumes in 4to. A large Work of his had already appeared, entituled, *The Palace of Honour, or the Hiſtorical Genealogies of the Illuſtrious Houſe of* France, *and of ſeveral noble Families of* Europe. This Work was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1668. It contains an Abſtract of ſeveral Particulars, relating to Heraldry, the Coronation of Kings, ſolemn Entries, Baptiſms of the Children of *France*, Royal Funerals, Military Orders, *&c.* This large Volume was not ſo correct, as the two which followed it; though they all ſtand in need of a new Edition, Reviſed, Corrected, and Augmented. They have certainly been of great Uſe; and it is difficult to conceive the Pains this good Monk muſt needs have taken, to collect ſo many Names, ſo many Marriages, ſo many Births, and ſo many Dates. It is in vain to reſiſt; where Nature ſtrongly inclines to any one Thing, the Monk's Habit never cures a Man of it. Father *Anſelm* was born with a Talent for tracing Genealogies. The little Relation ſuch Matters have to That kind of Life, which he had vowed, did not alter the Bent of his Inclination. One of his Brethren, though not of the Barefooted Order, was perpetually running after Geographical Diſcoveries (1). This was his natural Inclination; the Habit of an *Auguſtin* did not change it.

(1) *Father* Lubin. *He died at* Paris, *the ſeventh of* May, 1695. *See his Elogy in the Journal* des Sçavans, March 28, 1695.

ANTESIGNANUS (PETER), born, if I miſtake not, at *Rabaſteins* [*A*], a ſmall Town of *Languedoc*, in the Dioceſe of *Albi*; was one of the beſt Grammarians of the XVIth Century. He had his Employ ſo much at Heart, that he choſe to render himſelf ſerviceable to Youth, by applying himſelf to the Explanation of thoſe Things, which render the firſt Entry upon Study difficult, rather than aim at Honour, by the Explication of greater Difficulties [*B*]. He acquired Reputation enough to provoke

[*A*] *Born, if I miſtake not, at* Rabaſteins.] What induces me to believe ſo, is his writing himſelf *Rapiſtagnenſis* at the beginning of his Works. I know no Town, which can better give this Appellation, than That of *Rabaſteins*; which is called in *Latin Rapiſtanum*, or *Rapiſtagnum* (1). I take it for granted, that the Printers have committed an Error in the Place, where *Papyrius Maſſon* ſpeaks of this Town. They have put *Rupiſtagni incolis*, inſtead of *Rapiſtagni incolis* (2). The three Radiſhes, which are the Arms of *Rabaſteins* (3), perſuade me, that *Papyrius Maſſon*, or the Printers, have put the Letter *u* for the Letter *a*.

[*B*] *He choſe to render himſelf ſerviceable to Youth - - - - - - rather than aim at Honour by the Explication of greater Difficulties.*] Let him inform us of this Himſelf; and let us cite his own Words at length: They are Indications of a good Heart; and may perhaps be an uſeful Leſſon to thoſe ambitious Minds, who aim only at gaining the Applauſe of Thoſe like themſelves, but never ſtudy the Advantage of thoſe, who ſtand moſt in need of Inſtruction. He had obſerved juſt before, that ſeveral learned Commentators had written on *Terence*;

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(1) Catel *affirms this in the* 356*th Page of his* Memoirs of the Hiſtory of *Languedoc. Mr* Baudrand *mentions this Town under* Rapiſtanum.

(2) *At the Four hundred ninetieth Page of the* Deſcriptio Fluminum Galliæ, *Edition of* Paris, 1685.

(3) Catel, ubi ſupra.

provoke the Laſh of Envy [*C*]. What he publiſhed on *Terence* may convince us, that he was the moſt indefatigable Man in the World [*D*]. I believe he taught a conſiderable time at *Lyons*. The Epiſtle Dedicatory of his *Terence* is dated from thence, in *Auguſt* 1556 (*a*). He inſcribes it to three Brothers, whom he taught. His *Greek* Grammar has been reprinted ſeveral times. He underſtood *Hebrew* well enough to deſerve a Place in the *Gallia Orientalis* of *Colomies* (*b*); and yet he is forgotten in it.

(*a*) Idibus Auguſti.

(*b*) *He wrote a Letter in this Language to* Peter Coſtus, *which has been printed. See* Geſner's *Epitomy.*

and then adds, “ Verum pueri novitii, ad quos maxime hujus laboris fructus pertinebat, vix ullum ex accuratis & meditatis iſtorum commentationibus emolumentum percipere potuerunt. Videntur enim viri illi graves incubuiſſe in eam curam & cogitationem, quæ ſibi ſummam dignitatem & gloriam eſſet allatura. Itaque ardua tantum & obſcuriora interpretando explanaſſe contenti, minutiora cætera, quorum doctrina & tractatio præcedere, vel certe conjungi debuerat, leviter attigerunt: Ut Adoleſcentuli, qui his ſtudiis initiantur, ſe ad cognitionem hujus rei, quam ex communi quadam hominum opinione reconditiſſimam arbitrantur, deſperent poſſe pervenire. Ut igitur eos ab hujuſmodi deſperatione ad ſpem revocarem, ad minima iſta me demittere non recuſavi. Neque hic difficilia tantum enodavimus, ſed ne unam quidem totius Terentii ſyllabam reliquimus intactam, quam ad unguem non excuſſerimus, idque abſque ulla verborum pompa aut magnificentia, ſed nudis literarum notis, & methodo quam potuimus breviſſima & facilima. Doctrinæ opinionem affectent alii: Ego pro mea virili parte me puerorum & formandis & promovendis ſtudiis omnem meam operam addixiſſe aperte & ingenue fateor (4). - - - - *But School-Boys, who have the beſt claim to the Fruit of theſe Labours, reaped ſcarce any Advantage from ſuch accurate and laboured Commentaries. For theſe great Men ſeemed to have ſtudied only their own Honour and Reputation. Upon which account, they were contented to explain the more difficult and abſtruſe Points, bnt paſſed lightly over thoſe of leſs Importance; the explaining and handling of which ought to preceed, or, at leaſt, accompany That of the others: inſomuch, that Boys, when they are initiated in theſe Studies, deſpair of acquiring the Knowledge of what, from the general Opinion, they are taught to look upon as very difficult and abſtruſe. In order, therefore, to remove this Deſpair, I have condeſcended to explain the moſt trifling Paſſages. I have, here, not only cleared up what was difficult; but have left not a Syllable of* Terence *untouched, or not fully examined; and That without a pompous Shew of Words; but by ſimple literal Marks, and as briefly as poſſible. Let others affect the Reputation of Learniug; I freely own, My whole Care has been to form and promote the Studies of Youth.*” Compare with this the following excellent Paſſage of *Eraſmus*. They relate to the Pains he had taken in enlarging a Dictionary. “ Scimus hoc laboris genus eſſe minime glorioſum, præſertim quum pauci reputant quot autores ſint excutiendi, ut voces aliquot ab allis præteritas ſeligas. Verum hoc plus debetur illis gratiæ qui publicæ utilitatis gratia non detrectant ingloriam ac moleſtiæ plenam induſtriam (5). - - - - *I know very well that there is little Reputation to be gained by this kind of Labour; eſpecially ſince ſo few conſider, how many Authors are to be turned over, in order to ſelect certain Words omitted by others. But, for this very Reaſon, They deſerve the greater Thanks, who, for the ſake of publick Utility, do not decline an inglorious and troubleſome Task.*”

[*C*] *He acquired Reputation enough to provoke the Laſh of Envy.*] This he inſinuates by a Common-Place Topic, which is ſeldom omitted in Epiſtles Dedicatory. He ſays, that They, to whom he dedicated his *Terence*, ſeemed to him the properest Perſons to ſcreen him from the Attacks of his Enemies. “ Digni maximè atque idonei videbamini, qui noſtra à morſu malevolorum fortiter & induſtrie tutari poſſetis (6).” There are few Compliments falſer than this. Critics have no regard to the Dignity or Capacity of the Perſon, to whom a Book is dedicated. The *Sieur des Accords* ridicules, wittily enough, the Hopes grounded on the ſuppoſed Protection of thoſe, to whom Books are dedicated (7). *D'Aubigny* found the Reflexions of this Author ſo juſt, that, after giving them a new Turn, he adopted them for his own (8).

[*D*] *What he publiſhed on* Terence *may convince us, that he was the moſt indefatigable Man in the World.*] He publiſhed the Comedies of this Poet three ſeveral Ways: Firſt, he publiſhed them with ſhort Notes, and Contents at the Head of each Scene, marking the Accents of all the Words of above two Syllables; and ſetting down the Meaſure, and way of ſcanning each Verſe, by it's Side. In the ſecond Place, he publiſhed them with the Annotations of almoſt all the Authors, who have written on *Terence*. Laſtly, he publiſhed them with new marginal Notes, and with a *French* Tranſlation, and Paraphraſe, on the three Comedies. He included every thing in the Tranſlation, which was not in expreſs Terms in the Original, between Crotchets; he marked all the References from the Tranſlation to the Paraphraſe with Letters. The *variæ lectiones* have each their Parentheſes, and Notes of Reference. This is ſufficient to ſhew, that our Author was extreamly laborious. Note, that, in the two laſt Impreſſions of his *Terence*, he inſerted all that was contained in the firſt. *Matthieu Bonhomme*, a Bookſeller of *Lyons*, was the Perſon he employed in this tripple Edition. The King's Licence is dated in 1556. The indefatigable Pains of the Author appears no leſs in his Treatiſe intituled, *Thematis verborum inveſtigandi ratio*, and in his *Praxis Præceptorum Linguæ Græcæ*. They are to be found in divers *Greek* Grammars.

(4) Petrus Anteſignanus, Epiſt. Dedicator. Terentii init.

(5) Eraſmi præfatione in Lexicon. *It is the* 21*ſt Letter of the* 28*th Book*, pag. 1702. *See, likewiſe, the end of the firſt Chapter of the* 18*th Book of* Pliny's Natural Hiſtory.

(6) Anteſign. Epiſt. Dedicat. Terentii.

(7) *See the Preface to the* Bigarrures de des Accords.

(8) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Confeſſion of* Sanci.

ANTHERMUS, a Sculptor, and Native of the Iſle of *Chios*, was the Son of *Miceiades*, and Grandſon of *Malas*, who had both been Sculptors. He left two Sons, who were of the ſame Profeſſion; the Name of the one was *Bupalus*, and That of the other *Athenis* [*A*]. It was againſt Them that *Hipponax* wrote ſome very ſatirical Verſes, in revenge for the ridiculous Repreſentation they had made of his Deformity (*a*). I ſpeak of this, more at large, in the Article of That Poet. See likewiſe the Article BUPALUS.

(*a*) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5.

[*A*] *The name of the one was* Bupalus, *and that of the other was* Athenis.] So *Suidas* calls him (1). In the Editions of *Pliny*, he was call'd *Anthermus*; But Father *Hardouïn* has ſtruck out this Word, and put *Athenis* in the room of it. See the Remarks [*C*] and [*E*] of the Article HIPPONAX. The Dictionaries of *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, *Moreri*, and *Hofman*, call him *Anthermus*, in ſpite of *Suidas*.

(1) In Ἱππῶναξ.

ANTINOE, or ANTINOPOLIS [*A*], a Town in *Egypt*, on the *Nile*

[*A*] ANTINOPOLIS.] Mr *Baudrand* ſays, twice in the ſame Page, that *Stephen* of *Byzantium* calls it ſo. I have not found it ſo, either in the Edition of *Pinedo*, or in that of *Berkelius*: I find in both of them, nothing more, than that the City Ἀντινόεια, *Antinoia*, was likewiſe call'd *Adrianopolis*. Mr *Moreri* was not aware, that the latter Name, and *Adrianople*, are not different; he gives them as if they were.

Nile [*B*], and built, or repaired, by the Emperor *Hadrian*, in Honour of *Antinous*. If we may believe an Author of the IVth Century (*a*), it was once the Metropolis of *Thebais*. The ſame Author adds, that it was ſo populous, that, in his Time, it contained twelve Monaſteries of Women (*b*). *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions it as one of the three moſt celebrated Towns of all *Thebais* (*c*). It is not true, that *Leo Africanus* ſaid it was called *Anthios* [*C*]. See the Remark [*D*] of the Article ANTINOUS; you will meet with ſome Particulars there concerning this City.

(*a*) Palladius, Hiſtor. Lauſiac. cap. 47. apud Triſtan. Comment. Hiſtor. Tom. I. pag. 541.

(*b*) Id. cap. 137. apud eundem ib.

(*c*) Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 16.

[*B*] *A Town in* Egypt, *on the* Nile.] *Dion Caſſius* poſitively aſſerts, that *Adrian* caus'd it to be built in the ſame Place, where *Antinous* died. Ὡς καὶ ϖόλιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ τȣτ᾽ ἔπαθε, συνοικίσαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι ἀπ᾽ αὐτȣ̃. *Ut urbem in eo loco, in quo ille obiiſſet, reſtitutam ex eo nominari voluerit* (1). He had ſaid, that, according to *Adrian*'s Relation, this unhappy Youth fell into the *Nile*. Since *Adrian*, then, would have the World believe, that *Antinous* was drown'd in this River; we muſt conclude, that the Town, which he dedicated to this Favourite, was built on the Banks of the *Nile*, and near the Place, where he ſaid the young Man was loſt. *Pauſanias* expreſsly remarks, that This Town ſtood on the *Nile*; Ἐπὶ τῷ Νείλῳ ϖόλις Αἰγυπτίων ἐςὶν ἐπώνυμος Ἀντίνȣ (2). *In Ægypto apud Nilum urbs de Antinoi nomine eſt appellata.* From hence we may conclude, that the Ruins, which are ſeen Ten Leagues from the *Nile*, as *Moreri* ſays, are not Thoſe of *Antinopolis*. At the ſame time, likewiſe, this concludes more ſtrongly againſt the Ruins of the Town, which Mr *Baudrand* has ſituated Forty Nine Leagues from the *Nile*.

[*C*] *It is not true, that* Leo Africanus *ſaid, It was call'd* Anthios.] This is another of Mr *Baudrand*'s Miſtakes. I believe I ſhall not judge amiſs, if I aſcribe his Miſtake to the Liberty ſome take of paraphraſing Authors, whom they make uſe of. Conſider well theſe words of *Ortelius*; "Anthios hodie dici ex Joannis Leonis Africæ deſcriptione "deprehenditur: —— *It appears from* John Leo's "*Deſcription of* Africa, *that it is at preſent call'd* "Anthios". Compare them with theſe of Mr *Baudrand*, "Nunc in ruinis jacet, Anthios dicta teſte "Leone Africano; —— *It now lies in Ruins,* "*having been call'd* Anthios, *according to* Leo Africanus." You will perceive, that if this latter Writer had ſcrupulouſly confin'd himſelf to the Terms of the former, he had not made ſuch a Slip. *Ortelius* might have diſputed the Point, by wreſting *Leo Africanus*'s Words to his own Purpoſe; but Mr *Baudrand* cannot have recourſe to Applications or Conjectures; it is incumbent upon him to ſhew, that *Leo* has poſitively ſaid, that the Ancient City of *Antinoe* is called at preſent *Anthios*. Now this can never be made out; for *Leo Africanus* ſays only, that *Anthios* was built by the *Romans* on the River *Nile*, on the ſide of *Aſia*; and that ſeveral *Latin* Inſcriptions in Marble are yet to be ſeen there (3). He ſpeaks of it as a very beautiful City, rendered conſiderable by the Induſtry, and good Diſpoſition, of the Inhabitants; ſo far is he from being able to quote him as a Proof, that it is now quite ruin'd. Mr *Baudrand* adds, that it lies Forty Nine Leagues Eaſtward from the *Nile*. It is not, then, the *Anthios* of *Leo Africanus*. Mr *Moreri* deducts Thirty Nine of theſe Leagues; *It's Ruins*, he ſays, *are to be ſeen Ten Leagues from the* Nile. We have prov'd, in the preceeding Remark, that *Antinopolis* ſtood upon This River.

(1) Xiphil. in Adriano.

(2) Pauſan. lib. 8. pag. 244.

(3) Leo African. Deſcript. Africæ, lib. 8. fol 360.

ANTINOUS, Minion of the Emperor *Adrian*, was a Native of *Bythyne*, in *Bythinia* (*a*). We meet with nothing concerning his Family. His Beauty inflamed the Heart of *Adrian* in ſuch a manner, that a more unbridled or extravagant Paſſion, than That of the Emperor for this young Man, has ſcarce been known. It never broke out ſo furiouſly, as after the Death of *Antinous*; for there were no Divine Honours, which *Adrian* thought too ſublime for this Object of his Love [*A*]. Some ſay, that *Antinous* had given him the higheſt Inſtance of Affection, that is, had died for him [*B*]. Others affirm, that he drowned himſelf in the *Nile*, during the Stay which *Adrian* made in *Egypt*, about the CXXIId Year of the Chriſtian *Æra*. However it be, the Emperor mourned for him with the moſt effeminate Grief (*b*), and ordered Temples and Altars to be erected to him; which was performed with all the

(*a*) *This City was alſo called* Claudiopolis. Xiphilin. in Adriano.

(*b*) Muliebriter flevit, *Spartian. pag.* 135.

[*A*] *There were no Divine Honours, which* Adrian *thought too ſublime for this Object of his Love.*] I inſiſt not on the great Number of Statues, or Repreſentations, which he caus'd to be made of him, almoſt in every Part of the World (1). I appeal to the Temples, which he order'd to be built to him; to the Prieſts, which he appointed him, and to the Sacred Games (2), and Myſteries, conſecrated in Honour of him (3). *Pauſanias* obſerves, that, by the particular Care of this Emperor, the Worſhip of *Antinous* was ſettled at *Mantinea*, becauſe *Antinous*'s Country was a Colony of it (4). Games were celebrated there every five Years, in honour of this Favourite; but the Myſteries conſecrated to him were celebrated every Year. They, who build upon this, that there were Prieſts of *Antinous*, who aſſum'd the Title of Prophets; they, I ſay, who build upon this, and thence conclude that he had an Oracle, ſeek for Myſteries where there are none (5). Theſe Prophets were only the Prieſts of *Antinous*, in That particular Town, which bore his Name in *Egypt*, and which was the Mother Church, and Center of this New Religion (7). Now, in the Colleges of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, They were call'd Prophets, who were in the Nature of Deans, or Superiors. See the Proofs of this, which the Learned *Henricus Valeſius* furniſhes, in his Annotations on *Euſebius* (8). There is an Inſcription preſerv'd, in which *Antinous* is placed on the ſame Throne with the *Egyptian* Gods, σύνθρονος τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θεῶν (9). The Dignity of an *Aſſeſſor to the Gods* was much inferior to This. I ſhall not diſſemble, what the Philoſopher *Celſus* inſiſts on, that the *Egyptians* would never ſuffer *Antinous* to be compar'd with *Jupiter* and *Apollo* (10). *Origen* maintains the contrary; but I confeſs he advances it without any Proof; or I do not underſtand his Reaſoning.

[*B*] *Some ſay —— that* Antinous *—— died for him.*] *Adrian* did not ſay ſo much; But *Dion* has no regard to the Hiſtory of That Emperor, where he had read, that *Antinous* fell into the River *Nile*, and was drown'd. He delivers it as a conſtant Truth, that a certain Magic Operation, on which *Adrian* was employ'd, requir'd, that ſome one ſhould voluntarily lay down his Life, and that *Antinous* accepted the Condition. The Abbreviator *Xiphilin*, probably, has robb'd us of ſome Circumſtances, which might clear up this Myſtery a little; for it is not to be imagin'd, that *Dion Caſſius* ſhould report a Circumſtance of this Nature in ſo conciſe, or rather ſo maim'd, a Manner. However it be, we cannot infer from the Narration of *Xiphilin*, that *Antinous* laid down his Life, to ſave, or prolong, That of *Adrian*. We ſhould rather conclude, that he ſubmitted to Death, that the Augurs, by inſpecting his Entrails, might be enabled to diſcover That Point of Futurity, which the Emperor ſearched for. Nor let it be alledged, after one of our Antiquaries (11), "That, had the Emperor been only curious to conſult the Entrails of ſome Youth, in a Point of Divination, there had been no Neceſſity of making the Experiment on Him, whom he loved of all Men living: There were Youths enough, beſides him, of exquiſite Beauty, in That great Em-

(1) Xiphil. in Adrian.

(2) Hegeſippus, apud Euſebium Hiſtor. Eccleſ. lib. 4. cap. 8.

(3) Pauſanias, lib. 8. pag. 244.

(4) Ibid.

(5) *See* Caſaubon, *and* Salmaſius, *upon* Spartian, *in the Life of* Adrian, pag. 137, 143.

(7) *See* Hegeſippus, apud Euſebium, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 4. cap. 8.

(8) *See the Remark* [*D*].

(9) *See* Spanhem. de Numiſm. pag. 657.

(10) Apud Origen. lib. 3. pag. 133.

(11) Triſtan, Comment. Hiſtor. Tom. I. pag. 541.

the Diligence, which might be expected from a Nation accuſtomed of old to the groſſeſt Flatteries [*C*]. He would fain have perſuaded the People, that *Antinous* delivered Oracles; and ſome were publiſhed in his Name; but it was generally believed, that *Adrian* had forged them (*c*). He cauſed the Town, in which his Favourite died, to be rebuilt, and called it after his Name [*D*]. He was overjoy'd, when they told him, that a new Star had appeared in the Heavens, ſuppoſed to be the Soul of *Antinous* [*E*]; and he himſelf was wont to ſay, that he had ſeen the Star of *Antinous*

(*c*) *See the Remark* [*D*], *towards the end.*

“pire (had Beauty been material (12)) who might have ſerv'd for this Infamous Myſtery.” Let not this, I ſay, be alledged; for this Writer was himſelf apprized of the Invalidity of this reaſon, when he added theſe Words immediately after; But, perhaps, “The Secret of the Necromantic Art required, that He alone, as being his beſt beloved, ſhould be ſacrificed, to make the Ceremony more efficacious.” He ſhould have added the Words of *Dion*, that it was neceſſary the Victim ſhould be a voluntary one. Now, Other Youths, whom the Emperor might have deſign'd for this Sacrifice, would not voluntarily have ſubmitted to it. Do you not think it was neceſſary to uſe extreme Violence towards thoſe beautiful Youths, whom *Heliogabalus* delivered to his Magicians? “Cœdit & humanas hoſtias, lectis ad hoc pueris nobilibus & decoris per omnem Italiam patrimis & matrimis, credo ut major eſſet utrique parenti dolor. Omne denique magorum genus aderat illi, operabaturque quotidie hortante illo, & gratias diis agente quod amicos eorum inveniſſet, quum inſpiceret exta puerilia, & excuteret hoſtias ad ritum gentilem ſuum (13). —— *He ſacrificed, likewiſe, human Victims, ſelecting for this purpoſe noble and beautiful Youths, whoſe Fathers and Mothers were ſtill living; I ſuppoſe, that both Parents might feel the greater Affliction. Laſtly, he was attended by all ſorts of Magicians, whom he daily employ'd, returning the Gods Thanks, that he had met with their Friends, when he inſpected the Entrails of the Children, and examin'd the Victims after his own Pagan Rites*”. The Magic of thoſe Ages requir'd Victims of this kind; and St *Juſtin* obſerves, that it made choice of Youths of unſpotted Chaſtity. Νεκυομαντεῖαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἀδιαφθόρων παίδων ἐποπτεύσεις· *Necyomantiæ ipſæ & incorruptorum puerorum ſpeculariæ inſpectiones* (14). *Antinous* would, in this reſpect, have been very unfit. To return to *Adrian*, I think we muſt ſuppoſe, I. That the Neceſſity was extremely preſſing, which made him conſent to the ſacrificing of his Favourite. II. That the Deſire of avoiding Death was to him a ſtronger Motive, than the Curioſity of diving into Futurity: I chuſe therefore to follow *Aurelius Victor*, rather than *Xiphilin*. *Aurelius Victor* expreſſes himſelf thus, “Quæ quidem alii pia volunt religioſaque, quippe Hadriano cupiente fatum producere, cum voluntarium ad vicem magi propoſciſſent, cunctis retractantibus Antinoum objeciſſe ſe referunt (15)”. —— “*Others look upon it as a pious and religious Act; for*, Hadrian *being deſirous of ſeeing into Futurity, and the Magicians requiring a voluntary Sacrifice for this Purpoſe, when all others declin'd it*, Antinous, *they ſay, offer'd himſelf*.” Add, if you pleaſe, theſe Words of *Spartian*. “De quo (*Antinoo*) varia fama eſt, aliis eum devotum pro Hadriano aſſerentibus (16). —— *Concerning whom* (Antinous) *there are various Reports, ſome affirming that he devoted himſelf for* Hadrian”.

[*C*] *Accuſtom'd to the groſſeſt Flatteries.*] Among the Inſtances of baſe Complaiſance for the Paſſions of *Adrian*, *Caſaubon* reckons what the Poet *Pancrates* did (17). He ſhewed *Adrian*, as a Miracle, the *Lotos* Flower, which is not unlike a Roſe, telling him it ought to be named the *Antinoian*, and that it grew on the very Spot, which had been ſprinkled with the Blood of a Lyon, which He, the Emperor, had kill'd in Hunting. The Emperor was ſo pleaſed with this Diſcourſe, that he ordered *Pancrates* a Penſion in the *Muſæum* of *Alexandria* (18). *Athenæus* does not explain the Reaſon, why the Poet would have this Flower called after *Antinous*; but we may eaſily conjecture, that *Pancrates*'s Deſign in it was to do honour to the Name of This Favourite. I imagined for ſome time, that this Paſſage of *Athenæus* had been the Occaſion of a Miſtake of Mr *Moreri*'s, which I have mention'd at the End of this Article: But I alter'd my Opinion, upon Reading theſe Words of a Modern Author. Adrian —— *gave the Name of this wretch* (Antinous) *to a City of* Egypt —— *as he had alſo given it to a Planet, to a Flower, to Temples, to Sacrifices, to Oracles, to Solemn Games; in ſhort, he made a God of him* (19). They, who compare this Paſſage with the *Antinous* of *Moreri*, will be able to judge whether That Writer knew how to make uſe of the Books he conſulted.

[*D*] *He cauſ'd the Town, in which his Favourite died, to be rebuilt*, &c.] I have followed the Tranſlator of *Xiphilin*, who ſpeaks only of a City repaired; though *Xiphilin* makes uſe of the Word συνοικίσαι. Others, not examining the Text ſo cloſely, ſay, that *Adrian* built a Town, which bore the Name of *Antinous*. Πόλιν ἔκτισεν ἐπώνυμον Ἀντίνου (20). *Urbem condidit Antinoo cognominem.* It was ſituated in *Thebais*, and was anciently called *Beſa*, which was alſo the Name of the particular Deity adored there. *Caſaubon* affirms this (21), and obſerves, that the *Egyptians*, leaving the new Name to the *Greeks*, continued to call it *Beza*; but ſome, joining together the old and new Name, call'd it *Bezantinous*. *Helladius*, who was born there, did ſo (22). Let us not forget, that *Antinous*'s Tomb was to be ſeen there. St *Epiphanius* informs us of it in theſe Words: Ὡς ὁ Ἀντίνοος ὁ ἐν Ἀντινόου κεκηδευμένος ὑπὸ Ἀδριανοῦ κατετάγη (23). *After this manner* Antinous, *being buried by* Hadrian *in the City of his Name, was rank'd among the Gods.* We learn from *Origen*, that Miracles were ſaid to be wrought in This Temple of *Antinous* (24). It is there *Salmaſius* places the pretended Oracle of This falſe and ridiculous Divinity. “Licet in multis Græciæ urbibus templa & ſacerdotes habuerit Antinous, præcipue tamen eum coluiſſe videntur Ægyptii, in ea urbe, quæ ab ipſo nomen accepit; nam ibi ſepultus eſt, ibi Oracula per eum reddi credebantur, ibi & prophetas habuit (25). —— *Tho'* Antinous *had Temples and Prieſts in many Cities of* Greece, *yet the* Ægyptians *ſeem to have been the principal Worſhippers of Him, in that City, which had it's Name from Him; for There he was buried; There Oracles were thought to be deliver'd by Him; and There he had his Prophets.*” What relates to the Oracle is atteſted by *Origen* (26), if the Paſſage be read as *Salmaſius* has quoted it; Πνεῖν θεήλατον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντινόου πνοὴ (27). See alſo *Scaliger* on *Euſebius*, n. 2135, where his Quotation differs from That of *Salmaſius*; tho' *Spencer* vindicates the latter Reading, in the Forty fourth Page of his Annotations on *Origen* againſt *Celſus*. What induc'd me to call it a pretended Oracle, was this: I recollected theſe Words of *Spartian*: “Et Græci quidem, volente Adriano, eum conſecraverunt, oracula per eum dari aſſerentes, quæ Adrianus ipſe compoſuiſſe jactatur (28). —*The* Greeks, *to pleaſe* Adrian, *deified Him, affirming that he gave Oracles, which* Adrian *himſelf is ſaid to have compoſed.*

[*E*] *A New Star, — ſuppoſed to be the Soul of* Antinous.] The like Flattery had been practiſed before, in Favour of *Julius Cæſar*. “Ludis quos primo conſecratos ei hæres Auguſtus edebat, ſtella crinita per ſeptem dies continuos fulſit, exoriens circa undecimam horam, creditumque eſt animam eſſe Cæſaris in Cœlum recepti, & hac de cauſſa ſimulacro ejus in vertice additur Stella (29). —— *At the firſt Celebration of the Games, conſecrated to him by* Auguſtus, *a Comet appeared for ſeven Days ſucceſſively, riſing about the eleventh Hour; and it was thought to be the Soul of* Cæſar *receiv'd into the Heavens; for which Reaſon a Star is plac'd on the Head of his Statue.*” *Ovid* concludes his *Metamorphoſes* by That of *Cæſar*'s Soul into a Star.

Vix ea fatus erat, media cum ſede Senatus
Conſtitit alma Venus nulli cernenda, ſuique
Cæſaris eripuit membris, nec in aëra ſolvi

Paſſa

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(12) *He ought not to have expreſſed himſelf doubtfully in this Point. See* Apuleius, Apolog. pag. 301.

(13) Lampridius in vita Heliogab. cap. 8.

(14) Juſtin. in Apologia, pag. 65. *See* Salmaſius *on* Spartian, in Adriano, pag. 136. *and* Apuleius in Apologia, pag. 301.

(15) Aurel. Victor. in Cæſaribus.

(16) Spart. pag. 135.

(17) Caſaub. in Spart. Vit. Adr. pag. 137.

(18) Athen. lib. 15. cap. 6. pag. 677.

(19) Triſtan. Comment. Hiſtor. Tom. I. pag. 541.

(20) Hegeſippus apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 4. cap. 8. *See alſo* Amm. Marcellin. lib. 22. cap. 16.

(21) Caſaub. in Spart. Vit. Adriani. 138.

(22) Apud. Photium, Biblioth. pag. 1596.

(23) Epiph. in Ancorato, n. 108.

(24) Origen adverſus Celſum, lib. 3. pag. 132.

(25) Salmaſ. in Spart. vit. Adriani, pag. 143.

(26) Origen. ubi ſupra.

(27) Salmaſ. in Spartian. ubi ſupra.

(28) Spart. in Adriano. pag. 137.

(29) Sueton. in Cæſare, cap. 88. *See the* Penſees Diverſes ſur les Cometes, pag. 219.

Antinous (*d*). What is moſt ſurprizing in all this, is, not the prophane Complaiſance for this Prince's Weakneſs, which in private was a Jeſt (*e*); but that the Worſhip of this new Deity ſhould ſubſiſt a long time after his Death, and be ſtill in vogue in the Reign of *Valentinian* (*f*), when there was no longer occaſion to flatter this Prince, or to fear the ſpecial Edict, ordaining this Worſhip (*g*). So that the Adoration of *Antinous* ſubſiſted entirely on a ridiculous Fondneſs in People for every thing, which they find eſtabliſhed. The Fathers of the Church made their Advantage of this fooliſh Superſtition, to expoſe the Vanity of the Pagan Religion. It was eaſy to trace this new Divinity to the Source, and thence bring the Original of all the reſt into ſuſpicion. People talked very differently of *Antinous*, according to the Differences of the Times; when they addreſſed themſelves to *Antoninus Pius*, the adopted Son and Heir of *Adrian*, or to *Marcus Aurelius*, adopted by *Antoninus Pius*, according to the Intention of *Adrian*, they were not ſo imprudent, as to hint at the infamous Cauſe of his Deification. They touched upon that String with the gentleſt Hand (*h*). But *Tertullian*, who lived at a greater Diſtance from thoſe Times, and under Emperors, who had not the ſame Intereſt in the Affair, obſerved no Meaſures. *Prudentius* has pleaſantly obſerved, that *Adrian*'s Minion was raiſed to an higher Station than *Jupiter*'s [*F*]; for *Antinous* ſat down to Table, while *Ganymede* fill'd the Liquor. The former might have ſaid,

(*d*) Xiphilin. in Adriano.

(*e*) Id. ib.

(*f*) Triſtan, Comment. Hiſtoriq. pag. 543.

(*g*) St Athanaſius *againſt the* Gentiles, *and* Theodoret *in the 7th holy Diſcourſe*, apud Triſtan ubi ſupra, *ſay, there was an expreſs Edict of* Adrian, *enjoining the Worſhip of* Antinous.

(*h*) Juſtin Martyr Apolog. ad Anton. Pium. Athenagoras ad Marcum Imper.

—— mediis videor diſcumbere in aſtris
Cum Jove, & Iliaca porrectum ſumere dextra
Immortale merum (*i*).

(*i*) Statius Silv. 2. lib. 4.

Methinks amidſt the Stars reclin'd I lye
With *Jove*, th' Imperial Maſter of the Sky;
There from the Hand of the fair *Trojan* Boy
The Cup receive, and quaff immortal Joy.

The Children of this World have, in all Ages, made their Court more exactly to the Gods of the Earth, than to Thoſe of Heaven. I cannot imagine, why Mr *Moreri* ſays, that Adrian *believed, that* Antinous *was changed into a Flower, and into a Temple* (*k*), and even ordered an Altar to be raiſed to him. Is not this ſuppoſing, that he built no Temples in Honour of him? And is this any truer, than the metamorphoſing him into a Flower?

(*k*) *See the Remark* [*C*].

Paſſa recentem animam, cœleſtibus intulit aſtris.
Dumque tulit, lumen capere atque igneſcere ſenſit,
Emiſitque ſinu. Luna volat altius illa,
Flammiferumque trahens ſpatioſo limite crinem
Stella micat *.

* Ovid. Metam. lib. 15. ver. 843.

This ſpoke; the Goddeſs to the Senate flew;
Where, her fair Form conceal'd from mortal View,
Her Cæſar'*s Heavenly Part ſhe made her Care,*
Nor left the recent Soul to waſte to Air;
But bore it upwards to it's native Skies:
Glowing with new-born Fires ſhe ſaw it riſe;
Forth-ſpringing from her Boſom up it flew,
And, kindling, as it ſoar'd, a Comet grew:
Above the Lunar *Sphere it took it's Flight,*
And ſhot behind it a long Trail of Light.

WELSTED.

The *Greek* Poets had long before employed the ſame Thought in Favour of *Berenice*'s Hair: The Emperor *Adrian* was too learned to be ignorant of it. Yet he reliſhed the Flattery, though deſtitute of the Charms of Novelty. What could they be thinking of, who placed this Darling in the loweſt Region of the Heavens? Some there were, who raiſed him no higher than the Orb of the Moon. Πῶς ὁ τεθνεὼς Ἀντίνοος μειράκιον ἐν τῆ σελήνη ὡραῖον καθίδρυται (30). —— *How came the young* Antinous, *when he died, to be placed near the Moon?*

(30) Tatian. Orat. contra Græcos, pag. 149.

[*F*] Prudentius *has pleaſantly obſerved, that* Adrian'*s Minion was raiſed to an higher Station, than* Jupiter'*s*.] His Verſes deſerve to be more correctly cited, than the Sieurs *Triſtan*, in his *Hiſtorical Commentaries on the Medals of the* Roman *Emperors* (31), and *Moreri*, in his *Hiſtorical Dictionary*, have given them. I tranſcribe them from the Edition of *Nicolas Heinſius*.

(31) Pag. 542.

Quid loquar Antinoum cœleſti in ſede locatum?
Illum delicias nunc Divi Principis; illum
Purpureo in gremio ſpoliatum ſorte virili,
Hadrianique Dei Ganymedem; non cyathos dis
Porgere, ſed medio recubantem cum Jove fulcro
Nectaris ambroſii ſacrum potare lyæum,
Cumque ſuo in templis vota exaudire marito (32)?

(32) Prudent. contra Symmach. lib. 1.

Why ſhou'd I mention Fair Antinous,
The Royal Lover's Minion, and Delight;
Rank'd, with His Maſter, now, amidſt the Gods,
His other Ganymede; *yet not, like Him,*
The Cup to fill; but, near great Jove *reclin'd,*
To quaff Ambroſial Nectar with the Gods,
And, jointly with his Maſter, bear the Vows,
Which Mortals at their Altars humbly pay?

ANTIPATER, an *Idumean* by Nation [*A*], illuſtrious for his Birth

[*A*] *An* Idumean *by Nation.*] *Euſebius* makes him an *Aſcalonite* (1). "A Band of Robbers, *ſays he*, "who had plundered a Temple near *Aſcalon*, carried "*Antipater* with the reſt of the Booty into *Idumea*, "where he lived a long time; his Father not having "wherewithal to redeem him." What I ſhall obſerve in the following Remark confutes this Story. *Photius* ſeems to me to deſerve Cenſure upon this Occaſion. In giving the Extract of *Joſephus*, he affirms, that *Herod* was the Son of *Antipater*, who had ſerved in the Temple of *Aſcalon*, Ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ἀσκαλωνίτου τοῦ ἱεροδούλου (2). He did not find this in *Joſephus*; and yet what Reader queſtions, whether every thing cited by *Photius* be in the Books he refers to? He, elſewhere, ſays (3), that *Antipater* was an *Idumean*, of the City of *Aſcalon*, and a great Enemy to *Hircanus*, on account of the Love he bore to *Ariſtobulus*. This laſt Fault ought not to be imputed to *Photius*; for all his following Diſcourſe ſhews, that he makes *Antipater* and *Hircanus* good Friends.

(1) Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 1. cap. 6, 7. ex Africano.

(2) Phot. Bibl. n. 76. pag. 168.

(3) Id. n. 238. pag. 969.

Birth [*B*], his Riches, and his good Senſe, artfully made his Advantage of the Confuſions, into which the Differences betwixt *Hircanus* and *Ariſtobulus* had thrown *Judea*. Theſe were two Brothers, who diſputed the High-Prieſthood. *Antipater* warmly eſpouſed *Hircanus*'s Intereſt, and engaged *Aretas*, King of the *Arabians*, in it, and, afterwards, *Pompey*, the *Roman* General; in ſuch a manner, that *Hircanus* got the better (*a*). *Antipater* had the ſole Management of Affairs under his Government, and always turned them to the Advantage of the *Romans*, whenever an Opportunity offered. This made the *Roman* Generals, *Scaurus*, *Gabinus*, and *Caſſius*, honour him with ſeveral important Commiſſions, and pay a great deference to his Councils (*b*). He did *Julius Cæſar* a ſingular Piece of Service, in the War of *Alexandria*, by ſupplying him with Proviſions and Troops, and aſſiſting him couragiouſly in Perſon. Inſomuch, that, beſides great Commendations, he obtained from *Julius Cæſar* the Freedom of a Citizen of *Rome*, and the Adminiſtration of *Judea* (*c*). The Complaints of *Antigonus* (*d*) prevailed nothing againſt him; his Application to Buſineſs, and his great Abilities, gained him ſuch an high Eſteem, that he was little leſs honoured, than if he had been formally inveſted with the Royal Authority (*e*). The manner, in which he ſeemed to guard againſt any Reverſe of Fortune, by giving one of his Sons the Government of *Jeruſalem*, and another That of *Galilee*, with the Command of Troops, created a juſt Suſpicion of his deſigning to have no Superior, either in Name, or Effect. A *Jew*, named *Malchus*, ſuſpecting this, reſolved to prevent the Evil, and, finding no better way, than That of ſending *Antipater* out of the World, he poiſoned him (*f*). By this Act he became guilty of the blackeſt Ingratitude; for the Perſon, whom he deſtroyed, had loaded him with Benefits, and had, beſides, ſaved his Life (*g*). Among other Children, *Antipater* left the famous *Herod*, who was afterwards King of *Judea* (*h*).

(*a*) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 2. & ſeq.

(*b*) Ibid. cap. 9. & ſeq.

(*c*) Ibid. cap. 14, 15.

(*d*) *He was the Son of* Ariſtobulus.

(*e*) Ibid. cap. 17.

(*f*) Ib. cap. 19.

(*g*) Ibid. cap. 18.

(*h*) *His Wife, called* Cypris, *was of a great Family in* Arabia. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. lib. 1. cap. 6.

Friends. They, who publiſhed this Author, muſt ſhare in the Blame as to this Point; but he alone is anſwerable for the other Fault. *Aſcalon* was not a Town of *Idumea*; and, after all, *Joſephus* does not ſay, that *Antipater* was of *Aſcalon*. Now *Photius* gives it as an Extract from *Joſephus*.

[*B*] *Illuſtrious for his Birth.*] His Father, whoſe Name was likewiſe *Antipater*, was Governor of *Idumea* under *Alexander Janneus*, King of *Judea*. *Euſebius* calls him *Herod*, and makes him a Servant in a Temple; and ſo poor, that he was not able to redeem his Son, who was fallen into the Hands of Robbers. Τȣ̃τον δὲ Ἡρώδȣ τινὸς Ἀσκαλονίτȣ τῶν ϖερὶ τὸν νεὼ τȣ̃ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱεροδȣ́λων καλȣμένων γεγονέναι (4). *Huic vero Herodem quemdam Aſcalonitam unum ex numero ſervorum templi Apollinis quod Aſcalone eſt patrem fuiſſe.* But the Learned make no doubt, that both *Euſebius* and *Africanus*, whom he copies, have followed falſe Memoirs in this Point; and that more Credit ought to be given to *Joſephus*, who affirms, that King *Alexander*, and his Queen, gave the Government of *Idumea* to *Antipater*, who, by many Preſents, obtained the Friendſhip of the *Arabs*, and That of the Inhabitants of *Gaza* and *Aſcalon* (5). *Joſephus*, ſpeaking in another Place of *Antipater*, the Son, obſerves, that he was the moſt conſiderable Perſon of *Idumea*, as well for the Antiquity of his Family, as for his Riches (6). *Hegeſippus* ſays of the ſame *Antipater*, that he was famous in his own Country for his Anceſtors (7). It has ever been common to debaſe the Birth of thoſe, whom Fortune raiſes to the higheſt Dignities (8). By the way, the Ambiguity of a Paſſage in *Joſephus* has made ſome imagine, that *Herod*'s Grandfather's Name was not *Antipater*, but *Antipas*.

(4) Euſeb. l. 1. cap. 6. Vide ibi Valeſium.

(5) Joſeph. Antiquit. lib. 14. cap. 2.

(6) Id. de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5.

(7) De Excid. lib. 1. cap. 14.

(8) *See the Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* TOUCHET.

ANTONY, a *Roman* Family, in *Latin*, *Antonia*, deſcended, according to an old Tradition, from *Anton*, the Son of *Hercules* (*a*), produced two Branches: The one a *Patrician*, with the Sirname of *Merenda*; the other a *Plebeian*, without almoſt any kind of Sirname. It does not appear, that the *Patrician* Branch laſted long, or produced any other Perſons, mentioned in Hiſtory, except *T. ANTONIUS MERENDA*, and *Q. ANTONIUS MERENDA*. The firſt was one of the *Decemvirate*, abrogated on account of the tyrannical Cruelty of *Appius Claudius*, in the Year of *Rome* 304; and one of thoſe, who went into a voluntary Exile, and whoſe Goods were confiſcated, after the Trial of *Appius Claudius*, and *Sp. Oppius* (*b*). The latter was a Military Tribune in the Year of *Rome* 333 (*c*). But the *Plebeian* Branch continued a long time, and made a great Figure in *Rome* [*A*]; for, beſides that it could boaſt of having twice enjoyed the Poſt of Captain-General of the Cavalry, Six times the Conſulſhip, Once the Cenſorſhip, and Thrice the Honour of a Triumph (*d*); It ſaw itſelf, in the Perſon of *Marc Antony*, the *Triumvir*, Miſtreſs of Half the Empire. We ſhall proceed to particular Articles of the chief Men of this Ancient Family [*B*].

(*a*) Plutarch. in Marc. Antonio, pag. 917.

(*b*) Livius, lib. 3. pag. 88.

(*c*) Id. lib. 4. pag. 128.

(*d*) *See* Glandorp Onomaſt. pag. 66.

[*A*] *The* Plebeian *Branch continued a long Time, and made a conſiderable Figure in* Rome.] We muſt not forget, that *Marc Antony* the Orator, who died in the Year 667, was the firſt, who brought the Honours of the Conſulate, the Triumph, and Cenſureſhip into This Family.

[*B*] *Of This ancient Family.*] They, who have moſt Reading, moſt Collections, and moſt Materials for a Library, fall, ſometimes, into ſtrange Overſights. Father *Vavaſſor* is an Inſtance of this, in his excellent Treatiſe of the Burleſque Stile, when he cenſures *Photius*, for having believed, that *Antonius Diogenes*, Author of a Romance, flouriſhed not long after the Death of *Alexander*. Οὐ λίαν ϖόῤῥω τῶν χρόνων τȣ̃ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρȣ (1). *Non ita diu poſt Alexandri Magni tempora floruiſſe.* He alledges ſeveral Reaſons againſt this; among which he thinks this the ſtrongeſt, That the Family *Antonia* was not, then, in being; and that the Name was not ſo much as known. *Neque, quod graviſſimum eſt, tum nata gens Antonia, aut facta vox, aut audita temporibus illis* (2). Than which nothing is more falſe. We have produced, on the Credit of *Livy*, one *Titus Antonius*, a *Decemvir*, in the Year of *Rome* 304; and, about thirty Years after, one *Quintus Antonius*, who was a Military Tribune. We find, in the ſame *Livy*, one *Marcus Antonius*, appointed Maſter of the Horſe by the Dictator *Cornelius Rufinus*, in the Year 421. Now it is certain, that *Alexander* died in the Year 430. I do not alledge the Tradition, recorded by *Plutarch*; I might juſtly be anſwered, that *Anton*, Son of *Hercules*, was no more the Stem of the *Antony*'s in *Italy*, than *Cocceius Nerva* was the Stem of the Houſe of *Coſſe* in *France*.

(1) Photius, n. 67. pag. 364.

(2) Vavaſſor, de ludrica Dictione, 148.

ANTONY (Marc) the Orator, was the greateſt Ornament of his Family. At his Entrance on Public Buſineſs, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a manner, which deſerves to be related. He had obtained the Quæſtorſhip of the Province of *Aſia*, and was already arrived at *Brunduſium*, to take ſhipping there, in order to go and take Poſſeſſion of his Office, when his Friends informed him, that he was accuſed of Inceſt before the Prætor *Caſſius*, the moſt rigid Judge in the World; whoſe Tribunal was termed the *Rock of the accuſed*. *Marc Antony* might have pleaded a Privilege, which ſorbad the receiving Accuſations againſt thoſe, who were abſent in the Service of the Republic; but he choſe to juſtify himſelf in Form, and returned to *Rome*, ſtood his Trial, and was acquitted with Honour (*a*). *Sicily* fell to him during his Prætorſhip; and he gave chace to the Pirates, who infeſted thoſe Coaſts. He was made Conſul, with *A. Poſthumius Albinus*, in the Year of *Rome* 653, and courageouſly and happily ſuppreſſed the turbulent Attempts of *Sextus Titus*, Tribune of the People. Some time after, he was made Proconſul of *Cilicia*, and performed ſo many great Actions in this Poſt, that he obtained the Honour of a Triumph. We muſt not forget, that, to improve his wonderful Talent of Eloquence, he would in ſome manner become the Diſciple of the moſt noted Orators of *Athens* and *Rhodes*, in his Paſſage to *Cilicia*, and his Return to *Rome*. He afterwards exerciſed the Office of Cenſor, with great Glory; having gained his Cauſe before the People, againſt *Marcus Duronius*, who had entered an Accuſation of Bribery againſt him, in Revenge for his expelling him out of the Senate; which this wiſe Cenſor thought he deſerved; becauſe, while Tribune of the People, he repealed a Law, reſtraining the immoderate Expences of Feaſts (*b*). He was one of the beſt Orators That ever pleaded in *Rome*; and, as *Cicero*, a proper Judge in theſe Matters, ſays, he was an Inſtance, that *Italy* could boaſt of equalling *Greece* in the Art of Speaking well. Among other Perſons, he defended *Marcus Aquilius*, and ſo moved the Judges by the Tears he ſhed (*c*), and the Scars he ſhewed on his Client's Breaſt, that he gained his Cauſe. The Character of his Eloquence, and his Actions, may be ſeen at large in the Books I quote (*d*). He never publiſhed any of his Pleadings [*A*]; leaſt he ſhould be convicted of ſpeaking in one Cauſe, contrary to what he might have alledged in another. The Morality of the Bar thought it no Scandal, in thoſe Days, for a Pleader to contradict himſelf in Favour of his Client. The Precaution of this Advocate is neceſſary to Perſons of his Profeſſion [*B*]; and yet is not always ſufficient

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(*a*) Valer. Maxim. lib. 3. cap. 7. n. 9. *who mentions* (*lib.* 6. *cap.* 8.) *the Conſtancy of a Slave of this* Marc Antony, *in denying that his Maſter was guilty.*

(*b*) Glandorpius, ubi ſupra, pag. 68. ex Epit. Liv. Cicer. &c.

(*c*) Cicero de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 47. & in Verr. 5.

(*d*) Id. in Bruto, & de Orat. c. 37.

[*A*] *He never publiſhed any of his Pleadings.*] This Fact, and the Reaſon of it, deſerve to be confirmed by Proofs. *Cicero* and *Valerius Maximus* ſhall be my Vouchers. Let us hear *Cicero* firſt: “Hominem ingenioſum M. Antonium aiunt ſolitum eſſe dicere, idcirco ſe nullam unquam orationem ſcripſiſſe, ut ſi quid aliquando non opus eſſet ab ſe eſſe dictum, poſſet ſe negare dixiſſe (1). - - - - - *The ingenious Orator,* Marc Antony, *they tell us, was wont to ſay, that his Reaſon for never publiſhing any of his Orations, was, that, whenever it was proper he ſhould not have ſaid a Thing, he might deny that he had ſaid it.*” *Valerius Maximus*'s Words are: “Jam M. Antonio remittendum convitium eſt, qui idcirco ſe aiebat nullam orationem ſcripſiſſe, ut ſi quid ſuperiore judicio actum ei, quem poſtea defenſurus eſſet, nociturum foret, non dictum à ſe affirmare poſſet: qui facti vix pudentis tolerabilem cauſſam habuit, pro periclitantium enim capite non ſolum eloquentia ſua uti, ſed etiam verecundia abuti, erat paratus (2). — Marc Antony *is to be excuſed from Cenſure; who ſaid, that he, therefore, publiſhed no Orations, that, if what he had pleaded in a foregoing Cauſe ſhould appear to be prejudicial to a ſubſequent Client, he might deny his own Words. Thus he aſſigned a tolerable Reaſon for an Action, otherwiſe ſcarce honourable; for he was ready, not only to employ his Eloquence, but even to ſacrifice his Modeſty, in Defence of the Diſtreſt.*” No Critic, I think, can be ſo unreaſonable, as to maintain, that I tranſlate the Word *ſcribere* wrong. Every Reader of common Senſe will perceive, that *Marc Antony* never meant to ſay, that he pleaded *Extempore*; that he never drew up his Pleadings in Writing; for, if this had been his Meaning, he would have aſſigned an impertinent Reaſon for his Conduct; ſince his only Intention was to prevent any one's turning his own Weapons againſt him. Now this he might equally have done, whether he wrote down his Pleadings, or not, provided he did not publiſh them. A Manuſcript, which is locked up, can never convict an Orator, at the Bar, of having formerly maintained an Opinion quite contrary to what he advances at preſent. He may deny it, with the ſame Aſſurance, as if he had pleaded *Extempore*; without any Fear of being condemned to produce the Original of his Plea; there are many ways of guarding againſt This. We may conclude, then, that the preſent Queſtion is not, whether he wrote, or did not write down, his Pleadings, but whether he publiſhed them, or not. Were it neceſſary to offer Proofs in ſo clear a Caſe, I could ſoon produce two very ſtrong ones. The firſt ſhould be taken from a Paſſage in *Cicero*, where *Brutus* complains, that *Marc Antony*, the Orator, had publiſhed but one very ſmall Book. “Vellem aliquid Antonio præter illum de ratione dicendi ſane exilem libellum - - - - - - libuiſſet ſcribere (3). - - - - *I could wiſh, that* Antony *had thought fit to publiſh ſomething more, than That very ſmall Treatiſe of the Art of Speaking.*” Here, you ſee, he makes uſe of the Word *ſcribere*. The ſecond might be taken from That Oration of *Cicero*, in which the Fact in Queſtion is mentioned; for *Cicero*, intending to ſhew, that *Marc Antony*'s Precaution was not ſo effectual as he imagined, repreſents, not that an Advocate is obliged to produce the Original of his Pleas; but, that there are Auditors, who remember, a long time after, what they have heard a Lawyer advance. “Perinde quaſi quid à nobis dictum aut actum ſit id niſi literis mandaverimus hominum memoria non comprehendatur (4). —— *As though the not committing to Writing, what we have formerly advanced in our Pleadings, would prevent it's being retained in the Memory of others.*”

[*B*] *The Precaution of this Advocate is neceſſary to Perſons of his Profeſſion.*] I remember, in a Letter, which was publiſhed in the Year 1685, an Enquiry into the Cauſes of the Contradictions of Authors (5). The Lawyers are there brought upon the Stage; and what is ſaid, on their Article, is as follows. “It is ſometimes diverting enough to hear the ſame Lawyer plead, in one and the ſame Week, for a Huſband againſt his Wife, and for a Wife againſt her Huſband. If he has a fruitful Imagination, he dwells altogether, in his firſt Plea, upon the Power of Huſbands; he grounds his Arguments on Nature, on Reaſon, on the Word of God, and on Cuſtom. He quotes the Scriptures; he quotes the Fathers; the Civilians, and the Writers of Travels. He declaims againſt Women, and dwells only on general Propoſitions. Two Days after, the Scene changes; he entertains other Thoughts, quite contrary to the former. He calls the Huſband's Authority, Uſurpation; he runs over the Holy Scriptures,

A Reflexion on the Contradictions to be found in Authors.

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(1) Cicero in Oratione pro Cluentio. cap. 50.

(2) Valer. Maxim. lib. 7. cap. 13. n. 5.

(3) Cicero in Bruto, cap. 44.

(4) Cicero, in Orat. pro Cluentio.

(5) *The ſecond of the new Letters againſt* Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm.

ſufficient to ſave their Honour [*C*]. He ever affected not to paſs for a learned Man

tures, the Code, Phyſic, Hiſtory, and the Moral Law, in favour of Women, ſtill haranguing on general Principles; for a vehement Spirit thinks it proves nothing, unleſs it affirms and denies, without Exception; and conſequently, if obliged to maintain oppoſite Intereſts, muſt neceſſarily contradict itſelf." It muſt be owned, that a Lawyer, who has publickly pleaded with all the Fire of Imagination, for the Privileges of Women, may be confuted with all imaginable Eaſe, the next time he pleads for the Privileges of Men. It is but referring him to his own Minutes. Our Orator, *Marc Antony*, would fain have avoided this great Inconveniency, and have enjoyed the Privilege of contradicting himſelf, by maintaining one thing to Day, and another to Morrow, according as the Intereſt of his Clients required. It would be eaſy to ſhew, that Lawyers are not the only Perſons, who make uſe of this Practice; Polemic Divines do the ſame, according to the different Tenets of thoſe they have to deal with (6). *Bellarmin*, in diſputing againſt the Enthuſiaſts, maintains, that the Scripture abounds with Characters of it's being Divine; but inſiſts, againſt the Proteſtants, that it is obſcure, and ſtands in need of the Authority of the Church (7). A certain Miniſter, whom I forbear to name, maintains, againſt thoſe of the *Romiſh* Church, that the Scriptures every where ſhine with Characters of Divinity; but, writing againſt Mr *Pajon*, he ſpeaks another Language (8). This Privilege ought to be left wholly to Poets and Orators. "*In different Places, they ſay very different Things, as it beſt ſuits their Purpoſe.* Nos Poëtarum more, uti ſe res dederit, ita vel populi, vel eruditorum hominum ſententiam noſtro quodam jure ſequimur, atque alias, ſi ſit opus, aliter de eadem dicimus, *ſays the excellent Monſignor* della Caſa, *Archbiſhop of* Benevento, *in one of his Letters to* Victorius. And *Euſtathius* has obſerved, on the eighteenth Verſe of the ſecond Book of the *Odyſſey*, and on the Two hundred and forty third of the twelfth of the *Iliad*, that *Homer* has ſaid things in theſe Places, concerning Auguries, quite contrary to what he ſaid elſewhere; which he calls αμφοτερόγλωσσον. Thus, in the firſt Parts of my Poems, which I have juſt now quoted, I have ſaid, that an old Poet is a wretched thing, becauſe it ſuited to my purpoſe; but this does not hinder me from ſaying the quite contrary elſewhere, if occaſion requires (9)." How do I love this Sincerity! and how ſhould I be overjoyed to find it in *Bellarmin*, or the Miniſter; but it is not to be expected. We ſhall hear *Cicero* preſently on the Right of Lawyers, with regard to the Privilege of contradicting themſelves: See the Remarks [*H*] and [*I*] of the Article BALDUS.

[*C*] *This Precaution —— is not always ſufficient to ſave their Honour.*] We have ſeen (10), how *Cicero* has obſerved, that the good Memory of their Hearers is to be dreaded by Lawyers, who contradict themſelves (11). If he had given Examples of this, he might better have made it appear, that the Precautions of *Marc Antony* were inſignificant. But it muſt be own'd, that what he adds is ſufficient to juſtify the Conduct of That Orator. It is this: *Marcus Brutus*, pleading againſt *L. Plancius*, who was defended by *L. Craſſus*, got two of his Friends to ſtand up in Court, and read certain Paſſages in an audible Voice, which he had ſelected out of two Speeches of *L. Craſſus*; ſome raiſing the Authority of the Senate very high, the others depreſſing it. This diſconcerted the Orator a little, and put him upon excuſing himſelf, from the Difference of Times, and Cauſes, which had extorted from him theſe contradictory Maxims (12). "Ego vero, *ſays* Cicero (13), in iſto genere libentius cum multorum tum hominis eloquentiſſimi & ſapientiſſimi L. Craſſi autoritatem ſequor, qui quum L. Plancium defenderet accuſante M. Bruto, homine in dicendo vehementi & callido, quum Brutus duobus recitatoribus conſtitutis ex duabus ejus orationibus capita alterna inter ſe contraria recitanda curaſſet, quod in diſſuaſione rogationis ejus, quæ contra Coloniam Narbonenſem ferebatur, quantum poteſt de autoritate Senatus detrahit; in ſuaſione legis Serviliæ Summis ornat Senatum laudibus, & multa in Equites Romanos quum ex ea oratione aſperius dicta recitaſſet, quo animi illorum Judicum in Craſſum incenderentur; aliquantum eſſe commotus dicitur. Itaque in reſpondendo primum expoſuit utriuſque rationem temporis, ut oratio ex re & cauſa habita videretur. - - - - - *For my own Part, I willingly follow, in This, the Authority of many Others, as alſo of the moſt eloquent and wiſe* L. Craſſus; *who, having undertaken the Defence of* L. Plancius, *againſt the Accuſation of* M. Brutus, *a vehement and artful Speaker; and* Brutus *having procured two Perſons to repeat alternately Paſſages out of two of his Orations, which were contradictory to each other; for, on the one ſide, in his Oration againſt the Law, which was propoſed againſt the Colony of* Narbo, *he detracts as much as poſſible from the Authority of the Senate; whereas, in That for the Servilian Law, he highly extols the Senate; and* Brutus *having recited out of That Oration ſome Reflexions on the* Roman *Knights, in order to exaſperate the Minds of the Judges againſt* L. Craſſus; *he is ſaid, upon this Occaſion, to have been a little at a Loſs. In his Reply, therefore, he ſets forth the different junctures of Time; that what he had ſaid might appear to reſult from the particular Circumſtances of each Cauſe.*" *Cicero* diſapproved of the Conduct of *L. Craſſus* on this Occaſion; *Cicero*, I ſay, who was once in the ſame Circumſtances; his Adverſaries having repeated a Paſſage, in one of his Orations, quite contrary to an Argument he was then upon. He anſwered, That what they had repeated did not contain his true Sentiments; and that what a Man offers, as an Advocate, ought not to be conſidered, as if ſpoken by him in quality of a Witneſs; that it is the Language of the Cauſe, and not of the Orator. This is plain enough; they muſt ſpeak according to the Intereſt of their Cauſe, and the Conjuncture of Time, and not according to their private Opinions. "Ego ſi quid ejuſmodi dixi, neque cognitum commemoravi, neque pro teſtimonio dixi: & illa oratio potius temporis mei quam judicii & autoritatis fuit. - - - - - Errat vehementer ſi quis in orationibus noſtris quas in judiciis habuimus autoritates noſtras conſignatas ſe habere arbitratur. Omnes enim illæ orationes cauſarum & temporum ſunt, non hominum ipſorum aut patronorum. Nam ſi cauſæ ipſæ pro ſe loqui poſſent, nemo adhiberet oratorem: nunc adhibemur ut ea dicamus, non quæ noſtra autoritate conſtituantur, ſed quæ ex re ipſa cauſaque dicantur (14). *If I, indeed, ſaid any thing of this kind, I neither offered it as of my own Knowledge, nor in quality of an Evidence; it was rather the Language of the Juncture of Time, than of my own Judgment and Authority. It is a great Miſtake in any one, to look upon the Orations, which I have ſpoken in ſeveral Cauſes, as ſo many written Opinions under my own Hand. They are all the Language of the particular Cauſe and Time, not of the Orator himſelf. For could Cauſes ſpeak for themſelves, no one would have recourſe to an Orator; and it is our Buſineſs to ſpeak, not our own Determination of the matter, but what the particular Cauſe, we are engaged in, requires.*" Add to this the Words, which *Cicero* puts in the Mouth of the Orator *Marc Antony*. "Oratoris omnis actio opinionibus non ſcientia continetur, nam & apud eos dicimus qui neſciunt, & ea dicimus quæ neſcimus ipſi: ita & illi alias aliud iiſdem de rebus & ſentiunt & judicant, & nos contrarias ſæpe cauſas dicimus, non modo ut Craſſus contra me dicat aliquando; aut ego contra Craſſum, quum alterutri neceſſe ſit falſum dicere, ſed etiam ut uterque noſtrum eadem de re alias aliud defendat, quum plus uno verum eſſe non poſſit. Ut igitur in ejuſmodi re quæ mendacio nixa ſit, quæ ad ſcientiam non ſæpe perveniat, quæ opiniones hominum & ſæpe errores aucupetur, ita dicam (15). - - - - - *The whole Buſineſs of Oratory conſiſts in Opinion, not in Knowledge; for we ſpeak, not only before the Ignorant, but in Caſes, where we ourſelves are ignorant. Therefore both our Hearers think and judge of the ſame things differently at different Times; and we ourſelves often patronize oppoſite Cauſes; inſomuch that not only* Craſſus *ſometimes ſpeaks againſt me, and I againſt* Craſſus, *in Cauſes, where we are both obliged to ſpeak againſt our Opinions; but even that we both take different Sides of the Queſtion, in relation*

"*to*

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(6) *See Remark* [*M*] *of the Article* ADAM (JOHN).

(7) *See the Efforts, which the Jeſuit* Mulhuſius *makes in the* Auctarium Primum Speculi Miſeriarum Parei, *to reconcile this Contradiction. See the Remark* [*D*] *of the Article* BELLARMIN.

(8) *See the Supplement to the Philoſophical Commentary, and pag.* 207 *and* 216 *of Mr* Saurin's *Anſwer to This* Commentary.

(9) *It is Mr* Menage, *who ſpeaks, in the* Anti-Baillet, Tom. 2. p. 174, 175.

(10) *Above Citation* (4).

(11) *It is not leſs to be feared by Preachers, who, far from contradicting themſelves, repeat from time to time, and almoſt word for word, the ſame Sermon.*

(12) *See* Cicero Orat. pro Cluentio. cap. 50, &c. *and* de Oratore, c. 55. *how he was revenged on* Brutus, *by bringing three Readers into Court.*

(13) Cicero Orat. pro Cluentio, cap. 51.

(14) Idem, ibid. c. 50.

(15) Idem, de Oratore, lib. 2. cap. 7.

Man [*D*]. His Modeſty, and other good Qualities, made him no leſs beloved by a great Number of Illuſtrious Perſons, than his Eloquence gained him the Admiration of the whole World. He periſhed unfortunately in the bloody Confuſions occaſioned by *Marius* and *Cinna*. He was diſcovered in the Place, where he had concealed himſelf, and Soldiers were immediately ſent to kill him. His Addreſs mollified them; nor had any of them Brutality enough to kill him, except their Commander, who had not heard his Diſcourſe, but entered his Chamber in great Anger, that his Men had not executed their Orders (*e*). His Head was expoſed on the Chair of the Orators, *pro roſtris* (*f*); a Place he had formerly adorned with Triumphal Spoils. This happened in the Year of *Rome* 667. He left two Sons, of whom I am going to ſpeak.

“ *to the ſame Cauſe, upon different Occaſions; when* “ *but one ſide can poſſibly be right. In this Matter,* “ *therefore, which depends upon Falſhood, which ſeldom* “ *comes up to Science, and which catches at the Opi-* “ *nions, and often the Errors, of Men,* &c.” I aſſure myſelf, that the greateſt Part of my Readers will be ſo pleaſed to find, that theſe two great Orators held ſuch Principles, and ſo well knew the Foible of their Profeſſion, that they will pardon whatever may ſavour too much of Digreſſion in this Remark. Note, that theſe Principles ſubſiſt ſtill.

Compare the Pleadings of Mr *Erard* againſt Madam *Mazarin* with the Anſwer to the *Factum* of This Lady. In particular read theſe Words of the Anſwer. *Mr* Erard *repreſented to Madam* Mazarin *the Occurrences of the then Times, in ſuch a manner as ſhe herſelf muſt have conſidered them. It is true, Time and different Events make us think and ſpeak differently.*

[*D*] *He ever affected not to paſs for a learned Man.*] If I am not miſtaken, this was more through Policy than Modeſty. He ſaw himſelf already eſtabliſhed in the Reputation of a great Orator. And might he not imagine, that he ſhould be ſtill more admired, if it was believed, that he ow'd his Eloquence to his Genius alone, and not to a long Application to the Study of *Greek* Authors? He had a farther meaning in it; he believed his Rhetoric would have more Influence on the People, if they took it for the meer Production of Nature, than if they looked upon it as the Reſult of Art. For People are apt to diſtruſt Thoſe, who are practiſed in all the Tricks of their Profeſſion. As for the Judges, *Marc Antony* believed, that nothing would influence them more in his favour, than to make them believe, that he ſpoke unprepared, and carefully to conceal from them thoſe fine Touches of Rhetoric, which are generally employed to ſet off a Cauſe. And yet, at the bottom, he was a learned Man, and acquainted with all the beſt Authors among the *Greeks*. Let us prove this by ſome Paſſages of *Cicero*. “ Magna nobis pueris, Quinte “ frater, ſi memoria tenes, opinio fuit, L. Craſſum “ non plus attigiſſe doctrinæ quam quantum prima “ illa puerili inſtitutione potuiſſet, M. autem Anto- “ nium omnino omnis eruditionis expertem atque “ ignarum fuiſſe - - - - Quum nos - - - - ea diſcere- “ mus quæ Craſſo placerent, & ab his doctoribus “ quibus ille uteretur erudiremur, etiam illud ſæpe “ intelleximus - - - - - illum & Græcè ſic loqui, nul- “ lam ut noſſe aliam linguam videretur, & doctoribus “ noſtris ea ponere in percontando, eaque ipſum omni “ in ſermone tractare, ut nihil eſſe ei novum nihil “ inauditum videretur. De Antonio vero quanquam “ ſæpe ex humaniſſimo viro patruo noſtro accepera- “ mus, quemadmodum ille vel Athenis vel Rhodi “ ſe doctiſſimorum hominum ſermonibus dediſſet, “ tamen ipſe adoleſcentulus, quantum illius ineuntis “ ætatis meæ patiebatur pudor, multa ex eo ſæpe “ quæſivi. Non erit profecto tibi quod ſcribo hoc “ novum (nam jam tum ex me audiebas) mihi illum “ ex multis variiſque ſermonibus nullius rei, quæ “ quidem eſſet in his artibus de quibus aliquid exiſti- “ mare poſſem, rudem aut ignarum eſſe viſum. Sed “ fuit hoc in utroque eorum, ut Craſſus non tam “ exiſtimari vellet non didiciſſe quam illa deſpicere, “ & noſtrorum hominum in omni genere pruden- “ tiam Græcis anteferre. Antonius autem probabi- “ liorem hoc populo orationem fore cenſebat ſuam, “ ſi omnino didiciſſe nunquam putaretur. Atque ita “ uterque ſe graviorem fore, ſi alter contemnere, al- “ ter ne noſſe quidem Græcos, videretur. - - - - *If* “ *you remember, Brother* Quintus, *it was a prevail-* “ *ing Opinion, when we were Boys, that* Lucius Craſ- “ ſus *had attained to no greater Degree of Learning,* “ *than what he had gained at School; but that* Marc “ Antony *was entirely ignorant, and void of all Eru-* “ *dition. But, when we applied our ſelves to* Craſ- “ ſus's *favourite Studies, and were inſtructed by ſuch* “ *Preceptors, as he had made uſe of, we had frequent* “ *Opportunities of being convinced, that he ſpoke the* “ Greek *Language as well, as if he had never known* “ *any other; that he had put ſuch Queſtions to our* “ *Preceptors, and handled ſuch Points in every thing* “ *he ſaid, that he ſeemed to be familiarly acquainted* “ *with the whole Circle of Science. As for* Antony; “ *though I had often learned from That Beſt-natured* “ *of Men, my Uncle, his attachment to the Conver-* “ *ſation of the learnedeſt Men at* Athens, *or* Rhodes, “ *yet, as far as the Modeſty of Youth would permit,* “ *I often applied myſelf to him for Inſtruction. And* “ *what I now aſſure you of, is no new thing to you* “ *(for I then declared to you the ſame), that, in the* “ *many and various Converſations I had with him,* “ *he appeared to me to be perfectly skilled in every* “ *Science, of which I could then form any Judg-* “ *ment. But this was peculiar to them both; that* “ Craſſus *deſired not ſo much to decline the Reputation* “ *of Learning, as to appear to deſpiſe it, and to* “ *prefer our own native Skill to That of the* Greeks; “ *and that* Antony *thought his Words would have* “ *the more Weight with the People, if they believed he* “ *had never been inſtructed; both of them thus aiming* “ *at Succeſs, the one by appearing to deſpiſe, the* “ *other to be quite ignorant of, the* Greek *Learning.*” Thus the ſecond Book *de Oratore* begins. Add to this what he there ſays of himſelf (16), that he read the *Greek* Writers only by way of Amuſement; and that the Books of the Philoſophers were quite unintelligible to him. “ Verbum prorſus nullum intel- “ ligo, ita ſunt anguſtis & conciſis diſputationibus “ illigati;” that, in this Reſpect he had nothing to ſay to the Poets, whoſe Language was not human; and that he confined himſelf to the Hiſtorians, or Orators, who condeſcended to the Underſtandings of of the half-learned; *Videanter voluiſſe eſſe nobis, qui non ſumus eruditiſſimi, familiares.* In what follows, it is not *Cicero*, who ſpeaks, but *Marc Antony*, who, among other things, expreſſes himſelf thus: “ Ego “ iſta ſtudia non improbo, moderata modo ſint: opi- “ nionem iſtorum ſtudiorum & ſuſpicionem artificii “ apud eos qui res judicent oratori adverſariam eſſe “ arbitror; imminuit enim & oratoris autoritatem, “ & orationis fidem (17). —— *I do not diſapprove of* “ *theſe Studies, provided they are followed with Mode-* “ *ration; but I am of Opinion, that to be famed for them,* “ *and to be ſuſpected of Artifice by the Judges, is pre-* “ *judical to an Orator, for it leſſens his own Autho-* “ *rity, and the Weight of what he ſays.*” Here he gives the Reaſon of That Conduct, which *Cicero* aſcribes to him; “ Erat memoria ſumma, nulla medita- “ tionis ſuſpicio, imparatus ſemper aggredi ad dicen- “ dum videbatur, ſed ita erat paratus, ut judices illo “ dicente nonnunquam viderentur non ſatis parati ad “ cavendum fuiſſe (18). - - - - - *He had a happy Me-* “ *mory; was never ſuſpected of Premeditation, and* “ *ſeemed, whenever he began to ſpeak, to be unpre-* “ *pared; yet was he in reality ſo much ſo, that the* “ *Judges always ſeemed ſufficiently prepared by what* “ *he was ſaying to give their Opinions.*” I remember, on this Occaſion, a Remark of Mr *Daillé*, on the Difference between *acting the Orator*, and *being one* (19). This Remark is very juſt.

ANTONY (MARC), Eldeſt Son of the foregoing, had the Sirname of *Creticus* (*a*). He never roſe higher than the Prætorſhip; but he exerciſed this Office with a more

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(*e*) Plutarch. in Mario, pag. 431. Valer. Max. lib. 8. c. 9.

(*f*) Cicero, de Oratore, lib. 3. c. 3.

(16) Id. cap. 14. *See likewiſe* cap. 19.

(17) Id. de Oratore, lib. 2. cap. 37.

(18) Id. in Bruto, c. 37.

(19) Daillé, Reponſe au P. Adam, 3. part. p. 156.

(*a*) Plut. in Antonio, init. p. 915.

a more extenſive Power than uſual; his Commiſſion to convoy Corn to *Rome* giving him a Command over the Seas (*b*). This Prerogative he obtained by the Favour of the Conſul *Cotta* (*c*), and by the Faction of *Cethegus* (*d*); nor did any Party murmur at it, as they certainly would have done, if he had been a Perſon of more Merit [*A*]. It is ſaid, that he ſuffered himſelf to be inſtigated by evil Counſels, to commit Extortions in the Provinces; and, indeed, he was guilty of many (*e*). Thoſe of *Sicily* have been repreſented in a few Words by *Cicero* (*f*). The War of *Crete*, the good Succeſs of which he thought ſo certain, that he had provided fewer Arms on board his Fleet, than Chains to bind the conquered (*g*), having miſcarry'd, he fell ſick, and died of Grief. He was unable to ſupport the cutting Reflexions, which aroſe in his Mind, when he remember'd, that the Enemy, having taken ſeveral of his Ships, had hung up the *Roman* Soldiers at the Yard-Arm, and had ſailed up and down with this Spectacle, triumphing inſolently over the Republic in a thouſand Places. He had three Sons by *Julia*, his ſecond Wife [*B*], to wit, *Marcus Antonius*, *Caius Antonius*, and *Lucius Antonius* (*h*), of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

I ſhall have ſome Errors to correct [*C*], and perhaps the Encomium *Plutarch* beſtows on *Antony* will be one [*D*].

[*A*] *If he had been a Perſon of more Merit.*] *Velleius Paterculus* ſupplies me with this Thought, in that Part of his Hiſtory, where he relates, that *Pompey*, about two Years after, obtained a Commiſſion, which rendered him Maſter of almoſt all the World. This Commiſſion was not granted him without Oppoſition; whereas nothing had been ſaid againſt the Decrees, which had truſted the like Power in the Hands of *Marc Antony*. The Reaſon was, that they did not judge the latter capable of rendring himſelf formidable; but *Pompey*'s Merit was looked upon as dangerous to the Public Liberty. "Idem hoc ante biennium in M. Antonii prætura decretum erat; ſed interdum perſona, ut exemplo nocet, ita invidiam auget aut levat. In Antonio homines æquo animo paſſi erant; raro enim invidetur eorum honoribus, quorum vis non timetur. Contra in iis homines extraordinaria reformidant, qui ea ſuo arbitrio aut depoſituri aut retenturi videntur, & modum in voluntate habent (1). ----- *The ſame thing was decreed two Years before in the Prætorſhip of* Marc Antony; *but there is ſomething in the different Characters of Men, which increaſes or diminiſhes the Odium of a Thing. In the Caſe of* Antony, *the People were very well ſatisfied; for we ſeldom envy thoſe Men Honours, whoſe Power we are not afraid of; whereas any extraordinary Degree of Advancement alarms us in Thoſe, who, we think, can reſign, or keep, their Authority juſt as they pleaſe, and whoſe only Reſtraint is their Will.*" This is a fair Text for the Compilers of Political Commentaries: I leave it to them almoſt entire, and content myſelf with this ſmall Obſervation. It is thought a juſt ground of Complaint, that the ſame Qualities, which ſhould recommend a Man to great Offices, prevent his obtaining them. *George de Monte Mayor* uſed to ſay, *Eſtamos à tiempo, que mererer la coſa es principal parte para no alcancarla.* That is, (and they are the very Words of the Preſident *du Vair,) Nothing, in theſe times, hinders good Men from riſing to Riches and Honours, ſo much, as their deſerving them* (2). This Complaint is often too well grounded; but there are certain Caſes, in which it is not quite ſo juſt; for, in order to deſerve an Office, it is not ſufficient to have the neceſſary Qualifications for the honourable diſcharge of it; but it is farther requiſite, that thoſe Qualites be not mixed with certain Vices, which prompt a Man to make an ill Uſe of the Glory, which redounds from the Diſcharge of this Office, with Capacity and Succeſs. To ſpeak properly, a Mixture of theſe Vices may render thoſe unworthy of an Office, who, conſidered with regard to their great Accompliſhments, might be the moſt deſerving of any. It is not, therefore, always an Act of Injuſtice to refuſe an Office to one, who is moſt capable of diſcharging it; it may be a reaſonable Precaution, a Point of neceſſary Prudence; eſpecially in Republics. Eminent Qualities inſpire Men with Ambition. Give thoſe who poſſeſs them Opportunities of doing their Country conſiderable Service; and you kindle the Fire of this Ambition more and more; the Glory they acquire, by worthily diſcharging an important Truſt, inſpires them with Thoughts of making an ill uſe of their Reputation, and ſhews them, that it is not impoſſible to climb a Step higher. They try their Fortune, aſpire ſometimes to the Sovereignty, and, whether they ſucceed or no, occaſion a thouſand Diſorders, which might have been avoided, by beſtowing ſuch Offices upon Perſons of moderate Merit.

[*B*] Julia, *his ſecond Wife.*] She was the Daughter of *Julius Cæſar*, who was Conſul in the Year of *Rome* 664; and Siſter of another *Julius Cæſar*, who was Conſul in the Year 690. Her Virtue and Merit equalled her to the moſt illuſtrious Ladies of her Time. Ταῖς ἀρίσταις τότε καὶ σωφρονεστάταις ἐνάμιλλος. *Cum præſtantiſſimis & pudiciſſimis illius memoriæ matronis comparanda* (3). She was not the happieſt in Husbands; for, after the Death of *Marcus Antonius Creticus*, ſhe married *Publius Cornelius Lentulus*, who was an Accomplice in *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy, and one of thoſe, who was put to Death for it. What ſhe did to ſave her Brother *Lucius Cæſar*, deſerves Admiration (4). He was proſcribed in the Time of the *Triumvirat*, and hid himſelf in her Houſe. The Soldiers went thither to ſearch for him, to put him to death; but ſhe placed herſelf at the Door, and declared they ſhould never paſs, 'till they had killed her; ſhe, who had brought that *Marc Antony* into the World, whoſe Orders they were now to execute. This made them retire (5). The Name of our *Antony*'s firſt Wife was *Numitoria*: She was Daughter of *Quintus Numitorius Pullus*. She is called the Daughter of a Traytor, in *Cicero*'s *Philippics* (6).

[*C*] *Some Errors to correct*] *Thyſius*, Profeſſor of Oratory in the Academy of *Leyden*, has made a Remark, which might give us an ill Opinion of his Learning. It relates to theſe Words of *Lactantius*. "De Neptuni ſorte manifeſtum eſt, cujus regnum tale fuiſſe dicimus quale M. Antonii fuit infinitum illud imperium, cui totius oræ maritimæ poteſtatem Senatus decreverat, ut prædones perſequeretur ac mare omne pacaret (7). —— *What* Neptune'*s Share was, is very plain; whoſe Empire appears to have been like the extenſive Authority of* Marc Antony, *who, by a Decree of the Senate, had the Command of the whole Sea-Coaſt, in order to extirpate the Pirates, who infeſted it, and ſecure the Navigation.*" *Thyſius* pretends, that, inſtead of *Antonii*, we ought to read *Pompeii*, which is the reading of the beſt Manuſcripts; and upon this he obſerves, that *Pompey* was called *Neptune*, and that ſeveral of his Statues were adorned with the Enſigns of That Deity. He is miſtaken: There is no doubt but *Lactantius*, who was perfectly Maſter of *Cicero*, had an Eye to the following Paſſage of the fourth Oration againſt *Verres*: "Poſtquam Marci Antonii infinitum illud imperium ſenſerant (8). — *After they had felt the long continuance of* Marc Antony'*s Authority*;" or to theſe Words of the following Oration: "Ita ſe in iſto infinito imperio Marcum Antonium geſſiſſe, ut, &c. (9) —— Marc Antony *behaved himſelf ſo ill in the long Power he enjoyed, that*, &c." One of *Voſſius*'s Sons might have ſpared the Profeſſor of *Leyden* this falſe Note; for, in a Book, which was printed thirteen Years before the *Lactantius* of *Thyſius*, he obſerves, that *Thomaſius* was very much in the wrong to put *Pompeii*, inſtead of *Antonii*, in his Edition of *Lactantius*; and proves it by the Authority of *Cicero*, and *Paterculus* (10). I add, that he believes *Florus* meant the ſame *Antony*, when he ſays, "Quum ille (*Pompeius*)

(*b*) Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 31.

(*c*) *I ſhall examine, under the Article* CETHEGUS, *whether* Cotta *was Conſul when* M. Antony *received this Commiſſion.*

(*d*) Aſconius Pedianus in Orat. Cicer. contra Verrem, pag. 113.

(*e*) Aſcon. Ped. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Cicero, Orat. . in Verrem, cap. 01. *See likewiſe* Orat. 2. c. 3.

(*g*) Florus, lib. 3. cap. 7.

(*h*) Glandorp. Onomaſt. p. 73.

(1) Vell. Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 31.

(2) *See* Peter Matthieu *at the end of the Preface to the Hiſtory of the Peace.*

(3) Plut. in M. Anton. init. p. 916.

(4) Id. ib.

(5) Plut. in M. Anton. pag. 924.

(6) *Taken from* Glandorp. pag. 74, 75.

(7) Lactan. lib. 1. cap. 11. pag. 34.

(8) Cicero Orat. 2. in Verrem, cap. 3.

(9) Id. Orat. 3. in Verrem, cap. 91.

(10) Gerardus Voſſius Not. in Vell. Paterculum, pag. 55. Edit. 1639. *he cites* Cicero Verrina 1, *but he ſhould have cited* Verrina 2 *and* 3. dd. II.

“ (*Pompeius*) res in Aſia gerens eo quoque præfectum miſiſſet Antonium, in aliena Provincia inclitus fuit (11). —— *When* Pompey, *who commanded in* Aſia, *had ſent thither his Lieutenant* Antony, *he was famous in Another's Province.*” He ſhews, that *Florus* has confounded this *Antony* with *Octavius*, who, as *Plutarch* (12) and *Dion* (13) ſay, was ſent by *Pompey* to the Iſland of *Crete*, when *Metellus* commanded there. There is more ground for this, than for his ſaying, that the Sirname of *Criticus*, given in *Plutarch* to *Marc Antony*, muſt be corrected by That of *Creticus*. I know not what Edition of *Plutarch* he made uſe of; but I find Κρητικὸς in the *Francfort* Edition, 1620, and in That of *Paris*, 1624 I wiſh he had taken the trouble to examine a Chronological Error, which appears to be in *Paterculus*. This Hiſtorian affirms, that there paſſed but two Years between the Command, which was given to *Marc Antony*, and That, which was given to *Pompey*; and yet *Aſconius Pedianus* affirms, that *Marc Antony* obtained it by the Favour of a Conſul, called *Cotta*. I enlarge upon this Difficulty in the Article CETHEGUS.

[*D*] *The Encomium,* Plutarch *gives our* Antony, *will be one.*] “ He was a worthy, good, Man, *ſays* Plutarch (14), and particularly remarkable for his Liberality. He was not very rich, and withal diverted from the Exerciſe of his good Nature by his Wife. One Day a Friend of his, who ſtood in need of Money, came to borrow ſome of him. But *Antony*, having none to lend, ordered his Servant to fill a Silver Baſon with Water, and bring it. The Servant obeying his Commands, he took the Baſon, and lathering his Face, as if he was going to ſhave himſelf, he ſent away the Servant upon another Errand, and gave his Friend the Baſon, deſiring him to make what uſe he pleaſed of it. Next Morning, the whole Family was in an Uproar, and great Enquiry made after the Baſon. But *Antony*, ſeeing his Wife in a great Paſſion, and reſolved to put all her Servants to the Queſtion, acknowledged what he had done, and begged her Pardon.” Ὡμολόγησε συγγνώμην ἔχειν δεηθεὶς (15). *Petita venia id quod erat confeſſus eſt.* *Plutarch* does not juſtly repreſent the Character of this Man; he calls him Liberal; whereas he ſhould have made him Prodigal: *Salluſt* was not deceived in him. “ Marcus Antonius perdundæ pecuniæ genitus, vacuuſque curis niſi inſtantibus (16). —— Marc Antony, *born to be a Spendthrift, and careleſs of every thing but the Preſent.*” It muſt not be diſſembled, that *Cicero* denies, what was commonly ſaid of this *Marc Antony*; to wit, that he neither kept an Account of what he received, nor of what he expended. “ Audimus aliquem tabulas nunquam confeciſſe: Quæ eſt opinio hominum de Antonio falſa, nam fecit diligentiſſime (17) —— *We hear, that ſuch an one never kept any Accounts. This was generally reported of* Antony; *but falſely; for he kept them very carefully.*”

(11) Florus, lib. 3. cap. 7. and not cap. 8. *as* Gerard Voſſ. *cites him.*

(12) Plut. in Pompeio.

(13) Dion. lib. 36.

(14) Plut. in M. Antonio init. pag. 915, 916.

(15) Id. ib. pag. 916. A.

(16) Salluſt. in Fragm. Hiſtor. lib. 3. pag. 446.

(17) Cicero, Orat. 1. in Verrem. cap. 23.

ANTONY (Caius) Brother of the foregoing, was a Perſon of irregular Conduct; inſomuch, that his Elder Brother, and He, were much more the worthy Uncle and Father of the *Triumvir*, than worthy Sons of Him, who gave them Life. This *Caius Antony* bore Arms under *Sylla*, in the War againſt *Mithridates*, and committed many Extortions in *Achaia*; which, with other matters of Blame alledged againſt him, was the Cauſe, that the Cenſors afterwards expelled him the Senate. Neverthele*ſ*s he was choſen Conſul, in preference to *Catiline*, one of his Competitors; but with much leſs Honour, than *Cicero*; who, notwithſtanding all the Plots, which *Caius Antony* and *Catiline* laid to exclude him, was declared Conſul with unanimous Conſent; whereas *Caius Antony* carried it, but by a few Voices, againſt *Catiline* (*a*). It was in this Conſulate, that *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy was diſcovered, againſt which *Cicero* acted with great Zeal. His Colleague had the Command of the Army, which was ſent againſt *Catiline*, and obtained a compleat Victory by his Lieutenant *Petreius*: For, as for himſelf, either a feigned, or a real, Sickneſs hindered him from being perſonally in the Battel. *Dion* ſays, that it was pretended; and that *Antony*, fearing *Catiline* would diſcover ſome very important Secrets againſt him, would not command in Perſon (*b*). After the Victory, he led his Troops into *Macedonia*, and was beaten by the *Dardanians*. He governed That Province three Years, with ſo much Violence, and ſo many Exactions, that the Senate, diſpleaſed at his Conduct, ſent him a Succeſſor. Upon his Return to *Rome*, He was accuſed by *Marcus Cælius*; and, tho' *Cicero* undertook his Defence, yet he was convicted and baniſhed. Some ſay he paſſed Fifteen Years in the Iſland of *Cephalonia*; and that his Nephew, *Marc Antony*, who was very powerful in *Rome*, after the Aſſaſſins of *Julius Cæſar* had left it, recalled him from his Exile [*A*]. He died ſome Years after, full of Days and Troubles, and left only one Daughter, whom he ſaw repudiated, a little after her Marriage, by her Huſband *Marc Antony*, the *Triumvir*, on Suſpicion of an Intrigue with *Dolabella* (*c*).

(*a*) Aſconius Pedianus in Orationem Ciceronis in toga candida, contra Anton. & Catalin. in fin. pag. 158.

(*b*) Dion. lib. 37. ad annum Romæ 692.

(*c*) *See the Remark* [*G*], *of the Article FULVIA, and* Glandorp. Onomaſtic. pag. 75, 76.

[*A*] *His Nephew* Marc Antony, —— *recalled him from his Exile.*] There are ſome Difficulties, in relation to the Time of his Re-call, which ſhall be examined in the Remark [*H*], of the Article of FULVIA.

ANTONY (Marc) One of the *Triumvirs*, generally known by the bare Name of *Marc Antony*, was Grandſon of *Marc Antony* the Orator, and Son of *Marcus Antonius Creticus*. Mr *Moreri* is very full on this Article, and therefore I ſhall take no notice of him. The Miſtakes I have collected, on this Head, may find a place in the Article FULVIA, or elſewhere. All that I ſhall obſerve here of this *Triumvir* is, that he publiſhed a Treatiſe concerning his own Drunkenneſs [*A*].

[*A*] *He publiſhed a Treatiſe concerning his own Drunkenneſs.*] This is a Fact, which modern Writers make no mention of; it is, however, a remarkable one, and to be found in *Pliny*. “ Tergilla Ciceroni M. F. binos congios ſimul haurire ſolitum ipſi objicit; Marcoque Agrippæ à temulento ſcyphum impactum: Etenim hæc ſunt Ebrietatis opera. Sed nimirum hanc gloriam auferre Cicero voluit interfectori patris ſui M. Antonio. Is enim ante eum avidiſſime apprehenderat hanc palmam, edito etiam volumine de ſuâ Ebrietate: Quo patrocinari ſibi auſus, approbavit planè (ut equidem arbitror) quanta mala per temulentiam orbi terrarum intuliſſet. Exiguo tempore ante Prælium Actiacum id volumen evomuit, quo facile intelligatur ebrius jam ſanguine Civium, & tanto magis eum ſitiens (1). —— Tergilla *objects to* Cicero, *the Son of* Marcus Cicero, *that he was wont to drink off two Gallons at once; and to* Marcus Agrippa, *that a drunken Fellow threw a Glaſs at his Head. Theſe*

(1) Plin. lib. 14. ſub fin. cap. ult.

" *are the Works of Drunkenneſs.* Cicero *ſeems to* " *have diſputed the Prize of Intemperance with his* " *Father's Murtherer* Marc Antony; *who, before* " *him, had been very ambitious of it; having even* " *publiſhed a Treatiſe on his own Drunkenneſs; in* " *which, daring to undertake it's Defence, he plainly* " *juſtifies all the Miſchiefs, which the World had* " *ſuffered by His Drunkenneſs. He vomited forth his* " *Treatiſe, a little before the Battle of* Actium; " *which plainly ſhews, that he was drunk with the* " *Blood of Citizens, and, for that reaſon, the more* " *thirſty after it.*" I wonder *Plutarch* ſhould take no notice of this Piece of Singularity, and that *Suetonius* ſhould not mention it.

ANTONY (Caius) Brother of the foregoing, ſerved under *Julius Cæſar*, in the War againſt *Pompey*, and was forced to ſurrender himſelf, with the Troops he commanded in *Illyria*, for want of Proviſions (*a*). After the Death of *Cæſar*, and during his own Prætorſhip, and the Conſulate of his Brother *Marc Antony*, he was ſent into *Macedonia* with the Decree of the Senate, which gave *Marc Antony* the Government of That Province. But, whatever Diſpatch he could make, he was prevented by *Brutus*, and even fell into his Hands (*b*). At firſt *Brutus* treated him honourably, and allowed him the Enſigns of his Pætorſhip; but, when he perceived, that he endeavoured to corrupt the Army, he put him under an Arreſt; and afterwards put him to death, when he was informed of the Proſcriptions of the *Triumvirate*, the Murther of *D. Brutus*, That of *Cicero*, &c. *Marc Antony*, having got *Hortenſius* into his Power, after the Battle of *Philippi*, ſacrificed him to the Manes of his Brother. *Cicero* mentions *C. Antony*, ſometimes, in his *Philippics*, but always to his Diſadvantage (*c*).

(*a*) Glandorp. pag. 80, ex Cæſare, Lucani *Pharſ. lib.* 4. Eutropio.

(*b*) *He was taken by* Hortenſius, *who delivered him up to* Brutus.

(*c*) Glandorp. ex Plutarch. in M. Antonio, &c.

ANTONY (Lucius) Brother of the preceeding, had all the Vices of his Brother, the *Triumvir*, but none of his good Qualities: However he did not want Courage. He was Tribune of the People, in the Year of *Cæſar*'s Death, while his Brother *Marc* was Conſul, and his Brother *Caius* Prætor. He was Conſul, Himſelf, in the Year of *Rome* 713, and triumphed the firſt Day of his Conſulſhip over a People of the *Alps*, whom he pretended he had conquered; tho' he had really done nothing worthy of a Triumph, nor exerciſed any Command in their Country. But *Fulvia*, the Wife of *M. Antony*, and Mother-in-law of *Octavius Cæſar*, who then governed all in *Rome*, procured him, by her ſole Credit, this Honour. This imperious Woman, deſiring to be revenged on *Octavius*, for repudiating her Daughter, excited *Lucius Antony* to take up Arms againſt him, under pretence of protecting the Inhabitants of *Campania*, whoſe Lands were aſſigned to the Soldiers. The Troops, he had aſſembled, being introduced into *Rome*, by Night, He drove out *Lepidus* one of the *Triumvirs*; and harangued the People, declaring, That, according to his Brother's Intention, he deſigned to aboliſh the *Triumvirate*. This Promiſe filled the City with Joy. He was declared *Imperator*, and marched againſt *Octavius Cæſar*; but, not daring to keep the Field, he retreated to *Perouſa*, where he defended himſelf, 'till the want of Proviſions obliged him to ſurrender. *Octavius* gave him his Liberty; but what became of him after, is not known (*a*).

(*a*) Glandorp. Onomaſt. pag. 81, ex Dione, &c.

ANTONY (Marcus Julius) Son of the *Triumvir*, and *Fulvia*, found ſo much Favour with *Auguſtus*, after the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, that, by degrees, he was advanced to Employs, and at laſt to the Conſulate, in the Year of *Rome* 744. He married *Marcella*, the Daughter of *Octavia*; and, being by this means become Son-in-law of *Auguſtus*'s Siſter, for whom That Prince had a great Eſteem, he was the Firſt Favourite after *Agrippa*, the Son-in-law of *Auguſtus*, and the Sons of the Empreſs. But he proved ungrateful to his Benefactor, and was one of the firſt, who debauched his Daughter *Julia*; which, together with ſome Suſpicions of a Conſpiracy, occaſioned his being condemned to death. Some Hiſtorians ſay, that he killed himſelf to prevent the Infamy of his Sentence (*a*). He had ſtudied under the Grammarian *L. Craſſitius* (*b*), and compoſed a Poem of Twelve Books in Heroic Verſe (*c*), and ſome Treatiſes in Proſe. It is to Him, that *Horace* addreſſes the ſecond Ode of his fourth Book. He left one Son very young, whoſe Name was *L. Julius Antony*. The Emperor baniſhed this Youth to *Marſeilles*, under the ſpecious Pretence of keeping him to his Studies. He ordered him very ſingular Funeral Honours; for he procured a Decree of the Senate, that his Bones ſhould be repoſited in *Octavius*'s Tomb (*d*). This was the End of That Ancient and Powerful Family *Antonia*, of which *Tacitus* ſays, that it had been always Illuſtrious, but Unfortunate; *Multa claritudine generis, ſed improſpera* (*e*). We ſhall now ſum up all Mr *Moreri*'s Errors concerning this Family [*A*].

(*a*) Vell. Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 100.

(*b*) Sueton. de Illuſtr. Gramm. cap. 18.

(*c*) *Entituled*, Diomedeæ. Vetus interpres Horat. in Od. 2. lib. 4.

(*d*) Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. cap. 44.

(*e*) Id. ib. Tacitus *ſays this on occaſion of the Death of* L. Julius Antonius, *which happened in the Year of* Rome 778.

[*A*] *We ſhall now ſum up all Mr* Moreri'*s Errors concerning this Family.*] I. He ought not to have mentioned this Family under the Letter M, on account of *Marc Antony*: Both He, and his Family, ought to ſtand under the Letter A. II. He ought not to have ſaid, *That the Family of the* Antonii *was famous among the Nobles of* Rome; for it is plain, that, by this way of ſpeaking, he intended to diſtinguiſh it from the *Plebeian* Families: now this diſtinction is falſe. The Tribuneſhip of the People alone, with which *Marc Antony* was inveſted, at the beginning of the War between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, proves demonſtrably, that the *Antonian* Family was *Plebeian*; for he was made Tribune of the People, without being adopted by a *Plebeian*; there was no Neceſſity for his imitating *Clodius*, who, to qualify himſelf for the Office of Tribune, had recourſe to ſuch an Adoption (1). I confeſs the *Antonii* were at firſt *Patricians*. This appears from the Dignities of the *Decemvirate*, and the Military Tribuneſhip, conferred upon them, before the *Plebeian* Families

(1) Cicero, Orat. pro Domo ſua ad Pontifices, cap. 13.

Families were admitted to the firſt Dignities of the Republic. But, whether it were, that the *Antonii*, who appeared with ſo much Splendor in the ſeventh Century of *Rome*, did not deſcend from the ſame Branch with thoſe, who bore the Sirname of *Merenda*, or whether it were, that they paſſed, we know not how, from the Rank of *Patricians* to That of *Plebeians*, as has happened to ſome other Families; it is certain, that their Houſe was *Plebeian* in the Days of *Marc Antony*, the Orator, who firſt began to raiſe it. III. It is groſs Ignorance to ſay, that this Houſe *was divided into two Branches, the* Merenda'*s, and the* Marc'*s*. The Word *Marc* is the *Prænomen*, which ſerves only to diſtinguiſh *Perſons*: That, which diſtinguiſhed the ſeveral *Branches*, was called the *Cognomen*, and held the third Place, as *Cæſar*, *Scipio*, &c. (2). IV. It is not certain, that *Q. Antonius Merenda*, Military Tribune about the Three hundred thirty ſecond Year of *Rome*, was the Son of *T. Antonius Merenda*, *Decemvir* in the Year 303. V. It is falſe, that *Livy* makes mention of *M. Antonius Merenda*, Maſter of the Horſe, under the Dictatorſhip of *P. Cornelius*. He calls him only *M. Antonius*. VI. *Marcus Antonius Creticus* was not killed in a Duel. *Aſconius Pedianus* leaves no room for Doubt in this matter. “Indicto, *ſays he*, Cretenſibus bello male re geſta ibidem periit (3). —— *He died, after meeting with ill Succeſs in the* Cretan *War*.” VII. Inſtead of ſaying, that *Marc Antony*, the Orator, *never wrote down any of his Orations*; he ſhould have ſaid, that he never publiſhed any (4). VIII. His Anſwer to thoſe, who asked him the reaſon of it, is miſrepreſented; he did not reply, *that he would not furniſh thoſe with Arms, who might be inclined to convict him of having expreſs'd himſelf amiſs*; he was in no pain for his Words or Phraſes; I mean, of being reproached with Barbariſms, or Offences againſt the Rules of Grammar; yet this is what Mr *Moreri* means; as all muſt own, who underſtand what an Author means. But *Marc Antony*'s Fear was, leſt his Works ſhould convict him of blowing Hot and Cold with the ſame Breath, and of having confuted, four Years before, what he was then advancing in his Plea. Conſult the Remarks [*B*] and [*C*] of the Article ANTONY (Marc) the Orator; where I have fully diſplayed the Reaſons, why Lawyers contradict themſelves, and maintain one thing to day, and the quite contrary to morrow, according to the different Intereſts of their Clients. IX. Beſides, the Anſwer, which Mr *Moreri* aſcribes to him, is abſurd; for one may write down a Plea, without furniſhing the Critics with Arms, provided it be not made public. X. *M. Aquilius* was not condemned upon *M. Antony*'s undertaking his Cauſe. XI. The Judges did not confeſs, *That He, who had ſo often expoſed his Life for the Good of the Republic, ought not to loſe it ſo diſhonourably*. Had Mr *Moreri* known, that *Aquilius* could, at the worſt, have been condemned only to Baniſhment (5), he would not have given his Style the Colours of Oratory. XII. What a confuſed way of ſpeaking is it, to ſay, *That* Marc Antony *was Conſul, Cenſor in the Year of* Rome 626, *with* A. Poſthumius *in* 657, *with* L. Valerius, *&c.* There is ſomething worſe in it, than a confuſed Style: Falſhoods are not wanting. *Marc Antony* was Conſul, with *A. Poſthumius Albinus*, in the Year 655, and Cenſor, with *L. Valerius Flaccus*, in the Year 657 (6).

(2) Caius Julius Cæſar. Publius Cornelius Scipio.

(3) Aſc. Pedian. in Cicer. Divinat. pag. 17. Edit. Lugd. in 12mo. *He ſays, in* Verrem de Præt. urb. pag. 87. Cretæ mortuus.

(4) *See, above, the Remark* [*A*], *of the Article ANTONY the Orator.*

(5) Quum mihi M. Aquilius in civitate retinendus eſſet. *It is* Marc Antony, *who ſpeaks*, apud Ciceronem, lib. 2. de Orat. cap. 45.

(6) Plin. lib. 8. cap. 7. Sigonius & Calviſius *place this Conſulat in the Year* 654, *and the Cenſorſhip two Years after.*

ANTONIA, Eldeſt Daughter of *Marc Antony* [*A*], and *Octavia* (*a*), was a Lady, whoſe Virtue and Beauty made her the Object of Admiration (*b*). She was married to *Druſus*, the Son of *Livia*, and Brother of *Tiberius*, by whom ſhe had ſeveral Children (*c*), of which but Three ſurvived *Druſus*, to wit, *Germanicus*, *Claudius*, who was Emperor, and *Livilla*, who was *Tiberius*'s Son's Wife. *Antonia*, yet young and beautiful in her Widow-hood, was courted by ſeveral Perſons, but refuſed them all; an Example of Continency [*B*], ſo much the more to be admired, as ſhe lived in a Court exceedingly corrupt. *Tiberius*, whoſe humour was ſo ſtern, had yet a great Regard for this Lady; which ſhews, that to her Chaſtity ſhe knew how to join other Virtues, unknown to the chaſte *Agrippina*, her Daughter-in-law; I mean Mildneſs and Prudence. It was *Antonia*, who diſcovered to *Tiberius* *Sejanus*'s Conſpiracy

(*a*) *She was Siſter to* Auguſtus.

(*b*) Σωφροσύνη καὶ κάλλει περιβόητον. Caſtitate & forma inclytam. *Plutarch. in Anton. pag.* 955. *E.*

(*c*) Sueton. in Claud. cap. 1.

[*A*] *Eldeſt Daughter of* Marc Antony.] *Suetonius* and *Plutarch* are againſt me; the firſt expreſsly, and in downright Terms (1); the ſecond after an implicit manner: For he only ſpeaks of the Marriage of one of the two *Antonia*'s with *Domitius*, before he mentions the other's Marriage with *Druſus* (2). Now, ſince *Suetonius* wrote after *Tacitus*, and ſometimes ſeems to refute him; would it not be better to give Him the preference, and to ſuppoſe, that he took the contrary ſide, only becauſe he was convinced of *Tacitus*'s Error? Beſides, are the Words of *Plutarch* of no weight? Let every one judge as he pleaſes; for my own Part, I have followed *Tacitus*, without pretending to conteſt the matter with thoſe, who chooſe to follow *Suetonius*. There are two Paſſages of *Tacitus*, one in the Forty fourth Chapter of the fourth Book of his Annals, the other in the Sixty fourth Chapter of the twelfth Book of the ſame Annals, where the Wife of *Domitius* is called *Antonia Minor*. - - - *Antonia the Younger*. I find, that *Lipſius* declares for neither ſide (3), and that *Glandorpius* prefers That of *Tacitus* to That of *Suetonius* (4). There is a Reaſon on *Tacitus*'s ſide, though not concluſive. It may be ſuppoſed, that *Druſus*, who, in quality of a Powerful Empreſs's Son, was one of the greateſt Matches of *Rome*, married the eldeſt of the two Siſters; but, in anſwer to this, it may be ſaid, that His *Antonia* was a perfect Beauty. Now this is a Right of Elderſhip more to the Taſte of a young Prince, (nor is it neceſſary to be a young Prince to have this Taſte) than That, which is only founded on the greater Number of Years. It is probable, that *Druſus*, as he was the greater Match, had his Choice; and, no doubt, he choſe the handſomeſt of the two, whether the elder, or the younger, Siſter.

[*B*] Antonia, *yet young and beautiful in her Widowhood, - - - was an Example of Continency.*] What is ſaid of her Husband, in relation to his conjugal Fidelity, is yet more ſurprizing. “Druſum etiam Germanicum, eximiam Claudiæ familiæ gloriam, patriæque rarum ornamentum, & quod ſuper omnia eſt operum ſuorum pro habitu ætatis magnitudine vitrico pariter ac fratri Auguſtis, duobus reipublicæ divinis oculis, mirifice reſpondentem, conſtitit uſum Veneris intra conjugis charitatem clauſum tenuiſſe (5). - - - *It was certain, that* Druſus Germanicus, *the ſingular Glory of the* Claudian *Family, and uncommon Ornament of his Country, and, what is beyond all, as famous for Great Actions, in proportion to his Years, as the* Auguſti, *his Father-in-Law, and Brother, the two divine Eyes of the Republic, confined his Deſires wholly to conjugal Endearments* (6).” It is remarkable enough, that, in *Auguſtus*'s Court, the Emperor's Son-in-law ſhould be contented with one Diſh, like a Citizen; and it ſignifies little to ſay, that *Antonia* was ſo young and fair, that *Druſus* knew not where to pleaſe himſelf better. How many Princes, great Lords, and other Perſons are there, with whom this Reaſon is of no force? But to return to *Antonia*, *Valerius Maximus* continues his Diſcourſe in this manner. “Antonia quoque fœmina, laudibus virilem familiæ ſuæ claritatem ſupergreſſa, amorem mariti egregia fide penſavit; quæ poſt ejus exceſſum forma & ætate florens cubiculum ſocrus pro conjugio habuit, in eodemque toro alterius adoleſcentiæ vigor extinctus eſt, alterius viduitatis experientia conſenuit. - - - - - *The Lady* Antonia, *a greater Ornament to her Family than the Males it produced, repaid her Husband's Love with a remarkable Conſtancy; for, after his Deceaſe, though ſtill in the Flower of her Youth and Beauty, ſhe was wedded only to the Chamber of her Mother-in-law; and, in the ſame Bed, the one's Vigour of Youth expired, the other's Experience of Widow-hood grew old.*”

(1) Germanicus, C. Cæſaris pater, Druſi & minoris Antoniæ filius. ---Germanicus, *the Father of* Caius Cæſar, *and Son of the younger* Antonia. Suet. in Calig. cap. 1. *See likewiſe in* Claud. cap. 1. Ex Antonia majore patrem Neronis procreavit (Domitius). - - - - Domitius *begot the Father of* Nero *on* Antonia *the elder.* Id. in Nerone, cap. 5.

(2) Plutarch. in Marc. Anton. pag. 955.

(3) Lipſ. in Tacit. Ann. lib. 12.

(4) Gland. Onomaſt. pag. 87.

(5) Valer. Maxim. lib. 4. cap. 3.

(6) *See the Verſes in Remark* [*G*].

Conſpiracy [C]; nor was This Prince ungrateful, after a Service of ſuch Importance (d). *Pliny* mentions a very particular Quality of *Antonia*, which is that ſhe never ſpit (e). He tells us likewiſe, that ſhe had a Fiſh, which ſhe was very fond of, and which ſhe adorned with Ear-rings; a Curioſity, which drew many Viſitors to her Country Seat (f). This Lady was unhappy in her Family. *Germanicus*, her Son, had indeed all the good Qualities, which could be deſired in the Preſumptive Heir of the Empire, and was the Darling and Delight of all the *Roman* People; but this only ſerved to heighten *Antonia*'s Affliction, when a ſudden Death bereaved her of This Young Prince. This diſconſolate Mother was not able to walk as a Mourner, when *Germanicus*'s Funeral was ſolemnized [*D*]. Her other Son was ſo diſagreeable, and ſo brutiſh, in her Eyes, that ſhe was wont to call him Monſter, Rough-Draught of a Man, *&c.* [*E*] and made him the Standard of Compariſon, whenever ſhe would repreſent an arrant Blockhead. Her Daughter was a Monſter of another kind; ſhe made an Attempt on the Honour and Life of her Huſband, and executed it; for ſhe was convicted of Adultery, and of poiſoning her Huſband. Her own Mother was the Secular Arm, to which ſhe was delivered; who ſhut her up in a Chamber, where ſhe was ſtarved to Death [*F*]. The Children of *Germanicus*, whom *Antonia* brought up in her Houſe, gave her no ſmall Trouble. She watched their Conduct; but her Vigilance ſerved only to make her an Eye-Witneſs of their enormous Crimes. One Day, ſhe ſurprized *Caligula* with his Siſter (g). This Wretch had not yet aſſumed the *Toga Virilis*; and yet was guilty of Capital Inceſt. Upon his Acceſſion to the Empire, he decreed all the Honours to his Grandmother *Antonia*, which the Senate had decreed *Livia* (h); but this was only a Start; for he ſhewed her no Reſpect afterwards, and even refuſed her a Private Audience. Theſe Affronts threw her into a Melancholy, which occaſioned her Death; and it was even ſaid, that he haſtened the

(d) Joſephus Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 8. pag. 632. C.

(e) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 19.

(f) In eadem villa (*apud Baulos in parte Baiana*) Antonia Druſi, murænæ quam diligebat inaures addidit: cujus propter famam nonnulli Baulos videre concupiverunt. *Plin. lib.* 5. *cap.* 55.

(g) Ex his (*ſororibus*) Druſillam vitiaſſe virginem prætextatus adhuc creditur: atque etiam in concubitu ejus quondam deprehenſus ab avia Antonia, apud quam ſimul educabantur. *Sueton. in Calig. cap.* 24.

(h) Id. ib. cap. 15. *See alſo* Dion. lib. 59.

"*old.*" *Antonia*'s Chaſtity found Panegyriſts in *Judea*. *Joſephus* deſerves to be heard: he informs us, that *Auguſtus* ſollicited this Lady to marry again; but ſhe perſiſted in the contrary Reſolution, and preſerved an unſpotted Reputation in her Widow-hood. The Uncommonneſs of her Conducts was This. We ſee great Ladies enough, who live ſeparate from their Husbands, or do not marry a ſecond Time, though courted to it; but do they live without Reproach? Do they give no occaſion to cenſure their Conduct? Here lies the Difficulty, *Hoc opus, hic labor eſt*. Some ſcandalous Talkers will ſay, there are Thoſe, who practiſe the Maxim, which *Luther* is ſaid to have taught Husbands. *Si nolit Uxor*, ſaid he, *veniat Ancilla*. - - - - *If your Wife won't, call your Maid.* This is turning the Tables, and underſtanding *Luther*'s Expreſſion wrong; which was, *ſi nolit, ſi deſit maritus, veniat famulus.* - - - *If you have no Husband, or if he refuſes to comply, call your Servant.* The Words of *Joſephus* are as follows: Τιμία δ' ἦν Ἀντωνία Τιβερίῳ εἰς τὰ πάντα συγγενείας τε ἀξιώματι, Δρούσου γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γυνὴ, καὶ ἀρέτῃ τοῦ σώφρονος, νέα γὰρ χηρεύειν παρέμεινεν γάμῳ τε ἀπεῖπεν τῷ πρὸς ἕτερον, καίπερ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ κελεύσαντος τινὶ γαμεῖσθαι, καὶ λοιδαειῶν ἀπηλλαγμένον διεσώσατο αὐτῆς τὸν βίον (7). Antonia *was greatly reſpected by* Tiberius, *either becauſe ſhe was related to him, as having been the Wife of his Brother* Druſus; *or on account of her Continency; for, though ſhe was a very young Widow, ſhe refuſed to marry again, notwithſtanding the Importunity of* Auguſtus; *and in this State of Life ſhe preſerved an unblemiſhed Reputation.*

[*C*] *It was* Antonia, *who diſcovered* Sejanus's *Conſpiracy.*] *Tacitus* was probably well informed of this Fact; but, unhappily, That Part of his Annals is loſt. If I am not miſtaken, *Joſephus* is the only Hiſtorian, who relates what ſhare *Antonia* had in diſcovering this Conſpiracy. He deſerves Credit, becauſe the Intimacy of *Berenice*, and That of her Son *Agrippa*, with This Lady, and the good Offices ſhe did *Agrippa*, made her known in *Judea*, and induced the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian to inform himſelf exactly of what concerned her. Let us believe, then, on his Teſtimony, that *Antonia* was no ſooner informed of *Sejanus*'s Plot, than ſhe wrote all the Circumſtances of it exactly to *Tiberius*, who was then in the Iſland of *Caprea*, whither ſhe diſpatched one of her moſt faithful Domeſtics with her Letter. This Prince's Conſideration for her increaſed greatly after ſo eminent a Piece of Service. Ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τόντε Σηϊανὸν κτείνει καὶ τοὺς συνεπιβούλους, τήντε Ἀντωνίαν καὶ πρὶν ἀξιολόγως ἄγων τιμιωτέραν τε ὑπελάμβανε κἀπὶ τοῖς πᾶσι πιθανήν (8). Tiberius, *being informed of it, put to Death* Sejanus *and his Abettors, and had, for the future, a ſtill greater reliance on* Antonia, *whom before he greatly eſteemed.* I ſhall ſhew in another Place (9), that *Xiphilinus* occaſionally obſerves, that *Antonia* informed *Tiberius* of certain Matters concerning *Sejanus*.

[*D*] *This diſconſolate Mother was not able to walk as a Mourner, when* Germanicus's *Funeral was ſolemnized.*] Let us ſee how *Tacitus* relates the Matter, and the Picture he gives of her in his Reflexions. "Tiberius atque Auguſta publico abſtinuere, inferius "Majeſtate ſua rati ſi palam lamentarentur, an ne "omnium oculis vultum eorum ſcrutantibus falſi intel"ligerentur. Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores "rerum, non diurna actorum ſcriptura, reperio ullo "inſigni officio functam, cum ſuper Agrippinam, "& Druſum & Claudium, cæteri quoque conſan"guinei nominatim perſcripti ſint; ſeu valetudine "præpediebatur, ſeu victus luctu animus magnitu"dinem mali perferre viſu non toleravit. Facilius "crediderim Tiberio & Auguſta, qui domo non ex"cedebant, cohibitam, ut par mœror & matris exem"plo avia quoque & patruus attineri viderentur (10). "- - - - - - Tiberius *and* Auguſta *would not appear* "*publickly, thinking it beneath their Majeſty to* "*mourn openly; or, perhaps, leaſt the Eyes of the* "*People, examining their Looks, ſhould diſcover their* "*Diſſimulation. I do not find, in any Hiſtorians, or* "*Journaliſts, that* Antonia, *the Mother, performed* "*any remarkable Part of the Solemnity, tho', beſides* "Agrippina, Druſus, *and* Claudius, *the reſt of his* "*Kindred are mentioned by Name; whether it were,* "*that Sickneſs prevented her, or that her Mind, over*"*come with Grief, could not ſupport the Greatneſs of her* "*Misfortune in public View. I rather believe ſhe was* "*hindered by* Tiberius *and* Auguſta, *who went not out of* "*their Houſe, that the Uncle and Grandmother might be* "*thought to be equally afflicted with the Mother.*"

[*E*] *She was wont to call him Monſter,* &c.] This *Suetonius* informs us of. "Mater Antonia portentum "eum hominis dictitabat, nec abſolutum à natura, "ſed tantum inchoatum! ac ſi quem ſocordiæ ar"gueret, ſtultiorem aiebat filio ſuo Claudio (11). "- - - - - - *His Mother* Antonia *uſed to call him a* "*Monſter of a Man, not finiſhed by Nature, but on*"*ly begun! and, whenever ſhe would reproach any* "*one with Stupidity, ſhe was wont to ſay, he was a* "*greater Fool, than her Son* Claudius." By this we may judge ſhe was a Woman of Wit and Senſe; for your ordinary Women ſeldom diſcover, that their Children are ſtupid; or, if they do, they are not overforward, to excuſe themſelves, and repreſent them as Changlings, or half-formed Productions.

[*F*] *She ſhut her up in a Chamber, where ſhe was ſtarved to Death.*] This is another Proof, that ſhe was a Woman of Spirit, who loved her Children no

(7) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 8. pag. 632. C.

(8) Id. ibid.

(9) *In the Article VESPASIAN, Remark* [*T*].

(10) Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. ad ann. 773. *i. e.* A. D. 20.

(11) Suet. in Claudio, cap. 3.

the Effects of her Melancholy by Poiſon [*G*]. He paid no Honours to the Deceaſed, nor aſſiſted at her Funeral (*i*). Probably the Temple of *Antonia*, which *Pliny* alone mentions, took it's Name from this Princeſs (*H*). She did not live to ſee the Miſfortunes of her Grand-Daughter *Antonia*, whom Mr *Moreri* has mentioned, but not without a Miſtake [*I*].

no longer, than they were an Honour to her; and preferred the Greatneſs of a *Roman* Soul to the tender Sentiments of Nature. There were two Traditions concerning the Death of *Livilla*; One, that *Tiberius* cauſed her to be put to Death; The other, that he pardoned her for the ſake of *Antonia*; but that *Antonia* condemned her to be ſtarved to Death (12).

[*G*] Caligula - - - - - *haſtened the Effects of her Melancholy by Poiſon.*] *Suetonius* and *Dion* agree in this Point. “ Per iſtiuſmodi indignitates & tædia “ cauſſa extitit mortis, dato tamen, ut quidam putant, & veneno (13). - - - - *By theſe Affronts and* “ *Vexations he was the Cauſe of her Death; not* “ *without a Suſpicion of having haſtened it by Poiſon.*” *Dion* ſays nothing of Poiſon; he only tells us, that this inhuman Wretch, not being able to bear the Reproaches of his Grandmother, obliged her to put an end to her Life (14). I cannot find in what Year this illuſtrious Lady died; but, ſince it was in the Reign of *Caligula*, I think her Death may be placed in the Year of *Rome* 792. That of her Husband happened in the Year 744. We may give a near gueſs at her Age, when ſhe became a Widow, and how long ſhe lived; for ſhe muſt have been born in the Year of *Rome* 714; ſince her Mother *Octavia*, who married *Marc Antony* in 713 (15), was delivered of a Daughter, upon his return from *Greece*, the Year following (16). The Poem entituled *Conſolatio ad Liviam Auguſtam de morte Druſi Neronis* (17), repreſents *Antonia* as very diſconſolate, and gives her great Encomiums. We are there informed, as alſo in *Valerius Maximus*, of *Druſus*'s Conſtancy, and that his laſt Words called upon his dear Wife:

Quid referam de te, digniſſima conjuge Druſo,
 Atque eadem Druſi digna parente nurus?
Par bene compoſitum, juvenum fortiſſimus alter,
 Altera tam forti mutua cura viro.
Fœmina tu princeps, tu filia Cæſaris: illi
 Nec minor es magni conjuge viſa Jovis.
Tu conceſſus amor, tu ſolus & ultimus illi,
 Tu requies feſſo grata laboris eras.
Te moriens per verba noviſſima queſtus abeſſe,
 Et mota in nomen frigida lingua tuum.

How ſhall the Muſe in feeble Numbers raiſe
Her Voice, illuſtrious Lady, to Thy Praiſe?
A Conſort, equal to great Druſus's *Worth!*
A Daughter, worthy Her, who gave thy Druſus *Birth!*
United Hearts in Love! Conſenting Pair!
The braveſt Warriour HE, *and* SHE *the lovelieſt Fair!*
A Princeſs born, great Cæſar *gave Thee Life;*
To him not leſs, than Jove's *imperial Wife.*
The ſacred Tie conſign'd you to His Arms;
And His were All Antonia's *blooming Charms.*
From Fair to Fair He never learnt to rove;
Thine was his firſt, and Thine his lateſt, Love.
On thy ſoft Boſom he repos'd from Care,
Forgot each Toil and Labour of the War.
His deareſt Wife employ'd his lateſt Breath;
Thy Abſence was his only Pang in Death.
Dying, his falt'ring Tongue's uncertain Aim
Call'd on his Wife, and half pronounced Thy Name.

[*H*] *Probably the Temple of* Antonia, *which* Pliny *alone mentions, took it's Name from This Princeſs.*] He ſpeaks of it in the Catalogue of *Apelles*'s Paintings; “ Ejuſdem, *ſays he*, arbitrantur manu eſſe & “ in Antoniæ templo Herculem averſum: ut, quod “ eſt difficillimum, faciem ejus oſtendat verius pictura, quam promittat (18). - - - *The* Hercules *averted,* “ *in the Temple of* Antonia, *is thought to be by the* “ *ſame Hand; that, what was moſt difficult, the* “ *Picture might more truly repreſent his Face, than* “ *promiſe it.*” A very learned Commentator (19) ſays, upon this Paſſage, That he does not know, whether this Temple belonged to the elder, or the younger *Antonia*, nor in what Part of the City it ſtood. “ Cujus illud Antoniæ fuerit, majoris, minoriſve, “ quove Urbis ſitu conditum fuerit, incompertum. “ Utraque Antonii Triumviri filia, Major Germanici “ & Claudii Cæſaris parens: Neronis avia. - - - - - “ *To which of the* Antonia's, *the elder, or the younger,* “ *it was dedicated, and in what City it was built,* “ *is uncertain. Both the* Antonia's *were Daughters* “ *of the* Triumvir; *the elder, the Mother of* Germanicus *and* Claudius Cæſar: *Grandmother of* “ Nero.” This is to prefer the Opinion of *Tacitus* to That of *Suetonius* (20), and giving the elder to *Druſus*: but, on the other hand, I know not what to make of the Words, *Neronis avia*. I ſuſpect the Printer has, at leaſt, forgot the Epithet *minor*; for, by ſubſtituting this Word, we find, that Father *Hardouin* has ſaid ſomething of both the *Antonia*'s; of the elder, that ſhe was the Mother of *Germanicus*, and the Emperor *Claudius*; and of the younger, that ſhe was *Nero*'s Grandmother. If no ſuch Word be ſupplied, there is a manifeſt Error in this Place, ſince the Mother of *Germanicus* was not *Nero*'s Grandmother. To have recourſe to the Adoption of *Nero*, by *Claudius*, would be an ill ſhift. In another place (21), this Commentator has preferred the Opinion of *Suetonius* to That of *Tacitus*.

[*I*] Antonia, *whom Mr* Moreri *has mentioned, but not without a Miſtake.*] She was Daughter of the Emperor *Claudius*, by *Ælia Petina*; but born before her Father was Emperor. He married her firſt to *Cneus Pompeius Magnus* (22), and afterwards to *Fauſtus Sylla*. She ſaw both her Husbands die a violent Death. The former was put to Death, by order of the Emperor *Claudius* (23); the latter was maſſacred, at *Marſeilles*, by Ruffians, whom *Nero* had ſent thither for that purpoſe (24). She refuſed to marry this Prince, who would have taken her to Wife, after the Death of *Pompey* (25). *Nero* put her to Death, upon pretence, that ſhe was concerned in a Conſpiracy; I believe it was That of *Piſo*. An Hiſtorian pretends, that *Piſo* was to have carried *Antonia* into the Camp of the *Prætorian* Guards (26). *Tacitus* mentions it, without thinking it very probable (27). He thinks it unlikely, that *Antonia* ſhould have expoſed herſelf to ſo great Hazard, without the Hopes of becoming *Piſo*'s Wiſe. Now there was no room to expect this; for *Piſo* was known to be a moſt uxorious Husband. But *Tacitus* does not ſtop here; he ſubjoins a Reſtriction, according to his Cuſtom; *unleſs*, ſays he, *we ſuppoſe, that the Deſire of Rule in Women is, of all others, the moſt violent.* By this he reſtores the Probability to *Pliny*'s Account, which he had been labouring to deſtroy. *Antonia* might have believed, that *Piſo* would repudiate his dear Wife, to open a way to the Throne, by marrying the Daughter of the Emperor *Claudius*. “ Interim Piſo apud ædem “ Cereris opperiretur, unde eum præfectus Fenius & “ cæteri accitum ferrent in caſtra, comitante Antonia “ Claudii Cæſaris filia, ad eliciendum vulgi favorem, “ quod C. Plinius memorat. Nobis quoquo modo traditum non occultare in animo fuit, quamvis abſurdum videretur, aut inani ſpei Antoniam nomen & “ periculum commodaviſſe, aut Piſonem notum amore uxoris alii matrimonio ſe obſtrinxiſſe: niſi ſi “ cupido dominandi cunctis affectibus flagrantior eſt “ (28). —— *In the mean time* Piſo *was to wait at* “ *the Temple of* Ceres, *from whence the Præfect* Fenius, *and the reſt, were to conduct him to the Camp,* “ *accompanied by* Antonia, *the Daughter of* Claudius “ Cæſar, *in order to gain the Vulgar to their Party,* “ *as* C. Plinius *informs us. I reſolved not to ſtifle* “ *this Tradition, true or falſe; though I cannot but* “ *think it abſurd, either that* Antonia *ſhould run the* “ *hazard of lending her Name to ſo vain an Enterprize,* “ *or that* Piſo, *who was remarkable for conjugal Fidelity, ſhould engage himſelf to marry another; unleſs the Deſire of Rule be the ſtrongeſt Affection of* “ *the Mind.*” *Moreri*'s Faults are, I. That *Tacitus* calls *Antonia*'s ſecond Husband *Cornelius Salvus*, whereas he calls him *Cornelius Sulla* (29). II. That *Antonia* lived a long time a Widow. Her Husband *Sylla* was killed in the Year 815. *Piſo*'s Conſpiracy broke out in 818. *Poppæa* died the ſame Year: It

(*i*) Suetoni. in Caligulâ, cap. 23.

(12) Dion. lib. 58.

(13) Sueton. in Calig. cap. 23.

(14) Dion. lib. 59. *See alſo* Sueton. in Calig. cap. 29.

(15) Calviſius ad ann. mundi 3910.

(16) Plut. in Antonio, pag. 930. E. *See alſo* pag. 931. D.

(17) *It is printed with* Ovid's *Works, and many take it to be his.*

(18) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10. pag. 213.

(19) *Father* Hardouin.

(20) *See, above, the Remark* [*A*].

(21) In Plin. lib. 7. cap. 19. Tom. 2. pag. 38.

(22) *He reſtored to him this Sirname, which* Caligula *had taken from him.* Dion. lib. 60.

(23) Sueton. in Claud. cap. 27.

(24) Tacit. Ann. lib. 14. cap. 57.

(25) Sueton. in Ner. cap. 35.

(26) Plinius, apud Tacitum Ann. lib. 15. cap. 53.

(27) Tacit. Annal. lib. 20. cap. 53.

(28) Tacit. Annal. lib. 15. cap. 53.

(29) Annal. lib. 13. cap. 23, (*and not* cap. 5. *as in* Moreri) *and* 47. Moreri *is miſtaken in citing* lib. 14. cap. 16. *He ſhould have cited* lib. 14. cap. 57. *nor has he cited all the Places, which he ought to have cited.*

is very probable, that *Antonia* was courted ſoon after; and that her Refuſal cauſed *Nero* to revive the Proceedings againſt her in particular. Be it as it will, her Widowhood could not be very long, ſince *Nero*, who cauſed her to be put to Death, died in the Year 821. In the third Place, the Authors, quoted by Mr *Moreri*, do not ſay, that *Nero* obliged *Antonia* to kill herſelf.

ANTONIA, Younger Siſter of the preceeding, as well by the Father, as the Mother's Side, will furniſh but a ſmall Article. I meet with nothing farther concerning her, than that ſhe was the Wife of *Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus*, and that this Marriage produced one Son and two Daughters; the Son, whoſe Name was *Cneus Domitius*, was Father to the Emperor *Nero*. We ſhall ſpeak of the Daughters under the Word DOMITIA; and ſhew, that Mr *Moreri* is miſtaken, in ſaying, that One of them married *Galba*.

ANTONIANO (SILVIO) a Cardinal, and a learned Man, raiſed himſelf by his Merit from a very low Condition; He was of mean Birth, and his Parents ſo far from being able to breed him a Scholar, that they themſelves ſtood in need of the Charity of others. Some ſay he was illegitimate; but *Joſeph Caſtalion*, who wrote his Life, has proved the contrary *(a)*. Be That as it will, he was born at *Rome*, in the Year 1540 [*A*]. He made ſo quick and ſurprizing a Progreſs in his Studies, that one can ſcarce credit the Accounts of it. At Ten Years of Age, he made Verſes [*B*] on any Subject, which was propoſed to him; which were ſo good, and ſo finely turn'd, tho' made *extemporè*, that other Wits could not have compoſed the like without much Time and Pains. The Trial was one day made at the Cardinal of *Piſa*'s Table, at an Entertainment, which he gave to ſeveral other Cardinals. *Alexander Farneſe*, taking a Noſegay, gave it to the young Scholar, bidding him preſent it to That Perſon of the Company, who ſhould be the next Pope. The Youth preſented it to the Cardinal *de Medicis*, and ſpoke his Elogy in Verſe. This Cardinal, who was afterwards Pope *Pius* IV, fancied the Company play'd upon him, and that the Poetry had been prepared before-hand, with much Art, with a Deſign of making a Jeſt of him; upon which he ſeemed to take it amiſs; but they ſolemnly proteſted to him, that it was made *extemporè*, and deſired he would try the Boy himſelf on any other Subject: He did ſo, and was convinced of the extraordinary Abilities of the Youth; who enlarged, off-hand, on a Subject, which was propoſed to him, in very elegant Verſe [*C*]. The Duke of *Ferrara*, coming to *Rome*, to congratulate *Marcellus* II, on his Elevation to the Pontificat, was ſo charmed with *Antoniano*'s Wit, that he carried him with him to *Ferrara* [*D*], where he appointed him excellent Maſters to inſtruct him in all the Sciences. He was taken from thence by Pope *Pius* IV; who, remembring the Adventure of the Noſe-gay, and being now in St *Peter*'s Chair, enquired what was become of the young Poet. Finding where he was,

(*a*) Scripſit Sylvii Card. Antoniani vitam, quem tum rationibus tum publicarum tabularum teſtimoniis ab eorum calumniis vindicare conatus eſt, qui illum à parente minus juſta uxore genitum aſſerebant. *Nicius Erythræus. Pinacoth.* I. *pag.* 167.

[*A*] *He was born at* Rome, *in the Year* 1540.] *Nicius Erythræus* makes him to be born at *Rome*: *Romæ, humili loco —— ortus* (1); but *Toppi* makes him a Native of *Caſtelli*, in the *Abruzzo*, and gives us an Inſcription, made by *Mutius Panza*, in which he is ſaid to be *Caſtellorum oppido oriundus* (2). This may only ſignify, that his Father was of this Place. However it be, I collect from Father *Oldoïni* (3), that he was born in the Year 1540, becauſe he tells us, that he died, *Auguſt* 16, 1603. *Nicius Erythræus* does not ſet down the Year of the Century, in which he died, but only, that he died in his grand Climacteric. Monſ. *de la Rochepozaï*, in his *Nomenclator Cardinalium*, places his Death on the ſixteenth of *Auguſt*, 1604. I have choſen to follow Father *Oldoïni*.

[*B*] *At ten Years of age he made Verſes.*] Father *Strada*, who, with much Politeneſs, has inſerted the Relation of this Adventure in one of his Orations, ſays, that *Antoniano* was not quite twelve Years of Age (4).

[*C*] *Who enlarged, off-hand, on a Subject, which was propoſed to him, in very elegant Verſe.*] Father *Strada* informs us, that, while the Cardinal *de Medicis* was conſidering what Subject he ſhould propoſe, the Clock ſtruck; upon which he deſired him to make Verſes on a Clock. The Author has preſerved thoſe, which he ſuppoſes *Antoniano* made on the Spot; and adds, that the Cardinal of *Trent* preſented him with a Chain.

[*D*] *The Duke —— carried him with him to* Ferrara.] *Antoniano* ſpoke ſome Orations there, which have been printed (5), with thoſe, which he pronounced at *Rome*; this inclines me to believe, that he was Profeſſor at *Ferrara*. *Nicius Erythræus* ſays only, that *Antoniano* taught the Sciences there; Why does he not tell us which they were? The fear of being too tedious is no juſt Reaſon for ſuppreſſing ſuch Particulars. I have not yet had an Opportunity of conſulting the Life of this Cardinal, compoſed by *Joſeph Caſtalio*; which, no doubt, informs us upon what account he was at *Ferrara*, and in what Year he died, with many other Particulars. Much leſs can I procure a Book, which Mr *Conrart* ſent to Mr *de Balzac*. The Subject was *Italian Diſcourſes of the Philoſophical Orator* (6). Mr *de Balzac* deſpiſed them: "I allow, *ſays he* (7), that the Elogium of Cardinal *Doſſat*, and Cardinal *Silvio Antoniano* are not amiſs, and that the Author has happily enough imitated the Parallels of *Plutarch*'s Lives. His long Invective againſt Nobility is the higheſt ſtrain of his Wit: I have obſerved ſeveral fine Strokes in it, and ſomething of his own Invention, beſides what he has borrowed from others, and particularly from *Caius Marius*'s Speech in the *Jugurthine* War. However, I am of Opinion, that, without injuring his Subject, he might have ſhortened his Digreſſion. This Common-place Topic, which he has ſpun out to ſuch a length, and which he has ſo artfully, and ſo pompouſly diſplayed, ought only to have been touched upon by the Bye. Beſides, that he made himſelf powerful and dangerous Enemies by it. For it muſt needs be a great Offence to the polite World, to prove, that it is no Crime to be the Son of an Artiſt, or Ruſtic."

"*Jerom Ruſcelli*, in the ſeventh Chapter of his *Rimario*, ſpeaks Wonders of the Talent of our *Silvio Antoniano*, whom, by miſtake, he calls *Antonio*, for *extempore* Poetry. He mentions a Trial, which was made of it at *Venice*, in the Preſence of the Queen of *Poland* *, Cardinal *Trivulcio*, and the Cardinal of *Ausburgh*. *Antoniano* was not then above Sixteen. The Princes of *Eſte* detained him at *Ferrara*, where he read public Lectures, as the ſame *Ruſcelli* informs us, in the place quoted." I have this from Mr *de la Monnoie*."

[*E*] *What*

(1) N. Erithr. Pinac. I.

(2) Toppi, Biblioth. Napolet. pag. 283.

(3) Oldoini Athen. Roman. pag. 625.

(4) Fam. Strada, Proluſ. Acad. 3. lib. 2.

(5) *By the Care of* Joſeph Caſtalio, *in* 1610.

(6) *See the Diſſertations at the end of the Chriſtian* Socrates, pag. 10.

(7) Ibid. 47.

* Bonna Sfozza, *who in* 1555, *quitted* Poland *to retire to* Bari *in* Italy.

was, he ſent for him to *Rome*, and gave him an honourable Poſt in his Palace. He afterwards made him Profeſſor of Humanity in the *Roman* College. *Antoniano* exerciſed This Office with ſo much Reputation, that, on the Day, when he began to explain the Oration *pro Marco Marcello*, he had not only a great Croud of People for his Auditors, but likewiſe Twenty five Cardinals. He afterwards became Rector of the ſame College ; and, upon the Death of *Pius* IV, the Spirit of Devotion ſeizing him, he followed *Philip de Neri*, and accepted of the Office of Secretary to the Sacred College, offered him by *Pius* V. He exerciſed this Employ Twenty five Years, and obtained by it the Reputation of an honeſt and able Officer. He refuſed the Biſhopric, which *Gregory* XIV would have given him, but not the Poſt of Secretary to the Briefs, which was offered him by *Clement* VIII, who made him alſo his Chamberlain, and afterward Cardinal. It is reported, that Cardinal *Alexander de Montalto*, who had behaved a little haughtily towards *Antoniano*, ſeeing him promoted to the Purple, ſaid, that, for the future, he would never deſpiſe a Man in a Caſſock and little Band, how low an Object ſoever he might ſeem, ſince, poſſibly, the Perſon, whom he had deſpiſed, might become not only his Equal, but even his Maſter. *Antoniano* killed himſelf by dint of Study ; he ſpent whole Nights in it ; which brought a Diſtemper upon him, of which he died, in the Sixty third Year of his Age. He wrote with ſo much Eaſe, that he had never occaſion to make any Raſure ; and it is ſaid, that he preſerved his Virginity all his Life (*b*). See, in one of the Remarks, what relates to his Works [*E*].

Cardinal *Bentivoglio* will furniſh me with a large Supplement to this Article [*F*]. I find, that *Antoniano* was one of the Diſputants on the Queſtion concerning the Precedency of Patriarchs [*G*].

[*E*] *What relates to his Works.*] We have of his, *De Chriſtiana puerorum educatione* —— *Diſſertatio de obſcuritate Solis in morte Chriſti* —— *De Succeſſione Apoſtolica* —— *De Stylo Eccleſiaſtico, ſeu de conſcribenda Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria* —— *De Primatu S. Petri* —— *Lucubrationes in Rhetoricam Ariſtotelis & in Orationes Ciceronis.* —— i. e. *Of the Chriſtian Education of Youth* —— *A Diſſertation on the Darkneſs of the Sun at the Crucifixion* —— *Of Apoſtolical Succeſſion* —— *Of the Eccleſiaſtical Style, or of writing Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* —— *Of the Primacy of St* Peter —— *Lucubrations on* Ariſtotle's *Rhetoric, and* Cicero's *Orations.* —— Several pieces of Verſes, ſome Sermons, Notes and Prefaces on the Romance of *Achilles Statius*, and on the *Terence* of *Gabriel Faernus* (8), ſeveral Letters, *&c.* He is ſaid to have had a hand in the *Catechiſm of the Council of* Trent (9). As for his Letters, they are Apoſtolical Briefs, which he compoſed while he was Secretary ; I ſhall take notice of them in the following Remark. They are reckoned among the Letters, which the Writers of Anecdotes ſhould make their Extracts from (10). The other Sources are the Letters of the Cardinals *Bembo* and *Sadolet*, Thoſe of *Peter Martyr*, &c. Note, that his Book *De Chriſtiana puerorum educatione*, compoſed in *Italian*, at the Requeſt of Cardinal *Charles Borromeo*, was printed at *Verona*, by the Care of *Auguſtin Valerio*, Biſhop of the Place, and Cardinal (11).

[*F*] *Cardinal* Bentivoglio *will furniſh me with a large Supplement to this Article.*] He ſays, it was ſtill uncertain, whether *Antoniano* was born at *Rome* ; but that there was no doubt of his having been educated there from his Infancy (12). He was placed, by Pope *Pius* IV, in the Service of Cardinal *Borromeo*, That Pope's Nephew ; he was This Cardinal's Secretary for *Latin* Diſpatches ; He attended him to *Milan*, and returned with him to *Rome*. He was made Secretary of the Sacred College ; and diſcharged the Duties of That Poſt to Admiration. He was admitted to the ſtricteſt Intimacy with *Clement* VIII ; whoſe Briefs he compoſed with ſo much Eloquence, that That Pope had no reaſon to envy *Leo* X. the *Sadolet*'s and the *Bembo*'s. He inſerted Paſſages of Scripture in them with great Judgment ; for which he was blamed by too rigid a Cenſor ; who ſaid, that it made ſeveral of the Pope's Letters ſavour more of a Monaſtery, than of the Court of *Rome*, and repreſented rather the Perſon of a Preacher, than that of a Sovereing Pontiff. *Che percio alcuni di loro, ſappeſſero più di Clauſtro regolare, che di corte Eccleſiaſtica, è repreſentaſſero quaſi la perſona d'un predicatore, che un Pontifice* (13). He laughed at this Criticiſm, and anſwered, That, if he took the Matter right, there were not too many Scripture-Phraſes in the Letters, which he compoſed ; that, on the contrary, he thought they were not ſufficiently filled with them, conſidering the Quality of the Perſon, who ſpake in them, which was That of a Sovereign Paſtor of the Church ; conſidering farther, likewiſe, that they were not prophane Letters, in which a Luxuriancy of Thought and Expreſſion, after the Style of temporal Sovereigns, ought to reign. *Anzi che a lui pareva, che più toſto mancaſſaro in queſta parte, havuto riguardo all' eſſere i Brevi Apoſtolici ſcritti dal ſupremo Paſtor della Chieſa, e non lettere profane, che haveſſero a luſſu reggiare con ſenſi, & parole tratte dalle Secretario de Principi temporali* (14). He adds, that the Briefs of *Sadolet*, and Thoſe of *Bembo*, did not keep up the *decorum*, which the Pontifical Dignity required ; and that, in ſome of his Briefs, *Bembo*, by an Affectation of Latinity, ſavours, not only of Prophaneneſs, and a worldly Spirit, but even of Paganiſm. *Antoniano* was, in his laſt Sickneſs, viſited by *Clement* VIII, and received from him the Apoſtolical Benediction. He was naturally modeſt, of a pleaſant Converſation, and a Prudence, which the Court-Spirit had not vitiated (15). He aſſiſted in ſeveral Conclaves, and diſcourſed concerning them with ſingular Satisfaction ; not without making ſolid Reflexions on the Vanity of human Things. *Men*, ſaid he, *perplex themſelves with a thouſand Cares, to compaſs their Ends, but the Providence of God almoſt always diſcovers it's Aſcendant. Per occaſione d'eſſere ſtato Secretario del Sacro Collegio tant'anni, s'era trovato egli in molti conclavi, e di quei ſucceſſi diſcorreva con guſto particolare, e monſtrava ſpecialemente in quanti modi vi ſi affaticaſſe l'induſtria humana, ed in quanti vi appariſſe, e vi prevaliſſe ordinariamente la providenza Divina* (16). Without doubt he meant to ſay, that the beſt concerted Intrigues, and thoſe, which have exerciſed the Thoughts moſt, are fruſtrated, in Conclaves, by unforeſeen Accidents. If by this he would inſinuate, that the ſecret Springs of Providence are more particularly diſcoverable in Thoſe Aſſemblies, where Popes are elected, he was miſtaken ; for we ſee, that, in all the Courts of the World, the Succeſs of the moſt prudent Politics depends upon I know not what fortuitous Incidents ; which may convince us of the Truth of the Proverb, *Man propoſes, but God diſpoſes.*

[*G*] *Was one of the Diſputants in the Queſtion concerning the Precedency of Patriarchs.*] Read this Paſſage, taken from a Letter, which *le Paranda* wrote to *Rome*, the eleventh of *December*, 1589. "La "cauſa della precedenza Patriarcale non è ancor "venuta à fine, & ſi tratta tuttavia nella Congre-"gatione delle Ceremonie. Sì ſcrive, & le ſcritture "vanno per *manus*, & ſi come diſſi già il parer della "Congregatione è contra la pretenza de gli Arciveſ-"covi, & de Patriarchi. Solamente l'Antoniano "ſoſtien queſta parte, & ſcrive, & ſtà ſaldo. Sarà "un brau' huomo, ſe farà tanto che baſti, havendo "da contraſtar con Monſignor Illuſtriſſimo Goſual-"do (17).

(*b*) Ex Iano Nicio Erythro, Pinacoth. I. pag. 36.

(8) Nomenclat. Cardinal pag. 178.

(9) *See* Colomies Bibl. choiſ. pag. 36.

(10) Varillas's *Preface to the* Anecdotes *of* Florence.

(11) Poſſevin. Apparat. Sacr. Tom. 2. pag. 405. 443.

(12) Bentivoglio, Memorie overo diario, capitolo 7. pag. 109. Edit. Amſtel. 1648.

(13) Id. ib. pag. 111.

(14) Id. ib. pag. 112.

(15) Id. ib. pag. 113.

(16) Id. ib. pag 152.

(17) Lettere de Gio. Franceſco Peranda, prima parte, pag. 224. Edit. Venet. 1604.

" do (17). - - - - *The Queſtion concerning the Precedency of Patriarchs is not yet determined, and continues to be diſcuſſed in the Congregation of Ceremony. They write, and their Works are in every one's Hands. And they ſay the Opinion of the Congregation is againſt the Pretenſions of the Archbiſhops and Patriarchs.* Antoniano *alone undertakes their Defence, and writes, and makes a Stand. He will be a brave Man, if he can ſupport his Cauſe againſt the moſt illuſtrious Lord* Goſualdo."

ANTONIO (Nicolas) Knight of the Order of St *James*, and Canon of *Seville*, has done great Honour to the *Spaniſh* Nation by the *Bibliotheque* of *Spaniſh* Writers, which he publiſhed at *Rome*, in two Volumes, in *Folio*, in the Year 1672. It is a very good Work in it's kind [*A*]. And, perhaps, no One has ſucceeded better in Collections of this kind, than Don *Nicolas Antonio*. He was born at *Seville*, in the Year 1617, of a Father, whom King *Philip* IV made Preſident of the Admiralty, eſtabliſhed in That City in the Year 1626. Having ſtudied School-Learning, Philoſophy, and Theology, in his own Country, he went to ſtudy the Law at *Salamanca*, and applied himſelf chiefly to the Lectures of *Franciſco Ramos del Manzano*, who was afterwards One of the King's Counſellors, and Preceptor to *Charles* II. We cannot form a better Judgment of the Progreſs he made, than from the many Projects he had conceived for the Advancement of Literature, and the manner, in which he executed part of them, notwithſtanding the unavoidable interruption of Affairs, in an Employment, which he had at *Rome*; being Agent-General for the King, his Maſter, and, beſides, concerned in Special Commiſſions, from the Inquiſition of *Spain*, the Vice-Roys of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and the Governour of *Milan*, to negotiate their Affairs at the Court of *Rome*. The Plan of the *Bibliotheque* of the *Spaniſh* Writers conſiſts of two Parts. The firſt comprehends all the Authors of That Nation, who lived before the End of the XVth Century; the other Thoſe, who lived after the End of That Century. This latter Part, being ready ſooner than the firſt, was publiſhed before it. It appeared at *Rome*, as I have already ſaid, in two Volumes in *Folio*, in the Year 1672. I cannot tell whether the Author had leiſure enough to put the laſt Hand to the other Part, and to a ſecond Deſign, no leſs laborious. He was employ'd upon a Work under the following Title; *Trophæum Hiſtorico-Eccleſiaſticum Deo veritati erectum, ex manubiis Pſeudo-Hiſtoricorum, qui Flavii Lucii Dextri, M. Maximi, Helecæ, Braulionis, Luitprandi, & Juliani nomine circumferuntur; hoc eſt, vindiciæ veræ atque dudum notæ Hiſpanarum rerum Hiſtoriæ, Germanarum noſtræ gentis laudum, non ex Germano-Fuldenſibus Chronicis, emendicatarum in libertatem & puritatem plena Aſſertio.——An Hiſtorico-Eccleſiaſtical Trophy erected to the God of Truth from the Spoils of the Pſeudo-Hiſtorians, handed about under the Names of* Flavius Lucius Dexter, M. Maximus, Helecas, Braulio, Luitprand, *and* Julian; *that is, The True and Well-known Hiſtory of the* Spaniſh *Affairs vindicated, and the Genuine Virtues of our People, not meanly borrowed from the* German *Chronicles of* Fuld, *but reſtored to their Liberty and Purity*. He had reaſon to ſay, that it was not only a Work of vaſt Extent, but attended likewiſe with dangerous Conſequences (*a*). For where are Thoſe, who are willing to be undeceived as to Fables, which for a long time have flattered the Vanity of their Nation? To what do not they expoſe themſelves, who venture to ſtem the Torrent of a Tradition equally fabulous and glorious (*b*)? Every one knows the Clamour of the *Provençals* upon Mr *de Launoi*'s attempting to cure them of their Errors in relation to *Mary Magdalen* and *Lazarus*. Perhaps Don *Nicolas Antonio* did not preſume to meddle with certain pious Fables [*B*], as being very ſenſible of the Obſtinacy of his Countrymen on this Head, and the untractable Temper of the Inquiſition. He inſinuates,

(*a*) Immenſæ molis, ac forſan invidæ, opus.

(*b*) *See the Remark* [*D*], *at the end.*

A Thought on the Indexes of Books.

[*A*] *The* Bibliotheque *of* Spaniſh Writers - - - - - *is a very good Book in it's kind* (1).] I have quoted Mr *Baillet*, who has given a Detail of his Excellencies. He has, not without Reaſon, praiſed the very Tables of the Book; for they are in a very good Method, and very uſeful. The Author has wrote a ſhort Preface to it, which ſhews his good Taſte and Judgment. He there introduces the Saying of a *Spaniſh* Writer, " Indicem libri ab Autore, librum " ipſum à quovis alio conficiendum eſſe. - - - - *The " Index of a Book ſhould be the Author's own; the " Book itſelf may be wrote by any one elſe.*" The contrary is practiſed at preſent; Authors leave the trouble of compoſing Alphabetical Tables to others; and it muſt be owned, that they, who are not laborious, and whoſe Talent lies in a great Warmth of Imagination, are in the right to let others compoſe the Indexes of their Works; but a Man of Judgment, and Labour, will ſucceed, in making Tables to his own Writings, much better than a Stranger. There are many Pieces of good Advice to be given in regard to the Compoſition of theſe Tables; nor are they miſtaken, who look upon them as the Soul of Books.

(1) *See the advantageous Character given of it by Mr* Baillet, Tom. 2. *of his* Jugemens des Sçavans, n. 128. *The* Journal des Sçavans, *of* July 6, 1676, *gives us a wretched Article on this excellent Work.*

[*B*] *He did not preſume to meddle with certain pious Fables.*] Perhaps I am miſtaken; for Mr *Baillet* ſpeaks thus of them; " His Criticiſm is very " juſt and ſolid in ſeveral Places; particularly in what " relates to the fabulous Traditions of the firſt Catechiſts, who planted the Faith in *Spain*, and of " thoſe falſe Hiſtorians, whom Impoſture brought " forth, for the Deluſion of the *Spaniards*, and on " whom our Author has promiſed a particular Criticiſm (2)." This would have made me more peremptory, had I not found another Remark ſubjoined to theſe Words of Mr *Baillet*; " However, " there is room to ſuſpect him of too much Indulgence " for certain vulgar Opinions, which are exploded " by Critics of the beſt Taſte." Be this as it will, there is no doubt but he would have deſtroyed the Authority of all the ſuppoſed Authors mentioned in his Title (3); nor would he have been the firſt, who had employed his Pen to this Purpoſe; for read the following Extract from ſome Sheets of the Abbot *de la Roque*; " For an Age paſt, they " have had the boldneſs to write (*ſpeaking of* Spain) " and publiſh falſe Chronicles, to impoſe upon the " Credulity of the Learned, or the Simple; which, " far from diminiſhing, increaſes the Glory of the " Marquis *d'Agropoli*, who has ſo juſtly ridiculed " and exploded *Dexter*, the oldeſt of theſe falſe " Chroniclers, in his *Diſſertationes Eccleſiaſticas por " el honor de los antiquos tutelares contra las ficciones modernas*, printed at *Sarragoſſa* in 1671 (4).

(2) Baillet, Jugem. des Sçavans, Tom. 2. pag. 154.

(3) *See the Remark* [*D*], *at the end.*

(4) Journ. des Sçavans, *of the* 13th *of* January, 1687. pag. 11. *See the end of the Remark* [*D*].

2

[*C*] *The*

inſinuates, that he had formed the Deſign of ſeveral other Works. But let us not omit That, which he publiſhed at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1659; *De Exilio, ſive de Pœna Exilii Exulumque Conditione & Juribus, in folio* (c).——*Of Baniſhment, or of the Puniſhment of Exile, and the Condition and Rights of the Exiled, in Folio.*

Thus much I had ſaid of Don *Nicolas Antonio*, in the firſt Edition. Since That Time, I have been informed, that, being returned to *Seville*, after having ſtudied the Law at *Salamanca, he ſhut himſelf up in the Royal Monaſtery of* Benedictines, *where he laboured ſeveral Years on the* Spaniſh Bibliotheque, *and, for that purpoſe, made uſe of the Books of* Benedictus de la Serna, *who was, at that time, Abbot of It, and Dean of the Faculty of Theology of* Salamanca; *That, in the Year* 1659, *he was ſent to* Rome *by King* Philip IV, *to take care of the Affairs of the Kingdom, as Agent-General* (d): *That the Cardinal of* Arragon, *Ambaſſador at* Rome, *obtained for him, of Pope* Alexander VII, *a Canonſhip in the Church of* Seville, *the Revenue whereof he employed in Alms and Books; That he collected above Thirty thouſand Volumes with it; inſomuch that his Library fell ſhort of none, but the* Vatican; *That, by this Aſſiſtance, together with continual Labour, and indefatigable Application, he finiſhed his* Bibliotheque *of* Spain *in four Volumes in* Folio (e)——*That, after he had cauſed the two firſt Volumes to be printed, he was recalled to* Madrid *by King* Charles II, *to take on him the Office of Counſellor of the* Cruſado, *which he diſcharged with great Integrity till his Death, which happened in* 1684.——*That he left no other Eſtate, beſides the vaſt Library, which he had tranſported from* Rome *to* Madrid; *on the contrary, that his Executorſhip was clogged with Debts; that his two Brothers, who are Canons of* Salamanca, *and his two Nephews, were not able to get his* Bibliotheque *of* Spain *printed, but ſent it to Monſieur the Cardinal* d'Aguirre, *who was ſo generous as to be at the Expence of the Impreſſion himſelf* [C], *and committed the Care of it to Monſieur* Marti, *his Library-Keeper, who added ſome Notes in his Eminency's Name.* I have juſt ſeen a little Book, in which I find, that the Jeſuits have complained of this Work of Don *Nicholas Antonio* [D].

[C] *The Cardinal* d'Aguirre, - - - - - *was ſo generous, as to be at the Expence of the Impreſſion himſelf.*] He was the Author's old Friend, and had ſtudied with him in the Univerſity of *Salamanca*. The Republic of Letters is extreamly obliged to him for the Expence he was at in printing ſuch a Book, which contains two Volumes in *Folio*. They were printed at *Rome*, and appeared in 1696. You will find good Extracts from them in the *Journal de Sçavans* (5), and in That of *Leipſic* (6). The Title of the Work is This: "Bibliotheca Hiſpana vetus, ſive Hiſpanorum qui uſquam unquamve ſcripto aliquid conſignaverunt, Notitia, complectens ſcriptores omnes qui ab Octaviani Auguſti Imperio uſque ad annum M D floruerunt. Auctore Nicolao Antonio, Hiſpalenſi Juriſconſulto, Ordinis S. Jacobi Equite, Patriæ Eccleſiæ Canonico, regiorum negotiorum in Urbe & Romanâ curiâ Procuratore generali, demum Matriti conſiliario Regio. Opus Poſthumum. Nunc primum prodit juſſu & expenſis Eminentiſſimi & Reverendiſſimi Domini D. Joſephi Saenz Cardinalis de Aguirre. - - - - - *A Dictionary of ancient* Spaniſh *Authors, or Memoirs of all thoſe in* Spain, *who have ever, or any where, committed any Thing to writing; comprehending all the Writers, who have flouriſhed from the Reign of* Octavian Auguſtus *down to the Year M D. By* Nicolas Antonio, *Civilian of* Salamanca, *and Knight of the Order of St* James; *Canon of* Seville, *Agent-General for the King and the Inquiſition, and laſtly the King's Counſellor at* Madrid. *A Poſthumous Work; now firſt publiſhed by Order, and at the Expence, of the moſt Eminent and Reverend Lord,* D. Joſeph Saenz, *Cardinal of* Aguirre."

[D] *The Jeſuits have complained of this Work of* Don Nicolas Antonio] A Pamphlet (7) entituled Calumnia convicta, ſeu Epiſtola familiaris Cleandri ad clariſſimum & eruditiſſimum virum Evariſtum, ſuper Memoriali nuper porrecto, Hiſpano idiomate, ad Regem Catholicum à Patre Joanne de Palazol Soc. Jeſu, nomine & juſſu Thyrſi Gonzales ejuſdem Soc. Generalis Præpoſiti. - - - - - *Calumny convicted; or a familiar Epiſtle from* Cleander *to the moſt famous and learned* Evariſtus, *concerning a Memorial, in* Spaniſh, *lately preſented to the Catholic King, by Father* John de Palazol, *a Jeſuit, by Order of* Thyrſus Gonzales, *General of the Order*; dated from *Dilingen*, the Twenty fifth of *June* 1698, informs me, that the Jeſuits have repreſented to the King of *Spain*, that one of the five Propoſitions of *Janſenius* has been recommended as Catholic in the Work of *Don Nicolas Antonio*. They pretend to be unwilling to attack the Cardinal *d'Aguirre*, who was at the Expence of printing this Work; but it is eaſy to ſee that they attack him indirectly. They ſuppoſe, that ſome *Janſeniſt* has, in this Place, corrupted the Text of *Antonio*. The whole Affair is This: Our Author acknowledges this Propoſition of *Prudentius*, Biſhop of *Troyes*, for Catholic; "That the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt was ſhed for all Believers; but not for thoſe, who never have believed; who do not now believe; and who never will believe." *Quod ſanguis Chriſti effuſus ſit pro omnibus credentibus, ſed non pro iis qui nunquam crediderunt, nec credunt, nec credituri ſunt.* The Author of the Pamphlet ſhews, that this Propoſition might have been conſidered as Catholic; and that therefore there was no manner of Reaſon to ſuſpect the Faith of *Don Nicolas Antonio*, or That of the Cardinal *d'Aguirre*. Note, that his Eminence has declared boldly againſt the looſer Caſuiſts (8); and that this is ſuppoſed to be the Reaſon of the ill Offices the Jeſuits endeavour to do him.

It is probable, this will not be the only Complaint brought to the Tribunals againſt theſe two Volumes of the *Bibliotheque* of *Spain*. I have not yet ſeen them, and I queſtion whether there be a Copy of them in the United Provinces (9); but I am aſſured, that the Author has declared loudly againſt the pretended *Luitprand*, and againſt *Higuera*, who brought him to light; and has fallen foul on *Aubert* of *Seville*, on the *Chronicles* of *Dexter*, on *Maximus*, on *Julian, &c.* A *Spaniſh* Jeſuit (10) remarks this, in a Work he has publiſhed, in favour of his Brethren, at *Antwerp*, Compilers of the *Acta Sanctorum*. It is there I have met with ſome Paſſages of *Don Nicolas Antonio* on this Subject. But, ſince the Marquis *d'Agropoli*, Grandee of *Spain* by a double Title, could not combat theſe fabulous Hiſtorians, without expoſing himſelf to a vexatious Information before the Inquiſition (11), as a Writer, who betrayed the Honour of his Country; I cannot ſuppoſe the Monks of That Country will ever ſuffer the Memory of our *Nicolas Antonio* to reſt.

APAFI (MICHAEL) Prince of *Tranſylvania*, was promoted to this Principality in the Year 1661, without his thinking of it. *Ali Baſſa*, having forced *Kimin Janos* to quit *Tranſylvania*, was apprehenſive he ſhould not be able to hinder him from returning, and making his Party ſuperior by the help of the Imperial Troops. He reſolved, therefore, to ſet up a Prince in oppoſition to him, who ſhould be elected by the States of the Country, under the Protection of the *Porte*. To this end, he demanded of the Deputies of the Towns of *Tranſylvania*, whether there were not ſome great *Tranſylvanian* Lord, in the Towns, which had ſubmitted to his Arms, worthy of the Principality *(a)*? They named to him *Michael Apaſi*, who kept himſelf at that time in his Caſtle of *Ebeſtfalve*, and had not yet forgot the long Troubles he had ſuffered among the *Tartars*, from whence he was but lately releaſed, by paying a great Ranſom. *Ali* ſent for him, without diſcovering his Deſign. *Apaſi* believed it was to put him to Death [*A*], but durſt not refuſe to go with the Guard, which was ſent for him. His Wife, who was near the time of her Lying-in, was in a mortal Fright, and gave him over for loſt. Before he had paſſed his own Eſtate, News was brought him, that his Wife was happily delivered of a Son; he knew not whether he ought to rejoice or grieve, at the News: but the *Turks*, who guarded him, and no doubt knew *Ali Baſſa*'s Intentions better than he, told him, It preſaged a happy Principality to him. *Ali* received him very honourably, and a few Days after procured him to be elected Prince of *Tranſylvania*. He managed it ſo, that the Election appeared to be legal; for he cauſed as many of the Nobility of *Tranſylvania* to come into his Army, as he could; and told them he wiſhed that They, together with the Deputies of the Cities, would elect a Prince; and promiſed, in the *Sultan*'s Name, to confer the Enſigns of the Principality upon whomſoever they ſhould elect *(b)*. Thus *Michael Apaſi* became Prince of *Tranſylvania*, without any Intrigues, on his part, or Expectation of it [*B*]. He was of Noble Birth [*C*] indeed, but of a quiet Diſpoſition; beſides that, his long Impriſonment in *Crim-Tartary* had inſpired him with great Humility. *Kimin Janos*, who expected Wonders from his Conjunction with the Imperialiſts, commanded by the Count *Montecuculi*, found himſelf diſappointed; for, as ſoon as *Montecuculi* was informed of the Condition of the *Ottoman* Forces, he thought it more convenient to return to *Hungary*, than hazard a Battle. This Retreat gave the *Turks* an opportunity of making great Ravages, and obtaining a Victory in *Tranſylvania*, which coſt *Kimin Janos* his Life, in *January* 1662 [*D*].

(c) *Taken from his* Bibliotheca Hiſpanica, Tom. 2. pag. 118, 119.

(d) Journ. des Sçavans, *of the tenth of* June, 1697, pag. 420. *Edit.* Holl.

(e) Ib. pag. 421, 422.

(5) *Of the Months of* June *and* July, 1697.

(6) Acta Erudit. Lipſ. Menſ. Jun. & Jul. 1697.

(7) *Of twenty ſeven Pages in* 12mo.

(8) *See the ſeveral Extracts from his Books, in the* Memorial *of a* Janſeniſt, *which I ſhall cite in the Article* BELLARMIN, *Remark* [H].

(9) *I write this the* 8th *of* February, 1699.

(10) Anton. Xaramilius, *in* Apologia pro Veritate. *This Work, tranſlated out of* Spaniſh *into* Latin, *by the Jeſuit* Pet. Cant, *was printed at* Antwerp, An. 1698.

(11) *See the Article* VESPASIAN, *Remark* [D].

His

[*A*] Apaſi *believ'd it was to put him to Death.*] I give more Credit to this, than to Thoſe, who ſay he was an ambitious Man. I quote an Author, who was well informed; for he lived at that Time, and had Employments in *Tranſylvania*, which gave him Opportunities of knowing the bottom of all Tranſactions (1). Now he relates very ingenuouſly, that *Apaſi* was made Prince of *Tranſylvania*, without contributing any thing to it himſelf; and affirms, that he was not an ambitious Man. However, it is a very pardonable Miſtake to ſay, *that* Apaſi *had certain Qualities, which rendred him worthy of a Principality, and an* AMBITION *withal* proportionable *to the* GREATNESS *of his Soul* (2): For, generally, thoſe who are raiſed to Elective Principalities, in the midſt of Troubles, ſtirred up by their Competitors, are Men of very aſpiring Minds. A *French* Author, who has publiſhed an Hiſtory of the Troubles in *Hungary*, is far from repreſenting *Michael Apaſi* as a Prince, who endeavoured to aggrandize himſelf; for, when he ſpeaks of the Reſolution taken by the *Hungarian* Proteſtants, to confederate themſelves with thoſe of *Tranſylvania*, to maintain their Liberty of Conſcience by the Sword; he adds theſe Words, "The Princeſs, who was a Woman of a turbulent Spirit, and "extreamly attached to the Errors of *Calvin*, ſollicited this Confederacy very powerfully; whilſt her "more peaceable Husband employed himſelf only in "Hunting, and in the Converſation of the Learned (3)"

[*B*] *Thus* Michael Apaſi *became Prince of* Tranſylvania, *without any Intrigues, on his Part, or Expectation of it.*] Of this I have already ſpoken in the foregoing Remark. It remains only, that I point out certain Authors, who ſeem not to have been well informed of the manner of his Election. One of them ſpeaks thus; "In the beginning of the Year "1663, *Kimin Janos* was defeated, and loſt his "Life. - - - - - The *Turks*, finding no more Reſiſtance, made themſelves Maſters of all *Tranſylvania*, "except the Places poſſeſſed by the Imperialiſts. *Michael Apaſi*, who had been elected in the Room "of *Kimin Janos*, deſired a Peace with the *Turks*; "and, accordingly, *Hali Baſſa* entered into a Treaty with the Baron *de Grez* (4)." This Diſcourſe plainly imports, I. That *Apaſi* was at War with the *Turks*, as ſoon as he was placed on the Throne of *Tranſylvania*. II. That he was not elected before the Death of *Kimin Janos*, and conſequently not 'till the Year 1663. All This is falſe. He was elected in the Year 1661, during the Life of *Kimin Janos*, and at the Recommendation of *Ali Baſſa*; and *Kimin Janos* was killed in the Month of *January* 1662. The Author of the Life of Count *Tekeli* relates (5), by *Hear-ſay* only, *that* Michael Apaſi *was raiſed, by the* Turks, *to the Principality of* Tranſylvania, *on his promiſing a larger Tribute.* Away with this Promiſe to the ſame Place with *His other Competitors, who addreſſed themſelves to the Grand Signior*, as the miſinformed Mr *Moreri* tells us.

[*C*] *He was of noble Birth.*] Let us hear the Author, whom I have already cited more than once. "Hic (Michael Apaſi) erat ex antiquiſſima magnatum "Familia ortus, pius, ſed tam natura, quam propter "diuturnas Carceris Crimenſis moleſtias, plus juſto demiſſus ac lenis, ut adepto etiam Principatu nimiæ à "pleriſque lenitatis inſimularetur (6). - - - *This Prince* "(Michael Apaſi) *was of a noble and ancient Family; a* "*pious Man, but, both by Nature, and from the long* "*Troubles of his Impriſonment in* Crim-Tartary, *of* "*too humble and mild a Diſpoſition; inſomuch, that,* "*even after he was raiſed to the Principality, he* "*was reproached by ſome with too much Lenity.*" Theſe Words, *ex antiquiſſima magnatum Familia*, ſufficiently confute Mr *Moreri*, who ſays, that *Michael Abaſſi* was *a Magiſtrate's Son of* Hermanſtadt, *the chief City of* Tranſylvania. It was certainly on the Credit of His Dictionary, that the Author of the Hiſtorical *Mercury* affirmed the ſame thing (7).

[*D*] *Which coſt* Kimin Janos *his Life, in* January 1662.] I have already confuted Him, who ſaid it was in the beginning of the Year 1663. There is another ſtill to be confuted. Sir *P. Ricaut* pretends, that *Kimin Janos*, having been defeated near *Clauſemburgh*, *reſolved*, ſome time after, *to try his Fortune a ſecond time*: That *he gave the* Turks *Battle, at ſome Diſtance from* Presburg; that the Succeſs was a long time doubtful; but that, at laſt, he was forced to yield to Numbers, and, in the Flight, *was thrown off his Horſe by his own Men, and trod to Death.* This Hiſtorian remarks, that the *Turks* killed, and took Priſoners, Fifty thouſand Chriſtians, in the Battle of *Clauſemburgh*; and that, a little before, they declined fighting, becauſe the Emperor's Troops, and thoſe of *Kimin Janos*, were ſuperior to theirs in Number (8). I find nothing of this in my *Tranſylvanian* Author. He informs me, on the contrary, that *Montecuculi*, and *Kimin Janos*, being advanced beyond *Clauſemburgh*, were informed, that *Ali Baſſa*'s Army was four times ſtronger than theirs, inſomuch that *Montecuculi* declared to *Kimin Janos*, that, conſidering the ill Condition their Infantry was in, by rea-

ſon

(a) Joannes Betlenius, Rerum Tranſylvaniæ, lib. 3. pag. 246.

(b) Ex eodem Betlenio, pag. 248, 249.

(1) *The Titles, which he gives himſelf, at the beginning of his Hiſtory of* Tranſylvania, *printed at* Amſterdam, 1664, *in* 12mo, *are theſe.* Joannes Betlenius, Comes Comitatus Albenſis, regni Tranſylvaniæ Conſiliarius, Cancellarius, ac ſedis Siculicalis Udvarhely Capitaneus ſupremus, &c.

(2) Ricaut's *Hiſtory of* Mahomet IV. pag. 292.

(3) *Hiſtory of the Troubles of* Hungary, *Book* 2. An. 1668, pag. 75, *of the Edition of* Amſterdam, 1686.

(4) Ib. lib. 1. pag. 41.

(5) Pag. 18. *of the Edition of* 1694.

(6) Betlenius, pag. 247.

(7) *Month of* March, 1690, pag. 490.

(8) Ricaut's *Hiſtory of* Mahomet IV. pag. 292, 293, Ann. 1661.

His Son endeavoured to ſupport his Pretenſions; but his Efforts were unſucceſsful. *Apaſi* was obliged to join his Forces with thoſe of the *Turks*, to recover the Places, which the Emperor had poſſeſſed himſelf of in *Tranſylvania*. The Imperial Garriſon of *Clauſemburgh* defended itſelf ſo long, that the *Turks* and *Michael Apaſi* were obliged to raiſe the Siege with Diſgrace (*c*). Treaties were ſet on foot for the Evacuation of theſe Places, but without any Effect; they were forced to come to open War at laſt (*d*). The *Turks* were ſucceſsful in 1663; but, the Year following, they loſt the famous Battle of *St Godard*; after which the *Grand Vizier* conſented to a Truce of Twenty Years. In the Year 1664, *Apaſi* treated with the Imperial Garriſons of *Clauſemburgh* and *Zatmar*, who delivered up thoſe two Towns to him (*e*). He lived under the Protection of the *Porte*, and wholly independant on the Court of *Vienna*, during the Truce between the two Empires. At firſt he favoured the Malecontents of *Hungary*, without breaking with the Emperor; but at laſt engaged in an open War for them, and publiſhed his Reaſons, in a *Latin Manifeſto*, addreſſed to all the Chriſtian Powers [*E*]. The *Turks* broke with the Emperor, in the Year 1683, and entered *Hungary* with a formidable Army, which penetrated as far as *Vienna*, with all imaginable Eaſe. But theſe happy Beginnings were followed by a dreadful Reverſe. The *Grand Vizier* raiſed the Siege of *Vienna*; and from that time there followed nothing but Loſs upon Loſs, and Misfortune upon Misfortune, on the *Ottoman* ſide. *Tranſylvania* fell a Prey to the Imperial Troops; and *Apaſi*, inſtead of aſſerting the Liberties of *Hungary*, was the Cauſe of This Kingdom's loſing That Shadow of Liberty, which remained to it [*F*]; for it is now no longer elective, but looked upon as a conquered Country, and, accordingly, is erected into an Hereditary Kingdom. *Apaſi* died at *Weiſſemburgh* towards the end of

(*c*) *The Governor was called* David Rettani. *He was a* Venetian, *and a good Engineer.* Vianoli Hiſt. Veneta, Tom. 2. pag. 669.

(*d*) Ex Betlenio, Hiſt. Rer. Tranſylvan.

(*e*) Buno, Not. in Phil. Cluverii introduct. Geograph. pag. 281.

ſon of the ſcarcity of Proviſions, which they had ſuffered, he could not hazard his Imperial Majeſty's Troops (9). *Kimin Janos*, being driven to deſpair, could hardly refrain from Tears at this Declaration (10); and was forced to return with *Montecuculi* into *Hungary*. He fought no other Battle, but That, in which he was killed; nor did he fight it near *Preſburgh*, in *Hungary*, but in the Plains of *Tranſylvania*, on the Twenty third of *January*, 1662, near a Village called *Hetur* (11). The Hiſtorian obſerves, that about Five thouſand Men of *Montecuculi*'s Army periſhed by Famine and Sickneſs (12). This Circumſtance, joined to that which is obſerved above, weakens the Credit of what Sir *P. Ricaut* ſays, *viz.* that the Emperor's Forces, *and thoſe of* Kimin Janos, *united, formed ſo fair and numerous an Army, that one would have thought, they were deſigned not only to defend the Frontiers of* Chriſtendom, *but even to diſpute the Empire of the World with the* Ottomans (13). How can this be, if the *Ottoman* Army was four times ſtronger? But how can this Victory of the *Turks*, near *Clauſemburgh*, which coſt the Chriſtians Fifty thouſand Men, be credited; how, I ſay, when there is not a Syllable of it to be found in the Hiſtory of *Tranſylvania?* Have the *Turks* their *Gazetteers* at *Conſtantinople*, who vie with the Chriſtians in framing imaginary Victories?

[*E*] *And publiſhed his Reaſons, in a* Latin Manifeſto, *addreſſed to all the Chriſtian Powers.*] I have a Copy of it by me, printed in the Year 1682, after the Copy of *Tranſylvania*. But, as there is no date to the *Manifeſto* of *Michael Apaſi*, and as my Edition does not remark the Time of the Publication of That of *Tranſylvania*, I dare not affirm, that this Prince declared War in 1682; for I find, in the Life of Count *Tekeli* (14), that, in 1681, Apaſi *joined him with an Army of* Tranſylvanians, *and that they both undertook the Siege of* Zatmar. The Author of the Hiſtory of the *Troubles of* Hungary ſpeaks of That Siege under the ſame Year (15), and informs us, that *Michael Apaſi* made himſelf Maſter of the Town (16); but that, not being able to reduce the Citadel, he retreated, and loſt his Baggage in the Retreat (17); that it was difficult to penetrate into the Cauſe of this Diſgrace (18); that ſome attributed it to a miſunderſtanding between Count *Tekeli*, and *Teleki*, who commanded the *Tranſylvanian* Troops at That Siege; that the latter was accuſed of making uſe of bad Powder, which took no effect; and that, according to others, *Prince* Apaſi *would not take the Town himſelf, on ſome Advice he had received, that the* Grand Signior *expected he ſhould put the Place into his Hands; that it is certain, however, that the* Baſſa, *who command the* Turks *at That Siege, ſent long Memorials to* Conſtantinople *againſt this Prince, which obliged him to return into his own Country, for fear ſome change of Affairs ſhould happen there in his Abſence.* Thus this Hiſtorian reports the Tittle-tattle of Coffee-houſe Politicians. The *Hiſtorical and Political Mercury* has faithfully copied him (19).

Whether the ill Succeſs of *Apaſi*'s Attempt ought to be looked upon as the Effect of Imprudence.

[*F*] *Was the Cauſe of this Kingdom's loſing That Shadow of Liberty, which remained to it.*] It would be unjuſt to accuſe *Apaſi* of Imprudence on this account; for never had any one a better proſpect of good Succeſs. The Forces of the Malecontents, alone, had kept the Imperial Troops in play, 'till that time. What might not reaſonably be expected, then, from the extraordinary Preparations of the Grand Signior, who had promiſed Wonders and Mountains to *Tekeli?* But, by one of thoſe fatal Conjunctures, by which the Providence of God interpoſes, from time to time, to confound the beſt grounded human Hopes, it happened, that *Apaſi* not only performed nothing in favour of the Liberty of *Hungary*, but enſlaved likewiſe his own Country. *Sic erat in fatis.* It ſo happened, that, inſtead of weakening the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he raiſed it from it's drooping Condition; he put it in a capacity of reſuming it's Superiority; he ratified it's Claim to the Crown of *Hungary*; and made the *Turkiſh* Dominions an inexhauſtible Fund of good News, for the Confederacy, formed againſt *France*, during the courſe of the War. Muſt it, therefore, be ſaid, that *Apaſi* was a hot-headed, raſh, Man (20)? By no means, unleſs all be ſtiled ſo, who cannot foreſee Events the moſt contrary to Appearances. Would not the beſt Politicians have warranted, that *France* would have puſhed the Affair on the one ſide, whilſt the *Turks* acted on the other? Who could ever have perſuaded himſelf, that ſhe would continue in Inaction for ſix ſucceſſive Years, in the midſt of the moſt favourable Opportunities of aggrandizing herſelf, than ever Nation had? *Apaſi*, *Tekeli*, and their Adherents, are very excuſable, in not being able to conjecture, that the *French* would chuſe to wage War with the Edict of *Nants*, rather than with the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

What I have ſaid, in relation to the good News, which comes daily to us from *Turky* (21), is no Secret. Our Gazetteers, and other News-writers, give us ſcarce any Accounts from that Country, but ſuch as are proper to inſpire us with Joy. The Murmurs of the People, their Miſery, their Vows for Peace; Diſſenſions in the *Divan*; a Grand *Vizier* ſtrangled; formidable Factions; Plagues; Fires at *Conſtantinople*; Rebellions in *Ægypt*, *Arabia*, and *Syria*; and an hundred things of this Nature, which come by the Couriers from *Germany*, ſometimes of one kind, ſometimes of another; are not theſe fine Tidings? How many compleat Victories, how many Towns taken, how many Parties defeated, and how many

(9) Betlenius, pag. 251.

(10) Id. pag. 252.

(11) Id. pag. 284, 281.

(12) Id. pag. 254.

(13) Ricaut. ubi ſupra, pag. 291.

(14) Pag. 104.

(15) *In the Edition of* Amſterdam, *in* 1686, *the Year* 1680 *is marked on the Top of the Page. This Error may deceive thoſe who do not examine it nearly.*

(16) Book 8. pag. 30.

(17) Pag. 39.

(18) Pag. 32.

(19) *Month of* May, 1690. pag. 492; *but he places the Siege of* Zatmar *in* 1680.

(20) *See the Remark* [*G*], *of the Article* KOTTERUS.

(21) *I wrote this in* 1694.

of *April* 1690 [*G*]. The *Turks* endeavoured to ſet up *Tekeli* in his room; but he had not the good Luck to improve to the beſt Advantage an Incurſion he had made into That Country (*f*). The Preſence of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* melted him like Snow before the Sun, if I may uſe the Expreſſion; nor has he, from That time to the time of my writing this (*g*), given any diſturbance to the new Titular Prince of *Tranſylvania*, the Son of *Michael Apafi*.

(*f*) *During the Campaign of* 1690.

(*g*) *In the Month of* February, 1699.

many ſucceſsful Incurſions into the Enemy's Country, have we not had reaſon to publiſh in Summer; and what hopes of Peace have not been given in Winter? Even the raiſing the Siege of *Belgrade*, in 1693, is repreſented as an happy Event; ſince the Imperial Troops had executed their chief Deſign, which was to hinder the *Ottomans* from making an Inroad into *Tranſylvania*. I heard a Perſon ſay, ſoon after the Reduction of *Ireland*, that it would have been well to have prolonged the War there, that there might be a ſure Fund of new Advantages, both in the Eaſt and in the Weſt.

[*G*] Apafi *died at* Weiſſemburgh, *towards the end of* April, 1690.] The News-writers differed in the Circumſtances of his Death. Some ſaid he died ſuddenly, in the Aſſembly of the States of *Tranſylvania* (22); others, that he died after a long Sickneſs (23); but all agree, that he died at *Weiſſemburgh* (24).

(22) Paris Gazette, *of the* 20*th of* May, 1690.

(23) Mercure Hiſtorique, *for the Month of* May, 1690. pag. 490.

(24) *The Life of Count* Tekeli, pag. 263. *Life of Count* Tekeli *ſays, at* Alba Julia, *the ſame as* Weiſſembourg.

APELLES, one of the moſt famous Painters of Antiquity, was a Native of the Iſle of *Coos* [*A*], and flouriſhed in the Days of *Alexander* [*B*]. He was highly eſteemed by This Prince, and the only Perſon, who was permitted to draw his Picture. He obtained, likewiſe, another ſingular Mark of his Favour; for *Alexander*, having ſent one of his Miſtreſſes to ſit to him for her Picture, and being informed, that *Apelles* was fallen in Love with her, beſtowed Her upon him [*C*]. There is room to queſtion, whether *Apelles* abuſed the Good-Nature of this Great Monarch, as is pretended [*D*]. He was, probably, too good a Courtier, not to know, that a

[*A*] *Was an Native of the Iſle of* Coos] I find but two Authors, who ſay ſo; and one of them muſt be ſuppoſed not to have written what moſt Editions make him ſay; but that, inſtead of theſe Words, "Apelles eo uſque Olympiade CXII provectus ut "plura ſolus prope quam cæteri omnes contulerit, *he* "*made uſe of theſe*, "Apelles Cous Olympiade "CXII picturæ plura ſolus prope quam cæteri omnes contulit (1). —— Apelles *of* Coos, *in the CXIIth* "*Olympiad, contributed, alone, more than all the* "*reſt, to the Improvement of Painting*." *Turnebus* was of Opinion, that it ought to be read *Apelles Cous*, and not *Apelles eo uſque*. His Suppoſition has been confirmed by the Manuſcript of the *Vatican* (2), by Thoſe of the King's Library, and by That of Mr *Colbert* (3). The other Evidence is *Ovid*, who ſays,

Ut Venus Artificis labor eſt & gloria Coi,
  Æquoreo madidas quæ premit imbre comas (4).

Thus Venus, *riſing from her watry Bed,*
Immortaliz'd the Coan *Artiſt's Hand.*

We ſhall produce in the Remark [*I*], another Paſſage of this Poet, where ſome read *Coïs*, and others *Cous*. The great number of Authors, who give *Apelles* another Country, induced *le Mazzoni* to defend *Ovid*'s Cauſe; but, inſtead of *Coi*, he pretends that the Poet wrote it *Choi* (5). Three Authors of good Credit make *Apelles* a Native of *Epheſus* (6). *Suidas* makes him a Native of *Colophon*, and adds, that the City of *Epheſus* adopted him.

[*B*] *Flouriſhed in the Days of* Alexander.] It cannot be denied, that he was at the height of his Reputation, when That Prince began the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, that is, in the CIſt Olympiad. His Adventures at the Court of *Egypt* makes it appear, that he ſurvived *Alexander*. It is a Miſtake, then, to ſay, with *Majoragius*, that he was a Pupil of *Zeuxes*; the Diſtance of above One hundred and twenty Years between the LXXXIVth Olympiad, in which *Zeuxes* flouriſhed (7), and the Reign of the firſt *Ptolomy*, will not allow it. *Carlo Dati* is the Perſon, who has taken notice of *Majoragius*'s Miſtake. He ſays, "Non ſo con qual fondamento Marcantonio Majoraggio nel Comento ſopra l'Orat di Cicer. "a 11. diceſſe che Apelle foſſe ſcolare di Zeuſi, "quando tra l'uno e l'altro corſe l'eta d'un nomo (8). "- - - - - *I know not upon what Foundation* Marcantonius Majoragius, *in his Commentary on an Oration of* Cicero, *makes* Apelles *the Scholar of* "Zeuxes, *ſince there paſſed a Century between them*." His Adventure in the Court of *Egypt* was this: *Apelles* had not the good Fortune to be beloved by *Ptolomy* in the Court of *Alexandria*. A Storm happened to force him into That Port, in the Reign of this King. A Roguiſh Fellow, who had a Mind to play him a ſcurvy Trick, came, and told him, the King invited him to Dinner. *Apelles* waited on him, and, obſerving the King to be very angry, excuſed himſelf, by letting him know, that he came by his Order. The King deſired he would tell him, who it was that invited him; but That was impoſſible; for the Perſon, who had impoſed upon him, was not then in the Room. *Apelles*, upon this, began to draw his Face upon the Wall with a bit of Charcoal, and *Ptolomy* knew him by the very firſt Lines. "Non fuerat "ei gratia in comitatu Alexandri cum Ptolemæo, "quo regnante Alexandriam vi tempeſtatis expulſus, "ſubornato fraude æmulorum plano regio invitatus, "ad Regis cœnam venit, indignantique Ptolemæo & "vocatores ſuos oſtendenti ut diceret à quo eorum "invitatus eſſet, arrepto carbone exſtincto e foculo "imaginem in pariete delineavit, agnoſcente vultum "plani rege ex inchoato protinus (9)."

[*C*] *Being informed, that* Apelles *was fallen in Love with her, beſtowed her upon him.*] *Pliny* relates the Story after this manner; "Alexander ei "honorem clariſſimo præbuit exemplo, namque cum "dilectam ſibi è pallacis ſuis præcipue, nomine Campaſpen, nudam pingi ob admirationem formæ ab "Apelle juſſiſſet, eumque tum pari captum amore "ſenſiſſet, dono eam dedit. Magnus animo, major "imperio ſui: nec minor hoc facto, quam victoria "aliqua; quippe ſe vicit, nec torum tantum ſuum, "ſed etiam affectum donavit Artifici; ne dilectæ "quidem reſpectu motus, ut, quæ modo regis fuiſſet, "nunc pictoris eſſet. Sunt qui Venerem Anadyomenen illo pictam exemplari putant (10). - - - - - "Alexander *honoured him after a very remarkable* "*Manner*; *for, perceiving that he had fallen in* "*love with his favourite Concubine*, Campaſpe, *whom,* "*through Admiration of her Beauty, he had commanded him to draw naked, he gave her to him.* "*Great as he was in Mind, he was ſtill greater by* "*this Command over himſelf*; *an Action This, as much* "*to his Honour as the greateſt Victory*; *for he conquered himſelf*; *nor did he reſign his Bed alone,* "*but even his Love, to the Artiſt*; *regardleſs of his* "*Favourite's Lot, who, from being the Miſtreſs of* "*a King, was now to become a Painter's. Some think* "*the* Venus Anadyomene *was drawn from this Original*." *Ælian* relates the ſame Story; but gives this Miſtreſs of *Alexander* the Name of *Pancaſte* (11). The Article of This Prince ſhall contain a Remark on this Subject (12); we ſhall ſhew, that a Man, who could give the faireſt of his Concubines to be drawn ſtark naked, does not deſerve the Encomiums of Continent and Chaſte, which have been laviſhed on him.

[*D*] *There is room to queſtion, whether* Apelles *abuſed the Good-Nature of this great Monarch, as is pretended.*] *Pliny* may tell us if he pleaſes, that *Apelles* rendered himſelf agreeable to this Prince by his Polite-

(1) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10.

(2) *See* Carlo Dati, *in his* Apoſtilles *on the Life of* Apelles, pag. 104.

(3) *See* P. Hardouin *on* Pliny, Tom. 5. pag. 264.

(4) Ovid. de Ponto, lib. 4. Eleg. 1. ver. 29.

(5) Difeſa di Dante, lib. 3. cap. 16. apud Carol Dati, ubi ſupra, pag. 103.

(6) Strabo, lib. 14. Lucianus, de Calumn. Æl. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 4. cap. 50. *See alſo* Tzetzes Chil. 8. hiſt. 197. ver. 193.

(7) *See the Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* ZEUXES.

(8) Carlo Dati, Poſtille ſopra vita d'Apelle, pag. 105.

(9) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10.

(10) Id. ib.

(11) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12. cap. 34.

(12) *See the Remarks* [*H*] *and* [*I*] *of the Article* MACEDONIA.

Speech, ſo little reſpectful, as That, which is attributed to him, muſt diſpleaſe. The Anſwer he gave, in relation to *Lais*, is no Recommendation of his Manners [*E*]. There has been much Talk of his *Picture of Calumny*; but ſcarce any one has obſerved the Blunders, which have been committed in relating the Fact, which was the occaſion of this Picture [*F*]. The Treatiſe, in which *Lucian* mentions this, is an excellent

neſs and Complaiſance; but he will ſcarce perſuade thoſe, who know *Alexander*, that a Painter could ſay to him with Impunity, *Say no more*; *the very Boys, who grind my Colours, laugh at you.* "Fuit & comitas illi, "propter quam gratior Alexandro Magno erat fre"quenter in Officinam ventitanti. - - - - - Sed in Of"ficinâ imperitè multa diſſerenti ſilentium comiter "ſuadebat, rideri eum dicens a pueris qui colores te"rerent. Tantum erat auctoritati juris in Regem "alioqui iracundum (13). - - - - *He had a Politeneſs "of Behaviour, which ingratiated him the more with* "Alexander *the Great, who frequently viſited him "in his Painting-Room.* - - - - - - *Where* Alexander "*happening one Day to betray his Ignorance,* Apelles, "*in an obliging way, deſired him to ſay no more, telling "him the very Boys, who ground his Colours, made "a jeſt of him; ſo much Liberty did he take with a "King, otherwiſe of a paſſionate Diſpoſition.*" It is not to be ſuppoſed, that *Apelles* could think ſo harſh an Expreſſion, after what manner ſoever ſpoken, would be well taken. Nor is it to be imagined, that *Alexander*, who had been ſo well educated, and had ſo good a Genius, could talk ſo impertinently of Painting, as to deſerve to be laughed at by the meaneſt Apprentice. This is the Opinion of the Learned *Freinſhemius*: "Non crediderim in officina "imperitè multa diſſerentem ab Apelle mordaci dicte"rio repreſſum fuiſſe. Nam id neque majeſtati tanti "regis, neque modeſtiæ pictoris, hominis non ſtu"pidi nec indocti, conveniſſet; & Alexander, libera"libus ſtudiis ab extrema ætate imbutus, etiam de "artibus quas non calleret haud inepte judicare di"dicerat (14)." As for *Megabyzes*, Prieſt of *Diana* (15), it would be no ſuch wonder, if *Apelles* had given Him this Advice. And, if we may believe *Plutarch*, it was He, who was cenſured in this manner by *Apelles*: *Can't you ſee*, ſaid he to him, *that, while you was ſilent, Theſe Boys, who mix the Oker, looked upon you with Reſpect, on account of the Gold and Purple of your Garments, but that they laughed, when they heard you ſpeak of an Art you did not underſtand* (16). Another Author ſays, that it was *Zeuxes*, who ſpoke thus to *Megabyzes* (17). I could more eaſily believe the Liberty, which it is ſaid *Apelles* took with *Alexander*, on another Occaſion. *Alexander*, viewing his own Picture, which *Apelles* had juſt finiſhed, ſeemed not to admire it as it deſerved. A little while after, a Horſe was led by, who neighed at the ſight of the Horſe in the ſame Piece. *Sir*, ſaid *Apelles* to *Alexander*, *one would think this Horſe was a better Judge of Painting, than your Majeſty* (18). But, to give my Thoughts freely, it is all too harſh, too groſs, and too brutiſh, to be aſcribed to a Painter, repreſented, in all other Inſtances, as a modeſt, complaiſant, and polite Perſon. A Man muſt either be on the foot of a Jeſter at Court, or be ſuch a whimſical, untoward, Humouriſt, as your great Artiſts ſometimes are: I ſay, we muſt have recourſe to one of theſe two Suppoſitions, to believe, what is ſaid of *Apelles*, not only with regard to *Alexander*, but even with regard to *Megabyzes*, reſpected on account of his Gold and Purple. *Apelles*'s Diſcourſe to *Alexander*, on Occaſion of the Horſe's neighing, is not ſo harſh in the Tranſlations of ſome learned Men, as in the Original; but this Softning does them but little Honour: It is a Blunder; it is groſs Ignorance. Let us produce the *Greek*: Ἀλέξανδρος θεασάμενος τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀπελλοῦ γραφεῖσαν οὐκ ἐπῄνεσε κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ γράμματος. εἰσαχθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ χρεμετίσαντος πρὸς τὸν ἵππον τὸν ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι ὡς πρὸς ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἐκεῖνον, ὦ βασιλεῦ (εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπελλῆς) ἀλλ᾽ ὅγε ἵππος ἔοικέ σου γραφικώτερος εἶναι κατὰ πολύ (19). Alexander, *ſeeing his own Picture at* Epheſus, *drawn by* Apelles, *did not commend the Painting as it deſerved; but an Horſe being brought, and neighing to the Horſe in the Picture, as to a real one; O King (ſaid* Apelles) *This Horſe ſeems to be a much better Judge of Painting, than you.* *Eraſmus* repreſents the Fact thus: "Apud "Epheſum quum Alexander conſpectam effigiem ſui "corporis ad vivum magna arte expreſſam admira"retur, atque interim fortè equus eductus picto in "eadem tabula equo adhinniret, deceptus imitatione, "Apelles, equus, inquit, O Rex, multo melius ex"preſſus eſt quam tu (20). - - - - - *As* Alexander "*was admiring his own Picture, at* Epheſus, *drawn "to the Life with great Art, an Horſe, happening "to be brought out, neighed to the Horſe in the "Picture, being deceived by the Reſemblance; upon "which* Apelles *ſaid, your Horſe, O King, is better "drawn than you.*" I omit ſome Circumſtances, which *Eraſmus* adds, without having found them in *Ælian*. I only obſerve the Reflexion he puts in the Mouth of the Painter; *Sir, I have ſucceeded better in painting your Horſe, than your Majeſty.* This is not the Senſe of the *Greek*; a learned Critic has ſhewed, that the Word γραφικὸς ſignifies one, who underſtands Painting; and has by This convicted *Cælius Rhodiginus*, and *Eraſmus*, of miſrepreſenting the Story (21). I wonder *Pliny* was ignorant of This; He, who takes ſome Notice of the neighing of the Horſe. See, below, the Remark [*K*].

[*E*] *The Anſwer he gave, in relation to* Lais, *is no Recommendation of his Manners.*] She was yet a tender Maid, when *Apelles*, ſeeing her returning Home from the Fountain, and admiring her Beauty, prevailed upon her to go with him where he pleaſed. He brought her to an Entertainment, where he was to meet ſome of his Friends; they laughed at him for bringing with him, inſtead of a Courtezan, a meer Girl: *Don't trouble your Heads about that*, replied he; *I will manage her ſo, that, before three Years are at an end, ſhe ſhall have all her Paces to perfection.* Χλευσάντων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων ὅτι ἀνθ᾽ ἑταίρας παρθένον εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἀγάγοι, μὴ θαυμάσητε, εἶπεν, ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰς μέλλουσαν ἀπόλαυσιν μετ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὅλην τριετίαν κάλην δείξω (22). *Irriſus autem à familiaribus, quod meretricis loco virginem adduxiſſet, nolite mirari, inquit, mihi etenim non toto opus erit triennio ut eam ad futuræ voluptatis uſum pulchrè doctam inſtitutamque reddere valeam.* Would not one think the Converſation was concerning an unmanaged Colt, which, in the Hands of an excellent Horſeman, would quickly learn all his Airs and Paces? The Reflexion on the Corruption of Thoſe Ages inſpires Horror. The Friends of *Apelles* ſeem even to have ſurpaſſed him in Debauchery (23). *Lais* became one of the moſt famous Courtezans of the Age ſhe lived in. The Painters viſited her to take the Model of a fine Neck (24). *Apelles* no doubt copied from the ſame Original. "Nemini dubium "eſſe poteſt quin hanc ipſam quoque Laidem ſibi "veluti in contubernium adſciverit Apelles, quo vi"vam emendatiſſimæ formæ imaginem ab animali "exemplo in tabulas ſuas transfunderet (25). - - - - "Apelles, *no doubt, kept this very* Lais *with him "in his Houſe, that he might copy the Reſemblance "of a moſt perfect Beauty from a living Original.*"

[*F*] *Scarce any one has obſerved the Blunders, which have been committed in relating the matter of Fact, which was the Occaſion of This Picture.*] See how *Lucian* relates it. The Painter *Antiphilus*, not being able to bear the Favour, which *Apelles* enjoyed with King *Ptolomy*, accuſed him of being an Accomplice in the Conſpiracy of *Theodotus*, Governor of *Phœnicia*. He aſſerted, that *Apelles* had been ſeen at Dinner with *Theodotus*, and whiſpered him in the Ear all the while. He afterwards told the King, that the City of *Tyre* had revolted, and that *Peluſium* was taken, through *Apelles*'s means. Yet it was plain, that the Accuſed had never been at *Tyre*, nor had ever known *Theodotus*, but under the general Quality of Governor of *Phœnicia*. *Ptolomy* was in ſuch a Rage, that, without examining the matter, he was very near putting *Apelles* to death. He conſidered neither the Accuſer, nor the Accuſed. The former, through Spight and Emulation, might well be ſuſpected of plotting the Ruin of an innocent Perſon; the latter was too inconſiderable a Perſon, to be capable of ſuch Attempts; though a Senſe of the Obligations he was under to *Ptolomy* had not been ſufficient excellent Piece (*a*). *Apelles*'s Maſter-piece was the Picture of *Venus*, riſing out of the Sea [*G*]. Some Authors tell us, that the Miſtreſs, whom *Alexander* gave him, ſat to him, when he drew this Piece; others, that the Courtezan *Phryne* was the Original. They tell us of another Picture of *Venus*, which he had begun, and which would have ſurpaſſed the firſt, if Death had not prevented him from finiſhing it [*H*]. Mr *Moreri* has miſtaken one of theſe Pictures for the other [*I*], and has miſrepreſented

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(13) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10.

(14) Freinſhem. Supplem. in Curtium, lib. 2. cap. 6.

(15) *Several of the learned think, that* Megabyzes *was a Name appropriated to the Prieſt of* Diana. *Others underſtand by* Megabyzes, *in this Place, a great Lord of* Perſia.

(16) De diſcrim. Adulat. & Amici, pag. 58. & de Tranquill. Animi, p. 471, 472.

(17) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 2. Freinſhemius, ubi ſupra, *cites him as having attributed this to* Apelles.

(18) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 3.

(19) Id. ib.

(20) In Apophthegm.

(21) Paulus Leopardus Emendationum, lib. 12. cap. 4.

(22) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 588.

(23) Richelet, *in his Dictionary, under the Word* Pucelage, *obſerves, that a Maidenhead is called the* Ragoût *of Sots.*

(24) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(25) Junius in Catalogo Artificum, in Apelle, pag. 19.

ſufficient to ſtifle in him all ill Deſigns. The Prince did not conſider this. He never enquired, whether *Apelles* had ever been at *Tyre*; he only ſtormed and ſwore; and, if one of the Conſpirators had not diſcovered the Wickedneſs of *Antiphilus*, the Accuſed had infallibly been put to death. But, when *Ptolomy* was ſatisfied of the Accuſer's Crime, he condemned him to be *Apelles*'s Slave, and gave the latter an hundred Talents. It was upon this Occaſion, that *Apelles* drew the fine Picture of Calumny, which *Lucian* has deſcribed. It is Pity he did not perceive the monſtrous Anachroniſm he is guilty of in this Relation; for *Theodotus*'s Conſpiracy fell out in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philopater*; which did not commence 'till an hundred Years after the Death of *Alexander* (26). Judge then, whether *Apelles* could be alive at that time. One of theſe two Poſitions muſt be laid down; either that *Lucian* ſpeaks of a different *Apelles* from him, who was ſo much eſteemed by *Alexander*; or he confounds ſome Plot, hatched in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, with the Conſpiracy of *Theodotus*. There being no Author, who can give us any Light concerning a Conſpiracy, in which Calumny had involved our Painter; it will be Labour in vain to trace *Lucian*'s Error to it's Source. Let us conſider only, whether he had any other *Apelles* in view beſides Him, who is the Subject of this Article. Now This I cannot conceive; for any one, who knew how to write, would have taken care, in mentioning a Painter, who had nothing in common, beſides his Name, with the great and incomparable *Apelles*, not to call him ſimply *Apelles*. He would have apprized the Reader, that he did not mean the great *Apelles*. Now *Lucian* gives no hint of this; on the contrary, all he ſays leads us in a direct Line to the great *Apelles*; this, then, is the Perſon, whom he means. I know, that a learned Man lays a Streſs upon the Epithet *Epheſian*, Ἀπελλῆς ὁ Ἐφέσιος. "Ad diſtinctionem illius Apellis, qui ſub Alexandro & "Ptolomæo Lagi vixit maximi nominis & artis, Coi "Patriâ. Hic autem Patria Colophonius; verum "θέσει, id eſt adoptione, teſte Suida, Pamphili Amphipolitæ diſcipulus (27). - - - - - - *To diſtinguiſh* "*him from That* Apelles, *of great Fame and Art, a* "Coan *by Birth, who lived in the Time of* Alexander, "*and* Ptolomy *the Son of* Lagus. *Whereas This was a* "Colophonian; *but, by Adoption, according to* Suidas, "*a Diſciple of* Pamphilus *of* Amphipolis." But I find, that others likewiſe have given this Epithet to the great *Apelles* (28). Beſides which, I can appeal to the Reaſon contained in the Paſſage I have cited; for if *Lucian* could give this Epithet to His *Apelles*, becauſe adopted by the Inhabitants of *Epheſus*, tho' born at *Colophon*; I can alledge, that he gave it to the great *Apelles*, born in the Iſland of *Coos*, but undoubtedly a Citizen of *Epheſus*. Is it probable, a Man of his Fame ſhould ſettle in That City (where *Alexander* ſaw, and became intimate with, him) without obtaining all the Privileges of a Citizen? But I have another Proof: *Tollius* allows, that *Lucian* means the ſame *Apelles* with *Suidas*; now *Suidas* ſpeaks only of the great *Apelles*. This I prove, I. Becauſe he mentions but one *Apelles*. Would he have omitted the Great and Illuſtrious, to mention only the Obſcure and Unknown? II. Becauſe he gives his *Apelles* the Quality of a Diſciple of *Pamphilus* of *Amphipolis*, a Quality, which *Pliny* likewiſe aſcribes to the great *Apelles* (29). So that *Lucian*'s Error is evident; and I am ſurpriſed, that neither *John Baptiſt Adriani* (30), nor *Carlo Dati* (31), nor *Francis Junius* (32), nor ſo many other celebrated Authors, who have ſpoken of this Treatiſe of *Lucian*, ſhould perceive it, but ſhould take this Relation to be a real Adventure of the great *Apelles*. *Tollius* very well knew, that the Crime, of which *Apelles* was accuſed, had relation to the Reign of *Ptolomy Philopater*; but he was not aware, that *Lucian* was deceived; he rather ſuppoſed, that *Lucian* had another *Apelles* in view, who was Cotemporary with *Antiphilus*, and Diſciple of *Pamphilus*. I cannot ſay, in what time *Antiphilus* lived, nor *Cteſidemus*, whoſe Diſciple he was (33); but it is plain, according to *Pliny*, that *Pamphilus* flouriſhed in the Time of *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander* the Great (34).

[*G*] Apelles'*s Maſter-Piece was the Picture of* Venus, *riſing out of the Sea.*] *Auguſtus* dedicated it to the Temple of *Julius Cæſar*. The lower Parts of it had been ſpoiled; and no Hand was able to mend it; Time deſtroyed the reſt; and then *Nero* cauſed another *Venus* to be drawn by *Dorotheus*, which he ſubſtituted in the room of That of *Apelles*. "Venerem "exeuntem e mari Divus Auguſtus dicavit in delubro patris Cæſaris, quæ Anadyomene vocatur, verſibus Græcis tali opere dum laudatur victo, ſed "illuſtrato: hujus inferiorem partem corruptam qui "reficeret non potuit reperiri. Verum ipſa injuria "ceſſit in gloriam artificis. Conſenuit hæc tabula "carie, aliamque pro ea Nero principatu ſubſtituit "ſuo." Theſe are *Pliny*'s own Words, in the tenth Chapter of his Thirty fifth Book. I have recited the Paſſage, in the Remark [*C*], where he ſays that *Alexander*'s Miſtreſs was the Original, from which this *Venus* was drawn. The Article PHRYNE will inform us of a Tradition different from this.

[*H*] *Death - - - - prevented him from finiſhing it.*] If *Calcagnini* could have been prevailed with to give the Teſtimony of ancient Authors, rather than advance things of his own Head, he would not have affirmed, that *Apelles* voluntarily left his *Venus Anadyomene* imperfect; *the Reaſon*, ſays he, *of this Conduct was, that* Apelles *deſpaired of finiſhing it with the ſame Perfection he had begun it.* "Sed O me "multo Apelle incautiorem! ille enim tanta felicitate Veneris emergentis partes ſuperiores expreſſit, "ut diffiſus penicillo reliquas poſſe abſolvere deſperaverit, atque ita in admirationem poſteritatis tabulam inchoatam reliquerit (35). - - - - - *But much* "*more incautious I, than* Apelles! *for He had ſo* "*happily expreſſed the upper Parts of* Venus *riſing* "*from the Sea, that, diſtruſting his Pencil, he deſpaired of finiſhing the reſt; and thus left an unfiniſhed Piece for Poſterity to wonder at.*" *Carlo Dati*, who accuſes this Author of advancing ſeveral things, without acknowledging from whence he borrows them, produces two other Examples of it. It is certain, that the Words of *Pliny* convict *Calcagnini* of Falſhood, as I am going to ſhew. "Apelles inchoaverat aliam Venerem Cois ſuperaturus etiam ſuam illam "priorem. Invidit mors peracta parte, nec qui ſuccederet operi ad præſcripta lineamenta inventus eſt "(36). - - - Apelles *had begun another* Venus *at* Coos, "*intending it ſhould excel the former. But Death* "*obliged him to leave it imperfect; nor was any one* "*capable of filling up the Outlines of the Work.*" *Cicero* ſays plainly, in two Places of his Works, that *Apelles* left That *Venus* imperfect (37).

[*I*] *Mr* Moreri *has miſtaken one of theſe Pictures for the other.*] Thus he expreſſes himſelf: *The fineſt of all* Apelles'*s Pieces were two Pictures of* Venus, *one of which, where ſhe was drawn riſing out of the Sea, was called* Anadyomene; *the other was That, which he drew for Theſe of the Iſland of* Coos, *mentioned by* Ovid *in theſe Words.*

Si nunquam Venerem Cois pinxiſſet Apelles,
Merſa ſub æquoreis illa lateret aquis.

He quotes *Ovid in Sent.* He ſhould have cited the third Book *de arte Amandi*. You are to know, that *Apelles* did not finiſh the ſecond of theſe Pictures; *Pliny* affirms this expreſly (38). What Probability is there, that *Ovid*, having two Pictures of *Venus* to alledge, the one finiſhed, the other not, ſhould omit That, and ſpeak only of This? To act thus is to be ignorant of the common Laws of Reaſoning. Beſides the ſecond Verſe is a plain Alluſion to the *Venus Anadyomene*, that is, *Riſing out the of Sea*. He ſpeaks, therefore, of the firſt Picture. We know, that the firſt *Venus* was drawn in this Poſture; but we

(*a*) *It's Title is,* Περὶ τȣ̃ μὴ ῥαδίως πιςεύειν διαβολῇ. *Of not lightly believing Calumny.*

(26) *See* Polybius *in his fourth and fifth Books. He ſpeaks of it at large.*

(27) Jacobus Tollius, notis in Lucian. de Calumnia.

(28) Strabo, Ælian. Tzetzes.

(29) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10. & init. cap. 11. Carlo Dati, pag. 105. & P. Hardouin in Plin. Tom. 5. pag. 205, *ſay, that* Plutarch, *in the Life of* Aratus, *makes* Apelles *the Diſciple of* Pamphilus: *But this is an ambiguous Teſtimony.* Plutarch, *in another place, makes him rather the Diſciple of* Melanthus.

(30) *In a Letter at the beginning of the third Volume of* Vaſari.

(31) Poſtille *on the Life of* Apelles.

(32) In Catalogo Artificum, in Apelle.

(33) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10. pag. 222.

(34) Ibid. pag. 206.

(35) Calcagnini, lib. 13. pag. 157. apud Carolum Dati, pag. 145.

(36) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10. pag. 212.

(37) Epiſt. 9. ad Famil. lib. 1. & de Offic. lib. 3. cap. 2.

(38) *See the preceeding Remark.*

ſented what relates to his Picture of a Horſe [K]. No Buſineſs was of ſuch Importance, as to oblige *Apelles* to paſs a ſingle Day without handling his Pencil; which gave riſe to a famous Proverb [*L*]. The Books, which this great Painter compoſed on the Art of Painting, are loſt (*b*). It is not known where, or when, he died. One of his chief Excellencies was That of hitting a Likeneſs to a wonder; inſomuch that Phyſiognomiſts could form a Judgment, from his Portraits, with as much Certainty, as

(*b*) Voluminibus etiam editis quæ doctrinam eam continent. - - - *Having likewiſe publiſhed Books containing the Principles of this Art.* Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10.

we know nothing of the Poſture of the ſecond. I add, that, if theſe two Verſes of *Ovid* fell from his Pen, as they here repreſented, he was a bad Reaſoner. They muſt be corrected thus, to become a reaſonable Proof of what goes before.

Si Venerem Cois nuſquam poſuiſſet Apelles,
  Merſa ſub æquoreis illa jaceret aquis.

Had not the Coan *Artiſt* - - - - - -
Drawn Venus, *riſing*, *beauteous*, *from the Main*,
Beneath the Waves the Goddeſs ſtill had lain.

The niceſt Critics chooſe to read *Coüs* inſtead of *Cois*. I believe they are in the right; though it is plain, that *Apelles* drew his *Venus Anadyomene* for the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Coos*; for *Auguſtus* had it from them, and remitted them in conſideration of it the Sum of an hundred Talents of the Tribute, which they were indebted to his Exchequer. They kept this *Venus*, and the *Antigonus* by the ſame Hand, in the Temple of *Æſculapius*. "Lacter promontorium eſt Coæ inſulæ, in cujus ſuburbio eſt ædes Æſculapii nobilitata Antigono Apellis - - - - - conſpiciebatur ibidem quoque ejuſdem artificis Venus Anadiomene (39). Ἡ νῦν ἀνάκειται τῷ θεῷ Καίσαρι ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀναθέντος τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἀρχηγέτιν τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ. Φασὶ δὲ τοῖς Κώοις ἀντὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἑκατὸν ταλάντων ἄφεσιν γενέσθαι τοῦ προσαχθέντος φόρου (40). Quæ nunc dedicata eſt divo Cæſari, Auguſto conſecrante patri generis ſui patronam. Aiunt Cois pro pictura fuiſſe remiſſa centum talenta de imperati tributi ſumma. - - - - Lacter *is a Promontory of the Iſland* Coos, *in the Suburb of which is a Temple of* Æſculapius, *famous for the* Antigonus *of* Apelles - - - - - *the* Venus Anadyomene *likewiſe of the ſame Artiſt was to be ſeen there. It is now dedicated to* Julius Cæſar, Auguſtus *conſecrating the Patroneſs of his Family to his Father. The* Coans, *they ſay, were remitted the Sum of an hundred Talents of the demanded Tribute, in conſideration of this Picture.*" *Pliny* might eaſily be ignorant, that the *Venus Anadyomene* was drawn for the Iſle of *Coos*; no wonder then he ſhould ſay, that *Apelles*'s ſecond *Venus* was deſigned for Them.

WHETHER there were two *Venus*'s of *Apelles*.

I ſhall here propoſe a Doubt, which occurs to my Thoughts on this Occaſion: I cannot but think *Pliny* multiplies Beings without Neceſſity, when he tells us of a *Venus Anadyomene*, and of another *Venus*, which was begun for the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Coos*. The Reaſon of my Scruple is, that the firſt *Venus* was perfect only in the upper Parts of the Picture; *Pliny* himſelf informs us of this, and adds, that no Painter durſt attempt to repair the Injury it had ſuffered (41). Now he never finiſhed the other *Venus*; and no Painter had the Courage to ſupply what was wanting. This the ſame *Pliny* informs us of (42). I believe he is the only Author, who makes this Remark concerning two *Venus*'s of *Apelles*, defective in the ſame Parts. Others ſay this only of the *Venus* of *Apelles* in general; and, whenever they mention this *Venus*, they place her in the Iſle of *Coos* (43); now we have ſeen, that *Auguſtus* fetched the *Venus Anadyomene* from thence (44). *Pliny*, then, it is probable, has not been over-exact in this matter. I appeal to thoſe, who will take the Pains to examine this ſmall Doubt of mine.

[*K*] Moreri - - - - - *has miſrepreſented what relates to his Picture of an Horſe.*] Ancient Authors, ſays Mr *Moreri*, have ſpoken with great Eſteem *of an Horſe, drawn ſo to the Life by* Apelles, *that the Mares neighed at the ſight of it.* I believe no Writer has ſaid this. What *Pliny* informs us of, as to this Matter, is as follows. "Eſt & equus ejus, ſive fuit, pictus in certamine: quod judicium ad mutas quadrupedes provocavit ab hominibus. Namque ambitu æmulos prævalere ſentiens ſingulorum picturas inductis equis oſtendit: Apellis tantum equo adhinnivere, idque & poſtea ſemper illius experimentum artis oſtentatur (45)." The meaning of which is, That *Apelles*, vying with ſome others, who ſhould paint a Horſe moſt to the Life, and diſtruſting the Integrity of the Judges, choſe to commit his Cauſe to the Deciſion of brute Beaſts. Horſes, accordingly, were led by, who neighed only at *Apelles*'s Piece. Some think (46), that the Story in *Ælian* (47), is only a Corruption of this; and that what paſt between *Apelles*, and the Judges of the Prize, when This Painter preferred the Judgment of a Horſe to theirs, was what gave occaſion to the Report of his ſaying to *Alexander*; *Your Horſe underſtands Painting, better than you.* Others think they are two different Adventures (48). For my part, I have already given my own little Opinion; which is, that the Story, vouched by *Ælian*, ought to be looked upon as a meer Fable. *Pliny*'s Silence, where ſo fair an Opportunity preſented of ſpeaking his Thoughts, confirms me in this Opinion. Would *Pliny* have been ſilent concerning the Horſe, which neighed at *Apelles*'s Door, in the Preſence of *Alexander*, and concerning the Inference, which *Apelles* drew from it; Would *Pliny*, I ſay, have been ſilent on ſuch a Fact, when he relates the other Adventure, in which *Apelles* appealed, from the Judgment of the Arbitrators, to That of Horſes? *Carlo Dati* has obſerved, that, in neither of theſe Caſes, *Apelles* ſpoke like an able Painter, ſince he ſuppoſed, that the more Knowledge a Perſon had, the more he would miſtake the Repreſentation for the Object itſelf. But we muſt have a care how we apply this Cenſure to the Adventure, which *Pliny* relates; for *Apelles* did not prefer the Judgment of Horſes to That of Men, otherwiſe than as he perceived that the Intrigues of his Rivals had corrupted the Judges (49). The Remark of *Carlo Dati* is very juſt at the bottom. It is eaſier to deceive Thoſe, who do not underſtand Painting, than Thoſe, who do. He quotes *John Paul Lomazzo* (50): And, after him, we might quote Mr *Perrault*, who has well refuted the Conſequences, drawn, in favour of the ancient Painters, from their having deceived both Men and Beaſts (51).

[*L*] *Which gave riſe to a famous Proverb.*] *Pliny* informs us of it; "Apelli fuit alioqui perpetua conſuetudo nunquam tam occupatam diem agendi, ut non lineam ducendo exerceret artem, quod ab eo in proverbium venit (52). - - - - - *It was an inviolable Rule with* Apelles *never to paſs a Day without exerciſing his Art, at leaſt by one Stroke of his Pencil; which paſſed from him into a Proverb.*" *Carlo Dati* (53) obſerves upon this, that *Salmaſius*, in ſupport of this Proverb, quotes the following Line, as a Verſe of *Horace*,

Nulla dies abeat, quin linea ducta ſuperſit.

Let no Day paſs, without drawing at leaſt one Line.

Which is neither *Horace*'s, nor any other ancient Poet's. He adds, that it has been often the Fate of this Author to truſt too much to his Memory. "Non laſcero d'auvertire in queſto luogo che Claudio Salmaſio grandiſſimo Critico dell' eta noſtra, nelle Diſſertaz. Pliniane ſopra Solino p. 5. in confermazione di queſto proverbio, fidandoſi troppo della memoria, come bene ſpeſſo egli fece, cita un verſo d'Orazio —— il quale non è (ch' io ſappia) ne d'Orazio ne d'altro poëta latino antico, ma forſe uno di quei verſi proverbiali che vanno per le bocche de gli uomini ſenza ſaperſene l'autore. —— *I ſhall not omit to apprize the Reader, in this Place, that* Claudius Salmaſius, *a very great Critic of our Age, in his* Exercitationes Plinianæ *on* Solinus, pag. 5, *cites, in Confirmation of this Proverb, and depending too much, as he very often does, on his Memory, a Verſe of* Horace - - - - - - *which (to the beſt of my Knowledge) is neither* Horace's, *nor any other an-*

cient

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(39) Junius in Catalogo Artificum, in Apelle, pag. 22.

(40) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 452.

(41) Plin. lib. 35. pag. 212.

(42) Ibid.

(43) *See* Cicero de Offic. lib. 3. cap. 2. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. in Verrem Orat. 9.

(44) Ex Strab. lib. 14. pag. 452.

(45) Lib. 35. pag. 213.

(46) Schefferus in Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 3.

(47) *See the Remark* [*D*].

(48) Carlo Dati, pag. 128.

(49) Ibid. pag. 129.

(50) Lib. 3. cap. 1. della Pittura.

(51) *Parallel of the Ancients and Moderns.* Dialog. 2. pag. 136.

(52) Lib. 35. cap. 10. pag. 208.

(53) Carlo Dati, Poſtille ſopra la vita d'Apelle. P. Hardouin *makes the ſame Remark. See his* Pliny, Tom. 5. pag. 208.

as if they had been Originals [*M*]. Witneſs what he did at the Court of *Egypt* (*c*).

(*c*) *See the Remark* [*B*].

“ *cient* Latin *Poet's*; *but, perhaps, one of thoſe proverbial Verſes, which are in every one's Mouth, without the Author's being known.*”

[*M*] *Inſomuch that Phyſiognomiſts could form a Judgment, from his Portraits, with as much Certainty, as if they had been Originals.*] The Grammarian *Apion* tells a Story, to this purpoſe, ſo highly improbable, that one could ſcarce look upon it otherwiſe than as a Fable, though a more credible Author, than this grand Romancer, had affirmed it. Let us be content with *Pliny*'s hiſtorical Account of the Matter. “ Imaginem adeo ſimilitudinis indiſcretæ pinxit, ut (incredibile dictu) Apion Grammaticus ſcriptum reliquerit, quemdam ex facie hominum addivinantem (quos metopoſcopos vocant) ex eis dixiſſe aut futuræ mortis annos aut præteritæ (54). - - - - - *He painted ſo to the Life, that a certain Phyſiognomiſt, according to the incredible Relation of* Apion *the Grammarian, was wont to pronounce, from his Portraits, the Year of the Perſon's Death, either paſſed or to come.*” *Pliny* himſelf cannot conceive, how any Perſon ſhould tell, at the ſight of a Picture, though ever ſo like the Original, at what Age the Perſon ſo painted died, or was to die. The Diviner, no doubt, enquired, whether the Perſon was dead or alive.

(54) Plin. ubi ſupra, pag. 210.

APELLES

APELLES, an excellent Tragedian, under *Caligula*, gained the Emperor's Favour by the moſt infamous Means; but, when the Flower of his Youth was paſt, he turned Player (*a*); and ſtill ſupported himſelf ſo well in this Emperor's good Graces, who would never be without him, not even in Public (*b*), that he was at laſt admitted into the Number of his Counſellors (*c*). As they were one day ſtanding near the Statue of *Jupiter*, *Caligula* aſked him, *Which of the Two do you think the greateſt,* Jupiter, *or I?* And, becauſe *Apelles* did not anſwer him ſo readily, as he expected, he fell into a violent Paſſion, and ordered him to be whipt unmercifully; ſaying, in a jeſting way, that *Apelles* had an agreeable Voice, even in a plaintive Tone [*A*]. Some affirm, that he ordered him to be laid in Irons, and turned from time to time on a Wheel.

(*a*) Philo. Legat. ad Cajum. pag. 1021.

(*b*) Dion. lib. 69. pag. 643.

(*c*) Philo. ibid.

[*A*] Caligula - - - - - *ſaid* - - - - - *that he had an agreeable Voice, even in a plaintive Tone.*] Suetonius is my Author. *Inter varios jocos, cum aſſiſtens ſimulacro Jovis Apellem Tragœdum conſuluiſſet, uter illi major videretur, cunctantem flagellis diſcidit, collaudens ſubinde vocem deprecantis, quaſi etiam in gemitu prædulcem* (1).

(1) Sueton. in Calig. cap. 33.

APELLICON

APELLICON, who bought *Ariſtotle*'s Library. See the Remarks on the Article TYRANNION.

APICIUS

APICIUS. There were three *Apicii*, at *Rome*, famous for their Gluttony. The firſt lived before the Change of the Republic; the ſecond under *Auguſtus*, and *Tiberius*; and the laſt under *Trajan*. *Athenæus* means the firſt *Apicius*, when, having ſaid, on the Teſtimony of *Poſidonius*, that, at *Rome*, they preſerved the Memory of one *Apicius*, who had ſurpaſſed all Men in Gluttony, he adds, that it was the ſame *Apicius*, who had been the Cauſe of *Rutilius*'s Exile (*a*). We know, that *Poſidonius* flouriſhed in the Time of *Pompey*, and that *Rutilius* was baniſhed about the Year of *Rome* 660. The ſecond *Apicius* was the moſt famous of the three. *Athenæus* places him under *Tiberius*, and ſays, that he laid out prodigious Sums on his Belly; and that there were ſeveral ſorts of Cakes, which bore his Name (*b*). It is He, whom *Seneca* ſpeaks of, in his Ninety fifth Letter, and in the Eleventh Chapter of his Book *de Vita Beata*, and in the Treatiſe *de Conſolatione*, which he wrote to his Mother *Helvia*, under the Emperor *Claudius*. We find, in the laſt of theſe Works, that This *Apicius* lived in *Seneca*'s time, and kept, as it were, a School of Gluttony, in *Rome*; that he had conſumed two Millions and a half in good Chear; and that, finding himſelf much in Debt, he at laſt bethought himſelf of examining into the Condition of his Eſtate; and, finding that he had but 250000 *Livres* left, he poiſoned himſelf, as fearing he ſhould ſtarve with ſuch a Sum. *Dion*, who calls him *M. Gabius Apicius*, relates the ſame thing (*c*), and adds a Particular, which is to be found likewiſe in the firſt Chapter of the fourth Book of *Tacitus*'s Annals; *viz.* That *Sejanus*, in his Youth, had proſtituted himſelf to him. *Pliny* calls him *M. Apicius*, and often mentions the Ragoûts, which he invented (*d*); *Nepotum omnium altiſſimus gurges.* A Book was written on the Subject of his Gluttony, which is cited by *Athenæus* (*e*). It is not to be doubted, but that This is the *Apicius* of *Juvenal*, *Martial*, and *Lampridius*, &c. [*A*]. The third *Apicius* lived in *Trajan*'s Time. He had an admirable

(*a*) Athen. lib. 4. pag. 168.

(*b*) Id. lib. 1. pag. 7.

(*c*) Lib. 57.

(*d*) Lib. 8. cap. 51. lib. 9. cap. 18. lib. 10. cap. 48. lib. 19. cap. 8.

(*e*) Apion *was the Author of it.* Athen. lib. 7.

[*A*] *This is the* Apicius *of* Juvenal, Martial, *and* Lampridius, *&c.*] I have theſe Words of *Juvenal* in view.

- - - - - - - multa videmus,
Quæ miſer, & frugi non fecit Apicius - - - - (1).

Now even Apicius *frugal ſeems and poor,*
Outdone by Luxury, unknown before.
Revd. Mr R. DUKE.

(1) Juven. Sat. 4. ver. 23.

And Theſe two Verſes of *Martial*;

Ipſe quoque ad cœnam gaudebat Apicius ire;
Cum cœnaret, erat triſtior ille, domi (2).

Apicius, *when invited to a Feaſt,*
Was gay, and chearful, as the merrieſt Gueſt;
But, uninvited, when at home he dined,
The gloomieſt Mortal, ſurly, and unkind.

(2) Mart. Epigr. 29. lib. 2. *See likewiſe* Epig. 73. lib. 10.

And That Paſſage of *Lampridius*, where we read, that the Emperor *Heliogabalus* often eat Peacocks and Nightingales Tongues, in imitation of *Apicius*. *Comedit ſæpius ad imitationem Apicii calcanea camelorum, & criſtas* rable Receipt for preſerving of Oyſters ; this appeared, when he ſent ſome to *Trajan* into *Parthia* ; They were ſtill freſh, when *Trajan* received them (*f*). The Name of *Apicius* was for a long time given to ſeveral Diſhes, and made a kind of Sect among the Cooks. We have a Treatiſe *de Re Culinaria*, under the Name of *Caelius Apicius*, which ſome Critics judge to be very ancient, though they do not take it to be compoſed by either of theſe three *Apicii* (*g*). Some chuſe to call the Author of this Book *Apicius Caelius*. A learned *Dane* is of this Number, who aſcribes this Work to Him, who ſent the Oyſters to the Emperor *Trajan*. This Book was found, by *Albanus Torinus*, in the Iſland of *Maguelone*, near *Montpellier*, who publiſhed it, Twelve Years after, at *Baſil* [*B*]. It had been found elſewhere, near an hundred Years before, by *Enoch d'Aſcoli*, in the time of Pope *Nicolas* V (*h*). There was in the Title-Page *M. Cæcilius Apicius*. *Voſſius* (*i*) is of Opinion, that the Author's Name was *M. Caelius*, or *M. Cæcilius* ; and that he intituled his Work, *Apicius*, becauſe it treated of Cookery. In the Remarks of *Caſaubon* on *Athenæus*, there are ſome Particulars relating to our *Apicius*

& criſtas vivis gallinaceis demptas, linguas pavonum, & luſciniarum (3). There is another Paſſage in *Juvenal*, in which *Apicius* ſignifies, in general, one who it very expenſive in eating.

- - - - quid enim majore cachinno
Excipitur vulgi quam pauper Apicius (4) ?

- - - - *what greater Jeſts,*
Than begging Gluttons, or than Beggar's Feaſts ?
CONGREVE.

It is childiſh, then, in ſome Commentators, to underſtand, here, either the *Apicius* of the firſt Book of *Athenæus* (5), or Him of the fourth Satire of *Juvenal* (6).

[*B*] *This Book was found, by* Albanus Torinus, *in the Iſland of* Maguelone, *near* Montpellier, *who publiſhed it twelve Years after, at* Baſil.] He procured it to be printed in 4to, in the Year 1541, and added to it the Treatiſe of *Paul Ægineta, de facultatibus alimentorum*, which he had tranſlated, and the ten Books of *Platina, de tuenda valetudine, de natura rerum, & popinæ ſcientia*. He tells us, in his Preface, that, having made a Journey to the Iſland of *Maguelone*, twelve Years before, with *Will. Pelliſſier* (7), he had there ſeen a Manuſcript, in which he found, by tracing the Characters, the Title of CAELII APITII DE RE CULINARIA LIBRI X. He was very well pleaſed with this Diſcovery, and procured an exact Copy to be taken of the Work : He immediately found, that it was the Production of an ancient Author. But, the Manuſcript being in great Diſorder, he thought it neceſſary, before he ſent it to the Preſs, to collate it with the Copy of *Venice* ; for which he waited a long time. At length it was ſent him ; but he found it more imperfect, than That of *Maguelone*. He would have given up all Thoughts of printing this Work, if ſome Men of Learning had not obliged him, by their Complaints, and Importunity, to publiſh it. The ſame Year there was a ſecond Edition of it, in 8vo, publiſhed at *Lyons*, by *Sebaſtian Gryphius*. It was publiſhed at *Zurich*, in the Year 1542, in 4to, with the Notes and Corrections of *Gabriel Humelbergius*. I do not think *Geſner* or *Simler* deſerve Cenſure, for ſaying, that the ſame Work was printed at *Venice*, before *Albanus Torinus* brought it to light. It is pretended, they did not rightly underſtand the Expreſſions of this *Torinus*. *In Bibl. Simlero-Geſneriana dicuntur Apicii libri primum excuſi Venetiis, quod acceptum eſt ex male intellectis Torini verbis in dedicatione*. His Expreſſions are theſe: " Premendum plane cenſebam, donec melioris alicu-" jus exemplaris fieret copia, quod acceperam eſſe " annis ab hinc plus minus quinquaginta Venetiis ex-" preſſum (9). - - - - - - *I thought it ought to be ſup-" preſſed, 'till I could procure a more correct Copy, " ſuch an one as I am informed was printed at* Venice, " *about fifty Years ago.*" Though it does not appear, with the utmoſt clearneſs, from theſe Words, that they relate to an Impreſſion of the Work, yet it is excuſable to underſtand them ſo. And, in Fact, a certain Bibliographer affirms, that *Apicius* was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1503, in 4to. *apud Johan. de Cereto de Tridino* (10). The Heirs of *Andrew Wechel* had ſome Thoughts of reprinting this Work : *Pignorius* offered them a fair Manuſcript of it by *Velſerus* (11). But it did not go forward. There was an *Apicius*, in the Library of the Dukes of *Urbin*, the Characters whereof are like thoſe of the *Florentine* Pandects. It is, at preſent, in the *Vatican*. *Gudius* compared it with the Edition of *Lyons* (12). By the way, *Albanus Torinus* has been ſeverely cenſured for pretending to diſcover the true Air and Taſte of Antiquity in this Author. " Olfaciebam ſtatim autorem " eſſe vetuſtiſſimum, & obſopoeum, qui de re popi-" nali, lingua coquinaria, egregie præter cæteros " ſcripſiſſet, & qui obſonia delicatius, quam pro ea " ætate qua glandibus veſcerenter homines, confeciſ-" ſet (13). - - - - - - *I immediately diſcovered, that he " was a very ancient Author, and Maſter of the Art " of Cookery, who had excelled all others in writing " concerning Eatables, in the Style of the Kitchen ; " and one who had a nicer Hand at dreſſing a Dinner, " than could be expected in that Age, when Men lived " upon Acorns.*" *Latinus Latinius* affirms, that a Man muſt be very ſtupid to paſs ſuch a Judgment, and that this pretended *Apicius* is a meer Fool, and a *Barbarian* ; ſome of whoſe Diſhes, and Sauces are only fit to fetch the Skin off one's Mouth, and offend the Stomach. " In Latini Latinii Bibl. Profana, ubi " quædam illius viri docti in Apicium obſervationes " leguntur, ad verba Editoris, ubi in præfat. ait ſe " ſtatim olfeciſſe autorem eſſe vetuſtiſſimum, hæc no-" ta occurrit: *Quam vereor ne tuæ nares obeſiores " fuerint ; Quid enim vetuſtatis redolere poſſunt verba " ſemibarbara & ab eo florenti ſeculo prorſus aliena ? " Ego vero, ut quod ſentio paucis expediam, commentum " puto eſſe hominis otioſiſſimi, qui cum illudere poſteris " ejuſdem naris facile ſibi eſſe perſuaſiſſet, mentito no-" mine Apicium credidit venditare poſſe. Sed paſſim oc-" currunt, quibus pœne manifeſto prodit ſeipſum autor " ineptus, barbarus, & nullius in ea arte ingenii, aut " guſtus, qui ea interdum conjungat ad ſaporis gra-" tiam, quæ uſu docente omnes ſcimus ſummam palato " moleſtiam, nauſeamque ſtomacho, creare ſolere* (14). " —— *In* Latinus Latinius's Bibliotheca Profana, " *where are ſome of this learned Man's Obſervations " on* Apicius, *we meet with the following Remark on " the Editor's Words, in his Preface, where he ſays, " that he immediately ſmelt him out to be a very " ancient Author.* How afraid am I, that your " ſmelling is not very good ? For what ſavour of " Antiquity is there in Words ſo barbarous, and " quite foreign to the Style of that flouriſhing Age. " To give my own Opinion briefly, I look upon it " to be the Invention of ſome one, who had no-" thing elſe to do ; who, believing he might eaſily " impoſe upon Perſons of the ſame Taſte in future " Times, thought it would go off under the borrowed " Name of *Apicius*. But there are numberleſs Paſ-" ſages, which diſcover the Author's Ignorance, Bar-" bariſm, and want of Genius and Taſte, in often " joining thoſe things together, by way of Reliſh, " which we all know, by Experience, are trouble-" ſome to the Palate, and nauſeous to the Stomach." This Judgment of *Latinius* is not amiſs. *Iſaac Grangæus* had better have conformed to it, than pretended, that the ten Books *de Re Coquinaria*, which go under the Name of *Apicius*, were written by our ſecond *Apicius* (15). I confeſs, the Scholiaſt of *Juvenal* obſerves, that this *Apicius* wrote a Treatiſe of Cookery (16). I own, likewiſe, that *Iſidorus* of *Seville* attributes a like Work to the ſame *Apicius*. " Coquinæ apparatum Apicius quidam primus compo-" ſuit, qui in eo abſumptis bonis morte voluntaria " periit (17). ——— *One* Apicius *was the firſt, who " wrote a Treatiſe of Cookery, and who, having ſpent " his Fortune in eating, killed himſelf.*" But the Teſtimony

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(*f*) Athen. lib. 1. p. 7.

(*g*) Borrichius, Cogit. de variis Linguæ Lat. Ætatibus, pag. 18.

(*h*) Platina in Vita Nicolai V.

(*i*) Voſſ. de Analogia, lib. 1. c. 14. pag. 55.

(3) Lamprid. in Heliogabalo, c. 19. pag. 835. *See likewiſe* cap. 18. pag. 827. & cap. 24. p. 857.

(4) Juven. Sat. 11. ver. 2.

(5) Bernardus Autumnus *upon this Paſſage of* Juvenal.

(6) Farnaby *upon the ſame.*

(7) *He was Biſhop of* Maguelone, *i. e.* Montpellier.

(8) Joh. Albertus Fabricius in Bibliotheca Latina, pag. 130. Edit. Hamburg. 1697.

(9) Albanus Torinus in Epiſt. Dedicat.

(10) Merckļinus in Lindenio renovato, p. 85.

(11) *See the Letters of* Reineſius *to* Daumius, pag. 109.

(12) Joh. Albert. Fabricius, in Biblioth. Lat. Append.

(13) Alban. Torinus, in Epiſt. Dedic.

(14) Joh. Albert. Fabricius, ubi ſupra, in Append. p 179.

(15) Iſaacus Grangæus in Juvenal. Sat. 4. ver. 23.

(16) Auctor præcipiendarum cænarum, qui ſcripſit de juſcellis: fuit enim exemplum gulæ. *Vetus Scholiaſt. in Juven. Sat.* 4. *ver.* 23.

(17) Iſidor. Hiſpalenſ. Orig. l. 20. cap. 4. apud Joh. Alb. Fabric. Bibl. Lat. pag. 132.

Apicius (k). I have diſcovered ſome Miſtakes, on this head, in different Authors (*C*), which I ſhall throw together in one ſingle Remark.

ſtimony of theſe two Writers is not ſufficient to counterpoiſe the Silence of ſo many Authors, more worthy of Credit, and who have had unavoidable Opportunities of quoting this Book of *Apicius*. Be it as it will, we are obliged, by all the Laws of juſt Criticiſm, to conclude, that, if ever any ſuch Work had been extant, That, which *Albanus Torinus* publiſhed, was not It.

[C] *I have diſcovered ſome Miſtakes, on this Head, in different Authors.*] I begin with Mr *Moreri*; he ſhould not have ſaid, either that the *Apicius*, mentioned by *Seneca, wrote a Book concerning the Delicacy of Eating*, or that *he hanged himſelf in Deſpair, when he found he had ſpent his whole Eſtate*. Mr *Moreri* quotes *Seneca, lib. de Conſol.* This is too indeterminate, ſince we have three Treatiſes of this Philoſopher, entituled, *De Conſolatione*. He ſhould have cited That, which he addreſſed to his Mother. It appears from thence, that *Apicius* poiſoned himſelf, upon looking over his Accounts, and finding, that he had but the Sum of Two hundred fifty thouſand *Livres* left, all his Debts paid (18), “ Ære alie-“ no oppreſſus rationes ſuas tunc primum coactus in-“ ſpexit. Superfuturum ſibi ſeſtertium centies com-“ putavit, &, velut in ultima fame victurus, ſi ſe-“ ſtertio centies vixiſſet, veneno vitam finivit. Quan-“ ta luxuria erat, cui ſeſtertium centies egeſtas fuit “ (19)! ——— *Oppreſſed with Debts, he was drove* “ *to the Neceſſity of looking into his Accounts. Upon a* “ *Computation, he found he ſhould have but One hundred* “ *thouſand* Seſtertii * *left; and, as if he would have* “ *been driven to the laſt Extremity of Want, if obliged* “ *to live upon only this Sum, he ended his Days by* “ *Poiſon. What Luxury was That, which accounted* “ *an Hundred thouſand* Seſtertii *meer Poverty!*” *Martial* wrote the following Epigram upon this Subject.

Dederas, Apici, bis tricenties ventri,
Sed adhuc ſupererat centies tibi laxum.
Hoc tu gravatus, ne famem & ſitim ferres,
Summa venenum potione duxiſti.
Nil eſt, Apici, tibi guloſius factum (20).

You expended, O Apicius, *in eating and drinking, Six hundred thouſand* Seſterces; *yet an Hundred thouſand ſtill remained. Uneaſy at this, and to avoid Hunger and Thirſt, you took Poiſon. This laſt Draught,* O Apicius, *was the moſt extravagant you ever took.*

Not to follow the Author one quotes, as to the particular kind of Death, is a ſlight Fault; but it is leaving out all the Marvellous of this Hiſtory, to ſuppreſs the Sums this Prodigal had remaining. The Quotation from *Athenæus, lib.* 11, is entirely wrong. Laſtly, Mr *Moreri* ought to have known, that there were three *Apicii*, and not have confined himſelf to one. *Charles Stephens* pretends, that the *Apicius*, mentioned by *Seneca* (21), hanged himſelf; and that he had publiſhed a Book *de Gulæ Irritamentis*, which is to this Day in every one's Hand. No good Critic believes, that the Work, which we have *de re Culinaria*, belongs to this *Apicius*, whom *Seneca* mentions (22). Be that as it will, this was the Foundation of Mr *Moreri*'s Miſtake. He found there, that *Apicius* hanged himſelf; and that he wrote a Book of *the Delicacy of Eating.* He ought to have learned from the ſame place, that *Apicius* had Two hundred and fifty thouſand *Francs* left; for it is a Fact, which *Charles Stephens* has not omitted. *Lloyd* has followed *Charles Stephens* in every thing, except ſaying, that the Work, *de Gulæ Irritamentis*, is, to this Day in every one's Hands. He has enlarged this Article conſiderably, by copying what *Lipſius* has obſerved concerning the three *Apicii*. But he did not know, that the Paſſage of *Suidas*, concerning the Oyſters ſent to *Trajan* into *Parthia*, is to be found in *Athenæus*. The Memories of the greateſt Men often fail them. *Lipſius* quotes *Athenæus* twice in relation to the *Apicii*, but forgets a third Paſſage of the ſame Author, as remarkable, at leaſt, as either of the other two (23). If he had conſulted it, he would not have ſuſpected, that the Word *Trajan* was corrupted in *Suidas*. *Hofman* has done little more than copy *Lloyd*; only he has cited more Paſſages. His Quotations are not always the trueſt; for Example, he quotes *Seneca de Conſolatione ad Albin. & de Conſol. ad Elbiam*, as if they were two different Pieces. *Caſaubon* (24), makes *Athenæus* ſay, that ſeveral kind of Cakes bore the Name of the firſt *Apicius*; but it is certain, that *Athenæus* ſays this of the ſecond *Apicius*; of Him, who lived in the time of the Emperor *Tiberius* (25); Ἐγένετο κατὰ τοὺς Τιβερίου χρόνους ἀνήρ τις Ἀπίκιος, πλουσιώτατος, τρυφητής, ἀφ' οὗ πλακούντων γένη πολλὰ Ἀπίκια ὀνομάζεται. *Tiberii ſæculo vixit Apicius, vir ditiſſimus, luxu ſolutus, à quo complura placentarum genera Apicia nominant.* *DALECHAMP* has left an Error in the Tranſlation of *Athenæus*, which might eaſily have been perceived. It is in the fourth Book, page 168. *Athenæus*, having repeated what *Poſidonius* had ſaid concerning the firſt *Apicius*, a Man infamous for his Gluttony, adds, Περὶ δὲ Ἀπικίου τοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ἀσωτίᾳ διαβοήτου ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις εἰρήκαμεν; which ſignifies, that, from the beginning, he meant the *Apicius*, who was alſo famous for his Gluttony. The *Latin* Tranſlation, therefore, is falſe. *Antea nos quoque iſtius Apicii ob immodicum luxum famoſi meminimus.* I ſay this is doubly falſe; for it does not come up to the Force of the *Greek* Words, and imputes a Lye to *Athenæus*. It is not true, that *Athenæus* had before ſpoken of the *Apicius*, whom *Poſidonius* had mentioned. *Dalechamp* obſerves, that *Athenæus* ſpoke, in his third Book, of the *Apicius* now in queſtion, at the beginning of the ſeventh Page (26). I believe this is falſe. I ſay nothing of his citing *Cælius, lib.* 5. *cap.* 30 (27). He means *Coelius Rhodiginus*, whoſe fifth Book has but fourteen Chaapters: He ſhould have cited the eleventh Chapter of the ninth Book (28). This Author ſays ſeveral things, there, of *Apicius*; but if he falſifies, every where elſe, what he quotes, as he does here a Paſſage of *Athenæus*, unhappy for Thoſe, who take things upon truſt from him. *Athenæus*, according to Him, relates, that *Apicius*, enquiring diligently after a particular kind of Lobſters in *Alexandria*, was informed, that very large ones were taken on the Coaſt of *Libya*: He immediately ſet ſail thither; and, finding he was ſent on a Fool's Errand, he curſed the Country, and reſolved never to return thither. *Athenæus* relates no ſuch thing; he only ſays, that *Apicius* eat a kind of Water-Locuſts at *Minturnæ* in *Campania*, which were larger than the Lobſters of *Alexandria*; and, being informed, that there were ſome in *Africa* of an exceeding Largeneſs, he ſailed thither without Delay, and under great Inconveniencies. The Fiſhermen, being informed of his Arrival, came and brought him the largeſt they had taken; and, being aſſured from them, that there were no larger, he returned to *Minturnæ*, without ever ſetting Foot on Shore in *Africa* (29).

The modern Author, whom I have cited, was miſtaken in ſaying, that the Manuſcript of *Apicius* was found in the Iſland of *Maguelone*, by *Enoch d'Aſcoli*, in the Pontificate of *Nicolas* V. He relies on the Authority of *Leander Albertus*, and on That of *Philip* of *Bergamo*. “ Ut tradit, *ſays he* (30), Leander Alber-“ tus Bononienſis in Deſcriptione Italiæ, pag. 267, “ & Philippus Bergomas in Chronici continuatione, “ qui M. Cæcilium appellat. —— *As we read in* Le-“ ander Albertus'*s* Deſcription of *Italy*, pag. 267; “ *and* Philip *of* Bergamo'*s* Chronicle continued, *who* “ *calls him* M. Cæcilius.” But neither of theſe Authors mention the Iſland of *Maguelone*; and it is certain, that the Manuſcript was found, in That Place, only by *Albanus Torinus*, in the Year 1529. *Philip* of *Bergamo*, without any mention of the Place, ſays only, that, in the time of *Nicolas* V, *Enoch d'Aſcoli* found theſe two Books, *Porphyrion* on *Horace*, and *M. Cæcilius Apicius*. This he ſays, under the Year 1454. *Herman Buſchius* agrees with him, as to the time. Theſe are the Words of *Leander Albertus*: “ Cujus (Enochi Aſculani) induſtria M. Cælius Api-“ tius, & Pomponius Porphyrio in Horatium, circa “ Nicolaum V. Pontif. inventi ac è tenebris in lucem “ vindicati ſunt (31). —— *By whoſe* (Enoch d'Aſ-“ coli'*s*) *Care* M. Cælius Apitius, *and* Pomponius “ Porphyrion *upon* Horace, *were found, and brought* “ *to light, about the time of Pope* Nicolas V.” *Volaterran* affirms, that *Suidas* ſays, *Marcus Apicius* compoſed a Book *De Gula*. *Robert Stephens*, a great Copier of *Volaterran*, affirms the ſame in his *Elucidarium*

(*k*) Caſaub. in Athen. lib. 1 c. 6. & lib. 4. cap. 19.

(18) *I make uſe of the Computation of* Lipſius *on* Tacit. Ann. lib. 4. c. 1.

(19) Seneca de Conſolat. ad Helviam, cap. 10.

* *About* 50,000 *l.* Sterling.

(20) Martial. Epigr. 22. lib. 3.

(21) Charles Stephens *cites*, In libro de Conſolatione ad Albinam. Caſaubon in Athen. pag. 23. *cites the ſame.*

(22) *See Remark* [*B*] *towards the End.*

(23) *It is That of the firſt Book*, pag. 7.

(24) In Athen. p. 23.

(25) Athen. pag. 7.

(26) Dalechamp. Not. in Athen. pag. 706.

(27) Id. ib.

(28) *I do not deny, that the firſt Edition of* Rhodiginus *was divided into Books and Chapters, after a different manner from That generally made uſe of at preſent.*

(29) Athen. lib. 1. p. 7.

(30) Joh. Albert. Fabricius, Biblioth. Lat. pag. 129.

(31) Leand. Albert. in Deſcript. Ital. p. 404.

darium Poëticum. They have been both cenſured: "Vellem locum indicaſſet, *ſays our Modern* (32), hoc "enim apud Suidam non reperio. —— *I wiſh they "had pointed out the Place; for I find no ſuch thing "in* Suidas."

(32) Joh. Albert. Fabricius, ubi ſupra, pag. 132.

APIANUS (**Petrus**), a *German* Mathematician, in the XVIth Century. I ſhall add but one Thing to what Mr *Moreri* has ſaid of him; which is, that he is accuſed of having been a Plagiary from *Roiaumont* [*A*].

[*A*] *Of having been a Plagiary from* Roiaumont.] They, who would ſwell the Liſts of Plagiaries, already publiſhed, may, if they pleaſe, make uſe of this Paſſage of *G. B. Benedetti.* "Hæc omnia tradi"ta fuerunt & ſcriptis mandata ab antiquis, & à "recentioribus uſurpata, ut facile deprehendi poteſt "in Eraſmo Oſualdo, qui omnem fere ſui primi "mobilis rationem à Petro Apiano deſumpſit; Pe"trus verò Apianus hæc eadem cum multis aliis Pro"poſitionibus à Monte Regio accipiens ſibi ipſi aſcrip"ſit (1). —— *All theſe things were delivered, and "committed to Writing, by the Ancients; and have "been uſurped by the Moderns; as may eaſily be ſeen "in* Eraſmus Oſſualdus, *who borrowed the whole "Scheme of his* Primum Mobile *from* Petrus Api"anus; *who borrowed it, with many other Propoſi"tions, from* Roiaumont."

(1) Joh. Baptiſta Benedictus, de Gnomonum umbrarumque ſolarium uſu, cap. 2. fol. 2.

APION, a famous *Grammarian*, and Native of *Oaſis*, in *Egypt* [*A*], exerciſed his Profeſſion at *Rome*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Tiberius* (*a*). No one can deny, that he was a Learned Man [*B*]; and that he had, with great Diligence, traced thoſe Paths of Antiquity, which are the leaſt known, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf for the Exactneſs, and Variety of his Knowledge: But he had all the Pride of a thorough-paced Pedant [*C*]; and ſpent his Time in Queſtions of great Difficulty, and little Importance [*D*]. The Emperor *Tiberius* was no Stranger to the Failings of This

(*a*) Suidas in Ἀπίων.

[*A*] APION, *a famous Grammarian, and Native of* Oaſis, *in* Egypt.] I cannot conceive why, in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, they give us this Grammarian under two Articles, firſt under the Name of *Apian*, and afterwards under That of *Appion*, without apprizing us, that they are but one Perſon. I believe no Men of Learning ever called him *Apian*; and I am certain, that they, who pretend to Exactneſs, never call him *Appion*. Their Reaſon is, becauſe his Name was borrowed from *Apis*, an *Egyptian* Divinity; and not from *Appia*, a *Roman* Family (1). His Country is ſtrangely miſ-ſpelled by *Moreri*; who has changed it into *Oſias*. The Supplement has rectified it. *Suidas* obſerves, that *Heliconius* had ſaid, that *Apion* was of the Iſle of *Crete*; but doubtleſs he was of *Oaſis*, ſince *Joſephus* affirms it; and accuſes him of abjuring his Country, in order to paſs for an *Alexandrian* (2). This Accuſation of *Joſephus* would have been of no weight, though he had not exaggerated, and dreſſed it up in ſuch a multitude of Words. For *Apion*, in calling himſelf an *Alexandrian*, after he had been made free of the City of *Alexandria*, did no more, than what ſeveral other renowned Profeſſors had practiſed before. The Sirname of *Pliſtonices*, which was appropiated to him (3), had an Import very much to his Advantage (4); but it is not known, for what Reaſon they gave him this Appellation. *Suidas* will have him the Son of a Perſon, whoſe Name was *Pliſtonices.* Ἀπίων ὁ Πλειϛονίκȣ. But, in this Caſe, the Sirname imports nothing in his Praiſe. Others ſay, that his Father's Name was *Poſidonius*, Ἀπίων ὁ Ποσειδωνίȣ (5). It is not impoſſible, that the Tranſcribers might have changed Πλειϛονίκȣ into Ποσειδωνίȣ.

[*B*] *No one can deny, that he was a learned Man.*] *Tatian* ſtiles him a Man of great Renown, ἀνὴρ δοκιμώτατος (6). *Aulus Gellius* ſpeaks of him after the ſame manner. "Literis homo multis præditus, "rerumque Græcarum plurima atque varia ſcientia "fuit: ejus libri non incelebres feruntur, quibus om"niam ferme quæ mirifica in Ægypto viſuntur audi"unturque hiſtoria comprehenditur (7). —— *He "was a Man of great Learning; and had an exten"ſive Knowledge in* Greek *Affairs. His Books are "well eſteemed, in which is contained an Account of "almoſt every thing wonderful and curious in* Egypt." So much for his Learning; what follows, diſcovers his talkative and confident Behaviour; "facile atque ala"cri facundia fuit (8). —— *He was of a ready and "forward. Elocution.*" But let us not incroach on the following Remark.

[*C*] *He had all the Pride of a thorough-paced Pedant.*] *Aulus Gellius* repreſents him as an errant Braggadocio. "In his quæ audiviſſe vel legiſſe ſeſe dicit, "fortaſſe à vitio ſtudioque oſtentationis ſit loquacior. "Eſt enim ſane in prædicandis doctrinis ſuis vendi"tator (9). —— *Concerning thoſe Things, which he "pretends to have heard or read, he is more than "commonly talkative; perhaps through the Vice and "Deſire of Oſtentation. For, in recommending his "own Opinions, he is a perfect Tradeſman.*" *Apion* boaſted, with the utmoſt Aſſurance, that he beſtowed Immortality on thoſe, to whom he dedicated his Works. Never was a Prediction or Promiſe, more falſe. Not one of his Books has withſtood the Injuries of Time; and, if other Authors had not informed us who he was, his Name and Perſon had been unknown at this Day: He did nothing, then, in favour of thoſe, whoſe Names he placed in the Front of his Works. Let us cite the entire Paſſage from *Pliny*. "Apion quidam Grammaticus, hic "quem Tiberius Cæſar cymbalum mundi vocabat, "quum publicæ famæ tympanum potius videri poſ"ſet, immortalitate donari à ſe ſcripſit, ad quos ali"qua componebat (10). —— *One* Apion, *a Gram"marian, he whom* Tiberius Cæſar *was wont to call "the Cymbal of the World, though he rather ſeems "to have been the Drum of public Fame, pretend"ed, that he conferred Immortality on thoſe, to whom "he dedicated any Compoſition.*" Mr *de Tillemont* owns, that he does not underſtand what *Pliny* means to ſay of our *Apion* in this Paſſage (11): And I would make the ſame Confeſſion, rather than take up with the Explication given by the Supplement to *Moreri*. *He boaſted*, they are the Words of the Supplement, *that he immortalized thoſe, to whom he dedicated any of his Works. Which made the Emperor* Tiberius *call him the Cymbal of the World: Whereupon* Pliny *ſays, that he ought rather to be called the Drum of the World, becauſe he always gave a diſagreeable Sound.* But firſt, It is not true, that *Pliny* any where ſays, that the Emperor called him *Cymbalum Mundi*, becauſe he ſet ſuch a Value on his Dedications. In the ſecond Place, *Pliny* does not ſay, that he rather deſerved to be called the Drum of the World; he makes uſe of the Phraſe *Publicæ Famæ Tympanum*, which has a particular Force, to repreſent this Perſon as a kind of Public Crier, who, by beat of Drum, or ſound of Trumpet, publiſhes to all the Inhabitants of a City, what every one is to be informed of. In the third Place, *Pliny* does not ſay, that, becauſe *Apion* gave but an unpleaſant Sound, he deſerved the Appellation of *Tympanum*, rather than *Cymbalum*. Who told the Continuator of *Moreri*, that the Cymbal is more pleaſing than the Drum?

Errors of the Supplement to *Moreri*. See alſo Remark [*E*].

[*D*] *And ſpent his Time in Queſtions of great Difficulty, and little Importance.*] *Jul. Africanus* calls him the Buſieſt of all Grammarians; or one, who carried his Enquiries to the utmoſt Scrupulouſneſs and Nicety; περιεργότατος γραμματικῶν (12). According to *Suidas*, he obtained the Sirname of Μόχθος. The Word ſignifies *Toil*, and has more Force, in this Place, than Μοχθηρὸς, *Laborious*, or *Importunate*; which, according to the Conjecture of a learned Man (13), might have crept into *Suidas*, inſtead of Μόχθος. *Didymus*, who is ſirnamed Καλκέντερος (14), that

(1) Voſſius de Hiſt. Græc. pag. 531.

(2) Joſeph. contra Apionem, lib. 2.

(3) Plinius, lib. 37. cap. 5. Aul. Gellius, lib. 5. cap. 14. & lib. 6. cap. 7.

(4) Ἀπιων ὁ γραμματικος ὁ πλειϛονίκης ἐπικληθεὶς. Apion *the Grammarian, who was ſirnamed* πλειϛονικης *that is*, often a Conqueror. Clem. Alexandr. Strom. lib. 1. pag. 320.

(5) Jul. Africanus apud Euſebium. Præp. Evan. lib. 10. cap. 10. pag. 490. Juſtin. Ad. monit. ad Græcos, pag. 9.

(6) Tatian, apud Euſeb. Præpar. lib. 10. cap. 11. pag. 493. D.

(7) Aul. Gell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

(8) Id. lib. 6. cap. 7.

(9) Id. lib. 5. cap. 14.

(10) Plin. in Præfatione Natur. Hiſtoriæ.

(11) Tillemont's *Hiſtory of the Emperors*, Tom. 1. pag. 776.

(12) Jul. African. apud. Euſebium, Præp. Evang. lib. 10. cap. 10.

(13) Tillemont, ubi ſupra.

This Wit: For, though perhaps we do not underſtand all that this Prince meant (*b*), yet we may eaſily perceive, that he took *Apion* for a Romancer, who ſtunned the World with too loud an Oſtentation of his Learning. This Perſon was Chief of the Embaſſy, which the People of *Alexandria* ſent to *Caligula*, to complain againſt the *Jews*, who were ſettled in their City, and with whom they were at great variance. He ſet out for *Rome*, together with two other Deputies. The *Jews*, on their part, deputed Three (*c*) of their Body to *Caligula* to juſtify their Conduct. *Philo* was Chief of the Embaſſy. *Apion*, animated by That Hatred, which the *Egyptians* had born, time out of mind, to the *Jewiſh* Nation, accuſed them of various Crimes; and inſiſted chiefly on thoſe, which he knew would moſt exaſperate *Caligula* againſt them; namely, That the *Jews* refuſed to conſecrate Images to him [*E*], and to ſwear by his Name; while all the other Subjects of the Empire dedicated Temples and Altars to him (*d*). One of *Apion*'s Principal Pieces was That *Of the Antiquities of* Egypt. It was doubtleſs in this Book, that he gave ſo ample an Account of the Pyramids, that *Pliny* thought him worthy to be ranked among the Twelve Authors, who have treated on this Subject (*e*). He ſpoke very diſobligingly of the *Jews* in the ſame Book; nor was he ſatisfyed with treating them ill on every Occaſion, which offered in his Antiquities of *Egypt*; he wrote a Book expreſsly againſt them (*f*). *Joſephus* thought himſelf obliged to confute the malicious Calumnies, with which this Author had loaded them [*F*]. *Apion* was not alive, when this Anſwer

(*b*) *See Remark* [C].

(*c*) *According to* Joſephus, Antiq. l. 18. cap. 10. *for* Philo, pag. 1043, *ſays that the Jewiſh Deputies were five in Number.*

(*d*) Joſeph. Antiquit. lib. 18. cap. 10.

(*e*) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 12. *See alſo* lib. 37. cap. 5.

(*f*) Juſtin. Paren. ad Græcos, p. 9. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 1. pag. 320.

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(14), that is to ſay, *The Man with Entrails of Braſs*, had, in the Perſon of *Apion*, a Diſciple, who was his perfect Imitator. *Apion*, as laborious as his Maſter, had, like him, a Sirname, which expreſſed this Temper. I think the Diſciple had no better Taſte, than his Maſter, in the Choice of his Subjects. *Didymus* compoſed Treatiſes on the Place of *Homer*'s Birth, on the True Mother of *Æneas*, and on the Manners of *Anacreon* and *Sappho* (15). His Diſciple was ſo earneſtly intent upon tracing *Homer*'s Country and Family, that he had recourſe to Magic, to diſcover them. He thought he had made a wonderful Diſcovery, when he found, that the two firſt Letters of the *Iliad*, conſidered *numerically*, amounted to Forty eight; on this Foundation, he affirmed, that *Homer* deferred, 'till he had finiſhed both his Poems, writing the firſt Line of the *Iliad*; and then pitched upon a Word to begin with, the two firſt Letters of which denoted, that both Poems, together, contained Forty eight Books. This ſavours ſtrongly of the Myſteries of the Caballiſts. This Man, who was ſo violent an Enemy of the *Jews*, gave naturally enough into their Dreams, in regard to the myſterious Poſition of Letters. Be that as it will, let us produce Proofs of the Facts here advanced. "Quærat aliquis quæ ſint mentiti veteres magi, cum adoleſcentibus nobis Apion Grammaticus prodiderit cynocephaliam herbam, quæ in Ægypto vocaretur Oſyrites, divinam & contra omnia veneficia: ſed ſi tota erueretur, ſtatim eum qui eruiſſet, mori: ſeque evocaſſe umbras ad percontandum Homerum quanam patria, quibuſque parentibus genitus eſſet, non tamen auſus profiteri, quid ſibi reſpondiſſe diceret (16). - - - - - - *Let any one enquire, if he pleaſes, after the Fictions of the ancient Magicians; when, in our own Memory, the Grammarian* Apion *pretended, that the Dog's-head Flower, called in* Egypt Oſyrites, *had a divine Virtue, even againſt all kinds of Sorcery; but, that, if it was wholly rooted up, the Perſon, who pulled it out of the Ground, would immediately die; and that he had ſummon'd the Shades, to enquire of* Homer, *where he was born, and who were his Parents; but that he did not dare to reveal the Anſwer he had received.*" It appears, by this Paſſage, that *Apion* himſelf boaſted in his Writings, that he had had recourſe to Magic, for a Conference with *Homer*; and that he made a Secret of the Anſwers, which were made to his Demands. This ſavours a little of the Mountebank. *Pliny*'s Opinion of this Perſon is very plain. *Seneca* had no great Eſteem for him. "Apion, Grammaticus, *ſays he* (17), qui ſub C. Cæſare tota circumlatus eſt Græcia (18), & in nomen Homeri ab omnibus civitatibus adoptatus, aiebat, Homerum, utraque materia conſummata, & Odyſſea & Iliade, principium adjeciſſe operi ſuo quo bellum Trojanum complexus eſt. Hujus rei argumentum afferebat, quod duas literas (19) in primo verſu poſuiſſet ex induſtria librorum ſuorum numerum continentes (20). - - - - - Apion, *the Grammarian, who, in the Time of* Caius Cæſar, *travelled up and down* Greece, *and was adopted in every City, as another* Homer, *pretended, that* Homer, *after having finiſhed both his Poems, the* Iliad, *and the* Odyſſey, *added the firſt Line to That Work, which comprehended the* Trojan *War. The Reaſon he gave for this was, becauſe there are two Letters deſignedly placed in the firſt Verſe, which denote the Number of the Books.*" We learn from theſe Words, that this Grammarian won the Hearts of all *Greece*; ſince they received him in all their Cities as a ſecond *Homer*, or as *Homer* himſelf riſen from the Dead. A Man of Learning, and at the ſame time of Impudence and Pride, impoſes upon great Numbers of People by his oſtentatious Talk.

[*E*] *The Jews refuſed to conſecrate Images to him.*] This was the chief Accuſation, as *Joſephus* particularly relates, in the Place cited by the Continuator of *Moreri*: And, as They were the Jews of *Alexandria*, whom *Apion* had Orders to accuſe, it is plain the Queſtion was not what the Jews of *Jeruſalem* did, or did not do. And yet, if we may believe our Continuator, this was in reality the Caſe; nor was it the City of *Alexandria*, which remonſtrated againſt the Jews, but *Caligula* himſelf, *who complained, that they would not admit his Statue into the Temple of God.* It is true, this Emperor uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to have his Statue placed in the Temple of *Jeruſalem* (21); but it is equally true, that neither *Philo*'s Embaſſy, nor This of *Apion*, relates to this Fact. *Philo*, when he ſo particularly relates the Complaints, and the Queſtions of *Caligula*, makes no mention of this Statue in the Temple (22). *Caligula* complains, in general, that the *Jews* were the only People, who refuſed to honour him as a God. *Apion* had already put him out of Temper on this Subject, that he might prevent his doing them Juſtice in the main Diſpute. The Matter in hand related properly to the Privileges, which the Jews ought to have enjoyed in *Alexandria*: Their Cauſe was good, and they would have gained it before unprejudiced Judges. But what does *Apion* do? He gives the Cauſe a different Turn; he renders the *Jews* odious to *Caligula*; he has recourſe to Accuſations of Impiety, and amuſes the Court with captious Points. Thus falſe Zealots act, at this very Day, to ſupport themſelves in a moſt unjnſt Authority over Conſcience, as well as all other Concerns. This can never be too often repeated.

[*F*] Joſephus *thought himſelf obliged to confute the malicious Calumnies, with which this Author had loaded them.*] Mr *Moreri*'s Continuator commits another Blunder in this Place. *This*, ſays he, *induced* Joſephus, *afterwards, to write the Life and Errors of* Apion. It is not true, that *Joſephus* wrote the Life of this Grammarian; and it is ſpeaking very inaccurately to ſay, *that he wrote his Errors.* Theſe Words naturally ſuggeſt this Thought; that *Joſephus* wrote a Book of Controverſy againſt *Apion*'s Hereſies. The Truth is; Being informed, that ſeveral Critics had riſen up againſt his *Jewiſh* Antiquities, not to condemn the Form, or Stile, of it, but to accuſe him of a thouſand Fables deviſed for the Advantage of his Nation; He wrote an Apology; in which

(14) Amm. Marcellin. lib. 22. cap. ult. pag. 244.

(15) Seneca Epiſt. 88. pag. 361.

(16) Plinius, lib. 30. cap. 2. ſub. fin.

(17) Seneca, Epiſt. 88.

(18) *The Manuſcript of* Lipſius, *on theſe Words of* Seneca, *approves this reading, and pretends that* Apion *was a Mountebank and a Jack-pudding.* Agyrta fuit & circulator.

(19) *The firſt Word of the Illiad is* Μηνιν. *The Letter* μ *ſtands for* 40, *the Letter* η *for* 8.

(20) *Compare with this* Plutarch. Sympoſ. lib. 9. cap. 3. pag. 739.

(21) Philo de legat.

(22) Ib. pag. 1041, & ſeq.

ſwer was written; for the Author makes a Reflexion in it on the Manner of his Death. He affirms, that, after this Man had ſcoffed ſo much at the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies, not conſidering, that his injurious Treatment of the *Jews* in ſome Manner reflected on the Ancient Laws of the *Egyptians* (*g*), he found himſelf ſeized with a Diſtemper, which required Inciſions in his Natural Parts, and that, notwithſtanding this Remedy, he died in extreme Torture (*h*). He boaſted, that he had called up the Soul of *Homer*, to enquire the Place of That Poet's Birth, and his Family (*i*). The Titles of Four or Five of his Books are preſerved [*G*].

It is not true, that *Apion* relates, that *Euphranor*, intending to paint *Jupiter*, *went to* Athens *to conſult a Profeſſor, who read* Homer *to his Scholars; and that This Painter drew an admirable Portrait of That God from the Deſcription, which this Poet gives of* Jupiter, *in the firſt Book of the* Iliad (*k*). This Error, which fell from Father *Rapin*, in the Firſt Edition of his Reflexions on Poetry, was unmercifully cenſured by *Vavaſſor* the Jeſuit [*H*].

(*g*) *Among others That of Circumciſion.*

(*h*) Joſeph. lib. 2. contra Apion ſub fin.

(*i*) *See Remark* [*D*].

(*k*) Rapin. Reflex. ſur la Poëtique n. 28. pag. 73. Edit. 1674.

which he replied to theſe Cenſures, and the Calumnies, which were publiſhed againſt the Jews. Half the Apology does not relate to *Apion*, though it is generally quoted, as if it were all againſt him. It is cited by *Origen*, under the Title, *De Antiquitate gentis Judaicæ* (23). - - - - *Of the Antiquity of the Jewiſh Nation.*

[G] *The Titles of four or five of his Books are preſerved.*] I have mentioned his Antiquities of *Egypt*, divided into five Books (24), as alſo his Treatiſe againſt the Jews. I add, that he compoſed a Treatiſe *De Luxu Apicii* (25), - - - - *Of the Luxury of* Apicius; another *De Lingua Romana* (26), - - - - *Of the* Latin *Tongue*; and another *De Diſciplina Metallica* (27), - - - - *Of the Knowledge of Metals. Suidas* aſcribes an Hiſtory to him; wherein he treated of all Nations, ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν κατ᾽ ἔθνος, *ſcripſit hiſtoriam de ſingulis gentibus.* The famous Hiſtory of the Lyon of *Androcles* is known only from the Relation of *Apion*, who ſpeaks of it as an Eye-Witneſs. *Aulus Gellius* relates it after him (28). He is indebted to him for another Obſervation, to wit, the Reaſon why the Ancients wore a Ring on the Finger next to the little Finger of the left Hand. *Apion* gave a Reaſon for it, taken from ſome Anatomical Diſcoveries made in *Egypt* (29).

[*H*] *This Error, which fell from Father* Rapin - - - - - - *was unmercifully cenſured by* Vavaſſor *the Jeſuit.*] He firſt relates the Fact, and then adds: "Gueſs, Reader, at the pleaſant Blunder of the Reflector, through a Miſtake of two Words of this "Commentator (30). Whereas I had ſaid, *as ſoon "as he came out of the Profeſſor's School, he drew "the Picture of* Jupiter; our Reflector, to expreſs "theſe Words of *Euſtathius*, καὶ ἀπιὼν ἔγραψεν, "*& egreſſus pinxit*, tranſlated them, *as* Apion, *the "Grammarian, wrote.* Where the good Man was "much overſeen; and was not aware, either that "the Participle ἀπιὼν is not Ἀπίων, as That Grammarian calls himſelf; or that the Verb ἔγραψεν "ſignifies in this Place, *he painted*, as γράφων & "γράψει are taken in the very ſame Senſe before, "or, laſtly, that ἀπιὼν, *cum diſceſſiſſet*, anſwers to "the preceeding Verb παρῄει, *adſtitit.* After all; "if the Reflector had himſelf ſeen this Paſſage of "*Euſtathius*, I wonder he ſhould thus miſunderſtand it, and if he took this Interpretation "from ſome other, I am yet more aſtoniſhed, "that he ſhould pretend to have read *Euſtathius*, ſo "carefully noting a Paſſage, which he had never "ſeen (31).

(23) Origen. contra Celſum.

(24) Tatianus apud Euſeb. Præp. pag. 493.

(25) Athen. lib. 7. pag. 294.

(26) Id. lib. 15. pag. 680.

(27) Plinius in Indice, lib. 35.

(28) Aul. Gell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

(29) Id. lib. 10. cap. 10.

(30) *That is* Euſtathius.

(31) Remarques ſur les nouvelles reflexions touchant la Poëtique, pag. 56, 57.

APOLLINARIS (CAIUS SULPITIUS), a very learned Grammarian, and a Native of *Carthage* [*A*], lived in the IId Century under the *Antonines*. He had for his Succeſſor, in the Profeſſorſhip of Grammar, *Helvius Pertinax*, who had been his Diſciple, and was afterwards Emperor (*a*). He is ſuppoſed to be the Author of the Verſes, which are prefixed to *Terence*'s Comedies [*B*], and contain the Summary of them. There is extant an Epigram, which he compoſed on the Order *Virgil* gave to burn his *Æneid* [*C*]. *Aulus Gellius*, who had ſtudied under him, mentions him often with Commendation [*D*]. I adviſe the Reader particularly to conſult what he has ſaid

(*a*) Jul. Capitolinus in Pertinace, cap. 1.

[*A*] *A Native of* Carthage.] I have not met with any ancient Author, who informs me of this; I ſay it meerly on the Authority of ſome modern Authors, who have publiſhed Collections of Epigrams, or *Catalecta* of the ancient Poets.

[*B*] *He is ſuppoſed to be the Author of the Verſes, which are prefixed to* Terence's *Comedies.*] I have read, in a Letter of *Petrus Crinitus* (1), that *Politian* had obſerved, that theſe Verſes ought not to be aſcribed to *Terence*, as is generally believed, but to *Sulpitius Apollinaris*. He adds, that, in a very ancient Manuſcript of *Terence*, was to be read this Inſcription in Capital Letters over the Summaries, G. SULPICI APOLLINARIS PERIOCHA. This Inſcription has been of great Weight with the ſeveral Editors of *Terence*. Mr *de Tillemont* refers us to *Sethus Calviſius* concerning theſe Summaries (2). It is true, *Calviſius* mentions them under the Year 163. But he cites *Suidas*; and I much queſtion, whether he ought to have done ſo. Mr *de Tillemont* is not in Fault, if we do not believe there are extant two Pieces more of *Apollinaris*. *He * left ſome Letters*, ſays he, *and a Writing †, in which he reprimands another Grammarian, whoſe Name was* Cæſellius Vindex.

[*C*] *There is extant an Epigram, which he compoſed on the Order* Virgil *gave to burn his* Æneid.] It is but a ſingle Diſtich; and is This:

Infelix alio cecidit prope Pergamon igne,
Et pœne eſt alio Troja cremata rogo.

Troy *almoſt periſh'd in a ſecond Flame.*

Theſe Verſes make us regret the Loſs of others. *Verſus habemus ejus aliquos de Æneide Maronis, qui deperditorum accendunt ſitim* (3). Theſe are the Jeſuit *Brietius*'s Words. I wonder he does not mention the Summaries of *Terence*; and more, that *Voſſius* ſays nothing of our Poet. I confeſs, he ſpeaks of an *Apollinaris*, whom *Gyraldus* has reckoned among the *Latin* Poets. But, ſince This *Apollinaris* lived in *Martial*'s Time (4), it is plain he is different from our Grammarian. Beſides, all who are Lovers of Poetry are not Poets: So that we have Reaſon to oppoſe *Gyraldus*, in giving the Title of Poet to the *Apollinaris* of *Martial*, on account of the Pleaſure this *Apollinaris* took in *Martial*'s Poetry. "Eum in poëtis "memorat Lilius, ſed non ſat firmo argumento; "nec enim, ſi delectaretur epigrammatis, eo & ipſe "fuerit Poëta (5). - - - - - Lilius Gyraldus *ranks him "among the Poets; but his Reaſon is not a ſufficient "one; for it does not follow, that, becauſe he was fond "of Epigrams, he was therefore a Poet.*"

[*D*] Aulus Gellius - - - - *mentions him often with Commendation* (6)]. He calls him *virum præſtanti literarum ſcientia* (7), - - - *A Man of remarkable Learning*; *Hominem memoriæ noſtræ doctiſſimum* (8), - - - *The moſt learned Man of our Times*; *Virum eleganti ſcientia ornatum* (9), - - - - *A Man of polite Learning*; *Virum in memoria noſtra præter alios doctum* (10), - - - - *A Man ſuperior in Learning to all whom we remember.* See the thirteenth Chapter of his twelfth Book. He

(1) *It is among thoſe of* Politian, *the 22d of the 12th Book, Edition of* Paris, 1526, *in* 4to.

(2) Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 2. pag. 589.

* Gellius, lib. 15. cap. 5.

† Id. lib. 2. cap. 16.

(3) Brietius de Poët. Lat. pag. 42.

(4) *He addreſſes to him the 25th Epigram of the 7th Book.*

(5) Voſſius de Poët. Lat. pag. 50.

(6) Aul. Gell. Noctes Atticæ. lib. 6. cap. 6, & lib. 13. cap. 16, & lib. 20, cap. 6.

(7) Lib. 6, cap. 17.

(8) Lib. 13, cap. 16.

(9) Lib. 16, cap. 5.

(10) Lib. 12, cap. 4.

ſaid of him in the fourth Chapter of the eighteenth Book: He will there ſee the true Picture of a Pretender to Learning; and the genteel manner, in which *Apollinaris* ridiculed one of this Character [*E*].

He aſcribes to him another good Quality, no leſs valuable than Learning: Namely, that *Apollinaris* had not That pedantic Stiffneſs, which makes ſome cenſure thoſe magiſterially, who take the Liberty of giving their Opinion in Matters, which, perhaps, they do not thoroughly underſtand. For his Part, He gently admoniſhed People of their Errors. *Aulus Gellius* gives a remarkable Inſtance of it. For *Apollinaris*, though he had had ever ſo little of the Pedant, yet might have uſed the ſharpeſt Cenſure on an Occaſion, wherein *Aulus Gellius* repreſents him as behaving with his uſual Moderation. It was demanded, in his Preſence, who a certain *Cato Nepos* was, whoſe Name appeared in the Title Page of a Book. A young Scholar took up the Queſtion, and undertook to anſwer it, but was quite miſtaken. It was an Affront to the Profeſſorial Majeſty, for a young Man to pretend to anſwer a Queſtion in the Preſence of a Profeſſor of Grammar, without firſt allowing the Grammarian to give his Opinion; this Pertneſs was unpardonable; however *Apollinaris* would not ſet the young Man right, 'till he had firſt commended him in the civileſt Manner. "Tum Apollinaris, ut mos ejus in reprehendendo fuit, placide admodum leniterque, laudo, inquit, te, mi fili, quod in tantula ætate etiamſi hunc M Catonem, de quo nunc quæritur, quis fuerit ignores, auditiuncula tamen quadam de Catonis familia aſperſus es (11). - - - - *Then* Apollinaris, *after his uſual manner of Reproof, with great Mildneſs and Candor, replied, I commend you, my Son, that, at theſe tender Years, though you are ignorant who This* M. Cato *is, whom we are now enquiring after, you yet ſeem to have ſome little Knowledge of the Family of* Cato."

(11) Aul. Gell. lib. 13, cap. 18.

[*E*] *The true Picture of a Pretender to Learning, and the genteel Manner, in which* Apollinaris *ridiculed one of this Character.*] This Pretender boaſted in a Bookſeller's Shop, that he was the only Man alive, who underſtood *Salluſt*; "For, *ſays he*, I do not ſtop at the Bark, or Surface of his Thoughts, but deſcend to the very Pith and Quinteſſence of them" *Neque primam tantum cutem ac ſpeciem ſententiarum, ſed ſanguinem quoque ipſum ac medullam verborum ejus eruere atque introſpicere penitus prædicaret.* *Apollinaris*, aſſuming the Ironical Manner of *Socrates* (12), addreſt himſelf to my Gentleman with an Air of Reſpect, and bleſt himſelf, that he had ſo opportunely met with an Oracle, to conſult, on a Paſſage of *Salluſt*, the Senſe of which he had been asked the Day before, but was not able to give it. He deſired to know, what Difference *Salluſt* made between *Stolidior* and *Vanior*, when he ſaid, *Cn. Lentulus - - - - - perincertum ſtolidior an vanior* (13). Our Pretender anſwered, with a ſcornful Air, that he might propoſe theſe Trifles to others; and that he did not give himſelf the Trouble to examine things which were univerſally known. By this he plainly diſcovered his Ignorance with regard to the Queſtion propoſed; but, finding himſelf cloſe preſſed, and that the Company began to ſneer at him, he took his Leave, pretending he had Buſineſs elſewhere. Afterwards *Apollinaris* explained this Paſſage of *Salluſt*; and ſhewed, that *vanus* ſignified a *Knave*, and *ſtolidus* a *Clown*. *Aulus Gellius*'s Words deſerve to be repeated; they paint this Scene very juſtly. "Tum ille rictu oris labiarumque ductu contemni à ſe oſtendens & rem de qua quœreretur, & hominem ipſum qui quæreret; Priſcorum, inquit, & remotorum ego verborum medullas & ſanguinem, ſicuti dixi, perſpicere & elicere ſoleo, non illorum quæ procultata vulgo & protrita ſunt. Ipſo illo quippe Cn. Lentulo ſtolidior eſt & vanior, qui ignorat ejuſdem eſſe vanitatem & ſtoliditatem. - - - - *Then He, drawing his Mouth into a contemptuous Smile, and pretending to deſpiſe both the Queſtion, and the Perſon, who asked it, replied; I make it my Buſineſs, as I have already told you, to enquire into the inmoſt meaning of obſolete and remote Expreſſions, not of Thoſe, which are in every one's Mouth. He muſt be more fooliſh and empty than This* Cneius Lentulus *himſelf, who knows not, that the ſame Perſon was both fooliſh and empty.*"

(12) Jactatorem quempiam & venditatorem Salluſtianæ lectionis irriſit illuſitque genere illo facetiſſimæ diſſimulationis, qua Socrates ad Sophiſtas utebatur. *Gell. lib.* 18, *cap.* 4.

(13) Salluſtius, Hiſtor. lib. 12.

APOLLODORUS. A great Number of Perſons, of different Profeſſions, and great Merit, have been called by this Name. *Scipio Tetti* (*a*), a *Neapolitan*, compoſed a Treatiſe of the *Apollodorus*'s, which was printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1555, with the *Bibliotheca* of *Apollodorus* tranſlated into *Latin* by *Benedictus Ægius* (*b*). Dr *Thomas Gale* re-touched this Subject above an Hundred Years after (*c*). Mr *Moreri* has given us many Articles under this Name, which ſtand in need of being reviſed. He forgot one Illuſtrious *Apollodorus*, the only Perſon of the Name, whom I propoſe to ſpeak of.

(*a*) Moreri *calls him* Tattius, *inſtead of* Tettius.

(*b*) *See* Nicodemo's *Additions to the* Bibliotheque *of* Naples.

(*c*) *See his* Apollodorus, *printed at* Paris, *with other Treatiſes, in* 1675.

APOLLODORUS, a famous Architect, in the Days of *Trajan*, and *Adrian*, was of *Damaſcus*. He had the Direction of the Stone Bridge, which *Trajan* cauſed to be built over the *Danube*, in the Year 104; and which paſſed for the moſt magnificent of all the ſumptuous Buildings of That Emperor. *Procopius* mentions it (*a*); and it is probable, *Apollodorus* left a Deſcription of it in Writing. *Adrian*, who piqued himſelf on underſtanding all Arts and Sciences to Perfection, ſo far as to entertain a Jealouſy, and Ill-Will, towards thoſe, who acquired an eminent Reputation in their Profeſſions, had particular Reaſons to hate *Apollodorus*; for, as *Trajan* diſcourſed, one Day, with this great Architect, about ſome Buildings, which he deſigned to erect in *Rome*, *Adrian* would needs give his Opinion, and did it, like one, who underſtood nothing of the Matter (*b*). *Apollodorus* ſaid roughly to him, *Go, and paint* Citruls*, *As for theſe Matters, we are now diſcourſing of, you are intirely ignorant of them.* *Adrian*, in thoſe Days, ſpent his Time in painting *Citruls*, or *Gourds*, and even boaſted of it. This Inſult of *Apollodorus* coſt him dear; *Adrian* never forgot it; and, when he came to be Emperor, took care to be revenged. He would not employ *Apollodorus*; He baniſhed him; and, at laſt, cauſed him to be accuſed of ſeveral Crimes, and, upon this Pretence, put him to Death. He was aſhamed to acknowledge the true Cauſe of this Severity. *Apollodorus* had, to his old Offence, added a new Provocation, which touched the Emperor to the quick; he had criticiſed, and, which is worſe, very juſtly, on a ſumptuous Structure, which *Adrian* had cauſed to be built. This Prince, to ſhew *Apollodorus* that he did not want his Aſſiſtance, ſent him a Plan of the Temple of *Venus*, and aſked his Opinion of it; but not before the Building was finiſhed. *Apollodorus* wrote to him very frankly, what he thought of the Structure; and found very

(*a*) De ædific. lib. 4, cap. 6, pag. 81, apud Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 2, pag. 302.

(*b*) Xiphilin. in Hadriano.

* *Great Gourds; or Lumps of Fleſh.*

very eſſential Faults in it [*A*]; which the Emperor could neither deny, nor repair. This raiſed the Emperor's Indignation to the utmoſt, and puſhed him upon getting rid of *Apollodorus* (*c*). This laſt Piece of Ingenuity was much more excuſable than the firſt. Men know not whom they ſhock, when they reprehend the Ignorance of Thoſe, who would paſs for Artiſts in the Preſence of greater Maſters. They may chance to affront a Perſon, whoſe Subjects they will one Day be [*B*], or whoſe Favour they may ſtand in need of. This confirms my Conjecture in relation to the Converſations between *Apelles* and *Alexander* [*C*].

(*c*) Ex Xiphilino in Hadr.

[*A*] Apollodorus - - - *found very eſſential Faults in the Plan of the Temple of* Venus.] He made it appear, by good Reaſons, that it was neither large, nor lofty, enough; and that the Statues placed in it were not juſtly proportioned to the Size of the Temple; *for the Goddeſſes*, ſaid he, *if they have a mind to riſe, and go out of it, cannot accompliſh this Deſire* (1). An Author of our own has paraphraſed this Thought thus. "The Architect *Apollodorus*, ſeeing ſome Statues of the Gods in the Temple of *Venus*, ſaid; Theſe Gods will do well to continue ſitting as they are; For, ſhould they ſtand up, they would puſh off the Roof of the Temple, unleſs they ſtoop very low; and it will be ſtill worſe, if they have a mind to go out of it; for, the Doors being too low for them, they muſt be obliged to ſtoop in an inconvenient and indecent Manner (2)." I have ſome where read, that the Critics found the ſame Fault with the Olympian *Jupiter* of *Phidias*. But others have built a pious Reflexion on it. Let us hear *Bardin*. "They ſay, that *Phidias*, being to make a Statue of *Jupiter Olympius*, choſe to carve him in a ſitting Poſture, and ſo diſproportionate to the Size of the Temple, that, if he were to ſtand up, the Roof would be too low for him. Thus we may ſay, that God enters our Souls, which are his Temples; but that he cannot be contained in them at his full extent (3)."

[*B*] *May chance to affront a Perſon, whoſe Subjects they will one Day be* (4).] The Relation between *Trajan* and *Adrian* might have warned *Apollodorus* of this: But here lies the Failing of thoſe, who think themſelves neceſſary, and whom an uncommon Capacity introduces into Favour; they imagine it is not neceſſary to pay their Court to young Princes; and that the great Patron is ſufficient. Times change; and they find, that their magiſterial Behaviour to all, who ſpeak impertinently before them, in their own Profeſſion, is great Folly.

[*C*] *This confirms my Conjecture in relation to the Converſations between* Apelles *and* Alexander.] I have declared above (5), that I could not perſuade myſelf, that this great Painter would dare to take ſo groſs a Liberty of cenſuring the young Conqueror, as ſome Authors pretend. I am very ſenſible, that They, who excel in certain Arts, are ſometimes of ſuch a capricious Humour, that they are not able to contain themſelves within the Bounds of Reſpect, when the Fit is upon them; but I know too, that *Apelles* is ſaid to have been very modeſt and polite. But the ſtrongeſt Reaſon I have for it is this. *Alexander*, the moſt impatient Man that ever lived, would not have let ſo ſcornful a Cenſure paſt unpuniſhed: Now, we do not read, that *Apelles* ever loſt the Favour of This Prince. The Argument *à fortiori, from the greater to the leſs* takes place here. *Adrian* was not ſo haughty, as *Alexander*, nor was he a King, when he was affronted; yet the Cenſure of the Architect was a mortal Offence.

(1) Ex Xiphilino, in Hadriano.

(2) Coſtar. Apolog. pag. 90.

(3) Bardin's Lyceum, cap. 2.

(4) *See the Text of the Article ANTONIANO, towards the end.*

(5) *In Remark* [*D*], *of the Article APELLES.*

APOLLO, a Pagan Deity. Look for PHŒBUS. not inserted

APOLLONIUS, of *Perga*, a City in *Pamphylia*, was a famous Geometrician (*a*), in the Reign of *Ptolomy Evergetes*, which reaches from the ſecond Year of the CXXXIIId Olympiad, to the third Year of the CXXXIXth. He ſtudied, a long time, in *Alexandria*, under the Diſciples of *Euclid* (*b*), and compoſed ſeveral Books; none of which are come down to us, but hic *Conic Sections* [*A*]. It is much eſteemed, and ſeveral ancient and modern Authors have taken the pains to comment upon, or tranſlate, it [*B*]. Mr *Des Cartes* had no favourable Opinion of it [*C*].

(*a*) Eutocius Aſcalonita initio Commentar. in Conica Apollonii, ex Heraclio in vita Archimedis.

(*b*) Pappus in Proëmio ad lib. 7, Mathem. Collect.

[*A*] *Compoſed ſeveral Books, none of which are come down to us, but his* Conic Sections.] Two Books περὶ λόγου ἀποτομῆς, *de proportionis ſectione*. Two περὶ χωρίου ἀποτομῆς, *de ſpatii ſectione*. Two διωρισμένης τομῆς, *determinatæ ſectionis*. Two ἐπαφῶν, *tactionum*. Two νεύσεων, *inclinationum*. Two τόπων ἐπιπέδων, *planorum locorum* (1). And eight of *Conic* Sections. There can be no doubt, that this laſt Work contained eight Books; the Author's Epiſtle Dedicatory to a Geometrician of *Pergamus*, whoſe Name was *Eudemus*, makes it plainly appear. The Public has not yet ſeen the laſt of theſe eight Books: Only the four firſt are in *Greek*; the three following have been tranſlated into *Latin*, from an *Arabic* Verſion. See the following Remark. We find cited the Books of *Apollonius, de cochlea, & de perturbatis rationibus* (2). I cannot tell, whether we ought not to aſcribe to the ſame Author the Commentary on the *Phænomena* of *Aratus*, which is attributed by the Ancients to *Apollonius* the Geometrician (3).

[*B*] *Several ancient and modern Authors have taken the Pains to comment upon, or tranſlate, it.*] It is ſaid, that *Hypatia*, the Daughter of *Theon*, wrote a Commentary on the *Conics* of *Apollonius*. We have ſtill That, which *Eutocius* of *Aſcalon* compoſed on the firſt four Books of This Work, with *Lemma*'s and *Corollaries*. He promiſed to comment on the other four alſo: See his Epiſtle Dedicatory to *Anthemus*.

We have alſo (5), to the Number of Sixty five, the *Lemma*'s, which *Pappus* drew up on the *Conics* of *Apollonius*. The Catalogue of the Works of *Francis Maurolycus*, printed at *Venice*, informs us, that this ingenious Mathematician wrote a Book entituled, *Apollonii conica elementa libris quatuor & demonſtrationibus & lineamentis opportunis inſtaurata* (6). - - - Apollonius's *Principles of Conic Sections, in four Books, and illuſtrated with Demonſtrations and ſuitable Schemes*. *John Baptiſta Memus* (7), a noble *Venetian*, and Mathematical Profeſſor at *Venice*, tranſlated into *Latin* the four firſt Books of *Apollonius*; which were printed in the Year 1537 (8). This Tranſlation is of no Value; he did not underſtand the Subject; and this was the Reaſon, why he paſſed over the moſt viſible Faults of the *Greek* Manuſcript. "Eos primos tranſtulit, *ſays* Voſſius (9), Joan. Baptiſta Memmius; ſed infeliciter, eo quod argumentem operis non intelligeret: unde non vidit ſat manifeſtas Græci codicis mendas, ac ſæpe pueriliter alucinatur: ſicut monitum Franciſco Maurolyco Præfatione in Coſmographiam ſuam. —— John Baptiſta Memmius *was the firſt, who tranſlated them; but without Succeſs; ſince he underſtood not the Deſign of the Work; whence it was, that he overlooked the plaineſt Errors of the* Greek *Copy, and is often guilty of childiſh Miſtakes; as is obſerved by* Francis Maurolycus, *in the Preface to his Coſmography*." *Frederic Commandin* (10) made a new Tranſlation of it, much better than the former, which he publiſhed at *Bologne*, in the Year 1566. He added to it a Tranſlation of *Eutocius*'s Commentary, and ſeveral Notes. But, having made uſe of a very faulty *Greek* Manuſcript, his Verſion was not ſo good as could be wiſhed; for which Reaſon *Martin Ghetaldus* (11) reſolved to trace the Evil to it's Source. He endeavoured

(1) Voſſius de Scient. Mathem. cap. 16, pag. 55, ex Pappo, lib. 7. Mathematicæ collectionis.

(2) Apud Proclum in Euclidem. *See the Epitomy of* Geſner's Bibliotheque, pag. 71.

(3) *See* Voſſius ib. cap. 32, pag. 156. *and* de Hiſt. Græcis, pag. 505.

(4) Claudius Richardus Præf. ad Apollon. Pergæum ſect. 10.

(5) In lib. 7. Mathematicar. Collect. Pappi.

(6) Claud. Richardus. Præf. ad Apollon. Pergæum. ſect. 4.

(7) Moreri *calls him* de Meſmes; *he undoubtedly believed that he was a* Frenchman *of the Family, which bears this Name.*

(8) Claud. Richardus, ubi ſupra, ſect. 15.

(9) Voſſius de Scient. Math. pag. 55.

(10) *And not* Commandon, *as* Moreri *calls him.*

(11) *He was a* Patrician *of* Raguſa.

it [*C*]. Some have thought, that *Apollonius* appropriated the Writings and Diſcoveries of *Archimedes* to himſelf [*D*]. He had a Son, whoſe Name was *Apollonius*, and who

ed to correct the Manuſcript according to the Senſe of the Author, and to reſolve the Problems; and by this means believed he had reſtored Life to this ancient Geometrician (12). See the Book, which he entituled *Apollonius redivivus, ſeu reſtituta Apollonii Pergæi inclinationum geometria*, and his *Supplementum Apollonii Galli, ſeu exſuſcitata Apollonii Pergæi tactionum geometriæ Pars reliqua*, printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1607, in 4to. *Claudé Richard*, a Jeſuit of the *Franche Comte*, and Royal Profeſſor of Mathematics in the Imperial College of his Order at *Madrid*, in the Year 1642, explained, in his public Lectures, the firſt four Books of *Apollonius*, and, in the Year 1643, four other Books, of which himſelf was the Author, and in which he had ſupplied the other Part of this ancient Geometrician's Work (13). His Explications of the four firſt were printed at *Antwerp*, in 1655, in Folio. He declares that, after having finiſhed theſe two Pieces, he read the *Conics* of *Claudé Middorge* (14) with Pleaſure and Admiration, as alſo the Quadrature of the Circle of *Gregory* of *St Vincent*; in which are many things relating to thoſe Books of *Apollonius*, which are wanting. *In quibus* (de quadratura circuli duobus tomis) *præter elementa conica peculiari ordine diſpoſita, inumera prodit, ſicuti Middorgius, quæ ſpectant ad poſtremos quatuor Apollonii libros injuriâ temporum ſuppreſſos, in lucem revocandos* (15). *Ferdinand* I. Great Duke of *Florence*, propoſed to get ſeveral *Arabian* Manuſcripts, which were in his Library, tranſlated. *John Baptiſta Raimond*, who was the Principal among thoſe, to whom this Prince gave Penſions for this Undertaking, had promiſed to tranſlate *Apollonius*, which was in *Arabic*, in that Library; and ſome Authors have ſaid, that this Tranſlation was finiſhed (16); but nothing of it has been found among his Papers (17). At laſt the Great Duke, *Ferdinand* II, and his Brother Prince *Leopold de Medicis*, caſt their Eyes on *Abraham Ecchellenſis*, Profeſſor of the *Oriental* Languages at *Rome*, and employed him in this Work. By the Aſſiſtance of *Alfonſo Borelli*, Mathematical Profeſſor at *Piſa*, he tranſlated the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh Books of *Apollonius* into *Latin*. This Tranſlation was printed at *Florence*, in the Year 1661, in Folio, with the Commentary of the ſame *Borelli*; who maintains, in his Preface, that theſe Books are not ſpurious, but the genuine Works of our *Apollonius*. He anſwers the Difficulties of *Claudé Middorge*, who imagined, that the three Books, which *Golius* brought from the *Levant* (18), were the Work of an *Arabian*, who conceal'd himſelf under the celebrated Name of *Apollonius*. Father *Merſennus* mentions this Opinion of *Claudé Middorge*, but does not approve of it; he believes that the eighth Book of the *Conics* of *Apollonius*, and all the other Works of the ſame Author, as alſo thoſe which *Pappus* has not quoted, are ſtill extant, and actually tranſlated into *Arabic* (19). He produces *Aben Nedin* as his Voucher, who wrote a Book *De Philoſophis Arabibus* (20). i. e. *Of the* Arabic *Philoſophers*. Obſerve, I. That it was remarked, at the bottom of the Manuſcript of *Golius*, that the eighth Book of *Apollonius* had not been tranſlated into *Arabic*, becauſe it was wanting in the *Greek* Copies, from which the Tranſlation of the others had been made (21). II. That the Manuſcript, from which the Tranſlation of *Ecchellenſis* was made, came from the *Oriental* Library, which *Ignatius Neama*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, had left by Will to the Great Duke *Ferdinand* I. (22). III. That *Abalphat Aſphahanenſis* is the Author of the *Arabic* Tranſlation, which ſerved *Ecchellenſis* for an Original, and which he made for King *Abicaligiar*, who aſcended the Throne in the Three hundred ſeventy ſecond Year of the *Hegira*. From whence it follows, that this was not the firſt Tranſlation in that Language; for *Gregory Barhebræus* notes, that ſeven Books of the *Conics* of *Apollonius* were tranſlated into *Arabic* in the time of *Almamun*. Now *Almamun* was inaugurated in the Two hundred and third Year of the *Hegira* (23). IV. That *Abalphat* ſtill pretended, that his Tranſlation was the firſt, and that only ſome Fragments of *Apollonius* had been rendred before, from the eaſieſt Places. This would induce one to think, that either he had not ſeen the Tranſlation, which was made in the time of *Almamun*, or that That Tranſlation contained only ſome Fragments of the *Conics* of *Apollonius* (24).

This is what I had to ſay, by way of Comment on the Text of this Remark. I ſay nothing of the *Apollonius Batavus* of *Willibrord Snellius, ſeu exſuſcitata geometria Apollonii Pergæi* ϖεϱὶ διωϱισμενης τομῆς, a Book printed at *Leyden*, 1608, in 4to. I omit, likewiſe, *Vincentio Viviani*, Author of the Treatiſe *De maximis & minimis, geometrica divinatio in quintum librum Conicorum Apollonii Pergæi*, at *Florence*, 1659, in Folio.

[*C*] *Mr* Des Cartes *had no favourable Opinion of it.*] "He was not ſurprized, that others ſhould de-"monſtrate the *Conic Sections* with more eaſe than "*Apollonius*; becauſe That ancient Author is very te-"dious and intricate; and yet all, that he has demon-"ſtrated, is, of itſelf, very plain (25)." He compared what he had done in Metaphyſics "to the De-"monſtrations of *Apollonius*, in which there is no-"thing, but what is very clear, and certain, when "each Point is ſeparately conſidered. But, as they "are ſomewhat long, and ſince one cannot readily "perceive the Neceſſity of the Concluſion, without "exactly remembering all that went before, ſcarce "one Man in a City, or a Province, can be found, "who is able to comprehend them: However, on "the Teſtimony of thoſe few, who underſtand them, "and vouch for their Truth, every one gives Credit "to them (26)."

[*D*] *Some have thought, that* Apollonius *appropriated the Writings and Diſcoveries of* Archimedes *to himſelf.*] *Heraclius* affirms, that *Archimedes* was the firſt, who applied himſelf to the Doctrine of *Conic Sections*; and that his Compoſitions on that Subject fell into the Hands of *Apollonius*, who publiſhed them as his own (27). *Eutocius* confutes this by two Reaſons; one is, that *Archimedes*, in ſeveral Parts of his Works, ſpeaks of *Conics* as a Science not new; the other is, that *Apollonius* does not pretend, that he is the Inventor of what he writes; he only ſays, that he has treated the Subject more amply, than had been done by any Author before him (28). This ſeems to me but an indifferent Juſtification of him, as to the Crime of Plagiariſm; for a Man may appropriate the Writings of another to himſelf, though they are not Works, on which the Author pretends to ſay nothing, but what is new. The Honour of explaining a difficult Subject better, than had been done before, is ſufficient to tempt a Man to get into his Poſſeſſion A Work, which may procure him this Honour. This might be the Caſe of *Apollonius*, for any thing that appears in his Apology. There is ſomething farther ſtill; he boaſts ſometimes in the general Summaries of his eight Books, that what he advances is new (29). Judge, then, whether this might not be a powerful Motive to induce him to arrogate ſuch a Work to himſelf. Upon the whole, *Eutocius* defends him but ill; and his beſt Juſtification is the Silence of *Pappus*, his Cenſor, and a Cenſor not a little prejudiced againſt him. Obſerve too, that *Pappus* not only does not accuſe him of Plagiariſm, but expreſsly allows him to be the true Author of the eight Books of *Conic Sections*, though he pretends, that *Euclid* had wrote four Books on the ſame Subject before (30). He defends *Euclid*, againſt *Apollonius*, who had remarked, that this famous Geometrician had ſucceeded very indifferently in a certain Point. He excuſes *Euclid*, by what *Apollonius* himſelf had acknowledged; to wit, that, before the Diſcoveries of *Apollonius*, it was impoſſible to treat clearly on this Subject; the Principles made uſe of before not being ſufficient. He pretends, that *Euclid*, being very good-natured, and modeſt, had confined himſelf to the Diſcoveries of *Ariſteus*, in relation to *Conics*, without either overthrowing, or improving, what the other had begun; and that he had ſtopt, where he found them incapable of carrying him farther; but that he was cautious of ſaying, that this was the Point of Perfection; for he had been to blame in that (31). Note, by the way, that this demonſtrates the Falſeneſs of *Heraclius*'s Pretenſion, that *Archimedes* was the firſt, who wrote concerning *Conics*. *Voſſius* has taken no notice of the

(12) Ex Voſſio de Scient. Mathem. pag. 434.

(13) Cl. Rich. Præf. in Apollon. ſect. 11.

(14) Tres Conicorum libros Claudii Middorgii - - - nova methodo ex Apollonianis fontibus petitos & proprio ingenio appoſite digeſtos. *Claud. Rich. ubi ſupra.*

(15) Id. ib.

(16) *As* Jerome Lunadorus, in libro de Romana curia. *See* Borelli, *in his Preface.*

(17) Abrah. Ecchellenſis, in Præfat. verſionis Apollon.

(18) *The 5th, 6th, and 7th of* Apollonius's Conic Sections.

(19) Merſennus Præfat. in Apollonii Conica, quæ ſunt in ejus συνέψει Mathemat.

(20) *See* Voſſius de Scient. Mathem. pag 55.

(21) Id. ib.

(22) Borellus, in Præfat.

(23) Abrah. Ecchellenſis, in Præfat.

(24) Id. ib.

(25) Baillet's *Life of* Des Cartes, Tom. 2. pag. 39.

(26) Id. ib. pag. 101.

(27) Heraclius, *in vita* Archimedis *apud* Eutocium, *init.* Comment. in Apollonii Conica.

(28) Eutocius, ibid. *See* Claud. Richardus, Præf. ad Apollon. ſect. 7.

(29) *See the Letter of* Apollonius *to* Eudemus, *in the beginning of his 1ſt Book. See likewiſe his Letter to* Attalus, *at the beginning of the 4th Book.*

(30) Pappus in Proœmio, lib. 7. Mathem. Collect.

(31) *You will find the Words of* Pappus, *in the Remark of the Article of* ARISTEUS, *the Geometrician.*

who was the Meſſenger, who preſented the ſecond Book of the *Conic Sections* to the Perſon, to whom the Author had dedicated it (*c*). The *Arabians* have diſcovered great Ignorance in Chronology, with regard to *Apollonius* [*E*]. Mr *Moreri* has been guilty of many Blunders on this Head [*F*].

(*c*) Apollon. Epiſt. Dedicat. lib. 2. apud Eutocium.

the Proofs, which overthrow this Pretenſion. He obſerves, as ſomething in juſtification of *Heraclius*, that *Archimedes* ſometimes refers to a Treatiſe of *Conics*; and That in a Style, which he generally makes uſe of, in referring to his own Writings (32). He adds, that *Guido Ubaldus* has proved, againſt *Eutocius*, that *Archimedes* was not ignorant, that *Cones* may be be cut by Planes differently inclined to the Side of the *Cone* (33). But how does this prove the Point in Queſtion? We may allow, that *Archimedes* had wrote an excellent Treatiſe of *Conic Sections*; but does this imply, that no one before him had treated of this Matter, or that this Work was ſtolen by the Plagiary *Apollonius?*

[*E*] *The* Arabians *have diſcovered great Ignorance in Chronology, with regard to* Apollonius.] They have ſaid, that he lived in the time of *Ahaz*, King of *Judah*, and that his Writings on *Conic Sections* induced *Euclid* to write on that Subject a long time after (34). This is ſo ſtrange a Miſtake, that it is ſurprizing *Ecchellenſis* treats it with ſo much Lenity. He ſeems unwilling to ſay, that the *Arabian* Author was miſtaken; he only ſays, that this Chronology is very wide of the common Account. "In his longe videtur diſcrepare Gregorius à communi Chronologorum ſententia & opinione, qui Apollonium floruiſſe ſcribunt anno periodi Julianæ 4474 —— diſcrepat præterea ab iiſdem Chronologis in ætate Euclidis, quem Apollonio juniorem agnoſcit, ubi illi eum collocant in anno periodi Julianæ 4430 (35). —— *In this* Gregory *ſeems to differ widely from the common Sentiment and Opinion of Chronologers, who write, that* Apollonius *flouriſhed in the Year* 4474, *of the* Julian *Period.* —— *He diſſents likewiſe from the ſame Chronologers, in relation to the Age of* Euclid, *whom he ſuppoſes to be later than* Apollonius; *whereas they place him in the* 4430*th Year of the* Julian *Period.*" *Ecchellenſis* leaves us, as it were, at Liberty, to chuſe between theſe two Opinions: He would have done better, to have determined, that the *Arabian* Author was miſtaken; for this is moſt certain. And obſerve, that his Error is not a Difference of ſome few Years; *Ahaz* began to reign in the Year 3970 of the *Julian* Period. *Ptolomy Evergetes*, in whoſe time *Apollonius* flouriſhed, ſucceeded the King, his Father, in the Year 4468, of the ſame Period. The miſtake, then, is very great, ſince it includes a Difference of about five Centuries.

[*F*] *Mr* Moreri *has been guilty of many Blunders on this Head.*] I. He has, ſimply and abſolutely, given our *Apollonius* the Sirname of the *Great Geometrician*; whereas he ſhould have uſed a Reſtriction, and contented himſelf with ſaying, that his Cotemporaries called him ſo, on account of his Skill in *Conics*. This is preciſely what *Eutocius* of *Aſcalon* ſays of him (36). II. *Moreri* pretends, that this Sirname is the ſame with that of ὁ Κρόνος; which is a great Miſtake, treat it as favourable as you pleaſe; for, in ſhort, the *Apollonius*, who had the Sirname of Κρόνος, was not the Geometrician; he was born at *Cyrene* (37), and never had any Reputation (38). III. *Eutocius* does not treat of *Heraclius*'s Book of the Life of *Archimedes*; he cites it only. IV. To ſay, That *we have the Treatiſe of Cones*, Conicorum, *tranſlated by* John Baptiſta de Meſmes, *is to be guilty of a Barbariſm*, and tends to perſuade the Reader, that this *John Baptiſta* tranſlated the whole Work; whereas he tranſlated only the four firſt Books. V. It is not true, *that Men of Learning know, that theſe* (39) *four firſt Books of* Apollonius *belong to* Euclid *of* Megara (40). VI. No one has ſaid, that *Apollonius* was the Diſciple *of* Eubulides, *a Scholar of* Euclid; and it is not probable, that he ever was; ſince *Eubulides* applied himſelf almoſt wholly to the Sophiſtry of Logic, and never taught in *Alexandria*, where our *Apollonius* ſtudied under the Diſciples of *Euclid*. VII. After having ſaid, that *Euclid* is the true Author of the four firſt Books of *Apollonius*, ought he to add, that this Author *wrote Commentaries on the four firſt Books of That Philoſopher's* Conics? What Confuſion, or rather what Contradictions are here! VIII. It is not true, that *Golius* tranſlated the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh Books of *Apollonius* out of *Arabic* into *Latin*. Mr *Moreri*, who affirms it, is without Excuſe, ſince he had read in *Voſſius* no more than this; *viz.* that *Golius* had brought theſe three *Arabic* Books from the *Levant*, and that the Mathematics would ſoon be much indebted to him, eſpecially when theſe three Books ſhould be printed (41). IX. The *Apollonius*, who was the Maſter of *Diodorus*, is not the ſame with him, who is the Subject of this Article. Two more of Mr *Moreri*'s Errors may be ſeen above (42).

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(32) Voſſius, de Scient. Mathem. in Addendis, pag. 434.

(33) Initio Commentarii in Secundum ἰσοῤῥοπικῶν Archimedis.

(34) Gregorius Barhebræus, lib. 3. Chronicor. in Achaz, apud Abrah. Ecchellenſem Præfat. in Apollon.

(35) Ecchellenſ. ibid.

(36) Eutoc. Aſcalon, initio Comm. in Conica Apollonii. *He builds upon the Teſtimony of* Gemini, lib. 6. Mathematicarum Præceptionum.

(37) Strabo, lib. 17. pag. 576.

(38) Id. lib. 14. p. 453.

(39) *Note, that* Moreri *has ſaid nothing, to which the word* THESE *can relate; which makes it an inſufferable Jargon.*

(40) *See* Diogenes Laërt. l. 2. n. 111.

(41) Voſſius, de Scient. Mathemat. c. 16. p. 55.

(42) *In Remark* [*B*], *Citations* (9) *and* (10).

APOLLONIUS *Tyanæus*, was One of the moſt Extraordinary Perſons, that ever appeared in the World. I had reſolved to make a very long Article of him; but, having ſeen That, which Mr *de Tillemont* has already given us, I thought it better to employ my time in other Enquiries, than to take a great deal of Pains to ſay nothing, but what he has ſaid before me, or only to copy him. His Book will paſs through more Hands, than this, and every one will more readily conſult Him, than My Dictionary. It will be ſufficient therefore to advertiſe my Reader, That, in the ſecond Volume of his Works (*a*), he will find a full and exact Collection of what moſt remarkably concerns *Apollonius Tyanæus*. However, if but for Form's ſake, let me obſerve, That he was born at *Tyana*, in *Cappadocia*, towards the beginning of the Firſt Century; That, at Sixteen Years of Age, he ſet up for a rigid Obſerver of the Rules of *Pythagoras*, renouncing Wine, Women, and all manner of Fleſh, wearing no Shoes, letting his Hair grow at full length, and cloathing himſelf only in Linnen (*b*); that, a little while after, he ſet up for a Reformer; that he fixed his Reſidence in a Temple of *Æſculapius*, whither many ſick Perſons reſorted to be cured by Him; that, being come to Age, he gave part of his Eſtate to his elder Brother; that he diſtributed another part to his poor Relations, and kept but a very ſmall Share to himſelf; That he lived ſix Years without ſpeaking a Word; that, notwithſtanding, during this Silence, he quelled ſeveral Seditions [*A*], in *Cilicia*, and *Pamphilia* (*c*):

(*a*) *Pag.* 200. *Edit. of* Bruſſels.

(*b*) Philoſtr. in Vita Apollon. l. 1.

[*A*] *That, notwithſtanding, during this Silence, he quelled ſeveral Seditions.*] That, which he put a ſtop to at *Aſpenda* (1), was the moſt difficult to appeaſe, becauſe the Buſineſs was to make thoſe hearken to Reaſon, whom Famine had driven to Revolt, *fames magiſtra peccandi, duriſſima neceſſitatum* (2). The Cauſe of this Commotion was, ſome rich Mens having engroſſed the Corn, which occaſioned an extraordinary Scarcity in the City. *Apollonius* ſtopped this popular Commotion, without ſpeaking one Word. Was there ever a more eloquent, active, and perſuaſive Silence known! His Talent was very different from That of the Perſon, whom *Virgil* deſcribes.

Tum pietate gravem ac meritis ſi forte virum quem
Conſpexere, ſilent, arrectiſque auribus aſtant:

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(1) *It was the third City of* Pamphylia.

(2) Quintil. Declamat. 12. *The* French *have a Proverb, that* a hungry Belly has no Ears. *The Ancients had ſuch another. See* Eraſmus's *Chiliads.* Venter non habet aures. Cato *began an Oration with theſe Words,* Arduum eſt ad ventrem verba facere, qui careat auribus. --- *It difficult to perſuade the Belly, which has no Ears. The Buſineſs was to appeaſe the People, who demanded Corn.*

philia (c): That he travelled, and turned Legiſlator; that he pretended to underſtand all Languages, without ever having learned them; to know the Thoughts of Men (d), and to explain the Oracles, which Birds delivered by chirping (e); that he condemned Dancing, and other Diverſions of that kind; that he recommended Works of Charity (f); that he travelled over almoſt all the Countries of the World (g); that, at *Cadiz*, he prevailed with the Intendant of the Country to revolt againſt *Nero* (h) [B], and that he died at a very great Age, without it's being certainly known where, or in what manner (i). His Life has been fully related by *Philoſtratus* [C]. It contains no doubt a Thouſand fabulous Relations; but, if the Facts were true, we muſt not impute them to the Power of Magic. The Pagans very readily oppoſed the pretended Miracles of this Man to Thoſe of our Saviour [D], and drew a Parallel between them. It is obſervable, that St *Auſtin* confeſſed, that *Apollonius*, at the worſt, was greatly ſuperior to the *Jupiter* of the *Gentiles* (k). It cannot be denied, that this Philoſopher received very great Honours, both during his Life, and after his Death [E]; and that his Reputation continued

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Id. ibid. cap. 14.

(f) Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 1, & 2.

(g) *See the* 103*d Letter of* St Jerome.

(h) Philoſtr. in Vita Apollon. lib. 5. cap. 3, & 12.

(i) *In the Reign of* Nerva, *in the Year of our Lord* 96, *or* 97.

(k) *See Remark* [F], *Citat.* (28).

Ille regit DICTIS animos ac pectora mulcet (3).

If then ſome grave and pious Man appear,
They huſh their Noiſe, and lend a liſtening Ear.
He ſooths with ſober WORDS *their angry Mood,*
And quenches their innate Deſire of Blood.

DRYDEN.

Such an one muſt *ſpeak*, if he hopes to ſtop the Fury of a mutinous People. *Apollonius* had no need of Words; his *Pythagoric* Silence did all that the fineſt Figures of Oratory could effect.

[*B*] *That, at* Cadiz, *he prevailed with the Intendant of the Country to revolt againſt* Nero.] “ *Philoſtratus*, thinks it for his Honour, that he induced “ the Governor of *Cadiz*, and the Country about “ it, to rebel againſt *Nero*; nor did the other Phi- “ loſophers make any more ſcruple of this than He. “ [There being no Inſtitution but the Chriſtian Reli- “ gion, which teaches us to conſider Men, not as they “ are in themſelves, but in the Order, wherein God “ has placed them, nor ever to violate the Fidelity, “ which has once been ſworn to them (4).]” Mr *de Tillemont* might very well have omitted this moral Reflexion, and indeed the whole Parentheſis. Chriſtianity has certainly the moſt real and ſublime Advantages above all Philoſophy; but, as to the Point here in queſtion, I cannot ſee that it has had any Right, for theſe thouſand Years paſt, to inſult the Philoſophers. The Chriſtians, and They, have been pretty even, on this ſcore, for a long time. We may ſay of this Engagement, *Never to violate the Faith, which has once been pledged*, what the Poet ſaid of Chaſtity;

Credo pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam
In terris, viſamque diu - - - - -
Quippe aliter tunc orbe novo cœloque recenti
Vivebant homines (5).

In Saturn'*s Reign, at Nature's early Birth,*
There was That Thing, call'd Chaſtity, on Earth.
- - - - - - - -
For when the World was buckſome, freſh, and young,
Her Sons were undebauch'd. - - - - - -

DRYDEN.

It continued no longer than the three firſt Centuries. Mr *de Tillemont* obſerves, that *Apollonius uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to raiſe the whole World againſt the Emperor* Domitian (6). He, who wrote this Philoſopher's Life, eſteems it as an Heroic Exploit in him (7). This Impoſtor had mimicked the Son of God in ſeveral Inſtances; but, on the Article of Submiſſion and Patience, he pulled off the Mask; and, indeed, there was no room for a Parallel on this Head.

[*C*] *His Life has been fully related by* Philoſtratus.] That which *Damis*, originally of *Nineveh*, *the moſt devoted to him of all his Diſciples*, had compoſed, *was properly no more than Memoirs, and ill enough written* (8). They fell into the Hands of the Empreſs *Julia*, the Wife of *Severus*. “ She gave “ them to *Philoſtratus*, who, from them, and by “ the help of what he could gather from *Apollonius* “ himſelf, and from other Memoirs, compoſed the “ Hiſtory we at preſent have of Him. He men- “ tions one *Maximus* of *Eges*, who had written a “ Book on *Apollonius*, and one *Mœragenes*, who had “ written four Books concerning him; but would “ have no Credit to be given to the latter (9).” See, in the Remark [*I*], ſome other Authors of the Life of *Apollonius*. As for the Life, which *Philoſtratus* himſelf compoſed, it was firſt printed, in *Greek*, at *Venice*, by *Aldus Manutius*, with the Treatiſe of *Euſebius* againſt *Hierocles*. This Treatiſe was rendered into *Latin* by *Zenobius Acciaioli*. The Life of *Apollonius* was tranſlated into the ſame Language by *Allemannus Rhinuccius*, a *Florentine*. The *Latin* Verſion of theſe two Pieces, with ſeveral Corrections, and ſmall marginal Notes of *Gisbert Longolius*, was printed at *Cologne*, in the Year 1532, in 8vo. The *Paris* Edition of all the Works of *Philoſtratus*, publiſhed by *Frederick Morel*, is better than any of the preceeding Editions; but it were to be wiſhed, that ſome Perſon well skilled in *Greek* would correct the *Latin* Tranſlation; he would find many things in it, which require the Hand of a skilful Operator. See the Remark [*I*].

[*D*] *The* Pagans *very readily oppoſed the pretended Miracles of This Man to Thoſe of our Saviour.*] We need only read a Work of *Euſebius* (10) againſt one *Hierocles*, a great Enemy of the Goſpel, in the Reign of the Emperor *Diocleſian*. It appears, that *Hierocles*'s Deſign, in the Treatiſe, which *Euſebius* confutes, was to draw a Parallel between *JESUS CHRIST* and *Apollonius Tyanæus*, and that he gives the Preference to the latter. Theſe Words of *Lactantius* confirm what I have ſaid. “ Item cum facta “ *Jeſu Chriſti* mirabilia deſtrueret, nec tamen nega- “ ret, voluit oſtendere Apollonium vel paria vel etiam “ majora feciſſe (11). —— *Likewiſe when he would* “ *have overthrown the Miracles of* Jeſus Chriſt, *but* “ *could not deny them, he pretended to ſhew, that* “ Apollonius *had wrought the like, or even greater.*” What Mr *de Tillemont* has obſerved is remarkable, “ *Apollonius*, *ſays he* (12), by the ſeeming Innocen- “ cy of his Life, and his pretended Miracles, was * “ one of the moſt dangerous Enemies the Church “ had in it's Infancy. It ſeemed, according to his “ own Panegyriſts, as if the Devil † had ſent him in- “ to the World, about the ſame time that *Jeſus* “ *Chriſt* was to appear, either to ‖ counter-ballance “ his Authority in the Minds of thoſe, who ſhould “ take the Illuſions of this Magician for real Miracles, “ or that They, who ſhould diſcover him to be an “ arrant Impoſtor and Magician, might thereby be “ brought to doubt of the Miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt* “ and his Diſciples.”

[*E*] *Very great Honours, both during his Life, and after his Death.*] Mr *de Tillemont* juſtly reproaches him *with not having* ‡ *diſclaimed the Style and Title of God, which his Followers aſcribed to him*; and with *ſuffering himſelf to be adored as a Deity. And if, on certain occaſions, he refuſed to receive Divine Honours in public* **; *it was, ſays his Hiſtorian, for fear of Envy* (13). The Inhabitants of *Tyana* built a Temple to their *Apollonius* after his Death (14). His Statue was erected in ſeveral other Temples (15). The Emperor *Adrian* collected as many of his Letters as he could, and kept them in his fine Palace of *Antium*, with a little Book of This Philoſopher concerning the Anſwers he had received from the Oracle of *Trophonius*. This little Book was to be ſeen at *Antium*, during *Philoſtratus*'s Life; nor did any

(3) Æneid. lib. 1. ver. 148.

(4) Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 2. pag. 208.

(5) Juvenal. Sat. 6. init.

(6) Tillemont, Tom. 2. pag. 210.

(7) Philoſtr. lib. 7. c. 2.

(8) Tillemont, pag. 201. ex Philoſtr. lib. 1. cap. 3.

(9) Philoſtr. lib. 1. cap. 2, & 3. apud Tillemont, ibid.

(10) *In the Volume* de Demonſtrat. Evangel. pag. 511.

(11) Lactan. Divinar. Inſtitut. lib. 5. cap. 3.

(12) Tillemont, pag. 200.

* Godeau's Hiſt. of the Church, p. 245.

† Philoſtr. in Apollon. Vit. lib. 8. cap. 2.

‖ Godeau, ubi ſupra, pag. 246.

‡ Philoſtr. in Apollon. Vita, lib. 8. cap. 2. pag. 376.

** Ib. lib. 7. cap. 10. pag. 340. *See alſo* lib. 1. c. 13. pag. 25.

(13) Tillem. Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 2. p. 216.

(14) Philoſtrat. lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 6. *See likewiſe* lib. 8. cap. ult.

(15) Vopiſcus, in Aureliano, cap. 24.

continued as long as Paganiſm [*F*]. He left ſome Works, which have been long ſince

any Curioſity render this ſmall Town ſo famous as *Apollonius*'s Book (16). *Antonius Caracalla* had an extraordinary Veneration for *Apollonius*, and built a Temple to him as to an Hero (17). The Emperor *Severus* kept the Image of this Philoſopher, in a particular Place, in his Palace, among Thoſe of *Jeſus Chriſt*, *Abraham*, and the beſt Princes (18). *Aurelian*, having reſolved to ſack *Tyana*, was prevented by *Apollonius*'s appearing to him in a Viſion, and forbidding it; and he not only obeyed this Order of *Apollonius*, but vowed an Image, a Temple, and a Statue to him. *Vopiſcus*, in relating this, declares himſelf his Admirer and Votary, with a Promiſe to write his Life. The Paſſage, though ſomewhat long, deſerves a Place here; it being almoſt all of it a Proof of the Text of this Remark. "Taceri non debet res, quæ ad famam venerabilis viri "pertinet. Fertur enim Aurelianum de Thyanæ civitatis everſione vera dixiſſe, vera cogitaſſe: verum "Apollonium Thyanæum celeberrimæ famæ autoritatiſque ſapientem, veterem philoſophum, amicum verum deorum, ipſum etiam pro numine frequentandum, recipienti ſe in tentorium ea forma, "qua videtur, ſubito aſtitiſſe, atque hæc Latine, ut "homo Pannonius intelligeret, verba dixiſſe. *Aureliane, ſi vis vincere, nihil eſt quod de civium meorum "nece cogites. Aureliane, ſi vis imperare, à cruore "innocentium abſtine. Aureliane, clementer te age, "ſi vis vincere.* Norat vultum philoſophi venerabilis Aurelianus, atque in multis ejus imaginem viderat templis. Denique ſtatim attonitus imaginem "& ſtatuas & templum eidem promiſit, atque in meliorem rediit mentem. Hæc ego à gravibus viris "comperi, & in Ulpiæ bibliothecæ libris relegi, & "pro majeſtate Apollonii magis credidi. Quid enim "illo viro ſanctius, venerabilius, antiquius, diviniuſque inter homines fuit? Ille mortuis reddidit vitam. "Ille multa ultra homines & fecit & dixit, quæ qui "velit noſſe, Græcos legat libros, qui de ejus vita "conſcripti ſunt. Ipſe autem, ſi vita ſuppetat, atque "ipſius viri favori uſquequaque placuerit, breviter "ſaltem tanti viri facta in literas mittam: non quo "illius viri geſta munere mei ſermonis indigeant, "ſed ut ea, quæ miranda ſunt, omnium voce prædicentur (19). ------ *We muſt not omit a Circumſtance, which tends to the Honour of this venerable Man. It is related, that* Aurelian *had "come to a Reſolution, and had declared his Intention, of demoliſhing the City of* Tyana; *but that* "Apollonius *of* Tyana, *an ancient Philoſopher of "great Renown and Authority, a true Friend of the "Gods, and himſelf honoured as a Deity, appeared to "him in his uſual Form, as he retired into his Tent, "addreſſed him thus in* Latin, *ſo as to be underſtood "by a Native of* Pannonia. *Aurelian*, if you deſire "to be victorious, think no more of the Deſtruction "of my Fellow-Citizens. *Aurelian*, if you deſire to "rule, abſtain from the Blood of the Innocent. "*Aurelian*, if you would conquer, be merciful. "Aurelian *was acquainted with the Looks of this "venerable Philoſopher, and had ſeen his Image "in ſeveral Temples. In the Suddenneſs of his "Surprize, he vowed to erect a Temple and Statues "to him, and altered his Reſolution. This Account "I have from Men of Credit; and have met with "it in Books in the* Ulpian *Library, and am the "more inclined to believe it on account of the Dignity of* Apollonius. *For was there ever any thing "among Men more Holy, Venerable, Noble, and Divine, than this Perſon? He reſtored Life to the "Dead; He did and ſpoke many Things beyond human "Reach; which whoever would be informed of, may "meet with Accounts of them in the* Greek *Hiſtories "of his Life. I myſelf propoſe to write a ſhort Account of this great Man's Actions, if I live long "enough, and this Philoſopher himſelf ſhall permit "me; not that his Actions want the Ornaments of "of my Words; but that ſuch Wonders, as he performed, may be more generally known."* The Words of *Lampridius*, concerning the manner of the Emperor *Severus*'s Worſhip, are no leſs worthy of a place here. He informs us, that, when this Emperor was fitly diſpoſed, that is, when he had not lain with his Wife the Night before, he began the Day with Acts of Devotion. He went, early in the Morning, into his Oratory, to practiſe religious Ceremonies in Honour of the Patrons he had made choice of; of which *Apollonius* was one. "Uſus "vivendi eidem hic fuit: Primum ut, ſi facultas eſſet, id eſt ſi non cum uxore cubuiſſet, matutinis "horis in larario ſuo (in quo & divos principes, "ſed optimos electos & animas ſanctiores, in queis & "Apollonium, &, quantum ſcriptor ſuorum temporum "dicit, CHRISTUM, Abraham, & Orpheum, & hujuſcemodi deos habebat, ac majorum effigies) rem divinam faciebat (20). -- *The ſame Emperor's manner of "Life was This. Firſt, if he was duly prepared, "that is, if he had not lain with his Wife, he performed, early in the Morning, religious Ceremonies, in his Chapel, in which he kept the Effigies "of the beſt Emperors, and of Thoſe, who had been "the moſt remarkable for Sanctity; among which "was* Apollonius, *and, if we may believe the Hiſtorian of his own Times,* CHRIST, Abraham, *and* "Orpheus, *and the like kind of Gods, together with "the Effigies of his Anceſtors."* *Euſebius* tells us, that, *in his Time*, there were Perſons, who pretended to Inchantments, by invoking the Name of *Apollonius* (21).

[*F*] *His Reputation continued as long as Paganiſm.*] Mr *de Tillemont*, who denies this, alledges the Teſtimonies of *Lactantius*, and *Euſebius*. "From the beginning of the fourth Century, *ſays he* (22), no "Perſon whatever worſhipped *Apollonius*, as a God; "though it is pretended, that the *Epheſians* ſtill continued to reverence his Statue, under the Name "of *Hercules*, but not under his own; becauſe it "is certain, that he was no more than a mere Man, "and an Impoſtor." *Euſebius* affirms, likewiſe, "that, at That Time, ſcarce any one acknowledged *Apollonius* as a God, or even as an extraordinary and wonderful Man, but only as a meer "Philoſopher." Mr *de Tillemont* cites the third Chapter of the fifth Book of *Lactantius*, and the Four hundred ſixty eighth Page of *Euſebius*'s Treatiſe againſt *Hierocles*. I confeſs, *Lactantius* ſuppoſes, that no one honoured *Apollonius* as a God; For he asks, "Cur igitur, ô delirum caput, nemo Apollonium pro "Deo colit? niſi forte tu ſolus, illo ſcilicet Deo dignus, cum quo te in ſempiternum verus Deus puniet. - - - - - *Why therefore, O Madman, does no one "honour* Apollonius *as a God? Unleſs, perhaps, You "alone; a worthy Votary of ſuch a Deity, together "with whom The True God will puniſh you for ever."* But he does not deny, what the Author, whom he confutes, had advanced, that a conſecrated Statue of *Apollonius* was ſtill honoured at *Epheſus*, under the Name of *Hercules*: "Simulacrum ejus ſub Herculis Alexicaci nomine conſtitutum ab Epheſiis "etiam nunc honorari (23)." He thinks it ſufficient, that *Apollonius* was not honoured under his own, but a borrowed Name; "Ideo alieni nominis titulo "affectavit divinitatem, quia ſuo nec poterat, nec "audebat. - - - - - *He, therefore, affected Divinity "under a borrowed Name, becauſe he neither could, "nor dared, do it under his own."* This is more ſubtle, than ſolid; for, when the *Epheſians* conſecrated the Statue, they had no other Intention, than to honour *Apollonius*, and only made uſe of the Title of *Hercules* ἀποτρόπαιος, or *Alexicacus*, to denote, that *Apollonius* had delivered them from a Plague. It is probable there was no Artifice in this: *Apollonius* did not endeavour to conceal himſelf under a borrowed Name, for fear his own ſhould raiſe Scruples in the Minds of the People. Here, then, is a fair Teſtimony produced by *Lactantius*, in proof of the Worſhip, which was ſtill paid to our *Apollonius*, in the beginning of the fourth Century. But, with all the Reſpect due to this Father of the Church, I cannot perſuade myſelf, that the Inhabitants of *Tyana* had diſcontinued their Veneration, or that the Images of *Apollonius* were removed out of all the Temples (24). I find, in *Euſebius*, that, in his Time, a Report was ſpread, that many things were performed, by invoking the Name of *Apollonius*. Αὐτίκα τῶν νῦν εἰσιν, οἳ περιέργȣς μηχανὰς τῇ τȣ̃ ἀνδρὸς ἀνακειμένας προσηγορίᾳ κατειληφέναι λέγȣσιν (25). *Neque vero hodie quoque deſunt, qui expertos ſe dicant ejus nomini invocato magicas ineſſe virtutes, ad ſuperſtitioſa quædam peragenda.* He calls them ſince loſt [*G*]. Mention is made of another Philoſopher, called likewiſe *Apollonius* of *Tyana* [*H*], who lived in the Reign of the Emperor *Adrian*. I know not of what Sect he was; but every one knows, that our *Apollonius* was a rigid *Pythagorean*. He made ſuch an open Profeſſion of his Belief of a *Metempſychoſis*, that he cauſed a Lion to be adored, under pretence, that the Soul of *Amaſis* (*l*) was united to the Body of That Beaſt (*m*). His Life is tranſlated from the *Greek* of *Philoſtratus* (*n*) into *French* by *Blaiſe de Vigenere*, with a very ample Commentary by *Artus Thomas*, Lord of *Embry*, a *Pariſian*. It is not long, ſince an *Engliſh* Tranſlation of This Life, with Notes,

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(16) Philoſtrat. ubi ſupra, lib. 8. cap. 8.

(17) Ἡρῷον. Dio. lib. 77. pag. 878. C. apud Tillem. pag. 219.

(18) Lamprid. p. 123. apud eund.

(19) Vopiſc. in Aurelian. cap. 24.

(20) Lamprid. in Alexandro Severo, c. 29.

(21) In Hierocl. p. 476, 477. apud Tillemont, pag. 220.

(22) Tillem. ibid.

(23) Lactan. Divin. Inſtitut. l. 5. c. 3.

(24) *See the Paſſage of* Vopiſcus, *in the foregoing Remark.*

(25) Euſeb. in Hierocle, p. 541.

them magical or ſuperſtitious; but there can be no doubt, that many Pagans took them for real Miracles. I find, in St *Auſtin*, that, in his Time, the Chriſtians were ſo preſſed with the chimerical Parallel between the Miracles of *Apollonius*, and Thoſe of JESUS CHRIST, and by the ridiculous Pretence, that the firſt equalled, or even ſurpaſſed, the latter, that they had recourſe to this great Light of the Church for a Solution of this Difficulty. "Sed "tamen etiam ego in hac parte qui PLURIMIS, "quicquid reſcripſeris, PRO FUTURUM eſſe "confido, precator acceſſerim, ut ad ea VIGILANTIUS reſpondere digneris, in quibus nihil "amplius Dominum, quam alii homines facere potuerunt, feciſſe vel geſſiſſe mentiuntur. APOLLONIUM ſiquidem ſuum nobis & Apuleium alioſque magicæ artis homines in medium proferunt, "quorum majora contendunt extitiſſe miracula (26). "- - - - - *On this Occaſion, I add my Requeſt, that* "*you, whoſe Reply, whatever it be, will be of uſe* "*to many, would condeſcend to exert your utmoſt Efforts* "*in refuting the falſe Pretences of theſe Objectors,* "*who would place the Works of Our* LORD *on a* "*Level with the Actions of meer Men. For they* "*produce againſt Him Their* APOLLONIUS, *and* "Apuleius, *and other Dealers in Magic, whoſe Miracles they aſſert to have been greater than His*." Then it was, that St *Auſtin* declared, what you have read in the Body of the Article (27), that *Apollonius Tyanæus* was ſuperior to *Jupiter*; which, by the way, ought to put ſome modern Divines to the Bluſh, who will not allow, that the want of the Knowledge of God was a leſs Evil, than the Worſhip of the abominable Pagan Deities, who, in St *Auſtin*'s Opinion, were even worſe than Magicians. 'Quis autem vel riſu dignum non putet, quod APOLLONIUM & *Apuleium cæteroſque magicarum artium* "*peritiſſimos* conferre CHRISTO vel etiam præferre conantur, quamquam TOLERABILIUS ferendum ſit quando illos ei potius comparent quam "Deos ſuos: multo enim melior, quod fatendum eſt, "Apollonius fuit, quam tot ſtuprorum actor & perpetrator, quem Jovem nominant (28). - - - - - *But* "*who does not think it even Matter of Laughter,* "*that they ſhould pretend to compare* APOLLONIUS "*and* Apuleius, and others, ſkilful in Art Magic, "*to* CHRIST, *and even to give them the Preference; though the Compariſon of ſuch Perſons with* "CHRIST *is more tolerable, than That of their* "*Gods: for we muſt confeſs, that* Apollonius *was* "*much better, than Their* Jupiter, *as they call him,* "*the Author and Perpetrator of ſo many Acts of* "*Lewdneſs*." The ſame Father obſerves, that "the "Pagans, who laughed at the Hiſtory of *Jonas*, "would have believed a like Adventure to be true, "if reported of *Apuleius*, or *Apollonius Tyanæus*, or "any of Thoſe, to whom they gave the Name of "Magicians, or Philoſophers." "*Si hoc quod de* "*Jona ſcriptum eſt, Apuleius Madaureſis, vel Apollonius Tyanæus, feciſſe diceretur, quorum multa* "*mira, nullo fideli auctore, jactitant - - - - - - ſi de* "*iſtis ut dixi, quos Magos vel Philoſophos laudabiliter nominant, tale aliquid narraretur, non jam in* "*buccis creparet riſus, ſed typhus* (29). Upon the whole, I find, that, in the beginning of the fifth Century, "*Eunapius* wrote, that *Apollonius* was not "ſo much a Philoſopher, as ſomething between a "God and a Man; and that *Philoſtratus* ought to "have entituled the Hiſtory, which he wrote of "him, *The Deſcent of a God upon Earth* (30). Am I to blame then, in affirming, that *Apollonius*'s Honour continued as long as Paganiſm?

It remains only, that I anſwer *Euſebius*'s Authority, by which Mr *de Tillemont* endeavours to ſupport himſelf. And this is eaſily done; ſince it is plain, from the Facts now alledged, that *Euſebius* gives into an *Hyperbole*, which has not the leaſt ſhadow of Truth. How can it be true, that, in *Euſebius*'s Time, no one did *Apollonius* the Honour to call him a Philoſopher, when *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in the ſame Century, occaſionally ſpeaking of a Fountain, which was near *Tyana*, failed not to remember *Apollonius* with this Elogy, "Ubi ampliſ-"ſimus ille Philoſophus *Apollonius* traditur natus (31). "—— *Where the moſt celebrated Philoſopher* Apol-"lonius *is reported have been born*." I ſhould chuſe, for the Honour of *Euſebius*, to ſay, that he was ſpeaking of *Philoſtratus*; ſo that his meaning will be, that it is not neceſſary to refute at large the Dreams of *Philoſtratus*, ſince he is an Author of no Repute, and not ſo much as ranked in the Number of Philoſophers. I confeſs there is ſome Difficulty in this Explication; but it is plain, that *Euſebius*'s Deſign was to attack the Phantom of *Philoſtratus*, and not the true *Apollonius*. Does he not declare, that he had always eſteemed *Apollonius* as a learned Man, and allow, that he deſerves to be ranked, with all imaginable Honour, among the Philoſophers? That he only rejects the fabulous and ſupernatural Virtues, which *Philoſtratus*, and ſome other Panegyriſts, aſcribed to him, and that, in direct Oppoſition to *Philoſtratus*, he will ſhew, that *Apollonius*, as deſcribed by Him, is unworthy to be ranked, not only among the Philoſophers, but even among Men of moderate Virtue; So far is he from coming into any Competition with JESUS CHRIST. Μόνην ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὴν τοῦ Φιλοςράτου γραφὴν δι' ἧς εὐθυνοῦμεν ὡς οὐχ ὅτι γε ἐν φιλοσόφοις ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν ἐπιεικέσι καὶ μετρίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄξιον ἐγκρίνειν, οὐχ ὅπως τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Χριςῷ παρατιθέναι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον (32). *Unam modo penſitemus Philoſtrati hiſtoriam, ex hac enim certis rationibus convincemus Apollonium non inter Philoſophos locum, ac ne inter mediocris quidem ac uſitatæ probitatis viros dignum ſortiri, nedum ſit ille Salvatori noſtro ratione aliqua conferendus.*

[G] *He left ſome Works, which have been long ſince loſt.*] He wrote four Books of *Judicial Aſtrology* (33), and a Treatiſe *On Sacrifices*, ſhewing what was to be offered to each Deity (34). This laſt Piece became very famous: *Euſebius* cites it (35): *Suidas* alſo mentions it, and adds to it a *Teſtament*, a *Collection of Oracles and Letters*, and *The Life of* Pythagoras (36). The *Theology*, of which *Euſebius* cites a Paſſage (37), is perhaps the ſame Piece, with the Treatiſe *On Sacrifices*. *Apollonius* wrote a great Number of *Letters*, ſome of which *Philoſtratus* has inſerted in his Hiſtory; all of them very ſhort. The *Hymn on Memory* was not compoſed by *Apollonius*, as Mr *de Tillemont* pretends. He cites the eleventh Chapter of the firſt Book of *Philoſtratus*, pag. 18. I have not met with any ſuch thing, there; but only, that *Apollonius*, at the Age of an hundred Years, had a better Memory, than *Simonides*; and that he often ſung the Hymn, which *Simonides* had compoſed in the praiſe of Memory. *Suidas* reports this ſo confuſedly, that he ſeems to ſay, that *Apollonius* compoſed This Piece. *Konig* was deceived by it. See the Forty ninth Page of his *Bibliotheca*. The *Teſtament*, mentioned by *Suidas* διαθήκη, is, without doubt, the ſame Book, which *Philoſtratus* cites in theſe Words: Καὶ διαθήκαι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ γεγράφαται παρ' ὧν ὑπάρχει μαθεῖν ὡς ὑποθειάζων τὴν φιλοσοφιαν ἐγένετο (38). Apollonius *wrote likewiſe ſome Memoirs, from whence we may learn how rapturouſly fond he was of Philoſophy.*

[*H*] *Mention is made of another Philoſopher, called likewiſe* Apollonius *of* Tyana.] *Suidas* is the Author, who mentions him, on the Credit of *Agreſphon*, who wrote a Book concerning Perſons of the ſame Name, περὶ ὁμωνύμων, *de homonymis*. This brings to my Mind, that a learned Man, whom I have already cited (39),

(*l*) *A King of* Egypt.

(*m*) Philoſtr. lib. 5. c. 15.

(*n*) *The Title informs us, that* Fed. Morel, *Reader and Interpreter to the King, reviſed and corrected this Verſion, exactly, by the* Greek *Original. It was printed at* Paris, 1611, *in two Vols in* 4to.

(26) Marcellin. ad Auguſtin. Epiſt. III. inter Auguſtini Epiſtolas.

(27) *Citation* (*k*).

(28) Auguſt. Epiſt. 4. pag. 23.

(29) Id. Epiſt. 49. p. 208.

(30) Eunap. de Vit. Philoſoph. Præf. pag. 11. *I make uſe of* Tillemont's *Words*, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 2. p. 220.

(31) Amm. Marcell. lib. 23. cap. 6. pag. 370.

(32) Euſeb. in Hierocl. pag. 514.

(33) Περὶ μαντείας ἀςέρων. De Divinatione Aſtrorum. *Philoſtr. in Vita Apoll. lib.* 3. *c.* 13.

(34) Id. ib. *See likewiſe* lib. 4. cap. 6.

(35) Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 4. cap. 13. pag. 150.

(36) Suid. in Ἀπολλώνιος, p. 376.

(37) Euſeb. Demonſtr. Evang. lib. 3. cap. 3. pag. 105.

(38) Philoſtrat. in Vit. Apollon. lib. 1. cap. 3.

Notes, gave great Offence to pious Minds [*I*]. It has been condemned, prohibited, and anathematized, and not without Reaſon. I take notice of it in my Remarks. Had we what a cotemporary Philoſopher, named *Euphrates*, ſatirically wrote againſt *Apollonius*, we ſhould be furniſhed with an ample Detail of Scandal; for, when ſuch Rivals once declare War againſt each other, they bring many Secrets to Light. *Philoſtratus* has reaſon to alledge This *Euphrates*'s Silence, as an Argument to convince thoſe of Calumny, who reproached *Apollonius* with Unchaſtity, and boldly to maintain, that *Apollonius*, even in the Vigour of his Youth, triumphed over Nature, and always lived in a ſtate of ſtrict Continency (*o*). *Sidonius Apollinaris* has given us a Deſcription of *Apollonius*, which repreſents him as the greateſt of Heroes in Philoſophy [*K*]. The Author of this Deſcription does not forget to make his Excuſes to the Catholic Church.

(*o*) Philoſtr. lib. 1. cap. 8.

cited (39), queſtions, whether the Ancients wrote any Books, like thoſe of *Leo Allatius*, *de Simeonibus*, *de Pſellis*, &c. He ought not to have queſtioned it; for, beſides *Agreſphon*, we can appeal to *Demetrius Magnes*. Some learned Men would add *Dionyſius* of *Sinope*, and *Simariſtus*; but they are miſtaken. See the Remark [*B*], of the Article DEMETRIUS (MAGNES).

[*I*] *An* English *Tranſlation of this Life*, —— *gave great Offence to pious Minds.*] The Author of this Tranſlation proceeded no farther, than the third Book excluſively. If he had done nothing more than tranſlate, there would have been no juſt Cauſe of Complaint; but to this Tranſlation he has ſubjoined a great Number of Annotations, which he borrowed, for the moſt part, from a Manuſcript of the famous *Baron Herbert*, a great Deiſt, if we may believe many Perſons. They, who have read theſe Annotations, have aſſured me, that they are full of Poiſon; that they tend to deſtroy Revealed Religion, and to bring the Holy Scriptures into Contempt. The Author does not carry on this Deſign by Arguments, gravely and ſeriouſly propoſed, but almoſt continually by prophane Jeſts, and little Subtilties; ſo that it was not without Reaſon, and Juſtice, that this Book, which was printed in *London*, in the Year 1680 (40), was prohibited under ſevere Penalties. This new Tranſlator of *Philoſtratus* was an *Engliſh* Gentleman, whoſe Name was *Charles Blount*. In the Year 1693, he publiſhed a Treatiſe, the Title of which was, *The Oracles of Reaſon*, and accompanied it with ſome other ſmall Pieces of the ſame Stamp. The ſame Year he died a tragical Death. He was greatly in Love with his Brother's Widow; and pretended, he might marry her without committing Inceſt; and even wrote a Treatiſe to prove it; but, ſeeing no likelihood of obtaining the Church's Conſent, he fell into Deſpair, and killed himſelf. See the *Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned* (41). To return; Mr *de Tillemont*, ſpeaking of thoſe, who had wrote the Life of *Apollonius*, ſtops at *Philoſtratus*. Let us advance farther. *Nicomachus*, who lived in the Reign of *Aurelian*, wrote the Life of *Apollonius*, on That, which *Philoſtratus* had compoſed; *Taſcius Victorianus* wrote another upon That of *Nicomachus*. *Sidonius Apollinaris* wrote a third, and followed the Plan of *Victorianus*, rather than That of *Nicomachus* (42). We read, in *Suidas*, That *Soterichus*, a Native of *Oaſis* in *Egypt*, had compoſed the Life of *Apollonius*. This Author lived in the Reign of *Aurelian*. I cannot imagine on what Ground *Savaron* builds, when he reckons *Plutarch* among thoſe, who had written the Life of our *Apollonius* (43).

[*K*] Sidonius Apollinaris *has given us a Deſcription of* Apollonius, *which repreſents him as the greateſt of Heroes in Philoſophy*] That every one may judge of this, let us here produce the Words of *Sidonius Apollinaris*. He had written the Life of *Apollonius*; and, ſending it to a Counſellor of *Evarigus*, King of the *Goths*, he addreſſes him after this manner. "Lege virum (fidei Catholicæ pace præfata) in plurimis ſimilem tui, id eſt, à divitibus ambitum, nec divitias ambientem; cupidum ſcientiæ, continentem pecuniæ; inter epulas abſtemium, inter purpuratos linteatum, inter alabaſtra cenſorium: Concretum, hiſpidum, hirſutum, in medio nationum delibutarum; atque inter ſatrapas regum tiaratorum myrrhatos, pumicatos, malobatratos, venerabili ſqualore pretioſum. Cumque proprio nihil eſui aut indutui de pecude conferret, regnis ob hoc, quæ pererravit, non tam ſuſpicioni, quam fuiſſe ſuſpectui: & fortuna regum ſibi in omnibus obſecundante, illa tantum beneficia poſcentem, quæ mage ſit ſuetus, oblata præſtare, quam ſumere (44). —— *Read (by the Catholic Church's Permiſſion) this Life of a Perſon, in many things not unlike yourſelf; that is, one courted by the Rich, but not courting Riches; covetous of Science, but moderate in his Deſire of Wealth; at Banquets, abſtemious; amidſt thoſe in Purple, habited himſelf in Linnen; amidſt ſweet Ointments and Perfumes, a rigid Cenſor of Manners; amidſt a Race of Fops, rough and unpoliſhed; and amidſt perfumed and ſmooth Courtiers, valuable for his venerable Unattire. And, as he was not indebted to his own Flock either for Food or Raiment, he was the Admiration, rather than Jealouſy, of the Countries he travelled over; and, having the Fortunes of Kings ever at his Command, he asked no other Favours, than ſuch as he was wont rather to beſtow, when offered, than receive.*"

(39) *Mr* de Sallo. *See Remark* [*F*], *of the Article ALLATIUS.*

(40) *The Title ſpecifies the Year* 1680. *It muſt have lain concealed for ſeveral Years; for it was not condemned 'till* 1693.

(41) *Month of* November, 1693, pag. 135, 136.

(42) Ex Sidonii Apollinaris Epiſt. 3, lib. 8.

(43) Savaro, in Sidon. Apollin. pag. 491.

(44) Sidon. Apollin Epiſt. 3, lib. 8. pag. 486.

APONA (*a*) (PETER *of*) in *Latin* PETRUS APONENSIS, or APONUS, one of the moſt famous Philoſophers, and Phyſicians, of his Times, was born in the Year 1250 (*b*), in a Village ſituated four Miles from *Padua*. He ſtudied a long time at *Paris*, where he was promoted to the Degrees of Doctor in Philoſophy and Phyſic [*A*]. I cannot tell whether he died very rich; but I have read

(*a*) *Some call him* Peter d'Avana.

(*b*) Jacobus Philippus Tomaſinus, Elog. illuſtr. Vir. p. 22.

[*A*] *He ſtudied a long time at* Paris, *where he was promoted to the Degrees of Doctor in Philoſophy and Phyſic.*] *Naudé* takes notice of this, in a Speech, in which he extols the ancient Glory of the Univerſity of *Paris*, as much as poſſible. Let us produce his Words at length, becauſe they incidently inform us, that *Peter* of *Apona* compoſed That great Work at *Paris*, which procured him the Apellation of *The Reconciler*. "Prodeat tandem *Petrus Aponenſis* ab inſigni libro, quem, dum veſtras ſcholas frequentaret, edidit, Conciliatoris nomen adeptus: Certe latebat in Italia, nulli propè cognita, nullis aliis diſciplinis, nullis artibus, nedum propriis, exculta, nulla denique, vel linguarum cognitione, vel Philoſophiæ nitore, decorata Medicina; cum ecce tutelaris illius genius, ex Aponenſis balnei pago, Italiam ab ignorantiæ barbarie, velut alter Camillus Romam à Gallorum obſidione, liberaturus, diligenter inquirit, ubinam gentium humaniores literæ feliciùs excolerentur, Philoſophia ſubtilius traderetur, Medicina puriùs & ſolidiùs edoceretur: cumque reſciviſſet uni Lutetiæ hanc laudem deberi, in eam ſtatim involat, illius gremio totum ſe tradit, Philoſophiæ, Medicinæque myſteriis ſedulò incumbit, gradum & lauream in utraque conſequitur, utramque poſtea celeberrime docet, & poſt diuturnam annorum moram divitiis veſtris onuſtus, imo Philoſophus, Medicus, Aſtrologus, Mathematicus ſuæ tempeſtatis præſtantiſſimus, in patriam ſuam revertitur, & primus omnium Scardæoni viri graviſſimi judicio, ſynceram Philoſophiam, & Medicinam illi reſtituit. Unde gratitu-

read, that he made his Patients pay exorbitant Fees [*B*]. He was ſuſpected of Magic, and proſecuted on that Account by the Inquiſition [*C*]; and it is probable, that,

“ dinis ergo compellandus venit, & à vobis merita gratia proſequendus Michael, Angelus Blondus Medicus Romanus, quòd ſuperiori ſæculo Aponenſis veſtri *Conciliationes Phyſiognomicas* elegantioribus typis demandare volens, cum vidiſſet eas à doctore veſtro, Pariſiiis, & in Facultate veſtra fuiſſe elaboratas, has idcirco veſtri Collegii nomine & auſpicio in lucem prodire voluerit (1). —— *Let us next produce* Peter *of* Apona, *called* The Reconciler, *on account of the famous Book, which he publiſhed during his Reſidence in your Univerſity. It is certain, that Phyſic lay buried in* Italy, *ſcarce known to any one, uncultivated, and unadorned; when lo! it's Tutelar Genius, a Villager of* Apona, *deſtined to free* Italy *from Barbariſm and Ignorance, as once* Camillus *freed* Rome *from the Seige of the* Gauls, *made diligent Enquiry, in what part of the World polite Learning was moſt happily cultivated, Philoſophy moſt ſubtily handled, and Phyſic taught with the greateſt Purity and Solidity; and, being aſſured, that* Paris *alone laid claim to this Honour, thither he preſently flies; gives himſelf up wholly to her Tutelage; applies himſelf diligently to the Myſteries of Philoſophy and Medicine; obtains a Degree and the Laurel in both; afterwards teaches them both with great Applauſe; and, after a ſtay of many Years, loaden with the Wealth acquired among you, and become the moſt famous Philoſopher, Phyſician, Aſtrologer, and Mathematician, of his Times, returns to his own Country; where, in the Opinion of the judicious* Scardeon, *he was the firſt Reſtorer of true Philoſophy and Phyſic. Gratitude, therefore, calls upon you to acknowledge your Obligations to* Michael Angelus Blondus, *a Phyſician of* Rome, *who, in the laſt Century, undertaking to publiſh the* Conciliationes Phyſiognomicæ *of your* Aponenſian *Doctor, and finding, that they had been compoſed at* Paris, *and in your Univerſity, choſe to publiſh them in the Name, and under the Patronage, of your Society.*”

[*B*] *He made his Patients pay exorbitant Fees.*] We have no account of what he exacted for the Viſits he made, in the Place of his Reſidence; but it is affirmed, that he would not go out of Town to viſit the Sick, under an Hundred and fifty *Livers* a Day (2). They add (3), that, being ſent for by Pope *Honorius* IV, he demanded *Four hundred Ducats* a Day. This we find in the Abridgment of his Life, inſerted in the new Edition of *Vander Linden, de ſcriptoribus Medicis. Camerarius* relates the ſame thing (4), but without naming the Pope, who ſent for this Phyſician. He does not obſerve the ſame Silence in relation to the Place, where *Peter* of *Apona* reſided; he ſays it was at *Bologne.* He mentions, indeed, Pope *Honorius* IV, but ſays, that the Phyſician, who exacted ſo vaſt a Sum from this Pope, was not *Peter* of *Apona.* Theſe are his Words. “In the Days of our Fathers, there was a Phyſician of *Florence,* whoſe Name was *Thadeus,* who acquired ſuch a Reputation, that, by his Practice out of Town, he gained fifty Crowns a Day; and, being ſent for by Pope *Honorius* IV, received an hundred Crowns a Day from him; inſomuch, that, at his return from *Rome,* he brought away Ten thouſand Crowns (5).” If he had conſulted Chronology, he would not have ſaid *in the Days of our Fathers*; for this Pope was elected in the Year 1285, and died in the Year 1287. *Lancelot* of *Perouſa,* quoting *Ciaconius* (6), ſays, that this *Thadeus,* a *Florentine,* and Profeſſor at *Bologne,* made the Meſſengers of Pope *Honorius* IV promiſe, that he ſhould be paid an hundred Crowns a Day; and adds, that this Journey was worth to him Ten thouſand Crowns; but obſerves, that others write, that *Peter* of *Apona* had Four hundred Crowns a Day from this Pope (7). He had ſaid, that this *Peter* never went out of Town to Viſit a Patient under a Fee of fifty Florins. You will find, in the *Theatrum* of *Paul Freherus,* that he was Profeſſor of Phyſic at *Bologne,* and that he was ſent for from all parts of *Italy,* though he exacted fifty Florins a Day (8). You will find, likewiſe, that he bargained, with *Honorius* IV, for the Sum of an Hundred Florins a Day, and that, having cured this Pope, he received a thouſand Crowns. Theſe are very different Accounts.

[*C*] *He was ſuſpected of Magic, and proſecuted on that account by the Inquiſition.*] This Suſpicion continues ſtill; nay, many do more than ſuſpect, and are even firmly perſuaded of it. “The general Opinion of almoſt all Authors is, that he was the greateſt Magician of his Time; that, by means of ſeven familiar Spirits, which he kept incloſed in Cryſtal, he had acquired the Knowledge of the ſeven liberal Arts; that, like another *Paſetes,* he had the Art of making the Money, which he had ſpent, return into his Pocket (9).” The Author, who furniſhes me with theſe Words, adds, “That it was certain he was accuſed of Magic, in the eightieth Year of his Age (10), and that, dying in the Year 1305 (11), before his Trial was over, he was yet condemned, as *Caſtellan* reports *, to the Fire; and that a Bundle of Straw, or Oſier, repreſenting his Perſon, was publickly burnt at *Padua*; that, by ſo rigorous an Example, and by the fear of incurring a like Penalty, they might ſuppreſs the reading of three ſuperſtitious and abominable Books, which he had compoſed on this Subject; the firſt of which was the *Heptameron,* now printed at the end of the firſt Volume of the Works of *Agrippa*; the ſecond, That, which *Trithemius* calls *Elucidarium Necromanticum Petri de Albano*; and a third, called by the ſame Auhor, *Liber experimentorum mirabilium de annulis ſecundum 28 manſiones Lunæ* (12).” Theſe ſeem to be ſtrong Proofs; yet *Naudé* lays no Streſs upon them. He refutes them immediately by obſerving, that *Peter* of *Apona* was a Man of prodigious Wit and Learning, in an Age of Darkneſs; which was ſufficient to render him ſuſpected of Magic; being, beſides, much addicted to curious and divinatory Sciences. “He was one, *ſays he* (13), who appeared as a Prodigy and Miracle, amidſt the Ignorance of that Age; and who, beſides his Skill in Languages, and Phyſic, had carried his Enquiries ſo far into thoſe leſs common Sciences, that, after having given moſt ample Proofs, by his Writings concerning Phyſiognomy, Geomancy, and Chiromancy, what he was able to perform in each of theſe, he quitted them all, together with his youthful Curioſity, to addict himſelf wholly to the Study of Philoſophy, Phyſic, and Aſtrology; which Studies proved ſo advantageous to him, that, not to ſpeak of the two firſt, which introduced him to the Favour of all the Popes and ſovereign Pontiffs of his Time, and acquired him the Reputation, which he enjoys at preſent among learned Men; it is certain, that he was a great Maſter in the latter, as appears not only by the Aſtronomical Figures, which he cauſed to be painted in the great Hall of the Palace of *Padua,* and the Tranſlations he made of the Books of *Rabbi Abraham Aben Ezra,* added to thoſe which he himſelf compoſed on critical Days, and the Improvement of Aſtronomy, but by the Teſtimony likewiſe of the renowned Mathematician *Regio-Montanus,* who made a fine Panegyric on him, in quality of an Aſtrologer, in the Oration, which he delivered publickly at *Padua,* when he explained there the Book of *Alfraganus.*” *Naudé* obſerves afterwards, that *Peter* of *Apona* was very much addicted to Aſtrology (14); whence it is, that many Authors maintain “a quite contrary Opinion to the preceeding; to wit, that he did not undergo this Sentence on the Score of Magic, but becauſe he endeavoured to account for the wonderful Effects, which often happen in Nature, by the Influences of the Celeſtial Bodies, without attributing them to Angels or Dæmons. Which is very evident from the Collection, which *Symphorian Champier* * has made, of the Paſſages of his Differences, which muſt not be read without Caution; and from the peremptory Authority of *Francis Picus,* who, ſpeaking of them, ſays expreſsly †, Ab omnibus ferme creditus eſt Magus; verum conſtat quam oppoſitum dogma ei aliquando tributum ſit, quem etiam hæreſeum inquiſitores vexaverunt, quaſi nullos eſſe Dæmones crediderit. ———— *It was the ſettled Opinion of every one, that he was a Magician: but it is certain, that the quite contrary Opinions were aſcribed to him; ſince he was even accuſed of*

“ *Hereſy*

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(1) Gabriel Naudé, de Antiquitate Scholæ Medicæ Pariſienſis, pag. 44, &c.

(2) *See* Mercklinus in Lindenio renovato. pag. 878.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Camerarius, Meditations Hiſtoriques, Tom. I. cap. 4.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) In vita Honorii IV.

(7) Secondo Lanceloti da Perugia, l'Hoggidi. Parte II. Diſinganno 18, pag. 377.

(8) Freher. in Theatro Viror. Illuſtr. pag. 1209. *He cites* Bernardus Scardeonus, lib. 2, claſſe 9. Hiſtoriæ Patavinæ.

(9) Naudé's Apology for great Men accuſed of Magic, cap. 14, pag. 380.

(10) *This is falſe. See Remark* [*F*].

(11) *This is likewiſe falſe. See the ſame Remark.*

* In vitis Illuſtr. Medicorum.

(12) Naudé, ubi ſupra, pag. 380.

(13) Id. ib. pag. 382.

(14) *This appears from all his Works, and eſpecially in the 156th Diſputation* of his Conciliator. Id. ib. pag. 384.

* III. Parte, lib. *Cribrat.*

† Lib. 7, de Prænot. cap. 7.

that, if he had lived to the End of his Trial, he would have ſuffered, in Perſon, what he was ſentenced to ſuffer in Effigie after his Death. We ſhall relate (c), what his Apologiſts obſerve, that His Body, being privately taken out of it's Grave, by his Friends, eſcaped the Vigilance of the Inquiſitors, who would have condemned it to be burnt [D]. He was removed from Place to Place, and at laſt depoſited in St *Auguſtin*'s Church, without Epitaph, or any other Mark of Honour (d). His Accuſers aſcribed inconſiſtent Opinions to him; they charge him with being a Magician, and yet with denying the Exiſtence of Devils [E]. He had ſuch an Antipathy to Milk, that the very ſeeing any one drink it turned his Stomach (e). He died

(c) *In Remark* [C].

(d) Tomaſin. Elog. Vir. Illuſtr. pag. 24.

(e) Mercklinus, in Lindenio renovato, pag. 879. Freherus, in Theatro, pag. 1203. *He cites* Marcellus Donatus, *and* Math. de Gradibus.

“ *Hereſy by the Inquiſition, as one, who oppoſed the Doctrine of Spiritual Beings.* To which may be added, that, upon this account, *Baptiſta Mantuanus* ‖ calls him, Virum magnæ, ſed nimium audacis temerariæque doctrinæ. —— *One, whoſe Doctrine was great, but too bold and raſh*; That *Caſmannus* ‡ reckons him in the Number of thoſe, who aſcribed all Miracles to Nature, and that *le Loyer* affirms, in his Apparitions **, that he laughed at Sorcerers, and their Nocturnal Meetings: Whence one would wonder, why the ſame Authors reckon him frequently among the Inchanters and Magicians; if it were not the Practice of thoſe, who write on ſuch Subjects, ſo to ſwell their Books, by copying all they find in Authors, that it is with Difficulty they obſerve the Precept of the Poet;

Primo ne medium, medio ne diſcrepet imum (15).

All ſhould be uniform and of a Peice.

After this, his Apologiſt declares, That “ he can juſtify him both from the Crimes of Magic and Atheiſm, “ as well by the Teſtimony, which the illuſtrious and religious *Frederick*, Duke of *Urbin*, has been pleaſed to give to his Merit, by placing his Statue among thoſe of the famous Men, which are to be ſeen in his Citadel; as alſo by the public Atteſtation of the City of *Padua*, which has ſet up his Effigies over the Gate of it's Town-houſe, with thoſe of *Livy*, *Albertus*, and *Julius Paulus*, and with this Inſcription on the Baſe. Petrus Aponus Patavinus Philoſophiæ Medicinæque ſcientiſſimus, ob idque Conciliatoris nomen adeptus; Aſtrologiæ vero adeo peritus, ut in Magiæ ſuſpicionem inciderit, falſoque de hæreſi poſtulatus, abſolutus fuerit (16). —— Petrus Aponus *of* Padua, *very learned in Philoſophy and Phyſic; whence he had the Name of* The Reconciler; *and ſo expert in Aſtrology, that he was ſuſpected of Magic, and being accuſed of Hereſy, was acquitted.* —— But, *adds he* (17), fully to expoſe the Falſhood of theſe Objections, we may reply to what *Ludwigius* †† has ſaid of the ſeven Spirits, which taught him the ſeven Liberal Arts, that this fabulous Report took it's Riſe from what the ſame *Peter* of *Apona* ‖‖ affirms, after *Albumazar*, that the Prayers, which are made to God, when the Moon is in Conjunction with *Jupiter*, in the Head of the *Dragon*, are infallibly heard; and that, having requeſted for himſelf, (to uſe his own Terms) *ſapientiam à primo, viſus eſt ſibi in illa amplius proficere.* Upon which account, many Authors juſtly deride him for ſo indiſcreetly diſowning all his Watchings and Labours, and for aſcribing his Knowledge wholly to the Superſtition of this Prayer; which cannot but be vain, and fruitleſs, in whatever Senſe it be taken. For if you ſay, it is addreſſed to the Planets, it is groſs Stupidity to believe, that they can hear it; if to God, I would willingly know, whether he was deaf before this Conjunction, or whether he will not hear our Prayers without it, or whether it can force and neceſſitate him to condeſcend to the Petitions, which are then made to him. And hence it is, that *John Picus* ‡‡, ſpeaking of this new *Solomon*, had reaſon to ſay, Conſulerem Petro iſti ut totum quod profecit ſuæ potius induſtriæ ingenioque acceptum referret, quam Joviæ illi ſuæ ſupplicationi. ——— *I would adviſe this* Peter *to confeſs himſelf indebted, for all his Knowledge, to his own Induſtry and Genius, rather than to this Planetary Prayer.* It may be ſaid, likewiſe, in anſwer to the Proofs, which are brought for the three Books, publiſhed under his Name, that they are no leſs falſely aſcribed to him, than many others are to almoſt all other great Wits; witneſs *Trithemius*'s * not allowing them to be genuine, on account of the many Fables, which have been forged, in relation to this Author; and his having ſaid before, in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, that he did not believe what was ſaid of the Magic Art of *Petrus Aponenſis*, becauſe he had never ſeen any Book of his on this Subject. If to this you will farther add the Silence of all the Librarians, and the Confirmation, which *Symphorian Champier* † gives to this Authority of *Trithemius*, when he affirms, that he had never ſeen any of his magical Books, excepting only ſome Diſputations, in which he treats of it incidentally; I believe nothing can prevent our acknowledging his Innocence, and ſuppoſing, with the better Sort, that all the Suſpicions of Magic Art, which have been thrown upon him, proceed, as from their true Spring and Origin, from the Power, which he attributes to it, in the CLVI Diſputation of his *Conciliator*, and from the Predictions, which he might make by Virtue of Aſtrology; on which, by Length of Time, All Theſe Fables and Chimera's have been grafted; according to the true Obſervation of *Propertius*.

Omnia poſt obitum pingit majora vetuſtas *.

Time magnifies each Object, after Death.

Remark the following Errors of Mr *de Clavigni de Sainte Honorine.* He pretends, that the *Effigies of* Peter *of* Apona, made by Order of the Duke of *Urbin*, *ſtands in the Market-Place of* Padua, *with Thoſe of* Livy, Albertus, *and* Julius Paulus, and that the Inſcription contains *Aſtrologiæ adeo peritus, ut in magiæ ſuſpicionem venerit* (18). I. The Statue, under which theſe Words are inſcribed, is not in the Market-Place of *Padua*, but over one of the Gates of the Town-houſe. *In Unæ Portarum Prætorii Patavini* (19). II. The Statue, which the Duke of *Urbin* cauſed to be erected, was not ſet up in *Padua*, but in the Caſtle of This Duke. III. The Words, which Mr *de Clavigni* mentions, are not on it's Pedeſtal. See TOMASINI (20).

[*D*] *The Inquiſitors, who would have condemned his Body to be burnt.*] *Peter* of *Apona*, being accuſed of Magic and Hereſy, died during his Trial, and was buried in the Church of St *Antony*. All the Zealots were ſcandalized at it: The Inquiſitors continued the Proceſs, and, having convicted him, by his Writings, of Impiety, they condemned his Body to the Flames; but, when they could not find it, they ordered his Effigies to be publickly burnt. This is what we read in *Spondanus* (21). But how can we reconcile this with the Inſcription, which the Magiſtrates of *Padua* cauſed to be put under the Statue of This Phyſician, and in which they declare, that he was acquitted. *Petrus Romauldus* reports, that the Inquiſitors, having publickly read the Sentence of Condemnation againſt *Peter* of *Apona*, cauſed his Effigies to be burnt. He obſerves likewiſe, that they could not find his Body; *his Concubine* Mariette *having privately taken him out of his Grave by Night, and hid him* in *a ruinous Sepulchre* (23).

[*E*] *They charged him with being a Magician, and yet with denying the Exiſtence of Devils.*] We have ſeen (24) what Advantage his Apologiſt makes of this Contradiction; but he ought to have taken notice, that *Bodin* ranks *Peter* of *Apona* among thoſe Sorcerers, who, to elude judicial Proceedings, maintain, that all that is ſaid of Devils, and Magic, is a Chimera. *Bodin* declares, that he wrote his Book of

‖ Lib. 1. de Patientia. cap. 3.

‡ *Angelogr.* Parte II. cap. 21. Quæſt. 2.

** *Book* 4, *chap.* 3.

(15) Horat. Ars Poët.

(16) *This Inſcription is in* Tomaſin, in Elog Illuſtr. viror. pag. 23.

(17) Naudé ubi ſupra, pag. 388.

†† Dæmonomagiæ, Quæſt. 16.

‖‖ Differentia CLVI.

‡‡ Lib. 4. adverſ. Aſtrolog. cap. 8.

* Antipali, lib. 1. cap. 3.

† Tractat. 4, lib. de claris Medicinæ Scriptoribus.

* Eleg. 1. lib. 3.

(18) Clavigni de St. Honorine, Lecture des livres ſuſpects, pag. 101, 102.

(19) Tomaſ. Elog. Viror. Illuſtr. pag. 23.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Spondanus Annal. Eccleſ. ad ann. 1316, n. 8. *He cites* Scardeon. Hiſt. Patavin, lib. 2, claſſ. 9.

(23) St Romuald, Journal Chronol. & Hiſtorique. Decemb. 31. *He cites* Bernard Scande. *He means, no doubt*, Bernardin Scardeon.

(24) *In Remark* [C].

died in the Year 1316, in the Sixty ſixth Year of his Age [*F*]. One of his principal Books was That, to which he gave the Title of *Conciliator*. They tell a very ridiculous Story of him; namely, that, having no Well in his own Houſe, and a Neighbour forbidding his Servant Maid to fetch any more Water at His Well; he cauſed the Devils to remove his Neighbour's Well into the Street (*f*). He had much better have employed his Devils in making a Well to his own Houſe, and ſtopping up his Neighbour's, or at leaſt in removing his Neighbour's Well into his own Yard, rather than into the Street.

(*f*) Tomazo Garſoni, Piazza univerſale di tutte le Profeſſioni, diſcorſo 135 fol. 365. verſo.

of the *Demonomania* of Sorcerers, among other Reaſons, "to ſerve as an Anſwer to thoſe, who endeavour, by printed Books, as far as poſſible, to excuſe Sorcerers; inſomuch that it ſeems as if they were influenced by the Devil himſelf, to publiſh theſe fine Books; ſuch was *Peter* of *Apona*, a Phyſician, who endeavoured to demonſtrate, that there were no Spirits; and yet it was afterwards affirmed, that he was one of the greateſt Sorcerers of *Italy* (25)."

[*F*] *He died in the Year* 1316, *in the Sixty ſixth Year of his Age.*] So we read, in an Inſcription mentioned by *Tomaſini* (26). If this be true, it muſt be confeſſed, that *Naudé* is miſtaken, when he ſays, that *Peter* of *Apona*, being accuſed at the Age of eighty Years, died in the Year 1305. *Freherus* ſays the ſame thing, upon the Authority of *Bernardin Scardeon* (27). Let us obſerve, likewiſe, that *Geſner* is miſtaken in making *Peter* of *Apona* flouriſh in the Year 1320 (28). *Konig* has copied This Error (29). But Father *Rapin* is much more groſly miſtaken than any of them, when he places him in the ſixteenth Century. "*Peter* of *Apona, ſays he* (30), a Phyſician of *Padua*, who flouriſhed under *Clement* VII, debauched his Imagination ſo far by reading the *Arabian* Philoſophers, and by too frequent poring on the Aſtrology of *Alfraganus*, that he was put into the Inquiſition on Suſpicion of Magic." *Voſſius* has followed *Geſner*, and makes an Obſervation, which deſerves to be conſidered. He ſays, that *Peter* of *Apona* ſent his Book *de Medicina omnimoda* to Pope *John* XXII, who was elected in the Year 1316, and held the Chair ſeventeen Years (31). By this we know the Age of This Phyſician. But, if the Year 1316 was That of his Death, the Concluſion is not juſt, nor does it acquit *Voſſius* of an Error.

(25) Bodin's Preface *to his* Demonomanie des Sorciers, pag. 5. *See alſo* chap. 5. pag. 71.

(26) Tomaſini, in Elog. Viror. Illuſtr. pag. 22.

(27) Paulus Freher. in Theatro, pag. 209.

(28) Geſner, in Biblioth. fol. 544.

(29) Konig, Bibl. vet. & nova, pag. 49.

(30) Rapin. Reflex. ſur la Philoſophie, n. 28, pag. 360.

(31) Voſſius de Scient. Mathem. pag. 181.

APROSIO (ANGELICO) born at *Vintimiglia*, on the River of *Genoa*, the Twenty ninth of *October* 1607, was well eſteemed among the Learned, and wrote a great Number of Books. His Family produced ſeveral learned Men (*a*). He was but Fifteen Years of Age, when he entered himſelf in the Order of the *Auguſtins*; where his Abilities procured him the Office of Vicar-General of the Congregation of our Lady of Conſolation at *Genoa* (*b*). When he had finiſhed his Studies, he was thought ſufficiently qualified to teach others; accordingly he taught Philoſophy for Five Years, and afterwards travelled into ſeveral Parts of *Italy*; and, in the Year 1639, fixed his Reſidence at *Venice*, in St *Stephen*'s Convent, where he taught polite Literature (*c*). One thing, which contributed very much to his Renown, was the *Bibliotheque* of the *Auguſtins* of *Vintimiglia*, which was intirely his own Work, and a ſingular Proof of his Love of Books, and the Care he took to underſtand them thoroughly (*d*). He publiſhed a Book concerning this *Bibliotheque*, which is much eſteemed by the Curious [*A*]. Beſides he took great Pleaſure in diſguiſing himſelf under fictitious Names in the Front of his Works. Perhaps he durſt not write, in his own Name, on Matters ſo little conformable to a Religious Life, as the Conteſts

(*a*) *See the following Article.*

(*b*) Michel Iuſtiniani, Scrittori Liguri, pag. 63.

(*c*) Philippus Elſſius, in Encomiaſtico Auguſtiniano, apud Juſtinianum, pag. 67.

(*d*) Raffael Soprani, li ſcrittori della Liguria, pag. 21.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a Book concerning this Bibliotheque, which is much eſteemed by the Curious.*] Mr *Morhof* had heard much talk of this Book, but did not know, that it was printed. He mentions it in ſeveral Parts of his *Polybiſtor* (1), publiſhed in the Year 1688; but always as one, who believed, that this Piece had not yet appeared from the Preſs. It is, nevertheleſs, certain, that the *Bibliotheca Aproſiana* was printed at *Bologne*, in the Year 1673; and that *Martin Fogelius* (2), Profeſſor at *Hamburgh*, had a Copy of it, as Mr *Morhof* might have ſeen in the Catalogue of That Profeſſor's Books; for he cites this Catalogue (3), which was printed in the Year 1678. This is what *Placcius* obſerves in his *Invitatio Amica*, publiſhed at *Hamburgh*, in the Year 1689. He adds, that he has mentioned this Work of *Aproſio* among his Pſeudonymous Pieces (4), and refers us to the Annotations on the Catalogue of *Rhodius* (5). In Effect, he informs us, in the One hundred and fiftieth Page of his Pſeudonymous Pieces, that he was informed, by a Letter from Mr *Magliabecchi* to *Martin Vogelius*, that *Aproſio*, diſguiſed under the Name of *Cornelio Aſpaſio Antivigilmi trai i Vagabondi di Tabbia detto L'Aggirato*, had publiſhed a Book in 12mo, in the Year 1673, intituled *Bibliotheca Aproſiana, paſſa tempo Autonnale*. In the Annotations on the Catalogue of *Rhodius*, there is a Doubt raiſed on what *Scavenius* had ſaid, that *Aproſio* had compoſed a Book entituled, *Bibliotheca Apocryphorum*, in which he reſtored many Pieces to their true Authors (6). The Reaſon of this Doubt is, that the Book, intituled *Bibliotheca Apocryphorum*, is not to be found in the Catalogues of the Works of *Aproſio*, but only the *Bibliotheca Aproſia*. Now it is ſuppoſed, that *Scavenius* might, by a natural Miſtake, metamorphoſe *Aproſia* into *Apocrypha*. It is ſomething ſtrange, that Father *Oldoini* has not mentioned the *Bibliotheca Aproſiana, paſſa tempo Autonnale*, ſince he did not publiſh his *Athenæum Liguſticum* 'till the Year 1680. It is true, he places the *Bibliotheca Aproſiana & Antiquitates Abintimillienſes* among the Works of *Aproſio*; but in ſuch a manner, as to perſuade us, that this Work had never been printed. Mr *Teiſſier*, in the Year 1686, leaves more room for doubt, than for deciding any thing in this Matter (7). Mr *Morhof* obſerves, that Mr *Leti* quotes an Author, who has cited the ſecond Volume of the *Bibliotheca Aproſiana*. "Producit Idem Leti, ex Abbate Libanoro, pag. 379, locum quo tomus ſecundus Bibliothecæ Aproſianæ citatur, quo multi continentur ab Hieron. Savanorola manuſcripti libri (8).——*The ſame* Leti *produces a Paſſage, from the Abbot* Libanorus, *p.* 379. *where the ſecond Volume of the* Bibliotheca Aproſiana *is cited, in which are contained many manuſcript Works of* Jerome Savanorola."

This Citation of *Leti* is very juſt; and for this, and other Reaſons, I am ſtrongly perſuaded, that *Morhof* does not alledge the *Italia regnante* on the Credit of others, but that he had read it himſelf. How comes it, then, that he does not know, that the *Bibliotheca Aproſiana* was printed at *Bologne*, by the *Manoleſſi*, in the Year 1673, in 12mo? Does not Mr *Leti* poſitively affirm it, in the Three hundred ſeventy ſeventh Page of the fourth Part of his *Italia regnante*, and does he not cite ſufficiently long Paſſages out of This Work of *Aproſio*? He adds, that the Author, having carried on the Relation of his own Life as far as the Two hundred ſixty ſecond Page, mentions afterwards, to Page 666, ſeveral Authors, who had given in their Works to him (9); and that this firſt Volume contains only the Writers, whoſe Names begin either with the Letters A, B, or C.

(1) Pag. 38, 59, 144.

(2) *Or* Vogelius.

(3) Polyhiſt. pag. 37.

(4) N. 74.

(5) Pag. 27, 28.

(6) *See Remark* [*D*].

(7) Catalog. Auctor. Bibliothecar. pag. 18.

(8) Morhof. Polyhiſt. pag. 38.

(9) Narrando la ſua vita con l'inſerrirvi varie curioſita intorno ad Amici ſuoi. *Leti, Ital. Regn. Parte* IV. *pag.* 378.

He

teſts between the Wits about the *Adonis* of the Cavalier *Marini* [*B*], or ſuch like Matters [*C*]. Or, perhaps, he was naturally fond of inventing different Alluſions, and in puzzling thoſe, who are eager to unmaſk a diſguiſed Author. He loved this Employ well enough himſelf [*D*]. Be that as it will, if you conſult the Authors, who have given us a Catalogue of the *Ligurian* Writers (*e*), you will find, by the Titles of his Works, that he gives himſelf an hundred fictitious Names, ſometimes That of *Maſoto Galiſtoni*, ſometimes That of *Carlo Galiſtoni*, ſometimes That of *Seipio Glareano*, ſometimes That of *Sapricio Saprici*, and at other times That of *Oldauro Scioppio*, &c. His Life is to be met with in the Work intituled *Bibliotheca Aproſiana*. Several Authors have given him great Commendations; and ſome perhaps have exceeded the Bounds of Reaſon (*f*). *He was admitted, among other Academies, into That of the* Incogniti *of* Venice; as appears by the Book [*E*] intituled, *Le Glorie de gli Incogniti, overo gli Huomini illuſtri dell' Academia de' i Signiori Incogniti di Venetia*; — *The Glory of* The Incogniti, *or the Illuſtrious Men of the Academy of the Incogniti at* Venice; where his Elogy appears at large. He was living in the Year 1680, when *Oldoini* publiſhed his *Athenæum Lyguſticum*.

He believes, that the following Volumes will ſpeedily be printed; but he had been aſſured, that the ſecond was not; from whence he concludes, that Father *Libanori*, who quotes it, had only ſeen it in Manuſcript (10). This Work of Mr *Leti* was printed in the Year 1676.

[*B*] *He durſt not write in his own Name - - - - concerning the Conteſts between the Wits about the* Adonis *of the Cavalier* Marini.] The Cavalier *Stigliani*, having publiſhed the Book of the *Ochiale*, or *The Spectacle*, which is a ſevere Cenſure of the *Adonis*, found himſelf attacked on all ſides (11). It appeared plainly, upon this Occaſion, how much *Italy* was infatuated with the *Adonis*; They run to this Controverſy as it were to put out a Fire: But, among the many Perſons, who took Pen in Hand in Defence of the Cavalier *Marini*, *none ſhewed more Zeal for the* Adonis, *nor more Heat againſt the Enemies of That Poem, than Father* Aproſio de Vintimiglia, *Hermit of St* Auguſtin (12). He publiſhed the Occhiale Stritolato di Scipio Glareano per riſpoſta al Signor Cavalierè Frà Tomaſo Stigliani (13). - - - - - La Sferza poëtica di Sapricio Saprici, lo ſcantonata Accademico Heteroclito, per riſpoſta alla prima cenſura dell' Adone dell Cavalier Marino, fatta dall Cavalier Tomaſo Stigliani (14) —— Del Veratro, Apologia di Sapricio Saprici, per riſpoſta alla ſeconda cenſura dell' Adone del Cavalier Marino, fatta dal Cavaliere Frà Tomaſo Stigliani. —— *The* Spectacles broke to pieces *of* Scipio Glareano, *in Anſwer to Father* Thomaſo Stigliani. —— *The* Poëtical Whip *of* Sapricio Saprici, *in Anſwer to the Cenſure of the* Adonis *of the Cavalier* Marini, *made by the Cavalier* Tomaſo Stigliani. —— Hellebore &c. *An Apology of* Sapricio Saprici, *in Anſwer to a ſecond Cenſure of the* Adonis *of the Cavalier* Marini, *made by the Cavalier* Tomaſo Stigliani. This Work is divided into two Treatiſes (15); it was Hellebore given in two Doſes. He had wrote againſt the ſame *Stigliani*, Il Vaglio Critico di Maſoto Galiſtoni da Terama ſopra il mondo nuovo del Cavalier Frà Tomaſo Stigliani da Matera (16). —— Il Burato, Replica di Carlo Galiſtoni al Molino del Sig. Carlo Stigliani (17). —— *The Poëtical Sieve* &c. and *The Bolting-Cloth* &c.

Obſerve, that *Maſoto Galiſtoni da Terama* is the Anagram of *Tomaſo Stigliani da Matera*, and that, inſtead of putting in the Title *in Trevigi per Girolamo Righettini*, it is put *in Roſtoch per Willerno Wallop*, becauſe this *Righettini* was a Bookſeller of ſmall Repute. *Aproſio* mentions this in the Hundred and twelfth and Hundred and thirteenth Pages of the *Bibliotheca Aproſiana* (18).

[*C*] *Or ſuch like Matters.*] I do not think, that the Diſputes, concerning the *Adonis* of the Cavalier *Marini*, were more foreign to a Monaſtic Profeſſion, than the following Works. Annotationi di Oldauro Scioppio all' Arte degli Amanti dell' Illuſtriſſimo Signor Pietro Michele Nobile Veneto (19). —— Lo Scudo di Rinaldo, overo lo ſpecchio del diſinganno, Opera di Scipio Glareano (20). —— Le Bellezze della Beliſa Tragedia dell' Illuſtriſſimo Signor D. Antonio Muſcettola, abbozzate da Oldauro Scioppio Accademico Incognito, Geniale, &c. (21). —— Annotations *of* Oldauro Scioppio *on The* Art of Love *of the moſt Illuſtrious Signor* Peter Michael, *a Noble* Venetian —— *The* Shield *of* Rinaldo, *or the The Undeceiving Mirror, by* Scipio Glareano. —— *A Sketch of the Beauties of* Beliſa, *a Tragedy compoſed by the moſt Illuſtrious Signor* D. Antonio Muſcettola, *by* Oldauro Scioppio, *of the Academy of the* Incogniti, Geniales *&c.* There are ſeveral ſuch like Compoſitions among the Manuſcript Writings of *Angelico Aproſio*. But it muſt not be diſſembled, firſt, That there are alſo among them the Lectures, which he read on the Prophet *Jonas*, in the Church of our *Lady of Conſolation* at *Genoa*, in the Year 1649, and 1650 (22). Secondly, That, in the Year 1643, he publiſhed the *Italian* Tranſlation, which he had made, of the *Spaniſh* Sermons of *Auguſtin Oſorius*, under the Name of *Oldauro Scioppio*.

[*D*] *He loved this Employ well enough himſelf.*] It is not altogether without Reaſon, that *Scavenius* relates, that *Aproſio* had wrote a Work, entituled, *Bibliotheca Apocryphorum*, in which he reſtored ſeveral Works to their true Authors; for two Pieces are attributed to him; one under the Title of *La viſiera alzata Necataſte di alcuni Scrittori che andarono in Maſchera fuori del tempo di Carnevale*, — *The Viſor pulled off from certain Authors, who appeared in Maſquerade out of the Time of the Carnival*; the other, which is only a Sequel of the foregoing, is called *Pentecoſte di alcuni Autori anonimi è pſeudonomi, ſcoperti per Mantiſſa della Necataſte della viſiera alzata*, - - - *The* Pentecoſt *of certain Anonymous or Pſeudonymous Authors, diſcovered by* Mantiſſa della Necataſte *in* The Viſor pulled off. Father *Oldoini* does not inform us, whether theſe two Pieces were printed, or no; he only ſays, that *Aproſio* wrote them under a borrowed Name; and by what he quotes in the following Page, *La viſiera alzata, evulgata ſub nomine Friani Forbottæ*, - - - *The Viſor pulled off, publiſhed under the Name of* Friani Forbotta; we cannot conclude, that they were printed; for he plainly ſhews, that this *Forbotta* is a different Perſon from *Angelico Aproſio* (23). It cannot reaſonably be doubted, that the two Pieces, which he attributes to our *Aproſio*, are the ſame with thoſe mentioned in the Journal of *Leipſic* (24). They were printed at *Parma* in 1689. The Name, which appears in the Front, is *John Peter Villani, de Sienne, Academicien Humoriſte, Infecond, & Genialis.* It appears, that they were dedicated, in the Year 1678, to Meſſieurs *Magliabecchi*.

[*E*] *As appears by the Book,*] It was printed at *Venice* in the Year 1647, in 4*to*. Father *Labbé* believed, that *John Francis Loredano* was the Author of it (25); but others are of a contrary Opinion, for this among other Reaſons, that the Elogy of *Loredano* in this Book is too pompous to be attributed to *Loredano* himſelf (26). It is thought, that the Verſes at the beginning of this Work, and which do not congratulate *Loredano*, as the Author of it, but as the Founder of the Academy of *The Incogniti*, were the Cauſe of Father *Labbé*'s Error.

APROSIO (Paulo Augustino) a Lawyer, and Member of the *Academy* of the *Apatiſti* at *Florence*, was born, at *Vintimiglia*, of one of the chief Families of the Town, and which can boaſt of having produced Nine Doctors of Law, and One of Phyſic, from the beginning of the XVIIth Century to the Year 1667. He, whom I here mention, having ſtudied under the Jeſuits, at *Genoa*, went to *Rome*, to ſtudy the

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(*e*) Raffael Soprani, & Michel Juſtiniani *in* 166-. Auguſtin Oldoini *in* 1680.

(*f*) Magnifica ejus & planè invidenda Elogia adferuntur à Gregorio Leti, Italia regnante, part. 4. lib. 3. pag. 377. Morhof. Polyhiſt. p. 38. *See alſo* pag. 144.

(10) Id. ib. p. 379, 380.

(11) *See* Baillet Jugem. ſur les Poët. Tom. 4 pag. 198.

(12) Ibid. pag. 200.

(13) *Printed at* Venice, *in* 1641.

(14) *Printed at* Venice, *in* 1643.

(15) *One printed in* 1645; *the other in* 164-, *at* Venice.

(16) *Printed at* Treviſa *in* 1637.

(17) *Printed at* Venice *in* 1642.

(18) Apud Leti, ubi ſupra, p. 360.

(19) *Printed at* Venice *in* 1642.

(20) *The ſame.*

(21) *Printed at* Lovano *or* Loano, *in* 1664.

(22) Soprani, Scrittori della Liguria, pag. 23.

(23) Oldoinus, in Append. Athen. Liguſt.

(24) *July*, 1690. pag. 363.

(25) Labbé's Biblioth. Bibliothecar. pag. 118. Edit. 1678.

(26) Placcius de Anonym. pag. 115. *See in the ſame Volume the Catalogue of* Rhodius, pag. 23, 26.

Law. He was admitted Doctor there, in the Year 1449, and afterwards returned home, bought a Collection of curious Books, and retired to a Country Houſe, that he might the more quietly enjoy the Pleaſure of reading and compoſing. He wrote Annotations on the *Beliſa* of *D. Antonio Muſcetola*, which were printed with the *Bellezze delle medezima abozzate da Oldauro Scioppio*, in the Year 1664. When *Soprani*, from whom I borrow this Article, publiſhed his Catalogue of the *Ligurian* Writers, in 1667, our *Aproſio* was preparing a large Moral Treatiſe, concerning the Overthrow of Capital Vices by their oppoſite Virtues (*a*). *Oldoini* informs me, that this Work was printed at *Genoa*, in the Year 1674, and dedicated to the Prince of *Monaco*.

APULEIUS (LUCIUS) a Platonic Philoſopher, publickly known by the famous Work of the *Golden Aſs*, lived in the IId Century under the *Antonines* [*A*]. He was a Native of *Madaura*, a *Roman* Colony in *Africa* [*B*]. His Family was conſiderable [*C*]. He had been well educated, and had a graceful Perſon; he had Wit, and Learning; but was ſuſpected of Magic; an Infamy, which to this day does great Injury to his Memory. He ſtudied, firſt at *Carthage*, then at *Athens*; and afterwards

[*A*] *Lived in the ſecond Century under the* Antonines (1).] *Peter Pithæus* rejecting all Thoſe, who ſay, that *Apuleius* lived after *Theodoſius*, proves, that he lived about the time of *Antoninus Pius*, and ſome time after (2). This Opinion is ſupported by ſuch good Reaſons, that it is generally embraced. It is plain, that *Scipio Orphitus*, *Lollianus Avitus*, *Claudius Maximus*, and *Lollius Urbicius*, of whom *Apuleius* ſpeaks, as Perſons then alive, lived under the *Antonines*. Father *Norris* is miſtaken in his Criticiſm on *Elmenhorſt*; he charges him with having acknowledged his Ignorance as to the Time when *Apuleius* lived (3), and refers him to two Paſſages of *Apuleius*'s Apology; in one of which *Antoninus* is not ſtiled *Divus*, and in the other mention is made of the Proconſul *Lollianus Avitus*, who was Conſul in the Year 144. The Omiſſion of *Divus* is a ſufficient Proof, that *Antoninus* was yet living. Father *Norris* would not have been ſo much miſtaken, if the Author, whom he criticiſes, had not expreſſed himſelf as follows: "Quo anno natus (*Apuleius*) non liquido liquet. Veriſimiliter tamen poſſumus adſerere eum temporibus Antonini Pii Divorumque fratrum vixiſſe. Meminit enim Lolliani Aviti, Lollii Urbicii Pudentis, & Scipionis Orphiti, Coſſ. qui ſub Antonino præcipue floruerunt, ſummis macti honoribus, ut conſtat ex *L.* 3. *ff. de his qui teſtamentis, &c. L.* 3. *ff. de Decurion* (4). - - - - WHEN Apuleius *lived, is not certainly known; yet it is probable, it was in the times of* Antonius Pius, *and his Brothers, who preceeded him. For he mentions the Conſuls,* Lollianus Avitus *, Lollius Urbicius Pudens †, *and* Scipio Orphitus ‖, *who flouriſhed chiefly under* Antoninus, *having been advanced to the greateſt Honours, as appears from* L. 3. de his qui teſtamentis, *&c.*" The Paſſage, in which *Antoninus* is not ſtiled *Divus*, contains the Reproaches, which *Apuleius* made to his Wife's Son, on his expoſing his Mother's Love-Letters. "Hucuſque à vobis miſerum iſtum puerum depravatum, ut matris ſuæ epiſtolas, quas putat amatorias, pro tribunali Proconſulis recitet apud virum ſanctiſſimum Claudium Maximum, ante has Imperatoris Pii ſtatuas filius matris ſuæ pudenda exprobret ſtupra, & amores objectet (5). - - - - - - *So far has this wretched Youth been ſpoiled by you, that he has not been aſhamed to recite his Mother's Love-Letters before the Proconſul's Tribunal, in the bearing of the venerable* Claudius Maximus, *and even to reproach her with her Amours before theſe Statues of the Emperor* Antoninus Pius." *Jonſius* is doubly miſtaken, when, in order to prove, that *Apuleius* lived in the time, which I aſſign him, he ſays, that our Philoſopher gives the Elogy of *Divus* to *Antoninus Pius* (6). The Fact is falſe; and the Conſequence drawn from it inconcluſive.

[*B*] *He was a Native of* Madaura, *a* Roman *Colony in* Africa.] This Town, which had belonged to *Syphax*, was given by the *Romans* to *Maſſiniſſa*. "Neque hoc eo dixi, quo me patriæ meæ pœniteret, etſi adhuc Syphacis oppidum eſſemus: quo tamen victo, ad Maſiniſſam regem conceſſimus, munere populi Romani, ac deinceps veteranorum militum novo conditu ſplendidiſſima colonia ſumus (7). - - - - - - *My Meaning is not, that I ſhould have been aſhamed of my Country, though we had ſtill continued a Town belonging to* Syphax; *after whoſe Defeat, however, we fell under the Power of King* Maſſiniſſa, *by Gift of the* Roman *People, and at laſt became a moſt flouriſh- Colony.*" A little before, he had ſaid, that he was not aſhamed, like *Cyrus*, to partake of two different Nations. "De patria mea vero, quod eam ſitam Numidiæ & Gætuliæ in ipſo confinio meis ſcriptis oſtendiſti, quibus memet profeſſus ſum - - - - - Seminumidam, & Semigætulum, non video quid mihi ſit in ea re pudendum, haud minus quam Cyro majori, quod genere mixto fuit, Semimedus ac Semiperſa. - - - - - *As for the Place of my Birth, which you have ſhewn to have been ſituated on the very confines of* Numidia *and* Gætulia, *from my own Writings, in which I profeſs myſelf a* Semi-Numidian *and a* Semi-Gætulian; *I cannot ſee, why I have any more reaſon to be aſhamed of it, than* Cyrus *the Elder had of being of a mixed Race, half a* Mede, *and half a* Perſian." A certain Author, who pretended to ſet up for a general Cenſurer, towards the end of the ſixteenth Century, falls here into our Hands. After having ſaid, that *Lucian*, under the pretended Form of an Aſs, teaches a thouſand Impurities he adds, "Apuleius hunc imitatus, ut vir Græcus ſe Latine neſciviſſe ingenue confeſſus, in Aſino aureo plane rudit (8). - - - - - Apuleius, *imitating this Writer, and ingenuouſly confeſſing, that, being a* Greek, *he was ignorant of the* Latin *Tongue, downright brays in his* Golden Aſs." Firſt of all, it is not true, that *Apuleius* confeſſes he does not underſtand *Latin*: He only ſays, I. That he did not underſtand it upon his firſt Arrival at *Rome*. II. That he learnt it without a Maſter. In the ſecond Place, it is not true, that he was a *Greek*. *Madaura* was a *Roman* Colony; and, when he would juſtify himſelf by the Example of other Poets, he cites the *Greeks* as Strangers, and the *Latins* as his Countrymen. "Fecere tamen & alii talia, & - - - - - apud Græcos Tejus quidam - - - APUD NOS vero, Æditiuus, & Portius, & Catulus (9). - - - - *Others have done the like, and* - - - - - - *A* Teian *Poet among the* Greeks - - - - - *but among* OUR OWN *Writers,* Æditiuus, *and* Portius, *and* Catulus, *&c.*" The Truth is, the *Latin* Tongue was not common at *Madaura*. *Apuleius*, the Son of one of the chief Magiſtrates, underſtood nothing of it, when he came to *Rome*. The Son of his Wife *Pudentilla* underſtood only the *Carthaginian*, and a little *Greek*, which his Mother, who was originally of *Theſſaly*, had taught him. *Loquitur nunquam niſi Punicè, & ſi quid adhuc à matre græciſſat: Latine enim neque vult neque poteſt* (10).

[*C*] *His Family was conſiderable.*] His Father's Name was *Theſeus*. Theſe Words are our only Authority. "Si, contentus lare parvulo, Theſei illius cognominis Patris tui virtutes æmulaveris (11). - - - - - *If, ſatisfied with a moderate ſupport, you ſhall emulate the Virtues of your Father* Theſeus." He had exerciſed the Office of *Duumvir* at *Madaura*. It was the firſt Dignity of a Colony. "In qua colonia patrem habui loco principe Duumviralem cunctis honoribus perfunctum (12). - - - - *In which Colony, I had a Father, who, having gone through all inferior Offices, arrived to the Dignity of* Duumvir, *the principal Poſt of Honour.*" His Mother, whoſe

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(*a*) Strage de Vitii capitali trionfati dalle Virtu oppoſte.

(1) *And not under* Domitian, *with* Apollonius Tyanæus, *as* Anaſtaſius *of* Nicæa *affirms*, Quæſt. 23. In Scripturam. *Note, that others aſcribe this Work to* Anaſtaſius Sinaita.

(2) Pithæus, Adverſ. lib. 2. cap. 10.

(3) Norris, Cenotaph. Piſan. p. 33.

(4) Elmenh. in Vita Apuleii.

* Apolog. pag. 289. Capitolin. Antonino 27.

† Apolog. pag. 274. Capitolin. Pertinace 74.

‖ Floridor. Apuleii, p. 357, 358.

(5) Apul. Apolog. pag. 267.

(6) Jonſ. de Script. Hiſt. Phil. p. 267.

(7) Apul. Apol. pag. 289.

(8) Claudius Verderius, in Auctores pene omnes Cenſion, pag. 73. *This Book was printed at* Lyons *in* 1586.

(9) Apolog. pag. 278.

(10) Ibid. pag. 336.

(11) Apul. Metamorph. lib. 1. pag. 112.

(12) Id. Apolog. p. 289.

wards at *Rome* [*D*]; where he acquired the *Latin* Tongue without any Aſſiſtance. An inſatiable Curioſity to know every thing induced him to make ſeveral Voyages, and enter himſelf in ſeveral Religious Fraternities [*E*]. He would ſee the bottom of their

whoſe Name was *Salvia* (13), was originally of *Theſſaly*, and deſcended from the Family of *Plutarch*. He ſays this himſelf, at the beginning of his Romance. St *Auſtin* had heard, that *Apuleius* was of a good Family, as appears from his fifth Letter. See, below, the Remark [*E*], Citation (18).

[*D*] *He ſtudied, firſt at* Carthage, *then at* Athens; *and afterwards at* Rome.] This Gradation is a ſecret to thoſe, who ſtop at the Prologue of his Romance; ſince he makes no mention there of *Carthage*. He is ſatisfied with ſaying, that his firſt Studies were Thoſe of the *Greek* Tongue in *Greece*, and that afterwards he came to *Rome*, where he ſtudied *Latin*, without the Aſſiſtance of a Maſter. “Ibi linguam Attidem primis pueritiæ ſtipendiis merui, mox in urbe Latia advena ſtudiorum Quiritium indigenam ſermonem ærumnabili labore, nullo magiſtro præunte, aggreſſus excolui.” This Narration is deceitful, and imperfect, and muſt be rectified by other Paſſages of *Apuleius*. Is it at all ſurprizing, that Authors ſhould relate the Actions of others imperfectly? Do they not ſometimes report their own very confuſedly? Let us produce other Paſſages of our Author. He tells the *Carthaginians*, that, in his Infancy, he ſtudied with them, and that he had begun, likewiſe, to embrace the Platonic Sect among Them. “Sum vobis nec lare alienus, nec pueritia inviſitatus, nec magiſtris peregrinus, nec ſecta incognitus. - - - - - Enimvero & pueritia apud vos, & magiſtri vos, & ſecta, licet Athenis Atticis confirmata, tamen hic inchoata eſt (14). - - - - - - *I am no Stranger to you, either as to my Family, my Education, or my Opinions. - - - - - For my Childhood was ſpent among you; you were my Inſtructors; and the Sect, of which I am a follower, though confirmed in it at* Athens, *was firſt embraced by me here.*” To which he adds; “Hanc ego vobis mercedem, Carthaginienſes, ubique gentium dependo, pro diſciplinis quas in pueritiâ ſum apud vos adeptus. Ubique enim me veſtræ civitatis alumnum fero (15.) - - - - *This Acknowledgment,* O Carthaginians, *wherever I am, I pay you, in return for that Inſtruction I acquired among you: I every where acknowledge myſelf the Pupil of your State.*” Some Pages after, he reckons up the Sciences he had ſtudied at *Athens*. “Prima cratera Litteratoris ruditatem eximit: Secunda Grammatici doctrinâ inſtruit: Tertia Rhetoris eloquentiâ armat. Hactenus à pleriſque potatur. Ego & alias crateras Athenis bibi; Poëticæ commentam, Geometricæ limpidam, Muſicæ dulcem, Dialecticæ auſterulam, enimvero univerſæ philoſophiæ inexplebilem, ſcilicet nectaream (16). - - - - *The firſt Cup of Knowledge, which we drink at the Hands of our Præceptors, removes entire Ignorance; the ſecond infuſes Grammatical Learning; the third arms us with the Eloquence of the Rhetorician. Thus far many drink. But I drank of ſtill more Cups at* Athens, *the fabulous of Poetry, the Limpid of Geometry, the ſweet of Muſic, the unpleaſant of Logic; indeed the never ſatiating, and truly nectareous, Cup of univerſal Philoſophy.*” Some will have it, that he ſtudied, at two ſeveral times, in *Greece*; the firſt time, before he ſtudied at *Carthage*, and the ſecond after his Studies in That City. They take no notice of *Rome*; they pretend, that he acquired the *Latin* Tongue at *Carthage* (17): This latter Fact is expreſsly contradicted in the Prologue to the *Golden Aſs*.

[*E*] *And enter himſelf in ſeveral Religious Fraternities.*] He introduces himſelf ſpeaking the following Words, in the third Book of the *Golden Aſs*. “Paveo & formido ſolide domus hujus operta detegere, & arcana dominæ meæ revelare ſecreta. Sed melius de te doctrinaque tua præſumo, qui præter generoſam natalium dignitatem, præter ſublime ingenium, ſacris pluribus initiatus, profecto noſti ſanctam ſilentii fidem (18). - - - - - *I dread to make a full Diſcovery of the Practices of this Fraternity, and to reveal the Secrets of my Miſtreſs. But I have a better Opinion of you, and your Learning, who, beſides an high Birth, and elevated Genius, know how to guard a Secret inviolably, having been yourſelf initiated in many Myſteries.*” He concludes his Romance with an account of his Admiſſion into the Religion of *Oſiris*. This Honour was conferred on him at *Rome*. He did not continue long among the Herd of the Initiated, he ſoon raiſed himſelf to the higheſt Degrees. “Denique per dies admodum pauculos, Deus Deûm magnorum potior, & majorum ſummus, & ſummorum maximus, & maximorum regnator, Oſiris, non in alienam quampiam perſonam reformatus, ſed coram ſuo illo venerando me dignatus afflamine, per quietem præcipere viſus eſt. - - - - - Ac, ne ſacris ſuis gregi cætero permixtus deſervirem, in collegium me Paſtophororum ſuorum, imo inter ipſos Decurionum quinquennales, elegit. - - - - - - *Laſtly, in a very few Days after,* Oſiris, *the greateſt of the Gods, appeared to me in a Dream, not in a borrowed Shape, but in his own venerable Perſon. - - - - - And, that I might not adminiſter his Sacred Rites, amidſt the Herd of his Votaries, he choſe me into the College of his* Paſtophori, *and even appointed me one of his* Decuriones” Before his Arrival at *Rome*, he had been initiated into the Myſteries of *Iſis*; theſe were the firſt Fruits of his recovered Humanity. In the Deſcriptions of theſe Ceremonies he intermixes ſeveral ſublime Sentiments, which are only worthy of the true Religion. As for Example: “Te jam nunc obſequio religionis noſtræ dedica, & miniſterii jugum ſubi voluntarium, nam, cum cœperis Deæ ſervire, tunc magis ſenties fructum tuæ libertatis (19). - - - - *Dedicate yourſelf immediately to the Obedience of our Religion, and take upon you the voluntary Yoke of Miniſtering in it; for, when you ſhall begin to ſerve our Goddeſs, you will be the more ſenſible of the Fruit of your own Liberty.*” They, who accuſed him of Magic, objected, among other things, that he kept ſomething, I know not what, in a Handkerchief, with a ſingular Superſtition. His Anſwer was: “Vin dicam cujuſmodi illas res in ſudario obvolutas laribus Pontiani commendarim? Mos tibi geretur. Sacrorum pleraque initia in Græcia participavi. Eorum quædam ſigna & monumenta tradita mihi à ſacerdotibus ſedulo conſervo. Nihil inſolitum, nihil incognitum dico. Vel unius Liberi patris ſymmiſtæ, qui adeſtis, ſcitis quid domi conditum celetis, & abſque omnibus profanis tacite veneremini. At ego, ut dixi, multijuga ſacra, & plurimos ritus, varias ceremonias, ſtudio veri, & officio erga Deos, didici. Nec hoc ad tempus compono, ſed abhinc ferme triennium eſt, cum primis diebus, quibus Oëam veneram, publice diſſerens de Æſculapii majeſtate, eadem iſta præ me tuli, & quot ſacra noſſem percenſui. Ea diſputatio celebratiſſima eſt, vulgo legitur, in omnium manibus verſatur - - - - - Etiamne cuiquam mirum videri poteſt, cui ſit ulla memoria religionis, hominem tot myſteriis Deûm conſcium, quædam ſacrorum crepundia domi adſervare, atque ea lineo texto involvere, quod puriſſimum eſt rebus divinis velamentum (20). - - - - - *Shall I tell you what kind of Things, wrapt up in an Handkerchief, I have entruſted with the Houſe of* Pontianus? *you ſhall be ſatisfied. I was initiated into ſeveral ſacred Rites in* Greece. *Some Tokens and Remembrances of them, delivered me by the Prieſts, I carefully preſerve. What I ſay, is no uncommon, or unknown, Practice. I need go no farther, than you, ye Votaries of* Bacchus, *who are here preſent; who are conſcious of what you keep concealed at Home, and adore in private, without any Prophanation. But I, as I have already ſaid, prompted by a Love of Truth, and out of Duty to the Gods, have learned the Myſteries of different Religions, and been initiated in various Rites and Ceremonies. Nor is this a new-invented Apology; for it is now almoſt three Years, ſince, in a public Oration on the Majeſty of* Æſculapius, *on the firſt Day of my Arri*val *at* Oëa, *I made the ſame Declaration, and reckoned up how many Religions I had been initiated in. This Diſputation is very famous, is commonly read, and is in every one's Hands. - - - - - And can any one* their pretended Myſteries. He ſpent almoſt all his Eſtate in travelling [*F*], inſomuch, that, being returned to *Rome*, and having a Deſire to dedicate himſelf to the Service of *Oſiris*, he wanted Money to defray the Expence of the Ceremonies of his Reception. He pawned even his Cloaths to make up the neceſſary Sum *(a)*. After this he gained his Livelihood by Pleading: And, as he was eloquent, and ſubtle enough, he did not want Cauſes; ſome of which were very conſiderable *(b)*. But he improved his Fortunes much more by a lucky Marriage, than by Pleading. A Widow, whoſe Name was *Pudentilla*, neither young nor fair, but who ſtood in need of a Huſband, and had a good Eſtate, thought him for her Purpoſe [*G*]. He was

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(13) Id Metam. lib. 2. pag 115.

(14) Apul. Floridor. pag. 359.

(15) Id. ib. pag. 361.

(16) Id. ib. pag. 363.

(17) *He paſſed the firſt Years of his Childhood in* Greece, *and the following at* Carthage, *where he learnt* Latin *without a Maſter. He likewiſe began to learn Philoſophy there. Afterwards he went to* Athens, *where he ſtudied* Poetry, &c. Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 2. pag. 722.

(18) Apuleii Metam. lib. 11. p. 264.

(19) Apol. p. 309, 310.

(20) Id. ib. pag. 312.

“ *one be ſurprized, who has any Remembrance of Religion, that a Man, acquainted with ſo many Myſteries of the Gods, ſhould lay up at Home ſome few ſacred Trinkets, and conceal them in a Piece of Linnen, which is the pureſt covering for Divine Things.*” It is probable, that, if *Apuleius* was a Magician, his Crime was incomparably leſs, than That of the Magicians of theſe Times; becauſe he was ignorant, that only bad *Genii* apply themſelves to certain Operations, in conſequence of the Performance of certain Ceremonies. He believed, with the Platoniſts, that good *Genii* might do the ſame (21). I have quoted St *Auſtin*, in the Text of this Article, who teſtifies, that *Apuleius* had a religious Dignity, which gave him the Superintendance of the Gladiatorial Shews. *Sacerdos Provinciæ pro magno fuit, ut munera ederet, venatoreſque veſtiret* (22). Laſtly, I find, that our Author had dedicated himſelf to the Worſhip of *Æſculapius*, one of the chief Divinities of the *Carthaginians*, and that he had alſo an eminent Station in His College. “ Principium mihi apud veſtras aureis auſpicatiſſimum ab Æſculapio Deo capiam, qui arcem veſtræ Carthaginis indubitabili numine propitius reſpicit. Ejus Dei hymnum Græco & Latino carmine vobis ſic canam, jam illi à me dedicatum. Sum enim non ignotus illius SACRICOLA, nec recens cultor, nec ingratus ANTISTES (23). ------ *I ſhall beſpeak your favourable Attention, by reciting an Hymn in* Greek *and* Latin *Verſe, which I have juſt dedicated to the* God Æſculapius, *the tutelar Divinity of the Citadel of your* Carthage. *For I am no unknown* SACRIFICER *of This God, no recent Worſhipper, nor ungrateful* MASTER *of his* CEREMONIES.”

[*F*] *He ſpent almoſt all his Eſtate in travelling.*] This was not the only Cauſe of the Poverty, into which he fell; he was expenſive upon more commendable Occaſions; at leaſt he pretended to have been ſo, when he replied to thoſe, who reproached him with his Poverty. “ Ad iſtum modum deſponſus ſacris, ſumptuum tenuitate contra votum meum retardabar: nam & viriculas patrimonii peregrinationis attriverant impenſæ (24). ----- *Thus betrothed to Religion, I was unwillingly retarded by the Narrowneſs of my Circumſtances; for the Expences of travelling had weakened the little Strength of my Patrimony.*” Thus he ſpeaks, when he repreſents the Difficulties he laboured under at *Rome*, in relation to his Admiſſion into the Fraternity of *Oſiris*. He had mortgaged himſelf, as it were, to this myſterious Congregation; he had given his Note of hand; but, as nothing is ever done for nothing, ſomething was to be paid for the Inaugural Ceremonies; and he had not wherewithal to ſupply the Expence. He was forced, as one may ſay, to ſell his very Shirt; the Divinity, which inſpired him, pointed out no other Reſource. “ Jamque ſæpicule non ſine magna turbatione ſtimulatus, poſtremo juſſus, veſte ipſa mea quamvis parvula diſtracta, ſufficientem corraſi ſummulam, & idipſum præceptum fuerat ſpecialiter. An tu, inquit, ſi quam rem voluptati ſtruendæ molireris, laciniis tuis nequaquam parceres, nunc tantas ceremonias aditurus impœnitendæ te pauperiei contaris committere (25). —— *Being often prompted, not without great Emotion of Mind, and at laſt commanded, I ſcraped together, by making Money of my very Cloaths, mean as they were, a ſufficient Sum; for this was particularly required of me. What! ſays he, would you nor ſpare your Fringes, if you were in purſuit of your Pleaſures, and are you unwilling, when you are to be initiated into ſuch Ceremonies, to encounter a Poverty not to be repented of?*” At that time he aſcribed his Indigence only to the Expences of his Travels; but, on another occaſion, which I have mentioned, he ſays he was at great Expences in good Works, ſuch as aſſiſting his Friends, rewarding the Care of thoſe, who had inſtructed him, and portioning ſome of their Daughters. He adds, that he ſhould have made no Difficulty to purchaſe, at the Price of his Patrimony, a thorough Contempt of it; a Contempt, which is a much more valuable Treaſure, than a Patrimony itſelf. This is ſpeaking like a Philoſopher indeed. “ Si tamen neſcis, *he addreſſes himſelf to his Accuſer* (26), profiteor mihi ac fratri meo relictum à patre H. S. vicies, paulo ſecus; idque à me longa peregrinatione, & diutinis ſtudiis, & crebris liberalitatibus modice imminutum. Nam & amicorum pleriſque opem tuli, & magiſtris plurimis gratiam retuli, quorumdam etiam filias dote auxi. Neque enim dubitaſſem equidem vel univerſum patrimonium impendere, ut adquirerem mihi, quod majus eſt, contemptum patrimonii. *If you know it not, I aſſure you, that my Father left my Brother and myſelf an Hundred thouſand* Seſterces, *or little leſs; which I have ſomething diminiſhed by my long Travels, continued Studies, and frequent Bounties. For I have aſſiſted ſeveral of my Friends, and gratified many of my Preceptors; ſome of whoſe Daughters I have even portioned. Nor ſhould I make the leaſt Scruple of expending my whole Fortune in acquiring, what is much more valuable, a Contempt of it.*” He had made very ſolid, and very moral, Reflexions on Poverty (27).

[G] *A Widow, — neither young, nor fair, but who ſtood in need of a Husband, and had a good Eſtate, thought him fit for her Purpoſe.*] *Apuleius*'s Accuſer affirmed, ſhe was ſixty Years of Age (28): He had his Deſign in it; for his Aim was to prove, that the Paſſion, ſhe had conceived for the Accuſed, was not Natural, but the Effect of Magic. *Apuleius* made it appear (29), that ſhe was not much above forty Years of Age; and that, if ſhe had paſt fourteen of them in a State of Widowhood, it was not out of any Averſion to Matrimony, but from her Father-in-law's oppoſing it: that, at length, a State of Continency had ſo far impaired her Health, that the Phyſicians and Midwives agreed, that the beſt Remedy for the Diſeaſes, which were the Conſequence of it, was Matrimony. A Lady, to whom ſuch Advice was given, and who had no time to loſe, if ſhe deſired to make the beſt uſe of her teeming Years, wanted not to be conſtrained by Magic Art to make choice of a Spouſe. This was *Apuleius*'s Argument, and it is of great Force. “ Eo ſcrupulo liberata, cum à principibus viris in matrimonium peteretur; decrevit ſibi diutius in viduitate non permanendum. Quippe ut ſolitudinis tædium perpeti poſſet, tamen ægritudinem corporis ferre non poterat. Mulier ſancte pudica, tot annis viduitatis ſine culpa, ſine fabula, abſuetudine conjugis torpens, & diutino ſitu viſcerum ſaucia, vitiatis intimis uteri, ſæpe ad extremum vitæ diſcrimen doloribus obortis exanimabatur. Medici cum obſtetricibus conſentiebant, penuria matrimonii morbum quæſitum. Malum indies augeri, ægritudinem ingraveſcere: dum ætatis aliquid ſuperſit, nuptiis valetudinem medicandam (30). ——— *This Scruple being removed, and, being courted by Perſons of the higheſt Rank, ſhe determined to continue no longer a Widow. For, though ſhe might have ſupported the Solitude of a ſingle Life, yet the ill State of her Health ſhe could not. This Lady, religiouſly Modeſt, and pining, during ſo many Years of Widowhood, for want of an Huſband, was brought almoſt to Death's Door, through Pains ariſing from a ſtoppage of the* Matrix. *The Phyſicians and Midwives agreed, that the Diſtemper was owing to the Want of an Husband; that it increaſed daily, and gained ground; and that, if ſhe*

“ *made*

(a) See Remark [*F*].

(*b*) Quæ res ſummum peregrinationi meæ tribuebat ſolatium, nec minus etiam victum uberiorem ſubminiſtrabat. Quidni? ſpiritu faventis eventus quæſticulo forenſi nutrito, per patrocinia ſermonis Romani --- quam nunc incontanter glorioſa in foro reddere patrocinia. *Apul. Metam. lib.* 11. *pag.* 272. *Edit. Elmenhorſtii* 1621. *in* 8*vo*.

(21) *See St* Auſtin's *Diſputation againſt the Opinion of* Apuleius, *in the* 8th *Book* de Civitate Dei, cap. 19. *and the following.*

(22) Auguſt. Epiſt. 5.

(23) Apuleii Floridor. pag. 361.

(24) Apuleius, Metam. lib. 11. pag. 271.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Apolog. pag. 288.

(27) Ibid. pag. 285, 286, 287.

(28) Apolog. p. 317, 330.

(29) Ibid. pag. 330.

(30) Ibid. pag. 318.

was not coy; nor was he ſollicitous to keep his fine Perſon, his Neatneſs [*H*], his Wit,

Why ſome Judicial Proceedings are diſagreeable to the Fair Sex.

“ *made haſte, Matrimony might cure her.*” Some kind of Proceedings are very unfortunate for the Ladies; where ſeveral things muſt neceſſarily be revealed to a full Audience, which one would wiſh to conceal, whether owing to natural or moral Infirmity (31). Had it not been for this Trial, *Apuleius* would never have revealed the Diſtemper, with which *Pudentilla* was afflicted, during her Widowhood. However, ſhe had this Satisfaction, that, though ſhe had ſuffered ſo much, it was a Proof, that ſhe had not had recourſe to the true Remedy. This Conſequence was not urged to the Judges; but it was alledged, that ſhe had always lived chaſtly, and that her Conduct had never been called in queſtion. To return to her Age; there is no doubt, that *Apuleius* was younger than She; for ſhe had a Son, who had been *Apuleius*'s Companion at *Athens* (32); but I add, that he did not marry without Hopes of having Iſſue by her. This he declares, in anſwer to the Reproach thrown on him, of going into the Country to be married. After having replied, that the Reaſon of this was to avoid the Expence, which a Wedding in the City would have put them to; he adds, that “ the Country is naturally more favourable to Pro- “ creation, than the City; and that, to lie down up- “ on the Graſs, and under the Shade of Elms, amidſt “ numberleſs Productions, which ſpring out of the “ fruitful Boſom of the Earth, cannot but be lucky “ to a new married Couple, who deſire to have “ Children.” He ſhould have kept this Thought for his *Florida*, I mean for his rhetorical Declamations, in which he gives a Looſe to the falſe Flights of his Imagination. This Paſſage ſpoils his Apology. It is unworthy of the Judges, before whom he ſpoke, and of the Cauſe, which he was pleading. “ Immo, “ ſi verum velis, uxor ad prolem multo auſpicatius “ in villa quam in oppido ducitur; in ſolo uberi, “ quam in loco ſterili; in agri ceſpite, quam in ſo- “ ri ſilece: mater futura in ipſo maturno ſi nubat “ ſinu, in ſegete adulta ſuper fœcundam glebam. “ Vel enim ſub ulmo marita cubet in ipſo gremio “ terræ matris inter ſoboles herbarum, & propagines “ vitium, & arborum germina (33).” We ſhall ſee hereafter (34), that it was declared in open Court, that *Pudentilla* was not handſome; and that her Contract of Marriage contained Clauſes, which ſuppoſed her to be ſtill of teeming Years.

[*H*] *His fine Perſon, his Neatneſs.*] I ſhall here give ſome touches of his Picture. “ At illa obtutum “ in me converſa, En, inquit, ſanctiſſimæ Salviæ “ matris generoſa proles. Sed & cætera corporis in- “ explicabiliter ad regulam congruentia; inenormis “ proceritas, ſucculenta gracilitas, rubor temperatus; “ flavum & inaffectatum capillitium; oculi cæſii “ quidem, ſed vigiles, & in aſpectu micantes prorſus “ aquilino, quoquo verſum floridi; ſpecioſus, & im- “ meditatus inceſſus (35). —— *But She, turning her* “ *Eyes upon me, ſaid, behold the worthy Son of the* “ *moſt virtuous* Salvia; *contemplate the juſt Propor-* “ *tions of his bodily Parts; his proper Stature, his* “ *moderate Size, and his healthful Aſpect; his yel-* “ *low, careleſs, Locks; his Eyes, blue indeed, but* “ *lively, and ſparkling, like thoſe of an Eagle;* “ *laſtly, his beautiful and unaffected Gait.*” His Accuſers reproached him with his Beauty (36); his fine Hair; his fine Teeth; and his Looking-glaſs. He anſwered to the two firſt Particulars, that he was ſorry the Accuſation was falſe. “ Quod utinam tam “ gravia formæ & facundiæ crimina vere mihi expro- “ braſſet! non difficile ei reſpondiſſem, quod Ho- “ mericus Alexander Hectori:

Ὄυτι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικύδεα δῶρα,
Ὅσσα κὲν αὐτοὶ δῶσιν, ἑκὼν δ' οὐκ ἄν τις
ἕλοιτο.

Munera deum glorioſiſſima nequaquam aſpernanda:
Quæ tamen ab ipſis tribui ſueta, multis volentibus
not obtingunt.

“ Hæc ego de forma reſpondiſſem. Præterea, licere “ etiam Philoſophis eſſe vultu liberali. Pythagoram, “ qui primum ſeſe Philoſophum nuncuparit, eum ſui “ ſæculi excellentiſſima forma fuiſſe: item Zeno- “ nem. —— Sed hæc defenſio, ut dixi, aliquam- “ multum à me remota eſt: cui, præter formæ me- “ diocritatem, continuatio etiam literati laboris om- “ nem gratiam corpore deterget, habitudinem tenuat, “ ſuccum exſorbet, colorem obliterat, vigorem de- “ bilitat. Capillus ipſe, quem iſti aperto mendacio ad “ lenocinium decoris promiſſum dixere, vides quam “ non ſit amœnus ac delicatus, horrore implexus at- “ que impeditus, ſtupeo tomento aſſimilis, & inæ- “ qualiter hirtus, & globoſus, & congeſtus: prorſus “ inenodabilis diutina incuria, non modo comendi, “ ſed ſaltem expediendi & diſcriminandi (37). —— “ *How do I wiſh, that theſe heavy Accuſations of* “ *Beauty and Eloquence were juſt! I ſhould, without* “ *Difficulty, reply, as* Paris, *in* Homer, *does to* Hector.

- - - - - - nor thou deſpiſe the Charms,
With which a Lover golden Venus *arms.*
Soft moving Speech, and pleaſing outward ſhow,
No Wiſh can gain them, but the Gods beſtow.

Pope.

“ *Thus would I reply to the Charge of Beauty. Be-* “ *ſides, that even Philoſophers are allowed to be of a* “ *liberal Aſpect; that* Pythagoras, *who ſtiled himſelf* “ *the firſt of Philoſophers, was the handſomeſt Man* “ *of his Time; and* Zeno. —— *But, as I obſerved,* “ *I am far from pretending to this Apology; ſince,* “ *beſides that Nature has beſtowed but a moderate* “ *Degree of Beauty on me, my continual Application* “ *to Study wears off every bodily Grace, and impairs* “ *my Conſtitution. My very Hair, which I am falſely* “ *accuſed of curling, and dreſſing by way of Ornament,* “ *is, as you ſee, far from being beautiful and delicate;* “ *on the contrary, it is perplexed and entangled,* “ *like a bundle of Flocks or Tow; and ſo knotty, thro'* “ *long neglect of combing, and even of diſentangling,* “ *as never to be reduced to Order.*” As to the third Particular, he did not deny his having ſent a Powder for the Teeth to a Friend, together with ſome Verſes, containing an exact Deſcription of the Effects of the Powder. He alledged, that All, eſpecially they, who ſpoke in public, ought to be particularly careful to keep their Mouths clean. This was a fine Field for Defence, and for turning his Adverſary into ridicule; though, in all Probability, he had given occaſion enough for Cenſure, by too great an Affectation of diſtinguiſhing himſelf from other learned Men. Obſerve with how much Eaſe ſome Cauſes are defended, though the Defendant be a little in the wrong. “ Vidi ego dudum vix riſum quoſdam “ tenenteis, cum mundicias oris videlicet orator ille “ aſpere accuſaret, & dentifricium tanta indignatione “ pronunciaret, quanta nemo quiſquam venenum. “ Quidni? crimen haud contemnendum Philoſopho, “ nihil in ſe ſordidum ſinere, nihil uſpiam corporis “ apertum immundum pati ac fœtulentum; præſer- “ tim os, cujus in propatulo & conſpicuo uſus ho- “ mini creberrimus: ſive ille cuipiam oſculum ferat, “ ſeu cum cuiquam ſermocinetur, ſive in auditorio “ diſſeret, ſive in templo preces alleget. Omnem “ quippe hominis actum ſermo præit: qui, ut ait “ Poëta præcipuus, è dentium muro proficiſcitur (38). “ *I obſerved, that ſome could ſcarce forbear laughing,* “ *when our Orator angrily accuſed me of keeping my* “ *Mouth clean, and pronounced the Word Tooth-Powder* “ *with as much Indignation, as any one ever pro-* “ *nounced the Word Poiſon. But, ſurely, it is not* “ *beneath a Philoſopher to ſtudy Cleanlineſs, and to let* “ *no part of the Body, which is ſeen, be naſty, or* “ *of an ill ſavour; eſpecially the Mouth, the uſe of* “ *which is the moſt frequent and conſpicuous; whether* “ *a Man kiſſes another, or converſes, or ſpeaks in* “ *public, or ſays his Prayers in a Temple. For Speech* “ *is previous to every Action of a Man, and, as an ex-* “ *cellent Poet ſays, proceeds from the Wall of the* “ *Teeth.*” We may make the ſame Obſervation upon the laſt Head of his Accuſation. It is no Crime in a Doctor, of what Faculty ſoever, to have a Looking-glaſs; but, if he conſults it too often in dreſſing himſelf, he is juſtly liable to Cenſure. Morality, in *Apuleius*'s Time, was much ſtricter, than at preſent, as to external Behaviour; for he durſt not avow his making uſe of his Looking-glaſs. He maintains, that

(31) *See, below, Remark* [*I*].

(32) Apulei, Apolog. pag. 320.

(33) Ibid. pag. 329.

(34) *In the Remark* [*I*].

(35) Metamorph. lib. 2. pag. 115. *See alſo* lib. 1. pag. 112.

(36) Accuſamus apud te Philoſophum Formoſum, & tam Græcè quam Latinè, proh nefas! diſertiſſimum. *Apolog. p.* 275.

(37) Ibid. & pag. 276.

(38) Ibid. pag. 277.

Wit, and his Eloquence for ſome young Girl; he married the rich Widow, chearfully, at a Country-houſe near *Oëa*, a Maritime Town of *Africa*. This Marriage drew upon him a troubleſome Law-Suit: The Relations of this Lady's two Sons pretended he had made uſe of Magic, to poſſeſs himſelf of her Heart and Money [*I*]; They

that he *might* do it, and proves it by ſeveral Philoſophical Reaſons; which, to ſay the truth, are much more ingenious, than judiciouſly applied; but he denies, that he really conſulted his Looking-glaſs. "Sequitur de ſpeculo longa illa & cenſoria oratio, de quo pro rei atrocitate pœne diruptus eſt Pudens, clamitans, *Habet ſpeculum philoſophus, poſſidet ſpeculum philoſophus.* Ut igitur habere concedam, ne aliquid objeciſſe te credas, ſi negaro, non tamen ex eo me accipi neceſſe eſt, exornari quoque ad ſpeculum ſolere. —— Plurimis rebus poſſeſſu careo, uſu fruor: quod ſi neque habere utendi argumentum eſt, neque non utendi non habere, & ſpeculi non tam poſſeſſio culpatur quam inſpectio, illud etiam doceat neceſſe eſt quando & quibus præſentibus in ſpeculum inſpexerim, quoniam, ut res eſt, majus piaculum decernis ſpeculum philoſopho, quam Cereris mundum profano videre (39). —— *Next follows the long and bitter Harangue about the Looking-glaſs; in which, ſo heinous is the Crime,* Pudens *almoſt burſt himſelf with bawling out,* A Philoſopher has a Looking-glaſs, A Philoſopher is in poſſeſſion of a Looking-glaſs. *Suppoſe I ſhould confeſs that I have, that you may not believe there is really ſomething in your Objection, if I ſhould deny it; it does not follow from hence, that I muſt neceſſarily make a Practice of dreſſing myſelf at it. —— In many things, I want the Poſſeſſion, but enjoy the Uſe of them. Now, if neither to have a thing be a Proof, that it is made uſe of, nor the want of it of the contrary; and, as I am not blamed for poſſeſſing, but for making uſe of, a Looking-glaſs; it is incumbent upon him to prove farther, at what Time, and in the Preſence of whom, I made uſe of it; ſince you determine it to be a greater Crime in a Philoſopher to ſee a Looking-glaſs, than for the Prophane to behold the Attire of* Ceres."

Read *Juvenal*'s Invective againſt the Emperor *Otho*, who reckoned his Looking-glaſs as one of the principal Parts of his Equipage of War.

Ille tenet ſpeculum pathici geſtamen Othonis,
Actoris Aurunci ſpolium: quo ſe ille videbat
Armatum, cum jam tolli vexilla juberet.
Res memoranda novis annalibus, atque recenti
Hiſtoria, Speculum civilis Sarcina Belli (40).

One holds a Mirrour, pathic Otho*'s Sheild,*
In which he view'd, before he marched to Field;
Nor Ajax *with more Pride his ſeven-fold Targe*
did wield.
O noble Subject, for new Annals fit,
In muſty Fame's Records unmention'd yet!
A Looking-glaſs muſt load th' Imperial Car,
The moſt impartant Carriage of the War.

TATE.

By the way, I cannot but think (though I dare not affirm it) that *Apuleius* had his Law-ſuit in view, when, in one of his Speeches, he deſcribed the Conteſt between *Apollo* and *Marſyas*. He ſuppoſes, that *Marſyas* begins with praiſing his own buſhy Hair, his ſqualid Beard, and hairy Breaſt; and then reproaches *Apollo* with extream Neatneſs: "Marſias, quod ſtultitiæ maximum ſpecimen eſt, non intelligens ſe deridiculo haberi, priuſquam tibias occiperet inflare, prius de ſe & Apolline quædam deliramenta barbare effutivit; laudens ſeſe quod erat & coma relicinus, & barba ſquallidus, & pectore hirſutus, & arte tibicen, & fortuna egenus; contra Apollinem, ridiculum dictu, adverſis virtutibus culpabat. Quod Apollo eſſet & coma intonſus, & genis gratus, & corpore glabellus, & arte multiſcius, & fortuna opulentus. —— Riſere Muſæ, cum audirent hoc genus crimina, ſapienti exoptanda, Apollini objectata (41), & tibicinem illum certamine ſuperatum, velut urſum bipedem, corio execto nudis & laceris viſceribus reliquerunt (42). —— Marſyas, *which was the greateſt Inſtance of Folly, not perceiving, that he expoſed himſelf to ridicule, before he began to play upon his Pipe, made an abſurd Compariſon between* Apollo *and Himſelf; praiſing himſelf for his buſhy Hair, his ſqualid Beard, his hairy Breaſt, his Skill in playing on the Pipe, and his Poverty; and abſurdly reproaching* Apollo *with the contrary Virtues.* Apollo, *he ſaid, had long Hair, a beautiful Face, and a ſmooth Body; that he was a great Scholar, and very rich. —— The Muſes laughed, when they heard ſuch Crimes, as a wiſe Man would wiſh to be guilty of, objected to* Apollo, *and left the poor Piper, overcome in the Conteſt, like ſome two-footed Bear, mangled and torn, with his Skin ſtript over his Ears.*" Obſerve, that *Apuleius* affirms, his Accuſer was a huge ill favoured Peaſant: "Mihi iſtud crede, quamquam teterrimum os tuum minimum à Thyeſta tragico demutet, tamen profecto diſcendi cupidine ſpeculum inviſeris, & aliquando relicto aratro mirarere tot in facie tua ſulcos rugarum. At ego non mirer, ſi boni conſulis me de iſto diſtortiſſimo vultu tuo dicere, de moribus tuis multo truculentioribus reticere (43). —— *Take this from me; though That rueful Countenance differs but little from That of* Thyeſtes *in the Tragedy; yet would you ſometimes, for the ſake of Information, viſit the Looking-glaſs; and, leaving the Plow, ſtand amazed at the many Furrows in your own Face. You will take it in good part, I doubt not, that I mention the Deformities of your Face, but am ſilent on your more hideous Morals.*"

[*I*] *Made uſe of Magic to poſſeſs himſelf of her Heart and Money.*] *Apuleius* had no need of any great Juſtification, on the firſt Article; for ſince *Pudentilla*, for Reaſons of Health, was reſolved on a ſecond Marriage, before ſhe had ſeen this pretended Wizard, *Apuleius*'s Youth, good Mien, fair Speech, Wit, and other Accompliſhments, were more than a ſufficient Charm to ingage this Lady's Affections. He had the moſt favourable Opportunities of gaining her Eſteem; he lodged for ſome time at her Houſe; *Pudentilla*'s eldeſt Son would abſolutely have it ſo; and it was He who ſollicited *Apuleius* to marry her (44). *Apuleius* managed his Advantages artfully; and turned his Accuſers into ridicule by Smart and ſurprizing Turns of Wit. "You wonder, *ſaid he,* that a Woman ſhould marry again, after having been thirteen Years a Widow; it is more ſurprizing, that ſhe did not marry much ſooner. You believe there was need of Witchcraft, to induce a Widow of her Age to marry a young Fellow; whereas, on the contrary, this is a Proof, that Witchcraft was unneceſſary." "Cur mulier libera tibi nupſit poſt annos tredecim viduitatis? quaſi non magis mirandum ſit quod tot annis non nupſerit. —— At enim major natu non eſt juvenem aſpernata. Igitur hoc ipſum argumentum eſt nihil opus magia fuiſſe, ut nubere vellet mulier viro, vidua cœlibi, major juniori (45)." If the Decree of the Judges had been founded on a Sentence pronounced, in nearly a like Caſe, by the Mother of *Alexander the Great*, it would have been admirable. Ὁ βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος ἤρα Θεσσαλῆς γυναικὸς αἰτίαν ἐχούσης καταφαρμακεύειν αὐτόν· ἐσπούδασε οὖν ἡ Ὀλυμπιὰς λαβεῖν τὴν ἄνθρωπον ὑποχείριον. ὡς δὲ εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθοῦσα, τό, τε εἶδος εὐπρεπὴς ἐφάνη, καὶ διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς· οὐδὲ ἀσυνέτως, Χαιρέτωσαν (εἶπεν ἡ Ὀλυμπιὰς) αἱ διαβολαί· σὺ γὰρ ἐν σεαυτῇ τὰ φάρμακα ἔχεις (46). —— *King* Philip *fell in Love with a* Theſſalian *Lady, who was ſaid to have influenced him by Magic Charms.* Olympias *contrived to get her into her Power. As ſoon as ſhe was brought into the Preſence of the Queen, and not only appeared very beautiful, but ſpoke with Modeſty and good Senſe; away with ſuch Calumnies, cried* Olympias; *the Magic Charms you employed are all in your own Perſon.* Thus much for the Conqueſt of the Heart. The other Article, which relates to the Money, begets ſome Suſpicion, not of Witchcraft, but of Avarice. It is hard to believe, that this Marriage was not a Sacrifice to Reaſons of Intereſt. But let us not condemn *Apuleius*, without

(39) Ibid. pag. 281, 282.

(40) Juven. Sat. 2. ver. 99.

(41) *See the Application of this Paſſage in the* Nouvelles de la Republ. des Lettres, Septemb. 1685. Article 7.

(42) Apul. Florid. pag. 341.

(43) Apul. Apol. pag. 284.

(44) Apol. pag. 320.

(45) Ibid. pag. 291.

(46) Plutarch. in Præcept. Conjug. pag. 141. B. *See the Remark* [*L*], *of the Article* GRANDIER.

(c) *His Accuſer was called* Sicinius Æmilianus. *He was Brother to* Pudentilla's *firſt Huſband.* Apul. Apolog. init.

They accuſed him of being a Wizard (*c*), not before Chriſtian Judges, as a Commentator pretends that St *Auſtin* affirms (*d*), but before *Claudius Maximus*, Proconſul of *Africa*, and by Religion a Pagan. He defended himſelf with great Vigour: We have his Apology, which he ſpake before the Judges. It is a very fine Piece (*e*); and furniſhes us with Examples of the moſt ſhameful Artifices, that the Villainy of an impudent Calumniator is capable of putting in Practice [*K*]. It has been obſerved,

(*d*) Leon. Coqueus, in Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8, c. 19, p. 740. Edit. Franc. 1661, in 4to. *But he is miſtaken. St* Auſtin *ſays quite the contrary.*

(*e*) Auguſtin. ubi ſupra, lib. 18, cap. 18.

out hearing him. He offers to prove, by his Marriage-Contract, that he had deſired nothing of *Pudentilla*, for the preſent, but only the promiſe of a moderate Sum, in caſe he ſurvived her, or had Children by her. He makes it appear, by ſeveral of his Actions, how diſintereſted his Conduct was, and how reaſonable it was to demand That Sum from his Wife, which ſhe had promiſed him. Here he was obliged to make ſuch Confeſſions in open Court, as *Pudentilla* could very well have diſpenſed with. He ſays (47), that ſhe was neither fair, nor young, nor in any reſpect ſo tempting, as to induce a Man to have recourſe to Witchcraft; and that it ought not to be wondered at, that ſhe had given great Encouragement to ſuch a Perſon as himſelf was. "Quod inſtitui pergam diſputare, nullam mihi cauſam fuiſſe Pudentillam veneficiis ad nuptias prolectandi. Formam mulieris & ætatem ipſi ultro exprobraverunt, idque mihi vitio dederunt talem uxorem cauſa avaritiæ concupiſſe, atque adeo primo dotem in congreſſu grandem & uberem rapuiſſe —— Quamquam quis omnium vel exigue rerum peritus culpare auderet, ſi mulier vidua & mediocri forma, at non ætate mediocri, nubere volens, longa dote & molli conditione invitaſſet juvenem neque corpore, neque animo, neque fortuna pœnitendum. (48).—— *To go on with my intended Defence; There was no Neceſſity, that I ſhould have recourſe to Magic, to induce* Pudentilla *to marry me. My Accuſers have voluntarily reproached her with Age, and want of Beauty; and have taxed me with Avarice, in deſiring ſuch a Woman, and with having obtained from her, upon our firſt coming together, a large and plentiful Settlement.* ——*Though what Man, of the leaſt Experience, would find fault, that a Widow Lady, of little Beauty, and advanced in Years, who has a mind to marry, ſhould tempt a young Fellow, not contemptible either in Perſon, Mind, or Fortune, by a large Settlement, and an eaſy Condition of Life.*" *Pontianus*, the Son of *Pudentilla*, (he tells his Judges) propoſed the Marriage of his Mother to him, no otherwiſe than as an Incumbrance, and as the Act of a Friend and a Philoſopher; that is, an Act more becoming a good Friend to *Pontianus*, and a Philoſopher, than the ſtaying for a Match, where he might find both Riches and Beauty. *Confidere ſeſe, fore ut id onus recipiam, quoniam non formoſa pupilla, ſed mediocri facie mater liberorum mihi offeratur. Sin hæc reputans formæ & divitiarum gratia me ad aliam conditionen reſervarem, neque pro amico neque pro philoſopho facturum* (49), He magnifies greatly the Advantages of a Maid, above a Widow. "How poor ſoever a fair Maid is, *ſaid he*, ſhe brings you a great Dowry, the Flower and firſt Fruits of her Beauty, an Heart intirely new. It is with great Reaſon, that all Husbands ſet ſo great a value on a Maidenhead; all other Treaſures, which a Woman brings, are of ſuch a Nature, that an Husband may reſtore them back, if he is unwilling to be obliged to his Wife for them; ſhe may withdraw them; ſhe may recover them at Law; Virginity alone cannot be reſtored, but remains always in Poſſeſſion of the firſt Huſband. If you marry a Widow, and ſhe leaves you, ſhe carries away all ſhe brought with her; you cannot boaſt of retaining any thing, which belongs to her." He obſerves ſeveral other Inconveniences in marrying Widows; and concludes, that "*Pudentilla* would not eaſily have been married a ſecond time, if ſhe had not met with, in him, the Temper of a Philoſopher." *Virgo formoſa, etſi ſit oppido pauper, tamen abundè dotata eſt. Affert quippe ad maritum novam animi indolem, pulchritudinis gratiam, floris rudimentum, Ipſa virginitatis commendatio jure meritoque omnibus maritis acceptiſſima eſt. Nam quodcunque aliud in dotem acceperis, potes cum libuit ne ſis beneficio obſtrictus omne ut acceperas retribuere, pecuniam renumerare, mancipia reſtituere, domo demigrare, prædiis cedere. Sola virginitas cum ſemel accepta eſt reddi nequitur: ſola apud maritum ex rebus dotalibus remanet. Vidua autem qualis nuptiis venit, talis divortio digreditur. Nihil affert irrepoſcibile, ſed venit jam ab alio præflorata; certe tibi, ad quæ velis, minime docilis; non minus ſuſpectans novam domam, quam ipſa jam ob unum divortium ſuſpectanda; ſive illa morte amiſit maritum, ut ſcævi ominis mulier, & infandi conjugii, minime appetenda; ſeu repudio digreſſa eſt, utramvis habebat culpam mulier: quæ aut tam intolerabilis fuit ut repudiaretur, aut tam inſolens, ut repudiaret. Ob hæc & alia viduæ dote auctæ procos ſolicitant. Quod Pudentilla quoque in alio marito feciſſet, ſi Philoſophum ſpernentem dotis non reperiſſet* (50).

(47) Apul. Apolog. pag. 321.

(48) Apol. pag. 332.

(49) Ibid. 320.

(50) Ibid. pag. 352.

This Diſcourſe of *Apuleius* is a noble Field for Reflexions, were there leiſure to purſue them; however, in haſte as I am to paſs on to other Articles, I ſhall ſtay to make two Obſervations; one is, that this Eſtate, of which the Husband can never be diſſeized, is a meer Chimera; no Baker, or Butcher, would truſt you for Six-pence upon this imperiſhable Poſſeſſion. The other is, that *Apuleius* had not conſidered every Diſadvantage of Widowhood. He has ſaid nothing of Widows, who have never had any Children; nor, indeed, was That his Caſe. A Prebend of *Paris*, who made a trip to *Geneva*, in 1672, with a Deſign of embracing the Proteſtant Religion, happened, ſoon after his Arrival, to ſingle out a young, rich, and handſome, Widow, among other Women in the ſame Church. He ſoon found an Opportunity of ſpeaking to her; and, the more he ſaw her, the more he fancied ſhe would ſuit his purpoſe. But, having brought with him from, *France*, nothing but the good Plight of Perſons of his Profeſſion, and ſome Inſight into the Abuſes of Popery, he was repulſed with Scorn. He communicated to me the Secret of his Repulſe, and complained leſs of the Diſappointment, than of the manner, in which he was treated (51). I repreſented ingenuouſly to him, that he was in the wrong to propoſe any ſuch thing, conſidering the preſent Condition of his own Fortune, and the Circumſtances of the Lady. He confeſſed ſhe was too rich for ſuch a Perſon as he; *But*, continued he, *much of her Riches muſt be abated, on the ſcore of her never having had a Child; this alone is a Drawback upon it of Thirty or Forty thouſand Livres; at leaſt I ſhould have eſteemed her by ſo much a better Fortune, than I do now, ſince there is a Preſumption of her being barren; eſpecially, when I conſider, that my only Brother has no Heirs, and that our Family is in danger of being extinct, if I leave no Poſterity.* I would not enter into a farther Diſpute with a Man, who had calculated the Matter ſo nicely. I left him to eſtimate the Buſineſs by himſelf; and was ſatisfied with believing, that the Care he had at Heart of preſerving his Family had contributed greatly to the opening his Eyes.

Reflexion of a Convert Prieſt on a Widow, who had had no Children.

(51) *He never talk'd of the Affair, without repeating,* Eſt modus in rebus.

[*K*] *Furniſhes us with Examples of the moſt ſhameful Artifices, that the Villany of an impudent Calumniator is capable of putting in Practice.*] I ſhall inſtance but in one; to ſhew, that, in all Ages, the Spirit of Calumny has put Men upon forging Proofs by falſe Extracts from what a Perſon has ſaid, or written. To convict *Apuleius* of practiſing Magic, his Accuſers alledged a Letter, which his Wife had wrote during the Time of his Courtſhip, and affirmed that ſhe had confeſſed, in this Letter, that *Apuleius* was a Wizard, and had bewitched her. It was no hard matter to make the Court believe, that ſhe had written ſo; for they only read a few Words of her Letter, detached from what preceeded, or followed; and no one preſſed them to read the whole. At laſt *Apuleius* covered them with Confuſion, by reciting the whole Paſſage of *Pudentilla*'s Letter. It appeared, that, far from complaining of *Apuleius*, ſhe juſtified him, and artfully ridiculed his Accuſers. Theſe are his Words: You will find, that preciſely the ſame Terms may either condemn, or juſtify, *Apuleius*, according as they are taken with, or without, what preceeds them. Βουλομένην γάρ με δι' ἃς εἶπον αἰτίας γαμηθῆναι, ſerved, that *Apuleius*, with all his Magic Art, could never raiſe himſelf to any Poſt of Authority, though he was of a good Family, had been very well educated, and was much eſteemed for his Eloquence (*f*). It was not, purſues my Author, out of a Philoſophical Contempt, that he was never in Public Employs; for he thought it an Honour to be inveſted with the Prieſtly Office, which gave him the Superintendence of the Public Games; and contended ſtrongly againſt Thoſe, who oppoſed the erecting of a Statue, with which the Inhabitants of *Oëa* would have honoured him (g). Nothing is a more ſenſible Proof of the impertinent Credulity of the Pagans, than their ſaying, that *Apuleius* had wrought many Miracles [*L*], that they equalled, or even ſurpaſſed, Thoſe of *JESUS CHRIST*. No doubt many Perſons took all he had ſaid in his *Golden Aſs* for true Hiſtory. I wonder St *Auſtin* could be in any Uncertainty about it (*h*), or that he was not convinced, that *Apuleius* intended this Book only as a Romance (*i*). He was not the Inventor of it; the Story is of ancient Date, as Mr *Moreri* diſcovered in the Words of *Voſſius* [*M*]; which yet he did not thoroughly underſtand. Some Pagans have mentioned this Romance with

γαμηθῆναι, αὐτὸς τοῦτον ἔπεισας ἀντὶ πάντων αἱρεῖσθαι, θαυμάζων τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ σπουδάζων αὐτὸν οἰκεῖον ἡμῖν δι᾽ ἐμοῦ ποιῆσαι. νῦν δὲ ὡς μοχθηροὶ ὑμᾶς κακοηθεῖς τε ἀναπείθουσιν, αἰφνίδιον ἐγένετο Ἀπουλήϊος μάγος, καὶ ἐγὼ μεμάγευμαι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. ναὶ ἠρῶ. καὶ ἦλθετε νῦν πρὸς ἐμὲ, ἕως ἔτι σωφρονῶ (52). *Being inclined to marry for the Reaſons, which I have mentioned, you yourſelf perſwaded me to make choice of this Man, being fond of him, and deſirous, by my means, to make him one of our Family. But now, at the Inſtigation of wicked Men,* Apuleius *muſt be informed againſt as a Magician, and I forſooth am enchanted by him. I certainly love him. Come to me, before my Reaſon fails me.* He aggravates this kind of Fraud as it deſerves. His Words deſerve to be engraved in Letters of Gold in a thouſand Places, to deter, if poſſible, all Calumniators in all Countries, and in all Ages, who practiſe the like Cheats. “ Multa ſunt quæ ſola prolata calumniæ poſſunt videri obnoxia. Cujavis oratio “ inſimulari poteſt, ſi ea quæ ex prioribus nexa ſunt “ principio ſui deſraudentur, ſi quædam ex ordine “ ſcriptorum ad libidinem ſupprimantur, ſi quæ ſimulationis cauſa dicta ſunt, adſeverantis pronunciatione “ quam exprobrantis legantur (53). - - - *There are many things, which, produced alone, may ſeem liable to* “ *Calumny. Any Diſcourſe may furniſh matter of Accuſation, if what is connected with foregoing Words be* “ *robbed of it's Introduction, if ſome Things be ſuppreſſed* “ *at Pleaſure, and if what is ſpoken by way of Reproach* “ *to others, for inventing a Calumny, be pronounced by* “ *the Reader as an Aſſertion of the Truth of it.*”

[*L*] *The Pagans pretended, that* Apuleius *wrought many Miracles.*] We ſhould ſcarce believe, that this had ever been ſaid, if credible Perſons did not atteſt it; But we find, that this Impertinence of the Pagans was ſuch a Cant in St *Auſtin*'s Time, that this great Prelate was requeſted to refute it. “ Precator acceſſerim ut ad ea vigilantius reſpondere “ digneris, in quibus nihil amplius Dominum quam “ alii homines facere potuerunt feciſſe vel geſſiſſe “ mentiuntur. Apollonium ſiquidem ſuum nobis & “ Apuleium alioſque magicæ artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum majora contendunt extitiſſe miracula (54). - - - - - *On this Occaſion I requeſt of you, that you will exert your utmoſt Efforts* “ *in refuting the falſe Pretences of theſe Objectors,* “ *who would place the Works of* OUR LORD *on* “ *a Level with the Actions of meer Men. For they* “ *produce againſt him their* APOLLONIUS *and* APULEIUS, *and other Dealers in Magic, whoſe Miracles* “ *they aſſert to have been greater than His.*” St *Auſtin* contented himſelf with anſwering, that, if *Apuleius* had been ſo great a Magician, he would not have lived in ſo mean a Condition, as he did, conſidering his Ambition; That, beſides, he had denied the Charge of Magic, which he allowed to be a great Crime (55). His pretended Miracles were ſpoken of long before St *Auſtin*; for *Lactantius* expreſſes his Surprize, that the Author, whom he confuted, had not joined *Apuleius* with *Apollonius Tyanæus*. “ Voluit oſtendere Apollonium “ vel paria, vel etiam majora feciſſe. Mirum quod “ Apuleium prætermiſit, cujus ſolent & multa mira “ memorari (56). - - - - - *He pretended to ſhew, that* “ Apollonius *had wrought as great, or even greater.* “ *It is ſurprizing he ſhould forget* Apuleius, *who is* “ *reported to have wrought many Miracles.*” *Apuleius* has had the Fate of many other Perſons; His Miracles were not ſpoken of 'till after his Death; his Accuſers objected nothing but Trifles againſt him; or brought the worſt Proof in the World of what might have the Appearance of Magic. But I know not how to reconcile St *Auſtin* with *Apuleius*. The one ſays, that *Apuleius* could never arrive at any Poſt of Judicature, *ad aliquam judiciariam Reipublicæ poteſtatem* (57). The other boaſts, that *he had enjoyed the ſame Poſt, which his Father had held; who had been* Duumvir, *and had paſſed through every honourable Employment in the City, where he lived.* “ In qua colonia patrem habui loco principe Duumviralem cunctis honoribus perfunctum. Cujus ego “ LOCUM in ea repub. exinde ut participare CURIAM “ cœpi nequaquam degener pari ſpero honore & “ exiſtimatione tueor (58).”

[*M*] *The Story is of ancient Date, as Mr* Moreri *diſcovered in the Words of* Voſſius.] Let us firſt ſet down his own Words. “ *The Metamorphoſis of the* “ *Golden Aſs* is a Paraphraſe of what he had taken “ from *Lucian*, as *Lucian* had done before from *Lucius* of *Patras*, mentioned by *Photius* - - - - It “ is even probable, that *Apuleius* borrowed, from “ the ſame Source, the very Subject of the Fable, “ which he has given his own turn to. For he “ underſtood the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues very “ well.” To judge whether Mr *Moreri* deſerves Criticiſm, we muſt compare what he has ſaid with the Paſſage of *Voſſius*, which was his Original. “ De ætate Lucii Patrenſis non liquet, niſi quod antiquior credatur Luciano, quippe qui inde compilaſſe videatur Aſinum ſuum, uti ex Luciano poſtea aſinum ſuum aureum exſcripſit Appuleius. “ Niſi is potius ex eodem Lucii fonte ſua hauſit, “ & hoc ſanè veriſimilius eſt. Nempe ut Lucium “ in epitomen redegit Lucianus, ita paraphraſin Lucii “ ſcripſit Appuleius, ſed ille Græcè, hic Latinè (59). “ - - - - - - *It is uncertain, when* Lucius Patrenſis “ *lived; only he is thought to have been older than* “ Lucian, *who ſeems to have borrowed from him his* “ Aſs, *in like manner as* Apuleius *afterwards copied* “ *his* Golden Aſs *from* Lucian; *unleſs perhaps he* “ *copied it from* Lucius *himſelf; which is moſt probable. So that, as* Lucian *epitomized* Lucius, “ Apuleius *paraphraſed him; but the one in* Greek, “ *the other in* Latin.” It is plain Mr *Moreri* miſtook *Voſſius*'s Thought, and that he ought not to have ſaid, that *Apuleius*'s Work is a Paraphraſe on That of *Lucian*. He ſhould have ſaid, that *Lucius Patrenſis* had been abridged by *Lucian*, and paraphraſed by *Apuleius*. The Argument, which Mr *Moreri* includes in theſe Words, *for he underſtood the* Greek *and* Latin *Tongues very well*, is good for nothing. Put this Reaſoning into Form, and you will raiſe this *Enthymema* from it: *He underſtood the* Greek *and* Latin *Tongues very well; therefore he took the Subject of this Fable, which he dreſt up after his own way, from the Fountain-head*; that is to ſay, *therefore he has not paraphraſed* Lucian, *but* Lucius Patrenſis. This *Enthymema* is ridiculous. A Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue is as neceſſary in making uſe of *Lucian*, as of *Lucius*; and the *Latin* Tongue is of no help towards *dreſſing up in one's own way* a Subject borrowed from *Lucius*. Cannot Mr *de la Fontaine* dreſs up a Tale of *Ouville* after his own way? It would be of greater Uſe, than we are aware of, to criticiſe on the falſe Logic of Authors. Young Perſons,

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(*f*) St Auſtin *makes this Remark, in his fifth Epiſtle. See Remark* [*L*] *at the end.*

(g) Pro ſtatua ſibi apud Oëenſes locanda, ex qua civitate habebat uxorem, adverſus contradictionem quorundam civium litigaret, quod poſteros ne lateret ejuſdem litis orationem ſcriptam memoriæ commendavit. *Auguſtin. Epiſt.* 5.

(*h*) Id. de Civit. Dei, lib. 18. cap. 18.

(*i*) Sermone iſto Mileſio varias Fabulas conſeram. *Apul. in Prologo.*

(52) Apul. Apol. pag. 326.

(53) Ibid.

(54) Marcellinus ad Aug. Epiſt. 4. inter Epiſt. Auguſtini. *See alſo the* 49*th Letter of St* Auguſtin, pag. 208.

(55) Auguſt. Epiſt. 5.

(56) Lactant. Divin. Inſtitut. lib. 5. cap. 3. *See alſo St* Jerome in Pſal. lxxxi.

(57) Auguſt. Epiſt. 5.

(58) Apul. Apolog. pag. 289.

(59) Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græc. pag. 517, 518.

with Contempt [*N*]. *Apuleius* was extreamly laborious [*O*], and compoſed ſeveral Books [*P*], ſome in Verſe, and others in Proſe; of which but a ſmall Part has reſiſted the Injuries of Time. He delighted in making publick Speeches, in which he gained the Applauſe of all his Hearers. When they heard him at *Oëa*, the Audience cried out with one Voice, That he ought to be honoured with the Freedom of the City *(k)*. Thoſe of *Carthage* heard him favourably, and erected a Statue in Honour of him (*l*): Several other Cities did him the ſame Honour (*m*). It is ſaid, that his Wife held the Candle to him, whilſt he ſtudied; but This, I think, muſt not be taken literally; it is rather a Figure of *Gallic* Eloquence in *Sidonius Apollinaris*; *Legentibus meditantibuſque candelas & candelabra tenuerunt (n)*. Several Critics have publiſhed Notes on *Apuleius* [*Q*]. I have never met with any modern *French* Tranſlation of the *Golden Aſs* [*R*]. This Work ought to be conſidered as a continued Satire on the

(*k*) Id. Apol. pag. 320.

(*l*) Id. Floridor. pag. 355, & ſeq.

(*m*) Ibid. pag. 356.

(*n*) Sidon. Apollin. Epiſt. 10. l. 2.

Perſons, who are born to be Authors, would profit much, and betimes, by ſuch Criticiſms.

[*N*] *Some Pagans have mentioned this Romance with Contempt.*] I deſire no other Proof of this, than the Letter, in which the Emperor *Severus* complains to the Senate of the Honours paid to *Clodius Albinus*. Among other Elogiums, they had given him That of Learning. The Emperor could not bear, that they ſhould give ſuch a Character to a Man, who had *filled his Mind with nothing but the Tales and Rhapſodies of* Apuleius. " Major fuit dolor quod " illum pro literato laudandum plerique duxiſtis, quum " ille næniis quibuſdam anilibus occupatus inter " Mileſias punicas Apuleii ſui, & ludicra literaria " ſeneſceret (60)." *Macrobius* has conſigned over all ſuch Romances, as *Apuleius*'s *Golden Aſs*, to Nurſes. " Vel argumenta fictis caſibus amatorum referta, " quibus vel multum ſe Arbiter exercuit, vel Apu- " leium nonnunquam luſiſſe miramur. Hoc totum " fabularum genus, quod ſolas aurium delicias pro- " fitetur, è ſacrario ſuo in nutricum cunas ſapientia " eliminat (61). - - - - - - *We are ſurprized to find,* " *that even* Apuleius *ſometimes diverted himſelf with* " *Love-Tales, in which* Arbiter *cheifly exerciſed him-* " *ſelf. This kind of Fable, which profeſſes only to* " *pleaſe the Ear, Learning baniſhes from her Temple* " *to the Cradles of Nurſes.*"

[*O*] Apuleius *was extreamly laborious.*] Hear what he ſays himſelf, in his Anſwer to his Adverſary, on the Subject of Eloquence. " De eloquentia vero, " ſi qua mihi fuiſſet, neque mirum neque invidio- " ſum deberet videri, ſi ab ineunte ævo unis ſtudiis " literarum ex ſummis viribus deditus, omnibus aliis " ſpretis voluptatibus, ad hoc ævi, haud ſciam anne " ſuper omneis homines impenſo labore, diuque no- " ctuque, cum deſpectu & diſpendio bonæ valetu- " dinis, eam quæſiſſem (62). - - - - - *As to Eloquence,* " *if I ever had any, it ought not to be thought* " *ſtrange or odious, that, from my Youth to this Time,* " *I have endeavoured after it, applying myſelf ſolely to* " *the Study of Letters, and contemning all other Plea-* " *ſures, with greater Application of Mind, than per-* " *haps any Man ever did, and even to the Ruin of* " *my Health.*"

[*P*] *And compoſed ſeveral Books.*] See the Diſſertation *de Vita & Scriptis Apuleii*, which *Wower* has printed at the beginning of his Edition, and Mr *Fleuri*, the Dauphin Scholiaſt, has prefixed to His. It may be ſaid, that *Apuleius* was an Univerſal Genius: There are but few Subjects, which he has not handled. He tranſlated the *Phædo* of *Plato*, and the *Arithmetic* of *Nicomachus*: He wrote a Treatiſe *de Republica*; another *de Numeris*; and one *de Muſica*: They quote his *Table-Queſtions*; his *Letters to Cerellia*, which are a little too free; his *Proverbs*; his *Hermagoras*; and his *Ludicra*. He mentions the latter himſelf: *Legerunt*, ſays he (63), *è* Ludicris *meis Epiſtolium de dentificio, verſibus ſcriptum.* - - - - *They read, out of my* Ludicra, *a ſhort Epiſtle in Verſe, concerning a Powder for the Teeth.* We have ſtill his *Golden Aſs* in eleven Books; his *Apology*; his Treatiſes of *Natural Philoſophy*; of *Moral Philoſophy*; *de Syllogiſmo categorico*; *de Deo Socratis*; *de Mundo*; and his *Florida*. As to his Letters to *Cerellia*, I muſt not omit the Judgment of a learned Critic (64) on them. He believes, that the Name of *Cicero* ought to be inſerted in That Paſſage of *Auſonius*, where theſe Letters are mentioned; for *Cicero* was the Perſon, who was reproached with having been too familiar with *Cerellia*, and writing to her too freely. On this Suppoſition, we muſt read the Paſſage in *Auſonius* thus: " Eſſe Apuleium " in vita Philoſophum, in Epigrammatis amatorem; " Ciceronis in præceptis omnibus exſtare ſeveritatem, " in Epiſtolis ad Cerelliam ſubeſſe petulantiam. - - - - " Apuleius *was, in his Life, a Philoſopher; in his E-* " *pigrams, a Lover*; Cicero'*s Precepts are all rigidly* " *moral; his Epiſtles to* Cerellia, *looſe and wanton.*"

[*Q*] *Several Critics have publiſhed Notes on* Apuleius.] *Philippus Beraldus* publiſhed very large Notes on the *Golden Aſs*, at *Venice*, in Folio, *Ann.* 1504, which were reprinted, in 8vo, at *Paris*, and at ſeveral other Places. *Godeſcalk Stewechius*, *Peter Colvius*, *John Wower*, &c. have written on all the Works of *Apuleius*. *Priceus* has publiſhed the *Golden Aſs*, and the *Apology*, ſeparately, with a great many Obſervations (65). The Annotations of *Caſaubon*, and Thoſe of *Scipio Gentilis*, on the *Apology*, are much valued. The firſt appeared in the Year 1594, and the latter in the Year 1607. The beſt Edition of the Book *de Mundo*, is That of *Leyden*, 1591, in 8vo. We are indebted for it to *Bonaventure Vulcanius*. Let me obſerve, by the way, that This Treatiſe is almoſt the ſame with the Tranſlation of a like Work, attributed to *Ariſtotle*. The Book *de Deo Socratis* has appeared with the Annotations of *Joſias Mercerus* (66). The Author, whom I quote, will give you a more ample Account of the Editions of *Apuleius* (67). He has made no particular mention of That of *Baſil, apud Henricum Petri*, 1560, in three Volumes, in 8vo; nor of That of the ſame Town, *apud Sebaſtianum Henrici Petri*, 1620; nor of That of *Lyons*, 1614, in two Volumes in 8vo; which perfectly reſembles That of *Leyden*, the Pieces of which he particularly ſpecifies, placing it in the Year 1614. Perhaps he miſtook the *Lugdunum* of *France (Lyons)*, for the *Lugdunum Batavorum (Leyden)*.

[*R*] *I have never met with any modern* French *Tranſlation of the* Golden Aſs.] If I am not miſtaken, *John Louveau* is the Author of the firſt old Tranſlation: *La Croix du Maine* mentions it, without ſetting down the Year, in which it appeared (68). He only ſays, that it was printed at *Lyons*. It was reprinted, at *Paris*, by *Claudius Micard*, in 1584. One *J. de Montlyard* publiſhed a Tranſlation of the ſame Book, with a Commentary. One of the two Editions, which I have ſeen, was *according to the Copy*, printed at *Paris* by *Abel l'Angelier*, 1612; the other, at *Paris*, by *Samuel Thibouſt*, 1623. The Preface is long; and contains a Criticiſm on ſeveral Errors of *John Louveau*.

I find, that *La Croix du Maine*, and *du Verdier Vau-Privas*, have mentioned a Tranſlation, which may very well be older, than That of *John Louveau*. They ſay, that *George de la Bouthiere*, or *de la Boutier*, a Native of *Autun*, rendered the *Metamorphoſis*, or *Golden Aſs* of *Apuleius* into *French* (69). The one ſays, that this Verſion was printed *at* Lyons, *by* John de Tournes *and* William Gazeau, *in the Year* 1553. The other, that it was printed by *John de Tournes*, in 1516 (70). There is an Error of the Preſs in the laſt Date; and it is evident, that, to put the Figures in their right Places, it ought to be 1556: Now, as the ſame Author has ſaid, that the Tranſlation by *John Louveau* was printed in the Year 1558 (71), there is Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that it was later than That of *George de la Bouthiere*.

Since the firſt Edition of this Dictionary, Part of a Tranſlation of the *Golden Aſs* has appeared at *Paris*. The *Journal des Sçavans* of the ninth of *January*, 1696, mentions it. Monſ. the Baron *des Coutures* publiſhed, with Notes, in 1698, his *French* Verſion of the Treatiſe *de Deo Socratis*.

(60) Capitolin. in Clodio Albino, cap. 12.

(61) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 2.

(62) Apul. Apolog. pag. 276.

(63) Id. ib.

(64) Fredericus Gronovius in Auſon. Cent. Nuptial. in Editione Auſonii. *Amſtelod.* 1671. *pag.* 516.

(65) The Apology; *Paris*, 1635, *in* 4to. The Golden Aſs; *Gouda*, 1650, *in* 8vo.

(66) *At* Paris, 1624, *in* 12mo.

(67) Joh. Albertus Fabricius in Bibliotheca Latina, pag. 135, & ſeq.

(68) La Croix du Maine Biblioth. Françoiſe, pag. 238.

(69) Ibid. pag. 118. Du Verdier, pag. 446.

(70) Du Verdier, Bibl. Françoiſe, pag. 440.

(71) Id. pag. 716.

the Diſorders, which the Magicians, Prieſts, Pandars, Thieves, *&c.* filled the World with at That time [*S*].

[*S*] *This Work ought to be conſidered as a continued Satire on the Diſorders, which Magicians, Prieſts,* &c. *filled the World with at That Time.*] This Obſervation occurs in Mr *Fleuri*'s Annotations. “Tota “porro hæc metamorphoſis Apuleiana & ſtilo & ſen- “tentia Satyricon eſt perpetuum (ut recte obſervavit “Barthius Adverſ. lib. 51. cap. 11.) in quo magica “deliria, ſacrificulorum ſcelera, adulterorum crimi- “na, furum & latronum impunitæ factiones, palam “differuntur (72).” He adds, that Thoſe, who are in ſearch of the Philoſopher's Stone, pretend to find it in the Myſteries of the Grand Operation. A Perſon, who would take the Pains, and had the requiſite Qualifications (and he muſt, indeed, have a great many) might draw up a very curious and inſtructive Commentary on This Romance, and might inform us of ſeveral Things, which the preceeding Commentaries, how good ſoever, have never touched upon. There are ſome very obſcene Paſſages in this Book of *Apuleius*. It is believed, that the Author has inſerted ſome Epiſodes in it of his own Invention; and, amongſt others, That of *Pſyche*. *Horum certe noſter ita imitator fuit, ut è ſuo penu innumerabilia protulerit, atque inter cætera venuſtiſſimum illud Pſyches* 'Επεισόδιον (73). This Epiſode furniſhed *Moliere* with Matter for an excellent Dramatic Piece, and Mr *de la Fontaine* for a fine Romance.

(72) Julius Floridus, Comment. ad Uſum Delph. in Apuleium.

(73) Julius ubi ſupra, pag. 2.

AQUÆUS (STEPHEN), in *French de l'Aigue* *, Lord of *Beauvais* (*a*), in *Berry*, his Native Country, made himſelf famous by his Military Actions [*A*], and his Writings, in the Reign of *Francis* I. Not that his Commentary on *Pliny*, which is the beſt of his Works, is good in the Main [*B*]; but it was extraordinary, in thoſe Times, for a Gentleman to perform ſo much. This Commentary was printed in 1530. Father *Hardouin* was not well acquainted with it's Date [*C*].

(*a*) Du Verdier. Biblioth. Franc. pag. 278.

* *So the Gaſcons call* Water. *This Author writes himſelf* Stephen de Laigue dict Beaulnois, *at the beginning of a Tranſlation of* Cæſar, *Edit. of* Paris, 1546, *in* 12mo.

[*A*] *Famous for his Military Actions, and his Writings.*] Father *Hardouin* gives him this Elogium. *Vir nobilis in primis, ac militia quoque exacta egregie ſordidus* (1). - - - - *A Perſon very famous, and, after War, remarkably ſordid.* The Works, he publiſhed, are *A ſingular Treatiſe concerning the Properties of Tortoiſes, Snails, Frogs, and Artichokes, at* Lyons, *in 8vo* (2). Julius Cæſar'*s Commentaries on the* Roman *Wars, and other Military Exploits, performed by him in* Gaul, *and* Africa, *at Paris* 1531, *in Folio. Du Verdier* cites this Edition (3). *La Croix du Maine* takes notice of the Edition at *Paris*, in 1539 (4), but not of That in 1546. We are going to take notice of his Commentary on *Pliny*.

[*B*] *His Commentary on* Pliny - - - - - *is not good in the main.*] It is more conſiderable, for it's Size, than it's Learning. The Author *corrects only as a Plagiary, and paſſes over almoſt all the difficult Places.* This is Father *Hardouin*'s Judgment of it. “Commentarios ſcripſit in omnes Plinii libros: Sed mole “magis quam eruditione inſignes. Nec vero emen- “dationes ullas habet, quam quas à Rhenano mu- “tuatus eſt: Et ea fere in quibus ſalebrarum eſt ali- “quid aut ambagis, ſolet is, ceu foveam, ſecurus præ- “tergredi (5).” He is guilty of the ſame Fault with ſeveral other Writers; he makes uſe of the Property of other Men, without mentioning his Benefactor; and *names him only when he intends to cenſure him. Rhenanus* made this Complaint, in a Letter to a Phyſician of the Cardinal of *Weſtphalia*: “Hoc mirum, quod quum ex meis caſtigationibus “nonnihil ſit adjutus, nuſquam tamen mei mentio- “nem facit, niſi quoties vult reprehendere (6).” The general Judgment, which he paſſes on this Work, deſerves to be reported. “In primis ipſum volumen “non eſt exiguum, ex variis congeſtum autoribus, “quod uſui pauperculis eſſe poſſit, qui non habent “bibliothecam inſtructam, puta Ariſtotelem, & Alber- “tum de Animalibus, Raphaelem Volaterranum, ex “quo integra ferme capita autor tranſcripſit bona “fide, hoc eſt, una cum ipſis mendis, ne ſyllaba “quidem mutata, Cœlium Rhodiginum, Columel- “lam etiam, Palladiumque, & ſimileis ſcriptores. “Nam hoc præcipue habet ſtudio, citare teſtimonia “autorum, qui cum Plinio faciunt, de verbis ipſis mi- “nimum ſollicitus, quod illi penitus puerile videtur. “In ſumma liber talis eſt, qui ſi non magnopere ju- “vet, excitet tamen literas, & Plinium ipſum vulgo “fortaſſis commendet, quæ mihi res in primis grata “eſt (7). - - - - - *In the firſt Place, it is a bulky “Volume, compiled from various Authors (upon which “account it may be uſeful to poorer Students, who “have not a well furniſhed Library) from* Ariſtotle, “*and* Albertus de Animalibus; Raphael Volaterran, “*from whom the Author has fairly tranſcribed whole “Chapters, not omitting the very Faults, nor altering a Syllable*; *from* Cœlius Rhodiginus, Columel- “la, Palladius, *and the like Writers. For his chief “Aim is, to cite the Teſtimonies of Authors, who “favour* Pliny, *unconcerned as to the Words them- “ſelves, which he thinks deſerve the Regard of “Boys alone. In ſhort, the Work is ſuch, that, if it be “not very entertaining, it may yet promote Learning, “and perhaps recommend* Pliny *to a more general “Reading which I am particularly pleaſed with.*”

[*C*] *Father* Hardouin *was not well acquainted with the Date of the Edition of* Aquæus'*s Commentary on* Pliny.] He obſerves, that *Sigiſmond Gelenius* publiſhed a Volume of Corrections on *Pliny*, in the Year 1535; and that, the Year following, *Beatus Rhenanus* publiſhed his Work on the ſame Author; and that, at the end of four Years, our *Aquæus* publiſhed his Commentary (8). He muſt therefore have publiſhed it in 1540. Now it is certain, that he publiſhed it in the Year 1530. I ſuppoſe Father *Hardouin*'s Miſtake proceeded from his not knowing, that *Gelenius* had twice employed his Pen on *Pliny*, before the Edition of 1635 (9). Perhaps the Book of *Aquæus* was later, by five Years, than the firſt Corrections of *Gelenius*.

(1) Harduinus, Præfat. in Plinium.

(2) Du Verdier, Bibl. Françoiſe, pag. 278. Le Croix du Maine *points out the Edition of* Paris, *in* 1530.

(3) Du Verdier, ubi ſupra.

(4) La Croix du Maine, Bibl. Fr. pag. 76.

(5) Harduin. Præfat. in Plinium.

(6) *See the* 50th *Letter of the* Centuria Epiſtolarum Philologicarum, *publiſhed by* Goldaſt, p. 106. Edit. 1674.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Hardouin. Præfat. in Plin.

(9) *See the* 60th *Letter of the* 3 *th Book of* Eraſmus, *pag.* 1957.

AQUAVIVA (ANDREW MATTHEW) Duke of *Atri*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and Son of *Julius Aquaviva*, Count of *Converſano* [*A*], added, to the Splendor of his Birth, an Erudition, which rendered him highly illuſtrious, towards the End of the XVth, and Beginning of the XVIth Centuries. He was not ſatisfied barely with ſtudying, and converſing with the Learned; he employed himſelf in writing Books, and acquitted himſelf with Reputation; as appears by his Work intituled, *Encyclopædia*; and another, in which he treats of *Moral Virtue* [*B*]. He wrote a Book

[*A*] *The Son of* Julius Aquaviva, *Count of* Converſano.] This Count ſignalized himſelf by his Valour, on ſeveral Occaſions, and commanded the Army of *Naples*, when he was killed in a Skirmiſh, during the Siege of *Otranto* by the *Turks*, in 1480 (1). His Son, of whom we ſpeak in this Article, was a long time inconſolable for this Loſs (2).”

[*B*] *A Work, in which he treats of Moral Virtue.*] One would think, that *P. Jovius* looked upon it to be a *Commentary on* Plutarch'*s Treatiſe of Moral Virtue*; and the modern Author of the Annotations on the *Latin* Poems of *Sannazarius* had the ſame Thought. “Librum nempe nobilem, cui “*Encyclopædia* nomen, itemque Commentarium in “Plutarchum de Virtute morali (3). - - - - *To wit, “an excellent Work, entituled* Encyclopædia, *and a “Commentary on* Plutarch, *Of Moral Virtue.*” But the Words of *Paul Jovius* are not clear enough to determine me to this Senſe; I ſhould rather keep to a more indefinite Idea. He expreſſes himſelf thus: “Nemo

(1) *See the* Hiſtory of Mahom. II. *by* Guillet, Tom. 2. pag. 373.

(2) *See the Verſes, which* Marullus *addreſſes to him*, Epigram. lib. 1. pag. 16.

(3) Notæ ad Sann. Eleg. pag. 188. Edit. Amſtel. 1689.

Book likewiſe *de Re Equeſtri*. Before he applyed himſelf with ſo much Ardour to Letters, he had paid That Debt to Arms, which his high Birth claimed, and had ſignalized himſelf that way; tho' Fortune had been ever averſe. He had been engaged in two unſucceſsful Battles, and was wounded, and taken Priſoner, in both. Study ſupported him in his Confinement; and he was ſo happy, as to obtain his Liberty from *Ferdinand*, King of *Aragon*, when *Gonſalvo*, ſirnamed the *Great Captain*, would have ſent him, with other Priſoners, into *Spain*. From that Time, He betook himſelf to the Pleaſures of a private Life, amidſt his Books, and in the Company of learned Men, by whom he was highly praiſed, and honoured [*C*]. He inſpired his Brother *Beliſarius* with the ſame Love of Learning, who became likewiſe an Author [*D*]. Our *Aquaviva* would have been more happy, if he had managed his Eſtate a little better; but his too great Expences for ſeveral Years at laſt exhauſted his Fortunes. He died at *Converſano*, at Seventy two Years of Age; when the *French* Troops, under the Conduct of *Lautrec*, ravaged *Apulia* (*a*) in 1582.

(*a*) Ex Jovio, Elog. Doctor. Vir. cap. 73.

" Nemo ex his, qui illuſtribus orti familiis ætate " noſtra claruerunt - - - - - Andrea Matthæo Aquavivio - - - - - ſe luculentius optimis diſciplinis exornavit; uti præclare conſtat eo libro nobili pariter ac erudito qui Encyclopædia inſcribitur, & " de morali virtute Plutarchi plenior liber ſubtili & " copioſo commentario perſimilis oſtendit (4). - - - - - " *No one, among thoſe of great Birth, who have flouriſhed in our Times,* - - - - - *made a greater Figure* " *in the learned World, than* Andrew Matthew Aquaviva; *as is evident from his excellent and learned* " *Book, entitled* Cyclopædia, *and his larger Work,* " *not unlike a ſubtile and copious Commentary, concerning* Plutarch'*s Treatiſe of* Moral Virtue." This ſeems to intimate a laborious Paraphraſe on this Work of *Plutarch*.

(4) P. Jovius, Elog. cap. 63. pag. 158.

Since the firſt Edition of this Dictionary, I have had an Opportunity of diſcovering, that *Paul Jovius* has expreſſed himſelf ill; for this is the Title of the Book of our *Aquaviva*, in the Edition of *Naples* 1526, in Folio. Commentarii in tranſlationem libelli Plutarchi Chæronei de Virtute Morali - - - - - liber primus. - - - -*Commentaries on the Tranſlation of* Plutarch *of* Chæronea'*s Treatiſe of* Moral Virtue - - - *Book the firſt*. The Title of the *German* Edition, 1609, in 4to, is longer. Illuſtrium & exquiſitiſſimarum diſputationum libri quatuor. Quibus omnes divinæ & humanæ ſapientiæ, præſertim animi moderatricis Muſicæ atque Aſtrologiæ arcana in Plutarchi Chæronei de Virtuti Morali præceptionibus recondita ſummo ingenii acumine retecta patefiunt, & figuris quæque ſuis illuſtrantur, &c. - - - - - *Four Books of noble and moſt exquiſite Diſputations. In which all the Secrets of divine and human Knowledge, particularly of Muſic, which commands the Paſſions, and of Aſtrology, couched under the moral Precepts of* Plutarch *of* Chæronea, *are very ingeniouſly diſcovered, and diſtinctly explained.* Neither *Toppi*, from whom I have borrowed this (5), nor *Leonard Nicodemo* make any mention of the Book, entituled *Encyclopædia*.

(5) Toppi Biblioth. Napolet. pag. 14.

[*C*] *He was highly praiſed and honoured by learned Men.*] *Alexander ab Alexandro* dedicated his *Dies Geniales* to him. *Pontanus* dedicated to him his firſt Book *de Rebus Cæleſtibus*, and his Treatiſe *de Magnanimitate*. *Sannazarius* ingeniouſly celebrates him for having been (as was ſince ſaid of Mr *de Montauzier) a Favourite of* Pallas, *whether under the Name of* Minerva, *or That of* Bellona.

Favori de Pallas quelque nom qu'on lui donne,
Ou celui de Miverve, ou celui de Bellone.

See the laſt Elegy of the ſecond Book, towards the end, and the ſecond Epigram of the ſecond Book. As to the Forty fourth Epigram of the ſame Book, I queſtion, whether it be in praiſe of our *Aquiviva*, as the Author of the Annotations on *Sannazarius* (6) fancied; it is addreſſed *ad Neritinorum Ducem*, who, according to *Paul Jovius*, was *Beliſarius Aquaviva*, the Brother of *Andrew Matthew*. It ſeems to me likewiſe, that the firſt Elegy of the third Book has no relation to this latter, but to his Father *Julius Aquaviva*. See, in the Author, whom I quote, the Names of ſeveral Writers, who have celebrated our *Andrew Matthew*.

(6) Notæ in Sannaz. pag. 188.

(7) Nicodemo, Addiz. alla Bibl. Napolet. p. 11, 12.

[*D*] *His Brother* Beliſarius - - - - - - *became likewiſe an Author.*] He compoſed a Treatiſe *de Venatione*, which he dedicated to his Brother *John Matthew*; another *de Aucupio*; another *de Principum liberis educandis*; another *de Re Militari*; and another *de Singulari Certamine*. Theſe Works, firſt printed at *Naples*, in *Folio*, in the Year 1519, were reprinted at *Baſil*, in 8vo, in the Year 1578, by the Care of *Leonclavius*, with the *Manuel Palæologus* of *Royal Education*.

AQUINAS, or AQUINIUS, (Philip), acquired a great Reputation by his Skill in the *Hebrew* Tongue, which he taught, at *Paris*, in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII; and by his Works, which he publiſhed [*A*]. He was originally of *Aquino*, in the Kingdom of *Naples* (*a*), and from thence derived his Name; but he was born in the County of *Avignon*. He was a Convert from the *Jewiſh* Religion, and had a Penſion (*b*) allowed him from the Clergy of *France*. He is mentioned in the Trial of the Marſhal *d'Ancre* [*B*]. *Simeon de Muis* has greatly commended him [*C*];

(*a*) *I have only this from Hearſay.*

(*b*) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his Interpretation of the* Tree of the Cabala.

[*A*] *He acquired a great Reputation* - - - - - *by the Works, which he publiſhed.*] The Catalogue of them is as follows; *Dictionarium Hebræo-Chaldæo-Thalmudico-Rabbinicum, fol.* printed at *Paris* in the Year 1629; *The Roots of the Sacred Language, ad formam Cubi Hutteriani*, at *Paris*, 1620, 16mo; A Tranſlation, in *Italian*, of *The Apophthegms of the ancient Doctors of the Jewiſh Church*, collected by *Rabbi Simeon*, Son of *Gamaliel*; The Expoſition of *The thirteen Ways, which the ancient* Rabbies *made uſe of to explain the Pentateuch*, (1). *An Interpretation of the Tree of the Cabala*, enriched with it's Figure, taken from the ancient *Hebrew* Authors, at *Paris*, at the Expence of the Author, 1620, in 8vo; A Diſcourſe of *the Camp, and Tabernacle of the* Iſraelites, at *Paris*, by *Th. Blaiſe*, 1625, in 4to; *Literal, Allegorical, and Moral Explications of the Tabernacle, which God commanded* Moſes *to build; of the Prieſts Veſtments, and the manner how they conſulted the* Rationale *of the ancient Law, together with the Form of the Jewiſh Sacrifices; all curiouſly collected, and faithfully tranſlated from the moſt learned and ancient* Hebrew *Authors, with a Diſcourſe concerning the Camp of the* Iſraelites; *and a Deſcription of the Jewels of the High Prieſt's Breaſt-Plate, added at the end of the ſecond Edition, reviſed by the Author*; at *Paris*, at the Author's Expence, 1624, in 4to; *Becchinas Olam*, or *An Examination of* Rabbi Jacob'*s World*; *Moral Sentences of the ancient* Hebrews, *and the thirteen Ways, which they made uſe of to interpret the Bible*, in 8vo, at *Paris*, by *John Lacquehay*, 1629. *Phil. Aquinatis Hebraicæ Linguæ Profeſſ. Lacrymæ in obitum Illuſtriſſ. Cardinalis de Berulle, Pariſiis, apud Joannem Beſſin*, 1629, in 8vo.

(1) *Printed at* Paris *in* 1620. *in* 4to.

[*B*] *He is mentioned in the Trial of the Marſhal* d'Ancre.] This Fact is too ſingular to be omitted. " *Item*, It is proved, by Informations, as alſo by the " Depoſition of *Philip Aquinas*, formerly a Jew, but " now a Chriſtian, whom *Conchini* and his Wife had " ſent for to *Moulins*, where the ſaid *Aquinas* was at " the Lieutenant Criminal's Houſe (2), that *Conchini* " and

(2) *Perhaps he was Tutor, there, to* Gilbert Gaulmin, *who confeſſes that he had been a Diſciple of* Philip Aquinas; integrum MS. librum, *ſays he*, ad libros de Vita & Morte Moſis, pag. 305. ex Philippi Daquin Præceptoris olim mei κειμηλίοις deſcripſimus.

him [*C*]; on the other hand, *Valerian de Flavigni* has ſpoken ill of him [*D*]. There was one LEWIS-HENRY AQUINAS, his Cotemporary, who was alſo well ſkilled in the Oriental Languages. I cannot tell, whether he was his Son, or his Brother (*c*). He tranſlated ſomething out of the *Hebrew* into the *Latin* (*d*) [*E*]. He had likewiſe been a *Jew*, and was afterwards a Penſioner of the Clergy. ANTONY AQUINAS, who had been Firſt Phyſician to *Lewis* XIVth, was Grandſon of *Philip*.

(*c*) *Mr* Colomiès *believes he was his Son.*

(*d*) *See* Colomiès Galliæ Orient. pag. 254, 256.

“ his Wife had made uſe of the Cabala, and the “ *Jewiſh* Books. It being to be obſerved, what this “ *Aquinas* had farther depoſed, *viz.* that *Conchini*, “ in the Preſence of his Wife, had taken away a “ Chamber-pot on account of it's Impurity, and “ removed a Crucifix out of the Room, for fear it “ ſhould hinder an Effect, which They, *Conchini* and “ his Wife, expected from reading ſome Verſes “ of the Fifty firſt Pſalm, *Meſereri mei*, in *He-* “ *brew*: which Reading they cauſed to be per- “ formed by *Aquinas*, in the ſame Manner as it “ had been ſome times performed before them by “ *Montalto*.”

[*C*] Simeon de Muis *has greatly commended him.*] He expreſſes himſelf thus concerning a Verſe of the Thirty fifth Pſalm: “ Cum hic hærerem dubius, “ Philippus Aquinas è Judæo Chriſtianus, vir raræ “ & exquiſitiſſimæ in Hebraicis literis doctrinæ, & “ quem nunquam fruſtra conſulas, forte venit ad me “ viſendi gratia, & venit quidem optatus. Ille ſtatim “ atque de re communicavi, ut ſingulas Bibliorum “ verſus imo & voces ſingulos in numerato habet, “ ac tanquam digitos tenet, indicavit locum ex “ Eſaiæ 66. ver. 13. - - - - - *Being at a loſs for the* “ *Senſe of this Paſſage*, Philip Aquinas, *a converted* “ *Jew, a Man of uncommon and exquiſite Skill in* “ *the* Hebrew *Tongue, and whom you can never con-* “ *ſult in vain, came accidentally to pay me a Viſit,* “ *and came opportunely to my wiſh. For no ſooner* “ *had I communicated the Matter to him, but He,* “ *who has every Verſe, and even every Word, of Scrip-* “ *ture at his Fingers ends; referred me to* Eſaiah “ 66 *ver.* 13.

[*D*] Valerian de Flavigni - - - - - *has ſpoken ill of him.*] He was Profeſſor of *Hebrew* in the Royal College, at *Paris*. He ridiculed the Bible of Mr *le Jai* unmercifully, and maintained, that the *Hebrew* Text had been miſerably corrupted by *Philip Aquinas*. “ Tot ac tantis conſpurcatum maculis atque “ ſordibus, obſtetricantibus impuriſſimis manibus Phi- “ lippi Aquinatis Avenionenſis ex Judæo Chriſtiani, “ ut à planta pedis uſque ad verticem non ſit in “ eo ſanitas (3). - - - - - - *Defiled with ſo many and* “ *great Blots and Filth by the impure Hands of* “ Philip Aquinas, *of* Avignon, *a converted Jew,* “ *that, from the Sole of the Foot to the Crown of* “ *the Head, there is no whole Part in it.*”

(3) In Epiſt. de Heptaplis Pariſienſibus, apud Colomeſium Gall. Orien. pag. 256.

[*E*] *He tranſlated ſomething out of* Hebrew *into* Latin.] Read what follows: Commentarius Rabbi Levi filii Gerſonis in librum Jobi, ſeu in V. prima capita, interprete Ludovico Henrico Aquino Lutetiæ. ——— *A Commentary of* Rabbi Levi, *the Son of* Gerſon, *on the Book of* Job, *or on the five firſt Chapters, tranſlated by* Lewis Henry Aquinas, *of* Paris. *Paris*, by *Thomas Blaiſe*, 1620, in 4to. Scholia Rabbi Salomonis Jarchi in librum Eſther: item excerpta quædam ex Talmudo & Jalcut in eundem librum, interprete Lud. Henr. Aquino. ——— *The* Scholia *of* Rabbi Solomon Jarchi *on the Book of* Eſther; *likewiſe Extracts from the* Talmud *and* Jalcut *on the ſame Book, tranſlated by* Lewis Henry Aquinas. *Paris*, 1622, in 4to.

ARAGON (ALPHONSO, fifth of the Name, King of). See, under the Word NAPLES, *Alphonſo*, firſt of the Name, King of *Naples*.

ARAGON (JOAN of) the Wife of *Aſcanio Colonna*, Prince of *Tagliocozzi*, was the moſt Illuſtrious Lady of the XVIth Century. She was born at *Naples*, and deſcended from the Kings of *Aragon*. The Wits of thoſe Times celebrated her Praiſes after an extraordinary manner [*A*]. The Philoſopher *Auguſtin Niphus* was one

THE Poetical Deification of this Lady.

[*A*] *The Wits of thoſe Times celebrated her Praiſes in an extraordinary manner.*] I have not ſeen any Dictionary, in which the Article of this Lady is to be met with: It is a Sin of Omiſſion moſt worthy of Cenſure; for, perhaps, there never was a Man or Woman in the World, whoſe Merit has been celebrated by more fine Wits, or in more Languages, than That of *Joan* of *Aragon*, in the XVIth Century. The Poems, wrote in her Praiſe, were collected by *Jerom Ruſcelli*, and publiſhed at *Venice*, in 1555, under the Title of TEMPIO ALLA DIVINA SIGNORA DONNA GIOVANNI d'ARAGONA, fabricato da tutti i piu gentili Spiriti, & in tutte le lingue principali del mondo. —— A Temple to the Divine Lady *Donna Joanna* of *Aragon*, *erected by the greateſt Wits, and in all the principal Languages of the World.* The Poëtical Deification of this Lady was performed with Ceremonies, not unlike Thoſe made uſe of in the Canonization of Saints.. In the firſt Place, ſeveral great Wits, of their own meer Motion, determined to teſtify their Devotions to this Divinity, and to prepare her a Temple; afterwards, in the Year 1551, the Matter paſſed into a Decree in the Academy of the *Dubbioſi*, at *Venice*. After ſeveral Deliberations and Conſultations, on a Queſtion, which was ſtarted, to wit, whether this Temple ſhould be jointly dedicated to *Donna Joanna* of *Aragon*, and her Siſter, the Marchioneſs *du Guaſt*; the Decree imports, That, conſidering the Oppoſition anciently made by the Pontiffs to *Marcellus*'s Deſign of building a Temple jointly to *Honour* and *Virtue*, the Marchioneſs *du Guaſt* could have no Part, nor Intereſt, in her Siſter's Temple; except by Means of ſome particular Interpretations. Not only the Poets, whoſe Verſes *Ruſcelli* has collected, but Himſelf likewiſe, in the Proſe of his Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Cardinal of *Trent*, and in his Preface, employs the Terms of Adoration and Divinity; it is true, he adds this Corrective, that the Adoration, paid to this Lady, was only relative, and terminated in the Supream Being, who had conferred ſo many Perfections upon her. Theſe are his Words. “ Queſta conoſ- “ cenza—— ha fatto queſti anni à dietro che conoſ- “ cendoſi in univerſale & in particolare da ogni piu “ raro giudicio i gran meriti, & il ſommo valore, “ & la bellezza infinita di corpo & d'animo della Il- “ luſtriſſima & Excellentiſſima Signora DONNA “ GIOVANNA d'ARAGONA, ſi ſieno tutti “ i piu begli ſpiriti di commune conſentimente po- “ ſti à ſacrarle un Tempio, come à Donna intera- “ mente divina, & la quale, come nobiliſſima fat- “ tura & ſembianza del ſommo Iddio, meriti ve- “ ramente d' eſſer con la lingua & col cuore adorata “ per immenſo honore del fattor ſuo; potandoſi deg- “ namente da ciaſcuno far guidicio, quanta ſia infinito “ il ſapere, il potere, & l' amor verſo di noi di chi “ coſi (alla capacita della mente noſtra) infinitamente “ bella & perfetta & degna d' eſſer' adorata creatura “ habbia potuto, ſaputo, & degnatoſi di voler fare in “ queſta eta noſtra. —— *This Knowledge* —— *has* “ *been the Cauſe, of late Years, that, the great Me-* “ *rit, Worth, and infinite Beauty, both of Body and* “ *Mind, of the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent* “ DONNA JOANNA OF ARAGON, *being* “ *univerſally and particularly known to every one of* “ *the leaſt Judgment, all the Men of Wit unani-* “ *mouſly agreed to dedicate a Temple to her, as to a* “ *Lady entirely Divine; and who, as being the moſt* “ *noble Production and Reſemblance of the Supream* “ *Being, deſerves to be adored with Tongue and Heart,* “ *in honour of her great Creator; every one being ca-* “ *pable of judging of the infinite Wiſdom, Power, and* one of the forwardeſt in paying his Homage to her. He repreſented her as ſo wonderfully beautiful, and particularized the Perfections of her Body [*B*], in ſuch a manner, that ſome Authors have ſaid he flattered her [*C*], and that Love inſpired him with thoſe high Strains. It has been ſaid likewiſe, that his Quality of Phyſician gave him Privileges, which fired him with Love [*D*]. To me theſe Conjectures appear trifling

“*Love of God towards us, in condeſcending to form out of our own Species (within the Sphere of human Capacity) ſo beautiful, perfect, and adorable a Creature, in this our Age.*” He tells us, in the Preface, that the Subſtance of his whole Collection imports, “Che queſta gran Donna, come perfettiſſima di corpo & d' animo, & come particolariſſima fattura del ſommo Iddio, meriti d' eſſere adorata ad honore del fattor ſuo. Overo che chiaſcuno partitamente l' offeriſce il ſuo voto, à là purita dell' affetto ſuo. —— *That this great Lady, as being moſt perfect, both in Body and Mind, and the moſt ſingular Production of the Supream Being, deſerves to be adored in honour of her Creator; or, that every one ought, in particular, to offer up his Vows to her, according to the Purity of his Affection towards her.*” The leaſt poetical, and the moſt unknown, Languages, were employed in erecting this Temple; as the *Sclavonian*, the *Poliſh*, the *Hungarian*, the *Hebrew*, and the *Chaldaic*; and, perhaps, Mr *de Peireſc* (1) was the only Perſon, in whoſe Favour a like, or a greater, Concourſe of Languages, had ever been employed.

(1) *See Remark* [*C*] *of his Article.*

[*B*] *And particularized the Perfections of her Body.*] *Niphus* dedicated his Treatiſe of *Beauty* to this Lady; and, to confute the ancient Philoſophers, who maintained, that there is no perfect Beauty in the Univerſe, he alledges, in his fifth Chapter, the Inſtance of *Joan* of *Aragon*. He enters into ſo minute a Detail, in drawing the Picture of this fair one, that, among the great Numbers of Deſcriptions, which the Romances of *Mademoiſelle de Scudery* brought in faſhion, thirty or forty Years ago (2), there is not one, we may venture to ſay, but falls ſhort of his. He is not ſatisfied with deſcribing the Beauties, which are viſible to every Eye, but paſſes to thoſe, *quas ſinus abſcondit*, and to the Proportions between the Thigh and Leg, and between the Leg and Arm. *Ventre ſub pectore decenti, & latere cui ſecretiora correſpondeant. Amplis atque perrotundis coxendicibus, coxa ad tibiam & tibia ad brachium ſeſquialtera proportione ſe habente* (3). In the beginning of this Treatiſe, there is a Letter of Cardinal *Pompeius Colonna* to *Auguſtin Niphus*, vouching for the incomparable Beauty, and other great Qualifications, of *Joan* of *Aragon*. Now, no one is ignorant, how far a Cardinal of Quality is a competent Judge, and even a Critic, in theſe Matters, *quàm elegans formarum ſpectator ſiet*. Theſe are the Words of his Letter. “Non Vulgo ſpecioſiſſima quæque exponit natura: noſtro tamen ævo parens officioſa ac liberalis, veluti divinitatis æmula, ut perfectum admirandumque aliquid, Diiſque immortalibus quam ſimillimum, gentibus proferret, Joannam Aragoniam Columnam procreavit, atque ab incunabulis ad hanc uſque ætatem, in qua eſt florentiſſima per omnes pulchritudinis & venuſtatis numeros, provexit, ut facile principem locum inter formoſiſſimas vindicarit. Animum præterea ſingularibus & dotibus & virtutibus inſignivit, &c. —— *The finer Productions of Nature are rare, and uncommon; yet this diligent and bountiful Mother of all things, in Emulation, as it were, of Divinity, and deſirous of producing a perfect and admirable Creature, and nearly reſembling the immortal Gods, gave the World* Joan *of* Aragon, *of the Family of* Colonna, *and added daily new Charms to her, from Infancy to her preſent Years, in which ſhe is a conſummate Beauty, and may juſtly claim the Preference to all other the moſt beautiful Women. Nature, likewiſe, adorned her Mind with ſingular Gifts and Virtues*, &c.”

(2) *This is written in* 1692.

(3) Niphus pag. 213. Opuſcul. Edit. Pariſ. 1645.

[*C*] *Some Authors have ſaid, he flattered her.*] *Lewis Guyon* cannot be perſuaded, that all the Beauties, which *Auguſtin Niphus* aſcribes to the Princeſs *Joan* of *Aragon*, of the illuſtrious Family of the *Colonnas*, were real: “But, *ſays he* (4), I fancy he was in Love with her, and was drawn into it by having ſeen, touched, and handled her, in ſeveral parts of her ſick Body, as Phyſicians have a Privilege to do; and that, ambitious of obtaining her good Graces, he publiſhed the Book, which he dedicated to her; nothing being more likely to gain, either on Woman or Maid, than a Perſuaſion that their Beauty has inſpired us with Love.” After which he remarks, “that, if ſo, the Phyſician had forgotten the Oath he had taken, upon receiving his Degree, which, among other things, enjoyned him, not to luſt after the Maids, or Women, he ſhall have under Cure.” In the *Table of Matters*, he ſays poſitively, *that* Niphus *fell in Love with the Princeſs* Joan *of* Aragon, *when ſhe was his Patient*. This is going a little too far; he ought, at moſt, to have ſtopt at a Conjecture. I confeſs, *Niphus*, who was one of the beſt Philoſophers of the laſt Age, was of a very amorous Complexion; ſo far, that neither Age, nor the Gout, could break his Chains, which ſometimes made him act a very ſhameful Part, and even dance to the Sound of a Flute. *Suſceptis liberis, & ſeneſcente uxore, ſeptuagenarius Senex puellæ citra libidinem impotenti amore correptus eſt uſque ad inſaniam, ita ut plerique Philoſophum Senem & podagricum ad tibiæ modos ſaltantem miſerabili cum pudore conſpexerint* (5). I confeſs likewiſe, that, being in Love with a Lady of Honour, belonging to *Joan* of *Aragon* (6), he might have a near View of this fair Lady, and warm himſelf, at a ſmall Diſtance, by this great Fire; but it is not certain, that he forgot himſelf ſo far, as to raiſe his Thoughts ſo high. Beſides, as he did not practiſe Phyſic (7), tho' he had taken the Degree of Doctor, it is not probable, that he was Phyſician to this Princeſs; for Perſons of her Quality make uſe, in their Sickneſs, of an experienced, rather than a ſpeculative, Phyſician, who, like *Niphus*, applies himſelf chiefly to the Philoſophical Part; ſo that, upon the whole, I ſhould chuſe to ſay, that, Judgment not being his Talent, he took the Liberty to ſpeak of things he had never ſeen, and to repreſent them according to his own Ideas. What *Lewis Guyon* remarks, that this Princeſs was of the Family of the *Colonnas*, might be true on the Mother's Side; however, he has not expreſſed himſelf as he ought to have done. We have ſeen, that Cardinal *Pompeius Colonna* calls her *Joannam Aragoniam Columnam*; probably becauſe ſhe was married to *Aſcanio Colonna*. Perhaps *Auguſtin Niphus* might have been cenſured upon better Grounds, in relation to the Sixty eighth Chapter of his Treatiſe *de Pulchro*; where, having ſaid, that there was none, in thoſe Times, who deſerved the Name of Happy, but *Joan* of *Aragon*, ſince ſhe was poſſeſs'd of Both the Ingredients of Woman's Felicity, *viz.* Beauty and Chaſtity; he ſpeaks, immediately after, of *Victoria Colonna*, Marchioneſs of *Peſcara*, as a ſhining Example of the Union of Beauty and Chaſtity.

(4) Guyon, Diverſ. Leçons, Vol. 3. lib. 3. c. 12.

(5) Jovius Elog. c. 92.

(6) Naudæus, in Judicio de Aug. Nipho.

(7) Medicinam licet circitoris inſtar aut periodeutæ nunquam exercuerit, optimè tamen callebat. *Id. ib.*

NIPHUS cenſured.

A REMARK on the Privileges of a Phyſician.

[*D*] *It has been ſaid, likewiſe, that his Quality of Phyſician gave him Privileges, which fired him with Love.*] The Poets, and others, have long ſince made Reflexions on this Privilege of Phyſicians. Thus *Ovid* makes the Amorous *Acontius* ſpeak.

Me miſerum! quod non Medicorum juſſa miniſtro,
  Aſtringoque manus, inſideoque thoro.
Et rurſus miſerum! quod me procul inde remoto,
  Quem minime vellem, forſitan alter adeſt.
Ille manus iſtas aſtringit, & aſſidet ægræ,
  Inviſus ſuperis, cum ſuperiſque mihi.
Dumque ſuo tentat ſalientem pollice venam,
  Candida per cauſam brachia ſæpe tenet,
Contrectatque ſinus, & forſitan oſcula jungit,
  Officio merces plenior iſta ſuo eſt *.

* Ovid. Heroid. Epiſt. 20. ver. 133.

Why ſit I not by your Bed-ſide all Day,
My mournful Head in your warm Boſom lay,
'Till with my Tears the inward Fires decay?
Why preſs I not your melting Hand in mine,
And from your Pulſe of my own Health divine?

trifling (*a*). It was not for her Beauty alone, that this Lady was ſo much admired; her Courage, her Prudence, and Capacity for great Affairs, diſtinguiſhed her extreamly from other Women of Quality (*b*). In the Pontificat of *Paul* the IVth, ſhe had a ſhare in the Reſolutions, taken by the *Colonna*'s, againſt the Intereſts of That Pope. She would have been impriſoned, had it not been in regard to her Sex; but ſhe was only commanded not to ſtir out of *Rome*. However ſhe dextrouſly contrived to make her Eſcape (*c*) [*E*], that ſhe might be the better able to ſecond the Enterprizes of her Son, the Famous *Marc Antony Colonna*, who afterwards acquired ſo much Honour in the Battle of *Lepanto*. It does not appear, that ſhe was upon good Terms with her Huſband at that time; for ſhe was entirely in her Son's Intereſt: Now there was ſo great a Miſunderſtanding between the Father and Son [*F*], that the latter contributed to the Impriſonment of the former for Crimes of State. Unhappy, that a Lady, of ſo much Merit, ſhould be at variance with her Huſband. This is not ſo uncommon a Caſe, as it ought to be, among Perſons of her Sex, who are poſſeſſed of the greateſt Qualities. She ſhewed a great deal of Conſtancy, when ſhe loſt her Eldeſt Son, in 1551. What *Aretin* wrote to her, on that Occaſion, is mixed with the higheſt Commendations. See the Sixth Book of his Letters, Page fifth

(*a*) *See Remark* [*C*].

(*b*) *See Remark* [*E*].

(*c*) *In* 1556. *See the Life of the Duke of* Alba, *and the Remark* [*I*].

But Oh! theſe Wiſhes are all vain, and He,
Whom moſt I fear, may now ſit cloſe by Thee,
Forgetful, as thou art, of Heav'n and Me.
He That lov'd Hand does preſs, and oft does feign
Some new Excuſe to feel thy beating Vein.
Then his bold Hand up to your Arm does ſlide,
And in your panting Breaſt itſelf does hide;
Kiſſes ſometimes he ſnatches too from thee,
For his officious Care too great a Fee.
Mr Duke.

Remi Belleau, in his Commentary on the ſecond Book of the Amours of *Ronſard*, ſays, that the Forty ſixth *Sonnet* was taken from this Epiſtle of *Ovid*. Theſe are the Words of *Ronſard*.

Ha! que je porte & de haine & d'envie
Au Medicin qui vient ſoir & matin
Sans nul propos taſtonner le tetin,
Le ſein, le ventre, & les flancs de m'amie.
Las! il n'eſt pas ſi ſoigneux de ma vie
Comme elle penſe, il eſt mechant & fin:
Çent fois le jour il la viſite, afin
De voir ſon ſein, qui d'aimer le convie.

Ah! how my jealous Heart, by turns,
With raging Hate, and Envy, burns,
'Gainſt Him, who pleads a Doctor's Right
To ſee my Miſtreſs, Morn and Night;
Who feels her ſnowy Breaſt, her Arm,
And handles every ſecret Charm.
Know you what makes the Doctor pay
An hundred Viſits in a Day;
'Tis not as you believe, my Fair,
To guard That precious Life with Care;
But, with a Lover's eager Eyes,
To ſee your Boſom fall and riſe.

But this Difference ought to be obſerved, that He, whom *Acontius* complains of, was contracted to the ſick Perſon. Without this, ſhe durſt not have confeſt, in her Anſwer to *Acontius*, that his Rival kiſſed her but ſeldom;

- - - - - - - - Oſcula rara
Accipit.

Brantome quotes this Sonnet of *Ronſard*, ſomewhere in his Memoirs, and ſays ſome good Things on the Occaſion.

[*E*] *She was only commanded not to ſtir out of* Rome. *However, ſhe dextrouſly contrived to make her eſcape.*] The Paſſage of *Antony Maria Gratiani*, which I am going to produce, contains, in expreſs Terms, the Proof which I want. "Joanna Arragonia, Marci Antonii mater, virilis audaciæ femina, quæ virorum quoque conſiliis apud filium habitis interfuerat, continere ſe domi, neque pedem inde efferre fuerat juſſa; id enim ſic indulſerat dignitati ejus pontifex, ne in carcerem duceretur. Ea cum rem ſpectare ad arma bellumque, & primum Pontificiorum impetum in oppida filii fore intelligeret, veſtibus mane ſummo commutatis, cum filia & nuru, corruptis aut deceptis portæ cuſtodibus, egreſſa Urbe, conſcenſis quos ad id præparaverat equis, protinus Neapolim aufugit. Pontifex, quanquam deceptum ſe deluſumque à femina graviter ferebat, acerbius tamen Hiſpanis, quorum ea conſiliis adminiſtrarentur, iraſcebatur (8). —— Joan *of* Aragon, *Mother of* Marc Antony, *a Lady of manly Reſolution, and who was preſent at the Conſultations held at her Son's Houſe, was commanded to confine herſelf to her own Houſe; for the Pope, in regard to her Dignity, had remitted the Sentence of Impriſonment. This Lady, perceiving that all things tended to War, and being ſenſible that the firſt Attack of the Pontifical Forces would be upon the Towns in poſſeſſion of her Son, diſguiſed herſelf early one Morning, together with her Daughter, and Daughter-in-law; and, bribing, or deceiving the Keepers of the Gates, eſcaped out of the City; and, mounting Horſes, which ſhe had prepared for their Flight, eſcaped to* Naples. *The Pope, though vexed to be out-witted by a Woman, yet was more angry with the* Spaniards, *by whoſe Councils theſe Affairs were directed.*" It was on occaſion of this Eſcape, and ſome other Provocations, that the Pope was ſo much exaſperated againſt the *Colonna*'s, that "he ſent a Monitory (9), to *Joan* of *Arragon*, by which he forbad her to marry any of her Daughters without his Conſent; in default whereof, the Marriage, though after Conſummation, ſhould be void (10)."

[*F*] *There was ſo great a Miſunderſtanding between the Father and Son.*] Cardinal *Palavicini* remarks, that *Aſcanio Colonna* had offered ſuch Violence to his Creditors, that the *Procurator Fiſcal* cited him, to give an Account of his Conduct. *Aſcanio*, not appearing, was condemned for Contumacy, and his Lands confiſcated. His Son *Marc Antony*, having been a long time at Variance with his Father, took this Opportunity to ſtrip him, by ſeizing on the confiſcated Eſtates, and driving off the Miniſters of Juſtice, a little before the Death of Pope *Julius* III. *In ipſa rei confectione Marcus Antonius ejus filius, cui cum parente veteres & nunquam ſatis compoſitæ controverſiæ intercedebant, vim interpoſuit, eodemque tempore patrem oppidis ſpoliavit, ab iiſque fiſci miniſtros procul habuit* (11). He quitted *Rome* contrary to the Prohibition of *Paul* IV. This Diſobedience, together with ſome former Diſturbances, obliged this Pope to publiſh Letters Monitory againſt the Father and Son. The Father excuſed himſelf, on his being detained a Priſoner at *Naples*, from having endeavoured to excite a Revolt there; the Son alledged, that he had ſequeſtered the Lands into the Hands of *Mendoza*, who could not be diſſeized of them, without the Emperor's Order. I am ſurprized, that *Palavicini* ſays nothing of *Aſcanio Colonna*'s Wife: But ſince we know, from another Hand, that ſhe was engaged in her Son's Intrigues at *Rome*, and that the Son was at variance with his Father, we may ſafely ſuppoſe, that ſhe was not upon very good Terms with her Husband. *Gratiani* ſpeaks more poſitively of *Marc Antony*'s ſcandalous Conduct towards his Father. "Ante omnes, *ſays he* (12), Colonniorum familia, magna fifth (*d*). She had a Siſter, who was very handſome even in her old Age, and who had a famous Daughter-in-Law [*G*].

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(8) Gratian. de Caſibus Virorum Illuſtrium, pag. 322.

(9) *On the ſecond of* January 1556.

(10) *F.* Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*.

(11) Pallavic. Hiſt. Concil. Trident. lib. 13. cap. 14. n. 9.

(12) Gratian. ubi ſupra, pag. 320.

Every Remark on This Lady's Article might be ſpun out to a greater Length. For which reaſon, I ſhall add, in this Edition, by way of Supplement to what I have already ſaid of her Deification (*e*), that, ſoon after the erecting of her Temple by the Care of *Jerom Ruſcelli*, a certain Gallant Author dedicated many Statues to it to ſet off the Perfections of this Lady, but collected all the Pieces of Poetry, in which ſhe had been celebrated by the fineſt Wits of the Times, and printed them at the end of his Commentary, on a Song of *John Baptiſt d'Azzia*, Marquis *della Terza*. This Song was written in praiſe of “ (Illuſtriſſima & Excellentiſſima “ Signora, la Signora Donna Maria d'Aragonna, “ Marcheſa del Vaſto). —— *The moſt Illuſtrious* “ *and moſt Excellent Lady, the Lady* Donna Maria *of* “ Aragon, *Marchioneſs of* Vaſto.” This Commentary of *Ruſcelli* was printed at *Venice*, in 1552, in 4to, by *John Griffius*, and contains Seventy three Leaves. The Marchioneſs is repreſented in it as the Archetype of Beauty, the *Criterium Formæ*; inſomuch that, (according to the Commentator) the true way of knowing, whether other Women are more beautiful, one than another, is to examine, whether they reſemble her more or leſs. “ Secondo che in “ altre vedra le fattezze del volto & di tutto il corpo “ che habbian ſomiglianza, ò s' avicino poco ò molto “ à quelle di lei, coſi giudicare, che le Belleze di “ quelle tali, ſieno piu ò meno perfette, come del “ Paragon dell' oro habbiam detto. Et da tale eſſempio, “ ò idea, ò piu toſto vero Archetipo qui in “ terra della vera Bellezza corporale, formar poi le regole, “ le ragioni, le miſure, i gradi, & le proportioni “ della Bellezza intera & perfetta (21). —— “ *According as, in other Women, you ſee the correſpondent* “ *Lineaments of the Face and Body reſemble more* “ *or leſs the Beauties of this Lady, to judge from* “ *thence, that ſuch Women are more or leſs fair; as* “ *I have obſerved of this Paragon of Beauty. And* “ *from this Copy, or Idea, or rather true Archetype* “ *on Earth of corporeal Beauty, to form the Rules,* “ *Reaſons, Meaſures, Degrees, and Proportions, of* “ *entire and perfect Beauty.*” He makes her no leſs beautiful in Soul, than Body; and ſays, that *Giraldi* having had the Honour to ſee her, and hear her ſpeak, was ſtruck dumb for ſome time, not knowing whether ſhe was more deſireable for her Beauty, or adorable for her Wit. “ Al coſpetto di queſta diviniſſima ſignora “ condotoſſi gia il Signor Giovan Battiſta Giraldi “ Cinthio, & contemplando attentiſſimamente l' una “ & l' altra Bellezza che à gli occhi del corpo, & à “ qui della mente gli ſi rappreſentavano dalla vera “ Bellezza del volto, dalla ſplendor de gli occhi, dalla “ ſoavita della favella, dalla leggiaddria & maeſta “ del ſembiante, & dalla maraviglia de' modi & delle “ maniere veramente angeliche, ſtette lunga pezza “ tra ſe ſteſſi attonito, & ſtupefatto, & dalla ſomma “ Belleza del Corpo, che primieramente s' offeriva “ à gli occhi ſuoi, dovea toſto reſolverſi, che queſta “ foſſe da lui da amarſi ſopra ogn' altra coſa mortale. “ Poi paſſando ſubito col penſiero à quella dell' animo, “ che gli ſi rappreſentava per quei modi & per “ quelle maniere gia dette, ſi mutava di opinione, “ & riſolveaſi, che quella ſola Bellezza dell' animo, “ doveſſe come coſa divina & celeſte, con intera humilta “ & divotione adorarſi (22). —— *This Signior* “ John Baptiſta Giraldi Cinthio, *being conducted to* “ *the ſight of this divine Lady, and attentively* “ *conſidering the Charms both of her Mind and* “ *Body, ſtood long aſtoniſhed at the true Beauty of* “ *her Countenance, the Luſtre of her Eyes, the ſweetneſs* “ *of her Voice, the Comelineſs and Majeſty of* “ *her Appearance, the Wonderfulneſs of her Manners,* “ *which were truly Angelical; and, from the great* “ *Beauty of her Body, which firſt ſtruck his Sight,* “ *immediately thought her worthy of his Love, be-* “ *beyond all other Women. Afterwards, paſſing in* “ *thought to the Beauties of her Mind, which appeared* “ *to him in the manner we have already deſcribed,* “ *he changed his Opinion, and determined, that this* “ *Beauty of the Mind alone deſerved to be worſhipped* “ *with perfect Humility and Devotion, as divine and* “ *cæleſtial.*” —— Then follows the Madrigal, which he compoſed on this Problem.

“ magna in civitate pollenſque pro illo (*Cæſare*) ſtabat, “ cujus princeps Marcus Antonius cum paulo ante “ Aſcanium patrem, a quo hoſtili odio diſſidebat, “ inſimulatum majeſtatis in cuſtodiam tradendum Neapoli “ curaſſet, aliquot oppidis intra fines Romanæ “ Eccleſiæ haud longe ab Urbe imperitabat. —— “ *The great and powerful Family of the* Colonna*'s declared* “ *for Him, whoſe Head* Marc Antony, *having,* “ *not long before, procured his Father, with whom* “ *he was at irreconcileable Variance, to be impriſoned* “ *at* Naples *for Treaſon, was in poſſeſſion of ſome* “ *Towns within the Territories of the* Roman *Church,* “ *not far from the City.*”

[G] *She had a Siſter, who was very handſome, even in her old Age, and who had a famous Daughter-in-law.*] A *Spaniſh* Author ſpeaks of theſe three Ladies thus: “ Que coſas no podrian dezirſe en laude y “ exaltation de la hermoſiſſima Duqueſa de Tallacoza, “ Donna Joana de Aragon, muger de Sangre Real, “ y en ſummo grado caſta, y buena? Y ainſi de “ Donna Maria ſu Hermana Marqueſa del Vaſto? Y “ de Donna Iſabel de Gonzaga, ſu nuera (13). —— “ *What Praiſe may not be beſtowed on the moſt beautiful* “ *Ducheſs of* Tallacoza, Donna Joanna *of* Aragon, “ *a Lady of the Blood Royal, and chaſt and* “ *good to the higheſt Degree; likewiſe of* Donna Maria, “ *Marchioneſs of* Vaſto; *and of* Donna Iſabella “ de Gonzaga, *her Daughter-in-law?*” *Donna Maria* of *Aragon*, Siſter of *Joanna*, was Wife of *Alphonſo d'Avalos*, Marquis *del Vaſto*, one of *Charles* the Fifth's beſt Generals. *Sorbiere* calls her *Marchioneſs* of *Vaſco*, and ranks her among the learned Women (14). *Brantome*, who praiſed her highly, has placed her among the laſting Beauties; for, after having repeated the fine things, with which the Grand Prior of *France* entertained her in a numerous Aſſembly; *That her Autumn ſurpaſſed all the Springs and Summers then in the Room,* he adds, *and indeed ſhe was ſtill fairer, and more deſireable, than either of her two Daughters, though both fair and young; and tho' ſhe was, then, near ſixty Years of Age* (15). The Grand Prior (16), *was immediately ſmitten with her*; but, though he loved the Mother, yet he took her eldeſt Daughter for his Miſtreſs, *por adombrar la coſa.* —— *By way of a Blind.* After *ſix Years, or more, Brantome,* returning to *Naples, found her but very little altered, and ſtill ſo fair, that he ſaid ſhe could hardly fail of occaſioning a mortal Sin to be committed, either in Thought, or Deed.* She died at *Chiaia*, in the Houſe of Don *Garcias de Toledo*, the ninth of *November*, 1658 (17). I do not rememember to have obſerved, that he ever mentions her Siſter. It is true, he ſpeaks ſomewhere of the Wife of one *Aſcanio Colonna*, who paſſed for one of the greateſt Beauties of *Italy*, and whom *Barbaroſſa* endeavoured to carry off, in order to make a preſent of her to the Grand Signior; but he calls her *la Signora Livia* (18) *Gonzaga* (19). It is not the ſame, then, who is concerned in this Article; though the manner, in which *Auguſtin Niphus* has ſpoken of her Beauty, may create a Belief, that ſhe was not leſs likely, than the other, to prompt *Barbaroſſa* to ſuch an Attempt. *Thuanus* has mentioned this *Mary* of *Aragon*; he ſays, that the Iſland of *Iſchia* was chiefly remarkable for having been the place of this Lady's Retreat. “ Dragutes “ —— Ænariam Inſulam Arce munitiſſima, quæ inter “ duas terras ſaxo impoſita eſt, ſed maxime Mariæ “ Arragoniæ Alfonſi Avali Vaſtii viduæ ſeceſſu nobilem, “ petit (20). —— Dragutes *ſeeks the Iſland* “ *of* Iſchia, *famous for it's ſtrong Citadel, built, between* “ *two Necks of Land, on a Rock, but chiefly* “ *for the Retreat of* Mary *of* Aragon, *Widow of* Alphonſo “ d'Avalos, *Marquis of* Vaſto.” The ſame *Jerom Ruſcelli*, of whom I have ſpoken above, and who took ſo much pains to immortalize *Joan* of *Aragon*, was at a great Expence likewiſe in ſpreading the Praiſes of *Mary*. He was not ſatisfied with uſing the livelieſt Expreſſions, his Imagination could ſuggeſt,

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(*d*) *Of the Edition of* Paris 1609.

(*e*) *In the Remark* [*A*].

(13) Joan. de Spinoſa, Dialog. in laudes de las Mugeres. fol. 98. verſo.

(14) Sorbiere Lettre xv. pag. 73.

(15) Brantome, Dames Galantes, Tom. 2. pag. 243, 245.

(16) Francis *of* Lorrain, *General of the Gallies, Son to* Claude, *firſt Duke of* Guiſe. *This Journey to* Naples *was taken in* 1559.

(17) Tomaſo Coſto, Compendio dell' Iſtoria del Regno di Napoli. Part. 3. fol. 59.

(18) *He ſhould have ſaid* Julia; *we ſhall ſpeak of her under the Article* GONZAGA.

(19) Brantome, Dames Illuſtr. pag. 283.

(20) Thuan. Hiſt. ad Ann. 1552. pag. 222.

(21) Ruſcelli, Lettura ſopra un Sonetto, &c. fol. 57.

(22) Ruſcelli, ibid.

it [*H*]. The Life of the Duke of *Alba* will furniſh me with ſome new Particulars relating to the Diſturbances, which obliged this Lady to fly from *Rome*, in the Year 1556 (*f*) [*I*]. She was then very old, according to the Duke of *Alba*'s Hiſtorian. She muſt therefore have enjoyed a long Life; for She died in the Month of *October*, 1577 (*g*). In the Year 1575, She made a Preſent to the Capuchins of the Holy Sacrament of the Place, where the Monaſtery, which they had at *Rome*, was built (*h*). She was a Benefactreſs to the Jeſuits; for ſhe rebuilt the Church of *St Andrew*, which the Biſhop of *Tivoli* made them a preſent of in the Year 1566 (*i*). Hitherto I have ſaid nothing of her Genealogy; it is Time I ſhould obſerve, that ſhe was Daughter of Ferdinand of *Aragon*, Duke of *Montalto* [*K*], third Natural Son of *Ferdinand* I, King of *Naples*.

(*f*) *See the Remarks* [*E*] *and* [*F*].

(*g*) Tomaſo Coſto, Compendio dell' Iſtoria di Napoli, part 3. fol. 168.

(*h*) *See* la Ritratto di Roma Moderna, 541, *Edit. of* Rome 1653.

(*i*) Ibid. pag. 540.

[*H*] *A gallant Author dedicated many Statues to it*] He was *Joſeph Betuſſi*. He publiſhed, at *Florence*, in 1566, a Dialogue, entituled, *Le Imagini del Tempio della Signora Donna Giovanna Aragona.* —— *Statues of the Temple of the Lady* Donna Joanna *of* Aragon. The Book conſiſts of an Hundred and twenty one Pages; in which the Praiſes of ſeveral of the fair Sex are artfully intermixed with thoſe of the Goddeſs of the Temple.

[*I*] *New Particulars relating to the Diſturbances, which obliged this Lady to fly from* Rome, *in the Year* 1556.] The following is an Abſtract from the Hiſtory of the Duke of *Alba*, printed in *Latin*, at *Salamanca*, in 1669, and in *French*, at *Paris*, in 1699. “*Joanna* of *Aragon*, Mother of *Marc Antony Colonna*, ſtaid behind at *Rome*,; and the *Caraſſa*'s, who kept her always in Sight, detained her, if I may ſo ſay, as an Hoſtage. As the Truce, in ſome meaſure, removed their Suſpicions, and the Roads were open, the Ducheſs went out of *Rome*, with her two Daughters, on Foot, pretending ſhe was going to divert herſelf in a Vineyard, at ſome Diſtance from the Ramparts. Though ſhe was now very aged, ſhe continued walking, 'till ſhe was out of ſight of the Centinels, who kept the Gates; after which ſhe got on Horſe-back, and mounted her two Daughters behind two Cavaliers. With this Equipage, unworthy of her, but very agreeable to her preſent Fortune, ſhe fled away to the Camp. The Duke of *Alba* received her with inexpreſſible Joy. As the great Age of this Lady could give no room for Suſpicion, he embraced her; but contented himſelf with ſaluting her two Daughters, who uncovered themſelves out of Reſpect. *I fancy*, ſays he, addreſſing himſelf inſtantly to her, *that I ſee the famous* Clelia, *who fled, not from the Enemies Camp in her own City, influenced by the ſole Love, of her Country, but from the City in the Camp, induced to this Flight by the force of maternal Affection.* The Ducheſs was charmed with the Generoſity of the *Spaniſh* General, and expreſs'd her Senſe of it by a thouſand thanks; however, ſhe could not reſolve to continue in the Camp; the Age of her Daughters not permitting her. The Duke conſented to it; and ſhe retired into *Campania*, accompanied by her Son, and eſcorted by a Party of Horſe, which the Vice Roy aſſigned her, out of Reſpect, not neceſſity (23).

We muſt ſay a Word or two of the Misfortunes of her Husband. “He was a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Naples*, accuſed by his own Son of Hereſy, and a Conſpiracy againſt his Catholic Majeſty (24); and when the Duke of *Alba* arrived at *Naples*, in the Year 1556, he viſited him in Priſon (25), and heard all he had to ſay. —— He comforted the good old Man as much as poſſible, and aſſigned him the Caſtle for his Priſon; whereas before he had been confined to a very ſtrait Tower. He relieved the Diſtreſs, to which he was reduced, not only by giving him Money, but by appointing him an handſome Penſion out of his Son's Eſtate. —— However he did not give him his Liberty; the Accuſations againſt him were ſupported by too many Probabilities; and many People thought them too well grounded. Beſides he would have diſobliged *Philip*, who kept *Aſcanio* in Priſon the remainder of his Days, without, however, depriving him of thoſe Advantages, which the Duke had had the Goodneſs to grant him.”

The Hiſtorian remarks, that *this Affair* (26) *was never thoroughly examined into*; and he blames *Noel le Compte*, who accuſes the Duke of *Alba* of having rigorouſly treated the Father of *Marc Antony Colonna*.

[*K*] *She was Daughter of* Ferdinand *of* Aragon, *Duke of* Montalto.] *Antony*, his Son, ſucceeded him in the Duchy of *Montalto*, and eſpouſed *Hippolita* of *Rovera*, and afterwards *Antoinette* of *Cardona*, and was the Father of another *Antony*. This latter, fourth Duke of *Montalto*, was married to *Maria de la Cerda*, Daughter to the Duke *de Medina Celi*, and afterwards to *M. Louiſa de Luna*. He had ſeveral Children, who all died young, except one Daughter, named *Maria*, who was Heireſs of the Duchy of *Montalto*, and married, in *Sicily*, to Don *Francis de Moncade*, Prince of *Paterno* (27).

(24) Life of the Duke of *Alba*, *Book* 4. *chap.* 19. *pag.* 381.

(24) Ibid. pag. 341.

(25) Ibid. pag. 342.

(26) *The Accuſation of* Aſcanio Colonna.

(27) *Taken from a Memoir communicated by* Minutoli.

ARAGON (Iſabella of) Daughter of *Alphonſo*, Duke of *Calabria*, Son of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, was the Wife of *John Galeazzo Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*. This Duke, before his Marriage, was under the Tuition of his Uncle *Lewis Sforza*; nor was he leſs ſo, after he had been married, with great Magnificence [*A*], to *Iſabella* of *Aragon*, in 1489 (*a*). The Counſels of this Princeſs, who was as Ambitious as Fair, encouraged him to let the World ſee he was reſolved fully to enjoy all his Rights (*b*); but he had a ſtrong Party to deal with. The Protector was the moſt intriguing Man in the World, and the beſt able to ſupport himſelf againſt the juſt Pretenſions of his Nephew. He had fallen in Love with the Princeſs *Iſabella* at firſt ſight; and, as ſhe had been married to *John Galeazzo* only by Proxy, he did not deſpair of marrying her himſelf, in excluſion of his Nephew. He diſcovered his Deſign to the Princeſs; aſſuring her, that ſhe might more certainly depend upon Commanding, if ſhe married him, than if ſhe was the Wife of *John Galeazzo*, his Nephew. This Propoſal was rejected with ſcorn. The Protector was not diſcouraged; but ordered Matters ſo, that his Nephew could not conſummate his Marriage; and

(*a*) Corio, Hiſtor. di Milano, parte 6. pag. 879. *Edit.* 1646. *in* 4*to*.

(*b*) Varillas, *Hiſt of* Char. VIII. lib. 2. pag. 157.

[*A*] *After he had been married* - - - - - - *with great Magnificence.*] Read *Triſtan Chalchus*, an Author of thoſe Times (1), in *Nuptiarum Mediolanenſium deſcriptione.* Father *Menetrier* quotes a very long Paſſage from him, which contains a Deſcription of the magnificent Supper, which *Bergonça Botta*, a Gentleman of *Lombardy*, gave to Duke *Galeazzo* and his new married Ducheſs, when he entertained them at his Houſe at *Tortona*. “Each Service was uſhered in with a kind of an Opera, which Novelty at that Time rendered agreeable, rather than the Graces, which have been ſince added to theſe Muſical Entertainments (2).”

(1) Konig *is groſsly miſtaken, in making him live in* 1672.

(2) Menetrier, Repreſentat. en Muſique, pag. 160. & ſeq.

and to effect this, as was commonly ſaid, had recourſe to ſome Magic Ligature [*B*]. In the mean time, he cauſed his own Marriage with *Iſabella* to be negotiated at the Court of *Naples*. *Ferdinand* ſeemed inclined to grant his Requeſt; but the Duke of *Calabria* would never conſent to it (*c*). So that *Lewis Sforza* was obliged to deliver up the Prey to *John Galeazzo*; but he was reſolved to be revenged, and deſtined *Iſabella* of *Aragon* to be his Principal Victim. *He denied her ſeveral things, which flattered either her Taſte, or her Diverſion* (*d*), and married a Princeſs, who thwarted her in every thing. The Young *Iſabella* underwent ſo many Vexations in this Conflict, and kind of Civil War, which is well worth the pains of deſcribing [*C*], that ſhe ſent her Father and Grandfather Word, that, if they did not releaſe her out of this miſerable Condition, ſhe ſhould attempt her own Life (*e*). Theſe Princes were not in a Condition to bring *Lewis Sforza* to Reaſon, who was inſtrumental in drawing the *French* into *Italy*; which overwhelmed the whole Houſe of *Aragon*, which then reigned in *Naples*. He carried his Villiany ſo far, as to murthur his Nephew (*f*) [*D*]. It is in vain

(*c*) Varillas, *Hiſtory of* Char. VIII. lib. 3. pag. 210, 211.

(*d*) Ibid. lib. 2. pag. 157.

(*e*) *See Remark* [*C*].

(*f*) Conjuge Joanne Galeacio orbata eſt, eo quidem luctuoſius ac miſerius, quod is veneficio ſublatus crederetur. - - - *She was deprived of her Husband* John Galeazzo, *in a manner ſo much the more afflicting and unhappy, as he was thought to have been taken off by Poiſon.* Jovius Elogior. lib. 5. pag. 422.

[*B*] *His Nephew could not conſummate his Marriage - - - - - to effect which he is ſaid to have had recourſe to ſome Magic Ligature.*] *Guicciardin* affirms, that there was ſuch a Report, and that all *Italy* was perſuaded of it: "E manifeſto che quando Iſabella figlivola d' Alfonſo ando a congiugnerſi col marito, Lodovico come la vidde, innamorato di lei, deſidero ottenerla per moglie dal padre: e a queſto effetto opero (coſi fu allhora creduto per tutta Italia) con incantamenti, e con malie, che Giovan Galeazzo fu per molta meſi impotente alla conſummatione del matrimonio: alla qual coſa Ferdinando harebbe acconſentito, ma Alfonſo repugno, onde Lodovico eſcluſo di queſta ſperanza, preſa altra moglie & havutone figlivoli, volto tutti, i penſieri a trasferire in quegli il Ducato di Milan (3). - - - - - *It is certain, that, when* Iſabella, *the Daughter of* Alphonſo, *went to meet her Huſband*, Lewis, *ſeeing her, fell in love with her, and deſired her of her Father for himſelf; to which end, as it was then generally believed all over* Italy, *he ſo contrived it, by Enchantments and Witchcraft, that* John Galeazzo *was for many Months incapable of conſummating his Marriage; upon which account* Ferdinand *would have conſented, but* Alphonſo *refuſed; whence it was, that* Lewis, *being diſappointed, and having married another Lady, and had Children by her, employed all his Thoughts to transfer the Duchy of* Milan *to Them.*" Mr *Varillas*, as far as I can perceive, does not touch upon this Particular; he only ſays, that *Lewis Sforza hindered the Conſummation of this Marriage for three Months* (4). He proves clearly enough, that the Reaſon was, becauſe the Parties were kept from each other; for he ſays (5), that the Father of the Bride thought *himſelf obliged in Honour - - - - - not to ſuffer* Lewis Sforza *to keep the new married Couple any longer aſunder. That he threatened to complain of it to all* Europe, *and to arm in revenge of his Quarrel.* This was a ſtrange Piece of Malice, and an inſufferable Act of Violence in the Protector.

(3) Guicciard. lib. 1. pag. 15.

(4) Varillas, *Hiſtory of* Lewis XIII. *book* 1. *p.* 47.

(5) Ibid. lib. 3. pag. 211.

[*C*] *A kind of Civil War, which is well worth the Pains of deſcribing.*] As *Varillas* ſeems to have ſucceeded very well in his Deſcription of this Matter, I believe I ſhall oblige the Reader with a curious Fragment, by inſerting his very Words in this Place. It is a Piece ſo much the more neceſſary to this Article, as it ſerves to diſcover the Humour, Spirit, and internal Qualities of *Iſabella* of *Aragon*. "*Lewis Sforza* gave up *Iſabella* to his Nephew ——— and, to give her a Rival, who ſhould controul her on every Occaſion, he addreſſed himſelf to the Princeſs *Alphonſina*, Daughter of *Hercules d' Eſte*, Duke of *Ferrara*. *Alphonſina* reſembled *Iſabella* in all things, except in Beauty. Both were conceited of their Births, and both without Reaſon; ſince they had nothing to reproach each other with on that Score, and ſince there was Baſtardy in the Genealogies of both *. They were both haughty to exceſs; and their Pride was owing to a moſt refined Ambition. They were both Chaſte, more from a Principle of Pride, than Conſtitution. *Iſabella* reſolved to marry, and *Alphonſina* aſpired to it, rather to partake of their Huſband's Power, than their Beds. Both were Luxurious; and, though both had been educated in Families, in which nothing recommended itſelf ſo much as Parſimony, yet they were naturally Prodigal, and their Inclinations led them to all poſſible Expences. The Duke of *Ferrara* did not deliberate a Moment, whether he ſhould give *Alphonſina* to *Lewis Sforza*. He had no Dower to give her; and there was Reaſon to hope ſhe might one Day be Ducheſs of *Milan*. She was therefore ſent away immediately to *Lewis Sforza*, who had two Sons ſucceſſively by her. This Fruitfulneſs made her inſult *Iſabella*, who had been delivered a ſecond time only of a Daughter; But Jealouſy had before ſowed Diſcord between them. *Alphonſina* could not bear the Praiſes beſtowed on *Iſabella*'s Beauty; ſhe looked upon them as a Reproach to her own Homelineſs; nor could *Iſabella* ſee with Patience the extrordinary Honours paid *Alphonſina*, as believing they were due only to herſelf. They both lived in the ſame Palace, and eat conſtantly together. They had new Opportunities every Day of encreaſing their Averſion; and the Courtiers furniſhed the greateſt Part of them. They paid diligent Court to *Alphonſina*; becauſe her Husband diſtributed all the Favours; and attended in *Iſabella*'s Apartment for meer Form's Sake. She was perfectly diſtracted at it, and it was this Solitude, no leſs than the ſhort Allowance for her Court, which made her write to her Father, and Grandfather, that ſhe would make an Attempt upon her own Life, if they did not not deliver her from this Captivity. On the other hand, *Alphonſina* was ſo tired of *Iſabella*, that, to get rid of her, ſhe ſollicited her Husband to make her a Ducheſs, as he had promiſed, and add the Quality of Duke of *Milan* to That of Adminiſtrator of the Duchy (6). *Varillas* had ſaid, in this very Hiſtory (7), that *Iſabella* had "written to the Duke of *Calabria* her Father, and to the King of *Naples*, her Grandfather, certain Letters, the greater Part of which are ſtill extant (8); in which ſhe complained of her Unhapineſs, in the moſt pathetic Terms then in uſe; ſhe deſcribed it in ſuch lively Colours, as would have made the hardeſt Heart relent; ſhe told them ſhe had made herſelf a Slave, purely in Obedience to their Commands; and ſhe threatned to deſtroy herſelf with her own Hands, if ſhe was not immediately ſet at Liberty.

* Borſo d' Eſte, *Great-Great Grandfather by the Father's ſide, to* Alphonſina; *and* Ferdinand *Grandfather by the Father's ſide to* Iſabella, *were both Baſtards.*

(6) Varillas, *Hiſtory of* Char. VIII. *book* 3. *pag.* 211.

(7) *Pag.* 158.

(8) *He cites in the Margin,* L'Hiſtoire de Bernardin Corio.

[*D*] *He carried his Villany ſo far, as to murthur his Nephew.*] I ſhall again make uſe of the very Words of *Varillas*. Thus he ſpeaks, under the One thouſand Four hundred and Ninety fourth Year, after having conducted his King as far as *Pavia*. "*Lewis Sforza*, being perſuaded, that it was time to make away with Duke *John Galeazzo*, his Nephew, cauſed, they ſay, one of thoſe lingering Doſes of Poiſon to be given him, which produce Symptoms of a Conſumption and waſting in the Body; in order to confirm a Report, which was ſpread about at that time, that this Prince's Illneſs proceeded from the too ſtrong Incitements of his Wife's Beauty. The Phyſicians had given him over, when the King, paſſing by *Pavia*, where he lay ſick, could not diſpenſe with paying him a Viſit. His Majeſty did not ſpeak to him concerning any Buſineſs; becauſe *Lewis Sforza* had earneſtly deſired to be preſent at the Interview, which they durſt not refuſe him: He only expreſſed his Sorrow to ſee his Couſin German * in ſo weak a Condition, and endeavoured to flatter him with ſome Hopes of Recovery; but *John Galeazzo*, who found himſelf a dying, and

* *They were two Sons of two Siſters, Princeſſes of* Savoy.

vain to pretend, that *John Galeazzo* died of over-careſſing his Wife [*E*]; the Tradition, which imputes his Death to his Uncle's Ambition, has prevailed. After the *French* had taken *Milan*, the Princeſs *Iſabella* retired to *Naples*, and appeared the moſt afflicted of all the Princeſſes her Relations, who were in great Numbers in the Iſland of *Iſchia*, when King *Frederic* was obliged to ſurrender at Diſcretion to *Lewis* the XIIth, in the Year 1501 (*g*). She ſpent a long time in exchanging one Mourning for another; for, in the ſpace of a few Years, ſhe loſt her Grandfather, Huſband, Father, Brother, Uncle, and Son [*F*]. The only Conſolation left her was to ſee her Perſecutor *Lewis Sforza* expiate his Crimes, in *France*, by an hard Captivity, which ended but with his Life. She had yet another Conſolation, which affected her perhaps more than the former; which was to ſee her only Daughter, *Bonna Sforza*, married to *Sigiſmond*, King of *Poland*; She retired to a Town in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which had been aſſigned her for her Dower (*h*), where ſhe lived in ſuch a manner, as ſhewed, that Adverſe Fortune had not ſunk That Air of Royal Grandeur, in which ſhe had been Educated. She died of a Dropſy; but had time enough to take a Journey of Devotion to *Rome*, in the Pontificat of *Leo* the Xth. She walked on foot to the *Vatican*, followed by a great Number of Ladies, dreſſed like Brides. The whole Town ran to ſee this Sight (*i*). It were to be wiſhed, for her Memory's ſake, that we could finiſh her Article here, without an Appendix much to her diſadvantage; but we are not Maſters of theſe Things. Her very Panegyriſts have made uſe of the Concluſion we are about to make. This Lady, who, in the Bloom of her Youth, had been ſo famed for Virtue, gave an handle to Slander in the Decline of her Age, and admitted the Gallantries of *Proſper Colonna*, with

(*g*) Gratian. de Caſibus Viror. Illuſtrium, pag. 41.

(*h*) Bari; *See the laſt Remark.*

(*i*) Jovius, Elog. p. 422.

" and did not doubt but it was owing to the " Wickedneſs of his Uncle, laid hold of this " Conjuncture. He conſidered not himſelf; but, calling " to mind his Son and Daughter, he recommended " them to the King with a flood of Tears; plainly " importing, that, if his Majeſty did not take " particular care of them, he foreſaw they would be " poiſoned as well as himſelf. To conclude the " Tragedy, the Ducheſs, his Wife, caſt herſelf at " the King's Feet, as the *Italian* Authors ſay, who " are more to be credited in this, than *Philip de* " *Commines*, who will have it to be at the Feet " of *Lewis Sforza*. She was too high ſpirited to " act ſuch a Part; and, could ſhe have conquered " her Pride, ſhe was but too well convinced, that " her Submiſſion would be all in vain. She did " not mention her Children, becauſe ſhe ſuppoſed " her Husbands Tears would be effectual in that " Point: She reſerved her's for her Father; and " the King made her no other Anſwer, than that " the Expedition of *Naples* was too far advanced, " to be left unfiniſhed (9)."

(9) Varillas, ubi ſupra, pag. 253.

[*E*] *It is in vain to pretend, that* John Galeazzo *died of over careſſing his Wife.*] *Guicciardin* affirms, that this was reported; but gives it as the general Opinion of *Italy*, that this Prince died of Poiſon, which *Lewis Sforza* had given him. " Fu publicato " da molti la morte di Giouan Galeazzo eſſere " proceduta da coito immoderato, non dimeno ſi " credette univerſalmente per tutta Italia, che e' fuſſe " morto non per infermita naturale ne per " incontinentia, ma di veleno: e Teodoro da Pavia uno " de' Medici Regii, il quale era preſente quando " Carlo lo viſito, affermo haverne veduto ſegni " manifeſtiſſimi. Ne fu alcuno, che dubitaſſe che ſe " era ſtato veleno, non gli fuſſe ſtato dato per opera " del zio (10). ------ *It was reported by many,* " *that the Death of* John Galeazzo *proceeded from* " *immoderate Coition; nevertheleſs it was univerſally* " *believed by all* Italy, *that he died, not of any* " *natural Infirmity, or of Incontinency, but of* " *Poiſon; and* Theodore *of* Pavia, *one of the King's* " *Phyſicians, who was preſent, when* Charles *viſited* " *him, affirmed, that he had diſcovered manifeſt* " *Symptoms of it. Nor did any one doubt, that, if* " *there was Poiſon in the Caſe, it was given him* " *by the Contrivance of his Uncle*." *Jovian Pontanus* affirms, that People talked publickly of this abominable Crime of *Lewis Sforza*. " Ludovicum " Sforciam, qui pubeſcentem primo, dein " adoleſcentem jam ætatem Joannis Galeatii fratris filii " Mediolanenſis Ducis procuratione hactenus ac " patrocinio tutatus eſt ſuo, veneno illum e medio " ſuſtuliſſe cives, advenæ, peregrini paſſim atque " impune omnes prædicant ------ Fora, porticus, " plateæ, circulique infimorum cujuſque generis " hominum nefandi criminis accuſationibus ----- " imprecationibus etiam maxime diris plena undique " circumſonant (11). ------ *Citizens, Foreigners,* " *and Travellers, cry out every,* where *and with Impunity,* " *that* Lewis Sforza *had poiſoned his Nephew* John " Galeazzo, *Duke of* Milan, *who had been educated* " *from his Youth under his Care and Protection.* ---- " *The Market-places, Portico's, Streets, and* " *Aſſemblies of People of the loweſt Rank, reſound with* " *Accuſations of this wicked Action, and the moſt* " *dreadful Imprecations on it's Author*." A Crowd of Hiſtorians concur in this, as *Bernardin Corio* (12), *Peter Bembo* (13), *Vianoli* (14), &c.

(10) Guicciard. lib. 1. pag. 27. ad Ann. 1494.

(11) Jovian. Pontan. de Prudentia, lib. 4. init.

(12) Corio, Hiſtor. Mediolan. Part. 7.

(13) Petr. Bembus, Hiſt. Venet. lib. 2. fol. 30.

(14) Vianoli Hiſtor. Veneta Part. 2. pag. 20.

[*F*] *In the Space of a few Years, ſhe loſt her Grandfather, Husband, Father, Brother, Uncle, and Son.*] *Paulus Jovius* (15) deſcribes this Series of Misfortunes with great Eloquence, but does not always obſerve Order; for he has placed the Death of the Husband, before That of the Grandfather. As to the Son of our Princeſs, he ſays, that *the* French *took him away from his Mother, and carried him into* France, *to make a Monk of him, and that he died of a fall from an Horſe.* " In venatione " currentis equi lapſu in Heduis exanimatus eſſe " nunciaretur. Hunc enim vel invita depoſcentibus " Gallis tradiderat, à quibus cucullati ſacerdotis " habitu in opulenti ſacerdotii cœnobium idcirco " conjectus fuerat, ne Sforziani Regni legitimæ prolis " hæres ſupereſſet." *Bernardin Corio* gives us a very moving Deſcription of the Sorrow of this Princeſs, when, all at once, ſhe ſaw her Husband carried to his Grave, her Son excluded from the Duchy of *Milan*, and the Wife of *Lewis Sforza* on the Throne. " Li ſuoi fautori cridando duca, viſito " *(Ludovico)* il templo di Divo Ambroſio, e le " campane in ſegno de letitia fece ſonare, il morto " corpo di Giovanne Galeazo anchora eſſendo nel " Domo ſcoperto, e quaſi univerſalmente da tutti " pianto e condoluto il miſerando e pietoſo caſo. " Iſabella ſua mugliere a Pavia con li poveri " figlioletti veſtiti de lugubre veſtimenti, come " pregionera ſi recluſe entro una camera, e gran " tempo ſtette giacendo ſopra la dura terra, che non " vide aëre. Doverebbe penſare ogni lettore l'acerbo " caſo de la ſconſolata Duciſſa, e ſe piu duro il cuore " haveſſe che diamante, piangerebbe a conſiderare " qual doglia dovea eſſere quella de la ſciagurata e " infelice mugliere, in uno punto vedere la morte " del giovenetto e belliſſimo conſorte, la perdita de " tutto lo imperio ſuo, e li figlioletti a canto orbati " de ogni bene, il patre e fratello con la caſa ſua " expulſi dal Neapolitano Reame, e Ludovico Sforza " con Beatrice ſua mugliere nel modo dimoſtrato " havergli occupata la ſignoria. ——— *Thoſe of his* " *Party ſaluting him Duke, he viſited the Temple* " *of St* Ambroſe, *and ſet the Bells a ringing for* " *Joy; the dead Body of* John Galeazzo *being yet* " *in the Houſe uncovered, and his unfortunate End* " *univerſally*

(15) Jovius, Elog. lib. 5. pag. 422.

with very little regard to her Reputation [*G*]. Her Daughter, the Queen Dowager of *Poland*, having retired to the ſame place, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, followed there the Example of her Mother [*H*]. So true it is, that Love is the ordinary and almoſt unavoidable Rock of the Honour and Merit of Women, who have converſed much in the *grand monde*. Sooner or later they ſplit upon it. *Serius ocius ſors exitura.* Our *Iſabella* died the eleventh of *February*, 1524, as is remarked in her Epitaph, reported by Mr *Miſſon*, in the ſecond Volume (*k*) of his *Travels into* Italy.

(*k*) *Pag.* 411 3d *Edition.*

" *univerſally lamented.* Iſabella, *his Wife, with her* " *poor Children, dreſſed in Mourning, ſhut herſelf up* " *at* Pavia, *in a dark Chamber, and lay a long Time* " *proſtrate on the hard Ground. Every Reader will* " *imagine the melancholy Condition of the diſconſolate* " *Ducheſs; and, though his Heart be harder than* " *Adamant, muſt relent, when he conſiders what* " *muſt have been the Grief of this unhappy Lady;* " *to behold, at one Inſtant, the Death of her young* " *and beautiful Conſort; the Loſs of all her Power,* " *and her little Sons, at her Side, deprived of all* " *their Eſtate; her Father and Brother, with all* " *her Family, expelled the Kingdom of* Naples; *and* " Lewis Sforza, *with* Beatrice, *his Wife, poſſeſſed.* " *in the above-mentioned Manner, of the Dukedom.*"

[*G*] *She gave a handle to Slander in the decline of her Age, and admitted the Gallantries of* Proſper Colonna, *with very little regard to her Reputation.*] *Paul Jovius* informs us of this, in the Elogy he made on this Princeſs: " Ceterum in hac eximiæ " virtutis fœmina improbæ plebis rumor non medio" criter pudoris decus perſtrinxit, ob id gravior, " quod cum florente ætate impenetrabilem pudici" tiam prætuliſſet, in ipſo demum ætatis flexu Proſ" perum Columnam ſibi cultum, & officium aſſidue " tribuentem, ſæpeque procacem ad urbaniores jocos " admitteret (16). —— *Yet even this Lady of exempla*" *ry Virtue ſuffered her Reputation to be not a little* " *ſullied by common Fame; and the more ſo, as ſhe,* " *who in her Youth had preſerved an inviolable Cha*" *ſtity, in the decline of her Age, admitted the Ad*" *dreſſes of* Proſper Colonna, *and often admitted him* " *to jeſt and toy with her.*"

(16) Jovius, Elog. p. 424.

[*H*] *The Queen Dowager of* Poland - - - - - - *followed the Example of her Mother.*] *Thuanus* reflects more upon the Daughter, than *Paul Jovius* does upon the Mother; every one may judge of this by comparing the Paſſages. " Eodem tempore Bona " Sfortia Sigiſmundi Auguſti Poloniæ regis parens " - - - - filii pertæſa, Sarmatia relicta, in Italiam " venit, & honorifice Venetiis excepta eſt - - - - - " unde paratam triremem conſcendens in Apuliam " ad Barium navigavit, cujus urbis poſſeſſio gentili" tio Arragoniæ gentis jure dotale & hæreditarium " illi erat. Ibi ſolute & diſſentiente a priore vita " ratione poſtea vixit, conſuetudine cujuſdem Papa" caudæ non ſatis honeſte uſa, cui & omnia bona " teſtamento præteritis liberis reliquit, & fama ac " bonis decoctis haud multo poſt in ſumma egeſtate " & infamia deceſſit (17). - - - - - *At the ſame time* " Bona Sforza, *Mother of* Sigiſmund Auguſtus, *King* " *of* Poland, *being tired of her Son, left* Sarmatia, " *and came into* Italy, *where ſhe was honourably re*" *ceived at* Venice - - - - - - *whence, going on board* " *a three-oared Veſſel, prepared for her, ſhe ſailed* " *to* Bari, *of which Town ſhe was in Poſſeſſion, as* " *being her Dower, in right of the Houſe of* Ara" gon (18). *There ſhe lead a diſſolute Life, con*" *trary to what ſhe had 'till then done, carrying* " *on a criminal Correſpondence with a young Gallant,* " *to whom, in excluſion of her Children, ſhe left all* " *her Effects by Will; and, having ruined her Re*" *putation and Eſtate, died in extream Poverty and* " *Infamy.*" This is what *Thuanus* ſays of the Queen Dowager of *Poland*. Can any thing be added to this Elogy?

(17) Thuan. Hiſt. lib. 16. ad Annum 1555. p. 326.

(18) *Mr* Varillas, *in the Life of* Lewis XIII. l. 1. p. 47. *ſays, that* Lewis Sforza, *finding himſelf conſtrained to quit the Dutchy of* Milan, *made o er t the Ducheſs* Iſabella *the Dutchy of* Bari, *and the Principality of* Roſſano, *wh ch had been given him in Recompence for having reeſtabliſhed the Houſe of* Aragon *on the Throne of* Naples.

ARAGON (MARY *of*) Wife of the Emperor *Otho* the Third, and Daughter of a King of *Aragon*, became infamous for her Lewdneſs; which at laſt brought her to the Puniſhment of the Fire. She artfully diſguiſed a young Fellow, whom ſhe was in love with, in Woman's Apparel, and made him paſs for her Chamber-maid (*a*). We need not aſk, whether ſhe uſed any Moderation; her Temper, and perpetual Opportunities, give us ſufficiently to underſtand, that her pretended Chamber-Maid wanted no Employ, and that ſhe made one in all the Progreſſes, which the Court took. The Emperor, having diſcovered this abominable Cheat, was reſolved the Empreſs ſhould have her full ſhare of the Shame; and, for that Purpoſe, cauſed the Young Man to be ſtripped in the Preſence of a great many Witneſſes, and, upon the flagrant Diſcovery of his Sex, condemned him to be burnt. He was gracious enough not to puniſh his Wife, and hoped ſhe would behave her ſelf better for the future; but he was miſtaken. She fell deſperately in Love with a young Count near *Modena*, and ſoon declared her Paſſion to him; for ſhe was in a much properer Station ~~no~~ to ſollicit, than be ſollicited, in Affairs of this kind. The Count, as Chaſte, as he was Beautiful, reſiſted all the Advances, or, to ſay better, all the violent Attacks made upon him; but, if, in this, he imitated *Joſeph*, he had not his good Luck, to come off only with Impriſonment. The Empreſs complained to her Huſband, that the Count had made Love to her, and hoped ſuch Inſolence would not go unpuniſhed. The credulous *Otho* ordered the Accuſed to be Beheaded. But mark, how the Accuſer was caught in her turn. The Count, ſeeing himſelf condemned, and expecting no Favour, and yet unwilling to reveal the whole Myſtery, made his Wife promiſe ſhe would juſtify him, in the beſt manner ſhe could, to the Emperor. She kept her Word, preſerved her Huſband's Head, and took her Opportunity, when the Emperor adminiſtred Juſtice in a General Aſſembly, held in the middle of a great Plain, near *Placentia*. She took, I ſay, this Opportunity of demanding Juſtice againſt the Murtherer of her Huſband. The Emperor, not knowing who ſhe was, promiſed to do her Juſtice to the utmoſt Rigor of the Law. Upon which the Counteſs produced her Huſband's Head, and offered to prove his Innocency by the Fiery Tryal. Her offer was accepted; a red hot Iron was ordered; ſhe took, and held it in her Hand, as long as they pleaſed, without being burnt; then boldly demanded the Emperor's Head, as being convicted of the Murther of her Huſband: At laſt ſhe was ſatisfied with the Puniſhment of the Empreſs, whom *Otho* condemned to be burnt (*b*). This happened towards the end of the Xth Century.

(*a*) Secum muliebri habitu circumduxit juvenem, quo cum congrediebatur quotidie, quandoquidem eo pro cubicularia utebatur. - - - - *She carried about with her, a young Fellow in Woman's Cloaths, with whom ſhe had daily Opportunities of being familiar; ſince ſhe made him paſs for her Chamber-maid.* Munſteri Coſmographia, l. 3.

(*b*) Gotfr. d. Viterb. Chron. Parte 17. Alb. Krantz Cuſpinian. in Othone III. Sigon. apud Maimb. Decadence de l'Empire pag. 118.

ARAMONT (GABRIEL) Ambaſſador of *France* to *Conſtantinople*, in the Reign of *Henry* II, was a Gentleman of *Gaſcony*, who acquitted himſelf worthily of his Employ. The Conſtable *de Montmorency*, examining the Overture, which Pope *Paul* III had made, that the only means to recover *Placentia* out of the Emperor's hands was to cauſe the *Turkiſh* Fleet to appear upon the Coaſts of *Naples* and *Sicily*, adviſed the King his Maſter to negotiate with *Soliman* about it. *Aramont* was choſen to tranſact this Affair. He was neither leſs Artful, nor leſs experienced, than *la Foret*, *Rincon*, and *Paulin*, who had preceeded him in This Embaſſy. He made Friends at the *Porte*, who procured him free acceſs, and private Audiences; and he knew ſo well how to turn and wind Matters, that he reconciled *Soliman* to the *French*, who had been greatly prejudiced againſt them. The only queſtion now was, how his Highneſſes Fleet ſhould act: Whereupon *Aramont* returned ſpeedily to *France*, to conſult with his Maſter in what manner the *Grand Signior*'s Aſſiſtance might be moſt uſefully applied. The King and the Conſtable informed him, that they had Intelligence in the Iſland of *Corſica*, and that it might eaſily be taken, if the *Turkiſh* Fleet, and That of *France*, ſhould at once attack it. He ſet out again for *Conſtantinople*, to communicate this Project to the *Grand Signior*; But, landing at *Malta*, was inſtantly requeſted by the Grand Maſter (*a*) to repair to the *Turkiſh* Generals, who had beſieged *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, and employ his Credit, and the Authority of *Henry* the Second, to oblige them to raiſe the Siege. He yielded to their Intreaties, and reached the *Turkiſh* Camp by the time their Batteries were in readineſs to play (*b*). He had ſeveral Conferences with *Sinan Baſſa*, and *Dragut*, in which he remonſtrated to them, that they engaged in an Undertaking altogether oppoſite to the Treaty, which *Soliman* was going to conclude with *France*, ſince his Highneſs had agreed to attack the Emperor only, and that *Tripoli* belonged to the Order of *Malta*. They replyed, That the Knights of *Malta* were perjured Perſons; who, notwithſtanding the Oath they had taken to *Soliman*, when they were treated with ſo much Civility at their Departure out of *Rhodes*, committed continual Hoſtilities againſt the *Turks*; adding withal, that they had Orders to drive them out of *Africa*; and that they could not ſuſpend the Execution of this Order. *Aramont* wanted neither Excuſes nor Replies; and, finding he could not prevail with *Sinan Baſſa*, he reſolv'd to depart with all ſpeed for *Conſtantinople*, if poſſible to obtain from *Soliman*, that *Tripoli* might not be taken. But, as his Credit and Intrigues were not unknown to the Baſſa, he could not obtain Leave to continue his Journey, till after the Taking of *Tripoli*. He ſaved the Lives and Liberties of the *French*, who were in the Place; nor did he decline coming to a Feaſt, to which *Sinan* and *Dragut* invited him after their Conqueſt. *Charles* the Fifth was too politic to overlook this Event; he took occaſion from it to give out, that *France* had contributed to the taking of *Tripoli*. *Henry* the Second did what he could to anſwer this Complaint [*A*]. I have not had time to trace the Negotiations and Adventures of *Aramont* farther. I know, that his Diſpatches were ſometimes intercepted, and that the Emperor made uſe of them to

(*a*) *He was a* Spaniard, *called* Omeda.

(*b*) *See the Judgment Mr* Wicquefort *paſſes upon this Conduct, in his Treatiſe of the Ambaſſador*, lib. 2. §. 5. pag. 110.

[*A*] Henry II. *did what he could to anſwer this Complaint* (1).] The Grand Maſter of *Malta* accuſed our *Aramont* of having induced the Governor of *Tripoli* to capitulate. *Thuanus*, refuting this Accuſation, tells us, that the Conſtable *de Montmorency*, who had all the Power at that time, had charged this Ambaſſador to teſtify to the Grand Maſter the particular Affection, which He, the Conſtable, had for the Intereſts and Proſperity of the Order. This Hiſtorian adds, that he had ſeen Letters, in which the Conſtable expreſſes great Concern at the taking of *Tripoli*; and that his Letters ought not to be ſuſpected of any Diſſimulation, ſince they were written to a Perſon, to whom the Conſtable ſpoke his Thoughts very freely (2). But when *Henry* II. found, that the Emperor's Partizans accuſed the Ambaſſador of *France* of having contributed to this Conqueſt of the *Ottomans*, he diſpatched a Gentleman to the Grand Maſter to complain of the Reports, which were ſpread abroad, and to enquire of him, how *Aramont* had behaved himſelf in That Affair. He declared, that, if he found him guilty of any Miſconduct, he would cauſe him to be puniſhed according to the Exigence of the Caſe; but he deſired, that, if his Ambaſſador was Innocent, the Grand Maſter would give a public Teſtimony of it. The Grand Maſter's Anſwer fully juſtified *Gabriel Aramont*. "Quo in negotio nullum officium prætermiſiſſet ut Ordini ea in re noſtro gratificaretur, hoc enim a V. M. enixe ac religioſe ſibi injunctum. Præterea, ut quorum culpa ea clades accepta eſſet certo cunctis conſtaret, undique probationes collegimus, & inquiſitione diligenti ſuper ea re habita nihil comperimus quo Aramontium cladi cauſam dediſſe, aut deditionis auctorem fuiſſe credi debeat. Quin imo ex equitibus captivis — didicimus eum non ſolum omni culpa vacare, ſed multis benefactis totum ordinem ſibi devinxiſſe, ac proinde non recte nec ſecundum rationem factum exiſtimamus ut is rumor ſparſus ſit (3). — *In which Affair he uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to oblige our Order, as your Majeſty had earneſtly and ſolemnly commanded him. Beſides, we have collected Proofs from all Sides, to make it appear to the World, to whom This Loſs is to be imputed; and, upon diligent Enquiry into this Matter, we find no reaſon to ſuſpect* Aramont *of occaſioning this Loſs, or of adviſing the Surrender. We have likewiſe been informed by ſome Captive Knights, that he is not only free from all Blame, but that he has obliged the Order by repeated good Offices. For which reaſon we think this Rumor to be unjuſtly ſpread.*" The King of *France* did not fail to publiſh this Anſwer in all the Courts of *Europe*, to ſhew that his Enemies ſpread Reports right or wrong, without any Foundation, on purpoſe to make him odious. "Eas litteras —— poſtea Rex per oratores ſuos paſſim publicari juſſit, qua publicatione compreſſis Cæſarianorum querelis ac rumoribus, evulgata in Gallici nominis invidiam ſama pariter conquievit (4). —— *Theſe Letters the King afterwards ordered to be publiſhed by his Ambaſſadors; by the Publication of which, the Complaints of the Imperialiſts being put a ſtop to, the Report, which was ſpread to the Diſhonour of the* French *Name, ceaſed.*" This might indeed perſuade ſome, that the Partizans of *Charles* V. were deceived in this Matter; but the Enemies of *France* eaſily excuſed them. When it ſuits our Inclinations, we imagine it allowable to interpret every thing in a certain Senſe, agreeable to a Syſtem, which was once built on very probable Reaſons.

(1) Varillas, Hiſt. de Henri II. liv. 2. p. 198, &c. ad Ann. 1551. *See likewiſe* Thuanus, l. 7. p. 155.

(2) *Mr* Briſſac, *who commanded in* Piedmont.

(3) Thuan. lib. 7. ſub fin.

(4) Id. ibid.

to reproach the *French* with their ſtrict Correſpondence with the *Porte* [B]. The Relation of his Embaſſy is in Manuſcript in the Library of Mr *de Lamoignon* (c).

I have juſt read a Particular, which may ſerve by way of Supplement to this Article. The Golden Iſles in *Provence* were erected into a Marquiſate by Letters of *Henry* II, confirmed by the Parliament of *Aix*; and this Marquiſate *Aramont*, Ambaſſador of *France* to *Conſtantinople*, was inveſted with, and ſeized of, to hold in Fief of the King, with expreſs Orders to build, in theſe Iſles, Caſtles, Towers, and Fortreſſes, to the Expence of Fifty Thouſand Crowns (d).

(c) Varillas, Hiſtoire de Henri II. pag. 200.

(d) St Lazar. Hiſtoire de Dignit. Honorar. de France, pag. 400. *Edit. of* Paris, 1635, *in 8vo.*

Reaſons. This is without doubt an inexhauſtible Spring of erroneous Judgments; but, provided they are uſeful to us, we are not much in pain about them.

[*B*] *His Diſpatches were ſometimes intercepted; and the Emperor made uſe of them to reproach the* French *with their ſtrict Correſpondence with the* Porte.] In a Letter, which *Charles* V. wrote, in the Year 1552, to the Princes and States of the Empire, he expreſſes his wonder, that the Ambaſſador of *France* ſhould pretend to juſtify his Maſter as to the Engagements with *Soliman*: "Have not I, *ſays he*, the "Memorials of *Aramont* drawn up at *Conſtantinople*, "which prove the reality of an Alliance negociated "between the *Porte* and *France* againſt a Chriſtian "Prince?" *Jam quod de communicatis cum Turco conſiliis obiter perſtringit, quaſi abunde purgatum exiſtimet, qua fronte excuſare poteſt? atque penes me habeo Aramontii Gallici legati commentarios Byzantii ſcriptos, & ad regem per Coſtam centurionem quemdam miſſos, qui ſocietatis cum Turcis in Chriſtiani nominis Principem initæ plenam fidem faciunt* (5). Mr *Varillas* obſerves (6), "That the Pope, and "the Emperor, had agreed to accuſe the King of "*France*, in full Council, of an Intelligence with "the Infidels, and to produce thereupon Mr *Aramont*'s intercepted Letters, to which a wrong "Turn might eaſily be given, becauſe the Truth "was but half explained." But what occaſion was there for giving a wrong Senſe, ſince *Aramont* undoubtedly negociated a Treaty between *France*, and the *Porte*, againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*? Was not That alone ſufficient to prove the Intelligence, with which they would accuſe *Henry* II? The beſt Way, *France* could take, was, not to conteſt the Fact, but to juſtify the Reaſonableneſs of it, by ſhewing, that, where Religion is not concerned, we may make what Alliances we pleaſe. If *Charles* V. had not been always ſupported by good Allies among the Chriſtian Princes, Papiſts, or not Papiſts, he would not have ſtuck at forming Alliances with Infidels; and he would have improved them much better, than *France* did. He was much more cunning, and had greater Abilities than *Francis* I. The *Turkiſh* Fleet, in concert with him, would not have been uſeleſs, as it was with the *French*, who concerted Matters ſo ill, that one is moved to Shame, or Pity, or Laughter, who reads the Hiſtory of thoſe Times. Sincerity had nothing to do in this Caſe. That would have prevented the Emperor from reproaching his Enemy with entering into Alliance with Heretics and Infidels, when He himſelf was ready to do the ſame, had Maxims of State required it. What would have become then of Thoſe, who could make pathetic Harangues, preſent plauſible Memorials, diſcuſs an hundred fine Common-Places? All this muſt have been laid aſide; now this would have been very prejudicial; there would have been no blinding the People, no animating them to any Purpoſe; a thouſand exquiſite Praiſes, and pompous Titles, muſt have been given up.

A Reflection on Alliances with Heretics or Infidels.

> - - - - - - - *accuſat Manilia, ſi rea non eſt* (7).

People ſeldom fail to make Reproaches on theſe Occaſions, but when they are guilty themſelves.

(5) Idem lib. 10. pag. 213.

(6) Varill. Hiſt. de Henri II. liv. 2. pag. 202.

(7) Juven. Sat. 6. ver. 243.

ARBRISSEL (Robert d') Founder of the Order of *Fontevraud*. Look for FONTEVRAUD.

ARCESILAS, or ARCESILAUS, one of the moſt renowned Philoſophers of Antiquity, was born at *Pitane* in *Æolia* [A]. He was a Diſciple of the Mathematician *Autolycus*, his Country-man, and followed him to *Sardes*. Afterwards he came to *Athens*; where he was a Diſciple of *Xanthus*, then of *Theophraſtus*, and laſtly of *Crantor* [B]. He learned Geometry under *Hipponicus* (a). He had ſome Inclination

(a) *Taken from* Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 32.

[*A*] *Was born at* Pitane *in* Æolia.] *Diogenes Laërtius* is not the only one, who affirms this (1). Read theſe Words of *Pomponius Mela*, in the Chapter, where he deſcribes the Country of the *Æolians*. "Caicus inter Eleam decurrit, & Pitanem illam "quæ Arceſilam tulit, nihil affirmantis Academiæ "clariſſimum Antiſtitem (2). - - - - - - *The River* "Caycus *runs between* Elea *and That* Pitane, "*where* Arceſilas *was born, the celebrated Founder* "*of the Academy, which affirmed nothing.*" See alſo *Strabo*; Πιτάνη πόλις Αἰολική - - - - ἐκ δὲ τῆς Πιτάνης ἐστιν Ἀρκεσίλαος (3). Pitane, *a City of* Æolia - - - - - - *and* Arceſilaus *was of* Pitane; but give no Credit to *Solinus*, who makes *Pitane*, a Town in *Laconia*, the Birth-place of this Philoſopher (4). *Salmaſius* (5), and Mr *Menage* (6), refute him. I cannot tell, whether it is through Inadvertency of the Author, or the Correctors, that *Arceſilaus Pritanæus* occurs in Mr *Gaſſendi* (7); it ſhould have been *Pitanæus*.

[*B*] *A Diſciple of* Xanthus, *then of* Theophraſtus, *and laſtly of* Crantor (8).] I am ſurprized, that *Diogenes Laërtius*, after having clearly inſinuated, in ſeveral Places, that *Arceſilas* was a Diſciple of *Polemon*, does not expreſsly ſay ſo in the Life of *Arceſilas*. The following are the Paſſages, where he affirms it. Arceſilas, ſays he, *having left* Theophraſtus's *School to follow* Polemon *and* Crates, *declared, that they were Gods, or the Remains of the Golden Age.* Ἔνθεν καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον μετελθόντα παρὰ Θεοφράστου πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν, ὡς εἶεν θεοί τινες ἢ λείψανα τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους (9). *Hinc & Arceſilaum, cum ad eos à Theophraſto diverteret, dixiſſe ferunt, illos Deos eſſe quoſpiam, aut aurei ſeculi reliquias.* He obſerves, a little lower, that *Crantor* and *Arceſilas* lodged together, and that *Polemon* and *Crates*, who lodged together with a Citizen, whoſe Name was *Lyſicles*, went and ſupped very often with *Crantor*, and that *Crates* was the Minion of *Polemon*, as *Arceſilas* was the Favourite of *Crantor*. The Tranſlator of *Diogenes Laërtius* has confounded all this; for he ſuppoſes, that *Polemon* was the Minion of *Crates*, and *Crantor* of *Arceſilas*. Let us produce the *Greek*: Ἦν δὲ ἐρώμενος, Κράτης μὲν, ὡς προείρηται, Πολέμωνος, Ἀρκεσίλαος δὲ Κράντορος (10). That is: *Erat autem amaſius, ut quidem prædictum eſt, Polemonis quidem Crates, Crantoris autem Arceſilas.* The *Latin* Tranſlation, which no Commentator has cenſured, puts *amator*, where it ſhould have been *amaſius*: There has been no notice taken of the paſſive Signification of ἐρώμενος. Neither has any one obſerved the Contradiction, which follows a little after; for, as the *Greek* orders the Matter, *Arceſilas* is repreſented under the Character of the *Pathic*. Ἀρκεσίλαος θέλων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (Κράντορος) συσταθῆναι Πολέμωνι, καίπερ ἐρῶντος (11). *Arceſilaus volens ab illo* (Crantore) *ſe Polemoni commendari, quanquam amatore ſuo.* Let us here reject all the impure and abominable Ideas, which This Author, and many others, ſeem willing to

(1) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 20.

(2) Pompon. Mela, lib. 1. cap. 18. pag. 20.

(3) Strabo lib. 13. pag. 422. in fin.

(4) Solin. cap. 7. pag. 22.

(5) Salmaſ. Exercit. Plin. pag. 138.

(6) Menag. in Diog. Laërt. pag. 176.

(7) Gaſſend. Oper. Tom. 1. pag. 18.

(8) Diog. Laërt. n. 28, 29.

(9) Id. in Cratete, lib. 4. pag. 240. n. 22.

(10) Id. ib.

(11) Id. ib. n. 22.

tion to Poetry; and took great delight in reading *Homer* [C]; but his Paſſion for Philoſophy was ſuperior to all others. He ſucceeded *Crates* in the Regency of the Platonic School [*D*], and introduced new Opinions into it; for he founded a Sect, which was called the *Second Academy*, to diſtinguiſh it from That of *Plato*. He ſtrongly oppoſed the Dogmatiſts; he affirmed nothing; he doubted of every thing; he diſcourſed *pro* and *con*; and ſuſpended his Judgment: *This I do*, ſaid he, *becauſe nothing is*

to ſuggeſt in the like Caſe. When they ſpeak of a Philoſopher, and his Diſciples, they almoſt always obſerve, that he was *fond* (or a *Lover*) of ſuch or ſuch an one. This, I confeſs, may, on ſome Occaſions, be underſtood in a wicked Senſe, but on an hundred others, ought, I think, to be underſtood only of a virtuous and honourable Affection. Among ſeveral Diſciples, One was his Maſter's Favourite. It was He, who was deſigned for his Succeſſor; he, who had moſt Docility, Reſpect, or Genius, *&c.* Ought this to be expreſſed by the Term ἐρώμενος? But to return to the Fact; The laſt Paſſage, which I cited from *Diogenes Laërtius*, informs us, that *Arceſilas* deſired *Crantor* to recommend him to *Polemon*. The Hiſtorian adds, that *Crantor*, who was ſick, did not take it ill; but, on the contrary, as ſoon as he was recovered, went likewiſe himſelf to *Polemon*'s Lectures. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑγιαίνοντα διακούειν Πολέμωνος (12). *Ipſe quoque, cum ſanus factus eſſet, ſe ad audiendum Polemonem contulit.* This is a Proof, that *Arceſilas* was one of That Philoſopher's Auditors, or Diſciples. He was ſo far ſo, that *Cicero* gives him no other Maſter. “Arceſilas tuus, etſi fuit in differendo pertinacior, “tamen noſter fuit, erat enim Polemonis (13). - - - - “*Your* Arceſilas, *though ſtiff in his Opinions, was* “*yet one of us, having been a Diſciple of* Polemon.” *Numenius* aſſigns him ſeveral other Maſters. He makes him ſucceſſively the Diſciple of *Polemon*, *Theophraſtus*, *Diodorus*, and *Pyrrho* (14). He adds, that he learnt of *Crantor* Perſuaſion, of *Diodorus* Sophiſtry, and of *Pyrrho* to turn about like a Weather-Cock, and be nothing at all. Ὧν ὑπὸ μὲν Κράντορος πιθανουργικὸς, ὑπὸ Διοδώρου δὲ σοφιστὴς, ὑπὸ δὲ Πύῤῥωνος ἐγένετο παντοδαπὸς, καὶ ἴτης καὶ οὐδέν (15). *Et à Crantore quidem ad perſuadendum callidus, à Diodoro autem ſophiſta, denique à Pyrrhone cum omnem in partem verſatilis ac temerarius, tum etiam nullus eſſe didicit.* He fixed himſelf in the *Pyrrhonian* Inconſtancy, and wanted only the Name of a *Pyrrhonian*; he was called an *Academic*; a Name which he kept only in reſpect to the Philoſopher *Crantor*, his Maſter, and Lover. Πλὴν τῆς προσρήσεως ἐνέμεινε Πυῤῥωνι ὡς τῇ πάντων ἀναιρέσει - - - - - αἰδοῖ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ ὑπέμεινε λέγεσθαι Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς ἔτι. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν. Πυῤῥώνειος πλὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος. Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς δ' οὐκ ἦν, πλὴν τοῦ λέγεσθαι (16). *In Pyrrhone, ſi appellationem excipias, tanquam in omnium everſione acquievit - - - - - is pro ſua in amatorem obſervantia Academicum ſe vocari adhuc paſſus eſt. Ita qui Pyrrhonicus, excepto nomine, totus erat, idem Academicus præter nomen habebat nihil. Numenius* had but juſt before ſaid, that *Arceſilas*, a beautiful Youth, being beloved by *Crantor*, conſtantly adhered to him. Διὰ το καλὸς εἶναι ετι ὢν ὡραῖος τυχων ἐραστοῦ Κράντορος τοῦ Ἀκαδημαϊκοῦ προσεχώρησε μὲν τούτῳ. (17). - - - - *Eleganti forma & commoda adhuc ætate cum eſſet, Crantorem Academicum amatorem nactus, ejus conſuetudine uſus eſt ille quidem.* He adds, that *Menedemus*'s Lectures made him a more warm Diſputant; for which he quotes *Timon* (18). Thus we ſee ſeveral Omiſſions in the Liſt, which *Diogenes Laërtius* has left us, of *Arceſilas*'s Maſters. I have ſupplied this Defect.

[*C*] *He took great Delight in reading* Homer.] He preferred him to all other Authors: Every Evening, he read ſome part of him, before he went to Sleep, and, when he roſe in the Morning, he uſed to ſay, *I am going to pay a Viſit to my Miſtreſs* (19), meaning, that he was going to read this Poet. Ἀπεδέχετο δὲ πάντων μᾶλλον Ὅμηρον οὗ καὶ εἰς ὕπνον ἰὼν πάντως τι ἀνεγίνωσκεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄρθρου λέγων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον ἀπεῖναι, ὁπότ' ἂν βούλοιτο ἀναγνῶναι (20). *Amplectebatur Homerum maximè ex omnibus, cujus adeo ſtudioſus erat, ut ſemper ante ſomnum ejus aliquid legeret. Mane quoque cum ſurgeret, dicens, ſe ad amaſium ire, cum ſe velle legere innueret.*

[*D*] *He ſucceeded* Crates *in the Regency of the Platonic School* (21)]. Several Authors place our *Arceſilas* immediately after *Polemon*, without mentioning *Crates*. See a Note of *Aldrobandinus* on a Paſſage of *Diogenes Laërtius* (22), where you will find, that this learned Commentator had no where diſcovered, that *Crates* ſucceeded *Polemon*. You will likewiſe meet with theſe Words of St *Auſtin*; “Moritur Polemon, “ſuccedit ei Arceſilas, Zenonis quidem condiſcipu-“lus, ſed ſub Polemonis magiſterio (23). —— Po-“lemon *dies; to him ſucceeds* Arceſilas, *a Fellow-*“*Diſciple indeed of* Zeno, *but under the Tuition of* “Polemon.” To this Paſſage may be added That of the Fifty ſixth Letter. “Iidem quippe Academici, “qui Platonici, quod docet Auditorum ipſa ſucceſ-“ſio; Arceſilas enim, qui primus occultata ſententia “ſua nihil aliud iſtos quam refellere ſtatuit, quære “cui ſucceſſeret; Polemonem invenies; quære cui “Polemon; Zenocratem; Zenocrati autem diſ-“cipulo Academiam Scholam ſuam reliquit Pla-“to (24). —— *The Academics are the ſame with* “*the* Platoniſts; *as appears from the very Suc-*“*ceſſion of their Diſciples. For* Arceſilas, *who firſt* “*taught them to have no Opinions of their own, but* “*to refute every other, you will find to have been* “*the Succeſſor of* Polemon; Polemon *of* Zenocrates; “*and* Zenocrates, *Succeſſor, in the School of the Aca-*“*demy, to his Maſter* Plato.” We muſt not here depend upon St *Auſtin*'s Authority; for he has not ſtrictly obſerved Exactneſs; and, as he skips over one Step between *Plato* and *Xenocrates* (25), he may have done the like between *Polemon* and *Arceſilas*. I do not inſiſt on his Silence as to *Crantor*, the famous Academic (26), who ſeems to have been the immediate Succeſſor of *Polemon*, and who died before him, and before *Crates* (27). If the Word *Succeſſor* diſpleaſes you, ſay, that *Crantor* taught in *Polemon*'s Life-time. The ſame thing is affirmed of *Crates*; and from hence it comes to paſs, that ſometimes it is ſaid, that *Crantor* ſucceeded *Polemon*; ſometimes, that *Crates* ſucceeded him; ſometimes, that both of them were his Succeſſors; but generally *Crates* is placed after *Crantor* (28). Again; I do not object the Omiſſion of *Crantor* to St *Auſtin*; I imagine it is wrong to reckon this Philoſopher as *Polemon*'s Succeſſor: He died before his Maſter; and I find, that *Lacydes*, the Succeſſor of *Arceſilas*, was the firſt, who reſigned the Succeſſion of his Chair in his Life-time (29). Let us ſay then, that *Crates* alone ſucceeded *Polemon*, and reject this Period of Father *Rapin*; Crates *and* Crantor, *who were ſucceſſively Heads of* Plato'*s School, altered nothing in his Doctrine* (30). He would not have been ſo much miſtaken, if he had named *Crantor* firſt; *Crantor*, I ſay, who died before *Crates*. A celebrated Critic (31), in correcting a Paſſage of *Nonius Marcellus* (32), has ſupplied us with an Authority, which wonderfully favours the Text of this Remark. According to his Correction, we are to believe, that *Lucilius* had ſaid, “Polemon & amavit Cratem, & “huic tranſmiſit ſuam ſcholam, quam dicunt. —— “Polemon *loved* Crates, *and tranſmitted to him his* “*School, as they call it.*” The *Greek* of *Diogenes Laërtius* carries the ſame Senſe. Κράτης —— καὶ ἀκροατὴς ἅμα καὶ ἐρώμενος Πολέμωνος. ἀλλὰ καὶ διεδέξατο τὴν σχολὴν αὐτοῦ (33). *Crates auditor ſimul amaſiuſque* (34) *Polemonis, illiuſque ſcholæ ſucceſſor.* I do not depend on theſe Words of *Cicero*; “Speuſippus autem, & Xenocrates, qui primi “Platonis rationem autoritatemque ſuſceperant, & “poſt eos Polemon & Crates unaque Crantor, in Aca-“demia congregati, diligenter eis quæ à ſuperioribus “acceperant, utebantur (35). —— Speuſippus *and* “Xenocrates, *the immediate Succeſſors of* Plato, *and* “*after them* Polemon *and* Crates, *together with* “Crantor, *taught the ſame Doctrines in the Academy,*

“ *which*

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(12) Id. ib. n. 25.

(13) Cicero, de Finib. lib. 5. cap. 31. *See alſo* de Oratore lib. 3. cap. 18.

(14) Numenius, apud Euſebium Præpar. Evang. lib. 14. cap. 5. pag. 729.

(15) Id. ib.

(16) Numenius, ubi ſupra, cap. 6. pag. 731.

(17) Id. ib.

(18) *The two Verſes of* Timon, *which he cites, are more correct, than in* Diogenes Laërtius.

(19) *To adapt myſelf to the Style of the Times, I have departed from the Literal Tranſlation.*

(20) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 31.

(21) Id. ib. n. 34.

(22) *In the beginning of the Life of* Crates, l. 4. n. 21.

(23) St Auguſt. contra Academicos, lib. 3.

(24) Auguſt. Epiſt. 56. pag. 267. Euſeb. in Præp. Evan. lib. 14. c. 4. pag. 726, *ſays, it was ſaid, that* Arceſilas *ſucceeded* Polemon.

(25) Speuſippus, *Son of a Siſter of* Plato, *governed the School before* Xenocrates.

(26) Crantor ille in noſtra Academia vel in primis fuit nobilis. *Cicer. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib.* 3. *cap.* 6.

(27) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 27.

(28) *See* Gaſſendi, Operum Tom. 1. pag. 18. & Jonſius de Script. Hiſtor. Philoſoph. pag. 52. *or rather* Diog. Laërt. *cited below, Citat.* (36).

(29) Diog. Laërt. in Lacyde, lib. 4. n. 60.

(30) Rapin. Compar. de Platon & Ariſtote, Part. 4. cap. 1. p. 365.

(31) Petrus Victorius. *See the Notes of* Joſias Mercerus *on* Nonius Marcellus, pag. 193.

(32) Nonius Marcellus, *voce* Tranſmittere, p. 414, *cites the 28th Book of* Lucilius.

(33) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 21.

(34) *And not* Amator, *as the printed Tranſlation has it; A Fault whih the Commentators do not correct.*

(35) Cicero, Academ. Quæſt. lib. 1. cap. 9.

is certain. He attacked with great force whatever the other Sects affirmed [E]; for which

" *which they had received from their Predeceſſors.*" They are not poſitive enough, nor ſo expreſs, as this Paſſage of *Diogenes Laërtius.* Πλάτων ὁ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀκαδημιαν συστησάμενος· οὗ Σπεύσιππος καὶ Ξενοκράτης, οὗ Πολέμων, οὗ Κράντωρ, καὶ Κράτης, οὗ Ἀρκεσίλαος, ὁ τὴν μέσην Ἀκαδημίαν εἰσηγησάμενος (36). —— Plato, *who founded the old Academy; after* Plato, Speuſippus *and* Xenocrates; *then* Polemon; *after* Polemon, Crantor, *and* Crates; *to whom ſucceeded* Arceſilas, *who inſtituted the middle Academy. Caſaubon*, in his Note on this Paſſage, quotes *Galen*, who ſays, that the Old Academy ended in *Crantes*; and that *Arceſilas*, the Diſciple of *Crantes*, founded the leſſer Academy (37). This Commentator is ignorant, who the *Crantes* of *Galen* is (38); but it is eaſily to be ſeen, either that the Tranſcribers have put *Crantes* inſtead of *Crates*, or that *Galen* himſelf does not ſpell the Name of *Arceſilas*'s Predeceſſor right. It happens daily, that the moſt learned Perſons either add, or retrench, ſome Letter of the Author's Name, whom they quote; they intend to name the ſame Perſon, whom others alledge, according to the true Orthography. I could give an hundred Inſtances of it, and am ſurprized, that *Caſaubon* makes any Difficulty here. We muſt not forget, that he wonders *Galen* has made no mention of *Crantor*. *Quis vero non miretur omiſſum à Galeno Crantorem* (39)?

[*E*] *He attacked with great Force whatever the other Sects affirmed.*] It would be wrong to pretend, that he did not juſtly deſerve the Name of an Innovator; but *Diogenes Laërtius* is miſtaken, when he takes him for the firſt, who introduced the Cuſtom of Diſputing *pro* and *con.* Πρῶτος δὲ καὶ εἰς ἑκάτερον ἐπεχείρησε (40). *Primuſque in utramque diſſerere partem aggreſſus eſt.* It was the Taſte of *Socrates*; and *Plato* continued it. We ſhall quote *Cicero*, who informs us, that *Arceſilas*'s Method of controverting every thing, which was propoſed to him, was the ſame with That of *Socrates*; and that *Arceſilas* was inſtructed in *Pyrrhoniſm* (41) by *Plato*'s Books, and by the Diſcourſes, which *Socrates* was ſuppoſed to have held. "Arceſilas primum, qui Polemonem audierat, ex variis Platonis libris, ſermonibuſque Socraticis, hoc maxime arripuit, nihil eſſe certi, quod aut ſenſibus, aut animo percipi poſſit: quem ferunt eximio quodam uſum lepore dicendi, aſpernatum eſſe omne animi ſenſuſque judicium, primumque inſtituiſſe (quamquam id fuit Socraticum maxime) non quod ipſe ſentiret oſtendere, ſed contra id quod quiſque ſe ſentire dixiſſet diſputare (42). —— Arceſilas, *the Diſciple of* Polemon; *the firſt, who gathered this Doctrine, chiefly from the Writings of* Plato, *and the Diſcourſes of* Socrates, *that there is no Certainty in Objects, either of the Senſe, or the Mind. This Philoſopher is ſaid to have had a moſt graceful manner of ſpeaking; to have rejected all Judgment of the Mind and Senſe; and to have been the firſt, who taught his Followers (tho' it had been the conſtant Practice of* Socrates *before him) not to declare their own Opinions, but to controvert thoſe of all others.*" He ſays, in another Book, that *Socrates*'s Method, which had been in a manner diſuſed, was revived by *Arceſilas*. It is in this, that the Innovation of the latter conſiſts; and therefore the Expreſſions of *Diogenes Laërtius* are not exact; for it is plain, that a Philoſopher, who profeſſes to diſpute every thing, which is advanced in anſwer to his Queſtions, puts in practice the Method of maintaining both ſides of the Queſtion. Obſerve theſe Words: "Is *(Socrates)* percontando atque interrogando elicere ſolebat eorum opiniones, quibuſcum diſſerebat, ut ad ea quæ hi reſpondiſſent, ſi quid videretur, diceret. Qui mos, quum à poſterioribus non eſſet retentus, Arceſilas eum revocavit, inſtituitque, ut hi, qui ſe audire vellent, non de ſe quærerent, ſed ipſi dicerent, quid ſentirent. Quod quum dixiſſent, ille contra; ſed, qui audiebant, quoad poterant, defendebant ſententiam ſuam: apud cæteros autem philoſophos, qui quæſivit aliquid, tacet, quod quidem jam fit etiam in Academia (43). —— *He* (Socrates) *was wont, by asking Queſtions, to make thoſe, with whom he diſcourſed, diſcover their own Opinions; that, if he thought proper, he might reply to their Anſwers. Which Practice, having been diſcontinued afterwards, was revived by* Arceſilas; *who inſtituted, that they, who would be his Hearers, ſhould not ask his Opinion, but declare their own; which when they had done, he oppoſed them; yet his Hearers were allowed to defend their own Sentiments. With other Philoſophers it was otherwiſe; the Enquirer was ſilent himſelf; which is now practiſed even in the Academy.*" If This Teſtimony be not expreſs enough, what think you of This, in which it is affirmed, that the Academy of *Arceſilas* was no other, than That of *Plato*? "Hanc Academiam novam appellant, quæ mihi vetus videtur. Siquidem Platonem ex illa vetere numeramus, cujus in libris nihil affirmatur, & in utramque partem multa diſſeruntur, de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur (44). —— *They call this the New Academy, which to me ſeems to be the Old. For we reckon* Plato *to have been of the Old, in whoſe Books nothing is affirmed, and many things are diſcuſſed on both ſides of the Queſtion; every thing is matter of Enquiry, and nothing certainly pronounced.*" I cite, elſewhere (45), another Paſſage of no leſs Force than this. If any one requires a Scrap of *Greek*, for variety's ſake, I can fit him. I have read, ſomewhere, that *Epicurus* could not ſee, without Chagrin, the great Reputation of *Arceſilas*, the moſt renowned Philoſopher of thoſe Times; and that he upbraided him with having acquired a Reputation among the Ignorant, without drawing any thing from his own Stock. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀρκεσιλάου τὸν Ἐπίκουρον οὐ μετρίως ἔοικεν ἡ δόξα παραλυπεῖν, ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις μάλιστα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀγαπηθέντος (46). *Arceſilai autem Gloria videretur Epicuro haud mediocrem attuliſſe ægritudinem, qui inter ejus temporis Philoſophos maximi fiebat.* It is true, *Arceſilas* did not ſet up for Invention. He aſcribed to *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Parmenides*, and *Heraclitus*, the Honour of inventing the *Epochê* *, and the *Acatalepſia* †. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλαος τοσοῦτον ἀπέδει τοῦ καινοτομίας τινὰ δόξαν ἀγαπᾶν καὶ ὑποποιεῖσθαι τῶν παλαιῶν, ὥστε εγκαμεῖν τοὺς τότε σοφιστὰς ὅτι προστρίβεται Σωκράτει καὶ Πλάτωνι καὶ Παρμενίδῃ καὶ Ἡρακλείτῳ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς δόγματα καὶ τῆς ἀκαταληψίας, οὐδὲν δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ οἷον ἀναγωγὴν καὶ βεβαίωσιν αὐτῶν εἰς ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους ποιούμενος (47). Arceſilas *was ſo far from any Deſire of innovating, or arrogating old Opinions to himſelf, that the Sophiſts of his Times even reproached him with aſcribing to* Socrates, Plato, *and* Parmenides, *the Doctrines of* witholding the Aſſent, *and* Incomprehenſibility; *not out of Neceſſity, but to ſtrengthen, as it were, and confirm them, by inſcribing them to theſe great Men.* Pray obſerve, that, by the Confeſſion of *Diogenes Laërtius* himſelf, our *Arceſilas* only *rendered the* Platonic *Method more Contentious*; this was all the Change he made in it. Πρῶτος τὸν λόγον ἐκίνησε τὸν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος παραδεδομένον, καὶ ἐποίησε δι' ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως ἐριστικώτερον (48). *Primus orationis genus quod Plato tradiderat movit effecitque per interogationem & reſponſionem contentioſius.* It may, nevertheleſs, be ſaid, that he was the firſt Diſturber of the public Peace among the Philoſophers; for, beſides his reviving a Practice, which had been almoſt forgotten, he purſued the Method of *Socrates* with more Ardor, than had ever been done before; and ſhewed himſelf more eager, more obſtinate, and more impatient, than the firſt Inventors. And, for this Reaſon, what I am going to produce, was ſaid of him. "Nonne jam, quum philoſophorum diſciplinæ graviſſimæ conſtitiſſent, tum, ut exortus eſt in optima Republica Tiberius Graccus, qui ocium perturbaret, ſic Arceſilas, qui conſtitutam philoſophiam everteret, & in eorum autoritate deliteſceret, qui negaviſſent quicquam ſciri, aut percipi poſſe (49). —— *Did not* Arceſilas, *like another* Gracchus, *who diſturbed the Repoſe of the beſt of Commonwealths, ariſe to overthrow the eſtabliſhed Philoſophy, and ſheltered himſelf under Their Authority, who denied all Knowledge and Perception of Things?*"

Some have enquired into the Reaſon of *Arceſilas*'s Conduct; and it was generally aſcribed to That warm Emulation, which grew up between Him and his Fellow Diſciple Zeno. Both had been *Polemon*'s Scholars (50); and they ſtrove to ſurpaſs each other (51). Now *Zeno* took part with the Dogmatiſts; he

* *Witholding of Aſſent.*

† *Incomprehenſibility.*

(36) Diogen. Laërt. in Proœmio, n. 14. pag. 10.

(37) Galen. in Hiſt. Philoſophorum.

(38) Ego quiſnam ſit Crantes Galeni plane ignoro. *Caſaub. in Diog. Laërt. Proæm. n.* 14.

(39) Id. ib.

(40) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 28.

(41) *I make uſe of this Phraſe without any Regard to the Perſon of* Pyrrho.

(42) Cicero de Oratore, lib. 3. c. 18.

(43) Id. de Finibus, l. 2. cap. 1.

(44) Id. Academ. Quæſt. lib. 1. cap. ult.

(45) *In Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* CARNEADES, *Citation* (6). *The Paſſage is in the firſt Book of* Cicero de Natura Deorum, cap. 5.

(46) Plutarch. adv. Colotem, p. 1121. E.

(47) Id. ib.

(48) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 28.

(49) Cicero, Academ. Quæſt. l. 4. cap. 5.

(50) Id. ib. lib. 1. cap. 9. Numenius, apud Euſebium, Præp. Evang. lib. 14. cap. 6. p. 723, 731.

(51) Numenius, ubi ſupra.

which reaſon, he was looked upon, in Matters of Philoſophy, as a Diſturber of the Public Peace (*b*). Some pretend, that, finding no Evidence, which might prevent his floating equally between the Affirmative and Negative, he would write no Books (*c*); but others affirm, that he did write ſome; and then differ about the Queſtion, whether he publiſhed any. Some affirm it, and others ſay, that he condemned all he had compoſed to the Flames (*d*). It is obſervable, however, that he dedicated ſome Books to *Eumenes*, Prince of *Pergamus*, and to no one elſe (*e*). We ſhall ſee

he laid down Definitions, and Axioms, which Arceſilas *vigorouſly oppoſed; and, to gain his Point, did not ſtick at overthrowing the very Foundation of all Science, and reducing every thing to Uncertainty.* The Paſſage I am going to cite, gives us this Account, as alſo of the little Succeſs of his Undertaking (52), tho' ſupported by the moſt pleaſing Eloquence. “Fuerint illa vetera ſi vultis incognita: nihil ne eſt ergo actum quod inveſtigatum eſt poſteaquam Arceſilas, Zenoni, ut putant, obtrectans, nihil novi reperienti, ſed emendanti ſuperiores immutationes verborum, dum hujus definitiones labefactare vult, conatus eſt clariſſimis rebus tenebras obducere; cujus primo non admodum probata ratio quanquam floruit, tum acumine ingenii, tum admirabili quodam lepore dicendi, proxime à Lacyde ſolo retenta eſt (53).” Others ſay, that the fear of being nonpluſs'd by the Objections of certain Perſons, who took a pleaſure in puzzling the Philoſophers, obliged *Arceſilas* to affirm nothing. He placed the *Epoché* before him as a Rampart; this was a Darkneſs, under favour of which he hoped to eſcape the Purſuits of the Sophiſt *Bion*, and the Followers of *Theodoret*, perpetual Sticklers againſt the Philoſophers. *Numenius*, who obſerves, that *Diocles*, the *Cnidian*, had adopted this Conjecture, rejects it; and, in my Opinion, not without Reaſon; for though, by not deciding *pro* or *con*, we may ſecure ourſelves from a thouſand perplexing Difficulties, yet we are greatly expoſed by ſo doing; and if, on the one hand, grave and ſerious Objections, Retortions, and Arguments *ad hominem*, the ordinary and inevitable Rock of the Dogmatiſts, are the leſs to be feared; on the other, we are much more expoſed to the Raillery and Inſults of Banterers. Now it is certain, that *Bion*, the greateſt Sneerer of his Time, was leſs formidable, when he reaſoned, than when he turned things into ridicule. Generally ſpeaking, That is a very inconvenient Situation, which expoſes a Man to Ridicule. *Arceſilas* himſelf was wont to rally thoſe, who rejected the Teſtimony of Senſe (54). However, let us ſee the Words of *Numenius*. Οὐ γὰρ πείθομαι, τοῦ Κνιδίου Διοκλέους φάσκοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Διατριβαῖς, Ἀρκεσίλαον φόβῳ τῶν Θεοδωρείων τε καὶ Βίωνος τοῦ Σοφιστοῦ, ἐπεισιόντων τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ὀκνέντων ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐλέγχειν, αὐτὸν ἐξευλαβηθέντα, ἵνα μὴ πράγματα ἔχῃ, μηδὲν γε δόγμα ὑπειπεῖν φαινόμενον, ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ μέλαν τὰς σηπίας, προβαλέσθαι πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐποχήν. Τοῦτ᾽ οὖν ἐγὼ οὐ πείθομαι (55). *Neque enim Cnidium illum Dioclem audio, qui in ſuis, ut eas inſcripſit, Diatribis, Arceſilam docet, Theodoreorum ac Bionis Sophiſtæ metu, qui, Philoſophis infeſti, nullam non eas coarguendi occaſionem arriperent, ita ſibi, ne quid ab iis moleſtiæ pateretur, caviſſe, ut nec certi quicquam ſtatueret; nam ut ſepias effuſo atramento, ſic illum ſeſe objecta hac aſſenſionis retentione tegere ac tueri. Verum hoc, dixi, ut minus credo.* Note, that one of *Cicero*'s Interlocutors affirms, that *Arceſilas* did not make uſe of the *Epoché*, in contradiction to *Zeno*, but through a Deſire of finding out Truth. *Arceſilam vero non obtrectandi cauſa cum Zenone pugnaviſſe, ſed verum invenire voluiſſe ſic intelligitur* (56). He ſays (57) that *Arceſilas* was the firſt, who diſcovered, and approved this Propoſition; *It is poſſible, that a Man may neither affirm, nor deny, any thing, in uncertain Matters; and it is the Part of a wiſe Man ſo to do. Nemo ſuperiorum non modo expreſſerat, ſed ne dixerat quidem, poſſe hominem nihil opinari, nec ſolum poſſe, ſed ita neceſſe eſſe ſapienti, viſa eſt Arceſilæ cum vera ſententia, tum honeſta & digna ſapiente.* He ſays likewiſe, that this Philoſopher asked Zeno, *What will be the Conſequence, if a wiſe Man can diſcern nothing clearly, and if he ought not to admit of any thing, which is not clearly true?* And that Zeno anſwered, *The Conſequence will be, that he will clearly comprehend ſome things; and thus will admit of nothing obſcure.* He was obliged afterwards to give the Marks of thoſe Things, which might be clearly comprehended; but thoſe, which he gave, were conteſted by *Arceſilas*, who maintained, againſt him, that Falſhood may appear in the ſame Guiſe as Truth; and that, conſequently, Truth could not be diſcerned from Falſhood. *Zeno* granted, that there was no comprehending any thing, if That, which Is not, can appear to us under the ſame Form with That, which Is; but he denied the Conformity of Ideas, in regard to that which Is, and that which Is not. *Arceſilas* inſiſted upon this Conformity. *Incumbit in eas diſputationes ut doceret nullum tale eſſe viſum à vero, ut non ejuſmodi etiam à falſo poſſit* (58). The Diſpute between them turned upon this Point. It had been ſaid before, in this Work of *Cicero*, that the Obſcurity of Things, and not Obſtinacy, or a Deſire of Victory, engaged *Arceſilas* to diſpute with *Zeno* (59).

I have ſaid, that he carried the Hypotheſis of Uncertainty farther than *Socrates*, and I had reaſon to ſay ſo; for he would not ſo much as confeſs, with *Socrates*, that he knew his own Ignorance *(I know, that I know nothing)*. He ſuſpended his Judgment in every thing, and diſputed only to convince himſelf, that the Affirmative Reaſons were no better than the Negative. “Arceſilas negabat eſſe quicquam quod ſciri poſſet, ne illud quidem ipſum, quod Socrates ſibi reliquiſſet. Sic omnia latere cenſebant in occulto, neque eſſe quicquam quod cerni, aut intelligi poſſit. Quibus de cauſis nihil oportere neque affirmare quenquam, neque aſſertione approbare, cohibereque ſemper, & ab omni lapſu continere temeritatem; quæ tum eſſet inſignis, quum aut falſa, aut incognita res approbaretur, neque hoc quicquam eſſet turpius, quam cognitioni & perceptioni aſſertionem approbationemque præcurrere. Huc (rationi quod erat conſentaneum) faciebat, ut contra omnium ſententias dies jam pleroſque deduceret, ut quum in eadem re paria contrariis in partibus momenta rationum invenirentur, facilius ab utraque parte aſſertio ſuſtineretur (60). —— Arceſilas *denied, that there was any thing which could be known, not even That Point of Knowledge, which* Socrates *left himſelf. Thus theſe Philoſophers thought every thing lay concealed, and that nothing could be either perceived, or underſtood. Upon which account, they believed, that no one ought to affirm or approve any thing by an Aſſertion, but reſtrain himſelf from giving a raſh Judgment, which would then be notorious, when either a falſe or unknown thing ſhould be aſſented to; and that nothing was more ſcandalous, than to ſuffer the Affirmation, and Approbation, to out-run the Knowledge, and Perception, of a thing. This general Oppoſition to every Opinion was with this View, that, if the Arguments on both ſides of the ſame Queſtion ſhould be found to be equally ſtrong, the Aſſertion on both Sides might be the more eaſily ſupported.*” It was He, who taught the *Acatalepſia*, or Incomprehenſibility of things, more expreſsly than was ever done before; and carried it to ſuch an Extremity, that *Carneades*, who was able to ſupport it better than He, was obliged to have recourſe to ſome Limitation (61); but it it is certain, that *Arceſilas* only enlarged upon, and unfolded, what the greateſt Maſters had ſaid before him. “Cum Zenone —— Arceſilas ſibi omne certamen inſtituit —— earum rerum obſcuritate, quæ ad confeſſionem ignorationis adduxerant Socratem, &, veluti amantes Socratem, Democritum, Anaxagoram, Empedoclem, omnes pene veteres, qui nihil cognoſci, nihil percipi, nihil ſciri poſſe dixerunt, anguſtos ſenſus, imbecillos animos, brevia curricula vitæ, & (ut Democritus) in profundo veritatem eſſe demerſam, opinionibus & inſtitutis omnia teneri, nihil teneri, nil veritati relinqui, deinceps omnia tenebris circumfuſa eſſe dixerunt (62). —— Arceſilas *oppoſed*

“Zeno,

(*b*) *See Remark* [*E*] *Citation* [49].

(*c*) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 34.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Id. n. 38.

(52) *This does not agree with what will be reported in Remark* [*G*].

(53) Cicero, Academ. Quæſt. l. 4. cap. 6.

(54) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 34.

(55) Numenius, apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 14. cap. 6. pag. 731. *C.*

(56) Cicero, Academ. Quæſt. l. 4. cap. 24.

(57) Id. ib.

(58) Id. ib.

(59) *See, below, Citation* (62).

(60) Cicero, Academ. Quæſt. l. 1. cap. 12.

(61) *See the Article CARNEADES.*

(62) Cicero, ubi ſupra.

ſee how he has been attacked by a Father of the Church [*F*]. As he was Maſter of

“ Zeno, *induced to it by the Obſcurity of thoſe things, which brought* Socrates *to confeſs his Ignorance, as alſo* Democritus, Anaxagoras, *and* Empedocles, *Lovers, as it were, of* Socrates, *and all the ancient Philoſophers; who taught, that nothing could be known, perceived, or underſtood; that our Senſes were narrow; our Minds weak; the Courſe of our Lives ſhort; that Truth (as* Democritus *ſaid) lay deep; that all things depended on Opinion, and poſitive Appointment; that nothing was left to Truth; and that all things were ſurrounded with Darkneſs.*” It was under the Authority of theſe great Names, that he attacked the Dogmatiſts (63). He might have alledged ſeveral others, as you may ſee in the ſecond Book of the *Academical Queſtions* (64). Nevertheleſs, *Numenius*, who is paſſionately tranſported againſt him, grounds his Quarrel on the Revolt, which he imputes to him (65). You will find ſome Strokes of his Indignation in the Deſcription he gives of this Philoſopher's Inconſtancy. He tells us, “ he was a Man, who denied and affirmed the ſame things; he ran blindfold to the right and left; he gloried in being ignorant of the Difference between Good and Evil; he uttered the firſt Notion which came into his Head, and immediately overthrew it by a greater Number of Arguments, than he had brought to eſtabliſh it. He was an *Hydra*, which devoured itſelf.” The Original is more expreſſive and full. Ἔλεξε, καὶ ἀντέλεξε, καὶ μετεκυλινδεῖτο κἀκεῖθεν, κἀντεῦθεν, ἑκατέρωθεν, ὁπόθεν τύχοι, παλινάγγετος, καὶ δύσκειτος, καὶ παλίμβολος τε ἅμα, καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένος, οὐδὲν τε εἰδώς, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφη, γενναῖος ὤν (66). - - - - - Κατέχαιρε τῷ ὀνείδει, καὶ ἠμβρύνετο θαυμαστῶς, ὅτι μήτε τί αἰσχρὸν ἢ κωλὸν, μέτε ἀγαθὸν, μήτε αὖ κακὸν ἐστι τί, ᾔδει· ἀλλ᾽ ὁπότερον εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς πέσοι, τοῦτο εἰπὼν, αὖθις μεταβαλὼν, ἀνέτρεπεν ἒν πλεοναχῶς, ἢ δι᾽ ὅσων κατεσκευάκει. Ἦν οὖν ὕδραν τέμνων ἑαυτὸν, καὶ τεμνόμενος ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀμφότερα ἀλλήλων δυσκρίτως, καὶ τοῦ δέοντος ἀσκέπτως (67). *Affirmans ſimul idem, idemque negans, hinc, illinc, utrinque, vel undique potius ſubito ſe temereque verſans ac revocans, incerti ambiguique ſenſus, veterator, præceps, atque ut ipſemet, adeo ingenuus eſt, confitetur, nihil omnino ſciens - - - - - hoc ut probro jucundiſſime frueretur, eoque ſe nomine mirum in modum circumſpiceret, quod quid turpe quidve honeſtum, quid bonum quidve malum eſſet, ignoraret: ſed potius, ubi quod primum in mentem venerat effutiiſſet, tum repente mutatus, id ipſum pluribus quam ante ſtabilierat, everteret. Se ipſum igitur ille quaſi Hydram ſecabat & ſecabatur à ſe ipſo, dum ſic in utramque partem loqueretur, ut nec quid ſibi vellet intelligeret, nec ullam ipſe decori rationem haberet.* On the whole, he acknowledged the Finger of God, in the Ignorance of Man; for he was much pleaſed with a Verſe of *Heſiod*, where it is ſaid, That *the Gods keep human Underſtanding behind the Veil* (68).

Κρύψαντες γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ νόον ανθρωποῖσι.

Ignaras hominum ſuſpendunt numina mentes.

[*F*] *How he has been attacked by a Father of the Church.*] I mean *Lactantius:* He pretends to deſtroy all Philoſophy, by maintaining, with *Socrates*, that we can know nothing, and, with *Zeno*, that nothing is to be believed, but what we know. *Si neque ſciri*, ſays he, (69) *quicquam poteſt, ut Socrates docuit, nec opinari oportet, ut Zeno, tota Philoſophia ſublata eſt.* He confirms his Pretence by the great Number of Sects, into which Philoſophy was divided. Each engroſſed Truth and Wiſdom to it ſelf, and made Error and Folly the Portion of all the reſt. So that whatſoever particular Sect we would condemn, we have the Suffrages of all the other Philoſophers, who are not of That Sect. You are ſure, then, of a Majority, in condemning them all; for each in particular approves your Judgment as to all the reſt; and has nothing to oppoſe, in bar againſt a general Sentence, but the Teſtimony it gives it ſelf; in which caſe it is a Judge in it's own Cauſe, and conſequently unworthy of Credit. See how *Lactantius* deſtroys all the Sects of the Ancient Philoſophy by each other: “ They deſtroy each other, like *Cadmus*'s Brood; not one of them is left alive; and the Reaſon is, becauſe they have, indeed, each a Sword, but no Buckler: They have Arms for an Offenſive, but not for a Defenſive War. *Pereunt igitur univerſi hoc modo, &, tanquam Spartiatæ illi (70) poëtarum, ſic ſe invicem jugulant, ut nemo ex omnibus reſtet. Quod eo fit, quia gladium habent, ſcutum non habent. Si ergo ſingulæ ſectæ multarum ſectarum judicio ſtultitiæ convincuntur, omnes igitur vanæ, atque inanes reperiuntur. Ita ſe ipſam philoſophia conſumit, & conficit (71).* He goes on; “ *Arceſilas* obſerving this, took up Arms againſt them all, and founded a new Sect of Philoſophy, which conſiſted in not philoſophizing at all.” *Quod cum intelligeret Arceſilas, Academiæ Conditor, reprehenſiones omnium inter ſe collegit, confeſſionemque ignorantiæ clarorum Philoſophorum, armavitque ſe adverſus omnes. Ita conſtituit novam non philoſophandi philoſophiam* (72). From That Time there aroſe two Parties; one aſpiring to perfect Science, the other deſtroying all Certainty. The firſt falls to the Ground, if the Nature of Things cannot be known; the Latter is loſt, if it can: Suppoſing their Pretenſions equal, ſtill Philoſophy muſt fall, becauſe divided. “ If, as I have taught, our miſerable State does not admit of any Science, properly ſpeaking, in Man, then *Arceſilas* gains the Victory; but he cannot maintain it; becauſe it is impoſſible we ſhould not know ſome things; we ſhould of Neceſſity periſh, if we did not know what is uſeful or pernicious to Life. *Si autem (ut docui) nulla poteſt eſſe in homine interna & propria ſcientia ob fragilitatem conditionis humanæ, Arceſilæ manus vicit. Sed ne ipſa quidem ſtabit, quia non poteſt omnino nihil ſciri. Sunt enim multa, quæ natura ipſa nos ſcire, & uſus frequens, & vitæ neceſſitas cogit. Itaque pereundum eſt niſi ſcias quæ ad vitam ſunt utilia, ut appetas, quæ periculoſa, ut fugias, & vites (73).* After this, *Lactantius* gives us a detail of ſeveral Things, which Men know, and inſults *Arceſilas*, who could not degrade the reſt of the World, without degrading himſelf; ſince they might have reply'd to him, *If you prove, that we have no Knowledge, and that conſequently we are no Philoſophers, neither are you one, for you confeſs that you know nothing.* So that he cuts his own Throat with the ſame Dagger, which he employs to kill others. *Quid ergo promovit Arceſilas, niſi quod confectis omnibus philoſophis ſe ipſum mucrone transfixit* (74). *Lactantius* does not blame him in every Thing; he praiſes him for having diſcern'd the Folly of thoſe, who believe, that Conjectures about Truth are Science. *Recte vidit Arceſilas arrogantes vel potius ſtultos eſſe, qui putant ſcientiam veritatis conjectura poſſe comprehendi* (75): But he does not dwell long on his Praiſe; he proceeds immediately to the Contradiction, ſo often objected to the *Pyrrhonians*; *for this very Reaſon, that you know nothing, you know one thing.* “ Arceſilas —— introduxit genus Philoſophiæ ἀσύστατον, quod latinè inſtabile, ſive inconſtans poſſumus dicere. Ut enim nihil ſciri poſſe ſciendum ſit, aliquid ſcire neceſſe eſt, nam ſi omnino nihil ſcias, id ipſum nihil ſciri poſſe tolletur. Itaque qui velut ſententiæ loco pronunciat nihil ſciri, tanquam præceptum profitetur, & cognitum, ergo aliquid ſciri poteſt. Huic ſimile eſt illud, quod in ſcholis proponi ſolet in aſiſtati generis exemplum, ſomniaſſe quendam, ne ſomniis crederet. Si enim crediderit, tum ſequitur, ut credendum non ſit; ſi autem non crediderit, tum ſequitur, ut credendum ſit. Ita ſi nihil ſciri poteſt, neceſſe eſt id ipſum ſciri, quod nihil ſciatur. Si autem ſcitur, poſſe nihil ſciri, falſum eſt ergo quod dicitur nihil ſciri poſſe. Sic inducitur dogma ſibi ipſi repugnans, ſeque diſſolvens (76). Arceſilas *introduced a kind of wavering, uncertain, Philoſophy. For, in order to know, That nothing can be known, we muſt neceſſarily know ſomething; for if you know nothing at all, this very knowledge, that nothing can be known, will be deſtroy'd. He, therefore, who gives it as his Opinion, that Nothing is known, profeſſes to know ſomething; ſomething therefore may be known. A-kin to this is That Example of this kind of Philoſophy uſually propos'd in the Schools; that a certain Perſon dreamt, that he ought not to believe in Dreams. For if he did believe in them, it follows, that he ought not to believe in them; but if he did not believe in them, it follows, that he ought to believe in them. Thus,* of a very perſuaſive Eloquence, which never wandered too far from the main Subject, and had moreover an happy Talent at anſwering Objections, he drew a great Number of Diſciples to his Auditory [G], though he was ſevere in his Cenſures. In general, the World was perſuaded of his Integrity; and he filled his Scholars with great Expectations; which made them ſubmit the more readily to his Rebukes, though a little too ſevere (f). Some affirm, that he play'd the Sceptic, only to try his Scholars [H]; and that, after this Probation, he taught them in another manner. He diſtributed his Money as freely as any Man in the World; and very great things are ſaid of his Liberality [I]. He is accuſed of Vanity, and of affecting Popularity too

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(63) Id. ib. lib. 2. cap. 5. *See, above, Citat.* (49).

(64) *Cap.* 24.

(65) Numenius, apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 15. c. 5. p. 731.

(66) Id. ib. c. 5. p. 730. *A.*

(67) Id. ib. cap. 6. pag. 730. *C.*

(68) Euſeb. ib. cap. 4. pag. 726, *D.*

(69) Lactant. Divin. Inſt. lib. 3. c. 4. pag. 153.

(70) Thyſius's *Note on this Expreſſion is ridiculous.* Qui ſe invicem conficiunt, *ſays he,* ſicut Cleomedes & ſocii, apud Spartanos, teſte Plutarcho. *Could he not ſee, that* Lactantius *ſpeaks not of the Hiſtorical, but the Fabulous Times, and of thoſe Men, who ſprung from the Teeth of a Dragon, ſown by* Cadmus.

(71) Lactan. lib, 3. c. 4. pag. 154.

(72) Id. ib.

(73) Id. ib. pag. 155.

(74) Id. ib. cap. 5. pag. 156.

(75) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(76) Id. ib.

“ *if nothing can be known, we muſt neceſſarily know this very thing, that nothing is known. But, if it be known, that nothing can be known, it is falſe, which is pretended, that nothing can be known. Thus an Opinion is advanc'd, which is repugnant to, and deſtructive of, itſelf*”. Laſtly, *Lactantius* confeſſes, that, with relation to Phyſics, there is no ſuch thing as Science, and that it ought not to be ſo much as ſought after. —“ Quanto faceret ſapientius ac verius, ſi exceptione facta diceret cauſas rationeſque duntaxat rerum cœleſtium ſeu naturalium, quia ſunt abditæ, neſciri poſſe, quia nullus doceat, nec quæri oportere, quia inveniri quærendo non poſſunt (77). —— *How much more wiſely and truly wou'd he have reaſon'd, if he had ſaid only, that the Cauſes and Reaſons of Heavenly or Natural Things, as being hid, cou'd not be known; ſince there is no Teacher to inſtruct us in them; and that we ought not to enquire after them, ſince no Enquiry will diſcover them?*

Let us now make ſome ſhort Remarks on this Diſpute. I. The Argument, he makes uſe of, to overthrow all the Sects of Philoſophy, by each other, proves too much. An Atheiſt, who ſhould make uſe of it, at preſent, to overthrow the Chriſtian Religion, would reaſon ill; the Chriſtian Sects mutually condemn each other; I grant it; but if you ſhould condemn any one of them in all it's Doctrinal Points, you would not have the Suffrages of all the reſt. II. *Lactantius* contradicts himſelf wretchedly. He confeſſes, that, if there be no Science among Men, *Arceſilas* gains the Victory; and he pretends to have demonſtrated, that we are too frail to attain to Science. Why then does he preſently add, that *Arceſilas* loſes the Victory, becauſe there are actually ſeveral Sciences among Men? III. The Examples he alledges are nothing to the purpoſe: For, in the Senſe, in which the Word is taken in this Diſpute, it is not Science, to diſcern Good from Bad; nor has this kind of Knowledge been call'd in queſtion by the *Acataleptics*. IV. The Charge of Contradiction has leſs of Solidity in it than of falſe Luſtre; it is rather a Subtilty, than a convincing Reaſon; good Senſe ſoon unravels the Difficulty. If I dream, that I ought not to believe in Dreams, I am caught in a Trap; for, if I do not believe in them, I do believe in them; and, if I do believe in them, I do not believe in them. Who ſees not, that, in this caſe, the particular Dream, which adviſes me not to believe in Dreams, muſt be excepted from all other Dreams? See, in *Sextus Empiricus*, what the Sceptics reply'd to this Objection. V. *Lactantius*'s Conceſſion, as to Phyſics, was not at all proper to his Deſign: An Advantage might be drawn from it againſt his own Cauſe.

[G] *He drew a great Number of Diſciples to his Auditory.*] An Attempt to run down all Science, and to reject not only the Teſtimony of Senſe, but That of Reaſon too, is the boldeſt, that ever was form'd in the Republick of Letters. It is like That of the *Alexanders*, and other Conquerors, who would ſubdue all Nations; It requires much Wit, much Eloquence, much Reading, and deep Meditation. “ Si ſingulas diſciplinas percipere magnum eſt, quanto majus omnes? quod facere iis neceſſe eſt, quibus propoſitum eſt veri reperiendi cauſa, & contra omnes Philoſophos pro omnibus dicere (78). —— *If it be a great attainment to be Maſter of a ſingle Science, how much a greater is it to underſtand All? which they muſt neceſſarily do, who propoſe to inveſtigate Truth, and to defend All the Philoſophers againſt All the Philoſophers*”. *Arceſilas* was as fit for ſuch an Undertaking, as a Man could be. Nature and Art had concurr'd to qualify him compleatly. He was naturally of a happy Genius, and of a ready and lively Wit (79); his Perſon and Preſence were engaging; he ſpoke with a good Grace; the Charms of his Countenance admirably ſeconded thoſe of his Voice; and he had learnt, under good Maſters, all that was moſt proper to perfect his Natural Abilities; I mean to extend their Force by the Combination of ſeveral different Powers. You will find This Detail in *Numenius*; but deliver'd with an odious Turn. *Numenius* did not love *Arceſilas*; yet could not forbear expreſſing himſelf thus; Πλὴν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἤρκεσεν, ὅμως τῇ ἀκροάσει εὐπρόσωπον ὄντα θεωμένοις· ἦν οὖν ἀκουόμενος καὶ βλεπόμενος ἥδιστος, ἐπεί τοι προσεθίσθησαν ἀποδέχεσθαι αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους ἰόντας ἀπὸ καλοῦ προσώπου τε καὶ στόματος, οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι φιλοφροσύνης (80). *Yet he engaged the Attention of his Hearers; whilſt, as he ſpoke, they beheld the greateſt Dignity of Aſpect. For he charm'd both the Eyes and Ears; for which Reaſon what he ſaid was favourably hear'd, as it flowed from pleaſing Lips, attended with a certain Native Sweetneſs in his Looks.* He ſays likewiſe, that *Arceſilas* thunderſtruck the Stoics by his various ways of confuting his Antagoniſts. Let us repeat the whole Paſſage; it will ſhew the great Dexterity of our Philoſopher, and the great Eſteem he had acquired. Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ δὲ ὑπήκουον ἐκπεπληγμένοι. ἡ μοῦσα γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ τότε ἦν φιλόλογος, οὐδ' ἐργάτις χαρίτων, ὑφ' ὧν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος, τὰ μὲν περικρούων, τὰ δὲ ὑποτέμνων, ἄλλα δ' ὑποσκελίζων, κατεγλωττίζετο αὐτοὺς, καὶ πιθανὸς ἦν. Τοιγαροῦν πρὸς οὓς μὲν ἀντέλεγεν, ἡττωμενων, ἐν οἷς δὲ λέγων ἦν, καταπεπληγμένων, δεδειγμένον πως τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις ὑπῆρχε, μηδὲν εἶναι μήτ' οὖν ἔπος, μήτε πάθος, μήτε ἔργον ἐν βραχὺ, μηδὲ ἄχρηστον τοὐναντίον ὀφθῆναί ποτ' ἂν εἰ τι μὴ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ δοκεῖ τῷ Πιταναίῳ (81). *The Stoics hear'd theſe things with Aſtoniſhment. For their Muſe was as yet unskilled, nor Miſtreſs of that Addreſs, by which* Arceſilas, *variouſly confuting and baffling* Zeno's *Arguments, o'rewhelmed them with a torrent of Words, and eſtabliſhed his Credit. Thus when They, with whom he diſputed, were overcome, and They, before whom he ſpoke, remain'd aſtoniſh'd and confounded, it was evident to the World at that time, that no Opinions were right or wrong, but ſuch as were approved, or condemned, by* Arceſilas *of* Pitane. The preceeding Remarks might have been ſufficient to eſtabliſh the Merit of *Arceſilas*. But here is a new one. Some one, in *Cicero*, ſays, that no one would ever have followed This Philoſopher's Opinion, if the manifeſt Abſurdity of it had not diſappeared under the Eloquence and Dexterity of the Teacher. *Quis iſta tam aperte perſpicueque & perverſa & falſa ſequutus eſſet, niſi tanta in Arceſila - - - & copia rerum, & dicendi vis fuiſſet* (82).

[H] *Some affirm, that he play'd the Sceptic, only to try his Scholars.*] *Sextus Empiricus*, having ſaid, that *Arceſilas* did not ſeem to differ from the *Pyrrhonians*; adds, that, if certain Reports were to be credited, he was a *Pyrrhonian* only in Appearance; who, in the main, followed the method of the Dogmatiſts. The Queſtions he propoſed to his Auditors, to diſcover whether they had Genius enough to comprehend the Doctrine of *Plato*, made him looked upon as a Philoſopher, who affirmed nothing; but he deliver'd *Plato*'s Doctrine, in a Dogmatical way, to Thoſe, in whom he had diſcovered a ſound Underſtanding (83). It is difficult to know whether this Relation be true. See the Diſſertations of Mr *Foucher* on the Philoſophy of the Academics (84), and the Annotations of *Thomas Aldobrandinus*, to which I refer you (85).

[I] *Very great things are ſaid of his Liberality.*] He did good, and endeavoured to conceal it. Εὐεργετῆσαι πρόχειρος ἦν, καὶ λαθεῖν τὴν χάριν ἀτυφότατος (86). *Erat ad ferenda beneficia promptus; latere quoque gratiam omni ſtudio quærebat, faſtum ejuſmodi maxime exhorrens.* This was practiſing the

Goſpel

(f) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 37.

(77) Id. ib. pag. 158.

(78) Cicero, de Natura Deorum, lib. 1. cap. 5.

(79) Τὸν Θεόφραστον κνιζόμενον φασὶν εἰπεῖν ὡς εὐφυὴς καὶ εὐεπιχείρητος ἀπεληλυθὼς τῆς διατριβῆς εἴη νεανίσκος. - - Theophraſtus, *they ſay, was grieved at his Departure, and ſaid, How ingenious and ready a Youth has left the School.* Diog. Laërt. ubi ſupra, n. 30. *See alſo* n. 37.

(80) Numenius, apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 14. cap. 6. pag. 730, D.

(81) Id. Ib. p. 733. C.

(82) Cicero, Academ. Quæſt. l. 4. cap. 18. fin.

(83) Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypotypoſ. lib. 1. c. 33.

(84) Foucher. lib. 1. pag. 32. & lib. 3. pag. 154, &c.

(85) Th. Aldobrand. in Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 28.

(86) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 37.

too much (*g*). The other Philoſophers took a Pleaſure in cenſuring him (*h*); but did they equal him in Modeſty, and a Freedom from Jealouſy? Did they exhort their Diſciples to hear other Profeſſors? This He did (*i*). One of his Pupils having ſignified, that he ſhould chuſe to be the Diſciple of a certain Peripatetic, he carried him to the Profeſſor, and recommended him to his Care (*k*). Another time, he expelled a Diſciple his School for having affronted *Cleanthes*, in a Verſe of a Comedy; and would not reſtore him to Favour, 'till the Perſon offended had received Satisfaction (*l*). The Merit of this Action will appear the greater, when it is known, that *Cleanthes* was the Succeſſor of *Zeno*, who had been *Arceſilas*'s Adverſary. This Perſon was very free from the failing of moſt Plagiaries; for he declared openly, that he taught nothing but what he had found in Books (*m*). It is probable he acted thus to give the greater Authority to his Opinions, and to take off the Odium, which the Name of Innovator drew upon him. He had no Inclination to meddle with Politics (*n*): Nevertheleſs, when he was appointed to go to *Demetrias* to negotiate ſome Affairs with King *Antigonus*, in Favour of his Country, he accepted the Deputation. He returned without Succeſs; probably becauſe he never would compliment that Prince, or go to Court, or write Conſolatory Letters to him after the Loſs of a Sea-Fight (*o*), as ſeveral others had done (*p*). He had a great ſhare in the Friendſhip of the Governor of the *Pireum* (*q*), and received ſeveral fine Preſents from *Eumenes*, Prince of *Pergamus* (*r*). He had a very fine Thought concerning Death; for he ſaid, that, of all human Evils, this was the only one, whoſe Preſence is never troubleſome to any one, and which makes us uneaſy only by it's Abſence (*s*). His Doctrines tended to overthrow all Precepts of Morality; and yet it is obſervable, that he practiſed them. The Teſtimony given him, on this occaſion, by the Stoic *Cleanthes*, his Anſwer, and the other's Reply, are very curious [*K*]. He was never married (*t*); though he was of an amorous Conſtitution; and followed the bent of his Inclinations but too freely, and even to ſhameful Exceſſes [*L*]. He flouriſhed about the CXXth Olympiad (*u*), and died of a *Delirium*, occaſioned by exceſſive Drinking, at Seventy five Years of Age (*x*), in the fourth Year of the CXXXIVth Olympiad (*y*). He boaſted of his great Patience during a Fit of the Gout [*M*]. *Diogenes Laërtius* has not given him *Bion* for his Succeſſor: Father *Rapin* imagined this without the leaſt ground [*N*]. I have but one Fault to charge Mr *Moreri*

(*g*) Id. ib. n. 41.

(*h*) Id. ib.

(*i*) Id. ib. n. 42.

(*k*) Id. ib.

(*l*) Plut. de Diſcrim. Adulat. & Amici, pag. 55. C.

(*m*) *See* Plutarch, *cited above, Citation* (47).

(*n*) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 40.

(*o*) Ibid. n. 39.

(*p*) Id. ib.

(*q*) Id. ib.

(*r*) Id. ib. n. 38.

(*s*) Plutarch. de Conſolat. ad Apollon. p. 110, *A*.

(*t*) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 43.

(*u*) Apollod. apud Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 45.

(*x*) Id. ib. n. 44.

(*y*) Diogen. Laërt, n. 61, *places the beginning of the Regency of* Lacydes, *Succeſſor to* Arceſilas, *in the ſame Year.*

Goſpel Precept, before it was declared. "Having "made a Viſit to *Cteſibius*, who was Sick, and wanted Neceſſaries, he dexterouſly convey'd a Purſe of "Money under his Pillow (87)." *Seneca* tells us this. *Arceſilaus, ut aiunt, amico pauperi, & paupertatem ſuam diſſimulanti, ægro autem, & ne hoc quidem confitenti deeſſe ſibi in ſumptum ad neceſſarios uſus, cum clam ſuccurrendum judicaſſet, pulvino ejus ignorantis ſacculum ſubjecit, ut homo inutiliter verecundus, quod deſiderabat, inveniret potius quam acciperet* (88). *Plutarch* relates the ſame Fact more at large, but ſuppoſes, that the ſick Perſon was not *Cteſibius*; he calls him *Apelles* of *Chio* (89). Let us add, that *Arceſilas*, having lent ſome Silver Plate to a Friend, who was to make a Feaſt, would never demand it afterwards, ſuppoſing that it was given, not lent. Some ſay, that, conſidering the Neceſſity of his Friend, he refuſed to receive it again, when it was returned to him (90).

[*K*] *The Teſtimony given him, on this Occaſion, by* Cleanthes, *His Anſwer, and the other's Reply, are very curious.*] When once a Man affirms, that there is nothing certain, and that all is incomprehenſible, he in effect declares, that it is uncertain whether there be any ſuch thing as Virtue or Vice. Now ſuch a Tenet ſeems calculated to inſpire an Indifferency for Probity and for all the Duties of Civil Life. For which Reaſon *Arceſilas*'s Adverſaries tax'd him with having neglected all thoſe Duties. They pretended, that he lived according to his Principles. But *Cleanthes*, though of a Sect very oppoſite to This Philoſopher, took his part. *Hold your Tongue*, ſaid he to one of theſe Cenſurers, *condemn not* Arceſilas; *he overthrows the Duties by his Words, but eſtabliſhes them by his Actions*. Παῦσαι, ἔφη, καὶ μὴ ψέγε, εἰ γὰρ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ καθῆκον ἀναιρεῖ, τοῖς γοῦν ἔργοις αὐτὸ τιθεῖ (91). *Quieſce, inquit, neque vituperes; ille enim etſi verbis officium tollit, operibus tamen id ponit.* *Arceſilas* anſwer'd, That he did not love to be flatter'd; *Is it Flattery*, replied *Cleanthes*, *to maintain, that you ſay one thing, and do another* (92)? This Repartee is ſmart enough. Probably he alluded to a Verſe of *Homer*, which imports, that Hypocrites and Diſſemblers, whoſe Thoughts are contrary to their Words, ought to be deteſted as Hell (93). However, at the bottom, This was a great Commendation of the good Life of *Arceſilas*. By the way, there was a Theory in the Doctrine of the rigideſt *Pyrrhonians* favourable to Virtue; for, whatever the real Nature of things might be, they taught, that, as to Practice, Men ought to behave according to Appearances. Be that as it will, the true Principle of our Morals depends ſo little upon the ſpeculative Judgment, which we form of the Nature of things, that nothing is more common, than Orthodox Chriſtians, who live ill, and Free-Thinkers, who live well.

[*L*] *He followed the Bent of his Inclinations - - - - even to ſhameful Exceſſes.*] The good Qualities, mentioned in the Body of this Article, and in the preceeding Remark, were joined, in his Perſon, with the moſt criminal Lewdneſs. So true it is, that Vice and Virtue are ſometimes in Alliance. He publickly viſited *Theodota* and *Phileta*, two common Women. Καὶ Θεοδότῃ τε καὶ Φιλαίτῃ, Ἠλιαίαις ἑταίραις, συνῴκει φανερῶς (94). *Theodotæ item ac Philetæ, Elienſibus ſcortis, palam congrediebatur.* The worſt is, He was addicted to the Sin againſt Nature. Φιλομειράκιός τε ἦν καταφερής. ὅθεν οἱ περὶ Ἀρίστωνα τὸν Χῖον Στωϊκοὶ ἐπεκάλουν αὐτὸν φθορέα τῶν νέων, καὶ κιναιδολόγον καὶ θρασὺν ἀποκαλοῦντες (95). *He was fond of Boys, and of an amorous Complexion; inſomuch, that the Stoic* Ariſto *of* Chios *was wont to call him A Corrupter of Youth, and an impudent Boaſter of his unnatural Amours.*

[*M*] *He boaſted of his great Patience during a Fit of the Gout.*] *Nothing aſcends from thoſe Parts hither*, ſaid he to *Carneades* the *Epicurean*, afflicted to ſee him in ſo much Torment, *Nothing*, ſaid he, pointing at the ſame time to his Feet, and Breaſt. *Is quum arderet podagræ doloribus, viſitaſſetque hominem Carneades Epicuri perfamiliaris, & triſtis exiret, mane quæſo, inquit, Carneades noſter, nihil illinc huc pervenit, oſtendens pedes & pectus* (96). This was talking like a Stoic, tho' *Arceſilas* was The Antagoniſt of The Founder of That Sect.

[*N*] Diogenes Laërtius *has not given him* Bion *for Succeſſor. Father* Rapin *imagined this, without the leaſt Ground.*] Theſe are his Words: "*Cicero*, "who knew *Plato*'s Succeſſors very well, ſays nothing of This *Bion*, whom *Diogenes* gives *Arce-* "*ſilas*

(87) Id. ib.

(88) Seneca de Benef. l. 2. cap. 10. pag. 25.

(89) Plut. de Diſcrim. Amici & Adul. p. 63.

(90) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 38.

(91) Diog. Laërt. in Cleanth. lib. 7. n. 171.

(92) Id. ib.

(93) Homer. Iliad. lib. 9. ver. 312.

(94) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 40.

(95) Id. ib.

(96) Cicero de Finibus, lib. 5. c. 31. in fine.

reri with; to wit, his ſaying, that *Arceſilas* ſtudied under *Xanthus*, and under *Theophraſtus*, before he came to *Athens*. I have obſerved a very groſs Error in *Sidonius Apollinaris* [O].

" *ſilas* for his Succeſſor, and who made himſelf " famous by the Vehemency of his Satires, according to *Horace* (97)." The only ground Father *Rapin* can have for what he ſays, is, that The Life of *Bion* immediately follows That of *Arceſilas*, in the Works of *Diogenes Laërtius*. This Reaſon is void; ſince the Author expreſsly ſays, That *Lacydes* was the Succeſſor of *Arceſilas* (98), and that *Bion*, being alſo a Hearer of *Crates*, deſpiſed the Opinions of the Academy, and afterwards embraced another Sect (99).

[*O*] *I have obſerved a very groſs Error in* Sidonius Apollinaris.] He pretends, that, according to *Arceſilas*, who preceeded *Socrates*, God is the Efficient Cauſe of the Univerſe, and Atoms the Material Cauſe of it.

Poſt hos Arceſilas divina mente patratam
Conjicit hanc molem, confectam partibus illis
Quas atomos vocat ipſe leves. Socratica poſt hunc
Secta micat, quæ de naturæ pondere migrans
Ad mores hominum limandos tranſtulit uſum (100).

Next theſe, Arceſilas *ſuppoſed the World*
Form'd, by a Mind divine, of lighteſt Atoms.
The Sect of Socrates *ſucceeded next,*
Which, quitting nat'ral Things, applied Philoſophy
To poliſh and inform the Human Mind.

Savaro, without taking notice of this Miſtake in Chronology, is contented with obſerving, that every one aſcribes to *Epicurus*, and *Democritus*, the Doctrine, which *Sidonius Apollinaris* attributes to *Arceſilas* (101). This Obſervation is wrong; for no one ever pretended, that *Democritus* and *Epicurus* taught, that the Univerſe was the Work of God.

(97) Rapin. Compar. de Platon & d'Ariſtote, parte 4. c. 1. pag. 369.

(98) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 59. in Lacyde, init.

(99) Id. ib. n. 51, 52. in Bione.

(100) Sidon. Apollin. Carm. 15. ver. 94. pag. 152.

(101) Savaro in hunc locum Sidonii Apollinaris.

ARCHELAUS. *Diogenes Laërtius* mentions Four Perſons, who bore this Name (*a*); to wit, ARCHELAUS, the Philoſopher (*b*); ARCHELAUS, the Author of a Deſcription of all the Countries, through which *Alexander* carried his Arms; ARCHELAUS, who deſcribed the marvellous Properties of certain things in Verſe (*c*); and ARCHELAUS, the Orator, who wrote a Treatiſe of Rhetoric. Mr *Menage* adds, to theſe Four, ARCHELAUS, King of *Cappadocia*; ARCHELAUS, King of *Sparta*; ARCHELAUS, General of *Mithridates*; ARCHELAUS, the Dancer; ARCHELAUS, the Muſician; and ARCHELAUS, the Comedian (*d*). He obſerves, that *Lucian* mentions the latter in his Treatiſe, *de conſcribenda Hiſtoria*; That *Athenæus*, in his firſt Book, ſpeaks of him, who played upon Inſtruments of Muſic (*e*); and that *Clemens Alexandrinus* mentions the Dancer [*A*], in the ſeventh Book of the *Stromata*. He forgot ARCHELAUS the Aſtrologer (*f*), and ſeveral other *Archelaus's*, of ſome of whom I ſhall ſpeak in the following Articles.

[*A*] *He obſerves — that* Athenæus, *in his firſt Book, ſpeaks of him, who played upon Inſtruments of Muſic, and that* Clemens Alexandrinus *mentions the Dancer.*] Mr *Menage* underſtood the Rules of a juſt and learned Method of Citation, but he does not obſerve them upon this Occaſion. He ſhould have quoted the firſt Book of *Athenæus*, in relation to *Archelaus* the Dancer; not the ſeventh of the *Stromata* of *Clemens Alexandrinus*: For, beſides that the Right of Seniority does not belong to the latter, we find ſome Particulars in *Athenæus*, but none in the *Stromata*. *Athenæus* relates, that King *Antiochus* had no Favourite, whom he eſteemed more, than *Archelaus* the Dancer (1). This Author had obſerved, in the ſame Page, that the Inhabitants of *Miletum* dedicated a brazen Statue to *Archelaus* the Fiddler; if I may be permitted thus to tranſlate Ἀρχελάου τοῦ κιθαριστοῦ, *Archelai Cithariſtæ*.

(*a*) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. in Archelao.

(*b*) *He, who is the Subject of the following Article.*

(*c*) *See Remark* [C] *of the following Article.*

(*d*) Menag. in Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 17.

(*e*) *See Remark* [H] *of the Article* ABDERA.

(*f*) Cicero de Divinat. lib. 2. c. 42. *ſome Manuſcripts have it* ARCHIALUS.

(1) Athen. lib. 1. c. 16. pag. 19.

ARCHELAUS, a *Greek* Philoſopher, and Diſciple of *Anaxagoras*, was, as ſome ſay, of *Athens*, or, as others will have it (*a*), of *Miletum*. What is very certain, is, that he taught at *Athens*. It is ſaid too, that he was the firſt, who brought over Philoſophy thither [*A*]. He made but little Alteration in the Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*

[*A*] *He was the firſt who brought over Philoſophy to* Athens.] Several Critics have obſerved, on this Head, the Oppoſition, which is found between *Diogenes Laërtius*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*. The one attributes this Tranſlation to *Archelaus*, the other to *Anaxagoras*. Οὗτος (Ἀρχέλαος) πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας τὴν φυσικὴν φιλοσοφίαν μετήγαγεν Ἀθήναζε (1). Archelaus *was the firſt, who brought Natural Philoſophy from* Ionia *to* Athens. Theſe are the Words of *Diogenes Laërtius*; the following belong to *Clemens Alexandrinus*; Οὗτος (Ἀναξαγόρας) μετήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθήναζε τὴν διατριβήν (2). Anaxagoras *tranſlated the School from* Ionia *to* Athens. No Perſon, that I know of, has endeavoured to reconcile theſe two Opinions, or diſcover the Origin of this Diverſity. To me it ſeems obvious enough, from what I am going to obſerve. *Anaxagoras* came a very young Philoſopher to *Athens*, and lived there thirty Years (3). It is not impoſſible, but that his Maſter *Anaximenes* continued to philoſophize in *Ionia* during part of This Interval (4). We may likewiſe ſuppoſe, that *Diogenes*, his other Diſciple, ſucceeded him. Now if *Thales*'s Chair in *Ionia* was not vacant, whilſt *Anaxagoras* philoſophiz'd at *Athens*, it is falſe, that he tranſported *Thales*'s School to That City. Such a Tranſlation ſuppoſes, that the Succeſſion failed, upon *Anaxagoras*'s Removal. All that can be ſaid, with Truth, is, that, before This Philoſopher read Lectures at *Athens*, no Diſciple of the Sect of *Ionia* had taught among the *Athenians*. Perhaps *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and the Authors he followed, meant no more; but did not take the trouble of expreſſing themſelves more exactly. Be That as it will, I think, by *Caſaubon*'s good leave (5), that *Diogenes Laërtius* has expreſſed himſelf with more Exactneſs. For you muſt know, that *Anaxagoras*, leaving *Athens*, retired to *Lampſacus*, where he taught 'till his Death. His Chair in *Lampſacus* was filled by his Diſciple *Archelaus* (6), who went afterwards to philoſophize at *Athens* (7). *Archelaus*, then, was properly the Perſon, who tranſported the School of *Thales* from *Ionia* to *Athens*: This was a true Tranſlation: But it could not be deemed ſo before; ſince, perhaps, this School had never been vacant during the time, which paſt between *Anaxagoras*'s Journey to *Athens*, and his Retirement to *Lampſacus*; or, if it ſuffered any Interruption, it was ſpeedily repaired by That Philoſopher's Return into *Ionia*. It will be in vain to object, that no Writer remains, who has affirmed, that *Diogenes* was the Succeſſor of *Anaximenes*: For I may reply, 1. That we have nothing exact in the Hiſtory of the ancient Philoſophers; and conſequently, This Silence does not take away the Right of ſuppoſing what I do.

(*a*) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 16.

(1) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 16.

(2) Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. 2. pag. 301.

(3) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 7.

(4) *What* Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 3, *ſays concerning the time of the Death of* Anaximenes *is ridiculous.*

(5) Caſaubon, *on this Paſſage of* Laërtius, *cenſures him, and declares for* Clem. Alexandr. *Mr* Menage *does the ſame.*

(6) Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. l. 10. cap. ult. pag. 504.

(7) Id. ib.

Anaxagoras (b); he held, with him, that the *Similar* Parts were the Material Principle of all Things, and the Divine Wiſdom the Cauſe of the Formation of Bodies. He alſo taught, like him, that all Animals, not excepting Men, were produced out of

do. II. That, *Anaxagoras* having been more famous than *Diogenes*, and having had a Diſciple, who continued the Succeſſion; having alſo, as is probable enough, ſurvived *Diogenes*; the Succeſſion of the *Ionian* Sect is with more reaſon continued in him, than in the other. It is very probable, that *Sidonius Apollinaris* aſſociates theſe Diſciples of *Anaximenes*, as two Colleagues, who were the Support of That School.

> Quartus Anaxagoras Thaletica dogmata ſervat:
> Sed divinum animum ſentit, qui fecerit orbem.
> Junior huic junctus reſidet collega, ſed idem
> Materiam cunctis creaturis aëra credens
> Judicat inde Deum, faceret quo cuncta (8), tuliſſe (9).

> *The Fourth in order,* Anaxagoras
> *Subſcribed to* Thales' *Doctrine; yet acknowledg'd*
> *A Mind Divine, Creator of the World.*
> *His younger Colleague taught, that Air contained*
> *The ſole Materials of creating Art.*

I proceed to other Conjectures. Our learnedeſt Critics (10) take for the ſureſt Foundation of *Anaxagoras*'s Age, what *Diogenes Laërtius* ſays; that, at the Time of the Expedition of *Xerxes*, That Philoſopher was twenty Years old. From whence they take the Liberty to infer, that, ſince he lived Seventy two Years, he died in the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad. I ſhall not diſpute this Point. But I have Difficulties to raiſe againſt what *Laërtius* ſays, that *Anaxagoras* began his Journey to *Athens* at twenty Years of Age, and lived in That City thirty Years. It ſeems very unlikely to me, that he ſhould make choice of the time of *Xerxes*'s Expedition for This Journey, when the *Aſiatics* in general did not doubt, but the Republic of *Athens* would be deſtroyed. However, not to inſiſt on this, let us paſs on to ſtronger Inſtances. If *Diogenes Laërtius* be right, it muſt follow, that *Anaxagoras* lived at *Athens* only 'till the ſecond Year of the LXXXIId Olympiad; for *Xerxes*'s Expedition fell out in the laſt Months of the LXXIVth Olympiad, and the beginning of the LXXVth. But does not *Diodorus Siculus* affirm, that This Philoſopher was accuſed of Impiety, at *Athens*, in the ſecond Year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad (11)? He deſtroys, then, the Account of *Diogenes Laërtius*; Yet not without being himſelf embaraſſed in another Point; for what will become of the Story, that *Socrates*, after the Condemnation of *Anaxagoras*, became the Diſciple of *Archelaus* (12)? What will become of a Fact, which others have vouched, *viz.* that *Euripides* forſook the Study of Natural Philoſophy, and applied himſelf to the Theatre, on account of the Proceſs againſt *Anaxagoras* (13)? Could *Socrates*, who was near forty Years of Age, according to the Chronology of *Diodorus Siculus*, at the time of That Trial, ſtand in need of another Maſter? Obſerve likewiſe, that, according to *Porphyry*, he *began to follow the Philoſopher* Archelaus, *at about ſeventeen Years of Age* (14). Had not *Euripides*, who was above fifty Years of Age, at the time of the ſame Trial, began to write Tragedies 'till That Time? So far was He from delaying it ſo long, that he wrote one at eighteen (15). To clear up this Matter a little, and find ſome Method to reconcile theſe Accounts, we muſt return to *Diogenes Laërtius*, and quit *Diodorus Siculus*; for, ſuppoſing that *Anaxagoras* was accuſed in the LXXXIId Olympiad, we ſhall find the pretended Conſequences of this Trial, with regard to *Euripides* and *Socrates*, very poſſible. We may preſuppoſe, that This Poet, having jointly ſtudied Natural Philoſophy, and wrote Tragedies, 'till he ſaw the Danger of *Anaxagoras*, confined his Studies afterwards to the Theatre alone. But what ſhall we do with *Euſebius*, who tells us, that *Archelaus* ſucceeded *Anaxagoras*, at *Lampſacus*, before he became a Philoſopher in *Athens*? This cannot be true, if *Anaxagoras* lived to the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad; a time, when *Socrates*, a greater Maſter than *Archelaus*, had no occaſion to ſubmit to his Diſcipline. Perhaps we ought to ſuppoſe, I. That *Archelaus*, having ſtudied ſome Years at *Athens*, under *Anaxagoras*, aſſumed the Profeſſor's Chair, upon his Maſter's retiring from thence. II. That, ſome time after, he rejoined him at *Lampſacus*; and was his Succeſſor there; and that, afterwards, returning from thence to *Athens*, he entirely tranſplanted *Thales*'s School thither. It may be proper likewiſe to ſuppoſe, that *Anaxagoras* was accuſed more than once at *Athens*; and that, having withdrawn into *Ionia* about the Time of the firſt Trial, he was ſome time after recalled by *Pericles*, and accuſed a-new after ſome Years Abode there. We have ſeen (16), that certain Authors relate, that he was accuſed by *Thucydides*, the Adverſary of *Pericles*, and condemned to Death for Contumacy. Now, after the Baniſhment of this *Thucydides*, the Authority was in *Pericles*'s Hands for fifteen Years (17); which ſhews, that *Thucydides* was baniſhed fifteen Years before the Death of *Pericles*. From whence it ſhould follow, that *Anaxagoras* had been condemned for Contumacy, at leaſt fifteen or ſixteen Years before the Death of *Pericles*: But, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (18), and *Plutarch* (19), he was accuſed a little before the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War; that is, two or three Years before the Death of *Pericles*. We may therefore ſuppoſe, that he was twice accuſed; and, if we place his Return into *Ionia*, and his ſecond Return to *Athens*, in the Interval between theſe two Accuſations; a very conſiderable Difficulty will be removed by this means. *Socrates* was not a Diſciple of *Anaxagoras*, though *Diogenes Laërtius* affirms it (20). I have proved this (21) by a very ſtrong Reaſon; and can confirm it not only by the Silence of *Plato* and *Xiphilin*, when the Circumſtances of the Subject obliged them to mention it, but alſo by the Silence of the Accuſers of *Socrates*, and by the Anſwers, which *Socrates* made to them. Would they have failed to reproach him with being inſtructed by a Philoſopher, who had been condemned for Impiety? Would not this have rendered him more ſuſpected? Would they have forgot this Circumſtance? Would they have been ſatisfied with reproaching him, in general, that he philoſophized like That impious Man? And, if he had actually been his Scholar, would he have replied as he did (22)? Let us conclude, then, that he was no Diſciple of *Anaxagoras*. But how can we imagine, that he was not, if we ſuppoſe, that *Anaxagoras* did not leave *Athens*, 'till the Time, which *Diodorus Siculus* and *Plutarch* mention. In this caſe, would not *Anaxagoras* have flouriſhed at *Athens*, when *Socrates* was at the propereſt Age to chuſe him for his Profeſſor; and, if ſo, can any one conceive, that *Socrates* would attend the Lectures of *Archelaus*, and not Thoſe of This Philoſopher? Is it probable, that the former ſhould ſet up a School at *Athens*, whilſt *Anaxagoras* flouriſhed in the ſame City? Or, if he did, that *Socrates* would prefer his Lectures before Thoſe of *Anaxagoras*? Theſe Difficulties may all be ſolved, if it be ſuppoſed, that this latter was twice baniſhed; and that, in the Time, which paſſed between the two Condemnations, *Archelaus* philoſophized at *Athens*.

There remains one Obſervation to be made againſt *Plutarch*. It muſt not be imagined, that he believed *Anaxagoras* died in the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad; For, when he relates the Prodigies, which preceeded the Defeat of the *Athenians* at the River *Ægos* (23); he ſays, that, according to the Predictions of this Philoſopher, a great Stone fell from Heaven. This Miſfortune of the *Athenians* happened in the fourth Year of the XCIIId Olympiad. It would be abſurd, to ſuppoſe, that *Plutarch* meant, that *Anaxagoras* had predicted the Fall of ſuch a Srone twenty Years before: He believed, then, that This Philoſopher lived 'till the XCIIId Olympiad. Now this is a great Error. I ſuſpect him much of an Anachroniſm, in placing the Fall of the Stone in the XCIIId Olympiad. *Pliny*, *Euſebius*, and the *Arundelian Marbles*, confute this. They place This Event in the LXXVIIIth Olympiad (24).

(b) *See Remark* [C].

(8) *This, compared with what* Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. pag. 46, *and* St Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8, cap. 2, *ſay of* Diogenes *of* Apollonia, *ſhews that this* Diogenes *is the Perſon meant here.*

(9) Apollin. Carm. 15, ver. 89.

(10) Scalig. in Euſeb. n. 1554, pag. 103. Petavius Ration. Temporis, Pars I. lib. 3, cap. 8, pag. 140. Voſſius de Scient. Mathem. cap. 33, n. 4. p. 148.

(11) Diod. Sicul. lib. 12, cap. 39, pag. 433.

(12) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 19.

(13) *See the Article* EURIPIDES, *in the Text.*

(14) *See the Life of* Socrates, *by Mr* Charpentier, pag. 5.

(15) Aulus Gellius, lib. 15, cap. 20.

(16) *Citation* (147) *of the Article* ANAXAGORAS.

(17) Plut. in Pericle, pag. 161, E.

(18) Lib. 12, cap. 39. pag. 433.

(19) Plut. in Pericle, pag. 169.

(20) Diog. Laërt. in Socrat. lib. 2. n. 19, 45.

(21) *At the end of the Remark* [R], *of the Article* *ANAXAGORAS.*

(22) *See Citation* (29), *of the Article* *ANAXAGORAS.*

(23) Ibid. *Citation* (13).

(24) Pliny, *in the ſecond Year. See Citation* (138) *of the Article* ANAXAGORAS. Euſebius, *in the fourth, and the* Arundelian *Marbles, in the firſt Year. See* Hardouin, in Plin. Tom. 1, pag. 275.

of a Terreſtrial Matter, Hot and Moiſt [*B*]. He applied himſelf principally to Natural Philoſophy, as his Predeceſſors had done; but intermixed Morality with it a little more than They had done. He was not very Orthodox in this Point; ſince he maintained, that Human Laws were the Spring and Origin of Moral Good and Evil; that is, He did not admit a *Natural*, but only a *Poſitive* Right, and conſequently believed, that all Actions were indifferent in their own Nature, and became Good or Evil, according as Mankind is pleaſed to declare them ſuch by certain Laws (*c*). He wrote a Treatiſe of Natural Philoſophy, according to *Suidas*; and He paſſed for the Author of ſome *Elegies*, deſigned to comfort *Cimon*, who was very much afflicted for the Death of his Wife (*d*). *Socrates*, the moſt famous of his Diſciples, was his Succeſſor (*e*). It will be proper to take ſome Notice of a Poet, whoſe Name was ARCHELAUS [C]. *Diogenes Laërtius* mentions him; but he is contented with preſerving to us the Title of one of his Compoſitions.

Such is the wretched State, in which the ſo much boaſted Ancients have left the Hiſtory of the Philoſophers. A thouſand Contradictions throughout, a thouſand inconſiſtent Facts, and a thouſand falſe Dates. Note, that I have not met with any Modern, who confutes thoſe, who place the Death of *Anaxagoras* in the LXXVIIIth Olympiad (25); I ſay, who confutes them by *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Plutarch*, who both affirm, that this Philoſopher was accuſed a little before the firſt Year of the *Peloponneſian* War (26).

[*B*] *He alſo taught, like him, that all Animals, not excepting Men, were produced out of a Terreſtrial Matter, hot and moiſt.*] The Accounts, preſerved to us, of theſe Opinions, in the Authors, who report them, are ſo conciſe, that it is difficult to form any diſtinct Idea of them. Γεννᾶσθαι δὲ φησι τὰ ζῶα ἐκ θερμῆς τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἰλὺν παραπλησίαν γάλακτι, οἷον τροφὴν, ἀνιείσης. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιησαι (27). *He taught, that Animals ſprung from a warm Earth, which ſent forth a kind of milky Subſtance, by way of Nouriſhment; and that Men had the ſame Original.* Thus *Diogenes Laërtius* expreſſes himſelf. He had ſaid, that, according to this Philoſopher's Opinion, the two Cauſes of Generation were Heat and Moiſture (28). He had alſo explained, how Water, Air, Earth, and Fire, proceeded from theſe two Principles; but I own, I cannot comprehend the meaning of his Words, and therefore will not be at the Pains of tranſcribing them. Mr *Menage*, who inſerted them in his Commentary, without any Note upon them, ſeems to have been ignorant of their Meaning. Other Commentators have not been more ſucceſsful. They leave them to their Native Obſcurity. Let us do the ſame, and have recourſe to *Plutarch*, who has ſaid, that, according to *Archelaus*, the infinite Air, the Condenſation and Rarefaction of the Air, the one Fire, the other Water, were the Principles of all Things (29). *Juſtin Martyr* attributes very near the ſame Opinion to him (30). This ſeems to me to imply, that he held the Air to be the firſt Matter, and Fire and Water to be the Elements; but this was not his Opinion, if we may believe St *Auſtin*; for That Father attributes to him the Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*, concerning the *Homœomeriæ*, and the Intelligence, which combined them. "Anaxagoræ ſucceſſit auditor ejus Archelaus: etiam ipſe de particulis inter ſe diſſimilibus, "quibus ſingula quæque fierent, ita omnia conſtare "putavit, ut ineſſe etiam mentem diceret, quæ cor"pora diſſimilia, id eſt illas particulas, conjungendo "& diſſipando, ageret omnia (31). —— *To* Anaxa"goras *ſucceeded his Scholar* Archelaus; *who held*, "*likewiſe, ſuch an Opinion concerning the diſſimilar* "*Particles, out of which all things were made, as to* "*allow the Superintendency of a Mind, which, by uni*"*ting and diſperſing the diſſimilar Corpuſcles, formed* "*every thing.*" I believe St *Auſtin* is in the right; for *Simplicius* obſerves, that *Archelaus*, endeavouring to give an Explication diſtinct from all others, did neverthelesſ run into the ſame Principles with *Anaxagoras*, to wit, an Infinity of ſimilar Particles (32). It is probable, that, as to the firſt Formation of Animals, they held the ſame Doctrines. We have ſeen what *Archelaus*'s Opinion was; This was the Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*: Ζῶα γενέθαι ἐξ ὑγροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ καὶ γεώδους. ὕστερον δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων (33). *Animals ſprung originally from Moiſture, Heat, and Earth; afterwards from one another.* Since they admitted an Intelligence, which drew the *Homœomeriæ* out of the Confuſion, in which they originally were, we muſt believe, that they ſuppoſed, it to preſide over the Production of Animals; for, if there be any Creature, the Formation of which ſtands in need of being directed by a Spirit, it is certainly the Machine of Animals. If what I ſuppoſe be true, They have ſaid nothing on this Head, but what may be reconciled with the Holy Scripture; But if they believed, as many others have done, that, in the beginning, Men ſprung out of the Earth by the mere Power of Moiſture and Heat, *&c.* they believed the moſt ridiculous Thing in the World; nor could they know how to anſwer the Queſtion, why, in ſucceeding Ages, Men were never ſeen to be produced the ſame way. The Queſtion would not have puzzled them in the other Caſe, ſince they might have anſwered, as a Chriſtian would do, that the Intelligence, having once formed Animals, endowed with neceſſary Parts of Generation, had no need to create any more; the Conſervation of the Species being ſecured by the Inſtinct of Copulation in Male and Female.

[*C*] *It will be proper to take ſome notice of a Poet, whoſe name was* ARCHELAUS.] He compoſed a Work on the particular Nature of Things, that is, on the Singularities and Properties, which diſtinguiſh them. What has been cited from it, will not ſuffer us to doubt, that this was the true Character of the Work. *Diogenes Laërtius* deſcribes it by theſe Words; Ὁ τὰ ἰδιοφυῆ ποιήσας (34). *Qui quæ cuique rei natura ſunt propria, verſu prodidit.* *Caſaubon* ſhould not have cenſured this *Latin* Tranſlation, under pretence, that, according to the Teſtimony of *Antigonus Caryſtius*, this Book of *Archelaus* was a Collection of Epigrams, in which the extraordinary and wonderful Properties of things, τὰ παράδοξα, τὰ θαυμάσια (35), are recorded; for this may very well agree with the Title given it by *Diogenes Laërtius*; and, in any Caſe, the Tranſlator ought not to have given the Title a leſs general import, than that of the *Greek* Phraſe. *Voſſius* was not of *Caſaubon*'s Opinion; ſince he has tranſlated the Words of *Diogenes Laërtius* by, *qui carmen fecit de propria cujuſque rei natura* (36). The Senſe he gives theſe Words does not ſeem very juſt; he underſtands by them, that *Archelaus* had ſearched after things, the Nature of which was ſingular; *quæ propriæ ac ſingularis naturæ ſunt*; as that Goats are never without a Fever, and that they breathe through the Ears, and not the Noſtrils. *Auribus capras ſpirare, non naribus, nec unquam febri carere, Archelaus auctor eſt* (37). *Athenæus* has cited one *Archelaus*, ἐν τοῖς ἰδιοφυέσσιν, and given him the Sirname of *Cherſoneſian* (38). *Dalechamp* has rendred this *Greek* by, *ſua propriaque ſtirpe genitis* (39); and I wonder *Voſſius* has not made uſe of the ſame Words in tranſlating this Paſſage, as in That of *Diogenes Laërtius* (40): He has rendered it *de proprietate naturæ*, and yet believes, that *Athenæus*, and *Diogenes Laërtius*, mean the ſame Author. This is very probable; though *Antigonus Caryſtius* tells us, that *Egypt* was the Birth-place of *Archelaus*, who compoſed Epigrams on the wonderful Singularities of certain Things, and dedicated them to *Ptolomy*. It is poſſible, that One *Archelaus*, a Native of *Cherſoneſus*, might paſs for an *Egyptian*; it is enough that he dwelt a long time in *Egypt* (41). Mr *Menage*, who pretends, that, inſtead of ἰδιοφυῆ, it ought to be read διφυῆ, in *Diogenes Laërtius* (42), ſeems to me to be miſtaken; he founds it on this, that the Scholiaſt of *Nicander* cites *Archelaus*, ἐν τοῖς διφυέσσι, that is to ſay, *in libro de iis, quæ ſunt ancipitis naturæ.*

(*c*) Τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν οὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ. Juſtum & turpe non natura conſtare ſed lege. *Diog. Laërt. lib.* 2. *n.* 16.

(*d*) Plut. in Cimone, pag. 481.

(*e*) Cicero, Tuſcul. lib. 5. Diog. Laërt. ubi ſupra. Clem. Alexandr. Strom. lib. 1. pag. 301. Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8. cap. 2.

(25) Diogenes Laërtius, lib. 2. n. 7, *does ſo.* Euſebius *places it in the fourth Year of the 79th Olympiad.*

(26) *That is, in the ſecond Year of the 87th Olympiad.*

(27) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 17.

(28) *Inſtead of* ψυχρὸν frigidum, *it ought to be read* ὑγρὸν, humidum. *See Mr* Menage *on this Paſſage. But, note, that* Hermias, in Philoſophorum deriſione, pag. 177, *affirms, that* Archelaus *gave, as Principles of all Things,* θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν, *Hot and Cold.*

(29) Plutarch. de placit. Philoſ. lib. 1, cap. 3. pag. 876.

(30) Juſt. Martyr. Admonit. ad Græcos, p. 4.

(31) Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8, cap. 2. *See alſo* Clem. Alex. in Protr. pag. 43.

(32) Simplicius, in I. Libr. Phyſic. Ariſt.

(33) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 9.

(34) Ibid. lib. 2, n. 17.

(35) Caſaub. in Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 17.

(36) Voſſius de Hiſt. Græcis, lib. 3. pag. 329.

(37) Plin. lib. 8. cap. 50.

(38) Athen. lib. 9. cap. ult. p. 409.

(39) Dalech. Annot. in Athen. pag. 766. *Father* Harduoin, in indice Autorum Plinii, pag. 97, *tranſlates the Words of* Athenæus *by* de rebus quæ ſingulis in locis propria gignuntur.

(40) Voſſius, ubi ſupra.

(41) *There are Examples of this kind. See* Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 451.

(42) Menag. in Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 17.

naturæ. This Foundation is not ſolid; for, as the Book of *Archelaus* was not confined to that kind of Singularity, which diſtinguiſhes amphibious Animals, produced by the Copulation of Males and Females, of different Species, it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Author made uſe of a Title confined to this Senſe. We ſhould either correct the Scholiaſt by *Diogenes Laërtius*, or ſay, that *Archelaus*, having divided his Work into ſeveral Treatiſes, gave a particular Title to each Treatiſe; for Example, That of Διφυῆ to the Epigrams, in which he treats of amphibious Animals. On this Suppoſition, we may believe, that They, who cite *Archelaus*, *Lib.* I. περὶ ποταμῶν, *de fluviis* (43), *Lib.* I. περὶ λίθων, *de lapidibus* (44), cite part of a Work, the general Title of which was Ἰδιοφυῆ. But I ſhould chuſe to ſay, that another *Archelaus* is meant in theſe Places. I do not paſs the ſame Judgment on the Citations of *Artemidorus* (45); I believe they relate to the Author of the Ἰδιοφυῆ.

Let us, here, wonder at the Frailty of human Memory. *Voſſius*, in his Treatiſe of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, ſpeaks learnedly of this Author; he ſets down what he finds of him in *Varro*, *Pliny*, *Athenæus*, *Antigonus Caryſtius*, &c. but remembers nothing of the Matter, when he afterwards comes to treat of the *Greek* Poets; where we read what follows: "Idem "*(Archelaus Phyſicus)* ut ait Suidas, συνέταξε φυσιολογίαν *. Id ſic Lilius Gyraldus vertit in III. "Dialogo de Poëtis †: *quæ naturæ propria ſunt,* "*multis verſibus collegit.* Itaque & Archelaum inter "Poëtas recenſet. Sed addit, Poëtam phyſicum eſſe "alium ab Socratis magiſtro. At unde id aſtruat, "non video. Nam Suidas clare ait φυσιολογίαν "conſcriptam ab Archelao Phyſico, Socratis magi"ſtro. Imò nec video, unde colligat, quempiam "Archelaum carmine ſcripſiſſe de rerum natura. Sal"tem ex verbo συντάττειν, quo Suidas utitur, id "colligi nequit. Et Laërtius, cùm dicat tres præ"terea Archelaos fuiſſe, non tamen Poëtam in iis me"morat (46). —— *The ſame* (Archelaus *the* Natura"liſt), *according to* Suidas, *compoſed a Treatiſe of Na*"*tural Philoſophy*; *or, as* Lilius Gyraldus *underſtands* "*the* Greek *of* Suidas, collected in many Verſes the "Properties of Nature. *Therefore he reckons* Arche"laus *among the Poets. But he adds, that the Phi*"*loſophical Poet is not the ſame with the Preceptor of* "Socrates. *But how he can prove this, I am at a Loſs* "*to know. For* Suidas *expreſsly ſays, that the Treatiſe* "*of Natural Philoſophy was compoſed by* Archelaus "*the Naturaliſt, the Maſter of* Socrates. *Nay, I* "*cannot conceive, whence he gathers, that any* Arche"laus *wrote of the Nature of Things in Verſe. At leaſt* "*it does not follow from the Word* συντάττειν, *made* "*uſe of by* Suidas. *And* Diogenes Laërtius, *where he* "*ſays there were three* Archelaus's *beſides, yet men*"*tions no Poet among them.*" Behold a very learned Man, who imagines, I. That *Gyraldus* had in view the *Greek* Words of *Suidas*, and not thoſe of *Diogenes Laërtius*, ὁ τὰ Ἰδιοφυῆ ποιήσας (47): II. That there was no Room to acknowledge a Poet *Archelaus*, different from the Naturaliſt: III. Nor to ſuppoſe, that an *Archelaus* wrote Verſes on the Nature of Things: IV. That *Diogenes Laërtius* does not mention any *Archelaus*, who compoſed Verſes. This muſt ſurprize us, if we conſider it by itſelf; but it is much worſe, when compared with the Three hundred and twenty ninth Page of the Book *De Hiſtoricis Græcis*. Mr *Colomies* has corrected the firſt of theſe four Faults of *Voſſius*, and advanced ſome good things beſides (48); but he is miſtaken in ſuppoſing, that *Plutarch*'s Words, in the Life of *Cimon*, concern *Archelaus* the Poet, for they relate to the Naturaliſt, to whom *Socrates* was a Diſciple. He might have cenſured *Gyraldus*, who believed, that *Archelaus*, Author of the Ἰδιοφυῆ, was a Philoſopher. Mr *Moreri* ſays the ſame without the leaſt Ground; for a Perſon, who collects the ſingular and wonderful Properties of Animals, or Metals, *&c.* may well be called a Naturaliſt, or a Natural Hiſtorian, but not a Natural Philoſopher; unleſs to the Facts he ſubjoins the Reaſons of them, and a Diſcuſſion of their Cauſes. We do not find, that the Poet *Archelaus* did this. Mr *Moreri* affirms, that *Diogenes Laërtius* often cites him. Say rather, that he never cites him.

(43) Stobæus, Serm. I. de morbis & moleſtiarum in eis ſolutione. Plutarch. de fluminib. pag. 1148, *cites the* 13*th Book of* Archelaus, περὶ ποταμῶν.

(44) Plutarch, ibid. pag. 1153.

(45) Artemidor. de Somn. lib. 4. cap. 24.

* *Compoſuit Philoſophiam.*

† Pag. 108.

(46) Voſſius de Poët. Græcis, pag. 34.

(47) Gyraldus *has tranſlated them* Quæ naturæ propria ſunt, multis verſibus collegit. *This Verſion is not better, than thoſe below, Citat.* (39).

(48) Colomeſius, Notæ in Gyrald. de Poëtis, pag. 147. Edit. Operum Gyraldi, 1696.

ARCHELAUS, Firſt of the Name *(a)*, King of *Macedon*, and a Natural Son of King *Perdiccas*, having aſcended the Throne, ſupported himſelf in it by the moſt enormous Crimes. His Mother was a Servant of *Alcetas*, the Brother of *Perdiccas* [*A*]; ſo that, according to the Laws *(b)*, he ought to have been himſelf no more than the Servant of *Alcetas*; but, inſtead of paying him the Submiſſion he owed him, he cauſed him to be treacherouſly murthered. He invited him to his Houſe, promiſing to reſtore to him the Crown, which *Perdiccas* had taken from him; he entertained him ſumptuouſly, and, having made him drunk, cauſed him to be carried out of Town by Night in a cloſe Chariot, with Orders to put him to Death. *Alexander*, the ſon of *Alcetas*, was treated in the ſame manner; He was conveyed drunk in the ſame Chariot, and murthered, with his Father. *Archelaus* ſoon after cauſed his own Brother, the Legitimate Son of *Perdiccas* and *Cleopatra*, and but ſeven Years of Age, to be put to Death, and thrown into a Well; making his Mother *Cleopatra* believe, that the Child fell in, as he was running after a Gooſe *(c)*. He applied himſelf diligently to whatever might render *Macedon* formidable; he fortified ſeveral Places, cauſed high Roads to be made; providing himſelf alſo with great Quantities of Arms, Horſes, and all warlike Stores; exceeding the Kings his Predeceſſors in theſe Preparations *(d)*. One Thing he put in practice, which They never did; to wit, the fitting out of Fleets, and engaging in Sea-Fights *(e)*. He loved Learning and polite Arts [*B*], and had always the greateſt Poets, the moſt famous Painters, and the beſt Muſicians, about him *(f)*. He was at a great Expence in having his Houſe painted by *Zeuxes* [*C*], and doubtleſs was very angry,

(a) Note, there are, who allow of but one Archelaus *among the Kings of* Macedonia.

(b) See Remark [*A*].

(c) Taken from the Gorgias of Plato, pag. 321.

(d) Thucydid. lib. 2. pag. 142.

(e) Solinus, cap. 9.

(f) See Remark [*C*].

[*A*] *His Mother was Servant of* Alcetas, *Brother of* Perdiccas (1).] *Ælian* calls her *Simicha* (2): But, after all, ſince *Archelaus* was the Son of the King of *Macedon*, it ought not to have been ſaid, that, from the Condition of a Goat-herd, he raiſed himſelf to the Throne. Yet this is what *Diogenes* the Cynic affirms, in a Speech of *Dion Chryſoſtom.* Αἰπόλος ἦν Ἀρχέλαος (3). *Caprarius erat Archelaus.* Obſerve theſe Words of *Plato*, which inform us, what *Archelaus* ought to have been according to the Laws. Κατὰ μὲν τὸ δίκαιον δοῦλος ἦν Ἀλκέτου, καὶ εἰ ἐβούλετο τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐδούλευσεν ἂν Ἀλκέτῃ (4). *He was by right the Servant of* Alcetas; *if therefore he would have acted juſtly, he ſhould have ſerved* Alcetas.

[*B*] *He loved Learning, and polite Arts.*] *Solinus* tells us this (5). I have cited his Words, in the Remark [*N*] of the Article EURIPIDES, at the Beginning. Add to them this Paſſage of *Ælian.* Ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐρωτικὸς οὐκ ἧττον ἢ καὶ φιλόμουσος (6). Archelaus *was no leſs amorous, than fond of Learning.*

[*C*] *He was at a great Expence in having his Houſe painted by* Zeuxes.] *Socrates* plays the Cenſor upon this Occaſion; he ſays, that this Prince, who had been at ſuch a vaſt Expence in beautifying his Palace, had been at none at all in adorning his Mind. *We know likewiſe*, adds he, *that many Strangers make it their Buſineſs to go to* Macedon, *to ſee this Prince's Houſe, but none to ſee the Prince himſelf, except*

(1) Plato, in Gorgia, pag. 321.

(2) Ælian. Var. Hiſtor. lib. 12. cap. 43.

(3) Dio Chryſoſt. Orat. 4. de Regno.

(4) Plato, in Gorgia, pag. 321.

(5) Solin. cap. 9.

(6) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 21.

angry, that *Socrates*, whom he endeavoured to draw to his Court, would never come near him [*D*]. He might have learnt from him not to be frightned at Eclipſes; and he wanted greatly to be ſet right in That Matter (*g*). The Eſteem he had for *Euripides* is ſhewn in another Place (*h*). By the way, his Liberality to ingenious Men was not extraordinary; but this might proceed from his finding them too free in asking [*E*]. He inſtituted Sacrifices, and Stage-Plays, in Honour of *Jupiter*, and the Muſes; which were celebrated for nine Days together; each Muſe had it's Day (*i*). He ſent Chariots with four Horſes, which carried the Prizes at the *Olympic* and *Pythian* Games (*k*). Authors agree as to his being killed, but not as to the Circumſtances of his Death, or the Length of his Reign [*F*]. *Scaliger* himſelf met

except thoſe he draws thither by his Preſents. Now theſe are Things, which never influence an honeſt Man (7). I believe he had taken no Pains to conquer his lewd Inclinations, by cultivating the Muſes; but I am certain, that he made no mean Progreſs in adorning his Mind. And, by one of his Sayings, he ſeems to have made ſome Progreſs in Practical Virtue. One of his Courtiers animating him one Day againſt a Perſon, who had thrown ſome Water upon him; he anſwered, *he has not wetted me, but the Perſon for whom he took me* (8). Never Philoſopher, diſcourſing on the Privileges of an erroneous Conſcience, ſaid a more ſenſible Thing. All Princes would treat involuntary Faults in this manner, were they but equitable, or if the Intereſt of the Public would permit the regulating their Practice according to the Ideas of Reaſon (9). Let us leave this, and return to *Socrates*. In the foregoing Words, he declared ſeveral Men of Wit, who went to *Macedon*, only for *Archelaus*'s Sake (10) errant Raſcals. Did *Euripides* go thither upon any other Account? Did not the fair *Agathon*, That illuſtrious Poet, and his *Inamorato Pauſanias*, and ſo many others, go thither purely upon this Account? Οὗτος ὁ Ἀγάθων - - - - - Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ μέχει τελεύτης μέτα ἄλλων πολλῶν συνῆν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ (11). *This* Agathon, *with many others, reſided at the Court of* Archelaus, *'till his Death.*

[*D*] Socrates, *whom he endeavoured to draw to his Court, would never come near him.*] There were two other Perſons, whom this Philoſopher treated after the ſame manner; he would neither viſit them, nor accept of Preſents from them. Ὑπερεφρόνησε δὲ καὶ Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, καὶ Σκώπα τοῦ Κρανωνίου, καὶ Εὐρυλόχου τοῦ Λαρισσαίου, μήτε χρήματα προσέμενος αὐτῶν, μήτε παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀπελθων (12). *In the greatneſs of his Soul, he deſpiſed* Archelaus *the* Macedonian, Scopa *the* Crannonian, *and* Eurylochus *the* Laryſſæan; *nor would ever accept of the Preſents, which they ſent him, or the Invitation they gave him. Seneca* has preſerved to us the Excuſe, which *Socrates* made to our *Archelaus*; he ſaid, "I will not viſit a Man, from whom I may receive Benefits, without being able to return them." *Archelaus rex Socratem rogavit, ut ad ſe veniret: dixiſſe Socrates traditur, nolle ſe ad eum venire, à quo acciperet beneficia, cum reddere illi paria non poſſet* (13). This Anſwer of *Socrates* has been related by *Marcus Aurelius*, agreeably to the ſame Senſe (14); but *Ariſtotle* relates it in terms, which are not Philoſophical. He ſuppoſes *Socrates* to have replied, that It is as great an Affront to confer a Benefit on a Perſon, who cannot return it, as to injure a Perſon, who cannot revenge himſelf. Ὕβριν εἶναι τὸ μὴ δύναθαι ἀμύνεσθαι ὁμοίως εὐ παθόντα ὥσπερ καὶ κακῶς (15). *Contumeliam eſſe dixit, non poſſe referre eum qui accepit beneficium, perinde ac eum qui injuriam.* This Maxim ſuppoſes, that we ought to revenge ourſelves on thoſe, who injure us. It is not, therefore, becoming the Morality of a Philoſopher, eſpecially ſuch a Philoſopher as *Socrates*. *Seneca* has taken pains to ſhew, that it was eaſy for this Philoſopher to requite *Archelaus*. Among other things, he ſays, that the Favours of That Monarch could not have been of equal Value with the Inſtruction he might have received concerning Eclipſes alone, and which would have prevented his falling a ſecond time into ſuch a Conſternation, as he was one day in, when the Sun was eclipſed. He ſhut up his Palace Gates; he caus'd his Son's Hair to be cut off. "Quid tantum erat accepturus (*Socrates*) quantum dabat, ſi —— regem in luce media errantem ad rerum naturam admiſiſſet, uſque eo ejus ignarum, ut, quo die ſolis defectio fuit, regiam clauderet, & filium (quod in luctu ac rebus adverſis moris eſt) tonderet? Quantum fuiſſet beneficium, ſi timentem è latebris ſuis extraxiſſet, & bonum animum habere juſſiſſet, dicens; Non eſt iſta ſolis defectio, ſed duorum ſiderum coitus, cum luna humiliore currens via infra ipſum ſolem orbem ſuum poſuit, & illum objectu ſui abſcondit (16). —— *What Benefit cou'd* Socrates *have receiv'd ſo valuable as what he wou'd have conferr'd; if he had explain'd the Nature of Things to the miſtaken King; who was ſo ignorant of them, that, upon the day of an Eclipſe of the Sun, he ſhut up his Palace, and (as is practiſed in Affliction and Adverſity) ſhaved his Son? What an Advantage wou'd it have been to him, had the Philoſopher dragged him trembling from his Concealment, and bad him be of good Courage; telling him, This is no Failure of the Sun, but the effect of the Moon's interpoſing between the Sun and Us, and by that means intercepting it's Light?*" *Seneca* ſays, that *Socrates* made this Excuſe by way of Irony only (17), and that, in reality, he refuſed to go to the Court of *Macedon*, becauſe he would not be abridged of his Liberty. "Vis ſcire quid verè noluerit? Noluit ire ad voluntariam ſervitutem, is, cujus libertatem civitas libera ferre non potuit (18). —— *Wou'd you know what in reality he refuſed? He refuſed to go to voluntary Servitude; He, whoſe Liberty a Free State could not bear*". Some ſay, that *Ariſtophanes* (19) compoſed the Comedy of the *Clouds* out of ſpite to *Socrates*, *becauſe* Archelaus, *King of* Macedon, *had a better Opinion of This Philoſopher than of himſelf.* Obſerve, that another turn has been given to *Socrates*'s Anſwer. It has been ſaid, that he excus'd himſelf from going to *Archelaus*'s Court, becauſe Bread was at a low Price, and great Plenty of Water at *Athens* (20).

[*E*] *His Liberality to ingenious Men, was not extraordinary, but this might proceed from his finding them too free in asking.*] *Plutarch* tells us, that "*Archelaus*, King of *Macedon*, was a little too backward in giving, or making of Preſents; which the Muſician *Timotheus* gave him an Hint, by often repeating, as he ſung to his Lute, this ſatirical Sentence. *You are too fond of This Son of the Earth, Silver.* But *Archelaus* immediately replied, genteely and with a good grace; *And You demand it of me too faſt* (21)". In another Book he relates what I am going to tranſcribe. *A certain Perſon once, who thought, that nothing was more genteel, than to ask and receive, being at Supper with* Archelaus, *King of* Macedon, *asked of the King a Golden Cup, out of which He drank. The King commanded his Page to preſent it to* Euripides, *who by accident was then at Table; and, turning to the Perſon, who had ask'd it, ſaid, "As for you, you deſerve to ask, and be refuſed, becauſe you ask; but* Euripides *"deſerves to receive, even though he does not ask* (22)". Perhaps he ſet bounds to his Liberality upon a Principle like That of *Charles* the IXth (23); But it is more probable he was of the Taſte of Cardinal *Richlieu, who never gave any thing to the Poet* Mainard, *partly* —— *becauſe he did not love to be ask'd, but would have the Honour of giving of his own meer Motion* (24).

[*F*] *Authors are not agreed* —— *As to the Circumſtances of his Death, or the Length of his Reign.*] Some ſay, That, being a Hunting, he was accidentally wounded by his Favourite *Craterus*; and that he died of his Wound (25). Others ſay, that he was killed by Conſpirators, urged on by *Decamnichus* to commit This Parricide (26). *Quintus Curtius* favours this Opinion. He ſays, "Quis proavum hujus Alexandrum, quis deinde Archelaum, quis Perdiccam occiſos ultus eſt? (27) — *Who ever revenged the murthur of This Perſon's Great-Grand Father* Alexander,

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(*g*) *See Remark* [*D*].

(*h*) *In the Article* EURIPIDES, *Remarks* [*N*], [*O*], [*P*], *&c.*

(*i*) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 17, cap. 16.

(*k*) Solinus, cap. 9.

(7) *Taken from* Ælian, lib. 14. Var. Hiſt. cap. 17.

(8) Plut. in Apophthegmat. pag. 177.

(9) *See, in the New Letters againſt* Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of Calviniſm, thoſe, which treat of an erroneous Conſcience.*

(10) Ælian. Var. Hiſtor. lib. 2. cap. 21.

(11) *Schol. Ariſtoph. in Ranas.*

(12) Diogenes Laërtius, lib. 2. n. 25.

(13) Seneca de Benef. lib. 5, cap. 6, pag. 96.

(14) Marcus Antoninus, τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν, lib. 11. §. 25. *Note, that he ſuppoſes this Anſwer was made to* Perdiccas.

(15) Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 23.

(16) Seneca de Benefic. lib. 5.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Ibid. pag. 95.

(19) Charpentier's *Life of Socrates*, pag. 57. *He cites the Commentators on* Ariſtophanes, in argumento illius Comœdiæ.

(20) *See* Stobæus, Serm. 237.

(21) Plutarch. de Fortuna Alexandri. lib. 2.

(22) Id. de vitioſo pudore.

(23) *See the Article* DAURAT, *Remark* [*F*].

(24) Pelliſſon, Hiſt. de l'Acad. Françoiſe, pag. 278.

(25) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 14, cap. 38. *I ſhall cite his Words in the laſt Remark.*

(26) Ariſtot. lib. 5. de Repub. cap. 10. *I have cited his Words in the Remark* [*N*], *of the Article* EURIPIDES.

(27) Quintus Curtius, lib. 6. cap. 11.

met with ſo much Obſcurity in theſe Points, as led him into groſs Miſtakes (*l*). Probably *Archelaus* led an impure Life, which occaſion'd his Downfal [*G*]. I have a few Obſervations to make againſt *Moreri* [*H*].

" Alexander, *of* Archelaus, *or* Perdiccas ?" —— I ſhall ſpeak farther of This in the following Remark. As for the Length of his Reign, ſome make it Twenty Four Years (28); others Sixteen (29); others Fourteen (30); and others but Seven (31). This latter Opinion ſeems to me the moſt probable: It is That of *Diodorus Siculus*; and I am ſurpriz'd at *Calviſius*'s citing this Hiſtorian, after having ſaid, that *Archelaus* reign'd Sixteen Years (32). A miſinterpreted Paſſage in *Athenæus* has occaſion'd a great deal of Confuſion. We read, in the Editions of That Author, that *Pericles* and *Perdiccas* died in the third Year of the *Peloponneſian* War, and that *Archelaus* aſcended the Throne immediately after (33). It is impoſſible *Athenæus* ſhould ſay this; for his Deſign is to convict *Plato* of a Miſtake; *Plato*, I ſay, who, in the ſame Dialogue, where he ſuppoſes, that *Archelaus* was then on the Throne, affirms, that *Pericles* died but a little before. It is plain, that his Cenſor renders himſelf ridiculous; and does not know what he ſays, if he really advances what we read in his printed Works. *Caſaubon* juſtly thinks it ſtrange, that The Tranſlators of *Athenæus* took no notice of ſo manifeſt an Abſurdity, or could digeſt ſo hard a Morſel. *Cum hæc clariſſime diſputentur ab Athenæo, quis interpretum ſtomacho non invideat, qui vulgatam loci hujus ſcripturam adeo* εὐϛομάχως *tulerint* (34)? For his own part, he confeſſes himſelf incapable of it, and, in ſpite of all the Manuſcripts, maintains, that the Copyiſts of *Athenæus* have omitted a Period in That Place. He ſeems to me to have gueſſed very happily at what the Author really ſaid; Namely, that *Alexander*, King of *Macedon*, who died at the ſame Time with *Pericles*, was ſucceeded by *Perdiccas*, who reign'd till the Archonſhip of *Callias*; and that *Perdiccas*, dying in That Archonſhip, *Archelaus* took poſſeſſion of his Throne. In this Caſe, *Athenæus* criticiſes on *Plato*'s Diſcourſe not without ſome Foundation; for there is a conſiderable Interval between the Death of *Pericles*, and the Reign of *Archelaus*. Obſerve, by the way, that *Caſaubon* has anſwered This Cenſure (35); but take particular notice, that *Diodorus Siculus*, in aſſigning to *Archelaus* Seven Years Reign, places his Death in the Second Year of the XCVth Olympiad, under the Archonſhip of *Ariſtocrates*. His Reign, then began, the third Year of the XCIIId Olympiad, under the Archonſhip of *Callias*. It muſt be ſaid then, that *Perdiccas* died under the ſame Archonſhip. Now, among the Diverſity of Opinions concerning the Time of the Reign of This *Perdiccas*, That of *Marſyas* and *Philocorus*, who determined it to Twenty three Years, was made choice of by *Athenæus*, in reaſoning againſt *Plato*: He muſt, then, have ſuppoſed, that *Perdiccas* came to the Crown the ſame Year that *Pericles* died, that is, in the fourth Year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad. All this is ſo ſtrong a Confirmation of *Caſaubon*'s Opinion, that, inſtead of ſaying his Conjecture is very probable, we may affirm, without Heſitation, that the Period he reſtores did actually proceed from the Pen of *Athenæus*: And, as it contains the ſame Words twice or thrice at the end of a Sentence, we may eaſily apprehend, how the Tranſcribers might paſs it over, and the Reader not perceive the Omiſſion. Moſt People read to be inſtructed without Fatigue; ſo that they ſeldom are ſenſible of an Error in reaſoning, which requires ſome Attention, or Reflexion on what went before; contenting themſelves with ſaying, *This is obſcure*, *This is beyond my Comprehenſion*. But this brings no Remedy; The Fault remains ſtill where it was. Critics, and eſpecially Critical Tranſlators, act otherwiſe. They perceive Miſtakes in the Senſe; they endeavour to correct them; they collate Manuſcripts; and exert their Talent for Conjecture. But in this Paſſage of *Athenæus*, as *Caſaubon* reproaches them, the Edge of their Genius was greatly blunted.

FAULTS of ***Scaliger*****.**

The great *Scaliger* ſhall be my Proof, that the Genius of the moſt learned Perſons may ſometimes be very much confined. He did not perceive the manifeſt Error of the Author, on whom he commented and criticiſed; and has made This Error the Foundation of a Criticiſm on *Diodorus Siculus*, to whom he has imputed what is only to be met with in *Athenæus*. To explain This; *Euſebius* has ranged three Things under the firſt Year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad; The Death of *Perdiccas*, The beginning of the Reign of *Archelaus*, and The beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War. *Scaliger* paſſes over this, and contents himſelf with obſerving, that the firſt Year of This War is generally placed under the ſecond Year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad, becauſe, the Rupture falling out towards the end of the Archonſhip of *Pythodorus*, it was thought it ought to be dated from the Archonſhip of *Euthydemus* (36), the Succeſſor of *Pythodorus* (37). According to this Uſage, he confeſſes, that the Year of the Death of *Pericles* is the fourth of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad, and the third of the *Peloponneſian* War; and he cites a *Greek* Paſſage, which imports, that, in the Year of *Pericles*'s Death, *Perdiccas* King of *Macedon* died alſo, and *Archelaus* aſcended the Throne. He attributes this Paſſage to *Diodorus Siculus*; and, accordingly, cenſures him for an Anachroniſm of three Years. This proceeds from his ſuppoſing, that *Euſebius* is neither miſtaken as to the Death of *Perdiccas*, nor the Acceſſion of *Archelaus*. He was ignorant, then, that *Thucydides* had expreſly ſaid, that King *Perſeus* was living in the ſixteenth Year of the *Peloponneſian* War (38). Beſides, he was ignorant, that the Words, which he aſcribes to *Diodorus Siculus*, belong to *Athenæus*: He knew not, that theſe Words of *Athenæus* were corrupted; he did not perceive, that they are maimed, and that they ought to be read as *Caſaubon* has reſtored them. Note, that *Salmaſius* acknowledges for good Chronology the placing the Death of *Perdiccas*, and the beginning of *Archelaus*'s Reign, in the fourth Year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad (39). He was ignorant, then, of ſome things, which he might have learned from *Caſaubon*; but note ſtill more carefully, that, by a favourable Interpretation, one of the Points of my Criticiſm on *Scaliger* may be eluded, if not confuted. I have obſerved, that he has cenſured *Diodorus Siculus*; which I gathered from theſe Words: *Diodoro ergo prochroniſmus fuerit triennii* (40). - - - Diodorus *therefore has anticipated three Years*. They follow the *Greek* Paſſage, falſely aſcribed by *Scaliger* to That Author; where we alſo find, that *Perdiccas*, dying in the third Year of the *Peloponneſian* War, was ſucceeded by *Archelaus*. Now, whereas *Euſebius* affirms, that *Archelaus* aſcended the Throne in the firſt Year of the *Peloponneſian* War, it may be pretended, that *Scaliger* meant no more, than that the Doctrine of *Euſebius* contains an Anachroniſm or Anticipation of three Years, according to *Diodorus Siculus*. If this be his true meaning, he has not cenſured this latter Hiſtorian; he was ſatisfied with ſuſpending Judgment, deciding neither in favour of him, nor of *Euſebius*: It will be a great Pleaſure to me, if This Recantation be allowed to paſs. A Critic, who takes Advantage of an equivocal Expreſſion, ought not to omit the ſavourable Senſe: He ſhews, by this means, what may be ſaid for, or againſt, Authors: He ſuſtains alternately the Character of Council for the Plaintiff and Defendant.

[G] *Probably* Archelaus *led an impure Life, which occaſioned his Downfal.*] *Ariſtotle*, having ſaid, that ſeveral Conſpiracies have been formed againſt Monarchs, on Account of their Impurities, immediately alledges the Attempt of *Crateüs* (41). This Man never could brook the Diſhonour *Archelaus* had done him, in ſatisfying his brutal Luſt upon him. Accordingly a New Affront, which would not of itſelf have been a juſt Pretence for Conſpiracy, being added to the former, he reſolved to get rid of his Maſter. The Affront was this; the King had promiſed him one of his Daughters, and yet married the eldeſt to the King of *Elymæa*, and the youngeſt to the Son of *Amyntas*. Reaſons of State occaſioned this Breach of Promiſe. Finding himſelf embroiled in a War with *Sirras*, and *Arrabeüs*, he had a Mind to gain over the King of *Elymæa* to his Party. Fearing, on the other hand, that the Son of *Amyntas* would raiſe Diſturbances, he made him his Son-in-law too;

(*l*) *See Remark* [*F*].

(28) Euſeb. in Chron. n. 1585. Helvicus *embraces this Opinion.*

(29) Calviſ. ad Ann. Mundi, 3534.

(30) Petavius, Ration. Tempor. Pars II, lib. 2, ſub fin. ex Dexippo.

(31) Diod. Sicul. lib. 14. cap. 38.

(32) Calviſ. ad Annum Mundi, 3550, pag. 156, col. 2.

(33) Athen. lib. 5, cap. 18, p. 217.

(34) Caſaub. in Athen. pag. 384.

(35) Caſaub. ibid. pag. 385.

(36) *It belongs to the ſecond Year of the 87th Olympiad.*

(37) Scaliger, Animadv. in Euſeb. n. 1585, pag. 106.

(38) Thucydides, lib. 6, pag. 341.

(39) Salmaſ. Exercitat. Plin. pag. 156, 157.

(40) Scaliger, ubi ſupra.

(41) Ariſtot. lib. 5. de Republica, cap. 10. pag. 305.

hoping, that this Alliance would keep them united, and produce the ſame Effect with regard to the Son of *Cleopatra*. Upon this, *Crateüs* gave a looſe to his Reſentment; but the principal Source of his Hatred proceeded from the Injury he had received in his Body. Ἀλλὰ τῆς γὲ ἀλλοτριότητος ὑπῆρχεν ἀρχὴ τὸ βαρέως φέρειν πρὸς τὴν ἀφροδισιαστικὴν χάριν (42). *Sed alienationis origo & principium fuit, quod graviter tuliſſet ſe ejus libidini ad res venereas fuiſſe obſecutum. Hellanocrates* of *Lariſſa* joined with him in this Conſpiracy on the like Motives; for, having given up the Flower of his Youth to the Paſſions of *Archelaus*, and perceiving, that This did not avail towards recalling him from Exile, as That Prince had made him hope, he concluded, that his Perſon had not been made uſe of, from an Effect of Love, but meerly to diſhonour him. Δι' ὕβριν καὶ ȣ̓ δι' ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ᾤετο εἶναι τὴν γενημένην ὁμιλίαν (43). *Conſuetudinem illam ſecum eſſe inſtitutam non propter cupiditatem amatoriam ſed propter contumeliam exiſtimavit.* Obſerve, that *Plutarch* informs us, That *Crateüs*, the Minion of *Archelaus*, killed That Prince (44). *Plato* ſays the ſame; but without naming this Murderer, and Catamite; he only ſays, that the Murderer committed This Crime, in order to ſeize on the Crown, and that it was wreſted from him again in three or four Days by other Conſpirators (45). I wonder *Diodorus Siculus* ſhould relate the Death of This King of *Macedon*, and it's Conſequences, in a manner ſo different from This. *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, who lived nearer the Time and Place, where theſe Things were tranſacted, probably knew the Truth much better than He.

I have obſerved ſome Faults in the Commentary of *Giſanius* on this Paſſage of *Ariſtotle*. I. This Author affirms, that *Suidas* takes notice, in the Article of *Euripides*, that *Cratevas* took away the Life of his Lover, King *Archelaus* (46). This is not true: *Suidas* mentions *Cratevas* only as a Poet, who, together with *Arrhideus*, another Poet, contrived the Death of *Euripides*. II. Inſtead of ſaying, that *Plutarch, in Alcibiade poſteriore*, and *Plato, in commentario de rebus amatoriis* (47), have mentioned the Murther of *Archelaus*, The *Alcibiades poſterior* ſhould have been aſcribed to *Plato*, and The *Commentary de rebus amatoriis* to *Plutarch*. III. It is not true, that *Thucydides*, in his fourth Book, mentions *Archelaus*'s War with *Sirras* and *Arrhibæus* (48): He ſpeaks only of the War, which King *Perdiccas*, and *Braſidas*, made againſt *Arrhibæus*, King of *Macedonia*, ſirnamed *Lynceſtes*. IV. It is falſe, that *Suidas* has any where placed *Arrhibæus* in the Number of the Conſpirators againſt the Life of *Archelaus*; he only ſays, that the Poet *Cratevas* was aſſiſted by another Poet, whoſe Name was *Arrhibæus*, to deſtroy *Euripides*. V. He ſhould not have called the firſt Son-in-law of *Archelaus* King of *Elibæa*, but King of *Elimæa* (49).

[*H*] *A few Obſervations —— againſt* Moreri.] I. It is not true, that *Archelaus* ſucceeded *Perdiccas*, *in the Year of the World* 3641. For, according to *Moreri*, This Year of the World anſwers to the Three hundred fifty firſt Year of *Rome*. Now This Year of *Rome* anſwers to the ſecond Year of the XCIVth Olympiad; and we have already ſeen, that, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Archelaus* muſt have begun to reign in the third Year of the XCIIId Olympiad. II. It is not true, that *Juſtin* mentions our *Archelaus*: He, whom he mentions, was Uncle of *Alexander* the Great, and never was King. We need not, therefore, be ſurprized, that *he does not ſpeak of the time of his Reign*. III. It is not true, that he reckons him among the Sons, which *Perdiccas* had by *Eurydice*: He reckons him among the Sons of *Amyntas* and *Gygea*; Of *Amyntas*, I mean, the Father of *Philip*, and Grandfather of *Alexander* the Great. IV. Neither what *Juſtin* has ſaid, nor what he has omitted, are a Proof, that he has confounded *Archelaus*, the Grandfather, with *Archelaus*, the Grandſon; for he ſpeaks only of an *Archelaus*, who was not the Grandſon of our's. V. It is a ſtrange Miſtake to place the Death of our *Archelaus* in the CXVIIth Olympiad, and to make This Olympiad correſpond with the Three hundred ſixty fifth Year of *Rome*. VI. It ought not to have been affirmed, that The *Archelaus*, who reigned after *Oreſtes*, was his Son, and Grandſon of *Archelaus*; for, beſides that *Euſebius* is little followed in regard to This *Archelaus*, Second of the Name, he does not mention any Degree of Conſanguinity. What follows, concerns the Supplement of *Moreri*. There we find, that *Socrates would not come near* Archelaus *on account of his Tyranny and Inhumanity*. Count This for the VIIth Miſtake; for we have ſeen above (50), that this was not the Reaſon, which prevented *Socrates* from going to the Court of *Macedon*. The VIIIth Miſtake conſiſts in charging *Thucydides*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, with ſaying, that *Euripides*, being deſired to write a Tragedy on the Subject of *Archelaus*, declined it, as being unwilling to deſcribe the Cruelties of This Tyrant. It is very certain, that neither *Thucydides*, nor *Diodorus Siculus* ſay any thing like this; and I queſtion, whether any good Author among the Ancients gives any Hint of it; Did ever any Prince deſire a Tragedy to be wrote *on himſelf?* Cannot a Court Poet write a Tragedy to pleaſe his Maſter, by omitting the Cruelties of This Maſter? IX. The Favourite, who killed *Archelaus*, is called *Craterus* in *Diodorus Siculus* (51); This, then, is the Name, which ought to have been given him, and not That of *Crateüs*, or *Cratevas*; ſince *Diodorus Siculus* is the only Author quoted concerning him. X. For the ſame Reaſon, I aſſert, it ought not to have been ſaid, that he form'd a Conſpiracy againſt *Archelaus*, and that he killed him in revenge for a Breach of Promiſe. The Continuator of *Moreri* ſays, that *Archelaus* promis'd his Daughter to this Favourite, and afterwards married her to another. Since he quotes only *Thucydides* and *Diodorus Siculus*; the firſt of which has not ſaid a Word of this Matter, and the latter relates, that this Favourite wounded his Maſter inadvertently (52); he deſerves a little Cenſure; for I confeſs had he quoted *Ariſtotle*, he would have been ſufficiently juſtified. See the Preceeding Remark. XI. *Diodorus*, whom he quotes, calls Him, who reigned after *Archelaus*, *Oreſtes* (53): why then are we told, that *This Prince had a Son of the ſame Name, who ſucceeded him?* XII. This Hiſtorian adds, that *Oreſtes* was yet a Child, and that he was killed by his Tutor *Æropus*, who afterwards reigned Six Years. Why then do they make him ſay, that *Archelaus* the Second, Son of *Archelaus* the Firſt, ſucceeded his Father, *and reigned but four Years; and was kill'd in Hunting, by* Craterus, *one of his Confidents, who afterwards took poſſeſſion of the Crown; tho' he enjoyed it but Three Days?* So many Words, ſo many Faults.

(42) Id. ib.

(43) Id. ib.

(44) Plut. in Amatorio, pag. 768, F.

(45) Plat. in Alcibiad. poſteriore, pag 453. *See alſo* Ælian. Var. Hiſtor. lib. 8, cap. 9.

(46) Obertus Giſanius, in cap. 10, lib. 5, Politic. Ariſtot. pag. 669.

(47) Id. ib.

(48) De hoc bello Archelai adverſum Sirram & Arribæum ---- videatur Thucyd. lib. 4. Giſan. in Polit. Ariſtot. pag. 669.

(49) Id ib.

(50) *In Remark* [*C*].

(51) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 14, cap. 38.

(52) Ἀρχέλαος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔν τινι κυνηγίῳ πληγεὶς ἀκȣσίως ὑπὸ Κρατερȣ τȣ̃ ἐρωμένȣ. Archelaus rex venationi indulgens à Cratero quem in deliciis habebat IMPRUDENTER ſauciatus. Id. ibid.

(53) Id. ib.

ARCHELAUS, King of *Cappadocia*, in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, was Great Grandſon to *Archelaus*, a *Cappadocian* by Nation (*a*), and General of *Mithridates*'s Army, in *Greece*, againſt *Sylla*. This General, who had ſo ſignalized himſelf in Defence of the *Pireum* (*b*), quitted *Mithridates*'s Party in the ſecond War, and went over to the *Romans*. He left a Son of his own Name, who, upon notice, that the *Romans* deſigned to attack the *Parthians*, repaired to *Gabinius*, Governor of *Syria*, to engage himſelf in That Expedition (*c*). The Senate laid aſide the Deſign, and *Gabinius*'s Army marched to reſtore the King of *Egypt* (*d*), who had implored the Aſſiſtance of the People of *Rome*, to recover his Crown from his own Daughter *Berenice*. *Archelaus* accompanied *Gabinius* to This War; but, afterwards, left him, to go to *Alexandria*, where he married *Berenice* [*A*]. He did not long enjoy the Crown, which

(*a*) Plutarch. in Sylla, pag. 466, C.

(*b*) Appian. in Mithridate. *See the laſt Remark.*

(*c*) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 384. *and* lib. 17, pag. 547. Dio, lib. 39.

(*d*) *His Name was* Ptolomy Auletes.

[*A*] *He married* Berenice.] We ſhall make an Article of This Princeſs, and there examine, whether Father *Norris* ought to have ſaid, that ſhe gained over *Archelaus* to her Party, by promiſing to marry him.

[*B*] He

which he acquired by This Marriage; for, about ſix Months after, he loſt his Life (e), in a Battel againſt the Troops of *Gabinius*, in the Year of *Rome* 698 [*B*]. He had obtained from *Pompey* a very honourable Dignity [*C*]; namely the Pontificat of *Comana*, in *Cappadocia* (*f*). His Son *Archelaus* enjoyed it after him (*g*), until *Cæſar* turned him out in the Year of *Rome* 707, in order to give it to another [*D*]. The reſt of his Adventures are unknown; except that he was married to a very beautiful Woman, whoſe Name was *Glaphyra*; and had two Sons by her, one called *Siſinna*, and the other *Archelaus*. The firſt diſputed the Kingdom of *Cappadocia* with *Ariarathes*, who was in Poſſeſſion of it. *Marc Antony* was made Judge of this Diſpute, in the Year of *Rome* 713; and gave it in favour of *Siſinna* (*h*). The Fair Sex had too great an Influence over him, and *Glaphyra* was too beautiful for This Tryal to have any other Iſſue. Some Hiſtorians treat her as a Courtezan (*i*); which makes it the eaſier to apprehend, why *Marc Antony* gave Judgment in favour of *Siſinna*. But, how probable ſoever This Calumny may ſeem, it is not impoſſible, that the Friendſhip *Marc Antony* had for That *Archelaus*, who married *Berenice* (*k*), might induce him to act as he did. It is not known what became of *Siſinna*; but it is certain, that *Ariarathes* re-aſcended the Throne of *Cappadocia*; for *Marc Antony* was obliged to diſpoſſeſs him a ſecond Time, in the Year of *Rome* 718; and, then, conferred the Kingdom on ARCHELAUS, the Son of *Glaphyra* (*l*). This is He, who appears at the Head of this Article. He became very powerful (*m*), and expreſſed his Acknowledgments to his Benefactor *Marc Antony*, by ſupplying him with fine Troops during the *Attic* War (*n*). He was ſo happy, as not to diſoblige *Auguſtus* by it; ſo that he remained in Poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia*, and was almoſt the only Perſon, to whom ſo much Favour was ſhewn (*o*). He aſſiſted *Tiberius*, in the Year 734, to re-eſtabliſh *Tigranes* in *Armenia* (*p*), and obtained the leſſer *Armenia*, and a good Part of *Cilicia*, from *Auguſtus* (*q*). He fixed his Reſidence in the Iſland of *Eleuſa* [*E*], near the Coaſt of *Cilicia*; and, having married *Pythodoris*, the Widow of *Polemon*, King of *Pontus*, he encreaſed his Power conſiderably; for, as the Sons of *Polemon* were yet but Infants, he had, without Doubt, the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom, jointly with the Queen, their Mother [*F*]. He ſignalized himſelf, after an extraordinary manner, in making his Court to *Caius Cæſar*, when ſent into the Eaſt by his Grandfather *Auguſtus* (*r*). This proved very fatal to him in the end [*G*]; for

[*B*] *He loſt his Life, in a Battle againſt the Troops of* Gabinius.] This does not agree with the Seventeenth Book of *Strabo*, where we read, that *Ptolomy*, being reſtored to his Kingdom, put his Daughter, and Son-in-law *Archelaus*, to Death. I ſhall make it appear, in the Article *Berenice*, that *Strabo* is miſtaken in this, and that he has contradicted himſelf. You may boldly pronounce theſe Words of *Moreri* to be falſe; Ptolomy, *being reſtored in* 699, *put* Archelaus *and* Berenice *to Death*.

[*C*] *He obtain'd from* Pompey *a very honourable Dignity*.] Father *Norris* ſays, that the Pontiff of *Comana* was Sovereign of the Place. "Hunc Archelaum Pompeius Sacerdotem Bellonæ, ac Comanorum principem (utraque enim dignitas uni eidemque conferebatur) conſtituerat, cuivis Dynaſtæ parem opibus, ex Appiano in Mithridat. *p.* 252. (1)". "—— Pompey *appointed This* Archelaus *Prieſt of* Bellona, *and Prince of* Comana *(for both Dignities were conferred upon one and the ſame Perſon)* A Poſt, equal in Revenue to That of a Dynaſt, *according to* Appian, *in* Mithridat, *p.* 252". We ſhall examine in another Place, whether this be Right (2).

[*D*] Cæſar *turned him out* —— *to give his Poſt to another*.] *Hirtius* relates, that *Cæſar* diſpoſed of this Benefice in favour of *Nicomedes*, who made it appear, that he had very juſt Pretenſions to it. "Id homini nobiliſſimo Nicomedi Bythinio adjudicavit, qui regio Cappadocum genere ortus, propter adverſam fortunam majorum ſuorum jure minimè dubio, vetuſtate tamen intermiſſo, ſacerdotium id repetebat (3)". —— *He adjudged it to an illuſtrious Perſon*, Nicomedes *of* Bythinia, *who, being deſcended from the Kings of* Cappadocia, *juſtly laid claim to This Prieſt-hood, which, thro' the misfortunes of his Anceſtors, had been for a long time loſt to his Family*". Father *Norris* affirms, that *Cæſar* conferr'd this Dignity on *Lycomedes*, after his Victory over *Pharnaces*; but They, who think fit to conſult *Hirtius*, will eaſily find, that it was diſpoſed of before the Battle. As for the Name of *Lycomedes*, it is to be found in the Editions of *Strabo* (4). It is alſo certain, that, in *Dion*, we meet with a *Lycomedes*, diveſted of his Eſtate by *Auguſtus*, after the Flight of *Marc Antony* (5), and, perhaps, the Same, whom *Cæſar* raiſed to the Pontificate of *Comana*; for he reigned in a Part of *Cappadocia*. The Epithet *Bythinius*, which *Hirtius* makes uſe of, favours more the *Reading* Nicomedes (6), than *Lycomedes*.

[*E*] *He fix'd his Reſidence in the Iſland of* Eleuſa.] This we learn from *Strabo*, and *Joſephus*. "Poſt Corycum Eleuſa inſula eſt continenti propinqua. Eam Archelaus condidit, ac regiam ſibi fecit, cum totam Ciliciam excepta Seleucia eſſet nactus (7). —— *Next to* Corycus *is the Iſland* Eleuſa, *cloſe by the Continent*. Archelaus *fixed his Reſidence there, after having made himſelf Maſter of All* Cilicia, *except* Seleucia". *Joſephus* obſerves, that *Herod*, having landed at *Eleuſa* in *Cilicia*, found *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia* there (8). It was there that the Envoys of *Herod* received Orders to carry the Letter, which he wrote to *Archelaus* (9). The ſame Hiſtorian obſerves, that *Eleuſa* was called *Sebaſta* (10). Might not *Archelaus*, in compliment to *Auguſtus*, make this Alteration in the Name?

[*F*] *He had, without doubt, the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom jointly with the Queen their Mother*.] Father *Norris* poſitively affirms this (11); I have choſen to make uſe of an Expreſſion, which imports, not that this Fact is to be found in the Ancient Writers, but that it appears to be very agreeable to Reaſon. What makes me expreſs my ſelf with ſome Caution, is, that *Strabo* ſays nothing more, than that *Pythodoris* lived with her Husband *Archelaus*, during his Life. Αὐτὴ δὲ συνώκησεν Ἀρχελάω καὶ συνέμεινεν ἐκείνῳ μέχρι τέλους (12). *Ipſi Archelao nupſit, & cum eo dum is in vivis permaniſit vitam exegit*. She knew how to command; it is not impoſſible, then, that ſhe might have governed The Eſtates of her Children Alone. Γυνὴ σώφρων καὶ δυνατὴ προΐστασθαι πραγμάτων (13). *Prudens mulier & præeſſe rebus gnara*.

[*G*] *This proved very fatal to him in the End*.] I have obſerved more than once, that Perſons, whom we ſlight, are often deſtined by Providence to the higheſt Stations (14). Unhappy for Thoſe, who have treated them with Contempt. Few are ſo reaſonable, as *Lewis* the XII, who ſaid, that a King of *France* ought not to revenge the Injuries done to a Duke of *Orleans*. Our *Archelaus* acted like a Politician: He knew, that *Auguſtus* loved his Grandſon tenderly; And, in all probability, That young Prince was to ſucceed for *Tiberius*, recollecting, that he had paid him no Civilities during his Stay at *Rhodes*; and that, on the other ſide, *Caius Cæſar* had received a thouſand Marks of Reſpect from him, reſolved to be revenged, as ſoon as he found himſelf Maſter of the Empire; accordingly he ſummoned him to appear at *Rome*, and appointed the Senate as Judge [*H*] of the Accuſations, which ſhould be brought againſt him. But Age, the Gout, and, above all, the Indignity of the Treatment he met with, ſoon broke his Heart, before the Senate had pronounced any Sentence againſt him. Some believe, that he eſcaped the Sentence of the Senate, by feigning himſelf mad [*K*]. He died in the Year of *Rome* 770, and the Fifty ſecond of his Reign; after which *Cappadocia* became

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(e) Strabo, lib. 17, pag. 547.

(f) Id. lib. 17, pag. 384.

(g) Id. ib.

(h) Appian. lib. 5. Belli Civilis, pag. 675.

(i) *See the Article* GLAPHYRA.

(k) Plutarch. in Anton. pag. 917.

(l) Dio, lib. 49, pag. 469.

(m) *See Remark* [*L*], *towards the end*.

(n) Plutarch. in Anton. pag. 944.

(o) Dio, lib. 51, init.

(p) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 15, cap. 5.

(q) Dio, lib. 54, ad Ann. 734. *See alſo* Strab. lib. 12, pag. 368, 382, *and* lib. 14, pag. 461.

(r) *In the Year of* Rome, 755.

(1) Norris, Cenotaph. Piſan. pag. 255.

(2) *In the Article* COMANA.

(3) Hirtius de bello Alexandrino, pag. 416.

(4) Lib. 12. pag. 384.

(5) Lib. 51. init.

(6) *It is that of the Edition of* Appian, in Mithridat. ſub. fin.

(7) Strabo, lib. 14, pag. 461.

(8) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 16, cap. 8.

(9) Ibid. cap. 16.

(10) Ibid. cap. 8.

(11) Norris, Cenotaph. Piſan. pag. 227. *He quotes no Authority*.

(12) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 383.

(13) Idem. pag. 382.

(14) *See the end of the Text, and Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* APOLLODORUS *the Architect*.

ceed his Grand-father. *Tiberius* was in ſome kind of Diſgrace, in the Iſland of *Rhodes*, which did not ſeem to preſage him the Empire. *Archelaus* believed he hazarded nothing in neglecting Him, and, beſides, had intimations, that it might be dangerous to cultivate his Friendſhip. He look'd upon all the Honours he paid to *Caius Cæſar* as a ſure Fund of Advantages, and Rewards for Life. But he was miſtaken; and little conſidered the Artfulneſs of *Livia*, in paving her Son's way to Empire. *Caius*, and his Brother, did not live long; and probably ſhe knew the Reaſon of it. After all, it is often the trueſt Policy to pay One's court, even when They are in Diſgrace, to Thoſe, whom we ſee in the Road to High Preferment (15). Let us produce Authorities, which inform us of *Tiberius*'s Reſentment. "Rex Archelaus, ſays *Tacitus* (16), quinquageſimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, inviſus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluiſſet: Nec id Archelaus per ſuperbiam omiſerat, ſed ab intimis Auguſti monitus, quia florente Caio Cæſare, miſſoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur.—— ~~King~~ Archelaus *had reigned fifty Years in* Cappadocia, *being odious to the Emperor* Tiberius, *to whom he had neglected to pay his Court, when in the Iſland of* Rhodes. *Not that* Archelaus'*s omiſſion was the Effect of Pride, but owing to the Advice of Thoſe about* Auguſtus; *who thought it not ſafe for him to cultivate the Friendſhip of* Tiberius, *whilſt* Caius Cæſar *was in ſuch high Favour, and had the Command of Affairs in the Eaſt.*" *Dion Caſſius* ſays almoſt the ſame thing. "Tiberius Cappadociæ regem Archelaum, infenſus ei, quia, cum olim ſibi is ſupplicaſſet, ſuoque patrocinio uſus, cum ab incolis apud Auguſtum accuſaretur, ſuiſſet, Rhodi ſe neglexiſſet, ac Caium in Aſia venientem officioſe coluiſſet, inſimulatum, quaſi novis rebus ſtuderet, evocavit Romam (17). —— Tiberius, *being incenſed againſt* Archelaus, *King of* Cappadocia, *who, notwithſtanding the Protection he had afforded him, when his Subjects accuſed him to* Auguſtus, *had yet neglected him at* Rhodes, *and officiouſly paid his Court to* Caius Cæſar, *upon his arrival in* Aſia, *cited him to appear at* Rome, *where he was accuſed of plotting againſt the State.*" We learn from this Paſſage, that *Tiberius* complained, not only of *Archelaus*'s want of Reſpect, but alſo of his Ingratitude. The Circumſtance of the Place might contribute to exaſperate the Emperor; for the Iſland of *Eleuſa*, where *Archelaus* reſided, was but Fifteen thouſand Paces * diſtant from *Rhodes* (18).

[*H*] *He ſummoned him to appear at* Rome, *and appointed the Senate as Judge.*] *Dion* relates this; *Inſimulatum, quaſi novis rebus ſtuderet, evocavit Romam, ac Senatus judicio tradidit* (19). He was accuſed of a Crime againſt the State. *Tacitus* does not ſeem to be of this Opinion; he intimates very plainly, that *Tiberius* complained only of *Archelaus*'s Incivility, and encouraged him, by Letters from his Mother, to hope, that, by his Preſence and Intreaties, he might obtain Pardon. *Ut verſa Cæſarum ſobole imperium adeptus eſt, elicit Archelaum matris literis, quæ non diſſimulatis offenſionibus clementiam offerebat, ſi ad precandum veniret* (20). This Frankneſs, with regard to Perſonal Offences, covered a moſt dangerous Snare. Either the King of *Cappadocia* did not perceive it, or durſt not act, as if he did. He repair'd immediately to *Rome*; was very coldly received by *Tiberius*; and found himſelf ſoon after in the hands of Juſtice. *Ille ignarus doli, vel ſi intelligere crederetur vim metuens, in urbem properat, exceptuſque immiti à principe, & mox accuſatus in Senatu* (21). Suetonius (22) has ſpoken of this Action of *Tiberius* only in general Terms. "Reges infeſtos ſuſpectoſque comminationibus magis & querelis quam vi repreſſit: quoſdam per blanditias atque promiſſa extractos ad ſe non remiſit, ut - - - Archelaum Cappadocem. —— *Thoſe Kings, whom he hated and ſuſpected, he repreſſed by Threatning and Complaints, rather than by Force. Some, whom he got into his Power by Soothing and Promiſes, he never ſent back* —— *as* Archelaus *the* Cappadocian." I Queſtion whether *Archelaus*, notwithſtanding his Age, was not tempted to raiſe ſome Commotions after the Death of *Auguſtus*; for mention is made of One of his Plots (23), which could only relate to That time.

[*I*] *His Age, the Gout, but, above all, the Indignity of the Treatment he met with, broke his Heart.*] Let us hear *Tacitus*. "Mox accuſatus in Senatu, non ob crimina quæ fingebantur, ſed angore, ſimul feſſus ſenio, & quia regibus æqua nedum infima inſolita ſunt, finem vitæ ſponte an fato implevit.— *Being afterwards accuſed in the Senate, tho' he was not condemned for the Crimes alledged againſt him, which indeed were fictitious; yet Affliction of Mind, together with Old Age, and a Fate uncommon to Kings, put an end to his Days; whether by a voluntary or natural Death, is uncertain.*" This Hiſtorian does not know, whether *Archelaus* killed himſelf, or only ſunk under the Weight of his Misfortunes; but from his Relation it appears, that This Prince was not condemned, and conſequently not put to Death. *Dion* will inform us of more Circumſtances.

[*K*] *Some believe, that he eſcaped the Sentence of the Senate, by feigning himſelf mad.*] *Dion* affirms, that *Archelaus*, bending under the Weight of Years, paſſed for a Dotard; that, nevertheleſs, he had all his Senſes perfect; but counterfeited the Madman, becauſe he ſaw no other means of ſaving his Life (24); that he would yet have ſuffered Death, had not a falſe Witneſs accuſed him of Threatning Words, and of ſaying, that, when he ſhould return to his Kingdom, he would ſhew *Tiberius*, that he did not want Courage. This occaſioned Laughter, and diverted *Tiberius* from his Deſign of putting him to Death. He was ſo weak, and worn out, that they were obliged to carry him in a Litter to the Senate-Houſe. *Dion* adds, that, for this Time, *Archelaus* eſcaped Death; but that he died ſoon after. *Dion* does not contradict the Text of this Remark; for, if the falſe Witneſs ſaved *Archelaus*'s Life, it was only becauſe it was judged, that the Threats of a ſuperannuated, decay'd, old Man, were certain Proofs of a Delirium, of Dotage, and a ſecond State of Childhood, &c. By this it appears, that *Xiphilin* had not the beſt Judgment, when he ſuppreſſed the the feigned Madneſs of *Archelaus*. This is a Fact which ought not to be omitted by the moſt conciſe Writers. *David*, *Brutus*, and others, have ſucceſsfully put in practice this kind of Diſſimulation; They are, therefore, remarkable Adventures, and ſuch as an Abbreviator ought to retain. Let us not omit what *Dion* obſerves, that *Archelaus* had really been next to an Idiot, ſome time before; witneſs *Auguſtus*'s appointing him a Governor, who was Regent of his Kingdom. I cannot ſay, whether it was on This Occaſion, that he had recourſe to the Protection of *Tiberius*. He ſued for it, when he was accuſed by his Subjects: But might they not have repreſented him as a Fool, at a Time, when he had Reaſon enough left to deſire not to be put under Tuition; and to maintain, that it was out of Malice alone, that his Subjects endeavoured to repreſent him as unfit to govern? It is difficult to clear up this Matter. The Ancient Hiſtorians ſo accuſtomed themſelves to relate Things only in the Groſs, that they afford but little Light into ſome of the more minute Particulars. Their Method is very good; however, there is an Art came a Province [*L*]. His Family boaſted of a moſt Ancient and Noble Extraction [*M*]. We ſhall take ſome notice of his Poſterity in the Article of *Glaphyra*. There is reaſon to think, that he was Author of ſome books [*N*]. His Addreſs, in appeaſing Herod's fierce Anger againſt his Son *Alexander*, is a proof of his Abilities on ſome Occaſions (*s*). Some have confounded him with *ARCHELAUS*, the Son of *Herod* [*O*]. I cannot find, that *Eutropius* ſays, what a modern Author imputes to him, that *ARCHELAUS*, at his Death, bequeath'd his Kingdom to the people of *Rome*; and that *Cappadocia* was reduc'd into a Province by this Title (*t*). Mr *de Tillemont* might have been very certain of a thing, which he ſeems to doubt of; to wit, that the ſame *ARCHELAUS*, who was King of *Cappadocia*, obtain'd, by the Favour of *Auguſtus*, Part of *Cilicia*, and the leſſer *Armenia*. Mr *Moreri* has been guilty of ſeveral Faults of Omiſſion in this Article. His Continuator has been guilty of but One of Commiſſion; but ſuch an one, as will match with any Four

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(15) *This was* Pomponius Atticus's *Rule. See the Remark* [*A*] *of his Article.*

(16) Tacit. Annal. lib. 2. cap. 24.

(17) Dion. lib. 57.

* *Fifteen Miles.*

(18) Strab. lib. 14, pag. 448.

(19) Dion, ubi ſupra.

(20) Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. cap. 42.

(21) Id. ib.

(22) Suet. in Tiber. cap. 37. *See alſo* Eutropius, l. 7.

(23) Philoſtr. in Vit. Apoll. lib. 1. cap. 7.

(24) *Mr* de Tillemont. Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 1, pag. 107, *falſely charges* Dion, *with ſaying, that* Archelaus *was acquitted by the* Senate, *upon his counterfeiting Madneſs.*

Art of ſpecifying Facts in few Words, and by the by; which would be of great Uſe, if Writers had the Will, or the Skill, to practiſe it. One Hiſtory in *Folio*, might, by the Help of this Art, prevent numberleſs Diſputes, and clear up a great Variety of Particulars, without conſiſting of above fifty Pages.

[*L*] *After which* Cappadocia *became a Province*]. *Velleius Paterculus*, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, and ſeveral others, expreſsly aſſert this (25). The proper Terms of the three firſt are theſe. " Tib. Cæſar —— ut has ar- " mis, ita auctoritate Cappadociam populo Romano " Stipendiariam fecit (26). —— Tiberius Cæſar —— " *as he reduced theſe by Force, ſo by his Authority he* " *made* Cappadocia *tributary to the* Romans. —— Reg- " num in Provinciam redactum eſt (27). —— *The* " *Kingdom was reduced into a Province.* —— Paulo poſt " obiit (Archelaus), ac inde Cappadocia quoque Ro- " manorum juris effecta eſt, Equitique regenda data " eſt (28). —— *Soon after*, Archelaus *died*; *from which* " *time* Cappadocia *likewiſe became a* Roman *Province*, " *and was under the Government of a Knight*." It was *Germanicus*, who executed this Order (29). *Appian* was very much miſtaken, in ſaying, that the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, was reduced into a Province under *Auguſtus* (30). Father *Norris*, who corrected this Miſtake of *Appian*, has diſcovered two very conſiderable Faults in *Riccioli*, one in point of Genealogy, the other in point of Chronology (31). The Words, which he produces from That Author, are theſe: " Summoto Mithridate, creatus eſt Cappadocum con- " ſenſu à Romanis Ariobarzanes; tandem Archelao " pronepote mortuo Romæ, Conſulibus C. Cælio Ru- " fo & L. Pomponio, ut ait Tacitus, id eſt anno 84 " ante Chriſtum, deſiit regnare in Cappadocia *. —— " Mithridates *being ſet aſide*, Ariobarzanes *was crea-* " *ted by the* Romans, *with the Conſent of the* Cap- " padocians; *at length*, Archelaus, *his Nephew's Son*, " *dying at* Rome, *in the Conſulſhip of* C. Cælius " Rufus, *and* L. Pomponius, *according to* Tacitus, " *that is*, *Eighty four Years before* CHRIST, Cap- " padocia *ceaſed to be a Kingdom*." Theſe Words carry the Air of a mutilated Paſſage: It is no uncommon thing for Printers to omit whole Lines. Be that as it will, *Archelaus* did not deſcend from *Ariobarzanes*; this is the Genealogical Error of *Riccioli*; and the Conſulate of *C. Cælius Rufus*, and *L. Pomponius*, in which he died at *Rome*, fell out in the ſeventeenth Year of *JESUS CHRIST*; this is his Chronological Error. *Strabo* witneſſes in expreſs Terms, that *Archelaus* was not related to *Ariobarzanes*. " Ita " rex ab iis factus eſt Ariobarzanes, cujus in tertia " ſtirpe genus defecit. Exinde Archelaus ab Antonio " rex eſt conſtitutus, NULLA AFFINITATE ipſis con- " junctus (32). —— *Thus* Ariobarzanes *was made* " *King by them*; *whoſe Race was extinct in the third* " *Generation. Upon which*, Archelaus, *who was of a* " *quite* DIFFERENT FAMILY, *was appointed King by* " Antony." The Error, which *Noldius* imputes to *Jornandes*, is very different from this of *Appian*. He will have it, that *Cappadocia* became a Province in the time of the Emperor *Claudius*, by virtue of the laſt Will and Teſtament of *Archelaus* (33). By the way, the Revenues of *Cappadocia* were ſo conſiderable, when *Archelaus* died, that *Tiberius* thought himſelf, by this new acquiſition, in a condition to remit one moiety of a Tax, which he had order'd to be levy'd. *Regnum* (Archelai) *in provinciam redactum eſt, fructibuſque ejus levari poſſe centeſimæ vectigal profeſſus Cæſar, duceteſimam in poſterum ſtatuit* (34). He eas'd This Province likewiſe; and would not exact from it as much as it had paid to the laſt King (35).

[*M*] *His Family boaſted of a moſt ancient and noble Extraction*] *Glaphyra*, the Daughter of the laſt *Archelaus*, and Wife of *Alexander*, the Son of *Herod*, ſpoke often of her Family, and boaſted, that ſhe was deſcended from *Temenus*, by the Father's Side, and from *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, by the mother's (36).

[*N*] *There is reaſon to think, that he was Author of ſome Books.*] *Pliny* ſeems to intimate this. He quotes *Archelaus* ſeveral Times; and it is thought, that, in two Places, he means our *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*. He gives him This very Title in one of theſe two Quotations; *Archelaus*, ſays he, *qui regnavit in Cappadocia* (37); and, as the Diſcourſe there turns upon ſome Particulars relating to *Amber*, Father *Hardouin* makes no queſtion, but that the ſame *Archelaus* is meant in the ſeventh Chapter of the Thirty ſeventh Book of Pliny; where one *Archelaus* is quoted concerning the Properties of a kind of Precious Stone (38). Neither does he doubt, that this is taken from the Book *de lapidibus*, cited by *Plutarch* (39). To relate ſomething more certain, I ſhall point out a Paſſage of Pliny, where *Archelaus* is reckon'd among the Kings, who had written concerning Agriculture (40). I have already mention'd (41) another *Archelaus*, often quoted by *Pliny*.

[*O*] *Some have confounded him with* Archelaus, *the Son of* Herod.] Father *Norris* has convicted *Riccioli* of this Error (42). *Riccioli* had ſaid, that, in the Trial between *Archelaus*, and his brother, concerning *Herod*'s Succeſſion, *Tiberius* pleaded his Cauſe before *Auguſtus*, and pretends to prove it from this Paſſage of *Suetonius*; " Civilium officiorum rudimentis Ar- " chelaum, Trallianos, & Theſſalos varia quoſque de " cauſa, Auguſto cognoſcente, defendit (43). —— " *He was yet a young Pleader, when he undertook the* " *different Cauſes of* Archelaus, *the* Tralliani, *and* Theſ- " ſalians, *before the Tribunal of* Auguſtus." And, as *Velleius Paterculus* informs him, that *Tiberius* left *Rhodes*, to return to *Rome*, in the year 755, he concludes, that *Archelaus* was made Ethnarch in That Year, and not in 751, or before. Father *Norris* ſhews him, from the Paſſage of *Dion* quoted above (44), that the Words of *Suetonius* muſt be underſtood of *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*. He might have added an Inſtance, which deſtroys the Hypotheſis of *Riccioli*; to wit, that *Tiberius* defended *Archelaus*'s Cauſe, before he went to *Rhodes*. This is plain from *Dion*'s Words; and may clearly be inferr'd from Thoſe of *Suetonius*; who makes *Tiberius*'s Defence of *Archelaus* the Firſt in the Liſt of Cauſes undertaken by Him, when (if I may ſo ſpeak) he made his firſt Campaign at the Bar, *civilium officiorum rudimenta*. *Torrentius* is of the ſame Opinion with *Riccioli*; to wit, that *Suetonius* meant the great *Cauſe* of *Archelaus*, the Son of *Herod*; and refers us to *Joſephus* (45). But how came they not to perceive, that, in this Caſe, *Joſephus* could not poſſibly be ignorant of this good Office of *Tiberius*; and, if he knew it, that he could not well have omitted it? I am ſurpriz'd that Father *Norris*, who makes ſuch frequent and vigorous Attacks upon the Jeſuit *Salian*, has ſpar'd him on this Occaſion. This Jeſuit fell into the ſame miſtake with *Riccioli*; he has cenſur'd *Caſaubon* for applying (46) the Paſſage of *Suetonius* to *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*; he repreſents to him, that the Cauſe of this Prince was debated in the Reign of *Tiberius*; and maintains, that *Archelaus*, the Son of

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(*s*) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 16, cap. 12, & de bello Jud. lib. 1, cap. 17.

(*t*) Noldius, de vita & geſtis Herodum, pag. 194.

(*u*) Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 1, pag. 33.

(25) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 368. Sueton in Tib. cap. 37. Eutrop. lib. 7. cap. 6.

(26) Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 39.

(27) Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. cap. 42.

(28) Dion, lib. 57, pag. 614.

(29) Suet. in Calig. cap. 1. Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. cap. 56.

(30) Appianus, in Mithridaticis, pag. 244. apud Norris, Cenot. Piſan. p. 241.

(31) Norris, ibid. p. 226.

* Riccioli Chron Reformat. Tom. 1, lib. 5, cap. 9, n. 5.

(32) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 873.

(33) Jornand. de Regnor. & Temp. Succeſſ. pag. 645, apud Noldium, de Vit. Herod. pag. 194.

(34) Tacit. Annal. lib. 2. cap. 42.

(35) Id. ib. cap. 56.

(36) Joſeph. de bello Jud. lib. 1. c. 17.

(37) Plin. lib. 37, cap. 3, pag 371.

(38) Harduin. in Indice Autor. Plin. *See alſo* Malincrot. Paralip. pag. 60.

(39) Plut. de Fluviis, pag. 1153.

(40) Plin. lib. 18, cap. 3. pag. 440.

(41) *In Remark* [*C*], *of the Article* *ARCHELAUS, the Philoſopher.*

(42) Cenot. Piſan. pag. 148.

(43) Suet. in Tiber. cap. 8.

(44) *Citation* (17).

(45) Torrent. in Suet. Tiber. cap. 8. *He refers us to* Euſeb. in Chron. & Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 1, *and to* Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 17, cap. 11.

(46) Comment. in Sueton.

Four; it is ſo very groſs [*P*]. We ſhall ſee what it is, in the laſt Remark of this Article.

Herod, muſt conſequently be underſtood in this Place; to prove which, he ſuppoſes, that JESUS CHRIST ſtaid Two Years in *Egypt*: *For,* ſays he, Tiberius *did not return to* Rome *in the Second Year of* JESUS CHRIST; *but he was at* Rome, *when* Archelaus *diſputed* Herod's *Succeſſion with his Brothers; ſince he honour'd him with his Protection* (47). Behold how Faults are heap'd upon Faults, when the foundation is ill laid. It is as clear as the Day, that the King of *Cappadocia*'s Cauſe was adjudged by *Auguſtus*, before *Tiberius* retir'd to the Iſland of *Rhodes* (48).

[*P*] *His Continuator has been guilty of but One of Commiſſion; but ſuch an One, as will match with any Four; it is ſo groſs.*] He ſays, that *Scylla* (it is his own Orthography) after having taken the City of *Athens*, kill'd *Archelaus*, General of *Mithridates*'s Army, with his own Hand, at the Foot of the Altar, to which he had fled for Refuge. He quotes *Aulus Gellius, lib.* 14. It is certain, that *Aulus Gellius* ſpeaks, in the Firſt Chapter of his Fifteenth Book, of a Particular, which the Continuator has mention'd; I mean of an expedient, which *Archelaus* made uſe of, to hinder the *Romans* from firing a Tower of Wood, which defended the *Pyreum*: We ſhall ſee below what it was; but that he has ſaid, that *Archelaus* took Refuge in a Temple, and that *Sylla* kill'd him with his own hand at the Foot of an Altar, is moſt falſe. I believe no Author, worthy of Credit, has ſaid this; for it is notorious, that *Archelaus*, having conſtrain'd *Sylla* to give over attacking the *Pyreum*, and to bend all his Force againſt the City, had time to retire, when it was taken by aſſault (49). *Sylla* purſued him, gain'd great Victories over him, and obliged him to make a Diſadvantageous Peace. *Archelaus*, finding himſelf ſuſpected of ſome Miſdemeanors (50), durſt not truſt *Mithridates*, but went over to *Murena*, who commanded the *Romans*. He was receiv'd with Honour, as *Strabo* has obſerv'd in more Places than one. Ἦν δὲ ȣ̔τος Ἀρχέλαος υἱὸς μὲν τȣ̃ ὑπὸ Σύλλα καὶ τῆς συγκλήτȣ τιμηθέντος (51). *This* Archelaus *was the Son of Him, who receiv'd Honours from* Sylla *and the Senate.*

WHETHER *ARCHELAUS* could make Wood proof againſt Fire.

The Secret of preſerving his Tower of Wood conſiſted in cauſing it to be well rubb'd with Allum. *Quadrigarius*, I think, is the only Hiſtorian, who has mention'd this. Others ſay, that His Tower, and Machines were ruin'd by the Beſiegers. It is certain, that Allum has not the virtue *Quadrigarius* ſpeaks of. Theſe are his words: "Tum Sulla conatus eſt, & tempore magno eduxit copias, ut Archelai turrim unam, quam ille interpoſuit, ligneam incenderet. Venit, acceſſit, ligna ſubdidit, ſubmovit Græcos, ignem admovit, ſatis ſunt diu conati, nunquam quiverunt incendere: ita Archelaus omnem materiam obleverat alumine, quod Sulla atque milites mirabantur; &, poſtquam non ſuccendit, reduxit copias (52). —— Sylla, *upon this, made an Attempt, and haſtily drew out his Forces, in order to ſet Fire to a Tower, which* Archelaus *had built to oppoſe him. He came, He approached it, He made the* Greeks *retreat; His Men attempted a long Time to ſet it on Fire; but* Archelaus *had ſo dawb'd it with Allum, that* Sylla *and his Soldiers were ſurpriz'd; and, not being able to ſet it on Fire, he drew off his Forces.*" If the Abbot *de la Roque* had been appriz'd of this Paſſage of *Aulus Gellius*, he would not have ſaid, "That Hiſtory mentions, that *Sylla* formerly undertook to burn a Tower of Wood, which was defended by one of *Mithridates*'s Lieutenants, but could not execute his Deſign, becauſe it was dawb'd over with a certain Drug, THE NAME OF WHICH IS NOT COME TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, and which had the Virtue to repel the Activity of Fire (53)." Two Things ſurprize me; The One is, that, ſince *Quadrigarius* has mention'd ſo extraordinary an Event, all other Hiſtorians ſhould be ſilent concerning it; The other is, that, ſince ſo many Hiſtorians have not ſaid a Word of it, *Quadrigarius* ſhou'd mention it in ſo expreſs a manner. Facts of this kind ſtrike the mind ſo forcibly, that an incombuſtible Wooden Tower would have been the laſt Thing omitted by an Hiſtorian. *Sylla* would infallibly have inſerted it in his Memoirs; *Plutarch*, who cites them ſo often (54), would have met with it in them, and would not have forgotten to mention it. Let us conclude from his Silence, and That of ſo many other Hiſtorians, that the Fact is falſe. But from whence had *Quadrigarius* this Account? I believe it is impoſſible to trace the Original of his Error. It is true indeed, that *Plum-Allum* will reſiſt Fire, and will not be conſumed by it; but to rub a Tower of Wood with it, and thence to render it incombuſtible, is a Thing which, I conceive, is impracticable.

(47) Salian. Annal. in Schol. ad Ann. Chriſti 3, n. 7.

(48) *See* Noldius, de vita & geſtis Herodum, pag. 194, & ſeq.

(49) *See* Appian, in Mithridaticis.

(50) *The Epitome of* Livy *ſays, that* Archelaus *delivered up the Fleet of* Mithridates *to the* Romans. Aurelius Victor *ſays, that* Sylla claſſem Mithridatis proditione Archelai intercepit --- *intercepted the Fleet of* Mithridates, *by the Treachery of* Archelaus.

(51) Strab. lib. 12, pag. 314. *See alſo* lib. 17, pag. 547.

(52) Apud Aul. Gell. lib. 15. c. 1.

(53) Journ. des Sçav. *of the* 15*th of* Feb. 1677, pag. 54.

(54) Plut. in Vita Syllæ.

ARCHILOCHUS, a *Greek* Poet, Native of the Iſland of *Pharos* (*a*), and the Son of *Teleſicles* [*A*], flouriſh'd in the XXIXth Olympiad [*B*]. An uncommon Torrent

[*A*] *The Son of* Teleſicles.] This we find, not only in *Suidas*, but in *Oenomaus* likewiſe, quoted by *Euſebius* (1).

[*B*] *He flouriſh'd in the XXIXth Olympiad.*] Authors differ a little in this. *Tatian*, and St *Cyril*, place *Archilochus* in the XXIIId Olympiad (2). *Clemens Alexandrinus* places him the XXth; Others in the XVth, XVIIIth, and XIXth (3). *Cicero* ſuppoſes him to have lived in the Reign of *Romulus* (4). *Cornelius Nepos* places him in the time of *Tullus Hoſtilius* (5). *Herodotus* not only affirms, that he wrote Verſes on the Adventures of *Gyges*, and *Candaules*; but that he lived likewiſe at the ſame time (6). *Euſebius* makes him flouriſh in the XXIXth Olympiad. It is eaſy to reconcile ſome of theſe Authors, but not all; for the Revolution, which happened in *Lydia* by the Death of *Candaules*, and the Inauguration of *Gyges*, fell out in the XXVIIth Olympaid (7). The Death of *Romulus* happened in the preceding Olympiad. The Reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius* takes in the ſpace of time between the firſt Year of the XXVIIth Olympaid, and the firſt Year of the XXXVth. *Salmaſius*, who was very happy in correcting a Miſtake in *Solinus*, did not perceive one of his own. *Solinus* has been raſh enough to place the Three Orators of the Family of the *Curio*'s, *Archilochus*, and *Sophocles*, in the ſame Age. "Plurimi *ſays he* (8), inter Romanos eloquentia floruerunt, ſed hoc bonum hereditarium nunquam fuit niſi in familia Curionum, in qua tres ſerie continua oratores fuere; magnum hoc habitum eſt ſane eo ſæculo, quo facundiam præcipue & humana & divina mirata ſunt: quippe tunc percuſſores Archilochi poetæ Apollo prodidit, & latronum facinus Deo coarguente detectum; cumque Lyſander Lacedæmonius Athenas obſideret, ubi Sophoclis tragici inhumatum corpus jacebat; identidem Liber Pater ducem monuit per quietem, ſepeliri delicias ſuas ſineret, nec prius deſtitit, &c. —— *Many among the Romans were famous for Eloquence; but This Talent was never Hereditary, except in the Family of the* Curio'*s, in which were Three ſucceſſive Orators. This was look'd upon as very Extraordinary even in That Age, in which Eloquence was held in great Admiration both by Gods and Men; for, at that time,* Apollo *diſcover'd the Murthurers of* Archilochus *the Poet, and the Robbers were convicted of their Guilt by the Evidence of a God; and, when* Lyſander *the* Lacedemonian *beſieg'd* Athens, *where the Body of* Sophocles *the Tragedian lay unburied,* Bacchus *admoniſh'd the Chief in a Dream, to ſuffer his Favourite to be buried; nor did he deſiſt till, &c.*" *Salmaſius* obſerves (9), that One of theſe *Curio's* lived in the time of *Julius Cæſar*; that *Archilochus* liv'd in the time of *Tarquinius Superbus*; and that *Sophocles* did not flouriſh till above two Centuries after *Archilochus*. He has reaſon, then, to laugh at *Solinus*, but is in the wrong to place *Archilochus* in the time of *Tarquinius Superbus*, who reign'd from the third Year of the LXIſt Olympaid to the laſt Year of the LXVIIth: I ſay, he is in the wrong to place him in this Time, ſince he, elſewhere, fixes him under the XXIXth Olympaid. *Circiter vigeſimam nonam Olympiadem inclaruit Archilochus* (10). Having been guilty of This Error, of

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(*a*) Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 12, Lucianus, in Pſeudol.

(1) Euſeb. lib. 6, cap. 7. Præp. Evang. pag. 256. item lib. 5, cap. 33, pag. 227.

(2) *See* Voſſius, de Poët. Gr. pag. 14.

(3) Anonymus, in Deſcrip. Olymp. apud Voſſium, ubi ſupra.

(4) Tuſculan I. cap. 1.

(5) Corn. Nep. apud Gellium, lib. 17. cap. 21.

(6) Herod. lib. 1, c. 13.

(7) *See* Sethus Calviſius ad Ann. Mundi 3239, p. 65.

(8) Solin. cap. 2, ſub. fin.

(9) Salmaſ. Plin. Exercit. pag. 52.

(10) Id. ib. pag. 854.

Torrent of Scandal was the Characteriſtic of his Poetry [*C*]. Terrible was the Power of it; ſince *Lycambes* hang'd himſelf, upon a virulent Satire, which *ARCHILOCHUS* wrote againſt him. The Indignation of this Poet proceeded from a Breach of Promiſe; *Lycambes*, had promis'd him his Daughter, and afterwards refuſed her to him. *ARCHILOCHUS* took this ſo to heart, either becauſe he lov'd the Maid, or that ſome particular Inſtance of Contempt had been added to the Refuſal, that he diffamed *Lycambes* with all imaginable Virulency. Probably he involved the whole Family in his Paſquinades; for it is ſaid, that the Daughter followed her Father's Example; and ſome pretend, that three of *Lycambes*'s Daughters died at the ſame Time of Grief and Deſpair [*D*]. Perhaps he revealed ſome Adventures, equally ſcandalous, and a Secret to the Public. There ſeem, at leaſt, to have been ſome very obſcene Paſſages in his Poem; for it was on occaſion of this Satire, that the *Lacedemonians*, taking into Conſideration, that the reading ſuch Obſcenities was offenſive to chaſte Ears, prohibited the Verſes of *Archilochus*

of making *Archilochus*, and the laſt King of *Rome*, Cotemporaries, he ſhould not have reckon'd Two hundred Years between *Archilochus*, and *Sophocles*; for the Death of the latter fell out in the XCIId Olympaid, or thereabout. Another Great Man (11), has ſuffer'd himſelf to be too much led away by the Spirit of finding Fault, when he charges *Herodotus* with having made uſe of a pitiful Argument, to prove, that *Archilochus* liv'd in the time of *Gyges*; to wit, that *Archilochus* mention'd This King. I confeſs this Argument would be an abſurd One; but it is not true, that *Herodotus* makes uſe of it; he has only ſuppos'd it; but drawn no conſequence from it. Τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη (12). *Whom* Archilochus, *who lived at the ſame Time, mentions in a Trimeter* Iambic.

[*C*] *An uncommon Torrent of Scandal —— was the Characteriſtic of his Poetry.*] Hence it was that *Horace* conſidered *Archilochus* as a Madman;

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo (13).

Rage with Iambics arm'd Archilochus.
ROSCOMMON.

and, when he would give an Idea of the ſevereſt kind of Satire, he compares it to That of *Archilochus*.

In malos aſperrimus
Parata tollo cornua
Qualis Lycambe ſpretus infido gener (14).

- - - - *to Rogues a deadly Foe,*
I'm ſtill prepared to ſtrike the Blow;
As ſharp, as fierce Archilochus *his Song.*
CREECH.

Ovid, in the ſame Spirit, uſes this Threat;

Poſtmodo ſi pergas, in te mihi liber Iambus
Tincta Lycambeo ſanguine tela dabit.

To new Injuſtice ſhould'ſt thou ſtill proceed,
The keen Iambic ſhall revenge the Deed,
And, in thy Wounds, again Lycambes *bleed.*

This occurs in his Poem *in Ibin*, ver. 51; a Work ſo full of Scandal, that, they who fancied he wrote it in Imitation of *Archilochus* (15), would be excuſable, were it not apparent, from theſe two Verſes,

Nunc, quo Battiades inimicum devovet Ibin,
Hoc ego devoveo teque tuoſque modo.

Thoſe Curſes, all, on hated Ibis *thrown*
By Battus *Son, accumulated fall*
On thy devoted Head.

that *Ovid* propoſed to imitate the Poet *Callimachus*. There are numberleſs Proverbs, which perpetuate the ſlanderous Diſpoſition of our Poet; *Archilochia edicta*, ἀρχίλοχον πατεῖς, *Archilochum teris*, &c. The firſt is to be found in *Cicero*; who made uſe of it to repreſent the Edicts, which the Conſul *Bibulus* ordered to be fixed up. This poor Conſul, not daring to ſtir out of his Houſe, retained no Shadow of Authority, but in revenging himſelf by Paſquinades; in which he diſplayed the infamous Debaucheries of *Cæſar*, and the vile Practices of his Enemies, in their proper Colours: *In eam coëgit deſperationem, ut, quoad proteſtate abiret domo abditus, nihil aliud quam per edicta nuntiaret* (16). The Edicts, which he publiſhed, *Cicero* calls *Archilochia Edicta*; which pleaſed the People ſo extremely, that there was no getting through the Preſs, in the Streets, where they were fixed up; for the People ran in Crowds to read them; which made *Pompey* ready to burſt with Spleen. *Archilochia in illum Bibuli Edicta ita populo ſunt jucunda, ut eum locum ubi proponuntur, præ multitudine eorum qui legunt, præterire nequeamus, ita ipſi acerba ut tabeſcat dolore, mihi mehercule moleſta, quod & eum quem ſemper dilexi nimis excruciant* (17). Plutarch ſpeaks thus of theſe Edicts of *Bibulus*. Βίβλος μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν κατακλεισάμενος ὀκτὼ μηνῶν οὐ προῆλθεν ὑπατεύων ἀλλ' ἐξέπεμψε διαγράμματα βλασφημίας ἀμφοῖν ἔχοντα καὶ κατηγορίας (18). Bibulus *did not ſtir out of his own houſe during the eight Months of his Conſulſhip; he only publiſh'd Edicts, full of Reproaches againſt them both*; viz. *Pompey* and *Cæſar*. As to the Proverb, *Archilochum teris*, I do not believe it ſignifies, as *Eraſmus* imagined, a Slanderer, who treads in the ſteps of *Archilochus*, or ſtudies his Books; but One, who, having offended *Archilochus*, ought to fear the Deſtiny of Him, who, having trod on a Serpent, immediately receives a mortal Sting. See what *Lucian* puts into *Archilochus*'s Mouth againſt a certain Perſon, who had ſlander'd him; *Alis cicadam comprehendiſti* (19); —— *You have taken a Graſshopper by the Wings* *; and you will be convinced, that the Explication of *Eraſmus*, how conformable ſoever to *Suidas*'s Sentiment, is falſe. At the ſame time I do not deny, that πατεῖν is ſometimes taken, as well as *terere*, for *lectitare*. *Ariſtophanes* ſays, in his *Birds* (20), οὐδ' αἴσωπον πεπάτηκας. There are ſome Epigrams in the *Anthologia*, which give us a very ſtrong Idea of the Calumny of this Poet. *Cerberus*, in one of them, is exhorted to keep a ſtricter Watch than ever, and to take heed of being bit, ſince *Archilochus* was gone to Hell (21). We ſhall ſee in the Remark [*G*], that he ſlandered even himſelf.

[*D*] *Some pretend, that three of* Lycambes's *Daughters died at the ſame time of Grief and Deſpair.*] I have ſaid, that *Archilochus* took the matter to heart; but his Grief was nothing in compariſon to what his Father-in-law, and Miſtreſs, ſuffered. He gave himſelf Eaſe by a bitter Invective, but *Lycambes*, and his Daughters, found their Conſolation only in an Halter. *Horace* mentions only the Father's Deſtiny, and That of the Daughter, who was promiſed to *Archilocus*.

- - - - - non res & agentia verba Lycamben;
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Nec ſocerum quærit, quem verſibus oblinet aris;
Nec ſponſæ laqueum famoſo carmine nectit (22).

I match'd Archilochus; *I ſhow'd the Age*
His Numbers; but forbore his murth'ring Rage.

With no black Lines I daub, no envious Breath
Doth ſoil Men's Fame, or rhime a Spouſe to Death.
CREECH.

But,

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(11) Scalig. in Euſeb. pag. 57, 58. Edit. 1658.

(12) Herod. lib. 1. c. 12.

(13) Hor. de Arte Poëticâ, ver. 79.

(14) Id. Epod. 6. v. 13.

(15) Johannes Tortellius Aretinus, in Commentariis de Orthographia; & Jacobus Lanius, lib. 2. Subſecivar. Lect. cap. 4. apud Dionyſ. Salvagnium Boëſſium Comment. in Ibin. pag. 25.

(16) Suet. in Cæſ. cap. 20. *See alſo* cap. 49.

(17) Cicer. ad Attic. Epiſt. 21. l. 2.

(18) Plutarch. in Pomp. pag. 644.

(19) Lucian, in Pſeudolog. Tom. 2. pag. 548. *See the Article* TETTIX.

* [Τέττιγα πτεροῦ συνείληφας. If you preſs the Graſshopper's Wings, it frets and makes a Noiſe. *So the Poet, when attacked, is put in a Violent Paſſion. Hence* Horace, Genus irritabile Vatum. REM. CRIT.]

(20) *This has been communicated to me by Mr* de la Monnoie.

(21) Anthol. lib. 3. c. 25. *See alſo* Salmaſius, Exercit. Plinian. pag. 394, 395.

(22) Horat. Epiſt. 19, lib. 1, ver. 25, 30, 31.

chus [E]. Some have ſaid, that he himſelf was baniſhed from *Lacedemon* (b); but the Reaſon they give for it is taken from a Maxim, which he inſerted in one of his Poems, *That it is better to throw down one's Arms, than to loſe one's Life.* He wrote This in his own Juſtification (c). His Calumny, which was ſometimes an Inconvenience to him in his Affairs [F], and which extended even to his own Perſon [G], did not deprive him of the Favour of *Apollo*; for, upon his being killed in Battel, the Oracle of *Delphi* drove his Murtherer out of the Temple [H]; nor could it be appeaſed but by dint of Excuſe and Prayer; and even, after this, ordered him to repair to a certain Houſe, and there appeaſe the Ghoſt of *Archilochus*.

But, in the *Anthologia*, we read, that two, or even three, Daughters of *Lycambes* hanged themſelves (23). See, in the Article HIPPONAX (24), ſome Inſtances of the tragical and mortal Effects of Satire. Let us not omit what a Scholiaſt on *Horace* obſerves; to wit, that *Neobula* (ſo he calls the Daughter, who was contracted to *Archilochus*) did not hang herſelf on account of her Gallant's Satire, but out of Grief for the miſerable Cataſtrophe of her Father's Life (25). Moſt Readers will take part with the *Anthologia*; in which *Archilochus* is repreſented as the immediate Cauſe.

[*E*] *It was on occaſion of This Satire, that the* Lacedemonians - - - - - *prohibited the Verſes of* Archilochus.] *Valerius Maximus* affirms this in expreſs Terms. "Lacedæmonii libros Archilochi è civitate ſua exportari juſſerunt, quod eorum parum verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur. Noluerunt enim ea liberorum ſuorum animos imbui, ne plus moribus noceret, quam ingeniis prodeſſet. Itaque maximum poëtam, aut certe ſummo proximum, quia domum ſibi inviſam obſcenis maledictis laceraverat, carminum exilio multarunt (26). - - - - - - *The* Lacedemonians *ordered the Books of* Archilochus *to be baniſhed from their State, eſteeming the reading of them to be vicious and immodeſt. They were unwilling the Minds of their Youth ſhould be tinctured with them, leaſt their Morals ſhould be more injured, than their Genius improved, thereby. They therefore puniſhed the greateſt of Poets, or next to the greateſt, for an obſcene Satire on a Family, whom he hated, by baniſhing his Verſes.*"

[*F*] *His Calumny - - - - - - was often an Inconvenience to him in his Affairs.*] *Pindar* informs me of this particular; for he affirms, that, though *Archilochus* fattened upon Slander, yet was he often put to his Shifts.

Εἶδον γὰρ ἑκὰς ἐὼν τὰ πολ-
λ' ἐν ἀμαχανίᾳ
Ψογερὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, βαρυλό-
γοις ἔχθεσιν πιαινόμενον (27).

Vidi enim procul exiſtens ſæpe in anguſtiis conviciatorem Archilochum, dum maledicis odiis pinguefieret.

Aretius did not underſtand this Paſſage; ſince he took it to mean, that *Archilochus* was a Gainer by his Calumny, and raiſed himſelf by it from a low Eſtate to Honour and Riches (28). The Word πιαίνεσθαι, which ſignifies *to fatten*, deceived him; he ſhould have remember'd, that, to this day, *to feed*, or *grow fat*, upon any thing ſignifies, figuratively, to take an extraordinary Pleaſure in it. No doubt *Ovid* had an Eye to this Paſſage of *Pindar*, when, in his Poem in *Ibin*, he ſays,

Utque repertori nocuit pugnacis Iambi,
Sic ſit in exitium lingua proterva tuum.

Like His, who firſt the keen Iambic *gave,*
May thy abuſive Tongue thy Ruin prove.

We ſhall ſee in the Remark [*H*], that they, who pretend, that Calumny coſt *Archilochus* his Life (29), are miſtaken.

[*G*] *His Calumny - - - - - - extended even to his own Perſon.*] This Poet took ſuch ſtrange Delight in Slander, that, not content to pull his Neighbour to pieces, he could not forbear defaming himſelf (30). For which *Critias* blames him (31); ſaying, that, *had it not been for his own account, we ſhould not have known, that his Mother* Enipone *was a Slave; that meer Poverty forced him to quit the Iſle of* Paros, *and remove to That of* Thaſus; *that he rendered himſelf odious there by ſlandering both Friends, and Foes; that he was extreamly addicted to Women, and very inſolent; and, what is worſt of all* (32), *that he had thrown away his Buckler in Fight.* The Scholiaſt on *Ariſtophanes* informs us, that it was in the War againſt the *Saians*, a People of *Thrace*, that *Archilochus* threw down his Arms, and fled (33). *Ariſtophanes* has borrowed a Diſtich of This Poet's concerning this Adventure (34); upon which his Scholiaſt gives us this Gloſs. *Plutarch* repeats the ſame Veries, and ſomething more.

Ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαΐων τις ἀγάλλεται ἣν περὶ
θάνμῳ
Ἔντὸς ἀμώμητον κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων.
- - - - - - - - - - - Ἄσπις ἐκείνη
Ἐῤῥέτω. ἐξαῦθις κτήσομαι οὐ κακίω (35).

One of the Saians, *perhaps, now prides himſelf in wearing my Shield; which I unwillingly left behind me, unhurt, amidſt the Briers. No matter for the Loſs of This Shield; I ſhall ſoon purchaſe as good an one.*

Yet our Run-away valued himſelf more upon being a Soldier, than a Poet.

Εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων μεν Ἐνυαλίοιο ἄνακτος,
Καὶ μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος (36).

I am a Follower of the God of War, and ſkilled in the amiable Gift of the Muſes.

Alcæus ranged the Poſts of Honour after the ſame manner; he gave the firſt Place to Arms; and, in deſcribing his Houſe (37), he makes no mention of Books, but of Helmets and Bucklers; all ſavours of the Arſenal, and not of the Library. Yet it is well known, that he ſaved himſelf in Battel by the help of his Heels, and not his Arms. See the Remark [*B*] of his Article.

[*H*] Apollo - - - - *drove his Murtherer out of the Temple* (38).] The Name of Him, who ſlew *Archilochus*, was *Callondas Corax* (39), a Native of the Iſle of *Naxos*. The Prieſteſs of *Delphi* drove him out of the Temple, becauſe he had killed a Man conſecrated to the Muſes. Ἐκβληθεις ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας, ὡς ἱερὸν ἄνδρα τῶν μουσῶν ανηρηκώς (40). And yet he had killed him in War, and in fair Combat; as appears more plainly from *Suidas*, than *Plutarch*. For this Reaſon we cannot ſuppoſe, that *Pliny*, upon this Occaſion, is ſufficiently exact, when he ſaid, in the plural Number, *Archilochi poëtæ interfectores Apollo arguit Delphis* (41). - - - - Apollo *at* Delphi *accuſed Thoſe, who had ſlain* Archilochus *the Poet.* His Copyer *Solinus*, affecting the Paraphraſt, has left himſelf without excuſe; ſince he has the boldneſs to ſay, that this Poet was killed by Robbers; "Percuſſores Archilochi poëtæ Apollo prodidit, & latronum facinus Deo coarguente detectum (42). - - - - - - Apollo *diſcovered the Murtherers of* Archilochus *the Poet; thus the Villany of certain Robbers was detected by the Evidence of a God.*" *Euſebius* cites a *Greek* Author, called *Oenomaus*, who gives the Name of *Archias* to the Murtherer of *Archilobus*; "Quare qui Archilochum occidit Archias à templo quaſi ſceleſtus exire ab Apolline juſſus eſt: muſarum enim amicum occiderat (43). - - - - - *Wherefore* Archias, *who ſlew* Archilochus, *was commanded by* Apollo *to depart from the Temple, as one guilty of Impiety; for he had ſlain a Friend of the Muſes.*" *Galen* has reported the Words of the Oracle

(b) Plutarch. Inſtit. Lacon. p. 239.

(c) *See Remark* [C].

(23) Anthol. lib. 3, c. 25.

(24) *Remark* [F].

(25) Schol. in Horat. Epod. 6.

(26) Val. Max. lib. 6, cap. 3.

(27) Pind. Pythior. Od. 2.

(28) *See* Benedictus, in Pindar. Od. 2. Pythior.

(29) Leſcalopier, in Ciceron. lib. 3. de Nat. Deor. pag. 703. Boſſius, in Indice Comment. in Ibin.

(30) *See the Paſſage of* Plutarch, *which ſhall be cited in the Remark* [M], *Citation* (55).

(31) Apud Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 10, cap. 13.

(32) *It is* Critias, *who ſpeaks.*

(33) Schol. Ariſtoph. in Comœd. de Pace. *See alſo* Strabo, lib. 12. pag. 378.

(34) In Comœd. de Pace, circa finem.

(35) Plut. in Inſtit. Lacon. p. 239.

(36) Athen. lib. 14, cap. 6, p. 627, C.

(37) Apud Athen. lib. 14, cap. 5.

(38) Plut. de iis qui ſero à numine puniuntur, pag. 560. *and* Suidas *fuſè* in Ἀρχίλοχος.

(39) Id. ib. *See alſo* Plut. in Numa, pag. 62.

(40) Plut. ubi ſupra.

(41) Plin. lib. 7, c. 29.

(42) Solin. cap. 1, p. 11.

(43) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 5, cap. 33, *cited by Father* Hardouin, *in* Plin. Tom. 2, pag. 124. *Theſe are not the very Words of* Oenomaus, *but only his Thought.*

Archilochus (d). And yet this Perſon had killed him in a fair Combat [*I*]. Iambic Verſe was what this Poet excelled in; he was the Inventor of it [*K*], and one of the three Poets, whom *Ariſtarchus* approved of in this kind of Poetry (e). *Quintilian* places him, in ſome Reſpects, above the other two. *Ariſtophanes*, the Grammarian, was of Opinion, that *Archilochus*'s Iambic Poems, the longer they were, were the finer [*L*]. The Hymn, he compoſed on *Hercules* and *Iolaus*, was ſo diſtinguiſhed, as to be conſtantly ſung three times, in honour of thoſe, who gained the Victory in the Olympic Games (f). Scarce any thing remains of his Works; which, for the ſake of Morals, is rather a Gain, than a Loſs, [*M*]. They, who ſpeak of ſeveral

Μουσάων θεράποντα κατέκτανες, ἔξιθι νηοῦ (44).

You have ſlain a Servant of the Muſes; depart from the Temple.

Apollo has been much blamed for acknowledging as a Son of the Muſes, and extreamly commending, a Poet, who had written ſo obſcenely. *Oenomaus* reproached This God with This (45): *Origen* and *Euſebius* make uſe it to ſhame the Pagans. Τούτοις προσθῶμεν, ſays *Euſebius* (46), *καὶ δι' ὧν αὖθις ὁ Ἀπόλλων θαυμάζει τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, ἄνδρα παντοίαις κατὰ γυναικῶν αἰσχρορρημοσύναις καὶ ἀρρητολογίαις ἃς οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαί τις σώφρων ἀνὴρ ὑπομείνειεν, ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ποιήμασι κεχρημένον. Let me add what greatly recommended* Archilochus *to the Favour of* Apollo; *a Poet ſo infamous and obſcene, that no good Man can bear to hear him.* I omit the Paſſage of *Origen*; it may be found in his third Book againſt *Celſus*, in the hundred and twenty fifth Page of the *Cambridge* Edition, 1677.

[*K*] *This Perſon had killed him in a fair Combat.*] I have already obſerved, that *Suidas* informs us more clearly of this Matter, than *Plutarch*; but I have ſomething to add, which is worth our notice. There is a ſmall Treatiſe *Of Republics*, attributed to *Heraclides*; in which the Order of the Prieſteſs is to be found, commanding the Murtherer of *Archilochus* to depart the Temple, together with the Murtherer's Anſwer. This Anſwer is an inexplicable Riddle in the *Latin* Tranſlation. The Tranſlator ſuppoſes, that the Murtherer anſwered, *I am innocent, for I killed him at a Diſtance, as the Law commands.* Read the *Greek*, and the Tranſlation of it (47). Ἀρχίλοχον τὸν ποιητὴν Κόραξ ὄνομα ἔκτεινε, πρὸς ὃν φασιν εἰπεῖν τὴν Πυθίαν, ἔξιθι νηοῦ. τοῦτον δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθαρός εἰμι ἄναξ, ἐκ χειρῶν γὰρ νόμῳ ἔκτεινα. *Quidam Corax dictus Archilochum poëtam interfecit. Itaque Pythia ad eum aiebat, exi templo. Cui is reſpondit, at purus ſum Rex, eminus enim, ut lex jubet, interfeci* (Archilochum). A Friend of mine, who is well verſed in Philological Learning (48), has confeſſed to me, that he never heard of an Edict, acquitting Murtherers, who killed at a Diſtance; and that he did not believe ἐκ χειρῶν ſignified *eminus*. As he was an intimate Friend of Mr *Gronovius*'s, he conſulted him on this Difficulty; and This was the learned Anſwer of That learned Profeſſor. "Ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ, locutio eſt propria in præliis occiſorum & occidentium. Quem in illo fervore vel gladius, vel alia machina deprehendens ad Orcum mittit, is trucidatur ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ. Ita omnes Græci, & preſertim Polybius, ut libro 1. cap. 34. Καταπαλούμενοι σωρηδὸν ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διεφθείροντο. Ο πάνυ (49) illic *pugnantes*: quod quidem non ſufficit, nam & in prælio multi poſſunt non pugnantes occidi, & tamen ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ. Rurſus eodem libro cap. 57. τούτους γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ συνέβαινε διαφθείρεσθαι κατὰ τὰς συμπλοκὰς τοὺς ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ περιπεσόντας. - - - Ἐν χειρῶν νομῳ *is a Phraſe belonging to Thoſe who kill, or are killed, in Battel. Whoever, in the Heat of Battel, is killed by a Sword, or any other Engine, is ſaid to be killed* ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ. *So all the* Greek *Authors; particularly* Polybius, lib. 1. cap. 34. καταπαλούμενοι, &c. Caſaubon *renders it* pugnantes; *which is inſufficient; for many may die in Battel, not* fighting, *and yet* ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ. *Again, in the ſame Book*, cap. 57. τούτους γὰρ αὐτοὺς, &c." There remains no farther Difficulty, after this learned Anſwer; whereby it appears, that *Corax* meant no more, than that he had killed *Archilochus* in Battel, according to the Laws of War.

[*K*] *He was the Inventor of* Iambic *Verſe.*] This appears from theſe Lines of *Horace*, in the nineteenth Epiſtle of the firſt Book, ver. 23.

> - - - - - - parios ego primus Iambos
> Oſtendi Latio, numeros animoſque ſecutus
> Archilochi; - - - - -
>
> *I firſt the* Romans *keen* Iambics *taught.*
> *In numerous Smoothneſs, and in height of Thought*
> *I match'd* Archilochus; CREECH.

But yet more clearly from this Paſſage of *Paterculus*. "Neque quemquam alium cujus operis primus auctor fuerit in eo perfectiſſimum præter Homerum & Archilochum reperiemus (50). - - - - - Homer *and* Archilochus *alone arrived at Perfection in thoſe Species of Poetry, of which they were the reſpective Inventors.*" It is certain, that *Iambics* were This Poet's Maſter-piece. "Ex tribus receptis Ariſtarchi judicio ſcriptoribus Iamborum ad ἕξιν maxime pertinebit unus *Archilochus*. Summa in hoc vis elocutionis; cum validæ tum breves vibranteſque ſententiæ; plurimum ſanguinis atque nervorum; adeo ut videatur quibuſdam, quod quoquam minor eſt, materiæ eſſe non ingenii vitium (51). - - - - *Of the three received Writers of* Iambics, *(in the Opinion of* Ariſtarchus) Archilochus *alone arrived at Perfection. This Poet was Maſter of the greateſt Force of Expreſſion; his Sentences were ſhort and ſprightly; inſomuch, that many think, if he fell ſhort of any Poet, it was owing to the Defect of his Subject, not of his Genius.*" *Paterculus*, then, made him the Inventor of Iambics. But he muſt alſo have been the Inventor of Epic Poetry, if what is imputed to *Terentianus* be true; "Doctrinæ laudem ei Terentianus tribuit, ut & Epicorum verſuum inventionem, libr. de metris, pag. 86.—Terentianus, *in his Book* Of Metres, *aſcribes to him the Praiſe of Learning, as alſo the Invention of Epic Poetry.*" Thus they ſpeak in the *Theſaurus Fabri*, in the Article of *Archilochus*; but, when we conſult the Paſſage of *Terentianus Maurus*, it is eaſy to perceive, that the Matter in hand there is the Epode, not the Epic Poem; nor yet would it be certain, that the Paſſage, which relates to *Archilochus*, declares him the Inventor of the Epode, if This Truth were not learnt elſewhere (52). This Paſſage might paſs for a Citation alledged as an Example of the Epode, ſpoken of in this Place, which is an *Hexameter* Verſe followed by one half of a *Pentameter*.

> *Hoc doctum Archilochum tradunt genuiſſe Magiſtri,*
> *Tu mihi Flacce ſat es.*

Lorenzo Fabri obſerves, that "the *Greeks* for ſix hundred Years knew no other than *Hexameter* Verſe; 'till *Archilochus* taught other kinds with ſo much Succeſs, that all began to try their Skill in Verſes of different Meaſures; which made the *Greek* Poety ſo fine by this Variety of Verſification (53)."

[*L*] Archilochus's Iambics - - - - - - - *the longer they were, were the finer.*] *Cicero* informs us of this Particular, where he applies it to his Friend *Atticus*'s Letters; "Ut Ariſtophani Archilochi Iambus, ſic Epiſtola longiſſima quæque optima videtur (54). - - - - - *As the Iambics of* Archilochus *appeared to* Ariſtophanes, *ſo the longeſt of your Epiſtles ſeem to me the beſt.*" The ſame Judgment has been paſſed upon *Demoſthenes*'s Orations.

[*M*] *Scarce any thing remains of his Works; which, for the ſake of Morals, is rather a Gain, than a Loſs.*] The Verſes of *Archilochus* afforded no Examples, ſeveral *Archilochus*'s, multiply Beings without Neceſſity [*N*]. If we had the Dialogue compoſed by *Heraclides* (*g*) on the Life of our Poet, we might, in all Probability, find ſeveral Particulars in it concerning him; and doubtleſs we might there find, how he conducted a Colony of *Parians* into the Iſland of *Thaſus* (*b*). It was ſome Honour to be choſen for ſuch a Truſt.

(d) *See the Article* TETTIX.

(e) *See Remark* [*K*].

(f) Pindar. Olymp. Ode 9, & ibi Jo. Benedictus. *See alſo, in the Chiliads of* Eraſmus, Archilochi melos.

(44) Galen, in Suaſoria, Tom. 2, cap. 9, pag. 10, apud Hardouin, ubi ſupra.

(45) Apud Euſebium, ibid.

(46) Ibid. cap. 32, pag. 227.

(47) Juxta Editionem Nicolai Cragii, ad calcem Tractatus de Republica Lacedæmoniorum, pag. 19.

(48) *Monſ.* HENRICIUS, *whoſe Elogy may be ſeen in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Treatiſe, which* Gronovius *publiſhed at* Leyden, *in* 1693, *entituled*, Diſquiſitio de Icuncula Smetiana, &c. *I take this Opportunity of publickly thanking Mr* Henricius *for the Uſe of his exellent Library.*

(49) *That is*, Caſaubon.

(50) Paterc. lib. 1. cap. 5.

(51) Quintil. lib. 10, cap. 1.

(52) *In* Marius Victorinus, l. 3, de Arte Grammat.

(53) Meneſtrier, Repreſentat. en Muſique, pag. 245.

(54) Cicero Epiſt. 11, lib. 16, ad Atticum.

(*g*) Diog. Laërt. in Heracl.

(*b*) Oenomaus apud Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 6, cap. 7.

amples, but what were vitious. He had expreſſed a deep Sorrow at the loſs of his Siſter's Husband, who died at Sea. This Tenderneſs might have been improved to an excellent Leſſon; but in him it degenerated into a moſt pernicious Maxim, *viz.* that he would fly for Conſolation to Wine, and other ſenſual Pleaſures, ſince his Tears could do his Brother-in-law no good, nor his Pleaſures harm.

> *Οὔτε τι γὰρ κλαίων ἴησομαι, οὔτε κάκιον*
> *Θήσω, τερπωλὰς καὶ θαλίας ἐφέπων* (55).

The worſt is, that he never ſcrupled to defame himſelf, and fill his Poems with a thouſand ſcandalous Reflexions on the Sex. Τῶν ὑπ' Ἀρχιλόχου πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπρεπῶς καὶ ἀκολάτως εἰρημένων, ἑαυτὸν παραδειγματίζοντος (56). See the uſe, which *Theodore Beza* makes of this laſt Sentence in his Notes on the firſt Chapter of St *Matthew*.

[*N*] *They, who ſpeak of ſeveral* Archilochus'*s*, *multiply Beings without Neceſſity.*] A Paſſage of *Euſebius*, miſunderſtood, occaſion'd the mention of an *Archilochus*, an Hiſtorian and Chronologer, on whom the Impoſtor of *Viterbo* had the boldneſs to father a ſmall Book. Thus *Euſebius* ſpeaks, according to the *Latin* Tranſlation, *Licet Archilochus viceſimam tertiam Olympiadem* ——— *ſupputet* (57). It is pretended, that the meaning of this is, that, according to *Archilochus*'s Computation, *Homer* lived in the XXIIId Olympiad. But *Scaliger* has ſhewed, that the *Greek* of *Euſebius* ſignifies no more, than that ſome Authors made *Homer* and *Archilochus* flouriſh at the ſame time. *Goropius Becanus* had cleared up this Matter before, in the great and curious Collection relating to *Archilochus*, which he made on purpoſe to confute the Impoſtures of *Annius* of *Viterbo* (58). Thus the pretended Chronologer *Archilochus* comes to nothing. *Voſſius* would have done better to have followed this Correction, than to place *Archilochus* among the *Greek* Hiſtorians (59). He adds, that *Scaliger* places him in the Reign of *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes* (60), without producing any Proof for it. I cannot find in *Scaliger*'s Notes, what *Voſſius* imputes to him; neither do I believe he has ſaid any ſuch thing. *Voſſius*, having made mention of our Poet *Archilochus*, in another Book (61), under the XXIXth Olympiad, promiſes another under the XCIVth. But, when we look for him there, we meet with only An *Antilochus*. *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, have given us a *Lacedemonian* Poet *Archilochus*, who flouriſhed at *Rome*, in the Reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, and another *Archilochus*, the Son of *Neſtor*, who was kill'd by *Memnon* at the Siege of *Troy*. Theſe are all Chimæra's; This laſt was call'd *Antilochus*; and there needed but little Attention, to diſcover, that the Court of the firſt Kings of *Rome* was no fit Theatre for *Greek* Poets. Moſt of theſe laſt Faults are to be found in *Calepin*.

(55) Plut. de audiend. Poët. pag. 33.

(56) Plut. de Curioſit. pag. 520.

(57) In Chron. ad Ann. 908.

(58) Gorop. Becanus Origin. Antverp. lib. 4, *What he ſays thereupon is to be found in the* Bibl. Hiſpanica, *of* Schottus, pag. 375, &c.

(59) Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græcis, p. 5.

(60) *He came to the Throne in the third Year of the LXIVth Olympiad.* Voſſius, ib. pag. 6.

(61) Voſſ. de Poët. Græc. pag. 14.

ARCHIMELUS, a *Greek* Poet, flouriſhed in the Reign of *Hiero*, King of *Syracuſe* [*A*]. This appears by the Preſent, which he received from That Monarch. He had made an Epigram in praiſe of a prodigious large Ship, which *Hiero* had ordered to be built (*a*). This Epigram was worth to him above Five thouſand Quarters of Corn, which this Prince ſent him to the *Pyreum* (*b*). Behold, then, a Poet, who may be ranked among the Few, who have met with *Admirals de Joyeuſe* (*c*).

(*a*) *See a Deſcription of it in* Athenæus, lib. 5. pag. 206.

(*b*) Athen. pag. 209.

(*c*) *The Admiral of this Name, gave an Abby for a Song.* Balzac. Entret. VIII.

[*A*] *He flouriſh'd in the Time of* Hiero, *King of* Syracuſe.] That is about the Year of *Rome* 520, and the CXXXVIth Olympiad. It is probable, that he lived at *Athens*; ſince this Preſent of Corn was carried to the *Pyreum*. I wonder *Voſſius* could forget this Poet: The Reward of his Epigram makes him remarkable. *Athenæus* has preſerved the Eighteen Verſes, which were ſo amply paid for (1). Mr *Catherinot* has not faithfully reported the Circumſtances of This Recompence; he ſays, that (2), Archimelus *was rewarded by King* Hiero *with Thirty thouſand Quarters of Corn, for an Epigram of Twenty Verſes, written on his Ship.*

(1) Athen. lib. 5, pag. 209.

(2) Catherinot, Traité de la Marine, pag. 6.

ARCHIROTA (ALEXANDER) [*A*] Abbot of the *Olivetans* (*a*), was of *Naples*. He compoſed, among other Books, *A Collection of the Actions of the Kings, mentioned in the Scripture* [*B*], and dedicated it to the Queen of *Poland*, *Bonna Sforza*, who reſided, then, at *Bari*. In return, ſhe gave him a Penſion for Life of Three hundred Crowns *per Annum*. He lived an Hundred and twenty Years (*b*). *Konig* makes him flouriſh in 1636, and aſcribes to him *A Commentary on the Books of* Samuel *and* Kings, and *A Treatiſe on the Vow of Poverty*.

(*a*) *A kind of Monks in* Italy.

(*b*) Lancel. de Perouſa, *at Page* 987 *of a Book entituled*, Chi l' indovina è Savio.

[*A*] ALEXANDER.] *Lancelot* of *Perouſa*, in the Body of his Work, entitled, *Chi l'indovina, e ſavio — The Soothſayer or Philoſopher* — tells us, that This Perſon's Name was *Alexander*; but in the *Margin*, and *Table of Matters*, he calls him *Agoſtino*, *Auguſtin*.

[*B*] *A Collection of the Actions of the Kings, mentioned in the Scripture.*] This Work was compoſed in *Italian*. I know not whether it be the ſame with That entitled, *Diſcorſi ſopra diverſi Luoghi della ſacra Scrittura* —— *Diſcourſes on different Paſſages of Holy Writ*. The Catalogue of *Oxford* remarks, that it is divided into two Parts; the firſt of which was printed at *Florence*, in 1581, in 8*vo*; and the ſecond, in the ſame City, in 1583, in 8*vo*. We find, in the ſame Catalogue, that the Treatiſe *De Voto Paupertatis*, *Of the Vow of Poverty*, appeared at *Florence*, in 1580, in 8*vo*; and that the Author of theſe three Works was called *Alexander Archirola*. I believe it ſhould be *Archirota*.

ARETIN (CHARLES) was of *Arezzo* in *Tuſcany*, as his Sirname teſtifies (which apply to the other *Aretin's*). He held a conſiderable Rank among the Learned of the XVth Century. *Poggius* gives him great Encomiums (*a*); but they ought to be ſuſpected, becauſe *Charles Aretin* was a great Enemy of *Philelphus*, whom *Poggius* mortally hated. *Philelphus* complains bitterly of our *Aretin*, and repreſents him as a wicked Man, full of Frauds and malicious Arts (*b*). This likewiſe ought to be ſuſpected, as coming from ſuch an Enemy as *Philelphus*; who, being naturally given to ſlander, became much more ſo, on account of the Conteſts he had with ſome other learned Men. Be that as it will, there are diſintereſted Per-

(*a*) Poggius init. Hiſtor. Diſcept. & II. Invect. in Philelph.

(*b*) Philelphi Epiſt. ad Carol. Aretin. Ann. 1433, & Epiſt. ſeq.

ſons, who ſay, that *Charles Aretin* underſtood the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues perfectly well, and that he ſhewed it by ſome Tranſlations from the *Greek* (*c*). He was, beſides, a tolerable good Poet [*A*], and wrote *Comedies* in Proſe; ſome Parts of which are inſerted by *Albert Eyb*, in his *Marguerite Poëtique* (*d*). But, what diſcovers his Abilities moſt, is, his having been choſen to ſucceed in the Poſt of Secretary to the Republic of *Florence*, after the Death of *Leonard Aretin*, in 1443 [*B*]. We do not know the Year of his Death; but Mr *Moreri* is certainly miſtaken, when he places it in the Year 1443 [*C*]. The Authors, he quotes, do not ſay, that our *Aretin* left a Volume of Letters. Some have thought he was the Brother of *John Aretin* (*e*), of whom we ſhall ſpeak in his Place. But they are miſtaken: He was very ambitious of equalling the Reputation of *Leonard Aretin*, his Predeceſſor (*f*).

(*c*) Leand. Albert. Deſcript. Ital. pag. 96.

(*d*) Geſneri Biblioth.

(*e*) Voſſius de Hiſtor. Lat. pag. 579.

(*f*) *See Remark* [*H*], *of the Article* ARETIN (LEONARD).

[*A*] *He was a tolerable Poet.*] This muſt be underſtood in regard to thoſe Times; and I queſtion not, with this Reſtriction, to eſtabliſh my Text; for thus Mr *de la Monnoie* writes to me: Lilius Gyraldus, *who had ſeen* Charles Aretin'*s Poems, did not find them good; and in Truth, from the Quotations to be ſeen of them in the Dictionary of* Tortellius, *there is Reaſon to judge, that they are little worth. Note, that* Tortellius *quotes nothing of Him but Elegiac Verſes; but Father* Labbe, * *in two or three Places, cites a Tranſlation of the* Batrachomyomachia, *in Hexameter Verſe, by* Charles Aretin.

* Labbé, Nouvelle Biblioth. de MSS.

[*B*] *He was choſen to ſucceed* Leonard Aretin.] This we have from *Leander Albertus*. "Diem functus eſt (*Leonardus Aretinus*) anno poſt C. N. MCCCCXL, ætatis ſuæ LXXIV, Florentiæ, cum illi Reipub. diu à ſecretis fuiſſet, & ſucceſſorem in eo munere habuit Carolum item Aretinum, & Græcis Latiniſque literis eruditiſſimum, qui etiam ipſe quædam de Græcis Latina fecit (1.) —— Leonard Aretin *died in the Year of Chriſt* 1440, *aged Seventy four Years, at* Florence; *having been a long time Secretary to That Republic; and was ſucceeded in That Employ by* Charles Aretin, *a Perſon well skilled in* Greek *and* Latin, *and who had tranſlated ſome Pieces out of* Greek *into* Latin". To this Teſtimony let us add That of *Æneas Silvius*, tho' ſomewhat long; becauſe it will ſerve as a Proof of more than one Thing; "Commendanda eſt, *ſays he* (2), multis in rebus Florentinorum prudentia, tum maxime quod in legendis Cancellariis non juris ſcientiam, ut pleræque civitates, ſed oratoriam ſpectant, & quæ vocant humanitatis ſtudia. Norunt enim recte ſcribendi dicendique artem non Bartolum aut Innocentium, ſed Tullium Quintilianumque tradere. Nos tres ex ea urbe cognovimus, Græcis & Latinis & conditorum operum fama illuſtres, qui Cancellariam alius poſt alium tenuere, Leonardum & Carolum Aretinos, & Poggium ejuſdem reipublicæ civem, qui Secretarius Apoſtolicus tribus quondam Pontificibus dictarat Epiſtolas. —— *The Prudence of the* Florentines *is to be commended in many things; particularly in the Choice of their Secretaries; in whom they do not require, as many States do, a knowledge of Law, but Oratory and Polite Learning. For they are ſenſible, that the Art of Writing and Speaking well is not to be learned from* Bartolus, *or* Innocentius, *but from* Cicero. *I have been acquainted with Three ſucceſſive Secretaries of That City, all famous for their knowledge in* Greek *and* Latin, *and the Works they have compoſed; to wit,* Leonard *and* Charles Aretin, *and* Poggius, *a Citizen of the ſame Republic, who had formerly, in quality of Apoſtolical Secretary, diſpatched the Briefs of three ſucceſſive Popes.*" By this Paſſage the Obſcurity, or Error, of another Paſſage of *Æneas Silvius*, which gave *Voſſius* a great deal of trouble, may be corrected. It is this: "Leonardum Aretinum ex te primum ſenſi obiiſſe, qui Latium ornavit literis, quo nemo poſt Lactantium Ciceroni proximior fuit. Gaudeo Poggium ejus locum apud Florentinos tenere. Sed maluiſſem potius locum non vacaſſe, ne tanto ſplendore caruiſſet Hetruria (3). —— *You firſt inform me of the Death of* Leonard Aretin, *who, by his Learning, was an Ornament to* Italy; *and who, after* Lactantius, *came the neareſt to* Cicero. *I rejoice, that* Poggius *ſucceeds him at* Florence; *but ſhould have been better pleaſed, that the Poſt had not been vacant, that* Hetruria *might not have loſt ſo great an Ornament.*" See the Remark [*A*] of the Article ARETIN (LEONARD).

(1) Leand. Albert. Deſcript. Ital. pag. 96.

(2) Æn. Silvius Hiſtor. de Europa. cap 54.

(3) Id. ibid.

[*C*] Moreri *is miſtaken, when he places it in the Year* 1443.] It is certain, that *Poggius* ſucceeded our *Aretin* in the Employ of Secretary at *Florence*. Now it appears by the Speech, in which he congratulates *Nicholas* the Fifth on his Promotion to the Papacy, that he had no Employ at *Florence* in 1447 (4). It muſt be ſuppoſed, then, that *Charles Aretin* was Secretary of *Florence* in 1447; for his Predeceſſor *Leonard Aretin* died in 1443. But there is a more Demonſtrative Proof of Mr *Moreri*'s Error. *Poggius*, in a Letter written in the Pontificate of *Nicholas* V, ſays, that *Charles Aretin* had paid him a Viſit; at the ſame time, when *Nicholas* V. had retired for fear of the Plague, and himſelf and Family had left *Rome*. *Quo primum anno*, ſays he (5), *Nicolaus Pontifex quintus, peſtis cauſa, Fabrianum, Piceni oppidum, ſeceſſit, cum me ad Terram novam natalem patriam cum familia contuliſſem, venit eo poſtmodum rogatus à me, qui Florentiam ob negotia publica adibat, Carolus Aretinus*. What lead Mr *Moreri* into a Miſtake, was his finding, that (6) *Voſſius* does not refute the *German* Author, whom he quotes, and who had ſaid, in his Collections of the Days of Death, and of Nativity, that *Charles Aretin*, the Orator and Hiſtorian, died in 1443, at Seventy Four Years of Age. All this agrees ſo well with *Leonard Aretin*, that, in all Probability, the *German* Author has confounded *Charles* with *Leonard*: However *Voſſius* ought to have ſhewn him his Miſtake in relation to the Year of our *Aretin*'s Death.

(4) *The Year of the Election of* Nicolas V.

(5) Poggius *init.* Diſceptat. I.

(6) Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 578.

ARETIN (FRANCIS) lived in the XVth Century. He was a Man of great Reading, and underſtood the *Greek* Tongue. He tranſlated the Commentaries of St *Chryſoſtom* on St *John*, and twenty of the ſame Father's Homilies, into *Latin*. He tranſlated alſo the Epiſtles of *Phalaris* into *Latin* [*A*]. There is ſtill extant a Treatiſe of his, *de Balneis Puteolanis*; —— *of the Baths of* Puteoli. *John Antony Campanus*, who was a Favourite of *Pius* II, and *Sixtus* IV, was one of his intimate Friends (*a*). *Eraſmus* did not eſteem our *Aretin*'s Tranſlations of St *Chryſoſtom* [*B*].

(*a*) *Taken from* Aubertus Miræus, Auctar. de Script. Eccleſiaſt. pag. 268.

[*A*] *He tranſlated alſo the Epiſtles of* Phalaris *into* Latin.] I have met with ſeveral curious Reflexions on theſe Letters in a Book printed in *Germany*, in 1689 (1); but I muſt not ſuppreſs, that what is only due to *Francis*, is attributed to *Leonard Aretin*. "Latinè emiſit Leonhardus Aretinus Florentiæ MCCCC LXXX. —— *Publiſhed by* Leonard Aretin, *at* Florence, 1480". We ſhall ſee, in its Place (2) that *Leonard* was not living at the Time of That Edition.

(1) Decas Decadum J. Alberti Fabricii. n. 8.

(2) *In Remark* [*G*], *of the Article* ARETIN (LEONARD).

[*B*] Eraſmus *did not eſteem our* Aretin'*s Tranſlations.*] He obſerves, in two Places, the Error, which This Tranſlator is guilty of, in relation to the Word *οἴησις*, in tranſlating the Commentary on the Firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*. "Quod attinet ad fidem bene reddendi Græca, magis peccatum eſt ab Aniano, Aretino, & cæteris, quam ab Oecolampadio, qui magis peccat feſtinatione quam imperitia. Verſionem Franciſci Aretini in priorem ad Corinth. habemus uſque ad cap. 30. Cepi guſtum

Some believe, that our *Francis Aretin* is the ſame with the famous Lawyer *Franciſcus Aretinus*, of the Family of the *Accolti*. But others can ſcarce believe, that the Tranſlator of ſome of St *Chryſoſtom*'s Works, *&c.* is the ſame *Francis Aretin*, whoſe Works of Law ſavour of the groſſeſt Barbarity, without the leaſt Shadow of Knowledge in the *Greek* Tongue. I have ſome Obſervations to offer on this Head, which may ſerve to convince many People, that there is but one *Francis Aretin* in the Caſe [*C*]. Be that as it will, let us here ſpeak of *Aretin* the Lawyer. He ſtudied

“ ſtum quam ſcitè tractaſſet rem, & ecce in ipſo ſtatim limine, quod eſt τὸν τύφον κατέβαλε καὶ χαμαὶ ἔῤῥιψε πασαν αὐτων οἴησιν, οἴησιν *opinionem* vertit pro *arrogantia* (3). —— *As to tranſlating* Greek *faithfully*, Anianus, Aretin, *and others, are more guilty in this reſpect, than* Oecolampadius, *who offends more thro' Haſte, than Unſkillfulneſs. We have the tranſlation of* Aretin *on the firſt to the* Corinthians, *as far as the 30th Chapter. I immediately perceived how haſtily he performed this Work; for, in the very beginning of it, he renders* οἴησις *by* Opinio (*Opinion*) *inſtead of* Arrogantia (*Arrogance*).” He obſerves, in another Place (4), that *Aretin* had tranſlated the Commentaries on the Firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* to the Twentieth Homily.

[*C*] *I have ſome Obſervations to offer on this head, which may ſerve to convince many People, that there is but one* Francis Aretin *in the caſe.*] Let us firſt propoſe *Panzirolus*'s Doubt. “ Liberalibus artibus imbutus, non ſolum Latinis, ſed etiam Græcis literis operam dediſſe creditur, & Joannis Chryſoſtomi in D. Joannem & epiſtolam primam Pauli ad Corinthios commentaria Latina feciſſe; vereor tamen ne is ſit Accoltus, cum quæ in jure ſcripſit, illum ſtylum non oleant, neque ullum ſervent linguæ Græcæ veſtigium (5). —— *Being a polite Scholar, he is ſaid not only to have ſtudied the* Latin, *but the* Greek *Tongue likewiſe, and to have tranſlated into* Latin *St* Chryſoſtom *on St* John, *and St* Paul*'s Firſt Epiſtle to the* Corinthians; *tho' I much queſtion whether he be the* Accoltus Aretinus, *ſince what That Author has wrote in the Law does not ſavour of this Style, nor preſerves the leaſt Traces of the* Greek *Tongue.*” Next let us ſee what Mr *de la Monnoie* writes to me on occaſion of this Doubt (6). “ *Francis Accolti d' Arezzo*, having written his *Concilia*, and other Works of the Law, in a Stile, which diſcovers not only an entire Ignorance of the *Greek*, but of the *Latin* likewiſe; I have been in doubt, as well as *Panzirolus*, whether This was the ſame *Francis d' Arezzo*, who has given us *Greek* Tranſlations, and whoſe Style is not inferior to That of moſt of the *Humaniſts* of his time. I knew, that the Lawyer took the Name of *Accolti*, and the Titles of Doctor and Knight, whereas the *Humaniſt* was ſimply called *Franciſcus Aretinus*. In the mean time, having lately had the Sight of a Copy of *Francis Philelphus*'s Epiſtles, printed at *Venice*, in Folio, in the Year 1502; a very ſcarce, and much ampler Edition, than the Others, by Twenty one Books; I found a way of reſolving my Doubt, upon Reading ſeveral of Thoſe Epiſtles, in which the Author ſpeaks of one *Francis d' Arezzo*, his Diſciple, equally learned in the Law, and in polite Literature. The Time and Circumſtances make it evidently appear, that he is the ſame, whom *Volaterran*, an almoſt Cotemporary Writer, mentions, at the End of his 21ſt Book. Beſides his Law Compoſitions, his Tranſlations of St *Chryſoſtom*, of the Epiſtles of *Phalaris*, and of Thoſe of *Diogenes* the Cynic, they attribute to him a Treatiſe of the Baths of *Puteoli*; tho' he is not the Author of it, nor was any farther concern'd, than in dedicating it to Pope *Pius* the Second, by a Letter conceived in mean Expreſſions enough. He had alſo compoſed a Book of the Life and Manners of St *Antonin*, Archbiſhop of *Florence*. *Philelphus* ſpeaks with praiſe of this Work, in the Twelfth Letter of his Seventeenth Book. In the Twenty Eighth Book of Letters of the ſame *Philelphus*, there are Six addreſſed *Franciſco Aretino Equiti aurato ac Juriſconſulto*, then Profeſſor of Law in the Univerſity of *Sienna*. In moſt of theſe Letters, he gives him high Commendations, a great part of which might have been ſpared. Quaſi dubitandum ſit; *ſays he to him in the Firſt Letter*, minus tibi eſſe apud florentiſſimam iſtam Rempub. ſecunda omnia, qui vir in omni eruditionis ac ſapientiæ genere præſtantiſſimus ſis, atque ea virtute præditus, qua non modo ex hominibus hujuſce tempeſtatis nemini cedis, ſed potes jure cum univerſa antiquitate de laude contendere. —— *As if there were any room to doubt of your Succeſs in That moſt flouriſhing Republick; you, who excel in every branch of Learning and Knowledge, and whoſe extraordinary Virtues not only raiſe you above the Moderns, but equal you to the moſt ſhining Characters of Antiquity.*” “ It appears by the Third, dated the 8th of *March* 1468, that *Francis* of *Arezzo* was then ſomewhat above Fifty Years of Age; a Reaſon he made uſe of to excuſe himſelf from marrying; Whereupon *Philelphus* tells him merrily: “ Nam quod ais ſentire te debilitatas tibi eſſe corporis vires, cum ſis quinquagenarius, aut paulo amplius, id nulla tibi cauſa accidit alia, quam quod ætatis robur remiſeris, ut, quo tempore tendendus erat arcus, tum eum tu maxime relaxaveris. Quod ſi eam ſervaſſes mediocritatem, quam & Philoſophi probant, & ego ſecutus ſum, conſuluiſſes tu ſane & poſteritati & tibi. —— *As to what you plead, that you find your Strength decay'd, being now fifty Years of Age, or upwards, this proceeds from your not having exerted the Strength of your Youth; inſomuch, that, when the Bow ought moſt to have been bent, you gave it the greateſt Relaxation. Had you obſerved That Mediocrity, which the Philoſophers approve of, and I have follow'd, it would have been for the Advantage both of your Self and Poſterity.*” In the Fourth of the 28th, he enquires after his Studies: Cœterum cupio ex te noſſe quid rerum agas? Non enim ſatis tuo præſtanti ingenio, ſingularique doctrinæ eſſe duco, quod doceas leges, & jus civile, nam hæc jam tibi nullius ſunt induſtriæ, cujus memoria divina eſt potius quam humana. Majora quædam te arbitror meditari, nec enim in eodem ſemper verſaris ludo, itaque fieri non poteſt, quin aliquid novi ſemper cudas excudaſque. —— *I deſire you would inform me how you are employ'd? for your great Abilities and uncommon Learning cannot, I think, be ſatisfied with Teaching the Laws; a Study, which now requires no Induſtry in you, the memory of which is rather divine, than human: I cannot help believing, that your Thoughts are employ'd on ſomething greater; for, as you do not confine your ſelf to One Branch of Science, you muſt neceſſarily ſtrike out ſomething New*”. “ In the Fifth he deſires him to get the the Hiſtory of *Ammianus Marcellinus* copied for him in Parchment. In a Letter of the 29th Book, he propoſes the getting *Demetrius Caſtrenus*, of *Conſtantinople*, entertain'd at *Sienna*, at the Charge of the Republick, to inſtruct the Youth in the *Greek* Tongue. In another Letter of the 31ſt Book, he informs him of a Deſign the Senate of *Venice* had to get him from *Sienna*, and give him a Chair at *Padua*; and adds, “ Ad hæc ego contra locutus ſum, & quæ vera eſſe novi, & quibus te delectari exiſtimavi, quippe qui non eſſem oblitus quæ mecum nuper, cum ad Octobrem Senæ fuiſſem, & de temperamento corporis tui, & de iſtius cœli, quantum ad te attinet, intemperie locutus fueras. —— *This Deſign I oppoſed, and declared what I knew, and what I thought was agreeable to your Inclinations; for I had not forgot the Converſation, which paſs'd between us at* Sienna, *in the Month of* October, *in which you mentioned the State of your own Conſtitution, and the inconſiſtency of That Air with your Health.*” What is ſurprizing in this, is, his ſaying in the ſame Letter, that *Francis* of *Arezzo* was an Enemy to a barbarous Stile: “ Nec illud ſane prætereundum cenſui, Appianum Alexandrinum eſſe jam a me magna ex parte Latinum factum, quoniam ſtudied at *Sienna*, about the Year 1443 (*b*), and afterwards taught the Civil Law there, with ſuch a Vivacity of Genius, that he was nick-named *the Prince of Subtilties*; and that the Subtilty of *Aretin* paſſed into a Proverb. He ſignalized this fine Talent chiefly in Diſputation; for no one could reſiſt him. He gave his Advice with ſuch Confidence, that he made his Clients ſure of their Cauſe: His Experience did not deceive him; for it was commonly ſaid in Court, Such a Cauſe is condemned by *Aretin*, therefore it will be loſt. He taught alſo in the Academy of *Piſa*, and in That of *Ferrara*. He went to *Rome* in the Pontificate of *Sixtus* IV, but continued not long there; for he quickly perceived, that the great Hopes he had built on his Reputation would be greatly diſappointed. That Pope declared he would willingly give him the Dignity of a Cardinal, were he not loth to injure the Public, by taking ſo excellent a Profeſſor from his School. When Age would not permit him to exerciſe all the Functions of his Employ, he was diſpenſed with from reading of Lectures; but his Salary was continued. Nevertheleſs he ſometimes mounted the Chair; and, though his Lectures had loſt their wonted Spirit, yet he had a great many Hearers; which was attributed to his Reputation. One Day, his Scholars being run to a public Shew, he perceived, that there were but forty Perſons in his Auditory; and was in ſuch a Paſſion, that he threw away his Book, and cried out aloud, Aretin *will never explain the Myſtery of the Law to ſo few.* He went away abruptly, and would teach no more. He was naturally ſevere, and never kept a Servant above a Month or two; for he ſaid, that *thoſe, who were newly hired, ſerved with moſt Diligence.* He was honoured with the Quality of a Knight; lived always a ſingle Life, and very frugally; which gave him an Opportunity of acquiring a great Fortune. He was no leſs honoured for his Chaſtity, than for his Learning. The Reader will be pleaſed to know the Wile he employed to make his

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(3) Eraſm. Epiſt. 59, lib. 26, pag. 1478. *See alſo* Epiſt. 4, lib. 28, pag. 1591.

(4) Pag. 1591.

(5) Panzir. de Claris legum Interpr. lib. 2, cap. 103, pag. 249.

(6) *Mr* de la Monnoie, Remarques MSS.

“tu nulla barbaria linguæ delectaris. —— *Nor did I think proper to omit, that I had tranſlated into* Latin *the greateſt part of* Appianus Alexandrinus, *becauſe you are diſpleaſed with All Barbariſm of Style.*” Is it then to the Practice of the Age, that the barbarous Expreſſions of *Francis* of *Arezzo*, in his Writings on the Law, are to be imputed? To me it ſeems, that there is ground to believe, he induſtriouſly affected them; leſt, endeavouring to paſs for a more Polite Writer, he ſhould not be thought ſo profound a Lawyer. I have peruſed ſome of his Pleadings, which are Barbariſm it ſelf. The CXLIId has been much ridiculed; where, in Conſequence of the Agreement, made between *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, and *Lewis de Gonzaga*, Marquis of *Mantua*, that, in caſe *Dorothy*, the Daughter of the Marquis, ſhould be found without Deformity of Body, at the Age of Fourteen Years, ſhe ſhould be married to *Galeazzo*, the Duke's Son; he maintains, that the Duke had a Right to demand a Search by the Phyſicians, who ſhould ſee, and feel, the Princeſs ſtark naked, wherever the Exigency of the Caſe might require. It appears, however, that this Examination, how grievous ſoever in the Execution, was demandable by Law; and it was accordingly demanded by the Duke, but refuſed by the Marquis.”

Having examin'd theſe Obſervations of Mr. *de la Monnoie*, I propos'd ſome other Doubts to him; and he confirm'd his opinion a-new in this manner. *You ought not to doubt in any wiſe, but that* Francis d'Arezzo, Tranſlator of ſome *Greek* Works, and *Francis d'Arezzo*, the Lawyer, whoſe Comments on the Law, and Pleadings, are extant, are one and the ſame Author. Volaterran, *who might have ſeen the Lawyer, allows him, beſides his Learning in the Law, a conſiderable Attainment in the* Belles Lettres (7). Philelphus, *who wrote ſome Years before, ſays the ſame Thing. It appears by the Teſtimony of the Epiſtles, I have cited to you, that, in his Time, there was one* Franciſcus Aretinus, *or* Arretinus (*as he himſelf, and others, always write*) *his Diſciple, Knight, Lawyer, Profeſſor of Civil Law in the Univerſity of* Sienna, *and One, who excell'd in all manner of Literature. I add this following Paſſage, to thoſe I have already ſent you. It is in the Firſt Epiſtle of the Twenty ſixth Book, which is an Invective againſt* Leodriſio Crivello. “At laudas Franciſcum Arretinum, & jure quidem, ſed, ut arbitror, dormitans. Egiſti enim præter ingenium, & conſuetudinem tuam. At meretur Franciſcus Arretinus, cum ſit tum Jureconſultorum omnium præſtantiſſimus, tum nullius præclaræ diſciplinæ ignarus. Tamen laudari à te flagitiorum omnium ſcelerumque ſentinâ dedecoroſum eſt. Jubes ab illo ut diſcam: recte mones; nam non ab iſto ſolum, ſed etiam abs te ipſo, ſi quid boni afferre poſſes, non invitus diſcerem. Sed cur, quem tantopere laudas, non item imitaris? Ille prædicat apud omnes diſcipulum ſe meum extitiſſe, mihique tribuit tantas laudas, quantis vellem me non carere. At eſt te, inquis, omni doctrina præſtantior. Non eo inficias, neque fero graviter me à multis etiam diſcipulis meis ſuperari, id quod ſine aliqua mea laude fieri non potuerit, ſiquidem hi grati eſſe voluere. —— *You commend* Francis Arretin, *and juſtly; tho' ſure you was aſleep, when you did ſo; for your Diſpoſition and Practice never lead you to Panegyric.* Francis Arretin *deſerves Commendation, as being a moſt ſkillful Lawyer, and a compleat Scholar. But it is a Diſgrace to him to be praiſed by you, who are a Sink of all Villany and Wickedneſs. You bid me learn of him; your Advice is good; for I ſhould readily receive Inſtruction, not only from him, but even from you, were it poſſible to learn any Good of you. But why do you not imitate a Man, whom you ſo greatly commend? He publickly declares himſelf to have been my Diſciple, and beſtows ſuch Commendations on me, as I wiſh were due to me. But he excels me, you ſay, in every Branch of Learning. I confeſs it, nor am I diſpleaſed, that many of my Scholars ſurpaſs me; which very Thing cannot but tend in ſome Degree to my Praiſe; ſince They acknowledge themſelves indebted to me for it.*” *This Letter is dated the Firſt of* Auguſt 1465. *At the ſame time* Janus Pannonius, *who ſtudied, then, in* Italy, *addreſs'd an Epigram to our* Francis d'Arezzo; *the Two firſt Verſes of which were theſe*:

Franciſce, interpres legum, ô Aretine, Sacrarum,
 Nec minus Aonia nobilis in cithara.

Learn'd in the Sacred Laws, O Aretin,
Nor leſs renown'd on the Aonian Lyre.

It is certain, then, that this Profeſſor of Civil Law at Sienna, *call'd* Francis d'Arezzo *or* Aretin, *was ſkill'd in polite Literature; and it is no leſs certain, that the Name of the ſame Profeſſor's Family was* Accolti. *You may believe himſelf: For he ſubſcribes himſelf at the Bottom of his 118th Pleading,* “Decretorum Doctor, Senis ordinarie legens, & illuſtris D. Marchionis Eſtenſis Conſiliarius; ——*Doctor of Decretals, Profeſſor at* Sienna, *and Counſellor of the Illuſtrious Marquis* d'Eſte.” *The Times agree.* Volaterran *ſays, That* Francis Aretin, *Humaniſt, and Civilian, was at* Rome *in the Pontificate of* Sixtus IV. Francis Accolti *wrote his Hundred and Sixty ninth Plea againſt the ſame* Sixtus, *in Favour of*

(*b*) Panzirol. de Claris Legum Interpret. lib. 2, cap. 103, pag. 249, &c.

(7) *Theſe are the Words of* Volaterran, *at the end of the 21ſt Book*, pag. 782. Alexander Imolenſis, & Franciſcus Aretinus, ambo ſcriptis excellentibus nuper relictis in memoria poſteritatis vivent. Franciſcus, præter jura, cæteras etiam liberales artes eſt adeptus, princeps ſeculi hujus habebatur. Xiſti tempore magna expectatione in hanc urbem venit, pauloque poſt ſpe fruſtratus remigravit impari doctrinæ ſapientia vitæque inſtituto, cum in cœlibatu vixerit, ac opibus inhiaverit, quas cumulatiſſimas cognatis demum reliquit.

his Diſciples ſenſible, of how great Importance it is to keep a fair Reputation [*D*]. Though he had deſigned his Eſtate for the Maintenance of a College, yet he left it to his Relations (*c*). He had a Brother, who became very famous under the Name of BENEDICTUS ACCOLTUS ARETINUS [*E*]. I ſhall ſpeak of him in one of the Remarks.

(*c*) Ibid.

of Lorenzo de Medicis, *and the* Florentines, *whom That Pope had excommunicated for the Murther of the Archbiſhop of* Piſa, *and the Impriſonment of the Cardinal, his Great-Nephew.* Volaterran *obſerves, That* Francis Aretin, *having gone to* Rome *with great views, ſtay'd there but a little while, finding that the Succeſs did not anſwer his Expectation. From whence I infer, that* Francis Accolti, *who is the ſame with the* Francis Aretin *of* Volaterran, *undertook the more freely to write againſt* Sixtus *in Defence of the* Florentines, *as remembring, that this Pope had let him depart* Rome, *without acknowledging his Merit. Perhaps, likewiſe, the Reaſon of his not marrying was the Hopes he had entertain'd of ſome Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, as has been ſaid of the Civilian* Jaſon. *There only remains the Doubt, ariſing from the Difference between the Style of* Aretin, *the Profeſſor of Law, and That of* Aretin, *the Tranſlator. It is true This Difference is very great; and, tho' the Tranſlations he has left us are not, indeed, the moſt elegant* Latin, *yet, in compariſon of his Civil-Law Works, they may be reputed more than* Ciceronian. *Had he endeavoured (as ſome Authors to divert themſelves have) to write in a* Macaronic * *Style, he could not have ſucceeded better.* Sunt etiam multi teſtes, *ſays he, Concil.* 83. qui viderunt aquam bene ire ad molendinum, & ipſum bene molere, & ſtechariam lignaminis bene in puncto. *And, Concil.* 13. Probatur per duos teſtes noſtros, quod iſta mulier geſſit portaturam capitis ſecundum habitum nuptarum à ſex annis citra. *The whole Book abounds with theſe Elegancies. The Orthography of the Words taken from the* Greek *is ſtrangely perverted in it. We there find* Economus, emologatio, cyrothecæ, Griſogonus, emphitheota. *I have inſinuated the Reaſon, which this Lawyer might have, for making uſe of theſe barbariſms,* viz. *that his Brethren did not write, or expreſs themſelves, otherwiſe; if his Language had been more correct, it would not have been underſtood by thoſe of the Trade.* Francis Aretin, *or* Accolti, *which you pleaſe, could have expreſs'd himſelf better; but he loved Money; and, if he had affected to employ the* Papinian *Style, he might have danced attendance in vain, and would have been generally abandon'd. The ſame Barbariſm reign'd at that Time among the Divines and Phyſicians. They among them, who firſt attempted to introduce Politeneſs, were reckoned neither Divines, nor Phyſicians, but only Grammarians. They were ſcarce cured of this Prejudice in the Days of* Ludovicus Vives. *His Words are worth tranſcribing.* "Quæ Lyranus, & Hugo ſcribunt (*ſays he,* lib. 1. de "cauſis Corruptar. Art.) Theologia eſt, quæ Eraſmus, "Grammatica. Idem de Hieronymo, Ambroſio, Au"guſtino, Hilario dicturi, niſi nomina obſtarent; tam"etſi hic etiam neſcio quid muſſant: Quod ſi Joan"nes Picus apologiam ſuam corrupto illo non ſcrip"ſiſſet ſermone, haud quaquam haberetur Theolo"gus, ſed Grammaticus. Alciatus, Zaſius, Canti"uncula, Grammatici ſunt, cum de jure diſputant; "Accurſius eſt Juriſconſultus, vel cum interpretatur, "*que*, id eſt, *&*; *ait*, id eſt, *dixit*; *ſeu*, id eſt, *aut*. "------*What* Lyranus *and* Hugo *write is Divinity*; "*What* Eraſmus, *Grammar. They would ſay the* "*ſame of* Jerom, Ambroſius, Auſtin, *and* Hilarius, "*did not the Greatneſs of their Names ſilence them*; "*tho' even here they mutter I know not what. But if* "Joannes Picus *had not written his Apology in that* "*corrupt Style, he would have been conſidered, not* "*as a Divine, but a Grammarian.* Alciatus, Zaſius, "Cantiuncula, *are Grammarians, when they diſpute* "*concerning Law*; Accurſius *is a Lawyer, when he* "*interprets* que *by* et; ait *by* dixit; *and* ſeu *by* aut." *So that, Sir, there was a Kind of Neceſſity on* Francis Aretin, *the Lawyer, to conform to the Practice of his Time; and I think theſe Reflexions, together with the Proceeding, may ſuffice to perſuade you, that he only differs from the* Humaniſts *in Point of Elocution.*

* *Burleſque.*

[*D*] *The Wile he employed to make his Diſciples ſenſible, of how great Importance it is to keep a fair Reputation.*] When he found, that the frequent Exhortations he gave them to preſerve a good Reputation, availed nothing, he made uſe of the following Stratagem. *Ubi* (Ferrariæ) *ſtudioſos ad famam boni nominis conſervandam ſæpe hortatus, cum nihil proficeret, ridiculum commentum excogitavit, ut quam vim maximam habeat exiſtimatio oſtenderet* (8). The Butchers of *Ferrara* left their Meat all Night in the Shambles. He went thither with his Lacquey before Day, and, having broke open their Boxes, carried off all the Meat. Two of his Scholars, who were reputed the moſt unlucky, were accuſed of This Action, and impriſoned. *Aretin* waited upon Duke *Hercules*, to deſire their Liberty, taking the Fact upon himſelf. But, the more obſtinately he inſiſted, that He had done it, the more it was believed, that the Priſoners were guilty. For no one durſt ſuſpect a Profeſſor, whoſe Gravity and Wiſdom were ſo well known, of ſuch an Action. The Affair being at laſt terminated, he openly declared, that he had gained his Point; which was to ſhew the Weight and Authority of a good Reputation. *Quo conſtantius ſe facti autorem fatebatur, eo magis qui in vinculis erant rei credebantur, cum ob viri gravitatem nemo id de eo ſuſpicari auderet. Re demum compoſita, id ſe* Aretinus *ad demonſtrandum hominis bonæ opinionis auctoritatem feciſſe dixit* (9). It is well known, that reputed Liars, are never believed, even when they ſpeak Truth. It is quite contrary with thoſe, who paſs for ſincere Men; They are believed, even when they lie. See, in *Valerius Maximus* (10), what a good Opinion once conceived of a Man can do.

(8) Panzir. de Claris Legum Interpret. pag. 250.

(9) Id. ibid. pag. 251.

(10) Valer. Maxim. lib. 3, cap. 7, n. 8.

[*E*] *He had a Brother, who became very famous under the Name of* BENEDICTUS ACCOLTUS ARETINUS.] He was born in the Year 1415, and, having gone thro' the Studies of Humanity, he applied himſelf to That of the Law, with ſo much Ardor, that, in a ſhort Time, he arrived to the Degree of Doctor; and, ſoon after, by his Public Lectures, and by his Opinions and Advice (11) in difficult Caſes, equalled the moſt famous Civilians of his Time. He did not bid adieu to Polite Learning; but wrote Treatiſes, which ſhewed, that this Branch was not indifferent to him. His Dialogue, *de præſtantia virorum ſui ævi*, was printed at *Parma*, in the Year 1692, from the Manuſcript, which Mr *Magliabecchi* produced. During the laſt Seven Years of his Life, he was Secretary to the Republic of *Florence*; where he died, in the Year 1466, in the Fifty firſt Year of his Age. His Son, *Peter*, a great Civilian, having been Auditor of the *Rota* Twenty five Years, was honoured with a Cardinal's Cap by Pope *Julius* II. He had another Son, whoſe name was *Michael*, and who was the Father of *Benedictus Accoltus*. This Son was Secretary to *Clement* VII, and afterwards Cardinal (12). See *Moreri*'s Dictionary, at the Word *Accolti*.

(11) *Some of them have been printed.*

(12) *Taken from the Life of* Benedict Accoltus, *prefixed to the Dialogue* de Præſtantia virorum ſui ævi.

ARETIN (GUY), a Monk of the Order of St *Benedict*, lived in the XIth Century. He became famous by diſcovering a new Method of teaching Muſic. He publiſhed a Book on this Subject, entituled, *Micrologus*, and a *Letter*, which Cardinal *Baronius* has inſerted in his Annals, under the Year 1022. He publiſhed his *Micrologus*, at the Age of Thirty four Years, in the Pontificate of *John* XX; and had been three times called to *Rome* by Pope *Benedict* VIII. This Pope had examined the *Antiphonary* of *Aretin*, and was fond of ſeveral Things, which he had learned from this Author. *Poſſevin* gives us this Account of him, in his *Apparatus* (*a*). To ſay ſomething concerning this Invention of *Guy Aretin*, I muſt obſerve, that

(*a*) Pag 694.

that it was he, who invented the ſix Notes, *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *ſol*, *la*. The Names of theſe ſix Notes are ſaid to be taken from an Hymn, which contains theſe *Sapphic* Verſes.

UT queant laxis REſonare fibris
MIra geſtorum FAmuli tuorum
SOLve pollutis LAbiis reatum (*b*).

(*b*) *See* Voſſius de Muſice, pag. 40.

For this Purpoſe, you need only take the firſt and ſixth Syllable of each Verſe. Some pretend, that the Word *Gammut*, ſo common in Muſic, comes from *Guy Aretin*'s having, in making uſe of the firſt Letters of the Alphabet, to ſpecify his Notes, employed the Letter G, which the *Greeks* call *Gamma*; and that he did this to ſhew, that Muſic came from *Greece* (*c*). They, who attribute to him a Book againſt *Berengarius* are miſtaken [*A*].

(*c*) Furetiere, *at the Word* Gammut.

[*A*] *They, who attribute to him a Book againſt* Berengarius, *are miſtaken.*] *Voſſius* fell into this Miſtake; and thence infers, that he flouriſhed in the Reign of the Emperor *Conrad* the Younger; and that, therefore, they, who place him an Hundred Years later, are miſtaken (1). The Error, I ſpeak of, aroſe from hence, that they have confounded *Guy Aretin* with another Monk, whoſe Name was *Guitmond*, a Brother of the Convent of St *Leufred*, of the Order of St *Benedict*, in the Dioceſe of *Evreux*; who became Cardinal, and Biſhop of *Averſa* in *Italy*. They were very near Cotemporaries; for *Guitmond* died about the Year 1080. He is the Author of Three Books, "De veritate corporis & "ſanguinis Chriſti in Euchariſtia, adverſus Berengarium; —— *Of the real Preſence of the Body "and Blood of* Chriſt *in the Euchariſt; againſt* Be"rengarius; which have been printed ſeparately, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (2). The Cauſe I aſſign for this Error is ſo plain, that the ſame *Voſſius* ſays expreſly, in another Place, that, in 1070, in the Pontificate of *Gregory* VII, flouriſhed *Guido* or *Guidmont*, born at *Arezzo*, *Patria Aretinus*, firſt a Monk in the Monaſtery of St *Leufred*, in the Dioceſe of *Evreux*, in *Normandy*, and afterwards Cardinal, and Biſhop of *Averſa*; that, while he was a Monk, he compoſed Two Treatiſes of Muſic, one in Verſe, and the other in Proſe, and is the ſame, who wrote Three Books againſt *Berengarius* (3).

(1) Voſſ. de Muſice, pag. 40.

(2) Vide Labbé, de Script. Eccleſ. Tom. 1. pag. 402.

(3) Voſſ. de Scient. Mathem. p. 95.

ARETIN (JOHN), ſirnamed *Tortellius*, paſſes for one of the learnedeſt Men of the XVth Century. He compoſed the Life of St *Athanaſius* [*A*], at the Requeſt of Pope *Eugenius* IV. He was admitted to the Confidence of *Nicolas* V, whoſe Chamberlain he was (*a*). He was a Man of an agreeable Converſation, and honourably diſtinguiſhed himſelf from other learned Men, his Cotemporaries, by never diſhonouring the Profeſſion of Learning by fierce and injurious Diſputes. He was chiefly ſkilled in the Knowledge of Grammar; as he has ſhewn by his Book *De Poteſtate Literarum* [*B*]. *Geſner*'s *Bibliotheca* gives us the Titles of ſeveral other Works of *Tortellius*, excepting a Lexicon, which he compoſed, and which is cited by *Magius* (*b*). *Laurentius Valla* was much his Friend, and dedicated to him his Books *De Latina Elegantia* [*C*]. *Voſſius*, who affirms (*c*), that he was the Brother of *Charles Aretin*, would be much miſtaken, had he no other Proof for it, than the Words

(*a*) Jovius Elog. c. 108.

(*b*) Magius, Miſcel. lib. 2, cap. 14.

(*c*) Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 579.

[*A*] *He compoſed the Life of St* Athanaſius.] *Paul Jovius* intimates plainly enough, that *Tortellius* only tranſlated it into *Latin* (1); *Divi Athanaſii vitam Eugenio expetenti Latinam fecit*. *Geſner* ſays ſo more expreſly; *Athanaſii Alexandrini vitam ad Eugenium Pontificem in Latinum tranſtulit* (2). But *Voſſius* allows him much more than the Task of a Tranſlator; He makes him the Compiler of it; *Athanaſii vitam ex variis, Eugenii poſtulato, conſarcinavit*; and quotes *Paul Jovius*, and *Volaterran* (3). The Quotation of *Paul Jovius* cannot be altogether exact, as any one may ſee by comparing the Words. That of *Volaterran* is not more ſo, than the former; theſe are his Words. "Joannes (Aretinus) cognomento "Tortellius, Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſubdiaconus, apud "Eugenium quartum fuit. Orthographiam, vitam"que Athanaſii, ac nonnulla alia conſcripſit (4). —— "John Aretin, *ſirnamed* Tortellius, *Subdeacon of "the Roman Church, was in the Court of* Eugenius "IV. *He wrote a Treatiſe of Orthography, the Life "of St* Athanaſius, *and ſome other Works.*" *Voſſius* affirms, that *Wincelius* has inſerted This Life of St *Athanaſius* in his *Hagiologia*. He conjectures, that *Tortellius* is the Author of the Life of St *Zenobius*, Biſhop of *Florence*, inſerted in the Collections of *Surius*, under the Twenty fifth of *May*. The reaſon of this Conjecture is taken from the Circumſtances of Time, and from the Name, which the Author of This Life, aſſumes; to wit, *Joannes Archipresbyter Aretinus*.

[*B*] *His Knowledge of Grammar is ſhewn in his Book* de Poteſtate Literarum.] "That, which *Vola"terran* calls *Orthographia*; *Paul Jovius*, a Book "*de poteſtate literarum*; *Geſner*, *Commentarii linguæ "Latinæ*; and *Magius*, *Lexicon*; is but One and "the ſame Volume of *Tortellius* in Two Parts: "The Firſt of which, which is very ſhort, contains "ſome Chapters on the Invention, Number, Figure, "Pronounciation, and Joyning of the Letters of "the Alphabet. The ſecond, which is very long, "contains an Alphabetical Catalogue of *Latin* Words, "chiefly taken from the *Greek*, of which he "teaches, or endeavours to teach, the Orthogra"phy (5)."

[*C*] Laurentius Valla *dedicated to him his Books* de Latina Elegantia.] From the manner, in which *Geſner* had expreſſed himſelf, no One but would judge, that *Tortellius* dedicated this Work to *Laurentius Valla*: Theſe are *Geſner*'s words; "Joannes Tor"tellius, natione Aretinus, Laurentii Vallæ amiciſ"ſimus, ad quem elegantiarum linguæ Latinæ ſex "libros perſcripſit. Nicolai poſtmodum pontificis "contubernalis, & ſtudiorum ejus intimus comes "(6). —— Johannes Tortellius, *of* Arezzo, *an in"timate Friend of* Laurentius Valla, *to whom he "dedicated Six Books, of the Elegancies of the Latin "Tongue. He was afterwards Chamberlain and Con"fident of* Nicolas V, *and an intimate Companion of "his Studies.*" Thoſe Compliers, who, thro' an Ambition of writing a large Book in a ſhort Time, or for any other Reaſon, never ſeek for the neceſſary Inſtruction beyond the Page in Sight, would eaſily commit Three groſs Faults, if they applied their own Conjectures to this Text of *Geſner*. I. They would ſay, that *Tortellius* wrote ſix Books of the Elegancies of the *Latin* Tongue, and that he dedicated them to *Laurentius Valla*. II. That, afterwards, he became a Domeſtic of Pope *Nicholas* V, and his Oracle of Learning; and that the great Succeſs of his Book procured him This Honour. III. That *Nicholas* V. held the Chair in the Year 1420; for, ſince *Geſner* places the flouriſhing State of *Tortellius* in this time, and common Senſe tells us, that this flouriſhing State muſt be referred to the time, when *Tortellius* was

(1) Jovius, Elog. cap. 108, p. 251.

(2) Geſn. Biblioth. fol. 458.

(3) Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 579.

(4) Volat. lib. 21, pag. 773.

(5) *Mr* de la Monnoie, Remarques, manuſcript.

(6) Geſn. Biblioth. fol. 458, ex Trithemio.

Words of *Volaterran*, to whom he ſeems to refer us. *Volaterran* ſays nothing of this pretended Brotherhood [*D*].

Some very good Judges believe, that *Tortellius* was but moderately learned, even for the Age he lived in; but, as he was naturally officious, and held a conſiderable Poſt about the Pope's Perſon, the Wits of thoſe Times gave him great Praiſes, which ſome of them retracted afterwards. *Philelphus* was of this Number [*E*]. I ſhall obſerve, in another Place (*d*), that *Tortellius* was Library-Keeper to *Nicholas* V.

(*d*) *See, in one of the Remarks of the Article* NICOLAS V, *the Paſſage in the Letter of the 26th Book of* Philelphus.

in Favour with *Nicholas* V, it follows, that, according to *Geſner*, This Pope ſat in the Chair at the time I have ſaid. The Truth is, that he was elected in 1447; and that *Tortellius* had been his *Man of Learning*, and his Chamberlain, before; when *Laurentius Valla* dedicated his *Elegantiæ* to him. I cannot gueſs what Mr *Moreri* would be at, in this Article, with his indefinite Citation from *Valerius Andreas*. Why did he not conſult *Voſſius*, and *Paul Jovius*, who would have furniſhed him with a Cure for Leanneſs.

[*D*] Volaterran *ſays nothing of this pretended Brotherhood.*] I have very good Reaſon to call it ſo; ſince *Tortellius*, ſpeaking of *Charles* and *Leonard d' Arezzo*, ſtyles them only his Countrymen. *A doctiſſimis viris noſtræ ætatis, & conterraneis meis Leonardo & Carolo Arretinis* *. And, when he mentions *Charles*, he always ſtyles him either *Carolus Arretinus conterraneus meus*, or *Carolus noſter Arretinus* †. This was communicated to me by Mr *de la Monnoie*. Let us ſet down the Words of *Volaterran*, and Thoſe of *Voſſius*; and we ſhall ſee, whether the latter could build upon the former. " Carolus & Joannes Aretini nobilia temporis illius " ingenia, quorum alter ſcriba Florentinorum Leo" nardo ſucceſſit; Alter Joannes, cognomento Tor" tellius, Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſubdiaconus, apud Eu" genium quartum fuit (7). - - - - - - - Charles *and* " John Aretin, *celebrated Wits of That Time*; *the* " *former of which ſucceeded* Leonard, *as Secretary at* " Florence; *The latter*, John, *ſirnamed* Tortellius, " *Sub-deacon of the* Roman *Church*, *was retained by* " Eugenius IV." *Voſſius* expreſſes himſelf thus: " Joannes Aretinus, cognomento Tortellius, Caroli " Aretini, qui poſt Leonardum Aretinum ſcriba Floren" tinorum fuit, frater, Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſubdiaconus " apud Eugenium IV. - - - - - - præter grande de " orthographia volumen, etiam Athanaſii vitam - - - - " conſarcinavit, ut præter Jovium auctor eſt Vola" terranus lib. XXI. Anthropol. ubi & hoſce Are" tinos fratres *nobilia illius temporis ingenia* appel" lat (8). - - - - - John Aretin, *ſirnamed* Tortellius, " *Brother of* Charles Aretin, *who ſucceeded* Leonard " *as Secretary at* Florence, *Subdeacon of the* Roman " *Church, and Domeſtic of* Eugenius IV. - - - *beſides* " *a large Volume* de Orthographia - - - - - *wrote the* " *Life of* Athanaſius; *as, beſides* Jovius, Volaterran " *informs us*, lib. 21. Anthropol. *where he calls the* " *Brothers*, Aretins, Celebrated Wits of That Time." If they had contented themſelves with ſaying, they were Relations, they might have ſome ground for it in theſe Words of *Philelphus*, " Putabam Ca" rolum Arretinum rediiſſe mecum in gratiam. Ita " enim Joannes Arretinus ejus NECESSARIUS tuis " verbis mihi renunciarat (9). - - - - - *I thought that* " Charles Arretin *had been reconciled to me*; *for ſo* " John Arretin, *his Relation, informed me from you.*" For though *neceſſarius* be ſometimes taken for an *intimate Friend*, yet *Philelphus*, and moſt of the Writers of thoſe times, never uſed it but in the Senſe of a Relation by Blood, or allied by Marriage. I am indebted for this Obſervation to Mr *de la Monnoie*.

* *In the 4th Part of his Work, at the Chapter of the* Greek Υ.

† *In the ſecond Part, which contains the Words in an Alphabetical Order.*

(7) Volaterr. lib. 21, pag. 773.

(8) Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 579.

(9) Philel. Epiſt. lib. 9.

[*E*] Philelphus *was of the Number of Thoſe, who retracted the Praiſes, they had beſtowed on* J. Aretin.] I ſhall cite, in the Article NICOLAS V, a Letter of *Philelphus*, dated the firſt of *Auguſt* 1465, in which he greatly commends *Tortellius* for his Skill in *Greek* and *Latin*. But ſee what the ſame *Philelphus* wrote, the twenty ninth of *May*, 1473. " Video quoſdam noſtræ tempeſtatis homines, qui " cum magnum de ſe quiddam voluerunt in " arte grammatica profiteri, in maximos errores " devenerunt. E quorum numero principatum " mihi tenere viſus eſt Joannes Tortellius Are" tinus, qui cum & Græcam & Latinam litteratu" ram noviſſe videri vult, utramque ignoraviſſe aper" tiſſime declarat (10). - - - - - *I know ſeveral Per-* " *ſons of our Age, who, pretending to great Skill* " *in Grammar, have fallen into the greateſt Errors.* " *Among Theſe* John Tortellius Arretinus *claims the* " *firſt place*; *who, at the ſame time that he would* " *ſeem to be verſed both in the* Greek *and* Latin *Li-* " *terature, plainly diſcovers his Ignorance of both.*"

(10) *Mr* de la Monnoie *ſupplies me with this.*

ARETIN (LEONARD), is more known by This Name, which was given him as he was a Native of *Arezzo*, than by That of *Brunus*, or *Bruni*, which was his Family Name. He was one of the moſt conſiderable Men of the XVth Century [*A*]. He learned *Greek* under *Emanuel Chryſolorus*, as he himſelf informs us (*a*); and, his Merit being made known to Pope *Innocent* VII, he obtained of him, though very young, the Place of Secretary of the Briefs, of which he acquitted himſelf worthily under That Pontificate, and the four following (*b*). He was afterwards Secretary to the Republic of *Florence* (*c*), and raiſed a large Fortune (*d*), as well, becauſe he always lived a ſingle Life (*e*), as on account of his Extraordinary Œconomy. He tranſlated ſome of *Plutarch*'s Lives [*B*], and *Ariſtotle*'s Ethics, from the *Greek* into *Latin*. He compoſed three Books of the *Punic War*, which may ſerve to ſupply ſome of thoſe, which are wanting in *Livy* [*C*]. He compoſed alſo *an Hiſtory of the Tranſactions*

(*a*) Leon. Aretin. Hiſtor. Rerum Italicar. *See alſo* Jovius, Elog. c. 23.

(*b*) Jovius, ibid. cap. 9.

(*c*) Leand. Albert. Deſcript. Ital.

(*d*) Jovius, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Volaterr. lib. 21, pag. 772.

[*A*] *He was one of the moſt conſiderable Men of the XVth Century.*] *Paul Jovius* ſays, that *Leonard Aretin* was the firſt, who reſtored the Purity of the *Greek* Tongue in *Italy* (1). *Philelphus* allows him great Eloquence, and a great Depth of Genius and Learning (2). *Poggius* (3) and *Laurentius Valla* (4) have ranked him above all his Cotemporaries in point of Eloquence and Learning; but *Floridus Sabinus* is more moderate in his Commendations of him, and gives us no advantageous Idea of his *Latin* (5); in which *Eraſmus* ſeems to agree with him (6). *Æneas Silvius* praiſes our *Aretin* highly in his Fifty firſt Letter, and informs us, that the *Florentines* had conferred his Office on *Poggius*. *Voſſius* obſerves, that *Æneas Silvius* and *Leander Albertus* differ in this; the latter ſaying, in his Deſcription of *Italy*, that *Charles Aretin* ſucceeded *Leonard* in the Poſt of Secretary to the Republic of *Florence*. See, above, the Article (CHARLES) ARETIN (7), where we prove, from *Æneas Silvius* himſelf, that *Leander Albertus* is in the right.

(1) Jovius, Elog. cap. 9, pag. 27.
(2) Philelph. Convivior. lib. 1, & Epiſt. ad eum ſcripta.
(3) Pogg. in Philelph. Invect. 2.
(4) Apud Philelph. Invect. 1, in Vallam.
(5) Flor. Sabinus adverſ. Calumn. Ling. Lat.
(6) Eraſm. in Ciceroniano.
(7) *In Remark* [*B*].

[*B*] *He tranſlated ſome of* Plutarch'*s Lives.*] To wit, That of *Paulus Emilius*, That of the two *Gracchi*, of *Pyrrhus*, of *Sertorius*, of *Demoſthenes*, of *Marc Antony*, and That of *Cato Uticenſis* (8). The Printers have been guilty of a ſtrange Miſtake in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, in putting *(vers de Plutarque) Plutarch's Verſes*, inſtead of *(vies de Plutarque) Plutarch's Lives*.

(8) Geſner. in Bibl.

[*C*] *He compoſed three Books of the* Punic War; *which may ſerve to ſupply* - - - - - - Livy.] The two firſt of theſe three Books treat of the firſt *Punic* War, which is wanting in *Livy*. The third treats of the Confuſions, into which the *Carthaginians* fell by the Mutiny of the Soldiers, and Revolt of the People; as alſo of the War againſt the *Gauls*, and againſt

Tranſactions of his own Times in Italy [*D*], That of the Republic of *Florence*, That of ancient *Greece* [*E*], and That of the *Goths*. But this latter, which procured him great Honour, whilſt it was not known, that he had only tranſlated it from the *Greek* of *Procopius*, drew a kind of Infamy on his Memory (*f*), when it was diſcovered, after his Death, by the Care of *Chriſtopher Perſona*, that *Procopius*, whoſe Name he had ſuppreſſed, in appropriating his Labours to himſelf, was the true Author of this Hiſtory of the *Goths* [*F*]. He compoſed ſeveral other Books; a Catalogue of which is to be ſeen in *Geſner*'s *Bibliotheca*; and died, at *Florence*, in the Year 1443, aged Seventy four Years [*G*]. His Body lies in a Marble Tomb, in the Church of the *Holy Croſs* (*g*). *Poggius* was one of thoſe, who criticiſed on him [*H*]. In the Year 1653, Mr *de la Mare*, Counſellor of the Parliament of *Dijon*, publiſhed a Catalogue of *Leonard Aretin*'s Books, which he deſigned to have printed. But I believe it was never done. I have heard ſay, that, among the Manuſcripts of the Library at *Oxford*, there was lately found a Copy of *Leonard Aretin*'s Letters, in which there were forty, that had never been printed; which, perhaps, may be the Occaſion of a new Edition of them.

(*f*) Jovius, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Ibid. cap. 9.

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againſt Thoſe of *Illyria*; Particulars, which are all wanting in the *Roman* Hiſtory (9). *Aretin* has done little more than tranſlate the *Greek* of *Polybius*, though he denies it in his Preface; which is the Reaſon, why *Badius Aſcentius* has placed the Name of *Polybius* at the head of the Work, in his Edition of *Paris* (10).

[*D*] *He compoſed alſo an* Hiſtory of the Tranſactions of his own Times in *Italy*.] This Work begins with the Schiſm, which was raiſed againſt Pope *Urban* VI, in 1378, and goes down to the Victory obtained by the *Florentines*, in the Year 1440, near *Anglara*.

[*E*] —*That of ancient* Greece.] This Work reaches from the Generalſhip of *Theramenes*, and *Thraſybulus*, over the *Athenians*, to the death of *Epaminondas*, which comprehends Forty five, or Fifty Years.

[*F*] *It was diſcovered by the Care of* Chriſtopher Perſona - - - - - - *that* Procopius *was the true Author of This Hiſtory of the* Goths.] *Perſona* had determined, according to *Voſſius*, to tranſlate *Agathias*, when he detected the Inſincerity of our *Aretin* (11). *Voſſius* alledges *Paul Jovius* in proof of this; but it is certain, that *Jovius* makes no mention of *Agathias*, either in the place, where he is cited (12), or in any other (13), where he may be cited; but ſpeaks there expreſsly of *Procopius*. I allow, that *Perſona* alſo tranſlated *Agathias*; but the Tranſlation of *Procopius* is what *Voſſius* ought to have taken notice of in the Place, where he mentions the *Plagiariſm* of *Aretin*. So I think it ought to be called, and not *Plagianiſm*, after a modern Author, from whom I ſhall cite the entire Paſſage, becauſe it is full of Errors. He ſays (14), "We are indebted to *David Heſchelius* for the *Greek* "Hiſtory of *Procopius*. *Leonard Aretin* had already "given it in the *Gothic* Language, but ſuppreſt the "Author's Name. But, after *Aretin*'s Death, *Chriſtopher Perſona* accuſed him of Theſt, having him"ſelf found another Copy of This Hiſtory in the "ſame Language, which he publiſhed under the "Name of it's Author, and thereby convinced *Aretin* "of *Plagianiſm*." What Monſter does he here ſpeak of? *Procopius* in *Gothic*, publiſhed firſt by *Aretin*, and afterwards by *Perſona*, is ſuch a Chimera, as never was, or ever will be, ſeen. Beſides, it is ſpeaking very inaccurately, to ſay, that *Leonard Aretin* and *Perſona* have given us the Hiſtory of *Procopius*, for they have only tranſlated Part of That Hiſtory. The Printers of *Moreri*'s Dictionary have committed a ſtrange Blunder, in ſaying, *that the Hiſtory of the* Goths *was properly but a Tranſlation of* Plutarch.

[*G*] *And died, at* Florence, *in* 1443, *aged Seventy four Years* (15)]. *Leander Albertus* ſays, indeed, that he died at Seventy four Years of Age; but places his Death in the Year 1440. His Calculation does not agree with *Matthew Palmerius*, who places the Year of the Birth of *Leonard Aretin* in 1370 (16). And, beſides, as I find in *Volaterran*, that our *Aretin* died in 1443 (17), (on the ninth of *March*, according to *Bucholcer*), I chooſe not to follow *Leander Albertus*. I have, above, obſerved (18) the Miſtake of a Modern, who believed, that *Leonard Aretin* was living in the Year 1480.

[*H*] Poggius *was one of Thoſe, who criticiſed on him*.] Theſe Words of *Philelphus* inform us of it; They are to be found in a Letter, which he wrote to *Lorenzo de Medicis*, the ninth of *May*, 1473. "Quod eo feci accuratius, quoniam & Leonardus "Arretinus familiaris noſter, vir ſane facundiſſimus, "adverſus Blondum Flavium multa diſſeruit, & poſt "Leonardi obitum Poggius Carolo gratificatus Ar"retino, quem diſertiſſimi concivis gloria offenderet, "libellum etiam contra illius ſcripta contexuit, cum "neuter ſuo ſit functus officio (19). - - - *I have been* "*the more careful in doing This, becauſe both* Leo"nard Aretin, *my intimate Friend, and a very elo*"*quent Man, wrote many Diſſertations againſt* Blon"dus Flavius, *and, after the Death of* Leonard, "Poggius, *out of complaiſance to* Charles Aretin, *who* "*was diſguſted at the Reputation of his ingenious* "*Countryman, drew up a Treatiſe likewiſe againſt* "*his Works; when neither of them acquitted them*"*ſelves well*." This Paſſage was communicated to me by Mr *de la Monnoie*.

(9) Geſn. in Bibl.

(10) Voſſius de Hiſtor. Lat. p. 557.

(11) Ibid. pag. 558.

(12) *The* 116*th Chapter of the Elogies*.

(13) *The* 9*th Chapter of the Elogies*.

(14) Le Gallois, Traité des plus belles Biblioth. pag. 169. *Edit. of* Paris, 1680.

(15) Varill. *in his Anecdotes of* Florence, pag. 162, *is miſtaken in making him live above eighty Years*.

(16) In Chronico, ad Ann. 1370. *The Printers of* Voſſius, Hiſt. Lat. pag. 557, *have, by miſtake, put* CIↃCCCC-LXX.

(17) Volat. lib. 21, pag. 772.

(18) *In Remark* [*A*], *of the Article* ARETIN (FRANCIS).

(19) Philelphus, Epiſtol. lib. 37.

ARETIN (PETER), A Native of *Arezzo*, renowned for his obſcene and ſatirical Writings, lived in the XVIth Century. They, who deſire to know what the Medal was, which it is ſaid he ſtruck, to inform the World how much the greateſt Princes ſtood in fear of his Satires, may be informed by Mr *Moreri*'s Dictionary; in which Medal *Aretin* values himſelf on having laid Thoſe, to whom other Men pay Tributes and Impoſts, under Contribution. This Tradition is ſo general, that he is as well known under the Title of *The Scourge of Princes*, as under the Name of *Aretin*, or That of *Peter Aretin* [*A*]. He had another very glorious Appellation given

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[*A*] *He was as well known under the Title of the* Scourge of Princes - - - - - - *as That of* P. Aretin.] He boaſted of having This Character all the World over. Read the Letter, which he wrote to *Herſilia del Monte*, a Kinſwoman of Pope *Julius* III, you will find theſe Words in it. "In tanto è manifeſto, "ch'io ſono noto al Sophi, à gli Indiani, & il mon"do al paro di qualunche hoggi in bocca de la "fama riſuoni: che piu? i Principi da i popili tri"butati di continuo, tuttavia me loro ſchiavo, & "flagello tributano (1). - - - - - - *Inſomuch, that it* "*is plain I am known to the* Perſians, *the* Indians, "*and every Nation in the World? Would you have* "*more? Princes themſelves, to whom their People pay* "*tribute, are under Contribution to me, who am* "*both their Slave, and their Scourge*." In another Letter, he ſays, that one would ſwear, that Princes paid him Tribute, not that he might praiſe them, but for fear of his Reproaches; adding, that they were Fools for their Pains; for, ſince moſt Great Men were not afraid of the Wrath of God, why, continues he, ſhould they fear my Pen? *Impero che la maggior parte de i gran maeſtri non temono l'ira di Dio, e temeranno il furore de la mia penna* (2). This reaſoning is not concluſive: The fear of Men makes us abſtain from a thouſand things, which we

(1) Aretin, *in the ſixth Book of his Letters*, fol. 115.

(2) Id. ibid. fol. 120. verſo.

given him; the ſame, with which all Antiquity has honoured the great Merit of *Plato*; to wit, That of *Divine*; *il Divino Aretino* [*B*]: He has been ſtiled on Medals, *Divus Petrus Aretinus* (*a*). Some have thought, that he gave himſelf this Title, to ſignify, that he performed the Office of a God upon Earth, by the Thunderbolts, which he darted at the moſt eminent Heads [*C*]. He boaſted, that his Libels were of more Benefit to the World, than Sermons [*D*]. He was complimented, in Letters, with having ſubjected more Princes by his Pen, than the greateſt Kings had ever ſubdued by their Arms [*E*]; and was exhorted to perſevere in this kind of Writing, to the end, that Monarchs might learn to amend [*F*]. Our Age has produced as bold and virulent Satiriſts, as *Aretin* could be; and yet I believe none of them ever ſettled Contributions in an Enemy's Country. Some miſinformed Writers make *Aretin* paſs for the Author of the Book *De Tribus Impoſtoribus*.

(*a*) Spizellius Scrutin. Atheiſmi, pag. 19. *affirms he had ſeen ſome of them.*

ſhould not abſtain from, if we had no other Fear upon us, but That of the Divine Vengeance (3).

(3) *See the Thoughts on Comets*, n. 162, &c.

[*B*] *He had a very glorious Appellation*, viz. - - - - - *That of* Divine; il divino Aretino.] It will not be amiſs to ſee *Montagne*'s Opinion of this Elogy: "*Plato, ſays he* (4), had the Sirname of *Divine* by general Conſent, and no one envied him; and the *Italians*, who boaſt, with Reaſon, of having generally a more refined Wit, and better Expreſſion, than other Nations, beſtow it on *Aretin*, in whom I ſee nothing beyond the common Authors of his Age, except a manner of uttering lofty, frothy, Bombaſt, or Jeſts, which are ingenious indeed, but far-fetched and whimſical; ſo far is he from approaching That ancient Divinity."

THE Judgment of *Montagne* on *Aretin*.

(4) Montagne's *Eſſays*, lib. 1. chap. 51, *towards the end.*

[*C*] *He gave himſelf this Title, to ſignify, that he performed the Office of a God upon Earth*, &c.] I have met with this Thought in an *Italian* Author, quoted by a *German*. "Cur vero ſibi arrogaverit aliorum conſenſu divinitatem, neſcio, niſi forte DEI munus exercuiſſe dicendus ſit, cum ſumma capita velut celſiſſimos montes fulminaverit, lingua corrigens & mulctans quæ ab aliis caſtigari nequeunt (5). - - - - - *Why, with the Conſent of others, he arrogated this Title to himſelf, I know not, unleſs, perhaps, he may be ſaid to have exercised the Function of a GOD, in darting his Thunder on the higheſt Heads, as on the loftieſt Mountains, correcting and puniſhing thoſe Faults with his Tongue, which others cannot chaſtiſe.*"

(5) Jacobus Gaddius de Scriptoribus non Eccleſiaſticis, Tom. 1, pag. 13, apud Spizelium, in *Felice Literato*, *pag.* 112.

[*D*] *He boaſted, that his Libels were of more Benefit to the World than Sermons.*] He ſays, in his Epiſtle dedicatory to the ſecond Part of his *Raggionamenti*, that "if he does not merit Eſteem on the Score of his Inventions, yet ought he to receive ſome Honour for the Service he had done to Truth, in conveying it into the Chambers and Ears of great Perſons, to the Confuſion of Flattery and Falſhood.". He takes notice of what one of Duke *Urbino*'s Ambaſſadors had ſaid, That "if the Miniſters of Princes and Courtiers were rewarded for their Services, they were obliged for it to the Pen of *Peter Aretin*." He adds, what another had ſaid; "*Aretin* is more uſeful to human Life, than Sermons; becauſe Sermons inſtruct only the Ignorant; but his Writings reform great Men." Theſe are his Words in *Italian*. "Quando io non foſſi degno di honor veruno, merce de le inventioni con le quali do l'anima à lo ſtile, merito pur qualche poco di gloria per havere ſpinto la verita ne le camere, e ne le orecchie de Potenti ad onta de l'adulatione, e de la menzogna: e per non difraudere il mio grado, uſero le parole ſteſſe del Singulare *M. Gianiacopo*, Ambaſciadore d'Urbino: noi che ſpendiamo il tempo ne ſervigi de Prencipi inſieme con ogni huomo di Corte, e non ciaſcun virtuoſo, ſiamo riguardati, e riconoſciuti da noſtri padroni, bonta de gaſtighi che gli ha dati la penna di Pietro. E lo ſa Milano, come cadde de la ſacra bocca di colui, che in pochi meſi mi ha arricchito di due Coppe d'oro: l'Aretino è piu neceſſario a la vita humana, che le predicationi, è che ſia il vero eſſe pongono in ſu le dritte ſtrade le perſone ſemplici, & i ſuoi ſcritti le ſignorili, & il mio non è vanto, ma un modo di procedere per ſoſtener ſe medeſimo oſſervato da Enea, dove non era conoſciuto."

[*E*] *He was complimented, in Letters, with having ſubjected more Princes by his Pen, than the Greateſt Kings had ſubdued by their Arms.*] This I have read in a Letter, written to him by *Baptiſta Tornielli* (6). He tells him, that he merits the Titles *Germanicus*, *Pannonicus*, &c. as formerly the Emperors took the Names of the Provinces, over which they had triumph'd. "Non ſapete voi, che con la penna voſtra in mano havete ſoggiogato piu Principi, ch' ogni altro potentiſſimo Principe con l'arme? La penna voſtra à qual non mette terrore, à quale non è formidabile, à chi anche non grata, à chi non cara, ove ſi monſtra amica? La penna voſtra ſi puo dir, che v'ha fatto trionfator quaſi di tutti i Principi del mondo; che quaſi tutti vi ſono tributarii, & come infudati. Meritareſte eſſer chiamato Germanico, Pannonico, Gallico, Hiſpanico, & finalmente inſignito di quei titoli, quali ſi davano à gli antichi Imperadori Romani, ſecondo le provincie per loro ſoggiogate: che ſe quelli ſoggiogavano le province per forza d'arme, & per eſſer piu di loro potenti, non era gran meraviglia; maggior meraviglia, aſſai è, che un privato, inerme, haggio ſoggiogato infiniti potenti: che l'un potente l'altro, non e meraviglia. —— *Are you not ſenſible, that, with Pen in hand, you have ſubdued more Princes, than ever the moſt powerful Monarch did by force of Arms? To whom is not your Pen a Terror? To whom is it not formidable? and who is not pleaſed with it, when it has the Appearance of a Friend? With your Pen you have, as it were, triumph'd over all the Princes in the World; who are almoſt all tributary, and as it were feudatory, to you. You merit the Titles of* Germannicus, Pannonicus, Gallicus, Hiſpanicus; *Laſtly, all the Titles given to the antient* Roman *Emperors, according to the Provinces they had conquer'd; for that Theſe ſhou'd ſubject Provinces by force of Arms, and ſuperior Power, is no wonder; it is much more ſurprizing, that a private, unarm'd, Man ſhould conquer numberleſs, powerful, Men*".

(6) *It is in a Collection, publiſhed in* 1558, *at* Venice, appreſſo Dominico Giglio, *in* 8vo, *at the* 128*th Page of the firſt Book.*

[*F*] *He was exhorted to perſevere in this kind of Writing, to the end, that Monarchs might learn to amend.*] The Marquis *del Guaſto* ſent him this Exhortation, in a Letter, which he wrote to him with his own Hand (7). He deſired no Exemption for himſelf; but that his Faults might be cenſured by *Aretin*; and exhorted him to do it. It is probable he was pretty ſure, he ſhould not be taken at his Word. *Aretin* did not confound his Friends with his Enemies; he only exerciſed his Satire upon thoſe, who neglected to buy it off. "Seguite dico col ſolito, *ſays the Marquis*, e ſe in me voſtro amico alcuna coſa men che laudabile conoſcete; ricordatevi di non laſciar di riprenderla: accioche fatto accorto dell' error, come deſidero, lo fugga, e divenga migliore. Seguite lo ſtil voſtro, che di nuovo ve ne prego: accioche, ſe i defetti con verita ſaranno in altri trovati, ſi vergognino, & & vergognandoſi, & mendandoſi fuggano dal vitio alla virtu. Onde i rei divenuti buoni, abbraciati con eſſa virtu, ſi conſermino nel bene. Del che quanto in cio l'humana Repub. ſi avanzi; lo giudichino quelli, che lo ſanno meglio intender, ch'io no'l ſo eſprimere. —— *Follow, I ſay, your uſual manner; and, if you ſee any thing faulty even in me your Friend, forget not to reprove me for it, that I may profit by your Admonitions, and become better. Perſevere in Satire, I once more entreat yon; that others may bluſh at their Imperfections, and, by bluſhing, and growing better, may fly from Vice to Virtue; and, being once reformed, may be confirm'd in Good. What Advantages human Society will from hence receive, let thoſe judge, who underſtand it better, than I am able to expreſs it.*

(7) *It is at the* 44*th Page of the ſecond Book of the ſame Collection.*

bus [*G*]. I cannot believe, that the Epitaph, mentioned by *Moreri*, was engraved on his Tomb [*H*], in St *Luke*'s Church, at *Venice*. The Author of this Epitaph, no

[*G*] *Some miſinformed Writers make* Aretin *paſs for the Author of the Book* De tribus Impoſtoribus.] We ſhall, perhaps, have occaſion to examine this Matter more fully, in another Place, and to make it appear, that it is very improbable there ever was ſuch a Book. The Abbot *Nicaiſius*, one of the worthieſt Perſons of this Age (8), who is acquainted with all the moſt learned Men in *Europe*, among whom he holds a very conſiderable Rank, was ſo kind as to ſend me, laſt Year (9), a very curious Diſſertation of Mr *de la Monnoie*, his Countryman (10), on the Book *De tribus Impoſtoribus* *. It is full of very curious Obſervations, and deſerves exceedingly to be printed. Mr *de Beauval* has lately given a ſmall Extract from it (11). The Author ſhews, by very ſtrong Reaſons, that This Book is a meer Chimera. *Grotius* believ'd, but perhaps without Reaſon, that This very Book had been taken notice of, before *Aretin* was born. He ſays, that the Enemies of *Frederic Barbaroſſa* accuſed him of having compoſed this Book (12). He ſhould have ſaid, that *Frederic* II was accuſed of having ſaid, that the World had been deceived by Three Impoſtors (13). The good Father *Merſennus* pretends, that one of his Friends, who had read the Book in queſtion, had diſcovered in it the Stile of *Peter Aretin* (14). Meer Cant! Yet one would hardly imagine how much this Notion of Father *Merſennus* has been propagated.

[*H*] *I cannot believe, that the Epitaph, mentioned by Mr* Moreri, *was engraved on his Tomb.*] He does not ſay poſitively and preciſely, that this Epitaph was engraved on the Tomb of *Peter Aretin*, in St *Luke*'s Church; but every one muſt ſuppoſe, that this is what he meant; for he expreſſes himſelf after this manner: "He died at *Venice*, where he is "buried in St *Luke*'s Church. This is his Epi"taph.

Condit Aretini cineres lapis iſte ſepultos,
  Mortales atro qui ſale perfricuit.
Intactus Deus eſt illi, cauſamque rogatus
  Hanc dedit, ille, inquit, non mihi notus erat (15).

Here Aretin *enterr'd doth lye,*
  Whoſe Satire laſh'd both High, and Low:
His God alone It ſpared; and why?
  His God, he ſaid, he did not know.

"It is more ingenious in the *Italian*:

Qui giace l' Aretin Poëta Toſco,
Che d' ognun diſſe malo che (16) di Dio,
Scuſandoſi col dir' io no'l conoſco.

There is nothing in the Thread of *Moreri*'s Narrative, which gives the leaſt Intimation, that theſe four Verſes are not the very Inſcription on *Aretin*'s Tomb. It is impoſing on every Reader, who has not the Ability to rectify a Miſtake by his own Reflexions. It is particularly laying a Snare for Proteſtants, who, unleſs they believe with caution, will be apt to infer, that there is no Object ſo ſcandalous, which the *Italians* do not admit in their Churches. Several, then, amongſt them, might eaſily believe, on Mr *Moreri*'s Word, that the Patriarch of *Venice* not only ſuffered an Atheiſt to be buried in Conſecrated Ground; but alſo, that the Epitaph of This Atheiſt was expoſed, in the Church, to the View of all the World, in four Verſes, which turn the matter into a Jeſt. For my own part, I cannot believe, that the Corruption and Negligence of the Clergy was ever at ſuch an height, as to ſuffer Sepulchral Inſcriptions of this kind in a Church. I am of Opinion, then, that the Four Verſes produced by Mr *Moreri*, are one of Thoſe Satirical Banters, made on the Death of certain Perſons, under the Title and Form of an Epitaph. How many of this kind were made on the Cardinals of *Richlieu*, and *Mazarine*? They, who write the Elogies of Illuſtrious Men, and who, after the Example of *Paul Jovius*, take a pleaſure in relating their Epitaphs, ought always to explain, whether they are Verſes actually engraved on their Tombs, or only meer Sallies of Wit. If this Precaution had been uſed with regard to *Aretin*, we ſhould not at preſent read in the *Theatrum* of *Paul Freherus*, and the *Felix Literatus* of *Spizelius* (17), that the four Verſes in Queſtion are inſcrib'd on the Tomb of this Perſonage at *Venice* (18). A Divine of *Utrecht* affirms (19), that the Epitaph of *Peter Aretin*, inſerted in the Elogies of *Paul Jovius*, and That, which *Pazzi* has reported, teſtifie, that he was a grand Apoſtle of Atheiſm; "*Aretini epitaphium apud* Jo"vium in Elogiis virorum doctorum, *ſays he, & al*"*terum* apud Guizeppe Pazzi, *indicat qualis & quan*"*tus Atheiſmi præco fuerit; ſic enim Pazzi in lib.* "*cui tit.* Continuatione della monſtruoſa farina, "*Venetiis* 1609. Qui giace l' Aretini poeta Toſ"ca (20), Che diſſe mal d'ogn'un fuor che di Dio; "ma ſi ſcuſo dicendo, no'l (21) conoſco. *Aliter* "*ſic.* Qui giace eſtinto quell' amaro Toſco Ch'ogn' "huom vivendo col mal dir trafiſſe. Vero e che "mal di Dio giamai non diſſe, Che ſi ſcuſo dicen"do io no'l conoſco". Upon this let me obſerve, firſt, that *Paul Jovius* does not mention the Epitaph of *Peter Aretin*. How ſhould He, ſince he died before him? He mentions That of *Leonard Aretin*, but it contains nothing which in the leaſt reflects on the Faith of the Deceaſed; it has nothing to do with Religion. In the ſecond Place, there is no depending on the Two *Italian* Epitaphs; for they were wrote without Approbation, and were never engraved on the Tomb. They were Sallies of Wit of ſome Satirical Poet. *Spizelius* has copied the whole Paſſage of *Voëtius*, almoſt Word for Word, without citing it (22). Note, that *Lorenzo Craſſo* (23) inſinuates yet more clearly, than *Moreri*, that the Four *Latin* Verſes are inſcribed on the Tomb of This Atheiſt, in St *Luke*'s Church.

Let me here ſet down a conſiderable Supplement "(24). It is a Cuſtom, among the Catholics, to affix "to ſome Pillar, or other Place, near the Tomb of "the Deceaſed, eſpecially if a Perſon of Reputation, "Funeral Inſcriptions, written on Paper. The "Truth is, theſe Inſcriptions are, and always ought "to be, in Honour of the Deceaſed. But, *Aretin* "having been a noted Libertine, it is very poſſible, "that ſome Jeſter convey'd the Epitaph, mentioned "by Mr *Moreri*, and many others, into St *Luke*'s "Church, at the Time of, or after, the Funeral. "Thus the Words of *Ghilini* muſt be underſtood, "who has himſelf likewiſe explain'd them clearly "enough to the ſame Effect; when, after having "ſaid; e ſopra il ſuo ſepulchro fu poſto queſto Epi"taffio: Condit Aretini cineres, *&c.* —— *Over his* "*Tomb was hung up This Epitaph, Condit Aretini* "*cineres*, &c. he immediately adds; fû parimente "appeſo alla ſua tomba queſt' altro, quaſi tradotto "d'al ſuddetto, che va attorno nella bocca ſino delle "perſone idiote, Qui giace l' Aretin, *&c.* —— *This* "*other was hung up likewiſe at his Tomb, tranſlated* "*as it were from the foregoing, which is That which* "*is moſt commonly repeated*; *Qui giace l' Aretin*, &c. "The *Italian* Epitaph, as *Ghilini* delivers it, is much "correcter, than That in *le Pazzi*, *Voëtius*, or "*Moreri*; and I cannot comprehend this latter, "when he ſays, that it is more ingenious, than the "*Latin*. Both He, and *Ghilini*, ſeem to me to be "miſtaken, in taking the *Italian* for a Tranſcript "of the *Latin*. The contrary, in my Opinion, is "the Truth; and what inclines me to believe ſo, "is, becauſe the *Italian* is to be found in the *New* "*Recreations*, printed at *Paris*, in 1572, in 16mo "*, under the Name of *Bonaventure de Periers*, and "the *Latin* is not to be met with in any Book ſo "Ancient —— There are Faults in the *Italian* Epi"taph of *Aretin*, produced by *Moreri* and *Voëti*"*us* —— The moſt correct is That, which you read, "in theſe Terms, in *Ghilini*:

Qui giace l' Aretin amaro toſco
Del ſem' human, la cui lingua trafiſſe
Et vivi, & morti: d' Iddio mal non diſſe,
Et ſi ſcuſo, co'l dir, io no'l conoſco.

This is ſo far from weakening my Criticiſm on *Moreri*, that it rather confirms it.

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(8) *See the Elogy given him in the* Menagiana, Tom. 2, pag. 68, *Edition of* Paris.

(9) *That is, the Year* 1693.

(10) *They are of* Dijon.

* [*It was printed in* 1715, *at the end of the fourth* Tom. *of the* Menagiana. *Edit. of* Paris.]

(11) Hiſt. des Ouvrages des Sçavans, mois de Fevrier, 1694, pag. 278, 279. *He tranſcribes the Elogy, given in the* Menagiana, *to Mr* de la Monnoie.

(12) Grot. Append. ad Comment. de Antichriſto, p. 133.

(13) *See* Deckherus, de Scriptis Adeſpotis, pag. 374. *Edit.* 1686.

(14) Merſennus in Geneſim, pag. 1830.

(15) Voët. Diſput. Vol. 1, pag. 206, & Spizelius, Atheiſmi Scrutinio, pag. 18.

(16) *He ſhould have ſaid* mal fuor che.

(17) *At the* 111*th Page.*

(18) Venetiis ſepultus jacet cum hoc Epitaphio, condit Aretini, &c. Paulus Freh. in Theatr. pag. 1461.

(10) Voët. Diſput. Tom. 1, pag. 206.

(20) *It ſhould be* Toſco.

(21) *It ſhould be* io no'l.

(22) Spizel. Scrutinium Atheiſmi, pag. 18.

(23) *At the* 38*th Page of the* 1*ſt* Tom. *of his* Elogies.

(24) *Mr* de la Monnoie, Remarques MSS.

* *I cite this Edition, becauſe, in the firſt, which is of* Lyons, *in* 8vo, *by* Robert Granjon, 1558, Aretin's *Epitaph is not recorded.*

no doubt, exceeded his Commiſſion. If there was reaſon to think, that *Aretin* did not *love* God, there was none to ſay, that he did not *know* him; his Works of Piety plainly teſtify the contrary [*I*]. I do not believe, that any one Tenet of Atheiſm is

In the Converſations, which I had, in the Year 1696, with Father *Coronelli*, who accompanied the Ambaſſador of the Republic of *Venice* to *England*, I ask'd him what he thought of *Aretin*'s Epitaph. He anſwered, that he did not believe it was ſuch as *Moreri* gives it; and promis'd me to make enquiry. He wrote to me from *Venice*, the 2d of *November* of the ſame Year, that it was very true, that *Aretin* was buried in St *Luke*'s Church, but that he could not, as yet, diſcover any thing concerning the Epitaph. He ſent me a Paſſage, taken out of the (25) *Venetia deſcritta dal Sanſovino, coll' additioni del Martinioni*; which, after informing us, that *Aretin* was interr'd in That Church, ſays, that he loſt all his Reputation after Death, and would have been buried in Oblivion, had not *Arioſto* undeſervedly perpetuated his Memory, by crying out in his *Orlando Furioſo*; *Behold the Scourge of Princes, the divine* Peter Aretin! " Vi dorme parimente in un depoſito poſto " in aria quel Pietro Aretino, il quale fû cognominato flagello de' Prencipi, per la licentioſa preſuntione della ſua mordaciſſima penna, & il quale " morendo perde del tutto il nome: pioche eſſendo " ignaro di lettere, e operando per forza di natura " ne' ſuoi caprici, hebbe dopo morte il meritato premio della ſua petulantia: conciosſia che eſſendo le " coſſe ſue reputate dalla Chieſa poco Criſtiane, furono vietate del tutto à Lettori, e ſi ſarebbe affatto cancellata la memoria, ſe l' Arioſto burlandoſi " del titolo ch' egli ſi haveva preſo indebitamente, " non haveſſe detto nel Furioſo;

Ecco il flagello
De Prencipi, il divin Pietro Aretino.

Obſerve, pray, theſe Words of Mr *Miſſon*; " I can " ſcarce believe, what ſome have affirm'd to me, " that the ſevere Epigram, made upon *Aretin*, is " turn'd into an Epitaph. However, I will, at a " venture, ſet down the Copy, which was given " me of it (26)". It is pity he could never find St *Luke*'s Church open; he went ſeveral times thither on purpoſe to ſee *Aretin*'s Tomb. If he had ſeen it, he might eaſily have decided the Diſpute. The Journaliſts of *Utrecht*, ſpeaking of his Travels, mention the Four Verſes, *Condit Aretini cineres*, &c. and declare, that they are engraved on the Tomb of This Satiriſt. *Cujus ſepulchro ſequentes verſus inſcripti eſſe dicuntur* (27). Once more I believe nothing of it.

[*I*] *His Works of Piety plainly teſtify the contrary.*] *Paul Freherus* relates, that certain *Italian* Princes, bad Imitators of the Emperor and King of *France*, who brib'd *Aretin* with Preſents not to attack them, caus'd an hundred Strokes of a Cudgel to be given him, and that This Puniſhment had ſuch an Effect, that the Author renounc'd all Defamatory Satires and Libels, and wrote nothing afterwards but pious Books. " Quidam principes Italiæ " minus ſibi convenire exiſtimantes donis eum afficere, fuſtibus ad mortem uſque cædere per alios " curarunt, & hoc modo linguam ejus maledicam " refrenarunt, qui deinceps à ſcriptis ſatiricis abſtinens ſacra ſcripſit, non ſicut priora per Inquiſitionem prohibita (28)". So that he was, with ſome little difference, in the caſe of thoſe, whom *Horace* mentions in the Firſt Epiſtle of the Second Book; *ver.* 154.

——vertêre modum formidine fuſtis
Ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.

Fear made them civil, and deſign to write
With Modeſty; ſpeak well, and to delight.

CREECH.

I ſhall mention but Two Circumſtances, in which the Caſes differ. The firſt is, that he did not come off with Fear alone; the Cudgel effectually play'd upon his poor Shoulders. The ſecond is, that he did not greatly entertain the World by changing his Stile; He was got out of his Element. Wit diſtinguiſhes itſelf very little, when applied, late, in writing Books of Devotion. This I ſay, agreeably to the Hypotheſis of the *Sieur Freber*, which I ſhall examine hereafter. But the beſt of it is, that, in the Opinion of ſeveral Perſons, the Books he wrote of this kind ſavour of a true Convert. *It is no Secret, what a thorough Converſion That of the famous* Aretin *was; every thing in him was changed, even to his very Name; and ſome pretend, that he ſucceeded ſo happily, that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcover, in the Books of* Partenio Etiro (29), *the leaſt Marks of the old Man, which are ſo ſtrongly imprinted in the Works of* Pietro Aretino (30). We find, in the Converſations of Mr *Menage*, a Particular, which deſerves a Place here. " *Aretin* wrote " Books of Devotion, which gave occaſion to a " Saying concerning him, *Ubi bene, nemo melius*; " *ubi male, nemo pejus* —— *Where well, no one,* " *better; where ill, no one worſe*". The following Epi" gram was wrote on the *Paraphraſe of the Seven* " *Penitential* Pſalms, by *Peter Aretin*.

Si ce livre unit le deſtin
De David & de l'Aretin
Dans leur merveilleuſe ſcience,
Lecteur, n'en ſois pas empeche,
Qui paraphraſe le peche,
Paraphraſe la penitence (31).

Start not, that here unite in every Line,
The Fate of David, *and of* Aretin;
He, who before had paraphraſed his Sins,
To paraphraſe his Penitence begins.

Note, that, in the ſecond Edition of the *Menagiana*, they have omitted the *ubi bene, nemo melius*, and have ſaid, that, in Works of Devotion, the Style of *Aretin* is inſufferable; and that nothing can be more mean, than his *Lives of* Chriſt, *the* Virgin, *St* Thomas Aquinas; *his* Geneſis, *and* Paraphraſe on the Pſalms; whether we conſider the Thoughts, or the Expreſſion. It appears from the Paſſage of *Freberus*, which I have cited, that the Books of Libertiniſm, and Thoſe of Devotion, were compoſed by *Aretin* at different Seaſons of his Life; the firſt before his Converſion, the laſt after. Mr *Moreri* ſays, he wrote his pious Works *towards the latter end of his Days*: I queſtion this much; for he ſays himſelf, in his Epiſtle dedicatory of the ſecond Part of his *Raggionamenti*, that he endeavoured chiefly to write quick, and from his own Stock; and, to prove the Fertility and Quickneſs of his Pen, he ſets forth the Titles of ſeveral Works, ſome on Subjects of Devotion, and others on Matters of Gaiety, which he had compoſed in a very ſhort time; as His *Pſalms*; His *Hiſtory of Chriſt*; His *Comedies*; His *Dialogue*; all which were wrote, as it were, in a Day, with a view of proving the Strength of his own Genius. " Tutto e ciancia, eccetto il far toſto, e del " ſuo. Eccovi la i Salmi, eccovi la hiſtoria di *Chriſto*, " eccovi le Comedie, eccovi il Dialogo, eccovi i volumi divoti & allegri, ſecondo i ſoggetti, & " ho partorito ogni opera ubaſi in un di, è per " che ſi forniſca di vedere cio che ſa far la dote, " che ſi ha ne le faſce, toſto udiranſi i furori de " l'armi e le paſſioni d'amore, che io doverei laſciar di " cantare per deſcriveri i geſti di quel Carlo Auguſto." His Paraphraſe on the Penitential *Pſalms* was tranſlated into *French*, and printed at *Lyons*, in 1540. His Paraphraſe on *Geneſis*, with the Viſion, in which *Noah* diſcovered the Myſteries of the Old and New Teſtament, was printed at *Lyons* in the Year 1540, tranſlated from the *Italian* (32). Who dares pretend, that This Author had, then, renounced his Sins, and his Libels? However it be, theſe are the Titles of ſome of his Works of Devotion. " Specchio delle

" opere

(25) *At Page* 120.

(26) Miſſon, Nouveau Voiage d' Ital. Tom. 1. pag. 181, *Edition of the* Hague, 1698.

(27) Bibl. Librorum Novorum, Tom. 3, pag. 630.

(28) Freherus, ubi ſupra. Ghilini *ſays the ſame, at the* 192d *Page of the firſt Part of his* Theatre.

(29) *He prefixed this Anagram of his Name to his Books of Devotion.*

(30) Baillet. Jugem. ſur les Poëtes, Tom. 1, pag. 133.

(31) Menagiana, pag. 26.

(32) Biblioth. de du Verdier.

is to be found in his Writings; but, ſince many of his Libels ſeverely laſhed the Diſorders of the Clergy, and deſcribed, in an impious and libertine Stile, the many Vices imputed to a Monaſtic Life, no wonder he is made to paſs for an Atheiſt. Add to this, that a Man, who had any Reſpect for Religion and good Manners, would never have publiſhed Dialogues on ſuch Subjects, as *Aretin* made choice of, nor expreſs them in Language ſo obſcene. It is eaſy to ſee, that I mean his *Ragionamenti* [*K*]. They were printed in his Life-time; but it is difficult to diſcover the

opere di Dio. - - - - Parafraſi ſopra i ſette Salmi. - - - Vita della beata Virgine. - - - - - Humanita del figlivolo di Dio. - - - - - Vita di Santo Tomaſo d'Aquino. - - - - - Vita di Santa Catarina Vergine & Martire (33). - - - - - *A Mirrour of the Works of God.* - - - - - - *A Paraphraſe on the ſeven* Pſalms. - - - - - *The Life of the Bleſſed Virgin.* - - - - - - *The Human Nature of the Son of God* - - - - *The Life of St* Thomas Aquinas. - - - - - *The Life of St* Catharine, *Virgin and Martyr.*

(33) Freher. Theatr. Viror. Illuſtr. ex Theatro Ghilini.

The following is a full Confirmation of what I here advance (34). " *Aretin* compoſed his Works " of Piety, to exerciſe his Imagination and to ſhew, " that he was capable of any Thing; to appeaſe " likewiſe the Devotees, who were exaſperated a-" gainſt him, and to reap the Liberality of ſome " great Ladies, to whom he ſent Copies of this " kind of Books. He was not a whit the ſoberer " Man for this; ſince, after having publiſhed his " Paraphraſe on the ſeven *Pſalms*, and his *Humanita* " *di Chriſto*, in 1535, he bethought himſelf, at the " end of 1537, of dedicating Thoſe Infamous Po-" ſtures, which have been ſo much ſpoken of, to " *Baptiſta Zatti*, of *Breſſe*, a *Roman* Citizen, with " a Sonnet at the bottom of each, no leſs obſcene, " as M. *Felibien* obſerves, than the Poſture repre-" ſented. The Epiſtle dedicatory to This *Baptiſta* " *Zatti* is in the firſt Volume of *Aretin*'s Letters. " It appears alſo, by the Deſcription, which This " Author gives of his own Manners, in the Two " hundred and ninetieth Letter of the fourth Vo-" lume, dated in *December* 1547, that, though he " was, then, in the Fifty ſeventh Year of his Age *, " he led a Life no leſs licentious, than he had ever " done. The Paſſage, in which he mentions the In-" terruption he was obliged to ſuffer in writing " This Letter, has ſomething in it very ſingular (35). " - - - - - - - We may appeal likewiſe to the Four " hundred and thirty ninth Letter of the ſame Vo-" lume, where it appears, that he made open Pro-" feſſion of a Morality far from ſcrupulous."

(34) *Mr* de la Monnoie, Rem. MSS.

* *This is proved from his ſaying, in a Letter to* P. Jovius, *in* May, 1545, *that he was then* 54 *Years of Age.*

(35) *It is omitted, as being too looſe.*

It is, therefore, a Miſtake to pretend, that he compoſed his pious Works, after he had, by a ſerious Repentance, renounced his licentious Courſes. He compoſed Works of Piety, and of Libertiniſm, by turns; being always a debauched Liver, and ſunk in Corruption; and if, with regard to Men, he did leſs Miſchief, whilſt he exerciſed his Wit on pious Subjects, than when he employed it on lewd; yet was he more criminal in the Sight of God, on Account of the former Compoſitions, than the latter. It did not belong to ſo prophane a Wretch to treat of things ſacred. He did them more Injury, by explaining them, with a depraved Heart, and from bad Motives, than if he had openly inſulted them. We may apply to him That thundering Cenſure, contained in theſe Words of the *Pſalmiſt.* beginning at Ver. 16th –

16 *But to the Wicked thus ſaith God,*
How dar'ſt thou teach my Laws abroad,
  Or in thy Mouth my Cov'nant take?
17 *For ſtubborn thou, confirm'd in Sin,*
Haſt Proof againſt Inſtruction been,
  And of my Word didſt lightly ſpeak.
18 *When thou a ſubtle Thief didſt ſee,*
Thou gladly didſt with him agree,
  And with Adult'rers didſt partake.
19 *Vile Slander is thy chief Delight,*
Thy Tongue, by Envy mov'd and Spight,
  Deceitful Tales does hourly ſpread:
20 *Thou doſt with hateful Scandals wound*
Thy Brother, and with Lyes confound
  The Offſpring of thy Mother's Bed.
21 *Theſe things didſt thou, whom ſtill I ſtrove*
To gain with Silence and with Love;
  Till thou didſt wickedly ſurmiſe,
That I was ſuch a one as thou;
But I'll reprove and ſhame thee now,
  And ſet thy Sins before thine Eyes (36).

(36) Pſalm 50*th*, Brady's *Verſion.* [Bayle *makes uſe of That of* Marot.]

I confeſs, the Generality of Men are not offended at Works of Devotion, compoſed by Indevout and Prophane Writers; but Perſons of nice and delicate Taſte are more ſcandalized at them, than at Pieces, in which ſuch Authors deliver their genuine Thoughts. *Choſe one ſide*; would ſuch Perſons ſay; *be one thing, or other; give not the Printer a Work of Piety to Day, and to morrow a Bawdy Book; we cannot bear ſuch a Farce; ſince you perſiſt in evil Courſes, we had rather you would always appear in your proper Colours.*

—— quanto conſtantior idem
In vitiis, tanto levius miſer, ac prior ille
Qui jam contento, jam laxo fune laborat (37).

(37) Horat. Sat. 7. lib. 2. ver. 18.

He that is conſtant in his vitious Race,
Runs the ſame Courſe, and keeps an equal Pace,
Is certainly not half ſo great a Wretch,
As he, who now rides looſe, and now on ſtretch.
Creech.

It were to be wiſhed, that no one would preſume to write Books of Devotion, without being perſuaded of what he ſays, and without practiſing it; for to People of Thought and Reflexion it is matter of Scandal to ſee ſuch Contradiction between the Thoughts and Words, and much more between the Actions and Writings, of ſuch Authors.

[*K*] *I mean his* Ragionamenti *.] They are divided into Three Parts; the laſt of them, which treats of the Court, and Card-playing, is much more tolerable, than the others. The firſt treats of the diſorderly Practices of Nuns, married Women, and Miſſes. It is ſufficient to ſay, in general, that the Second is the Spirit and Hiſtory of *Whoredom.* How abominable ſoever theſe Dialogues are, yet are they much leſs ſo, than the Book generally aſcribed to him, *de omnibus Veneris Schematibus.*

* Dialogues.

The following Remark was communicated to me (38): " This Book (*De omnibus Veneris Schematibus* " †) which is here aſcribed to *Aretin*, and which " many perhaps believe to have been compoſed by " him in the *Latin* Tongue, becauſe, out of Modeſty, " you give it a *Latin* Title, is only a Collection, " containing Sixteen lewd Figures, engrav'd by the " Famous *Marc Anthony* of *Bologna*, after the Deſigns " of *Julio Romano*, with a Sonnet of *Aretin*'s at the " bottom of each. He mentions them, in a Letter " of the Twenty ninth of *November* 1527, in which he " writes to *Signor Cæſar Fregoſa*, that he ſends him " *il libro de i Sonetti e de le Figure luſſurioſe.* —— *The* " *Book of Sonnets, and Wanton Figures. Le Vaſſari,* " and M. *Felibien* after him, have ſaid, that theſe " Figures and Sonnets were Twenty in number. But " *Aretin* himſelf, in his Dedication of them, in 1537, " to *Baptiſta Zatti*, before-mentioned, makes them " but Sixteen. There is a Dialogue between *Magdalena*, and *Julia*; the Title of which is, *la Putana errante*; —— *The Whore-errant*; wherein he " treats at length, *de i diverſi conjungimenti* —— " *Of the different Ways of C - - p - - l - - t - - n,* to " the number of Thirty five. This is to ſurpaſs four " fold the ancient Debauchery;

(38) *By Mr* de la Monnoie.

† *Uſually called* Aretin's *Poſtures.*

Quales nec Didymæ ‖ ſciunt puellæ,
Nec molles Elephantidos libelli, ——
Sunt illic Veneris novem ‡ figuræ.

‖ *Others read* Didymi.

‡ *Others read* Novæ.

Such Lines, as Harlots never read,
  Nor Elephantis *cou'd indite;*

the Year of their firſt Impreſſion [*L*]. We have Six Volumes of his *Letters*, which are

Nine Poſtures Venus *there aſſumes,*
To vary the obſcene Delight.

“ Though the Work has always been printed under “ *Aretin*'s Name; yet he diſowns it; and ſays it is “ the Work of One of his Scholars, called *le Veniero*. “ This he tells us, in his *Capitolo*, addreſſed to the “ Duke of *Mantua*; in which he aſſures him, that “ his Pupil greatly exceeds him in Obſcenity.

Ma perch' io ſento il preſente all' odore,
Un' operetta in quel cambio galante.
Vi mando hora in ſtil ladro traditore
Intitolata *la Putana errante*.
Dal Veniero compoſta mio creato,
Che me in dir mal quatro giornate inante.

I add to this a fine Paſſage of Mr *Chevillier*: “ It “ was about the Year 1525, that *Julio Romano*, the “ moſt Famous Painter of *Italy*, inſtigated by the “ Enemy of our Salvation, invented Deſigns, to be “ engraved on Copper-Plates. The Subjects of them “ are ſo lewd, that they are not ſo much as to be “ named. *Peter Aretin*, a notoriouſly infamous Writer, “ and known in the World for a Profligate and “ an Atheiſt, compoſed Sonnets for each Deſign. “ *George Vaſari*, who relates this, in his Book of the “ Lives of the Painters, ſays, he knows not which “ would be moſt immodeſt, to caſt one's Eyes on the “ Deſigns of *Julio*, or to read the Sonnets of *Aretin*. “ *Io non ſo qual fuſſe piu o brutto le ſpettacolo de i Deſigni* “ *di* Giulio *all' ochio, o le parole dell'* Aretino *à* “ *gl' orecchi*. 3. *Part. pa.* 302. An Engraver, whoſe “ Name was *Marc Anthony*, ventured to employ his “ Tool in engraving theſe infamous Deſigns on “ Twenty Copper-Plates. Pope *Clement* VII threw “ him into Priſon; but the Cardinal *de Medicis* ſaved “ his Life. And, as great as *Julio*'s Fame was in Painting, “ he would have been very ſeverely puniſhed, “ if he had not eſcaped to *Mantua*. It happened “ in the Year 1527, that *Rome* was plundered by the “ Army of *Charles* V. It was this Engraver's Fortune “ to loſe all his Eſtate, and be obliged to leave “ the Town; ſoon after which he died. Mr. *Chevillier* “ adds, that Mr *Jollain*, a Merchant in St “ *James*'s ſtreet in *Paris*, being informed where “ ſome of theſe infamous Plates lay, which contained “ theſe abominable Deſigns of *Julio*, and the lewd “ Sonnets of *Aretin*, went thither, and bought them “ for an hundred Crowns, with a Deſign to deſtroy “ them; which accordingly he did—He always believed, “ that They were the Original Plates, engraved “ by *Marc Anthony*, which he had deſtroyed “ (40).”

[*L*] *His* Ragionamenti *were printed in his Life Time; but it is difficult to diſcover the Year of their firſt Impreſſion.*] The Preface to the Edition, in 1584, does not ſuffer us to doubt of the firſt Fact. The Bookſeller, under the fictitious Name of *Barbagrigia*, declares, that “ the Author had reſolved to “ publiſh his Dialogues, divided into *Days*, after the “ manner of *Boccace*,” and as they now ſtand in the Edition I have cited; “ But that others had prevented “ him, and publiſhed This Work, againſt his Will, “ and in great Diſorder.”----- *Hoggi vi preſento di loro una buona parte——da me ridotte ne la maniera ch' egli le compoſe, e ne la medeſima maniera ch' egli haveva diterminato di farle la prima volta ſtampare, s' altri (contra ſua voglia) non haveſſero prima di lui date per mezzo de la ſtampa in luce aſſai male acconcie: concioſia coſa che Giornate queſto nomaſſe per ſeguitare l' alte pedate del gran* Giovanni Boccaccio. I add ſomething ſtill more expreſs to this; and I do it with ſo much the more Satisfaction, becauſe, at the ſame Time, I acquit myſelf of an indiſpenſible Duty towards Mr *Minutoli*, by the Publick Teſtimony I give him of my ſingular Eſteem, and the great Value I ſet on the Friendſhip, with which he honours me. I have conſulted This ingenious Profeſſor of *Geneva*; and here preſent the Reader with an Extract of a Letter, which he communicated to me, and which was ſent to him from *Dijon*. “ I muſt now, Sir, “ mention to you a Book very oppoſite to this (41), “ to wit, the *Ragionamenti* of *Peter Aretin*: You “ deſire me to clear up ſome Points, concerning “ them. The *Ragionamenti*, or Humorous Dialogues, “ of *Aretin* were publiſhed before his Death. This “ cannot be doubted of; ſince, in 1551, there appeared “ an Invective of *Joachim Perion*, a *Benedictin* “ Monk, againſt the Author of the *Ragionamenti*, “ who did not die till the Year 1556 (42). “ *Antonio Franciſco Doni*, in the firſt Part of his “ *Bibliotheque*, publiſhed in 1550, which contains “ only the printed Books, ſpeaks of Two Dialogues, “ *Delle Donne* (43), which differ from the *Ragionamenti*, “ of which he ſays not a Word, becauſe it is “ moſt certain they were not printed at that time. “ As for the Letters, The firſt Volume alone deſerves “ to be read, though it contains ſcarce any thing ſatirical: “ The other Five are very flat; you may “ take Mr *Menage*'s Word for it, in the *Menagiana*; “ who honours them but too much, when he “ eſteems them for the Stile.” In another Letter, Mr *Minutoli* had the Goodneſs to communicate to me Two Obſervations, which he had made, in reading the Letters of Illuſtrious Men, publiſhed by *John Michel Brutus*. He found theſe Words in a Letter of *John Maludanus* to *Dionyſius Lambinus* pag. 369. “ Penè me fugerat, quod ſcribendum in primis fuiſſe “ arbitror. A Perionio editam eſſe audio orationem “ adverſus Petrum Aretinum. Periculum eſt, ne, ut “ jampridem principum, ita poſthæc & μοναχῶν flagellum “ eſſe & nominari velit laceſſitus Aretinus.--- “ *I had almoſt forgot what I ought particularly to acquaint* “ *you with. I am informed, that* Perionius *has* “ *publiſhed an Oration againſt* Peter Aretin. *It is* “ *to be feared, leſt* Peter Aretin, *thus provoked, ſhould* “ *become, and deſire to be called from henceforth, the* “ *Scourge of Monks, as formerly of Princes.*” There is only the Date of the Day in this Letter; *Nonis Maiis*; but as *Lambinus*'s Anſwer is dated *Nonis Juniis, anno* CIↃ IↃ LI. it is eaſy to conjecture in what Year *Maludanus* wrote to him. My Reader will be pleaſed to find here what *Lambinus*, who was then at *Rome*, thought of *Perionius*'s Harangue. “ Perionii orationem “ in Petrum Aretinum jampridem legeramus, “ ſed multo non ſine riſu. Quid enim magis ridiculum “ excogitari poteſt quam hominem Benedictinum, “ Philoſophum, Ciceronianum, Theologum, “ cum P. Aretino verbis decertare? Omnino ſuæ exiſtimationi “ parum conſuluiſſe judicatur; nam quod “ arguit illum eſſe impurum, ſceleratum, impium, “ quid tum poſtea? Tales homines non verbis aut “ ſcriptis caſtigandi, ſed legibus & pœnis ſunt coercendi. “ Sed hac de re alias plura.---- *I had already* “ *read* Perionius's *Oration againſt* Peter Aretin, *but* “ *not without much laughter. For what can be conceived* “ *more ridiculous, than for One, who is* “ *a Benedictin, a Philoſopher, an Orator, and a Divine,* “ *to conteſt, in Words, with* Peter Aretin? *He* “ *can gain but little Reputation by ſuch a Controverſy;* “ *for, ſuppoſe that he proves him to be an impure,* “ *wicked, and impious Fellow; What then? Such Men* “ *are not to be corrected by Words, or by Writing, but* “ *to be reſtrained by Laws and Puniſhments. But more* “ *of this hereafter.*”

As to the Second Part of the Text of this Remark, read what follows; and you will admire the Accuracy and Extent of the Enquiries of the ingenious Gentleman, whom I quote (44). “ It is difficult to “ determine the exact Time of the firſt Edition of “ the *Ragionamenti*, as well becauſe it is become ſo “ ſcarce, that it is hardly poſſible to meet with a Copy “ of it, as becauſe the Dialogues, which compoſe the “ Two Parts of this Work, did not appear at the “ ſame Time. The firſt Part preceeded the other “ ſome Years; but what is certain, is, that they were “ both in Print in 1537; the Epiſtles Dedicatory to “ both Parts being inſerted in the Edition of the “ firſt Volume of *Aretin*'s Letters, at *Venice*, in *Folio*, “ by *Francis Marcolini*, in the ſame Year. The “ Title of Theſe *Ragionamenti* has varied. In the “ Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Second Part of Theſe “ Dialogues, the Author calls the firſt *i tre Giorni di* “ *caprici*, and even ſimply *dialogo*; for this is what “ he underſtands by theſe Words, *eccovi il dialogo*, “ which nevertheleſs are not to be found in this “ ſame Epiſtle, inſerted among the Letters of the “ firſt Volume; in which there is a farther conſiderable “ Variation. Which is, that, after the Words “ *e per non difraudare il mio grado*, all which follows, are but of little Value [*M*]. His Works of Devotion were not much enquired after (*b*); yet they met with ſome, who gave them great Commendation (*c*). His Comedies in Proſe are much better in their kind. He died about the Year 1556, at the Age of Sixty five Years, more or leſs [*N*]. It is ſaid, that he fell into ſo violent a fit of Laughter, upon liſtening to ſome obſcene Diſcourſe, that he overturned the Chair, on which he ſat; and that, in the Fall, he bruiſed his Skull, and died upon the Spot [*O*]. It was unlucky for him, that he wrote Lampoons againſt *Peter Strozzi*; for this brave Man threatned to have him aſſaſſinated in his very Bed; which ſo terrified our Poet, that he durſt not admit any Perſon into his Houſe, nor ever ſtir out of the Doors himſelf, during *Strozzi*'s ſtay in the State of *Venice*. For this I ſhall quote my Author [*P*]. Obſerve, that This ſo ſatirical Poet was laviſh of his Praiſes to exceſs. We find the moſt pompous Hyperboles, and extravagant Flatteries, in his Letters to Kings, Princes, Generals of Armies, Cardinals, and other eminent Men: So far are they from carrying the Air of an Author, who makes himſelf dreaded, or exacts Contributions, that, on the contrary, there appears in them the Meanneſs of a Writer, who humbly intreats for a Piece of Bread. He employs the moſt moving Expreſſions to repreſent his Poverty, ſo far as to uſe the Language of *Canaan*, I mean a Scripture-Cant, as likelieſt to raiſe Compaſſion, and excite thoſe to Charity, who expect a Reward of their good Works from God. It muſt not be forgot, that one of the Subjects of his Importunities was the Dowry of

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(40) Chevillier, *of the Origin of* Printing, *at* Paris, *pag.* 224.

(41) *He had been ſpeaking of Mr* Baillet's *Book, concerning the Worſhip due to the Bleſſed Virgin.*

(42) *See Remark* [*N*].

(43) Freherus *reckons theſe two Dialogues among the Works of* Aretin, *and ſays nothing of the* Ragionamenti. *Perhaps theſe two Dialogues were the firſt Edition, which was publiſh'd without the Knowledge, and againſt the Will, of the Author, and in a different Method from his own.*

(44) *Mr* de la Monnoie.

(*b*) *See Remark* [*I*].

(*c*) *See Remark* [*I*].

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as far as *è lo ſa Milano come cadde* incluſively, is entirely omitted; inſtead of which there is: *Uſaro le parole cadute della ſacra bocca del magno Antonio de Leva, l' Aretino è piu, &c.*" Sometimes, inſtead of *Dialogo*, he ſays all along, as in his Epiſtle to his *Ape, il Dialogo de la Nanna & de la Antonia.* Sometimes, as in his Dialogue *della corte*, by his *Nanna* he means the firſt Part of the *Ragionamenti*, and by *La Pippa* the ſecond. In a letter of the 15th of *May*, 1537, to *Franceſco de l'Orme*, he ſtyles both Parts *Dialoghi*, as *Anthony Franceſco Doni* likewiſe does*. It is certain Theſe Dialogues were never entituled *Ragionamenti* by This Author. They bear this Title only ſince the Edition of the Year 1584. The true Title was *Caprici*. *Perionius* confeſſes it, in his Invective againſt *Aretin*. "Scripſit enim, *ſays he*, atque edidit nefarium librum quemdam, quem *Capricium* a Caprarum laſcivia & libidine inſcripſit. ----- *He wrote and publiſhed a vile Book, which he called* Caprici *from the Wantonneſs of* (Capræ) *Goats*. And a little lower; Galli plerique jam Italice ſciunt, quo quidem ſermone iſtius *Capricius*, aliique libri, ſcripti ſunt —— *The* French *almoſt in general underſtand* Italian, *in which Language his* Caprici, *and other Books, are written.* *Le Bandel* is miſtaken, when, in the Thirty fourth of his Novels, pag. 235, of the firſt Part, he ſays, that *la Zanina* read *la Nanna*; They are his own Words; *O ſia Raffaella de l' Aretino.* In effect, *La Nanna* and *la Raffaella* are diſtinct Pieces, and by different Authors. By *La Nanna* ſhould be underſtood the firſt Part of *Aretin*'s *Ragionamenti*, and by *la Raffaella*, the Dialogue of *Madona Raffaella*, and *Margareta*, entituled *della bella creanza delle Donne*; which inſtructs Women in the Arts of Gallantry. It is written by *Aleſſandro Piccolbuomini* under his Academical Name of *Stordito Intronato*. This Quotation of *la Nanna* by *le Bandel* ſerves however to make it appear, that the firſt Part of the *Ragionamenti* had been extant at leaſt from the Year 1535; ſince, at the end of the ſame Novel, in which *la Nanna* is quoted, mention is made of *du Bernia*, as being then living, who certainly died in the Month of *May*, 1535; though M. *Baillet* places him after the Poets, who died in 1606. *Il Bernia Vicario Poeta d'Aretino mori apoplectico*, ſays *Paul Jovius* in a Letter, of the laſt of *May*, 1535, to *Ridolfo Pio*, Biſhop of *Faiance*, afterwards Cardinal of *Carpi*, then *Nuncio* in *France*. Mr *Menage*, who has made a Chapter expreſsly of *Bernia*, in the firſt Part of his *Antibaillet*, has not corrected this Error."

* Libraria del Doni. Parte I. pag. 39.

[*M*] *We have ſix Volumes of his Letters, which are but of little Value.*] We have already ſeen the Judgment of a learned Man of *Dijon* on this Subject (45): That of Mr *Menage* may be added to it. "I have read, *ſays he* (46), all the Letters of *Peter Aretin*, without ever having found any thing in them, worthy of an Extract. There is nothing in them but Stile." One cannot convey a more expreſſive Idea of a Work, which is barren and dry; like an unfurniſhed Houſe, or heathy, ſandy, uncultivated Ground; for Mr *Menage* knew how to make the moſt of his Reading, and had an happy Talent at varying his Application of it.

(45) *Above, immediately after Citation* (43).

(46) Menage, p. 306, *of the firſt Edition of* Holland.

[*N*] *He died about the Year* 1556, *at the Age of Sixty five Years, more or leſs* (47).] "The Reaſon for conjecturing, that *Aretin* died either towards the end of 1555, or in 1556, is, that, from the Month of *October*, 1555, (the Date of the Epiſtle dedicatory to the laſt Volume of his Letters), it does not appear, that he had written any thing; and that *Ruſcelli*, who wrote his *Rimario* in 1577, mentions *Aretin* therein, as a Perſon lately dead. At the Word *Roſta*, in the Vocabulary at the end of the *Rimario*, he ſays *Onde il mio Aretino di buona memoria.* That This *Rimario* was compoſed in the Year 1557, appears by a Paſſage, I have obſerved from it, above (48), on occaſion of *Silvio Antoniano* (49)." *Paul Freherus* is miſtaken, in ſaying, that *Aretin* died towards the Year 1566 (50).

(47) *See Citation* *, *between* (34) *and* (35).

(48) *At the end of the Remark* [*D*] *of the Article* ANTONIANO.

(49) *Mr* de la Monnoie. Rem. MSS.

(50) Freherus in Theatro, p. 1461.

[*O*] *He fell into ſo violent a fit of Laughter, - - - - that he overturned his Chair - - - - - - bruiſed his Skull; and died upon the Spot.*] "Infandas obſcenitates de meretricibus, ut aiunt, ſororibus ſuis, cum audiret, ex riſu ſellam, in qua ſedebat, evertiſſe, occiputque vehementer graviterque ad terram afflixiſſe, atque atque alliſiſſe, ut extemplo nequiſſime interiret (51)."

(51) Ant. Laurent. Politianus, in Dialogo de Riſu. p. 78.

[*P*] *I ſhall quote my Author.*] He is *Remi* of *Florence*. "Volſe Pietro Aretino, *ſays he* (52), burlare & motteggiare il Sig. Pietro Strozzi, quando egli diede Marano a Venetiani, e gli fece un Sonetto, che cominciava;

Mentre il gran Strozzi Arma virumque cano, &c.

"Ma il Signor Pietro come huomo valoroſo, & che non voleva ſue burle ne ſuoi motti gli fece intendere, che attendeſſe ad altro, perche lo farebbe ammazzare inſin nel letto. Onde il povero Aretino, che conoſceva il Signor Pietro huomo più da farlo che da dirlo, ſi miſe tanto ſpavento, che ſerrato in caſa, ne dando ingreſſo à perſona alcuna, guardava pure ſe i pugnali piovevano, & meno giorno e notte una vita infeliciſſima, e per fin che lo Strozzi ſtette in paeſe de' Veneziani, non ardi mai uſcir di caſa. ----- Peter Aretin *had a Mind to banter* Peter Strozzi, *upon his delivering up* Marano *to the* Venetians; *and made a Sonnet, which began thus*;

Mean time Great Strozzi, *&c.*

"*But* Peter, *as a Man of Valour, and who deſired none of his Jokes, gave him to underſtand, that he had better mind ſomething elſe, if he expected to be ſafe in his Bed. Poor* Aretin, *who knew that he was a Man of Deeds, more than Words, was ſo frightned, that he kept himſelf locked up in his Houſe*,

(52) Remig. Florent. Confiderat. Civil. ſopra Guicciardini. c. 6. fol. 8. verſo. *See* le Rime Piacevoli, Parte II. fol. 12.

of his dear Daughter *Adria* [*Q*]. He took a great deal of Pains to marry her; but ſaw her ſo unhappy in this State, that he heartily repented of his Impatience [*R*]. A Fatality too common among Men! for how many things are there, which make us extremely uneaſy, before they are accompliſhed, but much more ſo after Accompliſhment?

“ *Houſe, and admitted no one to enter; he even watched* “ *to ſee, whether it did not rain Poignards, and led a* “ *miſerable Life, Night and Day, during* Strozzi's *Reſi-* “ *dence in the* Venetian *State, not daring to ſtir out of* “ *his Doors.*” I fancy, when he found himſelf out of Danger, he behaved like the *Sow, that is waſhed.*

[*Q*] *One of the Subjects of his Importunities, was the Dowry of his dear Daughter* Adria.] He loved her very affectionately, and had engaged himſelf to give a thouſand Ducats to the Perſon, who was to marry her. This future Son-in-law was not to be put off to the next Dedication: ſuch an Aſſignment, which ſome Authors have put their Creditors off with, would not ſatisfy him; he articled, that a thouſand Ducats ſhould be paid him down, before he gave the Ring to the Bride. *Mille ducati e la promeſſa da me fatta allo ſpoſo in contanti, prima che ſe le dia l'anello* (53). The Gold Chain, which *Aretin* had received from the Prince of *Spain* (54), was forced to go towards the Payment of this Sum. He addreſſed himſelf to the Cardinal of *Lorrain* for Aſſiſtance in this Neceſſity. I cannot tell, whether he received any thing from him; but I know, that he was aſſiſted by the Duke of *Florence*. The Bill of Exchange, which That Prince ſent him (55), imported, that the Money ſhould not be paid, but on good Atteſtations that the Marriage was conſummated (56). This Condition haſtened the Wedding; the Father would have deferred it; for he fancied his Daughter *Adria* was too Young; but this Conſideration muſt now be paſt by. When ſhe was laid in the nuptial Bed, he ſaid, that ſhe looked like a ſpotleſs Victim laid on the ſacred Altar: *Per importarmi piu l' honore della parola obligata, che il riſpetto della etade tenera; conſentii, che la innocentia ſi copulaſſe co'l ſacramento. Ella, nello entrare nel letto, parue una oſtia pura, poſta ſopra l'altare ſacro* (57). It appears, that the Son-in-law did not rigorouſly exact the Payment of the whole Sum before Marriage; he was ſatisfied with the Gold Chain, which the Emperor's Son, had given *Aretin*, as Security for what was wanting of the thouſand Ducats; but this did not make the Father-in-law a jot the eaſier; who had a great Deſire to keep his Gold Chain; and yet could not get rid of his Daughter, until all the Money was paid: For his Son-in-law refuſed to take her Home to his own Houſe, without the full Portion. The Duke of *Florence* was again importuned, and diſburſt ſomething more (58).

(53) Aretin, *Letter* 145, *Book* 5. fol. 72. *Edit. of* Paris 1609.

(54) Id. ib.

(55) *See the* 24*th Letter of the ſame Book. It is dated at* Venice, 1548.

(56) *See the* 22*cth Letter of the* 5*th Book. It is dated* March 1549.

(57) Ibid. fol. 102.

[*R*] *He ſaw her ſo unhappy in this State, that he repented of his Impatience.*] It was a very unhappy Match; poor *Adria* was ſo ill treated by her Husband, that ſhe was obliged to return to her Father (59); but, her Husband promiſing her better Uſage, ſhe was perſuaded to a Reconcilement; but was ſtill as unhappy as ever. She was ſtill denied the Power of the Keys; a Power, which never falls to the Petticoat in the Church, but is the Woman's Right in the Management of a Family. She could neither eat, nor drink, but when it pleaſed others to diſpoſe of the Keys in her Favour: She was perpetually teized about her Dreſs. Her Husband would not ſuffer her to wear Jewels, and obliged her to ſell a Diamond, which her Father had given her: Thus ſhe was attacked in the moſt ſenſible Part; this was tearing her very Heart out. *Aretin* implored for her the Protection of the Ducheſs of *Urbino* (60). What a Heart-breaking muſt it be to him, to find himſelf treated ſo contemptuouſly by his Son-in-law, whilſt his Fame was ſpread as far as the Court of *Perſia* (61)! What a Domeſtic *Bitter* was This amidſt the fancied *Sweets* of a great Reputation! Could it be any Conſolation, to conſider, that this Brute at the ſame time deſpiſed the Duke of *Florence*, who had earneſtly recommended it to him to treat his Wife well? On the contrary this was a new Subject of Confuſion to the Perſon, who had made ſo ill a Choice of a Son-in-Law. “ Benche en quanto al non fare niſſuna ſtima “ di me ſimil' cane, non e maraviglia, e ben' da ſtu- “ pire del ſi poco riſpetto che moſtra d'havere lo aſi- “ naccio al gran' Duca, la cui benignita manſueta, uſ- “ cendo noi di Peſaro, per il viaggio di Roma, coſi “ qual era a cavallo, chiomollo, & diſſegli; Se tu “ vuoi che non ti ſi manchi di gratie, tratta la mog- “ lie tua, ſi come di me nata fuſſe (62).—— *As to* “ *this Brute's little regard for me, it is not to be* “ *wondered at; but it is aſtoniſhing that This Aſs* “ *ſhould be ſo wanting in Reſpect to the Great Duke;* “ *who was ſo kind, at our Departure from* Peſaro *to* “ Rome, *as to call him back, when on Horſeback, and* “ *ſay; if you expect the Continuance of my Favour,* “ *treat your Wife as if ſhe were my Daughter.*” Note, That *Peter Aretin* had another Daughter, whom he was very deſirous of marrying (63).

(58) *See the* 6*th Book of the Letters of* Aretin, fol. 121.

(59) *See the* 16*th Book of his Letters,* fol. 281.

(60) *His Letter to the Ducheſs of* Urbino *is dated from* Venice *in* November 1554.

(61) *See Remark* [*A*].

(62) Aretin, *pag.* 282, *of the* 6*th Book of his Letters.*

(63) *She was called* Auſtria. *See the* 21*cth Letter of the* 5*th Book.*

ARGYROPYLUS (*a*) (JOHN), a Native of *Conſtantinople*, retired into *Italy*, while the *Turks* were overturning all *Greece* [*A*]. He was very kindly received by *Coſmo de Medicis*, who made him Preceptor to his Son *Peter*, and his Grandſon *Lorenzo* (*b*), and Profeſſor of *Greek* at *Florence*. He teſtified his Gratitude in a Tranſlation of *Ariſtotle*'s Phyſics and Ethics. He was attended with a very particular piece of good Fortune in This Work; for *Theodore Gaza*, who had finiſhed a like Tranſlation, threw it into the Fire, that he might not prejudice the Fortune of his good Friend *Argyropylus*. *Gaza* ſurpaſſed him in Eloquence, and his Tranſlation would infallibly have eclipſed the other; but, as he was not ignorant of *Argyropylus*'s Ambition, and was, beſides, a good-natured Man, he made a Sacrifice, which coſt him but little; for he was one, who valued neither Praiſe, nor Money. *Argyropylus*'s Converſation diſguſted and tired Men of Learning, eſpecially when he took upon him to maintain, that *Cicero* did not

(*a*) *And not* ARGIROPHILUS, *nor* ARGYROPHILUS, *as in* Moreri.

(*b*) *And not his* Nephew, *as in* Moreri.

[*A*] *He retired into* Italy, *while the* Turks *were overturning all* Greece.] I dare not ſay, with *Moreri*, that he retired into *Italy*, after the Conqueſt of *Conſtantinople* by the *Turks*; for Two Reaſons make me doubt it. One is, *Paul Jovius*'s ſaying, that *Argyropylus* was driven into *Italy* by the ſame Tempeſt, which forced *Theodore Gaza* thither (1). Now he obſerves, that This *Theodore* took refuge there, while *Amurath* ſhook all *Greece* with his Victorious Arms. *Amurathe Græciam omnem victricibus armis quatiente, in Italiam venit* (2). This inclines me to believe, that *Argyropylus* left his Country before the *Ottomans* had taken *Conſtantinople*. My ſecond Reaſon is, becauſe he addreſſed a Treatiſe of Conſolation to the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*. To make this a good Argument, it muſt, I confeſs, be proved, that he compoſed this Piece in *Italy*; and I own I cannot prove this; ſo that I only offer this Obſervation, as a motive to keep my Reader in ſuſpence. *Paul Jovius* is to blame, in having neglected Chronology, ſo much as he has done, in his Elogies; for he might eaſily have diſcovered the date of the Offices, Travels, and Deaths, of his Illuſtrious Perſons. This by the way. *Voſſius* obſerves, that This Treatiſe of *Argyropylus*, his *Monodie*, his Book *de Regno*, and his Parallels between the Ancient and Modern Princes, are in the Library of the moſt Chriſtian King (3). Mr *Moreri*, who never ſaw theſe Works, affirms, nevertheleſs, that the Author dedicated them to the Houſe of *Medicis*. Why was he not ſatisfied with affirming this concerning the Tranſlations of *Ariſtole* only? his Guide goes no farther (4).

[*B*] *What*

(1) Paulus Jovius, Elog. cap. 27. pag. 64.

(2) Id. ib. cap. 26. pag. 61.

(3) Voſſius, de Hiſtor. Græcis, lib. 4, cap. 19, pag. 493.

(4) Paulus Jovius, Elog. cap. 27.

not underſtand *Greek*. He left *Tuſcany*, in the time of a Plague, and went to *Rome*, where he read Lectures on the *Greek* Text of *Ariſtotle*. His Salary was conſiderable; but, as he loved good Eating and Drinking, and as his Conſtitution was able to bear Intemperance, he ſpent all his Income. So that what has been ſaid of his Gluttony, is not incredible [*B*]. He died of a Fever, which he got by eating too many Melons, at ſeventy Years of Age (*c*). He diſcovered great Conſtancy of Mind, when one of his Sons was killed at *Rome* (*d*). See, concerning the Order, which Pope *Paul* III gave for purſuit of the Murtherers, and for the Funeral of the deceaſed, the 200th Letter of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, *pag.* 620. It has been remarked, that he was the firſt *Greek*, who taught Philoſophy in that City [*C*]. He diſputed with much Vivacity, and had a very extenſive Knowledge. He left a Son, who was an excellent Muſician (*e*). The Judgments, which have been paſſed upon his Tranſlations, differ extreamly [*D*].

(*c*) *Taken from* Paul Jovius, Elog. cap. 27.

(*d*) Petrus Alcyonius, in Medice Legato priore, pag. 25.

(*e*) *Obiit relicto filio Iſacio, nobili Muſico.* Volaterran. lib. 21. p. 776.

[*B*] *What has been ſaid of his Gluttony is not incredible.*] Let us quote *Paul Jovius.* “Vini & cibi æque avidus & capax, & multo abdomine ventricoſus, immodico melopeponum eſu autumnalem accerſivit febrem, atque ita ſeptuageſimo ætatis anno ereptus eſt (5). —— *Being equally deſirous, and capable, of eating and drinking, and having a very large Belly, he got an autumnal Fever by eating too many Melons; and thus was taken off in the Seventieth Year of his Age.*” To die of exceſſive eating is ſcandalous in any one; much more in Men of Letters. It had been more for the Honour of *Argyropylus* to have died of Hunger. Let us not, however, look upon the enormous Size of his Belly as a good Argument againſt thoſe, who repreſent him as a Perſon of great Abilities: The Event of ſuch a Diſpute would be very uncertain. See the Collections, which ſhall be produced in the Remaks of the Article GORGIAS.

(5) Jovius, ibid. p. 65.

[*C*] *It has been remarked, that he was the firſt* Greek, *who taught at* Rome.] His Diſciple *Politian* is now to be quoted; read theſe Words of *Hornius.* “Primus ex Græcis Romæ philoſophiam profeſſus fuit Argyropylus, cujus ſectatorem ſe fuiſſe memorat Angelus Politianus, Miſcel. cap. 1. eumque cum literarum Latinarum minime incurioſum, tum ſapientiæ decretorum, diſciplinarumque adeo cunctarum, quæ Cyclicæ à Martiano dicuntur, erudiſſimum illis temporibus habitum, atque in diſputando acerrimum (6). — Argyropylus *was the Firſt of the* Greeks, *who profeſſed Philoſophy at* Rome; *whoſe Follower* Politian *was, as he informs us, Miſcell. ch.* 1. *as alſo that, he was not only well verſed in the* Latin *Tongue, but skilled likewiſe in the Learning of Decretals, and eſteemed the greateſt Scholar of his Times, in all thoſe Sciences, which by* Martian *are called* Cyclic, *and a ſtrenuous Diſputant.*”

(6) Hornius, Hiſtoria Philoſoph. l. 6. c. 6. p. 304, 305.

[*D*] *The Judgments, which have been paſſed upon his Tranſlations, differ extreamly.*] *Thuanus* obſerves, that *Perionius*, intending to avoid the Method of *Argyropylus*, fell into another Extreme. He found, that *Argyropylus* had tranſlated *Ariſtotle* more faithfully, than elegantly; and therefore undertook a Tranſlation, which ſhould pleaſe thoſe, who admire good Latin; but, labouring too much at Elegancy of Style, he lay open to the Charge of departing from the Senſe of the Author. “Is (Joachimus Perionius) cum Ariſtotelem hactenus a Johanne Argyropylo fideliter potius quam ornate verſum auribus Latinis proponendum ſtatuiſſet, dum elegantioris ſtili potius quam veri rationem plerumque Ciceroni ſuo addictus habet, in contrariam ab Argyropylo reprehenſionem incidit (7). Which Judgment amounts to this: *Argyropylus*'s Tranſlation is faithful, but without Grace or Ornament. Others judge of it quite otherwiſe; They ſay there is more of Elegancy, than Faithfulneſs, in it; and blame him for not tranſlating his Original Word for Word, *according to the Duty of thoſe,* add they, *who tranſlate the Holy Scripture, and* Ariſtotle. *Aliquot Ariſtotelis libros convertit magis eleganter quam fideliter, cum in hoc philoſopho haud aliter quam in ſacris literis verbum verbo reddere oporteat* (8). If we conſult a Profeſſor of *Louvain*, we ſhall find this Judgment of *Volaterran* but ill grounded, and that *Argyropylus* confined himſelf more ſervilely to *Ariſtotle*'s Words, than Thoughts; and that his Tranſlation can paſs for neither faithful nor elegant. See the words of This Profeſſor: “Superiori ſæculo, quidam verba verbis ita admenſi ſunt, ut ſententiam depravarint, non aliter quam indocti pictores, qui, operoſi in cultu effingendo, membra ſecundum veſtem diſtorquent: quum Apelles, Parrhaſiique, prius nudum corpus efformare, quam amictam ſuperinducere ſoleant. In quorum numero Argyropylum reponas, & Ruffinum, alterum interpretem Ariſtotelis, alterum Gregorii Nazianzeni, de quibus vere id hemiſtichii dici poteſt: Dant ſine mente ſonum. Fit autem illud vel ex inſcitia, vel ex κακοζηλία; quum enim ſententiam apprehendere nequeunt, verba reddunt, quaſi quod ipſi non intellexerint, alius ex illorum verbis intelligere queat, cum verba non minus ex ſententia vim ſuam, & ſignificatum accipiant, quam ſententiam conſtituant. Aliqui rurſus fidem exiſtimant à numero verborum non diſcedere (9). ---- *In the laſt Age, ſome Writers ſo ſcrupulouſly adhered to the Words of an Author, as to ſpoil the ſenſe; like unskillful Painters, who, taking a great Deal of Pains about the Drapery, neglect the Proportions and Symmetry of the Figure: Whereas* Apelles, *and the* Parrhaſii, *always drew the naked Figure, before they cloathed it. In the number of theſe may be ranked* Argyropylus, *and* Ruffinus, *The One a Tranſlator of* Ariſtotle, *the Other of* Gregory *of* Nazianzen; *to whom may juſtly be applied the Hemiſtic,* Dant ſine mente ſonum; They give a Sound without a meaning. *This proceeds either from Ignorance, or falſe Emulation; for, when they cannot comprehend the Senſe, they render the Words; as if another could apprehend from their Words what They themſelves underſtand not; whereas Words no leſs receive their Force and Signification from the Sentence, than conſtitute the Sentence. Others again think it the buſineſs of a Faithful Tranſlator to keep to the very number of the Words.*” Some Learned Men imagine, that *Argyropylus* is here accuſed of confining himſelf *verbatim* to the Original, and, where he cannot comprehend his Author's Senſe, of having recurred to a jingle of Words without any meaning (10). I queſtion whether this is exactly what *Nannius* aims at. *Huetius* agrees in his Judgment with *Thuanus* (11), and conſequently condemns That of *Volaterran*. He condemns *Paul Jovius* likewiſe, who preferred the Tranſlation of *Gaza* before That of *Argyropylus*, and declares, that, if the firſt be more Eloquent, the latter is more faithful. *Non efficies quin major quidem eloquentia laus* Gazæ, *accurate autem interpretandi* Argyropylo *debeatur* (12). See, above, Remark [*B*] of the Article ACCIAIOLI (DONATO), and wonder at the Diverſity of theſe Opinions.

(7) Thuan. Hiſtor. l. 23. pag. 472, ad Ann. 1559.

(8) Volaterr. lib. 21. pag. 776.

(9) Petrus Nannius, Alcmarianus in Collegio Buldiano apud Lovanienſes Latinus Profeſſor, συμμίκτων, lib. 1. c. 3. pag. 6.

(10) *See Mr* Baillet, Jugem. des Sçavans, Tom. 4. n. 814. p. 355.

(11) Huëtius de claris Interpret. pag. 239.

(12) Id. ib.

ARIARATHES. The Name of ſeveral Kings of *Cappadocia*. See the Article CAPPADOCIA.

ARIGONI (POMPEIO), Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *Benevento*, was born at *Rome*, in the Year 1552. During the Time, that he was one of the Conſiſtorial Advocates, he was retained in all the Cauſes relating to *Philip* II of *Spain*. In the Pontificate of *Sixtus Quintus*, he make a Speech, to ſhew the Reaſonableneſs of canonizing the bleſſed *Diego d'Alcala.* He was made Auditor of the *Rota*, in the Year 1591, and Cardinal in 1596, and exerciſed the Office of Chancellor under *Leo* XI, and *Paul* V. The Archbiſhopric of *Benevento* was conferred upon him by This laſt Pope. He died, the fourth of *April*, 1616, in the *Greeks* Tower near *Naples*, whither he had retired for change of Air. His Body was carried to *Benevento*, where his Nephew erected a Marble Tomb over him, in the principal Church. There are ſome *Latin* Letters of our *Pompey*, among thoſe of *John Baptiſta Lauri*, beſides the Speech beforementioned, which was printed by *Peter Galeſini (a)*. As to his *Deciſions of the* Rota, they are only Manuſcripts in the Cabinets of ſome learned Men. *Charles Carthari* gave him great Commendations in his Liſt of the Conſiſtorial Advocates (*b*).

ARIMANIUS, one of the chief Deities of *Perſia*. That Nation was indebted to *Zoroaſter* for it's Philoſophy ; one principal Tenet of which was revived by the *Manicheans* ; to wit, That there are two firſt Principles, one of Good, and the other of Evil. The *Perſians* called the Deity, which they acknowledged as the Principle of all Good, and Author of the State, in which Things were firſt produced, *Oroſmades* ; and the Divinity, which they acknowledged as the Principle of Evil, and Author of the Corruption, into which the Original Nature is fallen, They called *Arimanius*. They ſaid, that *Oroſmades*, having produced the good Spirits, and the Stars, encloſed them in an Egg [*A*] ; and that *Arimanius* produced the bad *Genii*, who broke This Egg ; from whence proceeded Confuſion, and a mixture of Good and Evil. They add, that, at laſt, after divers Conflicts, in which the Victory would be various, *Oroſmades* ſhould totally vanquiſh *Arimanius*, and deſtroy him beyond retrieve ; which would be followed by a State of great Happineſs to Mankind, and by a very commodious Transformation, by which the Bodies of Men would become tranſparent, and be preſerved without any Nouriſhment *(a)*.

What I have here ſaid is borrowed from an Author, who had it from *Plutarch*, whoſe entire Paſſage I ſhall produce elſewhere *(b)*. It is remarkable, that the King of *Perſia*, when *Themiſtocles* fled to him for Refuge, prayed to *Arimanius*, that he would always influence his Enemies to baniſh their braveſt Men (*c*). This is a Proof, that the *Perſians* conſidered *Arimanius* as a Divinity, which took a Pleaſure only in Evil [*B*]. The ſame Divinity, doubtleſs, was meant, when, upon *Darius*'s complaining of the Deity of *Perſia*, when he was informed, that the Queen his Wife was dead a Priſoner in the Camp of *Alexander* ; he was anſwered ; *With regard to Funeral Honours*, &c. *you have no reaſon to accuſe the Bad Genius of the Nation* (*d*). *Your Wife, Your Mother, and Your Children, have loſt nothing of their former Fortune, but the Opportunity of ſeeing your Glory reſtored by* Oroſmades (*e*). We ſee, in theſe Words, the Oppoſition, which the *Perſians* ſuppoſed to be between *Oroſmades* and *Arimanius*.

[*A*] *Encloſed them in an Egg.*] I promiſed, in another Place (1), that I would ſay ſomething here concerning the *Egg*, which, according to the Ancient Theology of the Pagans, had been employed in the Production of Beings, when the *Chaos* was reduced. I ſay, then, that it was the Opinion of the *Phœnicians*, that the *obſcure Air*, and the *Chaos*, were the Principle of all Things. This obſcure Air is without doubt the ſame, which others call Night, and to which they attribute the Production of an Egg, out of which proceeded Love, and Human-kind. Τίκτει πρώτιστον νὺξ μελανόπτερος ὠόν (2). This may be ingeniouſly explained of the Earth, and compared with the Words of *Moſes*; by ſuppoſing, that the groſſer Parts of This obſcure and thick Air, ſubſiding, met with a fat and glewy Subſtance, with which, incorporating they formed a kind of Slime ; which, being hardened, became an habitable Earth (3). Some of the Ancients ſaid, that a Dove, brooding on an Egg, produced *Venus*, or Love. " Verba citat Grotius ex " Nigidio in Scholiaſten Germanici, ovum miræ " Magnitudinis, quod volventes ejecerunt in terram, " atque ita columbam inſediſſe, & poſt aliquot dies " excluſiſſe Deam Syriæ, quæ vocatur Venus (4)." *Lucius Ampelius* pretends it was the Egg of a Fiſh; *Ovum piſcis columbam adſediſſe dies plurimos, & excluſiſſe Deam benignam* (5). By the Egg Dr *Burnet* underſtands the *Chaos*, the Holy Ghoſt by the Dove, and by *Venus* the Earth (6). But I think we ſhould not limit This *Venus*, which came out of the Egg, to the Production of the Earth alone, but underſtand it of the whole Machine of the World. The Doctor obſerves, that the Egg was ſacred in the Myſteries of *Bacchus*, becauſe of it's Reſemblance to That Being, which ingenders and includes every thing in it's ſelf. Ὡς μίμημα τοῦ τὰ πάντα γεννῶντος καὶ περιέχοντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ (7). He does not forget to obſerve, that *Moſes*'s Expreſſion relates to the Action of Hens in brooding. " Huic doctrinæ " de *Ovo mundano* datæque interpretationi tacite favere mihi videtur *incubatio Spiritus Sancti* in " abyſſum, de qua *Moſes* in prima telluris productio" ne, ubi ad ovum manifeſto alluditur (8). - - - - - " *This* Moving (*or* Brooding) *of the* Holy Spirit " upon the Face of the Waters, *which* Moſes *ſpeaks* " *of in the Hiſtory of the Creation, where he plainly* " *alludes to an Egg, is a tacit Confirmation of This* " *Doctrine of the* Mundane Egg, *and the Ex*" *plication I have given of it.*"

[*B*] *The* Perſians *conſidered* Arimanius *as a Divinity, which took a Pleaſure only in Evil.*] If any one is inclined not to grant me this, he may object, that the King of *Perſia* was greatly pleaſed to have gained *Themiſtocles* ; he believed, therefore, the Exile of ſuch Perſons to be a fortunate Event for his own Country, and that it was his Intereſt they ſhould take Refuge in his Court : when, therefore, he prayed to *Arimanius* to inſpire his Enemies with a Reſolution to baniſh their braveſt Citizens, he demanded a very great Favour of him ; and, conſequently, he looked upon him as a Principle of Good, upon ſome Occaſions, with regard to the *Perſians*. I anſwer, that This Reaſoning is invalid. This Monarch agreed in Opinion with his Divines ; he conſidered *Arimanius* only as a malignant Being ; he petioned for the Exile of the great Men of *Greece*, only inaſmuch as it was prejudicial to That Country. It was an Action within the Juriſdiction, and to the Taſte, of *Arimanius*, as far as it was unjuſt and pernicious, with reſpect to the Towns, which baniſhed them. But, as far as it was beneficial to the *Perſians*, it was by no means agreeable to him ; nor was it under this Notion, that his Aſſiſtance was intreated. In a Word, to ſolve this Objection, it is ſufficient to ſay, that the Affairs of this World being ſo interwoven with each other, that, generally ſpeaking, one Country profits by the Misfortunes of another, *Arimanius* could ſcarce effect any thing

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(*a*) In Libello pro Canonizatione B. Didaci Complutenſis. *See alſo* Franciſcus Pegna, in vita ejuſdem Didaci.

(*b*) Ex Bibl. Romana Proſperi Mandoſii.

(*a*) *Taken from* Burnet's Theory of the Earth, lib. 2. c. 10. p. 289, 290. *who cites* Plutarch de Iſide & Oſiride.

(*b*) *In Remark* [*C*] *of the Article* MANICHEANS ; *and Remark* [*E*] *of the Article* ZOROASTER.

(*c*) Plut. in Themiſt. pag. 126.

(*d*) Τὸν πόνηρον Δαίμονα. Plut. in Alexandro, p. 682.

(*e*) Id. ib.

(1) *Above, Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* ADAM.

(2) Ariſtophanes apud Burnetium, Tell. Theor. Sacr. lib. 2. cap. 7. pag. 243.

(3) *This is* Dr Burnet's *Explication*, ibid. p. 244.

(4) Id. ib. pag. 259.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ex Plutarchi Sympoſ. lib. 2. Quæſt. 3.

(8) Burnet's Theory, p. 286.

thing ſimply and abſolutely pernicious; ſome Advantage would always reſult from it, either by accident, or otherwiſe. Now, as He did nothing, but on account of the Evil, which he diſcovered in it, it could never be pretended, that he was the Principle of any Good. It is true, then, that the Prayer, we are ſpeaking of, is no Proof, that he was conſidered otherwiſe, than as a Being, who took a Pleaſure only in hurting.

ARIMINI (Gregory of) See RIMINI.

ARION, a wonderful Horſe, and famed in Poetical Story on a different account from *Bucephalus* in the Hiſtory of *Alexander*. His Origin has been variouſly ſpoken of; though all allow it Divine. Some ſay (*a*), that *Neptune*, being deſirous to procure to Men all the Conveniences, which Horſes could afford them, ſtruck the Earth in *Theſſaly* with his Trident; and immediately out ſtarted a couple of Horſes; one of which was our *Arion*. Others ſay, that *Neptune*, diſputing with *Minerva*, which of them ſhould give a Name to the City of *Athens*, it was ordered by the other Gods, that which ever of the Two ſhould make the beſt Preſent to Men ſhould give a Name to The City. Whereupon, *Neptune* ſtruck the Beach with his Trident, and cauſed an Horſe to iſſue forth of it [*A*]; but *Minerva* produced an Olive-Tree; and gained the Victory; for it was judged, that Peace, of which the Olive is an Emblem, was better than War, in which the Horſe was moſt uſeful. Now there are, who pretend, that the Horſe, which *Neptune* produced on this Occaſion, was named *Arion*. Others ſay, that This Horſe ſprung from *Ceres* and *Neptune* (*b*). This Goddeſs, as ſhe was wandring through the World in queſt of her Daughter, met *Neptune*, who made fierce Love to her; but, not being diſpoſed to gratify his Paſſion, ſhe thought fit to aſſume the Form of a Mare. This paſt near the City of *Oncium* in *Arcadia*. *Ceres* in vain endeavoured to conceal herſelf among the Studd; *Neptune* ſoon diſcovered her, and enjoyed her in the Shape of an Horſe. She was vext at it at firſt; but was, afterwards, appeaſed, and waſhed herſelf in a neighbouring River. She had, by this Adventure with *Neptune*, not only a Daughter, whoſe Name it was not lawful to declare to prophane Perſons, but likewiſe Our Horſe *Arion*. There are, who ſay, that ſhe was in the Form of a Fury, when *Neptune* begot this Horſe on her, or that, in effect, a Fury conceived him, from the Act of *Neptune* [*B*]. The Poet *Antimachus*, cited by *Pauſanias*, gives him no other Origin, than the Soil of *Arcadia*: But *Quintus Calaber* makes him the Son of *Zephyrus*, and a Harpy [*C*]. However it be, it was believed, that he was brought up by the *Nereids* [*D*], and that, being ſometimes harneſſed, with other of *Neptune*'s Horſes, to the Chariot of That God, he drew him with incredible Swiftneſs over all the Seas (*c*). He had this peculiar to him, that his Feet, on the off ſide, were like thoſe of a Man (*d*). *Hercules* mounted him, when he took the City of *Elis*, and afterwards preſented him to *Adraſtus*. This *Pauſanias* informs us of; who adds, that *Antimachus* made *Adraſtus* the third Owner of him [*E*]. *Heſiod* repreſents him as belonging to *Hercules*, in his Combat with *Cygnus* (*e*). *Statius* ſays, in general, that he ſerved *Hercules* in his Travels, and that, afterwards, the Gods gave him to *Adraſtus* (*f*). *Probus* aſcribes the whole Honour of This Preſent to *Neptune* (*g*). Under this

(*a*) Lutatius in Statii Thebaid. lib. 4. v. 43.

(*b*) Pauſan. lib. 8. pag. 257.

(*c*) Stat. Thebaid. l. 6. ver. 308.

(*d*) Lutatius, in Statii Theb. l. 6. ver. 302.

(*e*) Heſiod. in Clypeo Herculis.

(*f*) Stat. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Probus, in Virgil. Georgic. I.

[*A*] Neptune, *diſputing with* Minerva - - - - *ſtruck the Beach - - - - - and cauſed an Horſe to iſſue forth of it.*] *Servius* informs us of this, on theſe Words of *Virgil*.

> - - - - - - tuque ô, cui prima frementem
> Fudit equum magno tellus percuſſa tridenti,
> Neptune (1).
>
> *And Thou, whoſe Trident ſtruck the teeming Earth,*
> *And made a Paſſage for the Courſer's Birth.*
>
> DRYDEN.

(1) Virgil. Georgic. lib. 1. ver. 12.

See likewiſe *Probus* on the ſame Paſſage of *Virgil*.

[*B*] *She was in the Form of a Fury, when* Neptune *begot this Horſe on her; or - - - - - a Fury conceived him by* Neptune.] They are the Opinions of *Apollodorus* and *Heſychius*. Theſe are their Words. Τȣ͂τον ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἐγέννησε ἐικασθεῖσα Ἐριννύϊ κατὰ την συνȣσίαν (2). Ceres, *under the Form of a Fury, conceived this Horſe by* Neptune. Ἀρίων ὁ ἵππος Ποσειδῶνος καὶ μιᾶς τῶν Ἐριννύων (3). *The Horſe* Arion, *the Son of* Neptune *and one of the Furies*. *Barthius* has confounded This Opinion of *Apollodorus* with That of *Heſychius*. "Unius ex Erynnibus, *ſays he* (4), ſobolem aſſentitur Apollodoro Heſychius Lexicographus. - - - - "Heſychius *the* Lexicographer *agrees with* Apollodorus, *in making him the Offſpring of one of the* "*Furies*." This is to make *Apollodorus* ſay, that *Arion* was foaled by one of the Furies; but he has ſaid no ſuch thing; he expreſsly obſerves, that *Ceres* was the Mother of This Horſe, and that ſhe had aſſumed the Form of a Fury, only at the Time of Copulation. *Lloyd* has ſtolen from *Barthius* in this Place, without correcting him.

(2) Apollod. Bibl. lib. 3.

(3) Heſychius.

(4) Barth. in Stat. Tom. 2. pag. 899.

[*C*] Quintus Calaber *makes him the Son of* Zephyrus, *and a Harpy*.] Behold a ſecond Fault of *Barthius*, which *Lloyd* has tranſplanted into his Lexicon, juſt as he found it. "Intercedit Quintus, *ſays* Barthius (5), Harpyiæ patronus, cujus fuerit potius "ſeminio oriundus patre Zephyro, ingratiis etiam "Neptuni. - - - - - - Quintus Calaber *interpoſes*, "*making him to have been begot upon a Harpy by* "Zephyrus, *againſt the Will of* Neptune." There "is nothing in That Poet which remarks, that it was with, or without, the Approbation of *Neptune*, that *Zephyrus* and the Harpy produced *Arion* (6).

(5) Id. ib.

(6) Q. Calaber. lib. 4. ver. 571.

[*D*] *It was believed, that he was brought up by the* Nereids.] I ſhall cite only *Claudian*.

> Si dominus legeretur equis, tua poſceret ultro
> Verbera, Nereidum ſtabulis nutritus, Arion (7).
>
> *To chuſe a Maſter were the Courſers free,*
> Arion, *once the* Nereids *Care, would be*
> *Subject to thy Command, and court the Whip from thee.*

(7) Claudian. Conſul. IV. Honorii ver. 555. Lloyd *cites this twice.*

[*E*] Adraſtus *was his third Owner.*] This is true, according to the Hiſtory, which the Scholiaſt of *Homer* makes of it, on the Three hundred and forty ſixth Verſe of the Twenty third Book of the *Iliad*. He ſays, that *Neptune*, falling in Love with *Erinnys*, this laſt Maſter it was, that *Arion* ſignaliz'd himſelf moſt; he won the Prize of the Race in the *Nemean* Games [*F*], which the Princes, who undertook the Siege of *Thebes*, inſtituted in Honour of *Archemorus*, and was the means of preſerving *Adraſtus* from periſhing, with all the other Chiefs, in This famous Expedition. This *Apollonius* teſtifies in his third Book.

nys (8), metamorphoſed himſelf into a Horſe, and enjoyed her in *Bœotia*, near the Fountain *Tiphlouſa*; that he got an Horſe on her, which was called Ἀρείων, becauſe he excelled all others; that he gave him to *Copreus*, King of *Aliartus*; who preſented him to *Hercules*; who won the Prize of the Race with This Horſe, againſt *Cygnus*, the Son of *Mars*, near *Træzene*, and that, afterwards, *Hercules* preſented him to *Adraſtus*.

[*F*] *He won the Prize of the Race in the* Nemean *Games.*] *Apollodorus*, in his third Book, ſays, that *Adraſtus* was Victor in the Chariot-Race; but *Statius* pretends, that This Prince gave *Arion* to his Son-in-law *Polynices*; and that *Arion* threw his new Driver, and, continuing his Courſe, outſtript all the reſt; which did not prevent *Amphiaraus* from carrying the Crown: For, though he did not diſtance *Arion*, yet it was ſufficient, that he carried it from his Competitors, and that *Polynices*, being thrown, could pretend to nothing in virtue of the ſuperior Fleetneſs of his Horſe.

> Forſitan & victo prior iſſet Arione Cygnus,
> Sed vetat æquoreus vinci pater: hinc vice juſta
> Gloria manſit equo, ceſſit victoria vati (9).

> Neptune *forbad, that, in his whirling Car,*
> Cygnus *the Prize, ſhould from* Arion *bear;*
> *Hence the Steed gain'd the Honour of the Day,*
> *The Prize* Amphiaraus *bore away.*

Apollodorus confeſſes, that *Amphiaraus* carried it in in the Chariot Race, ἅρματι; which his *Latin* Tranſlator ought to have rendered by *curru*, and not *curſu*, as *Barthius* has obſerved (10). As for the Diſtich of *Propertius*, which makes *Arion* a ſpeaking Animal,

> Qualis & Adraſti fuerit vocalis Arion,
> Triſtis ad Archemori funera victor equus (11).

> ——— *ſuch* Arion *was,*
> Adraſtus' *vocal Horſe, who, at the Games*
> *Sacred to dead* Archemorus' *Fame,*
> *Was crown'd victorious in the duſty Race.*

I do not believe he attributes That Grief to Him, which *Paſſerat* imagines; The Word *triſtis* I take to relate to the fatal Accident of *Archemorus*, for whom Theſe Games were celebrated, and not to the Grief of *Arion*, on finding another Maſter beſides *Adraſtus* (12).

ARIOSTA (LIPPA), Concubine of *Opizzo*, Marquis of *Eſt* and *Ferrara*, improved ſo well the Impreſſions which her Beauty had made on the Heart of the Marquis, by her Fidelity and artful Management, that, at laſt, he owned her for his lawful Wife, in the Year 1352. He died the ſame Year, and left her the Adminiſtration of his Eſtates; of which ſhe acquitted herſelf very well, *during the Minority of her eleven Children.* From this Lady is deſcended *The Houſe of* Eſt, *which ſubſiſts, at this Time, in the Branches of the Dukes of* Modena *and* Rhegio (*a*). The Author, from whom I borrow this, obſerves, that *Lippa Arioſta* brought more Honour to her Family, *which was one of the nobleſt of* Ferrara, ——— *than ſhe had taken from it* [*A*]. The Reader will meet with ſome Reflexions on This in the Remark, which I ſubjoin to this Article.

[*A*] *She brought more Honour to her Family ---- than ſhe had taken from it.*] I have diſcourſed, in another Place (1), of the ſingular Efficacy of Marriage. It cannot be ſufficiently admired; for, in ſhort, it changes the Nature of the three Diſtinctions of Time; the *paſt* is no leſs affected by it's Influence, than the *preſent* and the *future*. "Do "you not admire at the force of Cuſtom, and the Authority it has in the World? With three Words, "pronounced by a certain Perſon, *Ego conjungo vos*, "you privilege a young Man and a Maid to go to "bed together, in ſight, and with the conſent, of "all the World; and this is called a *Sacrament* "*adminiſtered by a conſecrated Perſon.* The ſame "Action, without theſe Words, is an enormous "Crime, which diſgraces a poor Lady; and He, "who conducts the Affair, is called, an pleaſe you, "a *Pimp*. In the firſt Caſe, the Father and Mother "make merry, dance, and conduct their Daughter "themſelves to bed. In the other they are at their "Wits end, get her ſhaved, and away with her to "a Convent. It muſt be confeſſed that the Law "is a very merry Affair (2)." This is not the *Marvellous* of the Matter: The chief ſingularity conſiſts in the retroactive Effect. Our *Arioſta* had been a Concubine; her Children were Baſtards; this was a Stain to her Honour, and her Family; but all was effaced, waſhed out, and annihilated, by three Words of the Prieſt, *Ego conjungo vos.* The Marquis of *Ferrara*, by marrying this Miſtreſs, a little before he left the World, metamorphoſed her from a Concubine into an honeſt Wife, and legitimated her Children. Such Metamorphoſes happen daily; and ſome have pretended, that Children, born at a time, when their Father and Mother could not marry for want of a Diſpenſation, ought to be *legitimated by a ſubſequent Marriage*; but the Parliament of *Paris* gave Judgment againſt this Pretence in the Year 1664 (3). It may perhaps be asked, why the Marquis did not comply before the Year of his Death. I anſwer, that a Fornicator, who finds himſelf near his end, is more diſpoſed to ſuch a Conduct, than if he were in hopes of living longer. The Checks of Conſcience, excited of themſelves, or by the Diſcourſe of a Caſuiſt, are more lively at the approach of Death; leſs Difficulty is then made in paſſing through a vexatious Ceremony, which may quiet them. Add to this, that a great Lord, ſolicited to marry by a Miſtreſs, whom he enjoys, may imagine, that ſhe will be a thouſand times more obliging, and faithful, while ſhe flatters herſelf with the Hopes of attaining to the Quality of his Wife, but that, after having attained to it, ſhe will diſcover her Pride and ill Humour, *&c.* He may, therefore, think proper to keep her in conſtant Expectation; but, when he is paſt Hopes of Recovery, he will think it time to give over this Piece of Management. However it be, ſome are ſo ſevere, that they cannot be reconciled to the Conduct of the Marquis of *Ferrara*, and his Imitators: They would have a Woman, who has diſhonoured herſelf, and been a long time a Scandal to a whole Country, remain all her Life-time in Diſgrace; that the Example of her being reſtored to Honour and Reputation may not ſerve as an Allurement to other Maids, and, under the like Proſpect, conceal from them the Infamy of Concubinage (4).

ARISTANDER, a famous Soothſayer in the Days of *Alexander the Great*, was Native of a certain City in *Aſia*, where almoſt all were born with a Diſpoſition to Prophecy (*a*). He followed *Alexander* to the Conqueſt of *Perſia*, and acquired

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(8) *That is, One of the Furies.*

(9) Stat. Theb. lib. 6. ver. 528.

(10) Barth. in Stat. Tom. 3. p. 537.

(11) Propert. lib. 2. Eleg. ult.

(12) Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres, July 1702, pag. 110.

(*a*) Le Laboureur, Relation du Voiage de Pologne, Part. 3. pag. 172.

(1) *In the Article* ALESIUS, *Remark* [*D*].

(2) Buſſi Rabutin, Lettre 136, Part. IV, pag. 192. *Edit. of* Holl.

(3) *See the* Journal des Sçavans, *for* Jan. 12, 1665, pag. 46.

(4) *See Remark* [*D*] *of the Article* ALESIUS.

(*a*) TELMESSUS. *See its Article.* Plutarch, Arrian, Lucian, Clemens, Alexandrinus, *and ſeveral others, ſay, that* Ariſtander *was of this City.*

quired a wonderful Aſcendant over the Mind of This Monarch [*A*], by the great Succeſs of his Art [*B*]. He had been formerly in the ſame Employ at the Court of King *Philip*; and it was He, who explained That Prince's Dream, after his Marriage with *Olympia*, more to the King's Satisfaction, than any of his Brethren. *Philip* dreamed, that he had ſealed the Queen's Belly with a Seal, on which was engraved a Lion,

[*A*] *He acquired a wonderful Aſcendant over the Mind of This Monarch.*] It is certain, on the one hand, that, in all the *Macedonian* Army, there was no Soothſayer of ſuch great Reputation and Authority, as *Ariſtander*: *Peritiſſimus vatum* (1). *Cui maxima fides habebatur* (2). *Cui tum plurimum credebatur ex vatibus* (3). It is, on the other hand, moſt certain, that *Alexander* was very ſuperſtitious: *Erat non intactus ea ſuperſtitione mentis* (4). *Superſtitionis potens non erat* (5). It is eaſy, then, to conclude, that *Ariſtander* had a great Aſcendant over him. *Quintus Curtius* obſerves, that This Prince had an implicit Faith in him. "Qui poſt Darium victum "ariolos & vates conſulere deſierat, rurſus ad ſuper-"ſtitionem humanarum gentium ludibria revolutus, "Ariſtandrum, CUI CREDULITATEM SUAM "ADDIXERAT, explorare eventum rerum ſacrificiis "jubet (6). ----- *He, who, after the Conqueſt of* "Darius, *had left off to conſult with Soothſayers and* "*Diviners, relapſing into the Follies of Superſtition,* "*commanded* Ariſtander, in whom he had an im-"plicit Faith, *to enquire by Sacrifice the Event of* "*Things.*" If, in any critical Juncture, he was to beg a ſingular Favour of the Gods, he ſhut himſelf up with *Ariſtander*. With him he ſhut himſelf up, to perform the moſt myſterious and ineffable Ceremonies of Religion. *Plutarch* informs us of this, where he mentions the Preparations for the Battle of *Arbela*. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀναπαυομένων, αὐτὸς πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς μετὰ τοῦ μάντεως Ἀριστάνδρου διέτριβεν ἱερουργίας τίνας ἀποῤῥήτους ἱερουργούμενος καὶ τῷ Φοίβῳ σφαγιαζόμενος (7). Alexander, *whilſt the* Macedonians *ſlept, performed certain myſterious Ceremonies before his Tent, with* Ariſtander *the Soothſayer, and ſacrificed to* Apollo. *Quintus Curtius* ſays, that *Alexander*, being much troubled on this Occaſion, ſent for *Ariſtander*, to implore the Aſſiſtance of the Gods, and that *Ariſtander*, in his Habit of Ceremony, dictated the Forms of Prayer to him. "Alexander non alias magis territus ad "vota & preces Ariſtandrum vocari jubet. Ille in "candida veſte, verbenas manu preferens, capite ve-"lato præibat preces regi, Jovem, Minervam, Victo-"riamque propitianti (8)." It is no wonder, that This Prince had ſuch a Value for his Soothſayer; for he did him more ſervice than any of his Generals. By his Aſſiſtance he inſpired his Army with Hopes and Courage; which greatly contributed to the Succeſs of his Enterprizes. Do but conſider This *Ariſtander* in the Heat of the Battle of *Arbela*, habited in white, and carrying a Branch of Laurel in his Hand, crying out to the Soldiers, that he ſaw an Eagle pearched on *Alexander*'s Head, a certain Pledge of Victory, and that They might ſee it as well as he. Conſider this, and reflect how much this muſt promote the Victory, without it being neceſſary, that the Soldiers ſhould really ſee it? They truſted to the Eyes of the Soothſayer; if they themſelves ſaw nothing, they imputed it to their bad Eye-ſight, or the ſmall time they had to look about for ſuch an Object in the Air. "Vates Ariſtander "alba veſte indutus, & dextra preferens lauream "militibus in pugnam intentis avem monſtravit, haud "dubium victoriæ auſpicium. Ingens ERGO alacri-"tas ac fiducia paulo ante territos accendit ad pug-"nam (9)." *Plutarch* obſerves, that *Alexander* lent a helping Hand to his Soothſayers (10), and, leaſt the Event ſhould juſtify Thoſe, who laughed at *Ariſtander*'s Promiſe, that the City of *Tyre* ſhould be taken before the end of the Month, he ordered, that That Day, which was the laſt of the Month, ſhould, for the future, be counted as the Twenty eighth. He would give his Prophet time; who had nevertheleſs not much exceeded it; for the City was taken upon That Day, if we may believe *Plutarch*, an Author much to be ſuſpected in Theſe Matters. Let us not omit, that no one knew the Art of comforting his Maſter ſo well as our *Ariſtander*. He uſed very little Rhetoric in recovering him from the moſt oppreſſive Melancholy. A Dream ſerved him inſtead of every thing elſe, upon theſe Occaſions. *Alexander*, perfectly in Diſtraction at his having killed *Clitus*, had almoſt broke his Heart with groaning and weeping. It was feared, he would dye of Sorrow; the Door of his Chamber was forced open; he would hear no Body; but, no ſooner had *Ariſtander* put him in Mind of a Dream, which related to the Death of *Clitus*, and repreſented to him, that That unfortunate Man was from the beginning predeſtinated to This End, Our Prince receives immediate and perfect Conſolation. Ἀριστάνδρου δὲ τοῦ μάντεως ὑπομιμνήσκοντος αὐτὸν τήν τε ὄψιν ἣν εἶδεν περὶ τοῦ Κλείτου, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ὡς δὴ πάλαι καθειμαρμένων τούτων ἔδοξεν ἐκδίδοναι (11). *At quum vates Ariſtander viſum illi quod de Clito fuerat ei repreſentatum & prodigium ſubjiceret, jamdudum hæc in fatis fuiſſe, viſus eſt animum relaxare.*

[*B*] *By the great Succeſs of his Art.*] They, who ſet up for Prediction, are happy, when they ſerve a Prince, whom the Providence of God deſigns for great Purpoſes. A thouſand human Reaſons induce them to foretel all manner of Succeſs, coſt what it will; and they have the pleaſure to ſee the Event juſtify their Temerity. This was *Ariſtander*'s Caſe. He ventured to foretel Things at all Adventures; and *Alexander*'s good Fortune ſtill ſaved his Credit. The Prophet had reaſon to be fond of ſuch a Conqueror; and the Conqueror was excuſable in truſting to a Man, who divined ſo rightly. I have formerly wondered, that *Alexander* ſhould be ſo ſuperſtitious; at preſent I ſhould wonder, if he had been otherwiſe; and it is ſurprizing to me, that his Reſpect for the Soothſayers was interrupted in the Time of his higheſt Proſperity (12). He could not be ignorant, that his good Fortune exceeded the Foreſight of his own Prudence, and the Greatneſs of his Courage. He muſt, then, neceſſarily have believed, that an inviſible and moſt powerful Virtue took particular Care of his Affairs: He muſt, therefore, morally ſpeaking, have been always diſpoſed to cultivate the Favour of That Power, by all thoſe Means, which the Soothſayers ſuggeſted to him; I ſay, the Soothſayers, whom he conſidered as the proper Judges of the Time, in which Fortune was in a good or bad Humour, and as Arbitrators of the Means to appeaſe This Goddeſs, and render her propitious. It would be found to be leſs ſtrange, that certain Princes ſhould ſlight the Counſels of thoſe, who are Directors of their Devotions: I ſay, certain Princes, who ſucceed in their Undertakings, only in proportion to the human Means, which they make uſe of to render theſe Enterprizes almoſt infallible; and who fail of Succeſs, whenever their Prudence has not taken all neceſſary Meaſures. They are the *Antipodes* of great Conquerors. But I confeſs there ſtill remains matter of Wonder in the Caſe. Could ſuch a Great Soul, as That of *Alexander*, repreſent God to itſelf under the Idea, which Superſtition gives of him? He had his lucid Intervals; as, when he diſmiſſed one of his Prophets from his Preſence, who came to diſſuade him from an Attack, for which every thing was prepared; telling him, that *nothing could be more impertinent, in the midſt of ſuch Preparations, than a ſuperſtitious Soothſayer.*" "Si quis, inquit, arti tuæ intentum & exta "ſpectantem ſic interpellet, non dubium quin in-"commodus ac moleſtus videri tibi poſſit. Et cum "ille ita prorſus futurum reſpondiſſet; cenſeſne, in-"quit, tantas res non pecudum fibras ante oculos "habenti, ullum eſſe majus impedimentum quam va-"tem ſuperſtitione captum (13)? — *Should any One* "*thus interrupt you, whilſt buiſied in your Art, and* "*contemplating the Entrails, I queſtion not but you* "*would think him troubleſome and impertinent. To* "*which when the Soothſayer aſſented; The King ad-*"*ded; Do you think then, that to me, who have ſuch* "*great Things, not the Entrails of Beaſts, in view,* "*any thing can be a greater Interruption, than a ſu-*"*perſtitious Diviner.*" The Confidence, which he had in his good Fortune, hindred him ſometimes from ſubmitting to the Advice of *Ariſtander*. He found himſelf deſigned for great Things; an Opinion, which is one of the moſt powerful Springs of Provi-dence;

(1) Curtius, lib. 4, cap. 2.

(2) Ibid. cap. 6.

(3) Ibid. lib. 5, cap. 4.

(4) Ibid. lib. 4, cap. 6.

(5) Ibid. lib. 7, cap. 7.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Plut. in Alex. pag. 683.

(8) Q. Curt. lib. 4, c. 13.

(9) Ibid. lib. 4, cap. 15.

(10) Διηπορημένον αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ συμφιλοτιμούμενος (*the Edition of* Frankfort, 1620, *reads it* συμφιλοτιμούμενον, *which quite alters the Senſe*) ἀεὶ τοῖς μαντεύμασιν, ἐκέλευε. Cernens rex perplexum, favenſque ſemper vaticiniis vetuit. *Plut. in Alex. pag.* 679.

(11) Id. ib. pag. 694.

(12) *See what has been cited from* Q. Curtius *in the foregoing Remark, Citation* (5).

(13) Quint. Curtius, lib. 9, cap. 4.

a Lion. The other Soothſayers, upon this, adviſed him to have his Wife's Conduct more carefully obſerved [C]; but *Ariſtander* maintained, that the Dream ſignified, that the Queen was pregnant with a Son, who ſhould have the Heart of a Lion (*a*). She was, then, with Child of *Alexander*. King *Philip* pretended to expound the Dream himſelf [*D*], but could make nothing of it. Though *Ariſtander* had applied himſelf chiefly to the Interpretation of Dreams; and though he is One of the Authors, who have wrote the moſt learnedly on This Subject (*b*), yet he exerciſed his Talent on all kinds of Prodigies. If News was brought, that a Statue of *Orpheus* had ſweated, he would ſay, that it foreboded, that the Poets would one Day ſweat in ſinging the Victories of *Alexander* (*c*). If a Swallow fluttered about this Prince, or perched upon his Head, *Ariſtander* ſaid, it was a Sign of a Conſpiracy againſt the King; which, however, would be diſcovered (*d*). If, during the Preparations for the Siege of *Tyre*, Blood, iſſuing out of a Soldier's Loaf, diſmays the King; *Ariſtander* recovers him, and tells him, ſince the Blood proceeded from the internal parts of the Bread, it was a fatal Omen to the City, which was to be beſieged (*e*). On another Occaſion, he interpreted the Preſage of a Raven, which had let fall ſomething on *Alexander*'s Head, and afterwards reſted upon a Tower, where it was taken (*f*). The Entrails of Victims were new Matter of Foreſight to This great Soothſayer (*g*); He explained likewiſe what the Actions of Men portended [*E*]. Probably, then, he was

dence; and by That he kept up the Courage of This Soothſayer. "Rex juſſum confidere felicitati ſuæ remiſit. Sibi enim ad alia gloriam concedere Deos (14). —— *The King ſent him back, bidding him truſt to His good Fortune, and telling him, that the Gods reſerved him for ſtill greater Glory.*"

If any one thinks theſe Remarks too prolix, let him know, that I have my Reaſons for it. My deſign was to eaſe another Article (15), which abounds but too much with Matter. Four Articles are read with more Pleaſure than One, though That one be ſhorter than the other four. This obliges me to ſcatter many Things here and there, which naturally belong to one and the ſame Subject. What are we not obliged to do to humour a capricious Age?

[*C*] *Adviſed him to have his Wife's Conduct more carefully obſerved.*] Their Reaſons were at leaſt as good as Thoſe of *Ariſtander*; for thus the latter reaſoned. *Men do not ſeal up an empty Box; the Queen muſt therefore be with Child; ſince the King has dreamt, that he ſealed up her Womb* (16). But hear the Reaſons of the other Diviners. *Men do not ſeal up a Box, when there is no danger, that any Perſon ſhould open it; it is ſealed only as a Precaution againſt Thoſe, who may approach it. The Queen's Box, then, is in danger, ſince the King has dreamt, that he ſealed up it: The Lyon, engraven on the Seal, ſignifies the Neceſſity there is of being upon his Guard. This imports, that the Place is beſieged, and begins to think of ſurrendring; and that, unleſs a ſtrong and faithful Garriſon be kept in it, the Beſiegers will quickly enter the Place. Cicero*, to ridicule the Interpretation of Dreams, alledges the different Explications, which were given in much ſuch another Caſe. "Parere quædam matrona cupiens, dubitans eſſetne prægnans, viſa eſt in quiete obſignatam habere naturam: ad conjectorem retulit: Negavit eam, quoniam obſignata fuiſſe, concipere potuiſſe. At alter prægnantem eſſe dixit; nam inane nihil obſignari ſolere (17). —— *A certain Matron, who deſired to be a Mother, but was in doubt, whether ſhe was with Child or not, dreamt, that her Natural Parts were ſealed up. She applied to an Interpreter of Dreams; who told her ſhe could never conceive, as being ſealed up. But another aſſured her ſhe was actually pregnant, ſince it was not the Cuſtom to ſeal up an empty Thing.*" But it may be ſaid, that *Ariſtander* was more ſucceſsful in his Conjecture, and therefore argued better. I deny the Conſequence; a Perſon may be happier in his Conjectures, without being conſequently a Man of more Skill: And might not both Parties have Reaſon of their ſide? Does Pregnancy and Chaſtity always go together? *Olympia* might reſemble *Julia* a little, who ſaid, *Nunquam niſi navi plena tollo vectorem* (18). We are going to ſee another Explication of this ſame Dream.

[*D*] *King* Philip *pretended to expound this Dream himſelf.*] Neither *Plutarch*, nor any other Pagan Author informs us of this; but a Father of the Church. I ſhall ſet down all he ſays concerning it; ſince ſeveral things may be learned from it. "Philippus Macedo nondum Pater Olympiadis Uxoris naturam obſignaſſe viderat annulo. Leo erat ſignum: crediderat præcluſam genituram, opinor, quia leo ſemel pater eſt. Ariſtodemus vel Ariſtophon conjectans immo nihil vacuum obſignari, filium & quidem maximi impetus portendi. Alexandrum qui ſciunt leonem annuli cognoſcunt (19). —— Philip *of* Macedon, *not yet a Father, dreamt, that he had ſealed up the Natural Parts of his Wife* Olympia. *The Seal was a Lion: he believed ſhe would never have a Child; I ſuppoſe, becauſe the Lion is but once a Father.* Ariſtodemus, *or* Ariſtophon, *interpreted the Dream to portend the Birth of a very brave Son. They, who know* Alexander, *know the Lion on the Seal.*" Hence it appears, 1. That the Seal, applied in a Dream to *Olympia*'s Womb, made her Husband believe, that ſhe would have no Children. There was ſome ground for this Thought; and we may almoſt ſuppoſe, that *Philip* was One of thoſe Pagans of *Europe*, who, as it is ſaid, had read the Holy Scriptures: I ſay, this might be ſuppoſed, if the Ideas of common Senſe did not naturally enough lead to This Prince's Conjecture. But it is certain, that the Word of God repreſents the Barrenneſs of Women under This Idea. If the cloſing of the Womb repreſents, in Scripture, the Puniſhment of Sterility (20) inflicted by God, the opening of it repreſents the Bleſſing, by which he cauſes This Evil to ceaſe (21). In the Second Place, it appears, that *Tertullian* made no Reflexion on This Idea, which the Scripture furniſhes, and which Nature itſelf dictates. He conſiders only the Lyon engraved on the Seal, and believes, that *Philip* built all his Conjecture on That. *Tertullian* ſuppoſes wrong in this Place, and concludes ill. It is falſe, that the Lyon is but once a Father (22); and, beſides, would not a Man who thought ſo, be ridiculous in arguing from it, that he ſhould never have a Child; he ought at leaſt to conclude that he ſhould have *One*. It appears, in the Third Place, that *Tertullian* had forgot the Name of the Soothſayer, who hit upon the beſt Explication; he does not know, whether he ought to call him *Ariſtophon*, or *Ariſtodemus*. He remembered only the two firſt Syllables of his Name, and could not properly ſupply the reſt; in a word, he had forgotten the Name of *Ariſtander*. In the Fourth Place, we ſee that he was very well ſatisfied with the Explication of the Dream: It is One of Thoſe, which he alledges, to prove the Excellency of the Soul. Let us finiſh this Comment, with obſerving, that, perhaps, King *Philip* contended a long time with his Diviners for the Explication, which he gave of his own Dream; and perhaps *Ariſtander* ſaid to him, upon this Occaſion, what a Muſician ſaid, one Day, to the ſame Prince, in a like Caſe; *God forbid, that your Majeſty ſhould ever be ſo unhappy, as to underſtand theſe things better than myſelf.* Μη γένοιτο σοι οὕτως, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κακῶς, ἵνα ἐμοῦ ταῦτα βέλτιον εἰδῇς (23). *Abſit, O Rex, ut eo tu infortunio devolvare, ut harum rerum ſcientia me fias prior.*

[*E*] *He explained likewiſe what the Actions of Men portended.*] For Example; he foretold, that *Lyſimachus*, one of *Alexander*'s Lifeguard, ſhould attain to Royalty, but not without much Difficulty (24). His Reaſon was This; *Alexander* being mounted on a good Horſe,

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(*a*) Plut. in Alexand. init. p. 665.

(*b*) Artemidor. lib. 1. c. 33. p. 30.

(*c*) Plut. in Alexandro, pag. 671.

(*d*) Arrian. lib. 1. c. 8.

(*e*) Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 2.

(*f*) Ib. c. 6.

(*g*) Quintus Curtius, lib. 7. cap. 7. Plut. in Alex. pag. 679.

(14) Quintus Curtius, lib. 7, cap. 7.

(15) *That of* Alexander the Great.

(16) Plut. in Alexandro.

(17) Cic. de Divin. lib. 2. cap. 70.

(18) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 2. cap. 5.

(19) Tertul. de Anima. cap. 46.

(20) Geneſ. xx. 18.

(21) Ibid. chap. xxx, ver. 22. *See alſo* chap. xxix, ver. 31.

(22) *See the Notes of* Rigaltius *on this Paſſage of* Tertullian.

(23) Plut. de diſcrim Adulat. & Amici, pag. 67.

(24) Appian. in Syriacis.

was the Author of the Book, mentioned by *Pliny*, ſo full of prodigious Events [*F*]. But, as for the Books of Agriculture, mentioned by *Varro* and *Columella* (*b*), I am apt to believe they were written by another *ARISTANDER*, eſpecially ſince *Varro* has given the Sirname of *Athenian* to the Author of them. Our *Ariſtander* ſurvived the King his Maſter; and his Remonſtrances brought the People in good earneſt to think of burying him. I know not whether this Particular has been touched upon by any other than *Ælian*, who mentions it in the laſt Chapter of the twelfth Book of his *Various Hiſtory*.

Horſe, *Lyſimachus*, who was not able any longer to follow him on foot, had taken hold of the Horſe's Tail, that he might not quit his Maſter. *Alexander* had, by chance, wounded him in the Forehead with his Lance, and having, for want of Linnen, made uſe of his Diadem to bind up the Wound, it happened, that the Diadem was ſtained with Blood: And upon this *Ariſtander* grounded his Prediction.

[*F*] *Probably he was the Author of the Book, mentioned by* Pliny, *ſo full of prodigious Events.*] Theſe are his Words: "Prodigio autem fiunt ex dulcibus acerba poma, aut dulcia ex acerbis; gravi oſtento cum in deteriora mutantur ex olea in oleaſtrum, ex candida uva & fico in nigras: ut Laodiceæ, Xerxis adventu, platano in oleam mutata: qualibus oſtentis Ariſtandri apud Græcos volumen ſcatet; apud nos vero C. Epidii Commentarii, in quibus arbores locutæ quoque reperiuntur (25). —— *It is a Prodigy, when bitter Apples become ſweet, or ſweet bitter; it is of dire Portent, when things are changed into worſe, The Olive into the wild Olive, or the white Grape or Fig into black; as at* Laodicea, *upon the Arrival of* Xerxes, *the Plane-Tree was changed into an Olive; with which kind of Prodigies the Work of* Ariſtander, *among the* Greeks, *abounds; among our own Authors, the Commentaries of* Caius Epidius, *in which we read even of ſpeaking Trees.*" Compare with this the Paſſage of *Cicero* concerning the Inhabitants of *Telmeſſus*, mentioned in the Article of That City (26), and wonder at the incredible Facility of the Ancient Pagans in multiplying Prodigies.

ARISTARCHUS, a *Greek* Philoſopher, and Native of *Samos*, was one of the firſt, who maintained, that the Earth turned upon it's Center, and deſcribed annually a Circle round the Sun [*A*]. He invented one kind of Sun-Dials (*a*). It is not conſtantly agreed, at what Time he lived. It is only certainly known, that he was born before the Death of *Archimedes* [*B*]. There are extant of his Works only *A Treatiſe of the Magnitude and Diſtance of the Sun and Moon*, tranſlated into *Latin*, and commented on, by *Frideric Commandin*, and publiſhed with the Explications of *Pappus*, in the Year 1572. Dr *Wallis* publiſhed it in *Greek*, with the *Latin* Verſion of *Commandin*, in 1688, and inſerted it in the third *Tome* of his Mathematical Works, printed at *Oxford*, in 1699. The *Syſtem of the World*, which appeared under his Name, is a Work of *Roberval* (*b*). We ſhall remark a Fault, which has crept into the Text of *Plutarch* (*c*).

[*A*] *Was one of the firſt, who maintained, that the Earth turned upon it's Center, and deſcribed annually a Circle round the Sun.*] *Sextus Empiricus*, ſpeaking of the Hypotheſis of the Motion of the Earth, intimates plainly, that *Ariſtarchus* was the chief Inventor of it; for he mentions only Him. Οἵ γε μὲν τὴν τοῦ κόσμου κίνησιν ἀνέλοντες, τὴν δὲ γῆν κινεῖσθαι δοξάσαντες, ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον τὸν μαθηματικὸν, οὐ κωλυονται νοεῖν χρόνον (1). —— *They, who denied the Motion of the World, but believed, that the Earth moved, as* Ariſtarchus *the Mathematician, could eaſily form an Idea of Time. Plutarch*, intending to clear up a Thought of *Plato*, and, conſidering with himſelf, whether That Philoſopher did not believe the Motion of the World, adds, That This Opinion was afterwards That of *Ariſtarchus* and *Seleucus*; and that *Ariſtarchus* taught it Hypothetically, and *Seleucus* Dogmatically. Ὡς ὕστερον Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Σέλευκος ἀπεδείκνυσαν· ὁ μὲν ὑποτιθέμενος μόνον· ὁ δὲ Σέλευκος, καὶ ἀποφαινόμενος (2). *Ut poſtmodo Ariſtarchus & Seleucus oſtenderunt. Sane hoc ille ita ut ſupponeret tantum, hic etiam pronuntians.* This is intimating, that *Ariſtarchus* was looked upon as the Author of this Opinion. *Archimedes* intimates this more plainly. Theſe are his Words: Ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς γραφομέναις παρὰ τῶν Ἀστρολόγων διακρύσας Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ Σάμιος, ὑποθέσεών τινων ἐξέδωκεν γράψας, ἐν αἷς, ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων συμβαίνει τὸν κόσμον πολλαπλάσιον ἦμεν τοῦ νῦν εἰρημένου· ὑποτίθεται γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἀπλανῆ τῶν ἄστρων, καὶ τὸν ἅλιον, μένειν ἀκίνητον. τὰν δὲ γᾶν περιφέρεσθαι περὶ τὸν ἅλιον, κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ δρόμῳ κείμενος (3). —— Ariſtarchus *the* Samian, *confuting theſe Notions of the Aſtrologers, laid down certain Poſitions; from whence it follows, that the World is much larger, than what we juſt now mentioned; for he lays it down, that the fixed Stars, and the Sun, are immoveable; and that the Earth is carried round the Sun, in the Circumference of a Circle.* Probably the Tranſcribers have falſified the Paſſage of *Plutarch*, where we read, that *Ariſtarchus* pretended, that *Greece* ought to have entered a Proceſs againſt *Cleanthes* for Irreligion, in believing the Motion of the Earth. Μόνον (εἶπεν) ὦ τὰν, μὴ κρίσιν ἡμῖν ἀσεβείας ἐπαγγείλης, ὥσπερ Ἀρίσταρχος ᾤετο δεῖν Κλεάνθη τὸν Σάμιον ἀσεβείας προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς κινοῦντα τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἑστίαν, ὅτι φαινόμενα σώζειν ἀνὴρ ἐπειρᾶτο, μένειν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑποτιθέμενος, ἐξελίττεσθαι δὲ κατὰ λοξοῦ κύκλου τὴν γῆν ἅμα καὶ περὶ τὸν αὑτῆς ἄξονα δινουμένην (4). —— *Bring not an Action of Impiety againſt us, as* Ariſtarchus *thought* Greece *ought to have done againſt* Cleanthes *the* Samian, *as a Diſturber of the* Lares *of the* Univerſe; *For he endeavoured to preſerve the Appearances of the Heavenly Bodies, by ſuppoſing, that the Heavens themſelves ſtood ſtill; but that the Earth revolved in an Oblique Circle, and at the ſame Time round it's own Axis.* The Tranſcribers ſeem to me to have tranſpoſed the Names; it ſhould be read; Cleanthes *was of Opinion, that* Greece *ought to have tried* Ariſtarchus *the* Samian *for Irreligion*, &c. This is a Conjecture of *Gaſſendus* (5), and a Correction, which Mr *Menage* adopts as certain. *In verbis Plutarchi*, ſays he (6), *legendum omnino* ὥσπερ Ἀρίσταρχον τὸν Σάμιον ᾤετο Κλεάνθης δεῖν ἀσεβείας προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας. *Amiot* did not perceive this Fault.

[*B*] *It is not conſtantly agreed, at what Time he lived; it is only certainly known, that he was born before* Archimedes's *Death.*] The Words, I have quoted (7), prove, that, at the lateſt, our *Ariſtarchus* could be but cotemporary with *Archimedes*. Now we know, that *Archimedes* loſt his Life, when *Syracuſe* was taken by the *Romans*, in the Firſt Year of the CXLII Olympiad, during the Second *Punic* War. Obſerve, that, according to *Plutarch*, quoted above, *Timeus* the *Locrian* lived before *Ariſtarchus*; for the Sentiment, which he would have explained, is found in *Plato*, as if *Timeus* had ſpoken it in Converſation. Now, ſince *Plato* was a Diſciple of This *Timeus* (8), and That, after having ſeen *Egypt*; we muſt conclude, that, if *Plutarch* has well obſerved Chronology, *Ariſtarchus* flouriſhed after *Plato*. We are ſure, then, that he did not flouriſh after *Archimedes*, nor before *Plato*; and I believe it is not eaſy to fix on any thing more exact. *Blancanus* has placed *Ariſtarchus* Two Centuries earlier, than *Hipparchus*, and has placed the latter an Hundred Years after the Death of *Alexander*, that is, an Hundred Years after the Firſt Year of the CXIVth Olympiad (9). He believed, then, that *Ariſtarchus* flouriſhed about the LXXXIXth Olympiad,

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(*b*) *Father* Hardouin, in Indice Auctorum, *takes for the ſame* Ariſtander *Him mentioned by* Varro, *and* Columella, *and Him mentioned by* Pliny.

(25) Plin. lib. 17, cap. 25.

(26) *Remark* [*C*].

(*a*) Vitruv. lib. 9, cap. 9.

(*b*) *See* Menage, in Diog. Laërt. lib. 8, n. 85, pag. 389.

(*c*) *In Remark* [*A*], *Citation* (4).

(1) Sextus Empiricus adverſus Mathem. pag. 410. *Mr* Menage in Diog. Laërt. lib. 8, n. 85, *cites this Paſſage twice in the ſame Page, firſt as* Sextus Empiricus's, *and ſecondly as* Pyrrho's.

(2) Plut. in Quæſt. Plat. p. 1006, C.

(3) Archimedes in Pſammite, pag. 449, apud Menagium, in Diog. Laërt. lib. 8, pag. 389.

(4) Plut. de facie in Orbe Lunæ, pag. 922, F.

(5) Gaſſend. Phyſ. ſect. 2, lib. 3, cap. 5, pag. 617, Tom. 1, Oper.

(6) Menage, ubi ſupra.

(7) *In the foregoing Remark.*

(8) Cicer. de Finib. lib. 5, c. 29, & Tuſcul. lib. 1.

(9) Blanc. in Mathematicor. Chronol. ad calcem libri de Ariſt. locis Mathem. pag. 46, 49.

Olympiad, a little after the Birth of *Plato*. This does not agree with the Paſſage of *Plutarch*, which I have alledged. *Simler*'s Opinion agrees with it as little. That Author makes *Ariſtarchus* flouriſh in the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, which reached from the firſt Year of the LXXIXth Olympiad to the laſt Year of the LXXXVIIIth (10). *Libertus Fromondus* is yet more oppoſite to *Plutarch*'s Opinion; ſince he knew not whether *Ariſtarchus* preceeded, or followed, *Pythagoras* (11). I believe *Voſſius* (12) would have confuted This Uncertainty by the Authority of *Plutarch*, if he had remembred the Words I have quoted. *John Stadius* believes, that *Ariſtarchus* ſurvived *Archimedes*; for he makes him flouriſh in the CXLIVth Olympiad (13). Note, that *Vitruvius*, naming ſome Mathematicians, who were Inventors, places *Ariſtarchus* in the firſt Rank (14). If this were the Rule to judge by, he muſt be ſuppoſed later than *Philolaus*, and *Archytas* of *Tarentum*.

(10) Simler. in Epit. Bibl. Geſneri.

(11) Lib. Fromond. de Orbe Terræ Immobili, pag. 1. *He has entituled this Book* Ant-Ariſtarchus.

(12) Voſſ. de Scient. Math. pag. 157.

(13) Joh. Stadius, in Præf. Tabularum Bergenſium, apud Voſſ. ubi ſupra.

(14) Vitruvius, de Architect. lib. 1, cap. 1.

ARISTARCHUS, a famous Grammarian, was born in *Samothracia*, and choſe the City of *Alexandria* for his adopted Country (*a*). He was much eſteemed by *Ptolomy Philometor*, who entruſted him with the Education of his Son [*A*]. He applied himſelf diligently to Criticiſm, and reviſed *Homer*'s Poems with incredible Exactneſs, but a little too magiſterially; for, whenever a Verſe diſpleaſed him, he treated it as ſuppoſititious [*B*]. This Edition of *Homer* was much eſteemed, as alſo much

(*a*) Ἀλεξανδρεὺς μὲν θέσει, τῇ δὲ φύσει Σαμοθρᾷξ.

[*A*] Ptolomy Philometor *entruſted him with the Education of his Son.*] This appears plain in the Words of *Suidas*. Γέγονε, *ſays he* (1), κατὰ τὴν ρνϛ ὀλυμπιάδα, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλομήτορος, οὗ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπαίδευσεν. *He lived in the CLVIth Olympiad, in the Reign of* Ptolomy Philometor, *whoſe Son he alſo educated.* The Olympiad, which he ſpecifies, anſwers very well to the Reign of This *Ptolomy*; but This however may be ſaid, that it does not appear, that this Prince had any Sons: Hiſtorians give him but one Daughter, and make his Brother ſucceed him. This Objection is of no force; for, on the one ſide, if the Son, whom he cauſed to be inſtructed by our *Ariſtarchus*, died in his Youth, the Hiſtorians might think, that there was no need of mentioning him; on the other hand, it is falſe, that They are all ſilent in the Matter. *Juſtin* gives *Ptolomy Philometor* a Son; and ſays likewiſe, that *Ptolomy*, his Uncle, cauſed him to be put to death (2). The learned *Leo Allatius* has not taken notice of this; he will have it, that the Diſciple, which *Suidas* gives *Ariſtarchus*, was the ſecond *Ptolomy Evergetes*: *Cujus* (Ptolomæi Philometoris) *filium ſecundum Evergetem erudiit, Olympiade CLVI, ut Suidas tradit* (3). This is wrong; the ſecond *Ptolomy Evergetes* was the Brother, and not the Son, of *Ptolomy Philometor*. *Voſſius* was no leſs miſtaken, in believing, that *Ptolomy Philometor* made choice of *Ariſtarchus* for Preceptor to his Son *Ptolomy Lathyrus* (4); he ſhould have known, that *Ptolomy Lathyrus*, or *Latharus*, was the Son of the ſecond *Ptolomy Evergetes*. What *Suidas* obſerves, that *Ariſtarchus* was a Diſciple of *Ariſtophanes*, the *Byzantian*, does not furniſh a reaſonable Objection; for it is well known, that a very great Error has crept into That Paſſage of *Suidas*, where we read, that *Ariſtophanes* of *Byzantium* flouriſhed in the XLVth Olympiad; it ſhould be read the CXLVth Olympiad; as *Allatius*, and *Jonſius*, have obſerved (5). "Ariſtophanis meminit Suidas, in quo obiter Librariorum "error in Olympiade notandus eſt. Ipſe namque "habet, Γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὴν με Ὀλυμπιάδα, "quæ Hieronymus Wolphius vertit, *Vixit Olympiade* "*XLV*, cum omnino ſcribendum ſit ρμέ, id eſt, "CXLV (6). - - - - - Suidas *mentions* Ariſtophanes, "*in which Author, by the way, a Miſtake of the* "*Tranſcribers, with regard to the Olympiad, deſerves* "*to be taken notice of. For* Suidas *has it* Γέγονε "δὲ κατὰ με Ὀλυμπιάδα, *which* Jerom Wolfius *renders by* Vixit Olympiade XLV (he lived "in the XLVth Olympiad); *whereas it ought cer*"*tainly to be red* ρμέ. i. e. 145. The Anonymous Author of the *Deſcription of the Olympiads* places *Ariſtophanes* the *Byzantian*, under this Olympiad. *Suidas*, in ſaying, that the ſame *Ariſtophanes* was, in his Youth, a Diſciple of *Callimachus*, does not contradict this. Μαθητὴς Καλλιμάχου καὶ Ζηνοδότου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν νέος, τοῦ δὲ παῖς ἤκουσε (7). *A Diſciple of* Callimachus *and* Zenodotus, *but of the former in his Youth, of the latter in his Childhood.* A Perſon, who flouriſhed in the CXLVth Olympiad, might have been a Diſciple of *Callimachus*; for That Poet lived 'till the Reign of *Ptolomy Evergetes*, the Son of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*; and we know, that *Ptolomy Evergetes* reigned to the end of the CXXXIXth Olympiad. Now, if *Ariſtarchus* was a Diſciple of *Ariſtophanes* the *Byzantian*, it is pointing out the exact time, in which he flouriſhed, to place him, as *Suidas* has done, in the CLVIth Olympiad. They, who will weigh theſe ſeveral Particulars, will find ſome Difficulty in aſſenting to this Propoſition: *Ariſtarchus* ——— *lived in the time of* Ptolomy Philadelphus, *at the ſame time with* Callimachus (8). The learned *Heinſius* obſerves, that ſome Perſons ſay this (9); and, ſince he does not cenſure them, we may ſuppoſe, that he approves of their Opinion. He would have done better to have condemned it. *Faber* is more to be credited in this, than his Son-in-law: He places *Ariſtarchus* in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philometor* (10). See the Remark [G], where we ſhall prove the Truth of This Opinion, from the Conſideration, that *Crates* and *Ariſtarchus* were Cotemporaries. A Paſſage of *Athenæus* might induce ſome to believe, that our Critic lived under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*; it is, where *Athenæus* relates, that *Ptolomy Evergetes* was one of *Ariſtarchus*'s Diſciples (11). For want of examining the whole, one might be perſuaded, that This *Ptolomy Evergetes* was the Son of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*; but it is certain, that he muſt be taken for *Ptolomy Phyſcon* (12), Brother of *Philometor*. In effect, *Athenæus* ſpeaks of one *Ptolomy*, who wrote Books, and who muſt neceſſarily be the ſame with Him, whom he cites in the twelfth Book (13), and whom he reckons the ſeventh King of *Egypt*.

There are ſtill farther Proofs againſt Mr *Dacier*'s Opinion. It is well known, that *Demetrius Scepſius* (14) lived at the ſame time with *Ariſtarchus*. This *Strabo* teſtifies: Κατὰ τὸν ἀυτον χρονον γεγονὼς Κράτητι καὶ Ἀριϛάρχῳ (15), *æqualis Cratetis & Ariſtarchi.* *Voſſius* did not conſider theſe Words with Attention, when he ſaid, that *Strabo* affirms, that *Demetrius Scepſius* was a Diſciple of *Crates* and *Ariſtarchus* (16). Now This *Demetrius* was Cotemporary with one *Metrodorus* (17), whom *Mithridates* cauſed to be put to death in the Year of *Rome* 681 (18). Judge then, whether One, who flouriſhed under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, could be cotemporary with This *Metrodorus*. The Death of That *Ptolomy* falls in with the Year of *Rome* 506. Note, that it may be collected from *Diogenes Laërtius*, that *Demetrius* was elder than *Metrodorus*, and, if ſo, there is no retorting the Reaſon; for it cannot be ſaid, that I prove too much. Obſerve likewiſe, that the Son of a Diſciple of *Ariſtarchus* was ſtill living (19), when *Strabo* was old enough to aſſiſt at the public Lectures (20). Now, ſince *Strabo* lived to *Tiberius*'s Time, he could not hear the Lectures of the Son of one of *Ariſtarchus*'s Diſciples, if *Ariſtarchus* flouriſhed under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*.

[*B*] *Whenever a Verſe diſpleaſed him, he treated it as ſuppoſititious.*] *Cicero* certifies this in theſe Words: "Si, ut ſcribis, eæ litteræ non fuerunt diſertæ, ſcito "meas non fuiſſe. Ut enim Ariſtarchus Homeri verſum negat, quem non probat, ſic tu (libet enim mihi "jocari) quod diſertum non erit, ne putaris meum "(21). - - - - - *If, as you write, thoſe Letters were* "*inelegant, be ſure they were not mine. For, as* "Ariſtarchus *denied thoſe Verſes, which did not* "*pleaſe him, to be* Homer'*s, ſo I deſire, that what* "*is not elegant* (*allow me to jeſt*) *you would believe* "*not to be mine.*" To this may be added another Paſſage of the ſame Author: "Niſi forte ſcire vis, me "inter Niciam noſtrum & Vidium judicem eſſe. Pro- "fert

(1) Suidas in Ἀρίϛαρχος.

(2) Juſtin. lib. 38, c. 8.

(3) Leo Allatius, de Patria Homeri, pag. 103, 104.

(4) Voſſ. de Poëtis Græcis, pag. 67. *Note, that, in the 21ſt Chapter of the firſt Book,* De Hiſtoricis Græcis, *he ſays, that* Ptolomy Evergetes, *the ſecond, was Son to* Philometor.

(5) Jonſ. de Script. Hiſt. Philoſ. pag. 166, 167.

(6) Allat. ubi ſupra, pag. 103.

(7) Suidas in Ἀριϛοφάνης. Portus *has tranſlated theſe Words wrong:* Hunc quidem, *ſays he,* adoleſcens, illum vero puer audivit.

(8) Dacier's *Remarks on* Horace's *Art of Poetry*, ver. 450, pag. 371. Edit. Holl.

(9) Heinſius, in Prolegomenis Ariſtarchi Sacri, fol. 3.

(10) Faber's *Lives of the* Greek *Poets*, pag. 7.

(11) Athen. lib. 2, ſub finem, pag. 71. *B.*

(12) *The ſame as the ſecond* Evergetes.

(13) Pag. 549. *He cites him in ſeveral other Places.*

(14) *That is, a Native of* Scepſis, *a City of* Myſia.

(15) Strabo, lib. 13, pag. 419.

(16) Voſſ. de Hiſtor. Græcis, pag. 135.

(17) Diog. Laërt. lib. 5, n. 84, *ſays, that* Demetrius Scepſius *preferred his Countryman* Metrodorus. *It is he, whom* Mithridates *put to Death.*

(18) Plut. in Lucullo, pag. 506. *See alſo* Strabo, lib. 13, pag. 419, *who leaves it undecided, whether* Mithridates *put him to Death.*

(19) *His Name was* Ariſtodemus; *His Father, whoſe Name was* Menecrates, *had been the Diſciple of* Ariſtarchus. *See* Strabo, lib. 14, pag. 447.

(20) Strabo, ibid.

(21) Cicero, Epiſt. 11, ad Famil. lib. 3, pag. 169.

much criticiſed (*b*). He play'd the Critic upon *Pindar* (*c*), and *Aratus* (*d*), and other Poets; and it is not true, that, in order to criticiſe on every one, without Fear of being cenſured in his Turn, he had the Addreſs not to publiſh any thing of his own

" fert alter (ut opinor) duobus verſiculis expenſum " Niciæ: alter Ariſtarchus hos ὀβελίζει. Ego, tam- " quam criticus antiquus, judicaturus ſum, utrum ſint " τοῦ ποιητοῦ, an παρεμβεβλημένοι (22). —— *Un-* " *leſs, perhaps, you would know, that I am Umpire* " *between our Friend* Nicias *and* Vidius. *The one* " *acknowledges certain Verſes to be genuine, the other,* " *like an* Ariſtarchus, *condemns them. I, as ſome* " *ancient Critic, am to decide, whether they really* " *are the Poet's, or are ſpurious.*" It is ſaid, that *Ariſtarchus* marked, over againſt the Verſes, which he condemned as ſpurious, the Figure of a *Spit*, from whence it came, that ὀβελίζειν ſignifies to *condemn*. " Tranſlatum ab Ariſtarcho, qui Homeri carmina in " corpus redegit, atque in libros digeſſit, verſus no- " thos, hoc eſt adulterinos & ſubdititios, qui non " videntur ſapere venam illam Homericam, ὀβελίσ- " κοις, id eſt minutis verubus prænotatis, damnans: " contra, qui viderentur inſignes ac genuini ἀστε- " ρίσκοις, id eſt ſtellis, illuſtrans (23). - - - - - *Bor-* " *rowed from* Ariſtarchus, *who reduced the Poems of* " Homer *into a Body, and divided them into Books;* " *condemning thoſe Verſes as ſpurious, which ſeemed* " *not to reliſh of* Homer's *Vein, by prefixing an obe-* " *lisk, or Spit; on the contrary diſtinguiſhing thoſe,* " *which appeared to be excellent and genuine, with an* " *Aſterisk, or little Star.*" See *Auſonius*'s Poem, entituled *Ludus ſeptem Sapientum*; where he deſires a rigorous Cenſure of his Poems from *Drepanius Pacatus*. He would be treated, as *Ariſtarchus* had treated *Homer*, and expreſſes himſelf thus:

Mæonio qualem cultum quæſivit Homero
  Cenſor Ariſtarchus, normaque Zenodoti.
Pone obelos igitur ſpuriorum ſtigmata vatum,
  Palmas non culpas eſſe putabo meas (24).

As Ariſtarchus *and* Zenodotus *poliſhed* Homer; *ſo affix the Spits, the Brands of ſpurious Poets; I eſteem them as my Palms, not as my Faults.*

It is thought, that he means *Ariſtarchus* in the laſt of theſe two Verſes.

Quique Sacri lacerum collegit corpus Homeri,
  Quique notas ſpuriis verſibus appoſuit (25).

He, who collected the ſcattered Poems of Homer, *and he who branded the ſpurious Verſes.*

Charles Stephens, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman* affirm, in their Dictionaries, that *Ælian* obſerves, that *Ariſtarchus*'s Criticiſms were ſo exact, that, whenever he condemned a Verſe, as not being *Homer*'s, it was looked upon, of courſe, as ſuppoſititious. *Ælianus tradit hunc tam caſtigato fuiſſe judicio, ut Homeri verſus non putaretur, quem ipſe non probaſſet.* *Quenſtedt* affirms the ſame thing (26). I do not think *Ælian* ſays ſo, and, if he did, he muſt have been miſtaken; for we learn from *Athenæus*, that the Taſte of This great Critic (27) was often condemned; ſome Verſes of *Homer*, which he rejected, were ſtill received, and he and his Reaſons laughed at. His Confidence alone was ſufficient to bring his Judgment in queſtion: He decided, in ſome Caſes, that ſuch and ſuch Verſes of the *Iliad* ought to be transferred to the *Odyſſey* (28). *Allatius* was not ignorant, that the Criticiſms of *Ariſtarchus* were often cenſured; and, upon this Occaſion, quotes *Athenæus* (29), *Plutarch*, and the Scholiaſt of *Homer*. He informs us, that the Grammarian *Ptolomy* of *Aſcalon* publiſhed a Book *de Ariſtarchi correctione in Odyſſæa* (30), and that *Zenodotus* of *Alexandria* was ſent for to reviſe *Ariſtarchus*'s Criticiſms. " Zenodotus alter Alexandri- " nus ideo advocatus eſt, ut de reprobatis ab Ari- " ſtarcho Homericis carminibus judicium ferret (31)." Idem (Suidas); Ζηνόδοτος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς γραμματικὸς ὁ ἐν ἄστει κληθεὶς πρὸς τὰ ὑπ' Ἀριστάρχου ἀθετούμενα τοῦ Ποιητοῦ. Nevertheleſs, he affirms, that Antiquity paid ſo great regard to *Ariſtarchus*'s Judgment, that it was believed, that thoſe Verſes, which diſpleaſed him, were not really Homer's. *Ariſtarchi porrò judicium adeo probavit antiquitas, ut Homeri verſus non putarentur, quos ipſe non probaret* (32). Does not this betray great want of Judgment? *Elias Vinetus* deſerves Cenſure upon this Occaſion: " Cujus (Ariſtarchi), *ſays he*, veteres " tanti fecerant judicium, ut, quem non probaret, " Homeri verſum non crederent. Ita Cicero, Sui- " das, Eraſmus (33). - - - - - - *The Ancients had ſo* " *great a Regard for* Ariſtarchus's *Judgment, that* " *they looked upon whatever Verſe he diſapproved* " *of not to have been* Homer's; *as we find in* Ci- " cero, Suidas, *and* Eraſmus." It is falſe, that *Cicero* ſays any ſuch thing (34); he only tells us, that *Ariſtarchus* took thoſe alone for *Homer*'s Verſes, which he himſelf approved of. Nor does *Suidas* ſay, what *Vinetus* imputes to him. I can affirm the ſame of *Eraſmus*, in regard to the Place, from whence I have borrowed what has been cited above (35). *Saldenus*, deſiring to make ſome Alteration in in the Words of *Charles Stephens*, which I have quoted, has greatly offended againſt the Reaſoning Part. He has not quoted *Ælian*, nor has he affirmed, that *Ariſtarchus*'s Criticiſm was exact; he is ſatisfied with ſaying, that This Cenſor believed it ſo. Thus far all is well; he deſerts *Charles Stephens* upon a falſe Quotation, and will anſwer but for one thing, which is very probable, to wit, that the Corrector of *Homer* thought himſelf a very able Man; but here is the Miſchief of it: From this advantageous Opinion, which he had of his own Wit, *Saldenus* concludes, that Antiquity received none for *Homer*'s Verſes, but ſuch as pleaſed *Ariſtarchus*. This is a falſe Inference. *Grammaticus ille, qui hoc nomen (Ariſtarchi) geſſit, tam caſtigato ſe putavit eſſe judicio, ut Homeri verſus nullus haberetur, quem ipſe non probaret* (36). Thus *Saldenus* argues; and, to confirm his Argument, he cites us the Words, where *Cicero* ſays, that *Ariſtarchus* rejected all the Verſes of *Homer*, which were not to his Taſte, as ſuppoſititious. This Proof is no better, than the Poſition itſelf, which was to be proved. I have read, in the Commentary of a modern Author, that Ariſtarchus *had ſo refined and penetrating a Genius for Criticiſm, that he was generally called the* Prophet, *or* Diviner, *from his wonderful Sagacity* (37). I have been ſurprized not to find any Footſteps of this Elogy in a vaſt number of Writers, whom I have run over, in the Places, where this Grammarian is mentioned. At laſt I found, in a Note of *Corradus* on *Cicero*'s Epiſtles, the following Words: *Hinc illum* (Ariſtarchum) μάντιν ἐκάλει Παναίτιος ὁ Ῥόδιος φιλόσοφος διὰ τὸ ῥᾳδίως καταμαντεύεσθαι τῆς τῶν ποιημάτων διανοίας. *Athen. lib.* 14. (38). I have ſearched in vain in the fourteenth Book of *Athenæus*. However it be, there is a great Difference between This Quotation of *Corradus*, and That of Mr *Dacier*. The *Greek* Words ſignify only, that *Panetius* gave the Name of *Diviner* to our *Ariſtarchus*; and not that it was the common Style of Antiquity.

Note, that it is the Opinion of many, that *Ariſtarchus* was He, who divided each of *Homer's* Great Works into as many Books, as there are Letters in the Alphabet, and inſcribed each Book with a particular Letter. " *Plutarch. lib. de Homero.* Iliadem & Odyſſeam Homeri ab Ariſtarcho Gramma- " tico in numerum librorum diviſam ad ordinem & " numerum Græcarum literarum. *Euſtathius in Iliad.* " A. *tradit*, Ariſtarchum & Zenodotum confuſum an- " tea Homeri opus digeſſiſſe in certos libros, eoſque " literis diſtinxiſſe. Unde non ſolûm primus tàm " Odyſſeæ, quàm Iliadis, liber α vocatur, ſecundus β " & ſic deinceps; Verum etiam ipſum opus γράμ- " ματα nominatur. *Et ſane verum eſt, hanc per li-* " *teras diviſionem recentiorem. Nam antiqui nun-* " *quam eâ uſi, ut patet ex Ariſtotele de Poëtica, Cap.* " 24. (39). —— Plutarch, *in his Book* de Homero, " *tells us, that the* Iliad *and* Odyſſey *of* Homer *were* " *divided by* Ariſtarchus, *the Grammarian, into a Num-* " *ber of Books, anſwering to the Order and Number of* " *the* Greek *Letters.* Euſtathius, *upon the firſt* Iliad, " *informs us, that* Ariſtarchus *and* Zenodotus *digeſted* " *the Work of* Homer, *which was before confuſed,* " *into*

(*b*) *See Remark* [*B*].

(*c*) *See the* Anti Baillet Tom. I. p. 80, 81.

(*d*) *See* Voſſ. de Scient. Mathem. pag. 156.

(22) Id. ib. lib. 9. Epiſt. 10. pag. 23, 24.

(23) Eraſm. Adag. chil. 1. cent. 5. n. 57. pag. 178.

(24) Auſon. in Ludo ſeptem Sapientum, circa init. p. 265.

(25) Id. Epiſt. 18. p. 649.

(26) Quenſtedt. de Patriis Viror. Illuſtr. pag. 433.

(27) *See* Athenæus, l. 4. paſſim, & ibi Caſaub. item lib. 5. p. 188, 189. *See alſo* Plutarch de audiendis Poët. pag. 26.

(28) Athen. lib. 4, c. 28, pag. 180.

(29) *He cites only the 5th Book of* Athenæus.

(30) Ἔγραψε περὶ τῆς ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ Ἀριστάρχου διορθώσεως. Suidas, apud Allatium, de Patria Homeri, p. 105.

(31) Id. ib.

(32) Id. ib. pag. 104.

(33) Elias Vinetus, in Auſonii Ludum ſeptem Sapientum, init. p. 265.

(34) *See, above, Citation* (21), *the Words of* Cicero.

(35) *Citation* (23).

(36) Saldenus de Libris, p. 388.

(37) Dacier's Remarks on Horace's Art of Poetry, p. 371, 372.

(38) Corradus, in Epiſt. 14. Ciceron. ad Atticum, lib. 1.

(39) Joannes à Wower de Polymathia, cap. 18. pag. 153, 154.

own [*C*]. They, who make him cotemporary with *Piſiſtratus*, are groſly miſtaken [*D*]. His Reputation continued a long time. *Cicero* and *Horace* employed his Name, when they would deſcribe a too rigid Critic [*E*]. Some aſcribe to him a Thought, which

“ *into a certain Number of Books, and diſtinguiſhed them by Letters. Whence it is, that not only the firſt Books both of the* Iliad *and* Odyſſey *are called* A, *the ſecond* B, *and ſo on; but the whole Work is ſtyled* Γράμματα, The Letters. And indeed This Diviſion by Letters is of modern Date. For the Ancients never made uſe of it, as appears from *Ariſtotle, De Poëtica*, Cap. 24.”

[*C*] *It is not true, that, in order to criticiſe on every One, without Fear of being cenſured in his Turn, he had the Addreſs not to publiſh any Thing of his own.*] *Saldenus*, under the borrowed Name of *Chriſtianus Liberius*, tells an untruth, when he ſays, “Sic Ariſtarchus Grammaticus nullum non reprehendebat, nihil ipſe ſcribens ne ab aliis reprehendi poſſet (40). —— *Thus* Ariſtarchus *the Grammarian cenſured every one; but publiſhed nothing himſelf, for fear of being cenſured by others.*” I know not whether he relates it with the ſame Correctives, as in the Work, which he publiſhed in his own Name, in 1688. If he has, Mr *Menage* has not cited him juſtly; for he has dropped an Eſſential Part of the Paſſage, which he reports. Theſe are *Saldenus*'s Words, in the Work, which he publiſhed, in 1688. “Sicuti Ariſtarchus Grammaticus neminem non reprehendebat, nihil interim ipſe ſcribens, ne reprehendi ab aliis poſſet ut nonnulli volunt: licet alii ſint, ac plerique quidem, qui πολυγράφοις ipſum accenſent, ut ſupra diximus (41). —— *As* Ariſtarchus *the Grammarian cenſured every one; but publiſhed nothing himſelf, leſt he ſhould be cenſured by others; as ſome will have it; tho' others reckon him among the* Voluminous Writers; *as I have obſerved above.*” We may add, upon this Occaſion, what Mr *Faber* addreſſed to a Journaliſt (42). *If you had publiſhed any thing of your own, we ſhould be upon the Square; but, as the Caſe ſtands, you play with too much advantage; it is mockery to bett a Farthing againſt a Guinea; I know not who will play with you upon ſuch Terms.*

[*D*] *They, who make him cotemporary with* Piſiſtratus, *are groſly miſtaken.*] This is a very ancient Error. *Allatius* cites a long Paſſage (43), in which one of the Commentators of *Dionyſius* of *Thrace* affirms, that *Piſiſtratus* ordered it to be publiſhed over all *Greece*, that They, who brought him any of *Homer*'s Verſes, ſhould receive a Reward, at ſo much *per* Verſe. When he had collected as many as he could, he ſent for ſeventy Grammarians, to each of whom he gave a Copy of this Collection. They were deſired, each of them ſeparately, to range theſe Verſes in the beſt Order they could. After each had done his Beſt, they met again, by *Piſiſtratus*'s Order, and ſhewed their Works to each other. They agreed, unanimouſly, that the Work of *Ariſtarchus* and *Zenodotus* deſerved the preference, and afterwards declared, that *Zenodotus*'s Work ought to yield to That of *Ariſtarchus*. This Story contains This, among other Falſeſhoods, that *Ariſtarchus* and *Piſiſtratus* lived at the ſame Time. It was eaſy to diſcover this miſtake; yet the Commentators on *Dionyſius* of *Thrace* have perſuaded a great many into a Belief of it. *Euſtathius* has vented it, and, after him, *Genebrard*, and *Jaſon de Nores*. Read this Paſſage of *Allatius*: “Multis aliis recentioribus fucum fecerunt. Nam Euſtathius in *A* Iliados idem aſſerit. Οἱ δὲ συνθέμενοι ταύτην κατ᾽ ἐπιταγὴν, ὥς φασὶ, Πεισιστράτου τοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τυράννου Γραμματικοὶ, καὶ διορθωσάμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἐκείνοις ἀρέσκον, ὧν κορυφαῖος Ἀρίσταρχος, καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον Ζηνόδοτος. Id eſt: *Qui vero eam compoſuerunt Grammatici, juſſu, ut tradunt, Piſiſtrati Athenienſium Tyranni, & ut ſibi melius viſum eſt correxerunt, quorum Princeps Ariſtarchus, & poſt eum Zenodotus.* Et inferius: Τοῦ δὲ ἀπαγγέλλειν τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν σκεδασθεῖσαν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο Κίναιθος ὁ Χῖος. Ἐλυμήναντο δὲ, φασιν, αὐτὴν πάμπολλα οἱ περὶ τὸν Κίναιθον. καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν αὐτοὶ ποιήσαντες παρενέβαλον. Διὸ καὶ διωρθώθησαν αἱ Ὁμηρικαὶ βίβλοι, ὡς ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται. Id eſt: *Homeri vero poëſim diſperſam recitandi principium fecit Cinæthus Chius. Verum illam multis modis Cinæthi ſectatores depravarunt, multaque à ſe conſcripta carmina indiderunt. Quare libri Homerici correcti ſunt, ut ſuperius diximus.* Gilbertus Genebrardus Chron. lib. 2. *Piſiſtrati juſſu Ariſtarchus Homeri rapſodiam recenſuit, & in 24 partes pro numero elementorum diſtribuit.* Jaſon de Nores in artem Poëticam Horatii, *Ariſtarchus miro quodam acumine caſtigabat veterum ſcripta, atque ideo colligendis Homeri verſibus præpoſitus fuit.* In quibus vides miros Anachroniſmos. Primus, qui Ariſtarchum ſub Piſiſtrato collocat. Secundus, qui Cinæthum Chium aſſerit primum Homeri poëſim diſperſam recitaſſe. Cum uterque poſt Piſiſtrati tempora floruerit. Cinæthus enim, ſi Pindari Scholiaſtæ credimus, in Nemeon, Od. 2. ſub Olympiade ſexageſima nona apud Syracuſas Homeri carmina ἐῤῥαψῴδησε (44). —— *They have deceived many others of the Moderns; for* Euſtathius, *on the firſt Iliad, aſſerts the ſame Thing.* Οἱ δὲ συνθέμενοι, &c. *i. e.* The chief of the Grammarians, who diſpoſed and corrected it, by order of *Piſiſtratus*, Tyrant of *Athens*, were *Ariſtarchus*, and after him *Zenodotus*. *And a little lower*, τοῦ δὲ ἀπαγγέλλειν, &c. *i. e. Cinæthus* the *Chian* was the Firſt, who recited the ſcattered Poems of *Homer*. But the Followers of *Cinæthus* corrupted them ſeveral Ways, and foiſted in ſeveral Verſes of their own. For which reaſon the Books of *Homer* were corrected, as I have ſaid above. *Gilbert Genebrard, Chron. lib. 2. ſays, that Ariſtarchus*, by order of *Piſiſtratus*, reviſed the Rhapſody of *Homer*, and divided it into Twenty four Parts, according to the Number of the Letters. *Jaſon de Nores, upon* Horace'*s Art of Poetry, tells us, that Ariſtarchus* with wonderful Judgment corrected the Writings of the Ancients, and was therefore appointed to collect *Homer*'s Poems. *In theſe Paſſages you ſee ſurprizing* Anachroniſms. *The firſt places* Ariſtarchus *in the Reign of* Piſiſtratus; *The ſecond aſſerts* Cinæthus *the* Chian *to have been the firſt, who recited the ſcattered Poems of* Homer; *Whereas both of them flouriſhed after the Time of* Piſiſtratus. *For* Cinæthus, *if we may believe the Scholiaſt on* Pindar, Nem. Od. 2. *collected together the Verſes of* Homer, *at* Syracuſe, *in the LXIXth Olympiad.*”

[*E*] Cicero *and* Horace *employed his Name, when they would diſcribe a too rigid Critic.*] Conſult the Oration againſt *Piſo*, where you will find the following Words: “Verum tamen, quoniam te non Ariſtarchum, ſed Phalarim Grammaticum, habemus, qui non notam apponas ad malum verſum, ſed Poëtam armis perſequare, ſcire cupio quid tandem iſto in verſu reprehendas, *Cedant Arma togæ* (45). —— *I deſire to know of you, who are not an* Ariſtarchus, *but a* Phalaris, *and who, inſtead of affixing a Mark to a bad Verſe, purſueſt the Poet himſelf, ſword in Hand; inform me, I ſay, what you diſlike in That Verſe,* Cedant Arma Togæ, &c.” The ſame Orator declares, that he was afraid of his Friend *Atticus*'s Nails. *Noſtrum opus tibi probari lætor; ex quo* ἄνθη *ipſa poſuiſti, quæ mihi florentiora ſunt viſa tuo judicio. Cærulas enim tuas miniatulas illas extimeſcebam* (46). Thus we ſhould expreſs ourſelves at preſent to denote the Cenſures, which a Reader might mark down in the Margin of a Book, and the *cærulas miniatulas* of the Paſſage, which I have quoted. *Atticus* was one of thoſe ſincere Perſons, who examine the Compoſitions of their Friends with Strictneſs, and therefore *Cicero* calls him his *Ariſtarchus*. *Quid multa? totum hunc locum, quem ego varie meis orationibus, quarum tu Ariſtarchus es, ſoleo pingere, de flamma, de ferro, (noſti illas* ληκύθους*) valde graviter pertexuit* (47). The Verſes of *Horace*, which I am going to quote, furniſh an Idea, which is a ſtrong Proof of my Text.

Vir bonus & prudens verſus reprehendet inertes
Culpabit duros: incomptis allinet atrum
Tranſverſo calamo ſignum: ambitioſa recidet
Ornamenta: parum claris lucem dare coget:
Arguet ambigue dictum: mutanda notabit:
Fiet Ariſtarchus: nec dicet, Cur ego amicum
Offendam in nugis (48)?

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(40) Chriſtianus Liberius, in Bibliophilia, pag. 21. apud Menage, Anti-Baillet Tom. 1. pag. 81.

(41) Guill. Saldenus de Libris, pag. 43. *He had ſaid*, p. 13. Ariſtarchus Grammaticus ſupra mille Commentarios literis conſignavit; *He ſhould have ſaid, as* Suidas *does*, ſupra octingentos.

(42) Faber. ſecond. Journal. pag. 48. *Edit.* Holl.

(43) Allatius, de Patria Homeri, pag. 93, & ſeq. *he ſays, that theſe Commentaries are not printed.*

(44) Id. ib. p. 96, 97.

(45) Cicero, Orat. in L. Piſon, c. 30.

(46) Cicero ad Attic. lib. 16. Epiſt. 10.

(47) Ibid. lib. 1. Epiſt. 10.

(48) Horat. de Arte Poëtica, ver. 445.

which others impute either to *Theocritus*, or *Iſocrates* [*F*]. He had ſeveral Conteſts, in *Pergamus*, with *Crates* the Grammarian [*G*]; and died in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, at Seventy two Years of Age. He was ſeized with a Dropſy, and found no better Remedy for this Diſtemper, than ſtarving himſelf to Death. There proceeded out of his School to the Number of forty Grammarians [*H*]. He left two Sons, whoſe only Merit was their great Simplicity. He, who bore his Father's Name, had been ſold

The prudent Care of an impartial Friend
Will give you notice of each idle Line;
Shew what ſounds harſh, and what wants Ornament,
Or where it is too laviſhly beſtow'd;
Make you explain all that he finds obſcure,
And with a ſtrict Enquiry mark your Faults;
With Freedom, *Ariſtarchus*-like, will judge *,
Nor for theſe Trifles fear to loſe your Love.
Lord ROSCOMMON.

[*F*] *Some aſcribe to him a Thought, which others impute either to* Theocritus, *or to* Iſocrates.] This Saying of *Ariſtarchus* is upon Record; *I cannot write, what I would; and I will not write, what I can* (49). Mr *Dacier* tells us this, on theſe Words of *Horace*:

Si quantum cuperem, poſſem quoque (50).

Did but my Pow'r riſe equal to my Wiſh.

The Authors, whom I have hitherto conſulted, have not led me to the Source; and my Enquiries have been leſs ſucceſsful in this Point, than in That of *Ariſtarchus*'s Divination. This makes me paſſionately wiſh, that Mr *Dacier*, and others like him, would have the goodneſs to leave off the Practice of not quoting their Authors. Are they afraid, that the Great and Polite World, for whom they labour, ſhould look upon Citations as too pedantic? I can ſcarce believe, that a Count *de Guiche* (51), for Example, would be diſpleaſed to know, where we may find, that *Ariſtarchus* was the Author of this fine Saying, and was treated as a Prophet. Any Lady, who loves Learning, would be better pleaſed to know, that *Plutarch*, or *Ariſtotle*, vouch ſuch a Fact, than, in general, that it is reported. This by the way: To return to our Text; we read, in the Collections of *Stobæus*, that *Theocritus*, being aſked, why he did not write, anſwered, becauſe *I cannot do it as I would, and I will not do it, as I can.* 'Ερωτηθεὶς διὰ τί ȣ̓ συγγράφει, ὅτι, εἶπεν, ὡς μὲν βȣ́λομαι ȣ̓ δύναμαι, ὡς δὲ δύναμαι ȣ̓ βȣ́λομαι (53). *Iſocrates*, being at Table with *Nicocreon*, King of *Cyprus*, was deſired to ſay ſomething, but would not; and gave this Reaſon; *What I do know, is not ſeaſonable, and, what may be ſeaſonable, I do not know.* Οἷς μὲν ἐγὼ δεινὸς ȣ̓κ ὁ νῦν καιρὸς· οἷς δὲ ὁ νῦν καιρὸς, ȣ̓κ ἔγω δεινὸς (52). This puts me in mind of The Thought of *Seneca*; "I never endeavoured to pleaſe the "People; for they do not approve of what I do "know, and I do not know what they do approve "of. *Nunquam volui populo placere, nam quæ ego "ſcio, non probat populus, quæ probat populus, ego "neſcio* (54)."

[*G*] *He had Conteſts, in* Pergamus, *with* Crates *the Grammarian* (55).] The Words of *Suidas* are expreſs to this Purpoſe: Κράτητι τῷ γραμματικῷ περγαμηνῷ πλεῖϛα διημιλλήσατο ἐν περγάμῳ (56). *Cum Cratete Grammatico Pergameno Pergami ſæpiſſime contendit.* By virtue of this Paſſage, *Caſaubon* maintains, that *Crates Mallotes* was not the Antagoniſt of *Ariſtarchus*; but another *Crates*, born at *Pergamus* (57). As this *Crates Mallotes* was cotemporary with *Ariſtarchus*, and very well known to the King of *Pergamus*, it might eaſily be ſuppoſed, that he was the ſame, who diſputed on ſeveral Occaſions with *Ariſtarchus*. It is proper therefore to obſerve, that *Suidas* gives the Sirname of *Pergamenian* to *Ariſtarchus*'s Adverſary. Perhaps he is miſtaken; for They, who quote *Crates* of *Pergamus*, repreſent him rather as an Hiſtorian, than Grammarian (58); and it is certain, that Grammar was the chief Study of *Crates Mallotes*. Read this Paſſage: "Primus quantum opinamur Studium Grammaticæ in Urbem intulit Crates Mallotes, Ariſtarchi æqualis, qui miſſus ad ſenatum ab Attalo "rege, inter ſecundum ac tertium bellum Punicum, "ſub ipſam Ennii mortem, quum in regione Palatii prolapſus in cloacæ foramen crus fregiſſet, "per omne legationis ſimul & valetudinis tempus "plurimas ἀκροάσεις ſubinde fecit, aſſidueque diſſeruit, ac noſtris exemplo fuit ad imitandum (59). "- - - - - - - *It is believed, that* Crates Mallotes, "*Cotemporary with* Ariſtarchus, *firſt introduced the "Study of Grammar at* Rome; *who, being ſent to the "Senate by King* Attalus, *between the ſecond and "third* Punic *War, about the Time of* Ennius's "*Death, and having the Misfortune to fall, and "break his Leg, near the* Palatine *Hill, continued, during the whole Time of his Embaſſy and "Recovery, to read ſeveral Lectures, and to hold "Diſputations; in which he ſet the* Romans *an Example worthy of Imitation.*" This Paſſage of *Varro* is generally underſtood of *Crates Mallotes*. "Crates nobilis Grammaticus, qui fretus Chryſippo "homine acutiſſimo, qui reliquit ſex libros περὶ "τῆς ἀνομαλίας; heis libreis contra analogiam "atque Ariſtarchum eſt nixus (60). - - - - - - Crates, "*a celebrated Grammarian, who relied on* Chryſippus, *a Man of great Subtilty, who left ſix Books "concerning* Anomaly; *by the help of theſe Books, "he oppoſed* Analogy *and* Ariſtarchus." If *Varro* ſpeaks here of *Crates Mallotes*, it is probable, that *Suidas* miſtook the one for the other; I mean, that *Crates Mallotes*, and not *Crates* of *Pergamus*, was the Rival of our *Ariſtarchus*. I know not whether the Commentators on *Suetonius* have ever thought of criticiſing him on a Point of Chronology, which I ſhall mention. He ſays, that *Crates Mallotes* came to *Rome* in the Name of King *Attalus*, about the time that *Ennius* died. The Death of That Poet happened in the Year of *Rome* 585. Now He, who reigned at that Time at *Pergamus*, was called *Eumenes*: He began his Reign in the Five hundred and fifty ſixth Year of *Rome*, and died in the Year 596, leaving the Tuition of his Son, and the Regency, to his Brother *Attalus*. If *Crates Mallotes*, then, was deputed to the *Romans* by This *Attalus*, Chronology will not allow us to ſay, that he took this Journey about the time of *Ennius*'s Death. However, *Suetonius* ſupplies us wherewith to confirm the Opinion of Thoſe, who make *Ariſtarchus* flouriſh under *Ptolomy Philometor*, in the CLVIth Olympiad (61). *Euſebius* and *Suidas* are of This Number.

Voſſius has not followed *Suetonius*; for, inſtead of ſaying, that *Ariſtarchus*, and *Crates Mallotes*, were Cotemporaries, he makes *Crates Mallotes*, and *Apollodorus*, the Diſciple of *Ariſtarchus*, Cotemporaries (62). I do not pretend, that this is falſe; for a Perſon may be cotemporary both with the Maſter and the Diſciple; but I obſerve, by the way, that he is miſtaken in another Point: He believed, that a Drammatic Piece, which had been tranſlated by *Ennius*, and was called the *Achilles* of *Ariſtarchus*, had this Name given it, only becauſe That great Critic had corrected it. *Ab hoc & vetus quædam Comœdia, quam Ennius poſtea tranſtulit, dicebatur Achilles Ariſtarchi. Meminit ejus Plautus* (63). *At ſic non alia de cauſſa vocabatur, quam quod ab eo eſſet emendata.* It is a Miſtake. This Piece was a Tragedy of *Ariſtarchus* of *Tegeas*, cotemporary with *Euripides*. See *Scaliger* (64).

[*H*] *Forty Grammarians proceeded out of his School.*] He may be reckoned the Head of a Sect; witneſs the Words of *Varro*: "Relinquitur de caſibus, "in quo Ariſtarchei ſuos intendunt nervos (65). "Hoc in oratione diligentius quam alii ab Ariſtarcho Grammatici (66). - - - - - *It remains to ſpeak "of the Caſes, in which the Followers of* Ariſtarchus "*exert themſelves.* - - - - - - - *This Part of Speech "they more carefully obſerve, than the reſt of the "Grammarians ſince* Ariſtarchus." See likewiſe the Railleries ſold for a Slave; but the *Athenians* ranſomed him (*e*). I have ſomething to offer againſt *Moreri* [*I*].

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* *This Line is not Lord* Roſcommon's, *but neceſſary upon the preſent Occaſion.*

(49) Dacier's Remarks on Horace, Epiſt. 1. l. 2.

(50) Horat. Epod. 1. l. 2. ver. 256.

(51) *We find, in the Continuation of the* Menagiana, *pag.* 6, *Edit. of* Holland, *that this Count, in the midſt of the Pleaſures and Avocations of the Court, never omitted ſtudying regularly, at leaſt three hours a day.*

(52) Stobæus, Serm. XXI. de cognoſc. ſeipſo.

(53) Plut. in Vita Iſocr. p. 838. F. *See* Id. in Sympoſiac. l. 1. c. 1. p. 613. *A.*

(54) Senec. Epiſt. 29. pag. 219.

(55) Suidas in 'Ἀρίϛαρχος.

(56) Id. ib.

(57) Caſaub. in Sueton. de Illuſtr. Gramm. c. 2.

(58) *See* Voſſius de Hiſtor. Gr. pag. 347.

(59) Sueton. de Illuſtr. Grammat. cap. 2.

(60) Varro, de Lingua Latina, l. 8. init. *See alſo* lib. 7. p. 97. *See in* Voſſ. ubi ſupra, *ſeveral Authorities, which prove, that* Crates Mallotes *was a Grammarian.*

(61) *It anſwers to the end of the ſixth Age of* Rome.

(62) Voſſ. de Arte Gram. l. 1. c. 6. p. 24.

(63) Plaut. in Prologo Pœnuli, ver. 1.

(64) Scalig. Animadv. in Euſeb. n. 1563. pag. 103.

(65) Varro, de Lingua Lat. lib. 7. pag. 96.

(66) Id. ib. lib. 9. pag. 134.

(*e*) *Taken from* Suidas *in* Ἀρίσταρχος.

Railleries of *Herodicbus* (67). It appears from *Suidas*, that *Ariſtarchus*'s School ſubſiſted for ſome Ages in *Alexandria* (68).

[*I*] *I have ſomething to offer againſt* Moreri.] I. He ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon by *Voſſius*, when he ſaid, that *Ariſtarchus* was of *Samos* (69). II. Nothing is more impertinent, than to obſerve, that *Ariſtarchus* was Cotemporary with *Crates* (70). It is explaining an obſcure point by one, which is more obſcure, *obſcurum per obſcurius*. There have been ſeveral *Crates*'s; *Diogenes Laërtius* reckons up ten, ſome Philoſophers, others Poets, or Grammarians, or Orators, or Geometricians, *&c* (71). They did not all flouriſh at the ſame time; nor were they all of the ſame Country; what then can be more inſignificant, than to remark, that *Ariſtarchus* flouriſhed in the Time of *Crates?* The moſt famous of theſe *Crates*'s was the Cynic Philoſopher. The moſt natural Senſe, therefore, of Mr *Moreri*'s Words is, that *Ariſtarchus* was Cotemporary with That Cynic: Now this is falſe; there is a great Interval of Time between them (72). This Cenſure does not affect *Suetonius*, who ſays, that *Crates Mallotes* was Cotemporary with *Ariſtarchus*; for there were few learned Perſons in *Suetonius*'s Age, who were ignorant at what time *Ariſtarchus* lived. III. I believe no one has ſaid, that This Grammarian compoſed nine Books of *Corrections on the* Iliad, *and the* Odyſſey. *Suidas* affirms it of *Crates Mallotes* (73), as *Voſſius* obſerves (74). *Moreri* did not underſtand *Voſſius*'s Words. IV. It is falſe, that *Ptolomy Lathurus* was the Son of *Ptolomy Philometor*. V. I believe it to be true, at the bottom, that our *Ariſtarchus* was living in the CLVIIIth Olympiad; but, ſince *Euſebius* and *Suidas* make him flouriſh in the CLVIth, this ought to have been remarked. *Voſſius* falſly imputes to *Euſebius* the placing of him in the CLVIIIth (75).

(67) Apud Athenæum, lib. 5. in fine.

(68) Suidas in Ἀμμώνιος.

(69) Voſſ. de Poët. Gr. pag. 67.

(70) *It is* Cretes *in the Edition of* 1688.

(71) Diog. Laërt. in Vitis Philoſoph. l. 4. n. 23.

(72) Diog. Laërt. l. 5. n. 87, *ſays, that* Crates *the Cynic flouriſhed about the* CXIIIth *Olympiad.*

(73) Suid. in Κράτης.

(74) Voſſ. de Poët. Gr. pag. 67.

(75) Id. de Hiſtor. Gr. lib. 1. c. 18. pag. 119.

ARISTEUS, the Son of *Apollo* and *Cyrene* [*A*]. His Article is very imperfect in *Moreri*, who confines himſelf to the informing us, I. That, by *purſuing Eurydice*, the Wife of *Orpheus*, *from place to place*, he occaſioned her Death, by the bite of a Serpent. II. That the Nymphs, to be revenged of *Ariſteus*, killed all his Bees. III. That, *having offered a Sacrifice of Bulls, he recovered what he had loſt* (*a*). IV. That

(*a*) *All this is to be found in* Virgil's Georgics, *Book* 4.

[*A*] *The Son of* Apollo, *and* Cyrene.] This is the general Tradition; and there are very few Traditions in Mythology more conſtant than this. Yet *Cicero* mentions another; he ſays, that the *Greeks* make *Ariſteus* the Son of *Bacchus*; and adds, that, in *Sicily*, he was honoured in the Temple of That Deity. He addreſſes himſelf to *Verres*. "Quid! "ex æde Liberi Simulacrum Ariſtei non tuo imperio palam ablatum eſt? ——— Ariſteus, qui "UT GRAECI FERUNT, liberi filius, inventor olei "eſſe dicitur, una cum libero patre apud illos eodem "erat in templo conſecratus (1). ------ *What!* "*was not the Image of* Ariſteus *openly taken away* "*from the Temple of* Bacchus *by your Command?* "——— Ariſteus, *who being, as* the Greeks *relate,* "*the Son of* Bacchus, *is ſaid to have invented Oyl,* "*and was conſecrated by them in the ſame Temple* "*with his Father* Bacchus." In another Book, he takes up with the common Opinion, and ſays, that *Apollo* was the Father of *Ariſteus*, the Inventor of Oyl. *Quid Ariſteus qui olivæ dicitur inventor Apollinis filius* (2). Let us next ſpeak of *Cyrene:* She was the Daughter of *Hypſeus*, King of the *Lapithæ*, who was the Son of *Peneus* and *Creuſa* (3). *Creuſa* was the Daughter of the *Earth*; and *Peneus* was Son of the *Ocean*. *Cyrene* deſpiſed the Employments of other Maidens, and their Houſe-hold Amuſements (4), and riſing, early (5), was extreamly fond of Hunting, and making great Deſtruction among the wild Beaſts. *Apollo*, encountring her, as ſhe was fighting ſingly with a Lyon, demanded of *Chiron*, who ſhe was, and whether he might not uſe force, and enjoy her.

> ---- Ὁσία
> Κλυτὰν χεῖρά οἱ προσενεγκεῖν;
> Ἦ ῥα καὶ ἐκ λεχέων
> Κεῖρεν μελιηδέα ποίαν (6).

Fas-ne eſt illuſtrem manum ei admovere? Utrum & ex ſtratis tondere mellitam herbam?

Chiron, beginning with an Anſwer to the laſt Queſtion, repreſented, that Lovers ought to make uſe of the Key of the Heart; that is of ſoft and tender Words, to perſuade the Fair to grant what they requeſt; adding, that, among both Gods and Men, Modeſty oppoſes the Precipitation, with which ſome fall to downright Enjoyment; and explained himſelf very nicely upon this Subject.

> ----- καὶ ἔν τε θεοῖς
> Τοῦτο κἀνθρώποις ὁμῶς
> Αἰδέον τ' ἀμφαδὸν ἁ-
> δείας τυχεῖν τὸ πρῶτον εὐνᾶς (7).

Et inter Deos & homines pariter verecundanter aperte poſtulato *dulci frui primum cubili.*

"By the way, *continues he,* it is a viſible effect of "your great Civility, that you, who know all "things, ſhould do me the Honour to enquire of "me concerning this Maid's Extraction." This is *Pindar*'s Senſe; I pretend not to give a Tranſlation Word for Word; it is ſufficient to repreſent his Thought. Now, if this be his Meaning, who can ſee, without Indignation, the Liberty, which a *French* Author takes of making him expreſs himſelf thus? "Is it lawful to ſee her? May I approach her? "Shall I not be thought raſh, if I take her fair "Hand, and gather one of thoſe Vermillion Roſes, "which I ſee painted on her Lips? But the Centaur, ſmiling, anſwered him thus: A chaſt Love, "*Apollo,* ought always to be concealed; and the "Fair Sex, among the Gods, as well as among "Mortals, do not grant their Favours in the Eyes "of the World. This is without doubt the Reaſon, "which makes you ſpeak with ſo much reſerve. A "Lover leſs chaſt than you, would not have had "ſo much Reſpect; and it is to your own good Manners, rather than to my Inſtruction, that you owe "this Modeſty (8)." This Tranſlation is repugnant to the Original, and inconſiſtent with itſelf; for, ſhould we ſuppoſe, that *Apollo* did not expreſs himſelf groſly, but modeſtly and chaſtly, *Chiron*'s Anſwer is ridiculous and contradictory. The Event was, that *Apollo* enjoyed *Cyrene*, without delay, and tranſported her into *Africa*.

> Ὠκεῖα δ' ἐπειγομένων ἤδη Θεῶν
> πρᾶξις, ὁδοί τε βραχεῖαι.
> κεῖνο κεῖν' ἆμαρ διαίτα-
> σεν. θαλάμῳ δὲ μίγεν
> ἐν πολυχρύσῳ Λιβύας (9).

Celer autem eſt properantium jam Deorum actio, viæque breves. Illud illa dies peregit. In thalamo autem Libyæ divite auri congreſſi ſunt.

Chiron would have had him ſay tender things to her, and proceed in a way of honourable Love; but, as *Pindar* obſerves, *the Gods of the Poets could not away with delays; they diſpatched Matters in a trice; they went the ſhorteſt Way to work; they boarded briskly, and enjoyed either by fair, or by foul Means.* They took the Romance by the tail (10), and ſaid, with *Boreas* in Love,

> Apta mihi vis eſt (11).
>
> *By Force and Violence I chiefly live.*
>
> CROXAL.

Cyrene

(1) Cicero in Verrem, Orat. 9. c. 57.

(2) Id. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 18.

(3) Pindar. Ode 9. Pyth. pag. 433.

(4) Pind. ib. pag. 434.

(5) Τὸν δὲ σύγκοιτον γλυκὺν παῦρον ἐπὶ βλεφάροις ὕπνον ἀναλίσκοισα, ῥέποντα πρὸς ἀῶ. Exiguum autem ſomnum concubitorem ſuavem in palpebris impendens, quum adventaret aurora. *Id. ib.*

(6) Id. ib. pag. 437.

(7) Id. id.

(8) *Notes on the* Ariſtæus *of* Virgil, *tranſlated into* French, *and printed at* Lyons, *in* 1668, pag. 28, 29.

(9) Pindar. Od. 9. Pyth. pag 443.

(10) *Compare with this the 4th Scene of the* Precieuſes Ridicules.

(11) Ovid. Metam. lib. 6. ver. 690.

That *he invented the Secret of extracting Honey, making Oyl, and Cheeſe* [*B*]. There are ſeveral other Things, which ſhould have been ſaid concerning This Son of *Apollo*; it ſhould have been obſerved, that he was born in That Part of *Lybia*, where the City of *Cyrene* was built; that he was brought up by the Nymphs; that, having taken a Journey to *Thebes*, he there married *Autonoë*, the Daughter of *Cadmus*; that he had by Her *Actæon*, who was torn in Pieces by his own Dogs; that, after the Death of This Son, he conſulted the Oracle of *Apollo*; that, upon the Strength of the Anſwer, which was given him, concerning the Honours he ſhould receive in the Iſland of *Cea*, he made a Voyage thither [*C*]: That, a Plague ravaging all *Greece*, he offered Sacrifices, which put a ſtop to it; that, leaving his Family in the Iſland of *Cea*, he re-paſſed into *Lybia*; from whence he ſailed with the Fleet, which his Mother had *Cyrene* conceived, and brought our *Ariſteus* into the World. Obſerve, that *Virgil* (12) and *Hyginus* (13), who make her the Daughter of *Peneus*, follow an Ancient Tradition in this (14). Wherefore we may ſay, that *Friſchlinus* was much in the wrong to blame *Boccace*, and to be ignorant of what They had affirmed. "Conſtat non recte ſcripſiſſe Bocatium, l. 7. Geneal. "c. 28. dum aſſerit Cyrenem Penei fuiſſe filiam (15). "—— Boccace *was certainly miſtaken, in aſſerting,* "*that* Cyrene *was the Daughter of* Peneus." *Apollonius* ſuppoſes, that ſhe was a Shepherdeſs, and had reſolved to lead a ſingle Life, but that *Apollo*, who carried her away by force, would not ſuffer her to preſerve her Virginity (16).

[*B*] *He invented the Secret of extracting Honey, making of Oyl, and Cheeſe.*] *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that *Ariſteus*, having learnt of the Nymphs, who nurſed him, the Art of curdling Milk, and making Bee-hives, and cultivating Olive-Trees, was the firſt, who communicated theſe three Inventions to Men. The Conveniences, which they received thereby filled them with ſo great Acknowledgment, that they paid the ſame Divine Honours to Him, as they did to *Bacchus*. This Hiſtorian adds, that the Nymphs impoſed three Names on him, That of *Nomius*, That of *Ariſteus*, and That of *Agreus* (17). This agrees well enough with *Pindar* (18). But obſerve, that he ſays, that the *Hours* and the *Earth*, to whom *Mercury* carried this Infant, fed him with Nectar and Ambroſia: Others ſay, that *Ariſteus*, having invented the making of Honey, and Oyl, in the Iſland of *Cea*, and having cauſed the Winds, which are called *Eteſian*, to blow, was ſirnamed *Jupiter Ariſteus* (19), and *Apollo Agreus*, and *Nomius* (20). The Sirname of *Nomius* ſuited him (21), becauſe of the Care he took of his Herds; and That of *Agreus* was proper, becauſe he applied himſelf to Hunting. The following is a curious Authority for this Interpretation: *They, who take Wolves and Bears in Traps and Gins, put up Prayers to* Ariſteus, *becauſe he was the firſt, who invented the Art of taking them with Snares, and running Nooſes.* It is a Paſſage of *Plutarch*. This is the Original. Εὔχονται δ' Ἀριςαίῳ δολοῦντες ὀρύγμασι καὶ βρόχοις λύκους καὶ ἄρκτους, ὃς πρῶτος θήρεσσιν ἔπηξε ποδάγρας (22). *Ariſteo vota faciunt foveis actis, aut laqueis poſitis, qui lupis aut urſis inſidiantur, ille feris primus pedicas quia tendere cepit.* The Scholiaſt of *Apollonius* does not explain the Etymology of theſe two Names after this manner. He founds That of *Nomius* on *Cyrene*'s having to do with *Apollo*, while ſhe was a Shepherdeſs, and That of *Agreus* on the Act being performed in the Fields. He adds, that, according to others, the Etymology came from *Ariſteus*'s teaching the Shepherds the Art of Tilling and Manuring the Ground. Ἀγρέα καὶ νόμιον, τὸ μὲν, ὅτι ἐν ἀγρῷ ἐμίγη τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀπόλλων. νόμιον δὲ, ὅτι νεμούσῃ ἐμίγη. οἱ δὲ, ὅτι τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς θεραπείαν τοῖς νομεῦσι εἰσηγήσατο (23). The Paſſage, where *Apollonius* ſays, that the Inhabitants of *Theſſaly* gave theſe two Sirnames to *Ariſteus*, contains Particulars, which deſerve to be produced here. We there find, that *Ariſteus* was brought up in *Chiron*'s Cave, and that, when he was come to Age of Maturity, the Muſes gave him a Wife, and taught him Phyſic, and the Science of Divination, and ſet him over all their Flocks (24). We find, in another Paſſage of the ſame Poet, that he invented Honey, and Oyl (25). He hints, in *Virgil*, that the Pains he had taken in perfecting Agriculture, and feeding of Cattle, had procured him all the Glory he enjoyed.

En etiam hunc ipſum vitæ mortalis honorem,
Quem mihi vix frugum & pecudum cuſtodia ſolers
Omnia tentanti extuderat, te matre relinquo (26).

Loſt are the Honours; of my Herd and Plough
Honours, which ſcarce my utmoſt Toils allow;
So wretched is thy Son, ſo hard a Mother Thou.

He is one of the Deities, whom *Virgil* invokes, when he undertakes to write on Agriculture.

— et cultor Nemorum, cui pinguia Ceæ
Ter centum nivei tondent dumeta juvenci (27).

And Thou, for whom the Cæan *Shore ſuſtains*
The milky Herds, that graze the flowry Plains.
DRYDEN.

Oppian (28), *Nonnus* (29), the Scholiaſt of *Pindar*, and *Apollonius*, &c. all agree, in making him the Inventor of Thoſe Things, which I have ſpecified. Some Paſſages on the ſame Subject will occur below. The following is One of them, in which the City of *Athens* is made the Place of his Birth. *Oleum & trapetas Ariſteus Athenienſis. Idem mella* (30). By *trapetas* are to be underſtood the Mills for ſqueezing the Olives (31). Let us not forget, that he invented the Aromatic Gum *Benjamin*. This is aſſerted by an Ancient Author, quoted by the Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* (32), as you may ſee in the Three Hundred and Fifty ſixth Page of *Salmaſius*'s Commentary on *Solinus*.

Note, that *Juſtin* (33) relates, that *Cyrene*, being got with Child by *Apollo*, *a Deo repleta*, had four Sons, *Nomius*, *Ariſteus*, *Authocus*, and *Argæus* (34). This is making of the two Sirnames of *Ariſteus* two Men (35).

[*C*] *He made a Voyage to the Iſland of* Cea.] The *Greek* of *Diodorus Siculus* is εις Κῶ νῆσον; and a little after, ἐν τῇ Κῶ. *Rhodoman* tranſlates it *in Co inſulam*, and *in Co* This rendering puzzles the Reader; for it inclines him to believe, that the *Greek* Hiſtorian is ſpeaking of the Iſland of *Cos*, the Country of the great *Hippocrates*, and not of the Iſland of *Cea*, as other Authors do, when they ſpeak of *Ariſteus*. However, we may be certain, that he means the Iſland of *Cea*, whether it be neceſſary to correct the Text, by putting Κέω, inſtead of Κῶ (36), or that the Rules of Contraction allow us indifferently to make uſe of Κῶ or Κέω, in ſpeaking of This Iſland (37). Let us take notice of theſe Words of *Diodorus*; παρὰ τῶν Κείων τιμαῖς, *de honoribus apud Ceos* (38). They ſhew plainly, that he does not deſign to ſpeak of the Iſland of *Cos*. However, let us produce ſome Authors, who have affirmed, that *Ariſteus* ſettled in the Iſland of *Cea*; and let us begin with the Commentator *Servius*, on theſe Words of *Virgil*;

—— et cultor nemorum, cui pinguia Ceæ, &c.

cited above (39). "Ariſteum invocat, id eſt Apol- "linis & Cyrenes filium —— hic (ut etiam Salluſtius "docet) poſt laniatum à canibus Actæonem filium "Thebas reliquit, & Ceam inſulam tenuit primo ad- "huc hominibus vacuam (40). —— *He invokes* Ari- "ſteus, i. e. *the Son of* Apollo *and* Cyrene. —— *This* "Ariſteus *(as* Salluſt *alſo informs us) after his Son* "Actæon *was torn in pieces by Dogs, left* Thebes, "*and took poſſeſſion of the Iſland of* Cea, *which, 'till* "*then, had been uninhabited.*" *Apollonius* informs us, that *Ariſteus*, being ſent for by the Inhabitants of the *Cyclades*, to put a ſtop to the Plague, went from *Theſſaly* into the Iſland of *Cea*.

(12) Virgil. Georgic. lib. 4. ver. 355. *See alſo* Servius, *on* ver. 317.

(13) Hygin. cap. 161.

(14) Schol. Apoll. in lib. 2. Argon. v. 502.

(15) Friſchlin. in Callimach. Hymn. 2, pag. 392, Edit. Ultraj. 1697.

(16) Apoll. Argon. lib. 2, ver. 502. & ſeq.

(17) Diod. Sicul. lib. 4, cap. 83, pag. 167.

(18) Pindar. Od. 9. Pyth. pag. 441.

(19) Schol. Apoll. Argon. lib. 2, ver. 500.

(20) Apoll. ibid. lib. 4, ver. 1218. *mentions a Temple of* Apollo Nomius.

(21) Benedictus, in Pindarum ubi ſupra, pag. 442.

(22) Plut. in Amator. p. 757.

(23) Scholiaſt. Apoll. in lib. 2. ver. 509.

(24) Apoll. Argon. l. 4. ver. 512, &c.

(25) Id. ib. ver. 1132.

(26) Virgil. Georg. lib. 4. ver. 326.

(27) Id. ib. lib. 1. v. 14.

(28) Oppian. Cyneg. l. 4.

(29) Nonnus, Dionyſ. l. 5.

(30) Plin. l. 7. c. 56. p. 99.

(31) Varro de Ling. Lat. l. 4. p. 34.

(32) Ἀριςαῖος πρῶτον τὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ σιλφίου ἐξεῦρεν ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦ μελιτος.

(33) Juſtin. lib. 13, c. 7.

(34) *It ſhould be read* Agræus.

(35) *See* Voſſius de Theolog. Gentil. lib. 7, cap. 10, pag. 350.

(36) *It is the Opinion of* Voſſ. ubi ſupra.

(37) *And not*, apud Coos, *as* Rhodoman *has tranſlated it.*

(38) *It is the Opinion of* Salmaſius in Solinum, pag. 144, 145.

(39) *Citation* (27).

(40) Servius in Georg. lib. 1, v. 14.

had given him, to *Sardinia* [*D*]; that he fixed upon an Habitation there; that he cultivated This Country with great Care; that he baniſhed Barbarity from thence, and civilized the Place; that he viſited ſome other Iſlands; that the plentiful Harveſts, and vaſt Stocks of Cattle, induced him to ſtay ſome time in *Sicily*; where he taught his rare Secrets to the Inhabitants; that, by way of Acknowledgment, they honoured him as a God, eſpecially Thoſe, who cultivated Olive-Trees; that, at laſt, he went into *Thrace*; that he was admitted there by *Bacchus* into the Myſteries of the *Orgies*; and that, by his Familiarity with That God, he learnt many things, which were uſeful to human Life; that, having lived there, ſome time, near Mount *Hemus*, he diſappeared; and that not only the Barbarous People of the Country, but the very *Greeks* inſtituted to him Divine Honours (*b*). Mr *Moreri* falſly obſerves, that *Diodorus Siculus* mentions another *Ariſteus*, in the Eighty fourth Chapter of the Fourth Book; for That Chapter, and the preceeding, contain what I have now delivered. I am ſurprized, that we meet with nothing there concerning *Arcadia*, which was one of the principal Stations of *Ariſteus* [*E*]. In the Remarks, you will find the different Opinions of Authors, the Impertinence of ſome Cenſures, with other Particulars; nor ſhall I omit the Aſtronomical Diſcovery, which is aſcribed to *Ariſteus* [*F*]; nor his worſhipping the Dog-Star; nor his Daughter *Macris*

Λίπεν δ᾽ ὅγε πατρὸς ἐφετμῇ
Φθίην, ἐν δὲ Κέῳ κατενάσσατο λαὸν ἀγείρας
Παῤῥάσιον (41).

Commanded by his Sire, the Son obey'd,
And, leaving Phthia, *the* Parrhaſians *led*
To Cea's *Iſle*.

The Scholiaſt on this Poet affirms, as I have already obſerved, that *Ariſteus* taught the Art of making Honey, and Oyl, in the ſame Iſland. Ἀρισταῖος δὲ ἐν τῆ Κέω εὑρὼν τὰ μελισσουργικὰ πρῶτος καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου κατεργασίαν (42). We ſhall ſee, in the Remark [*F*], that he eſtabliſhed there the Worſhip of the Dog-Star. *Varro Atacinus* relates, in his Poem of the *Argonauts*, that, a great Mortality among the Cattle afflicting That Iſland, *Ariſteus* went thither, by *Apollo*'s Direction, and delivered it from That Calamity, after he had ſacrificed to *Jupiter Icmæus*. The Winds, and Heats, which occaſioned the Mortality, ceaſed. After *Ariſteus*'s Death, the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Cea* obeyed an Oracle, which commanded them to place him in the Number of the Gods, and called him *Nomius* and *Agræus*, becauſe of the Service he had done them, by his Induſtry in feeding their Flocks, and manuring their Lands (43). Be not ſurprized, to find, in this Place, that he cauſed the Mortality to ceaſe, by calming the Winds; and to find, hereafter, that he cauſed it to ceaſe, by raiſing the Winds; for thus ancient Traditions are contrived; one confutes, what the other affirms; one forgets the only Particular, which the other remembers. A compleat Narrative might have informed us, that, by changing the Wind, he reſtored Health; but They, who knew not how to expreſs the whole, obſerved only, that the Wind ceaſed; you muſt not expect the reſt; or, perhaps, that the Wind roſe; you are to know no more of it; they will not inform you, that the peſtilential Wind ceaſed, and the healthy ſucceeded. The Correction, which I have read in *Salmaſius*, of a Paſſage in *Heraclides*, ſeems to me an happy one; in the mean while I would not ſwear, that it is not ſaid in the Original, that the Peſtilence in the Iſland of *Cea* proceeded from the Wind. Φθορᾶς οὔσης φυτῶν καὶ ζώων διὰ τὸ πνεῖν ἐτεσίας (44). *A Plague happening on Plants and Animals, occaſioned by the* Eteſian *Winds. Salmaſius* corrects the Paſſage thus. Δία ᾐτήσατο τὸ πνεῖν ἐτησίας (45). *He prayed to* Jupiter, *that the* Eteſian *Winds might blow.* Which agrees with what I ſhall obſerve in the Remark [*F*].

[*D*] *He ſailed - - - - - towards* Sardinia.] *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that he ſettled in the Iſland of *Cea*, after the Death of *Actæon*, and afterwards went into *Lybia*, and from thence to *Sardinia* (46); but others pretend, that his Grief for the Death of *Actæon* gave him ſuch a Diſtaſte for *Bœotia*, and the reſt of *Greece*, that he went to reſide in foreign Countries (47). They ſay, it was then, that he led a Colony into *Sardinia*. It is ſaid, that *Dædalus*, having made his Eſcape from the Iſland of *Crete*, joined him in conducting this Colony (48); but Chronology refutes this invincibly. *Dædalus* was Cotemporary with *Oedipus*, King of *Thebes* (49); he could not, therefore, be concerned with *Ariſteus*, the Son-in-law of *Cadmus*. However it be, Accounts differ greatly. *Pauſanias* ſays, that a Company of *Lybians* had ſettled themſelves in *Sardinia*, and incorporated with the Natives of the Country, before *Ariſteus* came thither; but *Ariſtotle* relates, that *Ariſteus* was the firſt, who cultivated That Iſland; and that, before his Time, it ſerved only as a Dwelling to great Numbers of monſtrous Birds (50). Conſult *Bochart*, who maintains, that This Voyage of *Ariſteus* is a Fable (51).

[*E*] Arcadia, —— *was one of the principal Stations of* Ariſteus.] For This reaſon *Virgil* gives him the Epithet *Arcadius*, where he mentions the Invention of hiving new Bees:

Tempus & Arcadii memoranda inventa Magiſtri
Pandere, quoque modo cæſis jam ſæpe juvencis
Inſincerus apes tulerit cruor (52).

'Tis time to touch the Precepts of an Art,
Th' Arcadian *Maſter did of old impart;*
And how he ſtock'd his empty Hives again,
Renew'd with putrid Gore of Oxen ſlain.

DRYDEN.

This Art was an Invention of *Ariſteus*, and cauſed him to be honoured as a God in *Arcadia* "Poſt eâ "(*Cea*) relicta, cum Dædalo ad Sardiniam tranſitum "fecit. Huic opinioni Pindarus refragatur, qui eum "ait de Cea inſula in Arcadiam migraſſe, ibique vitam coluiſſe. Nam apud Arcadas pro Jove colitur, quod primus oſtenderit qualiter apes debeant "reparari (53). —— *Afterwards, leaving this Iſland* "(Cea), *he paſſed over with* Dædalus *to* Sardinia. "Pindar *contradicts this Opinion, who ſays, that he* "*paſſed from the Iſland* Cea *to* Arcadia, *and there* "*reſided. For the* Arcadians *worſhip him as* Jupiter; "*becauſe he firſt taught the Art of repairing the loſs* "*of Bees.*" *Juſtin* gives *Ariſteus* a large Kingdom in *Arcadia*: I ſhall quote his Words in the following Remark. It is not true, what Mr *Lloyd* affirms, that *Apollonius* makes *Ariſteus* go from *Arcadia* to the Iſland of *Cea*. He has copied this Miſtake from *Salmaſius* (54).

[*F*] *The Aſtronomical Diſcovery, which was aſcribed to* Ariſteus.] If we conſider *Juſtin*'s Words only ſuperficially, we may be induced to think, that he aſcribes the firſt Diſcovery of the Solſtices to *Ariſteus*; but They, who read him with attention, will eaſily perceive, that he ſpeaks of the riſing of the Dog-Star. "Ariſteum in Arcadia late regnaſſe, eumque primum & apium & mellis uſum & lactis ad coagula "hominibus tradidiſſe, Solſtitialeſque ortus ſideris primum inveniſſe (55). ———— Ariſteus *reigned* "*over all* Arcadia; *and was the firſt, who taught* "*Mankind the uſe of Bees, Honey, and Cheeſe, and* "*diſcovered the riſing of the Dog-Star.*" The moſt learned Critics have obſerved, that it ſhould either be read *Solſtitialiſque ortus Sideris*, or *Solſtitialiſque ortus Sirii* (56). Either of theſe two Readings mean the Dog-Star, as they pretend. It is certain, that This Star had a particular relation to our *Ariſteus*. The

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(*b*) *Taken from* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 4. cap. 83, 84.

(41) Apoll. Argon. lib. 2. ver. 521.

(42) Schol. Apoll. in lib. 2, ver. 500.

(43) Voſſ. de Theol. Gentil. lib. 7, cap. 10, pag. 350.

(44) Heraclides, de Politiis, pag. 20.

(45) Salmaſ. in Solin. pag. 144.

(46) Diod. Siculus, lib. 4, cap. 84.

(47) Pauſan. lib. 10, pag. 332. *See likewiſe* Silſus Italicus, lib. 12, pag. 498.

(48) Id. ib.

(49) Id. ib.

(50) Ariſtot. de Mirab. Auſcult. pag. 881. Oper. Tom. 1.

(51) Bochart. Geograph. ſacr. Part. II. lib. 1, cap. 31, pag. 632, 633.

(52) Virgil. Georg. lib. 4, ver. 283.

(53) Servius in Georg. Virg. lib. 1. ver. 14.

(54) Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 99.

(55) Juſtin. lib. 13. cap. 7. pag. 313, 314.

(56) *See the* Juſtin, Variorum, *of* Mr Grævius, *on this Paſſage.*

Macris [G]. It has been ſaid, that, in reward for the Services he had done Mankind by his Knowledge of all the uſeful Arts, the Gods placed him among the Stars, and that he was the *Aquarius* of the *Zodiac* (c). The Conformity of his Hiſtory with That of *Moſes* has been curiouſly and learnedly ſhewn by *Huetius* (d). Almoſt all that *Lloyd* has added to *Charles Stephens*, on this Article, he has taken Word for Word from the Commentary of *de la Cerda* (e); yet without quoting him.

(c) *See the Commentary of* Germanicus, in Aratea Phænomena, cap. de Aquario, pag. 118.

(d) Huetius, Demonſtr. Evang. Propoſ. IV. cap. 8. n. 17. pag. 110.

(e) In lib. 4. Georgic. Virgilii.

The Foundation of it was this. The Heats of the Dog-Days had laid waſte the *Cyclades*, and produced a Plague, which the Natives intreated *Ariſteus* to put a ſtop to. Upon which, he went into the Iſland of *Cea*, and, cauſing an Altar to be built to *Jupiter*, offered Sacrifices to That God: He offered likewiſe Sacrifices to the peſtilential Star, and eſtabliſhed an anniverſary Worſhip of it. This produced a very good Effect; for from thence the *Eteſian* Winds took their Original; Winds, which continue for forty Days, and which temper the Heat of the Summer:

Καὶ βωμὸν ποίησε μέγαν Διὸς ἰκμαίοιο.
Ἱερά τ' εὖ ἔρρεξεν ἐν οὔρεσιν ἀστέρι κείνῳ
Σειρίῳ, αὐτῷ τε κρονίδῃ Διΐ. τοῖο δ' ἕκητι
Γαῖαν ἐπιψύχουσιν ἐτήσιοι ἐκ Διὸς αὖραι
Ἤματα τεσσαράκοντα. Κέῳ δ' ἔτι νῦν ἱερῆες
Ἀντολέων προπάροιθε κυνὸς ῥέζουσι θυηλάς (57).

(57) Apoll. lib. 2. Argon. v. 524.

To Jove, *the God, who bids the Dews deſcend,*
An Altar on the Mountain's Brow he raiſed.
To Sirius, *then, and* Saturn's *Son he pray'd.*
Eteſian *Gales hence fan the glowing Earth;*
And hence, e'er Sirius *lifts his ſcorching Rays,*
The Coan *Prieſts the ſacred Rites perform.*

Diodorus Siculus does not expreſsly enough declare, that the *Eteſian* Winds were the Effect of *Ariſteus*'s Sacrifices (58). He ſeems to ſay, that, this Sacrifice having been made about the beginning of the Dog-Star, which falls in with the Seaſon of The *Eteſian* Winds, the Plague ceaſed. But it is certain, he pretends, that the raging Heat of That Star was abated by the religious Acts performed by *Ariſteus*. He finds matter of Wonder in it, that the ſame Perſon, whoſe Son was torn to pieces by Dogs, ſhould correct the Malignity of a Star, which is called the Dog. I leave out his *Greek*, and give only the Tranſlation of *Rhodoman*. *Singularem hanc rerum converſionem, ſi quis penitius examinet, meritò demiretur. Qui enim filium à canibus diſcerptum vidit, is cæleſte ſidus canis nomine appellatum, quod hominibus exitium adferre putatur, mitigavit, & mortalibus non paucis auctor ſalutis exſtitit* (59). Other Authors ſay, in plain and expreſs Terms, that *Ariſteus*'s Devotions were the Cauſe of theſe Winds. "Canicula exoriens æſtu "eorum (60) loca & agros fructibus orbabat: & ipſos morbo affectos pœnas ſufferre cogebat, eo quod "latrones recepiſſent. Quorum Rex Ariſteus, Apol"linis & Cyrenes filius, Actæonis pater, petit à pa"rente quo facto à calamitate civitatem poſſet libe"rare: quem deus jubet multis hoſtiis expiare Icarii "mortem, & ab Jove petere, ut, quo tempore Cani"cula exoriretur, dies quadraginta ventum daret, qui "æſtui caniculæ mederetur. Quod juſſum Ari"ſteus confecit, & ab Jove impetravit ut Eteſiæ fla"rent (61). —— *The Dog-Star, riſing with great* "*Heat, deſtroyed the Fruits of their Ground, and* "*brought a Plague upon the Inhabitants, as a Pu*"*niſhment for their having given reception to Thieves.* "*Their King* Ariſteus, *the Son of* Apollo *and* Cyrene, "*and Father of* Actæon, *enquired of his Father, by* "*what means he might remove this Calamity from* "*the State; whom the God commanded to expiate,* "*with many Sacrifices, the Death of* Icarius, *and to* "*beg of* Jupiter, *that, at what time the Dog-Star* "*aroſe, he would ſend a Wind for forty Days, which* "*ſhould temper the Heat of the Dog-Star.* Ariſteus *obey*"*ed, and obtained of* Jupiter, *that the* Eteſian *Winds* "*might blow.*" The Scholiaſt of *Apollonius* ſays expreſſly, that the *Eteſian* Winds began to blow upon *Ariſteus*'s Prayers. Ὅτι ἐτήσιαι ἔπνευσαν Ἀρισταίου αἰτησαμένου (62). Conſult likewiſe *Germanicus*'s Commentary on the Phænomena of *Aratus* (63). Let us ſpeak of the Anniverſary, which he eſtabliſhed. He ordered (64), that, every Year, the Prieſts of *Cea* ſhould offer Sacrifices, before the riſing of the Dog-Star, and that the Inhabitants ſhould arm themſelves to obſerve the riſing of This Conſtellation, and offer Sacrifice to it. Ἐνομοθέτησε γὰρ τοῖς κώοις (read κείοις) κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν ἐπιτολὴν τοῦ κυνὸς, καὶ θύειν αὐτῷ (65). *Cicero* ſays, that they expected to foreſee, by obſerving This Planet, whether the Year would prove healthful, or not. *Ceos accepimus ortum caniculæ diligenter quotannis ſolere ſervare, conjecturamque capere, ut ſcribit Ponticus Heraclides, ſalubriſne an peſtilens annus futurus ſit* (66). *Manilius* imputes the ſame to the *Cilicians* (67). I know not whether the Inhabitants of *Calabria*, who offered up Vows to This Star, borrowed This Act of Religion, mediately or immediately, from *Ariſteus*:

(58) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 4. cap. 84.

(59) Id. ib. pag. 268.

(60) *So it ſhould be read, and not* corum. *See* Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 144.

(61) Hygin. Poët. Aſtron. lib. 2. cap. 4. pag. 365.

(62) Schol. Apoll. in lib. 2. ver. 500.

(63) German. in Aratea Phænom. in Aquar. p. 118, 119.

(64) Apoll. lib. 2. ver. 528. *you will find his Words, above, Citat.* (57).

(65) Schol. Apollon. in lib. 2. ver. 528.

(66) Cicero, de Divinat. l. 1. cap. 57.

(67) Manil. Aſtronom. lib. 1. p. 13.

—— ſic cum ſtabulis & meſſibus ingens
Ira deum & Calabri populator Sirius arvi
Incubuit, coit agreſtum manus inſcia priſcum
In nemus, & miſeris dictat pia vota Sacerdos (68).

(68) Valer. Flaccus, Argon. lib. 1. ver. 682.

So when the Dog-Star o'er Calabria *reigns,*
And parches with exceſſive Heat her Plains,
The ſtupid Peaſants, ſtruck with annual Fear,
Aſſembled in ſome ancient Grove appear;
In ſuperſtitious Rites they paſs the Day,
And, as the Prieſt directs, the Wretches pray.

What Superſtition! and yet This was not the moſt extravagant in Paganiſm. By the way, the Paſſage of *Juſtin*, which I have cited in the beginning of this Remark, will furniſh us with an Incident here. Mr *Faber* thought himſelf the firſt, who underſtood it. "*Juſtin*, ſays he, does not pretend to ſay, that "*Ariſteus* taught the uſe of Milk; That would have "been contrary to Truth, and all Antiquity; he "ſpeaks only of the Art of curdling Milk: *Sed* "*oſtendiſſe hominibus qua arte coagulum ex lacte con*"*fici conformarique poſſet* (69). Neither does he "pretend, that *Ariſteus* invented the uſe of Honey; "Milk and Honey ſerved to nouriſh the greateſt of "the Gods. *Nam Jupiter, pater ille hominumque* "*Deumque, melle nutritus eſt & lacte* (70). He "ſpeaks, then, of the Art of curdling Milk with Ho"ney." *Ergo aliud docuit Ariſteus, ſcilicet coagulum fieri ex mixtura, ſeu, ut Græci vocant, cramate mellis & lactis. Hunc locum à nemine hactenus intellectum arbitror* (71). This Explanation ſeems to me very ingenious; but the Reaſons, on which it is grounded, prove too much; for, if the ancient Tradition concerning the Food, with which *Jupiter* was nouriſhed during his Infancy, prevented *Juſtin* from ſaying, that *Ariſteus* taught Men the uſe of Honey, he would not have affirmed, that *Gargoris*, King of the *Cynetes* (72), or *Cunetes*, was the firſt Inventor of Honey; and yet he has ſaid ſo plainly, and without leaving room to give two different Senſes to his Words; *Quorum* (*Cunetum*) *Rex vetuſtiſſimus Gargoris mellis colligendi uſum primus invenit* (73). It cannot, I think, be pretended, that *Juſtin* paid ſuch a Regard to poetical Traditions, that he was cautious of advancing things, which confute them. A great Number of Authors have ſaid, that *Ariſteus* invented Honey; their Words imply ſo much expreſsly, and cannot admit of this Signification, *he invented a Mixture of Honey and Milk, which formed a Curd.* It may reaſonably, then, be concluded, that *Juſtin* meant as They did, and that he conſidered not what the Poets had ſaid concerning *Jupiter*'s Milk and Honey. Obſerve, by the way, that *Ariſteus*'s Inventions conſiſted ſometimes in Mixtures; for he was the firſt, who taught the *Thracians* to mix Honey with Wine. *Ariſteum primum omnium in eadem gente mel miſcuiſſe vino, ſuavitate præcipua utriuſque naturæ ſponte provenientis* (74).

(69) Tanaq. Faber. Not. in Juſtin. l. 13. cap. 7.

(70) Id. ib.

(71) Id. ib.

(72) *A People of* Spain.

(73) Juſtin. lib. 44, c. 4.

(74) Plin. l. 14. c 4. pag. 127.

[G] *His Daughter* Macris.] Very few Authors mention her; but This is *Apollonius*'s Account of her (75). It was She, who ſet little *Bacchus* upon her knee, after *Mercury* had reſcued him from the Flames; and it was ſhe, who fed him with Honey. She lived at that time in the Center of the Iſland of *Eubæa*; ſhe expoſed herſelf to the Indignation of *Juno*, by the

(75) Apoll. Argon. l. 4. ver. 1131, & ſeq.

good Offices ſhe performed to This Child, and was forced to leave the Country, and hide herſelf in a Cave, in the Iſland of the *Pheacians*, where ſhe was a great Benefactreſs to the Inhabitants.

—— Καὶ πόρεν ὄλβον ἀθέσφατον, ἐνναέτῃσιν.

Et infinitis inſularios opibus beavit (76).

Let us conclude from hence, that *Ariſteus*, Uncle-in-Law to *Bacchus* (77), was much elder than *Bacchus* himſelf. This does not confute what *Diodorus Siculus* ſays concerning the Admiſſion of *Ariſteus* into the *Orgies*, &c. nor, what others ſuppoſe, that he commanded ſome Troops in *Bacchus*'s Army (78); for Order requires, that the Superiority ſhould ever belong to a Son of *Jupiter*, tho' the Younger Perſon.

(76) Id. ib. ver. 1140.

(77) *He was the Husband of* Autonoë, *Siſter of the Mother of* Bacchus.

(78) Nonnus, Dionyſiacor, lib. 13.

ARISTEUS, the Geometrician, lived before *Euclid*, and compoſed Works, which met with Eſteem. See, below, a fine Paſſage of *Pappus* [*A*].

[*A*] *A fine Paſſage of* Pappus.] I term it ſo, becauſe it informs us of a very curious Particular relating to *Euclid*; which is, that this great Geometrician, (contrary to what *Apollonius Pergæus* had alledged) out of reſpect to *Ariſteus*, and having a particular Eſteem for All, who had contributed to the Improvement of the Mathematical Sciences, would not ſeem to be more expert in the Knowledge of *Conics* than He. I have taken Notice of this before (1). Let us produce the Words of *Pappus*. “ Ariſteus “ autem, qui ſcribit ea quæ ad hoc uſque tempus “ tradita ſunt ſolidorum libros quinque, conicis “ cohærentes vocavit ----- Euclides autem ſecutus “ Ariſteum ſcriptorem luculentum in iis quæ de “ conicis tradiderat, neque antevertens, neque volens “ eorum tractationem deſtruere, cum mitiſſimus “ eſſet & benignus erga omnes, præſertim eos qui “ mathematicas diſciplinas aliqua ex parte augere “ & amplificare poſſent, ut par eſt, & nullo modo “ infenſus ſed accuratus, non arrogans velut hic “ (*Apollonius Pergæus*) quantum oſtendi potuit de “ loco per ejus conica memoriæ prodidit (2).

(1) *In Remark (D) of the Article* APOLLONIUS (PERGAEUS), *Citat.* (31).

(2) Pappus, in Proœmio Mathemat. Collect.

ARISTEAS, the *Proconneſian*. Mr *Moreri*, contenting himſelf with telling us, that he lived in the Time of *Cyrus* [*A*], and that he compoſed the Hiſtory of the *Arimaſpians*, and *a Treatiſe of the Origin of the Gods*, *the whole filled with Fables* [*B*], has omitted what was moſt ſingular in This Article. Let us therefore ſupply it as follows, and ſay, That This *Ariſteas*, dying in his own Country (*a*), was ſeen, the very ſame Day, and Hour, reading Lectures in *Sicily*. This Prodigy being ſeveral times renewed, and during ſeveral Years, obliged the *Sicilians* to build a Temple, and offer Sacrifices, to Him (*b*). *Herodotus* has ſpoken at large of this Miracle [*C*]. *Pliny* relates, that, in the Iſland of *Proconneſus*, the Soul of *Ariſteas*

(*a*) *The Iſland of* Proconneſus *in the* Propontis.

(*b*) *Taken from* Apollonius Dyſcolus Hiſtor. Comment. cap. 2.

[*A*] *He lived in the Time of* Cyrus.] This is proved by the Teſtimony of *Suidas*. Note, that *Cyrus* began to reign in *Perſia* in the LVth Olympiad. *Voſſius* infers from hence, that *Suidas*, in ſaying, on the one ſide, that *Ariſteas* flouriſhed in the Lth Olympiad, and, on the other, that This was in the Time of *Cyrus*, has not obſerved exactneſs (1). The Anonymous Author, who has ſettled the Olympiads, places *Ariſteas* in the Lth. This does not agree with what others have ſaid; *viz.* that *Homer* was his Diſciple (2). *Tatian* makes him later than *Homer* (3), and was cenſured for it by *Voſſius*, as too favourable, in this Point, to the Good Cauſe, to wit, that *Homer*'s Age was conſiderably later than That of *Moſes* (4). This Cenſure ſeems to me to be but weakly founded; for *Tatian* might juſtly make uſe of a Tradition, which was eſtabliſhed among the *Pagans*. It has been ſaid, we ſee, that our *Ariſteas* was the Preceptor of *Homer*; and we read, in *Herodotus*, that *Ariſteas* appeared in the World, three Ages after he had compoſed a Poem (5); ſo that it was not agreed, that he flouriſhed in the Time of *Cyrus*. Obſerve, that *Herodotus* was born in the firſt Year of the LXXIVth Olympiad, and that he does not mention this laſt Appearance of *Ariſteas* as a thing which had lately happened; but on the contrary, intimates, that the Tradition of the *Metapontines*, concerning this Adventure, was of long ſtanding; for he does not ſay, that they marked the Time of it.

[*B*] *The whole filled with Fables.*] *Aulus Gellius* relates, that, being at *Brunduſium*, he ſaw ſeveral Bales of Books expoſed to ſale, and that he was permitted to purchaſe as many as he pleaſed at a low Price; that They were all the Works of *Greek* Authors, who had collected ſeveral ſurprizing and incredible Fables; as *Ariſteas*, *Iſigonus*, *Cteſias*, *Oneſicritus*, *Polyſtephanus*, and *Hegeſias*; that he bought ſeveral of them; out of which he made ſeveral Extracts, which he inſerted in his Work. *Faſces librorum venalium expoſitos vidimus. Atque ego avidè ſtatim pergo ad libros. Erant autem iſti omnes libri Græci miraculorum fabularumque pleni: res inauditæ, incredulæ: ſcriptores veteres non parvæ auctoritatis, Ariſteas Proconneſius, & Iſigonus Nicæenſis, & Cteſias, & Oneſicritus, & Polyſtephanus, & Hegeſias. Ipſa autem volumina ex diutino ſitu ſquallebant, & habitu adſpectuque tetro erant. Acceſſi tamen, percunctatuſque precium ſum: &, adductus mira atque inſperata vilitate, libros plurimos ære pauco emo; eoſque omnes duabus proximis noctibus curſim tranſeo; atque in legendo carpſi exinde quædam, & notavi mirabilia & ſcriptoribus fere noſtris intentata; eaque his commentariis adſperſi* (6). The reſt of this Chapter of *Aulus Gellius* is full of Chimerical Narrations, which he had read in Thoſe Authors, or in *Pliny*. You are to know, that the Hiſtory of the *Arimaſpians*, compoſed by *Ariſteas*, was a Poem (7). You will perhaps ſay, how do we know but the Author wrote it without intending it ſhould be taken for Truth? *Arioſto* had no ſuch Intention. Why do we not judge of the Ancient Poets, as of Him in this Point? I reply, that *Ariſteas* had no Intention of diverting his Readers with Reports, which he deſigned ſhould be looked upon as Fables, becauſe his Aim, in theſe Stories, was to cure the Incredulity he had obſerved in the People. No One believed he was a Philoſopher; and the Reaſon was, becauſe he denied having ever been inſtructed (8). He removed this objection, by pretending, that his Soul had left his Body, and that, taking it's flight towards Heaven, it had ſurveyed all the *Greek* and *Barbarian* Countries, and finiſhed its Courſe in the *Hyperborean* Climates. He boaſted to have, by this means, diſcovered the Situation of Places, the Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants, the natural Qualities of the Elements, *&c.* and alſo to have obſerved the Heavens more exactly, than the Earth. Was not this producing his Tales as ſo many credential Letters? Did he not, by this, endeavour to eſtabliſh an Authority, which ſhould give credit to every thing elſe he had to ſay? He muſt, then, have propoſed theſe Facts as true. And they were received as ſuch; for more Credit was given to This Man, than to thoſe Philoſophers, who dogmatized without any diſguiſe (9). Note, that *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* obſerves, that it was not univerſally believed, that our *Ariſteas* was Author of the Books, which went under his Name (10).

[*C*] Herodotus *has ſpoken at large of this Miracle.*] This is the Sum of his Relation. *Ariſteas*, one of the chief Men of the Iſland of *Proconneſus*, went one Day into a Fuller's Houſe, and died there. The Fuller ſhut up his Doors, and went and informed *Ariſteas*'s Relations of his Death. This News was ſoon ſpread all over the City; but, whilſt this was the common Diſcourſe, there came one, who affirmed, that he had met *Ariſteas* going to *Cyzicus* (11), and that he had ſpoken with him. His Relations went to the Fuller's Houſe, with Neceſſaries for his Funeral, but found him not, either dead, or alive. He appeared at the end of ſeven Years, and compoſed the Poem of the *Arimaſpians*; after which he

(1) Voſſ. de Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4. cap. 2, pag. 433.

(2) Strab. lib. 14, pag. 439.

(3) Tatian. Orat. ad Græcos, apud Voſſ. ib. lib. 1, cap. 1. pag. 7.

(4) Voſſ. ib. pag. 6.

(5) Herod. lib. 4. c. 14.

(6) Aulus Gellius, lib. 9, cap. 4. pag. 229. *Note, that* Huetius, in Demonſt. Evangel. Prop. 9, cap. 142, pag. 1037, *cites this Paſſage of* Aulus Gellius, *as importing, that what had been ſaid of* Ariſteus *was falſe. This is not the Thought of* Aulus Gellius.

(7) Herodot. lib. 4, c. 13, 14. Strabo, lib. 1, pag. 15. & l. 13, pag. 405.

(8) Max. Tyrius, Diſſert. 22, pag. 223.

(9) Id. ibid. pag. 224.

(10) Dionyſ. Halicarn. in judicio de Thucyd. cap. 25, pag. 384.

(11) *According to* Plutarch, in Romulo, pag. 35, *there were, who affirmed, that they ſaw him on the Road to* Crotona.

Ariſteas was ſeen to come out of his Mouth, in the Shape of a Raven (*c*). Others ſay, that his Soul went in and out of his Body at Pleaſure [*D*]. *Strabo* makes This *Ariſteas* one of the greateſt Sorcerers that ever was (*d*). Some ſay, that, to overcome the Incredulity of the People, with Regard to his Doctrine, he perſuaded them, that his Soul had travelled into ſeveral Countries, ſeparate from his Body (*e*). Six of his Verſes are found in the Treatiſe of *Longinus* (*f*). Some others are found in the *Chiliads* of *Tzetzes* (*g*). He is twice cited in *Pauſanias* (*h*). By the way, They, who pretend, that he was not quite dead, when his Soul was travelling (*i*), do not much leſſen the Wonderfulneſs of the Prodigy. It is unneceſſary to obſerve, that *Plutarch* laughed at this fine Story (*k*). *Gyraldus* has been guilty of ſome Miſtakes [*E*].

(*c*) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 52. pag. 85.

(*d*) Strabo, lib. 13. pag. 405.

(*e*) *See Remark* [*B*].

(*f*) Longin. περὶ ὕψȣς, §. 9. p. 26.

(*g*) Tzetzes chil. 7. Hiſt. pag. 144. *See* Caſaub. *on* Athenæus, lib. 1. pag. 13.

(*h*) Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 22. & lib. 5. pag. 154.

(*i*) Maxim. Tyrius, Orat. 28. p. 282.

(*k*) Plut. in Romulo, p. 35.

he diſappeared. Two or three Ages after, he ſhewed himſelf to the Inhabitants of *Metapontus* (12), and commanded them to build an Altar to *Apollo*, and to erect a Statue, near it, in honour of *Ariſteas* the *Proconneſian*. He told them, that they were the only *Italians*, whom *Apollo* had honoured with a Viſit, and that he had accompanied him in That Journey, not in the Shape of *Ariſteas*, but in That of a Raven; and, having ſaid this, he diſappeared. The *Metapontines* enquired of the Oracle at *Delphi* what this meant: They were anſwered, that they would do well to obey; accordingly they executed his Orders (13). The Hiſtorian teſtifies, that, in his Time, there was a Statue of *Ariſteas* in the Market-Place of *Metapontus*, near the Altar of *Apollo*, ſurrounded with Lawrel Trees. Let us add to this a Fact reported by *Athenæus*. After the return of *Ariſteas* (14), the *Metapontines* dedicated a brazen Lawrel to *Apollo*. This Lawrel having ſpoken, at the Time when a Dancer of *Theſſaly* approached the Market-Place of *Metapontum*, the Soothſayers, who were preſent, were immediately ſeized with ſuch Fury, that they tore the Woman in Pieces. Note, that ſhe had received a ſacred Preſent from *Philomelus*, which was a golden Crown of Lawrel; which the Inhabitants of *Lampſacus* had conſecrated in the Temple of *Delphi* (15). Note alſo, that *Æneas Gazæus*, citing the Narrative of *Herodotus*, adds this Circumſtance; that the Sacrifices of the *Metapontines* were eſteemed to belong in common to *Apollo* and *Ariſteas*, as two Deities (16). *Origen* obſerves, that *Apollo* commanded This *Ariſteas* to be honoured as a God by the Inhabitants of *Metapontus* (17). *Meurſius* pretends, that *Athenagoras* reproached the *Pagans* with having honoured *Ariſteas* in the Iſland of *Chios*, and with having taken him for the ſame God as *Apollo* and *Jupiter* (18). Χῖοι Ἀριςέαν τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Δία καὶ Ἀπολλω νομίζοντες (19). *Chii Ariſteam, quem & Jovem arbitrantur & Apollinem.* *Huetius* imagines, with much probability, that, inſtead Χῖοι, it ſhould be read Χεῖοι, and that the Paſſage relates to *Ariſteus*, the Son of *Apollo* and *Cyrene* (20); for this latter was worſhiped in the Iſland of *Cea* (21). *Suffridus* underſtands the Paſſage of *Athenagoras* of this latter (22). *Huetius* ſhews, that ARISTEUS and ARISTEAS have been often miſtaken one for the other (23).

They, who will have all Romances founded on ſome true Story, may ſuppoſe, that *Ariſteas*, having counterfeited the dead Man in the Fuller's Houſe, found means to get out, in the Maſter's Abſence, and to convey himſelf privately out of the Town; and that, having hid himſelf for ſome Years, he returned thither again, and produced a Poem, in which he celebrated his Extaſies (24); which he was very well pleaſed ſhould be taken in the literal, and not in the poëtical Senſe, in which we underſtand theſe Verſes of *Horace*:

> Quo me Bacche rapis tui
> Plenum, quæ in nemora aut quos agor in ſpecus
> Velox mente nova (25).

> *God of Wine, reſiſtleſs Pow'r,*
> *Whither will you hurry me,*
> *Full of the Deity,*
> *Tranſported with a Rage unknown before?*
> *Whither, whither, muſt I rove?*
> *To what wild Cave, what diſtant Grove?*
> Anonym.

and ſeveral others, which *Huetius* mentions (26). I cannot eaſily agree with him, that *Maximus Tyrius* confirms the Conjecture, to wit, that *Ariſteas* did not expect to be underſtood in a literal Senſe (27). *Maximus Tyrius* ſuppoſes quite the contrary; as we have ſeen before (28). As for his Appearance to the *Metapontines*, we may ſuppoſe, that an Impoſtor perſuaded them of what *Herodotus* relates; for they were *Pythagoreans*, and conſequently believed the Tranſmigration of Souls.

[*D*] *Others ſay, that his Soul went in and out of his Body at Pleaſure.*] This was ſaid by *Heſychius Illuſtrius*, and, after him, by *Suidas*. Theſe are their Words. Ἀρίςεȣ τȣ̃ Πϱοκοννησίȣ φασὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξιέναι ὅτε ἐβȣ́λετο, καὶ ἐπανιέναι ϖάλιν (29). *Ariſteæ Proconneſii animam è corpore exceſſiſſe, ubi vellet, rurſuſque rediiſſe fabulantur.* Τȣ́τȣ φασὶ τὴν ψύχην ὅταν ἐβȣ́λετο ἐξίεναι καὶ ἐπανίεναι ϖάλιν (30). *Hujus animam, quoties voluiſſet, exiiſſe & rediiſſe dicunt.*

[*E*] Gyraldus *has been guilty of ſome Miſtakes.*] I. He makes *Strabo* ſay, that the Eloquence and Addreſs of *Ariſteas* were of great Force. *Strabo Ariſteam facundia & blanditiis vehementem fuiſſe prodidit* (31). This is to underſtand nothing of This *Greek*, ἀνὴρ γόης εἴ τις ἄλλος, *ſecond to none in Sorcery*. II. He makes *Herodotus* ſay, that *Ariſteas*, having ordered the *Metapontines* to erect, at the ſame time, an Altar to *Apollo*, and a Statue to himſelf, and having at laſt declared to them, that he was a Raven, was tranſlated before their Eyes. This is miſunderſtanding *Herodotus*'s Relation. I refer you to it (33). III. He ſays, that *Plutarch* approves of *Herodotus*'s Narrative. This is falſe; *Plutarch* touches upon it but lightly, and makes a remarkable Change in the Circumſtances of the Place; and then rejects the whole as a Fable.

(12) *A Town of* Italy.

(13) Herod. l. 4. c. 14.

(14) *He ſaid, that he had been as far as the Country of the* Hyperboreans. Athen. lib. 13. pag. 605.

(15) Id. ib.

(16) Æneas Gazæus, in Theophraſt. apud Meurſ. Not. in Apollon. Dyſcol. pag. 87.

(17) Orig. contra Celſ. lib. 3.

(18) Meurſ. Not. in Apoll. Dyſc. pag. 87.

(19) Athen. Legat. pro Chriſtianis, pag. 28.

(20) Huet. Demonſtr. Evang. Prop. 9. cap. 142. pag. 1037. Voſſ. de Theolog. Gent. lib. 7. cap. 10. p. 349. *has the ſame Thought.*

(21) *See Remark* [*C*] *of the foregoing Article, Citation* (23).

(22) Suffridus, Not. in Athen. Legat. p. 242.

(23) Huet. ubi ſupra, & pag. 212.

(24) Ἔφη δὲ Ἀριςέης --- ἀπίκεσθαι ἐς Ἰσσηδόνας Φοιβόλαμπτος γενόμενος. Ariſteas memoravit ſe Phœbo inſtinctum veniſſe ad Iſſedonas. *Herod. lib.* 4. *cap.* 14.

(25) Horat. lib. 3. Od. 25.

(26) Huet. ubi ſupra pag. 1038.

(27) Id. ib. pag. 1039.

(28) *Citations* (8) *and* (9).

(29) Heſychius Illuſtr. de his qui Eruditionis fama claruere.

(30) Suidas in Ἀρίςεος.

(31) Greg. Girald. Dial. III. de Hiſtoria Poëtarum pag. 85.

(32) Strabo, lib. 13. pag. 405.

(33) *In the Remark* [*C*] *from the beginning to Citation* (13).

ARISTIDES, ſirnamed the *Juſt*, flouriſhed at *Athens* at the ſame time with *Themiſtocles*. They were greatly at variance; and it appeared, in their Caſe, that the being ſuperior to another in Virtue is not always the Means of being ſo in Reputation [*A*]. The Vehemence of *Themiſtocles*'s *Eloquence* made him triumph over the *Juſtice* of his Rival. It is remarkable, that one of Thoſe, who voted for the Baniſhment

[*A*] *The being ſuperior to another in Virtue is not always the means of being ſo in Reputation.*] This Thought is borrowed from *Cornelius Nepos*; "In his "cognitum eſt, quanto antiſtaret eloquentia innocentiæ; quamquam enim adeo excellebat Ariſtides abſtinentia, ut unus poſt hominum memoriam, quod "quidem nos audierimus, cognomine *Juſtus* ſit "appellatus, tamen à Themiſtocle collabefactus teſtula "illa exilio decem annorum multatus eſt (1). - - - - - "*In Them was ſeen the Advantage of Eloquence above* "*Innocence; for, though* Ariſtides *was ſo remarkably* "*Virtuous, as alone (at leaſt as far as I can remember) to have obtained the Sirname of* Juſt, *yet,* "*through the Influence, and by the Vote, of* Themiſtocles, *he ſuffered a ten Years Baniſhment.*" Be as honeſt as you pleaſe; if you are not Maſter of a noiſy, bluſtering, Eloquence, you may depend upon being foiled, though you come in Competition with the baſeſt Fellow of the Town.

(1) Corn. Nepos, in vita Ariſtidis.

niſhment of *Ariſtides*, gave as his Reaſon the great Reputation for Integrity, which he ſaw him enjoy [*B*]. But there is ſomething ſtill more remarkable. This great Man, who ſo exactly obſerved the Rules of Equity, in private Affairs, and between Man and Man, did not ſcruple to prefer the *Uſeful* to the *Honeſt*, in Affairs relating to the State [*C*]. He lived in great Poverty, and gloried in it [*D*]. He left neither ſufficient to portion his Daughters, nor to defray the Expences of his Funeral. The Commonwealth was at the Expence of both *(a)*. He was ſo generous, as not to join with the Enemies of *Themiſtocles* at a time, when there was Reaſon to believe they would cruſh him *(b)*: For *Themiſtocles*, was condemned to Baniſhment, without *Ariſtides*'s appearing againſt him. Authors differ about *Ariſtides*'s Death (*c*); but *Seneca* has undoubtedly committed a groſs Error in relation to it [*E*]. We ſhall obſerve, in the Article ARTEMIDORUS, that a Grandſon of *Ariſtides* gained his Living by telling Fortunes by Dreams.

[*B*] *One of Thoſe, who voted for the Baniſhment of* Ariſtides, *gave as his Reaſon, the great Reputation for Integrity he ſaw him enjoy.*] A Citizen of *Athens*, who gave his Vote that *Ariſtides* ſhould be baniſhed, being asked his Reaſon by *Ariſtides* himſelf, anſwered very frankly; *I have no Knowledge of the Man; but he diſpleaſes me by aſpiring to the Sirname of* Juſt. " *Cedenſque animadverteret quemdam ſcribentem, ut patria pelleretur, quæſiſſe ab eo dicitur*; Quare id faceret, aut quid Ariſtides commiſiſſet, cur tanta pœna dignus duceretur. *Cui ille reſpondit*; Se ignorare Ariſtidem, ſed ſibi non placere, quod cupide elaboraſſet, ut præter cæteros Juſtus appellaretur (2)." Thouſands think like this *Athenian*, but have not his Candor. Every thing, which excels, diſpleaſes them: They have a more favourable Regard for a Common, than a diſtinguiſhed, Virtue. The Reputation of *Ariſtides*, which the *Athenians*, one Day, gave ſuch authentic Teſtimony of, in his Preſence (3), has not experienced the Injury of Time, but has preſerved itſelf in all Ages; Read this Paſſage of *Auſonius*:

Nec ſola antiquos oſtentat Roma Catones:
Aut unus tantum juſti ſpectator & æqui
Pollet Ariſtides, vetereſque illuſtrat Athenas (4).

Nor Rome *alone her ancient* Catos *boaſts*;
Nor He *, *whoſe Virtues raiſed the* Athenian *Name*,
Claims the ſole Merit, to be Good, *and* Juſt.

[*C*] *He did not ſcruple to prefer the* Uſeful *to the* Honeſt, *in Affairs relating to the State.*] This is a freſh Example of what we have before (5) obſerved concerning PUBLIC RELIGION. *Ariſtides* had made the *Athenians* ſwear to perform a certain thing, and had himſelf taken an Oath in their Name. Afterwards he counſelled them to act as they ſhould think fit for the Publick Good, and leave the Weight of Perjury to him alone, whilſt they themſelves took Advantage of the favourable Circumſtances, which Fortune preſented them. This was his general Maxim, as *Theophraſtus* obſerves: Καθ᾽ ὅλου δ᾽ ὁ Θεόφραστος φησι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἄκρως ὄντα δίκαιον, ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς πολλὰ πρᾶξαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς πατρίδος ὡς συχνῆς ἀδικίας δεομένην (6). *This Great Man*, ſays Theophraſtus, *in private Affairs, and towards his Fellow-Citizens, was Juſtice itſelf; But, in Affairs, which regarded the Commonwealth, he did many Things not ſtrictly juſt, in compliance with the Exigencies of the State.* Unhappy Condition of Thoſe at the Helm! The Good of the State requires more than one or two unjuſt Actions in a Man's Life; perhaps *Ariſtides* did not come off for an hundred. Obſerve, that *Cicero* gives us a quite different Idea of him (7).

[*D*] *He lived in great Poverty, and gloried in it.*] He had a very rich Relation, whoſe Name was *Callias*, who, finding himſelf publickly accuſed of not ſupplying him, wherewith to ſupport Life (8), deſired him to declare, before the Judges, whether it was not true, that he never would receive the Sums, he had offered him, at ſeveral Times, and whether he had not always replied, that he gloried more in his Poverty, than *Callias* in his Riches; he declared it was true. His Reaſon was, that there were numbers, who made either a good or a bad uſe of their Riches, but that it was rare to find a Perſon, who bore his Poverty with a noble Mind (9). It was a Principle, then, of Pride, or Singularity, will ſome ſay, which made him deſpiſe Riches. It is a pleaſure to covetous and ambitious Perſons to be able to object This to Thoſe, who are not like themſelves. But what do they gain by it? If it ſhould be granted, that all Men act from a Principle of ſelf-love, is it nothing to draw one's Glory rather from This Action or Conduct, than from That? And is not This a ſufficient Motive to admire the one, and deſpiſe the other? *Ælian* relates a Particular, which, at firſt Sight, ſeems inconſiſtent with the notorious Poverty of *Ariſtides*: He ſays, that *Thoſe, who were betrothed to his Daughters, refuſed to marry them after his Death, when his extream Poverty came to be known* (10). He ſeems to me to be miſtaken in his Reaſoning; *Ariſtides*'s Poverty was known in his Life time, but it was known, at the ſame time, that he was in great Credit. Now the moſt mercenary and intereſted Minds think it no diſadvantageous Match, to marry the Daughter of a Favourite, in her very Shift, who has many profitable Poſts at his Diſpoſal. This might make *Ariſtides*'s Daughters find Matches in his Life time without a Penny of Portion; but, after his Death, there was no more to hope for; ſo that they were caſt off for want of Money. A Great Wit (11) puts this Judicious Reflexion in the Mouth of a Favourite; *Such a Perſon would think himſelf honoured with my Alliance upon equal Terms, and yet thinks he makes a Sacrifice my to Favour, in demanding my Niece.* So true it is, that, when any one courts the Alliance of a Perſon in great Credit, he conſiders more his own Advancement, than what Money he may gain by Marriage.

[*E*] Seneca *has undoubtedly committed a groſs Error in relation to his Death.*] *Ariſtides*, according to him, was condemned to die: All, who met him going to the Place of Execution, ſighed, and turned down their Eyes to the Ground, except one Raſcal, who ſpit in his Face. *Ariſtides* ſmiled, and ſaid to the Officers, who guarded him; *Adviſe that Fellow never to open his Mouth ſo villainouſly again.* Thus *Seneca* relates the Matter. *Ducebatur Athenis ad ſupplicium Ariſtides, cui quiſquis occurrerat, dejiciebat oculos, & ingemiſcebat, non tanquam in hominem juſtum, ſed tanquam in ipſam juſtitiam animadverteretur. Inventus eſt tamen, qui faciem ejus inſpueret: poterat ab hoc moleſte ferre, quod ſciebat neminem id auſurum puri oris. At ille abſterſit faciem, & ſubridens ait comitanti ſe magiſtratui, admone iſtum ne poſtea tam improbe oſcitet* (12). *Lipſius* has very judiciouſly obſerved, on this Paſſage, that *Seneca* has miſtaken one Perſon for another, and has aſcribed to *Ariſtides*, what he ſhould have applied to *Phocion*. It was *Phocion*, who was condemned to die; it was He, who was ſpit on, as they were leading him to Priſon, where he was to drink Poiſon; and it was He, who, turning himſelf to the Officers, who attended him, demanded, if none of them would chaſtize the Inſolence of the Fellow (13). *Seneca* has given theſe Words his own Turn: *Verba noſter etiam per argutiolam invertit* (14). Probably this is not the firſt time he has altered both the Subject and the Words; it were to be wiſhed he were the only Perſon, who has taken this Liberty. People are very apt to report a good Saying, not as it was ſpoken at firſt, but according to the Form, which they believe to be the beſt. That he is deceived in the main, is plain from *Plutarch*'s Account. That Hiſtorian confeſſes, that ſome one had ſaid, that *Ariſtides* died in exile, but he confutes it (15); what *Seneca* ſays, may be rejected, then, with much greater Reaſon, as a Fable. Note, that *Lancelot* of *Perouſa* has not cenſured this Miſtake: perhaps

A REFLEXION on Self-love, and on the Deſire of marrying the Daughters of Favourites.

(*a*) Plut. in Ariſtide, pag. 335.

(*b*) Ib. pag. 334.

(*c*) *He died the ſecond Year of the* LXXVIIIth *Olympiad; which was the fourth after the Baniſhment of* Themiſtocles. Cornel. Nepos, in ejus vita.

(2) Id. ib.

(3) *See the beginning of Remark* [*H*] *of the Article* AMPHIARAUS.

(4) Auſon. in Moſellâ, ver. 386. pag. 415.

* *Ariſtides.*

(5) *In Remark* [*H*] *of the Article* AGESILAUS II.

(6) Apud. Plutarch. in Ariſt. pag. 334. A.

(7) Cicero de Officiis, lib. 3. cap. 11. pag. 318.

(8) *The People concluded, from ſeeing* Ariſtides *ſo ill clad, that he wanted Bread.* Plut. pg. 334

(9) Id. ib.

(10) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 10. cap. 15.

(11) La Demoiſelle des Jardins, *in his Exiles of the Court of* Auguſtus.

(12) Seneca. Conſol. ad Helviam, cap. 13. pag. 785.

(13) Plut. in Phocione.

(14) Lipſ. in Seneca, Conſol. ad Helviam, pag. 785.

(15) Plut. in Ariſtide, pag. 335.

perhaps he was aware of it, but choſe to take it for granted, that he might have ground to maintain, that That Age was extreamly unjuſt, ſince the Senate of *Athens* cauſed a Man of ſuch eminent Virtues to be put to death (16).

ARISTO,

ARISTO, a Native of the Iſle of *Chios*, departed a little from the Sentiments of his Maſter *Zeno*, who was Head of the *Stoics*, as may be ſeen in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, together with ſome of his Doctrines. Not to repeat what is to be found there, I ſhall content my ſelf with obſerving, that the Reaſon, why he rejected Logic and Natural Philoſophy, was, becauſe he judged That Logic was uſeleſs, and that Natural Philoſophy was beyond our Comprehenſion *(a)*. I add, that, having eſpouſed Moral Philoſophy at firſt, he afterwards retrenched much of it: For he would not have People teach any thing concerning the particular Duties of a Huſband to his Wife, or a Father to his Children, or a Maſter to his Servants; but confine themſelves to Lectures upon Wiſdom in general. *Seneca* juſtly blames him for this [*A*]; and ſhews, that particular Precepts, and Sentences, may be of wonderful Uſe [*B*]. *Ariſto* ſaid, that the Nature of God was inconceiveable [*C*]. This induces us to believe, that he abſolutely neglected the Contemplation of Divine Matters. He oppoſed

[*A*] *He afterwards retrenched much of it*: —— Seneca *juſtly blames him for this.*] Read theſe Words: “Ariſto Chius non tantum ſupervacuas eſſe dixit naturalem & rationalem, ſed etiam contrarias: moralem quoque, quam ſolam reliquerat, circumcidit. Nam eum locum, qui monitiones continet, ſuſtulit, & pædagogi eſſe dixit, non Philoſophi: tanquam quidquam aliud ſit ſapiens quam humani generis pædagogus (1). —— Ariſto *the* Chian *ſaid, that Natural and Rational Philoſophy were not only ſuperfluous, but contradictory; and Moral Philoſophy, the only Branch he left, he curtailed. For he took away the preceptive Part of it, ſaying, it belonged to Pædagogues, not to Philoſophers; as if a Philoſopher were any thing elſe, than a Pædagogue of human kind.*” He confutes him at large in another place (2).

[*B*] *Particular Precepts, and Sentences, may be of wonderful Uſe.*] They ſtrongly affect the Mind, he ſays, when they are contracted in Verſe or in Proſe, and kindle the Seeds of Honour, which are natural to our Souls. “Ipſa, quæ præcipiuntur, per ſe multum habent ponderis: utique ſi aut carmini intexta ſunt, aut proſa oratione in ſententiam coarctata. Sicut illa Catoniana: *Emas, non quod opus eſt, ſed quod neceſſe eſt. Quod non opus eſt, aſſe carum eſt.* Qualia ſunt illa, aut reddita oraculo, aut ſimilia: *Tempori parce; Te noſce.* Numquid rationem exiges, cum tibi aliquis hos dixerit verſus?

Injuriarum remedium eſt oblivio.
Audentes fortuna juvat.
Piger ſibi ipſe obſtat.

Advocatum iſta non quærunt: affectus ipſos tangunt, & natura vim ſuam exercente proficiunt. Omnium honeſtarum rerum ſemina animi gerunt, quæ admonitione excitantur: non aliter quam ſcintilla, flatu levi adjuta, ignem ſuum explicat (3). - - - - *Precepts are of great Weight, when they are comprehended in a Verſe, or reduced to a Sentence in Proſe. Such is That of* Cato; Buy, not what is expedient, but what is neceſſary; *and* What is uſeleſs, is dear at the ſmalleſt Price. *Such likewiſe are theſe, either delivered by an Oracle, or ſeemingly ſuch*; Improve Time; Know yourſelf. *Do you demand a Reaſon, when ſuch Sentences as theſe are repeated to you?*

Injuries are repaired by being forgot.
Faint Heart never won fair Lady.
Lazy Folks take moſt Pains.

Such Sayings want no Advocate. They touch the Paſſions, and operate by the force of Nature. The Seeds of Virtue are implanted in the Mind, and are excited by Precept; in like manner as a Spark of Fire is kindled, by a Breath of Air, into a Flame.” He adds, that, ſometimes, they diſcover their Force in the moſt ignorant; and that, *Agrippa*, the Favourite of *Auguſtus*, acknowledged himſelf very much indebted to an Apophthegm on Concord. “Quis negaverit feriri quibuſdam præceptis efficaciter etiam imperitiſſimos? velut his breviſſimis vocibus, ſed multum habentibus ponderis;

- - - - - - - - nihil nimis.
Avarus animus nullo ſatiatur lucro.
Ab alio expectes, alteri quod feceris.

Hæc cum ictu quodam audimus, nec ulli licet dubitare, aut interrogare - - - - - M. Agrippa, vir ingentis animi, qui ſolus, ex his, quos civilia bella claros potenteſque fecerunt, felix in publicum fuit, dicere ſolebat, multum ſe huic debere ſententiæ: *Nam concordia parvæ res creſcunt; diſcordia maximæ dilabuntur.* Hac ſe aiebat & fratrem, & amicum, optimum factum (4). - - - - *Who will deny, that the moſt ignorant have been effectually ſtruck by certain Precepts; ſuch as theſe ſhort, but weighty, Sayings.*

Too much of one thing is good for nothing.
A covetous Mind is never ſatisfied with Gain.
The Meaſure you mete to others, expect to have
meaſured to you again.

We are ſtruck, when we hear ſuch Sayings, nor is there any room for Doubt, or Queſtion. - - - - - - - Marcus Agrippa, *a Perſon of a great Soul, and the only one, among thoſe, who have roſe by Civil Wars, who was ſucceſsful to the Public Good, was wont to ſay, that he was much indebted to this Saying*; By Concord ſmall Things encreaſe; by Diſcord the greateſt fall to Ruin. *This, he ſaid, made him the beſt of Brothers and of Friends.*” This ſtrongly confirms a Sentiment of mine in the *Plan of this Work* (5). I obſerved there, that a Sentence, taken out of *Livy*, or *Tacitus*, and delivered, as having formerly been ſerviceable in uniting the Senate of *Rome*, is capable of ſaving a State, *&c.*

[*C*] Ariſto *ſaid, that the Nature of God was inconceiveable.*] As he gave up Natural Philoſophy, becauſe he could not conceive the Divine Nature, it is probable he quitted Theology for the ſame Reaſon. *Divinarum rerum parum ſtudioſus videtur fuiſſe, cum iſtud ſæpe jactaret,* quæ ſupra nos nihil ad nos, *ut mirum ſit Ariſtonem Theologos inter hic à Velleio aſcribi.* Theſe are the Words of a Jeſuit, who has given us a Comment on *Cicero*'s Work *de Natura Deorum* (6). He commits a Fault, when he wonders, that *Velleius*, one of the Interlocutors, placed *Ariſto* among the Theologiſts; for This Philoſopher deſerved That Rank as much as Thoſe others, whoſe Opinions *Velleius* has mentioned. This is *Ariſto*'s Doctrine: “Cujus (*Zenonis*) diſcipuli Ariſtonis non minus magno in errore ſententia eſt: qui neque formam Dei intelligi poſſe cenſeat, neque in diis ſenſum eſſe dicat, dubitetque omnino Deus animans nec ne ſit (7). —— *The Opinion of* Ariſto, *the Diſciple of* Zeno, *is no leſs erroneous; who thinks, not only that the Form of God is incomprehenſible, but even that the Gods have no Senſe; and doubts, whether the Deity has Animal Life, or no.*” *Minucius Felix* has mentioned the ſame Tenet, and ſaid, that *Xenophon*, and *Ariſto*, perceived the Greatneſs of God by this very Circumſtance, that they deſpaired of ever comprehending it. *Socraticus Xenophon formam dei veri negat videri poſſe, & ideo quæri non oportere; Ariſto Chius comprehendi omnino non poſſe: uterque majeſtatem dei intelligendi* ſed *Arceſilas* on the Hypotheſis of Uncertainty: But, if any Credit may be given to *Diogenes Laërtius*, Scepticiſm ſeems to have been but poorly attacked, and as poorly defended [*D*], in thoſe Times. It is ſaid, that *Ariſto* was bald, and that his Baldneſs was the Cauſe of his Death; the Sun having ſcorched his Head (*b*). He was voluptuous in his Old Age: *Eratoſthenes*, and *Apollophanes*, his Diſciples, inform us of this Particular, in *Athenæus* (*c*). I cannot tell, whether it was that he ſtooped to flatter a Philoſopher (*d*), at That time, who was in great Credit at *Antigonus*'s Court (*e*). His Sect continued but a ſhort Time [*E*]. He was the Author of a Saying, which might render

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(16) *See* l'Hoggidi del Padre ſecondo Lancello da Perugia, Tom. 2. pag. 399, &c.

(a) Λέγων τὸν μὲν εἶναι ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, τὸν δ' οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Dicens alterum quidem eſſe ſupra nos, alterum vero nihil ad nos. *Diog. Laërt. lib.* 7. *n.* 161.

(1) Seneca, Epiſt. 89. pag. 366. *See alſo* Epiſt. 94. & Sextus Emp. adverſ. Mathem. lib. 7.

(2) Ib. Epiſt. 94.

(3) Id. ib. pag. 387.

(4) Id. ib. pag. 388.

(5) *See Paragraph* IX. *at the end of Vol.* IV.

(6) Leſcalopier in Ciceron. de de Nat. Deorum lib. 1. pag. 60.

(7) Cicero ib. pag. 60.

(*b*) Id. ib. n. 164.

(*c*) Athenæus, lib. 7. cap. 6. pag. 281.

(*d*) He was called Perſeus.

(*e*) Athen. lib. 6. pag. 251.

intelligendi deſperatione ſenſerunt (8). A certain Commentator is guilty of a childiſh Error upon this Occaſion: He believes there is a Difference between the Perſon mentioned by *Cicero*, and him mentioned in the Paſſage of *Minucius*; I ſay, he believes it, becauſe he ſuppoſes, that *Minucius* is ſpeaking of one, whoſe Name was *Ariſtus*. "Quod Minucius Ariſto Chio, id Cicero de Naturâ Deorum, lib. 1. tribuit Ariſtoni (9). —— *What* Minucius *imputes to* Ariſtus *the* Chian, *That* Cicero, de Naturâ Deorum, lib. 1, *aſcribes to* Ariſto." *Elemenhorſt*, for want of Attention, believed, that the *Ariſto* of *Minucius* was a *Dative* or *Ablative*; whereas it is a *Nominative*. By the way, it is not impoſſible, but that Father *Leſcalopier* has imputed That to our *Ariſto*, which belongs to *Socrates*. "Celebre hoc proverbium Socrates habuit, quod ſupra nos, nihil ad nos (10). ------ *It was a celebrated Proverb of* Socrates; *What is above us, is nothing to us*." *Lactantius* inferred from hence, that *Socrates* deſpiſed all Religion. *Ejus viri* (Socratis) *quoties de cœleſtibus rogabatur, nota reſponſio eſt, quod ſupra nos, nihil ad nos* (11). Note, that, generally ſpeaking, They, who acknowledge, that the Nature of God is inexplicable, are not to be ſuſpected of neglecting Divine Worſhip, for it is a Reaſon with many for adoring God with the greater Humility and Reverence. So that the Obſervation, made againſt *Ariſto*, has ſomething perſonal in it, and is founded on it's being well known, that Incomprehenſibility was, with him, a Motive of Neglect. I would not poſitively affirm, that he neglected Religion. I ſtop at Probability; for, with *Lactantius*'s leave, *Socrates*'s Maxim, which I have juſt mentioned (12), did not induce That Philoſopher to neglect Theology. His Doctrine thereon was as good as could be expected from a *Pagan* (13); and it looks, as if he only deſired to ſet Bounds to human Curioſity, by ſuch Reaſons, as our moſt pious Doctors make uſe of; namely, that we ought willingly to be ignorant of what God would conceal from us; for there is Danger in ſuch profound Enquiries. "In a Word, he would not adviſe a too curious Enquiry into the admirable Art, with which the Gods have diſpoſed the Univerſe, &c. (14)." You will find the reſt of this Paſſage in the Remark [*S*] of the Article ANAXAGORAS (15), where you will likewiſe find, that by Cœleſtial Things, the Study of which *Socrates* diſſuades from, he does not mean matters of Religion, but Aſtronomy.

[*D*] *Scepticiſm ſeems to have been but poorly attacked, and as poorly defended.*] *Ariſto* maintained the Doctrine of *Evidence* againſt *Arceſilas*; and, ſeeing a Monſter, I mean a Bull with a Womb, he believed his Adverſary would draw a very good Argument from thence in favour of *Incomprehenſibility*. *Wretch that I am*, cry'd he, *behold here a ſtrong Proof for* Arceſilas (16)! This informs us, that the Dogmatiſts, in order to maintain, that the Nature of Animals was clearly known, alledged, that the Males and Females of each Species are plainly diſtinguiſhable; there being certain Parts ſo proper to the one, that they are never met with in the other. If they argued after this manner, it is certain, that the Bull, which I have mentioned, ſerved to confute them; but it muſt be allowed, that they employed a very weak Argument; for the Sceptics did not deny, that, according to Appearances, there was a diſtinction between the Males and the Females; they maintained only, that it was not known, whether their Nature was ſuch, as it appeared to be. Now it ſignifies nothing to inſtance the Example of the Bull in this caſe. Might they not have replied, *We cannot tell whether it is really a Womb, or not; it may be ſo only in Appearance.* *Ariſto* aſked an *Acataleptic* one Day; *Don't you ſee That Rich Man, who ſits near you?* the other anſwered, *No: Who has put out your Eyes*, ſaid *Ariſto* again (17)? This was a childiſh Defence; ſince the Doctrine of Incomprehenſibility does not ſuppoſe a Perſon deprived of the uſe of Sight. He might have replied to *Arceſilas*; *The Reſemblance of a rich Man ſitting near me ſtrikes my Sight; nevertheleſs I do not comprehend certainly, that This Man exiſts, or what his Nature is.* It is obſervable, that, among all the Tenets of the Stoics, *Ariſto* adhered chiefly to This, *The Wiſe Man has no Opinion.* There was a Philoſopher in his Days, whoſe Name was *Perſeus*, who, to attack him upon this Point, ſuborned Twin-Brothers; one of which truſted *Ariſto* with a Depoſit, and the other came, ſome time after, to demand it; and *Ariſto*, being in ſuſpence, was thereſore confuted by *Perſeus* (18). I can ſcarce comprehend the meaning of This. Did theſe Twins reſemble each other ſo perfectly, that it was impoſſible to know them aſunder; or were they as unlike, as generally Twins are? *Diogenes Laërtius* ſays nothing to this. His Brevity is ſometimes ſo intolerable, that it may be ſaid, we have only ill-digeſted Extracts of his Hiſtory of the Philoſophers. If theſe Twins were diſtinguiſhable; from whence could *Ariſto*'s Suſpence proceed? If it was difficult to diſtinguiſh them, his Suſpence was not to be blamed, and could not be alledged to confute him; for this very ſuſpence was a Proof of his Regard for the Maxim above; *The Wiſe Man has no Opinion.*

[*E*] *His Sect continued but a ſhort Time.*] *Cicero* mentions it as One, whoſe Tenets were loſt: "Sententiæ ------ Ariſtonis, Pyrrhonis, Herilli, nonnullorumque, aliorum evanuerunt (19). ------ *We hear no more of the Opinions of* Ariſto, Pyrrho, Herillus, *and ſome others.* Sive, *ſays he elſewhere*, Ariſtotelem & Theophraſtum ------ ſequuti ſunt, ſive ------- etiam Ariſtonis difficilem atque arduam, ſed jam tamen fractam & convictam, ſectam ſequuti ſunt (20). ------- *Whether they followed* Ariſtole *and* Theophraſtus ----- *or the difficult and arduous, but now broken and confuted, Sect of* Ariſto. Such extravagant Opinions as his could hardly laſt long; he made no difference between any two things, except Vice and Virtue; and ſaid, that other things were all alike, nor one preferable to another: *His contrarius Ariſto Chius præfractus, ferreus, nihil bonum, niſi quod rectum atque honeſtum eſt* (21). He went farther, than his Maſter *Zeno*; for *Zeno* did not deny but there were things diſtinct from Virtue, which were to be wiſhed for, though they were of no uſe towards attaining to the Supream Good. This Tenet was far from juſt, though it was leſs to be rejected, than That of *Ariſto*; For who cannot apprehend, that Health is more to be deſired, than Sickneſs? "Ut Ariſtonis eſſet exploſa ſententia dicentis, nihil differre aliud ab alio, nec eſſe res ullas præter virtutes & vitia, inter quas quicquam omnino intereſſet; ſic errare Zenonem, qui nulla in re niſi in virtute aut vitio propenſionem, ne minimi quidem momenti, ad ſummum bonum adipiſcendum eſſe diceret. Et quum ad beatam vitam nullum momentum ea res haberet, ad appetitionem autem rerum eſſe in his momenta diceret: quaſi vero hæc appetitio non ad ſummi boni adeptionem pertineret (22). ----- *As* Ariſto *was miſtaken, in ſaying, that there is no difference of Things, except between Virtue and Vice; ſo* Zeno *erred, who thought, that nothing, except Virtue and Vice, had the leaſt tendency towards procuring the Supream Good; yet that Thoſe Things, which had not This Tendency, were to be deſired; as if the Accompliſhment of This very Deſire were not Part of the Supream Good*". It is no wonder, then, that This Sect did not continue long; ſince *Ariſto* himſelf deſerted it at an Age the moſt favourable to his Maxims. He became a Friend to Pleaſures in his old Age (23), when it would have become him much better to have been rigid, and inflexible, *præfractus & ferreus*.

(8) Minucius Fœlix pag. 154.

(9) Elmenhorſt. in Minucium Fœlicem, pag. 154.

(10) Lact. Divin. Inſtitut. lib. 3. cap. 19.

(11) Minucius Fœlix. pag. 112.

(12) *Above*, Citation (10).

(13) *See* Xenoph. Memorab. lib. 1.

(14) Ib. lib. 4.

(15) *Citation* (22).

(16) Diog. Laërt. lib. 7. n. 162.

(17) Id. ib. n. 163.

(18) Id. ib. n. 162.

(19) Cicero Tuſcul. lib. 5. fol. 276. D.

(20) Id. Lib. 1. de Legibus, cap. 13.

(21) Id. in Hortenſio, *apud* Nonium *voce* Præfractum.

(22) Id. de Finibus, lib. 4. cap. 17.

(23) Athen. lib. 7. pag. 281.

render *Ariſtippus*'s Doctrine leſs odious, than it generally is [*F*]. Some Works were aſcribed to him, which belonged to *Ariſto* of *Cea*, a Peripatetic Philoſopher [*G*]. We ſhall have ſome Miſtakes of *Voſſius* to remark [*H*].

[*F*] *He was Author of a Saying, which might render* Ariſtippus's *Doctrine leſs odious than it generally is.*] He ſaid, that a Philoſopher might be of Prejudice to his Hearers, who ſhould miſunderſtand his Words; that, for example, The Followers of *Ariſtippus* might become diſſolute; Thoſe of *Zeno* moroſe. Is not this to declare, that the Doctrine of Theſe Philoſophers did not produce ſuch Effects, but when miſunderſtood? *Ariſto Chius dicere ſolebat, nocere audientibus Philoſophos iis, qui bene dicta male interpretarentur; poſſe enim aſotos ex Ariſtippi, acerbos e Zenonis Schola exire* (24). He ſhould have added that every Teacher is, therefore, obliged to avoid ambiguous Maxims, and to prevent falſe Gloſſes.

[*G*] *Some Works were imputed to him, which belong to* Ariſto *of* Cea.] *Diogenes Laërtius*, having given the Titles of ſeveral Works of our *Ariſto*, adds, that *Panætius*, and *Soſicrates*, aſcribe them all, except one, to the *Peripatetic Ariſto* (25). He does not ſay, that This *Peripatetic* was a Native of the Iſland *Cea*; but I conjecture, that we ought to ſuppoſe him of That Country, becauſe it cannot be underſtood of *Ariſto* the *Alexandrian*, another *Peripatetic* Philoſopher, who lived under *Auguſtus*, and of whom, conſequently, *Panætius* could ſay nothing; for it can be proved, that he was not living in the Six Hundred and Fiftieth Year of *Rome* (26). So that Mr *Moreri* is deceived, when he ſays, that many have imputed the Works of *Ariſto* of *Chios* to *Ariſto* of *Alexandria*. The former wrote a Treatiſe *de Senectute*, which *Diogenes Laërtius* has not mentioned; perhaps it was but part of Another Book. "Hunc librum de Senectute ad te miſimus: omnem autem ſermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Ariſto Chius, parum enim eſſet auctoritatis in fabula, ſed M. Catoni ſeni, quo majorem auctoritatem haberet oratio (27). —— *I ſend you this Treatiſe* Of Old Age; *The whole Diſcourſe, to add the greater Weight to it, I put in the Mouth of Old* M. Cato; *not of* Tithonus, *as* Ariſto *the Chian did; for Fable would have added but little Authority to it.*" *Aldobrandinus* quotes this Paſſage of *Cicero*, as if it ſhould be read *Ariſto Ceus* (28); but the beſt Editions give *Ariſto Chius*. He is miſtaken, then, in pretending, that *Ariſto* of *Cea*, the *Peripatetic* Philoſopher, was Author of the Book *de Senectute*. He might with more reaſon have applied this Paſſage of *Cicero* to Him. "Hujus (*Stratonis*) Lyſias & oratione locuples, rebus ipſis jejunior; Concinnus deinde & elegans hujus Ariſto: Sed ea, quæ deſideratur à magno Philoſopho, gravitas in eo non fuit. Scripta ſanè, & multa & polita; ſed neſcio quo pacto autoritatem oratio non habet (29). ----- *After* Strato, Lyſias *was copious in words, but, barren of Senſe. His Diſciple* Ariſto *was Witty and Elegant; but, wanted, what is eſſential to a great Philoſopher, Dignity: He wrote indeed much and politely; but, I know not how, what he ſays wants Weight.*" This can only be underſtood of a *Peripatetic* Philoſopher *Ariſto*; Mr *Menage* therefore is to blame, in believing, that theſe *Latin* Words relate to our *Ariſto* (30).

[*H*] *Some Miſtakes of* Voſſius, *&c.*] He ſays, that *Ariſto* of *Alexandria*, a Peripatetic Philoſopher, in the time of *Auguſtus*, was Author of a Treatiſe concerning the River *Nile* (31). His Reaſon is, becauſe *Strabo* obſerves, that he had ſeen two Books, in his Time, concerning That River; one of them compoſed by *Eudores*, and the other by *Ariſto* the Peripatetic (32). *But*, continues Voſſius, *there having been two* Ariſtos *of the Peripatetic Sect, one of* Alexandria, *and the other of the Iſland of* Cea; *Why do I maintain, that he of* Alexandria *compoſed the Treatiſe of the* Nile? *becauſe it is more probable, that an* Egyptian *ſhould write of this River, than an Iſlander of the Egean Sea.* He deſtroys This Reaſon immediately; for he confeſſes, that it is probable *Ariſto* of *Chios*, or He of *Cea*, wrote a Book of the *Nile*; becauſe the Scholiaſt on *Apollonius* quotes the Opinion of *Ariſto* of *Chios*, concerning the Source of This River (33). *He confounds*, adds *Voſſius*, Chius *with* Ceus. This Reaſoning is not exact. But, This Learned Man may be farther cenſured, for not knowing the true Reaſon, why the Treatiſe of the *Nile*, mentioned by *Strabo*, ought rather to be aſcribed to *Ariſto* the *Alexandrian*, than *Ariſto* of the Iſland of *Cea*; namely, that *Strabo* ſpeaks of a Book, which was publiſhed in his Time. Now *Ariſto* of *Cea* flouriſhed a long Time before *Strabo*, as *Voſſius* himſelf acknowledges; for he affirms, after *Diogenes Laërtius*, that *Pantiæus* and *Soſicrates* (34) aſcribed to This *Ariſto* almoſt all the Books, which paſſed under the Name of *Ariſto* the Stoic. *Lloyd* and *Hofman* have copied this long Paſſage of *Voſſius*, word for word, not forgetting even to put *Socrates* inſtead of *Soſicrates*.

(24) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 3, c. 31.

(25) Diog. Laërt. lib. 7, n. 163.

(26) *See* Jonſius de Scriptor. Hiſt. Philoſ. pag. 179, 180.

(27) Cicero, de Senect. cap. 1.

(28) Aldobrand. in Diog. Laërt. lib. 7, n. 163.

(29) Cicero. de Finib. lib. 5, cap. 5.

(30) Menag. in Diog. Laërt. lib. 7. n. 163. *This Note is approved of in the Commentary on* Cicero de Senectute, *Edit.* Grævian.

(31) Voſſius de Hiſt. Gr. lib. 2, c. 4. pag. 179.

(32) Strabo, lib. 17, pag. 544.

(33) Schol. Apollonii in IV. Argon.

(34) *In* Voſſius *it is* Socrates.

ARISTO (TITUS) a *Roman* Lawyer, in the Reign of *Trajan*, was ſo Excellent and ſo Learned a Perſon, that he ought not to have been omitted by *Moreri*. He was perfectly ſkilled in Common and Civil Law, in Hiſtory, and Antiquity [*A*]. If he did not readily anſwer to the Queſtions, which were put to him, it was becauſe he would conſider the Matter thoroughly, before he gave his Opinion. He was, beſides, an Enemy to Luxury, and free from all Oſtentation; one, who ſought the Reward of a good Action in the Action itſelf, and not in the Applauſe of the Multitude

[*A*] *He was perfectly ſkilled in* —— *Law, in Hiſtory, and in Antiquity.*] What *Pliny* ſays upon this (1), and on *Ariſto*'s Virtue, is ſo fine, that I ſhall not loſe one Word of it. "Nihil eſt illo (Tito Ariſtone) gravius, ſanctius, doctius: ut mihi non unus homo, ſed literæ ipſæ, omneſque bonæ artes, in uno homine ſummum periculum adire videantur. Quàm peritus ille & privati juris & publici (2)? quantum rerum? quantum exemplorum? quantum antiquitatis tenet? nihil eſt, quod diſcere velis, quod ille docere non poſſit. Mihi certe quoties aliquid abditum quæro, ille theſaurus eſt. Jam quanta ſermonibus ejus fides? quanta authoritas? quàm preſſa & decora cunctatio? quid eſt quod non ſtatim ſciat? & tamen plerumque hæſitat. Dubitat diverſitate rationum: quas acri magnoque judicio ab origine cauſiſque primus repetit, diſcernit, expendit: Ad hoc quam parcus in victu? quam modicus in cultu? Soleo ipſum cubiculum ejus ipſumque lectum, ut imaginem quandam priſcæ frugalitatis, aſpicere. Ornat hæc magnitudo animi, quæ nihil ad oſtentationem, omnia ad conſcientiam refert: recteque facti, non ex populi ſermone, mercedem, ſed ex facto, petit. —— *So excellent a Perſon is* Titus Ariſto, *that not the Life of one Man alone, but Learning itſelf, and all uſeful Arts, ſeem to be greatly endangered in one Man. How ſkilled is he in every Branch of Law? How verſed in Things, in Examples, in Antiquity? Whatever you can deſire to learn, he can teach. For my own Part, whenever I would enquire into any abſtruſe Point, He is my Oracle. How ſecurely may we rely upon his Opinion? What Authority has He? and how becoming is his Deliberation? What is there, which he does not immediately apprehend? yet he generally heſitates. His Doubts ariſe from the Variety of Reaſons, which may be aſſigned; all which, with great Judgment, he traces to their Source, diſtinguiſhes and weighs. Add to this his great Temperance and Modeſty in Dreſs. I am wont to conſider his Bed-Chamber, and his very Bed, as a Kind of Repreſentation of the Ancient Frugality. Theſe Qualifications are ſet off by a Greatneſs of Mind, which avoids all Oſtentation, and is ſatisfied with the Conſciouſneſs of having acted well; and which ſeeks the Reward of a good Action, not from the Applauſe of the People, but from the Action itſelf.*"

(1) Plinius, Epiſt. 22, lib. 1, pag. 65, 66.

(2) *Add to this theſe Words of the 14th Letter of the 8th Book, which* Pliny *wrote to* Ariſto: Cum ſis peritiſſimus & privati juris & publici -- peto ut medearis ſcientia tua, cui ſuperfuit curæ ſic jura publica ut privata, ſic antiqua ut recentia, ſic rara ut aſſidua tractare.

titude (*a*). He did not profeſs himſelf a Philoſopher [*B*]; but ſome of Thoſe, who did, fell very ſhort of him in the Practice of Virtue. He ſhewed an unparalleled Firmneſs of Mind in a tedious Fit of Sickneſs [*C*], and at laſt deſired his Friends to aſk the Phyſicians, whether it was poſſible for him to recover; and declared, that, if they judged him incurable, he would kill himſelf; but, if he might eſcape by ſuffering his Pains ever ſo long, he was reſolved to live; this he agreed to, at the Intreaties of his Wife, the Tears of his Daughter, and the deſire of Thoſe, with whom he converſed (*b*). *Pliny*, the Younger, who was one of Them, made a good Reflexion upon this, and excellently deſcribes the Tenderneſs of his Friendſhip [*E*]. The Phyſicians gave him good Hopes of his Recovery (*c*). Some affirm, that *Ariſto* attained to a very great Age [*F*]; but the Proof they bring for it is weak enough. He was the Author of ſome Books [*G*].

(*a*) *See the Proof of this in the Remark* [*A*].

(*b*) Plin Epiſt 22, lib. 1, pag. 67.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

[*B*] *He did not profeſs himſelf a Philoſopher.*] His Philoſophy was put in practice two Ways; for his Manners were like Thoſe of a true Philoſopher; and he did not ſpend his Life in the Solitude of a Cloſet, or College, but in the Functions of the Bar. Let us hear *Pliny*. “In ſumma, non facile quis quenquam ex iſtis, qui ſapientiæ ſtudium habitu corporis præferunt, huic viro compararit. Non quidem gymnaſia ſectatur, aut porticus, nec diſputationibus longis aliorum ocium, ſuumque delectat: ſed in toga, negociiſque verſatur: multos advocatione, plures conſilio juvat. Nemini tamen iſtorum caſtitate, pietate, juſtitia, fortitudine, etiam primo loco ceſſerit (3). ----- *Upon the whole, it is not eaſy to draw a parallel between Thoſe, who carry an outſide ſhew of Philoſophy, and this Great Man. Indeed, he is not a Follower of the Schools, or Porticos; nor does he entertain the Leiſure of others, and his own, with tedious Diſputations; but is converſant at the Bar, and in Buſineſs; is helpful to many, as an Advocate, to more by his Advice. Yet will he give the Preference to none of the Philoſophers in Point of Chaſtity, Piety, Juſtice, and Greatneſs of Mind.*”

[*C*] *He ſhewed an unparalleled Firmneſs of Mind in a tedious Fit of Sickneſs* (4). “He lay ſtill, and covered, in the Height of his Fever, and forbore drinking, though he had a violent Thirſt upon him. *Mirareris, ſi intereſſes, qua patientia hanc ipſam valetudinem toleret, ut dolori reſiſtat, ut ſitim differat, ut incredibilem febrilem ardorem immotus opertuſque tranſmittat* (5).”

[*D*] Pliny ------ *makes a good Reflexion upon this*, &c.] “It is common, he ſays, to fly to Death through an Impetuoſity of Spirit; but a great Mind, having deliberated whether to live or die, weighs the Motives on both ſides exactly, and by the Weight of Reaſon is determined to the one or the other. *Id ego arduum in primis, & præcipua laude dignum puto. Nam impetu quodam, & inſtinctu, procurrere ad mortem, commune cum multis: deliberare vero, & cauſſas ejus expendere, utque ſuaſerit ratio, vitæ mortiſque conſilium ſuſcipere, vel ponere, ingentis eſt animi* (6).”

[*E*] Pliny *admirably expreſſes the Tenderneſs of his Friendſhip for* Ariſto.] “He had a paſſionate Deſire to retire to his Country-Houſe at *Laurentium*, and to ſtudy there; but deprived himſelf of This Pleaſure to keep *Ariſto* Company, who had been ſick a long time; and he ſuffered a thouſand Diſquietudes at the Sight of this Object, which robbed him of the Leiſure, and even Deſire of returning to his Studies.” Let us hear himſelf. *Diu jam in urbe hæreo, & quidem attonitus. Perturbat me longa & pertinax valetudo Titi Ariſtonis, quem ſingulariter & miror & diligo* (7). This is the beginning of his Letter. He goes on. *Et medici quidem ſecunda nobis pollicentur: Supereſt, ut promiſſis deus adnuat, tandemque me hac ſolicitudine exolvat. Qua liberatus, Laurentinum meum, hoc eſt libellos & pugillares, ſtudioſumque otium, repetam. Nunc enim nihil legere, nihil ſcribere, aut aſſidenti vacat, aut anxio libet. Habes, quid timeam, quid optem, quid etiam in poſterum deſtinem* (8). I cite this whole Paſſage, as well for the Honour of *Ariſto*, as for That of *Pliny* the Younger; for there appear in it Marks, of a good-natured Diſpoſition; and it is a Proof, that Virtue has always found a Place of Retreat in Cities, which have been the moſt corrupted by long Proſperity, followed by tedious and cruel Civil Wars, and the Eſtabliſhment of Tyranny; which was the Caſe of *Rome* at that Time.

[*F*] *Some affirm, that* Ariſto *attained to a very great Age; but the Proof they bring for it is weak enough.*] This Proof is taken from *Ariſto*'s having aſſiſted at the Pleadings of *Caſſius*; that is, of *Caius Caſſius Longinus*, who was Conſul in the Reign of *Tiberius*. Now they reckon ſixty Years between *Tiberius* and *Trajan*; and it is certain, that *Trajan* conſulted *Ariſto* in a Point of Law. This is *Bertrand*'s Argument (9). He is confuted from hence; that *Caſſius* lived till the Reign of *Veſpaſian* (10); and that, between the beginning of his Reign, and That of *Trajan*, there are at moſt but Twenty eight Years (11).

[*G*] *He was the Author of ſome Books.*] The *Pandects* make mention of this; and you may ſee the Titles of them in both the Authors, whom I cite (12). See alſo *Aulus Gellius*, who had read, in a Work of *Ariſto*, that *all manner of Theft was allowed among the ancient* Egyptians, *a People famous for the Invention of Arts and Sciences. Id etiam memini legere me in libro Ariſtonis jureconſulti haudquaquam indocti viri, apud veteres Ægyptios, quod genus hominum conſtat & in artibus reperiendis ſolertes extitiſſe, & in cognitione rerum indaganda ſagaces, furta omnia fuiſſe licita & impunita* (13). *Bertrand* ſuppoſes it to be a Treatiſe *Of Theft*, ſince *Aulus Gellius* quotes it particularly, as knowing, that *Ariſto* was Author of ſeveral Books.

(3) Id. Epiſt. 20. lib. 1. pag. 66, 67, &c.

(4) *See Remark* [*E*].

(5) Plin. Epiſt. 22, lib. 1, pag. 67.

(6) Id. ib.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Epiſt. 24, lib. 1, pag. 67.

(9) *See* Bertrand in Vitis Juriſperitorum, l. 2, p. 295, 297.

(10) Pomponius *affirms it*; *ſee* Grotius in Vitis Juriſconſ. l. 2, c. 3, pag. 123.

(11) Grotius, ubi ſupra.

(12) Bertrand, *and* Grotius.

(13) Aulus Gellius, lib. 11, c. 18, pag. 302.

(14) Bertrand ubi ſupra, p. 299.

ARISTOTLE, commonly called the Prince of Philoſophers, or The Philoſopher, by way of Excellence, was the Founder of a Sect, which ſurpaſſed, and at length ſwallowed, up all the reſt (*a*). Not but that It has had it's Reverſe of Fortune (*b*) in it's turn; eſpecially in This XVIIth Century, in which it has been violently ſhaken; though the Catholic Divines, on the one ſide, and the Proteſtant, on the other, have run (as to the quenching of a Fire) to it's Relief; and fortified themſelves ſo ſtrongly, by the Secular Arm, againſt the New Philoſophy, that it is not like to loſe it's Dominion of a long time. Mr *Moreri* met with ſo many good Materials in a Work of Father *Rapin* (*c*), that he has given a very large Article of *Ariſtotle*, enough to diſpence with my Aſſiſtance. Accordingly, I deſign not to enlarge upon it as far as the Subject might allow, but ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, in the Remarks, ſome of the Errors, which I have collected, concerning This Philoſopher. I think I have diſcovered ſome in Father *Rapin*'s Account [*A*]. It is not a certain, that

(*a*) Ariſtoteles, more Ottomanorum, regnare ſe haud tuto poſſe putabat, niſi fratres ſuos omnes contrucidaſſet. ---- Ariſtotle, *like the* Turkiſh *Emperors, thought he could not reign in Safety, 'till he had ſlain all his brethren* Bacon, de Augment. Scient. lib. 3, cap. 4.

(*b*) *See Mr* Launoi's *Book*, de Varia Ariſtotelis fortuna.

(*c*) *Compariſon of* Plato *and* Ariſtotle.

[*A*] *I have diſcovered ſome Errors in Father* Rapin's *Account of* Ariſtotle.] This Remark will be pretty long; I ſhall therefore divide it.

I

I. To ſay that, Ariſtotle, *though he had forſaken his Studies, out of meer Libertiniſm, and had abuſed his Tutor's Indulgence for ſome time, ſucceded nevertheleſs*

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that *Ariſtotle* exerciſed Pharmacy in *Athens*, while he was a Diſciple of *Plato* (d); nor is it more certain, that he did not. Very little Credit ought to be given to a current Tradition, that he learnt ſeveral Things of a *Jew* [B], and much leſs to the Story

in Poetry; witneſs the Poem, which he compoſed on the Death of the Heroes, who were killed at the Siege of Troy (1); is no juſt way of Reaſoning; for, if *Euſtathius* and *Porphyry*, who mention This Poem, do not expreſsly ſay, that *Ariſtotle* compoſed it in his Youth (2), we may imagine, that he wrote it after his return to his Studies; and then this Poem can be no longer alledged as a Proof, of the Progreſs which he made in Poetry, notwithſtanding his Libertine Courſes.

II. To ſay, that, *having by his Debaucheries conſumed part of the Eſtate, which his Father had left him, he liſted himſelf in the Troops of the Republic* (3); is an improper, and a very indeterminate, Way of Expreſſion. If the queſtion were concerning a Perſon, who was born at *Athens*, or *Lacedemon*, the Expreſſion might be proper enough, but it relates to a Native of *Macedonia*. *Athenæus* knew of but one Author, who had ſaid, that *Ariſtotle*, having conſumed his Patrimony, liſted himſelf; and, finding, that the Profeſſion of Arms was not his Talent, ſet up to ſell Drugs (4). The ſole Author of This Story was *Epicurus*. It is very probable, that *Ælian* had it from him (5). *Ariſtocles*, who rejected it, quotes only *Epicurus* (6). Be this as it will, none of the Authors, whom Father *Rapin* quotes, ſpecify in what Troops *Ariſtotle* ſerved; and all of them range Matters in this Order. Firſt, *Ariſtotle* ſpent his Eſtate, then he went to the Wars, afterwards he ſet up a Shop, and at laſt addicted himſelf to *Plato*'s Lectures. Father *Rapin* will have it, that he was at the ſame both a Druggiſt, and a Diſciple of *Plato*. The Authors, whom he quotes (7), ſay nothing of this Union of the two Profeſſions. But he ought not, I think, to be cenſured for this; for it ſeems probable enough, that Ariſtotle, *after he had ſpent his Eſtate, was forced to drive a ſmall Trade in ſweet Powder, and Medicines, at* Athens, *to ſubſiſt himſelf for ſome time*. This Father *Rapin* ſays, in relation to the time when *Ariſtotle* ſtudied Philoſophy. *Francis Patricius* goes much farther; he believes, that *Ariſtotle* was *Plato*'s Diſciple till the Age of forty Years, and that he exerciſed *Pharmacy* all That Time for a Livelihood. *Satis conſtat inter omnes ad quadrageſimum uſque ætatis annum Platonis fuiſſe auditorem; quo univerſo tempore pharmacopolii arte nec non etiam medica victum quæritaſſe ſatis eſt & hiſtoriæ & rationi conſonum* (8). He adds, that, formerly, Phyſicians exerciſed the Apothecaries Trade; and that three Reaſons induce us to believe, that *Ariſtotle* was a Phyſician. He was of a Family for ſuch a Profeſſion; He compoſed a Book concerning Health and Sickneſs; and he excited *Alexander* to the Study of Phyſic, in which That Monarch acquired no ſmall Skill, both in the Theory, and in the Practice (9). Laſtly, *Patricius* alledges the Teſtimony of *Timeus*. This Hiſtorian has ſpoken very ill of *Ariſtotle*, and reproached him expreſsly with ſhutting up a Shop of moſt excellent Medicines. Τὸ πολυτίμητον ἰατρεῖον ἀποκεκλεικότα (10). *Qui precioſam tabernam medicam clauſit*. I know not whether I may be permitted to conjecture, that *Timeus* ſneered in making uſe of the Epithet πολυτίμητον. Without which, I cannot ſee how this Paſſage of *Suidas* is to be reconciled with what *Euſebius* cites from the ſame *Timeus*. He gives us a Fragment, in which a Peripatetic anſwers ſeveral Calumnies publiſhed againſt *Ariſtotle*, and particularly That of the Hiſtorian *Timeus*, who had ſaid, that *Ariſtotle, in his old Age, ſhut up his Shop of Medicines, which was grown into Contempt:* Ἢ πῶς ἄν τις ἀποδέξατο Τιμαίου τοῦ Ταυρομενίτου λέγοντος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις, ἀδόξου θύρας αὐτὸν ἰατρείου καὶ τὰς τυχούσας, ὀψὲ τῆς ἡλικίας, κλεῖσαι (11). This Paſſage has been very ill tranſlated; for the *Latin* Tranſlation makes *Timeus* ſay, that *Ariſtotle*, in his old Age, was hired to ſhut up the Shop of an Apothecary of ſmall Reputation. *Quis Timæum Tauromenitanum audiat dum ſuis in hiſtoriis illum ait affecta jam ætate, neglectis obſcuri cujuſdam Medici officinæ claudendis foribus præfuiſſe*. Is not this an Employ highly worthy of *Ariſtotle*'s old Age? What Honour to be Porter to an Apothecary, or Phyſician, ſcarce known to his next Neighbours!

III. Father *Rapin* (12) tells us, that Clemens Alexandrinus *affirms, that* Ariſtotle *had Conferences at* Athens *with a* Jew, *with a Deſign of being inſtructed in the Religion of the* Egyptians. Euſebius *has ſaid the ſame; and both believe it on the Teſtimony of* Clearchus *the Peripatetic*. Theſe Words ſtand in need of being greatly qualified; for, I. All that *Clemens Alexandrinus* affirms amounts only to this, that *Clearchus* the Peripatetic had ſaid, that he knew a *Jew*, who had converſed with *Ariſtotle*. Κλέαρχος ὁ Περιπατήτικος εἰδέναι φησί τινα Ἰουδαῖον ὃς Ἀριστοτέλει συνεγένετο (13). *Clearchus Peripateticus dicit ſe noſſe quemdam Judæum, qui cum Ariſtotele verſatus eſt*. As for the Place, and Subject, of theſe Converſations, you muſt enquire of any one elſe, rather than of *Clemens Alexandrinus*. II. It is not true, that *Euſebius* affirms any thing upon this Head; he only cites the Words of *Clemens Alexandrinus*. III. *Clearchus*, to whom he directs us, as the firſt Source, does not ſay, that *Ariſtotle* had any Converſation with a *Jew* at *Athens*, but on the contrary, that it was in *Aſia* (14); neither does he ſay, that they diſcourſed concerning the Religion of the *Egyptians*, or any other particular Subject. I believe, if we had his Book, we ſhould find an exact Account of this Matter in it; but we have only a Paſſage of it, which was cited by *Joſephus*, in his firſt Book againſt *Apion*, to ſhew, that the Jewiſh Nation was not unknown to the *Greeks*. If Father *Rapin* had conſulted the Originals, would he have ſaid, *that, to avoid the loſs of time, which muſt have been ſpent in travelling into* Egypt, *which was then believed neceſſary towards the acquiſition of Learning, it is probable, that* Ariſtotle *was ſatisfied with being inſtructed in the Myſteries and Religion of the* Egyptians? Was he not actually travelling in *Aſia*, when he had theſe Converſations, if we may believe *Clearchus*? We ſhall ſee, in the Remark [*B*], whether he deſerves Credit.

IV. It is not true, that *Hermias* gave his Siſter *Pythias* in Marriage to *Ariſtotle* (15). See towards the end of the Remark [*F*].

V. Father *Rapin*'s other Faults, which I have obſerved, are diſtributed in the following Remarks.

[*B*] *Very little Credit ought to be given to a current Tradition, that he learned ſeveral Things of a Jew.*] This Tradition has no other Foundation than the above mentioned Paſſage of *Clearchus*. This Paſſage would be of no ſmall Authority, did it certainly belong to That *Clearchus*, who was one of *Ariſtotle*'s moſt famous Diſciples. But, according to all Appearances, it belongs to another *Clearchus*: For, firſt of all, the Author, quoted by *Joſephus*, ſays, that *Ariſtotle* met with a Jew in his Travels in *Aſia*, who had afterwards ſeveral Conferences with him, and with ſome other Men of Letters. ἡμῖν τε καὶ τισιν ἑτέροις τῶν σχολαστικῶν. Learned Men pretend, that, in *Ariſtotle*'s Time, the Word σχολαστικὸς was not uſed to ſignify a Scholar, a Diſciple, or a Student (16). However it be, as this Journey into *Aſia* cannot be reconciled with *Ariſtotle*'s Hiſtory, it is not probable, that one of his Diſciples ſhould have invented a Story of This kind, which he himſelf, and others, knew to be falſe. It is therefore a more modern *Clearchus*, who ſuppoſed this Journey; and he might do it ſincerely; for it is well known, that *Solinus* aſſerts, that *Ariſtotle* followed *Alexander* in his Wars againſt *Darius* (17). The anonymous Author of the Life of *Ariſtotle* (18) ſays the ſame thing. II. If it were true, that *Ariſtotle* had had many Conferences with ſo able a Jew, as He, who is mentioned in the Paſſage of *Clearchus*, would he have believed, what he ſays concerning the Origin of the *Jews*? Would he have ſaid, that the *Jews* were deſcended from the *Calains*, a People of the *Indies*, and that they took the Name of *Jews* in *Syria*, becauſe they poſſeſt a Province, which was called *Judea*? That is what *Ariſtotle* ſays, in the Paſſage of *Clearchus*, quoted by *Joſephus*. Would his *Jew* have left him in ſuch a childiſh Error? And ſhould we have found ſo few Traces of *Judea*, and the *Jewiſh* Nation, in all *Ariſtotle*'s Writings, after ſuch full Information, as the

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(d) *See Remark* [*A*]. *n.* 2.

(1) Rapin's Compariſon of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, p. 303.

(2) *Father* Rapin *does not ſay, that they make this Remark.*

(3) Id. ib.

(4) Athen. lib. 8. pag. 354.

(5) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. 5, c. 9.

(6) Apud Euſeb. Præp. lib. 15, c. 2, pag. 791.

(7) Ariſtocles Meſſen. ex. Epiſt. Epicuri. Ælian. lib. 5. cap. 9. Athen. l. 8.

(8) Fr. Patricius, Diſcuſſ. Peripat. Tom. 1. p. 3.

(9) Plutarch. in Alexandro.

(10) Timæus, apud Suidam, in Ἀριστοτέλης.

(11) Ariſtocles, apud Euſeb. Præpar. lib. 15, cap. 2, pag. 791.

(12) Compariſon of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, p. 304.

(13) Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. 1. pag. 304.

(14) Τότε διατριβόντων ἡμῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν. Nobis tum in Aſia forte degentibus. *It is* Ariſtotle, *who ſpeaks, in this Book of* Clearchus, de Somno, apud Joſephum, lib. 1. contra Apionem, & apud Euſebium. Præp. l. 9, c. 5, p. 410.

(15) Rapin's Compariſon of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, p. 306.

(16) Jonſius, de Script. Hiſt. Philoſ. pag. 99.

(17) Cap. 14. apud Jonſium, ib. pag. 100.

(18) Ammonius, *according to ſome*; Philoponus, *according to others. See the Notes of* Nunneſius *on this Life*, n. 44.

Story of his pretended Converſion to *Judaiſm*. They, who pretend, that he was born a *Jew*, are much more groſsly miſtaken [C]. The wrong Pointing of a certain Paſſage occaſioned this Miſtake (*e*). They are deceived, who ſay, that he was a Diſciple of *Socrates* for Three Years ſucceſſively [*D*]; for *Socrates* died Twelve or Fifteen Years before *Ariſtotle* was born. *Ariſtotle*'s Behaviour towards his Maſter *Plato* is variouſly related [*E*]. Some will have it, that, through prodigious Vanity and Ingratitude, he

the *Jew* might have given him? III. We read, in *Diogenes Laërtius*, that the *Gymnoſophiſts* deſcended from the *Magi*, and that there were ſome, who gave the *Jews* the ſame Original (19). Theſe are two different Facts: As to the firſt, it is delivered on the Teſtimony of *Clearchus*, the Diſciple of *Ariſtotle*; but no Authority is produced for the ſecond. Was not This the moſt favourable Opportunity, and the moſt indiſpenſable, for quoting *Clearchus* concerning This pretended *Indian* Original of the *Jewiſh* Nation, mentioned by *Joſephus?* If the Book *de Somno*, in which *Ariſtotle* ſpeaks of their *Indian* Origin, had been the ſame *Clearchus*'s, who is cited by *Diogenes Laërtius* (20), would he not have been alledged? I paſs over *Jonſius*'s other Reaſons; theſe three are ſufficient to perſuade me (21), that *Ariſtotle* never ſaid what the *Clearchus* of *Joſephus* would make him ſay. I muſt therefore agree in Opinion with thoſe, who think it wrong in *Cunæus* to treat *Ariſtotle* ſo ill for a Piece of Folly, which he never was guilty of. “Petrus Cunæus lib. 1. de Repub. Hebr. cap. 4. Ariſtotelem falſe nimis & temere perſtringit, quod hic apud Clearchum ſtatuat Judæos ab Indiæ ſapientibus eſſe propagatos: Verba Cunæi hæc ſunt. *Portentoſum eſt & cum ſumma inſcitia conjunctum quod Ariſtoteles apud Clearchum autumavit, Judæos eſſe ab Indiæ ſapientibus propagatos, ſed nomen mutaviſſe. Quippe philoſophos illos, qui apud Indos Callani appellantur, in cava Syria Judæos dici. Pudet me anilitatis, adeo hoc nihil eſt* (22). - - - - Petrus Cunæus, *in Book* 1. *of the* Hebrew *Republic, Chap.* 4. *cenſures* Ariſtotle *too ſeverely and unjuſtly, for pretending, as cited by* Clearchus, *that the Jews ſprung fom the* Indian *Philoſophers*. Cunæus*'s Words are:* It is monſtruous, and attended with the greateſt Ignorance, what *Ariſtotle*, in *Clearchus*, conjectures, that the Jews were deſcended from the Philoſophers of *India*, but had changed their Name; for that Thoſe Philoſophers, who, among the *Indians*, are called *Callani*, in *Cœlo-Syria* are called Jews.” It may be objected, that *Clearchus* was acquainted with the Jew, who had converſed with *Ariſtotle*; ſo that he muſt have been cotemporary with him; but I deny, that *Clearchus* had any Knowledge of him. *Joſephus* does not ſay it; it is *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who adds this Clauſe; perhaps he quotes by Memory, which is the ſureſt way to pervert a Paſſage, even as to the moſt eſſential Circumſtances. See the Careleſſneſs of Tranſlators! He, who tranſlated *Euſebius* (23), renders εἰδέναι by *vidiſſe*; and the Tranſlator of *Clemens Alexandrinus* is content with *noſſe*. It is not a neceſſary Conſequence, that an Author lived at the ſame time with another Perſon, becauſe it is ſaid, that he knew one, who had done, or ſaid This, or That; ſince his meaning might be, that he knew the Books, in which ſuch Perſons had ſaid ſo or ſo; but when it is ſaid, that an Author had *ſeen* ſuch or ſuch a one, the Conſequence then is plain, that they muſt have been Cotemporaries (24). This admits of no Difficulty; and, conſequently, the Tranſlator of *Euſebius* has taken a Liberty, which, being added to That of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ſtrangely falſifies the Conſequences, which may be drawn from the Paſſage of *Clearchus*, as cited by *Joſephus*. There are Jews, who affirm, not only that *Ariſtotle* had copied *Solomon*'s Works, but that he became likewiſe a Proſelyte of Righteouſneſs (25).

Not ſatisfied with this, They produce a Letter, which they ſuppoſe he wrote to *Alexander* to give him an Account of his Converſion. This Letter you will find in a Work of *Rabbi Gedalia Ben Jachija*, and in the *Moderna Theologia* (26) *Judaica* of Mr *Lent*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Herborn*. Read alſo this Paſſage of Mr *Couſin*. Father *Bartolocci*, pag. 471, of the firſt Volume of his *Bibliotheca magna Rabbinica* “relates a Story, void of all probability, which the *Rabins* tell us of *Ariſtotle*. Some of them pretended, that he was born of the Seed of *Iſrael*, and deſcended from the Children of *Coba*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*. Others of them ſay, that he was not originally a *Jew*, but that, towards the end of his life, he embraced their Religion. They add, that he borrowed all his Philoſophy from *Solomon*'s Books, which were found in the City of *Jeruſalem*, when it was taken by *Alexander*, and that he, afterwards, burnt them, to have all the Honour of the Wiſdom, they contained. They add farther, that, to juſtify the change of his Religion, he wrote a Letter to *Alexander*, which is inſerted entire in That Part of the Great *Bibliotheque*; and in which the *Rabins* make him ſay, that Logic is an Iniquity, that Philoſophy is Falſhood and Deceit, and that Miſery attends Thoſe, who ſtudy it; becauſe that, by means of the Diſputes, which it leads them into, they go down to Hell (27).” *Selden* quotes Jewiſh Authors, who have affirmed, firſt, That, a little before *Ariſtotle* died, he communicated to his Diſciples the Doctrine, which he had learnt from the *Hebrews*, concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and the Puniſhments and Rewards of a future State. Secondly, That, as to the Points, in which his Doctrine contradicted the Law, he was converted, and became another Man, by the Inſtructions of the High-Prieſt, *Simon* the Juſt (28).

[*C*] *They, who pretend, that he was born a Jew, are groſsly miſtaken.*] The Foundation of This Miſtake is this. The Ancient Tranſlation of *Joſephus* by *George* of *Trebizond* runs thus; *atque ille, inquit, Ariſtoteles Judæus erat*, inſtead of *atque ille, inquit Ariſtoteles, Judæus erat*. Upon this *Marſilius Ficinus* ventured to ſay, that, according to the Teſtimony of *Clearchus*, *Ariſtotle* was a Jew. *Clearchus Peripateticus ſcribit Ariſtotelem fuiſſe Judæum* (29). *Genebrard* fell into the ſame Miſtake. *Ea de cauſa fortaſſe Clearchus Peripateticus ſcribit Ariſtotelem fuiſſe Judæum* (30). This *Jonſius* informs me of (31). I ſhall not imitate *Schoockius*, who has adorned himſelf with theſe Spoils, without giving the Honour where it is properly due (32). But, if we underſtand a Jew by *Religion*, and not by *Birth*, the Source of This Miſtake muſt be ſearched for higher.

[*D*] *They are deceived, who ſay, that he was a Diſciple of* Socrates *for three Years ſucceſſively.*] The Life of *Ariſtotle*, aſcribed to *Ammonius*, or to *John Philoponus*, contains this Error. The Learned *Nunneſius*, who wrote Obſervations on This Life, ſays, that he met with no one among the Ancients, except *Olympiodorus*, who ſays, that *Ariſtotle* had been a Diſciple of *Socrates* *. He adds, that Cardinal *Beſſarion* † fell into the ſame Miſtake, and that *Leonard Aretin*, in the ſixth Book of his *Letters*, and *Octavian Ferrarius*, in his Work *de Sermonibus exotericis*, have ſhewed the Anachroniſm.

[*E*] Ariſtotle*'s Behaviour towards his Maſter* Plato *is variouſly related.*] *Diogenes Laërtius* ſays, that *Plato*, ſeeing that *Ariſtotle* had deſerted him, ſaid; *He kicks againſt us, as Colts do againſt their Dams* (33). *Ælian* explains this Thought of *Plato*. *The Colt*, he ſays, *kicks the Dam after being filled with her Milk: So* Ariſtotle, *having learnt the firſt Rules and Principles of Philoſophy from* Plato, *and, finding himſelf well fed with the excellent Paſture, which his Maſter had ſupplied him with, ſpurned at him, and ſet up a School, to rival His* (34). Conſult *Helladius*, who changes the Ideas a little; for he employs the Compariſon of a Horſe, which bites his Sire. Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ τοῦ περιπάτου προστάτης ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἵππος ἐπωνομάζετο. ἐναντιοῦσθαι δοκῶν τῷ διδασκάλῳ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἵππος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φιλεῖ πατέρα δάκνειν (35). Ariſtotle, *Head of the Peripatetic School, was called by* Plato *The Horſe, because he oppoſed his Maſter; it being common for the Horſe to bite his Sire.* But there is ſtill ſomething worſe. *Ælian* relates, in another Place (36), that *Ariſtotle* offended *Plato* by going too magnificently

(*e*) *See Remark* [*C*].

(19) Diog. Laërt. in Proœmio, n. 19.

(20) *That is of Him, who was the Diſciple of* Ariſtotle.

(21) *Note, that* Schoockius, Fabulæ Hamelenſis, part. 2. cap. 12. *alledges, almoſt Word for Word, the fineſt Obſervations of* Jonſius, *without citing him.*

(22) Jonſius, de Script. Hiſt. Phil. pag. 98.

(23) De Præp. lib. 15, p. 410.

(24) *Provided always, that the Witneſs be ſincere.*

(25) Apud Buxtorf. citante Konig. Bibl. p. 61.

(26) *This Book was printed at* Herborn, *in* 1694.

(27) Journal des Sçavans, *of the* 14*th of* July, 1692, pag. 463, *Edit. of* Holland.

(28) *See* Seldenus, de Jure Naturæ & Gentium, lib. 1, cap. 1, pag. 14, 15. *Edit.* Lipſ. 1695.

(29) Marſil. Ficin. de Chriſt. Relig. cap. 26.

(30) Genebrardi Chronol. ad Ann. 2670.

(31) Jonſ. de Script. Hiſt. Philoſ. pag. 100.

(32) Schoock. ubi ſupra.

* Praxi XLII. in Gorgiam Platonis.

† Lib. 1. Adverſ. Calumniator.

(33) Diog. Laërt. lib. 5, n. 2, in vita Ariſtot.

(34) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4, cap. 9.

(35) Helladius, apud Photii Biblioth. pag. 1589.

(36) Ælian. lib. 3, c. 19.

he ſet up Altar againſt Altar; that is, erected a School in *Athens*, during *Plato*'s Life, and in oppoſition to him; others ſay, that he did not ſet up for a Profeſſor till after his Maſter's Death. We are told ſome things concerning his Amours [*F*], which are not altogether to his Advantage. It was pretended, that his Conjugal Affection was Idolatrous; and that, if he had not retired from *Athens*, the Proceſs for Irreligion, which the Prieſts had entered againſt him [*G*], would have been attended with the ſame Conſequences, as That againſt *Socrates*. Though he deſerved very great Praiſe, yet it is certain, that moſt of the Errors concerning him

magnificently habited, by an Air of Raillery, and by talking a little too much; which made *Plato* transfer his Friendſhip to ſome other of his Diſciples. *Ariſtotle*, having formed a Party, made uſe of an Opportunity, which the Abſence of *Xenocrates*, and the Sickneſs of *Speuſippus* offered him. Theſe were *Plato*'s Sword and Buckler, as we may ſay. It was eaſy, in the Abſence of theſe, to inſult him. Accordingly he went with a great Number of Diſciples to *Plato*'s School. The good old Man, being eighty Years of Age, had almoſt loſt his Memory: *Ariſtotle*, taking Advantage of his Maſter's Infirmity, put ſeveral captious Queſtions to him, puſhed him through every Retreat of his Logic, and proudly triumphed over him. After This Affront, the good Man taught no more in public, but kept at home with his Diſciples. *Ariſtotle* took Poſſeſſion of his Place: But *Xenophon*, at his Return to *Athens*, finding how things had paſſed, reprimanded *Speuſippus* ſeverely, for having ſuffered *Ariſtotle* to take Poſſeſſion of the School; and gave the Uſurper ſo much Diſturbance, as obliged him to quit the Poſt, and re-eſtabliſhed the firſt Maſter. If *Ariſtotle* acted thus, he deſerved to be deteſted; but I believe the Story to be falſe. His Followers have maintained, that he wanted neither Reſpect nor Gratitude towards his Maſter. His having been the Author of another Sect of Philoſophy was no Argument, that he was deficient in either. The other *Platoniſts* would have been in the wrong to have expected him to follow *Plato* in every thing. Did *Plato* add nothing to the Lights, which he received from *Socrates*? However this be, it is affirmed, in the Life of *Ariſtotle*, that he did not ſet up a School in the *Lycæum* during his Maſter's Life-time; and for this Reaſon, becauſe *Chabrias* and *Timotheus*, who were both of them related to *Plato*, and at that Time very powerful in *Athens*, would not have ſuffered it. They add, that *Ariſtotle* erected an Altar to *Plato*, with an honourable Inſcription, and that he did not teach in *Athens*, 'till after the Death of *Speuſippus*, who ſucceeded *Plato*. Laſtly, it is obſerved, that he did not take this Employ upon himſelf of his own mere Motion, but at the Sollicitation of the *Athenians*, who ſent Deputies to him for that Purpoſe. The old *Latin* Tranſlation of This Life of *Ariſtotle* is ſometimes more ample than the Original. As for Example; in the Place, where the Author denies, that *Ariſtotle* ſet up a School during *Plato*'s Life, the Tranſlation remarks, that it was a Calumny of *Ariſtoxenus*, and *Ariſtocles*. The *Greek* has nothing of This. See what *Euſebius* cites from the ſeventh Book of This *Ariſtocles*; you will there find a Paſſage of *Ariſtoxenus*, which ſeems to contain This Accuſation againſt *Ariſtotle*, in general, and ſomewhat obſcure, Terms; and likewiſe ſee, that *Ariſtocles*, having refuted ſeveral other Accuſations, drops the Cauſe, as to the Ingratitude of This Diſciple (37). So that Father *Rapin* was much deceived (38), when he ſaid, that *Euſebius juſtifies him entirely from This Reproach* (39). I cannot conceive, why this Jeſuit has joined *Ammonius* and *Philoponus*, as two different Apologiſts, with *Euſebius*; for the Life of *Ariſtotle*, which he cites, belongs but to one Author; to *Ammonius* according to ſome, to *Philoponus* according to others.

[*F*] *We are told ſome things concerning his Amours.*] There is a ſtrange Complication of Impurities on this Head. His Calumniators report, that He retired to *Hermias*, who commanded in *Atarnus*, a ſmall Town of *Myſia*, near the *Helleſpont*; and that *Hermias* had a very criminal Complaiſance for him; Ὃν οἱ μὲν φασὶ παιδικὰ γένεσθαι αὐτοῦ (40); *Quem alii quidem delicias ac luſus ipſius fuiſſe tradunt*; that he gave him his Daughter, or his Niece, in Marriage; that, finding him to be in Love with his Concubine, he made a Preſent of her to him (41); that *Ariſtotle* was ſo doatingly fond of This Lady, that, having married her, he offered a Sacrifice to Her, like That, which the *Athenians* offered to *Ceres*; and that he teſtified his Acknowledgment to *Hermias*, by an Hymn, which he compoſed in his Honour.

My Readers need not be told, that theſe Calumnies did not proceed from one and the ſame Pen; ſome told one Story, ſome another. One of *Ariſtotle*'s Apologiſts has obſerved, that they did not all agree in charging him with one and the ſame Accuſation; but that each Cenſor came with his particular Satire (42). This, it may be ſaid, is a Sign they did not act in Concert; let me add, that it is a Sign they had no good Proof of any thing; for when a ſerious Accuſation is once proved, all, who write againſt the accuſed, eternally reproach him with it. The ſame Apologiſt obſerves, that the particular Accuſations, which were drawn up againſt *Ariſtotle*, amounted to ſo great a Number of Crimes, that, if but one of them had been true, he would certainly have been puniſhed by the Judges then in being. His Enemies gave out, among other things, that he had betrayed his Country, and that Letters were intercepted, which he had written to the Prejudice of the *Athenians* (43). To return to *Ariſtotle*'s Wife; ſome pretend, that it was after her Death, that her Husband offered ſuch Sacrifices to her, as the *Athenians* offered to *Ceres*. Φησὶ θύειν Ἀριστοτέλη θυσίαν τετελευτηκυία τῇ γύναικι τοιαύτην Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Δήμητρι (44). *Scribit (Lycon Pythagoræus) Ariſtotelem idem ſacrificii genus, quod Cereri ab Athenienſibus fiebat, demortuæ uxori facere ſolitum. Ariſtocles* anſwered, I. That *Apellicon*'s Books, concerning the Intercourſe of *Hermias* with *Ariſtotle*, fully juſtified theſe two Friends. II. That *Ariſtotle* had ſufficiently juſtified himſelf as to his Marriage with *Pythias*, in the Letters, which he wrote to *Antipater*. This *Pythias* was the Siſter of *Hermias*, and his adopted Daughter. *Ariſtotle* made it appear, that he did not marry her, 'till after the Death of *Hermias*; that ſhe was a very virtuous Woman, but reduced to ſo deplorable a Condition, by the Death of her Brother, that he thought himſelf obliged to marry her out of a regard to *Hermias*.

[G] *The Proceſs for Irreligion, which the Prieſts had entered againſt him.*] The Circumſtances of this Affair are not known. *Diogenes Laërtius* has only told us (45), that *Eurymedon*, the Prieſt, accuſed *Ariſtotle* of Impiety, on account of an Hymn, which he had compoſed in Honour of *Hermias*, and an Inſcription, engraved on the Statue of the ſame *Hermias*, in the Temple of *Delphi*. *Phavorinus* imputes the Accuſation to *Demophilus* (46). It cannot be conceived by what Querks of Law the Accuſers could draw the leaſt Shadow of a Proof from the Inſcription to *Hermias*. It conſiſts of four Verſes, which have no Relation to Things Sacred, but are only levelled againſt the Perfidiouſneſs of the King of *Perſia* to This unhappy Friend of *Ariſtotle*. *Athenæus* informs us, that the Ground of the other Accuſation, to wit, the Hymn compoſed for *Hermias*, was unjuſt, ſince it was no Religious Poem, nor ſacred Piece, as *Demophilus* pretended (47). *Athenæus* adds, that, to give the greater weight to the Accuſation, *Eurymedon* had ſuborned *Demophilus* (48). It is probable, that *Demophilus* was ſome Perſon of Quality, and of great Authority in *Athens*. Perhaps he did not ſee to the Bottom of the Sacerdotal Craft; nor apprehend, that *Eurymedon*, the Prieſt, deſired his Countenance, only to render poor *Ariſtotle* the more ſuſpected. He expected, that People would Reaſon after this manner: *If only the Prieſts had accuſed* Ariſtotle, *the Evil might be born withal; their great Piety makes them* *ſubject* him are to be looked for in the extravagant Commendations, which have been heaped upon him: As for Example; Is it not a downright Falſhood, to ſay, *That, if* Ariſtotle *ſpoke, in his Natural Philoſophy, like a Man, he ſpoke, in his Moral Philoſophy, like a God (f): And that it is a queſtion, whether, in his Moral Philoſophy, he partakes more of the Lawyer, than of the Prieſt; more of the Prieſt, than of the Prophet; more of the Prophet, than of the God (g)?* I ſhall, in the Remarks, touch upon ſome Praiſes beſtowed on him, which are ſtill greater than theſe [*H*]. Cardinal *Pallavicini* ſcruples not, in ſome meaſure, to confeſs, That, if it had not been for *Ariſtotle*, the

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(37) Euſebii Præpar. Evangel. lib. 15. cap. 2.

(38) Rapin's *Compariſon of* Plato *and* Ariſtotle, pag. 305.

(39) *It cannot be* Euſebius, *who juſtified him; it muſt have been* Ariſtocles. *But neither one nor the other juſtify him.*

(40) Diog. Laërt. in vit. Ariſt. n. 3.

(41) Ariſtippus, in primo de antiquis deliciis libro apud Laërtium, ubi ſupra.

(42) Ariſtocles, apud Euſeb. Præp. lib. 15. cap. 2.

(43) Id. ib.

(44) Id. ib.

(45) In vita Ariſtot. lib. 5. n. 5.

(46) Phavorin. in omnimoda Hiſtoria, apud Laërtium, ibid.

(47) Athen. lib. 15. cap. 16. pag. 696.

(48) *See the Notes of* Caſaubon *on* Athenæus, pag. 584.

WHY *Ariſtotle* had Reaſon to fear the Prieſts, his Accuſers.

ſubject to be alarmed at the leaſt Thing, which affects Religion: but here is Demophilus, *who is ſo ſcandalized at* Ariſtotle's *Impieties, that he openly demands Juſtice againſt him; the Evil muſt needs be very great.* The Hymn in queſtion is preſerved. It is to be found in *Athenæus*, and in *Diogenes Laërtius*; and there is not the leaſt Trace of Irreligion in it. But, doubtleſs, his Accuſers alledged, that *Ariſtotle* prophaned the uſe of Divine Hymns, by employing them in the Praiſes of a Mortal Man. They maintained, that he ſung This Hymn daily at his Meals (49). *Ariſtotle*, not willing to rely on the good Conſtruction, which might be made of his little Poem, retired quietly to *Chalcis*, in *Eubea*, and pleaded his Cauſe, in writing, at a Diſtance. *Athenæus* reports ſome Words of This Apology; but does not warrant them to be really *Ariſtotle's* (50). *Phavorinus* affirms, in *Diogenes Laërtius*, that *Ariſtotle* wrote a Speech, at that time, in the Judiciary Style, and that he was the firſt, who compoſed ſuch Speeches in his own Cauſe; or that this was the firſt time he made them for himſelf (51). *Nunneſius* affirms, that *Seneca, de vita beata*, obſerves, that *Ariſtotle* made but This one in his whole Life-Time (52). However it be, his ſafeſt way was to plead his Cauſe at a Diſtance; for his Accuſers were Men, who would never have given him any Quarter, but have ſet all Engines at Work, till they had found one, which would have done the Buſineſs. It was impoſſible ſo great a Wit as He ſhould not ſometimes laugh at the Impertinence of the publick Worſhip of the *Athenians*, and ſpeak his Sentiments of Prieſt-Craft. All, that he had ever ſaid in Converſation, would have been raked up; Witneſſes would have been heard; in a Word, he would have been effectually cruſhed. Beſides, who knows, but, at ſome time or other, a Real Impiety might have eſcaped him; when, intending to ſpeak only of the immutable Greatneſs of the Supremely-Perfect Being? *Origen* ſays, that The Action of Impiety, which his Accuſers would have brought againſt him, was founded on ſome of his Doctrines (53). He ſays, in another place, that it is a Tenet of the Peripatetics, that Prayers and Sacrifices are uſeleſs (54). It is probable they built this Doctrine on This falſe Principle; that infinite Wiſdom knows, at all times, what is fit to be done; and that it does not alter it's purpoſe according to the Deſires or Intereſts of Men; as if the Divinity ſtood in need of our Prayers, as Notices or Hints, not to do That, which we believe he is prepared to do. Such a Principle, if not rectified by the Lights of Religion, is a real Impiety. *Ariſtotle* could never have eſcaped the *Athenian* Prieſts, if they had held him to This Point. His Anſwer to thoſe, who demanded the Reaſon of his Retreat, ſhews, that he feared, they would find good, or bad, Proofs againſt him. *I would not willingly be the Cauſe of the* Athenians *being guilty of a ſecond Injuſtice againſt Philoſophy.* The firſt Injuſtice was the Death of *Socrates*. Πρὸς τὸν ἐρόμενον διὰ τί ἀπέλιπε τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐ βούλεται Ἀθηναίους δὶς ἐξαμαρτεῖν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν· τὸ περὶ Σωκράτην πάθος αἰνιττόμενος, καὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτὸν κίνδυνον (55). *Interroganti cur reliquiſſet Athenas, reſpondit; quoniam noluiſſet committere, ut Athenienſes bis peccarent in Philoſophiam: obſcure Socratis mortem innuens, & ſuum periculum.* He made uſe of one of *Homer*'s Verſes, to ſignify, that it was not ſafe living in a City, where the Race of Informers never decreaſed, but one regularly ſucceeded another. We may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that he acknowledged himſelf guilty of having perſonally offended *Eurymedon*, the Prieſt of *Ceres* (56), by ſome Stroke of Raillery; which kindled the Zeal of this Perſonage, who had ſuffered the pretended Impiety of the Hymn to lie dormant for twenty Years. It is more dangerous to offend theſe Gentlemen in their own Perſons, than in the Perſons of their Gods. See the Remark [*R*], where we ſhall relate the Opinions of ſome Authors concerning the Cauſe of *Ariſtotle*'s Flight. I have obſerved, at the End of the Article, that *Heſychius* affirms, that he was actually condemned, and executed at *Athens*. I uſe no Hyperbole in the Expreſſion of twenty Years; ſince *Ariſtotle* had taught thirteen Years at *Athens*, when the Proceſs for Irreligion obliged him to retire to *Chalcis* (57). He did not return to *Athens*, 'till he had inſtructed *Alexander*, whoſe Preceptor he was not, 'till after the Death of *Hermias*.

[*H*] *I ſhall touch upon ſome Praiſes, beſtowed on him, which are ſtill greater than theſe.*] "*Averroes* has "ſaid, that, before *Ariſtotle*'s Birth, Nature was in-"compleat; that, in him, it received it's laſt Accom-"pliſhment, and the Perfection of it's Being; that "it could go no farther; that here was the Extre-"mity of it's Power, and the Limits of human Un-"derſtanding. Another Philoſopher has outdone "*Averroes*, by ſaying, that *Ariſtotle* was a ſecond "Nature." Thoſe are *Balzac*'s Words, in the Four hundred and fifty ninth Page of the Diſcourſes, which were printed after his *Chriſtian Socrates*. This puts me in mind of the Scruples of an Author, who, ſeeing that Nature herſelf ſubſcribed to *Ariſtotle*'s Opinions, durſt never doubt of what he had ſaid. *Recte & hoc Ariſtoteles, ut cetera; nec poſſum non aſſentiri viro, cujus inventis nec ipſa natura diſſentit* (58). A *Spaniſh* Divine ſays, that, without the particular Aſſiſtance of an Angel, or Genius, the Wit of Man cannot penetrate ſo far into the Secrets of Nature, as *Ariſtotle* has done (59). He muſt have believed, then, that *Ariſtotle* had a good, or an evil, Angel, which inſtructed him in a thouſand things, to which human Underſtanding could not attain. *William*, Biſhop of *Paris*, mentains, "in ſeveral Parts of his "Works (60), that This Philoſopher had a Familiar "Spirit, who directed all his Actions, whom he "cauſed to deſcend from the Sphere of *Venus*, by "ſacrificing a ſtrangled Lamb, and ſome other Ce-"remonies." Others have ſaid, that he ſtood in no need of ſuch Aſſiſtance. It was the "Opinion of "the famous Divine *Henry de Aſſia* (61), that *Ari-*"*ſtotle* could have acquired as perfect a Knowledge "in Theology, by the Light of Nature, as That, "which was diſcovered to our firſt Father, when "he fell aſleep in the Terreſtrial Paradiſe (62), or to "St *Paul*, when he was ſnatched up into the Third "Heaven." A Council, which was held in *France*, under *Philip Auguſtus*, ordered *Ariſtotle*'s Metaphyſics to be burnt. An *Engliſh* Doctor, of the Order of St *Auguſtin* (63), has left in Writing, that it was commonly believed, in thoſe Times, that none but Antichriſt ſhould be able thoroughly to underſtand *Ariſtotle*'s Books; which he would make uſe of, to convince all thoſe, who ſhould enter into Diſpute with him. Let us end this little Collection, with a Paſſage of *Agrippa*, who informs us, that the Divines of *Cologn* maintained, that *Ariſtotle* was the Fore-runner of the Meſſias, in the Myſteries of Nature, as St *John Baptiſt* was, in the Myſteries of Grace. "Digniſſi-"mus profecto hodie Latinorum gymnaſiorum Doctor, "& quem Colonienſes mei Theologi etiam divis ad-"numerarent, librumque ſub prælo evulgatum ede-"rent, cui titulum facerent *de Salute Ariſtotelis* (64); "ſed & alium verſu & metro *de vita & morte Ari-*"*ſtotelis*, quem Theologica inſuper gloſſa illuſtra-"runt, in cujus calce concludunt, Ariſtotelem ſic "fuiſſe Chriſti præcurſorem in Naturalibus, quemad-"modum Joannes Baptiſta in Gratuitis (65). —— "*A moſt worthy Doctor of the* Latin *Schools, and whom* "*my Countrymen, the Divines of* Cologn, *would even* "*exalt to Divinity, and would publiſh a printed* "*Work* Of the Salvation of *Ariſtotle*; *beſides another* "*in Verſe* Of the Life and Death of *Ariſtotle*; *which* "*they have illuſtrated with a Theological Commentary,* "*at the end of which they conclude, that* Ariſtotle *was* "*the Fore-runner of* Chriſt *in Natural Things, as* John the Church would have wanted ſome of it's Articles of Faith [*I*]. The Chriſtians are not the only People, who have authorized his Philoſophy; the *Mahometans* (b) are little leſs prejudiced in it's Favour; and we are told, that, to this Day, notwithſtanding the Ignorance, which reigns among them, They have Schools for this Sect [*K*]. It will be an everlaſting Subject of Wonder to Perſons, who know what Philoſophy is, to find, that *Ariſtotle*'s Authority was ſo much reſpected in the Schools, for ſeveral Ages, that, when a Diſputant quoted a Paſſage from This Philoſopher, He, who maintained the *Theſis*, durſt not ſay *Tranſeat*, but muſt either deny the Paſſage, or explain it in his own way [*L*]. It is in this manner we treat the

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(f) *Father* Pardies, *in a Letter from a Peripatetic to a Carteſian, ſays, that this is the Opinion of a great Wit; and cites in the Margin,* Corn. à Lapide, Præf. in Eccleſ.

(g) *This is the Opinion of another great Wit, according to Father* Pardies, *ib.*

(49) Athen. pag. 696. B.

(50) Id. pag 697. A.

(51) Diog. Laërt. vit. Ariſtot. n. 9.

(52) Nunneſ. Not. in vit. Ariſt. pag. 147.

(53) Origen. contra Celſum, lib. 1.

(54) Ibid. lib. 2.

(55) Ælian. lib. 3 cap. 36. *See alſo* Ammonius in vita Ariſtot. Origen. contra Celſum, lib. 1. Diog. Laërt. in Ariſtot. n. 9.

(56) Diog. Laert. in vit. Ariſt. n. 8.

(57) Ammon. in ejus vita.

(58) Macrob. Saturn. lib. 7. c. 6.

(59) Medina, in Thom. Aquin. I. Secundæ Quæſt. 109. Art. I. *cited by* Naudé, *in his Apology for great Men.* pag. 327.

(60) De Univerſo Spiritu, Part. I. cap. 92, 153. & Part. II. cap. 6. *cited by* Naudé, ubi ſupra, pag. 328.

(61) Apud Sibillam I. Decad. peregrin. Quæſt. cap. 8. Quæſt. I. Quæſtiunc. IV. *cited by* Naudé, ubi ſupra, pag. 319.

(62) *See Citation* (11) *of the Article* ADAM.

(63) Alexander Neccam, Lib. de Natura Rerum, *cited by* la Mothe le Vayer, *of the Virtue of the* Pagans. Oper. Tom. 5. pag. 102. Edit. in 12mo.

(64) *See the Remark* [*R*].

(65) Agrippa, de Vanit. Scientiar. cap. 54. pag. 95. Baleus *has copied this,* Cent. 14. pag. 220. *See, below, the Remark* [*U*].

(b) *See* Rapin's *Compariſon of Plat.* and *Ariſtotle*, pag. 403.

“ John Baptiſt *was in thoſe of Grace.*” To ſpeak impartially, and without any Prejudice, it may be ſaid, that theſe extravagant Panegyriſts do *Ariſtotle*'s Memory more harm than good. Theſe Words of *Tacitus* may, in ſome reſpect, be applied to them: “ Peſſimum inimicorum genus laudantes (66). —— *Panegyriſts are the worſt of Enemies.*” So many juſt Praiſes may be beſtowed on *Ariſtotle* (67), that they are inexcuſable, who, not ſatisfied with them, have added others, which are hyperbolical.

Why were they not ſatisfied with ſaying, that he *dipt his Pen in good Senſe* (68)? This is what all Philoſophers ought to do, if the chief of the Stoics may be believed. Ὁ Ζήνων ἔλεγεν ὅτι δεῖ τὸν φιλόσοφον εἰς νοῦν ἀποβάπτοντα προφέρεσθαι τὴν λέξιν (69). *Zeno ait mente tinctum proferre Philoſophum ſermonem debere.* They, who would ſee a Collection of the Praiſes given to *Ariſtotle*, would do well to read *George* of *Trebizond* (70). *Pererius*, in the firſt Chapter of the fifth Book *de Principiis*; *Juſtus Lipſius*, in the fourth Diſſertation of the firſt Book *Manuductionis ad Philoſophiam Stoicam*; *Theodorus Angelutius*, in his Anſwer to *Francis Patricius*, &c.

[*I*] *Cardinal* Pallavicini *ſcruples not, in ſome meaſure, to confeſs, That, if it had not been for* Ariſtotle, *the Church would have wanted ſome of it's Articles of Faith.*] The Author of the new Goſpel of Cardinal *Pallavicini* does not fail (71) to make the moſt of theſe Words of the nineteenth Chapter of the eighth Book, n. 13. “ Di cio ſi doveva in gran parte l'obligatione ad Ariſtotele, il quale ſe non ſi foſſe adoperato in diſtinguer accuratamente i generi delle ragioni, noi mancavamo di molti articoli di fede. — *Great Thanks is due for this to* Ariſtotle, *who, if he had not taken the Pains to diſtinguiſh accurately the ſeveral kinds of reaſoning, we ſhould have wanted many Articles of Faith.*” This Encomium puts me in mind of a Paſſage of *Nicius Erythræus*, as great a Flatterer of *Ariſtotle* as any of them: He ſays, that it was a vain Attempt, in the Subtle and Learned *Patricius*, to oppoſe the Doctrine of the *Lycæum*; a Doctrine, which can never be ſhaken, and which will always triumph over it's Rivals. “ Altius Ariſtotelis auctoritas radices egit, quam ut cujuſquam vim impetumque pertimeſcat: viget, ſemperque vigebit, hominis diſciplina; tantumque quis exiſtimabitur ſcire, quantum ex doctrinæ ejuſdam fontibus hauſtum, intelligentia comprehenſum habuerit; ac nemo, cui cor ſapiat, non ſatius eſſe ducet in iis, quæ ad Philoſophiam pertinent, cum deo, ut ita dicam, philoſophorum errare, quam cum aliis recte ſapere, minorum gentium magiſtris. Itaque ille, omnibus in gymnaſiis, ad ſapientiam properantibus, dux ſemper habebitur: ille Theologorum quaſi militiæ, adverſus religionis noſtræ hoſtes, definitiones, argumentorum copiam, & alia præclare dicta multa, tanquam amentatas haſtas elargietur, quas illa Theologicis lacertis ac viribus, de cœlo ſuppeditatis, torqueat ac vibret (72). —— Ariſtotle's *Authority has taken too deep root, to fear the Attacks of any one. The Doctrine of that great Man flouriſhes, and will for ever flouriſh; and each one will be eſteemed learned, in proportion as he is verſed in the Writings of this Philoſopher; and indeed no Man of Senſe, but would chuſe, in Matters of Philoſophy, to err with this God of the Philoſophers, if I may be allowed to call him ſo, than to think right with Maſters of an inferiour Claſs. For this reaſon, he will be the Head of every School, which is in purſuit of true Wiſdom; he will equip our militant Divines, againſt the Enemies of our Religion, with Definitions, Arguments,* &c. *which, as ſo many Weapons from Heaven, they may brandiſh by the Strength of their Theological Arms.*” To deal fairly, I think myſelf obliged to ſay, that Cardinal *Pallavicini* does not advance the Maxim alledged as from himſelf, nor as an Obſervation, of which he would inform the World, but only as a malicious Jeſt of Father *Paul*. He treats this Raillery as impertinent, and ſays, that the Councils, in which *Subſtance*, *Perſon*, and *Hypoſtaſis*, were ſo ſubtily diſtinguiſhed, were equally expoſed to it. In a Word, he does not deny the Fact, and is content to laugh at Thoſe, who laugh at it (73). Father *Paul*, having ſet down the Decree of the ſixth Seſſion, ſhews what it was that had been cenſured in it, and, among other things, ſays, that they, who were verſed in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, obſerved, that all the other Councils, put together, had not decided ſo many Articles, as That ſingle Seſſion, in which *Ariſtotle* had a great ſhare, in having diſtinguiſhed between the ſeveral kinds of Cauſes; and, that, without his Help, we ſhould have wanted many Articles of Faith. *In chi haveva una gran parte Ariſtotele, coll' haver diſtinto eſſattamente tutti i generi di cauſe, a che, ſe egli non ſi foſſe adoperato, noi mancavamo di molti articoli di Fede* (74). The Remonſtrances of the *Sorbonne*, upon which the Parliament of *Paris* made an Order againſt Chymiſts, in the Year 1629, imported, that *no one could oppoſe the Principles of* Ariſtotle's *Philoſophy, without interfering with the Scholaſtic Divinity received in the Church* (75). In the Year 1624, the Parliament of *Paris* baniſhed three Perſons, who ventured publickly to diſpute againſt *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy; and forbad all Perſons to vent the Propoſitions contained in their *Theſes*, on pain of corporal Puniſhments, and to teach any Maxims contrary to ancient and approved Authors on pain of Death (76).

[*K*] *To this Day the* Mahometans - - - - - *have Schools for This Sect.*] “ The *Peripatetic* Philoſophy is ſo eſtabliſhed every where, that no other is read in all Chriſtian Univerſities. Even They, who are forced to receive the Impoſtures of *Mahomet*, teach the Sciences no otherwiſe than according to the Principles of the *Lycæum*, to which they are ſo attached, that *Averroes*, *Alfarabius*, *Almubaſſar* (77), and ſeveral other *Arabian* Philoſophers, often ſwerve from the Opinions of their Prophet, that they may not contradict Thoſe of *Ariſtotle*, whom the *Turks* have tranſlated into the *Turkiſh* and *Arabic* Languages, as *Belonius* *, relates (78).” The Author, from whom I borrow theſe Words, ſays in another Volume (79), that, according to *Olearius*'s Relation, the *Perſians* have all *Ariſtotle*'s Works, explained by ſeveral *Arabian* Commentators, who are wont to call his Philoſophy the Goblet, or Drinking-Cup, of the World. “ *Bergeron, ſays he*, obſerves, in his Treatiſe of the *Tartars*, that they had *Ariſtotle*'s Books tranſlated into their Language, teaching his Doctrine, with as much Submiſſion, as can be done here, at *Samarcand*, an Univerſity of the Great *Mogul*, and at preſent the chief City of the Kingdom of *Usbec*.”

[*L*] *Where a Diſputant quoted a Paſſage from This Philoſopher, He who maintained the* Theſis, *durſt not ſay* Tranſeat, *but muſt either deny the Paſſage, or explain in it his own Way.*] If any one think fit to conteſt this Fact, I refer him to ſeveral *Courſes of Philoſophy*, printed in the XVIth Century, where This Method is found to have been in uſe The Author proves his Theſis, firſt by Authority, and afterwards by Reaſon. The Authoritative Proof are Paſſages out of *Ariſtotle*. The Anſwer to the Objections conſiſts alſo of two Parts. Firſt, Satisfaction given as to the Paſſages of *Ariſtotle*, which ſeem to oppoſe the Theſis, and which are Authoritative Proofs for the other Party: Afterwards an Anſwer is given to the Reaſons; but great Care is taken never to ſay, *I own that* the Holy Scriptures in the Divinity Schools. The Parliaments, which have proſcribed all other Philoſophy, but That of *Ariſtotle* (*i*), are more excuſable than The Doctors: For, whether the Members of Parliament were really perſuaded, as is very probable, that This Philoſophy was the beſt of any, or were not, the Public Good might induce them to prohibit New Opinions, leaſt the Academical Diviſions ſhould extend their malignant Influence to the Tranquillity of the State. What is moſt aſtoniſhing to Wiſe Men, is, that the Profeſſors ſhould be ſo ſtrongly prejudiced in Favour of *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy. Had This Prepoſſeſſion been confined to his Poetry, and Rhetoric, it had been leſs wonderful; but they were fond of the weakeſt of his Works; I mean his Logic, and Natural Philoſophy [*M*]. This Juſtice however muſt be done to the blindeſt of his Followers, that they have deſerted him, where he claſhes with Chriſtianity [*N*]. And this he did in Points of the greateſt Conſequence; ſince he maintained the Eternity of the World, and did not believe, that Providence extended itſelf to ſublunary Beings. As to the Immortality of the Soul, it is not certainly known, whether he acknowledged it or no [*O*]. We ſhall take notice, in another Place, of the long Diſputes, which have reigned in *Italy*, on This Subject. In the Year 1647, the Famous Capuchin *Valerian Magni* publiſhed a Work concerning the Atheiſm of *Ariſtotle*. About One Hundred and thirty Years before, *Marc Anthony Venerius* publiſhed a Syſtem of Philoſophy, in which he diſcovered ſeveral Inconſiſtencies between *Ariſtotle*'s Doctrine, and the Truths of Religion. *Campanella* maintained the ſame, in his Book *de reductione ad Religionem*, which was approved at *Rome*, in the Year 1630. It was, not long ſince, maintained, in *Holland*, in the Prefaces to ſome Books, that the Doctrine of This Philoſopher differed but little from *Spinoziſm* (*k*). In the mean time, if ſome Peripatetics

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(66) Tacit. in vita Agric. cap. 41.

(67) *You will find many ſuch, in the Speeches of* Conringius, *entituled* Ariſtotelis Laudatio.

(68) *See the Words of* Suidas, *below, Remark* [*Z*], *at the beginning.*

(69) Plut. in Vita Phocionis, pag. 743. E.

(70) De Comparat. Platonis, & Ariſtotelis.

(71) Chap. 6. Art. 6. pag. 253.

(72) Pinacoth I. pag. 204.

(73) Ma quale ſtoltizia è quello Scherno, che di cio ſi doveva in gran parte l'obligatione ad Ariſtotele, &c. *See* Rapin's *Reflexions on Philoſophy*, pag. 449.

(74) *Father* Paul's *Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent. lib. 2. ad ann. 1547, pag. 234, *Edit. of* 1629.

(75) Rapin's Compariſon of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, p. 413.

(76) Mercure François, Tom. 10. p. 504.

(77) *It ſhould be* Albumaſſar, *or* Almubaſſar.

* Lib 3. cap. 14.

(78) La Mothe le Vayer, *of the Virtue of the Pagans*, Tom. 5. p. 101.

(79) *The* 12th, *pag.* 245.

(*i*) *See Remark* [*I*], *at the end.*

(*k*) Haſſel, *in the Preface to the* Anti-Spinoza *of* Wittichius, *printed in* 1690; *and in the Preface to the* Inveſtigatio Epiſtolæ ad Hebræos *of the ſame Author, printed in* 1691.

that Ariſtotle *believed ſo and ſo; nevertheleſs I deny, that my Theſis, wherein I maintain another Doctrine, is falſe.* All Endeavours are made uſe of to give the objected Paſſages ſuch a Senſe, as may agree with the Matter in queſtion. The ſame Method is ſtill in uſe among Thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, in the Divinity Schools, with regard to St *Auſtin*, and *Thomas Aquinas*.

[*M*] *The weakeſt of his Works; I mean his Logic, and Natural Philoſophy.*] To be convinced of the Weakneſs of theſe Works, we need only read *Gaſſendus* in his *Exercitationes paradoxicæ adverſus Ariſtoteleos* (80). He ſays enough there againſt *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy, in general, to perſuade every unprejudiced Reader, that it is very defective; but he particularly ruins this Philoſopher's Logic. He was preparing likewiſe a Criticiſm on his Natural Philoſophy, his Metaphyſics, and Ethics, in the ſame way; when, being alarmed at the formidable Indignation of the *Peripatetic* Party againſt him, he choſe rather to drop his Work, than expoſe himſelf to their vexatious Perſecutions.

(80) *They are to be found in the third Volume of his Works.*

Note, that no one pretends to deny, but that, in *Ariſtotle*'s Logic, and Natural Philoſophy, there are many things, which diſcover the Elevation and Profoundneſs of his Genius. This we may grant, and, at the ſame time, judge that *Caſaubon*'s *Elogium* on him is ſomewhat too hyperbolical. "Ego pueros "puto fuiſſe (ſocios in Logica) præ divino Ariſtotele; "& eorum in hoc genere ſcripta ὕϑλον καὶ φλήναφον præ Ariſtotelis Organo; quo opere omnia "mortalium ingenia (divina aut de rebus divinis ſemper excipio) longe ſuperavit (81). —— *I look upon "the* Logicians *as Children, in Compariſon of the Divine* Ariſtotle, *and their Writings on this Subject "to be Trifles, when compared with* Ariſtotle's Organum; *in which Work he has ſurpaſſed all the Wit "of Man; divine Subjects ever excepted.* The ſame may be ſaid of This Paſſage of Father *Rapin*; "Nothing appears to have been regular or ſettled in "Logic before *Ariſtotle**. This great Genius, fraught "with Reaſon, and Knowledge, ſearched ſo deep "into the Abyſs of Human Wit, that he penetrated "all the Secrets of it by his nice Diſcernment of it's "Operations. This vaſt Depth of human Thoughts "had never yet been ſounded: *Ariſtotle* was the firſt, "who diſcovered a new Way of attaining to Science, "by the Evidence of Demonſtration, and by proceeding geometrically to Demonſtration in the way of "Syllogiſm, the moſt finiſhed Production, and greateſt Effort, of human Wit. This is, in Miniature, "the whole Art and Method of *Ariſtotle*'s Logic; "which is ſo very ſure a one, that there can be no "perfect Certainty in reaſoning but by this Method, "which is a certain Rule for thinking right on what "ever ought to employ our Thoughts (82)." This Philoſopher's Treatiſe of Syllogiſms may be commended as it deſerves, without employing any ſuch extravagant Expreſſions. There are ſeveral very ſublime Queſtions in his Phyſics, which he diſcuſſes, and clears up, in a very maſterly Way; but, in ſhort, the main, the Groſs, of this Work is good for nothing; *infelix operis ſumma.* The chief Reaſon of This Defect is *Ariſtotle*'s forſaking the Path, which the moſt excellent Naturaliſts took, who had philoſophized before him. They believed, that all the Alterations, which happen in Nature, are only new Diſpoſitions of the Particles of Matter; they admitted no Generation, properly ſpeaking. This was the Doctrine, which he rejected (83); and, in ſo doing, was bewildered. For he was obliged to teach, that new Beings are produced, and others deſtroyed; he diſtinguiſhed them from Matter; he gave them unheard-of Names, he affirmed, or ſuppoſed, things, of which he had no diſtinct Ideas. Now it is as impoſſible to philoſophize juſtly without the Evidence of Ideas, as to ſail without the Polar Star, or the Compaſs. To abandon this Evidence is to be beſide one's ſelf; it is to imitate a Traveller, who, in a ſtrange Country, ſhould diſmiſs his Guide; it is to feel one's Way in a ſtrange Houſe by Night without a Candle. Every one knows the many Forms, and Qualities diſtinct from Subſtance, which *Ariſtotle*'s Followers have introduced; he had opened to them This Labyrinth: And if, in the XVIIth Century, Natural Philoſophy began to appear again with new Luſtre, it was by reſtoring the Ancient Principles, which he had forſaken, and by recurring to Evidence: In ſhort, it was by excluding the great Number of Entities, of which our Mind has no manner of Idea, out of the Doctrine of Generation, and ſticking to the Figure, Motion, and Situation of the Particles of Matter: Things, of which we have a clear and diſtinct Conception.

(81) Caſaub. in Perſium, Sat. 5. ver. 86. p. 415.

* Ariſtoteles utriuſque partis dialecticæ princeps. - - - - - Ariſtotle, *the Head of both the Parts of Logic.* Cicero Topic. cap. 2.

(82) Rapin's Reflexions on Logic, n. 4. pag. 374, 375.

(83) *See the firſt Book of* Ariſtotle, De Generatione & Corruptione.

[*N*] *This Juſtice however muſt be done to the blindeſt of his Followers, that They deſerted him, where he claſhes with Chriſtianity.*] I intend not to enter into Diſpute with *Luther*, in behalf of the Divines of *Cologne*: He reproaches Them, and Thoſe of *Louvain* alſo, with defending, or ſoftening, *Ariſtotle*'s greateſt and moſt impious Abſurdities, by their forced Interpretations. *Ariſtotelem ipſis in ſummo eſſe pretio, & nihil ab eo dictum eſſe tam abſurde vel alienè à noſtra religione quod non defendant, quod non aliqua interpretatione quantumvis longe petita circumveſtiant, quò ſuus ille conſtet honos atque nominis exiſtimatio* (84). What is not Prejudice capable of!

(84) Apud Sleidanum, de Statu Relig. & Reip. lib. 2. fol. 33.

[*O*] *As to the Immortality of the Soul, it is not certainly known, whether he believed it or no.*] *Pomponatius*, and *Niphus*, had a great Quarrel on this Subject. The firſt maintained, that the Immortality of the Soul was inconſiſtent with *Ariſtotle*'s Principles; the latter undertook to defend the contrary. See patetics may be believed, He was not ignorant of the Myſtery of the Trinity [*P*]. He made a very good End [*Q*], and enjoys Eternal Happineſs [*R*]. He compoſed a very great Number of Books, a great Part of which is come down to us. It is true, ſome Critics raiſe a thouſand Scruples about them. We ſhall ſay ſomething of the Fate of theſe Books, in the Remarks on the Article TYRANNION (*l*). He was extremely honoured in his own City [*S*]; and there were Heretics, who worſhipped His Image jointly with That of JESUS CHRIST. I no where find, that the *Antinomians bore greater Reſpect to This wiſe Pagan, than to the uncreated Wiſdom*

See the Diſcourſe of *la Mothe le Vayer* on the Immortality of the Soul (85); and *Bodin*, in the fifteenth Page of the Preface to the *Demonomania*.

[*P*] *According to ſome Peripatetics,* Ariſtotle *was not ignorant of the Myſtery of the Trinity.*] *Emanuel de Moura*, diſputing againſt Thoſe, who accuſed *Ariſtotle* of Atheiſm, ſays, I. That a Woman wheedled him to that Degree, that ſhe made him conſult the Oracle of *Apollo* (86). II. That he ordered, by his laſt Will, that the Effigies of certain Animals, which he had vowed for the Health of *Nicanor* (87), ſhould be dedicated to *Jupiter* and *Minerva*. III. That he confeſſes, in the firſt Book *de Cœlo & Mundo* (88). *Se cum aliis obtuliſſe Diis trina ſacrificia, in recognitionem trinæ perfectionis in eis inventæ* (89). - - *That He, and Others, had offered to the Gods triple Sacrifices, in acknowledgment of the triple Perfection found in them.* From theſe Paſſages it is inferred, not only that he believed the Exiſtence of Devils, and was ſuperſtitious, but that he *was acquainted likewiſe with a Trinity of Perſons in an Unity of Subſtance*; *as* Salmeron *would have it* (90); *and* George Trapezontius *before him* (91); *which laſt wrote a whole Book concerning the Conformity of* Ariſtotle's *Doctrine with the Holy Scripture. Naudé*, from whom I borrow this, obſerves, *That* Emanuel de Moura *evidently miſrepreſents* Philoponus, *who ſays no more, according to the* Greek *Text, and the Old Tranſlation, which agrees with That of* Nunneſius, *than that* Ariſtotle, *having attained to the Age of ſixteen Years, was adviſed, by the* Pythian *Oracle, to addict himſelf chiefly to Philoſophy* —— Naudé *ſays, that the Three Sacrifices, which he offered to the Gods, and the Knowledge of the Trinity, which many Catholic Doctors aſcribe to him,* “ are meer Chimera's, which “ owe their Original to what he ſays in his firſt Book *de* “ *Cœlo*, ſpeaking of the Trinary Number; Διὸ παρὰ “ τῆς φύσεως ειληφότες ὥσπερ νόμȣς ἐκείνης “ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἁγιϛείας τῶν Θεῶν χρώμεθα “ τῷ ἀριθμῷ τȣ́τῳ. That is, *Wherefore, even in* “ *ſacrificing to the Gods, we make uſe of this Num-* “ *ber, which ſeems to be dictated by Nature herſelf.* “ From which Paſſage nothing more can be inferred, “ than that *Ariſtotle* ſays, that, in his Time, they “ made uſe of the Number *Three* in Sacrifices; “ which is alſo teſtified by *Theocritus*.” Afterwards *Naudé* obſerves, that Cardinal *Beſſarion* (93) *laughs at* Trapezontius *for taking ſo much Pains to prove, from this Text, that* Ariſtotle *had a full Knowledge of the Trinity.* The modern Schoolmen will bate nothing of theſe Pretenſions. See *Piccinardi*, Profeſſor at *Padua*, in his *Dogmata Philoſophiæ Peripateticæ*. The *Journal* of *Italy* mentions it under the Thirty firſt of *Auguſt*, 1674.

[*Q*] *He made a very good end.*] Finding himſelf near his Death, he ſhed a Flood of Tears, and, full of Grief and Hope, implored the Mercy of the Supream Being. He approved a Sentence of *Homer* extreamly, which ſays, That it does not miſbecome the Gods to aſſume the Nature of Man, to the end that they may enlighten Human Kind. Theſe were Glimpſes of the future Incarnation of the Son of God. “ Proditum & illud monumentis eſt, quum “ philoſophus hic extrema ſibi ingruere præſenſiſſet, “ dolore ac ſpe in lacrymas amplius profuſum pri- “ mæ cauſæ miſericordiam intentius imploraſ- “ ſe. Quin & Homeri ſententiam ex Odyſſea ve- “ hementer approbaſſe, qua non eſſe immortalibus “ diis indecorum pronuntiatur hominis induere na- “ turam, quo ab erroribus ſevocentur mortales. Qua “ in re CHRISTI præſenſiſſe adventum auguran- “ tur nonnulli ejus viri gloriæ in primis addicti.” This we read in *Cœlius Rhodiginus* (94). His Authority in Matters of this Nature is good for nothing. Others ſpeak very differently of *Ariſtotle*'s laſt Hours. “ They ſay, that he died of Vexation, becauſe “ he could not comprehend the Cauſe of the Ebbing “ and Flowing of the *Euripus*. Upon which ſome Mo- “ derns have invented a Fable, which has been greatly “ in vogue, *viz.* that this Philoſopher threw him- “ ſelf into the *Euripus*, with theſe Words, *Let the* “ Euripus *receive me, ſince I cannot comprehend the* “ Euripus (95).” *Diogenes Laërtius* quotes an Author, called *Eumelus*, who ſaid, that *Ariſtotle*, having fled to *Chalcis*, poiſoned himſelf there, at ſeventy Years of Age (96). *Apollodorus* ſeems to me more worthy of Credit, who ſays, that This great Man died of Sickneſs, at the Age of Sixty three Years (97).

[*R*] *Enjoys Eternal Happineſs.*] *Sepulveda*, one of the moſt learned Men of the XVIth Century, made no Scruple to rank him among the Bleſſed, and maintained his Opinion publickly in Writing (98). The Jeſuit *Gretſerus* rebuked him for his Preſumption, but confeſſed, that he was inclined to favour *Ariſtotle* as much as *Sepulveda*, whom he diſapproves only *for his confident manner of Speaking* (99). Add to this, what I have quoted from *Cœlius Rhodiginus* (100), and what conſiderable Perſons have obſerved concerning the Reaſon, which obliged *Ariſtotle* to leave *Athens*. *Albertus Magnus* maintained, that they expelled him thence for his good Qualities; *Propter morum rectitudinem pulſus Athenis* (101): *Gretſer*, in his Diſpute with *Sepulveda*, about *Ariſtotle*'s Salvation, *does not queſtion, but he intended, by this voluntary Baniſhment, to avoid the Neceſſity, which they would have laid upon him, of paying That Worſhip to Idols, which he believed to be due to God alone* (102). Thus we have, in his Perſon, an illuſtrious Refugee for the true Religion. *Origen* has given a favourable Interpretation to this Flight of *Ariſtotle* (103); for, in explaining the Precept, which our Saviour gives his Apoſtles, *when perſecuted in one City, to fly to another* (104), he tells *Celſus*, who derided it with his uſual Prophaneneſs, *That* Ariſtotle'*s withdrawing himſelf, as we have mentioned, was conformable to the Goſpel Morality, and that, being injuriouſly perſecuted, he acted, as* JESUS CHRIST *had adviſed his Diſciples to do* (105).

I have quoted (106) a Paſſage of *Agrippa*, where he mentions a Book *de Salute Ariſtotelis*. *Voëtius*, who had ſo extenſive a Knowledge of Books, had never ſeen it; but knew pretty exactly the Time of it's Impreſſion. He ſays, in a Theſis, maintained by him on the fifteenth of *December*, 1638, that it was printed at *Oppenheim*, about One hundred and forty Years before, and that *Francis Junius* had ſeen a Copy of it (107). He adds, that one *Lambertus Montanus* Author, of a Commentary on *Ariſtotle*'s Phyſics, (where, in the Year 1486, he is ſtiled Doctor of Divinity) had wrote concerning This Philoſopher's Salvation, and had made it probable from Scripture, and the Opinion of learned Men, that the Stagyrite was ſaved. *Quæſtionem Magiſtralem ſatis acutam ſcripſiſſe, oſtendentem per autoritates ſcripturæ divinæ, quid juxta ſaniorem doctorum ſententiam probabilius dici poſſit de ſalvatione Ariſtotelis Stagiritæ* (108). You will find, in a Treatiſe *de Pietate Ariſtotelis erga Deum & hominem*, which *Fortunius Licetus* dedicated to *Innocent* X, and which was approved by two general Inquiſitors, ſeveral Reaſons, by which he endeavours to prove, that *Ariſtotle* is not damned.

[*S*] *He was extreamly honoured in his own City.*] It had been ruined by King *Philip*, but, at *Ariſtotle*'s Requeſt, was rebuilt by *Alexander*. In acknowledgment of ſo great a Benefit, the Inhabitants conſecrated a Feſtival to This Philoſopher; and, when he died at *Chalcis*, in the Iſland of *Eubœa*, they tranſported his Bones from thence; they built an Altar over his Tomb; they called the Place *Ariſtotle*; and held their Aſſemblies there (109). *Mandeville*, in his fabulous Account of his Travels, ſays, that this ſubſiſted in his Time, to wit, in the XIVth Century (110).

(*l*) *See, above, Remarks* [*B*], [*C*], [*D*], *of the Article* ANDRONICUS.

(85) *It is in the fourth Tome of the Edition of his Works in* 12mo.

(86) *He cites* Philoponus, *in the Life of* Ariſtotle.

(87) *He cites* Plutarch *and* Diog.

(88) Sect. II. cap. ii. n. 10. *cited by* Naudé, *in his* Apology for Great Men.

(89) Eman. de Moura, lib. de Enſal. §. II. cap. iii. n. 19 apud Naudé, ubi ſupra, pag. 328.

(90) Tom. II. Tract. XXIII. n. 3. apud Naudé, ibid. p. 329.

(91) Lib. II. de Comparat. Ariſtot. & Plat. *cited by* Naudé, ibid.

(92) *The Circumſtance of Age would enervate the whole Proof of* Moura; *for they, who ſhould pretend, that* Ariſtotle *had denied the Exiſtence of Spirits, would not take him at the Age of* 17 *Years.*

(93) Cap. 15. lib. 3, adverſus Calumniat. Plat.

(94) Cœl. Rhodig. l. 17. c. 34.

(95) *Father* Rapin's Compariſon of *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*, pag. 310; *who cites* Juſtin. in Adm. ad Gentes. Greg. Naz. contra Jul. *See alſo* Rhodigin. lib. 29. c. 8. *As to the Citations of* Rapin, *ſee the Remark* [*Z*].

(96) In Diog. Laërt. in Ariſt. n. 6.

(97) Apollod. apud Laërt. ibid. n. 10.

(98) Sepulveda, lib. de Anima, *cited by* la Mothe le Vayer, Tom. 5. pag. 114.

(99) Gretſerus, *cited by* la Mothe le Vayer, ibid.

(100) *Above, Citation* (94).

(101) Albertus Magnus, lib. 5. Ethic. cap. 1. *cited by* Rapin, pag. 310.

(102) Gretſerus, de variis cæl. Luth. cap. 12. *cited by* la Mothe le Vayer, Tom. 5. pag. 109.

(103) Orig. contra Celſum. lib. 2. *cited by* la Mothe le Vayer.

(104) Matt. cap. X. ver. 23.

(105) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. 5. pag. 109.

(106) *In the Remark* [*H*].

(107) Gisb. Voët. Diſp. Theol. Tom. 2. pag. 602.

(108) Id. ib. ex Append. II. ad Trithem. de Script. Eccleſ. Edit. Col. 1546.

(109) Ammon. in Vita Ariſtot.

(110) Itinerar. cap. II. apud Hornium Hiſt. Philoſoph. lib. iii. cap. xv. p. 197.

dom [*T*], nor that *the* Aëtians *were excommunicated, for giving their Diſciples* Ariſtotle*'s Categories for a Catechiſm* (*m*). But I have ſomewhere read, that, before the Reformation, there were Churches in *Germany*, in which *Ariſtotle*'s Ethics were read every *Sunday* to the People, inſtead of the Goſpel [*U*]. There are but few Inſtances of Zeal for Religion, which have not been ſhewn for the *Peripapetic* Philoſophy. *Paul de Foix*, famous for his Embaſſies and his Learning, would not ſee *Francis Patricius* at *Ferrara*, becauſe he was informed, that That Learned Man taught a Philoſophy different from the *Peripatetic* (*n*). This was treating the Enemies of *Ariſtotle* as Zealots treat Heretics. After all, it is no wonder, that the *Peripatetic* Philoſophy, as it has been taught for ſeveral Centuries, found ſo many Protectors [*X*], or that the Intereſts of it are believed to be inſeparable from Thoſe of Theology (*o*); for it accuſtoms the Mind to acquieſce without Evidence. This Union of Intereſts may be eſteemed as a Pledge to the *Peripatetics* of the Immortality of Their Sect, and an Argument to abate the Hopes of the New Philoſophers; conſidering withal, that there are ſome Doctrines of *Ariſtotle*, which the Moderns have rejected, and which muſt, ſooner or later, be adopted again (*p*). The Proteſtant Divines have very much altered their Conduct; if it be true, as we are told, that the firſt Reformers clamoured ſo loudly againſt the *Peripatetic* Philoſophy [*Y*]. The kind of Death, which

(*m*) Rapin's *Compariſon of* Plato *and* Ariſtotle, pag. 392.

(*n*) Thuan. de vita ſua, lib. I.

(*o*) *See the Remark* [*I*].

(*p*) *Such is the Hypotheſis of moving Intelligences; for the Doctrine of Vortices, under what general Law ſoever, and without a ruling and directing Virtue peculiar to each Planet, can never ſatiſfy the Mind.*

[*T*] *There were Heretics, who worſhipped his Image with That of* JESUS CHRIST, &c.] Read this Paſſage of Father *Rapin* (111). "The *Carpocratians* were condemned, for placing This Philoſopher's Image next to That of JESUS CHRIST, and for adoring him, through an extravagant Zeal for his Doctrine *. The *Aëtians* were excommunicated by the Church, and by the *Arians* themſelves, from whom they ſprung, for giving *Ariſtotle*'s Categories to their Diſciples, inſtead of a Catechiſm †. And the *Antinomians* proceeded to ſuch Exceſs of Impiety, as to pay more Reſpect to This wiſe *Pagan*, than to the *Uncreated Wiſdom* ‖." I never was ſo much convinced, as by this Paſſage, that This entertaining Writer did not give himſelf the Trouble of conſulting Originals. I confeſs, *Baronius* ſays, under the Year, which Father *Rapin* quotes, that the *Carpocratians* had Images, and, among others, That of JESUS CHRIST, (which they ſaid was procured by *Pilate*) That of *Pythagoras*, That of *Plato*, and That of *Ariſtotle*; and that they paid them the ſame Veneration as the *Pagans* do to their Idols. But this ſhould not have been alledged: For, beſides that *Baronius* no where ſays, that Theſe Heretics were condemned on this Account, it does not appear, that They had more Zeal for *Ariſtotle*'s Doctrine, than for That of the other Philoſophers, whoſe Images they venerated. My Edition of *Baronius* (112) does not contain one Word of what Father *Rapin* mentions under the Year 208: Nor is it poſſible, that Perſons, who ſprung from the *Arians*, ſhould be driven from the Communion of the Church, in the beginning of the third Century. It is under the Year 356, that *Baronius* ſpeaks of *Aëtius*: he quotes a long Paſſage of *Suidas*, in which we find, not that This Heretic gave his Followers *Ariſtotle*'s *Categories* for a Catechiſm; but that he explained things to them, according to the Method of *Ariſtotle*'s *Categories*; meaning, that he was well verſed in Logical Diſputations and Subtilties. Juſt, as if, at preſent, a *Spaniſh* Schoolman, who undertook to explain a Point of Faith, ſhould follow the Method of the Schools. Could it be ſaid, that he ſubſtituted *Ariſtotle*'s Works in the room of our Books of Religion? To quote *Euſebius, in the Twenty ſeventh Chapter of his Hiſtory*, is an unwarrantable way of Citation. I do not believe That Author has ſaid one Word of the *Antinomians*.

[*V*] *In ſome Churches of* Germany, Ariſtotle*'s Ethics were read - - - - - inſtead of the Goſpel.*] I ſhall quote my Author; he is *Spanhemius*, the Father, in the Secular Oration, delivered by him at *Geneva*, in the Year 1635 (113). "Quin & Philippus Melancthon, *ſays he* (114), vir candidiſſimus teſtatur diebus Dominicis, variis in locis, pro thematibus Dominicalibus, inde à Karoli M. ætate opera P Guarenfridi, ſeculo octavo, in Cathedras Eccleſiaſticas introductis, Ethica Ariſtotelis publice populo prælecta, & à ſe Tubingæ in agro Wirtenburgico audita. - - - - - - Philip Melancthon, *a Man of great Candor, affirms, that, in ſeveral Places, inſtead of the Sunday Lectures, introduced into the Churches, from the Time of* Charles *the Great, in the VIIIth Century, by the Care of* Guarenfridus, *the Ethics of* Ariſtotle *were publickly read to the People, and that he himſelf had been preſent at the reading of Them, at* Tubingen, *in the Country of* Wirtemburgh." If another Witneſs be demanded, and *Magirus* may be admitted, I ſhall produce him. "Tubingæ quondam Monachus, *ſays he* (115), pro concione Ariſtotelis librum Ethicorum explicavit, & vulgo dicebat, *quemadmodum Johannes Baptiſta Chriſti præcurſor fuit in Theologicalibus, ita Ariſtoteles fuit præcurſor Chriſti in Phyſicalibus* (116). - - - - - - *A certain Monk, formerly, at* Tubingen, *explained* Ariſtotle*'s Book of* Ethics *publickly to the People; and was wont to ſay*, that, as *John* the *Baptiſt* was the Forerunner of CHRIST in Divine Things, ſo *Ariſtotle* was in Natural Things."

[*X*] *It is no wonder, that the* Peripatetic *Philoſophy found ſo many Protectors.*] If All, who have embraced the Philoſophy of *Deſcartes*, had been endued with That wiſe Moderation, which makes a Man ſtop, when he has attained to a certain Point; if they could have diſcerned, what was fit to be divulged, and what kept ſecret (117), they would not have raiſed ſuch a Clamour againſt the Sect in general. The Method of the ancient Philoſophers was founded on good Reaſons. They had Tenets for the Vulgar, and Tenets for Diſciples initiated into their Myſteries. Be that as it will, the applying, or endeavouring to accommodate, *Deſcartes*'s Principles to the Doctrines of Religion, has been of great Prejudice to His Sect, and retards the Progreſs of it. This is an almoſt unavoidable Caſe. The ancient Fathers complained heavily of the *Ariſtotelian* Sect (118); and it is almoſt a general Complaint, that Philoſophy does injury to Religion. But, on the other ſide, it is certain, that Divinity wounds Philoſophy: They are two Faculties, which would ſeldom agree about their juſt Boundaries, did not the Secular, or Eccleſiaſtical, Powers, which are always in the Intereſt of the former, take the neceſſary Precautions, to reconcile them?

[*Y*] *The firſt Reformers clamoured loudly againſt the* Peripatetic *Philoſophy.*] Here is another Paſſage of Father *Rapin* (119); "Nothing did more honour to This great Man's (120) Doctrine in the laſt Century, than the bitter Invectives of *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, *Calvin*, *Poſtel*, *Paul Sarpi* (121), and all Thoſe, who wrote againſt it, and againſt the Church of *Rome*. For Their Complaints againſt *Ariſtotle* are only becauſe the ſolidity of his Method gives the Catholics great Advantage in diſcovering the Subtilty and Artifice of the falſe Reaſonings, which Hereſy makes uſe of to diſguiſe Error, and deſtroy the Truth." In another Piece, This Author does not ſpeak ſo much at random, and with ſo few Proofs. "St *Thomas*, *ſays he* (122), made uſe of *Ariſtotle*'s Method, with ſo great Succeſs, in explaining the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, that *Bucer*, one of the greateſt Enemies of our Church, uſed to ſay; *Suppreſs* Thomas*'s Works, and I will deſtroy the Church of* Rome *. It was This Method, borrowed from *Ariſtotle*, which rendered the Doctrines of our Religion ſo formidable to all the Innovators of theſe laſt Centuries; who, being unable to reſiſt it, endeavoured to cry it down, by declaiming

(111) Rapin's Compariſon of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, p. 392.

* Baronius Annal. Eccleſ ad Ann. 120.

† Ibid. ad Ann. 208.

‖ Euſeb. Hiſt. c. 27.

(112) *That of* Antwerp, *in* 1597.

(113) *It is intituled* Geneva Reſtituta.

(14) *Pages* 17, 18.

(115) Magirus in Eponymol. Critico, pag. 81, 82.

(116) *He cites* Greg. Michael in Not ad Jac. Gaffarelli, Curioſit. inaudit. pag. 109.

(117) Finita Poteſtas denique cuique quanam ſit ratione utque altè terminus hærens, *Lucr. lib.* I. v. 77.

(118) *See in Mr* de Lanoi, de varia Ariſtotelis Fortuna, cap. 1, *a long Liſt of their Paſſages.*

(119) Compariſon of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, pag. 412.

(120) *He ſpeaks of* Ariſtotle.

(121) *How can it be ſaid, that he wrote againſt the Church of* Rome, *in the XVIth Century.*

(122) *Reflexions on Philoſophy*, *pag.* 450.

* Tolle Thomam, & Eccleſiam Romanam ſubvertam. *Bucer. Father* Rapin *would have done well to have cited the Book and Page of* Bucer.

which, in ſome Reſpects, does moſt Honour to the Memory of *Ariſtotle*, is That, which ſome have reported; *viz.* that his Vexation at not being able to diſcover the Cauſe of the Flux and Reflux of the *Euripus* occaſioned the Diſtemper, of which he died [*Z*]. Some ſay, that, being retired into the Iſland of *Eubœa*, to avoid a Proceſs againſt him for Irreligion, he poiſoned himſelf *(q)*. But why ſhould he quit *Athens*, to free himſelf from Perſecution this way? *Heſychius* affirms, not only that Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt him, for an Hymn, which he made in Honour of his Father-in-Law, but alſo that he ſwallowed Aconite, in execution of The Sentence *(r)*. If this were true, it would have been mentioned by more Authors. See the Remarks [*G*] and [*Z*].

The Number of Ancient and Modern Writers, who have exerciſed their Pens on *Ariſtotle*, either in Commenting on, or Tranſlating, Him, is endleſs. A Catalogue of them is to be met with in ſome of the Editions of his Works (*s*), but not a compleat one. See alſo a Treatiſe of Father *Labbé*, intituled, *Ariſtotelis & Platonis Græcorum Interpretum typis hactenus editorum brevis conſpectus*; —— *A ſhort View of the* Greek Interpreters *of* Ariſtotle *and* Plato *hitherto publiſhed*; printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1657. in 4to. Mr *Teiſſier* names four Authors, who have compoſed the Life of *Ariſtotle*; *Ammonius*, *Guarini* of *Verona*, *John James Beurerus*, and *Leonard Aretin* (*t*). He forgot *Jerome Gemuſæus*, Phyſician, and Profeſſor of Philoſophy, at *Baſil*, Author of a Book, *de Vita Ariſtotelis, & ejus Operum Cenſura.* — *The Life of* Ariſtotle, *and a Critique on his Works.*

(*q*) Eumelus, apud Diog. Laërt. lib. 5. n. 6.

(*r*) Heſych. in vita Ariſtot.

(*s*) *In That of* Geneva, 1605; *and in That of* Paris, 1629, *procured by* William du Val, *and which is the beſt of all.*

(*t*) Teiſſier, Catal. Aut. Bibliothec. pag. 367.

“ againſt the Schoolmen, and chiefly againſt *Ariſtotle*,
“ whoſe Method they had formerly borrowed, and
“ which has been adopted in the Schools ever ſince
“ St *Thomas*'s Days. The *Anabaptiſts* were the
“ firſt, who began to render the uſe of Philoſophy,
“ in general, ſuſpected to Thoſe of Their Sect, in
“ all the Northern Parts, where they had Autho-
“ rity; and to this end they alledged St *Paul*'s Words
“ to the *Coloſſians*, in order to interdict it in their
“ Schools †. *Luther* declared himſelf with ſo much
“ heat againſt *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy, that, in ſome
“ Theſes, which he maintained at *Heidelbourgh*, in the
“ Year 1518, he advanced, that they could not rea-
“ ſon according to This *Pagan*'s Principles, without
“ forſaking the Maxims of the Wiſdom of JESUS
“ CHRIST ‖; and took every opportunity, in his
“ Works, of inveighing againſt This Philoſopher: In
“ which he was followed by *Zuinglius*, *Peter Mar-*
“ *tyr*, *Zanchius*, *Melancthon* (123), and all Thoſe,
“ who have oppoſed the Doctrines of the Church of
“ *Rome*: Which made *Melchior Camo*, Biſhop of the
“ *Canaries*, the moſt eloquent of all the Schoolmen, ſay,
“ That the *Lutherans* had a great Contempt for the
“ Philoſophy, which was then taught in the Schools *.
“ *Calvin* never mentions *Ariſtotle*, but with all
“ That Sharpneſs and Bitterneſs of Stile, with
“ which his Genius, naturally Violent and Slande-
“ rous, inſpired him. As did alſo all Thoſe, who
“ wrote, in the late Centuries, againſt the Church
“ of *Rome*.”

[Z] *His Vexation, at not being able to diſcover the Cauſe of the Flux and Reflux of the* Euripus, *is ſaid to have occaſioned the Diſtemper, of which he died.*] This Kind of Death would be a Proof of *Ariſtotle*'s inſatiable Deſire to dive into the Secrets of Nature. It would denote an extraordinary Ambition in him to teach Mankind the moſt hidden Myſteries. And would not this be dying in the Bed of Honour? Would it not be applying himſelf to his Function, with a firm Reſolution to compaſs his Point, or die in the purſuit of it? I am of Opinion, that they, who have ſaid, that *Ariſtotle*'s Genius had no other Bounds, than Thoſe of Nature, or that he had been admitted to the moſt intimate Confidence, and the very Secretaryſhip of Nature (124), ought to admit of no other Tradition concerning his Death, than That we are ſpeaking of. A Confident, who finds himſelf diſgraced, and a Secret concealed from him in his old Age, ought not to ſurvive ſuch a Misfortune. To ſpeak ſeriouſly; I do not believe, that *Ariſtotle* was Fool enough to die of ſuch a Vexation. *Is it probable, that ſo conſiderate a Man, as He, ſhould reſolve —— to give himſelf up to Vexation and Deſpair, only becauſe he could not account for the Tide; He, who found his Underſtanding limited in reſpect to ſo many other things, of which he was ignorant, without being diſquieted at it* (125)?

AN APOLOGY *for* Juſtin Martyr, *and* Greg. Nazianzen.

By the way, Writers often aſcribe to *Juſtin Martyr*, and *Gregory Nazianzen*, what they never ſaid concerning the Death of *Ariſtotle*. They have not ſaid, that he threw himſelf into the *Euripus*. *Juſtin* ſays only, that *Shame and Vexation, at not being able to diſcover the extraordinary Effects of Nature, particularly the Ebbing and Flowing of the* Euripus, *broke his Heart.* Οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ Εὐρίπου φύσιν τοῦ ὄντος ἐν Χαλκίδι γνῶναι δυνηθεὶς διὰ πολλὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ αἰσχύνην λυπηθεὶς μετέστη τοῦ βίου (126). *Cum neque Euripi Chalcidici naturam cognoſcere poſſet, unde propter ingens probrum & pudorem in mœrorem conjectus morte vitam commutavit.* St *Gregory* does not, in reality, ſay ſo much; he is ſatisfied with not contradicting *Julian*, who had alledged *Ariſtotle* as an Inſtance of a Paſſion for Knowedge, ſo great, that it was the Cauſe of his Death. Ἢ καὶ τὴν Ὁμήρου φιλομάθειαν περὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ζήτημα· καὶ τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους φιλοσοφίαν καὶ προσεδρίαν ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Εὐρίπου μεταβολαῖς, ὑφ᾽ ὧν τεθνήκασι (127). *You commend, in* Homer, *his eager Enquiry into the Arcadian Queſtion; and, in* Ariſtotle, *his Philoſophy, and continued Obſervation of the Flux and Reflux of the* Euripus; *both of whom died Martyrs to their Enquiries.* This is very remarkable, and I queſtion, whether any one has hitherto obſerved it. Too many, not having a due reſpect for the Fathers of the Church, are apt to tax them with a blind Credulity. They accuſe them particularly of diffaming *Ariſtotle*, in regard to the *Euripus*. But there is reaſon to think, that *Julian* the Apoſtate confeſſes the Fact, which *Juſtin* Martyr ſpeaks of; for it appears, by the Anſwer of St *Gregory*, that That Emperor had joined *Homer* with *Ariſtotle*, as two Inſtances of a Paſſion for Knowledge, which had occaſioned Death. Now *Homer*, according to the Tradition concerning him, died of Grief, becauſe he could not underſtand the Anſwer, which certain Fiſhermen gave him. We may, therefore, ſuppoſe, that *Julian* had adopted a like Tradition concerning *Ariſtotle*, and the *Euripus*. But, perhaps, he meant no more, than that *Ariſtotle* had ſtudied the Ebbing and Flowing of the *Euripus*, with ſuch Intenſeneſs of Thought, and meditated ſo deeply on the Subject, that it deſtroyed his Health, and brought on him the Sickneſs, of which he died. This I am inclined to believe was really the Caſe. It does not appear, that *Euſtathius* meant any thing more, where he ſpeaks of the *Euripus* after this Manner. Ἑπτάκις τὸ ὅλον νυχθήμερον μεταβάλλει ὁ περὶ Εὔβοιαν Εὔριπος, περὶ ὃν φασι διατρίψαντα τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην καταλῦσαι τὸν βίον. *The* Eubœan Euripus *ebbs and flows ſeven times in a Natural Day; during his Enquiries into which,* Ariſtotle *died.* See the following Paſſage of Mr *Faber*, in which, after giving the Preachers a rub by the Way, he imputes to *Juſtin Martyr*, and ſtill more to *Gregory Nazianzen*, what they never ſaid. “ Videlicet in Græ-
“ cia, quemadmodum hodieque fit, oratores ſacri, ſi
“ tamen tanto nomine illa pulpitorum crepitacula, &
“ plebeculæ cymbala, cohoneſtari oporteat, vulgo di-
“ ctitabant Ariſtotelem, cum illius ſeptenæ in dies
“ ſingulos reciprocationis cauſam non potuiſſet cog-
“ noſcere, ibi tum miſellum ſeſe in Euripum dediſſe
“ præcipitem, & in maximam malam crucem abiiſſe.
“ Juſtinus

† Ex Nicolao Bleſdikio, in Hiſtor. Davidis Georgii. Ex Horn. Hiſt. Philoſoph.

‖ *Qui in Ariſtotele vult philoſophari, prius oportet in Chriſto ſtultificari.*

(123) *We ſhall ſhew in it's proper place, that* Melancthon *favoured* Ariſtotle.

* *Nullo apud Lutheranos Philoſophiam eſſe in pretio.* Lib. 9. Locor. Theol. cap. 3.

(124) Ἀριστοτέλης τῆς φύσεως γραμματεὺς ἦν, τὸν κάλαμον ἀποβρέχων εἰς νοῦν. Ariſtotle *was Nature's Scribe, dipping his Pen in Senſe.* Suidas. *See, above, the Remark* [*H*] *at the end.*

(125) Rapin's Compariſon, &c. pag. 310.

(126) Juſtin. Cohort ad Græcos, pag. 34.

(127) Greg. Naz. Orat. III. p. 79.

"Juſtinus cognomento Martyr, & Gregorius Nazianzenus, qui primi, aut inter primos, hanc fabulam olim in ſcripta ſua retulerunt, id vel ſtudio Philoſophiæ Chriſtianæ (ita enim iſti Græculi Chriſtianiſmum vocare ſolent) fecere; dum videlicet inſanientem veterum Græcorum ſapientiam obſcurandam & premendam exiſtimarunt; vel fortaſſe etiam, (quidni enim veris locus ſit?) priſcæ hiſtoriæ ignoratione. Nam ex Eumolpi, Apollodori, Favorinique ſcriptis, quæ illa etiam tempeſtate ſuperfuiſſe ſcimus, facile didiciſſe Boni Viri poterant, rem longe ſe ſecus habuiſſe, quam prodiderunt (128). —— *In* Greece, *as is done even at this Day, the Sacred Orators, if this Name be applicable to thoſe noiſy Haranguers of the Mob, commonly gave out, that* Ariſtotle, *when he could not diſcover the reaſon, why the* Euripus *ebbed and flowed ſeven times in a Day, took it ſo to Heart, that he threw himſelf headlong into That River.* Juſtin Martyr, *and* Gregory Nazianzen, *who firſt adopted this Fable in their Writings, did it for the ſake of the Chriſtian Philoſophy, as They love to ſtile Chriſtianity; being, forſooth, of Opinion, that the pretended Philoſophy of the ancient* Greeks *ought to be eclipſed, and kept under; or, perhaps, through Ignorance of ancient Hiſtory. For the good Men might eaſily have learned from* Eumolpus, Apollodorus, *and* Favorinus, *whoſe Writings we know were extant at that Time, that the Matter was quite otherwiſe, than as they have related it.*"

(128) Tanaq. Faber. Epiſt. part. I. pag. 49, 50.

Gyraldus had fathered it upon them before, and made a pious Reflexion upon the whole. I. He ſays, that *Juſtin Martyr* affirms, that *Ariſtotle* died, becauſe he could not diſcover the Cauſe of the Ebbing and Flowing of the *Euripus*. II. That *Procopius* has ſaid the ſame, in the fourth Book of his Hiſtory. III. That *Gregory Nazianzen*, having obſerved, that *Homer*'s not knowing how to reſolve a Queſtion proved fatal to him, immediately contemns *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy, with regard to the Variation of the *Euripus*, which was the Cauſe of his Death. IV. That the *Greek* Commentator on That Father relates, that the Philoſopher caſt himſelf into That Arm of the Sea, with theſe Words, *Let the* Euripus *receive me, ſince I cannot comprehend the* Euripus. Ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστοτέλης οὐκ εἷλε τὸν Εὔριπον, Εὔριπος ἐχέτω τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην· *Poſtquam Ariſtoteles non prehendit Euripum, Euripus habeat Ariſtotelem* (129). V. That from hence we may conclude, that Fortune has been unpropitious to the impious, not only in the true, but alſo in the falſe Religions.

(129) Lilius Gregor. Gyraldus Dialogiſ. xxx. pag. 912. Tom. II. Oper. Edit. 1696.

ARISTOTLE,

ARISTOTLE, a famous Architect in the XVth Century, was of *Bologne*, and of the Family of the *Alberti* (*a*). One of the moſt remarkable things related of him, is, that he could tranſport an entire Stone Tower from one place to another [*A*]. *John Baſilides*, Great Duke of *Muſcovy*, ſent for him (*b*), and employed him in building of ſeveral Churches. There are Names, which are difficult to be ſupported. That of *Ariſtotle* is one of them. Yet we meet with above Thirty *Ariſtotles* [*B*].

(*a*) Leand. Albertus in Deſcript. Italiæ, pag. 516.

(*b*) *See the Account of* Muſcovy, *by* Hercules Zani, *in the Journal of* Leipſic, 1691, pag. 476.

[*A*] *He could tranſport an entire Stone Tower from one Place to another.*] *Jonſius* cites two Teſtimonies, *Beroaldus*, and *Matthew Palmerius* (1). The firſt expreſſes himſelf thus: "Non diu eſt, quod Ariſtoteles civis noſter, mechanicus longe omnium præſtantiſſimus, turrim ex ſede ſua movit, motamque arte mechanica in alium haud longe diſſitum locum tranſportavit. Non eſt mendacio locus, cum adhuc ſuperſint qui vidêre (2). —— *It is not long ago, that our Countryman* Ariſtotle, *the moſt excellent of Mechanics, moved a Tower from it's Place, and tranſported it, by Mechanic Art, to a Place not far off. The Truth of this is vouched by ſeveral, who were Eye-witneſſes of it.*" Theſe are the Words of *Palmerius*: "Ariſtoteles Bononienſis Architectura inſignis habetur, qui lapideas turres integras illæſas ſubjectis fundamento lapidibus ad alium traduxit locum (3).——Ariſtotle *of* Bologne *is famous for Architecture; who tranſported Stone Towers, entire and unhurt, from one place to another, placing Stones under the Foundation.*"

(1) Jonſius de Scriptor. Hiſt. Philoſ. pag. 68.

(2) Beroald. in Sueton. Veſpaſ. cap. 18.

(3) Matth. Palmer. Chron. ad Ann. 1455.

[*B*] *We meet with above thirty* Ariſtotles.] See the Diſſertations of *Jonſius de Hiſtoria Peripatetica*; and you will find Twenty one *Ariſtotles* in the firſt of them. The Author believed, at that time, that he had ſummed them all up (4); but he found, that Knowledge increaſes with Years. For, when he publiſhed his Treatiſe *de Scriptoribus Hiſtoriæ Philoſophiæ*, he had eleven *Ariſtotles* more to add to the former. He had likewiſe ſomething more to ſay of ſome of the Twenty one. What has been related in the preceeding Remark, is one of theſe Additions.

(4) *See the 12th Chap. of the Treatiſe of* Jonſius, *juſt cited.*

ARIUS,

ARIUS, the Head, and Founder, of **ARIANISM**, a Sect which denied the Eternal Divinity, and Conſubſtantiality, of the **WORD**, lived in the IVth Century. He was born in *Africa* near *Egypt*. *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, much in Favour with *Conſtantia*, Siſter of the Emperor *Conſtantine*, and Wife of *Licinius*, contributed greatly to the Propagation of this Hereſy (*a*). He was a Man of a ready Wit, a true Court-Biſhop, in ſhort, perfectly well qualified to make the Fortune of a new Doctrine. He took *Arius* into his Protection; and brought him into favour with *Conſtantia*. For it has been always thought, that unleſs Women concern themſelves in the Intereſts of a Sect, it can never make any conſiderable Progreſs. *Arius*'s Party viſibly gained Ground: There were Biſhops, who publickly embraced it: Diſputes were frequent in the Cities; and ſometimes from Words they came to Blows: It was abſolutely neceſſary, that the Emperor ſhould remedy This Diſorder. This he did, by convening the Council of *Nice*, in which the Doctrine of *Arius* was condemned in 325. This Hereſiarch was baniſhed by the Emperor, who, likewiſe, ordered his Books to be burnt; and prohibited them under Pain of Death [*A*]. Some pretend, that *Arius*, having abjured his Hereſy in the Preſence of the Council,

(*a*) Hieron. ad Cteſiphont.

[*A*] *The Emperor —— prohibited his Books under Pain of Death.*] *Socrates* gives us the Letter, in which *Conſtantine* ordered, that All, who ſhould find any Book compoſed by *Arius*, and not burn it, ſhould be immediately puniſhed with Death. Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι προαγορεύω, ὡς εἴ τις σύγγραμμα ὑπὸ Ἀρείου συνταγὲν φωραθείη κρύψας, καὶ μὴ εὐθέως προσενεγκὼν πυρὶ καταναλώσῃ, τούτῳ θάνατος ἔσται ἡ ζημία· παραχρῆμα γὰρ ἁλοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ κεφαλικὴν ὑποστήσεται τιμωρίαν (1). *Illud etiam denuntio, quod ſi quis Librum ab Ario compoſitum occultaſſe deprehenſus ſit, nec eum ſtatim oblatum igne combuſſerit, mortis pœnam ſubibit.* I do not remember to have read any Author, who has remarked this ſtrange and ſurprizing Extravagance of *Conſtantine*. He is ſatisfied with baniſhing this Arch-Heretic; he does not condemn thoſe to Death, who adhered to *Arianiſm*; and yet threatens with Death Thoſe, who ſhould conceal any of *Arius*'s Works. Was there ever a wider Diſproportion between Puniſhments and Crimes? May not a Man be very Orthodox, and yet curious enough to ſee what Heretics can ſay for themſelves, and to preſerve ſcarce Books, as thoſe generally are, which are condemned to the Flames? And yet, if an

(1) Socrat. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. lib. 1. cap. 9. pag. 32.

cil, avoided the Sentence of Baniſhment [*B*]; but others aſſert, that he ſuffered Exile [*C*], and that the Emperor did not recal him 'till Ten Years after [*D*] (*b*). They contend, that ſome had induced That Prince to believe, that *Arius* was Orthodox at the bottom. They add, that *Conſtantine*, being confirmed in this Opinion by the Profeſſion of Faith, which *Arius* preſented to him, wrote in his Favour to the Biſhops, who were aſſembled at *Jeruſalem*, for the Dedication of the Temple; That the Biſhops, who ſtill remained in That City, when *Arius* arrived with the Emperor's Letter, were for the moſt part concealed *Arians*; ſo that they did not fail to declare his Doctrine Orthodox, and to re-admit him to the Communion of the Church; That, to compleat the Triumph, they were of Opinion, that *Arius* ought to be re-eſtabliſhed in *Alexandria*, where he had received the firſt Strokes of the Church's Anathema; And that, as St *Athanaſius*, who was it's Patriarch, and *Arius*'s grand Adverſary, was in Exile, they believed, that, in His Abſence, it would be no difficult matter to re-inſtate *Arius* in the Communion of the Church of *Alexandria*; But that they were deceived; and that the People would never re-admit him; That *Conſtantine*, being informed of the Continuance of the Troubles, cited *Arius* to *Conſtantinople*, and prevailed upon him to ſubſcribe the Formulary of *Nice*; That, afterwards, he ſent him back to the Biſhops, who were then aſſembled at *Conſtantinople*; I ſay, ſent him back to them, to be received into the Communion of the Church, in That Imperial City; That He, who was then Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, would never give his Conſent to it, though it was repreſented to him, that *Arius* had ſigned all that was required of him; That, notwithſtanding, *Euſebius* procured, that the Sacrament of the Church ſhould be adminiſtred to his Friend in the great Church of *Conſtantinople*; That he conducted him thither in a kind of Triumph, attended by a great Number of his own Party; but that, as they drew near the Great Square, *Arius*, preſſed by a natural Neceſſity, retired in haſte to a Public Houſe of Office, and died immediately, all his Bowels guſhing out, together with his Liver and Spleen, in the Year 336 (*c*). Some very Learned Men reject this Chronology [*E*]. *Arius*'s Sect did not die with him; it ſubſiſted a long time, and with Credit, in ſeveral Parts of the World. It cannot ſufficiently be wondered at, that a Miniſter, who paſſes for a Learned Man, ſhould be ignorant of ſo notorious

a Fact

(*b*) See Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of* Arianiſm, lib. 1, 2.

(*c*) *Taken from* Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of* Arianiſm.

Orthodox Chriſtian had been found with a Book of *Arius* in his keeping, though upon ſuch a Principle, he would have been immediately hanged; whilſt one, who made open Profeſſion of *Arianiſm*, was ſuffered to live. What more ridiculous? Not to ſay, that it is a Contradiction to let Heretics live, and yet forbid them, on pain of Death, to keep the Books of their Founder. To this may be added, that *Arius*, and ſome Biſhops, his Adherents, being baniſhed, their Converſation was ſtill more dangerous, than the reading of their Books. How came it then, that They, who ſhould converſe with theſe Exiles, were not threatned with the Puniſhment of Death?

[*B*] *Some ſay, that* Arius ——— *avoided the Sentence of Baniſhment.*] *Baronius* affirms, on the Credit of St *Jerom*, that *Arius* made a ſhew of Repentance; and that, having ſubſcribed to the Council of *Nice*, he was admitted to the Peace of the Church by That Council, and was not baniſhed. It cannot be denied, but that St *Jerom* ſays, that *Arius* made his Peace with the Council of *Nice* (2); but much greater Credit is due to the Letter of That Council, than to the Opinion of a ſingle Perſon, who lived after That Time. In This Letter is ſet forth how *Arius*'s Opinions had been examined, and condemned; but as to what had been acted againſt his Perſon, and what became of him, they forbear to mention it, that they might not be thought to inſult him in his Diſgrace. Would they have ſpoken thus of One, in whoſe Recantation they had acquieſced? The learned *Henry Valeſius*, reaſoning on This Letter of the Council, commends their Moderation, becauſe they did not anathematize *Arius* by Name, but Thoſe in general, who taught ſuch and ſuch Hereſies; and becauſe that, inſtead of ſoliciting the Emperor to baniſh the Heretics, they expreſſed their Concern at their Baniſhment (3).

[*C*] *Others aſſert, that he ſuffered Exile.*] *Sozomen* is of this Number; for he affirms (4), that *Arius* was recalled, a little after the Separation of the Council. Ἄρειος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξορίαν ἀπαγόμενος ἀνεκλήθη (4). *Non multo poſt Synodum Nicænam Arius ab exilio revocatus eſt.* The Submiſſion of the two Biſhops, who were deprived of their Churches, is a Proof of *Arius*'s Baniſhment. I mean *Euſebius*, and *Theognis*. *Philoſtorgius* informs us, that theſe two Prelates were baniſhed by *Conſtantine*, three Months after the breaking up of the Council (5); and affirms, that they obtained their Recal, three Years after. Now they obtained it by ſubmitting to the Deciſions of the Council in a Writing, which they ſent to the Biſhops; wherein they took notice, that He, who was the Principal in theſe Diſputes, had been recalled from his Baniſhment; and that it would be abſurd to pretend, that, after His Reconciliation, They could not make their own Innocence appear (6). Thus we have two Facts cleared up; one, that *Arius* was baniſhed; the other, that he made his Peace with the Biſhops, and that he obtained his Recal, before *Euſebius* and *Theognis* procured theirs; which fell out, according to *Philoſtorgius*, in 328; whoſe Opinion agrees very well with the Hiſtory of thoſe Times. It is falſe, then, that *Arius* was not recalled before the Year 335.

[*D*] *That the Emperor did not recal him 'till ten Years after.*] Father *Maimbourg* has followed This falſe Chronology. We have already proved him to have been in an Error.

[*E*] *He died in the Year* 336 —— *very learned Men reject This Chronology.*] *Valeſius* proves, that *Arius* was not living at the time of the Council of *Jeruſalem*, which received Letters from *Conſtantine*, concerning the Reconciliation of ſome principal Members of *Arianiſm*. "Arius Hæreſiarches diu ante Synodum Hieroſolymitanam e vita exceſſerat; ut certiſſimis argumentis probavi in libro ſecundo Obſervationum Eccleſiaſticarum, Capite II (7). — Arius *the* Hæreſiarch *died long before the Council of* Jeruſalem, *as I have proved by invincible Arguments in the ſecond Book of my Eccleſ. Obſerv. Ch.* II. It was not, therefore, *Arius*, the Arch-Heretic, who was recommended to This Council by *Conſtantine*, and who found the Biſhops, aſſembled at *Jeruſalem*, ſo favourable to him. In the mean time, *Socrates* ſays expreſsly, that the Council, which was transferred from *Tyre* to *Jeruſalem*, for the Dedication of the Temple, received *Arius* and his Adherents into the Communion of the Church, by virtue of Letters from *Conſtantine*, which teſtified, that He was perſuaded of the Orthodoxy of *Arius*, and *Euzoius*. Ἄρειον μὲν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐδέξαντο τοῖς βασιλέως γράμμασι πειθαρχεῖν λέγοντες, δι' ὧν δεδηλώκει αὐτοῖς πεπεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς πίστεως Ἀρείου καὶ Εὐζωΐου (8). *Arium quidem una cum ſociis in communionem recipiunt, obtemperare ſe dicentes Imperatoris literis, quibus certiores ipſos fecerat fidem*

ſe

(2) Hieron. in Dialogo contra Luciferianos.

(3) Valeſ. in Sozomenum, lib. II. cap. 16, pag. 108.

(4) Sozom. lib. II, cap. 16, Valeſius *obſerves, that, according to the Force of theſe Words,* ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξορίαν, *we muſt underſtand, that* Arius *was recalled, as he was going to the Place of his Baniſhment.*

(5) Apud Valeſ. in Hiſt. Eccleſ. Socrat. lib. I, cap. 14, pag. 10.

(6) Sozomen. lib. II, cap. 16.

(7) Valeſii Notæ in Socrat. lib. 1, cap. 33.

(8) Socrat. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. lib. 1, cap. 33.

a Fact [*F*]. He was ignorant likewiſe of another no leſs evident; for he pretends, that no Penal Laws were enacted againſt This Sect [*G*]. Another Thing, which he has advanced, has not a little perplexed him; for great Advantage has been made of what

ſe Arii & Euzoii penitus perſpectam habere. *Conſtantine* had ſent the Confeſſion of Faith, which *Arius* and *Euzoius* had preſented to him (9), to the Biſhops, aſſembled at *Jeruſalam*; and St *Athanaſius* plainly ſays, that the Synod of *Jeruſalem* received *Arius* and his Followers into it's Communion. Γράφοντες δεῖν δεχθῆναι Ἄρειον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ (10). *Scribentes ſuſcipiendos eſſe Arium & Socios.* *Valeſius* ſolves the Difficulty, by ſaying there were two *Arius*'s; one the Arch-Heretic; the other his Follower; they had both been excommunicated by *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*. He, who preſented a Confeſſion of Faith, with *Euzoius*, to *Conſtantine*, and was reconciled by the Council of *Jeruſalem*, was not the Arch-Heretic, but the Other *Arius*. *Valeſius* proves this, not only by Reaſons, which ſhew, that the Arch-Heretic was dead long before the Year 335, but alſo by the Petition of *Euſebius*, and *Theognis*. Theſe two Biſhops implored Pardon, proteſting their Innocence, in the Year 328, and alledged, that the Head and Author of theſe Controverſies was reconciled and reſtored. This could not be ſaid of That *Arius*, who was re-united to the Church, by the Synod of *Jeruſalem*; for the Petition, or Confeſſion of Faith, which He, and *Euzoius*, preſented to *Conſtantine*, a little before That Synod, that is about the Year 335, teſtifies, that they were then in Exile and excommunicated. The ſudden Death of *Arius*, in which the Orthodox have found ſo many Myſteries, happened after the Council of *Jeruſalem*. It follows, then, that The *Arius*, who died in this manner, was not the Hereſiarch, and that they have transferred to one Point of Time what happened at another Conjuncture. It is ſtrange there ſhould be ſo little Order, and Exactneſs, in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; one cannot aſcertain *Arius*'s Exile, the Duration of it, and ſuch like Particulars, but by arguing from different Facts, ſome atteſted by This, others by That Author. One good Hiſtorian might ſuffice to give the Thread of the principal Events, though all the reſt were loſt.

[*F*] Arius'*s Sect did not die with him; it ſubſiſted a long time, —— a Miniſter, who paſſed for a learned Man, was ignorant of ſo notorious a Fact.*] See what he ſays: "I am perſuaded, that *Arianiſm* never made a great Party in the World. It is true, ſeveral Biſhops made profeſſion of it; but this Hereſy did not ſpread among the People (11)." What he ſays elſewhere, is much ſtronger; for he aſſerts, that *Arianiſm* only paſſed through the Church like a Torrent. It cannot be pleaded, in his excuſe, that This is one of thoſe Errors, which eſcape by Surprize, and through want of Attention; for he remarks this Fact as fundamental and eſſential to his Syſtem. His Opinion, on the one ſide, is, that Hereſies againſt the Myſtery of the Trinity are fundamental and damnable; and, on the other, that God has never ſuffered ſuch kind of Hereſies to continue long, or make any conſiderable Figure in the World. "God, *ſays he* (12), cannot permit large Chriſtian Societies to fall into damnable Errors, and perſiſt A LONG TIME in them; at leaſt, to judge by Experience, we cannot believe it poſſible, ſince ſuch a thing never yet happened." Mr *Nicolle* was the firſt, who read him a Lecture on the Words of the Hundred and forty ninth Page. This he did without Bitterneſs, or Inſult, in theſe Terms: "What Mr *Jurieu* ſays, is very true, if underſtood of the great Blaze of *Arianiſm*, which paſſed, indeed, like a Flaſh of Lightning: But it is leſs exact, when applied to the Times, which ſucceeded. Though the Church had recovered it's former Splendor in moſt Parts of the World, yet there were ſeveral conſiderable Bodies, as the *Vandals* in *Africa*, the *Goths* in *Aſia*, in *Italy*, in part of *France*, and in *Spain*, who openly profeſſed *Arianiſm*, and where the Controverſy was ſufficiently enough cleared, for the People to take part in it (13)." Mr *Pelliſſon* came next to the Charge, in this manner. "Thoſe *Arians* gave him ſome Trouble, as well as the *Phanatics* and *Socinians* of theſe Times, and Thoſe, whom he calls *Photinians* of *Poland*, and *Tranſylvania*. Some Remains of Modeſty hindered him from aſſociating himſelf with them, in one and the ſame Church. He found the means to get rid of them, without entering upon This Diſcuſſion, or calling in Maſter Workmen, to know whether the Foundation was ruined wholly, or but in part. He does not pretend, he ſays, to comprehend, in This one extenſive Church, Any but Thoſe Societies, which form a viſible Body. The *Arians*, it ſeems, never became a Body, at leaſt a *Great* Body, (and this againſt the Faith of all Hiſtory, which every where mentions their Communion, their Aſſemblies, their Βασίλικα, or Churches, as wholly diſtinct from Thoſe of the Orthodox). The *Phanatics*, the *Socinians*, the *Photinians* of theſe Times, have not, as yet, any regular Aſſemblies, or Polity, or Union with each other. They are, therefore, of no Account. But if, for the Puniſhment of our Sins, and unhappy Diviſions, God ſhould permit theſe common Enemies to multiply, and to regulate and form themſelves into a Body, they are, then, agreeably to his own Principles, upon the ſame Foot with others; and there will be no Difficulty in ſuppoſing, that a Man may be ſaved among them (14)." The Author, in reply to Mr *Nicolle*, confeſſes, "That the *Arians* formed a GREAT Body, but maintains, that they continued but a very ſhort Time, *and that* God ſuffered *their* Communion to periſh, becauſe it did not preſerve the Fundamental Truths (15)." A third Cenſor has ariſen, who maintains, like the two former, that *Arianiſm* was not only of great Extent, but alſo of conſiderable Duration, and that it was an Hereſy, which ſpread among the People. See the Book, entituled, *Janua Cœlorum reſerata* (16). The Author makes it appear (17), that *Arianiſm* ſubſiſted above Three hundred Years in ſplendor; that it was, for almoſt two Ages, the eſtabliſhed Religion in *Spain*; that it was on the Throne in the Eaſt, and Weſt, and that it reigned in *Italy*, *France*, *Pannonia*, and *Africa*. Never was Author driven from one vexatious Conſequence to another more vexatious, as was the Author of the Syſtem, by the pretended *Carus Larebonius* (18). He plainly ſhews him, that, if God never ſuffered *great Chriſtian Societies to run into damnable Errors, and continue in them long*, and if God *deſtroyed* Arianiſm, *becauſe it did not preſerve the Fundamental Truths*; it neceſſarily follows, I. That the Errors of the Church of *Rome* are not damnable. II. That *Mahometaniſm* has preſerved the Fundamental Truths. The Author of the Syſtem pretends, that *Mahometaniſm* is not a Sect, which aroſe from Chriſtianity, and therefore that he has nothing to do with it's Extent or Continuance. Theſe are Objections, which the utmoſt Chicanery can never anſwer. The Synods cannot pretend Ignorance, and yet they have never cenſured this Doctrine of the Syſtem; though it fully juſtifies the Church of *Rome*, and conſequently convicts the Reformed of being Schiſmatics.

[*G*] *He pretends, that no Penal Laws were enacted againſt this Sect.*] Let us cite a fine Paſſage of the *Preſervative againſt a Change of Religion*. The Miniſter, of whom I ſpeak, publiſhed this Book, whilſt he was in *France* (19), and oppoſed it to the Catholic Expoſition of the Biſhop of *Condom*. See what he ſays at the eleventh Page (20). "The Church has ſuffered Perſecutions, but never exerciſed any. She has had the upper Hand of *Paganiſm*, as *Paganiſm* has had of her; but never returned her like for like. She did not employ the Authority of the *Conſtantines*, and the *Theodoſius*'s, to embrue the Temples of the falſe Gods with the Blood of their Worſhippers, as the *Pagans* did the Swords of their *Nero*'s, *Maximin*'s, *Decii*, and *Diocleſian*'s, to drench the Earth with the Blood of Chriſtians. One muſt be very little verſed in the Hiſtory of the Church, to be ignorant, that, in all the Conteſts ſhe had with the *Arians*, *Eutychians*, and other Heretics, ſhe made uſe only of Exhortations, Reaſons, Councils, and ſuch like Arms." The Author what he ſays concerning the Faith of the Fathers, who preceeded the Riſe of *Arianiſm* [*H*]. This Sect has been, by turns, Perſecuting, and Perſecuted [*I*], and fell at laſt by the Way of Human Authority [*K*]. I ſcarce meet with any Author, who does not eſteem it a Crime in *Arius*, that he put his Opinions into Verſe, to be ſung by his Diſciples. Both the Matter, and the Form, of the Poem, which he intituled *Thalia*

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(9) *It is inſerted at length in* Sozomen, lib. 2, cap. 27.

(10) Athanaſ. in libro de Synodis, apud Valeſium in Socrat. lib. 1, cap. 33, pag. 16.

(11) Jurieu'*s True Syſtem of the Church*, pag. 149.

(12) Ibid. pag. 236.

(13) Nicolle, pag. 15, 16, *of his Preface to the* Unity of the Church.

(14) *Reflexions on the Diſputes in Religion.* Part. II, pag. 429, 430.

(15) Jurieu *of the Unity of the Church*, pag. 564.

(16) *It was printed at* Amſterdam, *in* 1692.

(17) Pag. 87.

(18) *This is the Name, which the Author of* Janua Cœlorum reſerata *aſſumed.*

(19) *The firſt Edition, I believe, was of* Rouen, *in* 1680, *there have been others ſince, in* Holland.

(20) *Edition of the* Hague, 1682.

thor of the *Philoſophical Commentary* had reaſon to wonder, that a Profeſſor of Divinity, who paſſed in *France* for a Man well verſed in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſhould betray ſuch Ignorance as this (21). But he was ſtill more aſtoniſhed, that, after Father *Thomaſſin* had ſet this Matter in the cleareſt Light, another *French* Writer, addreſſing himſelf to the Biſhop of *Meaux*, ſhould ſay, "One thing I muſt tell you, *my Lord*, That, throughout ancient and modern Hiſtory, all Acts of Violence, exerciſed by Princes on the Score of Religion, have ever been looked upon as Spectacles of Horror, and that the Names of ſuch Princes are never mentioned, even to this Day, without Execration." I add here the Reflexion of the Commentator. "What! Are the *Conſtantine*'s, the *Theodoſius*'s, the *Honorius*'s, the *Marcian*'s, the *Juſtinian*'s, who put in Execution ſo many Penal Laws againſt Sectaries, who condemned to Death thoſe, who perſevered in Pagan Idolatry, in *Manicheiſm*, &c. and even thoſe, who read, or were in poſſeſſion of, the Books of Heretics; are Theſe, I ſay, Names, which are never mentioned, at this Day, without Execration? How will he prove this (22)?" The Divine, who publiſhed the *Preſervative*, has, it ſeems, ſtudied Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity better, ſince his Tranſplantation into *Holland*. He has there learned to refute Toleration, by the Authority of the *Conſtantines*, the *Theodoſius*'s, and the *Charlemagnes*. "*Paganiſm, ſays he* (23), would have been ſtill in being, and three parts of *Europe* would ſtill have been *Pagan*, if *Conſtantine*, and his Succeſſors, had not made uſe of their Authority to aboliſh it." In *France* he took it very ill, that the Secular Power ſhould be made uſe of; and in *Holland* he takes it very ill, that it ſhould not be imployed. And now, after this, who dares pretend, that, by changing of Climate, one does not change Opinion?

Cœlum, non animum, mutant, qui trans mare currunt (24).

They, that beyond-ſea go, ſhall ſadly find,
They change their Climate only, not their Mind.
CREECH.

There is a local Faith, and a temporary Faith, which have not yet been mentioned in the Diviſion of the *Genus* into it's *Species*. See the Remark [*H*], of the Article St AUGUSTIN.

[*H*] *Great Advantage has been made of what he ſays concerning the Faith of the Fathers, who preceeded the Riſe of* Arianiſm.] He maintained, in his Paſtoral Letters, that Thoſe Fathers did not believe an Equality of Perſons in the Trinity; and that they admitted a Temporal Generation of the WORD, which had conferred on the *Second Perſon* his entire and perfect Exiſtence. It is plain, that this Opinion differs in nothing from *Arianiſm*; and that it overthrows the Eternal Trinity of Perſons. The Biſhop of *Meaux* preſſed Mr *Jurieu* ſo home upon this Point (25), that he obliged him to break the Silence, to which he had reduced him on ſome other Points: But his Reply did him more harm, than his Silence could have done; he was forced to contradict himſelf, and retract ſeveral Things, and ſtill got nothing by it. The Biſhop returned to the Charge; drove his Adverſary before him, and obliged him to enter the Liſts no more: So that, among the moſt diſtinguiſhing Elogies, which were beſtowed on this Prelate, it was not forgot, that he had ſtopped the Mouth of the moſt daring Critic of the Age (26). Mr *Jurieu* was ſcarce got out of the Biſhop's Hands, when he fell into thoſe of *Carus Larebonius*, who ſhewed him, that if the Fathers of the three firſt Centuries held That Opinion of the Trinity, and the Generation of the WORD, which he imputes to them, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that neither the Hereſy of the *Arians*, nor That of the *Socinians*, were Damnable, or Fundamental (27). It muſt be carefully remarked, that the Victories, gained over this Miniſter, concern only his particular Opinions, and in no wiſe the Doctrine of his Church; of which *The Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned* (28) advertiſed the Public. This is no Foreign Matter; it belongs of right to a *Critical Dictionary*; for it is falſe in Fact, that the Hereſy of *Arius* was implicitly taught by the Fathers of the three firſt Centuries. It is ſomething ſtrange, that Mr *Jurieu*, having conſidered *Arianiſm* in ſo many Lights, ſhould always view it in the wrong. It would be more difficult to find a Fencer, who could never hit a Bull. *Taurum toties non ferire difficile eſt* (29). We muſt not omit, that, as to the Matter of Fact, in relation to the Penal Laws of *Conſtantine*, and the Continuance and Extent of *Arianiſm*, the Authors, I have already cited, have ſhewn him his Error very civilly, and without having recourſe to the Inſults, and hard Language he himſelf would have made uſe of, in the like Caſe, againſt an Adverſary.

[*I*] *This Sect has been, by turns, perſecuting, and perſecuted.*] It cannot be denied, that the Orthodox were the Aggreſſors; for we have ſeen, that *Conſtantine* baniſhed the Ringleaders of *Arianiſm*, and threatened thoſe with Death, who ſhould not burn all the Writings of That Arch-Heretic; but it is certain, that *Conſtantius*, his Son, and *Valens*, who raiſed *Arianiſm* to the Throne, treated the Orthodox with more Rigor, than *Conſtantine* had done the *Arians*. Upon all other Occaſions, the latter ſeem to have been of a more tolerating Spirit, than the former; and it is a Theſis, which the Philoſophical Commentator has undertaken to prove, in the Supplement to his Work (30). Among other Reaſons, he alledges this; that, at the time, when *Recaredus* extirpated *Arianiſm* in *Spain*, the Catholic Biſhops were much more numerous than the *Arian*, though the *Arian* had been the *predominant* Religion, for near Two hundred Years before: A ſtrong Preſumption, that the Catholics were but little moleſted.

[*K*] *And fell, at laſt, by the way of human Authority.*] *Mariana* paſſes lightly over the Rigors, which *Recaredus* muſt needs have exerciſed, and excuſes them from hence, that the Caſe required Severity, and that the People were not diſpleaſed with it. "Contigit autem Recaredo, quod haud ſcio an regum ulli, ut religione permutanda, quod propemodum neceſſe erat, motus exiſterent, ſed neque diuturni admodum neque graves; & ſeveritas animadverſionis non modo invidioſa non eſſet, quia neceſſario ſuſcipiebatur, ſed etiam popularis, &, cum bonis omnibus, tum infimo cuique gratiſſima (31).——*It happened to* Recaredus, *as to ſcarce any other King, that, though the Change of Religion, in his Dominions, which was almoſt neceſſary, was attended with ſome Diſturbances, yet were they neither of long Continuance, nor of ill Conſequence; and ſo far was the Severity, which he exerciſed upon this Occaſion, from being odious, that it was popular, and pleaſing, not only to good Men, but to the meaneſt of the People.*" The Author, beforementioned, obſerves, that, if the Complaints, which the *Arians* made, had been preſerved to us, it is probable we ſhould find in them a very long Detail of Acts of Violence; and that, after all, it was purely by Accident, that *Arianiſm* was ruined, without Perſecution: For, as *Mariana* ſays, ſince Puniſhments were not made uſe of, but when Neceſſity required, we muſt conclude; I. That, if they were not often put in practice, it was becauſe the *Arians* were not obſtinate. II. That, had the Difficulties been ever ſo great, yet they would have been reduced, either by fair, or foul Means, to a Compliance (32). By the way, This Author (33) is guilty of a very groſs Contradiction, into which Writers, who undertake to ſpeak of *Converſions*, are apt to fall. They lay it down, as a general Maxim, that Obſtinacy is the Character of Hereſy; and yet, to cover the Violence

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(21) Pag. 354, *of the Supplement.*

(22) Ibid. pag. 355.

(23) Droits de deux Souverains, pag. 280.

(24) Horat. Epiſt. 11, lib. I, v. 27.

(25) *In his* Avertiſſemens.

(26) *See the Speech, made by Mr* Bruyere, *when he was admitted a Member of the* French Academy.

(27) *See the* Janua Cœlorum reſerata, pag. 119, &c.

(28) *For the Month of May*, 1692, *Article* 9, pag. 391, &c.

(29) *See* Trebellius Pollio, *in the Life of* Gallienus.

(30) *The* 30th *and* 31ſt *Chapters.*

(31) Mariana, lib. V, cap. 14. *Conſult the Supplement to the* Philoſophical Commentary, pag. 373.

(32) *Supplement to the* Philoſophical Commentary, p. 375, 376.

(33) Ibid. pag. 377.

Thalia, have met with Cenſure [*L*]. There might perhaps be ſome Prepoſſeſſion in This. A Modern Author, who favoured This Heretic's Opinions, has wrote ſome Treatiſes to ſhew, that the Fathers of the three firſt Centuries held the ſame Opinions [*M*]. He was at no great trouble to compile Paſſages; for he found them ready collected to his Hand in the *Dogmata Theologica* of Father *Petavius*. Two *Engliſh* (*d*), and one *French* Divine (*e*), have wrote an Apology for the Ancient Fathers againſt Him.

(*d*) Gardiner, *and* Bull.

(*e*) Mr le Moine, *Profeſſor* at Leyden.

of the Converters, they tell us, that the Converſions were made with eaſe; and from this Facility draw a Proof of the Hereſy of thoſe converted. For the true Church, ſay they, is not ſo eaſily deſerted; the Reſiſtance, which the *Arians* made to King *Recaredus*, *was ſo weak, and ſhort, that this alone is enough to ſhew, that they contended for Falſhood, and not for Truth, which alone is able to govern reaſonable Minds, and inſpire them with Fortitude* (34).

(34) Thomaſſin, de l'Unité de l'Egliſe, pag. 449.

[*L*] *Both the Matter, and the Form, of the Poem, which he intituled* Thalia, *have met with Cenſure.*] There has been great Reaſon to condemn Hereſies; to pity Thoſe, who profeſs them in good earneſt, and to abominate thoſe, who teach them, without believing them; for ſuch Teachers are Monſters of Ambition, and Wickedneſs: but I cannot conceive, why it ſhould be imputed as a Crime peculiar to heretical Teachers, that they make uſe of Methods ſuited to the Capacities of the Ignorant, in inſtructing them according to the falſe Lights of their Conſciences. " After *Arius* had forſaken the Church, he formed " a Deſign of compoſing ſeveral Songs for Seamen, " Travellers, and Thoſe, who work at the Mill; he had " alſo ſet ſuch of them to Tunes, as he thought were " proper to affect his Followers, according to their " different Diſpoſitions, endeavouring, by the Me- " lody of Theſe Songs, to infuſe his Impiety into the " moſt ignorant and ſtupid among the People —— " But his *Thalia* was much more celebrated, than his " other Works. He borrowed the Title, and Mo- " del, of it from an ancient Poet, called *Sotades* —— " This Burleſque Poet affected ſo wanton a Style in " his Song, and the Numbers of it were ſo effemi- " nate, that the *Pagans* themſelves treated him with " the utmoſt Contempt; nor is this at all aggravated " in the words of St *Athanaſius*; ſince the moſt un- " chaſte Poets, and They, who write moſt licentiouſly, " bluſh at the Impurity of the Songs of this Infa- " mous Author. It was in imitation of this Poet, " that *Arius* gave his Work the Name of THALIA; " which properly ſignifies a Banquet, and Aſſembly " of young People, or a Song made to be ſung in " Thoſe kind of Feaſts (35)." Afterwards Mr *Hermant* cites a very long Paſſage of St *Athanaſius*, in which *Arius* is called *an I know not what* Sotades; *ridiculous even to the* Pagans *themſelves* —— and an Heretic, *who had no emulation for any thing, but the ridiculous Diſcourſes of* Sotades (36). In the ſame Place we meet with the beginning of the *Thalia*, and another Fragment, which contains the Hereſy of *Arius* concerning Jesus Christ. One cannot but condemn the ridiculous and inſufferable Pride, which appears in the *Exordium* of the *Thalia*; but, once more, let us condemn *Arius* for being an Heretic, and not, upon this Suppoſition, for having put a Formulary of his Belief into Verſe; otherwiſe we muſt allow Heretics and Infidels to condemn the Orthodox, not only for profeſſing the true Goſpel, but likewiſe for ſinging, beſides the Pſalms of *David*, ſeveral Hymns and Canticles, whoſe Verſes and Airs may chance to reſemble the moſt prophane and wanton Songs of an Opera. To ſpeak in general, it is fitter, that every one, be his Religion what it will, ſhould ſing Pious, than wanton and ſatirical, Songs. The Sailor, and the Miller, under the Miſfortune of being *Arians*, did better to ſing their Catechiſm, than their Amours. To ſay, that the *Pagans* themſelves laughed at *Arius*'s Songs, is alledging a very weak Reaſon; for I believe the *Gentiles* made no great difference between the *Arians*, and the *Orthodox*, but hated them both alike; the *Arians* were no more favourable to *Pagan* Idolatry, than the Orthodox. I cannot tell whether Mr *Hermant* had Reaſon to ſay, *that the* Pagans *themſelves treated* Arius *with the utmoſt Contempt as a ridiculous Fellow*. For the words, which he cites a little after, ſhew plainly, that it was *Sotades*, and not *Arius*, whom St *Athanaſius* meant, when he ſaid, that he was ridiculous to the *Pagans* themſelves. I ſay it, and repeat it; it is allowable to compoſe pious Verſes in the ſame Metre, and of the ſame Meaſure, with the Songs of an Opera; conſequently one might compoſe Hymns to the *Sotadic* Meaſure. The Evil does not lie in this Conformity; it is rather in the Handle, which is given to Scoffers to laugh at Pſalmody. I ſet aſide the Subject of the Poetry. And, to let the Proteſtants, in particular, ſee what Judgment they ought to make of the Invectives againſt the *Thalia* of *Arius*, they muſt be informed of what Father *Maimbourg* publiſhed concerning the Pſalms, tranſlated into Verſe by *Clement Marot*. He ſpeaks as ill of them, as of the *Thalia* of *Arius*. What he ſays of the *Thalia*, is to be found in the Eighty firſt Page of the firſt Tome of his Hiſtory of *Arianiſm* (37). What he ſays of the Pſalms, in his Hiſtory of *Calviniſm* (38), is This: " Theſe " were the Pſalms, which they ſung at That time; " to which *Beza* afterwards added the reſt of the " Pſalter; and which were ſet to Tunes of a ſoft and " effeminate Air, which have nothing in them of the " Devotion and Majeſty of the Muſic of the Catholic " Church." We cannot deny what *Varillas* ſays (39), that the Airs were taken from the beſt Songs of the Times. *See* Jeremiah de Pours, *in his ſecond Book of Divine Melody*, pag. 577. It is not without Reaſon, that I alledged the Songs of an Opera, as my Example: I would inſinuate, that we ſhould carefully avoid imitating the Airs of a Ballad in Spiritual Songs; otherwiſe Religion is too much expoſed to Contempt and Laughter; as appears by the Book, which the Author of the *Court Biſhop* ſo much ridicules (40). It is a Collection of Spiritual Songs, compoſed by a Jeſuit, and by Father *Martial de Brive*, a Capuchin, and ſet to the moſt burleſque Ballad-Tunes; I fancy the *Thalia* of *Arius* might vie with the Impertinence of This Collection, printed with the Approbation of two Doctors of Divinity.

(35) Hermant's *Life of St* Athanaſius, lib. I, cap. 13, pag. 61.

(36) Ex Orat. II, contra Arianos.

Whether we are to condemn Spiritual Hymns and Songs, which are ſet to the ſame Airs with prophane Ballads.

(37) Tom. I. pag. 81, *Edit. of* Holl.

(38) Pag. 99.

(39) Varill. *Hiſtory of Hereſy*, Book XXI, pag. 49. ad Ann. 1559.

(40) *See his third Dialogue*, pag. 86, &c. *Edit. of* Holl.

[*M*] *A Modern Author* —— *wrote ſome Works, to prove, that the Fathers of the three firſt Centuries held the ſame Opinions.*] His Name was *Sandius*. What he wrote on this Subject is entituled *Nucleus Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ*, in 1668, in 8vo. The ſame Book was much enlarged in the Year 1676, in 4to. *Appendix addendorum, confirmandorum, & emendandorum, ad Nucleum Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ, cum reſponſionibus ad Gardinerum*, in 1678, in 4to.

ARMINIUS (James) Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*, was born at *Oudewater* (*a*) in *Holland*, in the Year 1560 [*A*]. His Father died during his Infancy; and he was indebted for his firſt Inſtructions to a good Prieſt, who had reliſhed the Opinions of the Reformed, and who, to avoid being obliged to ſay Maſs, changed his Abode often. He followed his Studies at *Utrecht*, when Death bereft him of his

(*a*) *This Word in* Dutch *ſignifies* Old Water, *and from hence the Name of* Arminius's *Country in the Titles of his Books is* Veteraquinas.

[*A*] *He was born in the Year* 1560.] *Bertius* amuſes himſelf with giving the Year of *Arminius*'s Birth two Characters, which no doubt he thought worthy of Reflexion. He obſerves, that *Philip Melancthon* died in That Year, and that the *Conference* of *Poiſſi* was held in the ſame Year, in which the Proteſtant Deputies pleaded the Cauſe of two Thouſand one Hundred and Ninety Churches, who humbly ſued to the King for Liberty of Conſcience (1). To ſay nothing of his Calculation, which, perhaps, is not the moſt exact, He is miſtaken as to the Year; the *Conference* of *Poiſſi* began in the Month of *September* 1561. Begin the Year either at *Eaſter*, or on the firſt of *January*, you will never juſtify *Bertius*.

(1) Bertius, in Orat. Funebr. Jacobi Arminii.

his Patron. This Loſs would have plunged him into great difficulties, if he had not fortunately met with aſſiſtance from his Countryman, *Rodolphus Snellius*, who brought him with him to *Marpurgh*, in 1575. Scarce was he arrived there, when he received the News that *Oudewater* was pillaged by the *Spaniards*. This News threw him into a deep Melancholy; nor could he forbear returning into *Holland*, to be himſelf a Witneſs of the State of things there; but, finding, that his Mother, Siſter, Brothers, Relations, and almoſt all the Inhabitants of *Oudewater*, had been put to the Sword, he returned to *Marpurgh*, travelling all the way on Foot. Having heard, that an Univerſity was founded at *Leyden*, he ſoon returned to *Holland*, and ſtudied in this new Academy with ſo great Application and Succeſs, that he acquired a very particular Eſteem. In 1582, he was ſent to *Geneva*, at the Expence of the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, to perfect his Studies in the Colleges there, where he chiefly followed the Lectures of *Theodore Beza*, who at that time expounded the Epiſtle to the *Romans*. He had the misfortune to diſpleaſe ſome of the Principal Members of the Academy, by publickly maintaining the Philoſophy of *Ramus*; and That with much heat; and even teaching it in private; for this he was obliged to retire, and went to *Baſil*, where he was received with Applauſe. He read public Lectures there[*B*], and acquired ſuch Credit, that the Faculty of Divinity would have given him the Degree of Doctor without any Expence. He modeſtly declined the Offer, and returned to *Geneva*, where, finding the Adverſaries of the *Ramiſts* ſomewhat cooled, he moderated his own heat likewiſe. He had a great deſire to ſee *Italy*, and particularly that he might hear the Philoſophical Lectures of the famous *James Zabarella*, at *Padua*. He ſatisfied This Curioſity, and paſſed ſix or ſeven Months in his Travels; after which he returned to *Geneva*, and from thence to *Amſterdam*, where he found he had been ſufficiently cenſured in relation to his Journey into *Italy* [*C*], which had a little cooled the Affection of the Magiſtrates, his Patrons

[*B*] *He read public Lectures at* Baſil.] “The Profeſſor *James Grynæus* came often to them, and “gave him great Commendations. Nor did he “ſcruple, in maintaining a Theſis, to refer it to “Him to anſwer Thoſe Objections, which ſeemed “the ſtrongeſt; and was wont upon thoſe Occaſions “to ſay, *Let my* Hollander *anſwer for me*.” *Solent Baſileæ feriis vindemialibus doctiores ſtudioſi publicè interdum in Academia exercitii gratiâ aliquid extra ordinem docere. Eum laborem Arminius noſter haud invitus ſuſcepit, laudatus ob id à reverendo viro D. Jacobo Grynæo, qui etiam lectiones ipſius præſentia ſua aliquoties cohoneſtavit: idem quoque in diſputationibus publicis, ſi quid gravius proponeretur, aut dignus vindice nodus occurreret, non eſt veritus, honoris cauſſâ Arminium noſtrum media in ſtudioſorum turba ſedentem citare, & (ut Grynæi candorem agnoſcas) dicere, Reſpondeat pro me Hollandus meus* (2). Note, that he obſerved in him a Spirit too much inclined to refine upon things, and that he gave him very good Advice thereupon. *Bertius* is not the Author, who informs me of this, but *Philip Pareus*. He relates, that *Theodore Beza* adviſed one of his Friends to reſtrain the Subtilty of his Genius, as what Satan had often taken advantage of to delude great Perſons. “Do “not ingage yourſelf, *continued Beza*, in vain Sub- “tilties; and, if ſometimes certain new Thoughts “ariſe in your Mind, approve them not, without “firſt examining them to the bottom, how pleaſing “ſoever they may be at the firſt View. *Calvin* “gave me this Advice; I have followed it; and have “found the benefit of it.” *Sicut magnopere te hortor, ut Dei dona in te collata omni ſtudio excolas: ita cum te ἀγχινοία non vulgari donatum eſſe videam, qua ſæpe ad maximos decipendos viros non irrito conatu Satanas eſt abuſus, velim te diligenter cavere, ut nullis inanibus argutiis te ipſum irretias, & quoties nova quædam tibi in mentem venient, diligenter illa, quantumlibet in initio tibi illa arriſerunt, excutere, priuſquam approbes. In omnibus denique iſtis prompto & alacri ingenio tibi conceſſo modereris. Ego quidem certe per Dei gratiam non prorſus hebes de hoc ipſo à magno illo viro beatæ memoriæ* JOHANNE CALVINO *admonitus ita facere ſtatim ab initio ſtudui, cum ad ſacra ſtudia me totum converterem. Neque me hujus conſilii unquam pœnituit: nec, ut ſpero, pœnitebit* (3). *Philip Pareus* had the Original of This Letter of *Theodore Beza*; and he adds, that “*JAMES GRYNÆUS* “had given the ſame Advice to *ARMINIUS*, the “Founder of the New *Pelagianiſm*, at the time when “he ſtudied Divinity at *Baſil*; as *Grynæus* himſelf “had informed him.” *In quam ſententiam clariſſimum & ſagaciſſimum* JACOBUM ARMINIUM, *novi Pelagianiſmi inſtauratorem in Belgio, cum juvenis operam daret S. Theologiæ in Academia Baſilienſi, graviter quoque admonitum fuiſſe à venerando ſene D.* JACOBO GRYNÆO, *cujus memoria ſit in benedictione! Ipſemet mihi, quando ad pedes ejus in Raurica diſcentium Synagogia ſederem, narravit* (4). If any one accuſes me of inſerting theſe Paſſages at length, only as Helps to ſwell out a large Book, he will betray a want of Judgment; for they are very fit to ſuggeſt uſeful Reflexions to ſeveral Perſons, and very neceſſary for ſome Readers. Remember St *Paul's* Maxim, *Knowledge puffeth up* (5); but take notice, that there is another Talent which *puffs up* yet more. A Man of an unbounded Memory, and Reading, applaudes himſelf on his Knowledge, and grows proud; but he prides himſelf, and preſumes much more, when he fancies he has invented a new Method of explaining, or treating, Matters. We do not eſteem ourſelves ſo much Proprietors of That Knowledge, we have drawn from Books, as we do of an Explanation, or Doctrine, of which we are the Inventors. It is for ſuch Inventions that we feel all the Force of Paternal Love and Tenderneſs. It is here we find the moſt bewitching Charms; it is This, which blinds us; it is This, which makes us loſe Ground. This is a Rock, of which young Perſons of a ſubtle Wit cannot be too frequently warned.

[*C*] *He had been ſufficiently cenſured in relation to his Journey into* Italy.] Among the ſeveral Epidemical Diſtempers of the Human Mind, I know of none more blameable, and productive of bad Effects, than the Practice of giving the Reins to Suſpicion. It is a very ſlippery Road. We are ſoon got a great Way from the Place we ſet out from. We eaſily paſs from one Suſpicion to another; we ſeldom ſtop at *Poſſibility*; we run forward to *Probability*, and to the *greateſt Probability*; and, preſently after, That which paſſed only for Probable, is reported as certain and inconteſtable; and in a little time, This pretended Certainty is ſpread over a whole Town. Great Cities are more ſubject to This Diſorder, than others. It was reported, in *Amſterdam*, that “*Arminius* had kiſſed the Pope's Toe, “whom he had ſeen only in a Croud; that he had “contracted an Intimacy with Jeſuits, whom he “had never heard of; that he had made himſelf “known to *Bellarmine*, whom he had never ſeen; “and that he had abjured the Reformed Religion, “for which he was prepared to die.” Theſe Reports were all falſe; and yet They made an Impreſſion on the Minds of the Magiſtrates, who ſupported This young Man. Let us hear the Author of his Funeral Oration. “Inter damna (*itineris Italici* “*ponebat*) quod in ampliſſimi Senatus Amſterdamen- “ſis offenſiunculam ob id factum tunc temporis in-

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Beza, apud Philippum Pareum, in vita Davidis Parei, pag. 57. *See alſo a Letter of the ſame* Beza, *among thoſe of* Arminius, pag. 26, Edit. 1684.

(4) Philippus Pareus, ibid.

(5) 1 Cor. viii. 1.

trons and *Mecenas*'s. He eaſily juſtified himſelf with Perſons of Underſtanding; but there were ſome weak and ſuſpicious Spirits, who could not get over this Stumbling-Block (*b*), till he had made the whole Church ſenſible of his fine Talent at Preaching; by the means of which he regained the Love and Eſteem of all the World. His own Colleagues paid Homage to his Underſtanding, and confeſſed, that his Sermons were uſeful and inſtructive even to Them. *Martin Lydius*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Franeker*, judged him a proper Perſon to anſwer a Writing, in which the Doctrine of *Theodore Beza*, concerning Predeſtination, was oppoſed by ſome Miniſters of *Delft*. *Arminius*, in compliance with his Requeſt, undertook to refute This Work; but, during the Examination, and whilſt he was ballancing the Reaſons on both ſides, he went over to the Opinion, he was to refute, and even carried it farther than the Miniſters of *Delft*. He condemned, with Them, the Supralapſarian *Beza*, and afterwards acknowledged no other Election, but That, which was grounded on the Obedience of Sinners to the call of God by JESUS CHRIST. He was brought into trouble for This at *Amſterdam*; he was accuſed of departing from the received Doctrine; but the Authority of the Magiſtrates ſuppreſſed This Conteſt. He was advanced to the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, at *Leyden*, in the Year 1603; and it was with no ſmall difficulty he obtained his Diſmiſſion from Thoſe of *Amſterdam*. After he had removed the ill Impreſſions, which had been given of his Doctrine, he was admitted Doctor of Divinity at *Leyden* (*c*), and inſtalled in the room of the Profeſſor *Francis Junius*. He had exerciſed his Miniſtry in the Church of *Amſterdam* fifteen Years. The Diſputes about *Grace* ſoon after grew hot in That Univerſity; and the States of the Province were obliged to appoint Conferences between Him and His Adverſaries. He was ſummoned ſeveral times to the *Hague*, and went thither to give an account of his Doctrine. This Conteſt, his great Application to Buſineſs, and the Vexation to find his Reputation ſullied by ſeveral Calumnies (*d*), impaired his Health in ſuch a manner, that he fell into a Diſtemper, of which he died, the nineteenth of *October*, 1609 [*D*], with great Sentiments of Piety and Patience (*e*). It were to be wiſhed he had made a better uſe of his Knowledge [*E*]; for, tho' his Intentions probably were good, yet it may be ſaid, that he innovated

(*b*) Infirmi quidam fratres factum illud perpetuo inſectari, & in circulis ſuggillare. *Bertius in Orat. Funebr. Jac. Arminii.*

(*c*) *He was the firſt, on whom this Title was ſolemnly conferred in the Univerſity of* Leyden. Bertius, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) *Not on account of his Morals, but for his Opinions.*

(*e*) *Taken from his Funeral Oration, ſpoken by* Peter Bertius.

curriſſet, ſuffundentibus frigidam quibuſdam, quos omnino præſtitiſſet judicia in ipſius reditum ſuſpendere. Hinc ergo, ſumpta occaſione, ſpargebatur in vulgus, illum Pontificis ſoleam deoſculatum, quem non niſi in conferta turba, ut reliqui ſpectatores, vidiſſet, nec ſoleat bellua honorem iſtum niſi Regibus ac Principibus deferre: Jeſuitis adſueviſſe, quos nunquam audiviſſet: Bellarmino innotuiſſe, quem nunquam conſpexiſſet: Religionem orthodoxam abjuraſſe, pro qua paratus eſſet ad ſanguinis uſque profuſionem decertare (6).”

[*D*] *The Vexation to find his Reputation ſullied ------ impaired his Health, and brought him into a Diſtemper, of which he died, the nineteenth of* October, 1609.] There is reaſon to think, that this Vexation contributed more to his untimely Death, than any thing elſe. It was a bad Leaven, which ſoured the peccant Humours, and which complicated his Diſtemper a thouſand Ways. “Quum indomita mali pertinacia ipſi quoque arti (*Medicinæ*) faceret opprobrium: Altius enim defixa quam ut evelli poſſet, nova indies excitabat ſymptomata, febres, tuſſim, hypocondriorum extenſionem, exſpirandi difficultatem, oppreſſionem à cibo, laborioſos ſomnos, atrophiam, arthritidem; nullamque ægro pauſam vel requiem concedebat: acceſſere poſtea dolores in inteſtinis, ilio, & colo, cum obſtructione nervi optici ſiniſtri, & ejuſdem oculi obfuſcatione. ----- *The Stubborneſs of his Diſeaſe baffled all the Art of Medicine; for, being paſt cure, it every Day brought on new Symptoms; Fevers, a Cough, an Extenſion of the Hypochondria, Difficulty of Breathing, Oppreſſion of Food, reſtleſs Sleep, Conſumption, and Gout; nor had he any reſpite from his Diſtemper; afterwards he felt Pains in his Inteſtines, with an Obſtruction of the left optic Nerve, and a Dimneſs in the left Eye* (7).” Sometimes he was heard to ſigh, and cry out, as formerly the Prophet did, *Wo is me, my Mother, that thou haſt born me a Man of Strife*, &c. Let us produce a long Paſſage of *Bertius*. “Quid mirum, ſi commotus fuerit famæ ſuæ, ſalutis, & laborum diſpendio; quum neque viro bono quicquam fama ſua ſit antiquius, neque Chriſtiano ſalute, neque S. Theologiæ doctori petitis ex ſcriptura demonſtrationibus? *Oppreſſio*, inquit Siracides, *inſanire facit ſapientem*. Eadem huic dolorem, ex dolore morbum conciliavit, ex morbo mortem. O tetrum, & viperinum, exque imo tartaro excitatum malum! Quoties illum ex Propheta privatim etiam cum gemitu exclamantem audivimus! *Væ mihi, mater mea, quare genuiſti me virum diſcordiæ in univerſa terra? Nec fœneravi, nec fœneravit mihi quiſquam; & tamen omnes maledicunt mihi.* Revocavit tamen ſeipſe ad rationis & tranquillitatis ſepta (8). --- *What Wonder, if the loſs of his Reputation, his Health, and his Labour, affected him; ſince a good Man ſets the greateſt Value on his Fame, a Chriſtian on his Health, and a Divine on Proofs fetched from Scripture?* Oppreſſion, ſays the Son *Sirac*, maketh a wiſe Man mad. *It was This very Thing, which firſt afflicted him; Affliction next impaired his Health; and at laſt a Diſtemper killed him. O Thou Black, Poiſonous, and moſt Helliſh Evil! How often have we heard him exclaiming to himſelf, with a Sigh, in the Language of the Prophet;* Wo is me, my Mother, that Thou haſt born me a Man of Strife, and a Man of Contention to the whole Earth! I have neither lent on Uſury, nor Men have lent to me on Uſury; yet every one of them doth curſe me. *However, by the help of Reaſon, he recovered his Peace of Mind.*” This we cannot reflect on, without deploring the Vanity of human Things. We look upon Stupidity as a great Misfortune; and Fathers, who are not blind to the Dulneſs of their Sons, are ſenſibly afflicted at it: They want to diſcover in them a great Genius, a ſublime Underſtanding; and, if they find them thus qualified, their Joy is inexpreſſible. This is to wiſh we know what. *Arminius* had much better have been an errant Blockhead, than ſo great a Wit; for the Honour of giving his Name to a Sect, which makes a Figure in the World, and which has produced able Men, was but a chimerical Good, in compariſon of the real Evils, the Vexations, the Pains, and Bitterneſs, which he felt in his Life-time; which ſhortened his Days; and which he had eſcaped, had he been but an ordinary Divine, a little Wit, or a Blockhead; in ſhort, had he been One of That Claſs of Men, of whom it is proverbially ſaid, *He will broach no Hereſies* *. *Juvenal* would have alledged an Example of this kind in his Tenth Satire, if there had been Religious Diſputes in his Times, which had cauſed the Death of one of the Diſputants.

[*E*] *It were to be wiſhed he had made a better uſe of his Knowledge.*] I mean, that he had governed himſelf by St *Paul*'s Rule. This great Apoſtle, inſpired

(6) Bertius in Orat. Funebr. J. Arminii.

(7) Bertius, ubi ſupra, fol. **ij, verſo.

(8) Id. ibid. fol. **, verſo.

* *A Proverb in* France, *to denote a dull Wit.*

innovated without neceſſity, and under Circumſtances, in which his Innovation proved a Source of Diſorders, which ended in a Schiſm. He left ſeven Sons, and ſome Daughters, and a great number of Diſciples, who continued the Diſpute ſo warmly, that it was thought neceſſary to have recourſe to a National Synod. They were condemned in it; but did not ſubmit, and ſoon formed a ſeperate Sect, which ſtill continues, and which, by Degrees, has engaged itſelf in ſeveral other more conſiderable Errors. The *Moreri* of *Amſterdam* mentions ſome of the Authors, who give an account of this famous Quarrel. I add to them the Hiſtories of *Triglandius*, and *Boxhornius*, and a new Work of a Profeſſor of *Tubingen* (*f*). This grand Diſpute produced Multitudes of Books on both Sides. A Profeſſor of Divinity at *Cologne*, diſguiſed under a fictitious Name (*g*), gives a Liſt of them according to the order of Years, in a Work, which he intituled *Pacificatorium diſſecti Belgii*. I queſtion

ſpired by God, and immediately directed by the Holy Ghoſt in all his Writings, raiſed to himſelf the Objection, which the Light of Nature forms againſt the Doctrine of Abſolute Predeſtination; he apprehended the whole Force of the Objection; he propoſes it without weakening it in the leaſt. *God hath Mercy on whom he will have Mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth* (9). This is St *Paul*'s Doctrine; and the difficulty, which he ſtarts upon it, is This; *Thou wilt ſay then unto me, why doth he yet find fault? For who hath reſiſted his Will* (10)? This Objection cannot be puſhed farther: Twenty Pages of the ſubtileſt *Moliniſt* could add nothing to it. What more could they infer, than that, upon *Calvin*'s Hypotheſis, God wills Men to commit Sin? Now This is what St *Paul* knew might be objected againſt him. But what does he reply? Does he ſeek for Diſtinctions and Qualifications? Does he deny the Fact? Does he grant it in part only? Does he enter into Particulars? Does he remove any Ambiguity in the Words? Nothing of all this; he only alledges the Sovereign Power of God, and the Supream Right, which the Creator has, to diſpoſe of his Creatures as it ſeems good to him. *Nay but, O Man, who art thou that repliest againſt God? Shall the Thing formed ſay to him that formed it, why haſt thou made me thus* (11)? He acknowledges an Incomprehenſiblity in the thing, which ought to put a ſtop to all Diſputes, and impoſe a profound Silence on our Reaſon. He cries out, *O the Depth and the Riches both of the Wiſdom and Knowledge of God! how unſearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways paſt finding out* (12)! All Chriſtians ought to find here a definitive Sentence, a Judgment final and without Appeal, in the Diſpute about *Grace*; or rather they ſhould learn, from this Conduct of St *Paul*, never to diſpute about *Predeſtination*, and immediately to oppoſe This Bar againſt all the Subtilities of Human Wit, whether they ariſe of themſelves in meditating on This great Subject, or whether others ſuggeſt them. The beſt, and the ſhorteſt, Way is early to oppoſe this ſtrong Bank againſt the Inundations of Reaſoning, and to conſider this definitive Sentence of St *Paul* as Thoſe Rocks, immoveable in the midſt of the Waves, againſt which the proudeſt Billows beat in vain; They may foam and daſh; but are only broken againſt Them. All Arrows, darted againſt this Shield, will have the ſame Fate, as That of *Priam*.

> Sic fatus Senior, tellumque imbelle ſine ictu
> Conjecit; rauco quod protinus ære repulſum,
> Et ſummo clypei nequicquam umbone pependit (13).
>
> *This ſaid, his feeble Hand a Javelin threw;*
> *Which, flutt'ring, ſeemed to loiter as it flew:*
> *Juſt, and but barely, to the Mark it held,*
> *And faintly tingled on the brazen Shield.*
>
> DRYDEN.

Thus ought Men to behave, when the Diſpute is between Chriſtian and Chriſtian. And, if ever we think proper to exerciſe our Wit on Points of this Nature, we ought at leaſt to ſound a Retreat betimes, and retire behind the Bank I have juſt mentioned. Had *Arminius* acted thus, as often as his Reaſon ſuggeſted to him Difficulties againſt the Hypotheſis of the Reformers, or whenever he found himſelf called upon to anſwer any Diſputants, he would have taken a perfectly Wiſe and Apoſtolic Courſe, and employed the Lights of his Underſtanding juſt as he ought to have done. If he believed there was ſomething too harſh in the received Doctrine; or, if he found it an eaſe to himſelf to adopt a leſs rigid Opinion, he might have enjoyed his particular Notion; but then he ſhould have been content to have enjoyed it in Silence; I mean, without diſturbing the Rights of Poſſeſſion; ſince he could not do this, without raiſing a dangerous Storm in the Church. His Silence would have ſaved him a great deal of Trouble; and he ſhould have remembered the old Apologue.

> Sed tacitus paſci ſi poſſet Corvus, haberet
> Plus dapis, & rixæ multo minus invidiæque (14).
>
> *But, could the talking Crow in quiet eat,*
> *His Envy had been leſs, and more his Meat.*
>
> CREECH.

See the Remark [*D*] of the Article HALL (JOSEPH).

But, ſay ſome, *would he not have been a Prevaricator, and unworthy of the Miniſtry, if he had neglected to inſtruct his Auditors, whom he believed to be ingaged in a falſe Doctrine?* I anſwer; That two capital Reaſons would have excuſed his ſpeaking out; one was, that he did not believe the Hypotheſis, which he diſapproved, to be contrary to Salvation; the other, that his new Method was uſeleſs towards removing the principal Difficulties, which occur in the Doctrine of Predeſtination. We may grant, that the leaſt Truth, abſolutely ſpeaking, deſerves to be propoſed, and that there is no Error ſo inconſiderable, which it is not better we ſhould be cured of, than retain; but, when the Circumſtances of Time and Place will not permit any Novelties to be propoſed, be they ever ſo true, without occaſioning a thouſand Diſorders, in Univerſities, in Families, and in the State itſelf; it is infinitely better to leave Things as they are, than undertake to reform them: The Remedy is worſe than the Diſeaſe. Our Conduct in this Caſe ſhould reſemble That towards certain ſick Perſons, to whom no Phyſic can be adminiſtred, without ſtirring ſeveral bad Humours, the agitation of which would be more pernicious, than the Coagulation (15). I except one Caſe; *viz.* where the ſaving of Souls is concerned, and the ſnatching them out of the Jaws of the Devil; for, in this caſe, Charity will not ſuffer us to ſtand idle, how great ſoever the Commotions may be, which by this means are accidentally raiſed: we muſt ſubmit the Conſequences to the Care of Providence. Upon this foot, *Arminius* was no ways obliged to oppoſe the common Doctrine; he did not believe, that any one endangered his Salvation, by following the Hypotheſis of *Calvin*. Let us conſider the other Circumſtance, which rendered him inexcuſable. To a Syſtem, full of great Difficulties, he ſubſtituted another Syſtem, which, to ſpeak truly, involves no leſs Difficulties, than the former. One may ſay of his Doctrine, what I have obſerved of the Innovations of *Saumur* (16). It is better connected, and leſs forced, than the Opinion of Mr *Amyraut*; but, after all, it is but a palliative Remedy; for the *Arminians* have ſcarce been able to anſwer ſome Objections, which, as they pretend, cannot be refuted on *Calvin*'s Syſtem; beſides, they find themſelves expoſed to other Difficulties, which they cannot get over, but by an ingenuous Confeſſion of

(*f*) Johan. Wolfgangus Jager. *His Work is intituled* Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Sæculi XVII. *The firſt Decad was printed in* 1692.

(*g*) Ægidius Afhackerius. *He aſſumed the Name of* Salomo Theodotus. *See* Val. Andreas, Bibl. Belg. p. 22.

(9) Rom. ix. 18.

(10) Ibid. ver. 19.

(11) Ibid. ver. 20.

(12) Ibid. chap. xi, ver. 33.

(13) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 2, ver. 544.

(14) Horat. Epiſt. 17, lib. 1, v. 50.

(15) Expediebat quaſi ægræ ſauciæque Reipublicæ requieſcere quomodocunque ne vulnera curatione ipſa reſcinderentur. ---- *It was expedient for the Commonwealth, ſick and wounded as it were, to reſt any how; leaſt the very Cure ſhould tear open it's Wounds.* Florus, lib. 3. cap. 23.

(16) *See Remark* [*E*], *of the Article* AMYRAUT.

I queſtion whether his Catalogue be compleat. It is difficult not to omit ſome in ſuch a number of Pieces. As to the Works of *Arminius* [*F*], ſee our laſt Remark.

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the weakneſs of human Reaſon, and the Conſideration of the incomprehenſible Infinity of God. And was it worth while to contradict *Calvin* for this? Why was *Arminius* ſo very difficult at firſt, when, at laſt, he was obliged to fly to This Aſylum? Why did he not begin here, ſince here he muſt come ſooner or later? He is miſtaken, who imagines, that, after entering the Liſts with a great Diſputant, He ſhall be allowed to triumph, only for ſome ſmall Advantage, which he had over him at firſt. An Athletic, who throws out his Antagoniſt in the middle of the Race, but has not the Advantage of him at the End, is not entituled to the Palm. It is the ſame in Controverſy; it is not ſufficient to parry the firſt Thruſts. Every Reply, and Rejoinder, muſt be ſatisfied, and every Doubt perfectly cleared up. Now this is what neither the Hypotheſis of *Arminius*, nor That of the *Moliniſts*, nor That of the *Socinians*, is able to do (17). The Syſtem of the *Arminians* is only calculated to gain ſome few Advantages, in Thoſe Preludes to War, in which the forlorn Hope is ſent out, to skirmiſh; but, when it comes to a general and deciſive Battle, This Detatchment muſt retire, as well as the reſt, behind the Intrenchments of Incomprehenſible Myſtery.

(17) *See Mr* Jurieu, *in his Judgment on the rigid and latitudinarian Methods of explaining the Doctrine of Grace.*

[*F*] *The Works of* Arminius.] Theſe are the Titles of them: “ Diſputationes de diverſis Chriſtianæ “ Religionis capitibus. --- Orationes, itemque Tractatus inſigniores aliquot. --- Examen modeſtum libelli Guilhelmi Perkinſii, de Prædeſtinationis modo “ & ordine, itemque de amplitudine gratiæ divinæ. “ ----- Analyſis capitis IX. ad Romanos. ---- Diſſertatio de vero & genuino ſenſu cap. VII. Epiſtolæ “ ad Romanos. ----- Amica collatio cum D. Franciſco Junio de Prædeſtinatione, per litteras habita. “ ---- Epiſtola ad Hippolytum à Collibus, *&c.* —— “ i. e. *Diſputations on the ſeveral Heads of the Chriſtian Religion.* —— *Orations, together with ſome* “ *more remarkable Tracts.* ----- *A Modeſt Examination* “ *of a Book of* William Perkins, *concerning the Manner and Order of Predeſtination, and concerning the* “ *Extent of Divine Grace.* ---- *An Analyſis of the* “ *ninth Chapter to the* Romans. —— *A Diſſertation* “ *concerning the true and genuine Senſe of the Seventh* “ *Chapter of the Epiſtle to the* Romans. —— *A* “ *Friendly Conference with* Francis Junius *concerning* “ *Predeſtination, held by Letter.* —— *An Epiſtle to* “ Hippolytus à Collibus, *&c.*”

ARNAULD, a Noble and Ancient Family of *Auvergne*. It is above Two Hundred Years, ſince a Daughter of this Houſe was married to a Lord *de la Fayette*, the Grandſon of Him, who was Marſhal of *France* under *Charles* VIth. About the Year 1480, HENRY ARNAULD married *Catherine Bariot*, a Kinſwoman of Him, who was Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and Maſter of the Requeſts in the Reign of *Lewis* XI (*a*). Soon after this Marriage, He ſettled at *Riom*, whither he was invited, with ſeveral other Perſons of Merit, by *Peter de Bourbon*, Count of *Beaujeu* [*A*], who kept his ordinary Reſidence there. This Prince was married to *Anna* of *France*, Daughter of *Lewis* XI, who had an abſolute Power over the Mind of her Brother *Charles* VIII, and was Regent during his Minority. *Henry Arnauld* inſinuated himſelf into the Eſteem of the Count and Counteſs of *Beaujeu*. He was made Maſter of the Horſe to the Count, and Governor of the Town and Caſtle of *Hermant*. It was the Place of his Birth, and about eight Leagues diſtant from *Riom*, on the Frontiers of the *Marche* of *Limouſin*, near *Uſſel*. This Government was continued to him by the Conſtable of *Bourbon*, Son-in-Law to the Count *de Beaujeu*. The Office of Maſter of the Horſe was alſo continued to him. He did great Service to the Conſtable, by cauſing his Horſes to be ſhod backwards (*b*), when *Francis* I, who conſidered him as a Rebel, ſent a Guard to take him. They, ſuppoſing by the Horſes Tracks, that he was gone quite the contrary Way from the Place, where he had concealed himſelf, loſt their time in ſearching for him where he was not. *Henry Arnauld* had contracted a very ſtrict Friendſhip with *Florimond de Robertet*, Secretary to the Count *de Beaujeu*, and afterwards Secretary of State under *Francis* I; and it was wholly his own fault, that he did not procure a very advantageous Match for his Son, by the Generoſity of this Friend; but he would return one Act of Generoſity by another [*B*]. He left two Sons *John* and *Anthony*. The firſt died without Children: In the Pariſh Regiſter of the City of *Riom*, in the Year 1542, he is ſtiled Commander of *Hermant*. His younger Brother, ANTHONY ARNAULD kept up the Family. His firſt Wife was *Margaret Moſnier-Dubourg*, a near

(*a*) *From Him deſcend Mr* Bariot, *Marquis of* Mouſſy, *and Mrs* Bariot, *Counteſs of* Honneüil *and* Mazy.

(*b*) *We find in the* Galanteries des Rois de France, *printed in* Holland, *in* 1694, pag. 189, *of the firſt* Tome, *that the Family of* Arnauld *was ſtripped of all for this Stratagem.*

[*A*] *He was invited to* Riom, *with ſeveral other Perſons of Merit, by* Peter de Bourbon, *Count of* Beaujeu.] In *Riom* are yet to be ſeen the Houſes of *Montboiſſier*, *Montmorin*, *Chazeron*, *Florat*, *Chaſteaugay*, *Mariliac*, *Dubourg*, *Duprat*, *Forget*, and *Robertet*; who were all chief Officers, and Favourites, of the Count and Counteſs of *Beaujeu*, and of their Son-in-Law, the Conſtable of *Bourbon*; by whom they were all ſucceſſively advanced to the chief Dignities of the Sword, and of the Gown (1). Thus you ſee by what Accident it happened, that ſo many *Auvergnates* appeared at the Court of *France* in the higheſt Poſts, under *Charles* VIII, *Lewis* XII, and *Francis* I. The Counteſs of *Beaujeu* had drawn them out of their Province, and had put in their Power to make their own Fortunes. Had it not been for her, they might all have died in obſcurity; their great Talents would never have ſhone beyond their own Country. Conclude from hence, that the particular Glory of a Province, at certain times, depends wholly on Patronages of this kind. You will find a Supplement to This in the Continuation of the *Menagiana*, pag. 304, and 305, of the Edition of *Holland*.

(1) *Taken from a Memoir, inſerted in the* Mercure Galant *of* December, 1693, pag. 42.

[*B*] *He would return one Act of Generoſity by another.*] The Affair was this: *Florimond de Robertet*, leaving *Montbriſon*, his native Place, ſettled at *Riom*, and became Secretary to the Count *de Beaujeu*. He governed him abſolutely; as he afterwards did *Charles* VIII, and *Lewis* XII, after the Death of the Cardinal *d'Amboiſe*; and laſtly, *Francis* I, to whom he was Secretary of State. He had ſuch an Affection for *Henry Arnauld*, that, when he left *Riom*, to reſide at the Court of *Charles* VIII, he took all his Children along with him, except his Eldeſt Daughter *Jane de Robertet*, whom he left at *Riom* with the Wife of *Henry Arnauld*, deſigning, that they ſhould marry her to their Eldeſt Son *John Arnauld*, when ſhe came of Age. But the Guardians did not think their Son a Match good enough for her; ſo they married her to the richeſt young Man of *Riom*, whoſe Name was *Amable de Ceriers*, the Son of one *Mariliac* (2).

(2) *Taken from the above Memoir.*

a near Relation of the Chancellor of That Name, Siſter of the famous *Annas Dubourg*, Counſellor in Parliament, and of *John Dubourg*, Lieutenant-Criminal of *Riom*. He had but one Son by This Marriage, *viz.* JOHN DE LA MOTTE-ARNAULD, whom *Thuanus* mentions with ſo much Praiſe in his Hiſtory; and who, at the Head of a Troop of Horſe, of which he was Captain, ſhut himſelf up in the Town of *Yſſoire*, which held for the King againſt the *League*, and maintained the Siege of it a long time with the Lords of *Chabanes*, and of *Chazeron*; after which he made a vigorous Sally at the Head of thirty Troopers, and killed the Count of *Randam* (c) with his own Hand, who was Chief of the League in *Auvergne*. The Death of This Perſon occaſioned the raiſing of the Siege, and the winning of a Battle, which was fought ſome time after, and which ſecured all *Auvergne* to *Henry* IV, on the ſame Day, and in the ſame Year, that he gained the Victory in the Battle of *Yvri*. The Father of this *John Arnauld* had followed the Profeſſion of Arms from the beginning. He had raiſed a Company of Light-Horſe, and was in ſeveral Actions. But *Catherine de Medicis*, knowing him to be an able and faithful Perſon, made him her Attorney-General, and the King's Attorney in the Preſidial Court of *Riom*, which, at that time, had above forty Leagues of Extent (d). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in theſe two Employs. In all the Acts remaining of him, he ſtyles himſelf Lord of *la Motte*, *Chantegrenelle*, *Fontainebleau*, *Peſſac*, and *Bonnefilles*, all Fiefs, and Caſtles, not above half a League from *Riom*. His ſecond Wife was *Anne Forget*, Daughter of the Steward of the Houſhold to the Conſtable of *Bourbon* (e). He lived to the Age of an Hundred and One Years, and died at *Paris*; whither Queen *Catherine de Medicis* had called him. He was buried in the Church of St *Sulpice*, and in the firſt Chapel, that had been built in it, of which he himſelf was the Founder. The Title of the Foundation imports, that he had the Office of Auditor of the Accompts, and Comptroller-General [C], and that he was Lord of *Corbeville* near *Paris*. From his ſecond Marriage proceeded twelve Sons (*f*), one of whom was ANTHONY ARNAULD: I ſhall mention him in a ſeparate Article; ISAAC ARNAULD, who was Intendant of the Finances: DAVID ARNAULD, a Captain, who was killed at the Siege of *Jerzeau*; LEWIS ARNAULD, Receiver-General of the Finances at *Riom*; another LEWIS ARNAULD, the King's Secretary at *Paris*; and PETER ARNAULD, who was the youngeſt of the twelve Brothers, and who diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt in the Profeſſion of Arms. He was Marſhal of the Camps, and Armies, of King *Lewis* XIII; Governor of Fort *Lewis*, and Colonel of the Regiment of *Champaigne*. He it is, of whom the Sieur *de Pontis* makes ſuch honourable mention; who ventures to equal him to the moſt famous Commanders among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. He ſays, that he underſtood the Ancient Military Diſcipline the beſt of any Man, and made his Soldiers ſtrictly obſerve it, who loved him even to Adoration. *Iſaac Arnauld*, above-mentioned, was the Father of another ISAAC ARNAULD, who was Governor of *Philipſburg*, and Camp Maſter to the Carabineers, one of the braveſt Men, and fineſt Wits, of the Age: He is celebrated in the Works of *Voiture*. His Siſter was married to *Manaſſes de Feuquiers*, who commanded the King's Army before *Thionville*, in the Year 1639 (*g*).

(c) *Madame* de Senecey, *Governeſs of the King, was his Daughter.*

(d) *The Preſidial Courts of* Gueret, *of* Clermont, *and of* Aurillac, *were not as yet diſmembered from it.*

(e) *Monſ.* Forget, *Secretary in the Reign of* Henry IV, *was of the ſame Family.*

(*f*) *The Hiſtorical Diſcourſe of the Life of Mr* Arnauld, *Doctor of the* Sorbonne, *mentions only eight Sons, which* John de la Motte Arnauld *had by two Wives*, pag. 2, *Edit. of* Liege, 1702.

(*g*) *Taken from a Memoir, communicated to the Author of the* Mercure Galant, December. 1693.

[C] *He was Auditor of the Accompts, and Comptroller-General.*] Since the firſt Edition of this Work, I received a ſmall Memoir, written by one of the principal Genealogiſts of *Europe*; in which I find as follows: " *Anthony Arnauld*, Sieur *de la Mothe*, and " *Villeneuve*, His Majeſty's Attorney in the *Seneſchal*'s Juriſdiction of *Auvergne*, at *Riom*; Sollicitor-General to the Parliament in 1568, and 1570; " afterwards Auditor of the Accompts at *Paris*, and " Attorney-General of *Catherine de Medicis*; was ennobled, in *December* 1577, by the Title of Auditor " of the Accompts. He was the Son of *Henry Arnauld*, Bailiff of the Town of *Harmant*, in *Auvergne*, and of *N. Colonges*. He had married " *Anne Forget*, Daughter of *John Forget*, Sieur *de Bidoigne*, the King's Attorney in *Auvergne*, and of " *Jane Godinet*; and he died at the Age of an Hundred and One Years, about the Year 1591. See " the Memoirs of *Sully*, Tom. IV. fol. 27." Read alſo the Continuation of the *Menagiana*, pag. 305, *Dutch* Edition.

ARNAULD (ANTHONY) (*a*) Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, the Son of another *Anthony*, whom I have mentioned in the preceeding Article, acquired a wonderful Reputation by his Eloquence. *Henry* IV, intending to ſhew the Duke of *Savoy* the Parliament, made Choice of a Day, when *Arnauld* was to plead a fine Cauſe (*b*). He gave this able Man a Breviate for Counſellor of State. The Queen *Mary de Medicis* made him her Advocate-General, and would have made him her Secretary of State; but he declined this Office, and told her Majeſty, *he could do Her more Service, in quality of Advocate, than if he was Secretary of State.* This Fact is intimated in his Epitaph [*A*]. One Day the Advocate-General, *Marion*, was ſo well

(*a*) Konig *calls him* Marc Anthony. *The Letter* M, *which He, and Others, met with before* Anthony, *in ſome* French *Books, in which it ſtands for* Maitre, *or* Monſieur, *was, probably, the Cauſe of this Miſtake.*

(*b*) *The Queſtion was, concerning the Puniſhment due to Slanderers. See in* Matthieu's *Hiſtory of Henry* IV. Tom. I. pag. 455, *an Argument on this Subject.*

[*A*] *He refuſed to be Secretary of State —— This Fact is intimated in his Epitaph.*] Mr *le Maitre*, Grand-Son, and God-Son of *Anthony Arnauld*, the Advocate, was Author of the Epitaph. They, who would read it, need look no further than this Page; and They, who have no ſuch Curioſity, may paſs it over.

Paſſant, du grand Arnauld revere la memoire.
Ses vertus à ſa race ont ſervi d'ornement,
Sa plume à ſon pais, ſa voix au Parlement,
Son eſprit à ſon ſiecle, & ſes faits à l'hiſtoire.
Contre un ſecond Philippe Uſurpateur des lis
Ce ſecond Demoſthene anima ſes écrits,
Et contre Emmanuel arma ſon éloquence.

well ſatisfied with hearing him plead, that he took him home in his Coach to Dinner, and ſeated his Eldeſt Daughter *Catherine Marion* near him. After Dinner, he took him aſide, and aſked him what he thought of his Daughter; and, being anſwered, that ſhe ſeemed to him a Lady of great Merit, he gave her to him in Marriage (*c*). One of the moſt famous Cauſes, which *Anthony Arnauld* ever pleaded, was That of the Univerſity againſt the Jeſuits, in the Year 1594. We ſhall ſee hereafter how he was rewarded for it [*B*]. Some ſay, that he publiſhed a Book in 1602, to prevent their Re-call [*C*]. But, foreſeeing, that they would return, and become formidable, he endeavoured to ſuppreſs it. He had been Counſellor and Attorney-General to Queen *Catherine de Medicis*. They, who have reported, that he was of the Reformed Religion, have reported a very great Falſhood [*D*]. He had Twenty

Il vit cômme un neant les hautes dignitez,
Et prefera l'honneur d'oracle de la France
A tout le vain éclat des titres empruntez.

Paſſenger, whoe'er thou art, revere the Memory
Of the Great ARNAULD.
His Virtues were the Ornament of his Family,
His Pen of his Country, His Voice of the Parliament,
His Wit of the Age, and his Actions of Hiſtory.
Againſt a ſecond Philip, *Uſurper of the Lilly,*
This ſecond Demoſthenes
Animated his Writings;
And arm'd his Eloquence againſt Emmanuel.
He deſpiſed the higheſt Dignities,
And preferr'd the Honour of being
The Oracle of France
To all the vain Splendor of borrowed Titles.

[*B*] *How he was rewarded for it.*] He ſent back the Preſent, which the Univerſity had ordered him; He would have it ſaid, that ſo famous a Cauſe was pleaded *gratis*. The Univerſity drew up an Act in the moſt authentic Form, by which it engaged itſelf to an eternal Acknowledgment, not only to himſelf, but to his Poſterity. Theſe are the Terms of the Decree: "Quapropter, cum Conſultorum diſertiſſimus & Diſertorum conſultiſſimus D. ANTONIUS "ARNALDUS, in Foro Pariſienſi ſpectatus à multis "annis Patronus, pro Defenſione juris Academici "—— tantopere deſudarit: & longa comptaque Oratione, quæ Doctorum manibus teritur, probarit "—— Cumque idem pro Defenſionis laboribus & "Patrocinii jure oblatum ſibi ab Academia honorarium remiſerit, gratuitamque ſuam operam eſſe "voluerit; ne apud Nos ingrati animi culpa reſideat, "placuit Rectori, quatuor Facultatibus, & ſingulis "Nationibus, ut perpetua tanti beneficii memoria "publicis Tabulis conſignata & teſtata apud poſteros exſtaret, huicque Sacramento ſe omnes Academiæ Ordines obſtringerent, ſe ea officia, quæ à "bonis clientibus fido Patrono ſolent deferri, omnia "IN ILLUM EJUSQUE LIBEROS ac poſteros "ſtudioſè collaturos, nec eorum unquam honori, "commodis, famæque defuturos (1). —— *Wherefore,* "*ſince the moſt famous Lawyer,* ANTHONY ARNAULD, "*many Years a celebrated Advocate in the Courts* "*of* Paris, *has ſo greatly exerted himſelf in Defence of the Rights of the Univerſity; and proved,* "*in a long and beautiful Oration, which is in the* "*Hands of the Learned,* &c. *And, whereas the* "*ſaid Lawyer has declined accepting the Preſent, ſent* "*him by the Univerſity, in conſideration of the Pains* "*of his Defence, and as juſtly due to his Patronage;* "*and deſires to beſtow his Labour* gratis; *Therefore,* "*leaſt the Imputation of Ingratitude ſhould reſt upon* "*us, it hath pleaſed the Rector, the Four Faculties,* "*and every Order, that the Memory of ſo great a* "*Benefit ſhall be preſerved upon Record to Poſterity,* "*and that every Member of the Univerſity ſhall oblige himſelf, by an Oath, to diſcharge every Inſtance of* "*Duty, uſually paid by good Clients to a faithful* "*Patron, to* HIM *and his* CHILDREN, *nor ever to* "*be wanting to their Honour, Advantage, and Fame.*" You will find This at large in the Preface of a Book printed at *Liege*, in 1699, and entituled "Cauſa Arnaldina, ſeu Antonius Doctor & Socius Sorbonicus à cenſura Anno 1656, ſub nomine Facultatis Theologicæ Pariſienſis vulgata, vindicatus. "—— *The* Arnaldian *Caſe; or* Anthony Arnauld, "*Doctor and Fellow of the* Sorbonne, *vindicated from* "*the Cenſure, publiſhed, in* 1699, *in the Name of* "*the Faculty of Divinity at* Paris."

[*C*] *He publiſhed a Book, in* 1602, *to prevent their Re-call*] It is a ſmall Book, entituled, *Le Franc & Veritable Diſcours.* Father *Richeome* refutes him, in his Apologetical Complaint, in which he refutes likewiſe the Jeſuits Catechiſm, which appeared at the ſame Time, and came from the Pen of *Stephen Paſquier*. I have read a Particular, in the Remarks on the Catholic Confeſſion of *Sancy* (2), which I ſhall here tranſcribe: "The Advocate *Arnauld* returned no Anſwer; not that the Book entituled, "*The Truth defended* (3), had ſtopped his Mouth; "but becauſe he perceived, that the Intereſt of the "Jeſuits with *Henry* IV would carry it in the end "againſt all the Reaſons, which could be alledged "for eſtabliſhing the Decree of their Baniſhment. In "effect, the poor Man was ſo much afraid, that "he had gone too far in his little Book, that I "have ſeen a Copy of it, wherein an able Man "of thoſe Times had made the following Obſervation with his own Hand. *This Book (The Free* "*and True Diſcourſe) compoſed by Mr* Anthony Arnauld, *their good Friend:* And a little lower, *The* "*Copies ſuppreſſed by the Author.*"

[*D*] *They, who have reported, that he was of the Reformed Religion, were greatly miſtaken*] The Author of the *Amphitheatrum Honoris*, diſguiſed under the Name of *Clarus Bonarſcius*, which is the Anagram of *Carolus Scribanius*, his true Name, ſpeaks of the Advocate *Anthony Arnauld* as a known *Calviniſt*. The *Imago Primi ſæculi Soc. Jeſu* does the ſame. The Author of the Apology of *John Chatel* ſays, pag. 205, that the Name of *Arnauld* comes from ἀρνοῦμαι, which ſignifies to *deny* or *apoſtatize*, and that it approaches near to That of *Antichriſt*, in which is found the Name of the Beaſt. And, p. 206, *A worthy Miniſter of him, to whom a Mouth is given, ſpeaking great Things and Blaſphemies*, Rev. xiii. (4). *Du Pleix* had related the ſame Falſehood, but retracted it publickly. He had ſaid, in the firſt Edition of his Hiſtory of *Henry* IV, ſpeaking of the Trial, which the Jeſuits had with the Univerſity of *Paris*, in 1564; "That *Anthony Arnauld* making "Profeſſion of *Calviniſm*, the Choice, which the "Agents of the Univerſity had made of him, was "eſteemed highly ſcandalous and unbecoming." But thus he recants. "*Anthony Arnauld*, a moſt eloquent "Man, was Council for the Plaintiff (5). I formerly believed, upon falſe Information, that he "was a Proteſtant; but, in truth, he never was. He "left behind him moſt virtuous Children, and moſt "zealous for the Catholic Religion." It is ſtrange, that an Hiſtorian, who was none of the meaneſt, could be deceived, as to the Religion of ſo famous a Lawyer, who had taken the whole Parliament to witneſs of his Catholiciſm, in the ſame *Plea*, which gave *Du Pleix* occaſion to ſpeak of him. This is what he ſays in That *Plea*. "If perhaps They, and "Their Favourers, have the Impudence to aſſert, "that the *Sorbonne* was Heretical in the Year 1554, "when it publiſhed This Decree againſt Them: "Juſt as they have the Aſſurance to give out, among "the Women of their Congregations, that all, who "proſecute This Cauſe, are Heretics, ſprung either "from *Geneva*, or from *England*. If I myſelf, who "ſpeak, were not known to have been brought up, "from my Infancy, in the Royal College of *Navarre*; and if my Profeſſion, ſo notorious, and "my Admiſſion into ſuch public and honourable "Employs, in the Years 80, and 85, did not too "manifeſtly ſecure me from their Impoſtures, they would

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(*c*) *Taken from the Memoir, in the* Mercure Galant, *for* Decemb. 1693.

(1) Præfat. Cauſæ Arnaldinæ, pag. XCVII.

(2) Book II, chap. 6, pag. 535.

(3) *The Author of the Remarks had ſaid*, p. 534, *that* Richeome, *under the Name of* Francis de la Montagne, *had anſwered, in* 1594, Paſquier's *Plea, in a Book, entituled*, La verite Defenduë.

(4) *Taken from the* Queſtion curieuſe ſi Mr Arnauld eſt Heretique, pag. 13. i. e. *A curious Enquiry, whether Mr* Arnauld *be an Heretic*.

(5) *That is, the Univerſity.*

Twenty two Children by his Marriage with *Catherine Marion* (d) [*E*], and died about the Year 1618. Obſerve, that one of his Daughters reformed the Abbey of *Port-Royal* [*F*].

He acquitted himſelf at the Bar, “ with ſo much Honour (e), and in ſo extraordinary

“ would no doubt pretend, that I came from thence likewiſe to plead againſt them.” Experience convinced him, and convinces to this Day, that he was miſtaken, in fancying himſelf ſheltered from their Impoſtures; for, beſides the Writers I have cited, there have lately ariſen two new Accuſers; the firſt is Father *Hazart*; the ſecond, though the Name he gives himſelf be a fictitious one (6), produces a Letter from a Gentleman, whoſe Name is Mr *de Heucourt* (7), who affirms, that the Father of Mr *Arnauld*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, was born, and died, a *Huguenot*. I have reaſon to ſay, that Father *Hazart* has renewed the Accuſation; for theſe are his Words, “ The Recantation of Mr *du Pleix* does not affect me, nor debar me of the Liberty of taking his firſt Sentiment for the Legitimate Iſſue of his beſt Information, and the ſecond as the Offspring of his Complaiſance for the Relations of the Sieur *Arnauld*, who had Credit enough, at that Time, to gain over, or oblige, an Author, to any thing of This Nature (8).” It was replied, that one muſt be of a very perverſe Spirit “ to prefer, what an Hiſtorian acknowledges he had ſaid on falſe Suggeſtions, to what he aſſerts, as certain and indiſputable, upon better information. Were there many Perſons of ſo wicked a Character, the Prejudice, which an Hiſtorian might do by publiſhing, from bad Memoirs, Falſehoods to the Diſhonour of his Neighbour, would be irreparable, ſince his Recantation would ſignify nothing (9).” It is but flying to Father *Hazart*'s Anſwer. “ See, by the way, *concludes he*, howwell Mr *du Pleix* is rewarded for having been ſo partial to the Jeſuits. They ſhew how much they love him, whilſt they make him have ſo little Conſcience, as that, having ſaid nothing but the Truth, when he affirmed, that the Advocate, who pleaded againſt them, was an *Huguenot*, he ſhould notwithſtanding retract this afterwards, and eſtabliſh a Lie out of meer Complaiſance.” I know not (10) of any Reply, which has been made to the Challenge of Him, who publiſhed Mr *d'Heucourt*'s Letter: The Summons was very preſſing; for thus the Author addreſſed himſelf to Mr *Arnauld*: “ This Letter, the Original of which is put into my Hands to be ſent to you, abſolutely requires you to produce the Certificate of your Baptiſm; for the Jeſuits, your Enemies, are not, it ſeems, the only Perſons, who reproach you with being born a *Huguenot*.” But the Publiſher of this Letter was greatly confounded, when the World was informed, that Mr *d'Heucourt* diſclaimed it.

The Public has ſeen This in the Journal of Mr *Baſnage* (11), and in a Book, which has appeared ſince the firſt Impreſſion of this Article; I mean the *Abridged Hiſtory* of the Life and Writings of Mr *Arnauld*. Obſerve how the Author treats this Matter, in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Pages. “ We ſhall not here loſe time in confuting the impertinent Author *of the Important Advice to Mr* Arnauld, *&c.* wherein an Extract is produced of a pretended Letter of the Marquis *d'Heucourt*, to prove, that Mr *Arnauld* and his Father were born *Calviniſts*. All this is downright Impoſture. For not only the Extract of the Certificate of Baptiſm, which the Adviſer required might be produced, is at Hand, but alſo an Inſtrument in Form under The Marquis's Hand, dated from *Brompton*, near *London*, the $\frac{12}{22}$th of May, 1692, wherein he declares, that he knows nothing of it, that the Letter never came from him, and that it is a Piece maliciouſly and falſly compoſed.” It is very probable, that one of our Advocate *Arnauld*'s Brothers turned *Huguenot* (12); for one, who muſt have known this very well, has informed me, that Madam *de Feuquiers* (13), and Madam *d'Heucourt*, her Siſter, who were This Advocate's Nieces by the Father's Side, were of the Reformed Religion to their Death. The ſame Perſon informed me likewiſe, that ISAAC ARNAULD, Miniſter of *Rochel*, and Author of a Book, entituled *The Contempt of the World*, was of the ſame Family with Mr *Arnauld*. This Work was printed more than once; for the Edition of *Roüen* in 1637, imports, that it had been Reviſed, Corrected, and Augmented with three other Treatiſes by the ſame Author; to wit, *Virtuous Reſolutions*; *Of the Obedience due to the King*; *and Meditations on old Age*.

[*E*] *He had Twenty Two Children by his Marriage.*——] The Name of the Eldeſt was *Robert*; The ſame, who became ſo famous by the Name of ARNAULD d'ANDILLI: See the following Article. The ſecond died Biſhop of *Angers*, in the Month of *June*, 1692. His Name was HENRY ARNAULD; who had acquired a great Eſteem under the Name of the Abbot of St *Nicholas*, before he attained to the Mitre. Being at *Rome*, he ſaved, by his Dexterity and Courage, the Honour and Eſtates of the *Barberini*, from the Attempts of the Creatures and Relations of Pope *Innocent* X. In acknowledgement of which, the Prince of *Paleſtrina*, and the *French* Cardinals, *Anthony* and *Charles Barberini*, not only cauſed a Medal to be ſtruck, and his Picture to be drawn, which they hung up in all their Houſes, but erected likewiſe a Statue to him in their Palace at *Rome*, with an Inſcription, which *Fortunatus* had compoſed for St *Gregory* of *Tours* (14). He died in the Odour of Sanctity in his Dioceſs at *Angers*; which he had never left for near Forty four Years that he was Biſhop of it. CATHERINE ARNAULD, the Eldeſt Daughter of *Anthony*, was married to Mr *le Maitre*, one of his Majeſty's Council, and Maſter of the Accompts at *Paris*, by whom ſhe had *Anthony le Maitre*, the Famous Advocate, and *Iſaac le Maitre* of *Sacy*, known by his Tranſlation of the Bible, by That of the Imitation of JESUS CHRIST, the Life of *Dom. Barthélemi des Martyrs*, and his ſacred Poems. ANGELICA ARNAULD, another Daughter of *Anthony*, perpetual Abbeſs of *Port-Royal* in the Fields, reformed That Abbey on the ſame Foot with That of *Clairvaux*, and made it Elective and Triennial. Five of her Siſters, with their Mother, took the Religious Habit in this Convent, and led a very auſtere Life there till their Death (15).

Obſerve, that, in the *Abridged Hiſtory* of the Life of Mr *Arnauld*, pag. 20, it is aſſerted, I. That he was the Twentieth and laſt of the Children of *Anthony Arnauld*, and of *Catherine Marion*. This does not agree with the Memoir (16), which I have quoted, and which gives them Twenty Two. II. That, when the Father of ſo many Children died, *there were but Ten of them alive, Four Sons, and Six Daughters.*

[*F*] *One of his Daughters reformed the Abbey of* Port-Royal.] The Name of *Port-Royal* makes ſo much noiſe, the *Arnaulds* are ſo much concerned in it, and the Particulars of all this ſo little known, that I may well ſuppoſe the Curious will receive with pleaſure any Information on this Subject. For this Reaſon I believe it will not diſpleaſe my Reader, if I here inſert what I have read in a printed Caſe (17). Pieces of this kind are ſeldom known to many Perſons.

HISTORICAL Facts concerning the Abbey of PORT-ROYAL.

“ *Port-Royal* is originally a Monaſtery of *Bernardin* Nuns, ſix Leagues from *Paris*. One of Mr *d'Andilli*'s Siſters was made Abbeſs of it, in the beginning of this Century, when ſhe was but Eleven Years of Age. This was a common Abuſe at that time; from which God drew great Good. For, at the Age of Seventeen Years, God inſpired her with ſo earneſt a Deſire to reform her Abbey, tho' there were none, either Men or Women, reformed in the whole Order of the *Ciſtertians*, that ſhe reſolved and performed it with eaſe enough, God giving an extraordinary Bleſſing to her good Deſigns. She baniſhed all Property from thence; all the Nuns, after her Example, bringing into the common Stock what they had before in their private Poſſeſſion. She eſtabliſhed an exact recluſe Life, perpetual Abſtinence, the Office of the Night, Faſtings, Labour, and Silence, according to the Rules of St *Benedict*. And it was this Odour of Sanctity, like the Perfume of the Spouſe, which drew her Siſters, Nieces, and her Mother likewiſe, in their turns, to this Houſe. The Deſign of ſo perfect a Reformation, undertaken ſo courageouſly, and executed ſo happily, acquired her ſo great an Eſteem with the whole Order, that, when ſhe was but Twenty ſeven, or Twenty eight, Years of Age, ſhe was choſen to reform the famous Abbey of *Maubuiſſon*.

(d) *Taken from the Memoir, inſerted in the* Mercure Galant. December, 1693.

(e) Perrault's Hommes Illuſtres, pag. 54, 55. *Edit. of* Holl.

(6) *That of* St Foi, *in the important Advice to Mr* Arnauld, *on the Project of a new* Bibliotheque *of* Janſeniſt *Authors. This is a Letter, dated from* Paris, *the 28th of* September, 1691.

(7) *It ſhould be ſo, and not* Reucour, *as in the printed Copy.*

(8) *See the IVth* Factum *or Caſe of the great Nephews of* Janſenius, pag. 20.

(9) Ibid.

(10) *This was wrote in* 1694.

(11) *That is, in the* Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, *for the Month of* Novemb. 1692, pag. 134.

(12) *See Remark* [*A*], *of the Article* DURANT (SAMUEL).

(13) *The Wife of Him who was beaten before* Thionville.

(14) *It is This.* Alpibus Arvernis veniens mons altior ipſis. *The* Barberini *alluded to the Arms, and Country of the* Arnaulds. *This Family is of* Auvergne, *and has for it's Arms a Mountain.* Memoire du Merc. Galant, Decemb. 1693.

(15) *Taken from the ſame Memoir.*

(16) *That in the* Mercure Galant, *for* December, 1693.

(17) *The IVth* Factum *of the Great Nephews of* Janſenius, *againſt Father* Hazart.

"dinary a manner, that no Perſon ſince, except his Grandſon Mr *le Maitre*, has been known to appear there with ſo much Reputation and Dignity. His Houſe was continually filled with Princes, and great Lords, who came to conſult him about their moſt important Affairs, and he was every where held in ſuch Veneration, that, after his Death, they were forced to expoſe his Body for ſome time on a Bed, to ſatisfie the People, who preſſingly demanded it." They are miſtaken, who impute to him an Apology for *Phalaris* [G].

"*buiſſon*. She paſt Four or Five Years there; which obliged her to leave to her Siſter, who was afterwards called *Mother Agnes*, the Care of her Houſe of *Port-Royal*, as her *Coadjutrix*. It was about this time, and while ſhe was at *Maubuiſſon*, that ſhe ſaw St *Francis de Sales*, who was come to *Paris*, to found there an Houſe of the Viſitation. She ſent to deſire he would viſit her, and put herſelf under his Conduct; and it appears by this Saint's Letters what an Eſteem he had for his dear Daughter the Abbeſs of *Port-Royal*."

The Author of the *Factum* adds, that the Widow of *Antony Arnauld*, Mother of This Abbeſs, had a ſtrong Deſire to become a Nun, under the Conduct of her own Daughter; and that, as God had inſpired her with this Deſire, about the ſame time that the Abbeſs was adviſed to transfer her Monaſtery of the Fields to *Paris*; "She bought a very fair and large Houſe, and Gardens, in the Suburbs of St *James*, which ſhe beſtowed on the Abbeſs, Convent, and Nuns of *Port-Royal*, that they might ſettle there; which they actually did, having, at a great Expence, put the Houſe at *Paris* into the Condition it is at preſent in, by the Bleſſing of God on their Charity and Diſintereſtedneſs. There it was, that this happy Mother of ſo many pious Children took her own Daughter for a Mother, conſecrating herſelf to God by a Religious Profeſſion to live under her Diſcipline: And, having done ſo for the ſpace of fourteen or fifteen Years, with very edifying Fervour and Humility, ſhe had the Conſolation, before her Death, to give her Bleſſing to ſix Daughters, and ſix Grand-Daughters, who were all in the Monaſtery, and all Nuns, except one, who died young, and had been only a Penſioner." Laſtly, it appears by This *Factum*, that the Abbeſs of *Port-Royal* was Incumbent for Life, and one of her Siſters *Coadjutrix*; but that both of them, having only the good of their Houſe in view, willingly parted with their Titles, and ſettled a triennial Election. Mr *d'Andilly* obtained the neceſſary Permiſſion from the King, tho' it deprived him of the Means of keeping this Abbey always in his own Family. Add to this what we ſhall obſerve in his Article.

[G] *They are miſtaken, who impute to him an Apology for* Phalaris.] The Words of Father *Abram*, which I am going to cite, have a viſible Relation to our *Arnauld*. "De Phalaridis Agrigentorum Tyranni immani crudelitate ſupervacaneum fuerit dicere, cum & pleni ſunt aliorum libri, & ipſe ſe nefarium, immanem, & ſceleratiſſimum in epiſtolis ſæpe fateatur. Unus inventus eſt Arnaldus, qui non ita pridem orationem dicam, an nugas? de ejus laude conſcripſerit. Videlicet ex eodem calamo Phalaridis Apuleiique laudatio & Societatis noſtræ criminatio manavit, ut quibus ſe ſimilem eſſe mallet, liquidius oſtenderet. —— *It will be ſuperfluous to ſay any thing of the monſtrous Cruelty of* Phalaris, *Tyrant of* Agrigentum, *ſince other Authors have given a full Account of it, and* Phalaris *often acknowledges himſelf to be monſtrouſly wicked in his Epiſtles.* Arnauld *alone is found, who lately wrote an Oration in his Praiſe. From the ſame Pen flowed the Panegyric of* Phalaris *and* Apuleius, *and the Accuſation of our Society; that the Author might more plainly ſhew, whom he would reſemble.*" The Miſtake is a groſs one; for the Author of the Apology for *Phalaris* was an *Arnauld* of *Provence*. See the Remark [M] of the Article EPICURUS.

(19) Abram. in Ciceron. Orat. Tom. 1, pag. 103.

ARNAULD d'ANDILLI (ROBERT), Eldeſt Son of the preceeding, was a Perſon of great Merit. See his Elogy in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, and in the *Illuſtrious Men* of Mr *Perrault*. He married Mademoiſelle *de la Broderie*, the Daughter of Him, who had been ſo long Ambaſſador in *England*, and Grand-Daughter to a Siſter of the Chancellor *de Silleri*. This Marriage produced five Daughters, all Nuns at *Port-Royal*, (the Eldeſt of which, Siſter *Angelica* of St *John*, paſſed for a Prodigy of Wit, Knowledge and Virtue) and three Sons. The Eldeſt is the Abbot ARNAULD, Commendatory * Abbot of *Chomes* (a), who, after having born Arms a long time in the King's Service, in the Regiment of his Couſin *Iſaac Arnauld*, Camp-Maſter of the Carabineers, retired to his Uncle, the Biſhop of *Angers*. The ſecond is HENRY ARNAULD, Lord of *Luzancy*, who paſſed his Life in Solitude. The third is SIMON ARNAULD, Marquis of *Pompone*, formerly Miniſter and Secretary of State, and ſtill a Miniſter of State, known by his Embaſſies into *Holland* and *Sueden* (b). Mr *Arnauld d'Andilli* was ſent early into the World. He had ſeveral Employs, which attached him to the Court, and to an Attendance on the deceaſed King; but he never ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by the bad Air, which is uſually breathed in ſuch Stations [A]. The Difference he had with the Preſident *de Grammond*, who had mentioned him, in his Latin Hiſtory, otherwiſe than he ought to have done, may be ſeen in the Collection of his *Letters*. They, who forged the Romance of the Aſſembly of *Bourg-Fontaine*, denoted by the Letters A. A. one of the pretended Accomplices of the Deſign, which was ſuppoſed to have been taken there, of introducing *Deiſm*; and, when they perceived, that theſe Letters could not belong to Mr *Arnauld*, the Doctor, they applied them to

* *One, who enjoys a Benefice in* Commendam.

(a) *He died in* February, 1699.

(b) *Memoir of the* Mercure Galant, *for* December, 1693.

[A] *He never ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by the bad Air, which is uſually breathed in ſuch Stations.*] "He was a *Frenchman*, who, all the time he lived at Court, in *Paris*, and in the Country, had the beſt eſtabliſhed Reputation, and was the moſt generally talked of for his Piety and Probity; there being no one, who would not willingly ſubſcribe to what a famous Author wrote of him above fifty Years ago, *That he was never aſhamed of the Goſpel Truths, nor made an Oſtentation of the Practice of it's Precepts.*" This is what we find in the fourth *Factum* of *Janſenius*'s Great Nephews (1). Where we likewiſe find (2), "That, before he forſook the World, and during his Reſidence at Court, he dedicated his whole Genius for Poetry to the Honour of his Saviour, and to the Deſign of giving a Reliſh for the Chriſtian Truths; for he had not as yet retired from the World, when he wrote his Poem (3) on the Life of JESUS CHRIST, and his Stanzas on the Nobleſt and moſt Edifying Truths of Religion."

(1) *At the 12th Page.*

(2) *At Page 18.*

(3) *See, below, the Remark* [C], *Citation* (9).

[B] The

to another Perſon, to wit, *Arnauld d'Andilli*, as was at laſt fairly explained (*c*). But the Author of the *Facta*, or Caſes, of *Janſenius*'s Great-Nephews, made it appear by ſolid Reaſons, that the ſecond Application of the two A. A. was abſurd [*B*]. Mr *d'Andilli* retired to the Monaſtery of *Port-Royal* in 1644, where he paſſed the Remainder of his Life in a continued Application to Works of Piety. He compoſed ſeveral Books there (*d*), which the Public received favourably, and which are ſo numerous, that they make eight Volumes in Folio (*e*). He died there on the 27th of *September* 1674, in the Eighty ſixth Year of his Age (*f*).

He loſt his Wife in the Year 1637. *Balzac*'s Reflexion on this Loſs is worth knowing [*D*].

(*c*) *In the Anſwer of Father* Hazart *to the* Caſe *of the Great Nephews of* Janſenius. *See their IVth* Factum, p 14.

(*d*) *See the* Catalogue *of them, at the end of his Elogy, in the* Journal des Sçavans *of* September, 1675.

(*e*) Perrault, *Illuſtrious Men*, p 142. *Edit of* Holl.

(*f*) Moreri, pag. 346.

[*B*] *The ſecond Application of the two A. A. was abſurd.*] I ſhall not repeat all the Reaſons alledged to prove this; I ſhall only remark, that it is obſerved, among other things, that he had been preſent in all the Expeditions, which King *Lewis* XIII made, both before, and after, the Time of the chimerical Cabal of *Bourg-Fontaine* (4), " to quell Thoſe of his Subjects, whom their falſe Religion had engaged in Rebellion (5). Theſe were Occaſions, *continue they* (6), of enflaming more and more his Zeal for the Catholic Religion, by the Averſion, which theſe kind of Wars inſpire againſt Hereſy; but it was not the way to become a Divine, having never ſtudied Theology, as he could not have done, to ſuſtain the Part, which they make the Authors of the Fable of *Bourg-Fontaine* act. He knew as much of Religion, as a Man of great Parts could learn of it, from his Catechiſm, from pious Books, from the Converſation of holy Perſons, from reading the Word of God, and hearing it preached; but the leſs he knew of what was taught in the Schools, the more incapable was he of raiſing Doubts concerning the Truth of our Myſteries (7), having accuſtomed himſelf early to captivate his Underſtanding to the Divine Authority, which is viſibly lodged in the Church; and ſure never any Perſon was farther from cavilling with God, or pretending, by his weak and ſelf-conceited Reaſon, to comprehend what we ought to believe with Faith and Humility."

[*C*] *He retired to the Monaſtery of* Port-Royal.] Let us continue to quote the fourth *Factum*. " It was to *Port Royal* in the Fields, that he retired in the Year 1644; whither his Nephews, the Advocate Mr *le Maitre*, and one of his Brothers, who was a Soldier, had retired five or ſix Years before, when there were yet no Religious there; for it was not 'till the Year 1648, that the Houſe of *Paris* obtained leave of the Archbiſhop to ſend Part of their Religious to their Country Houſe." My Reader may chooſe between the Author of this *Factum*, and Mr *Richelet* (8), who ſays, that Mr *Arnauld d'Andilli* made his own Houſe of *Pompone* his Retreat. I am ſatisfied with confronting theſe two Authorities; and paſs on, with Pleaſure, to cite what you are now going to read; becauſe it contains ſome of Thoſe Particulars, relating to the Lives of great Men, which ſo many are curious to know. " *Arnauld d'Andilli* - - - - - ſerved the King and the State twenty Years. As a Reward of his Services, he had a Penſion of Eight thouſand Livres ſettled on him, which were afterwards reduced to ſix; with this he retired to *Pompone*, a Village ſeven or eight Leagues diſtant from *Paris*, where, forſaking the Vanities of the World, and leading a truly Chriſtian Life, he compoſed ſeveral Works: *His Letters, and a Poem on the Life of* JESUS CHRIST (9). - - - - - - Joſephus'*s Hiſtory of the* Jews, *the Works of St* Thereſa, *and Thoſe of* Davila, tranſlated, are the Fruits of his Solitude. - - - - - The beſt of his Tranſlations is That of *Joſephus* (10). Some time after it had been publiſhed, *Richelet* went, one Day, to ſee him at *Pompone*; after ſome Diſcourſe, the Converſation fell on the manner of ſome Authors compoſing. And, knowing that *Richelet* was particularly acquainted with the famous *D'Ablancourt*, he asked him, how many times That excellent Man reviſed each Piece before he gave it the Publick: *Richelet* replied *ſix times*; and I, replied Mr *Arnauld, reviſed the Hiſtory of* Joſephus *ten times*; *I carefully corrected the Stile of it, and poliſhed it more than any of my other Works. Arnauld d' Andilli* - - - - - in his Retirement, after ſeven or eight Hours Study, every Day, uſed to divert himſelf with the Pleaſures of the Country, and, above all others, with That of pruning his Trees. He had generally ſo good Fruit, that, every Year, he ſent Preſents of it to Queen *Anne* of *Auſtria*; and That Princeſs was ſo well pleaſed with it, that every Seaſon ſhe deſired to have ſome." This Application to Gardening, and *philoſophizing profoundly on the Nature of Trees*, is atteſted by Mr *Perrault*, in his *Illuſtrious Men*, pag. 143, Edition of *Holland*.

[*D*] Balzac'*s Reflexion on this Loſs is worth knowing.*] What he wrote concerning it is much for the Honour of our *Robert Arnauld*, and his Family. " The News of Madam *d'Andilli*'s Death affected me ſenſibly. I intereſt myſelf in all the good and bad Succeſs, of a Family which ought to be dear to *France*, and which aroſe for the Honour of the *French* Name. But I pity our Friend particularly, who, having never had any unlawful Paſſion, loſes all his Miſtreſſes and Pleaſures, at once, in his Wife. He is, nevertheleſs, ſo well ſkilled in the Chriſtian Doctrine, and has ſo many learned Men of his Family about him, that he needs no Stoic Philoſophy, nor any foreign Aſſiſtance, to defend himſelf againſt the Attacks of Fortune. All Reaſon, all Preach, all Perſuade, in That Family, and One *Arnauld* is worth a Dozen *Epictetus*'s (11)."

(4) *In the Year* 1621.

(5) *IVth* Factum, &c. pag. 18.

(6) Ibid.

(7) *Theſe Words are very remarkable, and confirm what many ſuſpect, that there are no Perſons leſs perſuaded, than They, who employ the moſt Time in diſputing and teaching in the Schools.*

(8) *See his Judgment of Mr* Arnauld d'Andilli, *at the beginning of the Collection of Letters, publiſhed at* Amſterdam, *in* 1694.

(9) *This is contrary to what has been ſaid, above, in the Remark* [*A*], *Citation* (3).

(10) *The Critics find great Fault with it. See the Opinion of ſome Divines of* Holland. *I have heard ſay, that Mr* le Moine *was deſired by the Friends of Mr* d'Andilli, *to mark the Places, which he thought the Tranſlator might miſtake, and that he declined, it for fear of remarking too many.*

(11) Balzac's Letters to Chapelain, Book 2, Lett. 19, *dated* 14 Aug. 1637, p. 82.

ARNAULD (ANTHONY) Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, Son of *Anthony Arnauld* the Advocate [*A*], was born at *Paris*, the ſixth of *February*, 1612, being the twentieth Offspring of his Father's Marriage with *Catherine Marion*. He ſtudied Humanity and Philoſophy

[*A*] *Son of* Anthony Arnauld *the Advocate.*] This Deſcent is undoubtedly the Origin of the great Hatred of the Jeſuits towards Mr *Arnauld*, and of Mr *Arnauld* towards the Jeſuits. The Author of the *Queſtion Curieuſe* (1) does not abſolutely deny this, ſince he ſpeaks in this manner. (2): " Mr *Arnauld* was born the ſixth of *February*, in the Year 1612. His Father was Mr *Anthony Arnauld*, ſo famous at the Bar, and known in the Hiſtory of the Jeſuits, by the famous Plea, which he made againſt them, for the Univerſity of *Paris*, in 1594. - - - - - For the Reaſon, which I have mentioned, Mr *Arnauld* was born with a ſecond Original Sin, which no Sacrament could efface; and, the Crime of the Plea having made the Father a *Calviniſt*, and Miniſter of *Antichriſt*, in the Minds of the Jeſuits (3), though a good Catholic, and a good Chriſtian, every where elſe, the Son, in their Opinion, muſt neceſſarily be-born a Child of Wrath, and be yet worſe than a Heretic, before he could be a Chriſtian." One of the Proteſtant Authors, who wrote againſt *Maimbourg*'s Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, believed, that Mr *Arnauld*'s Averſion to the Jeſuits proceeded from Education. Theſe are his Words (4). " I have formerly compared him to *Hannibal*, too obſtinately perſecuted by the *Romans* (5). I cannot tell whether I may not compare him to the ſame *Han-*

(1) *See, in the Margin of the Text of this Article, Citat.* (*b*), *what Book this is.*

(2) Pag. 12.

(3) *See Remark* [*D*], *of the Article* ARNAULD (ANTHONY) *the Advocate*

(4) *New Letters againſt* Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of* Calviniſm, pag. 125.

(5) *It is in the Vth Letter of the* Critique Generale. Quand je me figure, &c. i. e. *When I repreſent to myſelf this great Man, reduced to the hard Neceſſity of concealing himſelf, I recollect the famous* Hannibal, *and the laſt Words, which the unjuſt Perſecutions of the* Romans *extorted from him.* Liberemus diuturna cura populum Romanum, quando mortem ſenis expectare longum cenſent, &c. - - - *Let us free the* Romans *from a long Anxiety, ſince they wait with Impatience for the Death of an old Man.* Livy, lib. XXXIX.

Philoſophy in the College of *Calvi (a)*, and afterward began to ſtudy the Law; but he was ſoon taken from this Study, and turned to That of Divinity, by the Care of his Mother, ſeconded by the Abbot of St *Cyran*. After this Determination, he applied himſelf to ſtudy in the College of the *Sorbonne* (*b*), and went through a *Treatiſe of Grace* under Mr *l'Eſcot*: But, not finding This Profeſſor of the *Sorbonne*'s Lectures conformable to the Doctrine of St *Paul*, he reſolved to ſtudy This Point in St *Auſtin* himſelf, and preferred This Father's Syſtem to That of Mr *l'Eſcot*. This he teſtified publickly in a Probation Theſis, which he maintained, in the Year 1636, in order to be admitted to his Degree of Bachelor *(c)*. He employed an *Interval of Two Years, which, according to the Laws of the Faculty at* Paris, *muſt paſs between the Probation, and the Licence*, in hard Study; after which, he began the Acts of his Licence, *about the* Eaſter *of the Year* 1638, and continued *them till* Lent 1640. He went thro' the Act of *Veſperies* the eighteenth of *December* 1641, and, the Day following, received the Doctor's Cap. While he was a Licentiate, he compoſed, and publickly taught, *A Courſe of Philoſophy* (*d*). At the end of this Courſe of Philoſophy, which he taught at *Paris*, in the College of *Mans*, he cauſed Theſes to be maintained, wherein he gave a remarkable Inſtance of his Integrity, Docility, and Humility [*B*]. He was ordained Prieſt in the *Ember Week of September*, of the Year 1641, and celebrated his firſt Maſs *on All Saints Day, of the ſame Year, after a Retirement of Forty Days——He had began his Licence, without any deſign of becoming a Member of the* Sorbonne—— *He would have been ſatisfied with enjoying the Rights of Hoſpitality, which gave him the liberty of lodging in the Houſe (e)*. But The principal Doctors preſſing him *to think ſeriouſly of entring into it*, and promiſing him, that, provided he would read a Courſe of Philoſophy, no notice ſhould be taken of the Circumſtance of Time, he undertook the Affair without any regard to the Obſtacles, which lay in his way, to wit, *that, while he was performing the Acts of his Licence, the Time, in which the Statutes preſcribed that the Courſe of Philoſophy ſhould be gone thro', was elapſed——The two Years of this painful Work being ended, he petitioned the Houſe, that they would admit him to the Proof of his Courſe, and deliberate on the Honour he demanded of being received into That illuſtrious Body*. Mr *l' Eſcot* found an Opportunity at this time of being revenged on him. *As he had not taught his Penitent Cardinal* Richelieu *to forgive, He had himſelf learned of his Penitent never to forgive* (*f*). He prevented Mr *Arnauld*'s Admiſſion into the

(*a*) *It ſubſiſts no longer, the new Edifices of the* Sorbonne *being built on it's Ruins.*

(*b*) *In the Year* 1633.

(*c*) *This Theſis was dedicated to the Clergy of* France, *aſſembled, at that time, at* Paris.

(*d*) *Obſerve one thing, which the Author, whom I copy, does not diſtinguiſh; which is, that Mr* Arnauld *did not begin to teach this Courſe of Philoſophy, 'till the 2d Year of his Licence.*

(*e*) *He was admitted the* 21*ſt of* October, 1636. Præfat. Cauſæ Arnald. pag. XXVI.

(*f*) *He was Confeſſor to Cardinal* Richelieu, *and afterwards Biſhop of* Chartres.

" *nibal*, promiſing his Father, in his tender Years, " that, as ſoon as he ſhould be of Age to bear Arms, " he would wage War againſt Thoſe mortal Enemies of his Country. It is well known, that Mr *Arnauld* is the Son of the famous *Anthony Arnauld*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, who pleaded ſo " eloquently, for the Univerſity, againſt the Jeſuits, " in the Year 1594, and who omitted nothing to " perſuade the Judges, that they ought not to be " tolerated in the Kingdom. This Action rendered " him as odious to the whole Society, as the whole " Society was to him, or more. It is very probable, that he inſpired the ſame Sentiments, with " regard to the Jeſuits, into his Sons; it is very certain, at leaſt, that in this they have not degenerated from the Virtue of their Father."

[*B*] *He gave a remarkable Inſtance of his Integrity, Docility, and Humility.*] " At the end of the " Courſe of Philoſophy, which he taught in the College of *Mans*, in the Univerſity of *Paris*, he made " ſeveral of his Scholars maintain Theſes: Among " whom, was the Sieur *Barbey*, ſince a famous Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the ſame Univerſity, and " Mr *Wallon de Beaupuis*, an Eccleſiaſtic of *Beauvais*, a Perſon of great Piety, who is ſtill alive, " and has delivered this Fact in Writing. This latter " maintaing his Theſis, on the Twenty fifth of *July*, " 1641, Mr *de la Barde*, a learned Prieſt of the Oratory, and at that Time Canon of the Cathedral " Church at *Paris*, took up the Diſpute, and preſſed " his Arguments ſo home, that the Profeſſor was " obliged to come in to the Aſſiſtance of his Scholar. " But he was himſelf ſo hard preſſed by the illuſtrious Diſputant, that he found himſelf unable to " Reply. It had been eaſy for him to have got off " by ſome Diſtinction or other, as Profeſſors often do. " But this did not agree with his Sincerity, and Love " of Truth. He told him, therefore, publickly, " and without Ceremony, that he believed him " to be in the right; that his Opinion appeared, in His Judgment, to be the moſt true, and that " he himſelf would follow it for the future. He " was as good as his Word; for, about three Years " after, This ſame Diſciple being to perform his Probation-Lecture in the *Sorbonne*, for his Degree of " Bachelor, he deſired Mr *Arnauld* to compoſe his " Theſis for him. He did ſo, and laid down the " contrary Opinion to That in his own Philoſophical Theſes (6)." An eſſential Part is wanting in This Narrative. We are not told what Opinion Mr *Arnauld* had maintained, when he confeſſed his Error, upon the ſtrong Objections of his Opponent. Let us ſupply this, and ſay, that the Theſis, which Mr *de la Barde* attacked, was this: *Ens ſynonymè convenit Deo & creaturæ* (7). The Author of the Narrative judges right, when he ſays, that this Action of Mr *Arnauld* was Great before God, and Rare among Men, and that That, which proceeds from *Integrity of Heart, from a conſtant and uniform Love of Truth, from a Greatneſs of Soul, which is above the Deſire of Victory, and the Fear of leſſening a Reputation, - - - - - is always great* (8). But he ſeems to me to treat the Solutions, which may be given of Their Arguments, who maintain, that the Idea of *Being* is not applicable, ſynonymouſly, to God and his Creatures, with a little too much Diſdain. I formerly examined this Diſpute, which is very famous in the Schools, and was of Opinion, that They, who deny the *Univocation of Being*, have the Crowd, the Many, on their Side;

- - - - - - - - - - illos
Defendit numerus, junctæque umbone phalanges (9);

but not the moſt ſolid Reaſons; wherefore I choſe the Opinion, which they oppoſe. I have maintained it often in public Diſputations, but never found, that any Objection of Difficulty was propoſed to me. My Adverſary preſently flew to the common Objection, that *God is a Being* κατ’ ἐξόχην, *a ſelf-exiſtent Being, Infinite, and ſupremely Perfect; whereas the Being of Creatures is only precarious.* I found no manner of Difficulty in this Objection; for the very Rudiments of the Doctrine of *Univerſals* inſtruct us, that the Ideas of the *Genus* are entirely diſtinguiſhed from the *Specific* Properties, by an Abſtraction of the Mind. But had I known, that Mr *Arnauld*, having once been of this Opinion, had renounced it in Diſputation, I ſhould have ſuſpected, that there were ſome Difficulties in it, which I had not met with in any of the *Spaniſh* School-men, whom I had examined. Let us remember, that it has been obſerved, that he was not neceſſitated to alter his Opinion. This imports

(6) *Abridged Hiſtory of Mr* Arnauld, pag. 46.

(7) Præfat. Cauſæ Arnaldinæ, pag. XVIII.

(8) *Abridged Hiſtory of Mr* Arnauld, pag. 47.

(9) Juven. Sat. 2, ver. 45.

the Society of the *Sorbonne* [*C*]. He had not the ſame Credit after the Death of the Cardinal: But, if he had the mortification to ſee this young Doctor admitted into That Society, in the Year 1643, He did not fail to promote his Excluſion, when an Opportunity offered. The Book concerning *Frequent Communion*, publiſhed by Mr *Arnauld* in 1643, greatly diſpleaſed the Jeſuits. They repreſented it, both in their Sermons, and in printed Books, as fraught with the moſt pernicious Doctrines. The Controverſy about *Grace*, which grew warm at that time in the Univerſity of *Paris*, ſerved only to foment the Animoſities between the Jeſuits and Mr *Arnauld*. This Doctor ſtrongly defended *Janſenius*, both by refuting the three Sermons of Mr *Habert*, and the Apology of this Preacher for them, and by replying to Mr *le Moine*, Profeſſor of the *Sorbonne* (*g*), and ſome others. There was no room for a Judicial Cenſure, till he publiſhed Two *Letters* on an Adventure of the Duke *de Liancour*, a great Friend of the *Port-Royal* [*D*]. Two Propoſitions were found in the ſecond of theſe Letters, which the Faculty of Divinity condemned in the Year 1656. Mr *Arnauld* was at the ſame time declared excluded from the Faculty. There were many Irregularities in the Proceedings againſt him [*E*]. He had not appeared publickly for ſeveral Years before; for, from the time that he had been cited to *Rome*, on occaſion of the Diſputes about his Book concerning *Frequent Communion*, the Queen-Mother being with difficulty prevailed on to revoke the Orders ſhe had given him to depart immediately, *he paſſed his Time, either abſconding here and there, or in Solitude at* Port-Royal. This retired Life continued near twenty five Years, till the Peace of *Janſeniſm*, concluded in 1668. Mr *Arnauld* was included in This Peace; and, accordingly, went to pay his Duty to the King, and the Nuncio, and appeared as much as he pleaſed in Public, till 1679, when he voluntarily quitted the Kingdom, being informed, that his Enemies rendered him ſuſpected to the King (*b*). It is not doubted, but he has lived ever ſince in the *Low-Countries*; tho' he has diſcovered himſelf but to a very few of his truſty Friends. He was put to Trouble at *Liege* in the Year 1690 [*F*]. The Reflexion, which was made on This Enterprize, deſerves

(*g*) *The Title of this Refutation is*, An Apology for the Holy Fathers of the Church, Defenders of the Grace of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

(*b*) *Taken from a Book printed in* 1690, *and entituled*, Queſtion cürieuſe ſi Mr Arnauld Docteur de Sorbonne eſt heretique. - - - *A curious Enquiry, whether Mr* Arnauld, *Doctor of the* Sorbonne, *be an Heretic; or from a Book, which is a ſecond Edition of this, much augmented, and publiſhed in* 1695, *with the Title of* Hiſtoire Abregé de la Vie & des Ouvrages de Mr Arnauld. --- *An abridged Hiſtory of the Life and Writings of Mr* Arnauld. *See alſo the Preface to the* Cauſa Arnaldina. ---- *Mr* Arnald's Caſe.

ports, that he did not find his firſt Tenet indefenſible; but only, that the *Analogy* of *Being* ſeemed to him a better Doctrine, than the *Univocation*. *Erudito diſcipulo ſub validiſſimorum argumentorum mole fatiſcente* (10), *ſuppetias venit Magiſter, diuque conflictatus, non cedendi neceſſitate coactus, ſed veritate & veritatis amore victus, victum ſe ultrò profeſſus eſt, & à ſententia ſua diſceſſurum publice ſpopondit. Promiſſis ſtetit*, &c. (11).

(10) *Obſerve, that, in* France, *they, who preſide in a Diſpute, do not ſpeak, 'till their Diſciple has done. In other Countries, they ſpeak inceſſantly, and ſcarce allow him time to repeat the Argument.*

(11) Præfat. Cauſæ Arnald. pag. xix.

[*C*] *Mr* l'Eſcot *prevented Mr* Arnauld'*s Admiſſion into the Society of the* Sorbonne.] There were but two Doctors, who oppoſed Mr *Arnauld*'s Requeſt: "They alledged Statutes, and Cuſtom, which required, that the *Courſe* ſhould be performed before the *Licence*. And, as to this Difference, which was to be decided by a Plurality of Voices, they were of Opinion, that Cardinal *Richelieu*, Patron of the *Sorbonne*, ſhould be appealed to, as Judge of what was againſt the Laws and Liberty of the Houſe; and it would have been a Crime, at that Time, to have refuſed ſuch a Judge. Monſ. *Hardiviliers*, Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, and Mr *Habert*, Doctor of Divinity, of the Church of *Paris*, were deputed to him (12). —— The Cardinal did not judge it proper, that the Society ſhould do any thing againſt their Statutes and Cuſtoms. But it was not ſo much a Zeal for the Orders and Rules of the Houſe, which made him act in this manner, as the Knowledge he had of the ſtrict Union between Mr *Arnauld*, and Mr *de St Cyran*; as Reſentment, becauſe Mr *Arnauld* had not ſought his Protection, during his Licence; and, laſtly, as the Influence, which Mr *l'Eſcot* had on his Penitent, the Cardinal. For This Doctor was One of the Two Oppoſers, and, as I have obſerved, had conceived a ſtrong Prejudice againſt Mr *Arnauld*, from a meer Spirit of Jealouſy, and Revenge. It was certainly more honourable for Mr *Arnauld* to be excluded the Society in this manner, than received into it, as moſt others are. He was, however, admitted after the Cardinal's Death; the *Sorbonne*, as well as other Societies, having, then, recovered it's Liberty (13)." Mr *l'Eſcot*, "made himſelf amends ſome time after, by getting him excluded both the Houſe, and Faculty, by the Cenſure of 1656, of which He was the Promoter, together with Mr *le Moine*, who ſucceeded him, both in his Chair, and his Opinions (14).

(12) *Abridged Hiſtory of Mr* Arnauld, pag. 50.

(13) Ibid. pag. 51, 52.

(14) Ibid. pag. 33.

[*D*] *He publiſhed two Letters on an Adventure of the Duke* de Liancour, *a great Friend of the* Port-Royal.] This Duke ſent his Grand-Daughter to be educated at *Port-Royal*, and kept the Abbot *de Bourzeys* in his Houſe. In the Year 1655, he came to Confeſſion to a Prieſt of St *Sulpice*, his own Pariſh, who declared, "that he could not give him Abſolution, unleſs he promiſed to break off all Commerce with Thoſe Gentlemen, to withdraw his Grand-Daughter from the *Port-Royal*, and diſmiſs The Abbot. —— This Affair making a great Noiſe at *Paris*, and all over *France*, Mr *Arnauld* was deſired to publiſh a Letter, in Juſtification of this Lord. —— A great Number of Anſwers being publiſhed to this Letter, Mr *Arnauld* thought himſelf obliged to refute the Calumnies, with which they were filled, by publiſhing a ſecond Letter, in which he anſwered nine of thoſe Pieces (15)."

(15) Queſtion curieuſe, pag. 58, 59.

[*E*] *There were many Irregularities in the Proceedings againſt him.*] "Commiſſioners were appointed in Mr *Arnauld*'s Cauſe, who were his declared Enemies, againſt whom he had written on theſe Subjects, and who were known by every one to have been the moſt zealous for his Ruin; and all the Repreſentations he could make thereupon ſignified nothing (16). All the Doctors of the Community of St *Sulpice*, againſt whom Mr *Arnauld*'s Letter was written, were ſo unjuſt as to continue his Judges, notwithſtanding his Exceptions; whereas they wanted only a little Honour to have made them voluntarily decline it, as good Men do even in Lay-Tribunals (17)." You will find ſeveral other *Irregularities, Innovations, Contraventions to the Order, always obſerved on theſe Occaſions, and Violations of Natural Right*, in the *Proteſt* of Mr *Arnauld* againſt the Faculty (18).

(16) Ibid. pag. 69, 70.

(17) *This Expreſſion will be a Jeſt to ſome Perſons, who think, that Civil Tribunals can be compared with Eccleſiaſtic, only as Good with Worſe.*

The Book, which was printed at *Leige* in the Year 1699, under the Title of *Cauſa Arnaldina*, may ſerve as a compleat Account of the Proceedings of the Divines of *Paris*, and the Subſtance of the Doctrines, which they cenſured. Several Pieces are collected in This Work, which Mr *Arnauld*, and his Party, publiſhed at that Time, to ſupport the Juſtice of his Cauſe.

(18) *At Page* 71 *of the* Queſtion curieuſe. *See in the* Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, *for* June, 1686, *Art.* III. *what Mr* de Launoi *thought of this Cenſure of the* Sorbonne.

[*F*] *He was put to Trouble at* Leige *in the Year* 1690.] Six Superiors aſſembled to iſſue out Canonical Warrants againſt him. Theſe were the *Guardian* of the *Franciſcans*, the *Guardian* of the *White-Friars*, the *Sub-Prior Vicar* of the *Auguſtins*, the *Rector* of the Jeſuits, the *Vicar* of the *Dominicans*, and the *Prior* of the *Jacobins*. They ſtiled him *One Arnauld*; but, with ſubmiſſion, This did no Honour to their Communities; It was either an Ignorance unpardonable in Men of Letters, or an Affectation of Contempt unbecoming Perſons, who are

A REFLEXION on Mr *Arnauld*'s being contemptuouſly ſtiled *One Arnauld*.

deſerves the Conſideration of Thoſe, who govern (*i*). He continued his Exploits of the Pen againſt the Jeſuits with great force to his Death, as he did for ſome time againſt Thoſe of the Reformed Religion; but a Miniſter, who was the moſt expoſed to his Attacks, had recourſe to a Stratagem, in the Year 1683, which put a ſtop to his Incurſions on the Proteſtant Party. I mean the Author of the ESPRIT DE MR ARNAULD [*G*]. We might give a long Liſt of Falſhoods in point of Fact relating to This Doctor; but we ſhall content our ſelves with mentioning a Few of them. It has been pretended, that he was born an *Huguenot* (*k*). He has been

(*i*) *See Remark* [*A*], *of the Article* BOSSU (JAMES).

(*k*) *See Remark* [*D*], *of the Article* ARNAULD (ANTHONY) *the Advocate.*

are dedicated to the Service of the Altar, and who make Decrees concerning the Faith. No Man of Letters can ſay, without expoſing himſelf to the Laughter of the Learned, *One* Scaliger, *One* Sirmond, *One* Petavius, *One* Salmaſius, *One* Grotius, *One* Selden, and (if the Queſtion be about a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*) *One* Arnauld. The Diſputes, in which this latter was engaged, have made ſo much Noiſe, and are remarkable for ſo many great Exploits on both ſides, that all Men of Letters, who ſhould but think themſelves ſuſpected of being ignorant of them, would have reaſon to oppoſe the four following Lines of *Virgil* to Suſpicions ſo injurious.

> Quis genus Æneadum, quis Trojæ neſciat urbem,
> Virtuteſque, viroſque, aut tanti incendia belli?
> Non obtuſa adeo geſtamus pectora Pæni,
> Nec tam averſus equos Tyria ſol jungit ab urbe (19).

(19) Æneid. lib. 1, ver. 569.

> *Who has not heard* —— ——
> *The Name and Fortune of your Native Place,*
> *The Fame and Valour of the* Phrygian *Race?*
> *We* Tyrians *are not ſo devoid of Senſe,*
> *Nor ſo remote from* Phœbus' *Influence.*
>
> DRYDEN.

Be this as it will, I cannot forbear producing here the Decree of the ſix Regulars of *Leige* (20); the Latinity of it is ſo exquiſite, that it may ſerve to unbend my Reader a little. “Nos infra ſcripti Superiores Conventuales Regularium in Civitate Leodienſi, certiorati de Conventiculis, quæ habentur apud CERTUM ARNOLDUM, doctrinam ſuſpectam ſpargentem, cenſemus D. Vicarium charitativè certiorandum, ut ſimilia Conventicula diſſipare, & prohibere non dignetur, etiam cum dicto Arnoldo converſationes. Datum in Conventu Minorum hac 25. Auguſti 1690. Ad quem effectum commiſimus R. P. M. Ludovicum Lamet, Priorem Dominicanorum, ad nomine noſtro accedendum D. Vicarium, & exponendum intentionem noſtrum. —— *We, the underwritten Conventual Superiors of Regulars in the City of* Leige, *being certified of Meetings held at* ONE ARNAULD's, *a Spreader of ſuſpected Doctrine, are of Opinion, that the Vicar be charitably certified, that he would condeſcend to diſperſe and prohibit ſuch Meetings, and even all Converſation with the ſaid* Arnauld. *Given at a Meeting of the Minors this Twenty fifth of* Auguſt 1690. *To which effect we have commiſſioned Father* Lewis Lamet, *Prior of the* Dominicans, *to go, in our Name, to the Vicar, and declare to him our Intention.*” The Author of the *Queſtion Curieuſe* ſays indeed, that Father *d'Iſerin* had boaſted *of having a Commiſſion, or Permiſſion, from his Highneſs the Biſhop of* Leige, *to cauſe Mr* Arnauld *to be arreſted wherever he ſhould find him in his Dioceſs* (21); but he treats it as an egregious Lye (22).

(20) *This Story is told at the 128th Page of the* Queſtion curieuſe.

(21) Ibid. pag. 198.

(22) Ibid. pag. 200.

[*G*] *I mean the Author of the* ESPRIT DE MR ARNAULD] An hundred things may be ſaid of This Work; but, as it is probable, I ſhall have other Occaſions of mentioning it, I ſhall confine myſelf here to a very few Obſervations. The Author of This Book had publiſhed a Work, which met with great Succeſs. They, who had the Care of the Impreſſion, at the *Hague*, entituled it, *The Politics of the Clergy of* France. They are Dialogues, in which there is a great deal of Beauty and Politeneſs, but little Solidity of Argument, and very little Caution in the vending of ſeveral Facts, which are notoriouſly falſe. Monſ. *Arnauld* refuted this Book (23) in a little too contemptuous a way, and in a manner ſo much the more diſobliging, as he manifeſtly convicted his Adverſary of having argued very weakly, and publiſhed ſeveral Untruths. He began with another Book of the ſame Author (24); and ſeemed inclined to reply to the Apology for the Morality of the Reformed concerning the *Inamiſſibility* * of *Grace*: In a Word, the Author of the *Politics of the Clergy* fore-ſaw, that he was like to have ſuch an Adverſary in Mr *Arnauld*, as would never allow him any Reſpite, nor ever paſs by a Contradiction, a falſe Reaſoning, or falſe Matter of Fact. This by no means agreed with one, who was determined to publiſh a great many Books, and who ſeldom gave himſelf the Trouble of reviſing what he had once written. He gave himſelf up to the Fire of his Imagination; and This was an inexhauſtible Fund to him of falſe Logic, and groſs Contradictions. He conſidered with himſelf, in what manner he might beſt prevent Mr *Arnauld* from ſticking thus in his Skirts, and judged, that none could be more effectual, than to attack him perſonally; I mean, to impute all manner of perſonal ill Qualities to him. He executed this Deſign with all imaginable Paſſion, and, being in the full Carreer of Scandal, he ſtuck at nothing; he caſt about to the Right and Left, to find ſtill more ſubject for Satire; ſo that we may apply to him, in regard to Slander, what was ſaid of *Voiture*, in reſpect to Love; he extended it *from the Scepter to the Sheephook, from the Crown to the woolen Cap.* Mr *Arnauld*, not thinking proper to engage with a Perſon, who fought with ſuch Weapons, reſolved to be abſolutely ſilent in relation to the Reformed; and thus, what the whole Society of the Jeſuits could not compaſs, one ſingle Miniſter contrived, and executed ſucceſsfully; I mean the Secret of ſilencing This Doctor. This was not the only Advantage, which the Author of the *Eſprit de Mr Arnauld* drew from his Satire; he ſtruck ſuch a terror into an hundred other Authors, who would have attacked him, and into ſeveral other Perſons, to whom he was not the moſt agreeable, that they were afraid of drawing his Indignation upon them. This ought not to ſurprize us; for, in ſhort, there are few Families, which may not be reproached with ſome Adventure (25), or who have not ſome Enemies malicious enough to publiſh ſome ſcandalous Story or other, eſpecially if they can privately get it printed. The *Eſprit de Mr Arnauld* ſeems to promiſe Publication to every little ſcandalous Story, which may be ſent by the Poſt; whether it concerns a private Perſon, as Father *Soulier*, or a public Miniſter, as the late Mr *Colbert*.

(23) *In an Apology for the Catholics, printed in* 1682.

(24) *Entituled,* A Preſervative againſt a Change of Religion.

* *Impoſſibility of loſing.*

(25) *The* Spaniards *have a Proverb*; No ay generacion, do no aya puta ô ladron.

A young *Janſeniſt*, conſidering the Effect of this Satire, compared Mr *Arnauld* to the ancient City of *Troy*, which the braveſt Warriors, and a thouſand Ships, could not conquer; but which fell by the Artifice of a Deſerter, and a wooden Horſe.

> Talibus inſidiis, perjurique arte Sinonis,
> Credita res, captique dolis - - - - -
> Quos neque Tydides, nec Lariſſæus Achilles,
> Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinæ (26).

(26) Virgil. Æn. lib. 2, ver. 195.

> *With ſuch Deceits he gain'd their eaſy Hearts,*
> *Too prone to credit his perfidious Arts.*
> *What* Diomede, *nor* Thetis' *greater Son,*
> *A thouſand Ships, nor ten Years Siege had done,*
> *Falſe Tears, and fawning Words, the City won.*
>
> DRYDEN.

“It is true, *added he*, this Compariſon will not hold in all Points; for the *Eſprit de Mr Arnauld* does not reſemble the wooden Horſe, which had the chief Captains of the Army in it's Belly (27); but rather Thoſe Ships, which, by *Hannibal*'s Advice, were provided with earthen Pots, filled with Serpents.”

(27) Huc delecta virum ſortiti corpora furtim Includunt cæco lateri, penituſque cavernas Ingentes, uterumque armato milite complent. Id. ibid. ver. 18.

been reckoned One of the Cabal of *Bourg-Fontaine* [*H*]. He has been made to go to Nocturnal Witch-Meetings [*I*]: He has been ſent to command the Troops of the *Vaudois* [*K*]: He has been advanced to the Poſt of Squire to the *Goliah Peter Jurieu*

“ Serpents.” See *Cornelius Nepos* in the Life of That *Carthaginian* General.

[*H*] *He has been reckoned one of the Cabal of* Bourg-Fontaine.] *Du Pleix*'s Calumnies, with regard to the Father, are nothing in compariſon of the Falſhood, which Mr *Filleau*, the King's Advocate in the Preſidial Court of *Poictiers*, publiſhed concerning the Son, in the Year 1654; for there is no doubt, that he reckoned Mr *Arnauld* in the Number of the ſeven Doctors of the Aſſembly of *Bourg-Fontaine* (28). The Caſe, in ſhort, was this: Mr *Filleau*, publiſhing a *Judicial Relation*, in the Year 1654, of what had paſſed at *Poictiers*, on occaſion of the new Doctrine of *Janſenius*, declared, that an Eccleſiaſtic had aſſured him, that, in a Conference, which ſeven Perſons had held at *Bourg-Fontaine*, in the Year 1621, They had conſulted about the Means to aboliſh Chriſtianity; that This Eccleſiaſtic had himſelf been one of the ſeven; that, ſome time after, he broke with the other ſix, only one of whom was then living, and whoſe Names were (J. D. V. D. H.) (C. J.) (P. C.) (P. C.) (A. A.) (S. V.) By certain Circumſtances, attending this Narrative, and by the Character of certain Books, which we are given to underſtand were publiſhed purely in execution of the Engagements entered into at *Bourg-Fontaine*, every one believed, that the Letters of the firſt Name denoted *John du Verger de Hauranne*, Abbot of St *Cyran*; Thoſe of the ſecond *Cornelius Janſenius*, Biſhop of *Ypres*; thoſe of the third *Philip Coſpian*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, Biſhop of *Nantes*, and ſince of *Liſieux*; thoſe of the fourth *Peter Camus*, Biſhop of *Belley*; thoſe of the fifth *Anthony Arnauld*, the Subject of this Article; and thoſe of the ſixth *Simon Vigor*, Counſellor in the Great Council. Mr *Filleau* affirms, “ That it was reſolved, in this Aſſembly, to attack the two Sacraments, which are the moſt frequented by Adults, to wit, Thoſe of Penance, and the Euchariſt; and the Means, propoſed for attaining this end, was, to introduce a diſuſe of them; not by diſcovering any direct Deſign of making them leſs frequented, but by rendering the Practice of them ſo difficult, and clogged with Circumſtances ſo incompatible with the Condition of the Men of Thoſe Times, that they ſhould remain in a manner inacceſſible, and that, by this diſuſe of them, founded on ſuch plauſible Appearances, All Belief in them would by degrees be loſt.” The Public thought, that This was pointed at Mr *Arnauld*, becauſe of his Book of *Frequent Communion*, and that therefore Mr *Filleau* certainly meant him, by the fifth of thoſe dangerous Conſpirators againſt the Chriſtian Religion, marked (A. A.) (29).

As we are not concerned, in this Place, to examine into the Truth, or Falſhood, of this Conſpiracy, I ſhall content myſelf with ſaying, that Mr *Arnauld* looked upon this as one of the higheſt Exceſſes of Calumny, that had ever been known, and that, in particular, he perfectly cleared himſelf from the Accuſation of being found in the Conference of Theſe Deiſts (30). For he made it appear, that, having been born in 1612, he could be but nine Years of Age, when it was pretended, that this Conference was held. This Juſtification is ſo ſtrong, that not only the Silence of the Accuſer, but even the formal Confeſſion of one of the Accuſer's Friends, made it appear, that nothing could be replied to it. On the other ſide, Father *Meynier*, pretending, that Mr *Filleau*'s Account of the Conference of *Bourg-Fontaine* contained nothing but what was very certain, confeſſes, “ that Mr *Arnauld* had given convincing Proofs, that he was not of this Aſſembly; but, *adds he*, he is deceived, in believing, that *Anthony Arnauld* is the Perſon meant by the Letters A. A. I aſſure him, in behalf of the Author of the Judicial Relation, that Thoſe Letters denote Another, who is yet living, and is too good a Friend of Mr *Arnauld*'s to be unknown to him (31).” Mr *Paſcal*, who was then writing the Provincial Letters, preſſed the Jeſuits to name the private Betrayer of the Conference, the ſix Doctors, who had aſſiſted at it, and particularly the Perſon denoted by the Letters A. A. and who, tho' not Mr *Arnauld* himſelf, was too intimate a Friend of his to be unknown to him. But theſe Challenges were diſregarded; and it is but a few Years ſince, that a very famous Jeſuit of *Antwerp* declared to the Public, that This Friend of Mr *Arnauld* was his own Brother *Arnauld d'Andilli* (32). This has been already confuted. See the Remark [*B*] of the Article ARNAULD d'ANDILLI.

[*I*] *He has been made to go to Nocturnal Witch-Meetings.*] I cannot tell in which of the two Aſſemblies Mr *Arnauld* would rather have been preſent, That of *Bourg-Fontaine*, or That, which the late Mr *Maupas*, Biſhop of *Evreux*, has ſomewhere ſpoken of. “ It is certain, that he affirmed to ſeveral Perſons, that he had been informed by a converted Wizard, that he had ſeen Mr *Arnauld*, and a certain Princeſs of the Blood (33), at Nocturnal Witch-Meetings, and that Mr *Arnauld* had made a very fine Speech to the Devils (34).” If he muſt have a choſen between theſe two Extreams, and if the Speech might have tended only to excite the Devils to ſome Amendment of Life, I make no doubt, but the Doctor would much rather have harangued in this Meeting, than have given his Opinion in the Charter-houſe of *Bourg-Fontaine*, for the Aboliſhment of Chriſtianity, and the Propagation of Deiſm.

It were to abuſe the Patience of my Readers to expoſe the ridiculouſneſs of this Tale, which this Prelate related to ſeveral Perſons; it is one of Thoſe Falſhoods, which Mr *Arnauld* thinks no one ought ever to give himſelf the Trouble of confuting. Theſe are his Words (35): “ The Intereſt of Honour may be conſidered two Ways; either with regard to the Calumny itſelf, which poſſibly may be very heinous, or with regard to Thoſe, who, being once prepoſſeſſed with it, may afterwards have a very ill Opinion of the Perſon calumniated. It is properly the latter Conſideration, which obliges a Man to defend himſelf; for, how enormous ſoever it be in itſelf, it may ſafely enough be ſlighted, if it is of ſuch a Nature, that no ſober Perſon will give Credit to it. As for Example; what the late Mr *de Maupas*, Biſhop of *Evreux*, had formerly ſaid, that he was told, by a converted Wizard, that Mr *Arnauld* had been at their Nocturnal Meetings, and that the Devils had admired the Speech he made to them, was in itſelf an horrible Calumny; in the mean time, if any impertinent Fellow had inſerted this in a Libel, would any one have the Doctor give himſelf the trouble of confuting it; and, in default of this, would there be any Reaſon to ſuppoſe, *that it was the Impoſſibility of anſwering it, which forced him to be ſilent, and that he had, in Effect, confeſſed it?*”

[*K*] *He has been ſent to command the Troops of the* Vaudois.] This Falſhood has little more of Probability in it, than the former. There have been, of late, Manuſcripts, which *poſitively* affirm, that the *Arnauld*, who is at the Head of the *Vaudois*, is Mr *Arnauld*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, *who has at laſt declared himſelf, and does Wonders in* Savoy, *at the Head of the Troops of That Party* (36). It would be a very ſurprizing Metamorphoſis, if, at the Age of Seventy eight Years, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, who has employed his whole Life in Study, and who has wrote ſo much againſt the Proteſtant Clergy, ſhould himſelf become a Miniſter militant, and exchange his Pen for a Sword, and a brown Muſket, endeavouring to make *Arnauld*'s Carabineers ſtill more talked of, than Thoſe of One of his Uncles, very well known to the *Rochellers*, under the Reign of *Lewis* XIII (37). The late Biſhop of *Leige* was told, at his own Table, *That Mr* Arnauld *had abjured the Catholic Faith at* Boiſle-duc, *and that he was married there* (38). The greateſt part of Thoſe, who are called Zealots, fear nothing more than the Orthodoxy of Thoſe, whom they accuſe. They do not imitate God, *who deſires not the Death of a Sinner, but that he may be converted, and live*. They would have the Perſon, they have once accuſed, apoſtatize in good earneſt; and are angry, that he does not go over to the Enemies Party, to make their Accuſations good. They would much rather

(28) *A Charter-Houſe, within* 16 *or* 17 *Leagues of* Paris.

(29) *The IVth* Factum *for the Relations of* Janſenius, pag. 11, *and* 12, *ſhews, that he was the Perſon deſigned in the* Judicial Relation.

(30) *In his* Letter to a Duke and Peer, *in* 1655. *See alſo the firſt Part of the IVth* Factum *for the Relations of* Janſenius.

(31) *Father* Meynier, *in the Book, entituled,* Le Port-Royal & Geneve d'intelligence contre le St. Sacrement de l'Autel. *printed at* Poitiers, *in* 1656.

(32) *Father* Hazart, *in his Anſwer to the* Factum *for the Relations of* Janſenius. *See the* Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, 1688, *and the 2d Part of the IVth* Factum *for the Relations of* Janſenius.

(33) *Probably the late Ducheſs of* Longueville.

(34) *Fourth* Factum, *above mentioned.*

(35) *See* Tom. III, de la Morale Pratique, cap. XI, pag. 257.

(36) Queſtion curieuſe, pag. 4.

(37) *See the Memoirs of the Sieur* de Pontis.

(38) Troiſiéme Plainte de Mr Arnauld, p. 8.

Jurieu [*L*]. It has been ſaid, that he was baniſhed from *France* [*M*]; and that He wrote the Apology for the Catholics only to recover his Benefice [*N*]. Several Books

rather another ſhould damn himſelf, than that themſelves ſhould paſs for notorious Calumniators. See what a Modern Author ſays upon this (39).

[*L*] *He has been advanced to the Poſt of Squire to the* Goliah Peter Jurieu.] They, who place Mr *Arnauld* at the Head of the *Vaudois*, certainly affront him leſs, than They, who repreſent him as Squire to the *Goliah Jurieu*. This the Biſhop of *Malaga* did, in his *Catholic Complaint*, by applying, as well as he could, to theſe two famous Writers, a Thought of St *Bernard*, in relation to *Peter Abelard*, and *Arnauld* of *Breſſe* (40); which gives him an opportunity of drawing this Concluſion: “ Iſti qui modo ſurrexerunt, novus Golias, & ejus armiger, PETRUS ſcilicet, & ARNALDUS, facili negotio exterminabuntur. — *They, who have lately ariſen, The new* Goliah, *and his Armour-Bearer, to wit,* PETER, *and* ARNAULD, *will be eaſily exterminated.*” The Public has ſeen the Letter, which Mr *Arnauld* wrote to This Prelate, wherein he tells him, that his Highneſs (41) muſt needs have been ſtrangely impoſed upon, to be told “ that Dr *Arnauld* was Squire to Mr *Jurieu*, the *Goliah* of the Proteſtants againſt the Catholic Party; for, *continues he*, if your Highneſs had known This *Arnauld*, you could not have been capable of ſo great an Error in Judgment, as to take Two of the moſt declared Enemies in the World to be of the ſame Party, and to miſtake Him, who has zealouſly ſupported the Cauſe of the Church againſt That Miniſter, for his Aſſociate and Confident in the cruel War, which he wages againſt the Church.” It is certain, that the two Authors, who have been taken, the one for a *Goliah*, and the other for his Squire, are both ſo far from being ſuch, that it is not more falſe, that Mr *Arnauld* aſſiſted at the Conference of *Bourg-Fontaine*, or at the Nocturnal Meetings of the Wizards, or at the Irruptions of the *Vaudois*, than that he is the Squire of the *Goliah Peter Jurieu*. Nothing, then, can be more cold, or more remote from Truth, than the Alluſions borrowed from the Paſſage of St *Bernard*.

This is what the pretended *Goliah* has reproached the Author of the *Catholic Complaint* with, no leſs than the pretended Squire. “ If This Biſhop, *ſays he* (42), had been of a diſcerning Taſte, his violent Invectives would not have turned upon the ſilly Alluſion to the Names of *Arnauld* of *Breſſe*, and *Peter Abelard*; meaning, that Monſieur *Arnauld* is the Succeſſor of *Arnauld* of *Breſſe*, and the Miniſter *Peter Jurieu* of *Peter Abelard*. He would not have called That Miniſter the *Goliah*-Enemy of the Church, and *Arnauld* his Squire. That *Arnauld* and This Miniſter are too much at variance, to conſpire together: Beſides, Mr *Arnauld* is of a fitter Age, Size, and Strength, to be the *Goliah*, than the Squire. This He alſo pretends to, and no one will diſpute the Honour of it with him.”

I muſt here note a ſmall Defect of Memory in Mr *Arnauld*. He complains (43), that, after the weak Compariſon of *Arnauld* of *Breſſe* with *Arnauld* of *Paris*, and of *Peter Abelard* with *Peter Jurieu*, they make the Biſhop of *Malaga* ſay, that This Doctor was the *Goliah* of the Party, and the Miniſter his Squire. We have ſeen, that he has been made to ſay quite the contrary.

[*M*] *It has been ſaid, that he was baniſhed* France.] A Doctor of the *Sorbonne* (44), a *Savoyard* by Nation, maintained, in a Book intituled *Reaſonable Prejudices againſt* Janſeniſm, printed at *Geneva* in 1686 (45), that Mr *Arnauld* had been baniſhed *France* by the King's Order. The following Words, in the Advertiſement to the Reader, import this; *I thought I could not ſpeak the whole Truth, without blaming the Conduct of this old Puritan,* WHO, BY THE JUSTICE OF THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING, IS A FUGITIVE *in* Holland. It is, nevertheleſs, certain, that he voluntarily quitted the Kingdom; and it cannot be doubted, after the Letters, which he wrote, in 1679, to the Chancellor, Mr *le Tellier*, and to the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, printed in the firſt Volume of the *Eſprit de Mr Arnauld*, in the Year 1684. So that it is ſtrange, that, two Years after, the Abbot *de Ville* ſhould be ignorant of a Truth, expoſed to public View, in a Satire, for which there has been ſo great a Demand. But it is yet more ſtrange, that, in the Year 1690, Mr *Arnauld* ſhould be obliged to get Theſe two Letters printed, in order to confute Thoſe, who *publiſhed every where, that he was a Rebel to his King, and that he had been baniſhed* France, * *as a turbulent Fellow* (46). I believe the Author of the *Eſprit* has reported a no leſs Falſhood, in maintaining, *That he was expelled* Flanders. *Tho' this good Man,* continues he (47), *thinks his Adventures are unknown, yet we have certain Intelligence, that he was expelled the* Netherlands *by order of The Governour*. The Term *Chaſſer*, which the Author of the General Criticiſm on *Maimbourg*'s Hiſtory of *Calviniſm* makes uſe of, is a little equivocal. *They have reported,* ſays he (48), *that Mr* Arnauld'*s Houſe was a Rendezvous of diſcontented Perſons; that caballing and factious Conferences were held there, that they prepared Memoirs there for the Court of* Rome; *in a word, they have gained their Point, which was to expel him * with the reſt of the Cabal.* This means no more, than that they procured certain Orders to be ſent to Mr *Arnauld*, which were the cauſe that he made choice of a Retreat in a foreign Country.

[*N*] *He is ſaid to have wrote an Apology for the Catholics, only to recover his Benefice.*] Mr *Jurieu* was groſly miſtaken, when he ſaid, that Mr *Arnauld* had wrote the Apology for the Catholics, in hopes of being reſtored to his native Country, that he might peaceably *enjoy his Eſtate, and Benefices* (49), and that the fear of having *his Benefices confiſcated* engaged him in ſome falſe Steps. This could not be better refuted by a Geometrical Demonſtration, than by the public Declaration, which Mr *Arnauld* made, that *he never had a Benefice*; for it can never enter into the Mind of a reaſonable Man, that a Doctor ſo jealous of his Reputation, as he is, and who could not expect to eſcape the moſt mortifying Confuſion, if he falſly denied, that he ever had a Benefice, when he really had enjoyed one, ſhould venture to publiſh ſuch a Falſhood in a printed Work. We need, then, only caſt our Eyes on theſe Words of Mr *Arnauld*, to be demonſtratively convinced of his Adverſary's Falſhood. “ The ſeditious manner, *ſays he* (50), in which they preſumed to ſpeak of the Affairs of That Country, obliged the Ambaſſador of his *Britannic* Majeſty to demand of the *States* a Condemnation of the moſt Vehement of their Libels, to which they were pleaſed to give the Title of *Eſprit de Mr Arnauld*; tho' perhaps I am the leaſt ill treated in it of a great Number of Perſons, whom they pull to pieces, without their having any relation to me, but what is either Ridiculous or Imaginary; having almoſt nothing to reproach me with, but ſecret Intentions, often grounded on manifeſt Falſhoods: As, when they ſay, that it was not out of Regard to Religion, that I wrote the Apology for the Catholics, but upon a Proſpect of Intereſt, and for fear of loſing my Benefice; I, WHO, ALL THE WORLD KNOWS, HAVE NONE.” Thus he ſpeaks, in a Letter dated the Twentieth of *October* 1684. He ſpeaks no leſs poſitively in a Work printed in 1689. “ As for the Book falſely entituled *Eſprit de Mr Arnauld*, he (51) never had any thoughts of anſwering it; for, it having been ſent him ſome time after it appeared, in opening each Volume in ſeveral places, he met with ſuch things, as ſufficiently acquainted him with This Miniſter's Genius; for inſtance, That idle Calumny (52), that they ſuffered the Children of Quality of twelve or thirteen Years of Age, who ſtudied Humanity at *Port-Royal*, to read the *Socinian* Books; and another no leſs ridiculous, tho' leſs heinous; that Mr *Arnauld*, WHO HAS NO BENEFICE, AND WHO NEVER SOUGHT ANY, wrote the Apology for the Catholics to preſerve his Benefices. He concludes from hence, that ſo paſſionate and unreaſonable a Calumniator, being unworthy of Credit, deſerved no anſwer, and from that time till now he never read a word in the Book, before your *Defence* appeared (53).” So that what the *Latins* expreſs by the Proverb, *Cantherius in porta*, has happened to the Author of the *Eſprit de Mr Arnauld*: He has ſtumbled at the very Threſhold.

Note, That Mr *Arnauld* had once a Canonſhip in the Cathedral of *Verdun*, when he began his Licence in

(39) *General Criticiſm on* Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm, pag. 584, *ſecond Edition.*

(40) *Father* Maimbourg *has play'd upon the ſame equivocal Name of* Arnauld *of* Breſſe, *in his* Decad. di l' Empire; *and* Theoph. Raynauld *has wrote a Book, entituled,* Arnaldus de Brixia redivivus in Arnaldo de Lutetia. --- i. e. Arnauld *of* Breſſe *revived in* Arnauld *of* Paris.

(41) This Title was given him, becauſe he was a Natural Son of *Philip* IV of *Spain.*

(42) Religion of the Jeſuits, *p.* 59.

(43) Morale Pratique, Tom. 3. pag. 773.

(44) *He is called* Abbé de Ville. *See* Nouvell. de la Repub. des Lettres, *for* July 1686. *Art.* 8.

(45) *The Title imports, that it was at* Cologne, *by* Abraham du Bois.

(46) Queſt. Curieuſe, pag. 212.

(47) Eſprit de Mr Arnauld, Tom. I. pag. 38.

(48) Letter V.

* le CHASSER.

(49) Eſprit de Mr Arnauld, Tom. I. pag. 34, 36, 44.

(50) The ſecond Addition to the Apology for the Catholics, *p.* 14.

(51) It is of Himſelf that Mr *Arnauld* ſpeaks.

(52) *See the Refutation of this Story in Mr* Arnauld's Diſſertation on the pretended Happineſs of the Pleaſures of Senſe, *printed in* 1687.

(53) Tom. III, de la Morale Pratique.

Books have been aſcribed to him, which he never wrote [O]. I ſhall take notice of ſome of them; and I doubt not but many others may be pointed out. His Silence has

in the Year 1638 (54), but he quitted This Benefice a little before he received Deacons Orders in the Year 1641 (55).

[O] *Several Books have been aſcribed to him, which he never wrote.*] I ſhall divide this Remark into four Sections.

PERPETUITE de la Foi.---*Perpetuity of the Faith.* A Diſpute between Meſſ. *Arnald* and *Claudé*.

I. Without obſerving the Order of Time; As the firſt Falſhood in relation to the Books aſcribed to him, I ſhall mention That, which regards *The Perpetuity of the Faith.* For This Book has given occaſion to the moſt famous Diſpute, that was ever raiſed between the *Roman* Catholics and Proteſtants. Mr *Claudé*, who was Advocate for the latter, has gained the greateſt Honour by it, that ever Miniſter gained: And Mr *Arnauld*, who was principal Advocate for the former, perhaps never exerted the whole Force of his Genius with more Application, than on this Occaſion. All that vaſt Wit, Eloquence, Reading, and Logic, can furniſh of ſhining and ſtrong, appeared on both ſides in the Courſe of the Diſpute; Each Party claims the Victory; nor can all the Pains and Expence, which the *Port-Royal* has been at, to procure a great Number of Atteſtations from the *Levant*, avail any thing againſt the Perſuaſions of the Reformed, touching the Faith of the Chriſtians of Thoſe Parts, with regard to the Euchariſt. The Ignorance, which reigns among Thoſe Chriſtians, the ill Character of the *Greek* Nation, Time out of Mind, in Point of Sincerity, the mercenary Subſcriptions, of which they are thought capable (56), *&c.* enervate, in the Eyes of Proteſtants, all the Atteſtations, which the *Port-Royal* has produced. But this does not prevent the Controverſy's being looked upon (ſetting aſide the Prejudices of Party) as one of the moſt memorable and glorious Tranſactions of Mr *Arnauld*'s Life. I had reaſon, then, to begin this Remark with the firſt Exploit of this great Conteſt.

I could wiſh, that the Author, who has given us a good Abridgment of the Life of Mr *Claudé* (57), had, with the utmoſt Exactneſs, noted the Epoch of This War, ſince Mr *Claudé* has not dated the Preface of his firſt Book. This Defect may deceive ſeveral Perſons; for example, I have Mr *Claudé*'s firſt Anſwer, printed at *Paris*, by *Stephen Lucas*, in 1672. The Title does not inform me, whether it be the firſt or ſecond Edition; and, in the firſt Line of the Preface, I find, that the Diſpute had been depending about four Years, and that it was a Year ſince the Manuſcript, which had been communicated at that time to Mr *Claudé*, was printed. Till I have better information, I find myſelf almoſt invincibly inclined to paſs this falſe Judgment, that the *Perpetuity of the Faith* was printed the firſt time, in the Year 1671. In ſaying This, I am aware, that One is often miſtaken in Conjectures of this kind, when the requiſite Date is not prefixed to the Prefaces. My Edition of the *Perpetuity of the Faith* is the Fourth, and is of the Year 1666; but I am informed by it of the Date of the firſt; for I find, at the bottom of the Abſtract of the Licence, that the firſt Edition of This Book was finiſhed the fifteenth of *July* 1664. Mr *Claudé*'s firſt Anſwer ſeems to me to be of the Year 1666 (58). The Author of his Life, not thinking exact Dates neceſſary in an Abridgment, was the Occaſion, that the learned Men, who wrote the Journal of *Leipſic*, to the great Benefit of the Republic of Letters, and with much Honour to their City, which may juſtly be called the *Athens* of *Germany*, were miſtaken with regard to the firſt Writings of this Miniſter. They pretend, that his firſt Anſwer to the *Perpetuity of the Faith* was printed, before he ſerved the Church of *Montauban* (59); but the Truth is, The Firſt and Second were both printed at the ſame time, after the firſt had been handed about, for four or five Years, in Manuſcript, and after he had left *Montauban*. But to return to the Fact;

Mr *de la Deveze* does not affirm, that the *Perpetuity of the Faith* is a Work of Mr *Arnauld*; but is ſatisfied with ſaying, that he is ſuppoſed to have been the Author of it. The Journaliſts of *Leipſic* keep within the ſame Bounds (60); but, in the Supplement of *Moreri*, in which is a very long Article of CLAUDE, taken in part from the Abridgment of his Life, it is poſitively affirmed, that Mr *Arnauld* is the Author of the *Perpetuity of the Faith.* In the mean time, the moſt common and probable Opinion aſcribes This Work to Mr *Nicolle*, the Three large Volumes of the *Perpetuity defended* to Mr *Arnauld*, and the General Anſwer to the ſecond Book of Mr *Claudé* to Mr *Nicolle*. The *Queſtion curieuſe* ſays nothing poſitively of it; becauſe the Catalogue, which we find in it, of the Writings of the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal* againſt the Proteſtants, does not diſtinguiſh Thoſe of Mr *Nicolle* from Thoſe of Mr *Arnauld*.

Obſerve, that the firſt Volume of the *Perpetuity defended* was printed in the Year 1669, and that the Author, having heſitated for a Year, whether he ſhould anſwer Mr *Claudé*'s Book, began to do it in *January* 1667, and finiſhed The firſt Volume in *June* 1668 (61). Obſerve alſo, that It is aſcribed to Mr *Arnauld* in ſome of the Approbations at the Head of the Work. This is ſufficient to remove all uncertainty.

THE *ſecond Tome of the* Morale Pratique----*Practical Morality*.

II. The Author of the *Eſprit de Mr Arnauld* aſcribes the ſecond Volume of the *Moral Pratique* to This Doctor, but gives no manner of reaſon for it. Mr *Arnauld* gave him the Lye publickly. "It is certain, *ſays he* (62), that Mr *Arnauld* is not the Author of the *Moral Pratique*. The Jeſuits have aſcribed it to him —— on the Faith of Mr *Jurieu* only; a Perſon decried for his Falſhood and Lying, and who alone aſcribes This Book to Mr *Arnauld*, as he does many other Pieces, in which every one elſe knows he never had the leaſt ſhare." From That time the Accuſer never endeavoured to juſtify what he had ſaid; ſo that Equity muſt judge it to be a falſe Imputation. The Proofs muſt needs be very difficult, ſince the Biſhop of *Malaga* ſpeaks but doubtfully of it, on the ſole Authority of Mr *Jurieu*; for he ſays (63); *modo ſit* ARNALDUS, *ut innuit* PETRUS JURIEU *in ſuo* SPIRITU. ——*If* ARNAULD *be the Perſon, as* PETER JURIEU *intimates in his* SPIRITUS. The Author of the *Defence of the new Chriſtians*, who is thought to be Father *le Tellier*, one of the beſt Pens of the Order, was more deciſive, than the Prelate, though he ſeems to have no other Authority than Mr *Jurieu*: For which Mr *Arnauld* gives him a ſmart Reprimand, and accuſes him *of judging raſhly; which wounds Charity and Juſtice, if the Circumſtances of it be well conſidered. The only Reaſon*, adds he (64), *why you make him the Author of it, is the Teſtimony of a Man, who, in your own Eſteem, is unworthy of Credit, and ſo notorious for his Falſhoods, that he is only fit to call the cleareſt Truths in queſtion, when he advances them.*

PREJUGEZ Legitimes---*Lawful Prejudices.*

III. The Journal of *Leipſic* aſcribes *The Lawful Prejudices againſt the* Calviniſts to Mr *Arnauld* (65). Yet, according to the general Opinion of Thoſe, who are beſt informed in theſe Particulars, Mr *Nicolle* is the Author of it; and the Abbot *de Ville* aſcribes it to him by Name (66), in the Preface of the Book beforementioned; where he retorts on the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal* the Prejudices, which they made uſe of againſt the Reformed. The Proof, which the Gentlemen of *Leipſic* employ, is not a good one; for, tho' the Biſhop of *Condom*, and He of *Grenoble*, give their Approbation, in One and the ſame Act, to the *Prejugez Legitimes*, and three other Books, one of which is certainly Mr *Arnauld*'s, yet they do not ſuppoſe, that the others are ſo too. They were joined together, becauſe they came all four from the *Port-Royal* at the ſame time. Theſe four Books; are the *Prejugez Legitimes—Lawful Prejudices*; the *Reponſe Generale à M. Claudé,—General Anſwer to Mr* Claudé; the *Renverſement de la Morale,—Overthrow of the Morality*; and the ſecond Volume of the *Perpetuite defenduë,—Perpetuity defended.*

THE Defence of the Church.

IV. In the Year 1669, A Work called *A Defence of the Church*, againſt Mr *Claudé*'s Book, intituled, *A Defence of the Reformation*, was printed at *Antwerp* (67). The Journaliſts of *Leipſic* conjectured, that it was a Piece of Mr *Arnauld*'s (68); but it came from another Hand, *viz.* from *Peter d'Antecourt*, a Religious of *St Genevieve*, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Paris*, as another excellent Journaliſt informs us (69).

I paſs

(54) Præfat. Cauſæ Arnaldinæ, p. VII.

(55) Ibid. pag. XIX.

(56) *See, below, Remark* [*S*].

(57) A. B. R.D.L.D.P. *that is*, Abel Rotolp, de la Deveze, Paſteur. *He was formerly Miniſter at* Caſtres, *and now at the* Hague.

(58) That is, according to the Bookſeller's anticipated Date; for I believe the Book came out in 1665.

(59) Acta Eruditorum Lipſienſ. 1683, pag. 659.

(60) Acta Erudit. Lipſ. ibid. *But in* 1613, pag. 442. *they aſſert it.*

(61) *See the Preface.*

(62) Letter of a Divine, on the Defence of the new Chriſtians, pag. 2.

(63) Catholic. Querimon. pag. 103.

(64) Morale Pratique, Tom. III. pag. 36.

(65) Acta Erudit. Ann. 1683. pag. 438, 450. *and in the* Index, p. 561. Ann. 1690. pag. 18, 595.

(66) *By miſtake he calls him* Nicol. which is juſtly aſcribed, *ſays he*, to Mr *Nicol*, one of the moſt polite Writers of *Port-Royal*.

(67) *The Title Page imports, at* Cologne, *for* Peter Marteau.

(68) Acta Erudit. Ann. 1690, pag. 18, *and in the* Index, pag. 611.

(69) Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, *Auguſt*, 1689, pag. 514; *September*, 1689, pag. 34.

has been imputed to a falſe Reaſon [*P*]. Some have given him Spectacles, and a faithleſs Servant [*Q*]. The chief Works, written by him, ſince his quitting *France*, relate to the Syſtem of Nature and Grace, by Father *Mallebranche*; the *Philoſophical Sin*; the Practical Morality of the Jeſuits; and ſome Propoſitions of Mr *Steyaert*. In this laſt Book, he vigorouſly attacks Father *Simon*, in defence of the New-Teſtament of *Mons*, and in relation to the Inſpiration of the Sacred Writers, and the Tranſlations of the Scripture into the Vulgar Tongue [*R*]; as alſo in favour of the Atteſtations

I paſs by an Error of the Jeſuit *Papebroch*; which is That of aſcribing the Books, which have appeared under the Name of *Petrus Aurelius*, to Mr *Arnauld*. *Petrus Aurelius vero nomine eſt Antonius Arnaldus* (70). I know not what to ſay to a Fact, which I have met with in a Pamphlet (71), intituled, *A Defenſe of the Mandate of my Lord the Biſhop of* Arras, *of the thirtieth of* December, 1697, againſt a Libel intituled, *The ancient Hereſy of the Jeſuits renewed*, &c. The Author of the Defence pretends to prove, that the *Janſeniſts* have acknowledged the Authority of the Church in determining the Senſe of a Book. And This is what he ſays at the Twenty fourth Page; “Among ſeveral, whom I could produce, I ſhall content myſelf with one Author, who may ſerve inſtead of all the reſt. It is Mr *Arnauld*, the Head and Oracle of *Janſeniſm*. After having, in the fourth Part of the Apology for the Nuns of *Port-Royal*, exceeded all that ever has been ſaid againſt the Infallibility of the Church, in aſcertaining the Senſe of Books; and, in a new Work, in defence of the Apology, and others of his Writings, being reduced to an Impoſſibility of juſtifying himſelf from the Reflexion caſt upon him, that his Arguments tended to deſtroy the Certainty of Tradition; he found himſelf neceſſitated, in ſpite of himſelf, to make this important and deciſive Acknowledgment, which ruined, in a few Lines, all his Labours for ſo many Years. *There are certain Matters of Fact*, ſays this Writer *, *from which the Truth of a Doctrine muſt neceſſarily be concluded: And theſe are They, which contain the Tradition of the Church. For inſtance; from the Fathers having unanimouſly taught, that ſuch a Doctrine is Matter of Faith, it follows, that This Doctrine is Matter of Faith —— and thus it is plain, that the Church being infallible in the Deciſion of Doctrines, ſhe is likewiſe ſo in the Deciſion of ſuch Facts, as neceſſarily follow from Thoſe Doctrines, and which are the neceſſary means, by which ſhe attains to the Knowledge of the Truths of Faith.* Thus far Mr *Arnauld*.” This is clear and expreſs. It is poſitively affirmed, that The *Apology for the Nuns*, and the Confutation of one of Father *Annat*'s Books are two of our Doctor's Pieces. I do not pretend to deny it; though, on the one ſide, the Stile of the Apology ſeems to me more correct than His, and on the other, leſs lively, and leſs vehement. This Apology is a pretty large *Quarto*, divided into four Parts, and printed in 1665. Obſerve, by the way, the Fate of Diſputes: It ſcarce ever happens, in ſupporting an Opinion, that we are at full Liberty to make uſe of Maxims, which are purely univerſal. We have ſome other Opinions to manage, which oblige us to Reſtrictions; but This is a very inconvenient Reſtraint; for The Adverſary makes his Advantage of our Exceptions. This ſupplies him with Arguments *ad hominem*, and gives him great Advantage; and it is, generally, by this Means, that he recovers himſelf, after he has been fairly thrown. The *Janſeniſts* are an Example of This in the Apology for the Mandate of the Biſhop of *Arras*. I would willingly ſee how they will get off. Both Parties are Sufferers in this Affair. The Infallibility of the Church cannot be maintained as to Facts; and, unleſs this be admitted, one is expoſed to a thouſand Inconveniences. As to the Book *des deux chefs qui n'en font qu'un*; —— *Of two Heads, which make but one*; I ſhall ſpeak of it in another Place. It is a Work falſely aſcribed to Mr *Arnauld*. This Imputation is in an anonymous Piece, printed in the Year 1688, and ſuppoſed to be Father *le Tellier*'s. The Title of it is *An Apologetical Letter for Mr* Arnauld, *&c.* It would be more reaſonable to ſay, that the Doctrine itſelf, *of the two Heads which make but one*, was maintained by the Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, in the Preface to his Book of *Frequent Communion*; but even This wants Proof. See the *Abridged Hiſtory of his Life* (72).

[*P*] *His Silence has been imputed to a falſe Reaſon.*] The *Difficulties propoſed to* Mr *Steyaert* make it appear, that the Author of the *Voyage to the World of* Des Cartes had not exactly conſulted the Period of Time, as to the Quarrel between Mr *Arnauld* and Father *Mallebranche*, when he ſaid, that the firſt engaged in it purely to have a Pretence for not anſwering two Books, which had appeared againſt him, one compoſed by a Miniſter, and the other by a Jeſuit. It muſt be confeſſed, that the Public is ſcarce yet recovered from the Aſtoniſhment, which the firſt Year's Silence of this Doctor raiſed with regard to theſe two Books; but it is certain, whatever the ſubtile and polite Traveller to the New World may ſay of it, that he was engaged with Father *Mallebranche*, before the *Eſprit de Mr Arnauld*, and the Obſervations of Father *le Tellier*, appeared (73). I muſt not diſſemble, that the Reaſons Mr *Arnauld* gave for this Silence pleaſed ſome; but they are very far from pleaſing all Readers. I have already cited a Paſſage, which relates to theſe Reaſons (74); here is another; “As for Mr *Jurieu*, he is become ſo famous all over *Europe* for Slander and Calumny, that he is no longer able to hurt Thoſe, whom he attacks. I know that two Perſons, both Proteſtants, have wrote to Mr *Arnauld* about him, as a Man decried among his own Party, and whoſe Paſſions have made them aſhamed of him; and that they have offered to ſend him Memoirs, which would diſcover what he is. But it is no wonder Mr *Arnauld* did not take them at their Word, or that he would not throw away his Time in writing againſt a Man formidable only by Abuſe and Slander (76).” He immediately produces ſome Facts, which he pretends were nothing but monſtrous Calumnies, publiſhed by This Miniſter. The Reaſons he gives for his Silence, as to Father *le Tellier* (77), have ſatisfied but few Perſons.

[*Q*] *Some have given him Spectacles, and a faithleſs Servant.*] The Writings publiſhed on a Correſpondence by Letter between a pretended *Arnauld*, and a Profeſſor of *Douay*, contain Matters, which may be thought *à propos* to a Work of this kind; however I ſhall only obſerve the manner, in which Mr *Arnauld* refutes the Complaint imputed to him of having been robbed by his Servant, and being ſcarce able, by reaſon of his great Age, to read a ſmall Character. *How could I complain of a Servant*, ſays he, *who robbed and betrayed me; I, who never had any, but what were very faithful, and who have had none at all for twelve Years paſt, ſince I left* Paris (78). In a Note on Mr *de Ligny*'s Letter, it is ſaid, *That Mr* Arnauld *never made uſe of Spectacles, and that he could read the ſmalleſt Character as eaſily as the largeſt.* Theſe are little Particulars, which deſerve to be communicated to Thoſe, who are curious in the Hiſtory of illuſtrious Perſons. As to the Intrigue of the Falſe *Arnauld*, it is one of the fineſt Comedies, has ever been acted; and had as much Succeſs as the Authors could expect. Perhaps there is no Inſtance of a Mortality, which, in ſo ſhort a Time, ſwept away ſo many Profeſſors in an Univerſity, as This Affair did in That of *Douay*; perhaps no Diſcharge ever cleared the Ranks ſo well. This may ſerve to put us in Mind of theſe Words of the *Pſalmiſt*; *And Thou ſhalt renew the Face of the Earth.*

[*R*] *He vigorouſly attacks Father* Simon, *in Defence of —— The Inſpiration of the Sacred Writers, and the Tranſlations of the Scripture.*] I have elſewhere (80) produced two Propoſitions of the Jeſuits, which were cenſured by the Faculties of Divinity of *Louvain* and *Douay*. They are Propoſitions, which ſeem to limit or qualify the Inſpiration of the Scriptures. Upon this, Mr *Simon* took part againſt the Cenſors (81), and was refuted

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(70) Papebroch. Elucid. Hiſtor. Actor. in Controverſia Carmelitana, pag. 135.

(71) *Printed at* Cologne, *by* Van Buning, 1698. *It contains* 50 *Pages in* 12mo.

* Refutation of a Book of Father *P. Annat*, &c. pag. 5.

(72) Pag. 85, &c.

(73) *See the Difficulties propoſed to Mr* Steyaert, Part 6, pag. 59, &c.

(74) *Above, Citat.* (53).

(75) *It is at the* 237*th Page of the* 3d Tome *of the* Morale Pratique.

(76) Differtation on the pretended Happineſs of the Pleaſures of Senſe, pag. 12.

(77) Morale Pratique, Tom. III, p. 266, 267.

(78) Premiere Plainte, pag. 9.

(80) *In the Article Father* ADAM, *a little before Citation* (9).

(81) *See Chap.* 23, 24, *of* The Critical Hiſtory of the New Teſtament.

Atteſtations of the *Greeks* [S], &c. ——— He died in the Night between the eighth and ninth of *Auguſt* 1694, Aged Eighty two Years, ſix Months, and two Days. At this great Age, he received two ſignal and uncommon Favours from Heaven; for the Sickneſs, of which he died, continued but a Week, more or leſs, and never prevented his ſaying, or hearing, Maſs, and *rehearſing his Breviary almoſt at the ordinary Hours* (l). His Agony was mild, calm, and ſhort. On the other Hand, he had as great ſtrength of Mind, and Memory, and wrote as well the laſt Year of his Life, as at forty or fifty Years of Age. Theſe are Bleſſings, which rarely attend learned Men. Some few Months before his Death, he wrote four Letters againſt Father *Mallebranche* (m), and one to his old Friend Mr *du Bois*, full of *Reflexions on the Eloquence of Preachers* (n). The Public has ſeen theſe laſt Works, and found no ſigns in them of a declining Judgment. Mr *du Bois* did not long ſurvive either his Admiſſion into the *French* Academy, or the reading of theſe Reflexions, from which he might have learned, that he underſtood nothing of St *Auſtin*'s Rules concerning the Eloquence of the Pulpit (o). I queſtion whether the Public will ever ſee what Mr *Arnauld* wrote, about the ſame time, in Favour of Mr *Boileau* [T]; I doubt not but his Letter to him is admirable. There

(l) Abridg'd Hiſtory of Mr *Arnauld*, pag. 279.

(m) *See the* Journal des Sçavans, *of the 28th of* June, 1684.

(n) Abridg'd Hiſtory, pag. 294.

(o) *What he has ſaid on this Subject, is to be found in the Preface to his* French *Tranſlation of ſome Sermons of St* Auſtin. *See the* Journal des Sçavans, *of the 7th of* June, 1694.

refuted by Mr *Arnauld*, from page 113, to page 236, of the *Difficulties propoſed to Mr* Steyaert. He defended himſelf in his *New Obſervations on the Text and Verſions of the New Teſtament* (82), from Page 33, to 91. Many Things may be learned, by exactly comparing the Reaſons of the one with Thoſe of the other. It is well known, that, of all the Catholic Writers, Mr *Arnauld* was the Man, who moſt learnedly and ſolidly ſupported the Uſefulneſs of the Tranſlations of The Scripture. What he ſaid, as to the Reaſon of the thing, on this Subject, is admirable: And what he has ſaid as to Fact; I mean, to ſhew, that, in the Intention of the Church, the Laity were never excluded from reading the Word of God in the Vulgar Tongue, is fine and curious; but if you read Mr *Simon*'s Anſwer (83) attentively, you will not know what to think as to the Church's Opinion in This Matter. The Sentiments of Doctors, the Judgments of Univerſities, and Mandates of Prelates, in a Word, the public Acts alledged on both ſides, form ſuch a ſtrange Variety, and eſpecially when we examine the Motives and Principles laid down by Thoſe who condemn, and Thoſe who allow of, the reading the Tranſlations, that, upon the whole, the People, according to the Church's Intention, ought to be both forbid, and permitted, to read the Holy Scriptures. There are few Facts, which may be more eaſily reduced to hiſtorical Pyrrhoniſm, than This Queſtion; *Does the Church diſapprove, or approve, the reading of the Scripture, in the Vulgar Tongue, by the Laity?* How ſtrange is it, that no poſitive Deciſion can be given of this Queſtion, either in the Negative or Affirmative? Should not a Body, which boaſts of Infallibility, be more uniform in it's Proceedings? Mr *Arnauld* would, with the Torrent of his Eloquence and Learning, carry away a great Number of Readers to a Belief, that the Church of *Rome* was calumniated, when it was ſo often reproached with prohibiting the Laity the reading of the Word of God; I ſay he would induce them to believe this, did not Mr *Simon* oppoſe his Banks to Theſe Torrents. Thus, in the ſame Communion, one Doctor defeats the Labours of another: The common Enemy makes his Advantage of this, and has reaſon to cry out;

Sæpe, premente Deo, fert Deus alter opem.

Oppreſs'd by One, Another God befriends.

[S] —— *As alſo in favour of the Atteſtations of the* Greeks.] I have obſerved before (84), that the Proteſtants deſpiſed them, as things eaſily obtained from That mercenary Nation. “Emendicatis undique per Legatos Regios, Conſules, Miſſionarios, Græculorum hac de teſtimoniis, a quibus nihil non pretio extorqueas (85). — *Atteſtations of the* Greeks, *of whom Money will buy any thing, having been begged up and down by Ambaſſadors, Conſuls, and Miſſionaries.* Mr *Arnauld* produced ſeveral Atteſtations from *Greek* Prieſts, to ſhew, that, in this Point, they followed the Doctrine of the *Romiſh* Church; but it is, nevertheleſs, true, that moſt of them were obtained by Money. Mr *Wheeler* affirms, that, in his Travels thro' *Greece*, he ſpoke with ſeveral *Papas*, whom Mr *de Nointel*, Nephew of Mr *Arnauld*, endeavoured to corrupt in this manner (86).” Here are two Evidences of the Fact I had aſſerted. Note, that Mr *de Nointel* was not Mr *Arnauld*'s Nephew. They call him ſo there, in all probability, from having read, in Mr *Claude*'s Anſwer (87), that Mr *de Pompone*, Nephew to Mr *Arnauld*, and at that time Ambaſſador in *Sweden*, had procured him Materials. However it be, Mr *Simon* confeſſed, that there were even Catholics, who did *not rely on this great Number of Atteſtations* (88), *and he aſſigns the reaſon of their Doubts.* Mr *Arnauld* examines all this with extraordinary Zeal, and gives the Sum of what he had replied to *Spanhemius*, in his Apology for the Catholics (89).

[T] *What Mr* Arnauld *wrote in Favour of Mr* Boileau *.] The Criticiſm on the tenth Satire of *Boileau* (90), falling into Mr *Arnauld*'s Hands, put him upon “writing a Diſſertation, in the form of a Letter, in which he undertook the Defence of the Satire, with That Force of Wit, and Style, which never failed him: The Party for the Ancients was proud of it; and this occaſioned *Boileau*'s writing Thoſe fine Verſes on Mr *Arnauld*, in which he prefers the Apology, which This Doctor wrote, for his Satire to all the Honours he enjoyed, and even to That of being the King's Hiſtoriographer. —— The rigid *Janſeniſts*, or the Rigoriſts, were not pleaſed with this laſt Piece of Mr *Arnauld*. What! a Doctor, grown grey in ſerious and grave Diſputes, to write, at above Eighty Years of Age, of Poetry, Women, and Romances! How unbecoming! The Party were vexed at it, and whiſpered, that their Head demeaned himſelf. Poetry, as they repreſented it, was a frivolous Art, which ought not to have employed the Thoughts of ſo great a Genius for a Moment. This came to *Boileau*'s Ears; upon which he ſet about his Poem *Of the Love of God*, to ſhew, that Poetry can reach the moſt ſublime Subjects.” Theſe Particulars have been communicated to me by a Perſon of great Wit and Learning (91), very well known to *Boileau*. Let us here produce a Paſſage, in the tenth Epiſtle of This great Poet, where he addreſſes himſelf to his own Verſes.

Mais des heureux regards de mon Aſtre étonnant
Marquéz bien cet effet encor plus ſurprenant;
Qui dans mon ſouvenir aura toûjours ſa place:
Que de tant d'Ecrivains de l'Ecole d'Ignace
Etant, comme je ſuis, ami ſi declaré,
Ce Docteur toutefois ſi craint, ſi reveré,
Qui contre Eux de ſa plume épuiſe l'énergie,
Arnaud, le grand Arnaud, fit mon apologie (92).
Sur mon tombeau futur, mes Vers, pour l'énoncer (93),
Couréz en lettres d'or de ce pas vous placer.
Alléz juſqu'où l'Aurore en naiſſant void l'Hydaſpe,
Chercher, pour l'y graver, le plus précieux jaſpe.
Sur-tout à mes Rivaux ſachéz bien l'étaler.

But obſerve the ſtill more ſurprizing Effect of the happy Influence of my wonderous Star; an Effect, which ſhall ever hold it's Place in my Memory; that, being a declared Friend, as I am, to ſo many Writers of St Ignatius's

(82) *Printed at* Paris, *in* 1695, *in* 4to.

(83) *In the* New Obſervations on the Text, and Verſions, of the New Teſtament, *from* pag. 465, *to* pag. 584.

(84) *In Remark* [O], n. I, *immediately after* Citat. (56).

(85) Spanhem. Strictur. in Expoſit. Epiſc. Condom.

(86) Biblioth. Univerſ. Tom. XI, pag. 445.

(87) Claude's Anſwer to *Perpetuity Defended*, Book IV, chap. III, pag. 498.

(88) *In his* Critical Hiſtory of the Faith of the *Levant*.

(89) Difficulties propoſed to Mr *Steyaert*, Part 6, pag. 275, 276, &c.

* Boileau *inſerted it in his Edition of* 1702. *This Piece has appeared ſince, in all the ſubſequent Editions.*

(90) *It is his Satire againſt Women.*

(91) Mr Marais, *Advocate in the Parliament of* Paris.

(92) *Mr* Arnauld *wrote a Diſſertation, in which he juſtifies me againſt my Cenſurers, and it is his laſt Work.*

(93) *It is thus in the Edition I make uſe of, publiſhed in ſome Town of the United Provinces,*

There is another Happineſs to be conſidered in his Life, which ſurpaſſes Thoſe I have obſerved; to wit, his having always been very exact in the Practice of the Exerciſes of Piety, which his Prieſthood required of him; and, what is yet more difficult, his abſtaining, in his very Youth, from ſenſual Pleaſures, and ever preſerving a Purity of Manners, without Taint or Blemiſh *(p)*. It does not appear, that his Adverſaries ever attacked him on this Head; tho', in point of Orthodoxy, they have endeavoured to defame him all manner of ways. If the reading of bad Books could produce the ſame Effect in the Minds of all young Perſons, as it did in his, it would not be amiſs to recommend it to them [*U*]. The Proteſtations he has made of his Adherence to the true Faith, and of his Zeal for God, appear in ſeveral parts of his Works, particularly in the *Spiritual Teſtament* [*X*], which he made, the ſixteenth of *September* 1679, wherein he calls God to witneſs with what Diſpoſitions he engaged in writing ſuch and ſuch Books. The Court of *Rome* did, at laſt, acknowledge his Merit [*Y*]; and it was purely his own fault, that he was not a Cardinal. It is unneceſſary to obſerve, that he oppoſed all relaxation of Morality, and that he was always a Teacher and Director of Auſterity. It appeared, indeed, that he ſwerved a little from the ſtrait Path, in an Affair, which gave occaſion to a *Factum*, or Caſe, of Mr *Des-Lyons* [Z]. Note, that the Place, where he died, is unknown. It is believed to

(*p*) Præfat. Cauſæ Arnald. pag. IX. *See the* Abridg'd Hiſtory of his Life, pag. 20.

tius'*s School, This Doctor, ſo ever dreaded, and revered, who exhauſts the whole Force of his Pen againſt them,* Arnauld, *I ſay, the Great* Arnauld, *writes my Apology. My Muſe, inſcribe this Event in Letters of Gold on my future Tomb. Fetch from the diſtant Eaſt, where* Aurora, *riſing, ſalutes the* Hydaſpes, *the moſt precious Jaſper, to engrave it. But be particularly careful to diſplay it to my Rivals.*

[*U*] *If the reading of bad Books could produce the ſame Effect in the Minds of all young Perſons, as it did in his, it would not be amiſs to recommend it to them.*] This is his own Account of this Matter. "I remember to have formerly read (when I " was very young) in a Book, entituled, if I re" member right, *The Muſes Rally'd*, ſomething very " wicked on this Subject. The Poet glories in " having obtained, what he could not aſk without a " Crime; and the Reaſon he gives for obtaining his " Deſire is altogether abominable. It was, Becauſe, " *ſays he*, the Lady had too ſolid a Judgment, not to " look upon *Thoſe old Stories of Honour, which ariſe* " *in the Brains of married Men and Mothers, as* " *meer Chimeras*. I am certain, that what is here " in *Italic* was in His Verſes. For I was ſo greatly " ſhocked at it, that it has ever ſince remained in my " Mind. This Poet, then, muſt have ſuppoſed, " that nothing but the Conſideration of Honour " could have prevented This Lady's ſatisfying his " Deſires; and that ſhe had got over This Conſide" ration by the Force of Reaſon (94)."

(94) *Arnauld's* Cinquiéme denonciation du peché philoſophique, pag 57, 58.

[*X*] *His Spiritual Teſtament.*] I have a Copy of it, publiſhed at *Liege*, in 1696. There is a Preface to it; in which the preceeding Edition is diſclaimed.

[*Y*] *The Court of* Rome *did, at laſt, acknowledge his Merit.*] Pope *Clement* X, having read ſome of Mr *Arnauld*'s Works, commended them extreamly, and declared, that the Author would do him a great Pleaſure, if he would ſend him Copies of them, or deliver them to his Nuncio (95). Cardinal *Altieri*, who had ſhewed the Pope theſe Books, could not ſufficiently commend the Author, and often concluded his Praiſes with this honourable Teſtimony: *Mr* Arnauld *has done the Church great Service; it were to be wiſhed, that Death would never deprive it of ſuch a Man.*—— *De Eccleſia optime meritus eſt Arnaldus; optandum eſſet, ut talem virum mors illi nunquam ereptura eſſet* (96). The Eſteem and Affection of *Innocent* XI for This Doctor is not unknown to the Public. See the Letter, which he cauſed to be written to him by Cardinal *Cibo*, the ſecond of *January*, 1677; it is printed at the end of the Letter, which Mr *Arnauld* wrote to the Biſhop of *Malaga*, the ſecond of *December*, 1688. There is alſo a Letter of Mr *Favoriti*, That Pope's Secretary, dated from *Rome* the third of *April*, 1680, which contains great Commendations of him, and lively Expreſſions of the Pope's Grief, on account of the Perſecutions of Mr *Arnauld* (97). He had an Intention of promoting him to the Purple; and it was wholly the Doctor's Fault, that it was not done, "De Arnaldo in purpuratorum Procerum " Ordinem adlegendo aliquando Sanctitatem ſuam co" gitaſſe, etſi certum eſt & pluribus notum, nollem " tamen hic commemorare, niſi Eminentiſſimus Car" dinalis intimorum Romanæ Aulæ conſiliorum teſtis " locuples, id nuper Pariſiis evulgaſſet, aſſeruiſſetque " per unum Arnaldum ſtetiſſe quominus is Eminen" tiſſima illa dignitate ornaretur (98). —— *Though* " *the Intention of his Holineſs to have made* Arnauld " *a Cardinal be certain, and known to many, yet I* " *ſhould have taken no Notice of it here, had not* " *a very Eminent Cardinal, who is perfectly acquainted* " *with the Councils of the Court of* Rome, *of late* " *publickly declared it at* Paris, *and aſſerted, that* " Arnauld *might, if he pleaſed, have been inveſted* " *with That high Dignity*." *Alexander* VIII, who had a great Kindneſs and Eſteem for Mr *Arnauld*, before he was Pope, did not alter his Diſpoſitions, after he was raiſed to St *Peter*'s Chair. He granted him ſome Favours, and would have done him many more, if he had lived longer, and Mr *Arnauld* had given him Opportunities of doing it (99).

(95) Præfat. Cauſæ Arnaldinæ, p. LIX.

(96) Ibid. pag. LX.

(97) Ibid.

(98) Ibid. pag. LXI.

(99) Ibid. pag. LXI, LXII.

Take notice, that the Biſhop of *Malaga* cauſed almoſt all the Copies of the firſt Edition of his *Querimonia Catholica* to be burnt, as ſoon as he underſtood, that, without his Privity, Mr *Arnauld* was called an Heretic in it. He, who burnt the Copies with his own Hand, gave a formal Atteſtation of this (100).

(100) Ibid. pag. LXIV.

[Z] *He ſwerved a little from the ſtrait Path, in an Affair, which gave occaſion to a* Factum, *or* Caſe, *of Mr* Des-Lyons.] A Niece of Mr *Des-Lyons*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and Dean of *Senlis*, dexterouſly engaged Mr *Arnauld* in a Conduct, not altogether to his Honour. She ſued her Father; and *Arnauld* patronized her in the Suit as much as poſſible. This did not become a rigid Caſuiſt. Beſides, ſhe was ſo whimſical in her Devotions, and of ſo wrong a Turn, that Mr *Arnauld* had but little of That Faculty, which is called *The Diſcernment of Spirits*, when he ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by This Hypocrite. Mr *Jurieu*, who had heard of the *Factum* of Mr *Des-Lyons*, paſſionately deſired to procure a Copy of it, and applied ſeveral Times to a Perſon, who might have lent it him. He chiefly employed the Bookſeller's (101) Interceſſion, who printed his *Juſtification of the Morality of the Reformed*, at the *Hague*, in the Year 1685. This was applying himſelf to a proper Perſon; for, if any one could have obtained it, it was doubtleſs This Bookſeller; but The Perſon, who had the *Factum* in his Hands, would never part with it to a Writer, whom he knew diſpoſed to draw from it whatever new Matter he could for Inſult, and Invective. He was not ignorant, in what manner This Author poiſoned every thing, when the Buſineſs was to pull Mr *Arnauld* to pieces. Obſerve the Artifice of Mr *Jurieu!* Having failed this way, he would perſuade the Public, that he ſet no Value on the Advantage he might have made of This *Factum*, and had even been ſo moderate, as voluntarily to renounce it. Theſe are his Words; "To convince the World, that " we are not very ſollicitous in enquiring after every " thing, which may ſerve to render Mr *Arnauld* " odious, we omit all that the *Factum* of Mr *Des-Lyons* " might have ſupplied us with againſt him (102)." There are ſeveral Falſhoods in Prefaces, which paſs for

(101) *He is alive, and perfectly in Health; and any one may enquire of him, whether I ſpeak the truth. I write this on the 2d of* April, 1699

(102) Jurieu's *Preface to the* Juſtification de la Morale des Reformez. *Edit. of the* Hague, 1685.

to be a Village in the Country of *Leige*. It is ſtill leſs known, where he was buried; and this is one point of Conformity, which his Friends have obſerved, between His Fate, and That of *Moſes* (q). He deſired, that his Heart might be carried to *Port-Royal* (r). This was accordingly done; but Mr *Santeüil*'s Verſes on this Subject raiſed a furious War [*AA*]; which gave great Diverſion to ſeveral Perſons. There was

for venial Sins, not only at the Bar of the Republic of Letters, but even at the Bar of the Church; but This can plead Privilege at neither of Theſe Tribunals. The Jeſuits did not let the *Factum* of Mr *Des-Lyons* fall to the Ground; they maliciouſly weighed the Circumſtances of it, and drew Matter of much Reflexion and Raillery from it. See a Piece, which is ſuppoſed to have come from Father *le Tellier*, and which appeared in the Year 1688, entituled; *An Apologetical Letter for Mr* Arnauld, *written to an Abbot, a Friend of His, on three of the laſt Books, which were written againſt That Doctor.* I. *The Eſprit de Mr Arnauld.* II. *Obſervations on the New Defence of the* French *Tranſlation of the New Teſtament printed at* Mons. III. *An Anſwer of Mr* Des-Lyons, *Doctor of the* Sorbonne, *Dean and Prebend of* Senlis, *to Mr* Arnauld's *Letters.*

[*AA*] *Mr* Stanteüil's *Verſes on this Subject raiſed a furious War.*] The Ladies of *Port-Royal* received Mr *Arnauld*'s Heart, “ with all imaginable Tranſports of Joy, and depoſited it in the moſt honourable Place they could think of. The Heart being thus diſpoſed of, an Epitaph was wanting. No Perſon was thought more capable of writing one, than Mr *Santeüil*. —— As the Buſineſs was of a delicate Nature, the Nuns conſidered, that they muſt take Mr *Santeüil* at an Advantage. For this Purpoſe, they invited him to come and paſs a few Days at *Port-Royal*, with one of his Brethren, who was it's Superior (103); and, during his Abode there, he compoſed the following Verſes.

Ad Sanctas rediit ſedes ejectus & exeul:
Hoſte triumphato, tot tempeſtatibus actus,
Hoc portu in placido, hac ſacrâ tellure quieſcit,
Arnaldus, veri defenſor, & arbiter æqui.
Illius oſſa memor ſibi vindicet extera tellus;
Huc cœleſtis amor rapidis cor tranſtulit alis,
Cor nunquam avulſum, nec amatis ſedibus abſens (104).

Mr *de la Fémas* gave this *French* Tranſlation of it.

Enfin, après un long voyage,
Arnauld revient en ces ſaints lieux:
Il eſt au *Port* malgré les envieux,
Qui croyoient qu'il feroit naufrage.
Ce Martir de la verité
Fut banni, fut perſecuté,
Et mourut en terre étrangere;
Heureuſe, de ſon corps d'être depoſitaire,
Mais ſon cœur toûjours ferme, & toûjours innocent,
Fut porté par l'amour, à qui tout eſt poſſible,
Dans cette retraite paiſible,
D'où jamais il ne fut abſent (105).

In *Engliſh* thus.

Here reſts in hallowed Earth, ſecure from Spight,
Arnauld, *great Arbiter of Truth and Right;*
Arriv'd in Port, and landed ſafe on Shore,
The Foe ſubdued, and the wild Tempeſt o'er.
Tho' in ſome diſtant Land his Bones be laid,
His Heart, on rapid Wings by Love convey'd,
Enjoys the dear Retreat, from which it never ſtray'd.

No ſooner were theſe two Pieces printed together, and diſperſed in the World, but the Jeſuits *complained of Mr* Santeüil's *Proceedings.* —— *He turned a deaf Ear to them, flattering himſelf, that the Murmurs, then raiſed, would inſenſibly die of themſelves* (106). *But, finding himſelf attacked in a Piece, ſuppoſed to be ſent out of the Country* (107), —— *he began to think of making Satisfaction.* “ He was Thunder-ſtruck, and ran immediately to the Jeſuits College, to beg Pardon in the moſt humble and moving Terms, conjuring all Thoſe he met with not to undo him; that he had always been a Friend to the Society, and that the Epitaph in queſtion was not His, but had been forged in his Name by his Enemies, to ruin him with the Jeſuits. They replied, that they wiſhed what he ſaid were true, but that bare Proteſtations were not ſufficient; and that he muſt undeceive the Public by an authentic Confeſſion; which they required of him, as an Earneſt of his Sincerity. He promiſed all they would have him; but the Difficulty was how to perform his Promiſe (108).” The *Flattering Panegyric, which he wrote, on their Society*, did not ſerve his turn (109); they perceived, “ the little Artifice, he made uſe of, to elude his Promiſe; they treated him as a double Dealer, and a Knave; in a Word, he found himſelf overwhelmed with Epigrams, which came pouring upon him from all Parts; and in which the young Jeſuits of the College, whom he ſomewhere calls *Pubes Jeſuitica Sagittaria*, had no ſmall Share. On the other hand, the *Janſeniſts* took no leſs Offence at his Cowardice, than the Jeſuits at his Inſincerity; and they gave him Marks of it, in a Piece in Burleſque Verſe, which they publiſhed againſt him, and which begins,

Santeüil, ce renommé Poëte, &c.

Santeüil, *That far fam'd Bard*, &c.

“ Thus he found himſelf ſadly out in his Reckoning, and perceived, that, by endeavouring to keep fair with all the World, he had diſobliged all.” Having thoroughly conſidered the whole Affair, He reſolved to ſacrifice the *Janſeniſts* to the *Jeſuits*, and made an humble Confeſſion of his Fault to Theſe, by Letter; but This would not ſatisfy them; they demanded a Recantation (110). He was *peſtered with Epigram upon Epigram, which he received Day after Day* (111). He wrote a Letter to Father *la Chaiſe*; in which he interpreted ſome Terms of the Epitaph in the ſofteſt manner he could. The Anſwer, he received from this Jeſuit, encreaſed his Diſquiet (112). He was obliged to think of a ſecond Apology (113). *The Tendereſt Point, and That, in which all the Difficulty lay, was his having ſaid of Mr* Arnauld;

—— Ictus illo fulmine *(Vaticano)*
Trabeate Doctor, jam mihi non amplius
Arnalde, ſaperes.

“ That is; *If you had been ſtruck with the Thunder of the* Vatican, *I ſhould abſolutely have diſclaimed you.* Now this was ſaying nothing at all. The Jeſuits would have had him put *Sapies*, inſtead of *Saperes* (for all was brought to the Teſt, before the Copies were printed off). To have put *Sapies* would have been to have declared Mr *Arnauld* excommunicated and condemned. One of his Friends, with whom he adviſed about it, gave him a Hint for finding out a *Medium* between *Saperes* and *Sapies*; which was to put *Sapias*, which might equally be taken in the ſenſe of the other two Words; but he found, that he could not give up the *Saperes*, without offending the *Janſeniſts*. At laſt, after long Deliberation, he reſolved to pleaſe each Party as near as poſſible. He got two kinds of Copies printed; in ſome of which was *Sapias*, for the Jeſuits; telling them, *viva voce*, that he took it in the ſenſe of the *Sapies*; and *Saperes* in the others, to pleaſe the *Janſeniſts*.” To this he added an Explanation of ſome other Parts of the Epitaph. But he neither ſatisfied the Jeſuits, nor the *Janſeniſts*. The X latter publiſhed a very bitter Piece againſt him (114), and the latter attacked him no leſs vigorouſly. At laſt Father *Commire* entered the Liſts. *He had lain by hitherto, as a Body of Reſerve*, “ but at laſt appeared

X former

(q) *See the* Abridg'd Hiſtory of his Life, pag. 303.

(r) Perrault's *Illuſtrious Men*, p. 57.

(103) *Hiſtory of the Troubles, cauſed by Mr* Arnauld, *after his Death; or The Quarrel between Mr* Santeüil *and the Jeſuits*, pag. 5, *Edit.* 1696.

(104) Ibid. pag. 40.

(105) Ibid. pag. 41.

(106) Ibid. pag. 7.

(107) *Entituled*, Santolius Vindicatus.

(108) *Hiſtory of the Troubles, cauſed by Mr* Arnauld, *after his Death.*

(109) Ibid. pag. 10.

(110) Ibid. pag. 11.

(111) Ibid. pag. 14.

(112) Ibid. pag. 17.

(113) Ibid. pag. 20.

(114) *Entituled*, Santolius pœnitens. *See the* Hiſtory of the Troubles, &c. p. 20.

was a great Clamour raiſed againſt the Jeſuits, for procuring an Order, that Mr *Perrault* ſhould be obliged to ſuppreſs the Sheet, in which he celebrated Mr *Arnauld*, in his Collection of the Portraits and Elogies of the Illuſtrious Men of the *French* Nation [*BB*]. I muſt not forget the Eſteem, which this Doctor of the *Sorbonne* gained with

“ peared in the Field of Battle; and, to break off a Diſpute, which there was no end of, and to prevent Mr *Santeüil* from ſo often contradicting himſelf, he ſeized him, and put a Gag in his Mouth, which has ever ſince been very troubleſome to him. I mean the *Linguarium*, which all the Learned aſcribe to This great Poet (115).” A Poet of the Univerſity, and no Friend to the Jeſuits, entred the Liſts, and wrote a Piece entituled *Santolius pendens, Santeüil on the Gibbet*. It is One of the beſt, which appeared during This long Poetical War. I think Three Accounts have appeared of this Quarrel: I have not ſeen the firſt; That, which I have quoted, is the ſecond: The third is of the Year 1697, and poſterior to the Death of Mr *Santeüil*: It contains the Letters, which were written to This Poet by ſeveral Jeſuits, and differs from the ſecond in ſome Circumſtances.

It is certain, that This Quarrel made a great noiſe; for which reaſon the Author of the Relation thought himſelf obliged to make uſe of this Preamble (116). “It is the Fate of Thoſe, who have occaſioned great Troubles in their Life-time, to occaſion others after their Death. That of *Alexander* did not extinguiſh the War in *Aſia*; on the contrary, it broke out again with greater fury, thro' the Ambition of his Lieutenants, who long diſputed the Crown. Something like this happened to Mr *Arnauld*; if it be proper to compare a Doctor with a Conqueror. His Death, which ſeemingly ought to have put an end to all the Troubles, he had occaſioned in his Life-time, on the contrary raiſed new ones. Every one knows, in how unworthy a manner the *Janſeniſts* exclaimed againſt an Holy Abbot (117), for explaining himſelf too freely on this Occaſion, and ſaying, with regard to the great Head of a Party, which fell in the Perſon of Mr *Arnauld*, *Happy is He, who has no other than* JESUS CHRIST. This was what the firſt News of Mr *Arnauld*'s Death produced. But, his Heart being afterwards carried back to *France*, could not reenter it without ſcattering ſtill farther Seeds of Diſſention, by the Quarrel, which it occaſioned between Mr *Santeüil* and the Jeſuits.” Many will here recollect a Complaint of *Balzac* againſt Father *Goulu*'s Epitaph (118); but if the Jeſuits, on the one ſide, might ſay, that the very Tomb of Mr *Arnauld* inſulted them, the *Janſeniſts* might exclaim, on the other, that They did not ſuffer this Divine to reſt even in his Grave.

Et ce n'eſt pas aſſez de paier en la vie,
Il faut encor paier au dela du trepas (119).

Even Death from farther Payment cannot ſave;
The Debt muſt be diſcharged beyond the Grave.

[*BB*] *Mr* Perrault *was obliged to ſuppreſs the Sheet*, &c.] The following Paſſage we meet with in a Letter, publiſhed in the Year 1697 (120). “Mr *Perrault*, of the Academy, has preſented the Public with a Book intituled, *The Elogies of the Illuſtrious Men of this Reign*. Mr *Arnauld* and Monſ. *Paſcal* juſtly had a Place in it. *Baptiſte*, and *Moliere*, hold their Rank in it, as illuſtrious Perſons of their kind: The Book was printed by Authority; the Portraits engraven. It was to have been publiſhed four Months ago; but the Fathers Jeſuits have applied ſo ſtrongly to the higher Powers, that they have ordered the Author and Bookſeller to retrench Monſieur *Arnauld* and Monſieur *Paſcal*'s Articles, and ſuppreſs their Elogies. —— Monſieur *Arnauld* was one of the greateſt Men of This Age: He did the Church ſervice in oppoſing *Calviniſm*, and defending the Faith of the Euchariſt. He lived and died in the Communion of the Church, and in perfect Obedience to the Holy See, which would certainly have rewarded his great Deſerts, if the profound Humility of This learned Perſon had not ſeveral Times made him refuſe one of the moſt eminent Dignities of the Church. *Moliere* lived impiouſly, and died excommunicated, like a Reprobate: In the mean time Monſieur *Arnauld* is ſtruck out of the Number of Illuſtrious Men, and *Moliere* holds his Rank among them.” Such Reflexions were made all over *France*, and in foreign Countries; and what *Tacitus* ſaid, on the Statues of *Caſſius* and *Brutus* not appearing at *Junia*'s Funeral, was not forgot on this Occaſion; *Præfulgebant Caſſius atque Brutus eo ipſo quod effigies eorum non viſebantur* (121). —— Caſſius *and* Brutus *outſhone the reſt for this very Reaſon, becauſe their Statues were not expoſed*. This Thought was applied to Meſſ. *Arnauld* and *Paſcal*. The Verſes, which were made on this Occaſion, have been ſpread all the World over; for they have been inſerted in the *Nouvelles Hiſtoriques & Politiques*, printed every Month at the *Hague*. Let us add, that ſeveral were of Opinion, that the Jeſuits did not act over prudently in this Affair; ſince the ſureſt way to draw the Eyes and Attention of the Public on Theſe two famous Perſons, was to oblige Mr *Perrault* to ſuppreſs their Elogies and Portraits. This Conduct ſerved only to enhance the Merit, which it ſtrove to efface; it led directly to the Paſſage of *Tacitus*; and could only occaſion Exclamations, and Cenſures, in favour of the Perſons ſuppreſs'd, and againſt the Inſtruments of their Suppreſſion. But all are not agreed as to the ſuppoſed Imprudence in this Point. Skillful Perſons have maintained, that the Faction, which all along oppoſed Mr *Arnauld*, did nothing but what ſavoured of the juſteſt and moſt refined Policy. What! ſay they; do you think *Tiberius* did not foreſee the Reflexions, which would be made, on his not expoſing the Statues of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, among ſo many others, in a Funeral Ceremony? He knew the Advantage, which their Abſence might give them; but thought the Inconvenience greater in letting theſe two Aſſaſſins of *Julius Cæſar* appear among the Images of his Family; this would have been in ſome meaſure vindicating their Memory; and it was not his Intereſt to make the leaſt ſtep that way. There is no queſtion, but the Jeſuits likewiſe foreſaw the Advantage, which Mr *Perrault*'s ſuppreſſing the Elogies of theſe two great Men would give them. But, all things conſidered, they thought this would be a much leſs Inconvenience to themſelves, than the giving the oppoſite Faction room to make their Advantage of Mr *Arnauld* and Mr *Paſcal*'s appearing, with Privilege, on the Theatre of Illuſtrious Men. By procuring them to be ſtruck out, they armed themſelves with a new Act, which might be uſeful in the Courſe of the Proceſs: They kept them in Diſgrace; and prevented any one's alledging the Licence, obtained by Mr *Perrault*, as a Proof of their being reſtored; but, what was more conſiderable, the Public was prevented from imagining, that the Jeſuits had not the ſame Credit as formerly. The Public would ſcarce conclude, that, if the Characters and Elogies of Theſe two Gentlemen had full liberty to appear in a privileged Book, it was becauſe the Jeſuits had no Inclination to make any Oppoſition to it. It would be much more natural to think, that it was out of their Power to prevent it. Now ſuch an Opinion is to be guarded againſt; the Effects of it may be of ill Conſequence; for the Influence of Reputation is of great Efficacy, either in advancing or retarding Events. Who knows not, that, in Matters of Trade, a Merchant, who paſſes for rich, and is not ſo, is generally more ſucceſsful, than One, who is really rich, but paſſes for poor? All other Conditions of human Life are the ſame in this reſpect. If it be Imprudence to engage in certain things, it is ſtill greater Imprudence to abandon them, after having once engaged in them. Upon the whole, Honour and Glory are here both concerned. This Principle is no leſs active in the Wars at the Bar, than in thoſe properly ſo called (122). Laſtly, every one knows, that, in all Suits of great Importance, each Party provides againſt all the Proceedings of the other. Good Policy, then, required, that They ſhould not, by their Silence, acquieſce in any Proceedings of the *Janſeniſts*. They were to guard againſt Epitaphs, and the Authors of Elogies, the better to maintain the grand Proceſs, and ſupport

(115) Ibid. pag. 33.

(116) Ibid. pag. 3, 4.

(117) *The Abbot* de la Trappe.

(118) *See Remark* [*M*], *of the Article* P. GOULU, *General of the* Bernardine *Mendicants.*

(119) *Theſe are two Lines of the Opera, which was acted in* 1674, *entituled, as I take it,* Le Triomphe d'Alceſte. -- *The Triumph of* Alceſtes.

(120) *Letter of a Lady of Quality to another learned Lady*, pag. 24, 25.

(121) Tacit. Annal. Lib. III, in fine.

(122) Marcellus multa magnis ducibus ſicut non aggredienda, ita ſemel aggreſſis non dimittenda eſſe dicendo, quia magna famæ momenta in utramque partem fierent, tenuit ne incepto abiretur. --- Marcellus *confirmed him in his Undertaking, by ſaying, that, many things, as they ought not to be undertaken by great Generals, ſo, when once undertaken, are not to be dropped.* Titus Livius, lib. IV, Decad III.

Mr *Des Cartes* [*CC*]. I have heard ſome, who were admitted to an Intimacy with him, ſay, that he was of great Plainneſs of Manners, and that, unleſs ſome Queſtion was propoſed to him, or ſome Information deſired, he ſaid nothing out of the Road of common Converſation [*DD*], or which might create a Suſpicion of his being a learned Man; but, when he was obliged to anſwer Thoſe, who put him upon ſome Point of Learning, he ſeemed to be quite another Man; he ſaid an hundred fine Things, with all the readineſs imaginable, and had a particular Gift of making himſelf intelligible to the meaneſt Capacity. I propoſe, in part of my Work (*s*), to inſert a Letter, which it is ſuppoſed the King wrote to him, in the Year 1678. By the way, They, who were the occaſion of his reſolving on a voluntary Exile, loſt more than they gained by it; for he never wrote againſt them in *Paris*, but religiouſly obſerved the Conditions of Peace; till ſeeing himſelf driven by force out of the Kingdom, he publiſhed a great number of Pieces, which have done the Jeſuits no ſmall Prejudice (*t*). It is pretended, that he became the Apoſtle of *Janſeniſm* in *Holland* [*EE*].

(*s*) *See Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* *YPRES.*

(*t*) *See the* Abridg'd Hiſtory of his Life, *pag.* 179.

port the Diſcuſſion of the Problem, or *Curious Enquiry, whether Mr* Arnauld *be an Heretic*; a ſtrange Queſtion indeed, and which ſome *Roman* Catholics affirm, and others deny daily, with Impunity. This ſhews, there is a Source of Anarchy in the State of Man, which can never be wholly rectified. It is chiefly to be ſeen in Eccleſiaſtical Bodies; for, ſince the Church of *Rome* has not the Secret of determining between the Affirmative and the Negative, what other Church can ever expect to have it? Other Churches have not, like That, Tribunals, which are acknowledged to be infallible. They are not governed with ſuch an Air of Authority, and high Reputation, as That is. It is, therefore, leſs to be wondered at, that the Proteſtant Miniſters accuſe each other of Hereſy in printed Books, than that a Doctor of the *Sorbonne* ſhould be torn to pieces, as an Heretic, by the Faction of the *Moliniſts*, whilſt three Popes honoured him with their Friendſhip, Eſteem, and Praiſes, and the moſt famous Prelates ſet their ſolemn Approbations at the Head of his Works. It is near ſixty Years, ſince this Diſpute began (123); and there is ſtill as much room as ever to deny or affirm. Proteſtant Controverſies are not of ſuch long Continuance. They are generally adjuſted after three or four Pamphlets of a Side, and the Reputation of Orthodoxy, which they would take from each other, is ſecured to both. But even this ſmells a little of *Anarchy*, and of That State of Nature, in which the Aggreſſor has nothing more to fear, than the Reſiſtance of the Attacked, and not the Puniſhment of a common Judge. Bodies Politic are not ſubject to ſuch Diſorders. No one is permitted to call another Knave, or Raſcal; Thief, Traitor, Murderer, Proſtitute, or Liar (124). Reputation is here ſomething better fixed.

For the reſt, the Suppreſſion, enjoined Mr *Perrault*, hindered not, but that the Copies of his Book, publiſhed in *Holland*, contained the Elogies of Meſſieurs *Arnauld* and *Paſcal*. It only occaſioned ſome ſmall Confuſion in the figuring the Pages, which the Edition of *Holland* has ſet right.

[*CC*] *The Eſteem, which Mr* Arnauld *gained with Mr* Des Cartes.] He was the Author of four Objections againſt This Philoſopher's Speculations; and they are judged by all to be the ſolideſt, that have been propoſed againſt That Work. Mr *Des Cartes* himſelf gave this Judgment of them: ſee his *Life* compoſed by Mr *Baillet* (125). I muſt obſerve, that Mr *Arnauld* had taught *the ſame Philoſophy at* Paris, *with That of Mr* Des Cartes, *before the latter had publiſhed his firſt Eſſays* (126) So that he was as falſely called a *Carteſian*, as a *Janſeniſt*. Read what follows: "He had fetched his Opinion of *Grace* "from the Source; that is, from St *Auſtin*'s Works, "before ever the Book of Mr *d'Ypres* appeared. "He had publickly maintained them, in the Preſence "of Biſhops, four or five Years before That Prelate's "Book was publiſhed (127). He had embraced "them without ſo much as knowing, that *Janſenius* "was writing on *Grace* ———." Scarce did he know, that there was ſuch a Man, as *Janſenius*, in the World (128).

[*DD*] *He ſaid nothing out of the Road of common Converſation.*] This muſt be underſtood with ſome Reſtriction; otherwiſe it cannot be reconciled with what we find in the Account of his Life; we there meet with ſome Hours of Converſation after Meals, "in which much was to be learned from him; be-"cauſe, being qualified for Reflexion, he always made "ſuch as were very ſolid, either on human Events, "on the Conduct of Life, on the Rules of Morality, "or on Matters of Learning, and public Affairs. "Theſe Converſations were often employed in peru-"ſing new Books; and he always judged ſo rightly "of them, that the Opinion he gave (tho' rarely "with a deciſive Air) was deciſive of itſelf, and with-"out Appeal. His Memory, as things were read or "ſpoken in Company, ſupplied him always with "ſomething of what the beſt Authors had ſaid on "the ſame Subject: And it was ſurprizing to hear "him repeat a great number of *Latin*, and *French*, "Verſes, which he had read only in his Youth, or "ſeveral Years before. He was a Maſter of the *La-*"*tin* Poets, and applied the fineſt Paſſages of them "with great Juſtneſs, and a great Preſence of Mind, "according as occaſion offered in Converſation (129)." Let us ſay, then, that his Converſation was plain and vulgar, only when he was with Perſons, who were not intimate with him, or who did not engage him by their Queſtions to exert his Talents.

[*EE*] *It is pretended, that he became the Apoſtle of* Janſeniſm *in* Holland.] There appeared a ſmall Book (130) in the Year 1698, in which it is affirmed (131), that Mr *Arnauld* "having wandered for ſome time "in the Catholic *Netherlands*, at laſt took Refuge in "*Holland*. Mr *Neerkaſſel*, Biſhop of *Caſtoria*, and "Apoſtolical Vicar in the United Provinces, received "him as a Man of God, and lodged him in his "Nunnery of *Delft*; where Mr *Arnauld* lived ſome "Years without being known to any, but his inti-"mate Friends. In this Place he governed the Mind "of That Prelate abſolutely, who took great delight "in recommending all the young Divines, in whom "he diſcovered any Genius, to Him for Inſtruction. "His moſt conſtant Companions were Mr *de Codde*, "the preſent Archbiſhop of *Sebaſta*, and Succeſſor of "the Biſhop of *Caſtoria* in the Apoſtolical Vicarſhip; "Mr *van Huyſſen* - - - - So that *Janſeniſm* in *Holland* "proceeded, properly ſpeaking, from the Nunnery "of *Delft*, about the Year 1689.

(123) *This was wrote in* 1699.

(124) This muſt be underſtood with regard to public Accuſations.

(125) Baillet's Life of Des Cartes, Tom. 2. pag. 124, &c. *See alſo* Perrault's Illuſtrious Men, pag. 57, 58.

(126) Id. ib. pag 544. *See alſo* pag. 128.

(127) Abridged Hiſtory of Mr Arnauld, pag. 35.

(128) Ibid. pag. 31.

(129) Ibid. p. 287, 288.

(130) *Intituled* Memoirs concerning the Progreſs of *Janſeniſm* in *Holland*.

(131) *Pages* 8, *and* 9.

ARNGRIMUS, a learned Man, and a Native of *Iſeland*. Look for JONAS.

ARNISÆUS (HENNINGUS)

ARNISÆUS (HENNINGUS) born at *Halberſtadt*, and Profeſſor of Phyſic in the Univerſity of *Helmſtadt*, was a Philoſopher, and Phyſician, very much eſteemed towards the beginning of the XVIIth Century. His Political Works are in great Repute, in which he has eſtabliſhed a Tenet directly oppoſite to That of *Althuſius* [*A*]. He was invited to *Denmark*, and went thither; where he had the Honour to

[*A*] *He eſtabliſhed, in his Political Works, a Tenet directly oppoſite to That of* Althuſius (1).] For he maintained, that the Authority of Princes ought never to be violated by the People. See his Book *de Autho-*

(1) *See the Article* ALTHUSIUS.

(a) Witte, in Diario Biogr. ad Ann. 1635.

be the King's Counſellor, and Phyſician (a). The Univerſity of *Helmſtadt* loſt greatly by this Retreat [*B*]. It is falſely pretended, that he was Profeſſor at *Jena* [*C*], and that he left his Library to the Univerſity of That Place. It might have been ſaid, without a Falſhood, that he read Lectures in the Univerſity of *Francfort* on the *Oder*, before he read Any in That of *Helmſtadt* (b). He had travelled into *France* and *England* (c). He died in the Month of *November* 1635 (d). I ſhall give the Titles of ſeveral of his Works [*D*].

(b) Arniſæus, Præf. libror. de Jure Majeſt.

(c) Id. ib.

(d) Witte, ubi ſupra.

ritate Principum in populum ſemper inviolabili, printed at *Francfort*, in the Year 1612. See alſo his three Books *de Jure Majeſtatis*, printed at the ſame Place in 1610, and his *Prælectiones Politicæ*, printed alſo at *Francfort*, in the Year 1615. He did not finiſh this laſt Piece, which however appeared to be very fine. *Opus præclarum, ſed imperfectum* (2). He gave a Catalogue of Thoſe, who have maintained, that the Sovereignty reſided in the People; a moſt pernicious Doctrine, in the Opinion of *Boeclerus*, and the Hinge of Rebellion. *A fatali hoc & peſtilenti errores —— ſuſpenſa eſt omnis illa rebellandi licentia, quam variis vocabulis præſcribunt* (3). *Boeclerus* adds, that it is a deplorable Conſideration, that there are very great Men in This Liſt, and remarks the different Paſſions, which lead them to take this Side. “ Patronos & Præcones nefariæ philoſophiæ recenſuit *Arniſæus principio libri de auctoritate principum in populum ſemper inviolabili.* Fuiſſe in illis “ magnos viros, dolendum: quorum aliquos animus “ arrogans, elatus, indomitus, ad fingendam & pingendam libertatem ſtoico ſupercilio forte impulerit: “ alios metus oppreſſionis & tyrannidis eo evibraverit, “ ut poteſtatem civilem bene conſtitutam negarent, “ niſi populo ſubjiciatur: nonnullis commentitiæ ſapientiæ ſpecies placuerit, ut tali tanquam terriculamento reges, ne in tyrannidem elaberentur, retentatos cuperent (4). —— Arniſæus, *in the beginning of his Book*, Of the Inviolable Authority of “ Princes over the People, *reckons up the Patrons* “ *and Preachers of the contrary wicked Doctrine. It* “ *is melancholy to conſider, that there are many* “ *great Men among Them; ſome of whom, perhaps,* “ *were prompted, by an Arrogant, Elate, Unconquerable Diſpoſition, to conceive and deſcribe Liberty* “ *with all the Pride of Stoiciſm; others were driven,* “ *by the fear of Oppreſſion and Tyranny, to deny any* “ *Government to be well conſtituted, which is not* “ *ſubject to the People; and ſome were pleaſed with* “ *a kind of pretended Philoſophy, which taught them,* “ *that Kings ſhould be kept in Awe, leaſt they degenerate into Tyrants.*” If ſuch a Catalogue were to be made in this preſent Year 1699, it would be much larger; for the Doctrine of the Supream Authority of the People is of late grown into Faſhion. *Grotius* praiſes a Political Piece of *Arniſæus* very highly (5).

(2) Boſius de comparanda Prudentia Civili, n. 20.

(3) Boeclerus in Grot. de Jure Belli & Pacis, lib. I. cap. 3. n. VIII. pag. 236.

(4) Id. ib.

(5) Grot de Imperio Summar. Poteſtatum circa Sacra, cap. III. n. 8.

[*B*] *The Univerſity of* Helmſtadt *loſt much by His Retreat.*] This is teſtified by *Conringius*, who ſtyles *Arniſæus, æternum Juliæ Academiæ & incomparabile ornamentum* (6), —— *The Perpetual and Inimitable Ornament of the* Julian *Academy.* “ Vir incomparabilis, *ſays he, in another Book* (7), à quo civilis “ philoſophiæ in Academia Julia, ut alibi nuſquam, “ fuit exculta, & ſimul Imperii quoque, ut aliarum “ Rerum publicarum veterum recentiumque, hiſtoria “ etiamſi ſparſim quidem, accurate tamen ſatis eſt “ inculcata —— illius in Daniam diſceſſu ſimul utrumque hoc ſtudiorum genus fuerit heic quaſi “ conſepultum. —— *An Incomparable Man; who* “ *cultivated Politics in the Univerſity of* Helmſtadt, “ *beyond what it had ever been elſewhere; and, at* “ *the ſame Time, inculcated the Hiſtory of the Empire,* “ *as alſo of other Republics both ancient and modern,* “ *accurately enough, though ſcattered here and there.* “ —— *By his Departure to* Denmark *both theſe* “ *kind of Studies were at once buried in this Univerſity.*”

(6) Conring. de Civili Prudentia, cap. 14.

(7) Id. in Dedicat. Exercitat. de Rep. Imperii German.

[*C*] *It is falſely pretended, that he was Profeſſor at* Jena.] This we find in an Edition of a Work of *Boſius, de comparanda prudentia civili.* But This Edition was diſclaimed by *Boſius*'s Widow. See the Advertiſement, which ſhe inſerted at the beginning of this Book, when ſhe publiſhed it free from the Errors, which disfigured the former Edition.

[*D*] *The Titles of ſeveral of his Works.*] Beſides the Poetical Treatiſes, which I have already mentioned (8), he wrote a Book *de Subjectione & Exemptione Clericorum* —— *Of the Subjection and Exemption of the Clergy:* Another *de poteſtate temporali Pontificis in Principes* —— *Of the Temporal Authority of the Pope over Princes:* Another *de Tranſlatione Imperii Romani* —— *Of the Tranſlation of the Roman Empire:* Another *de Republica* —— *Of Civil Society:* Another *de Jure Connubiorum* (9) —— *Of the Rights of Marriage:* The Title of another is *Doctrina Politica in genuinam methodum, quæ eſt Ariſtotelis, reducta & ex probatiſſimis quibuſque Philoſophis, Oratoribus, Juriſconſultis, Hiſtoricis,* &c. *breviter comportata & explicata* (10) —— *Political Inſtitutes reduced to* Ariſtotle'*s Method, and briefly compiled and explained from the moſt approved Philoſophers, Orators, Lawyers, Hiſtorians,* &c. He wrote alſo on Phyſic: His *Obſervationes aliquot Anatomicæ* —— *Some Anatomical Obſervations*; were printed at *Francfort* in the Year 1610, in 4to. His Diſpute *de Lue Venerea cognoſcenda & curanda* —— *Of the Knowledge and Cure of the Veneral Diſeaſe*; was printed the ſame Year at *Oppenheim*, in 4to. I do not know the date of the firſt Edition of his *Diſquiſitiones de partus humani ligitimis terminis* —— *Enquiries into the lawful Bounds of Human Birth*; nor of his Books *de Preſervatione à Peſte* —— *Of a Preſervative againſt the Plague: de Hydropum eſſentia & curatione* —— *Of the Eſſence and Cure of Dropſies: de apoplexia & epilepſia cognoſcendis & curandis* (11) —— *Of the Knowledge and Cure of the Apoplexy and Epilepſy.* As for his Philoſophical Writings, we are to know, that he wrote Annotations on *Crellius*'s Logic: *Epitome Metaphyſices ad mentem Ariſtotelis* —— *An Abridgment of Metaphyſics according to the Principles of* Ariſtotle: *De conſtitutione & partibus Metaphyſicæ* —— *Of the Conſtitution and Parts of Metaphyſics: Vindiciæ pro Ariſtotele de ſubjecto Metaphyſicæ & Natura Entis* —— Ariſtotle *vindicated on the Subject of Metaphyſics, and the Nature of Being: Diſputationes* VIII *Metaphyſicæ* —— *Eight Metaphyſical Diſputations: Epitome doctrinæ Phyſicæ* —— *An Epitome of Natural Philoſophy.*

(8) *In Remark* [*A*].

(9) *See the* Diarium Biograph. *of* Witte ad Ann. 1635.

(10) *See* Lindenius renovatus, pag. 390.

(11) Witte, ubi ſupra.

ARNOBIUS, Profeſſor of Rhetoric, at *Sicca*, in *Numidia*, towards the end of the IIId Century, was brought over to the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity by Dreams (a). He applied himſelf to the Biſhops for admiſſion into the Church; but They, remembring how violently he had always oppoſed the true Faith, diſtruſted him, and, before his admiſſion into the Number of Catechumens, would have him give Proofs of his Sincerity [*A*]. To ſatisfie them, he wrote a Book againſt the *Gentiles*, wherein

(a) *See Remark* [*A*].

[*A*] *The Biſhops—before his Admiſſion into the Number of Catechumens, would have him give Proofs of his Sincerity.*] St *Jerom* furniſhes us with theſe Particulars. “ Arnobius Rhetor, *ſays he* (1), clarus in *Africa* habetur: qui quum in civitate Siccæ ad declamandum “ juvenes erudiret, & adhuc Ethnicus ad credulitatem “ ſomniis compelleretur, neque ab Epiſcopo impetraret fidem quam ſemper impugnaverat, elucubravit “ adverſus priſtinam religionem luculentiſſimos libros, “ & tandem velut quibuſdam obſidibus pietatis fœdus “ impetravit. —— Arnobius *is a famous Rhetorician* “ *of* Africa; *this Perſon taught Oratory in the City of* “ Sicca, *and was converted from Heatheniſm by* “ *Dreams; but being diſtruſted by the Biſhops, as having hitherto oppoſed the Faith, he wrote an excellent Work againſt his former Religion, and, at laſt,*

(1) Hieron. in Chronico Euſebii ad Ann. II. Olymp. 276.

“ *upon*

in he very powerfully confuted the Abſurdity of their Religion, and the Ridiculouſneſs of their falſe Gods. He employed all the Flowers of his Rhetoric, and diſplayed much Learning, in it; but, as he had a laudable Impatience to be admitted into the Body of the Faithful, He made a little too much haſte in compoſing this Work [*B*]; which is the true Reaſon, why It is not ſo juſtly and beautfully diſpoſed, as could be wiſhed. The worſt is, that, not having a full Knowledge of the Chriſtian Truths, he vented very dangerous Errors [*C*]. It is not known what became of him afterwards, nor at what time he died. His Work contains *Seven* Books,

and

“ *upon giving theſe Hoſtages of his Sincerity, was* “ *admitted to the Peace of the Church.*” He was looked upon as an Enemy, who had a Mind to enter into a Treaty of Peace; but, before the Concluſion of it, they expected Security for his good Behaviour; Hoſtages were demanded, and he gave them: Theſe were Seven Invectives againſt the *Pagans*: He was afterwards looked upon as a good Brother; and received into the Peace of the Church.

[*B*] *He made a little too much haſte in compoſing this Work.*] Let us Comment upon this by a Paſſage of *Baronius*. “ Quod verò opus illud, ut in- “ ter Fideles admitteretur, quaſi fidei ſuæ vadem “ feſtinus abſolvit; hinc planè eſt quòd in eo (ut ait “ Hieronymus) fuiſſe viſus eſt inæqualis & nimius, “ & abſque operis ſui partitione confuſus. Rurſum “ verò quòd nondum plenè eſſet ſcientia rerum Chri- “ ſtianarum imbutus, utpote cùm non ſolùm non “ fuerit baptiſmate illuſtratus, ſed nec in Eccleſiam “ inter catechumenos acceptus; venia dignus eſt, ſi “ aliquibus nævis viſus eſt commentarius ille eſſe reſ- “ perſus (2). —— *The Reaſon of That Inequality, Pro-* “ *lixity, and Confuſion, which St* Jerom *obſerved in* “ *This Work, which he wrote as a Pledge of his Faith,* “ *in order to be admitted among the Faithful, was* “ *the haſte, with which he compoſed it. Again, if this* “ *Commentary be interſperſed with ſome Errors, the* “ *Author may in excuſe ſay, that he had not as yet a* “ *full Knowledge of Chriſtianity, having neither been* “ *enlightened by Baptiſm, nor received into the Church* “ *among the Catechumens* (3).”

[*C*] *He vented very dangerous Errors.*] We have juſt ſeen, that *Baronius* imputes the Heterodoxy of the Seven Books of *Arnobius* to the Precipitation, with which they were written: For the Author could not defer writing them, ’till he had leiſure to be better inſtructed in all the Points of the Chriſtian Faith. The Annaliſt would have us excuſe the Errors of *Arnobius*, as being of no Conſequence; but it is certain, that the Inquiſition would, at this Day, condemn Thoſe to be burnt, who ſhould publiſh ſuch Doctrines. I own, we ought to make great Allowances for *Arnobius*; but it is no leſs true, that his Opinions concerning the *Origin* of the *Soul*, and the Cauſe of *Natural Evil*, together with ſome other capital Matters, are very pernicious. This I have obſerved elſewhere (4). In regard to our Myſteries, he might have pleaded what *Perſius* confeſſes with Regard to Poetry, that he ventured to write, before he underſtood his Subject.

Nec fonte labra prolui Caballino:
Nec in bicipiti ſomniaſſe Parnaſſo
Memini, ut repente ſic Poëta prodirem.
Heliconidaſque, pallidamque Pyrenen
Illis remitto, quorum imagines lambunt
Hederæ ſequaces. Ipſe ſemipaganus
Ad ſacra Vatum carmen affero noſtrum (5).

I never did on cleft Parnaſſus *Dream,*
Nor taſte the ſacred Heliconian *Stream;*
Nor can remember when my Brain inſpired
Was by the Muſes into Madneſs fired.
My Share in pale Pyrene *I reſign,*
And claim no part in all the mighty Nine.
Statues, with winding Ivy crown'd, belong
To nobler Poets, for a nobler Song:
Heedleſs of Verſe, and hopeleſs of the Crown,
Scarce half a Wit, and more than half a Clown,
Before the Shrine I lay my rugged Numbers down.
DRYDEN.

Read here Mr *Du Pin*’s Judgment. “ It is plain he was “ not as yet thoroughly inſtructed in the Myſteries of “ our Religion. He attacks the Religion of the “ *Pagans* more ſolidly, than he defends That of the “ Chriſtians. He diſcovers the Folly of *Paganiſm* “ more happily, than he proves the Truth of Chri- “ ſtianity. But this ought not to be thought ſtrange; “ for it is common to all new Converts, who, being “ as yet full of their own Religion, are better able to “ detect the Errors and Folly of it, than to diſplay “ the Proofs and Excellency of That, which they “ embrace (6).” I meet with no Author, who ſpeaks ſo tenderly of *Arnobius*’s Errors, as Dr *Cave*. He ſays, that, perhaps, there are Doctrines in him ſomething different from the True Faith. “ Dogmata quædam “ habet FORSAN minus Catholica, quæ homini è “ Gentilium tenebris recens erumpenti, & nondum “ Chriſtianæ fidei elementis ſatis inſtructo, condonanda “ ſunt (7). —— *He advances ſome Doctrines* perhaps “ *not altogether Catholic, which may be pardoned in* “ *one but juſt emerged from the Darkneſs of* Paganiſm, “ *nor yet fully inſtructed in the Elements of Chriſtian* “ *Faith.*” This is carrying the Indulgence much farther, than was done in the Preface to the Edition of *Leyden* in 1651, where it was thought ſufficient to ſay, that *Arnobius* ſwerved *a little* from Orthodoxy. “ Aliis in locis à veritate Chriſtiana NONNIHIL rece- “ dit. Sed hoc condonandum illi, qui ex Ethniciſmi “ tenebris recens ad veritatem Chriſtianam pervenerat. “ Idem huic Autori evenit, quod iis ſolet, qui ex “ carcere tenebricoſo in lucem perducti viſum adhuc “ dubium habent (8). —— *In other places, he recedes* “ a little *from Chriſtian Truth. But he is excuſeable* “ *in this, being then but juſt arrived from the Darkneſs* “ *of Heatheniſm to Chriſtian Truth. Our Author's* “ *Caſe is the ſame with Theirs, who, being brought out* “ *of a dark Dungeon into Light, cannot immediately* “ *diſtinguiſh Objects with certainty.*” Once again; let us excuſe This Father, but not be ſo ſimple, as to call the Doctrines, he advanced, by the ſoft Name of *Small Errors*. If we conſider them right, they merit the ſame Treatment as would be given them, at this Day, if any Doctor ſhould at preſent advance them. It muſt be owned, without a Cavil, that a Modern Author read a good Lecture to his Cenſor upon this Subject. Let us hear him. “ Mr *Jurieu* weighs “ Errors in a falſe Balance. He judges of the Do- “ ctrine by the Perſons, and not the Perſons by the “ Doctrine. One and the ſame Error alters it's Na- “ ture, according to the Circumſtances of Place, and “ Time. It is monſtrous Hereſy, according to the “ Subject in which it is found, and the Age in which “ it reigns. This Partiality of Mr *Jurieu* appears “ in all his Diſputes againſt the preſent Sectaries, in “ whom he pardons nothing; at the ſame time that “ he carries his Indulgence for the Fathers to a prodi- “ gious Exceſs —— (9). The reſpect we have for “ Perſons ſhould not make us reſpect their Errors, “ when they are capital. On all occaſions of the “ like Nature, we ſhould call *A Spade, a Spade*, &c.” Mr *Jurieu* willingly excuſes *Origen*'s Errors, on account of his great Zeal; but, if any Modern ſhould preſume to put us off with the Dreams of the Ancients, Mr *Jurieu* would not think himſelf obliged to bear with them. “ If Theſe viſionary Notions “ be Hereſy and Impiety, which change Hell into “ a Purgatory, and by this means deſtroy the Dread “ of Eternal Puniſhment, and the Fear of God, why “ ought they to be ſuffered in *Origen* (10)? —— “ The Tenderneſs, with which Mr *Jurieu* ſpeaks of “ St *Hilary*'s, and St *Jerom*'s Errors, is certainly “ not edifying.” He excuſes them, by ſaying they are Miſtakes, and Overſights. “ But, ſhould a Divine “ of this Age think fit to maintain the ſame Opinions,” Mr *Jurieu* would think himſelf obliged to call them Extravagancies, and Impieties. “ What a notorious “ Partiality is This! The ſame Things, which are “ Extravagancies, and Impieties, in our Age, are “ only excuſable Miſtakes, and Overſights, in the

“ IVth

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(2) Baronius ad Ann. 302. n. 67. pag. 733.

(3) *Mr* du Pin *is not of this Opinion.* He compoſed, *ſays he,* (Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ. Tom. I. pag. 203.) when he was but a Catechumen, VII Books.

(4) *Conſult the Table of This Dictionary, at the Word ARNOBIUS.*

(5) Perſius, *in Prologo.*

(6) Du Pin, Biblioth des Auteurs Eccleſ. Tom. I. pag. 204. Col. 2. Edit. *of* Holland.

(7) Gulielmi Cave Hiſtor. Literar. pag. 112.

(8) Præf. Arnobii in Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651.

(9) Saurin, Examen de la Doctrine de Mr Jurieu, pag. 681.

(10) Id. ib. pag. 683.

and not *Eight*, as was believed for ſome time [*D*]. They have been commented on by learned Men, and printed ſeveral times [*E*].

“IVth Century. Why ſo (11)?” This Author pretends to have diſcovered the ſource of theſe double Weights. Let us hear him again (12). “Mr *Jurieu* forgives them Thoſe Errors, as light and trifling Faults, which, in Perſons of our own Age, would be Infernal Hereſies. It is common for us to ſhew great Reſpect, and an high Eſteem, for Thoſe, who have had the happineſs to live ſeveral Centuries before us; tho' we diſcover in them all Thoſe Weakneſſes, and bad Qualities, which we cannot ſuffer in the Moderns. If we cannot eſteem the Ancients, we think ourſelves at leaſt obliged to love them; and, by judging with Chriſtian Charity, to put the moſt favourable Conſtruction we can upon their Words. Whereas, on the contrary, we glory in an enflamed Zeal againſt our Cotemporaries; we forgive them nothing, but are laviſh of our *Anathema*'s againſt them. And yet, the Intereſts of Religion once preſerved, Charity ſhould rather be exerciſed towards the Living, than Thoſe, who have been dead for ſeveral Ages paſt. The Charity, we have for Theſe, coſts us little; becauſe their Merit does not excite our Jealouſy and Envy, nor do we conſider them as our Rivals. But we muſt mortify Self-love not a little, to judge charitably of an Adverſary, who ſpeaks and writes againſt us, and whoſe Reputation eclipſes our Glory; and this is a Sacrifice, which we do not eaſily make. As Mr *Jurieu* had no Quarrel againſt *Origen*, and as he has perſonal Enemies in the *Socinian* Party, no wonder, if he has more indulgence for the former, than the latter.”

[*D*] *Seven Books, and not Eight, as was believed for ſome time.*] Every one knows, that the Title of the ſmall Work of *Minucius Felix* is *Octavius*. It is found, in ſeveral ancient Manuſcripts, joyned with the Books of *Arnobius*, which occaſioned it's paſſing for One of His; and, without doubt, the Word *Octavius*, taken for *Octavus*, miſlead many a Reader. Let us cite the following Words of Mr *du Pin*. “This Book (13) paſſed a long Time for the *eighth* Book of *Arnobius*; for, being found in an ancient Manuſcript of the *Vatican*, with the ſeven Books of *Arnobius*, it was four times printed under That Name *, without any one's knowing it's true Author. The learned Civilian *Baudouin* was the firſt, who diſcovered This vulgar Error, and cauſed This little Treatiſe, with a learned Preface, in which he reſtores it to it's proper Author, to be ſeparately printed at *Heidelberg*, in the Year 1560. Now, tho' the Honour of having made the firſt Diſcovery be due to This famous Civilian, yet, Thirty three Years after, *Urſinus*, cauſing *Arnobius*'s Works to be printed at *Rome*, whether he had not ſeen *Baudouin*'s Edition, or would aſſume the Honour of This Remark to himſelf, ſeparated *Minucius*'s Book from Thoſe of *Arnobius*, without any Intimation that it had been done before, thus aſcribing to himſelf the Honour of the Diſcovery (14).” We find much the ſame thing in the Preface (15) to the *Minucius Felix*, printed at *Leyden* in the Year 1652. We there find likewiſe, that, almoſt at the ſame time that *Francis Baudouin* made it appear, that the pretended *eighth* Book of *Arnobius* was the Work of *Minucius Felix*, another Critic had ſome Suſpicion of the Miſtake. “Eodem fere tempore id ipſum ſuboluit etiam Hadriano Junio (16). —— *About the ſame time* Hadrian Junius *began to ſuſpect the ſame Thing.*” This is not exact: It ſhould have been ſaid, that *Francis Baudouin* was not the firſt, who diſcovered it; for He did not publiſh what he knew of the Matter, till four Years after another had communicated This Thought to the Public. His *Minucius* appeared in the Year 1560. Now we find the following Paſſage concerning this Matter, in a Piece, which *Hadrian Junius* publiſhed in the Year 1556. “Arnobio, qui ſeptem duntaxat adverſum gentes libros edidit, octavus accrevit, quum ſit Minucii Felicis Octavius, ab interlocutorum uno ita vocitatus, nova ratione obliterandi auctoris (17). —— *An Eighth Book was inſenſibly tacked to the ſeven Books of* Arnobius *againſt the* Gentiles, *which was indeed the* Octavius *of* Minucius Felix, *ſo called from one of the Interlocutors; a new Way of concealing the Author.*” The following Year, *Baudouin* was not cured of the common Error; for he cited the Treatiſe of *Minucius* as the *eighth* Book of *Arnobius*. “Sic ille apud Arnobium Cecilius Chriſtianos dictitat cum coëunt infantis occiſi ſanguinem lambere (18). —— Horribilis profecto eſt oratio Cecilii illius leguleii Romani qui apud Arnobium libro octavo hæc adhuc Chriſtianis objicit (19). —— *Thus the* Cecilius *in* Arnobius *pretends, that the Chriſtians, when they come together, drink the Blood of a murthered Infant. —— It is a ſhocking Speech of That* Cecilius, *the* Roman *Lawyer, who, in the eighth Book of* Arnobius, *ſtill charges the Chriſtians with This Practice.*” *Lewis Carrio* aſcribed to *Junius* the Honour of being the firſt, who had reſtored the *Octavius* to it's True Author; and, in a Book, which he publiſhed, at *Paris*, in the Year 1583, he ſpeaks thus. “Illi (Minucio) Octavum adverſus gentes librum Junius noſter in Animadverſis ſuis princeps jam olim vindicavit (20).---- *Our* Junius, *the Firſt, who made the Diſcovery, had before, in his* Animadverſions, *reſtored the* eighth Book againſt the Gentiles *to it's True Author,* Minucius Felix.” Read theſe Words of Mr *Joly*: “Minutii Felicis vetuſtiſſimi ſcriptoris Chriſtiani dialogus elegantiſſimus contra idolorum vanitatem tàm diu pro octavo Arnobii adverſus gentes libro habitus eſt, quia Minutius eum ſub nomine Octavii protulerat, donec à Franciſco Balduino Juriſconſulto, anno 1560, Arnobio abductus, & genuino Autori redditus eſt, veluti Nicolaus Rigaltius in præfatione ad eundem Minutium obſervavit (21). —— *The moſt elegant Dialogue of* Minucius Felix, *againſt the Vanity of Idolatry, was ſo long thought to be the eighth Book of* Arnobius, adverſus gentes, *becauſe he had inſcribed it* Octavius; *till* Francis Baudouin, *the Lawyer, took it from* Arnobius, *and reſtored it to the true Author, as* Nicolas Rigaltius *obſerved in the Preface to the ſame* Minucius.” Here are two learned Men, who were ignorant, that *Junius* was before-hand with *Baudouin* in the Diſcovery of the true Author of the *Octavius*. However I think Mr *Joly* had no reaſon to place This Book in the Liſt of the *Pſeudonymous*. He pretends, that, in publiſhing it, the Author diſguiſed himſelf under the Name of *Octavius*; I think it were better to ſay, that *Octavius* is the Title of the Book, and not the ſuppoſed Name of it's Author. It would be improper, to ſay, that *Plato*'s Dialogues were publiſhed under the Falſe Names of the Perſons, from whom they are entituled. *Minucius Felix* imitated *Plato*; he would have his Dialogue carry, for it's Title, the Name of The principal Interlocutor.

[*E*] *His Works——have been printed ſeveral times.*] If I had the neceſſary Books, I would give an exact account of the Editions of *Arnobius*; but I muſt give up this Deſign, and confine myſelf to ſome critical Obſervations on Thoſe, who have given us Catalogues of theſe Editions. The Author of the Preface to the *Arnobius*, printed at *Leyden*, in the Year 1651, ſays, I. That the firſt Edition of This Father is That, which *Francis Priſcianenſis*, a *Florentine*, publiſhed at *Rome*; but does not ſay in what Year; a Fault of Omiſſion, which cannot be excuſed. II. That *Sigiſmund Gelenius* altered ſeveral things in this Edition, not by the Aſſiſtance of Manuſcripts, but by truſting to the Conjectures of his own Genius. III. That *Theodore Canterus*, in publiſhing *Arnobius* with Additions, complained of *Gelenius*'s Boldneſs. IV. That *Godeſcalc Stewechius* laboured with Succeſs on This Father. V. That *Elmenborſt* added to his Commentary the *various Readings*, collected as well from the Manuſcripts, and the Edition publiſhed at *Rome*, in the Year 1542, from an ancient Manuſcript of *Francis Sabæus* (23), as from the Edition of *Fulvius Urſinus*. VI. That *Deſiderius Heraldus* publiſhed Annotations on the Seven Books of *Arnobius*. I have three things to offer againſt all this: In the firſt Place, the Liſt of the Editions is very imperfect; in the ſecond Place, the Edition of *Rome*, 1532, is the ſame with the Firſt, though it be mentioned here as different from it. In the third Place, it is not true, that the Annotations of *Deſiderius Heraldus* followed the Edition of *Elmenborſt*. The latter is of the Year 1610, and *Heraldus*'s Edition appeared at *Geneva*, in the Year 1597, and at *Paris* in the Year 1605. Let

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(11) Id. id. pag. 684.

(12) Id. ib. pag. 687.

(13) *To wit, That of* Minucius Felix.

* *The firſt by* Sabæus, *from the Manuſcript of* Rome, *in* 1542. *The ſecond, in* Germany *by*, Gelenius. *The third in* Holland, *at* Leyden, *in* 1552. *The fourth at* Baſil *by* Eraſmus *in* 1560.

Erasmus died AD-1536

(14) Du Pin Bibl. des Auteurs Eccleſ. Tom. I. pag. 119, col. 2.

(15) *Written by* James Ouzelius.

(16) Jacob. Ouzelius in Præf. Minucii Felicis.

(17) Hadrianus Junius, Animadverſ. lib. VI. c. I.

(18) Franciſcus Balduinus ad edicta veterum principum Rom. de Chriſtianis, pag. 47. Edit. Baſil. apud Oporinum, 1557.

(19) Id. ib. pag. 50.

(20) Ludov. Carrio, Emendat. lib. II. cap. 18, fol. 52.

(21) Claudius Joly, Differtat. de Verbis Uſnardi, pag. 134. *This Book was printed in* 1669.

(22) Rigaltius, *and* Joly.

(23) *His Name was* Fauſtus, *and not* Francis.

Let us now examine Mr *du Pin*'s Liſt (24). I obſerve, in the firſt Place, that the proper Names in it are very much diſguiſed (25). There we find *Canrerus*, inſtead of *Canterus*; *Hermenhorſtius*, inſtead of *Helmenhorſtius*; *Stevuchius*, inſtead of *Stewechius*. Beſides, I obſerve, that he mentions one *Theodorus Priſcianenſis*, as the Printer of the firſt Edition. This is certainly a miſtake. We have ſeen, that the *Florentine Franciſcus Priſcianenſis* was the firſt, who publiſhed the Works of *Arnobius*. Now he was no Printer. *Pocciantius* does not give him this Appellation; he only makes him a good Philologiſt, and Author of ſome *Italian* Books (26). I am perſuaded, that *Fauſtus Sabæus*, Library Keeper of the *Vatican*, communicated the Manuſcript to him, from which the Edition of *Rome* was printed, in 1542. Therefore, in the Preface of the Edition of *Leyden*, it was wrong to make a Diſtinction between the Edition of *Franciſcus Priſcianenſis*, and That, which was publiſhed from the Manuſcript of *Sabæus*. Note, that *Lewis Carrio* is of Opinion, that the Manuſcript of *Arnobius*, which is in the Library of the King of *France*, is That, which was employed in the firſt Edition (27). He imagines, that, becauſe it was dedicated to *Francis* I, the Manuſcript was likewiſe ſent him. In the third Place, I obſerve, that it is not true, that the ſeven Books of *Arnobius* were printed with the Notes of *Heraldus*, in 1583; nor that the Edition of *Hamburgh*, in 1610, ought to be diſtinguiſhed from That before-mentioned; I mean from That, which was accompanied with the Commentary of *Elmenhorſt*. Laſtly, I obſerve, that *Stewechius* did not publiſh an Edition of *Arnobius*, at *Doüay*, in the Year 1634; his Edition is of *Antwerp*, in 1686, and he had been dead a long time, when his *Electa in Arnobium* were reprinted at *Doüay*, in the Year 1634, *Cum paratitlis ſeu Summariis Leandri de Sancto Martino*. You will find a like Miſtake at Citation * of the Remark [*D*], where Mr *Du Pin* ſays, that *Eraſmus* publiſhed *Arnobius* in 1560; whereas He died in 1536.

(24) *It is at the 205th Page, Col.* 1. *of the firſt Tome of his* Bibliotheque *Edit*. Holl.

(25) *I make uſe of the Edition of* Holland.

(26) Pocciantius de Scriptor. Florentinis, pag. 69.

(27) Ludov. Carrio Emendat. lib. I. cap. 9. fol. 18. *Mr* Du Pin *affirms it*, pag. 119, Tom. I. Biblioth.

Let us take ſome Notice of Father *Labbé* (28). He thinks the Edition of *Leyden* a very good one; but wonders, that The Undertakers of it, did not inſert the *Arnobianus Criticus* of *Meurſius*, which was printed at *Leyden*, in the Year 1598, *cum Hypercritico Minutiano*. He would at leaſt have had them take Notice of it. They, who ſhould retort upon him, that he himſelf ought to have remembered the *Eclogæ ad Arnobium* of *Julius Cæſar Bulenger* (29), would not have the ſame Reaſon; for That Book is of no uſe, either in correcting the Text of *Arnobius*, or in unfolding the literal Senſe; it is nothing but a Series of Quotations, explaining ſome Thoughts of *Arnobius*. The ſame Jeſuit reflects upon the great *Salmaſius*, for promiſing a Commentary on This Author, and not keeping his Word. *Salmaſiani autem illi Commentarii tamdiu expectati, tam ſæpe ejus amicorumque literis promiſſi atque jactati, in fumum tandem ventoſque evanuerunt* (30). I believe ſuch a Piece of *Salmaſius* would have made finer Diſcoveries, than his learned Commentary on the Treatiſe of *Tertullian de Pallio*.

(28) Labbé, Diſſert. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. Tom. I, pag. 105.

(29) *Printed at* Toulouſe, *in* 1612, *in* 8vo.

(30) Labbé, ubi ſupra.

ARNOLDUS (NICHOLAS) Profeſſor of Divinity at *Franeker*, was born at *Leſna*, a City of *Poland*, the Seventeenth of *December* 1618. His Mother being left a Widow, when he was but three Years of Age, took all imaginable Care of his Education, and dedicated him to Learning. He went through his Humanity Studies in the College of *Leſna*, under *Comenius*, among other Regents, who at that time read his *Janua Linguarum* to his Scholars. He was ordained *Acolyth* (*a*), in the Synod of *Oſtrorog*, at Fifteen Years of Age, and, in this Station, accompanied *Orminius* (*b*), for two Years, in viſiting the Churches of *Poland*; after which, he was ſent to *Dantzic*, in the Year 1635, and there applied himſelf to the Study of Eloquence and Philoſophy. He ſometimes experienced the ill Humour of *John Botſac*, who was grieved, that a young Man of ſuch Hopes ſhould be a *Calviniſt*. In the Year 1638, he returned into *Poland*, and ſtudied *Sermonary Theology* *, under the Direction of *Orminius*, and, a Year after, was ſent to *Podalia*, to be Rector of the School of *Jablonow*. Having exerciſed This Employ during three Months, he diſcharged the Miniſterial Functions at the Houſe of a great Lord (*c*) for two Years ſucceſſively. It being obſerved, that his Talents might be of great Uſe to the Church, it was thought proper to give him an Opportunity of improving them in the moſt famous Univerſities. He began his Travels in the Year 1641, and came firſt to *Franeker*, where he made a great Progreſs under his Countryman *Maccovius*, and under *Cocceius*. The Year 1643 he ſpent in the Univerſities of *Groningen*, *Leyden*, and *Utrecht*, and ſoon after returned to *Franeker*; where he applied himſelf to ſtudy *French* and *Engliſh*. The following Year he went over into *England*; but, finding it impoſſible to get to *Oxford*, the Roads being ſtopped by the King's Forces, or by Thoſe of the Parliament, he went on Foot to *Cambridge*; but could hear no Divinity Lectures there, the Profeſſors being all under Confinement in *Trinity* College. Being on his Return to *Franeker*, he applied himſelf to Preaching, even in *Dutch*; and his Sermons were ſo well reliſhed, that, in hopes of retaining him in *Frieſland*, they diſſuaded him from reviſiting *Poland*. He was judged very capable of the Miniſtry by the Claſſical Synod of *Franeker*, who had examined him; and the Praiſes they gave him induced a young Gentlewoman of That Country to accept of him for a Huſband [*A*]. He was married to her in the Year 1645, and ſoon after

(*a*) *The Reformed Churches of* Bohemia *retained this Part of Ancient Diſcipline.---- An* Acolyth *is an Under Deacon, the loweſt Order of Prieſts.*

(*b*) *Superintendant of the Churches of Great* Poland.

* *A Syſtem of Divinity compiled from Sermons.*

(*c*) Johannes de Potock Potocki, Succamerarius Terræ Halicienſis.

[*A*] *The Praiſes they gave him induced a young Gentlewoman of That Country to accept of him for a Husband.*] This we are informed of by the Author of his Funeral Oration. "Fecit paulo poſt, *ſays* "*he* (1), tanta omnium laus, ut nobiliſſima in Friſiis "Virgo Remigia à NITZEN facilis in conjugales "ejus rueret amplexus anno 1645. —— *Soon after*, "*This general Approbation induced a Noble Lady of* "Frieſland, Remigia *of* NITZEN, *readily to meet* "*his Embraces in Wedlock, in the Year* 1645." This Lady was to be commended for preferring Reputation and Merit to Riches. There are other Examples of Matches of this Nature; for it is certain, that many Proteſtant Divines, recommended only by the Credit of their Eloquence, or Learning, have married to great Advantage, and rendered themſelves very conſiderable by the Rank of the Family, into which they have married. The great Probability, that they may, ſooner, or later, be raiſed to diſtinguiſhed Benefices, or conſiderable Profeſſorſhips, may have contributed towards it. Be this as it will, the Wife of our *Arnoldus* is to be commended. She died in the beginning of the Year 1652, and left no Children. In the Year 1653, he married again to the Widow of an Advocate of *Leewaerden*, whoſe Name was *Anne Pybinga*, the Daughter of a Burgo Maſter of *Franeker*, who brought him nine Children, five Sons (2) and four Daughters, and ſurvived him.

(1) Marckius, in Orat. Funebr. Arnoldi, p. 32.

(2) *The ſecond and third were Twins. See the* Programma *of the Rector of the Univerſity. It is printed before the* Orat. Funebr.

ARRIA, the Name of ſome *Roman* Ladies, whom I ſhall mention in the Remarks of the Article PAETUS.

ARRIAGA (Roderic d') a *Spaniſh* Jeſuit, was born at *Lucrona*, the Seventeenth of *January*, 1592. He entered into the Society on the Seventeenth of *September*, 1606, and taught Philoſophy, with great Applauſe, at *Valladolid*, and Divinity at *Salamanca*; and, being informed, by Letters from the General of The Order, that it would be more for the Glory of God, that ſome *Spaniſh* Jeſuits ſhould go into *Bohemia (a)*, to teach the ſublimer Sciences there, he offered himſelf for This Employ. He arrived at *Prague* in the Year 1624. He taught Scholaſtic Divinity there for the ſpace of thirteen Years, and was Director-General of the Studies twenty Years ſucceſſively, and Chancellor of the Univerſity for twelve Years. He ſolemnly received the Cap of Doctor of Divinity, and acquired much Reputation. The Province of *Bohemia* deputed him three times to *Rome*, to aſſiſt there at the general Congregrations of the Order *(b)*. He was ſeveral times intreated to return into *Spain*, but to no purpoſe. He was very much eſteemed by *Urban* VIII, *Innocent* X, and the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. He died at *Prague* on the Seventeenth of *June* 1667 *(c)*. He publiſhed ſeveral Books [*A*], in which he diſcovered much Subtility, and Wit. He ſeems to have ſucceeded much better in confuting what he denyed, than in defending what he affirmed; and it is pretended, that thereby he became a Favourer of *Pyrrhoniſm*, tho' he always declared, that he was no *Pyrrhoniſt* [*B*]. It would certainly be the higheſt Injuſtice to ſuſpect him of the leaſt Prevarication, or of betraying the *Dogmatiſts*; for, if, on one hand, he exerted all his Strength in confuting a great number of Opinions; he employed it on the other, in ſupporting the Opinions, which he had embraced: It was eaſy to ſee, that he acted with Sincerity, and exerted himſelf to the utmoſt; and, if his Proofs are weaker than his Objections, the blame muſt be laid on the nature of the Things. The Diligence, with which he confuted the Subtilties, which have been invented by the Schoolmen, to prove, that two contradictory Propoſitions are ſometimes true, and ſometimes falſe [*C*], is a ſufficient Demonſtration, that he was paſſionately in the Intereſt

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral Books.*] A *Courſe of Philoſophy*, in one Volume; and a *Courſe of Divinity*, in eight Volumes. The Courſe of Philoſophy, printed in Folio, at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1632, has been reprinted ſeveral times. The Edition of *Lyons* is augmented. The firſt and ſecond Volume of his *Courſe of Divinity* were printed in the Year 1643; the Third and Fourth in the Year 1644; the Fifth in the Year 1649; the Sixth in Year 1650; the Seventh and Eighth in the Year 1655. They are All in *Folio*, printed by *Balthazar Moret*, at *Antwerp* (1). He had The ninth Volume in hand, when he died: It was That *de Jure & Juſtitia* (2). Don *Nicolas Antonio* makes *Arriaga* the Author of a Book, *De Oratore*, printed at *Cologne* in the Year 1637, and of The *Brevis Expoſitio Literæ Magiſtri Sententiarum, cum Quæſtionibus quæ circa ipſam moveri poſſunt, & Authoribus qui de illis diſputant.* —— *A Brief Expoſition of the Letter of the Maſter of the Sentences, with the Queſtions, which may be ſtarted thereupon, and the Authors, which controvert them*; printed at *Lyons*, in the Year 1636, in 8vo, after other Editions (3); but, as Father *Sotuel* does not mention Theſe two Books, tho' the firſt was aſcribed to This Jeſuit by *Alegambus*, there is reaſon to believe, that Don *Nicolas Antonio* is miſtaken.

[*B*] *It is pretended, that thereby he became a Favourer of* Pyrrhoniſm, *tho' he always declared, that he was no* Pyrrhoniſt.] This is the Opinion of Mr *de Villemandy*: “ Sunt alii, *ſays he* (4), qui periculoſius “ adhuc ſollicitant (*ſacratiora fidei dogmata*) cujuſmodi Arriaga *ſuis in diſputationibus Theologicis*; nihil enim non moliuntur ut aliorum quorumcunque “ placita reflexionibus & objectionibus ſuis deſtruant, “ ipſi autem nihil fere adſtruunt — Celebris eſt inter “ Romanenſes Scholaſticos *Rodericus ille Arriaga* — “ Is multis Volum. Fol. & Philoſophiam & Theologiam eſt perſecutus; jam autem ſingula quæque ſic “ tractat ut aliorum ferè omnium opiniones variis “ rationibus infirmare ſtudeat, ſuas autem leviſſime “ ſuffulciat. Si ex hac methodo ingenii conditio “ dijudicetur, verè Pyrrhonius poteſt haberi; cum tamen placita ſua quantum poteſt firmet, iiſque conſtanter inhæreat, non poteſt legitime eo nomine donari (5). — *There are ſome, who yet more dangerouſly* “ *ſhake the moſt ſacred Articles of our Faith, ſuch as* “ Arriaga, *in his Theological Diſputations*; *for they* “ *take a great deal of Pains to overthrow the Opinions of others, but eſtabliſh nothing themſelves* —— “ *This* Roderic Arriaga *is famous among the* Roman “ Catholic *Schoolmen. He treats of Philoſophy, and Divinity, in many* Folio *Volumes*; *but handles them in* “ *ſuch a Manner, that he endeavours to weaken the* “ *Opinions of almoſt all others by a Variety of Arguments, but makes but a poor Defence of his Own.* “ *If the Author's Way of Thinking may be judged of by* “ *this Method of Proceeding, he is a thorough* Pyrrhonian; *but, when he labours to eſtabliſh his own* “ *Opinions, he cannot fairly lay claim to This Appellation.*” It may be affirmed, that, if the Reading this Jeſuit's Writing inclines us to think him a *Pyrrhoniſt*, it is purely by Accident, and againſt his Intention; for he is as Dogmatical as any One, and as zealous to confirm his Deciſions; but, whether thro' the Weakneſs of human Underſtanding, or the Difficulty of the Subjects, he found himſelf in the Caſe of a great numbers of Authors, who can diſcover the weak Side of a Doctrine to admiration, but never where the Force of it lies. They are like Thoſe Generals, who deſtroy the Enemy's Country with Fire and Sword, without being able to put their own Frontiers in a Poſture of Defence. Mr *Ancillon* thought This Jeſuit “ very ſingular in his Way of Writing, and “ much freer than others, who, thro' a baſe Servitude, dare not forſake the Opinions of the Writers “ of Their Society, and who ſcrupulouſly follow “ them as infallible —— Reporting the Opinion of “ *Vaſquez*, he ſays plainly, that, in the main, he “ lays but little ſtreſs on Father *Vaſquez*'s Solutions “ (6). Mr *Ancillon* adds, “ In reading *Arriaga* and “ *Oviedo*, I have obſerved, that, when one of theſe “ two Jeſuits maintains the Affirmative of a Propoſition, the other maintains the Negative; which “ is not very uſual among the Doctors of the *Romiſh* “ Religion in general, and which I have ſeldom obſerved, except in *Cornelius à Lapide*, and *Eſtius*.” It is no uncommon thing for the Jeſuits to confute each other on a great number of Queſtions, as well in Philoſophy, as School-Divinity. Witneſs *Suares* and *Vaſquez*.

[C] *The Subtilties of the Schoolmen, to ſhew, that two contradictory Propoſitions are ſometimes true, and ſometimes falſe.*] He has very well diſtinguiſhed Theſe Sophiſms; See his ſecond Diſputation on the *Summulæ* of Logic (7). I have ſeen ſome Profeſſors very much puzzled, when theſe Objections were made to them; which, in truth, ought only to paſs for Cavils, unluckily invented by Perſons of too much leiſure,

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(a) *The Jeſuits had newly made this Country a Province of their Order, diſtinct from That of* Auſtria. Sotuel, Bibl. Script. Societ. Jeſu, pag. 728, 729.

(b) *At the 8th, 10th, and 11th.*

(c) *Taken from* Sotuel, ubi ſupra.

(1) Nicolas Antonio, Biblioth. Hiſpan. Tom. II. pag. 209. *obſerves, that ſeveral of theſe Volumes were printed likewiſe at* Lyons.

(2) *Taken from* Sotuel, in Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jeſu, p. 729.

(3) Nicol. Anton. Biblioth. Script. Hiſpan. Tom. II. p. 209.

(4) Petrus de Villemandy in Scepticiſmo debellato, cap. II. pag. 13.

(5) Id. ib. cap. IV. p. 32.

(6) *See the* Mélange Critique de Litterature, Tom. I. p. 208.

(7) Sect. V. Subſect. III, & IV. p. 19, &c. *Edit.* Pariſ. 1639.

Intereſt of the *Dogmatiſts*, againſt the *Pyrrhonians*. He gave up moſt of the received Opinions of the Schools in Points of Natural Philoſophy, ſuch as the Compoſition of the *Continuum*, Rarefaction, *&c.* and therefore undertook to defend The Innovators in Philoſophy (*d*). It is pity ſo refined and penetrating a Genius had not had a better Notion of right Principles; for he might have carried them very far. A ſmall knowledge in Hydroſtatics would have diſcovered to him the reaſon of a Phænomenon, in the Explanation of which he took a great deal of Pains to no purpoſe. His Efforts, and his Zeal in this Matter, make it lamented, that he ran with ſuch force out of the right Way.

(*d*) *In the Preface to his Courſe of Philoſophy.*

leiſure, but who never pretended, like *Heraclitus*, that one and the ſame thing effectually is, and is not. They only intended to exerciſe their Wit. Obſerve, that *Ariſtotle* does not believe, tho' *Heraclitus* ſaid this, that he really thought ſo. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὁντινοῦν ταὐτὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι, καθάπερ τινὲς οἴονται λέγειν Ἡράκλειτον. οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον ἅ τις λέγει, ταῦτα καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν (8). — *It is impoſſible for any One to think, that the ſame Thing is and is not, as ſome believed* Heraclitus *to have affirmed. For it is not neceſſary we ſhould believe every thing we ſay.*

(8) Ariſtot. Metaphyſ. lib. III, cap. 3, pag. 667. G.

[*D*] *The Reaſon of a Phænomenon, in the Explanation of which he took a great deal of Pains to no purpoſe.*] The Phænomenon was, that a Piece of Timber, which is lighter than Water, does, nevertheleſs, not float on the Water, with regard to it's whole bulk, or thickneſs. A Beam, floating in a River, lies partly under, and partly above, the Water. This cannot be explained according to the common Principles of Gravity and Levity, and hence proceeded the Vanity of the Efforts of *Arriaga* (9). The new Philoſophers find no difficulty in this. See the Syſtem of Mr *Gadrois*.

(9) Arriaga Diſputat. 4. de Generat. Sect. 5, de Element. Subſect. VI, pag. 519.

ARSENIUS, a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, famous for the Nobility of his Family, but much more for his great Learning, and Piety, was choſen by Pope *Damaſus* to be ſent to the Emperor *Theodoſius*, who wanted a Preceptor for his Son *Arcadius*. He came to *Conſtantinople* in the Year 383, and was very well received by the Emperor, who was offended, one Day, both at the Diſciple and the Maſter, becauſe he found the latter ſtanding, and the other ſitting, at his Leſſon. He ordered, that his Son, tho' he had already been declared *Auguſtus*, ſhould ſtand uncovered, while *Arſenius* inſtructed him, and lay aſide the Marks of Imperial Dignity during That time. *Arſenius*, employing all his Endeavours to accompliſh his Diſciple in Learning and Virtue, found himſelf at laſt obliged to add Chaſtiſement to Cenſure. Young *Arcadius* was ſo incenſed at it, that he deſired one of his Officers to rid him of his Preceptor (*a*). The Officer advertiſed *Arſenius* of it, who retired privately into the Deſarts of *Ægypt*, where he paſſed ſeveral Years with the Anchorets of *Scetis*, in the moſt fervent and auſtere Exerciſes of Devotion. He died there at the Age of ninety five Years [*A*]. *Theodoſius*, hearing with grief of *Arſenius*'s Retreat, ordered him to be ſought for every where, without being able to diſcover him (*b*). There are ſome Faults in *Moreri*'s Dictionary relating to this Article [*B*]. I have met with ſome likewiſe in other Writers [*C*].

Several

(*a*) *Taken from the Annals of* Baronius, ad Ann. 383, n. 22, 23. *He cites* Metaphraſtus *under the 8th of* May, *and* Surius *under the 19th of* July.

(*b*) Flechier *his* Hiſtory of *Theodoſius*, pag. 273, 274.

[*A*] *He died there at the Age of Ninety five Years.*] Hear how Mr *Arnauld d'Andilli* (1) divides this long Life of *Arſenius*. He ſays, that, "He paſſed forty "Years in the Court of the Emperor *Theodoſius*, "forty in *Scetis*, ten in *Troché*, which is above "*Babylon*, over againſt the City of *Memphis*, three "in *Canopus* of *Alexandria*, and two in the ſame "Town of *Troché*, whither being returned he finiſhed his Courſe in the fear of God." This Expreſſion, *He paſt forty Years in the Court of* Theodoſius, is very improper; for, unleſs we will find a notorious Error in it, it muſt be taken in this Senſe; He was forty Years old, when he quitted the Court of *Theodoſius*. In effect, to take it in the proper and natural Signification of the Words, *Arſenius* muſt have lived to above One hundred and twenty Years of Age. His Age, at the time when he went to *Conſtantinople*, upon being choſen Preceptor to *Arcadius* by *Damaſus*, ought to have been added to the Ninety five Years. This Pope would not have choſen a young Man of twenty: Beſides, *Theodoſius* reign'd but about ſixteen Years, and he did not receive *Arſenius* 'till the fourth Year of his Reign.

[*B*] *There are ſome Faults in* Moreri'*s Dictionary.*] I. *Arſenius* could not have been ſent to *Theodoſius*, in the Year 383, to be Preceptor to *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, ſince *Honorius* was not born before the Year 384. *Baronius* had remarked this Fault to Thoſe, who wrote the Life of *Arſenius*, and aſcribed it to one, who knew, in general, that *Theodoſius* had two Sons; *aliquis quod ſciret duos fuiſſe Theodoſio filios, adjecit Honorium* (2). This Error remained in the Life of *Arſenius*, written by Mr *d'Andilli* (3), who quotes *Rufinus* (4) as his Authority. II. I confeſs, that *Baronius* (5), on the Credit of the *Lives of the Fathers*, ſays (6), that *Arſenius* was Godfather to the two Sons of *Theodoſius*; but this does not agree with *Rufinus*, who ſays, that they were put into *Arſenius*'s Hand *preſently after their Baptiſm* (7). Beſides, *Baronius* himſelf has obſerved, that it is a Miſtake in the Life of *Arſenius*, where it is ſaid, that he was ſent by *Damaſus* to be Preceptor to *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. The latter was not yet born; and the other was but about eight Years old. And it is not probable, that *Arſenius* continued at the Court of *Theodoſius*, 'till the Time that *Honorius* ſtood in need of a Preceptor. III. Mr *Flechier* ſays plainly, that *Theodoſius* ordered *Arſenius* to be ſearched for throughout the whole Empire. It is very improbable then, that *Arſenius* did not leave the Court 'till after the Death of *Theodoſius*, in the Year 395. I ſay, this is very improbable, tho' it be advanced as a certain Fact, in the firſt and third Volume of The Dictionary. IV. He ſhould not have ſuppreſſed the Circumſtances, which Mr *Flechier* had expreſsly remarked, to wit, that the Officer, whom *Arcadius* employed to kill *Arſenius*, gave This Preceptor notice of it. The Supplement to the Dictionary ſuppoſes, that *Arſenius* was divinely forewarned of it. V. *Arcadius* was not aſſociated to the Empire at ſix Years of Age, but at the Age of ſeven or eight; as *Baronius*, and *Flechier* obſerve. "Erat tunc Arcadius annum ætatis agens octavum, "natus nimirum ſub conſulatu Gratiani quarto & "Merobaudis, triennio ante Theodoſii patris Imperium (8). —— Arcadius *was then eight Years* "*of Age, having been born in the fourth Conſulſhip of* Gratian *and* Merobaudes, *three Years be*"*fore the Acceſſion of his Father* Theodoſius *to the* "*Empire.*" VI. *Socrates* ſhould not have been quoted; for what he ſays of *Arſenius* has ſcarce any relation to the Article of the Supplement. However, if any, the Twenty third Chapter of the third Book ſhould have been alledged.

[*C*] *Some Miſtakes in other Writers.*] *Matthias*, in his *Hiſtorical Theatre* (9), ſuppoſes perpetually, that

(1) D'Andilli's Lives of the Fathers Solitary, p. 204.

(2) Baron. ad Ann. 383, n. 22.

(3) *It is in the IId Tome of* the Lives of the Fathers Solitary, *by* Arnauld d'Andilli, p. 188, *of the Edit. in* 8vo. *of* 1676.

(4) Lib. III, n. 37.

(5) Ad Ann. 295, n. 26.

(6) Part II, cap. 36.

(7) Apud Arnauld d' Andilli, ubi ſupra.

(8) Baron. ad Ann. 383, n. 22.

(9) Pag. 713. Edit. Amſtel. 1668.

Several of *Arſenius*'s Actions, and Sayings, are to be found among the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, publiſhed by Mr *Cotelier* (*c*).

(*c*) *See the firſt Volume, printed at* Paris, *in* 1677.

that *Arſenius* was Preceptor to *Honorius*, as well as to *Arcadius*, and That at the ſame Time. He does not conſider, that *Honorius* was not born, when *Arſenius* was ſent to *Theodoſius*, to inſtruct *Arcadius*: He never ſo much as dreamt, that *Honorius*, being nine Years younger than his Brother, was very unfit to aſſiſt at the Lectures, which were read to *Arcadius*, during the Life of *Theodoſius*. Obſerve this Circumſtance well; becauſe *Matthias* was not ignorant, that *Arſenius* abſconded before the Death of the Emperor; for he remarks, that *Theodoſius* ordered him carefully to be ſearched for. He quotes the Twenty third Chapter of the fourth Book of *Socrates*, where nothing of what he ſays is to be found. He adds, that *Arcadius*, after the Death of his Father, was informed where *Arſenius* lay concealed, and ſent to deſire his Pardon for what had paſſed, and his Holy Benediction. *Doujatius*, being carried away with the Stream, joins *Honorius* with *Arcadius* (10). *Charles Stephens* knew our *Arſenius* only under the Quality of *Patrician*; and ſuppoſes him not to forſake the Court, but only his Eſtate, to go into a Monaſtery, being admoniſhed by a Voice from the Clouds, commanding him to fly, and live in Silence and Peace. *Hoſman* has added to this only the Poſt of Preceptor to *Arcadius*. *Lloyd* has ſuppreſſed the whole Article. Obſerve, that *Nicephorus*, the Son of *Calliſtus*, affirms, that *Theodoſius* appointed *Arſenius* Preceptor to his Sons (11).

(10) Arſenius, non ille Arcadii & Honorii Præceptor.—Arſenius, *not the Preceptor of* Arcadius, *and* Honorius. Doujatius Prænot. Canon. p. 429.

(11) Nicephor. Hiſtor. lib. XII, cap. 23.

ARSENIUS, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* in the XIIIth Century, was a Native of That City. He was educated in a Monaſtery of *Nice*, and was likewiſe Superior of it: But he renounced This Dignity to addict himſelf wholly to a Monaſtic Life, either in the Monaſteries of *Apolloniade*, or Thoſe of Mount *Athos*. He was taken from this way of Life, in the Year 1255, by the Emperor *Theodorus Laſcaris*, who made him Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. Four Years after, the ſame Emperor, before his Death, declared him one of the two Preceptors of his Son *John*. The other Preceptor was *George Muzalon*; who, diſcovering Deſigns very contrary to the true Intereſt of the Young Prince, gave *Arſenius* a diſlike to his Employment, which was the cauſe of his returning to a Monaſtic Life. But, in the Year 1261, when the *Greeks* had recovered *Conſtantinople*, under the Conduct of *Michael Palæologus*, *Arſenius* was recalled to reſume the Patriarchate, and fill That See, from which the Patriarchs had been excluded for above fifty Years. The next Year, the Emperor *Michael Palæologus* cauſed the Eyes of *John Laſcaris*, Son of the Emperor *Theodorus*, to be put out. *Arſenius*, offended at ſo barbarous an Action, committed on his Pupil, excommunicated *Michael*, who, to diſperſe theſe Eccleſiaſtical Storms, aſſembled a Council, and, on falſe Accuſations, cauſed *Arſenius* to be depoſed, and baniſhed him to the Iſland of *Proconneſus*. He lived a long time in This Exile; but it is not certainly known in what Year he died. He was a good Man, but wholly unqualified for Buſineſs (*a*). He is an Author [*A*].

(*a*) *Taken from* Cave's Hiſtoria Literaria Scriptor. Eccleſ. p. 725.

[*A*] *He is an Author.*] He wrote a *Nomo-Canon*, or Collection of Canons, divided into One hundred and forty one Titles, to each of which he adds ſome Articles or Heads of the *Imperial* Laws. It is inſerted in *Greek* and *Latin* in the *Bibliotheque* of Canon-Law, publiſhed by Meſſieurs *Juſtel* and *Voel*. We have alſo the Teſtament of *Arſenius*, publiſhed in *Greek* and *Latin*, by Mr *Cotelier*, in the ſecond Volume of his Monuments of the *Greek* Church (1).

(1) Cave's Hiſtor Literar. p. 726. Doujat. Prænot. Canon. pag. 429.

ARSENIUS, Archbiſhop of *Monembaſia*, or *Malvaſia*, in the *Morea*, in the XVIth Century, paſſed for a learned Philologiſt. He was an intimate Friend of *Paul* III, and wrote very elegant Letters to him; in one of which he complains of the little Affection of the Church of *Rome* for the *Greek* Nation [*A*]. He ſubmitted to the Church of *Rome*, which made him ſo odious to the *Greek* Schiſmatics, that *Pachomus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, excommunicated him; and the *Greeks* reported, that *Arſenius*, after his Death, was *Broukolakas*, that is, that the Devil hovered about his Corps, and re-animated him (*a*). We have ſome Works of His [*B*].

(*a*) *See* Guillet, Lacedemon Ancienne & Nouvelle, p. 527, *and* Cruſius *in his* Turco-Græcia.

[*A*] *He complained of the little Affection of the Church of* Rome *for the* Greek *Nation.*] See the Words of Mr *Guillet*. "*Arſenius* wrote ſome elegant Letters to Pope *Paul* III, which are ſtill extant. In one of them he complains much of the little Affection the Church of *Rome* has for the *Greek* Nation, in that it hath not raiſed any of them to the Dignity of Cardinal. *Paul* was made Pope in the Year 1535 (1). If this Complaint be taken for general, *Arſenius* is guilty of a Falſhood; for it is certain, that Cardinal *Beſſarion* was a *Greek*: we muſt, then, believe, that *Arſenius*'s Reproaches were like Thoſe of *Muſurus*. The latter complains bitterly, that not one *Greek* had a Share in the numerous Promotions, which *Leo* X. had newly made (2). *Paul* III. was elected Pope in the Month of *October*, 1534. I have been informed by Mr *de la Monnoie*, "That no Letter of *Arſenius* to That Pope is to be found, except That, which ſerves as a Dedication to the *Scholia* of *Euripides*. It is there he complains, that, among ſo many Cardinals of all Nations, there are not, at leaſt, two or three *Greeks*. "Καίτοι ȣ̓δ' ἀποιχὸς ἦν ἕνα ἢ δύο τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοσȣ́τοις παντοδαποῖς ἐναριθμεῖσθαι τῶν Καρδιναλέων." Nothing is more uſeful, or neceſſary, than to have recourſe to the Fountain-head.

(1) Guil. Laced. Anc. & Nouv. pag. 327.

(2) *See the Article* MUSURUS.

[*B*] *We have ſome Works of his.*] A Collection of *Apophthegms*, printed at *Rome*, in *Greek*: Another Collection of *Scholia* on ſeven Tragedies of *Euripides*, printed at *Venice*, 1534. He ſays, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to Pope *Paul* III, that he had compoſed it in the Iſle of *Candy*, at *Venice*, and at *Florence*. See the *Bibliotheque* of *Geſner*.

ARSENIUS, A *Greek* Monk, wrote a Letter againſt *Cyrillus Lucar*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, which was publiſhed in *Greek* and *Latin*, at *Paris*, in the Year 1643, with the Acts of the Council, wherein *Parthenius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, cauſed the Confeſſion of This *Cyril* to be condemned in the Year 1642. Every one knows,

knows, that the Confeſſion of *Cyril* was conformable to the Opinions of *Geneva.* Mr Claudé maintained (a), that This Condemnation was a ſpurious Piece. The Catalogue of the Library of *Oxford* has confounded *Arſenius*, Author of the *Nomo-Canon*, with our *Greek* Monk.

(a) Claudé's Anſwer to Mr *Arnauld*, lib. III, cap. 12, p. 473.

ARSINOE. There have been ſeveral Queens of This Name. Mr *Moreri* has mentioned the Principal, not without ſome Miſtakes. He is a little too ſhort on *Arſinoe*, the Siſter of *Cleopatra:* We ſhall make amends for this Brevity in the Article PTOLOMY AULETES (a).

(a) Remark [A].

ARSINOE, the Wife of *Magas*, King of *Cyrene* [A], diſhonoured herſelf by her Laſciviouſneſs. A little before *Magas* died, he contracted their only Daughter *Berenice* to the Son of *Ptolomy*, King of *Ægypt*. Immediately after his Deceaſe, *Arſinoe*, who was not pleaſed with this Contract, conſidered how to break it. She cauſed *Berenice*, with the Kingdom of *Cyrene*, to be offered to *Demetrius*, Brother of *Antigonus* (a). This Offer was accepted: *Demetrius* immediately embarked, and had ſo favourable a Paſſage, that he ſoon came to the ſight of *Berenice*. He was a handſome Man, and valued himſelf the more upon it, as he ſoon perceived the Impreſſion, which his Beauty had made on the Heart of *Arſinoe*. He neglected the Daughter, to make himſelf more acceptable to the Mother: He treated the Soldiery with Contempt; in ſhort, he rendered himſelf ſo odious, that the whole People turned their Thoughts on the Son of *Ptolomy*. It was reſolved to make away with *Demetrius*; and the Means of doing it were concerted with *Berenice* (b). Ruffians were ſet to murther him, at a Time when he had appointed to lie with *Arſinoe* [B]. This Lady, hearing her Daughter's Voice, who ſtood at the Door, and commanded them to ſpare her Mother, covered her Gallant's Body with her own, as well as ſhe could; but her Endeavours were in vain. He loſt his Life; after which the Marriage of *Berenice* with the Son of *Ptolomy* was conſummated (c). *Juſtin*, if I miſtake not, is the only Hiſtorian, who informs us of this: I am ſurprized at it; for an Action of this Nature highly deſerved to be taken notice of. What is ſtill more ſtrange, is, that no one informs us what became of *Arſinoe*, nor whence ſhe ſprung, nor what became of *Berenice*; and, ſo far from any one's relating, that *Ptolomy Evergetes*, the Son of *Philadelphus*, married her, it is on the contrary affirmed, that he married *Cleopatra* (d). Note, that *Ptolomy Evergetes* had a Son, called *Magas* (e), from whence it may be conjectured, that his Wife's Father's Name was *Magas*, as *Juſtin* reports. I ſhall remark ſome Errors of Mr *Moreri* [C], and one of Mr *Menage* [D].

(a) *He was King of* Macedon.

(b) *This may be inferred from the Words of* Juſtin.

(c) *Taken from* Juſtin, lib. XXVI, cap. 3.

(d) *See* Matthias Theatr. Hiſtor. pag. 363. *He cites no Author; but we find in* Joſephus Antiq. lib. XII, cap 4, *that the Wife of* Ptolomy Evergetes *was called* Cleopatra.

(e) Plut. in Agide & Cleomene, pag. 820.

[A] *The Wife of* Magas, *King of* Cyrene.] In the Editions of *Juſtin*, he is called *Agas*; but good Critics have obſerved, long ago, that it muſt be read *Magas*; they add, that *Pauſanias*, *Poliænus*, and *Athenæus* call him ſo (1). It may be objected, perhaps, that He, whom *Pauſanias* mentions, was not the Husband of our *Arſinoe*; for He was Brother, by the Mother's ſide, of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*; whereas the Husband of *Arſinoe* was the Brother of *Ptolomy Evergetes*. This is the Hiſtory of *Magas*, according to *Pauſanias*. He was the Son of *Berenice*, and of *Philip*, a *Macedonian* of mean Extraction. *Eurydice*, *Antipater*'s Daughter, having been married to *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Lagus*, carried This *Berenice* into *Egypt*; who lay with *Ptolomy*, and, among other Children, brought him *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who reigned after his Father. She cauſed the Government of *Cyrene* to be given to her Son *Magas*; who married *Apama*, the Daughter of King *Antiochus*, and had a great Difference with *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. This is the *Magas* of *Pauſanias* (2). Is it not plain, then, may any one ſay, that This cannot be the *Magas* of *Juſtin*, who was married to *Arſinoe*, and who died about the time that the Son of *Pyrrhus* was reſtored to the Kingdom of *Epirus* (3). The Critics may reply, that *Magas*, King of *Cyrene*, having reigned fifty Years (4), he might very well have lived till the Reſtoration of the Son of *Pyrrhus*, which the beſt Chronologers place in the Year of *Rome* 493 (5), which was the Twenty fifth of the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. So that, inſtead of ſaying, as is commonly done, that *Juſtin* (6) ſpeaks of *Ptolomy Evergetes* in his Twenty ſixth Book, it muſt be aſſerted, that he ſpeaks of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*; and that it is to him that he gives *Magas*, King of *Cyrene*, as a Brother: that, if he calls *Arſinoe* the Wife of *Magas*, it is no proof, that His *Magas* differs from This of *Pauſanias*; ſince the ſame King of *Cyrene* might have been ſucceſſively married to *Apama*, the Daughter of *Antiochus*, and to our *Arſinoe*. By the way, the Wars, wherein he was engaged againſt *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, according to *Pauſanias*, agree very well with the *Magas* mentioned by *Juſtin*. "Rex "Cyrenarum Agas decedit, qui, ante infirmitatem, "Berenicen unicam filiam, ad finienda cum Ptolomæo "fratre certamina, filio ejus deſponderat (7). —— "Agas, *King of* Cyrene, *died, who, before his Weakneſs, had betrothed his only Daughter* Berenice *to the* "*Son of his Brother* Ptolomy, *in order to put an End* "*to all Conteſts.*" I confeſs, this does not ſeem to agree with the *Magas*, mentioned by *Athenæus*; for he was one, who, enjoying Peace, was immerſed in Pleaſure and Idleneſs, and grew ſo fat with eating, that his very Greaſe choaked him (8). But this Objection is not unanſwerable; may not a Prince, in the ſpace of fifty Years Reign, be engaged in ſome Wars, and live afterwards in a long Repoſe?

[B] *Ruffians were ſet to murther him, at a Time when he had appointed to lie with* Arſinoe.] The Jeſuit *Biſſelius* thought this Circumſtance matter of Admiration. "Adulteris autem, *ſays he* (9), *duobus* illis, Berenicâ filiâ mœchæ conſcia, tenſæ per diſpoſitos percuſſores ita ſunt inſidiæ (quod mireris) ut in ipſo flagrantis ſceleris ardore deprehenſis ſuperveniens adulteræ "filia, mæchique conjunx, *Berenice* pro thalami nefandi foribus ſubſiſtens, &c. —— *The Two Adulterers* "*(which is ſurprizing) were ſo betrayed into the* "*Hands of* Aſſaſſins *by* Berenice *the Daughter, who* "*was conſcious of the Intrigue, that, in the very Ardor of their enormous Guilt,* Berenice, *the Daughter* "*of the Adultereſs, and betrothed to the Adulterer,* "*ſurprizing them, and ſtanding at the Door,* &c." But neither the Circumſtances of Time, nor Place, have any thing wonderful in them. It was eaſy to obſerve, when *Demetrius* went to *Arſinoe*'s, Chamber, and it was the moſt plauſible Opportunity that the Conſpirators could take.

[C] *Some Errors of Mr* Moreri.] I. This way of expreſſing himſelf is not exact; *Magas gave his Daughter* Berenice *in Marriage to* Ptolomy: The *Latin* ſays *Berenicem —— filiam deſponderat* (10). —— *Betrothed his Daughter* Bernice. *Moreri*'s Words conceal a Fact, which is not unravelled in the Sequel of his Narrative; to wit, that *Berenice* continued with her Father and Mother. Quite a different thing was intended, where we read, that he was given in Marriage to the Son of a King of *Egypt*. That he might not therefore miſlead his Readers, he ſhould

(1) *See the Commentary on* Juſtin, *in the Edition of* Grævius, *at* Leyden, 1683.

(2) Pauſanias, lib. I, pag. 6.

(3) Juſtin, lib. XXVI, cap. 3.

(4) Athen. lib. XII, pag. 550.

(5) *See* Calviſius ad Ann. Mundi, 3690.

(6) *See the* Index *of the* Juſtin *of* Grævius; *and obſerve, that* Biſſelius, *in* Decade IV Ruinarum Illuſtrium, pag. 1534. *ſuppoſes, that* Juſtin *ſpeaks of one* Agas, *Brother to* Ptolomy Evergetes.

(7) Juſtin, lib. XXVI, cap. 3.

(8) Athen. lib. 12, pag. 550.

(9) Biſſelius, Ruinar. Illuſtrium Decade IV, pag. 1536. Juſtin *ſays*, Cui (Demetrio) cum in lectum ſocrus conceſſiſſet, percuſſores immittuntur.

(10) Juſtin, ubi ſupra.

have uſed the word *deſpondere* in the ſtricteſt Senſe. This Obſervation is ſmall in itſelf; but the Application of it may be of Importance to Thoſe, who Tranſlate. They can never too ſcrupulouſly follow This Rule; to wit, that they ſhould avoid equivocal Expreſſions, and all that may hinder the Reader from entertaining the Ideas beſt ſuited to the Nature of each Subject. II. It is not true, that *Juſtin* ſays, that our *Arſinoe* was Daughter of *Antiochus Soter*. III. Nor, that her Huſband's Name was *Magus* (11). IV. Nor, that this pretended *Magus* was the Son of *Ptolomy Lagus* (12). V. Nor, that ſhe obliged her Daughter to marry *Demetrius*. VI. Nor, that ſhe had a Deſign of ſetting the Crown on his Head. VII. Nor, that ſhe was depoſed. Can we ſufficiently cenſure ſo bold a Liberty? This Narrative is at pleaſure, without any Authority. And yet he quotes his Author. I know, that, in taking an Hiſtorian of ſo little Judgment, as *Juſtin*, for a Guide, there is a Neceſſity of ſupplying ſeveral Circumſtances; but then notice ſhould be given, that they are ſupplied, and not impoſed on us as a Tranſlation of *Juſtin*. I have often ſaid, that this Abbreviator had but little Judgment; and I am certain, that *Trogus Pompeius* would exclaim a thouſand times againſt him, did he but know in what a ſad Condition his Work is left by this Epitomizer. He would loſe himſelf in the Errors of his Abbreviator. Almoſt all the *Antiochus*'s, the *Ptolomy*'s, and the *Antigonus*'s, appear in his Hiſtory without their Marks of Diſtinction: It is uncertain, whether he ſpeaks of the Father, or the Son, or the Grand-Son; and it muſt be gueſſed at for the moſt part: He has not taken the Trouble to tells us, whether This Marriage of *Berenice* was conſummated or no. A fine Queſtion, you will ſay! And yet he ought expreſsly to have affirmed, or denied, it; for it is not improbable, that One, who obſerved, with Joy, that he was beloved by the Mother, ſhould readily agree, to defer his Marriage with the Daughter. You will anſwer me, perhaps, that *Juſtin* gives *Arſinoe* the Title of Mother-in-Law to *Demetrius*; *nimis placere ſocrui cæperat*; but I reply, that, after this, he gives *Berenice* the Title of *Virgin*; *quæ res ſuſpecta primo virgini*; and, conſequently, one of theſe Phraſes overthrows the other; which is a ſhrewd Suſpicion, that he does not employ his Terms in the moſt exact Senſe: *Juſtin*'s *Index*, in the Edition of Mr *Grævius*, gives *Berenice* only the Title of Betrothed (13). However that be, *Juſtin*, and many other Epitomizers, never conſider, that Abridgments ought to reſemble Pygmies, who have all the Parts of a perfect human Body, tho' each of them in Miniature. Contract the Parts of a Narration in an Abridgment as much as you pleaſe, but cut off none. Let us reckon Mr *Moreri*'s contradicting himſelf for the eighth Fault. He will have it here, that *Berenice*, the Wife of *Ptolomy Evergetes*, was the Daughter of *Magus*, and yet affirms elſewhere (14), that ſhe was this *Ptolomy*'s own Siſter.

[*D*] *I ſhall obſerve one Error of Mr* Menage.] It is in his Annotation on theſe Words of *Diogenes Laërtius*: Δημητρίου τοῦ πλεύσαντος εἰς Κυρήνην, ἐπὶ πλέον ἐρασθῆναι λέγεται (Ἀρκεσίλαος) (15). *Demetrium qui Cyrenem* (16) *navigavit amaſſe plurimum dicitur (Arceſilaus).* “ I do not wonder, ſays “ Mr *Menage*, that This Philoſopher, who was ſo “ fond of young Boys, ſhould fall in love with *De-* “ *metrius*, whoſe Beauty ſeems to have been very “ extraordinary, and was, at laſt, fatal to him, for he “ was killed in the Embraces of his Mother-in-law.” *In novercæ concubitu cæſus eſt.* *Juſtin*, cited by Mr *Menage*, gives no Authority for ſaying, that *Arſinoe* had ſuch a Relation to the Minion of *Arceſilaus*. It had been much better for him to have taken notice of the Faults of the *Latin* Interpretation (17).

(11) *His Name, in the Editions of* Juſtin, *is* Agas; *his true Name is* Magas.

(12) *He was the Son of one* Philip, *and the Miſtreſs of This* Ptolomy.

(13) Demetrius à SPONSA ſua interficitur, 26, 3, 7.

THE Qualifications of a good Abridger. *See Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* DOMITIA.

(14) *In the 2d Article* BERENICE.

(15) Diog. Laërt. in Arceſila, lib. 4, n. 41.

(16) *The Editions have it*, cum is Cyrenem navigaſſet; *which is falſe; for the Amour of* Arceſilas *did not commence after the Voyage to* Cyrene.

(17) *See the preceeding Marginal Note.*

ARTABANUS, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes* [*A*], and Brother of *Darius* I, of That Name, King of *Perſia*, is repreſented to us, by *Herodotus*, as a wiſe Man, who always oppoſed thoſe pompous Expeditions, which were ſo fatal to the *Perſian* Monarchy (*a*). He was not of Opinion that *Darius* ought to attack the *Scythians* (*b*); and much leſs that *Xerxes* ſhould ingage himſelf in a War with the *Greeks*. *Herodotus* has preſerved to us the ſolid Reaſons, on which his Advice was grounded [*B*], and the Judgment he gave on the prodigious Army both for Sea and Land Service, with which *Xerxes* prepared to paſs from *Aſia* into *Europe* (*c*). The Difficulties, which *Artabanus* repreſented to him, made the King chooſe to ſend him back into *Perſia*, to command there in his Abſence, rather than have his Attendance in the Expedition (*d*). The Event demonſtrated how judiciouſly, and faithfully, he had adviſed. He did not however always preſerve This Fidelity; for he conſpired againſt *Xerxes*, and ſlew him (*e*); and afterwards drew in *Artaxerxes*, the Son of *Xerxes*, to make away with his Brother *Darius*: he drew him into it, I ſay, by making him believe, that *Darius* was the Murtherer of *Xerxes*. But *Artaxerxes* diſcovered the Truth ſoon after, and killed *Artabanus* as he was pulling off his Cuiraſs (*f*). *Diodorus Siculus* differs from *Juſtin*, as to the manner of *Artabanus*'s being puniſhed for his Crime (*g*). We ſhall ſee, in the Remark [*B*], how This Prince reaſoned on Dreams, and upon the Duration of human Life.

(*a*) Herod. lib. 4, cap. 83.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Ibid. cap. 49, & ſeq.

(*d*) Id. lib. 7. c. 52, 53.

(*e*) Diodor. lib. 11. Juſtin. lib. 3, cap. 1.

(*f*) Juſt. ib.

(*g*) Diod. Sicul. l. XI.

[*A*] *The Son of* Hyſtaſpes.] I cannot imagine where Mr *Moreri* had read, that *Artabanus* was *a Native of* Hircania. The two Authors he has quoted (1) ſay nothing like it. *Cteſias* makes the Father of *Artabanus* to have been a Favourite of *Cambyſes*, named *Artaſyras*, who, at firſt, favoured the Uſurpation of the *Magus*, and afterwards the Deſign, formed by the ſeven great Lords, to expel the *Magus* (2).

[*B*] Herodotus *has preſerved to us the ſolid Reaſons, on which his Advice was grounded* (3).] One would think *Herodotus* had made it his Buſineſs to do Honour to *Artabanus*'s Prudence and fine Senſe. He never indulges his Imagination more, than when he makes This Prince argue. *Xerxes*, after putting himſelf into a great Paſſion, and violently abuſing him, ſubmitted to his Reaſons, and thought no more of the Expedition; but two Dreams, one upon another, puſhed him on to proſecute it (4). He went to *Artabanus*, and told him his Dreams; adding, withal, *I will try whether you will have the like; take my Robes, ſit on my Throne, lie in my Bed.* *Artabanus* anſwers, That he was not worthy of ſo much Honour; and then reaſons very judiciouſly upon Dreams, ſaying, That, if there be any thing Divine in theſe Dreams of *Xerxes*, his Majeſty had Reaſon to think, that he ſhould have the like; “ for what could we “ think, if a God, who had a War at Heart, and “ came at Night to injoin it ſome Monarch, who “ had reſolved to live in Peace, ſhould not appear, “ and give the ſame Orders, to his firſt Miniſter of “ State, when nothing leſs can make it certain whether this God does indeed deſire the War? But, “ *continues he*, do not imagine, that it is therefore “ neceſſary I ſhould take your Habit, and lie in your “ Bed. That *I know not what to call it*, which “ appeared to you in a Dream, is not ſo ignorant a “ Being, as to miſtake me for you, by ſeeing me “ dreſſed in your Robes; and, if he does not think “ fit to addreſs himſelf to Me, your Garments will “ no more influence him to do ſo, than my own.” *Xerxes* would be abſolutely obeyed: *Artabanus* dreamed in Conformity with his Maſter, and oppoſed the War no longer, but became the Promoter of it, though he remained greatly diffident of the Succeſs (5). If theſe Things were true, ought we not to conclude, that they had for their Author That Spirit, which was a Liar and a Murtherer from the beginning; for *Xerxes* was threatened with great

Diſgrace,

(1) Dicdous Siculus, lib. 11, *and* Juſtin. lib. 2. *It ſhould have been* Juſtin. lib. 3. cap. 1.

(2) In Perſic. cap. 13, 14, 20.

(3) Herod. lib. 3, c. 10.

(4) Id. lib. 7. cap. 15, & ſeq.

A REFLEXION of *Artabanus* on Dreams, and on the Duration of human Life.

(5) Herod. lib. 7, c. 47.

Diſgrace, if he deſiſted from That Enterprize (6). At another Time, *Artabanus* reaſoned, in a very uncommon manner, on the Shortneſs of human Life; a Subject, which had cauſed *Xerxes* to weep, at the Sight of his numberleſs Army (7). “ We live but too “ long, *ſays he*; our Life, ſhort as it is, is long “ enough to turn our Brain, and make us often wiſh “ for Death, as an eaſy Refuge from the Miſeries “ that overwhelm us. If Life is, nevertheleſs, “ ſeaſoned with an agreeable Reliſh, it is an Argu-“ ment, that God is envious of human Happineſs.” Would not the *Greek* Philoſophers have ſaid of this way of thinking, as *Pyrrhus*, upon his viewing the *Roman* Army; *The Order of Battle of theſe* Barbarians, ſaid he, *and their Manner of encamping, have nothing of the* Barbarian *in them* (8)? Chriſtianity only can rectify this. It is to be obſerved, that *Herodotus* was very well acquainted with the Vanities, and Miſeries, of Mankind; but he affected a little too much to trace the Cauſes of them in the Envy, or Malignity, of the Gods. *Plutarch* has condemned him for it (9).

(6) Id. ib. cap. 14.

(7) Id. ibid. cap 46. *See Remark* [*L*], *of the Article* PERICLES, *at the End.*

(8) Plutarch. in Pyrrho, pag. 393.

(9) *See Remark* [*K*], *of the Article* PERICLES, *towards the End.*

ARTABANUS I, King of *Parthia*, the ſeventh from *Arſaces*, Founder of the Monarchy *(a)*, was the Son of *Priapatius*, and Brother of *Phrahates* and *Mithridates* [*A*], who had all three reigned ſucceſſively over the *Parthians*. He ſucceeded his Nephew *Phrahates*, and died ſoon after of a Wound in the Arm, which he received in the War he made againſt the *Thogarians* (*b*).

(*a*) *About* 240 *Years before* CHRIST.

(*b*) Juſtin. lib. 42. c. 2.

[*A*] *He was the Son of* Priapatius, *and Brother of* Phrahates, *and* Mithridates.] Mr *Moreri* makes him the Son of *Phrahates* I, and Uncle to *Phrahates* II; but theſe are two incompatible Relations; for *Phrahates* II was the Son of *Mithridates*, who was Brother to *Phrahates* I; how then could a Son of *Phrahates* I be Uncle to *Phrahates* II? This is the Reaſon, why, though *Juſtin* gives *Priapatius* but two Sons, I have given him a third, namely, *Artabanus* I. When Authors explain themſelves ill, we muſt take this Liberty with them. *Juſtin* relates two Things (1). I. That *Priapatius*, dying in the Twenty fifth Year of his Reign, left two Sons, the elder of whom, named *Phrahates*, reigned before his younger Brother *Mithridates*. II. That *Phrahates*, the Son of *Mithridates*, reigned after his Father, and that his Paternal Uncle *Artabanus* was his Succeſſor (2). How confuſed is this! He mentions *Mithridates*, and *Phrahates*, as the only Sons of *Priapatius*, and yet intimates, that he had another, ſince, otherwiſe, *Artabanus* could not be Paternal Uncle to *Mithridates*'s Son. I have, in vain, ſearched for a Solution of this Difficulty, in ſeveral Commentators on *Juſtin*, and alſo in the Notes of the laſt *French* Tranſlator (3).

(1) Juſtin, lib. 41, c. 5.

(2) Id. lib. 42, cap. 1, 2.

(3) *He takes the Title of Monſieur* D. L. M. *His Tranſlation was printed at* Amſterdam, 1694, *from the* Paris *Edition of* 1693.

ARTABANUS II, King of *Parthia*, when he was only King of the *Medes* [*A*], was called by the *Parthians*, to reign over them, in Excluſion of *Vonones*, whom they had ſent for to *Rome*, and whom *Tiberius* had very freely granted them (*a*). *Artabanus* was of the Race of the *Arſacidæ* as well as *Vonones*, and had this farther Advantage, that he was not become obnoxious to That People by a *Roman* Education (*b*). The firſt Battle was fortunate to *Vonones*; but he came off ſo ill in the ſecond, that he was forced to fly into *Armenia* [*B*]. The victorious *Artabanus* would not let him reſt there; and, as *Tiberius* had not promiſed *Vonones* the neceſſary Protection (*c*), he was forced to quit *Armenia*, and retire to *Silanus*, Governor of *Syria*. This contributed greatly to ſecure the Crown on the Head of *Artabanus*, which he received about the Seven Hundred and ſixty ninth Year of *Rome*, and ſixteenth of the Iſt Century. However, he was not eaſy at the Continuance of his Rival in *Syria* (*d*); for the Communication of Intelligence, being quick and eaſie, kept up the Spirit of Faction: He therefore ſent an Embaſſy to *Germanicus* to renew the Alliance between them, and inſiſted, at the ſame time, that *Vonones* ſhould be obliged to leave *Syria*. The Succeſs of This Embaſſy is not known; but it is certain, that, after the Death of *Germanicus*, the King of the *Parthians* grew very haughty towards the *Romans*, and cruel to his own People (*e*). He was ſo elated with his good Fortune in the Wars he had waged with ſeveral neighbouring Nations, that, without any regard to *Tiberius*, whoſe grey Hairs he deſpiſed, he ſeized upon *Armenia* [*C*], and

(*a*) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 3.

(*b*) Tacit. Annal. lib. 2. cap. 2.

(*c*) Id. ib. cap. 4.

(*d*) Id. ib. cap. 58.

(*e*) Id. ib. lib. 6. c. 31.

[*A*] *When he was only King of the* Medes.] *Moreri* and *Hofman* have both ſaid, that *Tacitus* makes him King of the *Dacians*. This is what That Hiſtorian never dreamed of; he only ſays, that *Artabanus* had been educated among the *Dahæ*; *Artabanus Arſacidarum è ſanguine apud Dahas adultus excitur* (1). There is a great deal of Difference between the *Dahæ* and the *Dacians*; and he muſt have his Thoughts otherwiſe employed, (to ſay no worſe,) who could believe, that a *Parthian* Prince had been educated near the *Danube*.

[*B*] Vonones —— *his Competitor came off ſo ill in the ſecond Battle, that he was forced to fly into* Armenia.] Mr *Moreri* has publiſhed two other Falſities. He has made *Vonones* obtain two Victories over the *Parthians*, who yet had the better of his Competitor but once (2); and he attributes one Defeat of *Artabanus*'s Army to *Vitellius*; a Defeat, I ſay, followed by other Loſſes of *Artabanus*, towards the Year 36. But I. It is falſe, that *Vitellius* defeated the Troops of this King of the *Parthians*; II. It is certain, that the Miſchief *Vitellius* did him, by Intrigues and Money, was not 'till after *other Loſſes*. Mr *Hofman* alſo aſcribes two Victories to *Vonones*, and one to *Vitellius*, which, he ſays, was the Cauſe of *Artabanus*'s abandoning *Armenia*. A Miſtake; yet infinitely more excuſable, than what this Writer has committed after *Lloyd* and *Charles Stephens*, in ſaying, that *Artabanus*, being a great Enemy to *Tiberius*, ſeized upon *Armenia*, and was killed by a *Perſian* Soldier, whoſe Name was *Artaxerxes*; after whom there were no more Kings of the *Parthians*, but only of *Perſia*. A prodigious Anachroniſm! See the Article ARTABANUS IV.

[*C*] *Without any regard to* Tiberius —— *he ſeized upon* Armenia.] It is impoſſible to be more inſulted, than This Emperor was by *Artabanus*; who no ſooner perceived, that his Invaſion of *Armenia* was an Injury, which *Tiberius* did not revenge, but he attacked *Cappadocia* (3). But what can be more ſevere, than the Letters he wrote to him? Let us here *Suetonius*; “ Quin & Artabani Parthorum regis “ laceratus eſt literis, parricidia & cædes & ignaviam “ & luxuriam objicientis, monentiſque ut volunta-“ ria morte maximo juſtiſſimoque civium odio quam “ primum ſatisfaceret (4). —— *He was alſo ſtung* “ *with Letters from* Artabanus, *King of the* Parthi-“ ans, *reproaching him with his Indolence, Luxury,* “ *Murthers, and Parricides, and adviſing him, by* “ *laying violent Hands on himſelf, to give immediate* “ *Satisfaction to the extream Hatred, and juſt Re-* “ *ſentment of his Subjects.*” There was, certainly, ſome perſonal Averſion in the Caſe; for *Artabanus* behaved very civilly, and even very humbly, towards *Tiberius*'s Succeſſor. Let us hear *Suetonius* again. “ Artabanus Parthorum rex odium ſemper contemp-

(1) Tacit. Ann. lib. 2, cap. 3.

(2) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 18, cap. 3. Tacit. ibid.

(3) Dion, lib. 58, ſub. fin.

(4) Suet. in in Tiber. cap. 66.

and gave it to his Eldeſt Son *Arſaces* [*D*]. He ſent to demand all the Treaſures, which *Vonones* had depoſited in *Syria* and *Cilicia* (*f*), and, in *rodomontade*, gave out, that, if all that *Cyrus* and *Alexander* had been poſſeſt of were not reſtored to him, he would come and take it by force. The Malecontents at Court deputed private Meſſengers to *Tiberius*, deſiring him to ſend them *Phrahates*, the Son of King *Phrahates* (*g*). This was readily granted; and, when it was known, That this Prince, endeavouring to live after the manner of the *Parthians*, to which he had been a long time diſuſed, had fallen ſick, and was dead, *Tiridates*, who was of the Houſe of the *Arſacidæ*, and nearly related to *Phrahates*, was ſubſtituted in his Place. Another Adverſary was at the ſame time ſtirred up againſt *Artabanus*, namely *Pharaſmanes* King of *Iberia*. *Artabanus* was worſted from this Quarter; for, after his Son, King of *Armenia*, had been poiſoned, his other Son *Orodes*, whom he had ſent into *Armenia*, was defeated there by *Pharaſmanes*. Some time after, he was beaten there himſelf, and being obliged to advance towards the Provinces, which *Vitellius*, Governor of *Syria*, threatened (*h*), there remained no Obſtacle to hinder *Mithridates*, Brother of *Pharaſmanes*, from becoming King of *Armenia* (*i*). This Loſs of *Artabanus* was ſoon followed by a greater. *Vitellius*, by his Money and Intrigues, obliged him to quit That Country, and retire into *Hircania*, where he was reduced to live upon what he could get by Hunting (*k*), while *Vitellius* put *Tiridates* in Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. But ſo powerful a Party was formed againſt the new King, that it was no hard matter for *Artabanus*, who was recalled, to compel ſo weak a Prince as *Tiridates*, to retire (*l*). This happened in the thirty ſixth Year of the Iſt Century. *Artabanus*'s former Pride was now ſufficiently mortified: He courted the Friendſhip of *Caligula* (*m*), and when he found that his Deſign of carrying the War into *Syria* (*n*), was in danger of miſcarrying thro' the Diligence of *Vitellius*, he agreed to an Interview with This *Roman*, and to a Treaty of Peace, the Conditions of which were to the Advantage of *Caligula*. Ten Years after, he was depoſed, and forced to retire to *Izates*, King of *Adiabene* (*o*), by whom he was received in a moſt generous manner, and not with bare Compliments. For *Izates* negotiated the Matter with the *Parthians*, in ſuch a manner, that he obliged them to ſet him again upon the Throne; and *Cinnamus* himſelf, who had been advanced in his Room, was the Perſon, who replaced the Diadem upon his Head. There is Reaſon to believe, that *Artabanus* died a little after; but whether by the Treachery of *Gotarzes* his Son, or Brother [*E*], or otherwiſe, is uncertain.

(*f*) *In the Year of* Rome 788.

(*g*) Tacit. lib 6, cap. 32, & ſeq.

(*h*) Id. ib. cap. 36.

(*i*) Dio, l. 8. ſub fin.

(*k*) In Hircanis repertus eſt inluvie obſitus, & alimenta arcu expediens. *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 6. *cap.* 42.

(*l*) Id. ib. cap. 44.

(*m*) Sueton. in Calig. cap. 14. *See the Remark* [*C*].

(*n*) Dio, lib. 59.

(*o*) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 20, cap. 2.

" tumque Tiberii præ ſe ferens, amicitiam Caligulæ " ultro petiit, venitque ad colloquium legati conſularis, & tranſgreſſus Euphratem aquilas & ſigna Romana Cæſarumque imagines adoravit (5). —— Artabanus, *King of the* Parthians, *always diſcovering an Hatred and Contempt of* Tiberius, *induſtriouſly ſought the Friendſhip of* Caligula, *and came to confer with the Conſular Embaſſador*; *and, paſſing over the* Euphrates, *he paid Adoration to the* Roman *Eagles and Standards, and to the Images of the* Cæſars." *Dion* remarks, that *Vitellius* obliged *Artabanus* to ſacrifice to the Statues of *Auguſtus* and *Caligula*, and to give his Children for Hoſtages, after having agreed to the Treaty of Peace, which he preſcribed to him (6). This ſhews *Joſephus* to be miſtaken, in believing the Interview between *Vitellius* and *Artabanus*, with all it's Conſequences, to have happened under *Tiberius* (7). According to Him, it was to *Tiberius*, that *Darius*, the Son of *Artabanus*, was ſent as an Hoſtage, with rich Preſents, and a Giant, a *Jew* by Nation, and *Eleazar* by Name, who was ſeven Cubits high.

[*D*] *He gave* Armenia *to his Eldeſt Son* Arſaces.] Thus *Tacitus* and *Dion* name him. *Joſephus* calls him *Orodes* (8), confounding one of *Artabanus*'s Children with the other. His Son *Orodes* was not King of *Armenia*, but was ſent thither to revenge the Death of his elder Brother *Arſaces*, and had like to have been killed in the Attempt; for having, in the Battle, engaged perſonally with *Pharaſmanes*, King of *Iberia*, he was dangerouſly wounded, but not killed, as was immediately given out, to the great Diſcouragement of the *Parthians* (9), and as *Joſephus* has ſince affirmed, in his *Jewiſh* Antiquities (10).

[*E*] Artabanus *died —— by the Treachery of* Gotarzes, *his Son, or Brother.*] The manner, in which the exact Mr *de Tillemont* expreſſes himſelf, is fallacious. *Artabanus*, ſays he (11), *died ſoon after, by the Treachery of* Gotarzes, *his Brother, according to* Tacitus, *or rather his Son, as* Joſephus *affirms.* Every Reader will imagine, from theſe Words, that *Joſephus* ſays, that *Artabanus* was put to death by his Son *Gotarzes*, when not a Syllable is to be met with to this Purpoſe. So far from it, he mentions *Artabanus* as dying of a Diſtemper, and ſucceeded by his Son *Varadanus*, whoſe Succeſſor he makes to be *Artabanus*'s other Son, *Gotarzes*. It is ſtrange, that *Tacitus* and *Joſephus* ſhould agree ſo little in the main Circumſtances of Matters ſo near their own Time! The latter gives *Artabanus* a peaceable Death, and ſeveral Sons: The former makes him periſh with his Wife and Son by the Treachery of his Brother; which ſeems to import, that *Artabanus* had but one Son. One cannot tell which ſide to take, conſidering that *Tacitus* is not wholly free from Contradiction. Firſt, he will have *Gotarzes* to be the Brother of *Artabanus*; a little after he makes him the Brother of *Bardanes*, and intimates very clearly, that *Bardanes* was the Son of *Artabanus*; for he repreſents him in a great Rage with the *Seleucians*, not ſo much becauſe they did not ſubmit to him, as becauſe they had been Rebels againſt his Father. *In quos, ut patris ſui quoque defectores, ira magis quam ex uſu præſenti accenſus* (12). Who is this Father, if not *Artabanus?* I ſhould be almoſt tempted to believe, that this *Artabanus*, mentioned by *Tacitus* (13), was the Son, who had already ſucceeded, or who was to ſucceed King *Artabanus*, and that *Gotarzes*, another Son of King *Artabanus*, murthered this Brother, to make his own way to the Throne, and, for the greater Security, involved the Mother and Son in the ſame Deſtruction with the Father. This Conjecture clears all Contradictions. But there are other Differences between *Joſephus* and *Tacitus*. The latter makes *Gotarzes* die a natural Death, and gives him *Venones* for Succeſſor, and his Son *Vologeſes* after him (14). *Joſephus* makes *Gotarzes* periſh by the Treachery of his Subjects, and his Brother *Vologeſes* to be his immediate Succeſſor (15).

(5) Id. in Calig. c. 14.

(6) Dio, lib. 59.

(7) Joſeph. Antiq. l. 18. cap. 6.

(8) Id. ib. cap. 3.

(9) Fama occiſi falſo credita exterruit Parthos, victoriamque conceſsêre. *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 6. c. 35.

(10) Joſeph. lib. 18. c. 3.

Josephus. lib. 18. c. 4. page. 437. Courts english translation

(11) Tillem. Hiſt. des Emper. ad Ann. 47. pag. 567. Edit. de Bruxelles.

(12) Tacit. Annal. l. 11. cap. 8.

(13) Inter Gotarzis pleraque ſæva (qui necem fratri Artabano conjugique ac filio ejus properaverat, [*others read* præparaverat] unde metus ejus in cæteros) accivere Bardanem. *Id. ibid.*

(14) Idem, lib. 12. cap. 14.

(15) Joſeph. lib. 20. c. 2.

ARTABANUS III, King of the *Parthians*, Succeſſor, and perhaps Son, of *Vologeſes*, whom *Suetonius* mentions as a great Friend of *Nero* and *Veſpaſian*, lived in the

Reign of the Emperor *Titus*. This is what *Zonaras* informs us of after this manner (*a*). He ſays, that an *Aſiatic*, whoſe Name was *Terentius Maximus*, pretending to be *Nero*, prevailed with ſome of his own Countrymen, and a great many other Perſons towards the *Euphrates*, to believe it, and at laſt retired to *Artabanus*, King of the *Parthians*, who, being then diſpleaſed with *Titus*, received the Impoſtor very kindly, and prepared to re-inthrone him [*A*].

(*a*) Zonaras in Tito ad Ann. circiter, 80.

[*A*] *Received the Impoſtor very kindly, and prepared to re-inthrone him.*] Although there were more than one conterfeit *Nero*, yet few will believe this *Terentius Maximus* to have been any other, than the Impoſtor, mentioned by *Suetonius*. And, if it be objected, that the latter did not appear 'till twenty Years after the Death of *Nero*, that is, in the ſeventh Year of *Domitian*; it may be anſwered, that *Zonaras* is not incapable of confounding one Reign with another; and that, after all, it muſt be ſomething ſurprizing, that, in ſo ſhort a time, two Impoſtors ſhould meet with ſo great Encouragement in the ſame Country, or, if they did, that they ſhould not both be recorded by the Hiſtorian, who ſpeaks of One of them, as of a ſingular Adventure. The Impoſtor, mentioned by *Suetonius*, was very powerfully protected by the *Parthians*. "Cum poſt viginti "annos adoleſcente me extitiſſet conditionis incertæ "qui ſe Neronem eſſe jactaret, tam favorabile no-"men ejus apud Parthos fuit, ut vehementer adjutus "& vix redditus ſit (1). —— *Twenty Years after* "*the Death of that Emperor, when I was a Lad,* "*a Perſon, of unknown Condition, gave out, that* "*he was* Nero, *and was ſo ſtrongly ſupported in his* "*Pretenſions by the* Parthians, *that he was defeated* "*with great Difficulty.*"

(1) Sueton. in Neron. ſub. finem.

ARTABANUS IV. was the laſt King of the *Parthians*; for *Artaxerxes*, a *Perſian* by Nation, having deprived him of his Crown and Life in the Year 229, took upon him the Title of King of *Perſia*, which his Succeſſors continued as long as That Monarchy laſted. The Reign of *Artabanus* had been glorious enough, and had given ſome Trouble to the *Romans*, who were not at all behind hand in making ſuitable Returns. He was ſo imprudent as not to keep upon his Guard, while the Emperor *Severus* ravaged the Neighbouring Countries; and was taking his Reſt under the Security of a Peace, when he found the *Roman* Forces on a ſudden pouring in upon his Dominions. All that he could do was to ſave himſelf with a ſmall Guard (*a*). The City of *Cteſiphon*, in which he kept his Reſidence, was plundered, and all his Treaſures and Moveables fell into the Hands of the Enemy (*b*). But this foul Play was nothing in compariſon of the perfidious Trick, which *Caracalla* played him. This Emperor ſent Ambaſſadors to him with rich Preſents to demand his Daughter in Marriage, and alledged an hundred fine Things, which would reſult from That Alliance, to the Honour and Advantage of both Nations (*c*). *Artabanus* at firſt rejected the Propoſal, foreſeeing no Concord in This Marriage, conſidering the Difference of Language and Cuſtoms, between his Daughter and a *Roman* Emperor. At laſt *Caracalla*'s repeated Inſtances, his Oaths, his Proteſtations of Love for his future Empreſs, obtained the Father's Conſent. But, all this while, *Caracalla* was meditating ſuch a Scene of Villany, as may be taken for the Model, or at leaſt the rough Draught, of the St *Bartholomew* of *Catherine de Medicis*. He marched with his Army into the Country of the *Parthians*, and was every where received as the King's Son-in-Law; and, upon his advancing towards the Capital, *Artabanus* went out to meet him, accompanied with an infinite Number of his People. The *Parthians* thought of nothing but ſhewing their Joy, in Feaſting, Singing, and Dancing, when *Caracalla* gave the Signal to his Soldiers to fall on This unarmed Multitude. They killed as many of them as they pleaſed, there not being any in a Condition to reſiſt. *Artabanus* had much ado to ſave himſelf. From that Day *Caracalla* did nothing but plunder and burn; till, tired with his Ravages, he returned into *Meſopotamia*, where he was aſſaſſinated. *Artabanus*, being eager to revenge the Injury which he had ſuffered, marched with all poſſible Expedition againſt the *Roman* Army, which had elected *Macrinus* in the room of *Caracalla*. The Battle, having continued two whole Days from Morning till Night, was renewed upon the Third, and, in all probability, would have laſted till one or other Army had been quite deſtroyed, if *Macrinus* had not found means of acquainting *Artabanus* with the tragical End of *Caracalla*, and of declaring, that he himſelf diſapproved what had paſſed, and was willing to reſtore all the Priſoners and Booty then in his Poſſeſſion, and to live in Peace with him. *Artabanus* accepted theſe Offers, and a Peace was concluded between Him and the New Emperor in the Year 217. He was the firſt, who took upon him the Title of The Great King, and wore a double Diadem [*A*]. His evil Deſtiny

(*a*) Herodian. lib. 3, cap. 9.

(*b*) *In the Year 200, according to* Calviſius.

(*c*) Herodian. lib. 4, cap. 10, & ſeq.

[*A*] *He was the firſt, who took upon him the Title of the Great King, and wore a double Diadem* (1).] I have cited my Author, and it is very true, that *Herodian*, in the place cited, has theſe Words; 'Αρταβανόν τε τὸν πρότερον καλέμενον τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα, καὶ δυσὶ διαδήμασι χρώμενον ἀποκτεῖναι (2). *Atque Artabano, qui rex magnus primus appellatus eſt, duplicique diademate utebatur, necem intuliſſe.* But I believe his Meaning is, that, before *Artabanus* IV, no King of *Parthia* aſſumed this Title of The Great King; and he would be much miſtaken, if he ſhould ſay abſolutely, that he was the firſt Prince, who called himſelf ſo; it being certain, that the ancient Kings of *Perſia* uſed This Style, as appropriated to themſelves. See the Twenty fourth Verſe of *Æſchylus*'s *Perſians*, and *Stanley*'s Obſervations upon It. He quotes the Teſtimonies of *Dion Chryſoſtome, Orat.* 3. of *Joſephus*, in *Antiquit. lib.* 11. *cap.* 6. of *Herodotus*, *lib.* 8. and *lib.* 5. of *Xenophon*, in *Expedit. lib.* 1. of *Ariſtides*, in *Romæ Encomio.* of *Suidas*, in μέγας βασιλεύς. Mr *du Rondel* informed me of This Paſſage of *Stanley*. We may add, to theſe Authors, *Plato, in Gorgia, pag.* 321. C. *Plutarch*, in *Vita Cimonis, pag.* 485. E. *The Book of Eſther, cap.* xvi. *ver.* 1. Read alſo the Panegyric of *Iſocrates*, and you will find in it the Complaint of That Orator againſt the *Greeks* of his Time, who, in their common Diſcourſe, gave the pompous Title

(1) Herodian. lib. 2. cap. 2. pag. 257.

(2) Id. ibid.

Deſtiny raiſed him up a formidable Enemy in the Year 226; I mean That *Artaxerxes*, who maintained his Rebellion with ſuch Courage and Succeſs, that, in three Years Time, he put an end to the *Parthian* Monarchy.

of The Great King to the Monarch of *Perſia*. Οὐ βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν αὐτὸν προσαγορεύομεν, ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτοι γεγονότες (3). *Do we not call him the* Great King, *as though we were his* Captives? Note, that the Kings of *Perſia* were not the firſt, who aſſumed this Title. The Kings of *Aſſyria* had uſed it, as may be collected from the eighteenth Chapter of the ſecond Book of *Kings* (4), where we find the Words of the Ambaſſadors of *Sennacherib*. I remember the Anſwer, which Father *Goulu* made to a Criticiſm upon a Paſſage of his Tranſlation of *Socrates*'s Apology. Let us firſt produce the Words of the Critic. “ *Je ne ſçay de quoy l' ac-
“ cuſer ; ſi ce n' eſt d' une ignorance volontaire,
“ en un paſſage de ſon* Apologie de Socrates, *où
“ il lui fait dire:* Je m'aſſure que quand ce ſe-
“ roit le Grand Seigneur, & non pas une perſone
“ de baſſe condition, qu'il préféreroit une nuit ſem-
“ blable à celle-là à toutes les nuits & à tous les
“ autres jours de ſa vie, &c. *Je voudroy bien luy
“ demander ſi ce Grand Seigneur n'eſt pas le Turc ;
“ & ſi c'eſt lui, comment* Socrates en pouvoit parler,
“ ſi ce n'eſtoit par prophétie, puis qu'il n'y peut
“ pas avoir huit cent ans que les Ottomans ont com-
“ mence leur Tyrannie, & qu'l y en a plus de
“ treize cens du ſiecle de Socrates au leur, à con-
“ ter depuis l'année quatrieſme où il eſt nay dans
“ la ſoixante & dixſeptieſme Olympiade (5). —— *I
“ am at a loſs how to charge him, except with wil-
“ ful Ignorance, in a Paſſage of the Apology of* Socrates,
“ *where he makes* Socrates *ſay : I am perſwaded,
“ that, were he the Grand Seignor, and not a Perſon
“ of mean Condition, he would prefer a Night
“ like That before all other Nights and Days of
“ his Life,* &c. *I would fain know of him whether
“ this Grand Seignor of his be not the* Turk ; *and,
“ if he be, how* Socrates *could ſpeak of him, except
“ by way of Prophecy ; ſince the* Turks *began
“ their Empire not quite Eight hundred Years ago,
“ and the Age, in which* Socrates *lived, was above
“ Thirteen hundred before That, reckoning from the
“ fourth Year* (*in which he was born*) *of the LXXVIIth
“ Olympiad.*” Here follows the Refutation of this
Criticiſm. “ Un habile Homme m'auroit épar-
“ gné une réponſe, en ne me faiſant pas une de-
“ mande ſi ſotte. Mais, Patience; répondons à
“ cet ignorant. Ouy, Paladin (6), le Turc eſt au-
“ jourd'hui celui qu'on nomme Grand Seigneur.
“ Mais, du tems de Socrates, c'étoit le Roy des
“ Perſes, qu'on appelloit de la ſorte, & qu'on ne
“ nommoit point autrement. Aus autres Rois, dit
“ Suidas, on donne la titre des Etats & des païs qui
“ ſont de leur Obeiſſance, & pour ce on dit le
“ Roi de Macedoine, & le Roi des Lacedemoniens.
“ Celui des Perſes ſe qualifie ſimplement le Grand
“ Roi, ou le Grand Seigneur, μέγας βασιλεὺς,
“ μέγας δεσπότης. Et, comme il portoit le titre
“ de Grand Seigneur, ſes Sujets prenoient le qualité
“ d'eſclaves, & ſa Cour s'appelloit la Porte, ſes Cour-
“ tiſans οἱ ἐπὶ θύραις βασιλέως, ceux qui eſtoient
“ à la porte du Roi. L'Empereur de Turcs lui a
“ ſuccédé au Titre de Grand Seigneur, auſſi bien
“ qu'en la meilleure partie de ſes Roiaumes, & en
“ la forme de ſon Gouvernement. De façon que,
“ ſans révélation & ſans prophétie, Socrates à pu
“ parler du Grand Seigneur, de quoi le Paladin ne
“ l' à pu reprendre ſans decouvrir ſon ânerie. Mais,
“ de le renvoier à Herodote, à Thucydide, & aus
“ autres bons Auteurs, pour apprendre la vérité de
“ ce que je dis, ce ſeroit à moi péne perduë. Car
“ le pauvre malheureux confeſſe qu'il n'a point de
“ livres, ni d'argent pour en acheter; & à péne
“ ceux qui ont des Bibliotheques lui voudroient con-
“ fier les leurs: & puis, il n'y entend du tout rien.
“ Je me contenterai donc de l'envoier étudier l'Hi-
“ ſtoire des Turcs au bout de pont neuf; où les
“ colporteurs eſtallent leurs images, à fin que, ſans
“ qu'il lui coûte rien, il apprenne dans les Cartes,
“ où les Empereurs des Turcs ſont figurez en taille
“ douce, depuis quel temps les Ottomans ſont devenus
“ Grand Seigneurs, s'il y a 800 ans, comme dit le
“ Paladin, ou bien ſi c'eſt depuis trois ſiecles ſeu-
“ lement (7). —— *A Man of tolerable Senſe would
“ have ſpared me an Anſwer, by not aſking ſo fooliſh a
“ Queſtion. But, Patience; let us anſwer this ignorant
“ Fellow. Yes, moſt renowned* Don Quixote, *the* Turk
“ *is at this Time called the Grand Seignor. But,
“ in* Socrates's *Time, the King of* Perſia *was called
“ ſo, and by no other Name. Other Kings, ſays* Suidas,
“ *take their Titles from the Dominions and Coun-
“ tries under their Obedience; and therefore we ſay,
“ the King of* Macedonia, *and the King of the*
“ Lacedemonians. *The* Perſian *Monarch calls him-
“ ſelf only the Great King, or the Grand Seignor,*
“ μέγας βασιλεὺς, μέγας δεσπότης. *And, as he
“ bore the Title of Grand Seignor, his Subjects took
“ upon them the Quality of Slaves, his Court was
“ called the Port, and his Courtiers* οἱ ἐπὶ θύραις
“ βασιλέως, *They who ſtood at the King's Gate.
“ The Emperor of the* Turks *has ſucceeded him in
“ the Title of Grand Seignor, as well as in the beſt
“ part of his Dominions, and in the Form of his
“ Government. So that* Socrates *might ſpeak of the
“ Grand Seignor, without Revelation or Prophecy;
“ and our* Don's *Criticiſm does but diſcover him to
“ be an arrant Aſs. But it would be loſs of Time
“ for me to refer him to* Herodotus, Thucydides,
“ *and other good Authors, for the truth of what I
“ ſay; becauſe the poor unhappy Creature confeſſes
“ he has no Books, nor Money to buy any; and they,
“ who have Libraries, will hardly truſt him with
“ the uſe of them, nor does he underſtand any thing
“ at all of the Matter. I ſhall content myſelf there-
“ fore with ſending him to ſtudy the Hiſtory of the*
“ Turks, *at the Foot of the* Pontneuf, *among the
“ Printſellers, where, without any Charge, he may
“ learn, from the Prints of the* Turkiſh *Emperors,
“ how long it is ſince the* Ottomans *became Grand
“ Seignors, whether Eight hundred Years ago, as
“ this* de la Mancha *Knight pronounces, or only
“ Three hundred.*” I have copied this long Paſſage, that the Reader, at a ſmall Expence, and without conſulting the Pieces of this famous Controverſy of the General of the *Feuillans*, may ſee the coarſe, rude, Manner of the Paper Wars of Thoſe Times (8). But we muſt not let paſs the Legerdemain of Father *Goulu*, who, not finding his Account in μέγας βασιλεὺς, cunningly adds μέγας δεσπότης as the Words of *Suidas*. This will never acquit him with learned Readers; it only ſerves to impoſe on the ignorant, and brands him with Forgery in the Opinion of all others. Upon the whole, the Criticiſm upon his *Grand Seignor* appears to be juſt.

OF the Title of *King of Kings*.

To conclude; The Pride of Eaſtern Monarchs was not ſo well flattered with the lofty Title of King of Kings, as with That of The Great King; for we ſee, that *Artabanus* IV, to enhance his former Character, cauſed himſelf to be ſtyled the Great King, rather than continue That of King of Kings, which he had received from his Predeceſſors. In *Pompey*'s Time, This was commonly given to the King of *Parthia*; and, if *Pompey* did not obſerve This Form in writing to him, it was from a Regard to thoſe other Kings, who were come to pay him Homage (9). *Phrahates* aſſumed it in a Letter, which he wrote to *Auguſtus* (10). *Suetonius* has given it to the King of *Parthia*, who was Cotemporary with *Germanicus*, in the Place, where he mentions the Sorrow, which was expreſſed for the Death of That illuſtrious *Roman*. “ Regulos quoſdam bar-
“ bam poſuiſſe, & uxorum capita raſiſſe ad indicium
“ maximi luctus. Regum etiam Regem & exer-
“ citatione venandi & convictu Megiſtanum abſtinuiſſe,
“ quod apud Parthos juſtitii inſtar eſt (11). — *Several
“ petty Kings had their Beards taken off, and their
“ Wives Heads ſhaved, as a Mark of the deepeſt Mourn-
“ ing. The* King of Kings *alſo abſtained from
“ Hunting and Feaſting with his Nobles, which, among
“ the* Parthians, *is like ſhutting up the Courts of
“ Juſtice, in ſome public Calamity.*” I do not wonder at *Artabanus*'s Taſte, when I conſider, that the Title of King of Kings had been much more common, than That of the Great King. The Title of King of Kings was given to *Agamemnon* (12). *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, that *Oſmanduas* and *Seſoſtris* were ſo ſtyled, the one in his Epitaph (13), the other in Inſcriptions on Pillars (14). Both had reigned gloriouſly in *Egypt*. The ſame Title was given to *Cyrus* in

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(3) Iſocrates in Panegyr. pag. 96. *See the Article* AGESILAUS II. *Citat.* (38).

(4) *Verſes* 19, *and* 28.

(5) Diſcours d'Ariſtarque à Nicandre ſur les fautes de Phyllarque, p. 120, 121.

(6) *He makes uſe of this word, becauſe he had to do with* Javerſac, *againſt whom a Satire had appeared intitled,* La defaite de Paladin Javerſac, *i. e.* Javerſac *the Knight-Errant defeated. See his Article.*

(7) Achates à Palemon pour la Defence de Phyllarque, pag. 41.

(8) *i. e.* 1628.

(9) Plut. in Pompeio, p. 639. C.

(10) Dion, lib. 55. ad ann. 748, pag. 636.

(11) Sueton. in Caligula, cap. 5.

(12) Cicer. Epiſt. 14. lib. 9. ad famil. p. 31. Livius, lib. 45. c. 27.

(13) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 1. cap. 47.

(14) Id. ib. cap. 55.

in his *Epitaph* (15); and alſo to *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia* (16). The Holy Scriptures apply it to *Nabuchodonoſor* (17). Note, that the Kings of *Perſia*, who ſucceeded the Kings of *Parthia*, continued to ſtyle themſelves Kings of Kings. See *Sapor*'s Letter to *Conſtantius*, in *Ammianus Marcellinus* (18), and the Annotations of *Valeſius* on That Place. See alſo *Trebellius Pollio*, in the Life of *Aurelian*, and the Notes of the Commentators. Some Authors will have it, that the Emperors of *Conſtantinople* carried this Title ſtill farther. *They bore, in their Atchievement of Arms, four B's, termed in Heraldry* Fusils (19), *which ſtood for* βασιλεὺς βασιλέων βασιλεύων βασίλευσι, *that is to ſay, King of Kings, reigning over Kings*: Let us note, by the way, that the giving the Title of King to a tributary Prince was out of pure Pride.

(15) Strabo lib. 15. pag. 502.

(16) Plut. in Lucullo, pag. 500. C.

(17) Ezech. chap. xxvi. ver. 7.

(18) Ammian. Marcell. lib. 17. cap. 5. pag. 163. ad. ann. 357. Biſſelius, Ruinarum illuſtr. dec. 4. pag. 545, *aſſerts falſly, that* Capitolinus *has taken Notice of this Letter.*

(19) Bodin, de la Republique, liv. 1. ch. 9. ſub fin. pag. 211.

ARTABAZUS, the Son of *Pharnaces*, commanded the *Parthians*, and the *Choraſmians*, in the Expedition of *Xerxes* (*a*). It was He, who, after the Battle of *Salamis*, eſcorted the King his Maſter as far as the *Helleſpont* with 60000 ſelect Soldiers (*b*). As ſoon as *Xerxes* was paſſed into *Aſia*, *Artabazus* returned back, and, in his way, thought himſelf obliged to puniſh the City of *Potidæa*, which had caſt off the *Perſian* Yoke on the News of their ill Fortune. He beſieged it a very long time, without being able to take it, by reaſon of Innundations, ariſing from tempeſtuous Weather. He was more fortunate in the Siege of *Olinthus*. He diſapproved the Reſolution taken to leave *Mardonius* in *Europe* (*c*), and it was wholly againſt his Advice, that *Mardonius* engaged in the Battle of *Platea*, which was ſo fatal to the *Perſians*. *Artabazus*, who had foreſeen what happened, preſerved the 40000 Men, whom he commanded, and with much Prudence brought them back into *Aſia* [*A*]. Mr *Moreri* ſhews no Diſcernment in this Matter. See the Remark.

(*a*) Herodot. lib. 7. c. 66.

(*b*) Id. lib. 8. cap. 126.

(*c*) Id. lib. 9. cap 65, 88.

[*A*] *Preſerved the Forty Thouſand Men, whom he commanded, and with much Prudence brought them back into* Aſia.] Mr *Moreri* ſays, that *Artabazus* gathered together the broken Remains of the Army. This is not underſtanding the Author, whom he quotes. *Herodotus* plainly informs us, that *Artabazus* kept theſe Forty Thouſand Men apart as a Body of Reſerve, and that, when he was going to lead them to Battle, he perceived, that *Mardonius* was routed, and fled another way. If *Mardonius* had ſurvived the Loſs of That Battle, he would not have failed to have ſaid, in his Vindication, that *Artabazus* had ſacrificed him; that he had either been a Spectator only, or a Run-away; that, having given his Advice againſt the Battle, he had contributed what lay in his Power to the Loſs of it, in order to raiſe a Trophy to his own Prudence. *Artabazus* would not have been the only Perſon, who, by ſuch a Conduct, had maintained the Opinion he had given in a Council of War. It is a ſtrange Overſight to ſay, as Mr *Moreri* does, that the *Greeks* loſt That Battle. And The Siege of *Potidæa*, naked and unfurniſhed of all manner of Circumſtances, what does it do there? Of what uſe is it to a Reader?

ARTAVASDES I, King of *Armenia*, Son and Succeſſor of That *Tigranes*, who was conquered by *Lucullus* and *Pompey*, in the War with *Mithridates*, betrayed the *Romans* baſely, in the Expedition of *Craſſus* (*a*); for, after having been to wait upon That General with 6000 Horſe, and promiſing him a Supply of 40000 Men, he broke his Word, and excuſed himſelf on Pretence of the War he was obliged to maintain in his own Country againſt the *Parthians* (*b*). *Craſſus*, finding himſelf abuſed, threatned very ſeverely (*c*), but was not in a Condition to puniſh This Treachery; on the contrary, *Artavaſdes* had a great Share in the Rejoicings, which were afterwards made, at the Court of the King of *Parthia*, for the Deſtruction of the *Roman* Army. He had fixed the Marriage of his Siſter with *Pacorus*, the Son of *Orodes*, King of the *Parthians* (*d*), and was at the Court of *Orodes*, during the exceſſive Joy occaſioned there by ſo great a Victory. He ſaw a thouſand Diverſions full of Inſults on the *Romans*; he was preſent at their Feaſts and Comedies, and heard *Euripides*'s Verſes applied to the Diſaſter of *Craſſus*, whoſe Head was brought in upon the Stage, while the *Bacchantes* of That Poet was repreſented. This gave *Plutarch* occaſion to ſay, that *Orodes* underſtood *Greek*, and that *Artavaſdes* compoſed Tragedies, Orations, and Hiſtories [*A*], ſome of which were preſerved to his own Time. I take This *Artavaſdes* to have been the ſame, who deceived *Marc Antony* [*B*]. He perſuaded him to turn his Arms againſt

(*a*) Dio, lib. 40.

(*b*) Plutarch. in Craſſo, pag. 554.

(*c*) Id. pag. 556.

(*d*) Id. pag. 564. Cicero Epiſt. ad Famil. 3. l. 15.

[*A*] Artavaſdes *compoſed Tragedies, Orations, and Hiſtories.*] Here is a *Greek* Poet and Hiſtorian, who has been forgot by *Voſſius*, as a Poet, but not as an Hiſtorian (1); tho' *Mallincrot* places him in his Collection of Hiſtorians never before taken notice of. *Mallincrot* obſerves, that *Appian* has cited the Hiſtory of our *Artavaſdes*, but has differed a little as to the Author's Name. He adds, that he was the firſt Prince of That Name, who reigned in *Armenia* (2). This may be true, altho' the Conjecture of ſeveral Critics on a Paſſage of *Juſtin* ſhould be good. They pretend, that we ought to read *Artavaſdes*, and not *Ortoadiſtes*, in the ſecond Chapter of the Forty ſecond Book. So that there muſt have been a King of *Armenia* called *Artavaſdes*, in the time of *Mithridates* the Great, King of *Parthia*. This *Mithridates* was depoſed, and ſucceeded his Brother *Orodes*, who obtained That memorable Victory over the *Romans*. Our *Artavaſdes*, indeed, reigned at the ſame time with *Orodes*; yet nothing hinders, but he might have began to reign before him, and his Father *Tigranes* be dead before the depoſing of *Mithridates* the Great; in which Caſe *Artavaſdes* might have been at War with the latter. It is true, that, to make *Juſtin* agree with *Plutarch* (3), and *Dion* (4), it muſt be ſuppoſed, that His *Mithridates* the Great is the *Phrahates*, Theſe make to reign in the Time of *Tigranes*.

[*B*] *I take this* Artavaſdes *to have been the ſame, who deceived* Marc Antony.] My Reaſons are theſe; He, who betrayed *Craſſus*, was the Son of *Tigranes*, as *Dion* affirms (5). He, who deceived *Marc Antony*, was the Son of *Tigranes*, as *Joſephus* ſays (6), whoſe Teſtimony, if there were occaſion for it, might be confirmed by *Strabo*, who not only affirms, that He, whom *Marc Antony* puniſhed for his Perfidy, reigned after *Tigranes* (7), but alſo that he was His Son (8). So then He, who deceived the *Romans* in the Time of *Craſſus*, is the ſame, who deceived them in the Expedition of *Marc Antony*. Mr *Moreri* did not underſtand it ſo; He would have us acknowledge Two *Artavaſdes*'s. Had he ſtopt here, his Opinion would not have been thought ſo ſtrange; but what follows can never be enough wondered at. He will have it, that One of Theſe *Artavaſdes*'s was He, who compoſed Hiſtories and Poems, and that the other was He, whom *Marc Antony* led in Triumph to *Alexandria*, in the Year of *Rome* 720. He ſays, that *the latter left a Son of his own Name, the ſame, perhaps, mentioned by* Plutarch, *who* had

Several Miſtakes of Mr *Moreri*.

(1) Voſſ. de Hiſt. Græc. pag. 154.

(2) Malincrot, Paralipomenon de Hiſtor. Gr. pag. 11, & 87, *calls him, with* Voſſius, Artuaſdes. *Mr* Ryck, *upon* Tacit. pag. 28, *pretends, that* Plutarch *calls him* Artabazus; *but it is certain he calls him oftener* 'Αρταυάσδης.

(3) Plut. in Pompejo.

(4) Dio, lib. 37.

(5) Id. ib. lib. 40.

(6) Joſeph. lib. 15. c. 5.

(7) Strabo, lib. 11. ſub finem.

(8) Id. ib. lib. 11. pag. 365.

againſt the King of *Media* (e), and by that means engaged him in an Enterprize, which had a very bad Iſſue, and in which he never ſeconded him (f). *Marc Antony*, deferring his Revenge till a more convenient Seaſon, diſſembled for the preſent; but, two Years after, *viz.* in the Seven Hundred and twentieth Year of *Rome*, he uſed ſo many Artifices and fine Promiſes, that at laſt he drew him to a Conference, and then, keeping him Priſoner, loaded him with Silver Chains [C], and led him in Triumph to *Alexandria*. *Artavaſdes*'s Wife and Children were alſo forced to adorn *Marc Antony*'s Triumph. They were all led in Chains of Gold, through the midſt of the People, to *Cleopatra*; but neither Promiſes nor Threats could prevail on them to fall on their Knees before her, or make Supplications to her: they called her only by her Name, which was the occaſion of their being more ſeverely treated. Some time after, *Artavaſdes* was put to Death, and his Head ſent to the King of the *Medes*. It was *Cleopatra*, who ſent him This Preſent upon her return to *Alexandria*, after the loſs of the Battle of *Actium* (g). She fancied, 'That this Head would induce the King of *Media* to enter into a ſtricter Alliance with *Marc Antony* againſt *Auguſtus*. We ſhall find, in the following Article, what became of the Sons of *Artavaſdes*. He had a Daughter, married to King *Dejotarus* (h).

(e) *He was called* Artavaſdes.

(f) Dio, lib. 49. Strabo, lib. 11. pag. 361, 366. Plutarch. in Anton. pag. 933.

(g) Dio, lib. 51. *See Remark* [G] *Citation* (11).

(h) Cicer. ad Attic. Epiſt. 21. l. 5.

had ſo much Wit (9), *and betrayed* Craſſus. What Blundering is here! *Craſſus* was betrayed in 701; He, who betrayed him, was actually King of *Armenia*; how then could he be the Son of a King of *Armenia*, who was dethroned in the Year 720? Mr *Moreri* remarks, that This dethroned Prince *died ſome time after in Priſon*. This is forgetting a very eſſential Circumſtance; for he was killed. Ἀνηλέθη συνάπτοντος τοῦ Ἀκτιακοῦ πολέμου (10). - - - - - *He was taken off upon the breaking out of the War of* Actium. *Cleopatra*, according to *Dion*, was returned to *Alexandria*, from the Battle of *Actium*, when this Murther was committed (11). He adds, that he left a Son named *Artavaſdes*. No ſuch thing; his eldeſt Son, who ſucceeded him, was called *Artaxias*; his other Son *Tigranes*. And as to That other *Artavaſdes*, who, according to Mr *Moreri*, quoting *Tacitus*, ſoon loſt *Armenia*, which *Tiberius* had given him, he was not the Son of the former, but the third, or fourth, King after him. It is moreover falſe, that *Tacitus* ſays, that *Tiberius* gave him *Armenia*. What he ſays is this: "Dein juſſu Auguſti impoſitus Artavaſdes, & non ſine clade noſtra dejectus. Tum C. Cæſar componendæ Armeniæ deligitur: Is Ariobarzanem origine Medum ob inſignem corporis formam & præclarum animum volentibus Armeniis præfecit (12). —— *Afterwards, by* Auguſtus's *Order*, Artavaſdes *was ſet over them, who loſt not his Kingdom, without the Defeat of our Forces. Then* C. Cæſar *was appointed for the ſettling* Armenia. *He pitched upon* Ariobarzanes, *of* Median *extract, and excellent Endowments both of Body and Mind, to be their King, whom the* Armenians *very willingly received*." Laſtly, what Mr *Moreri* ſays, that *Auguſtus* ſent a Son of *Agrippa* thither, who was ſoon dethroned, is very falſe; for *Caius Cæſar*, the Son of *Agrippa*, was not ſent into *Armenia* 'till after the Deſtruction of the laſt *Artavaſdes*. Nor was he ſent to take it for himſelf, but only to ſettle That Kingdom: accordingly he placed *Ariobarzanes* on the Throne, and afterwards continued to viſit the Eaſt with a Magnificence becoming the preſumptive Heir to the whole *Roman* Empire. If one would endeavour to commit Miſtakes, is it poſſible to make more than Mr *Moreri* has done, who has been guilty of ſeven or eight in ſixteen Lines? Mr *Hofman* makes but three, in this Article. He ſays, I. That *Artavaſdes* aſſiſted *Craſſus* againſt the *Parthians* (13). II. That *Tiberius* gave *Armenia* to another *Artavaſdes*. III. That *Auguſtus* had before given it to *Artabazus*, the Son of *Agrippa*, who was ſoon depoſed. Mr *Lloyd* has ſuppreſſed this whole Article, tho' it ſtood very fair in *Charles Stephens*.

[C] Marc Antony —— *loaded him with Silver Chains.*] *Dion* remarks, that the Choice of this Metal was to avoid diſhonouring Royal Majeſty with Chains of Iron (14). *Paterculus* ſays, that, in order to render them more honourable, they were made of Gold. "Catenis, ſed ne quid honori deeſſet, aureis vinxit (15). —— *He ordered Chains to be put on, but, that they might be as honourable as poſſible, they were of Gold.*" The ſame Ceremony had been uſed to *Darius* (16). But what ſhall we ſay to Mr *Ryck*, who treats a Fact, advanced by *Lewis d'Orleans* to reconcile *Paterculus* with *Dion*, as a meer Fiction (17)? The Fact is this; that *Artavaſdes* was loaded with Silver Chains in Priſon, and with Chains of Gold on the Day of Triumph. Mr *Ryck* maintains, that neither of theſe two Hiſtorians have mentioned either Priſon or Triumph, and therefore can never admit of any ſuch Reconciliation. But yet it is very true, that *Dion*, in the ſame Page, where he ſpeaks of Silver Chains, mentions alſo thoſe of Gold, which were put upon *Artavaſdes*, and his Family, on the Day of Triumph. The Slips of Memory are ſometimes very ſurprizing.

(9) Plutarch *does not ſay, that he had* much, or ſo much, Wit.

(10) Strabo, lib. 11, ſub finem.

(11) *See* Tacitus, Ann. lib. 2. c. 3.

(12) Id. ib.

(13) Charles Stevens *ſays ſo too.*

(14) Dio, lib. 49. circa fin.

(15) Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 82.

(16) Curt. lib. 5. cap. 12. Vide ibi Freinſhemium.

(17) Ryck, Animadv. ad Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. cap. 3. pag. 28, 29.

ARTAVASDES II. was eſtabliſhed King of *Armenia* by *Auguſtus*. Between the Death of *Artavaſdes* I, and this time, had preceeded *Artaxias*, *Tigranes*, and the Children of *Tigranes*. *Artaxias*, the Eldeſt Son of *Artavaſdes* I, had made his Eſcape, when his Father was put in Chains (a); but not before he had endeavoured to maintain himſelf on the Throne, with his Troops, and the Towns, which had proclaimed him King, after his Father was taken (b). He had the Misfortune to be beaten by *Marc Antony*, and then took Refuge among the *Parthians*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he reigned at laſt in *Armenia* (c); but, upon the Complaint of his Subjects, and their Requeſt to have his Brother *Tigranes*, who was educated at *Rome*, *Auguſtus* ordered *Tiberius* to depoſe *Artaxias*, and confer the Kingdom on *Tigranes* (d). *Artaxias* was murthered by his own Subjects, before the Approach of *Tiberius* [A], ſo that he had no

(a) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 5.

(b) Dio, lib. 49.

(c) Arſacidarum vi ſeque regnumque tutatus eſt. *Tacit. Annal. lib. 2. cap. 6.*

(d) Dio, lib. 54.

[A] Artaxias *was murthered — before the Approach of* Tiberius.] *Dion*, who informs us of this Circumſtance, is miſtaken in the Name; for he calls him *Artabazes*, inſtead of *Artaxias* (1). *Tacitus* imputes the Death of *Artaxias* to the Treachery of his Relations; *occiſo Artaxiâ per dolum propinquorum* (2); but *Horace* aſcribes it to the Valour of *Tiberius*.

—— Claudî virtute Neronis
Armenius cecidit (3).

By brave Tiberius' *Arms* Armenia's *Monarch fell.*

This is no wonder; Poets know too well how to give an agreeable turn to Events: Every thing, in their Hands, becomes Matter of Panegyric, and furniſhes Flowers to crown Princes with. *Joſephus* ſays only, that *Artaxias* was depoſed by *Archelaus*, and *Tiberius* (4). *Suetonius*, without mentioning *Artaxias*, contents himſelf with obſerving, that *Tiberius* placed *Tigranes* on the Throne. "Ducto ad orientem exercitu regnum Armeniæ Tigrani reſtituit, ac pro Tribunali diadema impoſuit (5). —— *Leading the Army into the Eaſt, he reſtored the Kingdom of* Armenia *to* Tigranes, *and on a Throne inveſted him* "*with*

(1) *See* Lipſius *on* Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. c. 3.

(2) Tacit. ibid.

(3) Horat. Epiſt. 12. lib. 1. v. 26.

(4) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 5.

(5) Suet. in Tiber. c. 9.

no hard Taſk to inſtal *Tigranes* (*e*). This happened in the Year of *Rome* 734. Neither *Tigranes*, nor his Sons, enjoyed their Royalty long (*f*); they gave place to *Artavaſdes* II [*B*], whoſe Reign was alſo ſhort (*g*). *Auguſtus*, who had advanced him, being made acquainted with the Confuſions of *Armenia*, diſpatched thither his Grandſon *Caius Cæſar*, to compoſe them. This young Prince made *Ariobarzanes* their King, with Univerſal Satisfaction.

(*e*) Id. ib.

(*f*) Nec Tigrani diuturnum Imperium fuit, nec liberis ejus. *Tacit. ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Id. ib.

"*with the Diadem.*" The Term *reſtored* does not ſeem properly applied, becauſe *Tigranes*, who was the younger Brother of *Artaxias*, had never been in poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Armenia*, nor could he have any Right to it during the Life of his Elder Brother. *Scaliger*, who very rightly obſerved the Miſtake of *Euſebius*, in uſing an Expreſſion, which implies the Conqueſt of *Armenia* by *Tiberius* (6), when the *Armenians* deſired nothing more, than to have *Tigranes* for their King: I ſay, *Scaliger*, who juſtly cenſures this Impropriety of *Euſebius* (7), ought himſelf to have avoided The *reſtituit* of *Suetonius*, and not given *Artaxias* the Title of Uſurper (8). There is another Impropriety, or Miſtake, in *Euſebius*, and in his Tranſlator St *Jerome*, which has not been noted by *Scaliger*. They affirm, that *Tiberius* ſeized on *Armenia*, *παρεστήσατο*, *occupavit Armeniam:* Now he only gave the *Armenians* the Maſter they deſired. It is alſo certain, that he inthroned him, and put the Diadem upon his Head, and, if there had been occaſion for it, would have aſſiſted him with his Forces; how comes it then, that *Scaliger* ſays, *Armenia* was given to *Tigranes* without any Act of *Tiberius*? What does he mean in maintaining, that St *Jerom*, when he affirms, that *Tiberius* ſeized on *Armenia*, *occupavit*, ought to have believed, that it belonged already to the *Romans?* I confeſs I underſtand nothing of this Logic. But why does he not condemn *Paterculus*, as well as Theſe two Fathers of the Church? *Paterculus*, tho' an Hiſtorian, flatters *Tiberius* like a Poet, and has complimented him upon having reduced *Armenia* under the Power of the *Roman* Empire (9). This is not his only Error; he calls Him *Artavaſdes*, whom *Tiberius* crowned King of *Armenia*, when his true Name was *Tigranes*.

[*B*] Tigranes *and his Son - - - gave place to* Artavaſdes II.] Here the Authors of The Supplement to *Moreri* have been no leſs faulty, than *Moreri* himſelf. I omit their aſſerting, that our *Artavaſdes* was the Son of *Artaxias*, and conſequently the Nephew of *Tigranes*: There is nothing of this in the ſecond Book of *Tacitus*'s Annals, the only Author whom they have quoted; but let that paſs. They add, that the Sons of *Tigranes were ſtiled Kings by* Tiberius, *and that* Artavaſdes II, *their Couſin, ſucceeded ſoon after to the Crown, by the Order of the ſame Emperor. Tacitus*, their only Evidence, confutes them; for he expreſsly ſays, that all this was done by *Auguſtus*. Inſtead of affirming with them, that the *Romans* took Arms againſt this *Artavaſdes*, and at laſt deſtroyed him, his Words are, *non ſine clade noſtra dejectus*, which rather ſignify the contrary, that he was depoſed in ſpite of the *Romans*, who ſupported him, and by the Defeat of their Succours. See the Article ARTAVASDES, King of *Media*. Laſtly, they ſay, that *Tigranes*, the Uncle of our *Artavaſdes*, *was beheaded at* Rome, *under the Emperor* Tiberius. This is abſurd; for the Inſtalling of *Tigranes*, whom they would have to be the Uncle of *Artavaſdes* II, was performed in the Seven hundred thirty fourth Year of *Rome*, and his Reign laſted but a very ſhort time. The Execution of *Tigranes* under *Tiberius* happened in the Year 789: So that, according to theſe Gentlemen, That Prince muſt have lived above fifty Years after he was depoſed, and attained to ſuch an Age, as would not have eſcaped the Obſervation of the Hiſtorian, who mentions the Indignity of his Death. It is to be obſerved, that *Tigranes*, created King of *Armenia* in the Year 734, had been taken Priſoner, together with his Father, by *Marc Antony* in 720, and was then a Youth full grown (10). Obſerve alſo, that, a little after his Coronation, he married his Children to one another (11), according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Nations. But, what is yet more obſervable, He, whom *Tiberius* cauſed to be put to Death, was *Herod*'s Grandſon. *Joſephus* tells us, that *Alexander*, the Son of *Herod*, had, by his Wife *Glaphyra*, the Daughter of *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, two Sons, one of whom, named *Tigranes*, reigned in *Armenia*, and was impeached before the *Romans* (12). This without doubt was He, of whom *Tacitus* ſpeaks in this manner. "Ne Tigranes quidem Armenia quondam potitus, ac tunc reus, nomine regio ſupplicia civium effugit. —— "*Not even* Tigranes, *who had been King of* Armenia, *when accuſed and ſentenced as a Criminal before the* Romans, *could eſcape Puniſhment on account of his Royal Dignity* (13)." Mr *de Tillemont*'s Conjecture, that This *Tigranes* was King of the leſſer *Armenia*, which *Auguſtus* had given to *Archelaus* (14), might be admitted, if it could be reconciled with *Joſephus*, who ſays, that the Deſcendants of *Alexander* and *Glaphyra* reigned in the greater *Armenia*. Ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου γενεὰ τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας ἐβασίλευσε (15).

(6) Παρεστήσατο, armis ſubjugavit, recepit, ad deditionem compulit.

(7) Scaliger in Euſeb. pag. 170.

(8) *He calls him* Artabazes *by miſtake, in imitation of* Dion. Fratre ejus Artabzae, *ſays he*, regni inſeſſore ab Armeniis occiſo. ---- *His Brother* Artabazes, *who had uſurped the Throne, being killed by the* Amenians.

(9) Redacta *Armeniâ* in poteſtatem populi Romani, regnum ejus Artavaſdi tradidit. ---- *Having reduced* Armenia *under the Power of the* Roman *Empire, he made* Artavaſdes *their King*. Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 96.

FAULTS of *Moreri*'s Supplement.

(10) *See* Joſephus, lib. 15. cap. 5.

(11) Tacit. Annal. lib. 2. cap. 3.

(12) Joſeph. lib. 18. c. 7.

(13) Tacit. Ann. lib. 6. cap. 40.

(14) Hiſt. des Emper. Tome I. not. 11. ſur Tibere.

(15) Joſeph. de Bello Jud. lib. 2. c. 19.

ARTAVASDES, King of *Media*, was attacked by *Marc Antony*, at the Sollicitation of another *Artavaſdes*, King of *Armenia*. This Enterprize proved very fatal to *Marc Antony*; and, as he believed himſelf betrayed by the Adviſer of it, he turned all his Rage againſt him, and entered into an Alliance with the King of *Media*. He gave him part of *Armenia*, as ſoon as he had taken it from the other *Artavaſdes*, and cemented This Peace by the Marriage of his Son *Alexander* with *Jotape*, Daughter to the King of the *Medes*. The Troops, with which he ſupplied him, made him victorious over the *Parthians*, and over *Artaxias*, the Son of *Artavaſdes*, King of *Armenia*; but, as ſoon as he recalled them, and detained thoſe which his Ally had lent him, This Prince, unable to reſiſt his Enemies, fell into their Hands. *Dion* relates this under the Seven Hundred and twenty firſt Year of *Rome* (*a*). It is probable he was not long a Captive, and that he was the ſame King of *Media*, to whom *Cleopatra* ſent the Head of *Artavaſdes*, King of *Armenia*, in the Seven Hundred and twenty fourth Year of *Rome* (*b*). The Supplement to *Moreri* is here very erroneous [*A*].

(*a*) Dio, lib. 49.

(*b*) Id. lib. 51.

[*A*] *The Supplement to* Moreri *is here very erroneous.*] We find there I. *That this* Artavaſdes, *King of* Media, *Son and Succeſſor of* Darius, *maintained a vigorous War both againſt* Artavaſdes, *King of* Armenia, *and againſt* Pompey: II. *That he was at laſt defeated by the* Parthians, *and that he took Refuge at* Rome *under* Auguſtus, *who conferred on him the leſſer* Armenia, *inſtead of* Media, *which he had loſt*. *Plutarch* is quoted, and *Dion* in his Forty ninth Book. But, to confute this the retrograde way, by one obvious Remark; Does not the bare citing *Plutarch* look like bantering the World, and reſolving to aſſert Falſities with Impunity? For who would not much rather give over criticizing, than read two great Volumes in Folio, to diſcover the Truth of one inconſiderable Fact? It is certain, *Dion*, in his Fourty ninth Book, no where ſays, that This *Artavaſdes* fled to *Rome*, nor that *Auguſtus* made him a Preſent of the leſſer *Armenia*. I know of no Author, who ſays ſo. I find indeed, in *Tacitus*, that *Auguſtus* ordered one *Artavaſdes* to reign in *Armenia* after the Son of *Tigranes*; but not that it was to make him amends for *Media*. It is likely, That they, who wrote the third Volume of *Moreri*, have made uſe of this Paſſage of

Tacitus for a double Purpoſe; on the one ſide, to aſſert, that *Tiberius* gave *Armenia* to an *Artavaſdes*, the Son of *Artaxias*, and Nephew of *Tigranes* (1); and on the other, that *Auguſtus* conferred it on *Artavaſdes*, the depoſed King of *Media*. Laſtly, how careleſs is it to ſay, that he maintained a vigorous War againſt the King of *Armenia*, and againſt *Pompey*? This War againſt the King of *Armenia* had no ſuch need of being vigorouſly maintained, conſidering that the Treachery of That Prince to *Marc Antony*, was later than the War, which *Pompey* made in That Country, by about Thirty Years. Nor have I obſerved, either in *Plutarch*, or *Appian*, that any *Artavaſdes*, King of *Media*, was attacked by *Pompey*: I find only, in *Appian*, that *Pompey* ſubdued *Darius* King of *Media* (2).

(1) *See Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* *ARTAVASDES* II.

(2) Appian. in Mithrid.

ARTAXATA [*A*] was the Capital City of *Armenia*, on the River *Araxes*. *Hannibal* was the Perſon, who not only drew the Plan, but alſo ſurveyed the Building of it, at the Requeſt of *Artaxias*, King of *Armenia*, to whom he retired after the Defeat of *Antiochus* (*a*). We may be ſure, that a Situation, made choice of by ſo able a General, was very advantagious [*B*], both in time of War and of Peace. This City was burnt by *Corbulo*, in the Eight Hundred and eleventh Year of *Rome* (*b*). That great Captain would not have proceeded to ſuch Extremity againſt the Inhabitants, who brought him the Keys of their City, upon his firſt inveſting it, if the Laws of War had not made it abſolutely neceſſary [*C*]. For ſo great a City could not be kept without a great Garriſon, which he could not ſpare without weakening his Army to ſuch a degree, as muſt have diſabled him from any farther Enterprize; And, to have abandoned it in the Condition he found it, would have been giving up both the Glory and Advantage of the Conqueſt. He reſolved therefore to raze it, and was encouraged thereto by a great Miracle [*D*], *ſi credere dignum eſt*. The City was covered all on a ſudden with a thick Cloud, from whence iſſued abundance of Lightning, while the Sun continued to ſhine all round it to the very Compaſs of the Walls. Some time after, This City was rebuilt by *Tiridates*, who called it *Neronea* in Honour of *Nero* (*c*), from whom he had received at *Rome* a thouſand Civilities, upon his going thither to pay him Homage in the Year of *Rome* 819.

(*a*) Plut. in Lucull. pag. 513. Strabo, lib. 11. pag. 364. *See the Article* *ARTAXIAS* I. *Citation* (*c*).

(*b*) i. e. 58 *of* CHRIST.

(*c*) Xiphil. in Neron.

[*A*] ARTAXATA.] *Plutarch* obſerves, that this City took it's Name from That of King *Artaxas*, (or *Artaxias*), to whom *Hannibal* propoſed the Building of it (1). What Meſſ. *Lloyd* and *Baudrand* note, that *Tacitus* calls it *Artaxia*, is not true; for he calls it conſtantly *Artaxata*. What they add, that *Strabo* names it *Artaxiaſata* (2), is not accurate; for this is plainly inſinuating, that he calls it nothing elſe, or, at leaſt, that it is the principal Name he gives it. Now it is certain, that he commonly calls it *Artaxata*, and only once obſerves, that it was alſo called *Artaxiaſata*. *Pinedo* had reaſon to alter 'Αρταξιασώτα to 'Αρταξιάσατα in *Stephanus Byzantinus*, who doubtleſs uſed the Expreſſion of *Strabo*, ſince he quotes him. It is certain, at leaſt, he never called This City *Artaxia*, as *Ortelius* falſely affirms both of Him, and of *Tacitus*. The Omiſſion, which *Pinedo* accuſes this *Stephanus* of, is indeed inexcuſable; for that *Hannibal*, a Refugee in *Armenia*, obſerving a very advantagious Situation, adviſed the Prince, whoſe Gueſt he was, to build a City there, and took upon himſelf the Direction of the Work, is a Circumſtance, which ought not to have been ſuppreſt in a Dictionary of Cities. I am inclined to believe, that *Stephanus Byzantinus*, having *Strabo* before his Eyes, when he compoſed the Article of *Artaxata*, did not overlook what he found there concerning *Hannibal*; but that his Epitomizer, a Perſon of much leſs Judgment, ought to be charged with this Neglect, which *Pinedo* ſo juſtly complains of. There is, perhaps, no Work, which requires more Diſcernment, or a better Taſte, than the abridging a large Book (3). I cannot forbear making this Remark, becauſe I am myſelf daily perplexed by the Negligence of Abreviators; while by their means I meet with Difficulties and Obſcurities in an hundred Places, which probably were intelligible in the Authors, whom they have abridged. See what Mr *Gronovius* obſerves of the Authors of the *Synopſis Criticorum* (4).

[*B*] *It's Situation was very advantagious.*] *Strabo* informs us, that *Artaxata* was built in a Place, where the River made a *Peninſula*; ſo that the Walls were ſurrounded with the River, in form of a Circle, wanting but little of being perfect. His Tranſlator entirely miſtakes his Meaning, and is juſtly reprimanded for it by *Pinedo* (5). If the Verſion only be conſulted, we muſt believe this City to have been without Walls, except in the Place, where the River did not ſurround it; *Cincta muri loco flumine, niſi qua iſthumus eſt.* — *It was encompaſſed by the River inſtead of a Wall, except only at the* Iſthmus. The *Greek* tells us quite another ſtory; Τὸ τεῖχος κύκλῳ περιβεβλημένον τὸν ποταμὸν πλὴν τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ. — *The Wall was ſurrounded by the River in form of a Circle, except only at the* Iſthmus.

[*C*] *It was burnt by* Corbulo, — *which the Laws of War made abſolutely neceſſary.*] The more we conſider the inevitable Conſequences of War, the more we ſhall deteſt Thoſe, who are the Cauſes of it. Here is *Corbulo*, who reduced a great and fine City to Aſhes, and made an infinite Number of Women, Children, and old Men, miſerable, who never did him any Injury. Inquire of Thoſe, who underſtand the Trade of War beſt, whether he did well, they will tell you, he did very well; and that, in caſe he had not acted ſo, he muſt have been eſteemed a very weak General, for the Reaſons alledged by *Tacitus*. "Artaxatis ignis immiſſus "deletaque & ſolo æquata ſunt, quia nec teneri "ſine valido præſidio ob magnitudinem mœnium, "nec id nobis virium erat quod firmando præſidio & capeſſendo bello divideretur, vel ſi integra & incuſtodita relinqueretur, nulla in eo utilitas aut gloria quod capta eſſent (6). — Artaxata "*was burnt down, and razed to the Ground, becauſe* "*ſo large a City could not be defended without a* "*ſtrong Garriſon, which was not to be ſpared out* "*of an Army, but juſt ſufficient for carrying on the* "*War; and, to leave it entire, and ungarriſoned,* "*would have been throwing away both the Honour,* "*and Benefit, of taking it.*" The Inſults, which a General ſuffers, when he leaves his Conqueſts without putting them out of a Condition to hurt him, or keeps them to the too great weakening of his Army, make him ſo deſpicable, that, to maintain his Reputation, one of the main Springs of War, he muſt give occaſion to no ſuch Inſults. So that it is by a fatal and an unhappy Neceſſity, that the hard Laws of War oblige us to deprive an Enemy of That, which can be of no Advantage to ourſelves.

[*D*] *And was encouraged thereto by a great Miracle.*] *Tacitus*, with all his great Wit, has ſwallowed the Marvellous with as much Reliſh, as Thoſe of meaner Capacities are uſed to do ſuch ſort of Dainties. Doubtleſs the Inhabitants of *Artaxata* endeavoured to comfort themſelves on the Deſtruction of their City, among other Reaſons, by ſome Miracle, which might aſſure them, that the Gods were diſpleaſed with it; and therefore every thing, which could be repreſented in this Light, was eaſily believed. But what Notions they had of this Matter we want ſome Hiſtorian of theirs to inform us of. The *Romans*, on their Part, did not want Perſons, who knew how to turn the Tables in favour of their Country. For this Particular we are obliged to *Tacitus*. "Adjicitur Miraculum velut numine oblatum, nam "cuncta

(1) Plut. in Lucull. pag. 513.

(2) *It is probably through an Error of the Preſs, that we read* Arraxiaſata, *in Mr* Baudrand.

(3) *See Remark* [*C*] *of the Article* *ACHILLES*, *at the end*; *and Remark* [*C*], No VII. *of the Article* *ARSINOE*.

(4) Gronovius in Tractatu, de Judâ proditore. *Conſult the* Nouvell. de la Rep. des Lettres, *May* 1684, *Art.* 6. *pag.* 276.

(5) Pinedo in Stephan. de Urbib. pag. 117.

(6) Tacit. Ann. lib. 13. cap. 41.

“ cuncta extra tectis hactenus ſole inluſtria fuere, “ quod mœnibus cingebatur ita repente atrâ nube “ coopertum fulguribuſque diſcretum eſt, ut quaſi “ infenſantibus Deis exitio tradi crederetur (7). —— “ *Heaven itſelf ſeemed alſo to appear in it by a Miracle; for, while all without the Walls continued* “ *to enjoy the brighteſt Sunſhine, all within was ſo* “ *ſuddenly covered with a black Cloud, darting forth* “ *Lightning on all Sides, that the City was thought* “ *to be marked out for Deſtruction by the Anger of* “ *the Gods.*”

(7) Id. ibid.

ARTAXIAS I, King of *Armenia*, while he was only one of the Generals of *Antiochus* the Great, made a Partition of *Armenia* between himſelf, and another of That King's Generals [*A*]. That Prince ſuffered them both to enjoy their Sovereign Authority (*a*). They took Advantage of his Complaiſance; and, when he was defeated by the *Romans*, they ſubmitted to the Victors, and obtained from them the Title of King (*b*); after which, They endeavoured to inlarge their Dominions, as much as they could, at the Expence of their Neighbours. *Tigranes*, who made himſelf ſo famous in the Wars of *Mithridates*, whoſe Daughter he had married, was deſcended from *Artaxias*. *Plutarch* relates, that *Hannibal*, being retired to *Artaxias*, after the Defeat of *Antiochus*, gave him a great deal of good Advice; and that, having found out a Place, which no account was made of, very proper for building a City, he drew a Plan for it, ſhewed *Artaxias* the Ground, and perſuaded him to build it. *Artaxias* was very much pleaſed with the Propoſal, and deſired *Hannibal* to undertake the Direction of the Work. His Requeſt was complied with, and hence aroſe a large and beautiful City, which, in Honour of the Founder, was named *Artaxata* (*c*). This is all I find, in the two Authors, quoted by The Supplement to *Moreri* (*d*): As to his rebelling againſt his lawful Prince, upon a Confidence in the Friendſhip of the *Romans* (*e*), I find no ſhadow or trace of it, any more than of his practiſing all poſſible Methods, to maintain himſelf in his Uſurpation, or of his dying in Priſon under *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Theſe are meer Chimeras, without the leaſt ſupport from any Quotation.

(*a*) Strabo, lib. 11. pag. 366. *See alſo* pag. 364.

(*b*) Plut. & Strabo pag. 364. & Stephanus in Ἀρτάξατα, *gives this Title to* Artaxias.

(*c*) Plut. in Lucullo, pag. 513, *calls it* Ἀρτάξας. *See alſo* Strabo, pag. 364.

(*d*) Plut. in Lucullo. Strabo, lib. 11.

(*e*) Strabo *ſays expreſſly*, ἦρχον οὗτοι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρέψαντος. *Theſe commanded by Permiſſion of the King.*

[*A*] *He made a Partition of* Armenia *between himſelf, and another of the Generals of* Antiochus *the Great.*] In the Editions of *Strabo*, he is called Θαειάδης in one Place (1); and Ζαριάδεις, or Ζαδριάδις, in another (2). It was eaſy for thoſe, who had the Direction of theſe Editions, to have inſerted the ſame Word every where; and I wonder *Caſaubon* has made no Remark upon this, ſince he has made ſome, which are not more material.

(1) Pag. 364. Edit. 1587.

(2) Pag. 366.

ARTAXIAS II, King of *Armenia*, Eldeſt Son of *Artavaſdes*, as we have already ſaid (*a*), was proclaimed King by his Father's Army [*A*], upon his Father's being taken Priſoner with his Queen, and other Children (*b*). This Eldeſt Son endeavoured to ſupport himſelf againſt *Marc Antony*, and gave him Battle; but was defeated, and forced to fly into the Country of the *Parthians*. He returned ſome time after into *Armenia*, and reigned there. This was undoubtedly after the taking of *Artavaſdes*, King of *Media*: For, before the *Parthians* took That King (*c*), they were beaten by him, and *Artaxias* bore a ſhare in the Diſgrace. He diſguſted his Subjects in ſuch a manner, that they impeached him at *Rome*, and deſired his younger Brother *Tigranes* for their King (*d*). *Auguſtus*, having this *Tigranes* in his Cuſtody, ſent him to them, and ordered *Tiberius* to in-throne him. But *Artaxias* was murthered by his Relations, before the arrival of *Tiberius*.

(*a*) *In* ARTAVASDES II.

(*b*) Dio, lib. 49.

(*c*) Id. ib. ſub. fin.

(*d*) Id. ib. lib. 54. Tacitus Ann. lib. 2. c. 3. *See Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* ARTAVASDES II.

[*A*] *He was proclaimed King by his Father's Army.*] The Continuators of *Moreri* make *Joſephus*, or *Tacitus*, ſay, that it was *Marc Antony* who placed *Artaxias* upon the Throne; than which nothing is more falſe. They add, that *Artaxias*, having been defeated, was ſent into Exile among the *Parthians*. Which is another Miſtake; for he retired thither himſelf for Refuge. If *Marc Antony* had been in a Condition to have baniſhed him after his Victory, he would not have ſent him to the *Parthians*, but have brought him bound Hand and Foot to *Alexandria*.

FAULTS in The Supplement to *Moreri*.

ARTAXIAS III, King of *Armenia*, was the Son of *Polemon*, King of *Pontus*, and was named *Zeno*. He took ſuch a pleaſure, from his Infancy, in imitating the Cuſtoms of the *Armenians*, that he thereby gained the Affections of the Nation. So that *Germanicus* thought he could not caſt his Eye on a fitter Perſon, to ſupply the Place of *Vonones*, whom the *Armenians* had driven out. He went therefore to *Artaxata*, and, in the preſence of all the People, gave the Diadem to This *Zeno*, in the Year of *Rome* Seven Hundred and ſeventy one. At the ſame inſtant, the Aſſembly proclaimed him *Artaxias*, after the Name of the Capital City. *Tacitus*, who informs us of all theſe things (*a*), mentions his Death under the Year Seven Hundred and eighty eight (*b*).

(*a*) Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. cap. 56.

(*b*) Id. ib. l. 6. c. 31.

ARTEMIDORUS, He, who wrote *on Dreams*, was a Native of *Epheſus*; nevertheleſs, in That Book, he gives himſelf the Sirname of *Daldianus*, in Honour to the Country of his Mother [*A*]. But, in his other Books, he continues to call himſelf The *Epheſian*.

[*A*] *He gives himſelf the Sirname of* Daldianus, *in Honour to the Country of his Mother.*] “ *Epheſus*, “ *ſays he*, of which Place I have, in the Title of “ ſeveral of my Books, declared myſelf a Native, “ is ſufficiently renowned of itſelf, and has been “ juſtly celebrated by many able Pens; but the ſmall “ Town of *Daldia* (1), has hitherto remained in obſcurity for want of Panegyriſts. I am reſolved there-

(1) Daldia *a ſmall Town in* Lydia.

Epheſian. He lived under *Antoninus Pius*, as he informs us himſelf, where he ſays, that he knew an Athlete, who, having dreamt, that he had loſt his Sight, obtained the Prize (*a*), in the Games, which That Emperor ordered to be celebrated. No Author ever took more pains on a uſeful Subject, than *Artemidorus* has done upon a very trifling one [*B*]. He was not contented to buy up all that had been written on the Explication of Dreams, which amounted to ſeveral Volumes [*C*], but he ſpent many Years

"fore, ſince it happens to be my Country by my "Mother's Side, to acknowledge my Obligations to "it in this manner." This would be more liable to a Suſpicion of Vanity, had it been delivered with more Formality and Method; but this Author expreſſes himſelf with ſo much Ingenuity, that it ſeems rather to have been the manner of That Age to uſe theſe Words with different Ideas from what they would now be underſtood to import. Τὴν δὲ ἐπιγραφὴν μὴ θαυμάσῃς διότι Ἀρτεμιδώρου Δαλδιανοῦ καὶ οὐχὶ Ἐφεσίου ἐπιγέγραπται. ὥσπερ πολλὰ τῶν ἤδη εἰς ἄλλας πραγματείας πεποιημένων μοι βιβλίων. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἔφεσον συμβέβηκε καὶ αὐτὴν δι ἑαυτὴν περιώνυμον εἶναι καὶ πολλῶν ἀξιολόγων κηρύκων τετυχηκέναι. Δαλδία δὲ, πόλισμα Λυδίας, καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἐλλόγιμον. διὰ τὸ μὴ τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν τετυχηκέναι, ἄγνωστον τὸ μέχρι εἰς ἐμὲ μεμένηκε. διὸ θρεπτήρια οὔσῃ μοι πατρίδι πρὸς μητρὸς ταῦτα ἀποδίδωμι αὐτῇ (2). *Wonder not, that, in the Title of this Book, I call myſelf* Artemidorus *the* Daldian, *and not the* Epheſian, *as my other Works have it. For* Epheſus *has had the good Fortune, not only to be famous in itſelf, but alſo to be highly complemented by many eminent Perſons. While* Daldia, *a little Place in* Lydia, *and not very conſiderable, for want of ſuch Patrons, continues yet unknown. Therefore, as this is alſo my Country, ſince I owe it to my Mother, I thus repay the Debt.*" *Rigaltius* ought to have kept to this Reaſon, and not have ſought for two others: one of which is, that *Apollo* inſpired *Artemidorus*, in the City of *Daldia,* with the Deſign of interpreting Dreams; the other is, that, there having been another *Artemidorus* of *Epheſus*, the Interpreter of Dreams ought not to have uſed the Title of *Epheſian*, which was already in the Poſſeſſion of another (3). This laſt Reaſon, though the worſt of the two, was nevertheleſs adopted by a Man of Learning (4). *Artemidorus* himſelf confutes it beyond Contradiction, ſince he declares, that he ſtyled himſelf the *Epheſian*, in a great Number of Books. So that he did not then think of preventing his being confounded with *Artemidorus* the Geographer. Without doubt he was much better known by the Title of *Epheſian*, than by That of *Daldian* (5).

[*B*] *In treating of Dreams, he made choice of a very trifling Subject.*] If our own Experience be not ſufficient to convince us, that, generally ſpeaking (6), there is nothing more confuſed, than the Ideas, which we call Dreams, we need only conſider this Author's own Maxims, to be perſuaded, that his Art does not deſerve the Attention of a wiſe Man. There is no Dream, which *Artemidorus* has explained, but will bear a quite different Interpretation, with the ſame probability, and with, at leaſt, as natural Reſemblances, as Thoſe, on which That Interpreter proceeds. I ſay nothing of the Injury done to Intelligences, to whoſe Direction we muſt neceſſarily impute our Dreams, if we expect to find in them any Preſage of Futurity. What a way of inſtructing do we aſcribe to them! How unworthy of their Knowledge and Gravity, and, in a Word, of ſuch Beings as they are! If they cannot inſtruct us better, how great is their Ignorance! And if they will not, how great is their Malice (7)! Might not one complain, a thouſand times, of his good Angel, as well as of his evil Genius, in the Words of *Æneas*,

Quid natum toties crudelis tu quoque falſis
Ludis imaginibus (8)?

Ah, cruel Mother, ſuch Deceits to uſe,
And with deluſive Forms thy Son abuſe!

What I am moſt ſurprized at, is, that *Artemidorus* ſhould take ſo much Pains to eſtabliſh a Doctrine, which might give him ſo much Vexation: For muſt he not be afraid of dreaming, what his Art might repreſent to him as ominous? He had found, by his Studies, that, when a Traveller dreams he has loſt the Key of his Houſe, it is a Sign that ſome Body has debauched his Daughter (9). If *Artemidorus* had dreamt ſuch a Dream, while he was abroad, would he not have believed there was a fine Trade driving at Home? Could this Knowledge have been agreeable to him? Or had he not much better have been without it? He tells us, that, having dreamed, his Wife had inſulted him (10), he was much troubled the next Day, when he perceived a Man coming towards him, who was not his Friend. Obſerve how, by Virtue of his Onirocriſy, he turned an imaginary Evil into a real one.

The Objection, which I have juſt hinted, and which I ground on the Notions the Chriſtian Doctors give us of the Angelical Natures, ſeems very ſtrong to me, on a Suppoſition of the Truth of theſe Notions; but, if we eſtabliſh a different Syſtem, and which has no repugnancy to the Poſſibility of things, That Objection is much weakened. That is, if we believe there are Spiritual Beings, not only more limited than Man in certain Reſpects, as to the manner of making themſelves underſtood, but even more fickle and capricious. How can we tell, whether they do not love to divert themſelves at our Coſt, and make us run after Enigma's, in which they mix ſomething puerile and frivolous, on purpoſe to make the Scene more ridiculous? How do we know but we ſerve to divert them, as Beaſts do us? And perhaps, when they would correſpond with us, they may meet with ſuch Difficulty, in the Motion of our animal Spirits, as may render the Attempt impracticable? See the Remark [*D*] of the Article MAJUS. Be it as it will, Reaſon gives us a ſufficient Caution againſt eſtabliſhing any ſuch Art, and ſhews all Pretence to it to be a moſt vain and chimerical Undertaking.

[*C*] *He bought up all that had been written on the Explication of Dreams, which amounted to ſeveral Volumes.*] I have already expreſs'd my Aſtoniſhment at ſome Perſons, who have laboured hard to convince themſelves of the pretended Science of Dreams. I ſhould not wonder, that ſeveral, who call themſelves Diviners, ſhould boaſt of being Maſters of it; they may maintain themſelves by it, and, not having any Faith themſelves in the Art they profeſs, may be great Gainers by the Dreams of others, without being at all diſquieted with their own. But I cannot judge thus of *Artemidorus*, nor of ſeveral other grave Authors, who have written on the Interpretation of Dreams (11). They were themſelves the firſt deceived. Thoſe, named by *Rigaltius* (12), are as follows, *Artemon Mileſius*, *Antiphon*, *Apollodorus Telmiſſenſis*, *Apollonius Attalenſis*, *Ariſtander Telmiſſenſis*, *Ariſtarchus*, *Alexander Myndius*, *Cratippus*, *Demetrius Phalereus*, *Dionyſius Rhodius*, *Epicharmus*, *Geminus Tyrius* (13), *Hermippus*, *Nicoſtratus Epheſius*, *Phœbus Antiochenus*, *Philochorus*, *Panyaſis Halicarnaſſeus*, *Serapion*, *Strato*. Theſe, according to *Rigaltius*, were all prior to *Artemidorus*. *Tertullian* names only ſome of them, when he ſays (14), "Quanti autem commentatores & adfirmatores in "hanc rem, Artemon, Antiphon, Strato, Philochorus, Epicharmus, Serapion, Cratippus, & Dionyſius Rhodius, Hermippus tota Sæculi literatura. "—— *How conſiderable are the Commentators and* "*Authors on this Subject*, Artemon, Antiphon, Strato, Philochorus, Epicharmus, Serapion, Cratippus, "Dionyſius Rhodius, *and* Hermippus, *the whole* "*Learning of the Age.*" *Andrew Schot* adds, to ſome of thoſe beforementioned, *Aſtrampſychus*, *Caſſius Maximus*, *&* *Dionyſius Heliopolita* (15). He ſays, that *Artemidorus* has quoted theſe two laſt; but, as to *Caſſius Maximus*, I do not ſee, that *Artemidorus*, who has dedicated the three firſt Books of his Work to him, ſpeaks of him otherwiſe, than as a Man, who was curious in this Science (16), and might be

(*a*) Artemid. lib. 1. cap. 28. *See alſo chap.* 66. *of the ſame Book.*

(2) Artem. lib. 3. ſub fin. p. 193.

(3) Rigalt. Not. in Artemid. p. 1.

(4) *Mr* de Tillemont, *in the ſecond Tome of his* Hiſt. des Emper. Part II. pag. 731. *Edit. of* Bruxelles.

(5) Lucian in Philopatr. *cites him* Ἀρτεμίδωρον τὸν Ἐφέσιον.

(6) The extraordinary Dreams, mentioned in Scripture, are out of the Queſtion.

(7) *Compare with this the Reflexions of* ARTABANUS *the Son of* Hydaſpes. *See the Remark* [*O*] *of his Article.*

(8) Virgil. Æn. lib 1. ver. 407.

(9) Artem. lib. 5. pag. 255. n. 17.

(10) Δόξας ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἐν ὕπνοις ὑβρίζεσθαι. Connarius *tranſlates it thus*, per ſomnium viſus ſum mihi ab uxore mea vituperiis & plagis impeti. ---- *I dreamed my Wife ſcolded at and beat me.* Artem. lib. 2. cap. 53. pag. 144.

(11) *See, below, the Paſſage of* Tertullian, *Citation* (14).

(12) Rigalt. not. in Artem. pag. 5.

(13) Andr. Schot *on* Seneca's Controverſ. IX. & Jonſius de Script. Hiſt. Phil. pag. 329. *call him* Geminus Pyrius. Rigaltius's *Edition of* Artemidorus, lib. 1. cap. 49. *has it* Γεμινοῦ τοῦ Τυρίου.

(14) Tertull. lib. de Anima, cap. 46. *See alſo* Fulgentius, lib. 1, Myth. cap 13, & ibi *Muncker.*

(15) Andr. Schottus in hæc verba Senecæ Controv. 9. *Antiphontis libros vocabat, tantum in illis ſomniorum eſt.*

(16) Artem. lib. 3. init. pag. 164; lib. 4, init. pag. 197.

Years in travelling up and down to get acquainted with Fortune-tellers. He kept a continual Correſpondence with Thoſe in the Towns and Aſſemblies of *Greece*, in *Italy*, and in the moſt populous Iſlands; and he collected every where all the old Dreams he could hear of, and the Events, which it was ſaid they had *(b)*. He deſpiſed the Reflexions of thoſe grave and ſupercilious Perſons, who treat all Pretenders to Predictions as Sharpers, Impoſtors, and Cheats [*D*]; and, without regarding the Cenſures of theſe *Cato*'s, he frequented thoſe Diviners ſeveral Years. In a word, he devoted all his Time and Thoughts to this Science of Dreams, and thought his great Labour had enabled him to warrant his Interpretations by Reaſon and Experience [*E*]. He took great care to inſtruct his Son in the ſame Science, as appears by the two Books, which he dedicated to him. So eager a purſuit after theſe Studies is the leſs to be wondered at, when we conſider, that he believed himſelf under the Inſpiration and Direction of *Apollo* (*c*). He intreats his Readers very ſeriouſly neither to add to, nor diminiſh from, his Book, and makes a kind of Adjuration to them thereupon, in the Name of the All-ſeeing Eye of Providence, which watches over all things [*F*]. He dedicated his three firſt Books to one *Caſſius Maximus* [*G*], and the other two to his Son. They were printed, in *Greek*, at *Venice*, in the Year 1518. In the Year 1603, *Rigaltius* publiſhed them at *Paris*, in *Greek* and *Latin*, with Notes. The *Latin* Tranſlation, he made uſe of, was That publiſhed by *John Cornarius*, at *Baſil*, in the Year 1539. *Artemidorus* wrote a Treatiſe of *Auguries*, and another of *Chiromancy*: But

(*b*) Ibid. Præf. pag. 3. *See alſo* lib. 5. pag. 252.

(*c*) Id. ſub fin. lib. 2. pag. 161.

be Maſter of it in a little Time (17). And, as for *Dionyſius Heliopolita*, I have not met with him at all in *Artemidorus*. *Pappus*, of *Alexandria*, might certainly be named, who, we are aſſured by *Suidas*, wrote on the Interpretation of Dreams. See, above, the Article of ACHMET. Among the Moderns, there was one *Joſhua Abrech*, who promiſed Wonders in the Title of his Book. I know nothing more of him, than what is to be met with in *Vander Linden* (18), and in *Theophilus Spizelius* (19). His Work was printed in the Year 1607. We ſhall mention *Junianus* MAJUS in his Place (20). It juſt now comes into my Memory, that *Lyſimachus*, the Son of a Daughter of *Ariſtides*, got his Living by interpreting of Dreams in the Streets. Μνημονεύειν Ἀριστείδου θυγατριδοῦν εὖ μάλα ϖένητα Λυσίμαχον, ὃς ἑαυτὸν ἐκ πινακίου τινὸς ὀνειροκριτικοῦ, ϖαρὰ τὸ ἰακχῆιον λεγόμενον καθεζόμενος ἔβοσκε (21). *We may remember* Lyſimachus, *the Grandſon of* Ariſtides, *by his Daughter, who was ſo poor, that he ſat near a public Place, called* Jaccheum, *interpreting Dreams, out of a Dream Book, for a Livelihood.* He was reduced to this through Poverty. But had he turned Cobler, and mended old Shoes, inſtead of delivering himſelf to his Cuſtomers out of this ſort of Dream Almanack, he had brought leſs Diſcredit on the Memory of his Grandfather.

[*D*] *He deſpiſed the Reflexions of thoſe grave and ſupercilious Perſons —— who deſpiſe the Pretenders to Predictions.*] Theſe Criticiſers are ſometimes in the wrong, and, on ſuch Occaſions, it is beſt to go on our own Way, without regarding their Cenſures. But was this *Artemidorus*'s Caſe? Was he much leſs to blame than they, who, in imitation of *Catullus*, unreaſonably ridicules the ſage and experienced Advice of old Age, as the Reproof of ill natured Greybeards?

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
Rumoreſque ſenum ſeveriorum
Omnes unius æſtimemus aſſis (22).

Let's live and love, my Lesbia,
Regardleſs, while we're young and gay,
Of all that ſtern old Age can ſay.

Sober Readers will eaſily judge of all this: I leave it to their Thoughts, and will content myſelf with ſetting before their Eyes *Artemidorus*'s own Words. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ σφόδρα διαβεβλημένων τῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάντεων, οὓς δὴ ϖροΐκτας τε καὶ γόητας καὶ βωμολόχους καλοῦσιν οἱ σεμνοπροσωποῦντες, καὶ τας ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακότες, καταφρονήσας τῆς διαβολῆς ἔτεσι ϖολλοῖς ὡμίλησα (23.) — *Particularly when the Practicers in Divination were driven out of the Market-Place, and treated as Beggars, Jugglers, and Buffoons, by thoſe, who knew how to affect grave and ſupercilious Countenances, in defiance of this contumely, I correſponded with them many Years.*

(17) Lib. 2. circa fin. pag. 161.

(18) De Script. Medicis.

(19) Specim. Biblioth.

(20) *See his Article, and the beginning of the Remark* [*H*], *of the Article* ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO.

(21) Phalerus in Socrate, apud Plutarch. ſub fin. vitæ Ariſtid. pag. 335.

(22) Catull. Epigr. 5.

(23) Artem. in Præfat. pag. 3.

[*E*] *He thought his Labour, in the Science of Dreams, had enabled him to warrant his Interpretations by Reaſon and Experience.*] Let us hear what he ſays himſelf. Ἀεὶ τὴν ϖεῖραν καὶ κανόνα καὶ μάρτυρα τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἐπιβοῶμαι. Εγὼ μὲν οὖν ϖάντων ἤδη διὰ ϖείρας ἐλήλυθα τῷ μηδὲν ἄλλο ϖράττειν ἀεὶ δὲ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ϖρὸς ὀνειροκρισίαν εἶναι (24). —— *I always appeal to Experience, as the Rule and Demonſtration of what I advance. For, by ſtudying* Onirocriſy *Day and Night, and doing nothing elſe, I have arrived at an univerſal Experience.*

[*F*] *He made a Kind of Adjuration to his Readers, in the Name of —— Providence, which watches over all Things.*] "If any one, *ſays he* (25), thinks he "can add any thing new to my Book, let him keep "it to himſelf, as properly his own. This is fair; "if he finds, that I have ſaid too much, he may take "only what he likes, and leave the reſt." Τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων μὴ ἐξαίρων θεὸν ἐπόπτην καὶ φύλακα ϖάντων νομίζων τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. *Expunging nothing of my Works, as he knows there is a God, who obſerves all Things, and that* Apollo *is our Protector.* He was afraid of your foul Play, often practiſed, of turning Authors topſy-turvy, either by Abridgments, or Interpolations.

[*G*] *He dedicated his three firſt Books to one* Caſſius Maximus.] *Rigaltius* can find no ſuch Perſon, *and perhaps*, ſays he, *we ought to read* ΓΑΒΙΩ *or* ΤΑΤΙΩ ΜΑΞΙΜΩ; *for* Julius Capitolinus *makes mention of one* Gavius Maximus, *who was Præfect of the Prætorium, for twenty Years, under the Emperor* Antoninus, *and who had* Tatius Maximus *for Succeſſor*. However it be, The Patron *Artemidorus* addreſſed himſelf to was a *Phenician* by Nation (26), a great Orator, and of ſo ready a Wit, that he was able to underſtand an Author perfectly without reading him through (27). *Andrew Schot* calls him *Coſſinus Maximus*, and diſtinguiſhes him from *Caſſius Maximus* (28). Two Faults for one, without counting That of the Remark [*C*] (29). I do not know whether any one has thought of reading *Claudius Maximus* inſtead of *Caſſius Maximus*. Under the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*, there was a Proconſul of *Africa*, whoſe Name was *Claudius Maximus*. The charge of Magic, againſt which *Apuleius* defended himſelf, was brought before this Proconſul. It appears, from ſeveral Paſſages in his Plea, that this *Claudius Maximus* paſſed for a learned Man, and one who was curious in Philoſophical Learning. "Benè quod apud te, Maxime, cauſa agitur, qui pro "tua eruditione legiſti profecto Ariſtotelis περὶ "ζώων γενέσεως, περὶ ζώων ἀνατομῆς, περὶ "ἱστορίας multijuga volumina: præterea problemata "innumera ejuſdem, tum ex eâdem ſectâ cæterorum "in quibus id genus varia tractantur. —— *It is happy for me, that I am to plead my Cauſe before thee,* "O Maximus, *who art ſo learned, as to have read the* "*numerous Volumes of* Ariſtotle, *on the Generation of* "*Animals, on the Anatomy of Animals, and on Hiſtory, beſides his great Work of Problems, and ſeveral others, of the ſame Sect, treating on various* "*Subjects of This kind.*" Thus he ſpeaks at Page 115.

(24) Id. lib. 2, ſub fin. pag. 161.

(25) Id. ib.

(26) Id. ib.

(27) Id. in Præfat. p. 4.

(28) Andr. Schott. in Senec. Controv. IX.

(29) *Citation* (13).

But we have no Remains of them [*H*]. *Tertullian* has not taken notice of him in That Paſſage, where he quotes ſeveral Onirocritic Authors (*d*); but *Lucian* does not forget him, tho' he names but two Writers of This Claſs (*e*).

(*d*) i. e. *Interpreters of Dreams. See this Paſſage of* Tertullian *cited above* (14).

(*e*) *In* Philopatr.

115. A little after, he addreſſes him in this manner; "Audiſti, Maxime, quorum pleraque ſcilicet legeras "apud antiquos philoſophorum. —— *The greateſt "part of what thou haſt heard,* O Maximus, *thou "haſt read thyſelf amongſt the ancient Philoſophers.*" Elſewhere (30) he ſays to him; "Multa fando, Maxime, audiſti, & plura legendo didiciſti, non pauca "experiendo comperiſti; —— *Many things,* O Maximus, *haſt thou heard in Diſcourſe, more haſt thou "learned by Study, and not a few haſt thou diſcovered "by Experience.*" And again (31); "An quod multo "præſtabilius eſt, tua doctrina, Claudi Maxime, tuaque perfecta eruditione fretus, contemnam ſtultis "& impolitis ad hæc reſpondere. —— *Much rather "had I rely,* O Claudius Maximus, *on thy great "Learning, and deſpiſe giving any Anſwer to the ignorant and illiterate.*" He ſeems alſo to have been at firſt a Philoſopher by Profeſſion, but to have raiſed himſelf by his long military Services. "Erras —— "ſi eum fortunæ indulgentiâ non ex philoſophiæ cenſurâ metiris: ſi virum tam AUSTERAE SECTAE, "tamque diutinæ militiæ non putas amiciorem eſſe "coërcitæ mediocritati quàm delicatæ opulentiæ (32). "—— *You are miſtaken —— if you think, the Favours of Fortune have more weight with Him, than "the Dictates of Philoſophy; or that a Perſon of ſo* "AUSTERE *a* SECT, *and ſo old a Soldier, will not "rather take the Part of contented Mediocrity, than "of effeminate Opulence.*"

(30) Apuleii Apologia, p. 149. Vol. 2, *Edit.* Lugdun. 1614, *in* 8vo.

(31) Ibid. pag. 157.

(32) Apuleii Apolog. pag. 149.

[*H*] *He wrote a Treatiſe of* Auguries, *and another of* Chiromancy; *but we have no Remains of them.*] *Vander Linden* falſely affirms, even in his Edition of *Merklinus*, that *Aldus* has printed them in *Greek*, that *Cornarius* tranſlated them into *Latin*, and that *Rigaltius* publiſhed them in both theſe Languages (33). We muſt ſearch a little higher for the Original of this Miſtake; nor will the Inquiry be uſeleſs; it may ſerve to let thoſe, who write Abridgments, ſee, into what a Multitude of Errors they are apt to lead their Readers. *Geſner* had ſaid; "Artemidorus —— ſcripſit de ſomniorum interpretatione libros 4, item de "auguriis & manuum inſpectione. *Suidas*. Hujus "autoris quinque libros Aldus Græcè excudit (34). "—— Artemidorus —— *wrote four Books of the Interpretation of Dreams, and alſo of Auguries, and "of Chiromancy.* Suidas. *Five Books of this Author "are printed in* Greek, *by* Aldus." He had obſerved, afterwards, that theſe five Books were only concerning Dreams. See how *Simler* has abridged this Text. "Artemidorus —— ſcripſit de ſomniorum interpretatione lib. 4. Item de auguriis & "manuum inſpectione. Eos Aldus Græcè excudit. "—— Artemidorus —— *wrote four Books of the Interpretation of Dreams. Alſo of Auguries, and Chiromancy. Theſe* Aldus *has printed in* Greek." Is This abridging, or miſinterpreting, an Author? It looks more like the latter than the former.

(33) De Script Medicis.

(34) Geſ. Biblioth. fol. 96, verſo.

ARTEMISIA, Queen of *Caria*, and Daughter of *Lygdamis* [*A*], accompanied King *Xerxes*, in Perſon, in his War with the *Greeks* [*B*]. She was a Woman of great Capacity, and perfectly Maſculine Courage. So that, happening to be poſſeſt of Sovereign Authority, as well by being Widow of the late King, as on account of the Minority of her Son (*a*), during the Preparations of *Xerxes*, ſhe took this occaſion to ſignalize herſelf, and voluntarily engaged in That famous Expedition. She diſtinguiſhed herſelf in it very particularly both by her Counſel and Conduct. The Reaſons, on which ſhe grounded her Advice, againſt engaging in the Battle of *Salamis* (*b*), were extremely juſt. She ſaved herſelf very artfully in That Battle; for, ſeeing herſelf purſued by an *Athenian* Ship, without any hope of eſcaping, ſhe attacked a *Perſian* Ship, commanded by *Damaſithymus* King of *Calyndus*, with whom ſhe had a quarrel, and ſunk him (*c*). This made Thoſe, who were in chace of her, believe, that her Veſſel was of their own Party [*C*], and ſo quit the Purſuit. By good fortune for her, not one of *Damaſithymus*'s Men was ſaved. So that ſhe got rid of an Enemy, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of having deſtroyed him; and eſcaped being taken, with the honour of having ſunk a *Greek* Ship.[d] *Xerxes* was much miſtaken on this occaſion; for he cryed out, that *his Men had behaved themſelves like Women, and his Women like Men* [*D*]. He intruſted her with the Government of his Children, the young Princes of

(*a*) *He was called* Piſyndelis. *See Remark* [*E*] *of the Article* MAUSOLUS.

(*b*) Herod. l. 8. c. 67.

(*c*) Cap. 87.

(d) she fought with a Persian ship and sunk her with all the crew; how did she gain honour then in sinking a Greek Ship, it might [illegible] more properly have been said - She gained the honour of being thought to have sunk a Greek Ship by Xerxes

[*A*] *She was Daughter of* Lygdamis.] *Herodotus* does not ſay, what *Moreri* fathers upon him, *viz.* that *Lygdamis* was King of *Halicarnaſſus* (1). He only ſays, that *Artemiſia* was of *Halicarnaſſus*, by the Father's ſide, and of *Crete* by the Mother's Side. If the ſame Hiſtorian had not declared, that *Lygdamis*, who aſſiſted *Piſiſtratus*, and to whom, after *Piſiſtratus* was re-eſtabliſhed in *Athens*, he gave the Command of the Iſle of *Naxos*, was a Native of That Iſle (2), I ſhould have taken him for our *Artemiſia*'s Father, or Grand-father. *Blancardus*, in his Edition of *Harpocration* (3), has continued the Error of Thoſe, who went before him, *viz.* *Damis*, for *Lygdamis* (4). *Valeſius*'s Annotations point out the proper Correction, which *Gronovius* has actually made, upon publiſhing *Harpocration*, in the Year 1696.

(1) Herod. lib. 7, c. 99.

(2) Id. lib. 1, cap. 61, 64.

(3) *That of* Leyden, 1683.

(4) *In* Ἀρτεμισία.

[*B*] *She accompanied King* Xerxes, *in Perſon, in his War with the* Greeks (5).] *Suidas* ſays, it was againſt the *Perſians* ſhe took Part (6); but this Paſſage may, perhaps, have been mangled; for That piece of Wit of *Xerxes*, mentioned immediately after, by *Suidas*, that *the Men were become Women, and the Women Men*, would be unintelligible, if *Artemiſia* had been in the *Greek* Army, where the Men fought like Lions. *Mauſſac* ſuppoſes, that *Suidas* wrote, as it is in *Harpocration*, κατὰ τὰ Περσικὰ (7). *In the Perſian War.*

(5) Herod. lib. 7, c. 99.

(6) Ἠρίστευσε κατὰ Περσῶν. --- *She behaved bravely against the* Perſians.

(7) Mauſſac. Not. in Harpocr.

[C] *She made thoſe, who chaſed her, believe, that her Veſſel was of their own Party.*] *Herodotus* has forgot a very eſſential Circumſtance, for want of which his Narration loſes much of it's Probability. He ought to have told us, as *Polyænus* has done, that *Artemiſia* cauſed her *Perſian* Colours to be taken down (8). *Polyænus* makes her follow the Conduct of Thoſe Pirates, who hoiſt all ſorts of Colours, according as they have occaſion. When ſhe gave Chace to a *Greek* Ship, ſhe hung out *Barbarian* Colours; but, if a *Greek* Ship purſued her, ſhe diſplay'd *Greek* Colours. He has turned the Engagement of this Queen ſo many Ways, that he makes three or four different Actions of it, and tells us of a Spindle and Diſtaff, ſent by the King of *Perſia* to a Captain of a Ship, which there is no making Senſe of, ſince the Ship, which *Artemiſia* engaged with, was ſunk, and all the Men in her loſt.

(8) Polyæn. Strat. lib. 8, cap. 53.

[*D*] *Upon her Account,* Xerxes *cried out, that his Men had behaved themſelves like Women, and his Women like Men.*] Let us ſee what *Herodotus* ſays: Ξέρξην δὲ εἶπαι λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγονασί μοι γυναῖκες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἄνδρες (9). Xerxes, *upon hearing this Account, is reported to have cried out,* "My Men are become "Women, and my Women Men." To this let us add, what *Juſtin* ſays: "Artemiſia regina Halicarnaſſi, quæ in auxilium Xerxi venerat, inter primos duces bellum acerrimè ciebat, quippe ut in "viro muliebrem timorem, ita in muliere virilem "audaciam cerneres (10). —— Artemiſia, *Queen of* "Halicarnaſſus, *who joined her Forces with* Xerxes, "*appeared*

(9) Herod. lib. 8, c. 88.

(10) Juſtin. lib. 2, c. 12. *See alſo* Polyænus, ubi ſupra, *and* Pauſanias, lib. 3, p. 93.

of *Perſia*, when, according to her Advice, he quitted *Greece* to return into *Aſia*. The *Athenians* were ſo incenſed at a Woman's making War againſt them, that they promiſed a great Reward for the taking *Artemiſia*, and ordered all their Captains of Ships to endeavour it (*d*). Her Statue was erected at *Lacedemon*, among thoſe of the *Perſian* Generals, in the Portico, built with the Spoils of That Nation (*e*). The Stratagem ſhe uſed, to make herſelf Miſtreſs of *Latmus*, is as much to be commended upon the Principles of *Machiaveliſm*, as to be condemned upon Thoſe of Chriſtianity. She placed her Troops in Ambuſcade, and then went in a devout Proceſſion, with Eunuchs, Women, Trumpets, and Drums, to celebrate the Feaſt of the Mother of the Gods, in a Wood, which was conſecrated to her, near That City. The Inhabitants, charmed with this Zeal, ran thither to admire her Piety; and, in the mean time, *Artemiſia*'s Army took Poſſeſſion of the Town (*f*). Theſe great Qualities did not preſerve her from amorous Foibles [*E*]. She was paſſionately in Love with a Native of *Abydos*, whoſe Name was *Dardanus*, and was ſo enraged at his ſlighting her, that ſhe put out his Eyes while he ſlept (*g*). The Gods, to puniſh her, cauſed her Paſſion to grow yet more violent; inſomuch that being adviſed by the Oracle to go to the Promontory *Leucas* (*h*), the Refuge of Lovers in deſpair, ſhe went thither, took the Leap, but did not recover it. She was buried in that Place. Many Writers prepoſterouſly confound her with the *Artemiſia* I am going to mention [*F*].

(*d*) Herod. lib. 8. c. 93.

(*e*) Pauſanias, lib. 3. pag. 93.

(*f*) Polyæn. Strat. lib. 8. cap. 53.

(*g*) Ptolem. Hephæſt. apud Phot. cod. 190. p. 491.

(*h*) *See the Article* LEUCAS.

“ *appeared among the forwardeſt Commanders in the*
“ *hotteſt Engagements; and, as, on the Man's ſide,*
“ *there was an effeminate Cowardice, on the Wo-*
“ *man's was obſerved a maſculine Courage.*”

[*E*] *Her great Qualities did not preſerve her from amorous Foibles.*] All Heroines are not like *Agrippina*, who overcame the Weakneſs of her own Sex, by [illegible] the Fortitude of the other. “ A-
“ grippina, æqui impatiens, dominandi avida, virili-
“ bus curis fœminarum vitia exuerat (11). —— Agrip-
“ pina, *impatient of an Equal, and eager for Rule,*
“ *by manly Thoughts put off the Woman's Weakneſs.*”
Semiramis, who was ambitious and warlike to the higheſt Degree, was prodigiouſly laſcivious. It is obſerved, that moſt great Warriours are of an amorous Complexion: Of which the myſtical Commentators may give *Homer* the Honour, for ſo naturally deſcribing the Intercourſes of *Mars* and *Venus*; but I believe this is not ſo generally true, in the Caſe of Women, who ſeem beſt ſecured againſt the Follies of Love by the Purſuits of Ambition.

(11) Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. cap. 25.

[*F*] *She is prepoſterouſly confounded with* Artemiſia, *the Wife of* Mauſolus.] It ſeems *Pliny* is guilty of this Fault; for he ſays, that *Artemiſia*, the Wife of *Mauſolus*, gave her Name to the Herb called *Parthenis* (12). Now, ſince the Herb *Artemiſia*, (which we call *Mugwort*,) is mentioned by *Hippocrates*, and the Wife of *Mauſolus* was not born 'till after *Hippocrates*; *Pliny*, in That Paſſage, has miſtaken one *Artemiſia* for the other. If one of them gave her Name to the Herb *Mugwort*, it muſt be the Daughter of *Lygdamis*, the great and couragious *Artemiſia*, who accompanied *Xerxes*. Mr *Chevreau*, to whom I owe this Remark againſt *Pliny*, obſerves, that *Leo Allatius*, from whom he has it, has, with Reaſon, cenſured *Robert Stephens*, for ſaying (13), *That* Artemiſia, *the Wife of* Mauſolus, *ſignalized herſelf in* Xerxes's *War againſt the* Grecians (14). Mr *Chevreau* has remarked the ſame Miſtake in the *Hiſtorical Theatre of Chriſtian Matthew*: he adds, *That it was not without Reaſon, that* Pliny, *in the Paſſage alledged, gave* Mauſolus *the Title of Rich.* I find, indeed, This Epithet in *Du Pinet*'s Tranſlation; but not in the *Pliny* of Father *Hardouin*: And I find, that *Pliny*, in another Place (15), deſcribing the Magnificence of the *Mauſoleum*, ſays only, that *Mauſolus* was a petty King of *Caria*, *Cariæ regulus*. Father *Hardouin* endeavours to help out his Author, by ſuggeſting, that all the Kings of *Caria* aſſumed the Name of *Mauſolus*, as all the Kings of *Egypt* did the Name of *Ptolomy*; and, therefore, that *Artemiſia*, the Wife of *Mauſolus*, to whom *Pliny* imputes the Vanity of giving her Name to an Herb, is She, who lived in the Time of *Xerxes*: But he muſt give me leave to ſay, that, in this Caſe, his Author would be very liable to cenſure on another Account; namely, for characterizing a Queen by a Title, which muſt have been common to her with all the other Queens of That Country. Father *Hardouin* grounds his Conjecture on a Paſſage, where the two *Artemiſia*'s are ſtiled Queens of *Caria* (16). I ſhall paſs by this reaſoning of his, and obſerve, that *Tzetes* is a little puzzled (17). According to him, one of the *Artemiſia*'s was the Wife of *Mauſolus*, and the other the Wife of *Hecatomnes*; the firſt of whom he makes the Companion of *Xerxes*. Now all Authors agree, that She, who built a magnificent Tomb for her Husband, was the Daughter of *Hecatomnes*, and Wife of *Mauſolus*; and that the *Artemiſia*, who joined the *Perſians* againſt the *Greeks*, was the Daughter of *Lygdamis*. The great *Scaliger* will not paſs Muſter here: He has too apparently taken the one for the other (18), and That in a Place, where it was not eaſy to make ſuch a Miſtake: For it is in the Abſtract of a Book, the Author whereof has declared, in plain Terms, that he ſpeaks of one *Artemiſia*, the Daughter of *Lygdamis*, who took up Arms againſt the *Perſians* (19). *Scaliger*, ſuppreſſing all theſe particular Deſcriptions, has ſubſtituted That of the Widow of *Mauſolus*, which can only be applied to That Queen of *Caria*, who ſo much honoured the Memory of her Husband. This celebrated Writer has led another great Man into an Error, having occaſioned *Valeſius* to affirm, that, after the Death of *Mauſolus*, *Artemiſia*, ſeeing herſelf ſlighted by *Dardanus*, whom ſhe loved, put out his Eyes, and, finding herſelf afterwards ſtill more in Love, went to take the *Leucadian Leap*, by which ſhe loſt her Life (20). By comparing This Paſſage with That of *Scaliger*, it plainly appears, that the one is a Tranſcript of the other. This ſtumble of *Valeſius* in ſo Even a Road, and the Difference he obſerves between *Theopompus*, who makes *Artemiſia* die of Grief for the Loſs of her Husband, and *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Hepheſtion*, who makes her die for Love of another Man, as *Valeſius* pretends, are ſo much the more amazing, as he had, but two Lines before, quoted the ſeventh Book of this ſame *Ptolomy*, to prove, that *Artemiſia*'s Father's Name was not *Damis*, but *Lygdamis*. *Balthaſar Bonifacius*, who gives the ſame falſe account of the Wife of *Mauſolus* (21), confeſſes he took it from *Scaliger*. *Habemus confitentem reum: The Criminal pleads Guilty.* And it may be properly ſaid of this Way of propagating Faults,

—— dedit hanc contagio labem,
Et dabit in plures: ſicut grex totus in agris
Unius ſcabie cadit, & porrigine porci;
Uvaque conſpecta livorem ducit ab uva (22).

Infections, from one ſingle Caſe begun,
Soon ſpread their Poiſon, and thro' Numbers run.
So, one Sheep touch'd, none of the Flock eſcape;
And the whole Bunch rots from one ſmitten Grape.

Mr *Menage*, having ſaid a great many fine Things of *Artemiſia*, the Wife of *Mauſolus*, and particularly of the Honour done her, in propoſing her as *a Model of conjugal Love*, goes on in this manner: *Yet* Ptolomy, *the Son of* Hepheſtion —— *ſays, that* Artemiſia *was ſo ſmitten with the Love of one* Dardanus, *&c.* And, having repeated the whole Story, he proceeds thus;
“ There were two *Artemiſia*'s, both Queens of
“ *Caria*, as *Suidas* informs us; She, who was married
“ to *Mauſolus*, and another more ancient: and, if this
“ Story be true, it is moſt probable, that it happened
“ to the firſt *Artemiſia*, and that This *Ptolomy*, the
“ Son of *Hepheſtion*, in applying it to the Wife of

(12) Plin. lib. 25. c. 7.

(13) *In his* Theſaurus Linguæ Lat. *I have met with the ſame Faults in his* Dictionarium Nominum Propriorum, &c. *printed in* 8vo at Cologne, 1558.

(14) Chevreau Hiſt. du Monde, Tome 4, pag. 33, *of the firſt* Dutch *Edit.*

(15) Lib. 36, cap. 5.

(16) *This Paſſage is in* Harpocration; *but we ſhould aſcribe it to* Tzetzes, *if we follow exactly the Expreſſion of* Hardouin, Tom. 4, pag. 398.

(17) Tzetzes, chil. 12, Hiſt. 455.

(18) Scalig. Auſoniar. Lection. lib. 2, cap. 18. *See* Auſonius Tollius, pag. 329.

(19) Ptol. Hephæſt. apud Phot. n. 190. pag. 491.

(20) Valeſ. Not. in Harpocrat. Lexicon, pag. 11.

(21) Hæc Ptolomæus Hephæſtionis filius apud Juniorem Scaligerum recenſet. --- *Thus* Ptolomy, *the Son of* Hepheſtion, *has it, according to* Scaliger junior. Balth. Boniſac. Hiſt. Ludicr. lib. 3. c. 37.

(22) Juven. Sat. 2. v. 78.

“ *Mauſolus*, was miſtaken (23).” The Conjecture of this learned Man is very juſt; but he was in the wrong in charging *Ptolomy* with fixing this Adventure on the Wife of *Mauſolus*: *Saraſin*, introducing Mr *Menage* in the Dialogue, upon the Queſtion, *whether a young Man ought to be amorous*, makes him ſay, that *Artemiſia*, the ſame *Artemiſia*, who was ſo afflicted for the Death of her Husband, *who drowned herſelf in Tears, and reproached the Stars, which could not help it*,

With all that Rage can make one ſay,
When Reaſon flies, and gives it way (24),

fell, at laſt, in Love with *Dardanus*, and that the moſt profeſſed *Coquette would be aſhamed of the Paſſion of That Queen*. Upon this he quotes what *Scaliger* ſays; ſo that we ſee one, or rather two, ingenious Men, Mr *Saraſin* and Mr *Menage*, deceived by the learned *Scaliger*. The witty Author of the *New Dialogues of the Dead* has made That *Artemiſia*, who lamented her Husband ſo much, in Love with a young Man (25).

It would be too tedious to point out all thoſe, who have confounded the two *Artemiſia*'s. *Raviſius Textor* (26), and the Authors of the *Theſaurus Fabri* are of This Number. *Olivier*, who wrote a Commentary on *Valerius Maximus*, is alſo one of them; though he knew, that *Strabo* and *Herodotus* did not agree about the Genealogy of The *Artemiſia*, whom they mention (27). He innocently imagined, that one of the two muſt be in the wrong, and never dreamed, that they ſpoke of different Perſons, and were both in the right. It is true, Mr *Hofman* gives two Articles of *Artemiſia*; but, in the firſt, he has huddled together confuſedly, what ſhould have been diſtinguiſhed under the two different Heads; and he is doubtful, whether the Wife of *Mauſolus*, and the Daughter of *Lygdamis*, are not one and the ſame Perſon. Beſides, he quotes *Vitruvius* for Facts, which he never once mentions. Mr *Lloyd* led him the way in That falſe Quotation from *Charles Stephens*, which he has not corrected; And from whom he has very ſurpriſingly pirated the whole Article of That *Artemiſia*, who followed *Xerxes*; which Article was very correct.

(23) Menag. Obſervat. ſur Malherbe, pag. 53.

(24) Saraſin's Works, pag. 181.

(25) *See the* Nouveaux Dialogues des Morts, 2. part. p. 15. Dutch *Edit.*

(26) In Officina.

(27) Valerius Maximus Variorum, pag 395. Edit. 1655.

ARTEMISIA, Queen of *Caria*, the Daughter of *Hecatomnes* (*a*), Siſter and Wife of *Mauſolus*, immortalized herſelf by the Honours ſhe paid to the Memory of her Huſband. She cauſed a very magnificent Tomb to be built for him, in *Halicarnaſſus*, which was called *Mauſoleum*, and was one of the ſeven Wonders of the World; from whence the Appellation of *Mauſoleum* has ever ſince been given to all ſumptuous Structures of this kind. *Pliny* has left us a particular Deſcription of this ſtately Monument (*b*). It may be ſeen in *French* in the Hiſtory of Mr *Chevreau* (*c*), and in the Supplement to *Moreri*. *Artemiſia* lived but two Years after her dear Huſband (*d*), who died without Children (*e*), after he had reigned twenty four Years, towards the End of the CVIth Olympiad [*A*]. She died of Grief and Melancholy (*f*) [*B*], before the *Mauſoleum* was finiſhed (*g*). It is ſaid ſhe mixed her Huſband's Aſhes with Water, and drank them, that ſhe might ſerve him for a living Tomb (*h*). It muſt not be forgot, that ſhe cauſed excellent Panegyrics to be made on him, and propoſed a Prize of great Value for him, who ſhould acquit himſelf beſt (*i*). *Theopompus* obtained it. They ſay, that his Maſter *Iſocrates* was one of the Orators, who entred the Liſts [*C*]. *Theodectes* of *Phaſelides*, who was another of the Competitors, compoſed a Tragedy called *Mauſolus*, which had better Succeſs, than his Proſe. Nor muſt we forget, that, inſtead of Lamentations and Tears, in which moſt Writers bury

(*a*) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 451. Suidas in Ἀρτεμισία.

(*b*) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5.

(*c*) Lib. 7. cap. 3.

(*d*) Diodor. Sicul. l. 16.

(*e*) Strabo, l. 14. p. 471.

(*f*) *See Remark* [*D*].

(*g*) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5.

(*h*) A. Gell. l. 10. c. 18. V. Maxim. lib. 4. c. 6.

(*i*) A. Gell. ibid. Plutarch. in Vita Iſocr.

[*A*] Mauſolus, *her Husband, died —— towards the End of the CVIth Olympiad.*] Moſt Editions of *Pliny* make *Mauſolus*, King of *Caria*, die in the ſecond Year of the Cth Olympiad, and the Three hundred and ſecond of *Rome* (1). But Father *Hardouin*, according to the beſt Manuſcripts, has fixed his Death to the ſecond Year of the CVIth Olympiad, and the Four hundred and ſecond of *Rome*. *Obiit Olympiadis centeſimæ ſextæ anno ſecundo*; *Urbis anno* 402. Mr *Chevreau* obſerves, that *Uſher* judged this Paſſage of *Pliny* to be corrupted, and that *Mauſolus* died in the fourth Year of the CVIth Olympiad, *Anno Mundi* 3651 (2). This agrees very well with theſe Words of Father *Hardouin*; “Quid quod & Diodorus non ad Olympiadis CVI annum alterum Mauſoli obitum, ſed ad quartum refert, lib. 16. ver. 435 (3). —— *But* Diodorus *places the Death of* Mauſolus, *not in the ſecond, but fourth, Year of the CVIth Olympiad*: and with the Duration of the Reigns of Thoſe, who ſucceeded *Mauſolus*, till *Alexander*'s Expedition. See the Remark [*A*] of the Article ADA. It is certain, that *Mauſolus* was dead, and *Artemiſia*, who did not ſurvive him above two Years, living, when *Demoſthenes* made an Oration for the Liberty of the *Rhodians*. Now he ſpoke this Oration in the ſecond Year of the CVIIth Olympiad, as may be collected from *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* (4). *Mauſolus*, then, died in the laſt Year of the CVIth; and the anonymous Author, who deſcribed the Olympiads, was miſtaken, in placing *Mauſolus*'s Funeral Oration, by *Theopompus*, in the firſt Year of the CIIId Olympiad. *Valeſius* has committed the ſame Miſtake. *Hæc Artemiſia in funere Mariti agones celebravit Olympiade* CIII (5). —— *This* Artemiſia *ſolemnized her Husband's Funeral with Prize Conteſts in the CIIId Olympiad.* They, who, after the Example of *Calepin*, Mr *Lloyd*, and Mr *Hofman*, &c. would refer us to the ſeventh Book of *Herodotus*, for an Account of the *Mauſoleum*, can never have rightly conſulted the Chronological Tables, which muſt be very falſe indeed, if the Death of *Mauſolus* be found in them, before That of *Herodotus*.

[*B*] *She died of Grief and Melancholy.*] We have ſeveral great Authorities for this Fact, no leſs than a *Theopompus*, a *Cicero*, and a *Strabo*. *Theopompus*'s Account is very full. Ἣν φησι Θεόπομπος φθινάδι νόσῳ ληφθεῖσαν διὰ τὴν λύπην ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ Μαυσώλου, ἀποθανεῖν (6). *Who is ſaid, by* Theopompus, *to have died of a waſting Diſtemper, contracted through Grief for the Loſs of* Mauſolus *her Husband, and Brother.* That of *Cicero*. “Artemiſia illa, *ſays he* (7), Mauſoli Cariæ Regis uxor, quæ nobile illud Halicarnaſſi fecit ſepulchrum, quamdiu vixit, vixit in luctu, eodemque etiam confecta contabuit. Huic erat illa opinio quotidie recens, quæ tum denique non appellabatur recens cum vetuſtate exaruit. —— *That* Artemiſia, *the Wife of* Mauſolus *of* Caria, *who built The famous Monument at* Halicarnaſſus, *lived in Sorrow, and pined away with it to Death. To her, the ſame Sentiment was always new, which was then only not eſteemed new, when quite worn out with Age.*” It is almoſt certain, *Cicero* was ignorant, that *Artemiſia* ſurvived her Husband but two Years; otherwiſe he would not have uſed ſuch Expreſſions as ſignify a very long Sorrow. But let us ſee what *Strabo* ſays: Φθίσει δ' ἀποθανούσης διὰ ϖένθος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς (8). *She died of a Conſumption, through Grief for her Husband.*

[*C*] *They ſay* Iſocrates *made a Panegyric on him.*] I have quoted two good Vouchers (9); and can add a Third, of great Weight, which is *Theopompus*: He publickly boaſts of having carried the Prize from his Maſter *Iſocrates* (10). But I am not ignorant, that *Suidas*, without mentioning *Iſocrates*, the *Athenian*, ſpeaks of another *Iſocrates*, Diſciple and Succeſſor of the former, and born either at *Heraclea*, or *Apollonia*, on the *Euxine* Sea. *Suidas* ſays, it was He, who diſputed the Prize of Eloquence with *Theodectes*, *Theopompus*, and *Erythreus* (11). This latter was of *Naucratis* in *Egypt*, which will make *Aulus Gellius* guilty of a Miſtake, in the Place, where we read, that *Theopompus*, *Theodectes*, and *Naucrites* diſputed That Prize (12). *Naucrites* is not the proper Name of One of Thoſe Competitors; it is only his Name derived from the Town, where he was born, a little altered; for it ſhould have been *Naucratites* (13). *Olivier* names them *Theopompus*, *Theodotes*, and *Naucrates* (14). But,

if

(1) Plinius, lib. 36. c. 5. pag. 280, & cap. 6. pag. 288.

(2) Chevr. Hiſt. du Monde, lib. 7. cap. 3.

(3) Harduin. in Plin. Tom. 5. p. 280.

(4) Dion. Halicarn. Epiſt. de Ætat. & Script. Demoſth.

(5) Valeſ. Not. in Harpocrat. Lexicon, pag. 99.

(6) Apud Harpocrat.

(7) Cicer. Tuſculan. 3. *This Paſſage is wrong cited in* Val. Max. Variorum. *The laſt Period in* Roman *Characters is without the Particle* non, *which makes it intolerable Nonſenſe.*

(8) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 452.

(9) Plutarch. in Vita Iſocrat. A. Gellius, lib. 10. cap. 18.

(10) *See* Euſebius Præp. Evang. l. 10, cap. 3, pag. 464.

(11) Suidas in Ἰσοκράτης.

(12) A. Gellius, lib. 10, cap. 18.

(13) Moreri *and* Hofman *have it* Naucrites.

(14) Olivar. in Val Max. pag. 395. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1655.

bury *Artemiſia* during her Widowhood, there are thoſe, who affirm, that ſhe made ſome very heroic Conqueſts [*D*].

if *Aulus Gellius* is to be preferred before *Suidas*, as in my Judgment he ought to be, then we muſt own, that the latter is miſtaken in the Place, where we read, ἅμα τῶ Ἐρυθραίῳ Ναυκρατίτη διηγωνίσατο (15); *he contended with* Erythræus, *the* Naucratian. *Photius* favours *Aulus Gellius*, by ſaying, that *Naucrates* of *Erythrea* was one of *Theopompus*'s Competitors (16). On one ſide, or the other, they have miſtaken the proper Name for the Name derived from the Town. Obſerve, that *Cicero* (17), *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* (18), and *Quintilian* (19), ſpeak of One *Naucrates*, a Diſciple of *Iſocrates*. However, *Amiot* has tranſlated the Paſſage of *Plutarch* in a quite different manner from *Wolfius*, and *Xylander*: according to Theſe, *Iſocrates*'s Panegyric on *Mauſolus* was loſt; but, according to *Amiot*, it was preſerved. Iſocrates, *ſays he, contended for the Prize, which Queen* Artemiſia *inſtituted on account of the Tomb of her Husband* Mauſolus; *and the Oration, which he made in Praiſe of the deceaſed, is ſtill extant.* Without doubt the different Manner of Accenting has produced Theſe different Tranſlations: ſome read τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον οὐ σώζεται, *but this Panegyric is not preſerved*; others read τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον οὗ σώζεται, *And this Panegyric is there preſerved.* See what ſport Fortune makes with Manuſcripts; one ſingle Point, either taken away, or added, or altered, turns the Affirmative into the Negative.

[*D*] *There are ſome, who affirm, that ſhe made ſome very heroic Conqueſts.*] I ſay nothing of *Demoſthenes*'s Oration, which has been quoted before (20), though it is certain, from the manner of That Orator's expreſſing himſelf, that *Artemiſia* was not repreſented in *Athens* as a diſconſolate Widow, pining away, and neglecting the Affairs of her Kingdom, to confine her Thoughts wholly to the Memory of her Huſband. The *Athenians* conſidered her as a Woman in a Condition to make herſelf feared; for one of the Arguments, which *Demoſthenes* had to confute, was drawn from the Motions which *Artemiſia* might make, if the *Athenians* ſhould eſpouſe the Intereſts of the *Rhodians*. But I leave this, to paſs to ſomething more cloſe to the Point. *Vitruvius* tells us, that, after the Death of *Mauſolus*, the *Rhodians*, diſdaining, that *Caria* ſhould be governed by a Woman, attempted to dethrone her (21). Their Deſign was defeated by a Stratagem of *Artemeſia*'s, which was preſently followed by another, executed by herſelf, in Perſon, with ſo much Vigour and Succeſs, that, in a very ſhort time, ſhe made herſelf Miſtreſs of *Rhodes*. She cauſed two Statues in Braſs to be erected there, as a Trophy of her Victory; one of them repreſented the City of *Rhodes*, the other *Artemiſia* marking That City with a hot Iron. *Vitruvius* adds, that the *Rhodians* never durſt remove This Trophy from it's Place, (for That was a thing forbidden by their Religion), but they encompaſſed it with a Building, which concealed it from public View. Does this look like the Conduct of a diſconſolate Widow, entirely employed in ſighing and groaning, and ſo laviſh of Life, as to ſacrifice it to ſorrow in two Years Time? It is in vain to pretend, that *Vitruvius* ſpeaks of the other *Artemiſia*: I am ſenſible Mr *Chevreau* has thought ſo (22); but there are two inconteſtable Arguments to the contrary. For, I. the *Artemiſia* of *Vitruvius* was the Wife of *Mauſolus*; and, II. ſhe poſſeſſed herſelf of a City, which was not built 'till the Time of the *Peloponneſian* War, when *Xerxes* and *Artemiſia* were no longer in Being. Ἡ δὲ νῦν πόλις ἐκτίσθη κατὰ τὰ Πελοποννησιακὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος, ὥς φασιν, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Πειραιεύς (23). *The City, that now is, was built in the Time of the* Peloponneſian *War, they ſay, by the very ſame Architect, who built the* Piræum. It is not, therefore, without Reaſon, that *Tzetzes* makes both the *Artemiſias Commanders of Armies, and Women of Martial Spirit*, ἄμφω δὲ στρατηγέτιδας, γενναίας ἀμφοτέρας. What can we think of Authors, who give us ſuch inconſiſtent Accounts of one, and the ſame, Queen? One Perſon, greatly obliged by her, might be ſufficient to make the World believe, that her Grief for her Husband was the Cauſe of her Death. Writers would repeat it an hundred Times, from one to another, not only as a Rarity, but alſo, as an Example worthy of Imitation. The moſt ſingular Embelliſhments are given, ſooner or later, to ſuch ſort of Traditions.

(15) Suidas in Ἰσοκράτης.

(16) Photius in Biblioth. cod. 176. p. 392.

(17) Cicero de Orat. lib. 3. & in Oratore.

(18) Dion Halicarn. in Judicio de Iſæo, p. 228.

(19) Quintil. lib. 3. c. 6. init.

(20) *That* de Libertate Rhodiorum, *at page* 78 *of his Works*; *Edit.* Genev. 1607. folio.

(21) Vitruv. de Architect. lib. 2. cap. 8.

(22) Chevreau, lib. 7. cap. 3. p. 34.

(23) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 45.

(24) Tzetz. chil. 12, vers. 966. hiſt. 455.

ASCLEPIADES,

ASCLEPIADES, a Native of *Phlia* (*a*) in *Peloponneſus*, made a great Figure among the ancient Philoſophers. He was a Diſciple of *Stilpo* (*b*), and brought over *Menedemus* to the ſame School; *Menedemus*, I ſay, with whom he contracted ſuch an intimate Friendſhip (*c*), that it might, perhaps, be compared to That of *Pylades*, and *Oreſtes* [*A*]. After having ſtudied together under *Stilpo*, at *Megara*, they went to *Elis*, where they conferred with the Diſciples of *Phædon* (*d*). They were both very poor, and forced to earn their Living with the Sweat of their Brows [*B*]; however, they found Time for their Studies, and became great Philoſophers. *Menedemus* was younger than his Friend (*e*); but they had no Regard to the Difference of their Age, when they came to a Reſolution of marrying. Their Deſign was to live and keep Houſe together, even after quitting their State of Celibacy. To this end they judged it neceſſary to chooſe their Wives, with a Precaution moſt likely to ſecure their domeſtick Quiet, and believed this End would be anſwered in a Family, where there was a Mother and her Daughter, both marriageable. *Menedemus* married the Mother, and *Aſclepiades* the Daughter (*f*). The latter being dead, *Menedemus* ſurrendered his Wife to his Friend, and married a rich Maid; but would have *Aſclepiades*'s Wife continue Miſtreſs of the Houſe. It was no hard Matter for him to find out a good Match; becauſe he had the chief Authority in the Town, where he lived (*g*); I mean *Eretria*, the Place of his Birth. *Aſclepiades* died there very old (*h*). He had lived very temperately, amidſt the great Plenty of his Friend's Table (*i*), and bore the Miſfortune

(*a*) Φλιάσιος, *a Phlian.* Diog. Laërt. de Vitis Philoſoph. l. 2. in Menedemo, circa init. p. 153. Edit. Amſt. 1692.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Id. ibid. pag. 159. n. 137.

(*d*) Id. ibid. pag. 153. n. 126.

(*e*) Id. ib. pag. 159. n. 137.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

(*h*) Id. ibid. n. 138.

(*i*) Συζήσας τῷ Μενεδήμῳ σφόδρα εὐτελῶς ἀπὸ μεγάλων ---- *He lived with* Menedemus *very ſparingly in the midſt of great Opulence.*

[*A*] *His Friendſhip for* Menedemus *might be compared to That of* Pylades *and* Oreſtes.] Theſe are the Words of *Diogenes Laërtius*; Φίλος τε ἦν μάλιστα (Μενέδημος) ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην συμπνοίας, οὐδέν τι διαφερούσης Πυλάδου φιλοστοργίας (1). — Menedemus *was remarkable for his Friendſhip, as appeared from his Conjunction with* Aſclepiades, *no way inferior to That of* Pylades *with* Oreſtes. After this, our Author ſays, that *Archepolis*, intending to make them a Preſent of a conſiderable Sum, his Generoſity was of no ſervice to them; for a laudable Diſagreement happened between them, about the taking laſt, and, as they could not ſettle this Point, neither of them took any thing.

[*B*] *Both he, and his Friend, were forced to earn their Living with the Sweat of their Brows.*] They hired themſelves, as Labourers, to a Maſon. *Aſclepiades* was not ſo much aſhamed of it, as *Menedemus*; he did not value who ſaw him, naked (2), carrying up Mortar to the Top of the Houſe; but *Menedemus* hid himſelf, when he ſaw any Body paſs by (3). *Athenæus*, who ſays nothing of this, tells another, yet more remarkable, Story. "The *Areopagites*, "*ſays he* (4), cauſed *Menedemus*, and *Aſclepiades*, "two young Students in Philoſophy, and very poor, "to be ſummoned before them, and demanded of "them, *How come you to be ſo fat? you have no* "*Eſtate, you follow no Employment, but ſpend all* "*your*

(1) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 137.

(2) *I take this to be underſtood, not literally of an abſolute Nakedneſs, but of the uſual ſtripping of Workmen in warm Weather.*

(3) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 131.

(4) Athen. lib 4, c. 19, pag. 168.

fortune of loſing his Sight very patiently [*C*]. His Death did not extinguiſh the Friendſhip *Menedemus* had for him [*D*]. When I have ſaid, he was a Diſciple of *Stilpo*, it is needleſs to obſerve, that he flouriſhed ſome little time after the Death of *Alexander*. He had a Son, who behaved himſelf ſo very ill, that *Menedemus* turned him out of Doors, without ſo much as ſpeaking to him, which proved the Means of reclaiming the young Debauchee (*k*).

(*k*) Plutarch. de Diſcrim. Adulat. & Amici, pag. 55.

" *your Time in hearing the Philoſophers?" Pleaſe to ſend for ſuch a Miller*, replied the two Scholars. He was ſent for, accordingly; and, when he came, declared, that they came, every Night, into the Mill to grind, and had two Drachmas for their Labour. The Judges, admiring their Conduct, honoured them with a Preſent of Two hundred Drachmas. They would have been puniſhed, if they had not declared the Means of their Subſiſtence.

[*C*] *He bore patiently the Misfortune of loſing his Sight.*] I make no queſtion but theſe Words of *Cicero* relate to our *Aſclepiades*: " Aſclepiadem " ferunt non ignobilem, nec inexercitum Philoſo- " phum, quum quidam quæreret, quid ei cœcitas at- " tuliſſet, reſpondiſſe ut puero uno eſſet comita- " tior (5)." The Loſs of my Eyes, *ſaid our Philoſopher*, procures me this Advantage, that I never go alone, I have always a Boy extraordinary in my Retinue.

[*D*] *His Death did not extinguiſh* Menedemus's *Friendſhip for him.*] Having been informed, that his Servants refuſed Admittance to one, who had been a Favourite of *Aſclepiades*, he commanded them to let him in. *Know*, ſays he (6), *that though* Aſclepiades *is in his Grave, he opens my Door for him.* This Favourite came afterwards to dine with *Menedemus*.

(5) Cicero, Tuſcul. Quæſt lib. 5, cap. 39.

(6) Ὅτι Ἀσκληπιάδης αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ γῆς ὢν τὰς θύρας ἀνοίγει. - - - Aſclepiades etiam ſepultus ei januas aperit. *Diog. Laërt. ubi ſupra, n.* 138.

ASCLEPIADES, a Native of *Pruſa* in *Bithynia*, was one of the moſt famous Phyſicians of Antiquity. He was cotemporary with *Mithridates*, as appears by his refuſing to go to his Court, in ſpite of all the great Promiſes which were made him to procure This Viſit (*a*). He could not be prevailed on any farther, than to ſend a Preſcription (*b*). He was the Head of a new Sect (*c*); and found out the Method of making Wine ſerviceable in the Cure of Diſtempers (*d*). This Practice, and the uſe of cold Water, which he allowed his Patients (*e*), brought him into great Eſteem (*f*). Having cured a Perſon who was going to be buried [*A*], he acquired an incredible Reputation; but the Wager, which he laid againſt Fortune, made him be cried up with yet

(*a*) Spretis legatis & pollicitationibus Mithridatis regis. - - - - *He regarded not the Meſſages and Offers of King* Mithridates. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 37.

(*b*) Id. lib. 25. cap. 2.

(*c*) Id. lib. 7. cap. 37.

(*d*) Id. ibid. & lib. 26. cap. 3. pag. 444.

(*e*) Trahebat præterea mentes artificio mirabili, vinum promittendo ægris, dandoque tempeſtive tum aquam frigidam. - - - *He introduced a very taking Method of giving Wine to his Patients, and alſo cold Water upon proper Occaſions.* Id. lib. 26. cap. 3. pag. 444.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *He cured a Perſon who was going to be buried.*] This is what *Pliny* ſays of it: *Summa autem* (fama eſt) *Aſclepiadi Pruſienſi* —— *relato è funere homine & ſervato* (1). —— Aſclepiades, *the* Pruſian, —— *gained the higheſt Reputation, by ordering a Perſon to be carried back again, who was going to be buried, and curing him.* He obſerves, elſewhere, that this ſort of Reſurrection was neceſſary to eſtabliſh the Reformation, which was then made, in the Practice of Phyſic; and that it is not to be imagined, that ſo great an Innovation was introduced, without ſome very conſiderable Motives. " Magna auctori- " tate, nec minore fama, cum occurriſſet ignoto fu- " neri relato homine ab rogo atque ſervato, ne quis " levibus momentis, tantam converſionem factam exi- " ſtimet (2)." *Celſus* mentions this admirable Cure only by the By. " In vicino ſæpe quædam notæ " poſitæ non bonos ſed imperitos medicos decipiunt; " quod Aſclepiades ſciens, funeri obvius, inclamavit, " eum vivere qui efferebatur (3). —— *Some Symp-* " *toms are ſo alike, as to deceive the ignorant, tho'* " *not the judicious, Phyſician; it was from this Skill,* " *that* Aſclepiades, *meeting with a Funeral, pronoun-* " *ced the Body to be alive.*" But *Apuleius* has enlarged on the Circumſtances of it, without forgetting, that the Heirs were not very well pleaſed with *Aſclepiades*, for maintaining, that the Man was not dead. " Aſclepiades, *ſays he* (4), inter præcipuos " medicorum, ſi unum Hippocratem excipias, cæ- " teris princeps, primus etiam vino opitulari ægris " repperit: ſed dando ſcilicet in tempore; cujus rei " obſervationem probe callebat: ut qui diligentiſſime " animadverteret venarum pulſus inconditos, vel præ- " claros. Is igitur, cum forte in civitatem ſeſe reci- " peret, & rure ſuo ſuburbano rediret, aſpexit in " pomeriis civitatis funus ingens locatum, plurimos ho- " mines ingenti multitudine qui exequias venerant cir- " cumſtare, omnes triſtiſſimos & obſoletiſſimos veſtitu. " Propius acceſſit, ut etiam incognoſceret, more " ingenii humani, quiſnam eſſet; quoniam percon- " tanti nemo reſponderat. At vero ipſe aliquid in " illo ex arte deprehenderat. Certe quidem jacenti " homini ac prope depoſito Fatum abſtulit. Jam " miſeri illius membra omnia aromatis perſperſa, " jam os ipſius unguine odoro delibutum, jam eum " pollinctum, jam cœnæ paratum, contemplatus eum " diligentiſſime quibuſdam ſignis animadvertit, etiam " atque etiam pertractavit corpus hominis: & inve- " nit in illo vitam latentem. Confeſtim exclama- " vit, vivere hominem, procul ergo faces abigerent, " procul ignes amolirentur; rogum demolirentur, " cœnam feralem à tumulo ad menſam referrent. " Murmur interea exortum, partim medico creden- " dum dicere; partim etiam irridere medicinam. Po- " ſtremo propinquis etiam hominibus invitis, quod " ne jam ipſi hæreditatem habebant, an quod ad- " huc illi fidem non habebant, ægre tamen ac dif- " ficulter Aſclepiades impetravit brevem mortuo " dilationem. Atque ita veſpillonum manibus " extortum, velut ab Inferis, poſtliminio domum " retulit, confeſtimque ſpiritum recreavit: confe- " ſtimque animam in corporis latibulis deliteſcen- " tem quibuſdam medicamentis provocavit. —— " Aſclepiades, *the Prince of Phyſicians, next to* Hip- " pocrates, *was the firſt, who uſed Wine as a Medi-* " *cine. But he took care to give it on proper Occaſions,* " *which he very well underſtood, from his diligent* " *Attendance to the Indications of the Pulſe. As he* " *happened one Day to return from his Country Houſe* " *to the City, he ſaw in the out-ſkirts a very large* " *Funeral, with a great Multitude of People ſurround-* " *ing the Body, all very ſorrowful, and in mourning* " *Habits. He drew near out of Curioſity, according* " *to Cuſtom, to learn whoſe it was, thoſe he had in-* " *quired of not having ſatisfied him. His Skill found* " *an opportunity of making a great Diſcovery. With-* " *out doubt he ſaved the Life of a Man, ſuppoſed to be* " *Dead, and whoſe funeral Rites were almoſt all per-* " *formed. The poor Wretch was already beſtrewed* " *with Spices, his Face perfumed, his Body anointed,* " *and the Funeral Entertainment prepared; when* " Aſclepiades, *obſerving him attentively, and carefully* " *examining the Body, found by his Art ſome Signs of* " *Life in it. He immediately cried out, that the Body* " *was alive, that they might throw away their Torches,* " *extinguiſh the Fire, demoliſh the Funeral Pile, and* " *remove their Feaſt from the Tomb to the Table. The* " *Company murmured; ſome were for believing in the* " *Doctor, others ridiculed the Profeſſion. At laſt,* " *though the Heirs oppoſed it, either becauſe they were* " *in Poſſeſſion of the Inheritance, or had no Faith* " *in the Phyſician, with great difficulty* Aſclepiades " *obtained a ſhort Reprieve for the dead Man. And* " *ſo having reſcued him from the Undertaker's Hand,* " *he had him brought Home again, as it were from* " *the infernal Regions, and immediately, by the Vir-* " *tue of his Medicines, revived his Spirits, and re-* " *covered the ſcattered Remains of Life.*" The Story of the Woman, that was twice carried to be buried, will not be amiſs in this Place. She was brought to Life, without the Aſſiſtance of Medicine; but her Husband was not overjoyed at it. The Story is this. " A Woman in a Village of *Paitou* had a ſevere " Illneſs, at the end of which ſhe fell into ſo deep

(1) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 37. pag. 58, 59.

(2) Id. lib. 26, cap. 3, pag. 445.

(3) Celſus de Medicinâ, lib. 2, cap. 6, pag. 57.

(4) Apuleius in Floridis, pag. 362.

yet greater admiration [*B*]. He engaged to renounce the Title of Phyſician, if ever he ſhould be ſick, and won the Wager; for he died by a Fall, at a very great Age. It was at *Rome* he became ſo famous. He came thither to teach Rhetoric *(g)*; but, not finding That Employ profitable enough, he applied himſelf to the Practice of Phyſic; and, not being acquainted with the Remedies then in uſe, he took occaſion to condemn them, and invent new ones. He contrived eaſy Methods, and ſuch as any one might uſe without the Help of a Phyſician. This made them very acceptable; and all the World ran to him, as to one ſent from Heaven [*C*]. One Thing, which favoured his gaining ſo great a Reputation, was the fooliſh Credulity of That Age as to the Magic Virtue of certain Plants; for it being eaſy to demonſtrate, that moſt of thoſe Virtues were chimerical, it was no hard Matter for *Aſclepiades* to deſtroy all the Credit of the ancient Preſcriptions [*D*]. He held, that the Soul was not diſtinct from Matter *(h)*. He compoſed ſeveral Books, which are all loſt. *Pliny*, *Celſus*, and *Galen* have quoted ſome of them. He had alſo many famous Diſciples *(i)*. *Pliny*'s Niceneſs ſeems to be carried too far; he could not bear, that a Man, who had only ſtudied Phyſic for Profit, ſhould be allowed to give Rules of ſuch conſequence

(g) Id. ibid.

(h) *See* Tertullian, *in his Book* de Animâ, cap. 15.

(i) *See their Names in the 46th Letter of* Reineſius *to* Rupertus, *pag.* 395.

“deep a Lethargy, that her Husband, and thoſe about her, believed her dead. They wrapped her up only in Linnen, according to the Cuſtom of poor People in That Country, and had her carried out to be buried. As they were going to Church, one of her Bearers went ſo cloſe to a Buſh, that the Thorns pricked her, and rouſed her from her Lethargy. Fourteen Years after, ſhe was dead again, at leaſt ſuppoſed ſo. As they were carrying her to the Grave, and coming near the old Place, the Husband cried out, two or three times: *Pray keep a little farther off the Buſh* (5).”

(5) Menagiana, p. 117, 118. *of the firſt* Dutch *Edition.*

[*B*] *The Wager, which he laid againſt Fortune, made him be cried up with yet greater Admiration.*] I do not believe, that the moſt pretending Quacks, of our Days, dare lay any ſuch Wager, eſpecially if they were obliged to depoſit a Sum of Money. However, I am perſuaded, that the Reader will not be diſpleaſed to find *Pliny*'s Text here: “Summa autem Aſclepiadi Pruſienſi (fama eſt) ——— maxime ſponſione facta cum fortuna, ne medicus crederetur, ſi unquam invalidus ullo modo fuiſſet ipſe: & victor, ſuprema in ſenecta lapſu ſcalarum exanimatus eſt (6). ——— Aſclepiades, *the* Pruſian, *gained the higheſt Reputation,* —— *chiefly by ſtaking his Credit, as a Phyſician, againſt his ever being ſick himſelf; he carried his Point, and died, in extream old Age, by a Fall down Stairs.*” It was a ſurprizing Temerity in Our Phyſician; but the good Fortune, in not being belied by the Event, appears, to me, yet more extraordinary. I obſerve, that, in ſome things, he was a meer Quack. He adminiſtered Wine in ſome Diſtempers, and boaſted ſo much of his Remedy, that he ſaid, the Power of the Gods was hardly equal to That of Wine. *Aſclepiades utilitatem vini æquari vix Deorum potentia pronunciavit* (7).

(6) Plinius, lib. 7. c. 37. pag. 58, 59.

(7) Id. lib. 23. cap. 1. pag. 251.

[*C*] *All the World ran to him, as to one ſent from Heaven.*] We may conceive, from the Words of *Pliny*, an Idea of the Aſcendant ſome Phyſicians have, even in our Days. “Torrenti ac meditata quotidie oratione blandiens, omnia *(remedia)* abdicavit: totamque medicinam ad cauſam revocando, conjecturæ fecit, quinque res maxime communium auxiliorum profeſſus abſtinentiam cibi, alias vini, fricationem corporis, ambulationem, geſtationes: quæ cum unuſquiſque ſemetipſum ſibi, præſtare poſſe intelligeret, faventibus cunctis ut eſſent vera quæ facillima erant, univerſum prope humanum genus circumegit in ſe, non alio modo, quam ſi cœlo emiſſus adveniſſet (8). ——— *Soothing the People every Day with a fluent and premeditated Oration, he baniſhed all Medicines; and, reducing the whole Art of Phyſic to the Teſt of Reaſon, he proved it to be but conjectural. Five Things, of moſt common Benefit, he held to, Abſtinence from Meat, at other Times from Wine, the uſe of the Fleſh-Bruſh, the Exerciſe of Walking, and of Riding: Which, as every one believed he could preſcribe for himſelf ſuch Remedies as theſe, and as it is natural to wiſh thoſe Things true that are moſt eaſy, made all People flock to him, as to one ſent from Heaven.*”

(8) Id. lib. 26. cap. 3. pag. 444.

[*D*] *Moſt of the Magic Virtues of Plants being chimerical, it was eaſy for* Aſclepiades *to deſtroy the Credit of ancient Preſcriptions.*] It is the Nature of Man to run into Extremes. Shew him but ſome Truths, and he ſhall believe all the Falſities you think proper to couch under them. Undeceive him but of ſome Falſities, by evident Demonſtration, and he ſhall queſtion the Truth of every Thing. Thus, by exploding the Impertinence of the Remedies called Magical, *Aſclepiades* was enabled to overthrow even thoſe Things, which might be better grounded. *Pliny* very naturally deſcribes this Inclination for Extremes, ſo remarkable in Human Nature. “Super omnia, *ſays he* (9), adjuvere eum (Aſclepiadem) Magicæ vanitates, in tantum evectæ, ut abrogare herbis fidem cunctis poſſent. Æthiopide herbâ amnes ac ſtagna ſiccari conjectu, tactu clauſa omnia aperiri. Achæmenide conjectâ in aciem hoſtium, trepidare agmina, ac terga vertere. Latacen dari ſolitam à Perſarum rege legatis, ut quocunque veniſſent omnium rerum copiâ abundarent, ac multa ſimilia. Ubinam iſtæ fuere, cùm Cimbri Teutonique terribili Marte ulularent, aut cùm Lucullus tot reges Magorum paucis legionibus ſterneret? Curve Romani duces primam ſemper in bellis commerciorum habuere curam? Cur herclè Cæſaris miles ad Pharſaliam famem ſenſit, ſi abundantia omnis contingere unius herbæ felicitate poterat? Non ſatius fuit Æmilianum Scipionem Carthaginis portas herbâ patefacere, quam machinis clauſtra per tot annos quatere? Siccentur hodie Æthiopide Pontinæ paludes, tantumque agri ſuburbanæ reddatur Italiæ. Nam quæ apud eundem Democritum invenitur compoſitio medicamenti, quo pulchri bonique & fortunati gignantur liberi, cui unquam Perſarum regi tales dedit? Mirum eſſet profecto, hucuſque provectam credulitatem antiquorum, ſaluberrimis ortam initiis, ſi in ullâ re modum humana ingenia noviſſent, atque non hanc ipſam medicinam ab Aſclepiade repertam, ſuo loco probaturi eſſemus evectam ultra Magos etiam. Sed hæc eſt omni in re animorum conditio, ut à neceſſariis orſa primò, cuncta pervenerint ad nimium. - - - - - - - *The greateſt Aſſiſtance,* Aſclepiades *received, was from the Magical Superſtitions, which were carried to ſuch an Height, as made it eaſy to aboliſh all Sort of Faith in Plants. That the* Æthiopian *Plant would dry up Lakes and Rivers, if thrown into them, and force open Doors, or the ſtrongeſt Securities, by the Touch of it. That the* Achæmenian *Plant, by being caſt at the Enemy, would make their Troops tremble, and turn their Backs. That the Plant, called* Latace, *uſed to be given by the* Perſian *King to his Embaſſadors, that they might always be ſure of Plenty, wherever they went: and many more of this Nature. But where were theſe Virtues, when the* Cimbri, *and* Teutoni, *thundered at their Gates, and when* Lucullus, *with a few Forces, overthrew ſo many Kings of the* Magi? *Or why were the* Romans, *in their Wars, ſo careful, in the firſt Place, to ſecure their Supplies? How came* Cæſar's *Soldiers to fall ſhort of Proviſions at* Pharſalia, *if one Plant only could make plenty? Would* Scipio Æmilianus *have lain, ſo many Years, battering the Walls of* Carthage, *with his Engines, if he could have forced open the Gates with a Plant? Let the* Æthiopian *Herb dry up the* Pontine Lake *at this Day, and reſtore to* Italy *ſo great a Tract of loſt Land. Did ever That Compoſition of Medicine, reported by the ſame Author* Democritus, *to have been ſo ſerviceable towards begetting handſome, dutiful, and fortunate Children, produce any ſuch Effect in any one of the* Perſian *Kings? It would be wonderful indeed, that the Credulity of the Ancients, which at firſt had ſome reaſonable*

(9) Id. ibid. cap. 4. pag. 446.

conſequence to Mankind [*E*]. *Suidas*, who has confounded our Phyſician with one *Aſclepiades*, a Grammarian of *Myrlea*, has been reproved for it by Mr *Moreri* agreeably to the Obſervations of *Voſſius*. Therefore I ſhall mention it no farther, but content myſelf with pointing out the Cauſes of it. I ſhall only remark the Miſtakes of ſome other Authors [*F*]. Thoſe of Mr *Moreri* are not very conſiderable

“ *Foundation, ſhould be ſtretched to ſuch a Pitch, if* “ *human Nature knew how to obſerve a Medium in* “ *any thing; or, if this very Reformation in Phyſic,* “ *introduced by* Aſclepiades, *had not been carried, as* “ *we ſhall ſhew in it's proper place, to a greater* “ *height of Extravagance, than even That of the* “ Magi. *But ſuch is the Imperfection of our Minds,* “ *that, though we ſet out reaſonably, yet we carry every* “ *thing to an Extreme.*” Father *Hardouin* repeats this in the Place, where *Pliny* deſcribes the great Power, which certain Phyſicians had gained over the People, at the ſame time that they mutually condemned one another's Practice. “ Hinc illæ, *ſays he* (10), “ circa ægros miſeræ ſententiarum concertationes, “ nullo idem cenſente ne videatur acceſſio alterius. “ Hinc illa infelicis Monumenti inſcriptio, *turba ſe* “ *medicorum periiſſe*. Mutatur ars quotidiè toties in- “ terpolis, & ingeniorum Græciæ flatu impellimur. “ Palamque eſt, ut quiſque inter iſtos loquendo polleat, “ imperatorem illico vitæ noſtræ neciſque fieri. —— “ *Hence ariſe thoſe wretched Wranglings of Phyſicians* “ *about their Patients, no one caring to come into the* “ *Sentiments of another, for fear it ſhould look like* “ *giving him the Preference. Hence That unlucky* “ *Epitaph*, The Diſtemper he died of was the Num- “ ber of his Doctors. *The Art is always changing, by* “ *ſuch daily Innovations, and the Wits of* Greece *turn* “ *us which Way they will. And we ſee, that every one* “ *of them, who has a Talent for talking, preſently aſ-* “ *ſumes over us the Power of Life and Death.*”

[*E*] Pliny — *could not bear, that ſuch a Man ſhould be allowed to give Rules of ſuch Conſequence to Man-* “ *kind.*] His Words are remarkable. “ Id ſolum “ poſſumus indignari, unum hominem è leviſſimâ gen- “ te, ſine opibus ullis orſum, vectigalis ſui cauſa, “ repente leges ſalutis humano generi dediſſe, quas “ tamen poſtea abrogavere multi (11). —— *This one* “ *Thing is enough to raiſe our Indignation, that one of ſo* “ *very mean an Extraction, and of no Fortunes, ſhould,* “ *for his own Profit only, ſo ſuddenly take upon him* “ *to give Rules of Health to Mankind, which, by* “ *the Way, were afterwards exploded by ſeveral of his* “ *Succeſſors.*”

[*F*] *The Miſtakes of ſome other Authors, concerning* Aſclepiades, *&c.*] *Meurſius* has been reprimanded for taking *Aſclepiades* of *Myrlea*, and *Aſclepiades* of *Nicæa*, for two different Perſons. “ Malè Meur- “ ſius hunc Myrlæanum & Nicenum tanquam duos “ diſtinctos recenſet (12). —— Meurſius *has errone-* “ *ouſly diſtinguiſhed this* Aſclepiades *the* Myrlæan, *and* “ Nicæan, *into two different Perſons.*” *Jonſius* affirms it to be a Miſtake, and that the ſame *Aſclepiades*, who was born at *Myrlea*, and whoſe Family was of *Nicæa*, is indifferently ſirnamed *Myrleanus*, and *Nicenus*. *Pinedo* fell into the ſame Error with *Meurſius* (13). In the Liſt of Authors, quoted by *Athenæus*, *Aſclepiades* of *Myrlea* is underſtood to be meant in theſe Words of the tenth Book; ’Ασκληπιάδης ἐν τοῖς τραγῳδουμένοις (14). *Dalechamp* has tranſlated them, *Aſclepiades libro de iis quorum nomine editæ ſunt tragœdiæ.* ——Aſclepiades, *in his Book of thoſe, in whoſe Names have been publiſhed Tragedies.* *Caſaubon* cenſures him for This, and makes it appear, that the Title of That Work was not of the Maſculine Gender τραγῳδούμενοι, but of the Neuter Gender τραγῳδούμενα, and that *Plutarch* alſo has quoted it ſo (15). He does not ſay where the Quotation is to be found. But, to ſupply This Defect, I ſhall obſerve, that it is in the Life of *Iſocrates*, as we ſhall ſee preſently. He might have added, that the ſame Work of *Aſclepiades* is quoted in the Neuter Gender, by *Stephanus Byzantinus*, and by *Photius*, as we ſhall make appear by and by. This Critic underſtands That Work of *Aſclepiades* to have treated of the great Actions, which ſerved the Tragic Poets for their Subject-matter. I am altogether of the ſame Opinion, and take *Dalechamp* to be miſtaken. The *Latin* Tranſlator of *Plutarch* has alſo miſunderſtood the Title of That Book; for theſe Words of *Plutarch*, ’Ασκληπιάδης ὁ τὰ τραγῳδούμενα συγγράψας, he has thus rendred, *Aſclepiades tragœdiæ ſcriptor* (16). —— Aſclepiades, *a Writer of Tragedy*. This ſhews clearly enough, without conſulting exactly what follows (17) in the Tranſlation, that he took *Aſclepiades* for a Tragic Poet. *Andrew Schot* makes the ſame Slip in his Tranſlation of *Photius*. *Photius* ſpeaks thus. ’Ασκληπιάδης ὃς τὰ τραγῳδούμενα συνεγράψατο (18). *i. e.* according to *Andrew Schotus*, *Aſclepiades, qui Tragœdias ſcripſit.* —— Aſclepiades, *who wrote Tragedies*. But it is all a Miſtake; the *Aſclepiades*, there mentioned, is not repreſented to us as ſuch an Author. Obſerve, by the way, that he was the Diſciple of *Iſocrates*, from whence you may judge of the time, in which he lived. *Pinedo* underſtood the Senſe of the Word τραγῳδούμενα better than the Tranſlator of *Plutarch*, and has rendred ’Ασκληπιάδης ὁ τὰ τραγῳδούμενα γράψας ἐν ἓξ βιβλίοις (19); *Aſclepiades qui de rebus in Tragœdia decantatis ſex libros ſcripſit.* —— Aſclepiades, *who wrote ſix Books of thoſe Things, which have been made the Subject of Tragedies.* Theſe *Greek* Words are taken from *Stephanus Byzantinus*, where he informs us, that the *Aſclepiades*, who compoſed thoſe ſix Books, was of *Tragilos*, a City of *Thracia*. *Caſaubon* ſhould have cenſured *Dalechamp*, for imagining, that *Athenæus* means *Aſclepiades* of *Myrlea*, in the Paſſage above cited. *Geſner* has fallen into the ſame Error (20). *Stephanus Byzantinus* would have juſtified ſuch a Cenſure. You will find in *Pinedo* two grand Miſtakes: I. He ſays, that *Aſclepiades* of *Myrlea*, a Diſciple of *Apollonius*, was a Grammarian, who taught at *Rome*, under *Pompey the Great*, and had lived, in his Youth, at *Alexandria*, under *Ptolomy* IV. II. He propoſes it as a Queſtion, whether he is the ſame *Aſclepiades*, who taught Grammar in *Turditania*, a Province of *Spain* (21). On the firſt Head, I muſt obſerve to him, that a Man, who had lived under *Ptolomy* IV, and had taught at *Rome*, in *Pompey*'s Time, would have been a Prodigy; for between the laſt Year of That *Ptolomy*, and the Death of *Mithridates*, who was vanquiſhed by *Pompey*, there are no leſs than an Hundred and forty Years. On the ſecond, I ſhall only obſerve, that *Strabo* plainly ſays, that *Aſclepiades*, of *Myrlea*, taught Grammar in *Turditania* (22). The Sieur *Pinedo* had obſerved it himſelf, in another Place (23). How comes he then to make a Query of it?

Let us examine, in two Words, an Obſervation of Father *Hardouin*. He ſays, that *Aſclepiades*, of *Pruſa*, was a Friend of *Cicero*, and proves it from a Paſſage of the firſt Book *De Oratore*. He quotes only a little part of it (24); but this is the whole Paſſage. “ Neque verò Aſclepiades is, quo nos medico amico- “ que uſi ſumus, tum quum eloquentiâ vincebat cæ- “ teros medicos, in eo ipſo quod ornatè dicebat, Medi “ cinæ facultate utebatur, non eloquentiæ (25). *Nor* “ *did* Aſclepiades, *who was both my Friend and Phyſi-* “ *cian, though he excelled all other Phyſicians in the* “ *Art of Speaking, make no uſe of his Eloquence, but* “ *only of his Phyſic.*” We ought to obſerve, that it is not *Cicero*, who ſpeaks, but the Orator *Craſſus*: *Aſclepiades* therefore was the Friend and Phyſician of *Craſſus*, and not of *Cicero*. Beſides, *Cicero* makes *Craſſus* ſpeak thus in the Year of *Rome* 662 (26), and mentions *Aſclepiades* as then dead. This furniſhes us with an Objection againſt *Pliny*, for ſaying, that *Aſclepiades*, gaining but little by the Profeſſion of Eloquence, turned Phyſician in the Time of *Pompey* (27). It is certain, that, in 662, *Pompey* was but a young Lad. See the following Remark, Number IV.

Jonſius ſuppoſes, that there were two *Aſclepiades*'s of *Myrlea*; that the firſt was a Diſciple of *Apollonius*, the Grammarian, and Author of a Book entituled φιλοσόφων βιβλίων διορθωτικά, *Philoſophorum librorum emendationes* (28). --- *Emendations of the Books of the Philoſophers*: And that the ſecond wrote ſome Books concerning Grammar and Grammarians (29). I cannot conceive upon what he can found this Diſtinction. The beſt Thing he can ſay for it is, that *Aſclepiades*, of *Myrlea*, refuted, in his Grammar, a Sentiment

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(10) Id. lib. 29. cap. 1.

(11) Id. ib. cap. 3. pag. 445.

(12) Jonſius de Script. Philoſoph. pag. 167.

(13) Pinedo, in Stephan. Byzant. pag. 479, n. 15, & pag. 757.

(14) Athen. lib. 10. 456.

(15) Caſaub. in Athen. pag. 769.

(16) Plut. in Vita Iſocrat. pag. 837, C.

(17) *Which confirms, that he took* Tragœdiæ Scriptor, *not for one who treats of Tragedy, but for a Writer of Tragedies.*

(18) Photii Biblioth. Cod. 260, pag. 1456.

(19) Steph. Byzant. verbo τράγιλος.

(20) Geſner in Biblioth. fol. 97.

(21) Pinedo, in Steph. Byzant. pag. 757.

(22) Strabo, lib. 3, pag. 108.

(23) Pinedo, in Steph. Byzant. pag. 479.

(24) Eloquens Medicus *dicitur Ciceroni*, lib. 1. de Orat. pag. 283. qui ſe eo medico & amico uſum eſſe gloriatur. *Hardouinus in Indice Autor. Plinii, pag.* 99.

(25) Cicero, lib. 1, de Orat. fol. 61. C.

(26) *See* Fabricius, in Vita Ciceronis, ad Ann. urbis 662.

(27) Plin. lib. 26, c. 3.

(28) Jonſius, de Script. Hiſt. Philoſ. pag. 167.

(29) Id. ib. pag. 205.

ſiderable [G]. There was another *Aſclepiades*, a famous Phyſician, under the Emperor *Adrian* [H].

Sentiment of *Dionyſius* of *Thrace*. "In iſto opere "Dionyſii Thracis de partibus Grammaticæ ſententiam refellit, teſte Sexto Empirico (30). —— *In "That Work, he confutes an Opinion of* Dionyſius, "*the* Thracian, *concerning the Parts of Grammar*, "*as* Sextus Empiricus *witneſſes*." This *Dionyſius*, according to *Suidas*, taught at *Rome* in *Pompey*'s Time, and had been a Diſciple of *Ariſtarchus*. It muſt therefore follow, you will ſay, that the *Aſclepiades*, who refuted him, was not He, who was a Diſciple of *Apollonius*. I grant the Conſequence; but I ſuſpect ſome ſmall Miſtake in *Suidas*. It ſeems to me, that a Diſciple of *Ariſtarchus* (31) would have been too old to teach in the Time of *Pompey* (32). I am therefore of Opinion, that *Dionyſius* of *Thrace*, the Diſciple of *Ariſtarchus*, did not live till *Pompey*'s Time. In which caſe it would be poſſible, that *Aſclepiades*, a Diſciple of *Apollonius*, might confute him; for this *Apollonius*, having been Keeper of the *Alexandrian* Library, after *Eratoſthenes* (33), who died in the Beginning of the CXLVIth Olympiad (34), might very well be cotemporary with *Ariſtarchus*, and have Diſciples at that time cotemporary with thoſe of *Ariſtarchus*. Conſequently there is no neceſſity for finding out another *Aſclepiades*, the Confuter of *Dionyſius* of *Thrace*, younger than *Aſclepiades*, the Diſciple of *Apollonius*. I cannot tell why *Voſſius* acquieſces ſo readily with *Suidas*'s joining the Character of a Diſciple of *Ariſtarchus* with That of Profeſſor at *Rome* in *Pompey*'s Time (35). He is juſtly cenſured for ſaying, that *Aſclepiades*, of *Alexandria*, wrote a Book about the People of *Attica*, and quoting the Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* to prove it. *Aſclepiades Alexandrinus* * τοὺς κατὰ δῆμον ἄρχοντας *conſignavit, ut autor Scholiaſtes Ariſtophanis in nubes* (36). *Jonſius* ſhews him, that the Scholiaſt ſays no more, than that *Aſclepiades* called the *Demarchs* τοὺς κατὰ τὸν δῆμον ἄρχοντας (37).

[G] *Thoſe of Mr* Moreri *are not very conſiderable.*] I. The Ancients do not aſcribe the Hiſtory of *Alexander* the Great, quoted by *Arian*, to *Aſclepiades* of *Myrlea*, as he affirms. II. His ſaying, *Strabo adds, that* Aſclepiades *of* Myrlea *had taught Grammar in* Spain, is making *Strabo* father the other Particulars, which *Moreri* had mentioned before. But this is groundleſs. III. He queſtions, without any manner of Reaſon, whether the Relation to *Spain* concerns another *Aſclepiades*; for *Strabo* affirms it expreſsly of *Aſclepiades* of *Myrlea*. IV. He ought not to have aſſerted ſo poſitively, that *Mithridates was at War with the* Romans, when he endeavoured to get *Aſclepiades* the Phyſician to his Court; for we have ſeen, above (38), that *Cicero* ſpeaks of This Phyſician as of one, who was not alive in the Year of *Rome* 662. at which time *Mithridates*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, had not made War with the People of *Rome*. This ſhews, that Mr *Moreri* might well be miſtaken, in affirming, that *Aſclepiades was in eſteem at* Rome *in the Time of* Pompey *the Great*; —— *that is to ſay, when That great Man was at the Head of the Republic*. Does he not place the Birth of This *Pompey* on *the laſt Day of* September, *of the Year of* Rome 648? How will he reconcile this with the Paſſage in *Cicero*, where *Aſclepiades* is mentioned? I know very well, he may ſhelter himſelf under the Authority of *Pliny*, and that *Jonſius* may be brought in for a Second. But how comes *Pliny* to be of more Credit, than *Cicero*? And can he be ſure, that *Jonſius* is not miſtaken? "Aſclepiades Medicus quidam" *behold a* quidam *very ill employed: This* Aſclepiades *is too famous to deſerve ſo ſlighting an Epithet* (39), "Pruſiacus "in Bithynia Philophyſicus cognomine ſub Pompeio "M. vixit teſte Strabone lib. 12. (40). —— Aſclepiades, *a certain Phyſician of* Pruſia, *in* Bithynia, *ſirnamed* Philophyſicus (*from his Love of Philoſophy*), "*lived under* Pompey *the Great, as* Strabo *teſtifies "in Book* 12." But I find nothing more in the twelfth Book of *Strabo*, than that *Aſclepiades*, of *Pruſa*, was a Phyſician (41). Father *Hardouin* has quoted *Strabo* (42), to prove this Point as well as *Jonſius*. V. The *Aſclepiades*, mentioned by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Iſocrates*, was not a *Tragic Poet* (43), as Mr *Moreri* affirms.

[H] *There was another* ASCLEPIADES, *a famous Phyſician, under the Emperor* Adrian.] He was of the ſame City as the former (44), and flouriſhed under *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus*; he was made free by one *Calpurnius*, and obtained the Rights of a *Roman* Citizen, and ſeveral other Privileges. We learn all this from an Inſcription: See the Letters of *Reineſius* (45). He wrote ſeveral Books about the Compoſitions of Medicines, both Internal, and External (46).

(30) Id. ib.

(31) Ariſtarchus *flouriſhed in the* CLVIth *Olympiad.*

(32) *He ended the War with* Mithridates, *in the* 179th *Olympiad.*

(33) Jonſ. de Script. Hiſt. Philoſoph. p. 149.

(34) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Græcis, pag. 108.

(35) Id. ib. pag. 148.

* *Populi Attici.*

(36) Id. ib. pag. 705.

(37) Jonſius, de Scriptor. Hiſtor. Philoſ. p. 207.

(38) *Citat.* (25), (26).

(39) *Compare this with what has been ſaid above, at the beginning of the Remark* [F], *of the Article* ARNAULD (ANTHONY) The Doctor.

(40) Jonſius, de Scriptor. Hiſtor. Philoſ. pag. 207.

(41) Pag. 390.

(42) Hard. in Indice, Autor. lib. 12, pag. 566.

(43) *See the preceeding Remark.*

(44) *Of* Pruſa *in* Bythinia.

(45) Epiſt. Reineſii ad Hoffmannum & Rupertum, pag. 394.

(46) Ibid. pag. 395.

ASPASIA of *Miletus*, Miſtreſs to *Pericles*. We ſhall give her Hiſtory in the Remark [*M*] of the Article PERICLES.

ASPASIA of *Phocea*, Miſtreſs to *Cyrus* the younger. We ſhall give her Hiſtory in the Remark [*C*] of the Article of That Prince.

ASTYANAX, the only Son of *Hector* and *Andromache* [*A*], gave the *Greeks* Uneaſineſs in the midſt of their Victories, tho' he was then but an Infant. Being hindred, by contrary Winds, from returning home after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, *Calchas* declared, they ought to throw *Aſtyanax* headlong from the Top of the Walls, becauſe, if he lived to Man's Eſtate, he would not fail to revenge the Death of his Father, and even exceed him in Valour. Whereupon *Ulyſſes* went to ſearch for him; and having found him, notwithſtanding all the care his Mother took to hide him, he executed the Sentence *Calchas* had pronounced (*a*). Others ſay, that *Menelaus* was the Executioner (*b*). Others attribute his Death to *Pyrrhus* alone, without intimating, that the *Greeks*, or *Calchas*, had judged it neceſſary (*c*). However it be, the Poets, and Writers of Romances, found means to reſtore him to Life again, or rather to make him eſcape out of the Hands of the *Greeks* [*B*].

(*a*) Servius in Æn. lib. 3. ver. 489.

(*b*) Id. lib. 2. ver. 457.

(*c*) Pauſan. lib. 10.

[*A*] *He was the only Son of* Hector *and* Andromache.] *Homer* affirms This expreſsly; for, without queſtion, they, who tranſlate Ἑκτορίδην ἀγαπητὸν (1), *the only Son of* Hector, are in the right; ſo the Scholiaſt underſtands it. The Grief of *Andromache*, in the Twenty ſecond Book of the *Iliad*, plainly ſhews, that ſhe had only This Son. *Hector* gave him the Name of *Scamandrius*, and the *Trojans* called him *Aſtyanax*, becauſe *Hector* was the ſole Defence of the City (2).

[*B*] *The Poets, and Writers of Romances, found means to reſtore him to life again, or rather to make him eſcape out of the Hands of the* Greeks.] They have ſaid, that the ſame Son of *Hector*, whoſe Name was *Aſtyanax*, or *Scamander*, was called, alſo, *Francion*, and that from him the Kings of *France* are derived (3). The *Manetho* of *Annius* of *Viterbo* makes *Francus*, the Son of *Hector*, King of the *Celtæ*, that is, of the *Gauls*. The Forger of That Piece, in his Notes, cites *Vincent* of *Beauvais*, who ſays, that This *Francus*, retiring among the *Gauls*, after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, became ſo great a Favourite of the King, that He married his Daughter, and ſucceeded him in his Crown. I do not find, in *Manetho* (4), what *Du Pleix* quotes from him, *viz.* that *Francus* ſucceeded *Rhemus*, King of the *Gauls*, whoſe Daughter he

(1) Homer. Il. lib. 6, ver. 401.

(2) Ibid. ver. 403, *and* lib. 22, ver. 507.

(3) *See* Ronſard, *at the beginning of his* Franciade.

(4) Antwerp *Edit. in* 8vo. 1552.

he had married (5). Neither do I find it in the Commentator upon *Manetho*. *Du Pleix* adds, that *Tritbemius, alledging as his Authority*, Hunnibaud, *who lived under* Clovis I. *and who names, for his Authors*, Dorac, *and* Waſthald, *two* Scythian *Hiſtorians*, ſays, that *Hector* had two Sons, one of which, called *Aſtyanax*, or *Scamander*, periſhed at the taking of *Troy, the other, named* Laodamas (6), *or* Francion, *eſcaped out of the Enemies Hands, and fled, with a great Number of* Trojans, *into* Pæonia, *which was afterwards called* Pannonia; and that, being kindly received *by the King of the* Pæonians, *he ſettled in that Country*, on the Frontiers of *Scythia*, and there built the City of *Sicambria*, where he, and his Poſterity, reigned, 'till the Days of King *Antenor*, who was killed by the *Goths*, Four hundred and twenty Years before CHRIST. The Violences of the *Goths* obliged the *Trojans*, or *Sicambrians*, to retire into *Germany*, where they divided themſelves into two Branches: one of which, afterwards, founded the *French* Monarchy among the *Gauls*; the other remained in *Germany*, and there founded *Franconia*, or *Eaſtern France*. What Chimæras are theſe! Mr *Moreri*, not conſidering, that the Authors of theſe Legends are charged with a ſufficient Number of Falſities, fathers upon them others, which they never advanced. He aſcribes to *the falſe* Manetho, *and to other Authors of that Stamp, the making* Francion, *or* Francis (7), *the Son of* Hector, *the firſt King of the* Gauls. But they are ſo far from ſaying This, that they affirm, that the King of the *Gauls* gave him his Daughter. Beſides, how thoughtleſs is it to deſcribe *Andromache* only as the Mother of this *Francion*, and never once to mention her undoubted Son *Aſtyanax*! Theſe are two Faults in *Moreri*; to which we ſhall add a third. He ſays, that *Aſtyanax* was thrown down, headlong, from the Walls, by order of *Ulyſſes*, and quotes for it *Virgil*'s *Æneid*. Now this Poet has ſaid nothing like it in all his Works.

(5) Du Pleix, Memoires des Gaules, lib. 2, cap. 24.

(6) Dictys Cretenſis, *in his 6th Book, ſays, that* Pyrrhus *took* Laodamas, *the Son of* Hector *and* Andromache, *Priſoner.*

(7) *This is an ill Tranſlation of the proper Name* Francus.

ATHENAGORAS, an *Athenian* Philoſopher, flouriſhed after the middle of the IId Century: He was a learned Man, and very zealous for Chriſtianity. All Which appeared from the Apology, which he addreſſed to the Emperors *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, and *Lucius Aurelius Commodus*. This happened, according to *Baronius* (*a*), in the Year 179; or, according to Mr *Dodwell* (*b*), in the Year 168. It is no eaſy matter to give a Satisfactory Proof, that the laſt Opinion is more probable, than the firſt [*A*]. I find all agree, that *Athenagoras* was deputed by the Chriſtians to the Imperial

(*a*) Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. Tom. 2. pag. 226, ad ann. 179. n. 39, 40.

(*b*) Dodwel. Differt. Cyprian. 11. n. 37, 38. pag. 261, & ſeq.

[*A*] *He preſented* —— *his Apology in the Year* 179, —— *or in* 168. —— *It is not eaſy to prove, that the laſt Opinion is more probable, than the firſt.*] Many Reaſons are alledged on both ſides. Theſe are Mr *Dodwell*'s (1). The Apology of *Athenagoras* is addreſſed to two Emperors, to whom the Author gives the Titles of *Armeniacis, Sarmaticis, & quod maximum eſt, Philoſophis*. This is applicable to *Marcus Aurelius*, and to his Brother *Lucius Aurelius*, but not to his Son *Lucius Aurelius*. He was never called Philoſopher; And the ſecond Apology of *Juſtin* ſhews That Title to have been common to *Lucius Aurelius*, and to his Brother, *Marcus Aurelius*. *Hunc Titulum cum Marco Lucium verum habuiſſe communem conſtat è ſecundâ Apologiâ Juſtini* (2). Father *Pagi, Diſſertat. Hypat.* pag. 216. makes uſe of the ſame Argument, and quotes *Euſebius*, lib. 4. cap. 12. Now this *Lucius Aurelius* died towards the end of the Year 169. So that the Apology muſt have been preſented before That time. I wave the particular Reaſons, which induced Mr *Dodwell* to make choice of the Year 168 for the *Epocha* of This Work. It is objected againſt him, that the Complement of *Sarmaticus* cannot belong to *Lucius Aurelius*, who died before the *Sarmatæ* were attacked; but he anſwers, that this might be a Slip of the Tranſcriber, inſtead of That of *Parthicus*, which was given to the two Brothers, together with That of *Armeniacus*, after the War of *Armenia* (3). He adds, that the profound Peace, on which *Athenagoras* congratulates the Emperors (4), cannot agree with the time of *Marcus Aurelius*, and his Son reigning together. He makes no anſwer to the chief Objection; and yet ſomething may be ſaid to it, as will appear preſently. We muſt not forget his Obſervation, that *Athenagoras* intimates, that his Apology was made in the ſame Olympiad, that *Peregrinus* burnt himſelf (5). This Action of *Peregrinus*, according to Meſſieurs *Dodwell*, and *de Tillemont* (6), belongs to the Year 165; but *Scaliger* places it in the Year 166 (7). He grounds his Notions on this, that *Peregrinus* exhibited this Spectacle during the Celebration of the Olympic Games. He is of opinion, that *Athenagoras*'s Work was preſented to the Emperors in the ſame Olympiad: His Reaſon is, becauſe *Peregrinus* threw himſelf into the Fire three Years before the Death of *Lucius Verus*, one of Thoſe Emperors. This Argument is preferable to Mr *Dodwell*'s, grounded on the Words of *Athenagoras*; for they note only the Place, and not the Time, of this Man's burning himſelf. Περὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν (8); *Near the City* Olympia. See Mr *de Tillemont* (9). The Proof, drawn from the profound Peace of the Empire, is of ſuch a Nature, that it ſerves both Parties: Cardinal *Baronius* makes uſe of it, to ſhew, that the Apology could not have been preſented under the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*'s Brother, nor in any other time, but in 179 (10). Mr *de Tillemont* does not rightly underſtand This Cardinal's Argument, ſince he repreſents him as inferring, *that This Apology muſt have been written in the Year* [176, *or*] 177, *becauſe it intimates, that the Empire was then in profound Peace* (11).

Theſe are the principal Reaſons of Thoſe, who pretend, that the Apology of *Athenagoras* was not preſented before the Year 177, which was That of the Promotion of *Commodus*, the Son of *Marcus Aurelius*, to the Dignity of *Auguſtus* (12). They maintain, that He, who is aſſociated with *Marcus Aurelius*, in the Inſcription of the Apology, was the Son, and not the Brother of That Emperor; and prove it from the Words, which compare theſe two Princes to God the Father, and God the Son. “ Ipſa quidem oratio longè validius nobis præbet argumen- “ tum. *Vos quidem*, ſubjicit Vir diſertus, *in ſumma* “ *Imperii Majeſtate adeo conjunctis animis orbem re-* “ *gitis, ut inde Cæleſtis etiam Regni contemplationem* “ *animo quis complecti queat. Ut Vobis enim Patri* “ *& filio in poteſtate ſunt omnia, regno in Vos di-* “ *vinitus collocato, (Regis enim Anima, inquit Spiri-* “ *tus Propheticus, in manu Dei eſt) ſic uni Deo &* “ *Filio ejus, hoc eſt Verbo, ſubjecta ſunt omnia.* Nullus “ hic eſt cavillationibus locus: Imperatores non tan- “ tum alloquitur, ſed etiam comparationem inſtituit “ duos inter terrenos Reges, quibus omnia humani- “ tus loquendo parebant, ac ſummum Cœli & Terræ “ Dominum, qui ſimul cum ſuo Unigenito Imperii “ Orbis univerſi habenas moderatur (13). —— *The* “ *Apology itſelf furniſhes us with a much ſtronger* “ *Argument*. Your Imperial Majeſties, *ſays the learn-* “ *ed Author*, govern the World with ſuch perfect “ Harmony, as in ſome ſort reſembles That of the Cœ- “ leſtial Government. For, as the ſupream Power on “ Earth is, by the Grant of Heaven, (*the Life of* “ *Kings*, as the Prophet ſays, *being in the Hand* “ *of God*,) committed to your Majeſties, Father, “ and Son; ſo the ſupream Power of the Univerſe “ is lodged in one God, the Father, and his Son, the “ Word. *Here is no room for Controverſy: he not* “ *only addreſſes the Emperors, but alſo makes a Com-* “ *pariſon betwixt two earthly Kings, to whom all* “ *things, humanly ſpeaking, are ſubject, and the ſu-* “ *pream Governor of Heaven and Earth, who, together* “ *with his only begotten Son, commands the Univerſe.*” See how ſtrongly Mr *de Larroque* has ſtated this Argument. Mr *de Tillemont* has ſeconded it with another Paſſage. “ *Athenagoras* † tells Thoſe two Princes, “ he wiſhes, *that the Son may ſucceed the Father:* “ ἵνα παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς διαδέχησθε τὴν βα- “ σίλειαν. [He ſpeaks, therefore, to a Father, and

“ a Son,

(1) Dodwel Diſſert. Cyprian 11, n. 37.

(2) Id. ib. pag. 262.

(3) Capitol. in Vitâ Marci Aurelii, cap. 9, pag. 325.

(4) Ἡ σύμπασα οἰκουμένη τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ συνέσει βαθείας εἰρήνης ἀπολαύουσιν --- *The whole World, by the Wiſdom of your Government, enjoys a profound Peace.* Athen. pag. 14.

(5) *This was the 236th.*

(6) Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 2. pag. 758.

(7) Scal. Animad. in Euſeb. n. 2182, pag. 220.

(8) Athenag. pag. 244.

(9) Tillemont. Hiſt. des Emp. Tom. 2. pag. 1067.

(10) Baron. ad Ann. 179, n. 40. pag. 226.

(11) Tillemont. Hiſt. des Emp. pag. 1066.

(12) Mr de Larroque, *following* Euſebius, *has placed this Promotion under the Year* 179. Daniel Larroquanus Matthæi filius, Diſſert. de Legione fulminatrice, p. 648.

(13) Id ib. pag. 649.

† Athenag. Leg. pag. 40, *a*.

perial Court, and that he actually preſented their Apology [*B*]; but there is Room to

“ a Son, of whom the firſt only governed the Empire, though the other might have the Title of Emperor; that is to ſay, to *M. Aurelius*, and his Son *Commodus*, and not to two Brothers, who reigned in Conjunction. It is yet clearer in another place †, where he ſays, *All is ſubmitted to your Majeſties, to the Father and the Son:* ὡς ὑμῖν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ πάντα κεχείρωται· which Father *Pagi* ‖ had no other way of getting over, but by ſaying, that *Athenagoras* will have *Lucius* to be the Son of *M. Aurelius*, though he was only his Brother, purely to make a more exact Alluſion to the two Perſons of the Trinity, the Father, and the Son (14).” Father *Pagi* has made uſe of an Evaſion, in this Place, which is not likely to do much Miſchief. He had better have ſaid, that *Athenagoras* was not ignorant, that *Lucius Aurelius* had married the Daughter of *Marcus Aurelius*, and that, therefore, as he addreſſed himſelf to the Father-in-law, and Son-in-law, he might juſtly conſider them as Father, and Son. It is thus, in effect, that Father *Pagi* has anſwered this Objection (15). He obſerves, alſo, that Mr *Toinard* is of the ſame Sentiment. The other Paſſage, which Mr *de Tillemont* quotes, is not concluſive: we may underſtand it in this Senſe; *We put up our Prayers for your Empire, that the Son may recieve it from the Father, as Juſtice requires.* Περὶ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐχόμεθα, ἵνα παῖς μὲν παρὰ πατρὸς κατὰ τὸ δικαιότατον διαδέχησθε τὴν βασιλείαν (16). This Thought is very reaſonable, whether we ſuppoſe the Apology addreſſed to *Marcus Aurelius*, and his Brother, or to *Marcus Aurelius*, and his Son. It is a Prayer, which, according to *Baronius*, does not reſpect *Commodus*, who was, already, aſſociated in the Empire, but his Deſcendants. It is a Wiſh, that *Marcus Aurelius*'s Family might always poſſeſs the Imperial Dignity, according to the Order of lawful Succeſſion, in a direct Line. Note, that Father *Pagi* quotes this Prayer as a Proof, that the Son of *Marcus Aurelius* was not yet Emperor. I ſhall, in another Place (17), confute the Inference, which is drawn from what *Athenagoras* has ſaid of one *Alexander*.

We may conclude two things from all this: Firſt, That the Foundation of the Controverſy is, that one ſide makes the Brother of *Marcus Aurelius*, the other his Son, to be his Partner in the Empire. Secondly, That their Arguments, on both ſides, are far from concluſive, ſince the Diſpute continues yet undecided. *Scaliger* (18), Father *Labbé* (19), Father *Pagi*, Mr *Dodwell*, Mr *Chevreau* (20), &c. are for the Brother: *Suffridus Petri* (21), *Baronius*, *Petavius* (22), Mr *du Pin* (23), Mr *de Larroque*, Mr *de Tillemont*, and ſeveral other learned Men, are for the Son.

Let us obſerve, by the way, a Miſtake of *Grotius. Floruit Athenagoras*, ſays he (24), *circa ann. Chriſti* 190, *ut ex libri inſcriptione apparet*. This is not juſt; for, *Marcus Aurelius* being dead in the Year 180, the Title of a Book, dedicated to him, can never prove, that the Author flouriſhed towards the Year 190.

[*B*] *It is agreed, that* Athenagoras *was deputed ---- to the Court —— and that he actually preſented their Apology; but there is Room to doubt of theſe Facts.*] Theſe are the Words of *Baronius*. “Orientis quoque Eccleſias eâdem eſſe clade vexatas, LEGATIO pro illis ab Athenagorâ Athenienſi —— tunc ad Imperatores SUSCEPTA, & Apologia pro eiſdem tunc ſcripta ac dictis principibus OBLATA, manifeſtam certamque fidem faciunt (25). —— *That the Eaſtern Churches were under the ſame Perſecution, the* DEPUTATION, *then* UNDERTAKEN, *on their Behalf, by* Athenagoras, *the* Athenian, *to the Emperors, and the Apology compoſed for them, and* PRESENTED *to thoſe Princes, ſufficiently demonſtrate.*” Father *Labbé* expreſſes himſelf as fully. “LEGATIONEM SUSCEPIT pro Chriſtianis inter annum 165 —— & annum 170 —— non deſunt tamen qui anno dumtaxat 177 OBLATUM librum illum Imperatoribus aſſerant (26). —— HE UNDERTOOK A DEPUTATION *for the Chriſtians, betwixt the Year* 165, *and* 170. *But there are ſome, who affirm, the Apology was not* PRESENTED *till the Year* 177.” Mr *Moreri*, tranſlating this Paſſage of Father *Labbé*, uſes theſe Words. *He preſented an excellent Apology for the* Faithful *to the Emperor* Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. —— *He had been Deputy at* Rome *for the Chriſtians, from the Year* 165, *to* 170. He did not rightly underſtand his Original; for the Words of Father *Labbé* do not ſignify, that the Deputation of *Athenagoras* laſted from the Year 165, to 170, but that it happened in ſome part of That Interval. They, who know the frequent Journies of the *Roman* Emperors in thoſe Days, would never venture to expoſe themſelves, by affirming, that This, or That, Perſon was deputed to them at *Rome*, without being very well aſſured of it. It muſt be allowed therefore, that Mr *Moreri* has quitted his Guide a little too unadviſedly, in determining both the Duration and Place of this Deputation; when Father *Labbé* has not ſaid one Word of either. Mr *Dodwell*, who conjectures, that *Athenagoras* diſcharged this Deputation (27), upon the Return of the Emperor *Lucius Verus* to *Rome*, to triumph there (28), is not in the leaſt concerned in this little Criticiſm, in Regard to his determining the Place; becauſe he has not done it, without a very learned Deduction of proper Circumſtances. But I can hardly agree with him, that This Chriſtian Philoſopher did really ever diſcharge this Deputation at all.

My firſt Reaſon is taken from the Silence of all the Ancients. Is it poſſible, that ſuch a Deputation, which the Circumſtance of the Time, the Merit of the Deputy, and the Strength of the Apology preſented to the Emperors, muſt have made ſo memorable, ſhould never be once mentioned by any one Author? In the ſecond place, It does not ſeem probable, that, when the Chriſtian Name was ſo hated and perſecuted, *Athenagoras* ſhould preſent himſelf at the Imperial Court, as deputed by That Body, or that he ſhould obtain Audience there, and even deliver to the Emperors a long Writing, in which, notwithſtanding his reſpectful Moderation, he repreſents the *Pagan* Religion in ſo ridiculous and ſcandalous a Light, as would have been moſt likely to have inflamed the Rage of the Perſecutors. I ſhall add, that the Title of This Writing, the ſtrongeſt Proof that can be urged againſt me, is, in my Opinion, no Proof. Ἀθηναγόρου Ἀθηναίου φιλοσόφου Χριστιανοῦ πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν: *The Deputation of* Athenagoras *the Athenian, the Chriſtian Philoſopher, in behalf of the Chriſtians.* This is the Title of the Piece. But, you may, if you pleaſe, obſerve, I. That ſome Manuſcripts, after πρεσβεία, add ἢ ἀπολογία, *or Apology* (29); and that others, inſtead of πρεσβεία, read ἀπολογία. II. That the Word πρεσβεία not only ſignifies an Embaſſy, or Deputation, but alſo an Addreſs, or Petition; Τὴν πρεσβείαν *non modo* Legationem, *ſed &* Deprecationem *ac* Supplicationem *apud Græcos ſignificare notum eſt* (30). III. That the Title of *Embaſſy* is not given to an Embaſſador's Speech, but to the whole Account of his Negociations. So that it would be very improper to take the word πρεσβεία here for Embaſſy. Laſtly, I obſerve, that Mr *de Tillemont* expreſſes himſelf differently from other Writers. *It appears plainly*, ſays he (31), *that the Faith was then perſecuted in the Eaſt, ſeeing* Athenagoras *was obliged to compoſe an Apology there, under the Title of* A Legation for the Chriſtians, *which he addreſt to both the* Auguſtus's. He does not mention any Journey, or Deputation, or the preſenting of any Apology to the Emperors; he ſpeaks only of a Piece compoſed in the Author's Study, and addreſt to *Marcus Aurelius*, &c. Every body knows the difference between a Writing actually given into the Hands of a Monarch, and a Writing only addreſt to This Monarch. I confeſs, Mr *de Tillemont*'s Authority ſeems here to be very good: for he lays it down as a Rule, not to extend the Teſtimonies of Authors beyond what they clearly import; And he keeps himſelf ſcrupulouſly within the limits of his Proofs. From whence I infer, that he found no manner of ground for This Deputation of *Athenagoras*, nor for the actual preſenting of his Apologetical Writing.

To reduce what I think of this matter into a narrow Compaſs, I am not aſhamed to own, that I take *Athenagoras* to have been like thoſe modern Writers, who, without ſtirring out of their Studies, have ſpread Pieces of their own compoſing all the World over, under to doubt of theſe Facts; and we may with a great deal of probability believe the ſame Thing of This Writing, which was known to be true of an infinite Number of Petitions of the Proteſtants in *France*, which have been printed without ever being preſented to the Prince [*C*]. I cannot imagine on what ground *Athenagoras* is ſaid to have been a Prieſt (*c*). It is ſomething ſurprizing, that he ſhould be unknown to *Euſebius*, St *Jerome*, and to almoſt all the other Fathers; for we find him no where quoted, except in a Work of St *Epiphanius* [*D*]. He was not entirely clear from Heterodoxy [*E*]; but, this excepted, the two Pieces, which we have of his, are very valuable (*d*). The

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† Ibid. pag. 17, *d.*

‖ Pagi, 177, § 8.

(14) Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 2. pag. 1066.

(15) Pagi, in Baron. ad Ann. 177.

(16) Athenag. ſub fin. pag. 318.

(17) *In the Article* PARIS.

(18) Scalig. Animadv. in Euſeb. num. 1282, pag. 820.

(19) Labbé de Script. Eccleſ. Tom. 1. pag. 123.

(20) Chevr. Hiſt. de Monde, Tom. 2. pag. 533, *of the firſt* Holland *Edition, fixes the preſenting the Apology in the Year* 165. *Mr* de Larroque, *in his* Diſſert. de Legione fulmin. p. 648, *repreſents him as placing it in the Year* 175. *Perhaps he made uſe of ſome other Edition.*

(21) Suffrid. Petri Comment. in Athenag. pag. 100. *He pitches upon the Year* 179.

(22) Petav. apud Pagi Diſſert. Hypat. pag. 116. *He chooſes the Year* 177.

(23) Du Pin, Biblioth. p. 176, apud Larroquanum, Diſſert. de Legione fulmin. *He takes the Year* 178.

(24) Grotius de Verit. Relig. Chriſtian. p. 128, apud Larroquan. ibid.

(25) Baronius ad Ann. 179, n. 39. pag. 226.

(26) Labbé, Diſſert. de Script. Eccl. Tom. 1. pag. 123, 124.

(27) Legatum egit pro Chriſtianis. *Dodwell. Diſſert. Cyprian.* 11. *n.* 37. *pag.* 261.

(28) Id. ib.

(29) *See the Commentary of* Suffridus Petri in Athenagor. Apolog. p. 91.

(30) Adam Rechenberg. Not. in Athenagor. pag. 2.

(31) Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 2, pag. 756, 757, *Edit. of* Bruſſels.

under the Title of *A Petition of the Proteſtants preſented to the King*. They, who ſhall read theſe Compoſitions an hundred Years hence, will not queſtion but that they were actually preſented; but we know better. We know, there was handed about, in 1680, a printed Piece, which had all the Air of a Petition, actually preſented to the King of *France* by Thoſe of the Proteſtant Religion (32). An infinite Number of People in foreign Countries, and in the Provinces remote from *Paris*, believed it. Yet I am credibly informed, that it never was preſented, and it is certain, that the Deputies of the Churches, who drew it up, diſowned the Publication of it. There appeared in Print another ſuch Piece, during the Conferences at *Ryſwick*, in the Year 1697, which was handed about without being owned; but which may one Day be placed among authentic Acts, ſince it does not appear from the Petition itſelf, that it was not actually delivered into the Hands of *Lewis* XIV. Without doubt the Primitive Chriſtians acted in the ſame manner. They compoſed Writings, addreſſed to the Emperors, and publiſhed them, in hopes that ſome of the Copies might come to the Hands of Thoſe Princes, and incline them to put a ſtop to their Perſecutions, by ſhewing the Accuſations to be falſe. To conclude, I am perſwaded, *Athenagoras* did, in the IId Century, what *Calvin* did in the XVIth. *Calvin*, lurking in a little Chamber at *Baſil*, dedicated his *Chriſtian Inſtitution* to *Francis* I, which neither He, nor any Body elſe, ever preſented to him.

It ought not to be concealed, that, the very Day I finiſhed this Remark, I communicated it to Mr *Cockburn* (33), who offered immediately to conſult Mr *Dodwell* upon it. He has done me the favour to communicate to me the Anſwer he received, which is full of excellent Learning, in ſupport of Arguments, brought in favour of the Sentiment I have now been oppoſing. Theſe Arguments have ſome Weight. The Letter of That learned Man deſerves to be printed, and I would willingly have inſerted it here, if I had had his Permiſſion; but, not having That, I ought alſo to deprive myſelf of the Liberty of the Diſpute.

[*C*] *An infinite Number of Petitions of the Proteſtants in* France, *have been printed without ever being preſented to the Prince.*] The Public is ſo well apprized of this, that it were a very needleſs Task to go about to prove it. But, as for what concerns the Petition, which was handed about in the Year 1680, I have reaſon to believe, that my Readers will imagine I have gone too far, in denying, that it was ever preſented. Therefore it is but juſt, that I ſhould give my Reaſons. I begin, by diſtinguiſhing this Petition from ſeveral others, which were drawn up at different Times; and I ſay it is the ſame, which was confuted by a Prieſt, called *Soulier*. The Anſwer, which he gave to it, was printed without his Name. This Anſwer is mentioned in Page 6 of *The laſt Efforts of oppreſſed Innocence*, and in Page 305 of the *Hiſtory of the Edicts of Pacification* (34), and in Volume III of *the Hiſtory of the Edict of* Nantes. (35). In this laſt Book is alſo found a Summary of This Anſwer, as of a Writing, whoſe Author was unknown. This Hiſtorian of the Edict of *Nantes* affirms (36), that the Petition was preſented, and adds, *It happened, I know not how, that, ſome time after, it was printed, and publickly diſperſed abroad.* I believe he is miſtaken, and that it was printed and diſperſed, before it could be preſented. Now after it had appeared in public, to be ſure the King never received it. See, in the Life of Mr *du Boſc*, how the Council was offended, becauſe the Deputies of The Proteſtants had publiſhed a Petition, which they had preſented, but which the King had not yet anſwered (37). This Prince *was ſo diſpleaſed at the printing of This Petition, that he condemned it without ſeeing it*, and ordered two of the Deputies to be clapt into the Baſtile (38). This paſſed about the Year 1671. How is it probable then, that, nine Years after, that is to ſay, at a Time, when things were much worſe, the Deputies of the Churches durſt publiſh a Petition, after having preſented it to the King, and before the receiving his Anſwer? The Author of the Hiſtory of the Edict of *Nantes* might elude this, by maintaining, that the Miſſionaries got the Petition of the Proteſtants printed. This, though poſſible, is againſt all Probability. But here is a Fact which is more home to the purpoſe. In a very little time, after This Petition was ſeen in public, Mr *Jurieu* compoſed a Book, wherein he ſpeaks of it only as of a Petition, THAT WAS DESIGNED *to be preſented* (39). Does he not deſerve more Credit in ſuch a Point, than the Hiſtorian of the Edict of *Nantes*, who did not write 'till many Years after This Event? Upon obſerving the Difference between theſe Writers, I cauſed three of the chief Deputies of the Churches to be conſulted, and particularly Him, who paſſes for the Author of the Petition. The Anſwers, which I received from them, agree perfectly in this, that they do not remember whether it was preſented or not. They excuſed their Forgetfulneſs, by reaſon of the great Number of Affairs, which then paſſed through their Hands, and the long, and very troubleſome, Time, that has elapſed ſince. I have no reaſon, then, to fear, that any reaſonable Perſon will accuſe me of Raſhneſs, in taking up with this Opinion; for, beſides the Proofs I have alledged, I remember, that the freſheſt, and, as it were, original Tradition, was, which Mr *Jurieu* has alſo followed, that the Petition was publiſhed without ever being preſented by the Deputies.

[*D*] *We find him no where quoted, except in a Work of St* Epiphanius.] We muſt even correct the Text, to make out this Quotation of him: Τί ἂν ὁ Διάβολος λέξεται; πνεῦμα περὶ τὴν ὕλην ἔχον, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη, ὦ Ἀθηναγόρα, γενόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (40). *What then ſhall we underſtand the Devil to be? A Spirit converſant about Matter, as it has been ſaid,* O Athenagoras! *created by God.* This is what the Editions of *Epiphanius* ſay; and, according to this, it ought rather to be underſtood of another *Athenagoras*, who had been introduced, as one of the Speakers, in the Dialogue, from which *Epiphanius* gives ſome Extracts. Now it is a Dialogue, compoſed by *Methodius* againſt *Origen*, and in which *Methodius* is one of the Interlocutors. But the Critics have very juſtly conjectured, that, inſtead of ὦ Ἀθηναγόρα, we ought to read τῷ Ἀθηναγόρᾳ, *by Athenagoras* (41).

[*E*] *He was not entirely clear from Heterodoxy.*] He admits two ſorts of bad Angels; the one comprehends thoſe, whom God created, and who acquitted themſelves ill in the Commiſſion, which was given them, to govern Matter, and to preſide over the Production of Forms; the other comprehends thoſe, which the former begot by carnal Converſation with Women: It comprehends, I ſay, the Souls of Giants, who were begot by This Copulation (42). *Suffridus Petri* obſerves, that *Athenagoras* ſupports his Hypotheſis by two Paſſages of Scripture, which he has miſunderſtood. "Teſtimonia ſunt potiſſimum duo, ſed male intellecta, quibus niti videtur Athenagoras (43). — *The principal Authorities, which* Athenagoras *ſeems to build upon, are two, but both miſunderſtood.*" He miſunderſtands, and miſapplies, much in the ſame manner, That Paſſage of the Goſpel, which condemns thoſe, who repudiate one Wife to marry another; for he makes uſe of it to condemn ſecond Marriages, which he calls, without mincing the Matter, a ſpecious Adultery. Ἢ οἷος τις ἐτέχθη, μένειν, ἢ ἐφ᾽ ἑνὶ γάμῳ. Ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος, εὐπρεπής ἐστι μοιχεία. ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἀπολύσῃ, φησὶ, τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην, μοιχᾶται·

οὔτε

(*c*) *Father* Labbé, Diſſert. de Script. Eccleſ. Tom. 1. pag. 65, *affirms it, and ſo does* Moreri.

(*d*) *The other is a Treatiſe* de Reſurrectione.

(32) *See the following Remark.*

(33) *He is a* Scotchman, *a Doctor of Divinity, the Author of ſome* Engliſh *Books againſt* Bourignoniſme.

(34) *Of the* Holland, *Edition* 1682. *The Sieur* Soulier *is Author of this Hiſtory, and has put his Name to it. He has owned himſelf Author of the Anſwer to the Petition.* Ib. pag. 305.

(35) Lib. 16. pag. 404, *and the following.*

(36) Ibid.

(37) Life of Mr *du Boſc*, pag. 81.

(38) Ibid.

(39) *See the* Derniers Efforts de l'Innocence opprimée, p. 6.

(40) Epiphan. adverſ. Hæreſ. n. 64. p. 544. Tom. 1.

(41) Paulus Leopardus, Emendat. lib. 19. c. 9. Petavius in Epiphan. adverſ. Hæreſ. 64. n. 21. p. 260, 261.

(42) Athenag. p. 227, & ſeq.

(43) Suffrid. Petri in Athenag. Apolog. p. 318.

The Stile of them is good, and *Attic* enough, but a little too much clogged with Parentheſes, and Tranſpoſitions. They have been printed a great many times, as may be ſeen in Mr *du Pin*, who has, nevertheleſs, forgot ſome Editions [*F*]. I ſhall mention a Romance

οὔτε ἀπολύειν ἐπιτρέπων ἧς ἔπαυσέ τις τὴν παρθενίαν, οὔτε ἐπιγαμεῖν. ὁ γὰρ ἀποστερῶν ἑαυτὸν τῆς προτέρας γυναικὸς, καὶ εἰ τέθνηκε, μοιχός ἐστι παρακεκαλυμμένος, παραβαίνων μὲν τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ θεὸς ἕνα ἄνδρα ἔπλασε καὶ μίαν γυναῖκα (44). *Let every one either continue in the ſame State he was born in, or content himſelf with once marrying. For a ſecond Marriage is but a ſpecious Adultery. For the Scripture ſays,* Whoſoever ſhall put away his Wife, and marry another, committeth Adultery. *Neither permitting the putting away of Her, whoſe Virginity has been enjoyed, nor the marrying of another. And whoſoever quits his firſt Marriage, although his Wife be dead, is in ſome meaſure an Adulterer, by exceeding God's own Appointment, who, in the Beginning, made one Man, and one Woman.* You ſee he impoſes the ſame Law on all Men, which God preſcribed to the chief Prieſt alone; if they will marry, it muſt be only with a Maid (45). He is not contented, that they have their Virginity themſelves, but will alſo have them chooſe none but Virgins for their Wives. But this is erring conſiſtently; Becauſe, if ſecond Marriages were criminal, it would be criminal even for a Bachelor to marry a Widow, and every time he diſcharges the matrimonial Duty would be committing a freſh Crime. For this would be cauſing his Wife to ſin, and, according to the Rules of Morality, whoſoever cauſes others to ſin ſins himſelf. The ſame may be ſaid of a Maid, who ſhould marry a Widower. *I don't know,* ſays Mr *de Tillemont* (46), *Whether the Expreſſion* * *which* Athenagoras *uſes concerning the Prophets, at a time, when the Extaſies of* Montanus *began to trouble the Church, may not give ground to ſuſpect, that he was engaged in That Party. However, neither* Scultetus, *nor* Mr du Pin, † *have obſerved That Place to be liable to any bad Conſtruction.* I do not find, that there is the leaſt Reaſon to ſuſpect him of Montaniſm on this Account. How many of the Orthodox are there, who believe, that the ancient Prophets were in Extaſies, and that their Tongues, or their Pens, were the Inſtruments of the Holy Ghoſt? What then could they find fault with in theſe words of *Athenagoras?* Νομίζω καὶ ὑμᾶς —— οὐκ ἀνοήτους γεγονέναι οὔτε τῶν Μωσέως, οὔτε τῶν Ἡσαΐου καὶ Ἰερεμίου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προφητῶν, οἳ κατ᾽ ἔκστασιν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς λογισμῶν κινήσαντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, ἃ ἐνηργοῦντο ἐξεφώνησαν· συγχρησαμένου τοῦ πνεύματος, ὡσεὶ καὶ αὐλητὴς αὐλὸν ἐμπνεῦσαι (47). *I ſuppoſe that even you —— are not ignorant of the Tranſactions either of* Moſes, *or of* Iſaias, *and* Jeremias, *and the reſt of the Prophets, who, by an Extaſy of Thought, the Divine Spirit moving them, ſpoke as they were inſpired; the Spirit operating on them, in like manner as the Muſician on his Flute.* It is true, the Compariſon of the Holy Ghoſt with one, who plays on a Flute, is mean, but the Foundation of it is right.

(44) Athenag. p. 298.

(45) Levit. xxi. 13, 14.

(46) Tillemont, ubi ſupra, pag. 759.

* Athenag. Leg. p. 9, d.

† Scult. pag. 52. Du Pin, Tom. 1. p. 275.

(47) Athenag. pag. 72, 74.

A Reflexion on the *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt not being allowed to marry unleſs with a Virgin.

What I have ſaid of the Law, which was preſcribed to the High-Prieſt of the *Jews*, ſuggeſts a Conjecture, which I ſhall venture to publiſh in this Place. The Primitive Chriſtians, who declared ſo ſtrongly againſt ſecond Marriages, were perhaps engaged in That Opinion from this Conſideration, that there ought to be greater Perfection under the Evangelical, than under the *Moſaic* Law; ſo that Lay Chriſtians are obliged to obſerve all the ſtricteſt Regularity, which was in uſe among the Eccleſiaſtics of the Synagogue. In effect, it ſeems, that, in ſome reſpects, all Chriſtians are appointed to the Prieſthood (48). If, then, it was thought fit to forbid the High Prieſt of the *Jews* to marry a Widow, on purpoſe that This Prohibition might remind him of his ſtrict Obligation to Purity, may it not be thought reaſonable to ſubject all Chriſtians to the ſame Condition? Thus, perhaps, ſome might reaſon: Perhaps alſo, the original Deſign of This moral Reſtriction might be totally to remove the Abuſes of That kind of *Polygamy*, which Divorces had made frequent. The Men of falſe Wit would deſerve ſomething more than to be laughed at, ſhould they attack this Injunction upon the High Prieſt. *The Law, preſcribed to him,* would theſe Jeſters ſay, *ought to command ſomething mortifying to his Pleaſures; whereas, on the contrary, it obliges him to the moſt delicious Reliſh of them, and not to take up with a ſecond-hand Diſh. The Reſt of the People may make ſhift with the leavings of others: He only is taught to be nicer, and of a daintier Palate.* Poor inſipid Raillery! for it is in reality a Slavery, not to have the liberty of marrying where we pleaſe; and how many ſenſual Perſons, in a full Liberty of Choice, would prefer a Widow before any other Miſtreſs? But, beſides, is it not meer Blindneſs, not to ſee the Wiſdom of the Lawgiver in this Prohibition? Did not This Law warn the great Pontiff to abſtain, more than others, from the leaſt Irregularities? For, if a Woman ceaſed to be worthy of him, the moment ſhe left aſpiring to That ſupreme Degree of Perfection and Honour, which ſhe might have attained by preferring a chaſt Widowhood before a ſecond Marriage; if the ſole want of This height of Virtue, if, I ſay, this ſole want, which is not ſo much a real Fault, as a bare Privation of diſtinguiſhed Merit, was ſufficient to make her unworthy to marry with the High-Prieſt, was not this a Proof, that God required of him a more exact Conduct? Read theſe Words of a great Man: "Quin & illa ad declarandam inſignem vitæ mundiciem pertinent, quod ſi quis de ſtirpe Aaron teneatur profluvio ſanguinis, vetatur ad ſacerdotis menſam accedere ſacriſque veſci panibus: item quòd quicunque vitio maculâve corporis eſſent deformati, ſubmoventur à ſacris miniſteriis: rurſus quòd ipſe pontifex jubetur virginem ſuæ gentis ducere, à vidua, repudiata, ac proſtituta, abſtinere. Non ſtatim quod plebi licet, licet & ſacerdoti: multitudini multa conceduntur, à ſacerdote ſumma requiritur puritas in omni vitæ portione (49). —— *Now theſe Things are intended to point out a more particular Purity of Life, That, if any of the Houſe of* Aaron *be taken with an Hemorrhage, he ſhould not be permitted to come to the Prieſt's Table, or to taſte of the conſecrated Bread: Alſo, that ſuch as were defective, or deformed, in their Bodies, ſhould be incapable of the Prieſthood: Again, that the High-Prieſt himſelf is commanded to abſtain from a Widow, a Wife divorced, and a Proſtitute, and to marry, if at all, to a Virgin of his own Nation. Not every thing, that is lawful for the People, is alſo lawful for the Prieſt: Many things are allowed to the Multitude, but from the Prieſt is required the ſtricteſt Purity in every Station of Life.*" The ſame Spirit reigned in the Chriſtian Diſcipline, even at the time, when married Perſons were not excluded from the Prieſthood (50); for it excluded Thoſe, who had married either two Wives ſucceſſively, or a Widow, or who had been diſhonoured by the the Adultery of their Wives; and, if This diſhonour happened to them in the Time of their Prieſthood, they were obliged either to free themſelves from it by a Divorce, or abdicate their Character. "Verba ſynodi Neocæſar. cap. 8. hæc ſunt: ſi cujus uxorem adulterium commiſiſſe, cum eſſet laicus, evidenter fuerit probatum, hic ad miniſterium eccleſiaſticum admitti non poteſt. Quod ſi in clericatu eo jam conſtituto adulteravit, dato repudio dimittere eam debet: ſi vero retinere ejus conſortium velit, non poteſt ſuſcepto miniſterio perfrui. cap. ſi cujus, 34. diſtin. (51). —— *In Chap.* 8. *of the Council of* Neocæſarea, *are theſe words: If it proved, by good Evidence, that the Wife of any Layman has committed Adultery, he cannot be admitted to the Eccleſiaſtical Function. But, if the Wife of a Prieſt commit Adultery, he muſt divorce her: or, if he will retain her, he muſt renounce his Miniſtry.*" See Mr *Morin*'s Diſſertation, or the Abſtract given of it in the *News from the Republic of Letters* (52).

(48) *See* 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9.

(49) Eraſmus in Eccleſiaſte, l. 1. pag. 45, 47.

(50) *See* Duaren de Sacris Eccl. Miniſt. ac Benefic. lib. 4. cap. 8. pag. 386.

(51) Id. ib. pag. 387.

(52) *For the Month of* July, 1684, Art. 6. pag. 517.

[*F*] *Mr* du Pin *has forgot ſome Editions of* Athenagoras.] His Liſt is very large (53), but not every where rightly pointed, in the Edition of *Amſterdam* (54). This confounds our Underſtanding. He has not taken Notice of the Edition of *Oxford*, nor That of *Leipſic:* The firſt appeared in the Year 1682, in

(53) *See the firſt Tome of his* Nouvelle Bibliotheque *printed in* 1686.

(54) *I ſpeak thus, as not having That of* Paris.

a Romance, which appeared under the Name of *Athenagoras* [G]. If I could have conſulted the Diſſertation, publiſhed by Father *le Nourry* (e), it would have furniſhed me, without doubt, with ſome good Materials for this Article; but his Work is not yet come to our Hands (*f*), tho' it was printed in the Year 1697. I have ſeen ſome account of it in the *Journal des Sçavans* (g), and in the *Acta Eruditorum* of *Leipſic* (*h*).

(e) *It is the third of the ſecond Tome of his* Apparatus ad Bibliothecam maximam Veterum Patrum.

(*f*) *I write this in* April 1699.

(g) *Of* May 13, 1697, pag. 331.

(*h*) *For* Dec. 1698, pag. 554.

in 12mo, by the Care of Dr *Fell*, Biſhop of *Oxford*; and the latter, in the Year 1684, in 8vo, by the Care of *Adam Rechenberg*. They are both of them in *Greek* and *Latin*, with Notes. Neither has he mentioned the Commentary of *Kertholt* on the Works of *Athenagoras*. This Piece was printed at *Kiel*, in the Year 1675, in Folio, and was inſerted, with Additions, in the Edition of *Juſtin Martyr*, of *Athenagoras*, &c. at *Leipſic*, in 1686. Note, that *Guy Gauſſart*, Prior of St *Foi*, at *Coulommiers*, publiſhed a *French* Tranſlation of the Apology of *Athenagoras*, and ſubjoined the Annotations of *Suffridus Petri*. This was printed at *Paris*, in 8vo, in the Year 1574. *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, who is my Author for this (55), mentions a *French* Tranſlation of two Pieces of *Athenagoras*, done by *Arnauld du Ferron* (56), but does not ſay when, or where, it was printed (57).

(55) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Françoiſe, p. 533.

(56) *He who wrote a Continuation of* Paulus Emilius *in Latin.*

(57) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 87, 88.

[G] *I ſhall mention a Romance, which appeared under the Name of* Athenagoras.] According to Dr *Cave*, we have, hitherto, only ſeen the *French* Tranſlation of it, printed at *Paris*, by *Daniel Guillemont*, in the Year 1612, with this Title: *Of the true, and perfect, Love, written, in* Greek, *by* Athenagoras, *an* Athenian *Philoſopher, containing the chaſte Loves of* Theogonus *and* Charida, *of* Pherecides *and* Melangenia. *Martin Fumée*, Lord of *Genille*, was Author of This Tranſlation, and ſent it, in the Year 1569, to Mr *de Lamané*, Secretary to the Cardinal of *Armagnac*. It was found among the Papers of *Bernard* of *Sanjorry*, who publiſhed it in the Year 1612 (58). Conſult *Huetius* (59), who ſpeaks largely of This Book, and who ſuppoſes, that *Philander* is it's true Author. He informs us, that This *Fumée* boaſted, that he had procured the *Greek* Original, by the means of *Lamané*, Protonotary of the Cardinal of *Armagnac*.

Note, that the Edition, mentioned by Dr *Cave*, and which he had ſeen in the Library of *Voſſius*, is not the firſt. I have one, printed at *Paris*, by *Michael Sonnius*, in 1599, 12mo. The Title differs but very little from That, which we have ſeen above (60). The Preface is of *Bernard* of *Sanjorry*, and dated from *Caſtres*, the firſt of *October*, 1596. It informs us, that *Sanjorry being almoſt Seventy*, had found, among his Papers, a Copy of This Work, which *he had got tranſcribed from That, which had been ſent to Mr* de Lamané, and, that he had deſired *Monſieur* de Fonbouzart, *who was going to Court, about ſome Affairs of his own, to do him the Favour to carry this Work with him, and to take the Trouble of communicating it to ſome Printer, as he paſſed through* Paris.

(58) *Taken from Dr* Cave's Hiſtor. Literar. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. pag. 49.

(59) Huet. de l'Origine des Romans, pag. 42, & ſeq.

(60) *Inſtead of* Theogonus, *my Edition has* Theogenes, *and inſtead of* Pherecides, *it has* Pherecydes.

ATHENÆUM [*A*], was a public Edifice in *Rome*, built by the Emperor *Adrian* [*B*], to ſerve for an Auditory to the Learned, and to thoſe who choſe to recite their

[*A*] ATHENÆUM.] This Name comes from *Minerva*, in *Greek* Ἀθηνῆ, The Goddeſs of all polite Arts, and Sciences. It was thought fit, that an Edifice, built in favour of the Learned, ſhould bear the Name of That Goddeſs. Some have thought, it was a Temple, conſecrated to her; but *Aurelius Victor* does not give us That Idea of it. "Gymnaſia, *ſays he* (1), *ſpeaking of the Emperor* Adrian, Doctoreſque curare occœpit, adeo quidem ut etiam ludum ingenuarum artium, quod Athenæum vocant, conſtitueret. —— *He began to ſhew a great Regard to Exerciſes, and Profeſſors, in all learned Arts and Sciences, inſomuch, that he built them Schools, which are called the* Athenæum." Other Hiſtorians, who ſpeak of this Edifice, repreſent it only as a Place for Leſſons, Declamations, and Lectures. "Ad Athenæum audiendorum & Græcorum & Latinorum rhetorum vel poëtarum cauſſa frequenter proceſſit. —— *He frequently went to the* Athenæum, *to hear the* Greek, *and* Latin, *Rhetoricians and Poets.*" *Lampridius* ſpeaks thus of *Alexander Severus*. This Paſſage is quoted in *Calepin*, a little after having ſaid, that the *Athenæum* was conſecrated to *Minerva*, and that the Poets, and other *Greek* Writers, brought their Works thither, as the *Latin* Authors brought theirs into the Temple of *Apollo*. Judge by this of the Exactneſs of Thoſe, who compoſed, or corrected, That great Dictionary. *Cruquius* makes uſe of the ſame Diviſion; he ſends the *Latin* Poets to the Temple of *Apollo*, and the *Greek* to the Temple of *Minerva*, which he calls *Athenæum* (2). But let us go on in obſerving what the Ancients have ſaid of the Place in queſtion; "Cum Pertinax eo die proceſſionem quam ad Athenæum paraverat, ut audiret Poëtam, ob ſacrificii præſagium diſtuliſſet (3). —— *When* Pertinax, *by reaſon of ſome ill Omen in the Sacrifices, put off the Proceſſion he intended to have made, that Day, to the* Athenæum." Another ſays, that *Gordian*, the Emperor, had declaimed, in the *Athenæum*; *ubi adolevit, in Athenæo controverſias declamavit* (4). *Philoſtratus* ſays, that the Sophiſt *Adrian*, who was in great Eſteem at *Rome*, had no ſooner declared, that he would make a Declamation, but the Senators, Knights, and every body, flocked to the *Athenæum*. Δρόμῳ ἐχώρουν ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναῖον ὁρμῆς μεστοὶ (5). *They ran to the* Athenæum *with great eagerneſs.* Let us add theſe Words of St *Jerom*; *Quando omne Athenæum ſcholaſticorum vocibus perſonabat* (6). —— *When the whole* Athenæum *rang with the Voices of the Profeſſors*: And thoſe of *Sidonius Apollinaris*; *Dignus omnino quem plauſibilibus Roma foveret ulnis, quoque recitante crepitantis Athenæi ſubſellia cuneata quaterentur* (7). —— *Worthy, in the higheſt Manner, of the greateſt Applauſes* Rome *could give, and to ſhake the crowded Seats of the eccboing* Athenæum *with his Repetitions.* The Etymology, *Dion* gives us, is a new Argument againſt Thoſe, who have taken the *Athenæum* for a Temple of *Minerva*; he ſays, that the Place was ſo called, from the Exerciſes of the Learned, there performed, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν ϖεπαιδευμένων ἀσκήσεως (8). He informs us alſo, that the Conſul aſſembled the Senate, in the *Athenæum*, when he underſtood, that the *Prætorian* Cohorts had ſeized the Murderers of *Pertinax*. The Objection, which might be drawn from the Senate's never meeting but in Places conſecrated by the *Augurs*, does no way balance the Reaſons, which prove, that the *Athenæum* was not a Temple of *Pallas*. To conclude, They, who pretend, that the firſt Place, which was called *Athenæum*, was a Building in *Athens* (9), will have much ado to prove it. Good Mr *de Marolles* has a very wrong Notion of This Word; for, in his Tranſlation of *Aurelius Victor*, he ſays, that *Adrian invited learned Men from all Parts, as if he intended to tranſplant* Athens *to* Rome.

I ſhall obſerve, occaſionally, that, in the City of *Athens*, the Rhetoricians, and Grammarians, met in the Temple of the Muſes, upon Trials of Skill. Ἀπάγει ϖαρὰ τὸ τέμενος τῶν Μουσῶν· ἔνθα ϖοιηταὶ καὶ ῥήτορες καὶ τῶν γραμματιστῶν οἱ ϖαῖδες φοιτῶντες ϖοιοῦνται τὰς ἐπιδείξεις. *He leads away to the Temple of the Muſes, where the Poets, Rhetoricians, and Grammarian Scholars often reſort to ſhew their Parts.* Thus ſpeaks an Author of the VIth Century of the Practice in his time; I mean *Zachary*, of *Mitylene*, in his Book *de Mundi opificio*. See the Three hundred thirty ninth Page of the eleventh Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, printed at *Paris* in the Year 1644.

[*B*] *Built by the Emperor* Adrian.] This I have proved by the Paſſage of *Aurelius Victor*; *Caſaubon* has alſo very good Reaſon to laugh at *Theodorus Marſilius* (10), whom he treats roughly enough, without naming him. This Author ſpends a great many Words, in his Commentary on *Perſius*, to prove, that the

(1) Aurelius Victor, in Hadriano.

(2) In Horat. Sat. 10, lib. 1.

(3) Julius Capitolinus in Pertin.

(4) Capitolin. in Gordian.

(5) Philoſtr. in Adriano.

(6) Hieron. de Obitu Paulinæ ad Pammach.

(7) Sidon. Apollin. Epiſt. 14. lib. 9. *See alſo* Epiſt. 9. ejuſd. libri, & Epiſt. 8. lib. 4.

(8) Xiphil. in Didio Juliano ſub fin. *where* Xylander *tranſlates* Ἀθήναιον *by* Templum Minervæ.

(9) *The* Theſaurus Fabri, *Edit.* 1692.

(10) Caſaub. Comment. in Capitol. Vit. Pertin.

their Works in Public. It appears from the beginning of *Juvenal*'s Satires, that theſe ſort of Lectures were very frequent, and that *Fronto* lent his Houſe and Gardens to thoſe Poets, who had a mind to recite their Verſes before a numerous Audience (*a*). Many others were alſo willing to lend their Houſes for the ſame Purpoſe (*b*); but, unfortunately for the Poets, theſe Favours were often very expenſive [*C*]: for He, who was to read his Work, was to fit up the Room, and pay the Hire of the Seats. It is very probable, that the Emperor *Adrian*, who loved and underſtood the Sciences, had This View, among others, in building the *Athenæum*, *viz.* to free Authors from theſe great Incumbrances. Without doubt This Place ſerved alſo for a College (*c*); for it was not only uſed for reciting of Compoſitions, but likewiſe for reading of Lectures. I find too, that the Senate ſometimes met there (*d*). The Name of this Place has been applied, in a general Senſe, to ſignify all kind of Univerſities, or Seminaries of Learning, appropriated to the teaching of Languages; for they are called in *Latin Athenæa*. Some are alſo of Opinion, that Libraries have been called *Athenica* (*e*).

(*a*) Frontonis platani convulſaque marmora clamant, Semper & aſſiduo ruptæ lectore columnæ.

(*b*) Stella, *in* Martial. Epig. 6. l. 4. Titinnius Capito, *in* Pliny, lib. 8. Epiſt. 12. Quadratus, *in* Arrian's Epict. lib. 3. cap. 23.

(*c*) *See Remark* [*A*].

(*d*) *Ibid. towards the end.*

(*e*) Salmaſ. in Trebell. Pollion. de triginta Tyrannis.

the *Athenæum*, and the Temple of *Apollo Palatinus*, were one and the ſame. *Voſſius* (11) has repeated the ſame Accuſation againſt him, and has given him, for an Accomplice, Father *Raderus*, on the ſeventieth Epigram of the tenth Book of *Martial*. He might have added *Savaron* for a ſecond Accomplice, who, by theſe Words of *Horace*,

> ------ hæc ego ludo,
> Quæ nec in æde ſonent certantia judice Tarpâ (12);
>
> *Theſe idle Lines ſhall ne'er in Judgment come*
> *Before the learned Audience of* Rome;

underſtands, that *Horace* would not have his Verſes read in the *Athenæum* (13). He gives This Interpretation as the very Words of an ancient Scholiaſt. *Lipſius* makes uſe of the ſame Authority, though he confeſſes, that another ancient Scholiaſt underſtands there by *ædem* the Temple of *Apollo Palatinus* (14). If That learned Man had remembred the Paſſage of *Aurelius Victor*, he would not have preferred the Interpretation of the firſt of theſe Scholiaſts to That of the latter (15). See the Article TARPA, in it's Place.

[*C*] *Theſe Favours were often very expenſive.*] The Author of the Dialogue *de Cauſis corruptæ Eloquentiæ* is my Evidence, where he ſays, *Domum mutuatur, & auditorium exſtruit, & ſubſellia conducit, ut beatiſſimus recitationem ejus eventus conſequatur.* —— *He borrows a Houſe, builds an Auditory, and hires Seats, that his Repetitions may meet with the moſt favourable Reception.* *Juvenal* will ſerve for a ſecond Witneſs, where he threatens the Poets with the Mortification of not finding any Great Man, who will re-imburſe them the Expences they have been at.

> Nemo dabit regum quanti ſubſellia conſtent,
> Et quæ conducto pendent anabathra tigillo,
> Quæque reportandis poſita eſt orcheſtra cathedris (16).
>
> *With no kind Patron now the Poet meets,*
> *To pay the Hire of Pulpit and of Seats.*

I do not deny, but they ſometimes repeated in an hired Houſe, but cannot forbear ſaying, that *Voſſius* maintains it without any ground, ſince the Teſtimonies, he alledges, mean nothing leſs, than what he pretends. The firſt Paſſage, he quotes, is That of the Dialogue *de Cauſis corruptæ Eloquentiæ*, where we have juſt now met with *domum mutuatur*, which ſignifies a borrowed, and not an hired, Houſe. The ſecond is of *Juvenal*, in theſe Words:

> —— cum jam celebres notique Poëtæ
> Balneolum Gabiis, Romæ conducere furnos
> Tentarent (17).
>
> *When now the celebrated Wits, for need,*
> *Hire Bagnios, to the Cryer's Trade ſucceed,*
> *Or get their own, by baking others Bread.*
>
> CHA. DRYDEN.

which denote only the diſmal Poverty of the Trade, which had almoſt forced the Poets to become Bankrupt to the Muſes, and to ſeek their Living by ſome mechanic Employ, as one may call That of a Bath-Keeper, a Baker, or a Cryer. The third Teſtimony is taken from theſe Words of the ſame *Juvenal*:

> Ipſe facit verſus, atque uni cedit Homero
> Propter mille annos; &, ſi dulcedine famæ
> Succenſus recites, Maculonis commodat ædes (18).
>
> *Himſelf writes Verſe, which he to your's prefers,*
> *And only yields to* Homer's *for their Years:*
> *But, to your Share to try what Fame will fall,*
> *Any great Man will lend an empty Hall.*

It is ſo plain, that, neither in this, nor in the foregoing Paſſage, are Poets ſaid to have hired the Chamber, where they recited their Verſes, that it is unaccountable how ſuch Miſtakes ſhould eſcape the Sight of the learned *Voſſius*. Obſerve, that they are found in a Book, which was printed in the Author's Life-time (19), the Title whereof is, *De Imitatione cum Oratoriâ tum præcipuè poëticâ, deque Recitatione Veterum.* This latter Subject has been amply treated by *Creſollius*, in his Theatre of the ancient Sophiſts.

WHETHER the Poets repeated in a hired Houſe. Errors of *Voſſius*.

(11) Voſſius de Imitat. pag. 36.

(12) Horat. Sat. ult. lib. 1. ver. 37.

(13) Savar. in Sidon. Apollon. Ep. 14. lib. 9.

(14) Lipſ. Epiſt. 48. Centur. 3. ad Belg.

(15) *See* Voſſius de Imitat. p. 61.

(16) Juven. Sat. 7. ver. 45.

(17) Juven. Sat. 7. v. 3.

(18) Juven. Sat. 7. ver. 38.

(19) *At* Amſterdam 1647, *with the* Inſtitutiones Poëticæ.

ATHENÆUS, a *Greek* Grammarian, born at *Naucratis* in *Ægypt*, flouriſhed in the IIId Century [*A*]. He was one of the moſt learned Men of his Time; he had

[*A*] Athenæus —— *flouriſhed in the IIId Century.*] *Faber* has cenſured *Helvicus*, who, in quoting *Suidas*, places *Athenæus* in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius* (1). Here are two Faults, for *Suidas* makes him flouriſh under *Marcus Aurelius*, though he does not deſerve to be copied in this, ſince *Oppian*, who dedicated a Poem to the Emperor *Caracalla* (2), died before *Athenæus*. *Helvicus* ought not then to have placed *Oppian* fifty Years after him. *Faber* reproves him for this Miſtake, and maintains, that *Athenæus* lived at the ſame time with *Herodian*, who finiſhed his Hiſtory in the Year 238. It is certain, *Athenæus* places himſelf after *Oppian*, in point of Time. Καὶ τὸν ὀλίγῳ ϖρὸ ἡμῶν γενόμενον Οππιανὸν τὸν Κίλικα (3). *And* Oppian, *the* Cilician, *who lived a little before our Time*; ſays he, ſpeaking of ſeveral Authors, who had treated of Fiſhing. Without doubt it will be objected, that he elſewhere ſays (4), that he knew the Poet *Pancrates*, who received ſome Preſent from the Emperor *Adrian*: But This raiſes no great Difficulty; it is ſufficient to ſuppoſe, that This *Pancrates* was very young, at That time, that he lived eighty Years, and died before *Athenæus* had attained to the twentieth Year of his Age. You will find, by this, that the latter might very well have lived 'till the Reign of *Gordianus*. If Mr *de Tillemont* had recollected the *Greek* Paſſage of *Athenæus*, which I have quoted, The Age, which he thought due to This Writer, would have appeared ſtill more ſurprizing to him; for he ſuppoſes him *very aged*, by imagining only, that his Work was written after the Death of *Commodus*; and the Reaſon,

(1) Tanaq. Faber Epiſt. 63. lib. 1. p. 211, 212.

(2) *Who was killed in* 217.

(3) Athen. lib. 1. p. 13.

(4) Id. lib. 15. p. 677.

read ſo much, and had ſo good a Memory, that he may juſtly be called the *Varro* of the *Greeks* (a). Of all his Works [*B*], there remains only That intituled the *Deipnoſophiſts*, that is to ſay, *the Sophiſts at Table* (b), where he introduces a number of learned Men, of all Profeſſions, who converſe upon various Subjects, at the Table of a *Roman* Citizen, called *Larenſius*. There is an infinite Variety of Facts and Citations in this Work of *Athenæus*, which makes the reading of it very pleaſant to Thoſe, who have ſkill enough to love Antiquity from a rational Motive. But, without doubt, the learned Men, who were cotemporary with the Author, did not judge of this Work ſo favourably, as we do in this Age. Thoſe learned Men could conſult the Originals, and there find moſt of the things, which *Athenæus* preſented them with; for which Reaſon they conſidered his Book in a bad Light, as nothing elſe but a tedious Collection from others. But, for our part, who can come at but a very few of the Authors referred to by *Athenæus*, and have no other Opportunity of meeting with a hundred particular Curioſities, mentioned by him, but in his Collection, we look upon it as a very precious Treaſure: we regard it with a favourable Eye, and transfer to the Author all the Eſteem we have for the Rarities recorded by him, which are indeed become ſuch, only becauſe the Books, out of which he took them, are loſt. For this ſame Reaſon, ſuch a Compiler, whom our Age might not eſteem in the leaſt, would be greatly admired a thouſand Years hence, if there ſhould happen, in the Republic of Learning, ſuch Revolutions as deſtroyed moſt of the Works of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*. We cannot anſwer, that nothing like this will ever happen again. Let us, then, not blame thoſe, who compile; they labour perhaps more uſefully for future Ages, than the Authors, who borrow nothing from others. We find, in the *Deipnoſophiſts* of our Author, a great many Touches of Slander, Fragments of ſcandalous Reports, and obſcene Stories. No Book has been worſe treated by Tranſcribers, than This of *Athenæus* [*C*]; all the Editions we have of it are very imperfect [*D*]. Somebody made an Abridgment of This Work [*E*]. Mr *Moreri* could

he gives for it, is, *That* Athenæus *had known the Poet* Pancrates, *famous in the Time of* Adrian (5). He finds no Fault with *Suidas*, who placed him under *Marcus Aurelius*; tho' he ought to have cenſured him, in conſequence of the *Greek* Paſſage above-mentioned. I would not have it pretended, that it is not *Athenæus*, who boaſts of having known the Poet *Pancrates*, but that they are the Words of *Callixenus*, the *Rhodian*, whom he had quoted a little before. This Suppoſition will not paſs. *Caſaubon* perceived plainly, that theſe are not *Callixenus*'s Words, in the Book of *Athenæus* (6); but he has omitted a very ſtrong Reaſon for proving this Point. It is, that the Paſſage in queſtion begins thus; *Since I have mentioned the City of* Alexandria. Now *Callixenus* would never have ſpoken thus, in a Work of his own, concerning That very City (7). It is therefore *Athenæus* himſelf, who makes uſe of theſe Words, after having finiſhed the Relation of what he had borrowed from *Callixenus*.

[*B*] *Of all his Works.*] One was *concerning the Kings of* Syria, as himſelf informs us (8). *Voſſius* aſcribes to him another, *concerning Illuſtrious Men, and Generals of Armies, who had fought Duels* (9). He grounds his Opinion on theſe Words of the fourth Book. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔνδοξοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐμονομάχουν καὶ ἐκ προκλήσεως τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, ἐν ἄλλοις εἰρήκαμεν (10). *But that Illuſtrious Men, and Generals of Armies, have fought Duels, upon Challenges, we have in another Place diſcourſed.* This Subject would be very proper for a particular Treatiſe, but it might alſo be inſerted as an Epiſode in another Work, and chiefly by an Author, who ran ſo much Ground in a little Time, and who loved Rhapſody ſo well, as *Athenæus*. Therefore *Voſſius*'s Opinion is not very certain.

[*C*] *No Book has been worſe treated by Tranſcribers, than This of* Athenæus.] The Omiſſions, Tranſpoſitions, and falſe Reaſonings, are not to be numbered. Theſe are Faults of the Tranſcribers; but, as to the loſs of part of the Work, there is no Reaſon to lay That to their Charge. The two firſt Books, the beginning of the third, and moſt part of the laſt, are wanting. To ſupply this loſs as well as poſſible, they have printed the Abridgment of what was loſt, together with what was preſerved entire; for, as I ſhall ſhew preſently, we have ſtill an Abridgment of the whole Work.

[*D*] *All the Editions we have of it are very imperfect.*] The firſt is That of *Aldus Manutius*, in the Year 1514. *Marcus Muſurus*, a *Greek* by Nation, aſſiſted him with his Care and Skill. However, for want of good Manuſcripts, and a due Exactneſs in correcting it, there remains an infinite Number of Faults in their Work. The *Baſil* Edition of *John Valderus*, in Folio, which followed next in the Year 1535, by the Care of *James Bedrot*, and *Chriſtian Herlinus*, was little better. *Natales Comes* ventured to tranſlate *Athenæus* into *Latin*. His Learning is very well known. It appears by his Mythology, that he had read and ſtudied much; but, as he was ignorant in Criticiſm, it is certain, that his Tranſlation is moſt wretched. It is the firſt that was publiſhed. "Ante omnes alios (nam de Sanga "Romano vereor ut credendum ſit Paulo Jovio) "Latinum fecit Athenæum (11). Quamvis rumor "ſpargeretur Sangam patritium Romanum, virum, "ut aiunt, eximiæ doctrinæ id præſtitiſſe (12)." *Caſaubon* does not cite the Place, where *Paulus Jovius* ſays this: It is in the Book *de Piſcibus Romanis*. Theſe are the Words: *Sanga Romanus, Poëta lapidus, cujus beneficio Athenæum Latinum legimus* (13). But theſe five laſt Words are left out of the *Baſil* Edition, in 1561, by *Henry* and *Peter Perna*: which ſhews, that *Paulus Jovius* had corrected his Miſtake. *Dalechamp*, a famous Phyſician, publiſhed a ſecond, which exceeds That of *Natalis Comes*, and might have been much better than it is, if the Author had met with leſs Practice. But, as he kept cloſe to his Profeſſion, and ſpent only the leiſure Hours, his Patients left him, on *Athenæus*, he has not done all that might be expected from him, though for near thirty Years he dedicated all his ſpare Time that way (14). And thus it remained ever ſince. The Edition of *Dalechamp*, the *Greek* on one ſide, and the *Latin* on the other, with the Volume of *Caſaubon*'s Annotations, is the beſt *Athenæus* extant. The Abbot of *Marolles* has tranſlated this *Greek* Author into *French*. I do not queſtion but he followed the *Latin* Tranſlation as his only Model, and has committed many Miſtakes. I know nothing of this Work, but from the *Journal des Sçavans* (15). It is in 4to, and was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1680. It is the firſt *French* Tranſlation from the Original, and the laſt Performance of the Tranſlator. I have been informed, that it ſold ſo well, that it is very ſcarce at the Bookſellers, and bears an exceſſive Price. As to what has been ſaid concerning a Tranſlation by *Sanga*, ſee, above, Citation (11), (12), and (13).

[*E*] *Somebody made an Abridgment of This Work.*] *Caſaubon* confeſſes ingenuouſly, that This Abbreviator is unknown to him, and that he can neither tell his Name, nor Country, nor the Age he lived in (16). However, he places him above Five hundred Years before himſelf, and is very certain he ought to be placed before *Euſtathius* (17), becauſe *Euſtathius* has,

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(a) *See the Preface of* Caſaubon *on* Athenæus.

(b) Δειπνοσοφιςῶν βιβλία πέντε καὶ δέκα. *Of the* Deipnoſophiſts, 15 *Books.* Voſſius *ſhould not have employed, twice in the ſame Page* (viz. p. 232, *of his* de Hiſtor. Gr.) *the Term* Δειπνοσοφιςῶν.

(5) Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 2. p. 809.

(6) Caſaub. in Athen. pag. 958.

(7) Ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας. *In his Work concerning* Alexandria. *Athen. lib.* 15. *p.* 676.

(8) Ibid. lib. 5. pag. 211.

(9) Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. p. 232.

(10) Athen. lib. 4. c. 13. in fine.

(11) Caſaub. Præf. Animadv. in Athen.

(12) Dalechamp. Ep. Dedic. Athenæi.

(13) P. Jovius de Piſcibus Romanis, cap. 31, pag. 104. *Edit.* 1531, *ex Officin. Froben.*

(14) Ex Præfat. Caſaub. in Athenæum.

(15) *Of* May 1680.

(16) Caſaub. Animadv. in Athen. *init.*

(17) Id. in Præfat. & in Animadv. p. 3.

could not forbear ſaying ſomething of it, but was groſly miſtaken [*F*]. All that he has ſaid of *Athenæus*, and of two other Perſons of the ſame Name, is erroneous [*G*]. See the laſt Remark of this Article.

has, upon ſeveral Occaſions, made uſe of the Abridgment of *Athenæus*, in Preference to the Original, which led him into ſome Errors (18). *Caſaubon* fancies, that this Abbreviator was ſome Grammarian, who undertook the ſame thing on *Athenæus*, which *Hermolaus* had done on the Work of *Stephanus Byzantinus*, for which, in ſome Reſpects, he deſerved to be commended for his Learning, and in others, to be condemned for his want of Exactneſs (19). The Manuſcripts of *Athenæus* were very much corrupted, even when this Abridgment was made. This is proved by two Reaſons: There appears ſeveral Faults in the Abridgment, anſwering to thoſe in the Manuſcripts: And the Abbreviator confeſſes, that he paſſes over ſeveral things, becauſe they were corrupted (20). *Caſaubon* had a Manuſcript of the Abridgment (21), which *David Hoeſchelius* ſent him: It wanted the firſt Book, and part of the ſecond; ſo that they had retrenched from the Beginning of it almoſt all that had been inſerted in the Editions of *Athenæus*, to ſupply what was loſt from the Original of the *Deipnoſophiſts*.

(18) Id. in Animadv. pag. 1, 2.

(19) Ibid. pag. 3.

(20) Id. in Præfat.

(21) Id. Animadv. *init.*

[*F*] *Mr* Moreri —— *was groſsly miſtaken.*] Theſe are his Words; Athenæus *compoſed a Work of the* Deipnoſophiſts, *in fifteen Books, which* Hermolaus *of* Byzantium *abridged, according to* Suidas. I paſs by his Sin of Omiſſion: No doubt he ought to have told us, whether That which is extant be the Work itſelf, or only the Abridgment he is ſpeaking of. We ſhall only take notice of his Sins of Commiſſion. I. It is falſe, that *Hermolaus* of *Byzantium* abridged *Athenæus*. II. It is falſe, that *Suidas* ſays ſo. III. It is falſe, that *Suidas* mentions any Abbreviator of the *Deipnoſophiſts*. At firſt I took *Caſaubon* to be the Cauſe of this Miſtake, I mean a very innocent Cauſe; for who would ever imagine, that any one could ſtumble at theſe Words? "Putem confectam Conſtantinopoli ante "annos quingentos & amplius hanc epitomen ab ali-"quo Grammatico, qualis fuit Hermolaus Byzanti-"us, auctor eorum Excerptorum, quæ hodie pro "Ἐθνικῶν Stephani libris in doctorum manibus ver-"ſantur (22). —— *I ſuppoſe this Epitome was com-"poſed at* Conſtantinople, *above Five hundred Years "ago, by ſome ſuch Grammarian, as* Hermolaus *of* "Byzantium, *who is the Author of Thoſe Extracts, "which now paſs among the Learned, for the original "Work of* Stephens's Ethnics." But afterwards I found, that it was *Charles Stephens*, who deceived Mr *Moreri*. I think *Volaterran* is the firſt, who falſely makes *Suidas* ſay, that *Hermolaus* of *Byzantium* had abridged *Athenæus*. This Fault of *Volaterran* was taken notice of in the Edition of *Athenæus*, in 1535, as may be ſeen, without conſulting That Edition, if we caſt but an Eye on *Geſner*'s *Bibliotheca*. How eaſy ſoever it was to avoid the ſame Error, ſince *Geſner* obſerved it, yet it is certain, that *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, are fallen headlong into it; and they aſſure us, which is worſe, that we have no other *Athenæus*, but the Abridgment of *Hermolaus* of *Byzantium*: *Opus, quod ad nos ſanè haudquaquam integrum pervenit: ejus epitome ab Hermolao Byzantio* TANTUM *relictâ: Authore Suida.*

(22) Ibid. pag. 3.

[*G*] *What has been ſaid —— of two other Perſons of the ſame Name, is very erroneous.*] Theſe are *Athenæus* the Hiſtorian, and *Athenæus* the Philoſopher. Mr *Moreri* ſays, that the firſt *Athenæus wrote the Hiſtory of* Semiramis, and that this Hiſtory is to be found in the ſecond Book of *Diodorus Siculus*, and that *Muretus* has copied it, without citing the Author. It is eaſy to ſee, that theſe Words contain I know not how many Contradictions. Is it uſual for an Hiſtorian to crowd into a ſmall Corner of his Work all that another Hiſtorian has wrote on a long Reign, a Reign fruitful of Events? Could ſuch a Critic, as *Muretus*, include the whole Life of *Semiramis* in one of his ſhort Chapters (23)? This is abſurd. He ought, therefore, to have expreſſed himſelf in this, or ſome ſuch manner; Diodorus Siculus *relates an Action of* Semiramis, *and quotes an Author, whoſe Name is* Athenæus. Muretus *mentions the ſame Action, without quoting any Author*. To conclude from hence, that this *Athenæus* had compoſed the Hiſtory of *Semiramis*, and ought conſequently to be ranked among the Hiſtorians, is going a little too faſt: According to this Rule, *Seneca* muſt have wrote the Hiſtory of almoſt all the great Men in the World; for there is ſcarce one of them, who is not recorded by him, for ſome memorable Action, or Sentence. This may be ſaid againſt *Voſſius*, who, at a venture, places Him, whom *Diodorus Siculus* mentions, in the Number of Hiſtorians; but he has taken care not to ſay, poſitively, that the ſame *Athenæus* wrote the Hiſtory of *Semiramis*. As to *Athenæus*, the Philoſopher, it is falſe, that *Strabo*, cited by Mr *Moreri*, ſays, that he taught *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy at *Rome*; that, being returned home again, he was accuſed of a Deſign to form a Republic, and that he was taken into Cuſtody. This is what *Strabo* ſays of him (24). "*Athenæus*, a Pe-"ripatetic Philoſopher, a Native of *Seleucia*, in "*Cilicia*, had a Share in the Government, and was "a Demagogue in his Country for ſome time. Af-"terwards he became an intimate Friend of *Mu-"rena*, and fled with him, upon the Diſcovery of "*Murena*'s Conſpiracy againſt *Auguſtus*. He was "taken in his Flight; but the Emperor, not finding "him guilty, ſet him at Liberty. *Athenæus* re-"turned to *Rome*, and to thoſe, he firſt met with, "repeated theſe Words of *Euripides*:

Ἥκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότȣ ϖύλας
Λιπών.

From Death's wide Caverns, and Hell-Gates, I come.

One can hardly gueſs at the Original of theſe Miſtakes of Mr *Moreri*; for it ſeems more difficult to corrupt things in this Manner, than to deliver them as they are found.

(23) *It is the 17th of the 6th Book,* Variarum Lectionum. Moreri *has cited it, but it is in his Article of* Athenæus *the Phyſician*.

(24) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 461.

ATRAX, or **ATRACIA** (*a*), a City of *Theſſaly* (*b*), on the River *Peneus*, had it's Name from *Atrax*, the Son of *Peneus*, and *Bura*, who was it's Founder (*c*). It muſt have been conſiderable, ſince the Poets have ſometimes made uſe of the Epithet *Atracian*, to ſignify *Theſſalian* [*A*]. *Pliny* places the *Atracians* amongſt the People of *Ætolia* (*d*); but we muſt not from thence infer, that he would be underſtood to ſpeak of them, as different from the Inhabitants of the City *Atrax*, which he aſſigns to *Theſſaly* (*e*). The Diviſions of Nations, and Boundaries of Provinces, have often been altered; ſo that the ſame Diſtrict, which belonged, at one Time, to *Ætolia*, might, at another, be eſteemed part of *Theſſaly*. The River ATRAX, whoſe Mouth opened into the *Ionian* Sea (*f*), paſſed thro' the Country of the *Atracians*.

(*a*) Steph. Byzant. verbo Ἄτραξ.

(*b*) Strabo, lib. 9. pag. 303.

(*c*) Steph. Byzant. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Plinii Hiſtor. Nat. lib. 4. c. 2.

(*e*) Ibid. c. 8.

(*f*) Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 2.

[*A*] *The Poets have ſometimes made uſe of the Epithet* Atracian, *to ſignify* Theſſalian.] *Ceneus*, who was killed in the Quarrel between the *Centaurs* and *Lapithæ*, at the Wedding of *Pirithous*, is called *Atracides*, by *Ovid* (1); not to repreſent him as the Son of *Atrax*; for he had a little before called him the Son of *Elatus* (2); but, in general, as a *Theſſalian*. I am not unaware, that ſome Authors (3) ſay, he was the Son of *Atrax*. The ſame Poet calls the Wife of *Pirithous* only *Atracis*.

Deſine mirari poſito quod candida vino
Atracis ambiguos traxit in arma viros (4).

No wonder Beauty ev'n a Centaur *warms,*

And makes him quit the Nuptial Cup for Arms.

In another Place, he gives her proper Name *Hippodamia*; but he adds to it the Epithet *Atracis*.

(1) Ovid. Met. l. 12. ver. 209.

(2) *Proles Elateia*, ib. ver. 89.

(3) Antonini Liber. l. Metam. c. 17.

(4) Ovid. Amor. lib. 1. Eleg. 4. v. 7.

An fera Centauris indicere bella coëgit
Atracis Hæmonios Hippodamia viros (5)?

Offended Beauty cruel Wars can wage;
The Centaurs *felt the Force of Female Rage.*

Valerius Flaccus deſcribes her by the Words *Atracia Virgo* (6).

We cannot ſuppoſe *Ovid* takes her to be the Daughter of *Atrax*; this would prove too much. For then *Ceneus* muſt alſo have the ſame Father; whereas he makes him the Son of *Elatus*, and does not ſay one Word of *Ceneus* being Brother to the Bride; an unpardonable Omiſſion, if he had underſtood him to be Brother-in law to *Pirithous*.

I take it, that *Apuleius* imagined, that *Atracis* was the proper Name of the Wife of *Pirithous*; for, as he wrote in Proſe, he would not have called her by That Name, if he had thought it only a figurative and poetical Expreſſion. *Sic inſtar Atracis*, ſays he (7), *vel* (read *&*) *Pirithoi diſpectæ diſturbatæque Nuptiæ*. *Beroaldus* very well underſtood it of *Hippodama*, (or *Hippodamia*,) Wife of *Pirithous*; but when he adds, that ſhe was called *Atracis*, becauſe ſhe was the Daughter of *Atrax*, who was the firſt Inventor of Magic amongſt the *Theſſalians* (8), he affirms, what he ought to have proved; for we no where find, that *Atrax* eſtabliſhed Magic. It is very true, Magic has been called *Ars Atracia* (9); but this means no more, than *Ars Theſſalica*, and ſignifies only Magic in general, becauſe *Theſſaly* was famous for That Art (10). We are to underſtand in the ſame Senſe Theſe Verſes of *Valerius Flaccus:*

Quamvis Atracio lunam ſpumare veneno
Sciret, & harmoniis agitari cantibus umbras (11).

Tho' by Theſſalian *Arts the Moon be ſtains,*
And calls up Spirits by his Magic Strains.

The Scholiaſt of *Statius* is the only one, if I am not miſtaken, who has ſaid, that *Atrax* was the Father of *Hippodamia*. It is thus I would correct the Word, *Hippocatiæ*, and not, as *Barthius* makes it, *Hippocrateæ* (12). The Scholiaſt of *Homer*, on the Twenty firſt Book of the *Odyſſee*; *Euſtathius*, on the ſame place; and *Hyginus*, at *cap.* 23; ſay, that the Wife of *Pirithous* was called *Hippodamia*, and was the Daughter of *Adraſtus*. I do not know whether the Genitive Ἄθρακος might not have been changed into Ἀδράστου. If this was the Caſe, *Atrax*, the true Name of the Father of *Hippodamia*, would be loſt in That of *Adraſtus*. The Tranſcribers have made Miſtakes full as great as This. I ſhall give an Example, not foreign to our Subject. All the Manuſcripts of *Lycophron*, at preſent, read ἅρπαγας λύκους, Rapaces Lupos, *Ravenous Wolves* (13); this ſignifies the *Argonauts*; but the Copy, which *Stephanus Byzantinus* made uſe of, read ἀτρακας λύκους (14), *Atracenſes lupos*, that is, *Theſſalian Wolves*. It is thus *Euſtathius* has cited this Place of *Lycophron* (15).

What *Barthius* pretends, that *Atraciæ oræ*, in *Propertius* (16), ſignifies a very diſtant Place, and that *Catullus* has uſed the Word *Atracis* in the ſame Senſe (17), is not very ingenious. Some Critics, in *Catullus*, read *Atacis*, a River in *Gaul*, inſtead of *Atracis*, a River in *Greece*; but, however that be, we ought to underſtand literally the Words of *Catullus* and *Propertius* (18). As to the Suppoſition of *Barthius*, that they allude to the Art of Magic, it is altogether ridiculous.

(5) Ovid. Epiſt. Helen. *circa finem.* ver. 247.

(6) Valer. Flacc. Argon. lib. 1. ver. 141.

(7) Apuleius Metam. l. 4. pag. 35. *Ed.* 1615.

(8) *See the Notes of* Ph. Beroaldus, *on this Place of* Apuleius.

I am apt to think
has been call'd
Ars Atrocissima

(9) Statius, Theb. l. 1. 106.

(10) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. 30. c. 1.

(11) Valer. Flacc. Argon. lib. 6. ver. 447.

(12) *See the Commentary of* Barthius *on* Statius, Tom. 2. p. 30, 31.

(13) Lycoph. Alexandr. ver. 1309.

(14) Steph. Byzant. *at the Word* Ἄτραξ.

(15) *See* Canter. *on the Words of* Lycophron.

(16) Propert. Eleg. 8. l. 1.

(17) Catull. Epigr. 96.

(18) *See* Scaliger *on this place of* Propertius.

ATTALUS, the Name of ſome Kings of *Pergamus*. See PERGAMUS.

ATTICUS (Titus Pomponius) has the Character of one of the moſt honourable Men in ancient *Rome*. He behaved himſelf ſo prudently, that, without forfeiting his Neutrality, he preſerved the Eſteem and Affection of the Two contrary Parties [*A*]. The intimate Friendſhip, which he had for *Cicero*, did not hinder his having a very ſtrict Union with *Hortenſius*; and he brought Thoſe Two Rivals in Eloquence not only to forbear all mutual Reflexion, but even to keep up a good Underſtanding [*B*]. He never had the leaſt Difference, either with his Mother, or his

[*A*] *He preſerved the Eſteem and Affection of the two contrary Parties.*] He ſent Money to the Son of *Marius*, who was a declared Enemy to the Republic; and inſinuated himſelf ſo far into *Sylla*'s Favour, that this *Roman* General would always have him near him, and did not take it ill, that *Atticus* excuſed himſelf from following him to *Rome*, on account of his reſolving to obſerve a Neutrality (1). "Noli, oro "te, inquit Pomponius, adverſum eos me velle du"cere, cum quibus ne contra te arma ferrem, Ita"liam reliqui (2).——*Ask me not, ſays* Pomponius, "*to go againſt thoſe, whom becauſe I would not fol*"*low againſt you, I left* Italy." He kept himſelf quiet in *Rome*, during the War between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*; this was not diſpleaſing to *Pompey* (3), but extremely pleaſing to *Cæſar*. After the Death of the latter, he ſent Money to *Brutus*, when the Party for Liberty began to grow weakeſt, and did a thouſand good Offices to the Wife and Friends of *Marc Antony*, when his Party ſeemed ruined beyond all Recovery. *Marc Antony* was not ungrateful; for, though he exerted a furious Hatred againſt all the Friends of *Cicero*, yet he wrote, with his own Hand, a very obliging Letter to *Atticus* (4). He afterwards promoted the Marriage of *Atticus*'s Daughter, with *Agrippa*, the Favourite of *Auguſtus* (5). Laſtly, notwithſtanding the cruel Diviſions, which broke out between *Marc Antony* and *Auguſtus*, our *Atticus* maintained himſelf in both their Friendſhips. One of them (6) never ſet out any where, without ſending him a particular Account, by Letter, of what he was doing, what he was reading, and where he was going: and, when he was at *Rome*, he wrote almoſt every day to conſult him on ſome Queſtion; the other (7) acquainted him with all his Affairs. Without doubt it was difficult to preſerve, at the ſame time, the Friendſhip of two ſuch Antagoniſts. "Hoc "quale ſit facilius exiſtimabit is, qui judicare poterit, "quantæ ſit ſapientiæ eorum retinere uſum benevo"lentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non ſo"lum æmulatio, ſed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, "quantum fuit incidere neceſſe inter Cæſarem atque "Antonium, cum ſe uterque principem non ſolum "urbis Romanæ, ſed orbis terrarum, eſſe cuperet (8). "—— *What this was, he is beſt able to judge, who* "*is ſenſible of the great Prudence, requiſite to pre*"*ſerve the Correſpondence and Friendſhip of thoſe, who* "*were not only Competitors for the greateſt Things,* "*but ſuch Enemies to one another, as* Cæſar *and* An"tony *muſt neceſſarily be, when each of them aſpired* "*to be Emperor, not only of* Rome, *but of the whole* "*World.*"

[*B*] *He brought* Cicero *and* Hortenſius —— *to keep up a good Underſtanding.*] They, who are ſenſible, how much an Emulation in Eloquence influences and ſtirs up the other Paſſions, will conceive no mean Idea of the Conduct and Merit of a Man, who knew how to keep the Peace between the two moſt famous Orators of Antiquity. It was not ſufficient, that *Pomponius Atticus* could inſinuate himſelf agreeably into People's Affections; he muſt alſo have ſome remarkable Qualities to deſerve ſo great an Eſteem. What I am going to quote, is, therefore, very proper to deſcribe his Merit. "Utebatur intimè Q. Hor"tenſio, qui iis temporibus principatum eloquentiæ "tenebat, ut intelligi non poſſet uter eum plus dili"geret Cicero an Hortenſius, & id quod erat difficil"limum, efficiebat ut inter quos tantæ laudis eſſet "æmulatio, nulla intercederet obtrectatio, eſſetque "talium virorum copula (9). —— *He was very in*"*timate with* Quintus Hortenſius, *who, at that* "*Time, was acknowledged ſupreme in Eloquence, ſo that* "*it was hard to ſay which loved him moſt,* Cicero "*or* Hortenſius; *and, what was moſt difficult of all,* "*he*

(1) Corn. Nepos, in Vita Attici, cap. 2.

(2) Idem, cap. 4.

(3) Idem, cap. 7. *yet* Cicero, Ep. 6. lib. 11, ad Atticum, *ſays, that* Pompey *would have been an Enemy to* Atticus, *if he had conquered.*

(4) Idem, cap. 10.

(5) Idem, cap. 12.

(6) *Namely,* Auguſtus. Corn. Nepos, cap. 20.

(7) *Namely,* Marc Antony. Corn. Nepos, cap. 20.

(8) Idem, cap. 5.

(9) Id. ib.

his Siſter [*C*]. He always behaved himſelf generouſly to his Friends, and opened his Purſe to them in their Neceſſities. This he could well afford; for, beſides the great Fortunes, which fell to him by Succeſſion [*D*], he found ways to lay out his Money to a very great Advantage. The Troubles, which aroſe at *Rome*, between the Parties of *Cinna* and *Sylla*, made him reſolve, in his Youth, to go to *Athens*, where he lived a long time. He was ſo very much beloved by the *Athenians* [*E*], that the Day he left their City was, in ſome Manner, a Day of Mourning. He loved Learning extremely, and had, in his Family, ſeveral Librarians (*a*), and very good Readers. He had always ſomething read at his Table, even when he entertained his

(*a*) *See, below,* Citation (38).

" *he brought it about, that, between theſe two ſo* " *great Rivals, there was not only no Contention, but* " *even an Union.*"

[*C*] *He never had the leaſt Difference either with his Mother or his Siſter.*] When he was Sixty ſeven Years of Age, he loſt his Mother, who was ninty Years old, and had a Siſter near the ſame Age with himſelf. He declared, at his Mother's Funeral, that he had never any Occaſion to ſeek her Reconciliation, and that there never had been any Quarrel between his Siſter and himſelf. " Hoc ipſum verè glorian- " tem audierim in funere matris ſuæ, quam extulit " annorum 90, cum eſſet ſeptem & 60, ſe nunquam " cum matre in gratiam rediiſſe, nunquam cum ſorore " fuiſſe in ſimultate, quam propè æqualem habebat; " quod eſt ſignum aut nullam unquam inter eos que- " rimoniam interceſſiſſe, aut hunc eâ fuiſſe in ſuos in- " dulgentiâ, ut quos amare deberet iraſci eis nefas " duceret (10). —— *This I heard him deſervedly* " *glory in, at the Funeral of his Mother, whom he* " *buried at ninty Years of Age, being ſixty himſelf;* " *that he had never ſtood in need of her Pardon, or* " *been at Variance with his Siſter, who was about the* " *ſame Age with himſelf; which is a Sign, either* " *that there was no Complaints among them, or elſe* " *that he had ſo great an Indulgence for his Family,* " *as to think it a Sin to be angry with thoſe he ought* " *to love.*" I do not mention this Circumſtance of Time to ſwell my Book, or rather to fill up a Sheet of Paper: every one ſees it is eſſential to this Remark; for, if the happy Temper of *Atticus* appears here to be ſo very ſingular, it is chiefly on account of the Number of Years he paſſed with his Mother and Siſter without the leaſt Broil. It is pity the Hiſtory did not add how he lived with his Wife. He does not boaſt at all on This Head (11); and this may create ſome Suſpicion, that his Conduct, or Patience, could not ſignalize themſelves ſo much in This reſpect, as towards his Mother and Siſter, who perhaps, on their Part, contributed very much to That good Agreement, and did not oblige him to make great Advances. The Matter, on this Suppoſition, would loſe much of it's Singularity with regard to *Atticus*, but, taking it all together, it would not be leſs, but rather more extraordinary. See, in the following Remark, that *Atticus* kept always in Favour with an Uncle, whoſe Temper was ſo humourſome, that no other of his Relations were able to bear it. Let us return to the Wife of *Atticus*. It is ſtrange, that *Cornelius Nepos* ſhould ſay nothing of her, neither good nor bad, and that we muſt have recourſe to other Authors to know that her Name was *Pilia*, and that *Atticus* married her in the Year of *Rome* 697 (12). He was far from young; he was Fifty three Years of Age. He had made no great haſte to inliſt himſelf in That Warfare. We may collect from one of *Cicero*'s Letters (13), that *Pilia* loved her Husband; for, as to That other Paſſage (14), from which ſome have concluded, that ſhe had Thoughts of a Divorce, it is plain it ought to be read other-ways, and only ſignifies, that ſhe was threatned with the Palſy. Mr *Sarazin* affirms, in his Tranſlation of the Life of *Pomponius Atticus*, that the City of *Athens* erected alſo Statues to *Pilia*, the Wife of *Atticus*: but it is evident, he made uſe of a bad Edition; for you muſt not read *Pilia* in *Cornelius Nepos*. *Atticus*'s Marriage was too long after his Return from *Athens*, for the *Athenians* to think of erecting Statues to his Wife. Would *Cornelius Nepos* have been ſo ſenſeleſs as to ſpeak of the Statues of *Pilia*, without ſaying who ſhe was? The Family, *Pilia*, makes no manner of Figure in the ancient Hiſtory of *Rome*.

[*D*] *The great Fortunes, which fell to him by Succeſſion.*] *Quintus Cæcilius* was his Uncle by the Mother's Side. He was a Man of an inſupportable Temper; but *Atticus* humoured This perverſe Spirit of his ſo well, that he kept in his Favour, without any Interruption, to the very laſt. He found his Account in this Compliance; for *Cæcilius* made him his principal Heir, and left him near a Million of Money. *Atticus*'s own Patrimony was about Two Hundred Thouſand Livres. *In Seſtertio vicies quod a Patre acceperat* (15). In ſhort, *Cæcilius* having adopted his Nephew by Will, it became neceſſary for *Atticus* to take upon him from that time the Name of *Q. Cæcilius Pomponius Atticus.* Let us ſee what *Cornelius Nepos* ſays of the peeviſh Temper of this Uncle. " Habebat avunculum Q. Cæcilium equitem Roma- " num, familiarem L. Luculli (16), divitem, difficil- " limâ naturâ, cujus ſic aſperitatem veritus eſt, ut " quem nemo ferre poſſet hujus ſine offenſione ad " ſummam ſenectutem retinuerit benevolentiam: quo " facto tulit pietatis fructum: Cæcilius enim moriens " teſtamento adoptavit eum, hæredemque fecit ex " dodrante. Ex qua hæreditate accepit circiter " centies L L S. (17). —— *He had an Uncle by* " *the Mother's Side, named* Q. Cæcilius, *a Roman* " *Knight, an intimate Friend of* L. Lucullus, *rich,* " *and extreamly ill-natured, whoſe Temper he was ſo* " *fearful of offending, that, hough no Body elſe could* " *pleaſe him, he kept in Favour with him to the laſt;* " *by which means he reaped the Fruit of his Dutifullneſs; for* Cæcilius, *at his Death, adopted him in* " *his Will, and made him his Heir to three Parts in Four.* " *He made of this Inheritance about* 100000 *Seſterces.*

[*E*] *He was very much beloved by the* Athenians.] He had carried thither the beſt part of his Effects, and, both by Loans and Preſents, very much obliged the City of *Athens* (18). They were not ungrateful, but complimented him with all ſorts of public Honours. He refuſed the making him a Citizen, and the erecting a Statue to him; but, after his Departure, they erected ſeveral. There was a very great Concern ſhewn at his leaving them. " Quo factum eſt " ut huic omnes honores quos poſſunt publice habe- " rent, civemque facere ſtuderent, quo beneficio ille " uti noluit: quod nonnulli interpretantur, amitti " civitatem Romanam, alia adſcita. Quamdiu affuit " ne qua ſibi ſtatua poneretur reſtitit, abſens prohi- " bere non potuit —— Tranquillatis autem rebus " Romanis remigravit Romam —— Quem diem ſic " univerſa civitas Athenienſium proſecuta eſt, ut la- " crymis deſiderii futuri dolorem indicaret (19). — " *For which reaſon, they ſtudied to heap on him all* " *poſſible public Honours, and were deſirous of making* " *him a Citizen; but he declined This Favour; ſome* " *think, becauſe this new Freedom would have taken* " *away his Privileges, as a Citizen of* Rome. *Whilſt he* " *continued there, he would never ſuffer any Statue* " *to be erected to him, but, when he went away, he* " *could not prevent it — The Diſtractions of his Coun-* " *try being compoſed, he returned to* Rome — *Which* " *Day the whole City of* Athens *did ſo ſtrictly ob-* " *ſerve, that they expreſſed, by their Tears, the great-* " *neſs of the Loſs they were going to ſuffer.*" He ſpoke the *Greek* Language ſo perfectly well, that one would have taken him for an *Athenian* (20). Some think his Sirname of *Atticus* came from thence. *Volaterran* affirms it, as a thing related by *Cornelius Nepos* (21); but he is miſtaken. The *Abbot St Real* ſays, that *Atticus* called himſelf ſo, *becauſe he was very learned in* Greek, *and lived moſt of his Time at* Athens (22). He has been told, that he *ought only to have ſaid, cn accouut of the long Stay he made at* Athens, *in his Youth; ſince it is certain, that he lived moſt part of his Life in* Italy, *or* Epirus, *where he had an Eſtate, as appears by his Life, written by* Cornelius Nepos, *and by ſeveral Paſſages in* Cicero's *Letters* (23).

(10) Corn. Nepos, in Vita Attici, cap. 17.

(11) *See the beginning of the foregoing Citation.*

(12) *See the third Epiſtle of* Cicero ad Quintum Fratrem, lib. 2. *and* Fabricius *in the Life of* Cicero ad annum urbis 697.

(13) *The* 11*th of the* 4*th Book to* Atticus.

(14) *Of the* 7*th Epiſtle of the* 16*th Book to* Atticus.

(15) Corn. Nepos, c. 14.

(16) Valer. Maximus, lib. 7. c. 8. n. 5. *ſays, that* Cæcilius *had promiſed to make* Lucullus *his Heir, and that, having deceived him, his Corpſe was dragged through the Streets.*

(17) Corn. Nepos, c. 5.

(18) Ibid. cap. 2.

(19) Ibid. cap. 3, & 4.

(20) Ibid, cap. 4.

(21) Volaterr. lib. 18 pag. 666.

(22) *Remarks on* Cicero's *Epiſtles to* Atticus, *in the* Bibliotheque Univerſelle, Tom. 20. pag. 78.

(23) *The Author of* Bibliotheque Univerſelle, *ibid.*

his Friends [*F*]. He never had a Thought of advancing himſelf above the Rank he was born to, which was That of a Knight. He might have attained to great Offices in the Republic; but he choſe rather to decline them [*G*]; becauſe, in the Corruption, which then reigned, he could neither obtain, nor exerciſe, them legally. He never had a Law-Suit in his Life. He never impeached any one, nor ſeconded Thoſe, who did. The Emperor *Auguſtus* was related to him; the manner of the Relation was thus. *Atticus* had married his Daughter to *Agrippa*. That Marriage produced a Daughter, whom *Auguſtus* betrothed to *Tiberius* almoſt as ſoon as ſhe was born (*b*). I believe the Wife of *Atticus* was of no great Family (*c*). He deſerves a Place in the Liſt of good Authors [*H*]. He attained to the Age of Seventy ſeven Years almoſt without knowing what Sickneſs was. He had lived for Thirty Years together without any occaſion for Phyſic. At laſt he fell ſick, and, for Three Months, his Diſtemper was but ſlight, but, afterwards, his Pains were exceſſive. He ſent for his Son-in-Law *Agrippa*, and two other Perſons, and declared to them, he was reſolved to put an end to his Life by abſtaining from all Nouriſhment; he deſired them to approve of his Reſolution, and not oppoſe it, ſince all their Exhortations would be in vain. *Agrippa*, however, employed both his Prayers, and his Tears, to prevail with him to live, but all to no purpoſe. After two Days Abſtinence, his Fever ceaſed, and his Pains were much abated; yet *Atticus* perſiſted in his Reſolution, and died three Days after (*d*). This was in the Year of *Rome* 721. He is fallen, in our Times,

into

(*b*) Nata eſt Attico neptis ex Agrippa cui virginem filiam collocarat. Hanc Cæſar vix anniculam Tiberio Claudio Neroni Druſilla nato privigno ſuo deſpondit. --- *Atticus had a Grand-daughter, by* Agrippa, *who had married his Daughter.* Cæſar, *when ſhe was ſcarce a Year old, betrothed her to* Tiberius Claudius Nero, *who was born of* Druſilla, *by his Son-in-law.* Corn. Nepos in Vita Attici, cap. 19.

(*c*) *See Remark* [C] *towards the end.*

(*d*) Ex Cornelio Nepote, in Vita Pomponii Attici.

[F] *He had always ſomething read at his Table, even when he entertained his Friends.*] If he had kept an open Table for all ſorts of Gueſts, this Cuſtom of Reading would have been very diſagreeable to a great many People; but he invited none, but thoſe of his own Taſte. "Nemo in convivio ejus aliud acroama audivit quam anagnoſten ---- Neque unquam ſine aliqua lectione apud eum cœnatum eſt, ut non minus animo quam ventre convivæ delectarentur, namque eos vocabat quorum mores a ſuis non abhorrerent (24). ---------- *No Body heard any other Muſic at his Entertainments, but Reading. Nor did any Body eat with him, without ſomething being read; ſo that his Company were entertained in their Minds, as well as Bodies; for he invited thoſe only, who were of the ſame Taſte with himſelf.*"

[G] *He might have attained to great Offices in the Republic, but he choſe rather to decline them.*] This was certainly the ſtrongeſt Proof he gave of his Virtue. There was no attaining to Offices in thoſe Times but by ill Practices; nor could they be exerciſed according to the Rules of Juſtice, and for the public Good, without running the Hazard of ſome Violence from a great many ill Perſons. He choſe therefore rather to live in a private Condition, than to purchaſe Dignities at the Price of his Conſcience. How good and rare is this! If all the World were of *Atticus*'s Mind, there would be Room to apprehend a State of Anarchy; but we may ſleep very quietly on this Score: there never will be wanting a Number of Perſons, corrupt enough to accept of Employments, upon any ſort of diſhoneſt Terms, greater than the Number of Places to beſtow on them. I have been told, that a Perſon, who had travelled all his Life-time, anſwered thoſe, who made a Jeſt of his unſettled Temper, that he would willingly have fixt in ſome Town or other, if he could but have found one, where Power and Credit were in the Hands of honeſt Men. Another Traveller, happening once to declare, that he would ramble no longer, than till he could meet with a Town governed by Men of the moſt Merit, was anſwered, YOU WILL DIE THEN IN YOUR TRAVELS. "Honores non petiit cum ei paterent propter vel gratiam vel dignitatem; quod neque peti more majorum, neque capi poſſent conſervatis legibus, in tam eſſuſis ambitus largitionibus, neque geri è republica ſine periculo, corruptis civitatis moribus (25). ----- *He declined all public Offices, tho' both his Intereſt and Authority were great enough to have got him any Thing: Becauſe they could neither be applied for, according to the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, nor procured, without breaking through the Laws by exceſſive Briberies, nor diſcharged with Integrity, even under the Sanction of the Government, without very great Danger, from ſo general a Degree of Corruption.*" Compare with this what was ſaid, above, in the Article of ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO.

[*H*] Atticus *deſerves a Place in the Liſt of good Authors.*] He compoſed Annals, wherein he obſerved an exact Chronology, and cleared the Genealogies of the *Roman* Magiſtrates in the plaineſt Manner that could be. This Work comprehended ſeven Centuries; from whence we may eaſily conjecture, that it principally concerned the *Roman* Hiſtory. I ſay *principally*; for no doubt but the Author, in his Chronological Series, gave an abſtracted Account of ſeveral other States. *Cicero* puts it beyond all Queſtion: "Cognoſcat etiam, *ſays he* (26), rerum geſtarum & memoriæ veteris ordinem maxime ſcilicet noſtræ civitatis: ſed & imperioſorum populorum & regum illuſtrium: quem laborem nobis Attici noſtri levavit labor, qui conſervatis notatiſque temporibus nihil cum illuſtre prætermitteret, annorum ſeptingentorum memoriam uno libro colligavit. ----- *Let him be well acquainted with the Chronological Order of the Cuſtoms and Actions of Antiquity, chiefly of our own City, but alſo of other conſiderable States, and illuſtrious Princes: which will now become an eaſier Work, by the Pains our* Atticus *has taken, who, by an exact Obſervation and Diſtinction of Times, without omitting any Thing remarkable, has included an Account of Seven hundred Years in one Book.* Theſe Annals ſeem to have contained a kind of Chronological Tables. "Habuit iſte liber Attici & nova mihi quidem multa, & eam utilitatem quam requirebam, ut explicatis ordinibus temporum uno in conſpectu omnia viderem (27). ---- *This Book of* Atticus *had indeed many Things new to me, and ſuch a Convenience as pleaſed me, by digeſting the Order of Times in ſuch a manner, that I could ſee every thing at one View.*" I have already ſaid, that *Atticus* obſerved the Genealogical Order very exactly: I ſhall add here, that he wrote particular *Treatiſes on ſome Families*, and compoſed Inſcriptions, of four or five Verſes each, to be placed under the Portraitures of eminent Perſons; and that his Talent was much admired in expreſſing ſo many things in ſo few Words. "Attigit quoque Poëticen, credimus, ne ejus expers eſſet ſuavitatis. Namque verſibus qui honore rerumque geſtarum amplitudine cæteros Romani populi præſtiterunt expoſuit, ita ut ſingulorum imaginibus facta magiſtratuſque eorum non amplius quaternis quiniſque verſibus deſcripſerit, quod vix credendum ſit tantas res tam breviter potuiſſe declarari (28). --- Moris etiam majorum ſummus imitator fuit antiquitatiſque amator, quam adeo diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine expoſuerit, quo magiſtratus ornavit. Nulla enim lex, neque pax, neque bellum, neque res illuſtris eſt populi Romani, quæ non in eo ſuo tempore ſit notata, &, quod difficillimum fuit, ſic familiarum originem ſubtexuit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines poſſimus cognoſcere. Fecit hoc idem ſeparatim in aliis libris, ut M. Bruti rogatu Juniam familiam a ſtirpe ad hanc ætatem ordine enumeravit, notans qui a quo ortus, quos honores, quibuſque temporibus cepiſſet. Pari modo Marcelli Claudii de Marcellorum; Scipionis Cornelii, & Fabii Maximi de Corneliorum, & Fabiorum, & Æmiliorum quoque, quibus libris nihil poteſt eſſe dulcius eis qui aliquam cupiditatem habent notitiæ clarorum virorum (29). —— *He attempted ſomething alſo in Poetry; very likely, that he might be no Stranger to it's Harmony.*

"*For*

(24) Corn. Nepos, c. 14.

(25) Ibid. cap 6.

(26) Cicero in Oratore.

(27) Idem, in Bruto.

(28) Corn. Nepos, cap. 18.

(29) Ibid.

into the Hands of a very ſevere Cenſor [*I*]; but he has not been left undefended againſt the Rigour of theſe Cenſures [*K*]. We have ſomething to correct in Mr *Moreri*'s Dictionary [*L*]. I forgot to mention, that *Atticus* was of the Sect of *Epicurus* (*e*), and that we may defy the moſt zealous Defenders of That Doctrine, which holds it impoſſible, that Men, without the Belief of a Providence, can equal in Virtue Thoſe, who acknowledge a *Jupiter*, a *Neptune &c.* to ſhew a better Man, than *Atticus*, among the greateſt Bigots of Paganiſm.

(*e*) *See* Gaſſendus de Vita Epicuri, lib. 2. cap. 6.

“ *For he deſcribed, in no more than four or five Verſes,* “ *under each Picture of ſome of the moſt famous* Ro- “ mans, *all the Offices and Actions, for which they had* “ *been eminent, and expreſſed ſo many Things in ſo* “ *few Words, as is ſcarce to be credited.* —— *He was* “ *alſo a ſtrict Imitator of the Cuſtoms of his Anceſtors,* “ *and a Lover of Antiquity, which he ſo perfectly un-* “ *derſtood, that he wrote a full Account of it, in the* “ *ſame Work, which he compoſed concerning Magi-* “ *ſtrates. For there is not a Law, a War, a Peace, or* “ *any one remarkable Thing relating to the* Roman “ *People, which he did not mention in it, together* “ *with the Time when each happened. And, what was* “ *moſt difficult of all, he has ſo nicely traced the* “ *Original of Families, that it is eaſy to ſee from* “ *what Stocks our great Men are derived. He com-* “ *poſed particular Pedigrees in other Books; one for* “ *the* Junian *Family, at the Requeſt of* M. Brutus, “ *from the very Beginning of it, in exact Order, down* “ *to our Times, remarking every Branch, from whence* “ *ſprung, what Honours, and in what Times, each* “ *had enjoyed. In like manner, he obliged* Marcellus “ Claudius *with the Genealogy of the* Marcelli, *and* “ Scipio Cornelius, *and* Fabius Maximus, *with* “ *thoſe of the* Cornelii, *the* Fabii, *and the* Æmilii; “ *which Book, afford the greateſt Pleaſure imagi-* “ *nable to ſuch as are curious to know the Particu-* “ *culars concerning eminent Men.*” It is pity theſe Books are loſt; they would clear up a very great Number of Difficulties. I ſay nothing of the *Hiſtory of* Cicero's *Conſulſhip*, which *Atticus* had wrote in the *Greek* Language (30), and in a plain Style (31).

[*I*] *He is fallen, in our Times, into the Hands of a very ſevere Cenſor.*] It is the Abbot of St *Real*. See the Book entitled *Ceſarion, ou Entretiens divers.* It was printed at the *Hague*, from the *Paris* Edition in 1685. It is divided into four *Days*, the third of which contains a very ſevere Cenſure on *Pomponius Atticus*, and his Panegyriſt *Cornelius Nepos.* I have been informed, that the Author of This Work perſiſted in the ſame Sentiments, and that it appears by the Remarks he has added to the Tranſlation of the two firſt Books of *Cicero*'s Letters to *Atticus*. That Tranſlation is mentioned in a Book very well known (32), and I have always wondered, that the Bookſellers of *Amſterdam* did not counterfeit it; for I don't queſtion but much may be learned by reading This Work.

[*K*] *But he has not been left undefended againſt the Rigour of theſe Cenſures.*] In the Year of 1686, there appeared a little Book in *Holland*, entitled, *Le retour des pieces choiſies, ou bigarrures curieuſes*, which, amongſt other Things, contains an Apology for *Pomponius Atticus* againſt the Attacks of *Ceſarion*. The Author of the Apology conceals his Name; but it is no Secret, that it was the late Mr *Reinſſant*, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Cabinet-keeper of Medals. The *News from the Republic of Letters* (33) enlarged on this Piece of Mr *Reinſſant*'s, in ſuch a manner as was not pleaſing to the Abbot of St *Reale*.

[*L*] *We have ſomething to correct in Mr* Moreri's *Dictionary.*] I. It is falſe, that *Cicero* married *Atticus*'s Siſter. It was *Cicero*'s Brother, who married her. II. He ought not to have mentioned the Ties of Friendſhip, occaſioned by This Marriage; ſince *Cornelius Nepos* obſerves very particularly, that *Atticus* had more kindneſs for *Cicero*, than for his Brother-in-law *Quintus Cicero*. “ Erat nupta ſoror Attici Q. Tullio Ciceroni, eaſque nup- “ tias M. Cicero conciliarat, cum quo à condiſcipu- “ latu vivebat conjunctiſſime, multo etiam familiarius, “ quam cum Quinto, ut judicari poſſit plus in ami- “ citia valere ſimilitudinem morum quam affinita- “ tem (34). - - - - - - Atticus's *Siſter was married to* “ Q. Tullius Cicero; *the Match was made by* M. Ci- “ cero, *with whom he had lived in the greateſt Inti-* “ *macy from the Time of their being Schoolfellows, and* “ *much more familiarily, than even now with* Quintus; “ *whence we may judge, that Friendſhip is not ſo much* “ *governed by nearneſs of Relation, as by Similitude* “ *of Manners.*” *Pomponia*, the Siſter of *Atticus*, did not always live well with her Husband (35); ſo that ſhe was not very fit to tie the Knot of Friendſhip between her Husband, and Brother. III. *Cicero* did not dedicate a Volume of his Letters to *Atticus*; it ſhould have been ſaid, that he kept a continual Correſpondence with him by Letters, and that we have a Collection of the Letters, he wrote to him, divided into ſixteen Book. *Cornelius Nepos* mentions it (36), and ſays, that they comprehend the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, and, in ſome ſort, a Prophecy of what was to follow. “ Ut nihil in iis non appa- “ reat, & facile exiſtimari poſſit prudentiam quo- “ dammodo eſſe divinationem. Non enim Cicero “ ea ſolum quæ vivo ſe acciderunt futura prædixit, “ ſed etiam quæ nunc uſu veniunt cecinit ut vates. “ —*That nothing was omitted in them, and it may be* “ *truly ſaid, that his Judgment was, in ſome ſort,* “ *prophetical; for* Cicero, *like a true Prophet, did* “ *not only foretel what would happen in his own Time,* “ *but alſo what is now come to paſs in ours.*” IV. It is carrying the Point too far, to ſay, *That* Atticus *had no other Servants, but ſuch as were fit to read to him.* It was ſufficient to have ſaid, that he had ſeveral ingenious Domeſtics, who could read, and write, very well, and bind Books; and that every one of his Footmen could do This (37). *Cornelius Nepos* ſays no more of it; Who, therefore, in the XVth Century, would take upon him, to make twenty times as much of it? Has he not expreſsly obſerved, that, beſides his Domeſtics, who might be Readers, and Librarians (38), *Atticus* had others, all very well inſtructed, and born, and bred, in his Houſe? “ In ea “ *(familia)* erant pueri literatiſſimi, anagnoſtæ op- “ timi, & plurimi librarii, ut ne pediſſequus quidem “ quiſquam eſſet qui non utrumque horum pulchre “ facere poſſet. Pari modo ARTIFICES CETERI “ quos cultus domeſticus deſiderat apprime boni. “ Neque tamen horum quemquam, niſi domi natum “ domique factum, habuit (39). —— *He had, in his* “ *Family, very learned Youths, excellent Readers,* “ *and many of them Librarians, and every one of his* “ *Lackeys had both theſe Qualifications. He had,* “ *alſo,* OTHER ARTIFICERS, *moſt skillful in* “ *their kinds, for all domeſtic Uſes; and every one* “ *of them born, and educated, in his Houſe.*” The “ firſt, and third, of theſe four Miſtakes, are not in the *Holland* Edition.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Cicero, Epiſt. 1. lib. 2. ad Atticum.

(32) *In the* 2 th *Tome of the* Bibliotheque Univerſelle, p. 73. *See alſo the* Journal des Sçavans *for* Febr. 12, 1691.

(33) *Of* Dec. 1686. *Artic.* 4. *p.* 1405.

(34) Corn. Nepos, c. 5.

(35) *See* Cicero's *Epiſt. to* Atticus, *l.* 5. *Epiſt.* 1.

(36) Cap. 16.

(37) *We find the Names of ſome of theſe Domeſtics of* Atticus, *in the Epiſtles* Cicero *wrote to him.*

(38) *This Word means both Perſons tranſcribing, and making up of Books, or binding them, according to the manner of thoſe Times.*

(39) Corn. Nepos, c. 13.

ATTILA, King of the *Huns*, ſirnamed *the Scourge of God*, lived in the Vth Century. He may be reckoned among the greateſt Conquerors, ſince there were but few Provinces in *Europe*, which did not feel the Weight of his victorious Arms. He would not grant the Emperor *Theodoſius* a Peace, on any other Condition, than of becoming his Tributary [*A*]. The Battle, he loſt in *Champagne* (*a*), in the Year

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(*a*) In Campis Catalaunicis.

[*A*] *He would not grant the Emperor* Theodoſius *a Peace, on any other Condition, than of becoming his Tributary.*] According to the rodomontado Maxim, *That we ought to give Things an honourable Name,* what the Emperor was obliged to pay, every Year, to *Attila*, was not called a Tribute, but a Penſion. Theſe are the Words of a modern Author. “ He “ forced the Emperor *Theodoſius*, the younger, ſhamefully to beg a Peace of him; neither could he obtain “ it, without buying it, by paying him down Six thou-

“ ſand

451, did not weaken him to ſuch a degree, but that he ſoon found himſelf in a Condition to proceed to ravage *Italy*; and, if the Prayers of Pope *Leo* had not ſtopped him, he would infallibly have taken the City of *Rome*. We muſt not believe what is reported of the Apparition of an old Man ſtanding with a naked Sword in his Hand by St *Leo*'s ſide, and threatning *Attila*. This King of the *Huns* was of a ſmall Stature (*b*); but That did not hinder his ſtriking a Terror into the moſt couragious, by his lofty Carriage and fierce Countenance. He knew very well how to join Craft with Force [*B*]. Superſtition was one part of his Politics [*C*]. He was an artful, ſubtle, Diſſembler, wiſe in Council, and daring in Execution, cruel to his Enemies, but merciful enough to thoſe, who ſubmitted to him in the Poſture of Supplicants. He is alſo ſaid to have made it a Point of Honour, to keep his Faith inviolably with thoſe, whom he had once received into his Protection (*c*). He would not ſuffer extravagant Flatterers (*d*). The moſt common Opinion about the Manner of his Death is, that he was ſuffocated, by a Bleeding at the Noſe, on his Wedding Night [*D*]. We ſhall relate in another Place (*e*), how greatly he was courted by

(*b*) Maimbourg Hiſt. de l'Arianiſme, Tom. 3. pag. 5. ex Jornande, cap. 25. & à Paulo Diacono in Miſcell. lib. 15.

(*c*) Maimb. ubi ſupra. *See Remark* [*E*].

(*d*) *See the Article* MARULLUS *of* Calabria.

(*e*) *In the Article* HONORIA.

“ ſand Pound Weight of Gold *, and obliging himſelf to pay him One thouſand more every Year †: So that the Emperor of the Eaſt, whatever Recourſe he had to the ſpecious Title of Penſion, to ſave his Honour, became Tributary to the *Huns* (1).” The ſame Author relates, that “ *Attila*, having ſeen a Picture, in the Palace of *Milan*, which repreſented an Emperor on his Throne, with the *Scythians*, in Chains, at his Feet, ordered it to be taken away, and another put in it's Place, wherein he himſelf was drawn, ſitting on a Throne, ſurrounded with Emperors, loaden with Bags of Gold and Silver, which they emptied at his Feet, in a very ſubmiſſive Poſture; intending to ſhew thereby, that, as he had obliged *Theodoſius* to pay him Tribute ſeven or eight Years before, he would force the Emperor *Valentinian* to do the ſame, to ſave his Life, and the miſerable Remains of his Empire (2).”

* Six Hundred Seventy eight Thouſand Crowns.

† One Hundred thirteen Thouſand Crowns

(1) Maimbourg Hiſt. de l'Arianiſme, Tom. 3. pag. 4. ex Paulo Diacono in Miſcell. lib. 15.

(2) Maimb. Hiſtoire de St Leon, lib. 3. pag. 220. *He cites* Suidas.

[*B*] *He knew very well how to join Craft with Force.*] This appears by the Intrigue, which he managed in his Expedition againſt the *Gauls*. He endeavoured to diſunite the *Romans*, commanded by *Aëtius*, from the *Viſigoths*, under their King *Theodoric*. For this Purpoſe he ſent Word to the Emperor *Valentinian*, that he had no Thoughts of committing any Acts of Hoſtility againſt the Subjects of the Empire, that he only intended to chaſtiſe the *Francs*, and the *Viſigoths*, whereof the former had been ſo audacious as to invade the Territories of the Empire, and the latter were only Slaves to *Valentinian*. At the ſame time he let *Theodoric* underſtand, that he had made the King of the *Vandals* believe, that he came into *Gaul* againſt the *Viſigoths*: but, that it was only a Pretence to deceive the Emperor; that his true Deſign was to divide the Empire, between the *Huns*, and the *Viſigoths*, and that he would fall upon *Italy*, if *Theodoric* would attack the *Gauls* (3). *Valentinian* and *Theodoric* eaſily diſcovered this Snare, and jointly repulſed This crafty Conqueror. “ Homo ſubtilis, antequam bella gereret, arte pugnabat, cætera epiſtolas blandimentis oppleverat, ſtudens fidem adhibere mendacio (4). —— *An artful Man, before he engaged in a War, he fought with the Weapons of Policy, he filled his Letters with Compliments, the better to cover his Diſſimulation.*”

(3) Cordemoi, Hiſt. de France, Tom. 1. pag. 116. ex Jornande. *See alſo* Maimb. Hiſt. de l'Arianiſme, Tom. 3. pag. 9.

(4) Jornandes de reb. Goth.

[*C*] *Superſtition was one Part of his Politics*] “ He found means to poſſeſs the Minds of his Soldiers with a ſuperſtitious Belief, that he had ſomething in him divine, on which his good Fortune depended; for, whether he believed it himſelf, or rather only pretended ſo, he made them believe, he had found the Scymitar of *Mars*, who was worſhipped by That People, and that the Fates had promiſed the Empire of the World to Him, who ſhould be poſſeſſed of That fatal Sword (5).” This is one of the moſt prevailing Stratagems, that a General of an Army can make uſe of, to manage, and move, his Soldiers, by the Springs of a myſterious Superſtition, which fills them either with Reſolution, or Fear, according as the Caſe requires; with Reſolution, when there is occaſion for Fighting, and with Fear, when they are inclinable to Mutiny. It is very well for a Soldier to be perſuaded, that his General has a Guardian Angel, who delivers him out of all Danger (6). *Attila* was ſuperſtitious himſelf: “ Religioni perſuaſionibuſque de Diis à ſuâ gente ſuſceptis uſque ad ſuperſtitionem addictus (7). —— *Addicted much to Religion, and a Belief in all the Notions of his Country, concerning the Gods, even to a Degree of Superſtition*;” for, a little before the Battle of *Chalons*, “ he conſulted his Diviners, who told him, that, in truth, they could diſcover nothing advantageous to the *Huns*, from all their Obſervations, but that the Enemy's General would be killed in the Battle. This was enough to deceive *Attila*; he imagined, the Death of *Aëtius* was certain, and that, the Obſtacle being thus removed, his Way would be open to the Conqueſt of the Empire. He did not value the Loſs of his Soldiers, being fully perſwaded, he ſhould always have a ſufficient Number left, provided he ſurvived That Great Commander (8).” But he was deceived, for “ *Aëtius* was not ſo much as wounded in the Battle.”

(5) Maimb. Hiſt. de l'Arianiſme, Tom. 3. pag. 6.

(6) *See Remarks* [*A*] *and* [*B*] *of the Article* ARISTANDER; *and the Article* AGRIPPA *Remark* [*P*] *num.* 1. *at the end.*

(7) Callimachus Experiens, in Attila.

(8) Cordemio, p. 120. ex Jornande.

[*D*] *He was ſuffocated, by a Bleeding at the Noſe, on his Wedding-Night.*] It is reported, that, after Pope *Leo*'s Prayers had prevailed with him to ſpare the reſt of *Italy*, he returned into *Pannonia*, laden with the Spoil, and that, though he had a great Number of Concubines, yet he would take one more, who was the Daughter of the King of the *Bactrians*. She was a perfect Beauty; and he loved her ſo paſſionately, that he would honour her with all the Ceremonies of Marriage, and give her the firſt Rank among his Wives. He kept his Wedding with great Solemnity; but he drank ſo much, and afterwards heated himſelf ſo exceſſively, in the Embraces of his new Wife, that, being at laſt fallen aſleep, he was taken with a Bleeding at the Noſe, which ſuffocated him. “ Ildico puella ei fuit præ cæteris gratiſſima, Bactrianorum regis filia mira pulchritudine & incomparabili venuſtate, cujus amore ſuccenſus eam primariæ uxoris loco habere conſtituit. Comparatis pro regis dignitate nuptiis, per omnem intemperantiæ licentiam in conjugali convivio ſibi indulſit, Baccho ac Venere corpus ita ea nocte confecit, ut, inter dormiendum ſupino corpore, profluvio ſanguinis è naribus continuo ſuffocatus interierit (9). —— *A Virgin, named* Ildico, *charmed him above all the reſt, Daughter of the King of the* Bactrians, *and an incomparable Beauty, with whom he was ſo paſſionately in Love, that he determined to give her the firſt Place among his Wives. The Nuptials being ſolemnized ſuitably to the Royal Dignity, he gave himſelf up to all poſſible Intemperances at his Wedding Feaſt, and ſo inflamed his Body, that Night, with the Exceſſes both of* Bacchus *and* Venus, *that, as he lay ſleeping on his Back, a Bleeding at the Noſe ſuddenly ſuffocated him.*” This Story would All be probable enough, if they had not added, that *Attila* was then One hundred and twenty four Years of Age. It is hard to believe, that, at ſuch an Age, a Man ſhould be capable of ſo great Exceſſes with the Fair Sex. A *Frieſland* Hiſtorian has alledged this Fact, in favour of the Hiſtories of his own Nation, which make their Kings very long lived. He does not borrow it from *Bonfinius*, but from *Michael Rithius*. “ His adde teſtimonium Michaelis Rithii, qui libro de regibus Hungariæ primo ſcribit, Atthilam Italica præda opimiſque ſpoliis onuſtum in Pannoniam ſe recepiſſe, uxoremque ſuperduxiſſe regis Bactrianorum nomine Milzoth, etſi plures alias haberet in matrimonio, eumque cum nuptiales epulas apparatiſſime celebraſſet, liberius ſolito crapulatum

(9) Bonfinius, Hiſt. Hungar. Decad. 1. lib. 7. pag. 75.

“ in

by the Siſter of *Valentinian* III. His Life was written, in the XVth Century, by an *Italian* Refugee in *Poland*, named *Callimachus Experiens*. Others have wrote it ſince [*E*].

It is ſaid, he was ambitious of aboliſhing the *Roman* Language, and eſtabliſhing his own in its ſtead [*F*].

“ in cubiculum ſe recepiſſe, erumpenteque è naribus “ ſanguine in os dormientis extinctum eſſe, anno “ ætatis ſuæ 124, regni ſui 44. Si tantam ætatem “ in hoc libidinoſo tauro Scythico credimus, cur non “ & eamdem Friſiis accidere potuiſſe cenſeamus (10)? “ —— *To theſe we may add the Teſtimony of* Michael Rithius, *who, in his firſt Book of the Kings* “ *of* Hungary, *ſays, that* Attila, *loaden with the Spoils* “ *and Wealth of* Italy, *retired into* Pannonia, *and married a Wife, named* Milzoth, *of the Family of the King* “ *of the* Bactrians, *though he had already a great* “ *many others; and that, celebrating his Nuptial* “ *Entertainment, with the greateſt Solemnity, he drank* “ *ſo much harder than uſual, that, after he got to* “ *bed, a Bleeding at the Noſe ſeized him, as he* “ *ſlept, and ſuffocated him, in the One hundred and* “ *twenty fourth Year of his Age, and the Forty* “ *fourth of his Reign. If this luſtful* Scythian *Bull* “ *could attain to ſo great an Age, why might not the* “ *ſame Thing happen in our Country of* Frieſland?” Laſtly, ſome have related, that *Attila* did not die in this Manner; but that his new Wife, who did not love him, finding him drunk, and faſt aſleep, like another *Holophernes*, ſtabbed him with a Knife (11).

[*E*] *Others have wrote it ſince.*] *Nicholas Olabus*, Archbiſhop of *Strigonium*, wrote the Life of *Attila*, much more fully than *Callimachus Experiens*. He compoſed it, while he was Counſellor to *Mary* of *Auſtria*, Queen of *Hungary*, Governeſs of the *Netherlands*. You read, in it, the Speech, which *Attila* made to his Army, a little before the Battle of *Chalons*. That Speech is formed on all the common Places, as appears by the marginal Notes. *Sambucus* has inſerted This Work of *Olabus*, and That *of Callimachus Experiens*, in his Edition of *Bonfinius*. The Sieur *Otrokocſi* (12), who publiſhed a Book on the Origin of the *Hungarians*, makes ample mention of *Attila*, chiefly taken from the Relation of *Priſcus*, who had accompanied the Ambaſſadors ſent by *Theodoſius* to This King of the *Huns*, in the Year 448. He draws divers Obſervations from That Relation, to ſhew, that *Attila* was a very honourable Perſon: He does not forget the Reproaches, which That Prince cauſed to be made to the Emperor *Theodoſius*, on the Eunuch *Chryſaphius*'s endeavouring to engage *Edecon*, *Attila*'s Envoy at the Court of *Theodoſius*, to murder his Maſter. This Envoy pretended to undertake it for a great Sum of Money, which was promiſed him; and afterwards diſcovered all to *Attila*. The Money was brought, and the Plot proved; the King of the *Huns* complained of it to *Theodoſius*, in a grand Manner, and with an Air ſuitable enough to the Character given him, of Eaſineſs to his Suppliants, and Steadineſs to his Word. “ Supplicibus propè ad “ mollitiem facilis, & qui in fidem ſemel receptos “ in perniciem uſque ſuam tueretur (13). —— *Eaſy,* “ *almoſt to a Degree of Weakneſs, to his Suppliants,* “ *and a Protector of thoſe, whoſe Cauſe he had once* “ *undertaken, even to his own Prejudice.*”

[*F*] *It is ſaid, he was ambitious of aboliſhing the* Roman *Language, and eſtabliſhing his own in it's ſtead.*] I have met with this, in a Piece of *Alcyonius*, where *John de Medicis*, who was Pope *Leo* X, is introduced ſpeaking theſe Words. “ In Bibliotheca “ noſtrâ aſſervatur Liber incerti autoris Græcè ſcriptus “ de reb. à Gotis in Italiâ geſtis; in eo memini me “ legere Attilam regem poſt partam victoriam tam “ ſtudioſum fuiſſe Goticæ linguæ propagandæ, ut “ edicto ſanxerit ne quis linguâ latinâ loqueretur, “ Magiſtroſque inſuper è ſuâ provinciâ acciviſſe, “ qui Italos Goticam linguam edocerent (14). —— “ *In our Library is preſerved a Book, of an uncertain* “ *Author, written in* Greek, *concerning the Adventures of the* Goths *in* Italy, *in which I remember to* “ *have read, that King* Attila, *after his Conqueſt,* “ *was ſo ſet upon propagating the* Gothic *Tongue,* “ *that he prohibited the ſpeaking* Latin, *by an Edict,* “ *and ſent for Maſters from his own Country to teach* “ *the* Italians *this new Language.*” In the Article of the Emperor CLAUDIUS (15), you will find ſome Collections, concerning the Zeal of ſeveral Princes, for the Language of their Country.

(10) Bernard. Furmerius Annal. Phriſicor. lib. 3. cap. 9. pag. 243.

(11) Maimb. Hiſt. de l'Arianiſme, Tom. 3. pag. 35. ann. 453, ex Caſſiodoro.

(12) *He is a Proteſtant Divine, an* Hungarian *Refugee. His Book, entituled* Origines Hungaricæ, *was printed at* Franeker, *in* 8vo, *in* 1693.

(13) Callim. Experiens.

(14) Petrus Alcyonius, in Medice Legato poſteriore, fol. h iij, verſo.

(15) *Remark* [*A*].

ATTILIUS, a *Latin* Poet, lived, according to all appearances, in the Beginning of the VIIth Century of *Rome*. *Volcatius Sedigitus* has given him the fifth Place among the Ten Comic Poets. Yet he was but a mean Author; his Stile was as hard as Iron (*a*), not only according to *Cicero*'s Taſte, but even according to *Licinius*'s, who had nothing near ſo delicate an Ear as *Cicero*. The Tranſlation of *Sophocles*'s *Electra* by *Attilius* was good for nothing; and yet *Cicero* judged it worth the Reading (*b*). *Suetonius* obſerves, that ſome Paſſages were taken out of it to be ſung at *Julius Cæſar*'s Funeral, becauſe they were applicable to the Murtherers of That Emperor (*c*). *Caſaubon* and *Torrentius* have in vain altered That Paſſage of *Suetonius* [*A*]. They have only given an Example of the Confuſion, which Criticiſm may ſometimes occaſion.

(*a*) *See Remark* [*I*] *of the Article* ACCIUS, *at the beginning.*

(*b*) *See the ſame Remark.*

(*c*) Sueton. in Cæſare, cap. 94.

[*A*] Caſaubon *and* Torrentius *have in vain altered That Paſſage of* Suetonius.] *Caſaubon*, having found, *Ex Electra Attilii alia ad ſimilem ſententiam*, in all the Copies of *Suetonius*, was, nevertheleſs, of Opinion, that This *Attilii* ought to be changed for *Attii*. “ Sic emendavimus, *ſays he*, corruptam omnium li“ brorum lectionem Attilii. —— *We have thus cor*“ *rected the corrupt reading of* Attilii *in all the* “ *Books.*” *Torrentius* is not ſatisfied with putting out *Attilius*, in favour of *Attius*; he puts out *Electra* alſo, upon Pretence, that *Suetonius* has mentioned but one Piece of *Attius*, intituled, *Armorum judicium*, like That of *Pacuvius*, which he had but juſt quoted. The Reaſon *Torrentius* gives for his Emendation, is, that the Manuſcripts vary extremely, as to the Name of This Poet, but that the greateſt Number of them have *Accius*, or *Attius*. Thus we ſee the Critics do not agree on the Readings of the Manuſcripts, which is a Matter of Fact. *Caſaubon* confeſſes, he found *Attilius* every where. *Torrentius* ſays, on the contrary, that he met with *Attilius* but ſeldom. *Peter Crinitus* complained, that the Grammarians had put *Accius*, inſtead of *Attilius*, in That Paſſage of *Suetonius* (1). But let us come to ſomething of more Subſtance. Though *Caſaubon* has not given us his Reaſon for changing the Text, we need not doubt but it was the ſame with That of *Torrentius*. Now *Torrentius*'s Reaſon is this: He did not remember to have read any thing concerning the *Electra* of *Attius*, nor concerning a Poet, whoſe Name was *Attilius*. It is not ſo ſurprizing, that a learned Man ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be hurried away to the Denial of a Fact, upon ſo weak a Principle as This, as that two ſuch excellent Critics ſhould be ignorant, that *Cicero* mentions the *Electra* of *Attilius*; that he treats *Attilius* as a very harſh Poet; that *Volcatius Sedigitus* ſpeaks handſomely of him, in *Aulus Gellius*; and that *Varro* quotes him in his fifth and fixth Books of the *Latin* Tongue (2). I ſay nothing of *Crinitus*, nor of *Gregory Gyraldus*, who have remembred him in the Lives of the *Latin* Poets, by ſuch Tokens, that the latter has falſely charged *Cicero* with calling him a Tragic Poet (3). I ſhall not meddle with the Complaints, which have been made againſt thoſe, who alter the Reading of Manuſcripts, according to the Model of their own Underſtandings. This would be entering upon That Subject very unſeaſonably, conſidering the great Services, which *Caſaubon* has done to the Republic of Learning, by his vaſt and judicious Erudition. *Torrentius*'s Merit is not of ſo high a Stamp; but it has it's Value, which I would not in the leaſt depretiate.

(1) P. Crin. de Poët. Lat. c. 14.

(2) *See* Reineſius Var. Lect. lib 3, cap. 3, pag. 370. apud Sueton. Grævii, in Cæſare, cap. 94.

(3) Voſſius, de Poët. Lat. pag. 7.

ATTIUS (Lucius) a Tragic Poet. *See* ACCIUS.

AUBERI (N.) Author of an Hiſtory of Cardinal *de Richelieu* [*A*], and of Cardinal *Mazarin*; ſee the Journal *des Sçavans* (*a*). If ſome particular Reaſon does not hinder me, I ſhall always make uſe of ſuch a Reference as This, when the Book to be referred to is eaſily to be met with, and only contains the Life of a Perſon in a very compendious manner.

(*a*) *For the* 14*th of* March, 1695, *pag.* 185, & ſeq. *of the* Holland *Edition.*

[*A*] **AUBERI**, *Author of an Hiſtory of Cardinal* de Richelieu.] It was printed at *Paris*, in Folio, in the Year 1660, with two other Volumes, containing *Letters*, *Inſtructions*, and *Memoirs*. *Anthony Bertier*, Bookſeller of *Paris*, who printed them, had collected the Pieces contained in the two latter, with great Care; but he repreſented to the Queen Mother, *That he durſt not publiſh them, without her Majeſty's particular Authority and Protection, becauſe there were ſeveral Perſons in favour again at Court, whoſe paſt Conduct not having been regular, and appearing very much to their Diſadvantage, in thoſe Memoirs, would certainly occaſion him a great deal of Trouble. Go on*, ſaid the Queen to him, *finiſh your Work without Fear, and make Vice ſo much aſhamed, that nothing but Virtue may ſhew it's Face in* France (1).

(1) LaCaille, *Hiſtory of* Printing; *p.* 285, 286.

AUBERTIN (Edmund) in *Latin Edmundus Albertinus*, Miniſter of the Church of *Paris* in the XVIIth Century, was a very learned Man. He was born, at *Chalons* on *Marne*, in the Year 1595. He was received into the Miniſtry at the Synod of *Charenton*, in the Year 1618, and appointed to the Church of *Chartres*, from whence he was transferred to *Paris* in the Year 1631 (*a*). He wrote, properly ſpeaking, only one Book [*A*], but acquired more Reputation by That one, than other Learned Men have done by printing an hundred Volumes. The Subject of this Work is the Controverſy of the Euchariſt. It appeared in the Year 1633, under the Title of the *Euchariſt of the ancient Church*. The Agents of the Clergy of *France* complained of Mr *Aubertin* before the King's Council [*B*], and obtained a Warrant to take him into Cuſtody, for having ſtiled himſelf Paſtor of the Reformed Church of *Paris*. This Proceſs was dropt; the Time was not yet come to puſh theſe ſort of Matters too far (*b*). Whether the merit of the Piece, without the aſſiſtance of This Accident, made it ſell ſo well, or that People concluded it muſt be excellently well done, becauſe the Clergy choſe to attack it by way of the Secular Arm; it is certain, the Author had reaſon to be contented with the Succeſs of his Book [*C*]. This

(*a*) *Preface of his Book* de Euchariſtia, *written by* David Blondel.

(*b*) *I have heard, that, after this, for ſome Expreſſion he uſed in the Pulpit, the Court ſuſpended him from preaching for two or three Years.*

[*A*] *He wrote, properly ſpeaking, only one Book.*] For the Eſſay, which he publiſhed on St *Auguſtin*, to ſhew, that the Sentiments of That Father, concerning the Euchariſt, were not conformable to Thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, but to Thoſe of the *Proteſtants* (1), ought only to be looked upon as a ſmall Specimen of the Book, which he publiſhed in Folio, in the 1633. I ſay this after the learned *Blondel*. "Auguſtinum quem obtorto collo in partes trahere conabatur Perronius abducenti fortiter extorſit, vindicatumque in Dei caſtra feliciter reduxit. Hoc inſigni virtutis Specimine dato, & tirocinio, ut ſic dicam, poſito, de patrum univerſorum cauſa aſſerenda ſerio cogitans, Antiquæ Eccleſiæ Euchariſtiam nobis accuratiore ſtudio repreſentavit (2). —— *He reſcued St* Auſtin *out of the Hands of* Perron, *who had forced him into his Service, entirely againſt his Meaning, and brought him back again to his Poſt, in the true Cauſe of God. Having given this glorious Specimen of his Zeal, and, as it were, his firſt Eſſay on the Subject he was conſidering, the Vindication of the Fathers, he has ſince more fully deſcribed the Euchariſt of the ancient Church.*" I never ſaw *the Obſervations he wrote, out of reſpect to the Abbot of* Marolles, *on a Book of Mr* de la Milletiere, *who preſſed him for an Anſwer to ſome difficult Queſtions*; but I have been told, it is a Book of Two hundred and Twenty ſix Pages, which was printed in the Year 1648, concerning the Controverſy of the Euchariſt. The Abbot of *Marolles* mentions it in the Liſt of the Preſents he had received from Authors.

[*B*] *The Agents of the Clergy of* France *complained of him before the King's Council.*] They repreſented, in their Petition, that Mr *Edmund Aubertin*, Miniſter of the pretended Reformed Religion at *Charenton*, had cauſed a Book to be printed, *wherein he took upon himſelf the Title of Paſtor of the Reformed Church of* Paris, *and addreſſed his Preface to the Faithful of the Reformed Church of the ſaid City of* Paris; and that, in the Approbation of This Book, the other Miniſters of *Charenton ſtiled themſelves Paſtors of the Churches of the Iſle of* France, Champagne, *and Country of* Chartres; *and, in their Subſcriptions, wrote themſelves* Maiſtrezat, *and* Drelincourt, *Paſtors of the Reformed Churches of* Paris, *and* Dallié (3), *Miniſter of the Holy Goſpel of the ſaid Church.* The ſame Agents complained, that, in the Title of the Book, the Cardinals *Bellarmine* and *Du Perron*, were called *Adverſaries of the Church.* The King ordered, *that* Aubertin *ſhould be ſeized, and impriſoned in the Biſhop's Fort, if he could be taken; and, if not, that he ſhould be ſummoned by the public Crier, with a ſhort three Days Warning, that his Effects ſhould be ſeized, and inventoried, according to the Decree, in order to proceed to his Trial; and that the ſaid* Maiſtrezat, Drelincourt, *and* Dallié, *ſhould be ſummoned to appear in Perſon to be heard, and interrogated, on the Facts mentioned in the Petition.* His Majeſty *commanded the Miniſters, and others profeſſing the pretended Reformed Religion, to uſe the Titles given them by the Edicts, and no others, forbidding them to call the Catholics Adverſaries of the Church* (4). This Arret was given in the King's Privy Council, the fourteenth of *July*, 1633 (5). The Author of the Hiſtory of the Edict of *Nants* informs us (6), that *this Affair, which made much Noiſe to little Purpoſe, was ended almoſt as ſoon as it was begun, and produced, for that time, only ſome verbal Prohibitions* (7). He adds, That *the Book was the greater in requeſt for it, and that the Succeſs encouraged the Author to reviſe and enlarge it, and to treat the Subject compleatly in a large* Latin *Volume, which did not appear 'till after his Death, and the unſuſpected Catholic Doctors never durſt confute it Paragraph by Paragraph.*

[*C*] *He had reaſon to be contented with the Succeſs of his Book.*] We have juſt now ſhewn the Judgment paſſed upon it by the Author of *the Hiſtory of the Edict of* Nantes. He only followed That of Mr *Daillé*, the Son, whoſe Words are theſe: "The Name of Mr *Aubertin* is immortal, here below, and will live for ever in That great and incomparable Work of *The Euchariſt*, which remains, to this Day, ſuperior to all the Attacks of Thoſe of the other Communion; not one of whom has dared to oppoſe him fairly, or undertake him Face to Face, if we may ſo ſay. Even They, who paſs among them for the Pillars and Heads of the Party, could only give him ſome indirect Blows, according to the Rules of this

(1) *This Book was printed in the Year* 1626; *the Title of it is,* Conformity of the Belief of the Church with That of St *Auguſtin*, on the Sacrament of the Euchariſt; *it contains above* 500 *Pages in* 8vo.

(2) David. Blondellus, in Præf. libri Albertini de Euchariſtiâ.

(3) *They have miſtaken the true Names of* Meſtrezat *and* Daillé.

(4) *See Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* BOCHART (Matth) *towards the end.*

(5) *It is in the Collection of the Arrets obtained for the Affairs of the Clergy during the Agency and the Purſuit of the Sieurs, the Abbot* de Paimpont, *and the Prior* de Mouſtiers.

(6) Tome 2, pag. 534.

(7) *This ought not to be underſtood of the Prohibitions contained in the Arreſt of the* 14*th of* July, 1633.

This obliged him to reviſe, enlarge, and complete, it, with ſo much Application, that he ſeems to have made it his whole Buſineſs and Study. He compoſed his new Book in *Latin*, but had not the Satisfaction to ſee it publiſhed. After his Death, it was printed at *Deventer*, by the care of *David Blondel* (*c*). When this Book began to be forgot, there aroſe a Quarrel between *Meſſieurs de Port-Royal*, and Mr *Claudé*, which made known the Name of *Aubertin*, and the Character of his Work [*D*], to a great many Perſons, who had never heard of it before, or remembred it no longer. Mr *Claudé* had a thouſand occaſions to mention the Merit of This Book [*E*]. Mr *Aubertin* died at *Paris*, the fifth of *April* 1652, aged Fifty ſeven Years. He was expoſed, in his Agonies, to the Inſults of the Curate of St *Sulpice* [*F*], and, in ſpight of his drowſineſs, which was one of the principal Symptoms of his Diſtemper, he had his Mind free enough to declare, when That Miſſionary queſtioned him, that he died in a full Belief of the Truths he had always profeſſed. He had had much Acceſs to the Duke *de Verneuil*, who was at that time Abbot of St *Germain des Prez*. That Prince would often have him at his Table: He found him very entertaining, of an Univerſal Converſation, well ſkilled in the Culture of Fruit-Trees, and Flowers, in Muſic, *&c.* One of Mr *Aubertin*'s Sons was Miniſter of *Amiens*.

(*c*) *In the Year* 1654. *It is a Folio, with near* 1000 *Pages in two Columns.*

“ new Art, which they have invented, and which the Deſpair of their Cauſe has made them put in practice, under the ſpecious Name of a Method of Preſcription (8).” Mr *Daillé* means here the Divines of *Port Royal*, who, in their Book of *The Perpetuity of the Faith*, inſtead of oppoſing Mr *Aubertin*'s whole Work, have only combated his Hiſtory of *The Innovation of Faith*: Neither have they done this, by oppoſing Facts to Facts, but Arguments only. See the ſecond Chapter of the firſt Book of Mr *Claudé*'s great Anſwer, wherein he ſhews, that the Author of *The Perpetuity of the Faith* attacked Mr *Aubertin*'s Book *in an oblique and indirect manner*.

WHAT Judgment the *Port Royal* makes of *Aubertin*.

[*D*] *A Quarrel between Meſſieurs* de Port Royal, *and Mr* Claudé, *made known the Name of* Aubertin, *and the Character of his Work*.] The Author of *The Perpetuity of the Faith*, out of this great Work of our Miniſter, attempts only to confute the Hiſtory of the Innovation. This gave occaſion enough to produce on the Stage the Name and Work of *Aubertin*. See here a Paſſage in *The Perpetuity of Faith*. “*Aubertin* alſo, perceiving, that there was no way to maintain a Notion ſo evidently ridiculous (9), thought it neceſſary to alter The Plan. Obſerve, then, in what View we ought to conſider, whatever this Miniſter, who unhappily ſpent his Life in ſearching, among the Writings of the Ancients, for all poſſible Helps towards obſcuring the Truth, has found moſt plauſible to prove ſo great a Degeneracy from the ancient Faith, which he is obliged to make out, that he may not himſelf paſs for an Innovator.” Mr *Arnauld* has treated him much more unhandſomely, though he confeſſes (10), that it is greatly to be wiſhed, that *ſome ingenious Perſon would undertake to confute the Books of the new Miniſters, and, amongſt others, That of* Aubertin, *and Thoſe of Mr* Daillé. He maintains, “That *Aubertin*'s Work is very contemptible; that This Miniſter was a Man of low Parts; a mean Critic, without any loftineſs of Style, or Judgment; who had read much, becauſe That required only Eyes and Leiſure, but who had read without Penetration, or Underſtanding; who does not diſtinguiſh between good and bad Reaſons; who exclaims every Moment on the weakeſt Proofs; who has corrupted common Senſe, by the Habit of repeating always the ſame Abſurdities, and who, far from *having obtained a fair Victory over the School of* Rome, *has only diſcovered the Weakneſs of the* Calviniſts (11).”

[*E*] *Mr* Claudé *had a thouſand Occaſions to mention the Merit of This Book*.] In favour of Thoſe, who, without any other Trouble, than That of reading this Article, deſire to know Mr *Aubertin*'s Plan, I ſhall copy theſe Words of Mr *Claudé*.

PLAN of Mr *Aubertin*'s Book.

“Mr *Aubertin*'s whole Book is a Body of Controverſy on the Subject of the Euchariſt, which is divided into three Parts. In the firſt, he conſiders it from the Holy Scriptures, and from Human Reaſoning. He produces his Paſſages, and his Arguments, he confutes the Anſwers, which are made to them; he relates the Paſſages and Arguments of Thoſe of the Communion of *Rome*, and anſwers theſe, and almoſt every Thing elſe, which has hitherto been ſaid conſiderable in This Controverſy. In the ſecond, he examines the Belief of the Church, for the firſt ſix Centuries, by an exact Diſcuſſion of all the Paſſages on both ſides; and he makes it appear, that Tranſubſtantiation, and the Real Preſence, were unknown Doctrines in all That time. In the third, he gives the Hiſtory of the Introduction of Thoſe Doctrines (12).” Mr *Claudé* had already ſaid, in his firſt Anſwer, that Mr *Aubertin*, after having examined to the Bottom all the Queſtions concerning the *Euchariſt*, “By the Holy Scriptures, and by Reaſoning, and having obtained a fair Victory over all the Subtilities of the School of *Rome*, examines very particularly all the Paſſages of the Fathers, which have hitherto been produced on this Subject by both ſides; thus diſcovering, to all the World, the alteration the Church of *Rome* has made, by perpetually comparing the ancient and new Doctrines: To which he adds the Hiſtory of the Riſe and Progreſs of Tranſubſtantiation, and the Real Preſence (13).”

[*F*] *He was expoſed, in his Agonies, to the Inſults of the Curate of St* Sulpice.] At nine o' Clock in the Evening, he came to the ſick Man's Door with the Bailiff of St *Germains*. The Mob, to the Number of Forty, followed him with Arms. He knocked at the Door, and pretended to be the Phyſician, in order to gain Admiſſion. As ſoon as the Door was opened, the whole Troop ruſhed violently into the Houſe, affirming, That the ſick Perſon deſired to make his Abjuration before a Prieſt; but that he was hindered, which was the Reaſon of their coming to deliver his Conſcience from ſuch Slavery. The eldeſt Son of the agonizing Miniſter defended the Stairs, as well as he could, but, at laſt, to hinder the Mob from breaking the open Chamber Door, it was agreed, to let the Curate and *Bailiff*, only, come into the ſick Perſon's Chamber. The Cries and Shoutings of their Guard, recovered Mr *Aubertin* a little out of his Lethargic State, ſo that he declared, very diſtinctly, his Perſeverance in the Reformed Religion. The Curate and Bailiff went out, and had much ado to make the Mob retire; who, in a little Time after, returned again, crying out, That the Curate and Bailiff had been forced out of the Houſe; and would have broke and plundered it, if two Perſons of Note had not intreated them to deſiſt. “Viciniam non latuit extrema hæc calamitas, quæ pii viri ſpirans adhuc ſpolium cujuſvis illudere parati injuriæ exponebat. Lamentabili iſta occaſione infeliciter uſus præfervidi ſed tumultuoſi zeli vir Joannes Jacobus Ollerius, Baſilicæ S. Sulpicii Curatus, & Sodalitatis quæ de propaganda fide dicitur primipilus, &c. (14) —— *The whole Neighbourhood were witneſſes of this extreme Violence, which expoſed to the inſults of his Enemies the yet breathing Remains of the pious Man. He who unhappily made uſe of this melancholy Occaſion, was* John James Ollerius, *a Man of too hot and tumultuous a Zeal, Curate of the Church of St* Sulpice, *and Chief of the Society* de propagandâ Fide, *&c.*” Can any one think of this, without remembering That pathetic Expoſtulation of *Lucretius*?

Tantum

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(8) Life of Mr *Daillé*, pag. 28.

(9) *He means the Suppoſition of* Blondel, *that Tranſubſtantiation was never thought of 'till a long time after* Berenger.

(10) *In the Preface of* the Perpetuity defended.

(11) Perpetuity defended, lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 5.

(12) Mr *Claudé*'s Anſwer to Mr *Arnauld*'s Book, lib. 1, chap. 2, pag. 25.

(13) *Claudé*'s Anſwer to the ſecond Treatiſe, chap. 1.

(14) David Blondellus, Præfat. Libri Albertini de Euchariſtiâ.

Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum?

What can eſcape Religion's hot-brained Zeal?

Triſtius haud illo monſtrum nec ſævior ulla
Peſtis & ira Deûm Stygiis ſeſe extulit undis (15).

Monſters more fierce offended Heav'n ne'er ſent,
From Hell's Abyſs, for human Puniſhment.
Dryden

It will not ſuffer Men even to die quietly. After having tormented them all their Life-time, it lays Snares for them, even in the Height of a Diſtemper, which robs them of the uſe of their Reaſon. It takes advantage of thoſe Moments, when the Soul is as ſick as the Body, and where

Claudicat ingenium, delirat linguaque menſque (16);

Reaſon grows weak, delirious Thought and Speech.

AUBIGNÉ (*d'*) —— —— —— —— —— —— —— —— ——

I have read, in the *Murcure Galant*, for the Month of *January* 1705 (1), That *John d'Aubigné was Favourite and Chancellor to* Jane d'Albret, *Queen of* Navarre, *and Mother of* Henry IV, *and in great Favour with That Prince*; that *he died at* Geneva, *after having left his Prince, on his renouncing his Religion*; that *he was then in the Poſts of Admiral of* Britany, *Governour of* Oleron, *and* Maillezais, *and Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the King*; that *we have now remaining of his, an* Hiſtory of *France*, *much commended, both by his Cotemporaries, and Succeſſors, for it's Impartiality*; that *it is eſteemed a Maſter-Piece in Hiſtory*; and that *ſome Authors ſet as great a Value on it, as on The Celebrated Hiſtory of* Thuanus; that, *according to the Remark of* Otto, *he let drop his Pen, when he came to the Death of That great Prince* (2), *and could proceed no farther*; that *This Hiſtory is in two Volumes in Folio*; that *it was reviſed, and carefully corrected, by himſelf, and printed on very fine Paper, and with a beautiful Letter, at* Maillezais, *where he was Governour*; that *his Son* Conſtant, *Vice-Roy of the* American *Iſlands, whither he went in* 1643, *was Father to Madam* Maintenon, *and the Count* d'Aubigné *lately deceaſed*, Knight of the King's Orders, and Governour of *Berry* (3). In the *Mercure Galant* for the Month of *February* 1705 (4), the Chriſtian Name of *d'Aubigné* is corrected, from *John* to *Agrippa*. His univerſal Hiſtory is alſo ſaid to be in three Volumes, the laſt being very ſcarce, and printed at *London*. *His Life* is ſaid to be *written by himſelf with great Exactneſs, and a Manuſcript of it to be at* Paris, *of his own Hand writing, a very curious Piece*. The Marquis *de Tigny*, Brother to the Biſhop of *Noyon*, is Head of the eldeſt Branch of the Family of *Aubigné*. He is Father to the Count *d'Aubigné*, to whom the King has given the Royal Regiment (5).

AUDEBERT (Germain), Preſident in the Election, or Court, of *Aſſeſſors* of Subſidies in *Orleans*, was a Man of much Merit, and a good *Latin* Poet, in the XVIth Century. He was *Alciatus*'s Diſciple at *Bolonia* for ſome Years, and returned from *Italy* ſo well pleaſed with the Country, and the People he there converſed with, that he employed his whole ſkill in Poetry in the Deſcription of *Rome*, of *Venice*, and *Naples* (*a*). Theſe three Poems have been been inſerted in the firſt Volume of the *Deliciæ Poëtarum Gallorum* of *France*. We ſhall ſee, below, in what manner the *Venetians* rewarded his Deſcription of their City. He compoſed other Poems, which would very probably have been publiſhed, if his Son, who was Counſellor in the Parliament of *Britany*, had ſurvived him long enough (*b*). *Scævola Sammarthanus* has compoſed the Elogium of our *Audebert* with his uſual Eloquence, He gives him the moſt eſſential Qualities of a good Man. Mr *Moreri* has faithfully reported the ſubſtance of This Elogy. I queſtion not but he was ignorant of the advantagious Conſequences, which the *Proteſtants* have drawn from That Chapter of *Scævola Sammarthanus*, to juſtify one of their moſt famous Miniſters from an horrid Accuſation. We can never ſufficiently deplore Mens Malice or Ignorance, when we remember, that *Theodorus Beza* was accuſed of an abominable Crime, on ſo frivolous a ground as his Epigram, *de ſua in Candidam & Audebertum benevolentiâ*. Mr *Maimbourg* renewed This Accuſation in his Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*. He is very fully refuted by an examination of the Piece it ſelf, without forgetting to ſtrengthen the Apology from the great Merit of *Audebert* (*c*). *Theodorus Beza* had already made uſe of This Argument [*A*]. Mr *Graverol*, the Miniſter, had a deſign of publiſhing the Epitaphs of This illuſtrious Magiſtrate, in a *Latin* Diſſertation, which he publiſhed about That time (*d*); but received them too late. He has communicated them to me, and this is a very convenient opportunity to publiſh them [*B*]. The Hiſtory of our *Audebert* may be ſeen there, ſuch

[*A*] *His great Merit was made uſe of in Juſtification of* Beza —— *who had already made uſe of This Argument.*] It is in his ſecond Apology againſt *Claudé de Sainctes*. He ſays, that, when he compoſed the Epigram, *Audebert* was then Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*. This is his *Latin*; "Quidquum eò uſque proveheris ut meam cum honeſtiſſimo viro, & jam tum in Senatu Pariſienſi Advocato, quem vocant, nunc vero in civitate Aurelienſi magnâ cum dignitate verſanti, amicitiam & familiaritatem ſummam ad nefarium & execrandum illud ſcelus transferas, quod à nobis ne nominari quidem ſine horrore poteſt, à vobis autem in veſtris illis gurguſtiolis, ut omnes norunt, pro ludo & joco ducitur, quis te ipſum vir honeſtus non execretur (1)? —— *What, when you are tranſported to ſuch a Pitch, as even to conſtrue my moſt intimate Friendſhip and Familiarity, with a Man of the higheſt Honour, at that time Advocate, as the Title is, in the Parliament of* Paris, *and now in great Dignity at* Orleans, *into ſo wicked and abominable a Crime, as I cannot ſo much as mention without Horror, though it ſerves you in your Cells for Jeſt and Sport, muſt you not be deteſted by all good Men?*"

[*B*] *This is a very convenient Opportunity to publiſh the Epitaphs of* Audebert.] Not to let it ſlip therefore, I ſhall inſert here, word for word, what the Perſon above mentioned has wrote, and ſent me.

"I beg your favourable Acceptance of the true Copy I ſend you, of the Epitaphs of *Germain Audebert*, and of his Son. If I had received them at the time they were promiſed me, I would have added them to the ſmall *Latin* Apology of *Theodorus Beza*, which a ſpecial Occaſion obliged me to publiſh. Such an authentic Piece alone ſeems to me capable of putting an end to the abominable Calumny, which has hitherto been charged on the the Memory of That excellent and religious Man, whatever evaſion may be invented to elude it's Force, and you will do a ſignal Piece of Service to Truth, by preſenting the Public with This new Vindication of him.

"Here lies Meſſire *Germain Audebert*, Native of This City of *Orleans*, Prince of the Poets of his Time, who, for his Virtue only, was ennobled "with ſuch as an Hiſtorical Dictionary ought to give it. The Sieur *Konig* has ſplit this Author into Two [*C*]. *Sammarthanus* is not the only Perſon, who has wrote This great Man's Elogy [*D*].

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(15) Virgil. Æn. lib. 3. ver. 214.

(16) Lucret. l. 3. v. 454.

(1) Mercure Galant, Jan. 1705, pag. 233, & ſeq.

(2) *Henry* IV.

(3) *He only left a Daughter, who is married to the Duke of* Noailles.

(4) Mercure Galant, Febr. 1705, pag. 207.

(5) Ibid. Jan. 1705, p. 232, 233.

(*a*) Sammarthanus, Elog. lib. 2.

(*b*) Relictis, præter ea quæ commemoravi Poëmata, ſilvarum aliquot libris, qui lucem expectare poterant ab ejus Hærede, &c. *He left, beſides thoſe I have mentioned, ſome Poems called* Sylvæ, *in ſeveral Books: which we might have expected to have ſeen publiſhed by his Heir, &c.* Sammarthanus, Elog. lib. 2.

(*c*) Jurieu's *Apology for the Reformed*, Part 1, pag. 141, & ſeq.

(*d*) De Juvenilibus Theod. Bezæ Poëmatis, *Amſtel.* 1683. *in* 8vo.

(1) Beza Operum, Tom. 1, pag. 360.

“with all his Poſterity, by the Moſt Chriſtian King of *France* and *Poland*, *Henry* III, and made a Knight. And, to crown his Honours, his Majeſty gave him two Golden Flowers-de-luces, to be born on a Chief in his Coat of Arms, for their additional Ornament. He was alſo made a Knight by our Holy Father Pope *Gregory* XIII, and by the Doge and Republic of *Venice*; the latter alſo ſent him into *France*, by their Embaſſador, the Order of St *Mark*. And, notwithſtanding all theſe great Honours, he continued ſtill to act as an Aſſeſſor in That Juriſdiction for the ſpace of fifty Years; ſo great a Lover was he of his Country. In conſideration of which, his ſaid Majeſty, having created and appointed a Preſident, and a Lieutenant, in each Court of Subſidies in *France*, he exempted the ſaid Meſſire *Germain Audebert*, and would have him preſide and preceed both the one and the other. He wrote three Books of the City of *Venice*, one of *Rome*, one of *Naples*, and two of *Sylvæ*: He died in the Year 1598, the Twenty fourth of *December*, aged about eighty Years.

“And, under the ſame Marble, lies Meſſire *Nicholas Audebert*, one of the King's Counſellors in his Court of Parliament of *Britany*, Son of the ſaid Meſſire *Germain Audebert*, a great Imitator of his Father's Virtues, who died five Days after his Father, in the Forty ſecond Year of his Age. May their Souls reſt among the Bleſſed.

Audebertorum, Germani Patris, & Nicolai filii Tumulus.

Audebertorum ſi quis depingere laudes
Cogitat, ille ſibi nihilo plus explicet, ac ſi
Inſane ſapiens ſolum illuſtrare laboret.
Parcendum verbis igitur, vanoque labori.
Sit dixiſſe ſatis, ſitus hic jacit Audebertus,
Et pater, & gnatus patris cito fata ſecutus.
Nominat hæc quiſquis ſincerâ nomina linguâ
Virtutum & laudum gazas ſimul eruit omnes:
Quas qui neſcierit communis luminis expers
Credatur furvis ſemper vixiſſe ſub antris.

The Tomb of the *Audeberts*, *Germain* the Father, and *Nicholas* the Son.

To gild with Verſe the Audeberts *Renown,*
You might illuminate the Sun as ſoon.
Words are but loſt on ſuch tranſcendent Fame,
'Tis all ſumm'd up in one great Word, their Name.
Who this repeat, their Virtues amply praiſe:
Ignorance of This Ignorance itſelf betrays.
The Audeberts *lie here,* Father *and* Son,
Scarce parted *in their Deaths, and in their Tomb*
but One.

“Theſe three Epitaphs are found written in Letters of Gold, on a Black Marble, affixed to the Wall of the Gallery, in the Church-yard of the Church of the Holy Croſs of *Orleans*, about ſixty Paces in the Gallery, as you enter on the Left-Hand. They have been copied word for word from the Original, by a Perſon to be depended on.”

Here ends the Copy of Mr *Graverol*'s Letter.

We may conclude, from what is ſaid of the Office of *Audebert*, in the firſt of theſe Epitaphs, that Mr *Jurieu* is miſtaken, when he ſays, that *Audebert* died, *after having gone through all the great Offices of the long Robe* (2). *Sammarthanus* might have ſaved him from this Slip; for he expreſly obſerves, that *Audebert* was ſo modeſt, that he contented himſelf with an Office very much below his Merit. “Nec ſibi quidquam, *ſays he* (3), de ſolitâ modeſtiâ detraxit, contentus ea quam apud ſuos jamdudum exercebat vectigalium indictionumque præfecturâ, humili fortaſſe illâ & obſcurâ, ſi hominis dignitatem reſpicias, ſed quam eo tantum animo ſuſceperat, ne nullam Reipublicæ partem attigiſſe, ſibique ſoli vixiſſe diceretur. —— *Nor did he abate any thing of his uſual Modeſty; for he contented himſelf to continue the Office, he had a long Time before enjoyed, of Preſident in the Court of Aſſeſſors of Taxes and Subſidies; mean, indeed, and obſcure with regard to his Dignity, but which he choſe to diſcharge, that he might not be ſaid to throw up all concern for the Public Service, and to live for himſelf only.*”

[*C*] *Konig has ſplit this Author into Two.*] He gives us one *Germanus Audebertus*, and one *Aurelius Audebertus*. For the firſt he refers us to the Hundred and ninty firſt Page of *Sammarthanus*'s Elogies; and he ſays of the ſecond, that he compoſed three Poems in the Year 1603. *Scripſit Venetias, Romam, Parthenopen, carmine, An.* 1603. — *On* Venice, Rome, *and* Naples. This Date is a new Miſtake; ſince *Audebert* died in the Year 1598. It is true, Thoſe three Poems were printed at *Hanaw* in 1603; but This was not the firſt Edition. We may ſee, by this, that it is not ſo eaſy to compoſe a Dictionary of Authors, as ſome may think. They, who are ignorant of the Chronology of Editions, and the Difference of Chriſtian Names, or Thoſe of the Country, are very liable to Miſtakes. *Germanus* is *Audebert*'s Chriſtian Name, and *Aurelius* is his Name from his Country. What is moſt to be admired is, that Mr *Konig* refers us to an Author, whom he had not ſeen himſelf: For, if he had taken the Pains to caſt his Eye on the place of *Sammarthanus*, which he quotes, he would there have ſeen, that it was *Germanus Audebertus*, who compoſed the three Poems on *Venice*, *Rome*, and *Naples*: *Venetias, & Romam, & Parthenopen —— ea carminis majeſtate deſcripſit —— He deſcribed the Cities of* Venice, Rome, *and* Naples, —— *in ſuch beautiful Poetry.* — When we ſend a Reader to conſult an Author, it is but reaſonable to ſet the Example, and conſult him firſt ourſelves.

[*D*] Sammarthanus *is not the only Perſon, who has wrote* Audebert'*s Elogy.*] An Advocate of the Council, who called himſelf in *Latin Rodolphus Botereius*, has praiſed *Audebert* magnificently, in his Hiſtory of *France* (4). He does not forget the Honours, which the Pope, and the Republic of *Venice*, paid him; but, whereas the Epitaph aſcribes the Honour *Audebert*, received from the Court of *Rome*, to *Gregory* XIII, He attributes it to *Gregory* XIV. He mentions the Place, where the Ambaſſador of *Venice* conferred on him the Knighthood of St *Mark*, and before what concourſe of People. “Gregorius XIV, ac Veneti illum civitatis jure & equeſtris ordinis dignitate donarunt: effuſius Veneti, qui per Oratorem ſuum in ſuburbano Tybure Gentiliaco, aſſidente ſpectaculo & convivio longa corona hominum literatiſſimorum, Audebertum torque aureo Divi Marci inſigniverunt. —— Gregory XIV, *and the* Venetians, *preſented him reſpectively with the Privileges of their City, and the Order of Knighthood. But the* Venetians *more remarkably, who, by their Ambaſſador at* Gentilly *near* Paris, *at a public Feaſt, and before a large Aſſembly of learned Men, inveſted* Audebert *with the golden Collar of the Order of St* Mark.”

(2) Jurieu's Apology for the Reformed, *Part* 1, *pag.* 145.

(3) Sammarth in Elogiis.

(4) Botereius, lib. 5, pag. 460, & ſeq. ad Ann. 1598.

AUDIGUIER (N. d') Author of ſeveral Books [*A*], much read, when firſt publiſhed, but now not taken notice of, flouriſhed in the beginning of the Reign of *Lewis*

[*A*] *Author of ſeveral Books.*] He publiſhed *The true and ancient Uſage of Duels*, which was printed at *Paris*, by *Peter Billain*, in 1617. It is a Book of Five hundred thirty two Pages, in 8vo, and deſerves a Place in Libraries. He publiſhed alſo ſome *French* Poetry, *The Amours of* Lyſander *and* Caliſta, Thoſe of *Ariſtander*, and *Cleonice*, *Flavia*, *Minerva*, &c. Theſe were Romances, which had a great

Lewis XIII. The Sieur *Sorel*, having ſaid, that the Author of *Polyxena* (*a*) might *one Day produce ſomething better, unleſs he had* AUDIGUIRE's *ill Fortune*, adds, that *they both of them fell by the Hands of Thoſe they took to be their Friends* (*b*). "I believe, ſays he, elſewhere (*c*), *Audiguier* was a Man of Wit; but he was more of the Soldier, than the Scholar, as appears in all the Dedications of his Books, where he is almoſt always ſpeaking in a military way: They ſay alſo, that, to expreſs his negligent Air in writing, he one Day ſaid, by way of Bravado (*d*), that *he made his Pen with his Sword.* Some ſay he received this Repartee, that *then it was no wonder he wrote ſo ill*; but This is too ſatirical. Undoubtedly This Boaſt has a great deal of Beauty, and deſerves a Place amongſt the *French* Apophthegms." *D'Audiguier* had a Nephew, who paſſed for the Author of the Tranſlation of *Stratonice*, an *Italian* Romance; but it was believed, that *Malleville* was the real Author, and had made him a Preſent of it, as *being his particular Friend* (*e*). There was one d'AUDIGUIER, an Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, who publiſhed ſome Pleadings (*f*). I do not know, whether he was the ſame with the Nephew, who was *Malleville*'s Friend; but I am certain, he lived in the XVIIth Century (*g*); and I believe This Nephew was the Author called *Audiguier, junior*, and who publiſhed, among other Works, *Eromené*. From a Paſſage, cited below, I am induced to believe, that our *d'Audiguier* was killed in the Year 1630 [*B*].

(*a*) *It is the Title of a Romance, the Author of which calls himſelf* Moliere.

(*b*) Sorel's *Remarks on the* Berger Extravagant, (*Extravagant*) *Shepherd*,) Book 13, pag. 493, *Edit. of* Rouen, *by* Oſmont, *in* 1646, *in* 2 *Vols* 8vo.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 486.

(*d*) *See the* Chriſtian Socrates *of* Balzac, *Diſcourſe* 10, *pag.* 263.

(*e*) Peliſſon, Hiſtoire de l'Academie Franç. pag. 292.

(*f*) Marolles, Memoires, p. 41.

(*g*) Marolles, Denombrement des Auteurs, pag. 407.

run (1). He tranſlated into *French* the *Spaniſh* Novels of *Michael Cervantes*. *Sorel*, in a Work publiſhed a long time after his *Berger Extravagant*, paſſes this Judgment on our Author. "I do not think, *ſays he*, that we ought abſolutely to deſpiſe the Sieur *d'Audiguier*, Author of the *Adventures of* Lyſander *and* Caliſta. Though he had not much Learning, he wrote in very ſprightly and clear Style for That Time, as we ſee in ſeveral Romances, and ſome Letters, and Tranſlations, which he was the Author of. His firſt Work, which he called the *Soldier's Philoſophy*, was a little too much upon the Gaſconade; but he improved himſelf ſo much by tranſlating *Cervantes*'s *Novels*, and a Book of *Rodriguez, of Chriſtian Perfection*, that we may allow him to be one of our beſt Tranſlators. His laſt Work, called *The Amours of* Ariſtander *and* Cleonice, was none of the worſt of his Time (2)."

[*B*] *From a Paſſage —— I am induced to believe, our* d'Audiguier *was killed in the Year* 1630.] This Paſſage is taken from one of *Balzac*'s Letters, dated the twentieth of *Auguſt* 1630. *D'Audiguier* is not named in it, there being nothing but Aſteriſks, inſtead of the Perſon's Name; but, however, I make no doubt but it was The Author, whoſe Article I have here given. I take his Character to be very juſtly drawn in the following Words (3). "Yet it is better to be innocently merry in the *Hotel de Venice*, than to loſe one's Life in the *Temple Marſhes*, as poor * * did. I lament him, on account of his Misfortunes, and manner of Death, and am ſorry he had not time to think of his Salvation, or to aſk Pardon for his Sins. But to imagine, that one of the great Lights of *France* is extinguiſhed, or that we have loſt one of our moſt conſiderable Men, I knew him too well to conceive ſo high an Opinion of him. He was truly a Man of Spirit, and had ſome Flights of Fancy, that would have paſſed off agreeably enough, if they had not been printed. But he is not to be mentioned among our Modern Authors, or in a Collection of the Poetry of theſe Times. However, he ſet no Value at all on his Courage, and other military Virtues, but piqued himſelf entirely on his Abilities in ſpeaking and writing. He had ſo great a Conceit of his Merit this way, that, for my endeavouring, one Day, to cure him of this troubleſome Symptom, he never forgave me to the Day of his Death."

(1) *Note, that* Sorel *has criticiſed the two firſt, in his Remarks on the* Berger Extravagant, *chiefly in the 13th Book of thoſe Remarks.*

(2) Sorel, Bibl. Franç. pag. 261.

(3) Balzac's Letters, *Book* 8, *Lett.* 42, *p.* 387, 388, *Tom.* 1. *of* Balzac's *Works, Edit. of* Paris *by* Joly, 1665, *in* 2 *Vols Folio.*

AVENTINE (JOHN), famous for his *Annals of Bavaria*, flouriſhed in the XVIth Century [*A*]. He was of mean Birth, the Son of an Inn-keeper of *Abenſperg* in *Bavaria* [*B*]. He ſtudied firſt at *Ingolſtadt*, and afterwards in the Univerſity of *Paris*, under *Faber Stapulenſis* and under *Joſſe Clictou*. Being returned into *Germany*, in the Year 1503, he ſtayed ſome time at *Vienna*, where he taught, in his Chamber, Eloquence and Poetry. He went from thence into *Poland*, in the Year 1507, where he publickly taught the *Greek* Grammar at *Cracow*: He returned into *Germany*, and paſſed ſome time at *Ratiſbon*, from whence he went to *Ingolſtadt*, in the Year 1509, where he explained ſome Books of *Cicero*. As he was eſteemed a very ingenious Man, he was ſent for to *Munich*, in the Year 1512, to be Preceptor to Prince *Lewis* and Prince *Erneſt* (*a*). He travelled with the latter of theſe two Princes (*b*). After this, he undertook to compoſe the Annals of *Bavaria* [*C*], and was

(*a*) *They were the Sons of* Albert *the Wiſe, Duke of* Bavaria.

(*b*) *See the* Hiſtory of Bavaria *of the Sieur* le Blanc, Tom. 3, pag. 414, 415.

[*A*] *He flouriſhed in the XVIth Century.*] He was born in the Year 1466, and died in 1534. Whence *Voſſius* very juſtly infers, that *Genebrard* is miſtaken, in making this Hiſtorian flouriſh in the Year 1366 (1). Father *Gaultier* followed *Genebrard*'s Fault. In the Epitome of *Geſner*'s *Bibliotheca*, the Death of *Aventine* is falſly placed in the Year 1529.

[*B*] *He was of mean Birth, the Son of an Inn-keeper of* Abenſperg *in* Bavaria.] *Jerom Zieglerus* ſays, That this Man's Name was *John Thurmair*, and that from thence it comes, that *Leonard of Eck*, in an Epigram, gives the Name of *Thurniomarius* (2) to *John Aventine* (3). He adds, That the Name of the Annaliſt of *Bavaria* was *Aventinus*, becauſe the ancient Name of *Abenſperg* was *Aventinium*. The Emperor *Antoninus*, continues he, calls it in his Itinerary *Abuſina*. Mr *Bullart* did not well underſtand This: *The City of* Abenſperg, *ſays he* (4), *is ſufficiently celebrated in the* Roman *Hiſtory, but principally by the Emperor* Antoninus, *who, in his Itinerary, calls it* Aventinium. This Author would find it very difficult to prove, that This City was ſufficiently famous in the *Roman* Hiſtory. The learned *Lambecius* believed it would be found to have had no other Name than That of *Abuſina*, which is given it in the *Itinerary of Antoninus*; and for this reaſon blames the Author of the Annals, for not having called himſelf *Abuſinenſis. Patria ejus fuit* Abuſina, *unde falsò, cum ſe nominare debuiſſet* Abuſinenſem, cognomine uſus eſt AVENTINI (5). But would That Name have ſounded as agreeably as That of one of the Hills of *Rome?*

[*C*] *He undertook to compoſe the Annals of* Bavaria.] He had a Penſion for it, and began it a little before the Death of the Emperor *Maximilian*. The Work conſiſts of ſeven Books, and extends to the Year 1533. *Voſſius* obſerves all theſe Things: "Annales Bojorum libris 7 reliquit —— Terminatur ejus hiſtoria anno CIↃ IↃ XXXIII. Extremis Maximiliani temporibus jam cœperat hiſtoriam ſuam ſcribere auſpiciis & liberalitate fruens Gulielmi & Ludovici, Bavariæ ducum,

(1) Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 655.

(2) *Theſe two Names do not ſeem to anſwer each other. There is, perhaps, in one of them ſome Error of the Preſs.*

(3) Zieglerus in Vita Joannis Aventini.

(4) Bullart, Academie des Sciences, Tom. 1. p. 147.

(5) Lambec. Comment. Biblioth. Cæſar. lib. 2. cap. 6. pag. 471, in Not. Margin. n. 2, apud Magirum Eponymol. pag. 91.

was encouraged to it by the Aſſurances, the Dukes of That Name gave him, of bearing all his Charges. He omitted nothing that might anſwer the Expectation of his Maſters; he conſulted the Records of *Germany* as carefully as poſſible, and applied himſelf wholly to That Work. He did not loſe his labour; for he acquired by it a great Reputation. In the Year 1529, he received an Affront, which troubled him all the reſt of his Life. He was taken out of his Siſter's Houſe, at *Abenſperg*, by Force, and impriſoned. No One ever knew the true Reaſon of This Violence, which would have been carried yet farther, if the Duke of *Bavaria* had not taken this learned Perſon under his Protection. The invincible Melancholy, which poſſeſſed *Aventine* ever after This Affront, was ſo far from making him reſolve to continue the ſingle Life he had lead to the Sixty fourth Year of his Age, that it rather, perhaps, put him upon Thoughts of Marriage. This new Inclination was not ſo ſtrong, but it gave him Time to conſult the Holy Scriptures, and his Friends, what was beſt for him to do. He met with nothing but Counſels full of Uncertainty [*D*]; and therefore found it neceſſary to reſolve this Queſtion for himſelf, which he accordingly did in favour of Marriage [*E*]. There remained nothing more to do, but to ſeek out a Match, which he was ſo imprudent as to leave to a crafty old Woman, who deceived him baſely [*F*]; for ſhe brought him a Woman of the Country of *Suabia*, who had three great Imperfections; for ſhe was poor, ugly, and peeviſh; which gave him an opportunity of making many Experiments [*G*]. After his marriage, he hired a Houſe at

" ducum, qui patri ſuo Alberto ſucceſſerunt anno " 1508 (6). —— *He left the Annals of the* Bavarians " *in ſeven Books* —— *His Hiſtory ends at the Year* " 1533. *He began it about the latter End of the* " *Reign of* Maximilian, *under the Auſpices, and* " *Generoſity, of* William *and* Lewis, *Dukes of* Bavaria, " *who ſucceeded their Father* Albert *in* 1508." Theſe Annals did not appear before the Year 1554. They were publiſhed by *Jerom Zieglerus*, Profeſſor of Poetry in the Univerſity of *Ingolſtadt*: But, as he confeſſes himſelf in the Preface, he left out the Invectives relating to the Clergy, and ſeveral Stories not at all material to the Hiſtory of *Bavaria*. " Multa ſine dubio emendaſſet (*Aventinus*,) pleraque " forſitan mutaſſet etiam, ſi per fata licuiſſet —— " Invectivas quaſdam contra Eccleſiaſticas perſonas, " item fabuloſas narrationes nihil quidquam ad hiſtoriam facientes non fraude ſed judicio omiſimus (7). " —— *Many Things, without doubt,* Aventine *himſelf would have corrected, and many, perhaps, entirely* " *changed, had Fate given him Leave* —— *Some* " *Reflexions upon Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and alſo fabulous Relations, not at all material to the Hiſtory,* " *I have taken the Liberty, on mature Deliberation,* " *without the leaſt ill deſign, to omit.*" The Precaution of *Zieglerus*, and his Sincerity in owning the Mutilations, did not tally together; for this Confeſſion excited the Curioſity of the Proteſtants, and put them upon ſearching for what had been ſuppreſſed; and they ſought ſo diligently for a Manuſcript of Theſe undiſmembered Annals, that at laſt they found it. It was publiſhed at *Baſil*, in the Year 1580, by the Care of *Nicholas Ciſnerus*. The Title of This Edition is *Johannis Aventini annalium Bojorum libri* VII. *ex autenticis manuſcriptis codicibus recogniti, reſtituti, aucti diligentia Nicolai Ciſneri*. *Coëffeteau* could not forbear ſhewing his Anger at the Edition of *Ciſnerus*. See what he ſays: Aventine *is an Author not to be credited in theſe Eccleſiaſtical Matters, having no other aim in his Annals, than to diſhonour the Clergy; and he is particularly exceptionable in the Hiſtory of* Gregory VII. —— *The Incontinency of his Pen, in theſe Matters, was the Cauſe that* Zieglerus, *who firſt publiſhed him, retrenched many of his lying Narratives, and Invectives againſt the Clergy, in That Impreſſion; but the* Proteſtants, who turn their Ears from the Truth, to liſten to Fables, *not being able to bear This Correction, have publiſhed Theſe Annals with all their Filth* (8).

[*D*] On the Subject of his Marriage, *he met with nothing but Counſels full of Uncertainty.*] This is what Mr *Bullart* relates concerning the Anſwers he received from Books. " *Socrates* left him in Suſpence, by his Advice formerly given to a young " Man, under the ſame Irreſolution. *Marry, or not* " *marry, you will be ſure to repent either of the one* " *or the other.* He would have needed no other " Council, if he had taken That of *Diogenes*, who " told young Perſons, *that it was too ſoon to marry*; and " old ones, *that it was too late*. *Euripides* ſoothed " his Inclination, by remarking, *That a Wife is a* " *great Comfort to her Husband, in Sickneſs and Adverſity*, but diſcouraged him with ſeveral other " Sentences, he has elſewhere pronounced, againſt " That Sex (9)." This is a meer Romance, and only begging an Opportunity to ſhew a little Commonplace Reading; for the Life of *Aventine* ſays expreſsly, that he examined only ſome Paſſages of Scripture, for and againſt Matrimony, with two of his Friends; *Sæpius multos locos ex ſacris literis ſuadentes & diſſuadentes matrimonium protulit*.

[*E*] *He concluded for Marriage.*] Let us hear the ſame Mr *Bullart* once more. " *Aventine*, being " tired with conſulting both the Dead and the " Living, and hoping to find a Wife to his Wiſhes, " cried out on a ſudden; *I am old, and have need of* " *a Companion to aſſiſt and take care of me in the* " *Infirmity of my Age.*" So ſays Zeiglerus; *Senectutem ſuam omnino conſiderans, tandem prorumpens in hæc verba dixit,* " *ſenex ſum, mihi miniſtrari opus eſt.*" His Concluſion was according to the Rule of Logic, *Concluſio ſequitur debiliorem partem.* — *The Concluſion follows the weaker Part.* On one ſide, his Books and his Friends adviſed him to deliberate all his Life-time; on the other, his Infirmity counſelled him to marry. By his Concluſion he took the weaker Side. But, had he not two Children in few Years, and This in ſpite of the Uglineſs, and Brawls, of his Devil of a Wife, which could be no Provocatives That way? He was wrong, then, to ſay, he wanted a Wife for the Infirmity of his Age: He had much more need of one for the Remains of his Youth.

[*F*] *Who deceived him baſely.*] His Hiſtorian has not done him Juſtice here; for ſee how he expreſſes himſelf: " Duxit Suevam, moroſam mulierem, illepidam, & omnino pauperem, deceptus ab anu " quadam, quæ ei illam ut famulam ſaltem adduxerat. — *He married a* Suabian, *ill natured, diſagreeable, and poor, a certain old Woman having deceived him, by bringing her to him, at leaſt, for* " *a Servant.*" The old Woman did not bring him this *Suabian* for a Wife, but only for a Servant. Wherein, then, did ſhe deceive him? *Zieglerus* ought to have told us; for, if we take his Account right, the old Woman is very excuſable, and the old Man not to blame. It is very likely, that, being reſolved to marry, and having loſt too much Time already, conſidering his Age, he took the firſt Female that came to hand, which was his own Servant; and ſo became a fit Subject to increaſe the Liſt of the *Colletets*, and of all ſuch as have married their Servants (10).

[*G*] *His Wife gave him an Opportunity of making many Experiments.*] " Having ſurmounted all Obſtacles, and decided all Doubts, by his Marriage, " he had nothing more to do, but to meditate on " his new State of Life, and to conſider which " was the eaſier Task, to bear with the Expence " of a Wife that is poor, or with the Pride of one " that is rich; to be ſecure in an ugly one, that " is a Temptation to no body, or to have the " Trouble of guarding a handſome one, that is a " Temptation to every Body. As his Wife was, " at leaſt, as bad as *Socrates*'s *Xantippe*, That great " Philoſopher's Example might alſo give him Conſolation

(6) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 655.

(7) Zieglerus in Præf. Ciſner, *ſhews, in his Preface, that if* Aventine *had lived, he would not have altered what* Zieglerus *pretends he would have altered.*

(8) Coëffeteau's Anſwer to the Myſtery of Iniquity *of the Sieur* du Pleſſis, *pag.* 673.

(9) Bullart, Academie des Sciences, pag. 148.

(10) *See the* Menagiana, *pag.* 252, *and the Remark* [*E*] *of the Article* BRISEIS.

at *Ratiſbon*, and afterwards was called to *Ingolſtadt*, in 1533, to be Preceptor to the Son of one of the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Counſellors (*c*). He was deſirous of bringing his Wife thither, and for that purpoſe made a Journey to *Ratiſbon* in the *Chriſtmas* Holidays, where he arrived very ill of a Diſtemper, which had ſeized him on the Road by the way, of which he died the Ninth of *January* 1534, aged Sixty eight Years. He left but one Daughter, who was not above two Months old (*d*). He was buried there in the Church of St *Hemeran*, where his Epitaph gives him the Encomium of a good Catholic (*e*). But the Jeſuits have diſcovered, by their Inquiries, that, under the Maſk, he was a good *Lutheran* [*H*]. It is by This, that Thoſe of the Church of *Rome* endeavour to weaken the force of his Evidence againſt the Conduct of the Popes, and the bad Lives of the Prieſts; for the *Proteſtants* have quoted *Aventine*'s Annals

(c) Leonardus ab Eck.

(*d*) *He had buried a Son.*

(*e*) *Taken from his* Life, *written by* Jerom Zieglerus. *It is prefixed to his Annals.*

"tion (11)." Certainly This learned *German* was extremely diſappointed; he thought to get into a ſafe Harbour, and to ſhelter himſelf from a thouſand Inconveniencies, but expoſed himſelf to a continual Storm, even tho' his Wife had been rich and handſome; but ſhe had nothing for her Portion, but Uglineſs and a quarrelſome Diſpoſition. "Aventinus vir doctus, "magni judicii integritatiſque, ſed fortuna admodum "tenui, quam corrupit ulterius ducta uxore rixoſa & "malorum morum, ut cum duobus malis paupertate "& uxore mala ipſi fuerit conflictandum (12). —— "Aventine *was a learned Man, of great Judgment and* "*Integrity, but little Fortune, which was made yet* "*leſs by a quarrelſome, croſs-grain'd Wife; ſo that he* "*had two great Evils to contend with, Poverty, and* "*a ſcolding Wife.*"

We ſhall, perhaps, do him Juſtice, if we ſuppoſe, that he did not marry this Wife without having ſeriouſly conſidered all Inconveniencies. She could not deceive him as to her Uglineſs, ſo long as he had Eyes. She was brought to him as a Servant, ſo that he could not think her rich. Theſe two Defects, therefore, he could be no Stranger to, her want of Beauty and Fortune. Nor ought this Knowledge to condemn him for Imprudence; for it might promiſe to exempt him from a thouſand Inconveniencies. As he had read much, he knew the general Maxims of the Ancients, on the Diſcord between Beauty and Chaſtity (13), and on the Pride, which attends *Beauties* (14), but perfectly poſſeſſes *Fortunes* (15). Theſe Maxims are taught in the College, and there are a thouſand occaſions to apply them every Day; which makes them remain ſtrongly imprinted in the Memory, and This increaſes the Fear of experiencing the Truth of them, when once we come to run the hazard of them. It is very probable, then, that *Aventine* conſidered, that by marrying a handſome young Wife, he ſhould expoſe his Forehead to a ſhameful, and very uneaſy Diſgrace. Without doubt he knew, that Beauty did not exclude a very ſincere Reſolution of Chaſtity; but, on the other Side, he imagined, that it makes it very difficult to execute This Reſolution. The Courtſhips, which are almoſt unavoidable in ſuch a Caſe, are of wonderful Force, to conquer the ſtrongeſt of theſe Reſolutions. When he conſidered his Age, he could not but be ſtill more alarmed: His Sixty fourth Year added to his Fears; and, perhaps, he might reflect with himſelf; *If theſe things happen where the Wood is yet green, what can be hoped for, where It is quite dry? A young Man is not exempt from This Misfortune, and how ſhould I avoid it, who am old?* And yet, as natural as it is to fear theſe real Evils, in the Caſe of an old Husband, who has a handſome young Wife; it is much eaſier to avoid Theſe, than imaginary ones. I mean, that ſuch a Husband has more reaſon to fear the Torments of his own Jealouſy, than the Diſloyalty of his Wife. It happens oftener, that a Man is jealous of his Wife, without a Cauſe, than that ſhe is diſhoneſt, without his ſuſpecting it. There is, then, ſome likelihood, that *Aventine* was more diſtruſtful of himſelf, than of a handſome Wife, and that he argued with himſelf thus: *I grant ſhe may be really chaſte; but am I ſure I ſhall not be ſo weak as to ſuſpect her, when I perceive how agreeable ſhe is to my Friends and Neighbours, and They to her* (16). *Let my Jealouſy be as ill grounded as one would wiſh, it's Stings and it's Torment will ſtill be the ſame. The ſafeſt Way is to run no Hazard, but marry This Servant, whoſe Homelineſs will make me eaſy; for*

—— caſta eſt quam nemo rogavit:

The Nymph may be chaſte, that never was try'd.

If ſhe ſhould be ill inclined, where could ſhe find Gallants? Beſides, as ſhe is poor, I ſhall have no reaſon to fear ſhe will be imperious: This will preſerve my Authority, and ſecure me from Noiſe and Contradiction. Do not I know what the ancient Poets have ſaid (17)? If we ſuppoſe he conſidered the Matter thus, we ſhall find him more unfortunate, than imprudent: For, in ſhort, the Reaſons, which determined his Choice, are ſpecious and plauſible; but we muſt, at the ſame time, ſuppoſe, that the third Defect was not known to him, and that his Servant had the Wit to hide her peeviſh, muttering, moroſe, ſcolding Humour. She took care not to diſcover it; for ſhe quickly perceived, that her Maſter was reſolved to marry at any rate, and, without doubt, it was not long before he gave her ſome Intimations, that he would not look for a Wife out of his own Houſe. As it is wrong to judge by the Event, let us not condemn him for Imprudence, becauſe his Marriage was unhappy. The wiſeſt are caught in it. *Cato* was deceived by his own Arguments, in a like Caſe (18). In a Word, two things muſt be known, before we can ſay, that *Aventine* was imprudent: I. That he did not weigh the Reaſons before mentioned, on both ſides. II. That, by marrying a young, rich, and beautiful Wife, he would not have met with ſo many Vexations, as by marrying his Servant. Theſe are the two Sources of raſh Judgments; Perſons are condemned, without knowing either the ſecret Motives, which, upon due Deliberation, determined them, or what would have happened if they had made a contrary Choice.

[*H*] *The Jeſuits have diſcovered, that, under the Maſk, he was a good* Lutheran.] I ſay under the Maſk, for, as he was buried in a Catholic Church, with the uſual Ceremonies, and that the Character of *Veræ Religionis amator*,—*A Lover of the true Religion*, is inſerted in his Epitaph, we cannot ſuppoſe, that he had ever declared openly for the Proteſtants, no not at the Point of Death, in That deciſive Moment, which takes away all Pretences for Diſſembling. It is true, alſo, that the Stile of his Hiſtory is altogether *Roman Catholic*, if Thoſe Places be excepted, where he ſpeaks ſo freely againſt the Tyranny of the Popes, and the Immorality of the Clergy (19). It ought not to be thought ſtrange, then, that Mr *Du Pleſſis* objects him to Thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, as an Evidence, who was of their own Religion. Mr *Du Pleſſis* was ignorant of the ſecret Memoirs, which Father *Gretzer* had publiſhed. See here a Paſſage of That Jeſuit: "Addit Pleſſæus Invectivæ Aventinianæ hanc clauſulam; *hæc quidem licet profeſſione Romanus, plura* "*forte, ſi licuiſſet, dicturus.* Profeſſione Romanus, "hoc eſt Catholicus, non fuit Aventinus, ſed hæreticus; cujus criminis ut alia probamenta deeſſent, "id tamen ſatis ſuperque liquerat ex Epiſtolâ Melancthonis ad Aventinum quam ex ipſo Autographo "recitavi, lib. 2. contra Calvinianum *replicatorem*, "cap. 19. (20) ------ Pleſſis, *to* Aventine's *Invective, ſubjoins this Clauſe*; He has ſaid thus much, "notwithſtanding he was of the *Romiſh* Perſuaſion, "and probably would have ſaid much more, if he "durſt. Aventine *was not of the* Romiſh, *i. e.* Catholic, *Perſuaſion, but an Heretic; this Crime might* "*be proved upon him, if there were no other Evidence of it, from an Epiſtle of* Melancthon *to* Aventine, *which I have given from the Original itſelf,* "lib. 2, *againſt the* Calviniſtic *Author of the* Reply, "chap, 19." *Coëffeteau* did not know This Circumſtance; nevertheleſs he poſitively aſſerts, that *Aventine* was an Heretic: He ſays (21), "As for *Du* "*Pleſſis*

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(11) Bullart, Acad. des Sciences, pag. 148.

(12) Conringius, de Rebuſpubl. apud Magirum, Eponymol. Critic. pag. 90.

(13) Rara eſt adeo concordia formæ, Atque pudicitiæ - - - - *So ſeldom Chaſtity and Charms agree.* Juv. Sat. 10. ver. 297. Lis eſt cum formâ magna pudicitiæ. - - - - *Beauty and Modeſty are ſtill at ſtrife.* Ovid. Ep. 16. v. 288.

(14) Faſtus ineſt pulchris, ſequiturque ſuperbia formam. - - - *Beauty's attended by it's Handmaid, Pride.* Ovid. Faſtor. lib. 1, v. 419.

(15) Ita iſtæ ſolent quæ viros ſubſervire Sibi poſtulant dote fretæ feroces - - - *The Haughtineſs of large Dowries demands nothing leſs than Subjection from the Husband.* Plaut. in Mænech. Act. 5, Sc. 2, ver. 16. *See the* Electra Plautina *of* Philip Pareus, *at the Word* Conjugium.

(16) Magno Periculo cuſtoditur quod multis placet - - - - - - *It is very dangerous keeping what pleaſes every Body.* Publius Syrus.

(17) *One of them has ſaid,* Sponſam ſine dote non habere loquendi libertatem - - *A Wife, without a Portion, has not the Liberty of Speech. And* Plautus *ſays, in* Aulular. *Act.* 3. *Sc.* 5, *ver.* 60. Quæ indotata eſt ea in poteſtate eſt viri, Dotatæ mactant & malo & damno viros - - - - *She that has no Portion is at the Mercy of her Husband; but he, that marries a Fortune, muſt be at the Mercy of his Wife.*

(18) *See Remark* [*I*], *of the Article* PORCIUS (MARCUS).

(19) *See* Rivetus, *in his Anſwer to* Coëffeteau, *in Behalf of* Du Pleſſ. Tom. 2, pag. 167.

(20) Gretſer. in Examine Myſterii Pleſſæani, cap. 45, pag. 354.

(21) *Coëffeteau's* Anſwer to the Myſtery of Iniquity, p. 676.

Annals a thouſand times, to ſhew the Diſorders of the Church. The other Writings of this Author have very few of them been printed [*I*]. Mr *Moreri* has ſucceeded very indifferently in this Article [*K*].

“ *Pleſſis* making *Aventine* of the *Romiſh* Profeſſion, we will never agree to it: His Language diſcovers him, and throughout his Annals he ſhews how his Paſſion tranſports him againſt the Holy See. Therefore, to cut him ſhort, all that they object againſt us, from him, is not worth a Cheſnut Leaf, and I judge him no more worthy of an Anſwer, than the Impoſtor *Benno*, by whoſe Memoirs he wrote the Life of That Pontiff (22).” *Aventine* has been treated as a *Lutheran* Author, in the Liſt of prohibited Books; *Fromondus*, however, does not believe him to have been an Heretic, but only one, who, like *Eraſmus*, ſpeaks too freely againſt the Irregularities of the Monks. “ Liberrimæ enim linguæ (hæreticæ dicere non auſim, neque puto) & plane Eraſmicæ in Monachorum & Eccleſiaſticorum vitia fuit Aventinus. *Plus etiam nimio favens Schiſmaticis, & parum integra fide res Rom. Pontificum prodidiſſe perhibetur*, ideoque meruit in claſſe auctorum *cautè legendorum* ab Indice expurgatorio recenſeri (23). - - - - - - Aventine *was a very free Declaimer, (a Heretic I dare not ſay, nor do I think he was,) and, like* Eraſmus, *laſhed the Vices of the Monks and Clergy.* He is alſo ſaid to have ſhewn too much Favour to the Schiſmatics, and to have betrayed the Cauſe of the Popes, through want of Zeal, *and therefore deſerved a Place in the* Index Expurgatorius, *among the Authors, who are to be read with Caution.*” Men of the greateſt Memory often forget what others remember commonly enough. I am going to give an Example of it. *Conringius* had forgot, that They, who publiſhed *Aventine*'s Annals at *Ingolſtadt*, had retrenched what did not appear agreeable to the Character of a good Catholic (24). He ſays (25), “ Libri ejus poſt mortem demum ab ipſis pontificiis Ingolſtadii ſunt editi, ut hinc appareat primos ſaltem editores non improbaſſe quæ ibi reperiuntur. - - - - - - *After his Death, his Books were, at laſt, publiſhed at* Ingolſtadt, *by the Popiſh Party, which ſhews, that the firſt Editors, at leaſt, found nothing there, but what they approved of.*” He confeſſes, that *Aventine* held a Correſpondence, by Letters, with ſeveral Proteſtants, and with *Melancthon* by Name, and that he inclined to their Side, which did not hinder him from dying in the *Romiſh* Communion. “ Vixit ſuperiori ſæculo quando maxima illa ſacrorum mutatio fieret, & multa pontificiæ religionis dogmata improbavit. Per literas familiaritatem coluit cum Proteſtantium nonnullis, & cum Philippo quoque Melanchthone: Reperire tamen non potui reliquiſſe eum penitus Eccleſiam Romanam utut in Proteſtantes videatur propenſior: Vixit enim & mortuus eſt in illa Eccleſia, ſepultuſque Reginoburgi in Monaſterio S. Emerani ceremoniis pontificiæ Eccleſiæ uſitatis (26). - - - - - - *He lived in the laſt Century, when That great Revolution happened in Religion, and diſapproved of many of the* Papal *Doctrines. He correſponded, by Letters, with ſeveral of the Proteſtants, and particularly with* Philip Melancthon. *Yet I could never find, that he had abſolutely renounced the* Romiſh *Church, how much ſoever he might ſeem more inclining towards the Proteſtants: For he lived, and died, in That Church, and was buried at* Ratiſbon, *in the Monaſtery of* St Hemeran, *with the uſual* Romiſh *Rites and Ceremonies.*” I obſerve, that *Aventine*'s Fate may juſtly be compared with That of *Father Paul*.

[*I*] *The other Writings of this Author have very few of them been printed.*] *Voſſius* obſerves, that *Aventine* informs his Readers, in the Two hundred and thirty ſixth Page of his Annals (which is the Three hundred and forty fourth in the Edition of 1580) that he had publiſhed the Hiſtory of *Oëtingen*, a City of *Suabia*; *publicatæ à ſe hiſtoriæ Utinenſium meminit* (27). *Geſner* has not mentioned This Hiſtory. He ſpeaks only of a *Grammar*, publiſhed by *Aventine*, in the Year 1519, and of a Book concerning the manner of counting on the Fingers, publiſhed at *Ratiſbon*, in the Year 1532; to which the Author had ſubjoined the Summary of a great Work, which only required the Aſſiſtance of a *Mecænas* for it's Publication. This is the Title of the Book, printed in 1532. *Numerandi per digitos manuſque (quin etiam loquendi) veterum conſuetudinis Abacus, ſive Explicatio ex Bedâ cum picturis & imaginibus, unà cum capitibus rerum quibus illuſtrabitur Germania ab Aventino, modo contingat benignus Mecænas. Geſner* gives an exact Account of This great Work of *Aventine*; whereby it appears, that the ſame Author had formed a very fine and large Plan, to illuſtrate the Antiquities of *Germany*. The general view alone of the Subjects, which he undertook, is ſufficient to create Aſtoniſhment. See the Letter, which he wrote to *Vadianus*, in 1530 (28). He intended very ſoon to have publiſhed ſuch another *Chronicle*, as That of *Euſebius*; an *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* from the beginning of the World to his own Time; ſome *ancient Grammarians*, a *Greek* and *Latin* Dictionary, *Annotations on* Claudian (29), &c. But it is not known what is become of Theſe Works To comprehend how he could be able to go through with ſo many Writings, we muſt know, that he began to ſtudy by break of Day, and oftentimes returned again a little after Supper, and continued 'till Midnight (30). As he broke the Ice for Thoſe, who have treated of the Antiquities of *Bavaria* (31), it is no wonder, they have diſcovered Faults in his Annals (32). He would have found more in theirs, if they had lead him the way, as he has done them. *Lambecius* has corrected him in many Things (33).

[*K*] *Mr* Moreri *has ſucceeded very indifferently in this Article.*] I. He is excuſable for placing *Aventine* under the Letter I, in his firſt Edition; but a Repetition of the ſame Fault is unpardonable. He could not be ignorant of the general Complaint of his having ranked his illuſtrious Perſons according to their *Chriſtian* Names. Why, then, was not the Occaſion of This Complaint avoided in the following Editions? II. *Aventine* was born in the Year 1466, and not in the Year 1460. III. Having once committed This Miſtake, as *Aventine* died in the Year 1534, he ought not to have given him Sixty eight Years of Age. He ſhould have committed one Miſtake more, and made him live Seventy four Years; becauſe, for want of adding this ſecond Miſtake to the firſt, he has left an intolerable Blunder, in reckoning but Sixty eight Years from the Year 1460 to the Year 1534. IV. It is not true, that *Nicholas Geſner* publiſhed *Aventine*'s Annals. He ought to have ſaid *Nicholas Ciſner* (34). V. To ſay, that *Nicholas Ciſner* publiſhed theſe Annals, with Additions, is very improper; for This ſeems to imply, that he had added, to them, ſomething of his own. But This he has not done. His Performance was only This: He publiſhed Theſe Annals after a Manuſcript of *Aventine*, Paſſages, which had not been caſtrated; ſo that his Edition is more ample, than That of *Zieglerus*, becauſe it contains all Thoſe, which *Zieglerus* had ſuppreſſed. The Words of *Voſſius*, which *Moreri* has ſtumbled at, would not have deceived an attentive Reader: They intimate clearly enough, that *Ciſner* only reſtored to *Aventine*, what had been taken from him. *Annales Boiorum libris* vii. *reliquit: quos ex authenticis Codd. reſtituit & auxit Nicolaus Ciſnerus* (35). *Voſſius* was a little to blame in not mentioning the caſtrated Edition: had he done That, what I have now quoted would have been much clearer. VI. A Prieſt, as *Moreri* was, acts but a ſtrange Part, when he calls *Nicholas Ciſner*'s Additions *conſiderable*; ſince Thoſe Additions conſiſt only of Invectives againſt the Popes, and the *Romiſh* Clergy. VII. The *other Pieces*, which *Aventine* left, are not Thoſe, which Cardinal *Baronius* did not eſteem very *Orthodox*. It was againſt the *Annals of Bavaria*, That Cardinal was ſo much incenſed. VIII. He ought not to have quoted *Baronius* T. IX. *Anni* A. C. 772 (36); for This looks as if *Baronius* had written, at leaſt, nine Volumes upon this one Year 772.

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(22) Gregory VII.

(23) Libert. Fromondus, in libro de Orbe Terræ immob. pag. 24, 25.

(24) *See Remark* [*C*].

(25) Conringius apud Magirum, Eponymol. Critic. p. 90.

(26) Id. ib.

(27) Voſſius de Hiſt Lat. pag 655.

(28) *It is the* 49*th of the Century publiſhed by* Goldaſt.

(29) *See* Geſner, Biblioth. fol. 386.

(30) Zieglerus in ejus Vitâ.

(31) Conringius, apud Magir. Eponymolog. Crit. p. 90.

(32) Brunnerus, *in his* Annals of Bavaria, *criticiſes him often. See* Zeiller de Hiſtor. p. 13.

(33) Lambec. Commentar. Biblioth. Cæſ. lib. 2, cap. 1, 2. *See* Magir. Eponymol. pag. 91.

(34) *In the* Holland *Edition, it is* Nicholas Geſner.

(35) Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 655.

(36) Voſſius, *the only Author that* Moreri *has quoted concerning* Aventine, *might alſo have preſerved him from this Miſtake, who thus cites this very place*, ex T. IX. ad Ann. 772.

AVERROËS (*a*), one of the moſt ſubtile Philoſophers that appeared among the *Arabians*, was of *Corduba* (*b*), and flouriſhed in the Twelfth Century [*A*]. He had an extraordinary eſteem for *Ariſtotle*, and commented upon his Works ſo very learnedly, that he was called The *Commentator* by way of Excellency. It has been thought wonderful, that, *without knowing any Thing of* Greek, *he could penetrate ſo well into the Senſe of the Original*; and it is believed, not without reaſon, that, *if he had known That Language, he would have perfectly underſtood* Ariſtotle’s *Thoughts. Qui Græcè neſcius feliciter adeò mentem Ariſtotelis perſpexit, quid non feciſſet ſi Linguam ſciſſet Græcam* (*c*)? This ſome learned Men ſay; but others affirm, that he has interpreted *Ariſtotle* very indifferently [*B*], not only for want of Learning, but alſo of Capacity. He was Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Morocco* [*C*], and became very ſkillful in Phyſic; but he underſtood the Theory of it better than the Practice [*D*]. He is looked upon as the Inventor

(*a*) *See all his Names, in Remark* [*C*].

(*b*) *It is falſely ſaid in the* Lindenius Renovatus, *that* Corduba *is a City of* Arabia.

(*c*) Voſſius de Philoſophorum ſectis, pag. 90. *See* Keckerman’s *Words in the Remark* [*I*].

[*A*] *He flouriſhed in the XIIth Century.*] I ſee no other Proof of it than this; that his two Sons were ſeen, by *Ægidius*, at the Court of *Frederic Barbaroſſa* (1). “Ætatem ex eo colligimus quod Ægidius Romanus in nono Quotlibeto refert ſe duos ejus filios vidiſſe in aulâ Frederici Barbaroſſæ. Is vero regere cœpit Anno CIↃCLII. ac imperavit Annos XXXVII. —— *The Age he lived in may be gathered from hence, that* Ægidius, *in his ninth* Quotlibet, *affirms he ſaw two of his Sons at the Court of* Frederic Barbaroſſa: *Who began his Reign in the Year* 1152, *and reigned thirty ſeven Years.* Theſe are *Voſſius*’s Words in the One hundred fourteenth Page of his Book *de Philoſophiâ*, chap. 14. See alſo the ſeventeenth Chapter of his Treatiſe *de Philoſophorum ſectis*, page 91, where he proves, by the Evidence of the *Conciliator*, and of This *Ægidius*, that *Averroës* flouriſhed in the Year 1150, he refers us to the *Quodlibets* of *Ægidius*, lib. 2. *Quæſtione de unitate intellectûs*. *Reineſius* obſerves, that the Death of *Averroës* is placed in the Five hundred ninety fifth Year of the *Hegira*, which is the Eleven hundred ninety eighth of the *Chriſtian Æra* (2). I wiſh Mr *Konig*, who refers us to *Reineſius*, had not placed This Death in the Year 1225. He ought to have referred us to *Hottinger*, and to have rectified him; for That learned *Swiſs*, having ſaid, after *John Leo*, that *Averroës* died in the Six hundred and third Year of the *Hegira*, makes That Year anſwer to our Year 1225 (3). This is a great Miſtake; it anſwers, Part of it, to our Year 1206, the other Part to our Year 1207. The *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* of *Bartolocci* ſays, that *Averroës* flouriſhed from the Year 1131, to the Year 1216, which was That of his Death; that his Commentaries on *Ariſtotle*’s Philoſophy were finiſhed at *Seville*, in the Year 1187, and that Thoſe on his Metaphyſics were written in the Year 1192 (4).

[*B*] *Some of the Learned affirm, that he has interpreted* Ariſtotle *very indifferently - - - - for want of Learning.*] This was the Opinion of *Ludovicus Vives*. “Nomen eſt commentatoris nactus, *ſays he* (5), homo qui in Ariſtotele enarrando nihil minus explicat, quam eum ipſum quem ſuſcepit declarandum. Sed nec potuiſſet explicare etiam ſi divino fuiſſet ingenio, quum eſſet humano, & quidem intra mediocritatem. Nam quid tandem adferebat, quo in Ariſtotele enarrando poſſet eſſe probe inſtructus? Non cognitionem veteris memoriæ, non ſcientiam placitorum priſcæ diſciplinæ, & intelligentiam ſectarum, quibus Ariſtoteles paſſim ſcatet. Itaque videas eum peſſime philoſophos omneis antiquos citare, ut qui nullum unquam legerit, ignarus Græcitatis ac Latinitatis, pro Polo Ptholomæum ponit, pro Prothagorâ Pythagoram, pro Cratylo Democritum, libros Platonis titulis ridiculis inſcribit: & ita de iis loquitur, ut vel cœco perſpicuum ſit literam eum in illis legiſſe nullam. At quàm confidenter audet pronuntiare hoc aut illud ab eis dici, &, quod impudentius eſt, non dici: Quum ſolos videret Alexandrum, Themiſtium, & Nicolaum Damaſcenum: Et hos, ut apparet, verſos in Arabicum perverſiſſime ac corruptiſſime. Citat enim eos nonnunquam, & contradicit, & cum eis rixatur, ut nec ipſe quidem, qui ſcripſit intelligat. Ariſtotelem verò quomodo legit, non in ſua origine purum & integrum, non in lacunam Latinam derivatum, non enim potuit linguarum expers, ſed de Latino in Arabicum tranſvaſatum. —— *He has gained the Name of Commentator, tho’ he is very far from explaining his Author* Ariſtotle, *or deſerving That Title. This would have been too great a Task, for one of an extraordinary Genius, much more for him, who had but a moderate one, nay, to ſay the Truth, a mean one. For what Qualifications had he for undertaking a Commentary on* Ariſtotle? *He had no Knowledge of Antiquity, nor of it’s ſeveral Doctrines, and Sects, with which* Ariſtotle *every where abounds. So that you find him cite all the old Philoſophers in ſuch a wretched Manner, as proves he never could have read one of them. Through his Ignorance of* Greek *and* Latin, *he puts* Ptholomæus *for* Polus, Pythagoras *for* Prothagoras, Democritus *for* Cratylus, *and miſcalls the Titles of* Plato’s *Books very ridiculouſly; and ſpeaks of them ſo, that even a blind Man may ſee he had never read a Letter of them. But what a prodigious Degree of Aſſurance is it, for him to pronounce, that ſuch a Thing is ſaid by them, or, what is ſtill more ſhocking, that ſuch a thing is not ſaid by them: when he had ſeen only* Alexander, Themiſtius, *and* Nicolas Damaſcenus: *and theſe only in blundering* Arabic *Tranſlations. For he ſometimes cites them, and contradicts them, and raiſes ſuch Controverſies with them, as he himſelf does not at all underſtand. But how does he read* Ariſtotle? *not pure and entire in the Original, nor even in his firſt Debaſement in a* Latin *Tranſlation, for he underſtood neither of theſe Languages, but degenerated again out of* Latin *into* Arabic.” He afterwards proves the Inability of this Interpreter of *Ariſtotle*, by an Example (6). See *Cœlius Rhodiginus*, who, in general, ſays almoſt the ſame thing (7). We muſt not truſt to Father *Rapin*, who makes him ſay This of *Avicenna* (8). For That Jeſuit did not always quote from the Original. However, what he is going to ſay is by no means contemptible: “As *Averroës* underſtood nothing of *Ariſtotle*, but by an unfaithful Tranſlation, he fell himſelf into ſuch terrible Miſconſtructions of his Senſe, that *Bagolin*, a Philoſopher of *Verona*, *Zimara*, and *Mantinus*, undertook, *in vain, to correct him* (9).”

[*C*] *He was Profeſſor in the Univerſity of* Morocco.] It was under the third King of the Race of the *Almohades*, after the Expulſion of the *Almoravides*. Read this Paſſage of *Reineſius*: “Quem *Averroëm* adpellant vulgo ſcholæ, ejus nomen integrum eſt Abual-Walid Mohammed, ebn Achmed, ebn Mohammed, ebn Roſhd: Docuitque in Academia Maroccana auſpiciis Jacobi, tertii ex Almohadis, poſt ejectos Almoravidas, regis (10). —— *The true Name of Him, who is called, in the Schools,* Averroës, *was* Abual-Walid Mohammed, ebn Achmed, ebn Mohammed, ebn Roſhd: *And he taught in the Univerſity of* Morocco, *under the Reign of* James III, *of the* Almohades, *after the Expulſion of the* Almoravides.”

[*D*] *He became very ſkillful in Phyſic; but he underſtood the Theory of it better than the Practice.*] His principal Work in Phyſic is That, which is called *Colliget*. He there treats of This Science in general; and it cannot be amiſs to give here a Piece of the Preface: “Ex præcepto *nobilis Domini Audelach Sempſe*, qui pro conſilio ſuorum Philoſophorum Avoſait & Avenchalit injunxit mihi ut conſcriberem opus, quod Arabico ſermone totam Medicinæ Scientiam contineret, ad approbandum judicandumve ſententias veterum, collegi hoc opus Colliget, id eſt, Univerſale, ſic inſcriptum propter ordinem doctrinæ obſervandum, qui paulatim ab univerſalibus

“ ad

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(1) Naudé’s Apology for great Men accuſed of Magic, *chap.* 14, *p.* 354. *he quotes* Ægidius, Quodlibet 9. *See alſo* Petri Petiti Medici Pariſienſis Obſervationes Miſcellaneæ pag. 191.

(2) Reineſius Ep. 15. ad Hofman. pag. 32.

(3) Hotting. Biblioth. Theol. pag. 279.

(4) Bartoloc. Biblioth. Rabbinica, Tom. I. pag. 13. *He quotes* Caſerrius in Chronolog. Compendio.

(5) Ludovicus Vives, de Cauſis corruptar. Artium, lib. 5. pag. 167.

(6) *That is, by a Quotation of a Paſſage out of* Ariſtotle’s *Metaphyſics*.

(7) Cœlius Rhodiginus Antiq. Lect. lib. 3, c. 2, pag. 110.

(8) Rapin’s Reflexions on Philoſophy, n. 15, pag. 339, 340. Holl. *Edition*.

(9) Id. Ibid.

(10) Reineſius Ep. 15. ad Hofman. pag. 32.

Inventor of an Opinion both very abſurd, and very contrary to *Chriſtian* Orthodoxy [*E*], but which, nevertheleſs, made ſuch a formidable Progreſs among ſeveral

"ad particularia procedit. In hoc enim libro univerſales regulas inchoavi, & deinceps ſavente Deo alium librum de iis quæ particularia ſunt inſtituam, *&c.* (11) —— *At the Command of my noble Lord* Audelach Sempſe, *who, by the Advice of his Philoſophers,* Avoſait *and* Avenchalit, *obliged me to undertake a Work, in the* Arabic *Language, which ſhould comprehend the whole Science of Phyſic, that I might judge and approve of the Opinions of the Ancients, I have compoſed this Work* Colliget, *that is,* Univerſal: *So entitled, on account of the Order to be obſerved in Teaching, which proceeds by degrees from Univerſals to Particulars. For in this Book I have given ſuch Rules as are Univerſal; and hereafter, if Providence permits, I ſhall write one concerning Particulars,* &c." To make it plain, that he valued himſelf for his great Skill in Phyſic, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that *he was a Rival of the great* Avicenna, *and ſo great an Enemy to him, that he avoids naming him in his Writings: Avicennæ Medici æmulus & inimiciſſimus fuit, ut eum nominare in ſuis Libris vereatur* (12): his Affectation in this Reſpect is very evident. This Affectation was undoubtedly the Reaſon, why, in confuting a Doctrine maintained by *Avicenna,* he attacked it only as the Sentiment of *Galen.* I ſpeak of the Doctrine, which aſſerts, that the Animal Spirits, which cauſe Joy are bright, and Thoſe, which cauſe Melancholy, black. Mr *Petit* has taken notice of this Affectation of *Averroës.* "Nunc quibus mentis penetrationibus Averrois hanc Aviſennæ opinionem impugnet, videamus: quamquam eo loco directe Aviſennam non petit, ſed Galenum, ſpontaneum melancholicorum metum ab humoris, qui in iis abundat, nigredine repetentem; verum quæ ibi Galeno objicit, pari impetu in memoratam Aviſennæ opinionem redeunt (13). —— *Let us ſee now what Arguments* Averroës *brings againſt this Opinion of* Avicenna; *though he does not there directly attack* Avicenna, *but* Galen, *who aſcribes the ſpontaneous Timorouſneſs of melancholy Perſons to a black Humour abounding in them, but what he there objects againſt* Galen *falls with equal force on this Opinion of* Avicenna." *Averroës,* either on purpoſe, or through forgetfulneſs, has behaved in a quite contrary Manner, with regard to *Avempace;* for he names him as the Author of a Remark, which he might have read in *Philoponus* (14). This is only by the by. Now, that he was more learned in the Theory, than the Practice, he himſelf confeſſes, as Mr *Petit* obſerves. "Averroës fatetur de ſe ultro in ſeptimo eorum librorum, quos *Colliget* vulgus appellat, cap. 6. Ego, inquit, non ſtudui ei Scientiæ (Medicinæ) ut videar mihi in ea eſſe ſufficiens: Et alibi negat ſe in eorum numero eſſe qui ægris remedia adhibent (15). - - - - - - Averroës *makes this Confeſſion of himſelf, in the ſeventh of thoſe Books, commonly called* Colliget, *cap.* 6. *I have not, ſays he, ſtudied This Science (of Phyſic) in order to make myſelf perfect in it: And, elſewhere, he denies himſelf to be in the Number of thoſe, who adminiſter to the ſick.*" This Paſſage of Mr *Petit* is much more exact, than theſe Words of *Voſſius.* "Aver-roës Cordubenſis, cognomento Commentator, medicus non tam practicus, quam theoreticus. Fuit medicus Memarolini regis (16). - - - - - Aver-roës *of* Corduba, *ſirnamed the* Commentator, *a Phyſician, not ſo much in Practice, as in Theory. He was Phyſician to King* Memarolinus." The laſt Words weaken, inſtead of confirming, the former; for, to be a Prince's Phyſician, requires great Practice. I ſay nothing of *Memarolini* (17), which was not a proper Name, but a Name of Dignity, and conſequently not fit to be joined with the Word *regis. Mercklinus* was not aware of This, when he ſaid, *Videtur Medicus fuiſſe regis Miramamolini* (18) - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *He ſeems to have been Phyſician to King* Miramamolinus. *Symphorian Campier* was the Original of This Error; he had ſaid, that *Averroës* lived at *Corduba,* in the Time of King *Miramalinus, tempore Miramalini regis apud Cordubam* (19). Obſerve, that the Phyſicians of *Paris,* great Favourers of Phlebotomy, would not eaſily agree, that *Averroës* was not much skilled in the Practice of Phyſic; for it is ſaid, that his Example contributed much to extirpate an Error, which they diſapproved. Read theſe Words of *Stephen Paſquier.* "How many Ages have we practiſed Phyſic, with the Notion, that Children ought not to be blooded, 'till fourteen Years of Age, and that bleeding of them before That Time was not a Cure, but certain Death? A Hereſy, which we ſhould have lived in to this Day, if it had not been for *Averroës,* the *Arabian,* who ventured to make the firſt Experiment of it on a Son of his own, about ſix or ſeven Years of Age, whom he cured of a Pleuriſie (20)."

[*E*] *He is looked upon as the Inventor of an Opinion, both very abſurd, and very contrary to Chriſtian Orthodoxy.*] I think it would be more proper to ſay, that he has cleared and explained it, and, by maintaining it with more application than ever, has given a kind of new Life to it; for the ſame *Pomponatius,* who affirms, in his fourth Chapter, that it is a Monſter forged by *Averroës; Figmentum & Monſtrum ab Averroë confictum* (21); has alſo ſaid, in the third Chapter, that *Themiſtius* and *Averroës* taught the ſame thing. "Averroës itaque & ut exiſtimo ante eum Themiſtius concordes poſuere animam intellectivam realiter diſtingui ab anima corruptibili, verum ipſam eſſe unum numero in omnibus hominibus, mortalem vero multiplicatam (22). —— Averroës *therefore, and, I think, before him* Themiſtius, *maintained an intellectual Soul really diſtinct from the corruptible Soul, that the former was only One in all Mankind, but the Mortal One as numerous as the Individuals.*" The Jeſuits of *Coimbra* go higher; for they will have it, that *Theophraſtus* underſtood the Doctrine of his Maſter *Ariſtotle* in this Senſe. "Occurrit alia ſententia exiſtimantium in diſciplina Ariſtotelis ponendam eſſe unam duntaxat animam intellectricem, ſive unum intellectum qui omnibus hominibus aſſiſtat, ut ſolis lumen univerſitati. Sic enim Ariſtotelem interpretati ſunt ejus diſcipulus & Scholæ ſucceſſor Theophraſtus, Themiſtius, Simplicius, Averroës, aliique non pauci, etſi non omnes eodem modo de hujuſmodi intellectu locuti fuerint (23). —— *There occurs another Opinion of Thoſe, who, according to the Doctrine of* Ariſtotle, *maintained only an intellectual Soul, or one Intellect, which ſerves all Mankind, as the Light of the Sun does the Univerſe. For ſo has* Ariſtotle *been interpreted by his Scholar, and Succeſſor in his School,* Theophraſtus, *by* Themiſtius, Simplicius, Averroës, *and others, tho' they have not all expreſſed themſelves alike, concerning this Intellect.*" They add, that ſeveral Moderns have owned, that, according to *Ariſtotle*'s Hypotheſis, the Underſtanding of all Men is one and the ſame Subſtance. "Hoc quidem Argumentum permovit etiam ad prædictam Intellectus unitatem in Ariſtotelis doctrinâ aſſerendam non paucos è recenſioribus peripateticis in quibus ſunt Thom. Anglicus, Achillinus, Odo Jandunus, Mirandulanus, Zimara, Vicomereatus, & quidam alii (24). - - - - *This very Argument induced many of the modern Peripatetics to aſſert this Unity of the Intellect, according to the Doctrine of* Ariſtotle, *amongſt whom are* Thomas Anglicus, Achillinus, Odo Jandunus, Mirandulanus, Zimara, Vicomereatus, *and others.*" But that ſome among Theſe Moderns will have it to be, in all Men, as an aſſiſtant Form, others as a conſtituent Form. The latter is the Opinion of *Mirandulanus* (25), and of *Achillinus* (26). But obſerve here a Miſtake like This of *Pomponatius.* The Jeſuits of *Coimbra* elſewhere aſcribe the Invention of the Unity of the Intellect of all Men to *Averroës.* This will appear the more ſurpriſing, when the Words are ſeen, which preceed Thoſe, where they affirm it. "Secunda (*ſententia*) fuit Avicennæ 9. Metaph. cap. quarto, & in lib. Natur. part. 5. Avempace in epiſtola de lumine, & Græci cujuſdam Marini cujus mentionem facit hoc loco Philoponus, ajentium intellectum agentem eſſe ſubſtantiam quandam ſeparatam, quam Avicenna Cholcodæam nuncupabat. Idem placuit Averroi in libello de beatitudine animæ, cap. 5. & in epitome Metaph. tractatu 4. qui errori errorem ſubnectens, aliorum veſtigia ſecutus, "unum, ſeveral *Italian* Philoſophers, that it became neceſſary to condemn it by the Pope's

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(11) Præf. Averroïs apud Geſnerum, in Biblioth. fol. 101.

(12) Symphorianus Campejus apud Geſner, ibid. fol. 100. *See* Cælius Rhodiginus, lib. 3, cap. 12, pag. 1684. *and* Scaliger *againſt* Cardan, *Exerc.* 61, n. 5.

(13) Pet. Petitus, Diſſertat. de Homeri Nepenthe. pag. 89.

(14) *See the ſame* Petri Petiti Miſcell. Obſervat. lib. 3. cap. 18.

(15) Id. ib. lib. 2. cap. 7. pag. 99, 100.

(16) Voſſius de Philoſophia, cap. 14, p. 114.

(17) *This Dignity is not properly Latinized.*

(18) Mercklinus in Lindenio renovato, p. 94.

(19) Symph. Campejus, de claris Medicis.

(20) Paſquier, *in the ſecond Volume of his Letters,* Book 19. pag. 548.

(21) Pomponatius de Immort. Animæ, c. 4. pag. 9.

(22) Id. ib. c. 3. p. 7.

(23) Conimbricenſes in 2. lib. de Anima, cap. 1. Quæſt. 7. Art. 1. pag. 59.

(24) Ibid.

(25) Mirandulanus, de Everſione ſingularis certaminis, lib. 32. §. 1. & lib. 33. §. 2, & 6.

(26) Achillinus lib. de Intelligentiis.

“ unum omnium hominum finxit communem intellectum, ut alibi retulimus (27). ----- *The ſecond* [*Opinion*] *was That of* Avicenna, *in his* Metaphyſics, *lib.* 9. *chap.* 4. *and in his Book* de Natur. *Part* 5. *of* Avempace, *in his Epiſtle* de Lumine, *and of* Marinus, *a certain* Greek, *mentioned here by* Philoponus; *who held, that the acting Intellect is a certain ſeparate Subſtance, which* Avicenna *calls* Cholcodæa. Averroës *is of the ſame Sentiment, in his Book* de Beatitudine Animæ, *chap.* 5. *and in* Epitome Metaphyſ. *Tractat.* 4. *who, adding Error to Error, in imitation of others, has pretended, that there is but one Intellect, in common to all Men, as we have elſewhere related.*” That is to ſay, That the Unity of the Intellect is a Fiction, which *Averroës* has added to the Errors of others; yet nevertheleſs it is plain, this Fiction does not at all differ from the Doctrine they attribute to *Avicenna*, &c. We muſt remember, that, according to *Averroës*, the Intellect of Men is the loweſt Degree of Intelligences, and occupies the loweſt Place of the Univerſe (28). “ Eſſe mentium infimam omnium, & unicam. Nam ſicuti cœleſtes globi ſinguli ſingulas habere mentes videntur, ita & orbis hic inferior unam, ut ipſe vult, habet, quæ non hujus hominis ſit, vel illius: Sed humanæ ſpeciei mens ſit, & dicatur, ut ſpeciei unicæ unicus ſit intellectus in hoc orbe inferiori, ut plerique intelligunt, ubique totus compingi (29). —— *It is One only, and That the loweſt of Intelligences. For, as each of the celeſtial Orbs ſeems to have it's particular Intellect, ſo has this inferior Globe it's Intellect, which he will have to be One, and not appropriated to This, or That Man; but to be the Intellect of the whole human Species, that there may be to One Species One Intellect, in this lower Orb, as moſt underſtand it, that the whole is contained every where.*” Be this as it will, theſe Jeſuits, in confuting this pretended Unity of the Intellect of all Men, attack This Philoſopher only; ſo much do they, at leaſt, eſteem him the chief Defender of This Chimera. They obſerve, *that* Scotus *had ſaid, that* Averroës *became worthy to be excommunicated by human Race; and that others ſay, that his Doctrine is ſuch a dreadful Monſter, that the Foreſts of* Arabia *never produced a greater.* “ Hæc Commentatoris ſeu commentitoris potius de unitate intellectûs ſententia adeo ſtulta eſt, ut meritò Scotus in 4 d. 43 q. 2. dixerit dignum eſſe Averroem qui ob has ineptias ex hominum communione averruncetur. Alii vero hoc ejus figmentum monſtrum vocârint quo nullum majus Arabum ſylvæ genuerint. Certe hoc unum ſat eſſe debuiſſet ad eos coarguendos qui filium Rois tanti faciunt, ut ejus animam Ariſtotelis animam eſſe dicant (30).” The laſt part of this Paſſage informs us, that, among other Elogies, *That of having* Ariſtotle's *Soul was given to This* Arabian. The Jeſuits of *Coimbra* will have it, that, to confute this, it is ſufficient to conſider only the Doctrine of the Unity of the Intellect. But This Obſervation is falſe; for, as ſeveral of the Moderns have owned, This Doctrine is only an Inlargement and Explication of *Ariſtotle*'s Principles. I could prove this by many Remarks, but ſhall content myſelf with this, that, according to the Hypotheſis of our Philoſopher, the Multiplication of Individuals can have no other Foundation, than Matter; from whence it follows, that the Intellect is but One, ſince *Ariſtotle makes it ſeparate and diſtinct from Matter. Viderunt Ariſtotelem ſimpliciter probare intellectum poſſibilem eſſe immixtum & immaterialem* (31). This is the Obſervation of *Pomponatius*. “ Quod vero unicus ſit intellectus in omnibus hominibus ſive poſſibilis ponatur, patere poteſt ex eo quoniam apud Peripateticos eſt celebrata propoſitio, multiplicationem individuorum in eadem ſpecie non poſſe eſſe niſi per materiam quantam, ut dicitur 7 & 12 Metaph, & 2 de Anima (32). —— *But that the Intellect in all Men is but One, or may be ſuppoſed ſo, appears from hence, that the Peripatetics have a celebrated Maxim, that the Multiplication of Individuals can be only by Matter and Quantity, as is ſaid in* 7 *and* 12. Metaph. & 2. de Animâ.” But how much ſoever This Opinion of *Averroës* may be grounded on *Ariſtotle*, yet it is impious and abſurd at the bottom. It is impious, becauſe it leads to a Belief, that the Soul, which is properly the Form of Man, dies with the Body (33), it is abſurd, becauſe nothing can be more ſenſeleſs, than to maintain, that two Men, who are directed by their reſpective intellectual Operations to kill each other, have the ſame Soul? What can be imagined more chimerical, than that two Philoſophers, one of whom affirms, and the other denies, the ſame Theſis, at the ſame time, are but One only Being, as to the Intellect? We will examine what an Adverſary of *Pomponatius*, advanced againſt This Extravagancy.

Firſt, He confutes it, as it ſuppoſes, that the Intellect is not in Man, and afterwards, as it ſuppoſes that all Men have but one and the ſame Intellect. On the firſt Point, he enquires why an Intellect, which ought to unite it's Operation to That of the Man, in the moſt intimate Manner poſſible, ſhould think it a Diſhonour to unite itſelf with the Organs, to compoſe with them one Individual (34)? You will eaſily apprehend the intimate Union there mentioned, if you take notice, that, according to the *Averroïſts*, the Soul of Man is not capable of Underſtanding without the help of This aſſiſting Intellect. This Intellect then muſt ſupply, by it's Operation, what the Soul of Man wants; and conſequently our intellectual Acts depend on two Principles, whereof one is only paſſive and defective, the other is active and perfect. Theſe two Principles therefore concur and terminate in the ſame effect; and conſequently the Action of the Intellect of the *Averroïſts* unites it ſelf, in a moſt intimate manner, with the Soul, which underſtands. But this difficulty is not great; for the Union objected is not more intimate, than That of the Operation of God, with the Operation of the Creature, according to the Doctrine of Co-operation; and yet it does not follow from hence, that theſe two Cauſes muſt be perſonally united. The Author pretends to obviate this Anſwer, by ſaying, That the Operation of the Intellect of the *Averroïſts* is immanent and particular, which cannot be ſaid of the Co-operation of God (35); but this may eaſily be anſwered; ſo that his Diſputation is not ſo victorious as to the firſt Point, as it is with regard to the ſecond; for obſerve how he preſſes *Averroës*: *That Intellect, of which you ſpeak, is either God, or a Creature. If it is God, I ask this Queſtion, Does he act within or without himſelf? If without himſelf? what a Monſter would not an Operation of the Underſtanding be, which is placed without the Intellect, and in another Perſon* (36). This proves too much; for from hence it muſt be inferred, that the Divine Intellect cannot produce an Act of Intelligence in the Soul of Man, without producing the ſame in itſelf. Now This is falſe and abſurd. The other Branch of the Queſtion reduces the *Averroïſts* to the laſt Extremity. If God forms in himſelf the Acts of Intelligence, which are in Man, how many Errors muſt he entertain? “ Sed neque intra Deum contineri poteſt (*intellectio*) quod immenſos in eum errores toties inveheret, quoties opinione ſuâ fallerentur homines; neque enim prorſus ulla valeret excuſatio, quin prima ac ſumma veritas à ſe ipſa monſtroſe deficeret, ſi aſſignanda ipſi eſſent, ſi in ſinu ejus & complexu reponenda quæcunque eſſe poſſunt falſa hominum judicia (37). —— *Neither can it* [the Intellect] *be contained within God, ſince it muſt produce in him ſuch prodigious Errors, as often as Men are deceived in their Opinions; nor can any Salvo be found ſufficient to explain, how the ſupream Truth can avoid degenerating from itſelf in a monſtruous Manner, if it muſt be charged with, and made to entertain, all thoſe falſe Judgments, to which Men are liable.*” If they anſwer, that this Intellect is created, the Author replies, that a Creature does not ſeem ſufficient to regulate ſo effectually all human Souls at the ſame time (38). Beſides that the contrariety of Opinions, which reign among Men, cannot lodge together in one ſingle Underſtanding. “ Quomodo in unam & eandem intelligentiam ſimul cadet contrarietas illa opinionum & ſententiarum, quam toties in hominibus experimur, cum unus ait, alter negat de eodem idem? Quæ eadem quæſtio impedire poteſt adverſarium in reſ-

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(27) Conimbricenſes in lib. 3, de Anima, cap. 5. Quæſt. 1. Artic. 1, pag. 226.

(28) Commentator ipſe Comm. 19, l. 3, de Anim. ponit ipſam eſſe ultimam intelligentiarum. *Pompon. de Immortalitate Anim. cap.* 4, *pag.* 11.

(29) Cœlius Rhodigin. Antiq. Lect. lib. 3, c. 2, pag. 109.

(30) Conimb. in lib. 2, de Animâ, cap. 1, Quæſt. 7. Art. 2. pag. 60.

(31) Pomponatius de Immortal. Anim. c. 4. pag. 7.

(32) Id. ibid. pag. 8.

(33) *See Remark* [H] *towards the End.*

(34) Antonius Sirmondus de Immortalitate Animæ adverſus Pomponatium & Aſſeclas, p. 368.

(35) Id. ib. pag. 369.

(36) Quid hoc portenti intellectio ut extra intellectum conſiſtat & quidem toto ab ea disjuncta ſuppoſito? *Id. ibid. pag.* 370.

(37) Id. ib.

(38) Id. ib. p. 371, 372.

Pope's Authority [*F*]. This Opinion is, That there is an Intelligence, which, without

"ponſione jamjam exploſa de intellectu divino. —— *How can That Contrariety of Opinions, and Notions, which we ſo often obſerve among Men, concerning one and the ſame Subject, ever ſubſiſt in one, and the ſame, Intellect? Which very Objection ſhews alſo the Abſurdity of That long exploded Notion of the Divinity of This Intellect.*" This laſt Objection has the ſame force againſt Thoſe, who affirm, that This Intellect is God. Thus is alſo *Spinoziſm* invincibly confuted (39). It is remarkable, that the Author owns all the ſtrength of his Objection to conſiſt in his having proved, that the Operation of the Intellect of the *Averroïſts* on the Souls of Men is inherent (40). But I think, there is no Reaſon for them to allow, that he has proved This Point. As to what remains, he declares, that he ſhould have nothing to ſay againſt *Averroës*'s Sentiment, if That Philoſopher had only ſpoke of the Operation of the Divine Intellect, conſidered as the firſt Cauſe. "Reſtat ergo, ut ſuum iſtud ſomnium integrum Averroës ſomnii loco & mendacii haberi ſinat, aut certè interpretetur ipſe de actione intellectus divini, qua parte non intellectus quidem præciſe, ſed eſt prima cauſa, in omnes cauſarum ſecundarum, adeoque inferiorum intelligentiarum effectus ex virtute ſua influens aliquid (41). —— An ita poſſit accipi, non diſputo, illud contentus oſtendiſſe, quòd niſi quid ſimile ſonet ejus doctrina, inanis ac ſtulta ſit, ſi quid autem ſimile, ne pilum quidem nobis adverſantem habeat (42). —— *It remains therefore, that* Averroës *muſt either give up this whole Chimerical Notion of his for a Dream, and a Fiction, or interpret it of the Act of the Divine Intellect, not as it is the Intellect, but the firſt Cauſe operating on all ſecond Cauſes, and conſequently in ſome Degree influencing by it's Agency the Effects of inferior Intellects. — Whether or no it can be ſo explained, I ſhall not undertake to diſpute, being content with having ſhewn, that, unleſs his Doctrine be conſtrued after ſome ſuch manner as this, it is empty and abſurd, but, if it be ſo conſtrued, I have nothing to object againſt it.*" He tells us, That he has not meddled with the Objections, which *Thomas Aquinas* ſtarted againſt the Hypotheſis of This *Arabian*. You may find it perfectly confuted in a Work of Mr *Du Pleſſis Mornay* (43).

It is ſurprizing, that ſuch great Genius's, as *Ariſtotle* and *Averroës*, ſhould invent ſo many Chimera's concerning the Intellectual Faculty; and yet I will venture to ſay, that the Superiority of their Parts was the very Cauſe of it. It was by their great Penetration, that they diſcovered ſuch Difficulties, as obliged them to leave the common Road, and deſpiſe many other ways, where they did not meet with what they ſought. The moſt certain Knowledge they had of the Nature of the Soul, was, that it is capable of thinking ſucceſſively of a thouſand things; but, how it reduced this Capacity into Action, they could not comprehend: The Operation of Objects, their Species, their Images in the Brain, as much refined as you pleaſe, nothing of all this ſeems ſufficient to give the Soul an actual Intelligence. See with what Force Father *Mallebranche* confutes all that has been ſaid of the Manner of our knowing things (44). He could find no other Expedient, than to aſſert, that we ſee them in God, and that the Ideas are not produced in our Souls. Some ancient Philoſophers have ſaid, that God is the general Intelligence of all Spirits; that is to ſay, that he diffuſes Knowledge on them, as the Sun does Light on Bodies. Read theſe Words of the Jeſuits of *Coimbra:* "Prima ſententia fuit Alexandri libro ſecundo de Animâ, cap. 20. & 21. exiſtimantis intellectum agentem eſſe intellectum univerſalem omnium conditorem, hoc eſt Deum; quod etiam Platonis dogma libro ſexto de republicâ fuiſſe creditur, qui intellectum agentem noſtros animos cœlitus irradiantem comparavit ſoli, ut ex Themiſtio hoc in lib. refert divus Thomas 1 part. quæſt. 79. articulo quarto. In eundem errorem lapſus fuit Priſcianus Lydus aſſerens, intellectum agentem non eſſe partem animæ, ſed mentem primam atque divinam, vel Ideam boni (45). —— *The firſt was the Opinion of* Alexander, *in his ſecond Book* de Anima, cap. 20, 21, *who held the acting Intellect to be the univerſal Intellect, the Creator of all things,* i. e. *God; which is alſo eſteemed to be the Doctrine of* Plato, *in his ſixth Book* de Republicâ, *where the acting Intellect, irradiating our Minds, is compared to the Sun, as* St Thomas *relates from* Themiſtius, *in this Book,* Part I, Quæſt. 79, Art. 4. Priſcianus Lydus *is fallen into the ſame Error, in aſſerting, that the acting Intellect is not part of the Soul, but the ſupream and divine Mind itſelf, or Idea of Good.*" When a Subject is very obſcure, it is no wonder, that the greateſt Philoſophers ſpeak of it a little out of the way, and on Suppoſitions not eaſily to be apprehended. Now there cannot be a more difficult Subject, than This of the Formation of Thought. It is, perhaps, more ſo, than That of the Original of the Soul. This is going a great way; for it is a very wiſe Reflexion *Bartholin* makes on a Story reported of St *Anſelm*. This Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, finding himſelf near Death, at the Age of Seventy ſix Years, is ſaid to have begged a ſhort Reſpite, that he might finiſh a very obſcure Inquiry, he had begun, into the Original of the Soul (46). *If he had obtained Seventy ſix Years more,* ſays *Bartholin, I doubt he could ſcarce have made an end of ſo obſcure a Queſtion. Valdè dubito, ſi vel totidem annos quot vixerat illi addidiſſet Deus vitæ arbiter, ad finem quæſtionis dubiæ unquam potuerit pervenire* (47). Obſerve, that moſt of the *Carteſians* teach, that, as there is none but God, who can give Motion to the Body, ſo there is none but God, who can modify the Spirits. They except Thoſe Actions of the Soul, which are criminal. But, as to all what we call Senſation, Imagination, Paſſion, Memory, and Idea, They pretend, that God is the efficient and immediate Cauſe of theſe, and that the Action of Objects, or the Motion of our Animal Spirits, is only the occaſional Cauſe. This Opinion is but an Extenſion of That attributed to a famous Interpreter of *Ariſtotle*, and which Mr *Du Pleſſis Mornay* confutes by ſpecious Reaſons, but ſuch as our *Carteſians* would not embaraſs themſelves with. Let us ſee ſomething of what he advances: "As to the Opinion of *Alexander (Aphrodiſienſis)* who maintains, that there is an univerſal acting Intellect, which impreſſes the poſſible Intellect, *i. e.* every one's Capacity, and reduces it into Action, moſt of the Reaſons produced above, againſt *Averroës*, will hold, alſo, againſt him. But, becauſe, by this acting Intellect, he ſeems to mean God himſelf, there is this yet farther to be objected, That God, who is all Good and all Wiſe, would not imprint on our Underſtandings the Follies and Vices we find in it, neither would he leave it in ſo much Ignorance and Obſcurity, as we feel in it, but conquer in all Men That Contagion, which This Body brings with it; and, though he ſhould not inſpire or influence ſo many things to the one, as to the other, according to the ſeveral Capacities of This *raſa Tabula*, This blank Paper, yet he never would produce in any ſuch a World of falſe Images, as every Man may perceive within himſelf. Farther, This Influence muſt either be continual, or interrupted. If continual, we ſhould underſtand all that our Imagination could repreſent to us without Trouble or Application: If interrupted, we could not, of ourſelves, underſtand any thing whatſoever, nor will when we would. Now, on the contrary, we find it difficult to apprehend ſome things, and are forced to overcome the Ignorance of our Underſtanding, as it were, Step by Step; and there are others, which we can apprehend as ſoon as they offer themſelves, and whenever we pleaſe (48)."

[*F*] *Which made ſuch a formidable Progreſs —— that it became neceſſary to condemn it, by the Pope's Authority.*] I have reported, in another Place (49), the Words of one of the Bulls of Pôpe *Leo* X, which was approved in the *Lateran* Council. I ſhall add here, that *Raimond Lully* made great Inſtance to Pope *Clement* V, to condemn *Averroës*'s Commentaries on *Ariſtotle*; and that he endeavoured to engage *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, to do the ſame. He repreſented Theſe Books as full of pernicious Errors, and ſuch as will lead young Perſons, by Degrees, to Impiety: He prayed, petitioned, and wrote a Book on this Subject, but found both without multiplying it ſelf, animates all the Individuals, of Human Species, ſo far as they exerciſe the Functions of the reaſonable Soul. There is ſcarce any Book, of *Averroës*, which diſcovers better Sentiments, than That, which is intituled *Deſtructiones Deſtructionum contra Algazelem* [*G*]. Very diſadvantageous Reports have been ſpread of This Philoſopher's Religion [*H*]; for he is ſaid, not only

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(39) *See the Article SPINOZA, Remark* [*N*] n. III.

(40) Anton. Sirmondus de Immort. Anim. pag. 372.

(41) Id. ib.

(42) Ibid. pag. 373.

(43) *That of* The Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, *chap.* 15.

(44) Mallebranche's Inquiry after Truth, *Book* 3, *chap.* 1, & ſeq. *of Part* 2.

(45) Conimbric. in lib. 5. de Animâ, cap. 5, Quæſt. 1, Artic. 1. pag. 226.

(46) *See the Article ANSELMUS, Remark* [*A*]

(47) Tho. Bartholinus, Diſſertat. 6. de legendis Libris, pag. 564.

(48) Du Pleſſis Mornay, Of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, *chap.* 15, *pag.* 208.

(49) *In the Article SPINOZA. Remark* [*D*] *at the End.*

the Pope, and the King of *France*, deaf to all his Sollicitations (50). At preſent, there is no Occaſion to deſire this, or to pray, that, at leaſt, this Philoſopher may be prohibited from paſſing for an Oracle; for his Authority is now void, and no Body waſtes time in reading him; but ſome Centuries have been much infatuated with his Doctrine. Read what follows. " Congruentior & exauditu facilior fuiſſet " petitio, pro qua nunc, (quæ Dei benignitas eſt,) " non eſt ſatagendum. Nimirum ne Averroës ora- " culi loco eſſet in Scholis: Quod cùm ſuperiore " ſæculo, & paucis anterioribus, invaluiſſet, præſer- " tim in Italia, ut Canus, *lib.* 10, *de locis*, *cap.* 5, " notavit; occaſio fuit magnorum in oris illis erro- " rum, & inutilis diligentiæ, qua aliqui non minùs " in pervolutando Averroë collocabant operæ, quàm " in ſacris literis ponant, qui iis maximè delectan- " tur: Nec fidei minùs Averroi tribuerunt, quàm " optimi quique fideles Canonicis ſcriptoribus: Quod " indigniſſimum fuiſſe, nemo non videt. Nunc A- " verroës in ſcholis depontanus evaſit (51). —— *It* " *had been a properer Petition, and much eaſier to* " *have been obtained, though now, thank God, we* " *have no occaſion for it, That* Averroës *ſhould not* " *paſs in the Schools for an Oracle: for his being* " *ſo eſteemed in the former Age, and ſome few pre-* " *ceeding ones, eſpecially in* Italy, *as* Canus *in* lib. " 10, de Locis, cap. 5, *has obſerved*; *occaſioned, in* " *thoſe Parts, great Errors, and an uſeleſs Induſtry,* " *ſome having taken as much Pains in turning over* " Averroës, *as the greateſt Divines ever beſtowed on* " *the Holy Scriptures themſelves: Nor have the Ca-* " *nonical Writers met with greater Faith from the* " *moſt zealous, than* Averroës *has from his Followers:* " *which all muſt agree to have been a high Indignity.* " *But now* Averroës *is quite exploded the Schools.*" *Ludovicus Vives* complained very much of the Authority, which This *Arabian* Profeſſor had obtained. " Quem Philoſophi de noſtrâ Scholâ, qui poſt eum " ſcripſere, ita ſunt amplexati, ut penè authoritate " Ariſtoteli adæquarint, nec ſolum qui longo poſt " intervallo vixerunt, ſed qui illius quoque ætate: " Quod factum eſt & ignorantiâ meliorum, & ad- " miratione mercimonii linguâ & ſenſis peregrini: " Ut gratiam ei conciliaret apud primos novitas, a- " pud poſteros vetuſtas (52). —— *Who is ſo highly* " *eſteemed by the Philoſophers of our Schools, who* " *have wrote after him, that his Authority has been* " *almoſt made equal to That of* Ariſtotle, *not only by* " *Thoſe, who have lived long after him, but even by* " *Thoſe of his own Time; which has happened* " *through Ignorance of better Writings, and out of a* " *Humour of admiring ſuch as are foreign, both in* " *Language and Sentiments. So that he came into* " *Favour with the former Ages for his Novelty, and* " *with the latter for his Antiquity.*" He obſerves here a remarkable piece of good Fortune: Some lucky Genius's pleaſe at firſt for their Novelty, and at laſt for their Antiquity. Let the Reader examine, if he pleaſes, this reaſoning of a Modern. " We need " not wonder to ſee, that Men have had ſo much " eſteem for *Averroës*, ſince *Cardan*'s Father, who " dealt in Magic, aſſures us, that the Devils them- " ſelves have admired his Doctrine, and that *Ba-* " *jazet* diverted himſelf with it, in his greateſt " Pains of the Gout; which is as great a Proof of " it's Merit, as it's being admired by the Intel- " ligences (53)." If what relates to *Bajazet* is of no better Credit than the reſt, I queſtion it much (54). In reſpect to *Cardan*'s Father, it ought to have been ſaid, that one of the Spirits, which appeared to him, profeſſed himſelf to be an *Averroïſt*, and not that *Averroës* was admired by the Intelligences; and it ought to have been added, that *Cardan* himſelf inſinuates, that This Story of his Father was fabulous. " Ille verò palam Averroïſtam ſe pro- " fitebatur. Hæc ſeu hiſtoria ſeu fabula ſit ita ſe " habuit. Quod fabula videatur ſatis Argumento " eſſe debet quod, *&c.* (55). —— *He openly profeſſed* " *himſelf an* Averroïſt. *This is a true Relation of* " *this Story or Fable. But that it is a Fable, ſuffici-* " *ently appears from hence, that,* &c."

[*G*] *No Book of* Averroës *diſcovers better Sentiments, than his* Deſtructiones Deſtructionum contra Algazelem.] Or rather, *Deſtructorium Deſtructorii.* The *Arabic* Title is, *Hahapalah Altahapalah* (56). In This Piece, *Averroës* confutes the Metaphyſical Opinions, which *Algazel* had maintained againſt the Philoſophers. Moſt of Theſe Opinions of *Algazel* are very pernicious; for Example, he denied, what the Philoſophers held, that the World is the Work of God, that God is an Agent, that he is a One, Simple, and Incorporeal, Being, and that there cannot be two uncreated Natures (57). Since *Averroës* takes the part of the Philoſophers in all theſe Propoſitions, it cannot be denied, but that he labours in favour of Orthodoxy. In Father *Rapin*'s Opinion, it is one of his beſt Pieces (58). But, on the other ſide, can This good Cauſe receive any great Service from ſuch a Defender, who denies the Poſſibility of the Creation, and maintains, that all ſpiritual Beings are eternal, and that God does not know particular things, nor extend his Providence over the Individuals of this World (59)?

[*H*] *Very diſadvantageous Reports have been ſpread of This, Philoſopher's Religion.*] You will find, in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, that, according to His Opinion, *Chriſtianity* was an impoſſible Religion; that *Judaiſm* was a Religion of Children, and that *Mahometiſm* was a Religion of Swines; and that he afterwards cried out, *Moriatur anima mea morte Philoſophorum*; that is, *Let my Soul die the Death of the Philoſophers.* Behold, how he has imitated *Balaam*, who ſaid, *Let me die the Death of the Righteous, and let my laſt End be like his* (60). Mr *Moreri* does not exactly relate his Opinion concerning Chriſtianity; Averroes *called it*, ſays he, *an impoſſible Religion, becauſe of the Myſtery of the Euchariſt.* It is certain, that This Philoſopher did not ſpeak ſo obligingly of it, when he reflected on the Practice of the Communion of *Rome*. Read theſe Words of Mr *Daillé*, which he addreſſed to Father *Adam*: " The wiſe " Men of the World have not excuſed you this " ſtrange Belief, any more than the *Jews*; witneſs " the Words of the Philoſopher *Averroës*, which " Cardinal *Du Perron* * relates, on the Credit of *Sarga*, " one of the Fathers of your Society; *that he found* " *no Sect worſe, or weaker, than That of the* Chri- " ſtians, *who, themſelves, eat, and break to pieces, the* " *God, whom they adore* (61)." Before I go any farther, I ſhall make two Remarks againſt This learned Miniſter. I. That Cardinal *Du Perron* is not, properly, the Perſon, who relates theſe Words on the Credit of one of Father *Adam*'s Fraternity; he only relates them, as cited by Mr *Du Pleſſis*; for it is This latter, who alledges, on This Subject, what the Jeſuit *Scarga* obſerves concerning the Sentiment of This *Arabian* Philoſopher (62). II. That, inſtead of *Sarga*, he ſhould have ſaid *Scarga*. We ſhall here relate a Paſſage of another Miniſter: " If we ſhould " receive the holy Sacrament kneeling, - - - - - - - we " ſhould be a Scandal, and a Stumbling-block to " the Weak: But we ſhould give the Infidels oc- " caſion to blaſpheme the ſacred Name of God, and " to have an Abhorrence for Chriſtianity. For we " cannot forget the ſad Example of the *Pagan* Phi- " loſoher †, who, having ſeen the Sacrament eaten, " which had before been adored, ſaid, *That he had* " *never ſeen a more fooliſh, or more ridiculous Sect,* " *than That of the* Chriſtians, *who adore That, which* " *they eat*; and for that reaſon this unhappy Man " cried out, *Let my Soul be with Thoſe of the Philo-* " *ſophers, ſince the* Chriſtians *adore what they eat* (63)" The ſame Miniſter alledges, elſewhere, a Paſſage of *Cicero*, very agreeable to This Sentiment of *Averroës* (64). " Ecquem tam amentem eſſe putas, qui illud " quo veſcatur, Deum credat eſſe (65). - - - - *And* " *who do you think is ſo ſenſeleſs, as to believe, that* " *what he eats is God?*" *Cicero* ſpoke thus, on account of giving the Name of *Ceres* to Corn, and That only to have deſpiſed the *Jewiſh*, and the *Chriſtian*, but alſo the *Mahometan*, Religion, which was what he outwardly profeſſed. Several Authors have taken the Pains

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(50) Theoph. Raynaudus, Erotem. de malis ac bonis Libris. n. 340, pag. 200, *he quotes* Charles Bouille, *in the Life of* Raimondus Lullius.

(51) Id. ib.

(52) Lud. Vives, de Cauſis corrupt. Artium, lib 5. pag. 167.

(53) Clavigny *de Sainte* Honorine, *of the Uſe of ſuſpected Books*, pag. 48, 49.

(54) *I find nothing more of it in* Paul Jovius, Elog. Viror. bellicâ virtute illuſtr. lib. 4, pag 334, *than that* Bajazet II, Peripatetici Averroïs opinionibus oblectabatur; --- *was much delighted with the Opinions of* Averroës, *the Peripatetic.*

(55) Cardanus de Subtilit. lib. 9, pag. 682.

(56) *See* Reineſius, Epiſt. 15, ad Hofm. pag. 33.

(57) *See* Geſner's Bibliotheca, fol. 100 verſo.

(58) *Rapin*'s Reflexions on Philoſophy, *n.* 30. *pag.* 363.

(59) *See* Poſſevin's Bibliotheca Selecta, lib. 12, cap. 36.

(60) Numb. xxiii, 10.

* Du Perron, de l' Euchariſt. lib. 3, cap. 29, p. 973.

(61) *Daillé*'s Reply to Father *Adam*, and to *Cottiby*, Part I, chap. 16, pag. 116.

(62) *Du Pleſſis*'s Treatiſe of the Sacrament, pag. 1106.

† *Averroës.*

(63) Drelincourt. *Dial.* 9, *againſt the Miſſionaries on the Service of the Reformed Churches*, p. 305, 306.

(64) Id. Dial. 6, p. 236.

(65) Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. 3, cap. 16, pag. 619.

That of *Bacchus*, to Wine: “Cum fruges Cererem, vinum Liberum dicimus, genere nos quidem ſermonis utimur uſitato (66). —— *When we call Corn* Ceres, *and Wine* Bacchus, *we uſe them only as cuſtomary Expreſſions.*” Father *Leſcalopier* confeſſes, that This illuſtrious *Pagan* is very rational, when he argues in This manner, in regard to *Ceres*, and *Bacchus*; “But, *adds he* (67), it is an extraordinary Wiſdom, under Chriſtianity, to eat what we believe to be God, and we look upon Thoſe as guilty of a moſt ſenſeleſs and ſtupid Infidelity, who do not take the Words of *Jeſus Chriſt*, *This is my Body*, literally, and who, by way of Ridicule, object to us theſe Words of *Cicero*. *Amentiſſimæ ac ſtolidiſſimæ infidelitatis damnamus hæreticos homines, qui Chriſti Domini, hoc eſt ipſius veritatis, planiſſima diſertiſſimaque verba*, &c. (68).--- Illud Academicum ſublato cachinno procaciter uſurpant, Academicorum, non Fidelium nepotes: *Ecquem tam amentem eſſe putas qui illud, quo veſcatur, Deum credat eſſe?* At cum Apoſtolo Catholici reſpondemus: *Nos ſtulti propter Chriſtum; utinam vos ſitis prudentes in Chriſto* (69). ------ *They, who reproach us with This* Academic *Jeer, are the Deſcendants of the Academics, and not of the Faithful.* Who, think you, can be ſo mad, as to take That, which he eats, to be God? *We Catholics anſwer, with the Apoſtle,* We are Fools for Chriſt's ſake, *would to God ye were* wiſe in Chriſt.” It is not our Buſineſs to examine here into the Merits of theſe Reflexions; we are only conſidering the Sentiments of *Averroës*. I obſerve, that *Voſſius* has only ſpoken in general of this Philoſopher's Contempt of the *Chriſtian Religion*; he has not conſidered it in particular, as ariſing from Tranſubſtantiation. “Quam parum viderit tantus Philoſophus in verâ & unicâ ſalutis viâ, arguit illud quod diceret, malle ſe animam ſuam eſſe cum Philoſophis, quam cum Chriſtianis (70). - - - *How little ſo great a Philoſopher underſtood of the true and only Means of Salvation, is evident from his ſaying, That he had rather his Soul were with the Philoſophers, than with the Chriſtians.*” Some ſay, that *Averroës* was born a Chriſtian, but that he firſt turned Jew, and afterwards Mahometan. *De Chriſtiano Judæus, de Judæo factus eſt Mahumetanus* (71). Others ſay, that he wrote againſt the three great Legiſlators, *Moſes*, JESUS CHRIST, and *Mahomet*; and that he ſupplied the Materials of the Book *de tribus Impoſtoribus* ----- *of the three Impoſtors* (72). Others obſerve, *That he never believed there were any Devils* (73); and that therefore *Cardan* does violence to his Doctrine, *when he introduces an Evil Spirit, who calls himſelf one of his Diſciples and Followers* (74). Nothing can be ponounced with greater Warmth, than This Sentence, or Wiſh, of *Eraſmus*; *Utinam prodiſſet ingens illud opus adverſus Averroën impium, καὶ τρὶς κατάϱατον* (75). —— *Wou'd to God, That great Work were once publiſhed againſt the impious, and thrice accurſed*, Averroës. He wrote this to one, who had informed him, that his great Book againſt *Averroës* was printed. “Alterum magnum opus ſectum in libros ſex & quadraginta ex Peripateticâ diſciplinâ confecimus adverſus Averroëm, quod etiam excuſum eſt (76). —— *The other great Work, containing Forty ſix Books, on the Doctrine of the Peripatetics, we have compoſed againſt* Averroës; *and it is now printed.*” How comes it, then, that *Eraſmus* wiſhes for the Publication of it? Is it not a Sign, that, in anſwering his Friends, he had not always their Letters before him, and ſo forgot ſome Particulars in them? Be it as it will, his Wiſh puts me in mind of one of *Petrarch*'s Letters, wherein he exhorts a learned Divine to confute *Averroës*, That mad Dog, who barks ſo furiouſly againſt JESUS CHRIST. *Petrarch* adds, that he had made ſome Collections for ſuch a Work: but, that he neither had the Leiſure, nor Knowledge, which was required for it. He calls the Silence of ſo many great Men, on this Occaſion, impious: and deſires that the Work, which he exhorts his Friend to compoſe, may be dedicated to himſelf, though he ſhould happen to be in his Grave. “Extremum quæſo, ut cum primum perveneris, quò ſuſpiras, quod citò fore confido, contra canem illum rabidum Averroëm, qui, furore actus infando, contra Dominum ſuum CHRISTUM, contraque Catholicam Fidem latrat, collectis undique blaſphemiis ejus, quod ut ſcis, jam cœperamus, ſed me ingens ſemper, & nunc ſolito major occupatio, nec minor temporis, quam ſcientiæ, retraxit inopia, totis ingenii viribus ac nervis incumbens, rem à multis magnis viris impiè neglectam, opuſculum unum ſcribas, & mihi illud inſcribas, ſeu tunc vivus ero, ſeu interim abiero (77). —— *My laſt Requeſt is, that, as ſoon as you are ſettled to your wiſh, which I hope you will be very ſhortly, you will undertake, with your whole Strength, what has hitherto been ſo impiouſly neglected by ſo many great Men, a Work againſt That mad Dog* Averroës, *who, tranſported with an impious Rage, barks againſt his Lord* CHRIST, *and againſt the Catholic Faith, wherein the World may ſee a full Collection of all his Blaſphemies, which, you know, I had begun myſelf, but have been prevented, by a continual Interruption of Buſineſs, now greater than ever, and by want of Leiſure, as well as of Ability. Which Work I beg you will dedicate to me, whether living or dead, at the Time of it's Publication.*” Let us alſo quote Mr *du Pleſſis*; “*Ariſtotle* is ſaid by many to have had but little Religion, and his Interpreter, *Averroës*, none at all —— (78). We all know how particularly *Averroës* preſſes the Eternity of the World, and an Univerſal Intellect, which can never be conſiſtent with Piety (79).”

To finiſh This Picture of *Averroës*'s Irreligion, we muſt not forget the Touches, which may be given it, from his Hypotheſis concerning the Soul of Man. It is certain, he did not admit of any Rewards, or Puniſhments, after this Life; for, to ſpeak properly, he taught the Mortality of the Human Soul. I am ſenſible, he acknowledged, that the Underſtanding was of an eternal Nature, and never died: But then, in this Reſpect, he did not conſider it as a Subſtance appropriated to every Man; and, conſequently, tho' he confeſſed, that the firſt Cauſe of the Intellectual Operations of *Peter* and *Paul* ſubſiſted after their Death, yet, nevertheleſs, he believed, that all that had particularly belonged to *Peter* and *Paul*, as well to the Body, as the Soul, ceaſed to live, when they died. So that he denied Heaven and Hell. *Voſſius*, who very well underſtood This Doctrine, ought not to have charged it abſolutely on *Mirandulanus*, ſince That Author does not adopt it as true in itſelf, but only as a lawful Interpretation of *Ariſtotle*'s Words (80). Durſt any one have declared, in Print, for an impious Opinion, which muſt expoſe him to the Fires of the Inquiſition? The Paſſage of *Voſſius*, which I am going to quote, will ſerve to ſhew, that the moſt learned Writers do not always diſtinguiſh as they ought to do. Sometimes they impute to a Philoſopher, not what he abſolutely believes, but what he ſays muſt be believed, in conſequence of the Opinions of *Ariſtotle*, or of ſome other Founder of a Sect. “Bifariam jubet conſiderare hominis intellectum (*Averroës*), ut eſt intellectus, & ut eſt forma, quam obtinet, dum nobis unitur. Priori modo ait eum à morte noſtrâ ſupereſſe, quippe æternum: nec dare homini eſſentiam, ſed uniri illi per operationem ſuam phantaſmatum interventu. Hanc ſententiam etiam ſequitur Antonius Mirandulanus everſ. ſingul. certam. lib. xxxii. ſect. 1. & lib. ſeq. ſect. ii. & vi. Similiterque Cardanus; quem propterea reprehendit, ac refellit Cæſar Scaliger Exercit. CCCVI (81), ſect. 30. Et ſanè ea ſententia Scripturis è diametro averſatur; ut quæ ſuam cuique animam, ſua etiam à morte præmia, & pœnas adſignent (82). —— *He* (Averroës) *conſiders the Intellect of Man in two Lights, as it is the Intellect itſelf, aud as it is the Form, which is produced by it's Union with us. In the firſt reſpect,* he ſays, *it ſurvives us, being eternal; nor does it make the Eſſence of a Man, but is only united to him in it's Operation, by the Intervention of Ideas. This Opinion is alſo followed by* Antonius Mirandulanus, everſ. ſingul. certam. lib. 32. ſect. 1. & lib. 33. ſect. 2. & 6. *And alſo by* Cardan, *who is animadverted on, and confuted by* Cæſar Scaliger

“ Exerc.

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(66) Id. ib.

(67) Leſcalopierius in Cic. de Nat. Deor. pag. 622.

(68) Id. ib.

(69) Id. ib.

(70) Voſſius de Philoſophor. Sectis, cap. 17, pag. 91.

(71) Anton. Sirmondus, de Immortal. Animæ, pag. 29.

(72) Claud. Berigardus, in proœmio Circuli Piſani, pag. 5.

(73) *Naudé*'s Apology for great Men, pag. 320.

(74) Cardan. de Subtilit. lib. 19, pag. 682.

(75) Eraſmus, Epiſt. 29, lib. 10, pag. 532.

(76) Ambroſius Leo, Epiſt. ad Eraſm. *This Letter is the 28th of the 10th Book, among thoſe of* Eraſmus, pag. 531.

(77) Franc. Petrarcha, Epiſtolâ ultimâ Libri ſine titulo, pag. 656.

(78) Du Pleſ. Mornai, *of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion*, cap. 23, fol. 258, verſo.

(70) Id ib. fol. 259.

(80) *See, above, Remark* [E], *Citat.* (23), *what I have quoted from the Jeſuits of* Coimbra.

(81) *It ſhould be* CCCVII.

(82) Voſſius de Origine & Progreſſu Idololatriæ, lib. 3, cap. 42, p. 952.

Pains to tranſlate his Works into *Latin* [*I*]. I was in hopes, that, before This Article went to the Preſs, I ſhould have had the Pleaſure of conſulting the Volume, where Don *Nicholas Antonio* has ſpoken ſo very amply of *Averroës*; but find myſelf diſappointed of it, and confined to the Abſtracts only of the Journaliſt of *Paris*. You are going to ſee what I take from thence. “ *Averroës*, of *Corduba*, was in- “ ſtructed, by his Father, in the Knowledge of the Law, and in the Religion of his “ Country. He was exceſſive fat, tho' he allowed himſelf but one Meal a day; He paſſed “ all his nights in the ſtudy of Philoſophy; and, when he found himſelf tired, diverted “ himſelf with reading ſome Book of Poetry, or Hiſtory; He was never ſeen to “ play, or ſeek any other Amuſement. The Errors he was accuſed of gave occa- “ ſion for a Sentence, which deprived him of his Eſtate, and obliged him to recant. “ After his Condemnation, he took a Voyage to *Fez*, and returned afterwards to “ *Corduba*, where he continued, till, at the earneſt requeſt of the People, he was “ recalled to *Morocco*, where he paſſed the remainder of his Life, and died in “ 1206 (*d*).” The Journaliſts of *Leipſic* intimate, That Don *Nicolas Antonio*, in this part of his Work, made great uſe of a Book of *John Leo*, publiſhed by *Hottinger* (*e*). So that, as to This I can go to the Fountain Head as well as He. I find, therefore, in this Work, that the People of *Corduba* raiſed *Averroës* to two high Offices, which his Father and Grandfather had enjoyed [*K*]: They were Thoſe of Chief Juſtice, and

(*d*) Journal of the Learned *of the* 1*ſt of* July, 1697, *pag.* 475, *Edit. of* Holland.

(*e*) Acta Erudit. Lipſ. 1697, pag. 305.

“ Exerc. 306. ſect. 30. *And indeed this Opinion is* “ *directly oppoſite to the Scriptures, which aſſign to* “ *every one his own reſpective Soul, and his own* “ *reſpective Rewards and Puniſhments after Death.*”

[*I*] *Several Authors have taken the Pains to tranſlate his Works into* Latin.] Here is a Paſſage of *Huetius*, which will inform us of the Names of ſome of Theſe Tranſlators, and at the ſame time of a Miſtake of *Scaliger*. “ Vix ullos Averrois Arabi- “ cos codices in Europa reperiri poſſe putabat Sca- “ liger, ſolamque converſionem ab Armegando Bla- “ ſio, Jacobo Mantino, Johanne Franciſco Burana, “ Abrahamo de Balmis, Vitale Niſſo, Calo Calony- “ mo, Johanne Bruyerino Campegio, Paulo Iſraë- “ lita, aliiſque adornatam in lucem veniſſe. Ego “ tamen his verſavi manibus Arabicum Averrois li- “ brum, ex oriente huc olim à Poſtello devectum; “ quod miror Scaligerum fugiſſe, Poſtello olim a- “ micitiâ, & literariâ conſuetudine conjunctum. Eo “ libro continentur in Logicam, Rhetoricam, & Poë- “ ticam commentaria; quæ ad Jacobi Mantini, & “ Abrahami de Balmis interpretationem à me expen- “ ſa, fidem eorum & artem apertè mihi compro- “ barunt (83). ----- Scaliger *believed, that there was* “ *ſcarce ſuch a Thing as an* Arabic *Copy of* Averroës, “ *to be met with in all* Europe, *and that we had* “ *nothing more than the Tranſlations of him, by* “ Armegandus Blaſius, Jacobus Mantinus, Johannes “ Franciſcus Burana, Abrahamus de Balmis, Vitalis “ Niſſus, Calus Calonymus, Johannes Bruyerinus “ Campegius, Paulus Iſraëlita, *and others. But I* “ *myſelf have ſeen an* Arabic Averroës, *which was* “ *formerly brought hither, out of the Eaſt, by* Po- “ ſtellus; *and which one would wonder that* Scaliger “ *ſhould never hear of, who was his intimate Friend* “ *and Correſpondent in Learning. In this Book are* “ *contained the Commentaries on Logic, Rhetoric, and* “ *Poetry; which, upon my Examination of it, along* “ *with the Tranſlations of* Jacobus Mantinus, *and* “ Abrahamus de Balmis, *has convinced me both of* “ *their Fidelity and Ability.*”

Note, that certain Rabbins have tranſlated ſome of *Averroës*'s Works into *Hebrew* (84). It is proper to obſerve here, what we meet with in *Poſſevin*. That Jeſuit affirms, That They, who were ſo fond of This *Arabian* Philoſopher, could only read him in pitiful Tranſlations, before the Edition, which *John Baptiſta Bagolin* got printed at *Venice*, by the *Junta*'s in the Year 1552 (85). *That Edition,* continues he, *cannot be worth much; for, as to one part of* Averroës *Works,* Bagolin *made uſe of a Tranſlation of a* Jew, *named* Jacobus Mantinus: *and, as for the other part, the preceeding Tranſlations were made uſe of, and even Thoſe, which* Niphus *and* Zimara *had never corrected in their Labours on* Averroës. The Tranſlator *Mantinus* followed the Steps of *Abraham de Balmis*, who had ſucceeded very indifferently. So that we cannot promiſe ourſelves, that a Tranſlator who had ſuch bad Guides, has rightly expreſſed the Original: And, as *Bagolin* did not underſtand any thing of *Arabic*, he could be no judge of Thoſe Tranſlations (86). I am going to copy a long Paſſage of *Keckerman*, where he wiſhes, that God would raiſe up a Tranſlator, who might deliver the Works of *Averroës* from the groſs and obſcure Barbarity of former Interpretations. Then would appear the great Services, which This *Arabian* has done to Philoſophy. “ Quid & quantum Univerſæ Phi- “ loſophiæ *Averroës* iſte profuerit, tum clarum per- “ ſpectumque haberemus, ſi quem nobis Deus virum “ excitaret, qui *Latinam* ejus verſionem ab iſta, qua “ ſcatet undique, moleſta barbarie liberaret, & ſtylo “ *Latino* ſaltem mediocri & intelligibili in gratiam “ Philoſophiæ ſtudioſorum verteret. Ad quam rem “ illa, quæ nuper *Avicennam Arabicum* nitidiſſimis “ typis dedit clariſſima Typographia *Medicea* pluri- “ mum adjumenti adferret, ſi lingua *Arabica Aver-* “ *roëm* ederet, atque ita occaſionem viris ejus linguæ “ peritis faciliorem præberet barbaræ verſionis emen- “ dandæ, & ad intelligentiam traducendæ: alias cer- “ tum eſt, *Averroëm* à multis neglectum iri, à qui- “ bus legeretur diligenter, niſi tam multis locis non “ intelligeretur. In Poſterioribus Anal. apparet ſin- “ gularem operam præſtitiſſe & immortalitate dig- “ niſſimam; Et Epitome Logicæ, quam ſcripſit, lau- “ datiſſima eſt ob varias cauſas, ut & Logica ejus “ quæſita. Nemo tam interpretum veterum videri “ poteſt proximus *Ariſtotelis* menti atque hic *Arabs* “ (87). —— *How much all Philoſophy is indebted* “ *to* Averroës, *can then only be known, when God* “ *ſhall raiſe up a Genius, who will free our* Latin “ *Tranſlations of him from the unintelligible Barba-* “ *riſms every where to be met with, and render him* “ *in That Language, in a Style, at leaſt tolerable,* “ *and intelligible, for the Uſe of Students in Philo-* “ *ſophy. To this purpoſe, the late beautiful* Medicean “ *Edition would greatly contribute, if* Averroës *were* “ *alſo printed in* Arabic, *which would give an eaſy* “ *Opportunity to the Learned, in That Language,* “ *to correct That barbarous Tranſlation, and make* “ *it intelligible: otherwiſe it is certain,* Averroës “ *will be neglected by many, who would read him* “ *very diligently, if he was not unintelligible in ſo* “ *many Places. In the latter Part of the* Anal. *it* “ *appears, he has performed an excellent Work, and* “ *ſuch as deſerves to be immortal: His Epitome of* “ *Logic is much admired, and his Logic greatly ſought* “ *after. None of the ancient Interpreters ſeem to* “ *hit the Senſe of* Ariſtotle *ſo happily as this* Ara- “ bian.” I doubt there are not many Perſons at this time of Day, who would make ſuch a Wiſh, or ground ſuch fair Hopes on a compleat Tranſlation of *Averroës*'s Works, or give him ſuch great Commendations.

[*K*] *The People of* Corduba *raiſed* Averroës *to two high Offices, which his Father and Grandfather had enjoyed.*] His Grandfather was one of the moſt famous Lawyers of his Time; he paſſed for a ſecond *Malich*, who was One of the four greateſt Caſuiſts of the *Mahometan* Religion; *unus ex quatuor primariis Juris Muhammedanorum Canonici Interpretibus* (88); and was moreover a learned Divine. It was He, whom the People of *Corduba*, ſhaking off the Yoke of their Prince, and deſiring to have the King of *Morocco*

(83) Huetius, de Claris Interpretibus, p. 185.

(84) *See the* Bibliotheca Rabinica *of Father* Bartolocci, Tom. 1, pag. 13, & ſeq.

(85) Poſſevinus, Biblioth. Select. lib. 12, cap. 16, pag. 43, Tom. 2.

(86) Id. ib.

(87) Keckermannus in Præcognitis Logicis, Tract. 2, cap. 2, n. 32, pag. 103.

(88) Hotting. Biblioth. Theol. lib. 2, cap. 3. pag. 272.

and of Chief Prieſt. He was very capable of diſcharging them, by his great Knowledge in the Law, and in Theology. After the Study of Theſe two Sciences, he applied himſelf to Natural Philoſophy, Phyſic, Aſtrology, and Mathematics. Whilſt he held the Offices before mentioned, the King of *Morocco* ſent Deputies to him, to offer him That of Judge of *Morocco*, and of all *Mauritania*, and on condition that he ſhould continue all the Poſts he was poſſeſſed of in *Spain*. This Propoſition pleaſing him, he went to *Morocco*; but, having ſettled Judges there as his Subſtitutes, he returned to *Corduba*. Wonders are related of his Patience, Liberality, and Mildneſs [*L*]. He referred all Criminal Cauſes to his Lieutenant, and never gave his Opinion in them. So many good Qualities did not hinder him from having many Enemies, who thwarted him extremely, and accuſed him of Hereſy; which brought upon him many troubleſome and grievous Conſequences [*M*]: however, he was honourably delivered

Morocco their Maſter, deputed to That Monarch to negotiate That great Affair. He obtained, of him, all the Favours he asked, in behalf of Thoſe Mutineers, and returned to them, loaden with Preſents, and Compliments, having been created Chief Prieſt, and Chief Judge of the Kingdom of *Corduba*. He died, after having enjoyed Theſe Dignities a very long time, and left a Son, who was a Lawyer, and was preferred to the ſame Poſts, by the Votes of the Inhabitants of *Corduba*. This Election being confirmed by the King of *Morocco*, our Lawyer found himſelf inveſted with a high Character. We find, that the Authority of his Offices extended over all *Andaluſia*, and the Kingdom of *Valencia*. His Life was long, and pleaſant. After his Death, his Offices were conferred on his Son *Averroës*, by the Votes of the People (89). It is remarkable, that, at the Requeſt of ſeveral great Perſons, who implored his Clemency in favour of *Ibnu Saigh*, a famous Phyſician, who was detained in Priſon for the Crime of Hereſy, he ſet him at Liberty; during which Proceeding, *Ibnu Giulgiul* ſaid, *The Father of* Averroës *does not know, that he has a Son, who will be a greater Heretic than This* (90). And he was not deceived in it.

[*L*] *Wonders are related of his Patience, Liberality, and Mildneſs.*] There were ſeveral Perſons, among the Nobility and Learned Men at *Corduba*, who hated, and oppoſed, him. As he was one Day reading a Lecture, in the Auditory of the Civil Law, a Servant of one of his Enemies came and whiſpered ſomething in his Ear, which made him change Colour; but he anſwered only *Yes, Yes.* The next Day the ſame Servant returned to the Auditory, asked his Pardon, and confeſſed, before all the Students, that he had abuſed *Averroës* groſly by whiſpering in his Ear: He anſwered, *God bleſs you, for declaring, that I am provided with Patience.* He gave him afterwards a certain Sum of Money, with this Advice, *Do not That to others, which you have done to me.* Though he was rich, both by his Marriage, and by his Offices, yet he was always in debt, becauſe he was very liberal to learned Men, who were neceſſitous, whether they loved, or hated, him. One Day, as his Friends reproved him for diſtributing his Wealth amongſt his Enemies, he ſaid to them, "Unhappy Men, as you are, you do not know, that to do good to one's Relations, and Friends, is not an Act of Liberality; a Man is inclined to That by the Dictates of Nature: to be liberal, is to communicate our Subſtance to our Enemies; and, ſince my Riches have not been acquired, either by my Anceſtors, or myſelf, by Merchandiſe, or Art, or Arms, but by the Profeſſion of Virtue, is it not reaſonable, that I ſhould diſpoſe of them in Acts of Virtue? I find, that I have not miſplaced them, for they have converted my Enemies into Friends (91)." Add to this, what I have ſaid concerning his Sobriety, his Vigilancy, his Application to Study, &c (92). He would not conſent, that his youngeſt Son ſhould be advanced to the Honours, which were offered him at the Court of *Morocco*: and he was ſo far from rejoicing at the Reſpect, which was ſhewed to That young Man, the Deſign of which was to pleaſe the Father, that he was troubled at it in good earneſt (93). What pity is it, that ſo many Virtues, and ſo many good Qualities, were not accompanied with Orthodoxy, but on the contrary attended with the moſt enormous Errors! The Writings of his Adverſaries pretend not to defame him for any Thing, but his Hereſy, and the Panegyrics of his Admirers are founded only on his Virtue and Learning, &c. "Hic à multis laudatus, à nonnullis vero aliis vituperio affectus eſt - - - Adverſarius ejus ſcripſit epiſtolam, quâ vituperabatur Averroës, eum de hæreſi infamando, & alius ſcripſit aliam laudando eum de nobilitate, juſtitia & doctrina: quæ quidem epiſtolæ ſunt longiſſimæ (94). —— *He was commended by many, and condemned by others.* —— *One of his Enemies wrote a ſevere Letter againſt* Averroës, *defaming him on account of Hereſy; and another Perſon wrote one in Commendation of him for his Honour, Juſtice, and Learning: Theſe Letters are very long.*"

[*M*] *His Enemies accuſed him of Hereſy; which brought upon him many - - - - grievous Conſequences.*] Several of the Nobles and Doctors of *Corduba*, and particularly the Phyſician *Ibnu Zoar*, envied him, and reſolved to proſecute him for Hereſy. They procured ſome young Perſons to deſire of him a Lecture in Philoſophy; he agreed to it, and, *in That Lecture, diſcovered to them his Philoſophical Belief. Inter legendum autem ſuam Philoſophalem fidem detexerunt* (95). They cauſed an Information of it to be drawn up by a Notary, and accuſed him for an Heretic; which Information, being ſigned by an hundred Witneſſes, was ſent to *Manſor*, King of *Morrocco*. That Prince, upon ſight of it, became incenſed againſt *Averroës*, and ſaid aloud; *It is evident This Man is not of our Religion: Hunc noſtræ legis non eſſe patet.* He cauſed all his Effects to be confiſcated, and condemned him to keep within the *Jews* Quarters. *Averroës* obeyed: but, going ſometimes to the Moſque to ſay his Prayers, and being one Day chaſed from thence by the Children with Stones, he retired from *Corduba* to *Fez*, where he kept himſelf concealed. But, in a few Days, he was diſcovered, and impriſoned; and they ſent to *Manſor*, to know what ſhould be done with him. That Prince aſſembled ſeveral Doctors of Divinity, and Civil Law, and enquired of them what Puniſhment ſuch a Man deſerved? Moſt of them anſwered, That, as an Heretic, he deſerved Death; but ſome repreſented, that it was not proper to execute This Puniſhment on a Perſon, who was chiefly known from his Character of a Civilian, and a Divine; *Becauſe*, ſaid they, *the World will not underſtand it to be the Condemnation of an Heretic, but of a Civilian and a Divine: And the Conſequence will be,* I. *That the Infidels will not embrace our Faith, to the Diſcouragement of our Religion.* II. *Complaints will be made, that the* African *Doctors ſeek opportunity to take away one anothers Lives. It would be better to make him retract before the Gate of the great Moſque, where he ſhall be asked, if he repents: Our Advice is, that, if he repents, your Majeſty ſhould pardon him; for there is no Man on Earth that is without a Fault.* *Manſor* was pleaſed with this Counſel, and gave Orders to the Governor of *Fez* to put it in Execution. Accordingly, our Philoſopher was conducted, on a *Friday*, to the Gate of the Moſque, at the Hour of Prayer, and placed bareheaded on the higheſt Step, where all Thoſe, who entred into the Moſque, ſpit in his Face. Prayer being ended, the Doctors, with the Notaries, and the Judge, with his Aſſiſtants, came, and asked this miſerable Wretch, if he repented of his Hereſy: he anſwered in the Affirmative; whereupon he was ſent back, and continued at *Fez*, where he read Lectures in the Civil Law. *Manſor*, having permitted him, ſome time after, to return to *Corduba*, he accordingly went thither, where he lived miſerably, being deprived of his Eſtate and Books. In the mean time, the Judge, who had ſucceeded him, acquitted himſelf ſo ill in his Office, and Juſtice, in general, was ſo badly adminiſtred in That Country, that

(89) *Taken from a Book,* De Viris quibuſdam illuſtribus apud Arabes, *tranſlated into* Latin *by* Joh. Leo Africanus, *and publiſhed by* Hottinger, Biblioth. Theolog. cap. 3. pag. 272.

(90) Ibid. pag. 269.

(91) Hottinger. Biblioth. Theolog. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 273, 274.

(92) *Above, in the Text of this Article, at the Paſſage out of the* Journal des Sçavans, *Citation (d).*

(93) Apud Hotting. Biblioth. Theolog. pag. 274, 275.

(94) Ibid. pag. 279.

(95) Ibid. pag. 276.

delivered from them before he died. His Anſwer to a young Gentleman, who deſired him to beſtow his Daughter on him, is curious enough [*N*]. A very remarkable Story is told concerning the effect of an Imprecation he pronounced againſt his youngeſt Son [*O*]. He compoſed a great many *Amorous Poems*; which, when he grew old, he threw into the Fire *(f)* [*P*]. I cannot tell from whence *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* borrowed theſe Words: *Averroës was broke by a Wheel placed on his Breaſt.*

You

that the People groaned under it. *Manſor*, being willing to redreſs This Grievance, aſſembled his Council, where he propoſed to re-eſtabliſh *Averroës*; and, moſt of the Council being of the ſame Opinion, he ſent him an Order to come immediately to *Morocco*, to take upon him again his Station of chief Magiſtrate. *Averroës* departed forthwith, with all his Family, and paſſed the reſt of his Days at *Morocco* (96), where he was buried without the *Curriers Gate* (97), and where his Tomb and Epitaph were to be ſeen a very long Time after (98).

We ought not to forget his Anſwer to Thoſe, who asked him about the State of his Soul during This Perſecution. *That State*, ſaid he, *both pleaſed, and diſpleaſed me: I was pleaſed with being diſcharged from the troubleſome Functions of Judicature, but I was diſpleaſed at being oppreſſed by falſe Witneſſes.* He added, *I have never wiſhed to be reſtored to my Office, nor have I accepted it again without my Innocence being firſt cleared* (99).

[*N*] *His Anſwer to a young Gentleman, who deſired him to beſtow his Daughter on him, is curious enough.*] “ *Give me her*, ſays this Gallant, *and I will give* “ *you her weight in Gold. O domine Judex, da mihi* “ *in uxorem filiam tuam, & quanti eam ponderaveris itidem aurum tibi tradam* (100). Can you tell, “ anſwered *Averroës*, whether my Daughter be handſome, or homely? do you know whether you “ ſhall like her? The other replied, *I have ſeen her* “ *Copy*, I mean her Brother (101). *I am afraid*, “ ſaid *Averroës*, *your too great Heat is hurrying you* “ *into a blind Bargain* (102). The young Man went away aſhamed, and never had the Courage to make a ſecond Attack. That Daughter was afterwards married by her Father to a Relation of the King of *Morocco* (103). When I ſaid, that *Averroës*'s Anſwer was curious, I had an Eye to two things; in the firſt place to the Circumſtances, and in the next to the Obſcurity of the Tranſlator. I ſuſpect the Paſſage to be wrong rendred. He was not well acquainted with the *Latin* Tongue: for, in all probability, there was ſome better Turn in the *Arabic* words, than what he has given us in the Tranſlation; and therefore the Learned, who are curious, will like to have the Examination of this little Fact propoſed to them. It is ſomething very extraordinary to meet with a Gallant, who will barter his Gold, weight for weight, againſt a Maid he never ſaw. The Price muſt riſe very high, even in *Spain*, where People are much leaner, than in many other Countries. *Averroës* would have done well to have asked the Gallant this Queſtion; *Do you know whether my Daughter be ſmall, or luſty?* This had been a very material Conſideration; becauſe, in the ſecond Caſe, the Price muſt be higher, and yet the Value lower. According to our Cuſtoms, nothing would be more wonderful, than a Gallant, who had never ſeen the Daughter of the chief Magiſtrate of the place, where he lived: but, amongſt the *Mahometans*, nothing is more common: they do not permit their Daughters to ſhew themſelves at the Windows and Doors of their Houſes, nor to run about from one Houſe to another, and receive Viſits every Day. And yet it is certainly remarkable, that this noble *Corduban* (104) ſhould know no better, than by Conjecture, whether *Averroës*'s Daughter was handſome. Theſe are ſome of the Circumſtances, to which I had an Eye.

[*O*] *A very remarkable Story is told, concerning the Effect of an Imprecation he pronounced againſt his youngeſt Son.*] The following Quotation, which compoſes this Remark, loſes moſt of it's Beauties in a Tranſlation. It is obſervable from it, that *Averroës* wiſhed rather to ſee the Death of his Son, than his diſobedience, and that, thereupon, he uttered an Imprecation, which That young Man outlived but ten Months. This long *Latin* Paſſage is not taken from *Hottinger*; for I find it more correct in another Author. “ De Verroïs carminum efficacia, hanc “ hiſtoriam hiſtoricus Arabs refert: Quadam die eo “ exiſtente cum amicis quibuſdam, colloquentibuſque, “ ingreſſus eſt filius ejus cum aliquibus ſociis juvenibus, quos cum animadvertiſſet Averroës, protulit “ duo carmina, hujus ſenſus: Rapuerunt pulchritudines tuæ capreolo pulchritudinem ſuam, donec “ miratus eſt omnis pulcher in te: Tibi eſt pectus “ ejus, & oculi ejus, & ſtupor ejus; Verum cras “ cornua ſua patri tuo erunt. Poſt quæ dixit, Sit “ maledicta peregrinatio: quando eram juvenis, aliquando patrem meum puniebam: Nunc autem Senex filium meum punire non poſſum. At deum “ deprecor, ut priuſquam videam aliquid contra voluntatem meam, eum mori faciat. Sicque priuſquam tranſirent menſes decem filius ejus mortuus “ eſt, & major ſolus remanſit, qui judex opinionis & “ ſectæ effectus eſt (105). —— *Of the Power of* “ Averroës's *Poetry, an* Arabic *Hiſtorian relates this* “ *Story. One Day, as he was converſing with certain Friends, his Son came in with ſome of his wild* “ *Companions, which* Averroës *taking notice of, ſpoke* “ *two Verſes to This Effect. Thy own Beauties could* “ *not content Thee, thou haſt ſtript the wild Goat* “ *of his Beauties, and They, who are as beautiful as* “ *thyſelf, admire thee. Thou haſt got his wanton* “ *Heart, his letcherous Eyes, and his ſenſeleſs Head,* “ *but to morrow thou ſhalt find thy Father will have* “ *his puſhing Horns. After which he ſaid, curſed be* “ *all Extravagancies: When I was young, I ſometimes* “ *puniſhed my Father: Now I am old, I cannot puniſh* “ *my Son. But I beg of God to deprive him rather of* “ *Life, than ſuffer him to be diſobedient. Accordingly,* “ *within ten Months, his Son died, and the eldeſt* “ *only remained, who became a Defender of his Opinion and Sect.*” *Bartholin*, who furniſhes me with this Paſſage, unreaſonably imputes the great Effect, we are ſpeaking of, to the Philoſopher's Verſes, which ought only to be imputed to the Imprecation pronounced by *Averroës* in Proſe. Compilers have collected many Examples of the Effects of ſuch Imprecations (106).

[*P*] *When he grew old, he threw his amorous Verſes into the Fire.*] His Speech, which accompanied This Act, is full of wiſe Reflexions: *A Man*, ſays he, *will always be judged by his Words; and, if I have ſpoken ill, I will not diſcover my Folly: If my Verſes pleaſed any One, He would take me for a wiſe Man, and I do not acknowledge that I am ſo.* You ſee here a good Character. *Averroës*, having committed a Fault, was willing to repair it; and equally declined both the Approbation, which he thought he did not deſerve, and the Cenſure he feared he might deſerve. His Love Verſes would have met with a numerous Set of Admirers, who would have bleſſed his Memory, and even adored it. *Ovid* and *Catullus* are Examples of this. But he deſired none of their Praiſes. Others would have thought it very indecent, that ſuch a great Perſon, ſuch an excellent Lawyer and Philoſopher, ſhould have wrote Love Verſes. But he has prevented their Cenſure, by taking Care, that no One ſhould read what he had compoſed on ſuch a Subject. All his other Poetical Works are loſt, except a very ſmall Piece, wherein he declares, that, *when he was young, he was diſobedient to his Reaſon; but, when he was old, he followed it*: Upon which he forms this Wiſh: *Would to God I had been born old, and that from my Youth I had been in the State of Perfection.* This ſeems to me to be the true Senſe of theſe Words of *John Leo* (107). *De ſuis quidem Carminibus tantùm duo reperiuntur ad verbum ſignificantibus:* “ *Inobediens enim fui voluntati meæ juvenis, ac, quando* “ *tempus cum calvitie ſenectuteque agitavit me, tum* “ *parui voluntati meæ. Utinam natus fuiſſem ſenex,* “ *& in juventute abſolutus* (108).” What Wiſh could be more becoming a Philoſopher?

Let us now relate what *Averroës* did, in regard to the amorous Verſes of another Writer. There

was

(f) Taken from a Book, De Viris quibuſdam illuſtribus apud Arabes, *tranſlated by* Joh. Leo Africanus, *and publiſhed by* Hottinger, *in chap.* 3. *of the* 2d *Book of his* Biblioth. Theol.

(96) Ibid. pag. 276, & ſeq.

(97) Ibid. pag. 279.

(98) Ibid.

(99) Ibid. pag. 278.

(100) Ibid. pag. 275.

(101) Comparationem ejus vidi, fratrem ſcil. ejus. *Ibid.*

(102) Timeo te eam non cognoviſſe ob impetum tuum. *Ibid. pag.* 276.

(103) Ibid.

(104) Juvenis quidam ex nobilibus civitatis. *Ibid. pag.* 275.

(105) Tho. Bartholinus, de Medicis Poëticis, pag. 105, 106.

(106) *See* Camerarius, *in his* Hiſtorical Meditations, *Tom.* 3, *Book* 5, *chap.* 6. and *Tom.* 3, *Book* 2, *chap.* 15, 16.

(107) Hottinger. Bibl. Theolog. pag. 278.

(108) In Juventute abſolutus. *Perhaps the Tranſlator put* in *inſtead of* ab, *and ſo it might be tranſlated* Exempt from Youth.

You will find them in a Chapter, which he entitles, *Of ſeveral Learned Men, Ancient and Modern, who have died miſerably* (g). I was ſurprized to find ſo very little Notice taken of this famous Philoſopher, in the Oriental Library of Mr *d'Herbelot* [Q]. There was reaſon to believe, that a Man, of ſuch a vaſt Knowledge in *Arabic* Learning, would have produced a thouſand fine Things concerning the Doctrines and Fortune of *Averroës*; but, inſtead of this, we meet with a Brevity, which is amazing, and ſo far from inſtructing us in what we want to know, that it rather confounds what we knew before.

was, at *Corduba*, a Philoſopher, Phyſician, and Aſtrologer, whoſe Name was *Abraham Ibnu Sahal*, who, by the Caprice of his ill Fortune, fell in Love, and fell to writing Verſes, without conſidering the Doctoral Dignity. *Poſtea ob diſgratiam ſuæ fortunæ amore capitur, & dignitate doctorum poſtpoſitâ cœpit edere carmina* (109). The *Jews*, his Brethren in Religion, adviſed him not to publiſh Thoſe wanton Verſes. He returned them a prophane Anſwer in Poetry. Whereupon they applied to the Authority of the Magiſtrate; and, as *Averroës* was the chief Judge of the Country, they addreſſed themſelves to him. They repreſented to him, that This *Abraham* had corrupted the whole City with his Poetry, particularly the Youth of both Sexes, and that nothing elſe was ſung at Nuptial Entertainments. *Averroës* was angry with Our Poet, and forbad him to proceed in ſuch Compoſitions, under ſuch Penalties as the Caſe ſhould require, or the Judge think proper. Being told, that This Prohibition did not put a ſtop to the *Jew*'s Vein of Poetry, and deſiring to know the Truth of it, he ſent a Perſon, he could truſt, to the Poet's Houſe, who returned with this Report: *I found no Body at his Houſe, but your eldeſt Son, writing out ſome of his Poems.* He added, *There is not in all* Corduba *a Man, Woman, or Child, who has not learned ſome of the Verſes of* Abraham Ibnu Sahal. Upon this, *Averroës* proceeded no farther: *Can one ſingle Hand,* ſaid he, *ſtop a thouſand Mouths?* Obſerving one Day at a Bookſellers, that the *Alcoran* was ſold but for a Ducat, and that the Poems of This *Jew* went off at one word for ten Piſtols (110), he cried out, *This City will ſoon be deſtroyed, for I have ſeen the People's Contempt for holy things, and their fondneſs for ſuch as are diſhoneſt and forbidden.* "*Tunc dixit Averrois, omnibus adſtantibus,* Scitote, hanc Civitatem mox ruituram, quoniam vidi populum, quæ ad fidem pertinent, viluiſſe: atque prohibita, atque inhoneſta grata extitiſſe, majoriſque feciſſe. Et ſicut dixerat ſucceſſit: Non adhuc elapſis quinquaginta annis Chriſticolæ oppugnarunt Cordubam, & multas alias civitates (111). —— *And as he ſaid, ſo it happened; for, in leſs than fifty Years, the Chriſtians took This, and ſeveral other Cities.*" From hence it may be gathered, that ſome Vices prevail in all Countries, Religions, and Ages. The *Mahometans* of *Spain* acted the ſame part, in the XIIth Century, which a great many *Chriſtians* of *Paris* have done in the XVIIth. If they are to buy Mr *Godeau*'s *Pſalms*, they will cheapen a long time, and never bargain, unleſs at a very low Price; but, for the *Satirical Parnaſſus*, they will never make one Word, but give whatever Price the Seller ſhall aſk. Let us alſo obſerve, that we find Examples of good Actions in each Country, Age, and Religion. If *Chriſtians*, in theſe latter Ages, have burnt their prophane Poems, their Love and wanton Verſes (112), *Averroës* did the like, under the Profeſſion of *Mahometiſm*: I ſay under the Profeſſion; for it is ſuſpected, that inwardly he was of no Religion at all (113). His Prediction of the Miſeries of *Corduba* does not prove the contrary; for it is natural enough to believe, that ſo great a Degree of Degeneracy, and Corruption of Taſte, as to occaſion a Contempt of what is eſteemed Holy, and a Fondneſs of what is thought diſhoneſt, muſt neceſſarily throw a City into very great Diſorders.

[Q] *I was ſurprized to find ſo very little Notice taken of This famous Philoſopher, in the Oriental Library of Mr* d'Herbelot.] Firſt, It is ſurprizing, that, in this Work, the Author has not placed Our *Arabian* Philoſopher under the Name, which has been given him by all weſtern Nations, I mean That of *Averroës*. I grant, that This is not the true Name, but One very much corrupted by Confuſion of Dialects: But have we not ſufficient Reaſon to continue This Name in our Dictionaries, ſince he was ſcarce ever called by any other in This weſtern Part of the World. If it be thought more proper to give This Philoſopher's Article under the *Arabic* Name, in it's true Orthography, Notice, at leaſt, ſhould be given of it, under the Word *Averroës*; and, conſequently, *d'Herbelot*, by not doing ſo, is guilty of a very material Omiſſion. In the Body of his Work, we find neither *Averroës*, nor *Aben Roës*, nor *Aben-Roïs*. We are obliged, therefore, to have recourſe to the Index, which is not very agreeable. But what is to be found there? *Averroës* (114), with a Reference to Pages 303, 719, 815? At Page 303, we find only, that *Averroës* was one of thoſe Philoſophers, who believed, that the World was Eternal. At Page 815, we find only, that *Mohammed Al-Gazeli* believed, that *Averroës's Principles were very contrary to Thoſe of the Muſſulman's.* But, at Page 719, we find the Article of our Philoſopher, under the Word ROSCHD. That Article does not contain twenty Lines; the latter half of which is this: "*Averroës* was the firſt, who tranſlated *Ariſtotle* out of *Greek* into *Arabic*, before the *Jews* made their Tranſlation; and, for a long time, we had no other Text of *Ariſtotle*, than That of This great Philoſopher's *Arabic* Tranſlation, who, afterwards, added to it very ample Commentaries, which St *Thomas*, and the other Schoolmen, made uſe of, before the *Greek* Originals of *Ariſtotle*, and of his Commentators, were known to us (115)." I find here many things, to which I can give no Credit; for I obſerve it to be the Opinion of learned Men, that *Averroës* was far from being Maſter of the *Greek* Tongue (116). I know, farther, that the Caliphs *Almanzor*, *Abdalla*, and *Almamon*, who preceeded *Averroës* ſome Centuries, cauſed a great many *Greek* Books to be tranſlated into *Arabic* (117). This, therefore, makes it improbable, that *Averroës* was the firſt Tranſlator of *Ariſtotle* into *Arabic*, even though we ſhould ſuppoſe him ſufficiently ſkilled in *Greek*. *Alpharabius*, who flouriſhed in the Xth Century, found *Ariſtotle*'s *Phyſics* in *Meſopotamia* (118). He is alſo generally eſteemed the Tranſlator of *Ariſtotle*'s *Analytics*, according to Mr *d'Herbelot* (119). *Rigord* ſays, That a Council, held at *Paris*, in the Year 1209, condemned ſome of *Ariſtotle*'s Books to be burnt, which were explained in the Colleges, and had been lately brought from *Conſtantinople*, and tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Latin*. "Delati de novo à Conſtantinopoli & à Græco in Latinum tranſlati (120)." This does not agree with Mr *d'Herbelot*, becauſe it proves, that, about the Time, that *Averroës* died, they made uſe, at *Paris*, of a Tranſlation of *Ariſtotle* from the *Greek*. It is certain, that, before the middle of the XIIth Century, *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy was taught in the Univerſity of *Paris*. See the Complaints of St *Bernard*, related by Mr *de Launoi* (121). This ſame Paſſage of *Rigord* ſhews, that the *Greek* Books of *Ariſtotle* were in *France*, in the time of *Averroës*. Laſtly, I wiſh ſomebody would name me any Tranſlators of *Ariſtotle*, and *Averroës*'s *Arabic* Commentary, who lived between *Averroës* and *Thomas Aquinas*. All the *Latin* Tranſlators of This *Arabic* Philoſopher, that are come to my Knowledge, are later than That Angelical Doctor. I would not be underſtood to reject what I have read in ſome Authors, that the Emperor *Frederic* II, who flouriſhed before the Time of St *Thomas*, and after *Averroës*, cauſed the Books of This *Arabian* to be tranſlated into *Latin*. This may be inferred from theſe Words of *Cuſpinian*: "Libros multos ex Græco & ex Arabico Latinos fieri curavit, inter quos & Ariſtotelis volumina fuerunt & multa Medicorum (122). —— *He procured many Books to be tranſlated out of* Greek *and* Arabic, *into* Latin, *among which were* Ariſtotle's *Works, and many others, in Phyſic*;" and from This Paſſage of *Wolphgang Hungerus*, in his Notes on *Cuſpinian* (123). "Curavit quoque eas fieri tranſlationes operum Ariſtotelis, & ſcriptorum

" Medicinæ

(g) *It is the 28th of the 2d Book of his* Diverſes Leçons.

(109) Hotting. Biblioth. Theol. pag. 288.

(110) Prædictus emptor nihil reſpondens, ſed manus crumenæ imponens decem aureos numeravit & perſolvit, & librum accepit, & in pace receſſit. - - - - *The Buyer ſaid nothing, but put his Hand in his Pocket, and told out ten Piſtoles, and took the Book, and went away contented.* Ib. p. 290.

(111) Ibid.

(112) Pic. Mirandulanus *did it; ſee the End of the Remark* [*D*], *of the Article* ADONIS. Petrarch *had a Mind to do ſo*: *See* Mr Baillet's Judgment on the Poets, Tom. 3, pag. 24. *He repented that he had wrote ſuch Poems. See his third Letter of the eighth Book of his* Familiar Letters, *pag.* 278.

(113) *See the Remarks* [*H*] *and* [*M*].

(114) *It is an Error of the Preſs.*

(115) D'Herbelot's Biblioth. Orient. *pag.* 719, *col.* 1.

(116) *See, above,* pag. 383, *Citations* (5) *and* (9).

(117) *See Father* Rapin's Compariſon of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, p. 403, 404. *See alſo Mr* d'Herbelot's Biblioth. Orient. *p.* 546.

(118) Rapin's Compariſon of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, pag. 404.

(119) Herbelot's Biblioth. Orient. *pag.* 337.

(120) Rigordus in vitâ Philippi Auguſti apud Launoium de variâ Ariſtot. Fortunâ, *cap.* 1, *pag.* 6.

(121) Launoius, ibid. cap. 3, pag. 24, & ſeq.

(122) Cuſp. in Fred. II. init. p. 419.

(123) Hunger. Annotat. in Cuſp. pag. 150.

“ Medicinæ ex lingua Græca & Arabica, qui in hunc uſque diem in ſcholis lectæ ſunt, atque etiamnum leguntur; & Bononiam eaſdem miſit, ut Academiæ offerrentur, quod ejus ex Epiſtolis apparet. —— *He cauſed Thoſe Tranſlations to be made of the Works of* Ariſtotle, *and other Writings in Phyſic, out of the* Greek *and* Arabic *Languages, which have been read ever ſince in the Schools, and are in uſe at this Time; and ſent them to* Bononia, *as a Preſent to That Univerſity, as appears from his Letters.*” See alſo the Chronicle of *Carion* (124), where he ſays expreſsly, that This Emperor cauſed to be tranſlated the *Almageſt* of *Ptolomy*, and ſeveral Works of *Ariſtotle, Galen, Avicenna,* &c. (125); you will find the ſame Names in the *Theatre* of *Matthias* (126), under the Quotation of the ſeventh Book of *Aventine*'s Annals, and of the Chronicle of *Carion.* I do not know how it happens, that *Averroës* is not named; however, I take him to have been one, amongſt the Authors, tranſlated, by the Care of This Emperor. But, as I ſaid before, I ſhould be very glad to know the Names of the Perſons employed in theſe Tranſlations. One thing is worth remarking, in Mr *Herbelot*'s *Bibliotheque*, which is, that the *Mahometans* look upon the Doctrine of Thoſe who, admitting a Firſt Mover, maintain alſo, that the World is eternal, as mere Atheiſm (127). This Doctrine is aſcribed to the moſt famous Philoſophers, who have flouriſhed among the *Arabians*, to our *Averroës*, to *Avicenna*, and to *Alpharabius* (128). The Chriſtians generally paſs the ſame Judgment upon This Doctrine, which, certainly, can never be ſupported, without treating the Holy Scripture as a Fable.

(124) Pag. 480.

(125) Peucer in Chronic. Carion, lib. 5, pag. 684.

(126) Pag. 956.

(127) Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. pag. 337, col. 2.

(128) Id. ib. & pag. 303, col. 1.

AUGE (Daniel *d'*), in *Latin Augentius*, was born at *Villeneuve-l'Archevêque*, in the Dioceſe of *Sens* in *Champaigne* (*a*). He lived in the XVIth Century, and was eſteemed for his Learning and Writings [*A*]. He was appointed, in the Year 1574 (*b*), to the Office of his Majeſty's *Greek* Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Paris*, which was vacant by the Death of *Lewis le Roi* (*c*). He had been Tutor to the Son of That *Francis Olivier*, who was Chancellor of *France*. This appears from the Epiſtle Dedicatory of a Book to *Antony Olivier*, Biſhop of *Lombés*, and Uncle to his Pupil (*d*). It is dated at *Paris*, the Firſt of *March* 1555. I am not certain as to the Time of his Death; I only know, that *Francis Parent*, his Succeſſor in the *Greek* Profeſſorſhip, entred upon That Office in the Year 1595 (*e*).

(*a*) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franç. p. 68.

(*b*) Du Breul, Antiquitez de Paris, pag. 566.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) *It is the Poem of* Sannazarius, *intituled*, De Morte Chriſti Lamentatio. Dan. d'Auge *printed it at* Paris, *with his Notes, in the Year* 1557, *in* 4to.

(*e*) Du Breul, Antiquit. de Paris, p. 566.

[*A*] *He was eſteemed for his Writings.*] They are *A Conſolatory Oration on the Death of Meſſire* Francis Olivier, *Chancellor of* France, printed at *Paris* in 1560; *Two Dialogues of Poetic Invention, of the true Knowledge of the Art of Oratory,* and *of the Fiction of Fable,* printed at *Paris,* in 1560; *A Diſcourſe on the Arrêt of the Parliament of* Dole *in* Burgundy, *concerning a Man accuſed and convicted of being a Were-wolf* † (1); *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Prince, tranſlated from the* Greek *of* Syneſius, *Biſhop of* Cyrene, with an *Oration on true Nobility, tranſlated from the* Greek *of* Philo Judæus, printed, at *Paris,* in 1555; *Four Homilies of St* Macarius, *the* Egyptian, printed at *Paris,* and afterwards at *Lyons,* in 1559; *An Epiſtle to the Noble and Virtuous Youth,* Anthony Thelin, *Son of the Noble* William Thelin (2), *Author of the Book intituled,* Divine Eſſays, *wherein is ſhewn the true Patrimony and Inheritance, which Fathers ought to leave their Children.* This Epiſtle is printed at the beginning of the *Divine Eſſays,* at *Paris,* in 1565. He reviſed and corrected them. He publiſhed alſo *A Tranſlation, into* French, *of the moſt beautiful Sentences, and Forms of Expreſſion, in* Cicero'*s Familiar Epiſtles,* printed at *Paris,* in 1556 (3). This is all I find in *la Croix du Maine,* and in *du Verdier.* I do not meet with any mention of the Notes on the Poem of *Sannazarius,* which I have ſpoken of, in the Body of this Article.

Of all the Works of *Daniel d'Auge,* I eſteem moſt curious the Diſcourſe on the Arrêt, which condemns the *Were-Wolf.* *Bodin* ſays, This Arrêt was paſſed by the Parliament of *Dole,* the eighteenth of *January,* 1583, againſt *Giles Garnier* of *Lyons,* and was printed at *Orleans,* at *Paris,* and at *Sens.* He relates the *principal Circumſtances.* “ Namely, That the ſaid *Garnier,* on St *Michael*'s Day, in the Shape of a *Wolf,* did ſeize upon a young Girl of ten or twelve Years old, near the Wood of *Serre,* in a Vineyard of *Châtenoy,* about a quarter of a League from *Dole,* and there killed, and tore her, as well with his Hands, reſembling Paws, as with his Teeth, and eat the Fleſh of her Thighs and Arms, and carried ſome to his Wife: That, in the ſame Form, a Month after this, he took another Girl, and killed her, and would have eaten her, if he had not been prevented by three Perſons, as he himſelf confeſſed: That, fifteen Days after, he ſtrangled a young Child of ten Years of Age, in a Vineyard of *Grediſans,* and eat the Fleſh of the Thighs, Legs, and Belly: And that, in the Shape of a Man, and not of a Wolf, he killed another little Boy, of the Age of twelve or thirteen Years, in the Wood of the Village of *Perouſe,* with a Deſign to have eaten him, if he had not been hindered, according to his own free Confeſſion. He was condemned to be burnt alive, and the Arrêt was executed (4).”

† *One who is ſaid to transform himſelf into a Wolf.*

(1) Le Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 68.

(2) *He was a Gentleman of* Auvergne.

(3) Du Verdier, Bibl. Franç. pag. 248.

(4) Bodin, Demonomanie des Sorciers, *Book* 2, *cap.* 6, *pag.* 208, 209. *Edit. of* Lyons, 1598, 8vo.

St AUGUSTIN, one of the moſt illuſtrious Fathers of the Church, was born at *Tagaſte* in *Africa*, the Thirteenth of *November*, 354. His Father, whoſe Name was *Patricius*, was but a mean Citizen of That Place; his Mother was named *Monica*, and remarkable for her Virtue. Their Son had no Reliſh for Learning [*A*]. However, his Father put him to it againſt his Inclination, reſolving to advance him in this way, and ſent him to ſtudy *Claſſical* Learning at *Madaura*. At the Age of Sixteen, he took him from thence, and ſent him to ſtudy Rhetoric at *Carthage*. St *Auguſtin* went thither towards the end of the Year 371 (*a*). He made a great Progreſs in the Sciences,

(*a*) Du Pin's Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtical Authors, *Tom.* 3, *pag.* 158.

[*A*] *He had no reliſh for Learning.*] By the Picture St *Auguſtin* himſelf has drawn of his Youth, it appears, that he was what we call a *Rake: He ſhunned the School as the Plague; he loved nothing but Gaming and public Shews; he ſtole all he could from his Father; he invented a thouſand Lies to avoid the Rod, which they were obliged to make uſe of, to puniſh his Licentiouſneſs* (1). *Furta etiam faciebam de cellario parentum & de menſa, vel gulâ imperitante, vel ut haberem quod darem pueris ludum ſuum mihi, quo pariter utique delectabantur, tamen vendentibus —— Fallendo innumerabilibus mendaciis & pædagogum & magiſtros & parentes, amore ludendi, ſtudio ſpectandi nugatoria, & imitandi ludicra inquietudine.* This confutes what *Leo Allatius* affirms; “ That St *Auguſtin,* at twelve Years of Age, had read and underſtood all *Ariſtotle*'s Books, relating to Logic and Theory, of himſelf, without the Aſſiſtance of any Maſter; and that, at the ſame Age, he had compoſed ſome excellent Writings, to diſcover and confute the Errors of ſeveral Authors (2).” The Writer, who took upon him the Name of *Chriſtianus Liberius,* has ſaid the ſame thing (3). Mr *Baillet* confutes them both very ſolidly, by St *Auguſtin*'s Confeſſions, and diſcovers the Cauſe of their Miſtake. “ Let us believe, *ſays he* (4), that They, who gave the firſt Occaſion for This Miſtake, read *Twelve* inſtead of *Twenty,* in the Place, where St *Auguſtin* ſpeaks of it. This Saint acknowledges *, that he was near Twenty Years of Age, when a Treatiſe

Whether St *Auguſtin* was learned, and an Author, from his Youth?

(1) Auguſt. Confeſſ. lib. 1, cap. 19.

(2) In Apib. Urbanis, p. 146. apud Baillet *of Famous Children,* p. 59.

(3) Chriſt. Liberius, de ſcrib. & leg. libris, pag. 178, apud Baillet, ibid.

(4) Baillet, ibid. pag. 60, 61.

* Confeſſ. lib. 4. c. 16.

Sciences, but gave himſelf up to Debauchery with Women [B]. He had a mind to read the Holy Scriptures; but the Simplicity of the Style diſguſted him: he was yet too great an Admirer of the Pagan Eloquence, to have a Taſte for the Bible. He had, in general, a great Deſire to diſcover Truth; and, being in hopes of finding it in the Sect of the *Manicheans*, he engaged in it, and maintained moſt of it's Doctrines with much Fervency. Having lived ſome time in *Carthage*, he returned to *Tagaſte*, where he taught Rhetoric with ſo much Applauſe, that his Mother was congratulated upon having ſo admirable a Son. This did not hinder the holy Woman from being extremely afflicted on account of her Son's Hereſy, and Debauchery. He returned to *Carthage* in the Year 380; where he taught Rhetoric with a great deal of Reputation. It was at this time he fixed his Incontinency, which had been rambling after various Objects: He took a Concubine, to whom he kept very conſtant, and had, by her, a Son, whom he named *Adeodatus*, the Gift of God, and who had very good Parts [*C*]. He became a little wavering in his Sect, becauſe he could meet with no ſatisfactory Anſwer to the Difficulties he had to propoſe [*D*]: however,

"of *Ariſtotle* fell into his Hands, called *The Ten* "*Categories*, which he had often heard mentioned, "at *Carthage*, with great Applauſe. - - - - - He read "it alone, and underſtood it perfectly well: ſo that "afterwards conferring about it with Thoſe, who "ſaid, they had learned it with much Pains from "excellent Maſters, who had not only explained it "to them in Words, but alſo by Figures, drawn "on the Sand, he found he had comprehended it "as well by himſelf. He ſays alſo, that, at the "ſame Age, he read, and underſtood, without any "Help, all Books of the Liberal Arts, which he could "meet with. He ſays the ſame thing of the Ma- "thematics, and particularly of Geometry, Muſic, "and Arithmetic.

[*B*] *He gave himſelf up to Debauchery with Women.*] He began very early; for, at ſixteen Years of Age, he followed the Dictates of That unruly Paſſion; "Ubi eram, *(ſays he)*, & quam longè exulabam à "deliciis domus tuæ, anno illo ſexto decimo æta- "tis carnis meæ, cum accepit in me ſceptrum, & "totas manus ei dedi veſaniæ libidinis, licentioſæ "per dedecus humanum, illicitæ autem per leges "tuas (5)? —— *Where was I, and how long was* "*I baniſhed from the Delights of thy Houſe, in That* "*ſixteenth Year of my Fleſh, when I ſubmitted to* "*it's Empire, and gave myſelf up entirely to all* "*it's violent Luſts, which diſgrace our Natures,* "*and are ſinful by thy Laws?*" He ſpent That Year in Idleneſs, becauſe his Father not being then able to provide for his Expences at *Carthage*, was by degrees making up a Sum ſufficient to ſend him thither. The Joy of This good Father was remarkable, upon diſcovering, as he was bathing with his Son, an uncommon Forwardneſs of Nature (6). He could not forbear acquainting his Wife with the News; and had the Pleaſure of fancying himſelf already a Grandfather, upon ſeeing his Son would ſo ſoon be fit to make him one. ——— *Quinimo ubi me ille pater in balneis vidit pubeſcentem, & inquieta indutum adoleſcentia, quaſi jam ex hoc in nepotes geſtiret, gaudens matri indicavit* (7). St *Auguſtin*'s Mother, inſtead of being pleaſed, was very uneaſy at it; ſhe feared the ill Effects of it, and therefore made him very ſerious Remonſtrances to abſtain from the Sex, and particularly from Adultery: "Secreto memini ut monuerit "cum ſolicitudine ingenti ne fornicarer, maximeque "ne adulterarem cujuſquam uxorem. Qui mihi mo- "nitus muliebres videbantur, quibus obtemperare e- "rubeſcerem (8). ——— *I ſhall never forget how* "*earneſtly ſhe cautioned me againſt Fornication, and* "*particularly againſt Adultery; which I looked upon* "*as ſuch womaniſh Advice, that I was aſhamed to* "*follow it.*" But he took no notice of theſe good Exhortations; for he contracted ſuch a ſtrong Habit of Incontinence, that, even after he had renounced *Manicheiſm*, and prepared himſelf for Baptiſm, he took a new Concubine in the Room of *Adeodatus*'s Mother, 'till the Wife, he was to marry, ſhould attain to a fit Age (9), for which he was to wait near two Years (10). It is remarkable, that, in the Diſpute between St *Auguſtin* and *Alypius*, on Marriage and Celibacy, *Alypius*, inſtead of perſuading St *Auguſtin* to live ſingle, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to marry. *Alypius* had led a very chaſte Life; tho', in the beginning of his Youth, he juſt ſtole a Taſte of thoſe forbidden Pleaſures, but recovered This Slip betimes. *He diſſuaded St* Auguſtin *from Matrimony, as an Obſtacle to the Deſign they had formed to live together in the Study of Wiſdom.* "Prohibebat "me ſane Alypius ab uxore ducenda, cauſans nullo "modo nos poſſe ſecuro otio ſimul in amore ſapien- "tiæ vivere, ſicut jamdiu deſideraveramus, ſi id feciſ- "ſem (11)." *St* Auguſtin *confeſſed to him ingenuouſly, that it would be impoſſible for him to contain himſelf*, and alledged to him the Example of ſome married Sages, who had been faithful to God and their Friends. He added, *that there was a great Difference between Thoſe tranſient Pleaſures, which* Alypius *had taſted, and ſince forgot, and Thoſe, which he* (Auguſtin) *had made habitual to him, which would alſo become more engaging under the fair Cover of Marriage. Alypius* was ſo touched with this Diſcourſe, that he reſolved to be married himſelf; *That I may know*, ſaid he, *by Experience, what St* Auguſtin *has found more charming than Life itſelf.* "Cum me ille miraretur, quem non parvi penderet, "ita hærere viſco illius voluptatis, ut me affirma- "rem quotieſcunque inde inter nos quæreremus, "cœlibem vitam nullo modo poſſe degere, atque ita "me defenderem, cum illum mirantem viderem, ut "dicerem multum intereſſe inter illud quod ipſe rap- "tim & furtim expertus eſſet, quod pœne jam nec "meminiſſet quidem, atque ideo nulla moleſtia fa- "cile contemneret, & delectationes conſuetudinis "meæ, ad quas ſi acceſſiſſet honeſtum nomen Matri- "monii, non eum mirari oportere cur ego illam "vitam nequirem ſpernere. Cœperat & ipſe deſi- "derare conjugium nequaquam victus libidine talis "voluptatis, ſed curioſitatis. Dicebat enim ſcire ſe "cupere, quidnam eſſet illud ſine quo vita mea, quæ "illi ſic placebat, non mihi vita, ſed pœna videre- "tur (12)." However, neither of them did ever marry, but yet lived very chaſtly.

[*C*] *He took a Concubine, - - - - - and had by her a Son, whom he named* Adeodatus, *The Gift of God, who had very good Parts.*] Without doubt my Reader will be pleaſed to find ſomething here, concerning This Baſtard; and therefore I ſhall inform him of what I have met with in Mr *Baillet*. "*Adeo-* "*datus* was but fifteen Years of Age, when his Fa- "ther was baptized; but he was then ſo forward, "and had made ſo uncommon a Progreſs in Know- "ledge, that he excelled many Perſons of ripeſt "Years, and ſeveral even of Thoſe, who had "got a Character in the World for their Gra- "vity and Learning. About the ſame time St "*Auguſtin* compoſed a Book, by way of Dialogue, "intituled, *Of the Maſter: Adeodatus* and himſelf, "are the two Perſonages of This Dialogue; and he "takes God to witneſs, that all, he makes his Son "ſay in That Work, is entirely his own, though "he was then but *ſixteen* Years of Age. St *Au-* "*guſtin* adds, That he had ſeen yet more wonder- "ful Things in This Child, than what we have "related. Laſtly, in ſpite of his own great Firm- "neſs of Soul, he owns, he was aſtoniſhed at the Pro- "digy of his Son's Parts. *Adeodatus* received the "Sacrament of Baptiſm, together with his Father, "and died ſoon after (13)."

[*D*] *He could meet with no ſatisfactory Anſwer to the Difficulties he had to propoſe.*] St *Auguſtin* had a penetrating Wit; he was a Rhetorician by Profeſſion, and underſtood Logic. It is eaſy for a ſubtile and eloquent Diſputant to form Doubts, and make Replies. It muſt not then be wondered at, that he embarraſſed the *Manichean* Doctors; any

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(5) Confeſſ. lib. 2. cap. 2.

(6) *It was againſt Decency, among the Pagans themſelves, that a Son and a Father ſhould bathe in the ſame Place. See* Cicero de Offic. lib. 1, cap. 35. Val. Max. lib. 2, cap. 1, n. 7. Plutarch. in Catone majore, p. 348.

(7) Auguſt. Confeſſ. l. 2. cap. 3.

(8) Ibidem.

(9) Ibid. lib. 6, cap. 15.

(10) Ibid. cap. 13.

(11) Ibid. cap. 12.

(12) Id. ib.

(13) Baillet, des Enfans celebres, pag. 63. ex Aug. Confeſſ. lib. 9, cap. 6.

however, he did not forſake their Opinions, but waited for better Explications. His good Mother *Monica* went to him at *Carthage*, to endeavour to draw him from his Hereſy and Luxury; nor did ſhe deſpair, tho' ſhe found, that her Remonſtrances were, then, to no Purpoſe. He wanted a new Theatre, for diſplaying his Learning, and reſolved to go to *Rome*; and, that he might not be diverted from this deſign, he embarked without communicating it either to his Mother, or to his near Relation *Romanian*, who had maintained him at School (*b*). He taught Rhetoric at *Rome*, with as much Applauſe, as at *Carthage*: ſo that *Symmachus*, Prefect of That City, underſtanding, that they wanted, at *Milan*, an able Profeſſor in Rhetoric, appointed him to That Employ, in the Year 383. St *Auguſtin* was very much eſteemed at *Milan*; he made a Viſit to St *Ambroſe*, and was kindly received by him. He went to his Sermons, not ſo much out of a Principle of Piety, as That of a Critical Curioſity. He wanted to know if That Prelate's Eloquence deſerved the Reputation it had obtained. It pleaſed God to make this the Means of his Converſion: St *Ambroſe*'s Sermons made ſuch an Impreſſion upon him, that St *Auguſtin* became a Catholic in the Year 384. His Mother, who was come to him to *Milan*, adviſed him to marry, that he might effectually forſake his former Irregularities. He conſented to the Propoſal, and ſent his Concubine back into *Africa*; but, as the Wife, deſigned for him, was ſo very young, that he was to wait two Years before he could marry her, not being able to reſiſt his Natural Inclinations ſo long, he relapſed to his uſual Incontinence. At length, the reading of St *Paul*'s Epiſtles, the Sollicitations and Tears of his Mother, and the good Diſcourſes of ſome Friends, procured for him the finiſhing ſtroke of Grace; he felt himſelf a good Chriſtian, ready to forſake all for the Goſpel; he left off teaching Rhetoric, and was baptized, by St *Ambroſe*, on *Eaſter*-Eve in the Year 387. The following Year, he returned into *Africa*, having loſt his Mother at *Oſtia*, where they were both to have embarked (*c*). He was ordained Prieſt in the Year 391, by *Valerius* Biſhop of *Hippo*; Four Years after, he became Coadjutor to That Prelate, and did very conſiderable Services to the Church by his Pen and his Piety, until his Death, which happened the Twenty eighth of *Auguſt* 430 (*d*). The particulars of his Epiſcopal Life and Writings would be ſuperfluous here; They may be found in *Moreri*'s *Dictionary*, and in Mr *du Pin*'s *Bibliotheque*; and if Thoſe Gentlemen had not too lightly paſſed over St *Auguſtin*'s irregular Life, I might wholly have diſpenſed with this Article: But, for the better Inſtruction of the Public, it is proper to diſcover both the Good, and the Bad, of Great Men. The Approbation, which Councils and Popes have given St *Auguſtin* on the Doctrine of Grace, adds greatly to his Glory; for, without That, the *Moliniſts*, in theſe latter Times, would have highly advanced their Banner againſt him, and pulled down his Authority. We have ſhewn elſewhere (*e*), that all their Politics could ſcarce keep them in decorum, and prevent their attacking him indirectly. It is certain, that the Engagement, which the Church of *Rome* is under, to reſpect St *Auguſtin*'s Syſtem, caſts her into a Perplexity, which is very ridiculous [*E*]. The *Arminians*, not having the ſame Meaſures to keep, deal very ſincerely with This holy Father of the Church

(*b*) *His Father died about the Year* 372.

(*c*) *Taken from the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of* John le Sueur, Tom. 3. ad Ann. 388. pag. 484, & ſeq. *Edit. in* 12mo.

(*d*) Du Pin, Biblioth. des Aut. Eccl. Tom. 3. p. 158.

(*e*) *Above, in the Remarks* [C] [D] *and* [L] *of the Article* ADAM (JOHN) *the Jeſuit: where you will ſee the various Judgments paſſed upon* St Auguſtin. *See alſo* Etat de la Faculté de Theologie de Louvain, *in* 1701 pag. 207.

more than that he puzzled ſeveral Catholic Doctors, and that the weak Anſwers, which they returned to his Objections, confirmed him in his Hereſies. He confeſſes, that, to his coſt, he had gained a thouſand Victories in theſe Engagements: ſo true is it, that every Orthodox Perſon ought not to engage himſelf in Diſputes; and that, unleſs he has to do with an Heretic of his own Strength, he can do nothing, humanly ſpeaking, but harden his Adverſary. "Quædam noxia victoria pœnè mihi ſemper in diſputationibus proveniebat, differenti cum Chriſtianis imperitis; quo ſucceſſu creberrimo gliſcebat adoleſcentis animoſitas, & impetu ſuo in pervicaciæ magnum malum imprudenter vergebat (14). —— *In diſputing with unlearned Chriſtians, I had almoſt always the ill Fortune to get the better of them; which frequent Succeſs ſtill added freſh Fuel to the Heat of my Youth, and hurried me headlong into That greateſt of Miſchiefs, Obſtinacy.*"

[*E*] *The Engagement of the Church of* Rome *to St* Auguſtin'*s Syſtem caſts her into a Perplexity, which is very ridiculous.*] It is manifeſt to all Men, who examine Things without Prejudice, and with ſufficient Abilities, that St *Auguſtin*'s Doctrine, and That of *Janſenius*, Biſhop of *Ypres*, are one and the ſame; ſo that we cannot, without Indignation, behold the Court of *Rome* boaſting to have condemned *Janſenius*, and yet preſerved St *Auguſtin* in all his Glory. Theſe are two Things altogether inconſiſtent. More than This, The Council of *Trent*, in condemning *Calvin*'s Doctrine of Free Will, did neceſſarily condemn That of St *Auguſtin*: For no *Calviniſt* ever denied, or can deny, the Concurrence of the human Will, and the Liberty of the Soul, in the Senſe which St *Auguſtin* has given to the Words Concurrence, Co-operation, and Liberty. There is not a *Calviniſt*, but acknowledges Free Will, and it's Uſe in Converſion, if That Word be underſtood according to St *Auguſtin*'s Idea's. Thoſe, condemned by the Council of *Trent*, do not reject Free Will, but as it ſignifies a Liberty of Indifferency. The *Thomiſts* reject it alſo under That Notion, and yet paſs for very good Catholics. See another Comical Scene! The Phyſical Predetermination of the *Thomiſts*, the Neceſſity of St *Auguſtin*, That of the *Janſeniſts*, and That of *Calvin*, are all one and the ſame thing at the Bottom; and yet the *Thomiſts* diſown the *Janſeniſts*, and both of them think it a Calumny to accuſe them of teaching the ſame Doctrine with *Calvin*. If one might be ſuffered to judge of another's Thoughts, here would be great Room for ſaying, that Doctors are, in this Caſe, great Comedians, and are only acting a Part, and that They cannot but be ſenſible, that the Council of *Trent* either condemned a meer Chimera, which never entered into the Thoughts of the *Calviniſts*, or elſe, that it condemned, at the ſame time, both St *Auguſtin*, and the Phyſical Predetermination. So that, when they boaſt of having St *Auguſtin*'s Faith, and never to have varied in the Doctrine (15), it is only meant to preſerve a Decorum, and to ſave the Syſtem from Deſtruction, which a ſincere Confeſſion of the Truth muſt neceſſarily occaſion. It is a great Happineſs for ſome Perſons, that the People never trouble themſelves to demand of them any Account of their Doctrine, and that they have not a ſufficient Capacity for it. They would, otherwiſe, oftener mutiny againſt Doctors, than againſt Tax-gatherers. They would

(14) Auguſt. de duabus Anim.

(15) M. Baſnage *ſhews plainly, that in the Council of* Trent, *and elſewhere, the Church of* Rome *decided againſt* St Auguſtin, *and againſt other Councils. See his* Hiſtory of the Religion of the Reformed Churches, Tom. 2. pag. 452, & ſeq.

Church [*F*]. A Learned *French* Critic may make uſe of terms as reſpectful as he pleaſes, yet he cannot hinder us from diſcovering, that he heartily deſpiſes St *Auguſtin*'s Commentaries on the Scripture [*G*]. If Mr *Claude*, who condemned This Father's

WHETHER Eccleſiaſtical Doctors have any reaſon to ſtand in fear of the Capacities of the People.

would ſay to them; *If you do not know that you deceive us, you deſerve to be ſent to the Plough for your Stupidity; and, if you do know it, you deſerve to be ſhut up within four Walls, with Bread and Water, for your Wickedneſs.* But there is nothing of this to fear; the People are content to be led on in the uſual Road; and, if they were inclinable to enquire a little farther, they would not be able to diſcuſs ſuch Points; Their Buſineſs does not permit them to acquire a ſufficient Capacity.

[*F*] *The* Arminians - - - - - - *deal very ſincerely with This holy Father of the Church.*] They might have perplexed the World, as well as the Jeſuits; but they thought it much better to give up St *Auguſtin* wholly to their Adverſaries, and to acknowledge him for as great a Predeſtinarian (it is a Term much uſed among them) as *Calvin*. Without doubt the Jeſuits would have done the ſame, if they durſt have condemned a Doctor, whom the Popes and Councils had approved.

[*G*] *A learned* French *Critic* - - - - - *heartily deſpiſes St* Auguſtin'*s Commentaries on the Scriptures.*] I mean Mr *Simon*: See his *Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament* (16), wherein the chief Encomium he gives This Father is, that he knew his own Inſufficiency. "He has very well obſerved, *ſays he* (17), the Qualifications neceſſary to make a good Interpreter of the Scripture; and, as he was a modeſt Man, he freely confeſſed, that he himſelf wanted moſt of them; therefore we ought not to wonder, if ſometimes we find but little Exactneſs in his Commentaries on the Scriptures. —— He ſoon acknowledged, that the Undertaking, *to anſwer the* Manicheans, was above his Strength. *In Scripturis exponendis tyrocinium meum ſub tanta ſarcinæ mole ſuccubuit* *." I confeſs, that Mr *Simon* does not quote *Peter Caſtellan*, without blaming him. But, as he wrote in *France*, was it not neceſſary to uſe all This Caution? "I cannot approve, *ſays he* (18), of the Heat of *Peter Caſtellan*, Grand Almoner of *France*, who accuſes St *Auguſtin* with too much Liberty, in reproaching him *with having been only in a Dream*, when he explained the Holy Scripture." They, who wrote againſt him, knew very well how to object to him the little Agreement there is between the Eſteem he would ſeem to have for St *Auguſtin*'s Writings, and the Judgment he really makes of them; and they have taken this Occaſion to draw a very diſadvantageous Picture of This Father. "No other Idea, *ſay they* (19), can be formed of the Bleſſed St *Auguſtin*, than That of a Declaimer, who ſays all that comes in his Head, whether to the Purpoſe, or not, provided it agrees but with a certain *Platonic* Syſtem, which he had formed of the Chriſtian Religion; of One, who loſes himſelf every Moment in the Clouds, and ſuffers himſelf to be carried away by cold Allegories, which he delivers for Oracles; in ſhort, of One, who had none of Thoſe Qualifications, which an Interpreter of the Holy Scriptures ought to have." Of all this they give ſome very ſtrong Examples. Mr *Simon*, in his Reply, has not much troubled himſelf to defend St *Auguſtin*. It is eaſy to ſee, he had not this at Heart: He pays ſome Regard to Decency, but much more to his Deſire of confuting his Adverſary (20). It may be obſerved, in ſeveral Places of his Writings, to be his Opinion, that, ſince St *Auguſtin* makes no Difficulty to forſake the *Greek* Fathers on the Subject of Grace, there is no Reaſon to follow him, in Preference to Thoſe *Greek* Fathers. This Pretence would anſwer very well, if there was but room to urge it: But, ſince St *Auguſtin*'s Doctrine, on Grace, has been approved of by the Church, it muſt follow, that all Doctrine, oppoſite to That, is to be rejected; and therefore whatever may be found in St *Chryſoſtom*, which favours *Moliniſm*, is a particular Tenet, and at leaſt implicitly branded by the authentic Approbation given to St *Auguſtin*. This is the Perplexity I mentioned above, which expoſes the Church of *Rome* to a ſort of Ridicule. I ſhall relate *Caſtellan*'s Words; they are remarkable, and his Life is not a very common Book in this Country: "Ut divum *Auguſtinum* contra hæreticos de hominis Chriſtiani Juſtificatione diſputando, proxime ad divi *Pauli* ſententiam acceſſiſſe fatebatur, ita linguarum ignoratione ſomniaſſe frequenter atque etiam deliraſſe ſacra explicando aſſeverabat: cumque bonarum artium magis non ignorans quam peritus dici poſſet, non ſatis idoneum eſſe judicebat cui de artibus diſſerenti legendo tempus tranſmitteretur qui minime otio abundaret. Eam quoque ſtili *Auguſtiniani* anfractuoſam ſinuoſitatem eſſe, & ſermonis omni elegantia vacui impuritatem addebat, ut ab homine liberaliter in literis educato citra faſtidium legi vix poſſet (21). —— *As he confeſſed, that St* Auguſtin, *in his Diſputation againſt the Heretics, concerning Chriſtian Juſtification, comes the neareſt of any to the Senſe of St* Paul; *ſo he affirmed, that by his Ignorance in Languages he has been often in a Dream, or even out of his Head, in his Interpretation of the Scriptures; and that, as he may rather be ſaid not to have been a Stranger to Arts, than a Maſter of them, it is but loſt Time to thoſe, who have not a great deal to ſpare, to liſten to him, in his diſcourſing on thoſe Subjects. Farther, that St* Auguſtin'*s Style is ſo rough and tedious, and not only void of all Elegance, but even very incorrect, that it muſt nauſeate a Reader of a learned Education.*"

Since the firſt Edition of this Dictionary, I have ſeen the Explication, which Mr *Simon* has given, to ſtop the Complaints of the *Janſeniſts*. *My Intention*, ſays he (22), *was not to diminiſh, in the leaſt, the Authority of St* Auguſtin, *whom I have always acknowledged to be* the moſt able Divine of the *Weſtern* Churches, *and to have deſerved the great Elogies, which ſo many Popes have given him* —— *I agree, that* the Church aſſures us, that Thoſe, who have taught Theology with Art and Method, have taken St *Auguſtin* for their Maſter and Guide. *Theſe are the Words of the* Roman *Breviary; but they do not mean, that Thoſe Maſters of Theology, who followed St* Auguſtin *in the manner of treating This Science, are obliged never to depart from the Opinions of That learned Biſhop; nor that Thoſe ſame Opinions are Articles of Faith, nor laſtly, that the other Fathers are to be forſaken, when they do not entirely agree with him. The Church teaches us, in the ſame Leſſons of the Breviary, ſpeaking of St* John Chryſoſtom *, That all the World admires his Way of interpreting the ſacred Books, according to the Letter, and judge him worthy of what was believed of him, *viz.* that St *Paul*, whom he particularly honoured, dictated ſeveral things to him. *I always had the higheſt Veneration for Theſe two great Men, who are to this Day the Admiration of the* Eaſtern *and* Weſtern *Churches; but, in explaining certain Paſſages of the Scripture, about which St* Auguſtin *and St* Chryſoſtom *differ, I thought I might follow St* Chryſoſtom'*s Interpretation, whenever it ſeemed the moſt literal. This Difference, which no way affects our Fundamentals, does not hinder them from agreeing together in the eſſential Points of our Belief. Speaking of St* Auguſtin, *in my Hiſtory of the Commentators, I might indeed have been more cautious in my Expreſſions; and I have even mentioned ſome Things, ſaid of him by Cardinal* Sadolet, *which ſeem too ſevere. But I never deſigned to oppoſe the Doctrine of This holy Doctor, who confuted ſo powerfully the Hereſies of his Time.* He adds, *That he propoſed Cardinal* Gaſper Contarini *for his Guide*, who judged, that there was a certain Medium to be obſerved between Thoſe, who, under pretence of being Enemies to the *Lutherans*, came too near the Hereſy of *Pelagius*; and Thoſe, who, *having ſome Tincture of St* Auguſtin'*s Writings, inſtead of imitating his Modeſty and his Charity, preached very puzzling Doctrines to the People, which they did not underſtand themſelves, nor could any way explain but by running into Paradoxes.* "I believed, *continues he*, that I could not do better, than to imitate That great Cardinal, in my Anſwer to ſome Divines of *Holland*, who had objected againſt me, that the Tradition of the Church was not conſtant and certain; by producing, for an Example, the Doctrines of Grace, and of Predeſtination, in which the Church ther's Approbation of Penal Laws in Matters of Conſcience, had lived but three or four Years longer, he would have expoſed himſelf to a ſevere Cenſure [*H*]. A Phy-

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(16) Book 3. chap. 9.

(17) Ibid. p. 397, 398.

* Lib. 1, Retract. cap. 18.

(18) Hiſt. Critique du vieux Teſt. pag. 399.

(19) *See the Book entitled* The Sentiments of ſome Divines of *Holland*, on the Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, *pag.* 357, & ſeq. *and the* Defence of *thoſe Sentiments*, pag. 348, & ſeq.

(20) *See the* Anſwer *to thoſe Sentiments*, pag. 202, & ſeq. *and the* Anſwer *to the* Defence, *p.* 198, & ſeq.

(21) Petr. Galland. in Vitâ Caſtellani, pag, 44, 45.

(22) Simon's *Preface to the* New Obſervations on the Text and Verſions of the New Teſtament, *printed at* Paris, 1695, *in* 4to.

* Interpretandi rationem & inhærentem ſententiæ ſacrorum librorum explanationem omnes admirantur, dignumque exiſtimant cui Paulus Apoſtolus quem ille mirificè coluit ſcribenti & prædicanti multa dictaſſe videatur. *Brev. Rom.*

" Church had followed and authorized St *Auguſtin*'s Explanation, notwithſtanding he differed, they ſay, from all the other Fathers, both *Greek* and *Latin*, who went before him. I obſerved to them, that This difference was only in ſome Points, which had never been determined as Articles of Faith, and in ſome Paſſages of Scripture, which might very well admit of different Interpretations; and therefore that the Church ought not to be accuſed of Inconſtancy in Tradition." This needs very little Examination to diſcover it to be a Mask or Colour, which can only deceive very ignorant Perſons: For, pray tell me, whence come the moſt material Controverſies? Is it not from a Difference in explaining ſome Paſſages of Scripture? Why then do you make uſe of the Idea of This difference, to ſhew us, that St *Chryſoſtom* and St *Auguſtin* differ in nothing eſſential? Is it only an accident, and nothing material to the Doctrine of Grace, to know in what the Power of a Sinner conſiſts, and what is the Eſſence of his Liberty? Is it not rather a fundamental Part of This Doctrine? If then theſe two Fathers are directly oppoſite in their Explication of the Nature of Free-will, it is certain, their Difference is in Eſſentials, and the Church cannot adopt the Hypotheſis of the one, without rejecting That of the other. Otherwiſe it muſt be ſaid, that ſhe embraces a Truth without condemning the oppoſite Error; for, in ſhort, though it were poſſible, that both of them may be miſtaken, yet it is impoſſible, that both their Opinions ſhould be true: Therefore, either They, who follow St *Chryſoſtom*'s Explication, or They, who follow St *Auguſtin*'s Doctrine, muſt be in an Error. Here, again, we may obſerve the great Perplexity of the Church of *Rome*. She is forced to approve both thoſe who hold that Grace does all, and thoſe who hold that Grace does nothing, in obtaining our Aſſent; ſome of her Doctors, on the one ſide, teach, That we form this Aſſent ourſelves, with full Liberty to refuſe it: on the other, That Grace produces this Aſſent, without leaving us the leaſt Liberty to refuſe it. The one, or the other, teaches an Error, which does not turn upon a Trifle, but on a Point of very great Conſequence. And yet the Church of *Rome*, with her pretended Infallibility, lets this whole Matter paſs without Cenſure. If ſhe condemns *Janſeniſm*, ſhe is obliged to declare, at the ſame time, that ſhe does not condemn St *Auguſtin* (23); this is to undo, with one hand, what is done with the other. Obſerve, by the way, theſe words of Mr *Simon*; *The Difference —— was only in ſome Things, which have not been determined as Articles of Faith.* This is to ſay, that, provided an Error affects only ſome Points, which have not yet been determined as Articles of Faith, the Perſon, who propagates it, may ſtill be an Orthodox, and a very good Chriſtian; I ſay, obſerve this Privilege of an erroneous Conſcience. Obſerve alſo, that, though it were lawful to diſſent from St *Auguſtin*'s Opinion, before the Doctrines of Grace were determined in the Time of That Father; it does not follow, that, after thoſe Determinations, the Writers of the XVIIth Century are at liberty to return to St *Chryſoſtom*'s Opinion; for here is a ſubſtantial Remark of a Divine, whom Mr *Simon* can by no means ſuſpect: "In the Diſputes concerning Grace, Election, and Predeſtination, leſs Regard is to be paid to the ancient Fathers, who lived before the *Pelagian* Hereſy, than to thoſe, who came after: And much leſs to the *Greeks*, than to the *Latins*, notwithſtanding that theſe came after That Hereſy —— But, among the *Latins*, whoſe Authority, we have already obſerved, is to be preferred to That of the other Fathers, Divines agree, that St *Auguſtin* is he, on whom we ought moſt to rely: For not only all the Fathers, and all the Doctors, who came after him, but the Popes themſelves, and the Councils of other Biſhops, have held his Doctrine, concerning Grace, for Certain and Catholic: and they have ALL BELIEVED it a ſufficient Proof of the Truth of an Opinion, that This Saint had taught it (24)."

[*H*] *If Mr* Claude *—— had lived three or four Years, he would have expoſed himſelf to a ſevere Cenſure.*] I have two things to ſhew; the one, that Mr *Claude* blamed St *Auguſtin* for approving the Penal Laws againſt Heretics; the other, that, if he had lived three or four Years longer, he would have been cenſured for cenſuring St *Auguſtin*.

I. To prove the Firſt, I need only recite ſome Expreſſions of Mr *Claude*, in a Letter, which was made public. He confeſſes, That St *Auguſtin had an admirable Underſtanding, a happy and fruitful Imagination, diſcovering, almoſt on every occaſion, great Piety, Juſtice, and Charity*: But he adds, *There is one thing, which tarniſhes his Memory extreamly*, viz. *that, after having expreſſed Sentiments of Mildneſs and Charity, in regard to Proceedings againſt Heretics, his Diſputes with the* Donatiſts *ſo very much inflamed him, that he became quite another Man, and turned Advocate for Perſecution* (25).

II. The Acts of the Synod of the *Walloon* Churches of the United Provinces, held at *Amſterdam* in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1690, demonſtrate, beyond controverſy, the ſecond thing I am to prove; for This is one of the Propoſitions, which That Aſſembly condemned, *The Magiſtrate has no right, by Virtue of his Authority, to ſuppreſs Idolatry, and hinder the Progreſs of Hereſy*. I ſay, This Propoſition is one of Thoſe, which the Synod *ſolemnly and unanimouſly declares falſe, ſcandalous, pernicious, and equally deſtructive of Morality and Religion*. The Synod *proſcribes, prohibits, and condemns them as ſuch, forbidding all Perſons, Eccleſiaſtic and Secular, under the ſevereſt Cenſures, to utter them either in Pulpits, or in private Converſations —— And moſt expreſsly commanding all Conſiſtories*, within their Juriſdiction, *to redouble their Paſtoral Care and Vigilance, in proportion to the Danger, which threatens their Flocks, to ſuppreſs, without Diſtinction, or Complaiſance, all who ſhall be found guilty, by refuſing private Perſons the Holy Sacrament, and by ſuſpending the Miniſters from their Offices till the next Synod, calling in two Paſtors of the Neighbouring Churches to join in That Sentence* (26). Some may object, that if Mr *Claude* had been living, at the Time of holding this Synod (27), perhaps They would not have condemned This Propoſition. I can ſay nothing at all to this: but, be it as it will, there is no denying, but that his Opinion has been anathematized. For it is evident, that St *Auguſtin* only maintains, that Magiſtrates ought to ſuppreſs Heretics, by making them liable to certain Penalties. Now the Synod of *Amſterdam* eſtabliſhes This ſo ſtrongly, that it puts the contrary Propoſition in the number of pernicious Errors, for which it orders the Laity to be excommunicated, and the Clergy ſuſpended. Therefore it has approved the ſame Doctrine, which Mr *Claude* condemned in St *Auguſtin*: and the Opinion of Mr *Claude* lies under the Anathema of This Synod.

If Mr *Claude* was ſurprized, that St *Auguſtin* ſhould be ſuch a Turncoat in his Opinion, others wonder yet more, that the *French* Refugee Miniſters (28) appear to be ſo too. For, whereas St *Auguſtin* changed his Opinion, upon obſerving the good Succeſs of the Emperor's Laws, in ſuppreſſing a Schiſm; theſe Refugee Miniſters have changed their Opinion, while the Ruin of their Churches, by the Authority of the Sovereign, was quite freſh in their Memory, and the Wound ſtill bleeding. If they had been asked, while the Edicts of Perſecution were pouring on their Party, what they thought of the Conduct of a Prince, who inflicted Penalties on Thoſe of his Subjects, who deſired only the Liberty of ſerving God according to their Conſciences, they would have anſwered, that it is unjuſt; and yet, as ſoon as they are come into another Country, they have pronounced their Anathema againſt Thoſe, who condemn the uſe of Penal Laws, in order to ſuppreſs Errors. This ſhould ſerve for an Example of the Inſtability of human Things; and may furniſh matter for much moral Reflexion.

He, who was the Promoter of Theſe Synodical Deciſions, had been a Deſerter in Opinion; but it was, in ſome Meaſure, by a ſpecial Privilege, and by a prophetic Diſpenſation, from which others could draw no Conſequence. His *Politics of the Clergy*, his *Perſervative*, &c. had highly condemned the uſe of Penal Laws in Matters of Religion. He had amply diſſcuſſed This Point, in his Anſwer to the Hiſtory

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(23) *See the* Anſwer of a Janſeniſt *to Mr* Leydecker. *It is mentioned in* The Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, 1697, *pag.* 251.

(24) Petav. Dogmat. Theolog. Tom. I. lib 9, c. 6, *cited by Mr* Arnauld, Difficulties *propoſed to Mr* Steyaert, part 9, pag. 200.

(25) *See the* Letter written from Switzerland, *printed at* Dort, 1690, *pag.* 20.

(26) *See what has been publiſhed of the Acts of this Synod in the* Tableau du Socinianiſme, pag. 565.

(27) *He was dead in the Month of* January, 1687.

(28) *There was a much greater Number of them in the Synod, than of the* Walloon *Miniſters, and they acted in concert with the* French *Miniſters, who fled into* England. *See the Acts of this Synod, concerning this Fact, in the 8th Letter of the* Tableau du Socinianiſme, pad. 559, & ſeq. *The Author of This* Tableau *affirms, p.* 558, That the Reſolutions and Determinations of That Synod were unanimous.

A Phyſician of *Paris* has publiſhed a very ſingular Remark; he pretends, that This great Saint could bear a great deal of Drink, and would ſometimes make free with it, but without getting drunk. We ſhall produce his Reaſons, as well as Thoſe of a Journaliſt, who confutes him [*I*]. I ſhall not ſay much of the Editions

of *Calviniſm*; at leaſt, he had given to underſtand, that he was deſirous of confuting effectually the Advocates for Penal Laws. It is true, he had pulled down with one hand, what he endeavoured to build with the other; and fell into an unfortunate Contradiction, which expoſed him to terrible Mortifications from ſeveral Writings, which were publiſhed againſt him; but, in ſhort, all this was not ſufficient to ſhew, that he had expreſsly declared on both ſides of the Queſtion. It was only in conſequence of the Revelations, which he thought he had received from above, about the approaching Ruin of Popery: I ſay, it was only in conſequence of theſe, that he exerted himſelf againſt Thoſe, who did not believe it lawful to extirpate Sectaries by the Authority of the Secular Power. He imagined Theſe Perſons had picked a perſonal Quarrel with him, and were conſpiring againſt his Explication of the *Apocalypſe* (29). The Clergy of *France* have made great uſe of St *Auguſtin*'s Reaſons, to juſtify the Conduct of the Court towards the Reformed. All that St *Auguſtin* publiſhed on this Subject has been ordered to be printed by itſelf, tranſlated into elegant *French*. A Proteſtant has publiſhed a Confutation of it, in the third Part of the *Philoſophical Commentary* on theſe Words, COMPEL THEM TO COME IN. See (30) the Reflexions, which have been made on the Prejudice, done to the good Cauſe, by the Authority of This Saint. It has been wondred at, that Mr *Poiret* ſhould endeavour to excuſe him. See the *Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned*, for the Month of *May*, 1692, pag. 358; and for the Month of *Auguſt* of the ſame Year, pag. 552.

[*I*] *A Phyſician — pretends, that This Saint could bear a great deal of Drink —— but without getting drunk. We ſhall produce his Reaſons, as well as thoſe of a Journaliſt, who confutes him.*] The Phyſician, I am ſpeaking of, is Mr *Petit*. The Chapter, where he treats of this, is entituled, “ Videri B. Auguſtinum “ non invalidum potorem fuiſſe (31). — *That St* Au- “ guſtin *ſeems to have been a hard Drinker*.” He immediately lays down, for the Foundation of his Aſſertion, theſe Words of *Auguſtin:* “ Ebrietas longe “ eſt à me: miſereberis, ne appropinquet mihî. Cra- “ pula autem nonnunqurm ſurrepit ſervo tuo; miſe- “ reberis, ut longe fiat à me (32). —— *Drunken-* “ *neſs is far from me; thou wilt have Mercy on me,* “ *Lord, that it may not come near me. The* Crapula “ *ſurprizes thy Servant ſometimes; thou wilt pity him,* “ *that it may go far from him*.” This ſeems to be a ſort of Contradiction; for, the *Crapula* being the Effect of Drunkenneſs, how can any one confeſs, without contradicting himſelf, that he never drinks to the Degree of Drunkenneſs, and yet that he is ſometimes overcome by the *Crapula?* Mr *Petit* ſhews, by the Authority of *Ariſtotle*, that the *Crapula* is the laſt Stage of Drunkenneſs, that it is the Head-ach, which remains, when ſleep has diſſipated the Vapours of the Wine, and when a Man, who has been drunk, recovers his Underſtanding, and is no longer under the Alienation of Mind, which deprived him of his Senſes. He confirms this by a Paſſage of *Pliny*, and by ſome Verſes of the Poet *Alexis*; and This is his Method of clearing up this ſeeming Contradiction. He ſuppoſes, *that This great Saint had a very ſtrong Head, and was able to drink a great deal of Wine, without loſing the Uſe of his Reaſon*, but not without being incommoded by it next Day. *Quod eâ eſſet cerebri ac mentis firmitate ut poſſet in eâdem vini quantitate, quæ multos ad inſaniam redigeret, rationis uſum conſervare* (33). Upon this Foot, a Man may juſtly ſay, that he is never drunk, though, on ſome Occaſions, he finds himſelf puniſhed with the *Crapula*, for having drank too much; and he ought to acknowledge this to be an Imperfection, which ſtands in need of the Mercy of his heavenly Father. “ Sic “ nobis dubitatio illa vaneſcit, vindicaturque Augu- “ ſtinus à turpitudine eorum, qui rationem ſuam vi- “ no obruere non dubitant: non tamen à culpâ “ omnino, ipſo judice, qui tantum vini hauriret, “ inde ut crapulam aliquando incurreret, nec poſſet “ ſibi inter pocula temperare, quin nimio potu in- “ terdum valetudini ſuæ incommodaret. Quâ de re “ ibi miſericordiam Dei implorat (34). —— *Thus* “ *we ſhall make this Difficulty vaniſh, and vindicate* “ *St* Auguſtin *from the beaſtlineſs of Thoſe, who make* “ *no Scruple to intoxicate their Senſes with Wine;* “ *nor yet leave him intirely innocent, becauſe of his* “ *drinking, by his own Confeſſion, ſo much as to* “ *cauſe a* Crapula, *and not having that Guard up-* “ *on himſelf in his Cups, to prevent drinking more* “ *than his Health would bear. On which account he* “ *implores the Mercy of God.*” Mr *Petit* excuſes St *Auguſtin*, from the Nature of the Climate, where he lived, and from the Cuſtom of the *Africans*, and propoſes this Objection to himſelf. It is probable, that this great Man's Practice was agreeable to the Advice he gave to others: Now *he recommended the living on Herbs and Bacon, and drinking two or three Glaſſes of Wine, without Water. Duæ vel tres vini meracæ potiones propter diligentiam valetudinis ſumptæ cum oluſculis & lardo laudantur* (35). The Anſwer is, *That it is probable St* Auguſtin *did not ſo ſtrictly practiſe This Rule, but that he might ſometimes tranſgreſs it among his Friends, and thoſe whom he invited to his Epiſcopal Table. Velim & mihi illud concedit, non minus probabile; non ita hunc regulæ illi addictum vixiſſe, ut non cum vini modum nonnunquam inter amicos, & menſæ epiſcopalis hoſpites, bibendo excederet* (36). For, otherwiſe, it muſt be concluded, that he lived only on Herbs and Bacon, which cannot be ſuppoſed, without monkiſh Stupidity. *Quod putare cucullatæ eſſet dementiæ* (37).

Let us ſee what Mr *Couſin* has anſwered to this *ſtrange Paradox* of Mr *Petit:* For ſo he calls this Aſſertion (38). He is for reading “ the whole Chap- “ ter of the Confeſſions, from whence the Paſſage is “ taken (39).” We ſhall find, “ That St *Auguſtin* there “ repreſents his own Diſpoſition, with regard to eat- “ ing and drinking, and declares, that he had learn- “ ed of God not to ſeek after Aliments, any other- “ wiſe than as after Medicines, and to uſe both “ alike”. He ſays, “ that, according to this Principle, “ he is always upon his guard againſt Pleaſure, “ when he ſatisfies the Cravings of Nature; that he “ is in a continual War with himſelf, by Faſtings, “ and Abſtinence; that he frequently reduces his “ Body into Subjection, and continually hears the “ Voice of GOD crying to him; *Ne graventur corda* “ *veſtra in crapula & ebrietate* (40). —— *Let not* “ *your Hearts be overcharged with Drunkenneſs and* “ *Debauch*.” Mr *Couſin* asks, “ Whether a Biſhop, “ who lived in This manner, can be ſuſpected to have “ drank ſometimes to exceſs?” He aſſures us, “ no Di- “ ſtinction is to be made here; that St *Auguſtin* never “ drank more than Neceſſity required; and that, “ therefore, when he ſaid, *Crapula autem nonnun-* “ *quam obrepit ſervo tuo*, he takes the Word *Crapula* “ in another Senſe (41). Beſides That of *Ariſtotle*, “ wherein it ſignifies the Heat and Pain cauſed by “ Wine, taken to exceſs, it is capable of two more, “ at leaſt; according to one of which, it is taken for “ an Exceſs of eating; and, according to the other, “ for the Pleaſure itſelf of eating and drinking. “ St *Auguſtin* did not uſe it in the firſt Senſe; for “ he was as far from eating, as from drinking, to “ exceſs. So, then, he could only underſtand it “ in the ſecond Senſe, and confeſs, that, though “ he endeavoured to be continually on his Guard “ againſt the Temptation of Pleaſure, which places “ itſelf, as it were, in Ambuſcade, at the Entrance “ of the Aliments, neceſſary to allay Hunger and “ Thirſt, and to maintain Health; yet he ſometimes “ ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized by it. This Sur- “ prize happens to the moſt perfect, to Thoſe, who “ mortify their Bodies, and nouriſh them only with “ Faſtings and Abſtinence.” Mr *Couſin* confirms this, by producing ſeveral Teſtimonies of *Poſſidius*, concerning St *Auguſtin*'s Sobriety. I think he would have done well to have given good Authority for the two Significations of the Word *Crapula*, which he has added to That, ſo well proved by Mr *Petit*.

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(29) *See the* Apology for the true Aſſertors of Toleration, *by Mr* Huet, *Miniſter of* Dort, *pag.* 133, 134.

(30) *In the* Defence of the Sentiments of ſome Divines of *Holland*, *on the* Critical Hiſtory, *pag.* 365, & ſeq.

(31) *It is the* 15*th of his Book, entituled*, Homeri Nepenthes, ſive de Helenæ Medicamento, *printed at* Utrecht *in* 1689, 8vo.

(32) Aug. lib. 10. Confeſſ. 31.

(33) Petrus Petitus, Homeri Nepenth. pag. 138.

(34) Id. ib. pag. 139.

(35) Aug. in libro de moribus Manichæorum, apud Petitum, *Ibid. pag.* 140.

(36) Petitus ibid.

(37) Id. ib.

(38) Journal des Sçavans, *of the* 27*th of* June, 1689, pag. 426, *Edit. of* Holland.

(39) Ibid. pag. 427.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Ibid. pag. 428.

Editions of St *Auguſtin*'s Works [*K*]. Several of his Treatiſes have been tranſlated into *French*.

It belongs to my Readers to decide this Diſpute: I content my ſelf with giving them the Arguments on both Sides. I ſhall only add, that I have conſulted ſeveral Dictionaries, without being able to find there the leaſt Appearance of the Signification, in which Mr *Couſin* will have the Word *Crapula* uſed in this Place. I have even met with ſome Phyſicians, who maintain, that Drunkenneſs and *Crapula* ſignify the ſame thing; and that *They, who pretend to make any Difference between them, raiſe idle Contentions about Words. Qui differentiam inter Crapulam & Ebrietatem fingunt λογομαχοῦσι. Foës. pag.* 353. *Dict. num.* 475 (42). It is certain, that, in *Cicero*, the Phraſes *Crapulam edormire, Crapulam exhalare*, mean the ſame thing as the *French* Words *cuver ſon vin* (43), i. e. *to ſleep one's ſelf ſober. Plautus* uſes, in the ſame Senſe, *Crapulam amovere* (44), *Crapulam edormire* (45), *Crapulam edormiſcere* (46). It is alſo well known, that, at this preſent time, the *French* Word *Crapule* is more odious than That of *Ivreſſe, Drunkenneſs*; for it ſignifies the higheſt Degree of Drunkenneſs. It is, as *Furetiere* obſerves, *a ſhameful and continual Debauch with Wine, or other intoxicating Liquors. Crapuler*, adds he, *means, to drink without ceaſing, to be continually, and filthily, drunk.* The Dictionary of the *French* Academy confirms theſe Interpretations. But there is no conſequence to be drawn from one Age to another, as to the Senſe of Words. Uſe makes it vary prodigiouſly. There was certainly a Diſtinction between Drunkenneſs and *Crapula*, both in *Ariſtotle*'s, and St *Auguſtin*'s Time. This appears clearer from The Paſſage of the Father of the Church, than from That of the Philoſopher. The Queſtion is, to know wherein this Difference conſiſted, in the Time of St *Auguſtin.* Without doubt, if Mr *Petit* had replied to Mr *Couſin* (47), he would have ſhewn a great deal of Learning, and I believe would not have forgot, that Authors, who, like *Ariſtotle*, treat a Subject dogmatically, confine themſelves very ſtrictly to Genus and Species, and obſerve the Propriety of Terms, deſigned to ſignify the Diſtinction of each Species, or the different Degrees of one and the ſame Quality; but Poets and Orators ſoon lay aſide This Exactneſs: they either introduce, themſelves, a greater Liberty of Words, or elſe conform to That eſtabliſhed by public Cuſtom, which uſes, indifferently, on a thouſand Occaſions, Thoſe Expreſſions which the Doctors ſo nicely diſtinguiſh.

[*K*] *I ſhall not ſay much of the Editions of St* Auguſtin'*s Works.*] We meet with a Liſt of them in Mr *du Pin* (48), which is neither ſo large, nor ſo exact, as That publiſhed by the Journaliſts of *Leipſic* (49). But, ſince it is very eaſy to conſult Thoſe Authors, it would be ſuperfluous to copy them here. I ſhall only ſay, that the beſt Edition of This Father's Works is That printed at *Paris*, by the Care of the *Benedictine* Monks of St *Maur*. It is divided into ten Volumes in Folio, as ſome others are; but there is a new Order, or Diſpoſition, in each Tome. The Iſt, and IId, were publiſhed in the Year 1679, the IIId, in 1680, the IVth, in 1681, the Vth, in 1683, the VIth, and VIIth, in 1685, the VIIIth, and IXth, in 1688, and the Xth, in 1693. This laſt Volume contains the Writings of St *Auguſtin* againſt the *Pelagians*.

There came out, *A Letter from the Abbot* D** *to the* R. R. F. F. Benedictines *of the Congregation of St* Maur, *on the laſt Tome of their Edition of St* Auguſtin (50). The Author of This Letter pretends, that their Deſign was to favour *Janſeniſm*, and that the Proofs he gives of it are very convincing. I have heard, that This Letter perplexes the *Benedictines* ſo much the more, becauſe it has made ſome Biſhops call them to an Account for their Conduct, and threaten to forbid the Reading of That Edition of St *Auguſtin* in their Dioceſes.

SOME Circumſtances of the Quarrel between the *Benedictines* and *Jeſuits*, on account of the Edition of St *Auguſtin.*

These learned Fathers have given an Explanation of this Matter, and cleared themſelves to the Public from this Aſperſion. See the Letter of a Divine to one of his Friends, on the Libel, entituled, *A Letter of the Abbot* **** *&c.* It was printed the Twenty ſecond of *February*, 1699, and contains Eighty eight Pages in 12mo; but it did not determine the Diſpute. *There came out a Memorial of a Doctor of Divinity, addreſſed to My Lords, the Prelates of* France, *on the Anſwer of a* Benedictine *Divine to the Letter from a* German *Abbot* (51), and the Author of This Memorial maintains, That all the Accuſation of the *Benedictines* is juſt, and that the Anſwer of Thoſe Fathers is inſufficient. He takes notice (52), that they ſent from *Rouen* to *Paris* a ſecond Anſwer to the *German* Abbot, and that Father *de St Marthe was very ready to father it.* The *Benedictines* replied: but could not ſilence their Adverſaries. Some other Writings were publiſhed *pro* and *con*; but I cannot give the Particulars, becauſe I have met with but few of them: I have ſeen a little Book, called, *The Conduct of the* Benedictines *on the attacking of their Edition of St* Auguſtin. It contains Seventy nine Pages in 12mo, and was printed in the Year 1699. Among other things, we are told there, I. That, before they had publiſhed any thing in their own Defence, *a Writing was addreſſed to them from an unknown Perſon —— who took care to diſperſe it all over* Paris, *before he ſent them any Copy* (53). II. That the Title of this Piece was, *A Letter from a Commendatory Abbot, to the Reverend Fathers, the* Benedictines *of the Congregation of St* Maur. III. That, as the Letter, which the *German* Abbot wrote againſt theſe Fathers, was called, *The German Benedictine*, they called This, *The Little Benedictine*; and all the World owned, that the younger was not inferior to the elder. IV. *That the Author, from the beginning to the end, only perſonated, and ſpoke the Language of the* Janſeniſts, *in order to be the better underſtood by the BB* (54). V. That *The Little Benedictine* exaſperated, and ſtirred up the Party; who, from that Moment, reſolved to defend the new *Auguſtin*, and that the Abbot *du Guet* went to the Abbey to offer his Pen to the Congregation of St *Maur* (55). VI. That *The Little Benedictine* had not long made it's Appearance, before another ſmaller, and more agreeable one, came out, on a ſudden (56), entitled, *The Letter of a* Benedictine, *not reformed, to the Reverend Fathers, the* Benedictines *of the Congregation of St* Maur, and came from the ſame Hand as the *Little Benedictine.* VII. That the *Benedictines* were deliberating, when a *fourth Benedictine* appeared, *which was ſo ſerious, as to make one believe, that it was really produced in a Cloiſter.* It's Title was, *A Letter of a reformed* Benedictine *of St* Dennis, *in anſwer to the* German *Abbot, the Commendatory Abbot, and the* Benedictine *not Reformed* (57). VIII. That the firſt Anſwer of the *Benedictines* came from St *Dennis*, and was attributed, by all the World, to Father *Lamy*: It is entituled, *A Letter from a Divine to one of his Friends, on the Libel, called, A Letter from the Abbot *** to the Reverend F. F. the* Benedictines, *&c* (58). IX. That there appeared another Anſwer, unexpected, which Father *St Marthe* bragged he had written in leſs than two Days; the Title of it is, *Reflexions on the Letter from a* German *Abbot* (59). X. That it is univerſally agreed, that the beſt thing, which has been wrote on the Affair of This Edition, is That, entituled, *A Memorial of a Doctor of Divinity, addreſſed to my Lords, the Prelates of* France, *on the Anſwer of a Divine among the* Benedictines, *to a Letter from the* German *Abbot* (60). XI. That a Man, more learned, than polite, handed about a Manuſcript againſt Father *St Marthe*, and called it, *St Marthe a bad Divine, and a good Janſeniſt* (61); That the Manuſcript of This learned Man was followed by another Manuſcript of ſome melancholly Author of very bad Taſte, entituled, *Antimony, by way of Preſervative againſt the Calumnies of Father* St Marthe (62); and that This laſt Manuſcript was ſucceeded by another attributed to a Jeſuit; it is called, *Vindiciæ Petavii* (63). XII. That, in the Book entituled, *A Solution of divers Problems*, and aſcribed to Mr *du Guet*, the *Janſeniſts* undertake the Defence of the *Benedictines* with an high Hand (64). XIII. That there appeared a third Anſwer of the *Benedictines* (65), called *Vindiciæ Editionis S. Auguſtini à P P. B B. adornatæ*; which preceeded moſt of theſe Writings I have been naming, and that it is little more than a Tranſlation of Father *Lamy*'s Anſwer, and is publiſh'd under a borrowed Name, *&c.* (66).

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(42) Jacob. Pancratius Bruno in Lexico Medico, pag. 385.

(43) *See the* 2 Philip. *of* Cicero, fol. 247, D, *and the 8th againſt* Verres fol. 53, B.

(44) Plaut. in Pſeud. Act. 5. Sc. 1. ver. 35.

(45) Id. in Moſtell. Act. 5. Sc. 2. ver. 1.

(46) Id. in Rud. Act. 2. Sc. 7. v. 28.

(47) *He could not; he was dead before his* Nepenthes *was publiſhed.*

(48) *See his* New Bibliotheque of Eccleſiaſtical Authors, Tom. 3, pag. 257. *Edit. of* Holland.

(49) *In the Month of* Jan. 1683, pag. 2.

(50) *Printed in* 1699; *it contains* 72 *Pages in* 12mo.

(51) *Printed in* 1699; *it contains* 128 *Pages in* 12mo.

(52) Pag. 121.

(53) Conduite des Benedictins, pag. 24.

(54) Pag. 25.

(55) Pag. 28.

(56) Pag. 29.

(57) Pag. 31.

(58) Pag. 35.

(59) Pag. 40.

(60) Pag. 44.

(61) Pag. 47.

(62) Pag. 50.

(63) Pag. 51.

(64) Pag. 67.

(65) *This, without doubt, is the ſame which was mentioned*, pag. 64, *in quoting the Words taken from a Manuſcript Letter of Mr* Simon *to Father* Martianai. *A* Benedictine, *named* Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, *- - - - - has publiſhed a very ſharp Anſwer to the* German *Abbot, printed by the Licence of the Maſter of the Sacred Palace.*

(66) Conduite des Bened. pag. 68.

I have alſo ſeen a Piece attributed to *Lamy*; 'Tis a *Complaint of the Apologiſt for the* Benedictines, *to the Prelates of* France, *on the Defamatory Libels, which are diſperſed againſt That Religious Society, and their Edition of* St Auguſtin; *together with a Summons to the Authors of Thoſe Libels to appear before the Archbiſhop of* Paris; *and on account of the Proceſs, which was entered againſt the* Benedictines, *on their Edition of* St Auguſtin. All this contains Eighty eight Pages in 8vo. The Author, having demanded of the Prelates the Puniſhment of their Adverſaries, takes notice that *The Difficulty — is to find out thoſe unquiet and ſeditious Spirits*, who have attacked the *Benedictines* (67). *It is not ſo great as may be imagined*, adds he; *it is true, they take care not to ſet their Names to their Libels: But the R. R. F. F. the Jeſuits take ſo much pains to claim the Merit of them, and diſcover themſelves by other means, in ſo many places of theſe ſeditious Writings, that they cannot poſſibly be miſtaken, unleſs People take a Pleaſure in deceiving themſelves.* He, then, propoſes his Conjectures, and, after ſome general Conſiderations, he gives *ſomething more particular and deciſive* (68). "And now, *ſays he*, as to the Letter of the *German* Abbot, if theſe Fathers had not diſcovered themſelves by their Air, Voice, Accent, Principles, and Doctrine, yet it is a Fact, which no Body, at this time of day, conteſts, or denies, that Father *Langlois*, a Jeſuit of the College of *Lewis le Grand*, is the Author of it: and certainly That good Father could not expect, that the World ſhould be ignorant of it, ſince the Book was ſold publicly enough, even in the College. As for the other Libels, ſuch as the Letter of the *Commendatory Abbot*, and That of the *Monk not Reformed*, beſides our knowing, that they made Preſents of them every where, and raiſed Trophies in them to their pretended Victories; how many times have they, there, taken the Pleaſure to characterize, name, and declare themſelves to be our Adverſaries. It is proper, *my Lords*, to let you ſee in what Shapes and Colours they ſhew themſelves: I ſhall uſe their own Words; *Conſider*, ſays one in theſe Letters, *what the Jeſuits do: They, whom you may ſuſpect to be your Adverſaries. Take them for your Model in this Matter. They anſwer every thing.*" After having made a Collection of a great many more Characters, he goes on thus; "I think, from all theſe Deſcriptions, it cannot be doubted, but that they are Jeſuits: But it will be ſaid, they are only a ſmall number of particular Perſons. I grant it: We know they muſt be only ſome particular Perſons; for a whole Society was never yet known to have, all of them, a Hand in the Writing of one and the ſame Letter. But is there not ſome reaſon to attribute Theſe Writings to a whole Body, when That Body generally ſpeaks and talks of them with Pleaſure and Approbation? Nay, when they boaſt of, and diſtribute them by way of Preſents, and in a triumphing Manner, as all the World knows the Jeſuits have often done in reſpect to Theſe Letters. In a word, *my Lords*, how ſcandalous ſoever the Writings of any particular Perſons of a Society may be, there is ground to attribute them to the whole Society, when the Superiors take no care to ſuppreſs them; or, if That be not in their Power, when they do not ſhew by ſome public Act, that they diſapprove them; or when they do not make a Reparation to the Parties offended, as notorious and public as the Injuries and Calumnies have been. It is by this Rule, that the ſcandalous Piece called, *The Comedy of the Monks*, has been always looked upon as a Work of the Society of the Jeſuits; in which almoſt all the Religious are treated with an Indignity and Deriſion, which would hardly be pardoned in the moſt furious Heretics. It has been, I ſay, juſtly attributed to the whole Body, altho' compoſed and acted by their young Scholars; becauſe it doth not appear, that the Superiors ever made any Satisfaction for it, or any juſt Amends (69)." After this he ſhews, that it belongs to the Archbiſhop of *Paris* to determine this Difference (70); and he ſummons his Adverſaries to appear perſonally at That Tribunal, *and to prove their ſeveral Accuſations, on pain, if they fail in any of them, of being condemned as Slanderers, and their Libels judged Defamatory. But, not to give them an opportunity of abuſing This Citation, as too looſe and uncertain for want of a Time prefixed, and yet not to be too preſſing upon them, we give them two Months from the Day that our Citation ſhall be publiſhed at* Paris (71). Laſtly, he ſhews, what the State of the Queſtion is; and afterwards, in the drawing up of the Proceſs, he refutes ſeveral Things publiſhed againſt the *Benedictines*.

(67) Plainte de l'Apologiſte des Benedictins, pag. 10.

(68) Pag 12.

(69) Pag. 21.

(70) Pag. 23.

(71) Pag. 24.

I dare ſay, that the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, and even a National Council, would be puzzled in the Determination of ſuch a Cauſe as This is; for, beſides the Queſtions of *Janſeniſm* being full of Equivocations, Two powerful, and very learned Communities, who have each their Friends and Enemies, can cut out work enough, and ſtart Incidents to Eternity. The beſt Expedient, when ſuch Diſputes are on foot, is to have recourſe to the Secular Power, as to a God in a Machine, who may come, and cut the Knot. This is what has happened in This Diſpute. The King ordered the Chancellor to write a Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, to put a Stop to This Controverſy, and to forbid the Parties to publiſh any Thing farther about it (72). But, be this as it will, it muſt be ſaid of the *Benedictines*, that they took the moſt reaſonable Method of all, as well to ſhew their own Integrity, as to ſtop the Courſe of the Libels. They demanded a regular Proceeding, where their Accuſers ſhould be obliged to declare their Names, and to prove their Accuſations according to Law. Without this no good iſſue can be expected; for, even in the worſt Cauſes, They, who have the liberty to plead only at the Tribunal of the Public, by anonymous Pamphlets, find it always in their Power to be haughty, inſulting, and clamorous, whilſt there are Writers and Printers. A Private Man, whether he be in the right, or the wrong, is ſoon ſilenced, if his Pieces do not ſell; he cannot go on with them, without being at the charge of the Preſs, which is beyond his Abilities. But this Inconveniency can never affect ſuch rich and powerful Communities, as Thoſe of the *Benedictines*, and Jeſuits.

(72) Hiſtorical Letters *for* January 1700, pag. 99.

They are going to print This Edition at *Amſterdam*, *in a ſmaller Character, which will be ſold much cheaper than That of* Paris (73). There was a deſign to print with it the Critical Notes of a learned Man, who conceals himſelf under the Name of *Joannes Phereponus* (74); but I underſtand ſince, that the deſign is altered, and that Thoſe Critical Notes will be printed ſeparately, with the Commentary of *Ludovicus Vives* on the Work *de Civitate Dei*, &c. There was ſome reaſon to fear, that the *Roman* Catholics would be diſpleaſed with it; and therefore they will be left at full Liberty to buy, or leave Theſe ſuſpected Notes. They will be in a ſeparate Volume, and all St *Auguſtin*'s Work, exactly conformable to the Edition of *Paris*, will be ſold either with or without them.

(73) *See* Mr Bernard, Nouvelles de la Republ. des Lettres, *for* March, 1699, pag. 358.

(74) Id. ib.

AULNOI (MARIA CATHERINA LE JUMEL DE BERNEVILLE Counteſs *d'*) ſo famed for her Writings [*A*], was the Wife of *Francis de la Motte*, Count *d'Aulnoi*. She died his Widow in the Month of *January* 1705. Her Mother, whoſe ſecond Huſband was the Marquis *de Gadaigne*, died at *Madrid*, where ſhe enjoyed a conſiderable Penſion, which King *Charles* II. had given her, for the great Service ſhe had done That Nation, while ſhe was at *Rome*. *Philip* V. continued this Penſion. The Counteſs *d'Aulnoi* left four Daughters (*a*).

(a) Mercure Galant, Jan. 1705, pag. 244, & ſeq.

[*A*] *She is famed for her Writings.*] The firſt, ſhe publiſhed, is entituled *A Journey into* Spain. She went thither with the Queen of *Spain*, the firſt Wife of *Charles* II. Her other Works are, *Memoirs of the Court of* Spain, which has had three Editions in *France*, and one in *Holland*; *Memoirs of the Court of* England; Hippolito, *Earl of* Douglas; *The Hiſtory of* John de Bourbon, *Prince* de Carency; *The Earl of* Warwick. Theſe are ſo many little Romances, which have been univerſally read. She has alſo publiſhed ſeveral *Tales of the Fairies*, and a Paraphraſe on the *Miſerere* (1).

(1) Mercure Galant, Jan. 1705, pag. 247, & ſeq.

AURAT, or D'AURAT (JOHN) in Latin *Auratus*. See DAURAT.

AURELIANUS (LUCIUS DOMITIUS) (a), Emperor of *Rome* in the IIId Century, was one of the greateſt Warriours of Antiquity.

It is not certain where he was born [*A*]; but it is agreed, that his Extraction was very mean, and that his Mother, who made it her Buſineſs to foretel Events, was a Prieſteſs of the Sun (*b*). He was of a good Stature, handſome, robuſt, and of a very lively Genius (*c*). He loved Action, Wine, and good Chear (*d*); but not Women (*e*): He obſerved Diſcipline exactly, and cauſed others to obſerve it with the utmoſt Severity [*B*]. One Thing was obſerved in him: he continued poor amidſt the very great number of Offices

[*A*] *It is not certain where he was born.*] *Vopiſcus*, having related three Opinions (1), adds, *That it uſually happens, that the native Place of Perſons, meanly born, is uncertain.* He gives this reaſon for it; *Becauſe they generally tell a lie on that occaſion, and adopt ſome Place of greater Note, which they pretend to be That of their Birth, in order to recommend themſelves to Poſterity, in a brighter Light, by the Splendor of the Place of their Nativity. Evenit quidem ut de eorum virorum genitali ſolo neſciatur qui humiliori loco nati, plerique ſolum genitale confingunt, ut dent poſteritati de locorum ſplendore fulgorem* (2). I believe there is another Cauſe, which contributes yet more to it; I mean the number of the Places, which contend for the Honour of producing famous Perſons. They take the Advantage of the uncertainty of the Fact, and, hoping never to be effectually diſproved, They vainly, and without any grounds, report, that They are born in ſuch and ſuch a Place. From hence came the Diſputes about *Homer*'s Country. I grant, with *Vopiſcus, that our principal Inquiry into the Characters of great Princes, is not to know where they were born, but how they have governed: Nec tamen magnorum principum virtutibus ſumma ſciendi eſt, ubi quiſque ſit genitus, ſed qualis in republ. fuerit.* Nevertheleſs, as we are naturally very inquiſitive to know the time and place of the Birth of Great Men, I think an Hiſtorian is obliged to make all poſſible inquiry to ſatisfy his Readers in This Point; and that they have a right to complain of the Negligence of a great number of Writers, who have been wanting in this Particular (3).

[*B*] *He obſerved Diſcipline exactly, and cauſed others to obſerve it, with the utmoſt Severity.*] We may add, that he had the good Fortune to ſee, that This Severity did not make the Soldiers mutinous, but only fearful of neglecting their Duty. Without doubt it was good Fortune; for ſometimes Generals have as much reaſon to fear the Conſequences of too great a Severity, as thoſe of too great Lenity. *Aurelian* found it very right, to puniſh rigorouſly, and without remiſſion. “ Militibus ita timori fuit, ut “ ſub eo poſteaquam ſemel cum ingenti ſeveritate “ caſtrenſia peccata correxit, nemo peccaverit. Solus denique omnium militem, qui adulterium cum “ hoſpitis uxore commiſerat, ita punivit, ut duarum “ arborum capita inflecteret, & ad pedes militis deligaret, eademque ſubito dimitteret, ut ſciſſus ille “ utrinque penderet. Quæ res ingentem timorem “ omnibus fecit (4). —— *He was ſo much feared by* “ *the Soldiers, that, whoſoever of them once felt the* “ *great Severity of his Correction, for breach of Orders, never offended again. He was, in ſhort, the* “ *only Commander, who ever puniſhed ſo terribly the* “ *Crime of Adultery, committed, by a Soldier, with* “ *the Wife of the Perſon, upon whom he was quartered:* “ *The Tops of two Trees were bent down to each* “ *other by Violence, and, being faſtened to the Feet of* “ *the Criminal, were let go again, and ſo tore him* “ *in halves. This ſtruck them all with very great* “ *Terror.*” You ſee, by this Quotation, he uſed the ſame ſort of Puniſhment in the Caſe of a Soldier's committing Adultery with the Wife of his Hoſt, that *Alexander* inflicted on the Traitor *Beſſus*, who killed King *Darius*. Nothing can be finer, than *Aurelian*'s Orders, concerning the Soldiers Duty. St *John Baptiſt* could not have laid them under a greater Number of Reſtrictions, had he been ever ſo particular (5). *Aurelian* would not ſuffer them to touch any Fruit, nor to take of the People any Salt, Wood, or Oil, nor to tranſgreſs the Rules of Chaſtity. Would not one think, that he had a Deſign to introduce the Monaſtic Diſcipline into the Army? “ *Hujus epiſtola* “ *militaris eſt ad vicarium ſuum data hujuſmodi:* Si “ vis tribunus eſſe, imò ſi vis vivere, manus militum “ contine. Nemo pullum alienum rapiat, ovem nemo contingat, Uvam nullus auferat, ſegetem nemo deterat: oleum, ſal, lignum, nemo exigat: “ annona ſua contentus ſit. De præda hoſtis, non “ de lacrymis provincialium, habeat: arma terſa ſint: “ ferramenta ſamiata —— alter alteri quaſi ſervus obſequatur: à medicis gratis curentur; aruſpicibus “ nihil dent: in hoſpitiis caſte agant; qui litem feceret, vapulet (6). —— He wrote thus to his “ Lieutenant. *If you would continue your command,* “ *or even your Life, keep ſtrict Diſcipline among the* “ *Soldiers. Let not one of them ſteal a Chicken, touch* “ *an Egg, pluck a Grape, or damage the ſtanding* “ *Corn; or make any Exactions of Oil, Salt, or Wood,* “ *but make every man content himſelf with his Allowance. Reward them by the Spoil of our Enemies,* “ *but not by the Tears of our Friends and Subjects: Let their Arms be clean; their Swords and* “ *Spears ſharp;* —— *let them ſerve one another; let* “ *the Phyſicians attend the ſick and wounded, gratis;* “ *let the Prieſts take nothing of them for their Sacrifices; let them live chaſtly in their Quarters; and* “ *let Him, who breeds Quarrels, run the Gantlope.*” He was ſo rigid, that the Emperor *Valerian*, who had a ſingular Eſteem for him, durſt not put his Son under his Direction, for fear That young Prince, who was inclined to be wild, ſhould too far experience the Auſterity of ſuch a Maſter: For which reaſon, he choſe for him a more gentle Governor. Read the Anſwer he gave to the Conſul *Antoninus Gallus*, who would have That Office conferred on *Aurelian*: “ Culpas me familiaribus literis quod Poſthumio filium meum Gallienum magis quam Aureliano commiſerim: quum utique & ſeveriori & puer credendus fuerit & exercitus: nec tu id diutius judicabis, “ ſi bene ſcieris quantæ ſit Aurelianus ſeveritatis. “ Nimius eſt, multus eſt, gravis eſt, & ad noſtra jam “ non facit tempora. Teſtor autem omnes deos, “ me etiam timuiſſe nequid etiam erga filium meum ſeverius, ſiquid ille feciſſet, ut eſt natura pronus ad ludicra, ſævius cogitaret. *Hæc epiſtola indicat quantæ fuerit ſeveritatis, ut illum Valerianus* “ *etiam timuiſſe ſe dicat* (7). —— *You blame me, in* “ *your Letters, for chuſing to put my Son* Gallienus “ *under* Poſthumius, *rather than under* Aurelian; “ *when the Youth, as well as the Army, requires* “ *his Severity of Diſcipline; but you would be no* “ *longer of This Opinion, if you knew but* Aurelian'*s* “ *extreme Rigour. His Puniſhments are too frequent,* “ *too great, and heavy, and no way proportioned to* “ *the Uſage of theſe Times. And I call the Gods to* “ *witneſs, I am afraid he ſhould execute ſome dreadful Sentence, even upon my Son, if he ſhould miſbehave, as he is naturally idle.* This Epiſtle “ ſhews he was ſo extremely ſevere, that *Valerian* “ himſelf was even afraid of him.” We muſt not forget *Aurelian*'s Strictneſs to his Domeſtics. “ *He* “ *cauſed thoſe, who had neglected their Duty, to be* “ *whipt in his Preſence; and he delivered up ſeveral* “ *of his own Servants to public Juſtice, to have them* “ *puniſhed for their Faults. He cauſed one of his* “ *Maid Servants to be put to Death, for committing* “ *Adultery with one of his Lacqueys.* —— Servos & “ miniſtros peccantes coram ſe cædi jubebat, ut plerique dicunt, cauſa tenendæ ſeveritatis: ut alii, “ ſtudio crudelitatis. Ancillam ſuam, quæ adulterium “ cum ſervo ſuo fecerat, capite punivit. Multos “ ſervos è familia propria, qui peccaverant, legibus audiendos judiciis publicis dedit (8).” *Moſt aſcribe all this to his ſtrict Method of Diſcipline; but ſome, to the natural Cruelty of his Temper. Valerian* was in the right to ſay, that ſuch a Man was too ſevere for the Age he lived in. *Ad noſtra jam non facit Tempora!*

(a) *The Emperor* Claudius, *writing to him, calls him only* Valerius Aurelianus. Vopiſcus *in* Aurel. cap. 17.

(b) Id. ibid. cap. 14.

(c) Id. cap. 46.

(d) Id. c. 4.

(e) Id. c. 6.

(1) Ortus, ut plures loquuntur, Sirmii, familia obſcuriore; ut nonnulli Dacia Ripenſi. Ego autem legiſſe memini auctorem qui eum Mœſi genitum prædicaret. *Moſt ſay he was born at* Sirmium, *of an obſcure Family; ſome in* Dacia Ripenſis. *And I remember to have read an Author, who declares, he was born in* Mœſia. Vopiſcus in Aurel. c. 3.

(2) Id. ib.

(3) *See Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* ROTTERDAM.

(4) Vopiſc. in Aurel. cap. 7. pag. 434.

(5) Luke iii. 14.

(6) Vopiſc. in Aurel. cap. 7. pag. 434.

(7) Id. ib. cap. 8, pag. 439, 440.

(8) Id. ib. cap. 49, pag. 585.

Offices, which were conferred upon him [*C*]. He had ſo ſtrong an Inclination to draw his Sword, that the Soldiers gave him the Sirname of *Sword in hand*, to diſtinguiſh him from a Captain of the ſame Name [*D*]. He made ſuch a Slaughter in Combats, that he killed Forty eight *Sarmatians* in one day; and the number *Thouſand* was made uſe of to count the mortal Blows, which he had given the Enemy (*f*). This became the Subject of Songs and Ballads (*g*); he received from theſe the ſame Honours, as the firſt King of the *Jews* (*h*), and deſerved it much better: For it was not pretended, that *Saul* killed, with his own hand, the Thouſand Enemies, whoſe Slaughter was aſcribed to him in the Songs; but This was literally underſtood of *Aurelian*. He was adopted by *Ulpius Crinitus*, one of the greateſt Men of thoſe Times (*i*): The Emperor *Valerian*, who managed That Affair (*k*), made him Lieutenant to the ſame *Crinitus* (*l*), who was General of the Frontiers of *Illyricum* and *Thracia* (*m*), and appointed him Conſul in the Year 258. Theſe Rewards, and ſome others, were rendred yet infinitely more agreeable, by the Encomiums and particular Marks of Eſteem, with which the Emperor conferred them [*E*]. We

pora (9)! He was only fit for the Sect of the Montaniſts. The Chriſtians of the ſucceeding Ages would have found him too rigorous; and how many Caſuiſts, at this Day, would ſay of his Morals, as they do of Thoſe of the Fathers, that they are too ſtrict, and that This bitter and rough Phyſic does not agree with our Sick? What military Men, or even grave Citizens, think it worth while to puniſh the Familiarities of their Men and Maids? The general Puniſhment, for their Faults of this Nature, is to turn them away. Nay, ſometimes Maſters are ſo kind, as to marry them to each other. Obſerve, that Hiſtory mentions but one of *Aurelian*'s Servants, who was puniſhed for her Laſciviouſneſs. It is a ſign, that ſuch Tranſgreſſions were very rare in his Family, which is a Matter of wonder, conſidering what we ſee every Day, and that a General, or an Emperor, muſt neceſſarily have a great many Slaves of both Sexes.

[*C*] *He continued poor, amidſt the very great Number of Offices, which were conferred upon him* (10).] The Emperor, his Maſter, teſtified This Virtue, when he charged the Public with the Expence, which the Conſulate, he promiſed *Aurelian*, would require. “ Conſulatum cum eodem Ulpio Crinito in annum “ ſequentem à die undecimo Calend. Juniarum, in “ locum Gallieni & Valeriani, ſperare te convenit “ ſumptu publico. Levanda eſt enim paupertas eo- “ rum hominum, qui diu reipublicæ viventes, pau- “ peres ſunt, & nullorum magis (11). — *You may ex-* “ *pect the Conſulſhip, together with* Ulpius Crinitus, “ *for the next Year, from the XI of the Cal. of* June, “ *in the Room of* Gallienus *and* Valerianus, *and that* “ *your Expences ſhall be born by the Public. For no* “ *ſort of Poor deſerve That Regard ſo much, as Thoſe,* “ *who have long ſerved the Public, and yet are poor.*” The Hiſtorian, who furniſhes this Paſſage, produces the Letter, which the Emperor wrote to the Prefect of *Rome*, to ſignify to him his Pleaſure, as to what ſhould be given to the new Conſul. “ Aureliano, cui con- “ ſulatum detulimus ob PAUPERTATEM, qua ille “ magnus eſt cæteris major, dabis ad editionem Cir- “ cenſium aureos Antonianos trecentos, *&c.* (12). — “ *To* Aurelian, *whom we have made Conſul on ac-* “ *count of his* POVERTY, *which makes That great* “ *Man ſtill greater, you are to preſent Three hundred* “ *pieces of Gold, of* Antoninus'*s Coin, for his Ex-* “ *pence in exhibiting the* Circenſian *Shows.*” Some have ſaid, that “ *the Poverty of* Aurelian *obliged* Va- “ lerian *to order* Ulpius Crinitus *to adopt him.* —— “ Memini me in quodam libro Græco legiſſe — Man- “ datum eſſe Crinito à Valeriano, ut Aurelianus adop- “ taretur, idcirco præcipue quod pauper eſſet (13).” It is remarkable, that, when he was Emperor, he uſed a great deal of Moderation in doing good to his Friends: Perhaps, from his long Habit of contemning Wealth, and the Opinion he had, that moderate Riches were ſufficient for a great Man: Perhaps, alſo, becauſe he would not irritate the People by exceſſive Profuſions; for Subjects are not pleaſed to ſee their Prince beſtow his Treaſures and Favours on his Friends, in an extravagant manner. *Vopiſcus* tells us, That “ *this Emperor choſe to obſerve a Me-* “ *dium, which ſhould take away the Inconveniencies* “ *of Poverty, without ſubſtituting Thoſe of Envy.* —— “ Amicos ſuos honeſte ditavit & modice, ut miſerias “ paupertatis effugerent, & divitiarum invidiam pa- “ trimonii moderatione vitarent (14).” He adds, That “ *he would not ſuffer any Perſon to wear Silk* “ *Cloaths, of which he gave them an Example, and* “ *ſubjected his own Wife to This Law; for, when* “ *ſhe deſired, at leaſt, one Silk Suit, he anſwered* “ *her,* God forbid, that Thread ſhould coſt as much “ as Gold. *For, at that time, a Pound of Silk was* “ *worth a Pound of Gold.* —— Veſtem holoſericam “ neque ipſe in veſtiario ſuo habuit, neque alteri “ utendam dedit. Et quum ab eo uxor ſua peteret, “ ut unico pallio blatteo ſerico uteretur, ille reſpon- “ dit, *Abſit ut auro fila penſentur:* libra enim auri “ tunc libra ſerici fuit (15).” See Mr *de Tillemont*, who has obſerved the little Agreement between This Fact, and certain things reported by the ſame Hiſtorian, or others, concerning This Emperor's Luxury (16). But we muſt not forget, that the Cloaths of his Domeſtics were no richer, after his Advancement to the Throne, than before (17); and that he granted the Senators the Liberty of wearing the ſame Habit with himſelf (18).

[*D*] *The Soldiers gave him the Sirname of* Sword in Hand, *to diſtinguiſh him from a Captain of the ſame Name.*] What a proper Diſtinction is This to flatter the Pride of a brave Warriour? I ſhall relate the Words of *Vopiſcus*: “ Gladii exerendi cupidus. “ Nam quum eſſent in exercitu duo Aureliani tri- “ buni, hic, & alius qui cum Valeriano captus eſt, “ huic ſignum exercitus appoſuerat *manus ad ferrum*, “ ut ſi forte quæreretur quis Aurelianus aliquid vel “ feciſſet vel geſſiſſet, ſuggereretur, *Aurelianus manu* “ *ad ferrum*, atque cognoſceretur (19). —— *Re-* “ *markably fond of drawing his Sword. For there* “ *being in the Army two Tribunes, both named* Aure- “ lian, *this, and another, who was taken Priſoner* “ *with* Valerian, *the Soldiers called him* Sword in “ Hand, *by way of Diſtinction; ſo that, when it was* “ *asked, which* Aurelian *had done any thing, the An-* “ *ſwer, which meant him was,* Aurelian Sword in “ Hand.”

[*E*] *The Emperor conferred them with Encomiums, and particular Marks of Eſteem.*] I am going to relate them; for they contain the conſiderable Services, which *Aurelian* had done to the Empire. “ Valeria- “ nus Auguſtus Ceionio Albino præfecto urbi. Vel- “ lemus quidem ſingulis quibuſque devotiſſimis Reipub. “ viris multo majora deferre compendia, quam eo- “ rum dignitas poſtulat, maxime ubi honorem vita “ commendat. Debet enim quid præter dignitatem “ pretium eſſe meritorum. Sed facit rigor publicus, “ ut accipere de provinciarum oblationibus ultra “ ordinis ſui gradum nemo plus poſſit. Aurelianum “ fortiſſimum virum ad inſpicienda & ordinanda ca- “ ſtra omnia deſtinavimus: cui tantum à nobis at- “ que ab omni Republicâ, communi totius exercitus “ confeſſione, debetur, ut digna illi vix aliqua vel “ nimis magna ſunt munera. Quid enim in illo non “ clarum? quid non Corvinis & Scipionibus confe- “ rendum? Ille Liberator Illyrici, ille Galliarum Re- “ ſtitutor, ille dux magni totius exempli. Et tamen “ nihil præterea poſſum addere tanto viro ad mu- “ neris gratiam quam patitur ſobria & bene gerenda “ Reſpub. Quare ſinceritas tua, mi parens chariſſi- “ me, ſupradicto viro efficiet, quandiu Romæ ſue- “ rit, panes militares mundos ſedecim, *&c.* (20). —— “ Valerianus Cæſar, *to* Ceionius Albinus, *Prefect* “ *of the City. It is our Deſire to diſtinguiſh thoſe,*

(*f*) Vopiſc. ibid. cap 6.

(*g*) Id. ib. & cap. 7.

(*h*) 1 Sam. xviii. 7.

(*i*) Vopiſc. in Aurel. cap. 14.

(*k*) Id. ib. cap. 15.

(*l*) Ibid. cap. 10.

(*m*) Ib. cap. 13.

(9) Id. ib. cap. 8, pag. 439.

(10) *See the Liſt of them in* Vopiſcus, cap. 10.

(11) Id. ib. c. 2, pag. 445.

(12) Ibid. cap. 12.

(13) Ibid. cap. 15.

(14) Ibid. cap. 45. pag. 539.

(15) Id. ib. pag. 540.

(16) Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 3. p. 1074, 1075.

(17) Vopiſc. in Aurel. cap. 1.

(18) Ibid. cap. 49.

(19) Id. ib. cap. 6, pag. 426.

(20) Id. ib. c. 9, p. 440.

We do not find, that *Aurelian* made any Figure under the Emperor *Gallienus*; but, under *Claudius*, he held the principal Poſts, and commanded the Army with ſo much Glory, that, after the Death of That Emperor, all the Legions concurred to ſet him on the Throne (*n*). This happened in the Year 270. A little while after, he came to *Rome*, and, after eſtabliſhing his Authority, he marched towards *Pannonia*, where the *Goths* had made an Irruption (*o*). He gave them Battle, and obliged them to repaſs the *Danube*, and to deſire a Peace. After this, being informed, that the *Marcomans*, the *Juthungi* (*p*), and ſome other Nations, had reſolved to carry the War into *Italy*, he marched againſt them, and overthrew them in a general Engagement, near the *Danube*. He killed many of them, as they repaſſed That River, and hindred the reſt from returning into their Country, by ſhutting them up in the *Roman* Dominions. The want of Proviſions, and many other Inconveniencies, which obliged them to deſire a Peace of him, did not inſpire them with ſuch a Submiſſion, as he expected. Their Deputies aſſumed ſo high an Air, that he diſmiſſed them very haughtily; for, imagining he had cut off the Retreat of their Army, he concluded they could not eſcape him. But he was miſtaken: The Enemy diſengaged themſelves, and, marching before him, entered into *Italy*, where they made great Ravages round about *Milan*. He could not follow them with Speed enough; for his Army was heavier than theirs. They defeated him by Surprize near *Placentia* (*q*), and, if they had underſtood the Military Art, as well as he, they might have ruined the Empire after ſuch a Victory; but, as they knew not how to make uſe of their Advantage, and did not march cloſe, he defeated them in ſeveral Rencounters, and reduced them to nothing (*r*). During This War, the Books of the *Sibyls* were conſulted at *Rome*: I ſhall mention ſome Circumſtances of it, which ſhew the Religion of *Aurelian*, and the Irreligion of his Flatterers [*F*]. It is likely he purſued the Enemy as far as *Germany*, where he was obliged to ſtop ſome time to repulſe the *Vandals*, who had paſſed the *Danube*. He defeated them, and forced them to beg a Peace, which he was very willing to grant them (*s*). He returned to *Rome* full of Reſentment, for the Seditions, which had been raiſed there, and puniſhed them with extreme Cruelty (*t*). This was his predominant Vice; and it was for the ſake of this, that many have refuſed to rank him

(*n*) Ibid. cap. 17.

(*o*) Zoſimus, lib. I. p. 654, 655.

(*p*) *They were the neareſt Neighbours to* Rhetia, *and to* Italy.

(*q*) Vopiſc. in Aurel. cap. 21.

(*r*) *Taken out of Mr* de Tillemont's Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 3. pag. 1030, & ſeq. *He quotes* Dexippus *chiefly. See alſo his Notes.*

(*s*) Tillemont, ibid.

(*t*) *See Remark* [*H*].

who have deſerved well of the Commonwealth, with greater Rewards, than are ſuitable to their Rank, eſpecially where their whole Life will juſtify their Diſtinction. For, beſides what is due to their Station, there is alſo ſomething due to their extraordinary Merit. But the public Exactneſs requires, that none ſhould receive, out of the Revenues of the Provinces, any more than is allotted to the Degree of his Dignity. We have appointed That brave Man, Aurelian, *to inſpect and direct our Incampments, to whom both we, and the Commonwealth, are ſo greatly indebted, that no Rewards can be thought too great, or even worthy, of him. What has he not performed! What could the* Corvini *and* Scipio's *have done more! He is the Protector of* Illyricum, *the Reſtorer of the* Gallia's, *a General, great in every Action. And yet we can aſſign to ſo extraordinary a Man no other publick Reward, than the frugal and regular Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth allows. Be it your Care, therefore, my beloved Couſin, to furniſh him, during his ſtay at* Rome, *with ſixteen fine military Loaves,* &c." *Valerian* wrote thus to the Prefect of *Rome*; and here follows part of his Letter to *Aurelian*: "Ego de te tantum, Deo favente, ſpero quantum de Trajano, ſi viveret, poſſet ſperare Reſpub. Neque enim minor eſt (21), in cujus locum fidemque te legi. Conſultatum cum eodem Ulpio Crinito in annum ſequentem à die undecimo Calend. Juniarum, in locum Gallieni & Valeriani, ſperare te convenit ſumptu publico. —— *I hope for as great things from you, under the Favour of Heaven, as the Commonwealth might have expected from* Trajan, *had he lived. Nor is He an unfit Match for you, to whom, both in Office and Friendſhip, I have deſigned you for a Partner. You may expect, therefore, the Conſulſhip, together with* Ulpius Crinitus, *for the next Year, from the XI of the Cal. of* June, *and your Charges ſhall be born by the Public.*" Here is alſo the Speech, which *Valerian* made to him, in the Preſence of the Army, and the Court: "Gratias tibi agit, Aureliane, Reſp. quod eam Gotthorum poteſtate liberaſti. Abundamus per te præda, abundamus gloria, & his omnibus quibus Romana felicitas creſcit. Cape igitur tibi pro rebus geſtis tuis coronas murales quatuor, coronas vallares quinque, coronas navales duas, coronas civicas duas, haſtas puras decem, vexilla bicolora quatuor, tunicas ducales ruſſas quatuor, pallia proconſularia duo, togam prætextam, tunicam palmatam, togam pictam, ſubarmalem profundum, ſellam eboratam. Nam te conſulem hodie deſigno, ſcripturus ad ſenatum, ut tibi deputet ſcipionem, deputet etiam faſces. Hæc enim imperator non ſolet dare, ſed à ſenatu, quando fit conſul, accipere (22). —— *The Commonwealth returns you thanks,* Aurelian, *for freeing her from the Inſults of the* Goths. *By your Victories we abound in Spoil, we abound in Glory, and in every thing elſe, which can contribute to the Proſperity of* Rome. *Accept, therefore, for your great Services, four Mural Crowns, five Rampire Crowns, two Naval Crowns, two Civic Crowns, ten poliſh'd Spears, four Standards of two Colours, four military Buff Suits, two Proconſular Cloaks, and the Robe of State, the Robe embroidered with Palms, the rich Triumphal Robe, a Suit to wear under Armour, and the Ivory Chair. For I this Day appoint you Conſul, and will write to the Senate to ſend you the Staff and* Faſces, *the* Inſignia *of your Office; which are never given by the Emperor, but always by the Senate, to the new Magiſtrate.*"

The firſt, of theſe three Paſſages of *Vopiſcus*, contains one thing well worth Obſervation, and which does not at all agree with our common Notions of the Diſorders of the Empire. We fancy, that, after the Soldiers took upon them to create, and kill, their Emperors, there was nothing but Opreſſion, and Tyranny, in the *Roman* Provinces. This was not always true; we ſee here, that *Valerian* managed the public Expences, in Eaſe to the Provinces, with more Precaution, than is this Day uſed in Chriſtian Kingdoms.

[*F*] *Some Circumſtances, which ſhew the Religion of* Aurelian, *and the Irreligion of his Fatterers.*] The Conſternation was very great in *Rome*, upon hearing, that the *Marcomans* were entered into *Italy*, and made great Ravages there (23). Some Seditions followed upon it, which made *Ulpius Syllanus*, Chief of the Senate, propoſe to conſult the Books of the *Sibyls*; but ſome Senators oppoſed it, alledging, that, under ſo brave a Prince as *Aurelian*, there was no occaſion to inform themſelves of the Will of the Gods. This Difference of Opinions cauſing the Conſultation of thoſe Writings to be deferred, it became neceſſary for *Aurelian* to interpoſe. He wrote, therefore,

(21) Caſaubon *will have it read* es, *that is to ſay, that* Valerian *believed, that* Aurelian *equalled* Crinitus. *This ſeems to be the true Senſe.*

(22) Idem Vopiſcus, cap. 13, p. 449, 450.

(23) Idem, cap. 18.

him among good Princes; and, according to the Saying of *Diocleſian*, he was much fitter to command an Army, than to be an Emperor [*G*]. However, we muſt take notice, that his ſanguinary Diſpoſition did not hinder him from being beloved by the People: His Liberality, and the care he took to maintain Plenty, and to puniſh Miſdemeanors, cauſed his Cruelty to be forgot [*H*]. Having puniſhed the Seditious, and

therefore, to the Senators, that “ *he wondered they* “ *ſhould heſitate about a Matter of That Nature, juſt* “ *as if they were deliberating in a Chriſtian Church,* “ *and not in the Temple of all the Gods.* - - - - Mir- “ ror vos, patres ſancti, tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyl- “ linis dubitaſſe libris, perinde quaſi in Chriſtiano- “ rum Eccleſiâ, non in templo deorum omnium, “ tractaretis (24).” He preſſed it very earneſtly; he promiſed to defray the neceſſary Expences, and for that purpoſe ſent orders to his Treaſurer; “ *for,* “ added he, *it is no Diſgrace to conquer by the Divine* “ *Aſſiſtance: it was thus our Anceſtors began and ended* “ *ſeveral of their Wars.* Neque enim indecorum “ eſt diis juvantibus vincere: ſic apud majores no- “ ſtros multa finita ſunt bella, ſic cœpta (25).” So that *Syllanus* had reaſon to ſay to *Aurelian*'s Flatterers, that This great Man both honoured and truſted in the Gods, and that their Aſſiſtance never diſgraced brave Men. “ Meminiſtis P. C. me in hoc ordine ſæpe “ dixiſſe jam tum, quum primum nuntiatum eſt “ Marcomannos erupiſſe, conſulenda Sibyllæ decre- “ ta, utendum Apollinis beneficiis, inſerviendum “ deorum immortalium præceptis: recuſaſſe vero “ quoſdam, & cum ingenti calumnia recuſaſſe, quum “ adulando dicerent, tantam principis eſſe virtutem, “ ut opus non ſit deos conſuli, proinde quaſi & ipſe “ vir magnus non deos colat, non de diis immortali- “ bus ſperet. Quid plura? audivimus literas quibus, “ rogavit opem deorum, quæ nunquam cuiquam “ turpis eſt ut vir fortiſſimus adjuvetur (26). —— “ *Venerable Fathers, You have often heard me, in this* “ *Place, on the firſt News of the Invaſion of the* “ Marcomans, *give my Opinion for conſulting the* “ Sybilline *Oracles, for making uſe of Thoſe Favours* “ *of* Apollo, *and for attending to the Will of the im-* “ *mortal Gods. This ſome Perſons oppoſed, and with* “ *great Abuſe oppoſed; inſiſting, with their Flattery,* “ *that ſuch was the Virtue of our Prince, as made* “ *all Application to the Gods unneceſſary. As if this* “ *great Prince himſelf did not worſhip, and truſt in,* “ *the immortal Gods. Why ſhould I ſay more? we* “ *have heard his own Letters, wherein he deſires* “ *their Aſſiſtance, which the braveſt of Men need* “ *never be aſhamed of.*” After receiving *Aurelian*'s Letter, there was no farther delay; the Senate cauſed the Books of the *Sibyls* to be conſulted, which occaſioned a long Train of Devotions (27). Obſerve, by the way, how much the Maxim of *Ajax* is eſteemed by ſome Perſons (28). We have Flatterers here, who imagine we never need have recourſe to the Aſſiſtance of Heaven, but when we diſtruſt the Valour and Prudence of the Princes of this World. I ſhall add here two Proofs, that *Aurelian* was not of this Opinion: “ Credo adjuturos Rom. Remp. Deos “ qui nunquam noſtris conatibus defuerunt (29). — “ *I truſt the Comwonwealth will be aſſiſted by the* “ *Gods, who have never once failed to proſper our* “ *Arms.*” This he wrote, when he found himſelf perplexed by the long Reſiſtance of *Zenobia*. He acknowledged, in another Letter, that his Victories were a Preſent from the Gods. “ Unde apparet “ nullam mihi à Diis immortalibus datam ſine diffi- “ cultate victoriam (30). — *From whence it appears,* “ *that the Gods have given me no Victory, without* “ *Trouble.*” It is true, he added, that theſe Preſents were always attended with a thouſand Difficulties. It is the Fate of all things: it is not Virtue alone, which muſt be acquired by the Sweat of our Brows; it holds equally true of all other good things. *Sic diis placitum. — Such is the Will of Heaven.*

Τῆς δ' αρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
Ἀθάνατοι, μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτὴν,
Καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον (31).

Cloſely the Gods their fav'rite Virtue keep,
Nor make her known to Men on Terms too cheap.
Long is the Paſſage to her bleſt Abode,
Strait and diſcouraging at firſt the Road.
Barr'd are all Paſſes, all Acceſs denied,
To thoſe, who take not Labour *for their* Guide.

In this ſenſe, there are no Free-Gifts; and we muſt confeſs, that this Will of Heaven is founded in Goodneſs; for our Joy in acquiring any good Thing is heightened by the Pains it coſt us.

[*G*] *His Cruelty hindered many from ranking him among good Princes; and, according to the Saying of* Diocleſian, *he was much fitter to command an Army, than to be an Emperor.*] *Vopiſcus* will inform us of theſe Particulars: “ Et Aurelianum quidem, *ſays he* “ (32), multi neque inter bonos, neque inter ma- “ los, principes ponunt, idcirco quod ei clementia, “ imperatorum dos prima, defuerit. Verconius “ Herennianus præfectus prætorio Diocleſiani, teſte “ Aſclepiodoto, ſæpe dicebat, Diocleſianum fre- “ quenter dixiſſe, quum Maximiani aſperitatem re- “ reprehenderet, Aurelianum magis ducem eſſe de- “ buiſſe quam principem. Nam ejus nimia ferocitas “ eidem diſplicebat. —— *There are many, who will* “ *not allow* Aurelian *to be ranked either among good* “ *or bad Princes. They deny him the firſt, for his* “ *Want of Clemency, That principal Jewel in a* “ *Crown.* Verconius Herennianus, *Commander of* “ *the Guard to* Diocleſian, *as* Aſclepiodotus *relates,* “ *often affirmed it to be a frequent Saying of* Diocle- “ ſian, *when he reproved* Maximinian *for his Rough-* “ *neſs, that* Aurelian *was cut out for a General,* “ *but not for a Prince. For he did not like his too* “ *great Auſterity.*” Theſe words of *Diocleſian* were the words of a good Judge; for he uſed to ſay, That there is nothing more difficult, than to reign well (33), and he perfectly underſtood the Reaſons of This Difficulty. You will find them in *Vopiſcus* (34); an Author, who obſerves, that, in ſo great a number of *Roman* Emperors, there were reckoned but very few good ones (35); and who commends the Jeſt of a Buffoon, *That all the good Princes may be painted on a Ring.* “ Vides quæſo quam pauci ſint “ principes boni, ut bene dictum ſit a quodam mi- “ mico ſcurra Claudii, hujus temporibus, *In uno* “ *annulo bonos principes poſſe perſcribi atque depingi* “ (36).”

[*H*] *His Liberality, and the Care he took to maintain Plenty —— cauſed his Cruelty to be forgot.*] The manner, in which he puniſhed the Seditions, which were raiſed in *Rome*, during his Abſence, ſo much exceeded the bounds of a juſt and neceſſary Severity, that it tarniſhed his Reputation, and rendered him very odious: “ Magnum illud, & quod jam “ fuerat, & quod non fruſtra ſperatum eſt, infamiæ “ triſtioris ictu contaminavit imperium. Timeri cœ- “ pit princeps optimus, non amari, quum alii dice- “ rent, perfodiendum talem principem, non optan- “ dum; alii bonum quidem medicum, ſed mala ra- “ tione curantem (37). —— *He ſtained the Glory of* “ *This great Reign, both what it had already gained,* “ *and was ſtill like to gain, by one ſad Blot of Cruel-* “ *ty. This excellent Prince began to be dreaded, in-* “ *ſtead of beloved; and ſome ſaid, ſuch a Governour* “ *was not to be endured, much leſs deſired; others,* “ *that he was a good Phyſician, but practiſed too rough* “ *a Method of Cure.*” The People did not long continue This Hatred: they were ſoon mollified by the Diſtributions of Bread, Fleſh (38), and Oil (39), and ſuch other Kindneſſes, which they enjoyed under His Government. They were ſtill ſuch, as in the time of *Juvenal*, and formed no other deſires, beyond Thoſe of Bread, and public Shows: Nothing could be more gay, than They were, provided they had their Bellies full.

—— jampridem ex quo ſuffragia nulli
Vendimus, effugit curas. Nam qui dabat olim
Imperium, faſces, legiones, omnia, nunc ſe

Continet,

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(24) Idem, cap. 20, pag. 463.

(25) Idem, cap. 20. pag. 464.

(26) Idem, cap. 19. pag. 459, 460.

(27) Idem, cap. 20.

(28) *See Remark* [*E*] *of the Article* AJAX *the Son of* Telamon.

(29) Vopiſc. cap. 16.

(30) Idem, cap. 38.

(31) Heſiod. Opera & Dies, ver. 287.

(32) Vopiſc. cap. 44, pag. 532, 533.

(33) Id. ib. cap. 43.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Idem, cap. 42.

(36) Id. ib. pag. 529.

(37) Idem, cap. 21, pag. 467.

(38) Idem, cap. 35.

(39) Idem, cap. 48.

and compoſed all Diſorders at *Rome* (*u*), he undertook an Expedition into the *Eaſt* againſt *Zenobia* (*x*). He preſently ended This War by taking That brave Princeſs. I ſay, he ended it preſently, though he found, by the way, many Enemies to give Battle to, and many ſtrong Places to reduce. We have ſeen, elſewhere (*y*), what hindred him from ruining *Tyana*. He expoſed himſelf ſo much, when he beſieged *Zenobia*, in the City of *Palmyra*, that he received a Wound from an Arrow (*z*). He defeated the *Perſians*, who came to the Aſſiſtance of the Beſieged; and acquired ſuch a Reputation by the Conqueſt of all *Zenobia*'s Dominions, as cannot be expreſſed (*aa*). In his return towards the *Weſt*, he underſtood, that the *Palmyrenians* had revolted. This News made him return into *Syria*, and he was got to *Antioch*, before they heard he was coming (*bb*). He puniſhed *Palmyra* with an exceſſive Cruelty; for he put all to the Sword (*cc*). He was yet at *Carræ* in *Meſopotamia*, when he was informed of the Revolt of the *Egyptians:* He marched againſt them with his uſual Succeſs and Expedition; he defeated their Leader, took, and put him to Death, and ſo ſubdued *Egypt* in a very little time (*dd*). His deſire of re-uniting the *Gauls*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which had been uſurped by *Tetricus*, made him return into the *Weſt*. He gained a Victory near *Chalons* on the *Marne*, which decided the matter; the rather, becauſe *Tetricus* ſurrendred himſelf during the Battle (*ee*). He returned to *Rome*, and triumphed over *Zenobia* and *Tetricus* with an extraordinary Pomp (*ff*). He repaſſed into *Gaul*, and, being informed, that the Barbarians were entred into the Country of the *Vindelici* (*gg*), he marched thither immediately, and diſlodged them. From thence he paſſed into *Illyricum*; and, judging, that there was no poſſibility of preſerving *Dacia*, which *Trajan* had made a Province of, beyond the *Danube*, and which had been loſt under *Gallienus*, he withdrew from thence the Troops and the Inhabitants, and ſettled the latter in part of *Mœſia* and *Dardania*, which he converted into a new Province (*hh*). He had a fine Army in *Thracia*, which he deſigned to lead, after the Winter, againſt the *Perſians*, when he was killed by one of his Generals (*ii*). This happened in the Month of *January*, 275. We know the great Actions of his Life only in general; but, if we knew the Particulars of them from ſuch exact Deſcriptions as are now uſed in relating Battles, and Conqueſts, we ſhould admire him beyond expreſſion,

Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem, & Circenſes (40).

Now, free from Care, Thoſe Slaves the People live,
No longer plagued with Votes to ſell, or give.
That mighty People, whom the World obey'd,
Whoſe Voices, Conſuls, Armies, Emp'rors made;
Now Liberty's no more, are ſunk ſo low,
Their whole Ambition asks but Bread and Show.

It was by theſe means, This Emperor made himſelf beloved by the Multitude. Read the Letter, which he wrote to the Overſeer of the Proviſions: “ Aurelianus Auguſtus Flavio Arabiano præfecto annonæ.
“ Inter cœtera, quibus diis faventibus Romanam
“ Rempub. juvimus, nihil mihi eſt magnificentius
“ quam quod additamento unciæ omne annonarum
“ urbicarum genus juvi: quod ut eſſet perpetuum,
“ navicularios Niliacos apud Ægyptum novos, &
“ Romæ amnicos poſui. Tiberinas extruxi ripas:
“ vadum alvei tumentis effodi, diis & perennitati
“ vota conſtitui, almam Cererem conſecravi. Nunc
“ tuum eſt officium, Arabiane jucundiſſime, elaborare,
“ ne meæ diſpoſitiones in irritum veniant. Neque
“ enim populo Rom. ſaturo quicquam poteſt eſſe
“ lætius (41). —— Aurelianus Cæſar *to* Flavius Arabianus,
“ *Prefect of the Proviſions. Among the*
“ *Services, which by the Favour of the Gods I have*
“ *done to the Commonwealth, I eſteem none greater*
“ *than That of making an Addition of one twelfth*
“ *Part more to all the City Proviſions. Which that*
“ *I might perpetuate, I have built proper Veſſels in*
“ Egypt, *for navigating in the* Nile, *and at* Rome,
“ *for the* Tyber. *This I have alſo new embanked;*
“ *and deepened the Shallows of the ſwelling Channel.*
“ *I have performed all holy Rites to the* Gods, *to*
“ Eternity, *and to All Bountiful* Ceres. *It is now*
“ *your part, moſt agreeable* Arabianus, *to put my Deſigns*
“ *in Execution. Nor can any Thing give me ſo*
“ *much pleaſure, as to ſee the* Roman *People ſupplied*
“ *with Plenty.*” He had a deſign to ſettle a perpetual Diſtribution of Wine, and had taken meaſures for it (42). It is ſaid, that the Commander of his Guards diſſuaded him from the execution, by ſaying, that, *if Wine was given to the People, they muſt alſo have Geeſe and Fowls. Si & vinum populo Romano damus, ſupereſt ut & pullos & anſeres demus* (43). Such Largeſſes, as Theſe are ſufficient to cauſe the ſpilling of ſome Perſons Blood to be forgot. Though *Aurelian* had cauſed his Siſter's Son, or Daughter, or both, to be put to Death, for frivolous Reaſons (44); though he had raſhly inflicted capital Puniſhments (45); all this was not able to make him loſe the Affection of a People, whom he fed ſo plentifully, and cloathed ſo handſomely (46). Beſides, his Severity put a Stop to ſeveral Diſorders, which were very odious to the People. He extirpated all Informers, Extortioners, public Bloodſuckers, and ſuch ſort of Vermin. “ Quicquid
“ ſane ſcelerum fuerit, quicquid malæ conſcientiæ,
“ vel artium funeſtarum, quicquid denique factionum,
“ Aurelianus toto penitus orbe purgavit (47).
“ — Item quadruplatores ac delatores ingenti ſeveritate
“ perſequutus eſt: tabulas publicas ad privatorum
“ ſecuritatem exuri in foro Trajano ſemel juſſit.
“ Amneſtia etiam ſub eo delictorum publicorum decreta
“ eſt de exemplo Athenienſium: cujus rei etiam
“ Tullius in Philippicis meminit. Fures provinciales
“ repetundarum ac peculatus reos ultra militarem
“ modum eſt perſequutus, ut eos ingentibus ſuppliciis
“ cruciatibuſque puniret (48). — *Whatever Crimes,*
“ *whatever Iniquities, or pernicious Arts, whatever*
“ *Factions appeared, all theſe* Aurelian *totally extirpated.*
“ *— He alſo puniſhed all Informers, and*
“ *Sharers of Confiſcations, with exceeding Severity:*
“ *and once burnt all the public Accounts in* Trajan's
“ *Market-Place, for the Security of Thoſe concerned*
“ *in them. He decreed alſo a general Indemnity for*
“ *all Offences againſt the State, after the Example*
“ *of the* Athenians: *which is mentioned by* Cicero
“ *in his* Philippics. *The Robbers of the Provinces,*
“ *who were guilty of Extortion, Bribery, or Embezzling*
“ *the Public Money, he treated with more*
“ *than military Rigour, and made them undergo the*
“ *moſt cruel Tortures and Puniſhments.*” He enlarged the Circumference of *Rome*, and reſtored the ancient Bounds of the Empire (49). By this ſhow of Grandeur the People ſuffer themſelves to be decoyed. He applied himſelf to reform Abuſes; he limited the Number of Eunuchs, becauſe they were riſen to too high a Price (50). He prohibited the keeping any Concubines, who were of a free Condition (51). To conclude, it was a Pleaſure to the *Roman* People to ſee This Emperor make himſelf feared by the Senate: Perhaps That Aſſemby was grown a little too haughty; but, be it as it will, I imagine it was thought proper, that the Senators ſhould

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(*u*) Vopiſc. cap. 22.

(*x*) *In* 272.

(*y*) *In Remark* [*E*] *of the Article* APOLLONIUS *of* Tyana.

(*z*) Vopiſc. in Aurel. cap. 26.

(*aa*) *See in* Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 3. pag. 1055, *the Liſt of the Nations that ſent him Preſents. See alſo below, Citat.* (61).

(*bb*) Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 3. pag. 1056.

(*cc*) *See Remark* [*L*].

(*dd*) Vopiſc. in Aurel. cap. 32.

(*ee*) Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 3. pag. 1058, 1059.

(*ff*) *See the Deſcription of it in* Vopiſcus, c. 33, & ſeq.

(*gg*) *It is partly the Country, which is now called* Bavaria *and* Suabia.

(*hh*) *Which was alſo called* Dacia, *or* New Dacia. *See the Proofs of this in* Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 3. pag. 1067.

(*ii*) Vopiſc. in Aurel. cap. 35.

(40) Juven. Sat. 10. ver. 77.

(41) Vopiſc. cap 47, pag. 576, 577.

(42) Idem, cap. 48.

(43) Id. ib. pag. 5 8.

(44) Idem, cap. 36, & 39.

(45) *See the* Cæſars *of* Julian, *with* Mr Spanheim's *Notes* pag. 107.

(46) Vopiſc. cap. 48.

(47) Idem, cap. 47.

(48) Idem, c. 39. pag. 522, 523.

(40) Idem, cap. 39.

(50) Idem, cap. 49.

(51) Id. ib.

expreſſion, and think the Complaint of *Junius Tiberianus* extremely juſt [*I*]: For, in ſhort, *Aurelian* carried the War from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, with the ſame eaſe as we do now from *Alſatia* into *Flanders*. He was much lamented, and had moſt magnificent Monuments erected in Honour to him. They deified him [*K*], and built him a Temple. It is remarkable,

ſhould be taught how to behave, by ſuch a Maſter, as School-Boys under the Correction of a Pedagogue. *Populus autem Romanus eum amavit, Senatus & timuit* (52). *Senatus mortem ejus graviter tulit, gravius tamen Populus Romanos, qui vulgò dicebat Aurelianum pædagogum eſſe Senatorum* (53).

[*I*] *The Complaint of* Junius Tiberianus *was extreamly juſt.*] What, ſaid he, ſhall a *Therſites*, a *Sinon*, and other Monſters of Anquity, be known to us, and to our Poſterity; and ſhall they not know *Aurelian*, a moſt illuſtrious Prince, and a moſt ſevere Emperor, who reſtored the whole World to the *Roman* Name? Heaven grant this Madneſs may never happen. Hereupon he engaged *Flavius Vopiſcus* to undertake That Emperor's Hiſtory, and promiſed him all the Memoirs the Library of *Trajan* could furniſh. I ſhall relate That Hiſtorian's own Words: “ Quæſivit à me *(Junius Tiberianus)* “ quis vitam *Aureliani* in literas retuliſſet. Cui ego “ quum reſpondiſſem, neminem à me Latinorum, “ Græcorum aliquos lectitatos, dolorem gemitus ſui “ vir ſanctus per hæc verba profudit: *Ergo Ther-* “ *ſitem, Sinonem, cæteraque illa prodigia vetuſtatis,* “ *& nos bene ſcimus, & poſteri frequentabunt: di-* “ *vum Aurelianum, clariſſimum principem, ſeveriſſi-* “ *mum imperatorem, per quem totus Romano nomini* “ *orbis eſt reſtitutus, poſteri neſcient? Deus avertat* “ *hanc amentiam. Et tamen, ſi bene novi, epheme-* “ *ridas illius viri ſcriptas habemus, etiam bella cha-* “ *ractere hiſtorico digeſta, quæ velim accipias, &* “ *per ordinem ſcribas, additis quæ ad vitam perti-* “ *nent. Quæ omnia ex libris linteis, in quibus ipſe* “ *quotidiana ſua ſcribi præceperat, pro tua ſedulitate* “ *condiſces. Curabo autem ut tibi ex Ulpia bibliotheca* “ *& libri lintei proferantur. Tu velim Aurelianum* “ *ita ut eſt, quatenus potes, in literas mittas* (54). “ — *He* (Junius Tiberianus) *asked me who had wrote* “ *the Life of* Aurelian. *I anſwered, I had read it in* “ *ſome Writings of the* Greeks, *but not in any of* La- “ tins, *on which That excellent Man expreſſed his* “ *Concern in this pathetic Complaint:* What, ſhall “ a *Therſites*, a *Sinon*, and ſuch other Prodigies of “ Antiquity be kown to us, and our to Poſterity; and “ ſhall they not know the Divine *Aurelian*, the “ moſt celebrated Prince, the ſtricteſt Emperor, who “ reſtored the whole World to the *Roman* Name? “ May Heaven avert ſuch Madneſs. And yet, if I “ am not miſtaken, we have the Journals of This “ great Man in Writing, and alſo his Wars, digeſted “ in hiſtorical Method, which I would have you “ take, and copy in order, and inſert in their pro- “ per Place, whatever relates to his Life. You will “ find the Particulars by a careful peruſal of this “ Journal, which is wrote in Books made of Lint, “ and contains the Minutes of each Day's Tranſa- “ ction, ſet down by his own Command. I will “ take care they ſhall be ſent you out of the *Ulpian* “ Library. Do you write ſuch a Hiſtory of *Aure-* “ *lian*, as may deſcribe him to the Life, as near as “ you are able.” Obſerve, that *Vopiſcus* ſpoke thus about thirty Years after the Death of *Aurelian*; I ſay, obſerve This as a Proof either of the Ignorance, or Negligence, of the *Latins* of thoſe Times. None of them had yet publiſhed any thing of the great Actions of This Prince, the Reſtorer of the Empire, *Orbis reſtitutor*, as he is called on a Medal. He did not expect This Diſgrace, when he took care to have a daily Regiſter kept of the Series of his Exploits (55).

[*K*] *He was much lamented.* —— *They deified him.*] Thoſe very Men, who put him to Death, erected a magnificent Tomb for him, and conſecrated a Temple to him (56); for they diſcovered, that they had been brought into That Conſpiracy, by a horrid Piece of Villany. We ſhall ſhow what That was. *Aurelian* had threatned his Secretary *Mneſtheus*; who, giving himſelf over for loſt, as he well knew the Threats of This Prince would be put in Execution (57), reſolved to be beforehand with him, and made ſeveral Perſons believe, that *Aurelian* deſigned putting Them to Death. He ſhewed them a Liſt, wherein he had put himſelf, and exhorted them to ſave their Lives. They were all Perſons, who had either incurred *Aurelian*'s Diſpleaſure, or had Reaſon to believe, that, by the Importance of their Services, they ſtood very well in his Favour, and had nothing to fear (58). All thoſe Perſons plotted againſt his Life, and put it in Execution But having afterwards diſcovered the Secretary's Fraud, they were the moſt zealous to honour *Aurelian*. *Mneſtheus* was expoſed to the wild Beaſts, and care was taken to preſerve the Memory of That Puniſhment on This Emperor's Tomb (59). The Soldiers would not confer the Empire on any of thoſe, who were concerned in his Death, but applied to the Senate for a new Prince, and for the Deification of *Aurelian* (60). The Senate would not take upon them to create an Emperor, but as for the divine Honours which the Army deſired for *Aurelian*, they were decreed without any delay. *Tacitus* (61), who firſt gave his Opinion in the Senate, made a very fine Speech, which the Reader will be glad to find here, ſince it contains a juſt Abſtract of *Aurelian*'s moſt ſplended Actions, and is embelliſhed with ſome curious Sentiments. “ Rectè atque ordine conſuluiſſent dii immortales “ P. C. ſi boni ferro inviolabiles extitiſſent, ut lon- “ giorem ducerent vitam: neque contra eos aliqua “ eſſet poteſtas iis qui neces infandas triſtiſſima mente “ concipiunt. Viveret enim princeps noſter Aurelia- “ nus, quo neque utilior fuit quiſquam. Reſpirare “ certe poſt infelicitatem Valeriani, poſt Gallieni ma- “ la, imperante Claudio cœperat noſtra Reſpublica: “ at eadem reddita fuerat Aureliano toto penitus or- “ be vincente. Ille nobis Gallias dedit, ille Italiam “ liberavit: ille Vindelicis jugum Barbaricæ ſervitu- “ tis amovit. Illo vivente Illyricum reſtitutum eſt, “ redditæ Romanis legibus Thraciæ. Ille (proh pu- “ dor) Orientem fœmineo preſſum jugo in noſtra “ jura reſtituit: ille Perſas inſultantes adhuc Vale- “ riani nece, fudit, fugavit, oppreſſit. Illum Sara- “ ceni, Blemyes, Axomitæ, Bactriani, Seres, Hiberi, “ Albani, Armenii, populi etiam Indorum, veluti “ præſentem penè venerati ſunt Deum. Illius donis “ quæ à Barbaris gentibus meruit, refertum eſt Capito- “ lium: quindecim millia librarum auri ex ejus li- “ beralitate unum tenet templum, omnia in urbe fa- “ na ejus micant donis. Quare P. C. vel deos ipſos “ jure convenio, qui talem principem interire paſſi “ ſunt, niſi forte ſecum eum eſſe maluerunt. Decerno “ igitur divinos honores: id quod vos omnes exiſtimo “ eſſe facturos. Nam de imperatore deligendo ad eun- “ dem exercitum cenſeo eſſe referendum. Etenim in “ tali genere ſententiæ niſi fiat quod dicitur, & electi “ periculum erit, & eligentis invidia. *Probata eſt* “ *ſententia Taciti* (62). —— *Venerable Fathers: It* “ *would have been happy for Mankind, if the im-* “ *mortal Gods had been pleaſed to make all good* “ *Men invulnerable, and longer lived; that no vile* “ *Attempts of the Wicked, to deſtroy them, might* “ *have their Effect. Then had our Prince* Aurelian “ *been ſtill living, than whom there never was a* “ *greater. After the Misfortunes of* Valerian, *and* “ *the Miſmanagements of* Gallienus, *it is true, our* “ *Commonwealth began to take Breath under the Em-* “ *peror* Claudius; *but it was* Aurelian, *who reſtored* “ *her, by conquering the whole World. It was he,* “ *that recovered the* Gallia's: *It was he, that freed* “ Italy: *It was he, who ſhook off the* Barbarian *Yoke* “ *from the* Vindelici. *To his Life we owe the* “ *Reſtitution of* Illyricum, *and the* Thracia's *to the* “ Roman *Empire. To his Life we owe the Recovery* “ *of the* Eaſt *from the Oppreſſion (O ſhameful!) of* “ *a Woman. By his Arms the* Perſians, *triumphing* “ *for the Death of* Valerian, *were routed, ſubdued,* “ *and inſlaved. The Terror of his Arms have made* “ *him almoſt adored as a preſent Deity, by the* Sa- “ racens, *the* Ethiopians, *the* Axomites, *the* Bactrians, “ *the* Seres, *the* Heberi, *the* Albani, *the* Armenians, “ *and* Indians. *He has filled the Capitol with the Pre-* “ *ſents made him by the* Barbarians; *He has given* “ *to one Temple* 15000 *Pounds of Gold, and all the* “ *reſt have ſhared of his Liberality. We juſtly, there-*

(52) Vopiſc. cap. ult.

(53) Idem, cap. 37.

(54) Idem, cap. 1, pag. 416.

(55) *This appears from* Vopiſcus's *Words juſt now mentioned.*

(56) Idem, cap. 37.

(57) Qui ſciret Aurelianum neque fruſtra minari ſolere, neque ſi minaretur ignoſcere. --- *Who knew that* Aurelian *never uſed to threaten without cauſe, nor to pardon after he had threatned.* Id. cap. 36.

(58) Mixtis iis quibus Aurelianus vere iraſcebatur cum iis de quibus nihil aſperum cogitabat. --- *Joining thoſe that* Aurelian *was really angry at, with others to whom he intended no harm.* Id. ib.

(59) Idem, cap. 37.

(60) Idem, cap. 41.

(61) He was elected Emperor ſome Months after.

(62) Idem, cap. 41, pag. 526, 527.

remarkable, that there was no Deity for which he ſhewed more Zeal, than for the Sun [*L*]. He left but an only Daughter, whoſe Grandſon was yet living in the Time of *Diocleſian* (*kk*). He was a Senator much reverenced for his Virtue, and had been Proconſul of *Cilicia*. We muſt regard as fabulous, what *Abulpharagius* ſays, *that* Aurelian *upon making Peace with* Sapor, *King of* Perſia, *gave him his Daughter in Marriage* (*ll*). It is alſo pretended, that he ſent him ſome *Greek* Phyſicians, who taught the *Perſians Hipprocrates*'s Phyſic (*mm*). Note, he never employed any Phyſicians in his Sickneſs, and ſcarce ever made uſe of any other Remedy than Abſtinence (*nn*). To conclude, it was a Happineſs for the Chriſtians, that ſuch a bloody Prince did not undertake Their Extirpation. I confeſs one of the Perſecutions of the Church is placed under his Reign; but ſome Hiſtorians never once mention it, and thoſe who do agree it was ſhort (*oo*). Before I make an end of this Article, I muſt take notice of a Diſtinction which *Vopiſcus* has made, and which very few Perſons are capable of making [*M*]: *Such*, ſays he (*pp*), *was the End of* Aurelian, *a Prince more neceſſary than good.* What we find in *Angeloni*, concerning ſome pieces of Marble found in the time of Pope *Urban* VIII, upon levelling the place where *Aurelian* had built a Temple, on Mount *Quirinal* (*qq*), gives a very great Idea of the Magnificence of That Edifice.

(*kk*) Vopiſc. in Aurel. cap. 42, pag. 528.

(*ll*) Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 3. pag. 1182.

(*mm*) Abulphar. apud Tillem. ib.

(*nn*) Vopiſc. cap. 50.

(*oo*) Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 3. pag. 1085, & ſeq.

(*pp*) Hic finis Aureliano fuit principi magis neceſſario quam bono. *Vopiſc. c.* 37.

(*qq*) Franceſco Angeloni, Hiſtoria Auguſta da Giulio Ceſare infino à Conſtantino il Magno, illuſtrata con la verita delle antiche. *Medaglie, p.* 332.

“ *fore, O Venerable Fathers, may expoſtulate with the Gods themſelves, for ſuffering the Murder of* Aurelian, *unleſs it was their Pleaſure to receive him amongſt them. I therefore decree to him all divine Honours: in which I hope to meet with your unanimous Concurrence. But as to the Election of an Emperor, I think we ought to refer That to the Army. For ſhould we undertake it, and our Nomination not be complied with, the Elected would be in Danger, and the Electors in Diſgrace.* The Opinion of *Tacitus* was approved.” The ſame *Tacitus* being elected Emperor ſome Months after (63), began his Reign by ordering four Statues to be erected to *Aurelian*, one of Gold in the Capitol, and three of Silver in other Places; and that every Body ſhould have the Picture of That great Prince. The three Silver Statues were dedicated, but not That of the Capitol. “ In eadem oratione Aureliano ſtatuam auream ponendam in Capitolio decrevit: item ſtatuam argenteam in Curia, item in templo Solis, item in foro divi Trajani. Sed aurea non eſt poſita: dedicatæ autem ſunt ſolæ argenteæ. In eadem oratione cavit, ut ſi quis argento publice privatimque æs miſcuiſſet, ſi quis auro argentum, ſi quis æri plumbum, capital eſſet cum bonorum proſcriptione. —— Addidit, ut Aurelianum omnes pictum haberent (64). —— *In the ſame Speech he decreed to* Aurelian *a golden Statue, to be erected in the* Capitol; *alſo a Silver one in the* Court, *another in the Temple of the* Sun, *and a third in the Market of* Trajan. *Only the Silver Statues were dedicated: that of Gold was never erected. He, in the ſame Speech, decreed, that whoever ſhould, either publickly, or privately, adulterate Silver with Copper, or Gold with Silver, or Copper with Lead, ſhould ſuffer Death, and Forfeiture of Eſtate.* —— *He added, that all ſhould be obliged to have the Picture of* Aurelian.”

[*L*] *There was no Deity for which he ſhewed more Zeal than for the Sun.*] It ſeems to me that his firſt Education was the Cauſe of That Worſhip; for it is likely, that his Mother, who was Prieſteſs of the Sun, inſpired him from his Youth with a particular Devotion for That Deity (65). However it be, we find, that when he thanked *Valerian*, on his appointing him Conſul, he made uſe of theſe Words: *Dii faciant & Deus certus Sol ut & Senatus de me ſic judicet* (66). —— *May the Gods, and that undoubted Deity the Sun, grant, that the Senate conceive the ſame Opinion of me.* A learned Man pretends (67), that he ſpoke thus in a Letter (68), *as if the other Gods were doubtful, and the Sun only certain.* It is pretended, that, in the Battle which he won againſt *Zenobia*'s Forces, near *Emeſa*, he was aſſiſted by a Deity, who encouraged the Soldiers, and made the Infantry ſupport the Cavalry, which was ready to fly (69). As ſoon as he entered victorious into *Emeſa*, he went to the Temple of the Sun: *Statim ad templum Heliogabali tetendit, quaſi communi officio vota ſoluturus*, and found there the ſame Figure of the Deity, who had favoured him in the Battle. Wherefore he *founded ſome Temples in That Place* (70), and afterwards built the Temple of the Sun in *Rome* (71). He alſo cauſed the Temple of the ſame God to be rebuilt in *Palmyra*. Here are the Orders, which he diſpatched for That Purpoſe; I ſhall relate them, becauſe they diſcover to us both This Prince's Cruelty, and his Devotion for the Sun. “ Aurelianus Auguſtus Ceionio Baſſo. Non oportet ulterius progredi militum gladios. Jam ſatis Palmyrenorum cæſum atque conciſum eſt. Mulieribus non pepercimus, infantes occidimus, ſenes jugulavimus, ruſticos interemimus: cui terras, cui urbem deinceps relinquemus? Parcendum eſt iis qui remanſerunt. Credimus enim tam paucos tam multorum ſuppliciis eſſe correctos. Templum ſane Solis, quod apud Palmyram aquilifer legionis tertiæ cum vexilliferis & draconario & cornicinibus atque liticinibus diripuerunt, ad eam formam volo quæ fuit, reddi. Habes trecentas auri libras è Zenobiæ capſulis: habes argenti mille octingenta pondo. De Palmyrenorum bonis habes gemmas regias. Ex his omnibus fac cohoneſtari templum: mihi & diis immortalibus gratiſſimum feceris. Ego ad ſenatum ſcribam, petens ut mittat pontificem qui dedicet templum (72). - - - - Aurelianus Cæſar *to* Ceionius Baſſus. *It is time to ſheath our Sword. The* Palmyrenes *have ſufficiently felt it's Edge. We have ſpared neither Women nor Children, we have put both the Aged and the Husbandman to the Sword. To whom, then, ſhall we leave the Lands, to whom the City? We muſt ſpare the reſt. The few, who remain, will, undoubtedly, remember the Puniſhment of ſo many. The Temple of the Sun, at* Palmyra, *which the Standard-Bearer of the third Legion, with his Enſigns, and Colours, and Trumpets, and Fifes, demoliſhed: I will have rebuilt after the ſame Model. You have, of* Zenobias's *Treaſure, Three hundred Pounds of Gold, and Eighteen hundred Pounds of Silver, You have, of the* Palmyrenes *Effects, the Crown of Jewels. With all theſe, erect a Temple; and you will perform a Work, not only moſt grateful to me, but alſo to the immortal Gods. I will write to the Senate, to ſend a Chief Prieſt to conſecrate it.*”

[*M*] Vopiſcus *has made a Diſtinction concerning* Aurelian, - - - - - - *which few Prſons are capable of making*] The Faults of *Aurelian* were ſerviceable, the State ſtood in need of them, but, in *Vopiſcus*'s Opinion, it does not follow from thence that he was a good Emperor. This is the Language of a Man who is careful not to confound things. A great Number of Perſons are ignorant of this Diſtinction. They look on That as a truly, and abſolutely, good and juſt Reign, which has prevented, or removed, ſome great Evil; and if once they fancy that a Government is unjuſt, they look on it as truly, and abſolutely, bad, without regarding the neceſſary Advantages the Public receives from it.

(63) This was by the Senate, for the Army, to whom the Senate left the Election of a new Prince, referred it again and again to the Senate, who undertook it at laſt.

(64) Vopiſc. in Tacito, cap. 9. pag. 608.

(65) Id. in Aureliano, cap. 4.

(66) Id. ib. cap 14.

(67) Spanheimius's *Note on the* Cæſars *of* Julian, pag. 109.

(68) Vopiſcus *ſays, he ſpoke thoſe Words.*

(69) Id. ib. cap. 25.

(70) Illic templa fundavit donariis ingentibus poſitis. *Id. ibid.*

(71) Id. ib. cap. 35.

(72) Id. ib. cap. 31, pag. pag. 489.

AUREOLUS (PETER) a *Franciſcan* Friar, and ſince Archbiſhop of *Aix*, was one of the moſt ſubtil and famous Divines of his Time. He flouriſhed about the end of the XIIIth Century, and the beginning of the XIVth. He was born at

Verberie

Verberie on the *Oiſe*, and his Name was *Oriol (a)*; but as he is only known by the *Latin* Name which he gives himſelf, I place him here, without imitating *Moreri*, who refers us from *Aureole* to *Oriol*. That Reference would be more pardonable, if we found in his Article of *Oriol*, all that might be reaſonably expected from an Hiſtorian, who cites the Life of that illuſtrious Archbiſhop of *Aix* (*b*); but this he falls falls very ſhort of. Nor can I ſupply his defect, for I do not believe, the Work, which contains the Life of *Aureolus*, is any where to be met with in all the United Provinces. What I can ſay is only this; *Aureolus* was Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Paris* (*c*): they appropriated to him the Title of *Doctor facundus* (*d*). He was Provincial of *Aquitain*, when he was made Archbiſhop of *Aix* (*e*), and did not live long after he was raiſed to that high Dignity [*A*]. It has been ſaid that he that he was promoted to the Rank of a Cardinal. He had a very penetrating Underſtanding, but was too fond of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by new Opinions [*B*]. It is pretended, that he maintained the Impoſſibility of the Creation [*C*]. The Dominicans had a formidable Adverſary in him, and cauſed him to be refuted with much Spirit, by

[*A*] *He did not live long after he was raiſed to the Dignity of Archbiſhopric of* Aix.] The Archbiſhopric of *Aix* was conferred on him in the Year 1321; and we find that *James de Concos de Cabrairez*, a Dominican, was inſtalled in the ſame Archbiſhopric the tenth of *July*, 1322 (1). It muſt follow, then, that the Twenty ſeventh of *April*, which was the Day of *Aureolus*'s Death (2) belongs, at fartheſt, to the Year 1322. Behold the Negligence of Thoſe Times: They were contented to note the Day, in which an Archbiſhop died, and never troubled themſelves about the Date of the Year.

[*B*] *He was too fond of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by new Opinions.*] This is a very dangerous Character; a Rock much to be feared: we ſcarce ever find, that thoſe, who have Wit and Learning enough to raiſe ſtrong Objections againſt the common Opinions, have Judgment enough to ſtop at a proper Time, and to diſcern what is not worth the Trouble of a Reformation. Here is a Paſſage, where thoſe ſort of Perſons are well repreſented, and our *Aureolus*, in particular, by Name. “Ex hac claſſe, inſignia ingenia duo, Durandus, & Aureolus minus benè audiunt, quod ingeniis, quibus valebant plurimum, indulſerint in pleriſque; & novas cudere, ac cominiſci opiniones, communem tramitem ſine causâ deſerendo non dubitarint. Eſtque haud dubie argumentum judicii minus exquiſiti, nec ſatis maturi, vel emuncti, ferri facilè, & abſque urgenti ratione, extra viam: ita ut quamvis res de qua agitur, ad ſcholæ tricas merè pertineat, nec inde diſpendium ullum doctrinæ fidei, vel ſanis, ac puris moribus ſit timendum, tamen conſultiſſimum ſit, quando manifeſta ratio non urget, ab anteriorum placitis non diſcedere (3). - - - - - *Of this Claſs two great Scholars,* Durandus *and* Aureolus, *have ſuffered moſt in their Characters, for uſing their Extraordinary Talents ſo freely, on all Occaſions, and leaving the common Road, for no other Reaſon, than only to invent, and ſtart, new Opinions. And it is certainly a Sign of a weak Judgment, not ſufficiently improved and corrected, to be eaſily, and without juſt cauſe, led out of the Way: So that even when the Queſtion is only about ſcholaſtic Niceties, and can do no poſſible Damage, either to our Faith, or our Morals, yet the wiſeſt Method is, not to leave the old Maxims, unleſs upon very ſatisfactory Grounds.*” And yet, it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe Innovators (4), and confounding Wits, are ſometimes neceſſary; for what conſiderable Progreſs could be made without them? Should we not fall aſleep, under Pretence, that every thing has been found out already, and that we muſt acquieſce in the Opinions of our Fathers, as in their Lands, and their Son? The Diſputes, and the Confuſions, which are raiſed by bold, ambitious, and raſh Men, are never altogether evil: They may be, in themſelves, as great an Evil as you pleaſe; but they are highly uſeful in reſpect to the Sciences, and the Improvement of the Mind. This may be ſaid even of Civil Wars. A very honeſt Man affirms it of the Civil Wars, which ravaged *France* in XVIth Century. He ſays, they refined either the Genius or the Language of ſome; they cleared the Judgment of others; they ſerved either for a Bath to waſh; or a Curry-Comb to ſcrape off their Dirt. Here are his Words; both the Thoughts, and Expreſſions, deſerve citing in this Place. “Ut ſæpe res adverſæ inexpectatis bonis locum faciunt, ita in hac publica, & omnium maxima calamitate res autor dari poteſt, quibuſdam ingenium evaſiſſe limatius, acumen perſpicacius, judicium reſecatius, os mundius, ſcripta purgatiora, prorſus ut agnoſcere liceat, ærumnarum procellas, quibus æſtuavimus his eſſe balneas quæ ſordes eluerunt, aliis ſtrigilem quæ ſquamam deterſit, quibuſdam uredinem, quæ abſumpſit quicquid luxurians & inutile. Denique ſi quis vere æſtimet, nunc demum intelligimus, eam, quæ Reipublicæ tempeſtas fuit, privatim, & pauculis eſſe cotem qua acuitur, & faculam qua accenditur quicquid in ſingulis eſt optimum (5). —— *As Miſfortunes often occaſion unexpected Benefits, ſo this public and heavieſt of Calamities, may have been the Cauſe of poliſhing the Wit, clearing the Underſtanding, pruning the Judgment, refining the Language, or purifying the Style, of ſome Perſons; ſo that the Storms of Affliction, whoſe fury we have felt, muſt be owned to have ſerved, as Baths to waſh away Spots, Curry-Combs to ſcrape off Dirt, or Blaſts to conſume what was uſeleſs and luxuriant. And to judge of it rightly, we may now, at laſt, perceive, that the public Miſery has proved a private Happineſs, and either ſharpened, as a Whetſtone, or kindled as a Torch, all manner of Excellencies in particular Perſons.*” In truth, the Public might very well be without ſuch Curry-Combs, Files, or Whetſtones, as ſome may pleaſe to call them. Doubtleſs it is better to want thoſe Advantages, than to pay ſo great a Price for them. It is better to continue ſick, than to be cured by a Remedy ſo terribly dear. However it be, our Doctor here was reſolved to follow no Body's Opinion in his Commentary on the *Maſter of Sentences*; and on the other ſide no Body followed his: All took a Pleaſure in oppoſing him; ſome compared him to *Iſmael: Quem* (Petrum Aureolum) *Antoninus ait* *; *ita ſcripſiſſe in librum ſententiarum, ut quia manus ejus contra omnes qui jam antea ſcripſerant, etiam manus omnium contra eum fuerint* (6).

[*C*] *It is pretended, that he maintained the Impoſſibility of the Creation.*] The Knowledge I have of this Matter is very ſmall, for I can only aſſure you, that *Theophilus Raynaudus*, after having rejected ſome Reaſons of *Averroës* as very weak, adds, that *the Arguments, on which* Aureolus *ſo ill employed his Learning, to ſhew the Creation to be impoſſible, amount to the ſame thing.* “Eodem recidunt argumenta quibus Aureolus apud Capreolum in 2. d. 1. q. 2. *in argumentis contra quartam*, parum fœliciter ingenium exercuit, ut probaret creationem eſſe impoſſibilem. (7). - - - - - - - *Theſe Arguments are in* Capreolus, 2. *d*. 1. *q*. 2. in his Arguments againſt the fourth.” Obſerve particularly, that he had never read *Aureolus*, nor knew any thing of his Doctrine, but as he found it repreſented in his Adverſary *Capreolus*. This puts me under a new Neceſſity of groping here in the Dark: But yet I believe I ſhall not be miſtaken in the Conjecture I am going to make. I ſuppoſe that *Aureolus* did not directly, and abſolutely, affirm, that the Creation was impoſſible, for that would have been broaching an Opinion very repugnant to the *Romiſh* Faith. He maintained only, that, for ſuch and ſuch Reaſons, he ſhould have held it impoſſible, that a Being could be made out of nothing, if Faith did not teach him, that the Words, which the Scripture uſes concerning the firſt Formation of the World, muſt be underſtood to ſignify

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(*a*) Labbe, Differt. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. Tom. 2. pag. 183.

(*b*) *Placed, as he ſays, before the Commentaries of* Oriol, *on the* Maſter of the Sentences, *printed at* Rome *in the Year* 1595.

(*c*) Labbe, ubi ſupra, pag. 184.

(*d*) Id. ib.

(*e*) Bellarm. de Script. Eccleſ. pag. 365.

(1) Labbe, Differt. de Script. Eccleſ. Tom. 2. pag. 184.

(2) Id. ib.

(3) Theoph. Raynaudus, Erotem. de malis ac bonis Libris, n. 430, pag. 250.

(4) *I do not in the leaſt mean thoſe who attempt neceſſary Reformations.*

(5) Carolus Paſchalius, de optimo genere Elocutionis, pag. 124.

* Anton. tit. 24, c. 8, §. 2.

(6) Spondan. ad Annum, 1337, n. 10, pag, 460.

(7) Theoph. Raynaud. in Theol. Naturali, Diſt. 8. n. 334, pag. 1039.

by one of their beſt Pens [*D*]. I ſhall ſay ſomething concerning his Writings [*E*]. You will find the Time of his Death in the Remark [*A*].

ſignify a Creation, properly ſo called. Having once covered himſelf with this Shield, he might ſafely exert the whole Strength of his Genius, to prove the Impoſſibility of the Creation; he only ventured upon a Philoſophical Diſpute, in which he did not fear that he ſhould want Cavils and Subtilties. I make no queſtion but they, who read this, and have a Copy of *Capreolus* in their Studies, will be ſo curious as to conſult him, to know whether this great Antagoniſt of *Aureolus*, faithfully lays down the whole State of the Queſtion. There are a great many, who, on ſuch an Occaſion, would ſay, they are confuting a Doctor, who maintains the Impoſſibility of the Creation, and would exaggerate the pernicious Conſequences of that Doctrine, without ever intimating, that the ſame Doctor preſerves the Orthodox Opinion, and ſubmits the moſt ſubtil Arguments which the Light of Nature affords him, to the Authority of Tradition. I know, that, in another Caſe, *Aureolus* behaved himſelf in the very ſame manner, as, I ſuppoſe he has done with reſpect to the Creation; which makes my Conjecture more probable. He ſaid, that *nothing but the Authority of the Saints could make him believe, that Tranſubſtantiation is a true Change of the whole Bread, into the whole Body of our Lord.* I have read this in a Book of Dr *Allix*. *Petrus Aureolus Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalis hoc profitetur*; propter ſolas authoritates Sanctorum teneo, quòd Tranſubſtantiatio eſt verus tranſitus & converſio totius panis in totum corpus Domini. *in* 4. *diſt.* 11. *q.* 1. *a.* 2. (8).

[*D*] *The* Dominicans *cauſed him to be refuted —— by one of their beſt Pens.*] It was by the ſame *Capreolus*, whom I have juſt before mentioned. Conſult his Commentary on the *Maſter of the Sentences*. "*He there attacks briskly, and levels his whole Force againſt the Commentary of* Aureolus, *on the ſame Maſter.* —— Quæ (Commentaria Aureoli) in ſuis in eaſdem ſententias Commentariis ſæpius excuſſit exagitavitque Joannes Capreolus (9)." He inſinuates, that the falſe Interpretations which *Aureolus* made, and which ſerved him for Principles to draw odious Conſequences from, had not always their only Foundation in the Obſcurity of his Underſtanding, but were in ſome meaſure owing alſo to his Paſſions. I have this only from Father *Baron*, who expreſſes himſelf thus: "Memini me Capreolum neſcio quo ex quæſtionibus in primum ſentent. loco legere, ſoluto quodam argumento Aureoli, quo ad grande aliquod impium, & abſurdum ex falſa interpretatione noſtræ ſententiæ rem deduxerat, hæc modeſtè adjunxiſſe Capreolum: ex noſtrâ reſponſione patet hanc objectionem Aureoli profectam eſſe ex *perverſo intellectu, quidquid ſit de affectu* (10). - - - - *I remember* Capreolus, *ſomewhere in his Queſtions on the firſt Book of the Sentences, after refuting an Argument of* Aureolus, *which by a falſe Interpretation of our Opinion, had eſtabliſhed ſomething monſtrouſly impious and abſurd, thus modeſtly adds: From our Solution it appears, that the Objection of* Aureolus, *proceeds from* a depraved Underſtanding, whatever might be his Diſpoſition." Note, That *Conſtantius Sarnanus*, a *Franciſcan*, and a Cardinal, wrote a Book, wherein he pretends to reconcile *Aureolus*'s Opinions, with thoſe of *Capreolus* (11). He endeavoured to ſhew the ſame Agreement between the Doctrines of *Thomas Aquinas*, and thoſe of *Scotus* (12). Juſt in the ſame manner ſome have pretended to diſcover a good Underſtanding between *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*. This is either trifling with Readers, or ridiculing, without deſigning it, thoſe whom they endeavour to reconcile. Such a Peace is diſhonourable to both Parties, and the Mediators might fear ſome ſevere Expoſtulations, if they, who firſt began the Quarrel, ſhould return again into the World. They would be apt to ſay, *What, do you pretend that we only diſpute about Words, and that we agree in the ſame Doctrines, without perceiving it; our Paſſion ſo ſtrongly prepoſſeſſing us, that we underſtond not what we are ſaying? This is a Satire all over, we will have no Peace on ſuch ignominious Conditions. Away with your Projects of Re-union; we had rather continue the War, than ſee it ended at the Expence of our Learning and Underſtandings.* Obſerve, that there are ſome Inſtances, where the hotteſt Chntroverſies are only the Effects of a Miſunderſtanding; but I do not think we can judge ſo of *Thomiſm* and *Scotiſm*, nor conſequently of the Difference between the *Scotiſt Aureolus*, and the *Thomiſt Capreolus*.

[*E*] *I ſhall ſay ſomething concerning his Writings.*] Thoſe who have ſpoke of them, obſerve ſo little Exactneſs, that they neither diſtinguiſh between thoſe Writings, which are yet remaining, and thoſe which are loſt; nor between thoſe which have been printed, and thoſe which never were. Father *Labbe* (13), who complains of this Neglect, too common among Bibliographers, promiſed to repair it amply; but he died without publiſhing his large Work, of which the Diſſertation, I have quoted, was but a Specimen (14). He obſerves, that the *Breviarium Bibliorum* of *Aureolus*, *ſive Epitome univerſæ ſacræ ſcripturæ juxta literalem ſenſum*, was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1571, and at *Paris* in the Year 1585 (15), by the care of *Stephen Nouellet*, Doctor in Divinity, of the Faculty of *Paris*; and that *the Commentaries on the four Books of Sentences*, were printed at *Rome* in, in folio, the Year 1595, and dedicated to Pope *Clement* VIII, by Cardinal *Conſtantius Sarnanus* (16). He rejects what Father *Maracci* reports in his *Bibliotheca Mariana*, that the Treatiſe of *Aureolus de Conceptione immaculata B Virginis*, was printed at *Toulouſe* in the Year 1314: he ſays, perhaps that Writing was compoſed in that Year, or printed in the Year 1514.

Let us make ſome ſmall Remarks on all this. I. The Catalogue of the *Oxford* Library mentions the *Epitome totius S. Scripturæ*, printed at *Strasburg* in the Year 1514. Father *Labbe* did not know of that Edition: nor *Geſner* neither. *Geſner*'s Epitome, publiſhed in the Year 1583, does not take notice of any of *Aureolus*'s Books which had been printed: but obſerve, that our *Peter Aureolus* is there very falſly diſtinguiſhed from *Petrus de Verberia*, *dictus Aureoli*. II. It is not true that the Commentaries on the four Books of Sentences, were printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1595. *Bellarmin* affirms, that he ſaw only the Commentary on the firſt of thoſe four Books, and that it was printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1596 (17). The Catalogue of the *Oxford* Library, and that of the Archbiſhop of *Reims*, place in that Year, the Edition of *Aureolus*'s Commentary on the firſt Book of Sentences, and they place in the Year 1605, the Edition of the Commentary on the three following Books, with the *Quodlibeta*. All this makes two Volumes in Folio, printed at *Rome*, the firſt in 1596, in the *Vatican*; the laſt by *Zanzetti*, in the Year 1605. I wonder that *Bellarmin* had no knowledge of the printing of the laſt Volume. This is ſomething ſtranger, than to ſee in *Moreri*, that *we have ſeveral Editions of the Commentaries of* Aureolus, *on the Maſter of the Sentences; but that this of* Rome *of* 1595, *is the moſt correct.* Where could he ſhew thoſe ſeveral Editions? Would he have dated That of *Rome* as he did, if he had known what I have ſaid above? III. I muſt needs ſay Father *Labbe* has been too favourable to Father *Maracci*, who could believe that there were Books printed in the Year 1314. Does not all the World know that Printing was not uſed in *Europe*, tell about the Middle of the XVth Century? What then was the Jeſuit *Oldoini* dreaming on, when he boaſted of having ſeen the Treatiſe of *Aureolus*, *de Conceptione Virginis Mariæ*, printed at *Toulouſe* in the Year 1314? *De Conceptione Virginis Mariæ Librum, qui habetur M. S. Toloſæ in Collegio Fuxenſi, & excuſum vidimus Toloſæ anno* 1314 (18).

(8) Pet. Allix, Præfat. Hiſtorica de Dogmate Tranſubſtantiationis, pag. 66.

(9) Labbe, ubi ſupra, pag. 184.

(10) Vincentius Baronius, Apologet. lib. 1. §. 2. p. 240.

(11) Oldoini Athen. Roman. p. 176.

(12) Id. ib.

(13) Labbe, ubi ſupra.

(14) *See the Preface of his Diſſertation* de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis.

(15) Oldoini, in Athen. Rom. pag. 532. *makes it* 1581.

(16) Ibid. pag. 533. *ſays the ſame thing.*

(17) Bellarm de Scriptor. Eccleſ. pag. 365.

(18) Oldoini, Athen. Roman. pag. 533.

AURIEGE, or rather ARIEGE [*A*], a River in *France*, has it's Source in

[*A*] ARIEGE.] It is ſo called in the Countries through which it paſſes. In the old Maps it is called *Aregia*, and *Areia* in a Manuſcript Martyrology of the Monaſtery of *Moiſſac*. There is in that Manuſcript the Paſſion of St *Antonin*, who was marryed at *Pamiés*, and it is affirmed there, that the Bark wherein in the Mountains which limit the County of *Foix* towards *Rouſſillon*. It paſſes by *Taraſcon*, *Foix*, *Pamiés*, *Barilles*, *Bonac* (a), *Saverdun*, *Sainte-Gabelle*, and *Haute-Rive*, and falls into the *Garonne* at *Portet*, a long League above *Toulouſe*, after having received the Waters of the River *Lers*, on the Right, and Thoſe of the *Arget*, and of the *Leze* on the Left [*B*]. The *Ariege* is rapid and full of Fiſh, and alſo very good to drink ; but it is only navigable from *Haute-Rive*. *Du Bartas* praiſes it much [*C*]. See alſo the Paſſage of *Bertrand Helias*, related by *Papyrius Maſſo* (b).

wherein his Body was laid, paſſed through That River into the *Garonne*. “ Per fluvium qui Areia dicitur, ad Garonnam uſque perveniens fluvium navicula *(in qua corpus Antonini mart. à Gentilibus necati)* inde alium qui Tarnis dicitur inveniens fluvium, inde retrogrado curſu per Tarnin intravit in Avarionis alveum (1). — *The Boat* (in which was the Body of *Antoninus*, the Martyr, murdered by the Gentiles) *coming along the River* Areia, *as far as to the* Garrone, *and there finding another River, called* Tarnis, *returned in a retrograde Courſe along the* Tarnis, *into the Channel of the* Avario.” *Hadrian Valeſius*, from whom I have this, has cenſured Thoſe who call it *Auriege*, and treated *Papyrius Maſſo* very ill for naming it *Aurigera*. “ Fluvius eſt vulgo dictus *Ariege*, quibuſdam corruptè l'*Auriege* ; à Maſſono (2) priſci ejus fluvii nominis ignaro *Aurigera* novo ac ridiculo nomine nuncupatus (3). —— *The River is commonly called* Ariege, *by ſome corruptly* l'Auriege ; *by* Maſſo, *who was intirely ignorant of the ancient Name of This River, it is ridiculouſly called* Aurigera.” Mr *Baudrand* believes that the true *Latin* Name of that River is *Alburacis* (4). I wiſh he had quoted ſome good Author. *Sanſon* calls it *Lauriegue* in a Map which he publiſhed in the Year 1675 (5). But moſt of the proper Names in it are ſo disfigured, that we ought to ſuppoſe them to be faults of the Engraver. Mr *Moreri* has very pleaſantly imagined that the *Auriege* and *Lauriege* are the two Names by which it is called. He forgets the true one ? and does not dream, that the two Names he mentions, are but one and ſame; one of them expreſſed without the Article, the other with the Article. His miſtake is juſt the ſame as if he had ſaid, that the River running by *Paris*, is called *Seine* and *Laſeine*. I know many Authors make a jeſt of a Writer who takes them up for Errors of this Nature, and pretend to be above thoſe Trifles: But they are vain Pretenders, who want a fair Mask to cover either their Ignorance, or their Idleneſs, or their ill Taſte, or their Incorrectneſs. If a City or River were only mentioned occaſionally in a Piece of Wit, the faults which thoſe Gentlemen call Trifles would be excuſable. But the Caſe is very different, when thoſe Faults concern the chief Subject of the Book. That which is only an inſignificant Nicety in the Writings of a Divine, will ſometimes be a capital Fault in a Geographer, or in the Author of a Dictionary. I remember *Papyrius Maſſo* has called it *la Riege*. See afterwards the Remark [*A*] of the Article GARONNE.

[*B*] *After having received on the Right, the Waters of the* Lers, *it receives thoſe of the* Arget, *and the* Leze, *on the Left.*] *Moreri* deſerves a ſmall Cenſure here : He ſays, that the *Auriege*, *having received the* Lers, *the* Arget, *and the* Leze, *falls into the* Garonne. This ſignifies plainly, that the Mouth of the *Lers* is above the Mouth of the *Arget*, and that the entrance of the *Leze*, is between the two others. Nothing can be more falſe. The *Arget* comes into the *Ariege*, near *Foix*, and there is eight or nine Leagues diſtance between *Foix* and *Sainte-Gabelle*, which is very near the Mouth of the *Lers*. “ Lertius vero in Aurigeram labitur prope Templum S. Gauvillæ (6). — *The* Lers *falls into the* Auriege, *near the Church of St* Gabille.” The *Leze* has it's Entrance three or four Leagues below That of the *Lers*. *Coulon* might have taught *Moreri* the Order of thoſe Entrances. Note, he obſerves, *that the* Auriege *is called by the* Latins, Aurigera (7) ; *and the* Larget, Argentigera (8) ; *and that the One produces Gold, the Other Silver* (9). Perhaps he had taken theſe Remarks from *Olhagarai*, who wrote as follows : *And what ſhall we not ſay of the* Lers, *with his Flux and Reflux* (10) ? *Of the* Auriege, *and of the* Arget, *Rivers with Gold and Silver Banks ? Does not this witneſs the hidden Treaſures in the Bowels of Thoſe Mountains* (11) ?

[*C*] Du Bartas *praiſes it much.*] See here the third Sonnet of his *Nine* Pyrenean *Muſes*, preſented to the King of *Navarre* (12).

Fleuve d'or & de flot & de nom & de ſable,
  Riche en grains, en paſtel, en fruits, en vins, en bois,
  Auriege au viſte cours clair ornement de Foix,
  Qui rend par ton tribut Garonne navigable,
Fille de ſi grand Mont, qui caché, eſpouvantable,
  Son front dedans le Ciel, qui chenu tous les Mois,
  Depuis le bord du Su juſqu'au bord Eſcoſſois,
  Ne void autre plus grand à ſa grandeur ſemblable ;
Clair flot, je te feroy par un diſcours facond
  Plus riche que Pactol, plus que le Nil ſecond :
  Plus loin que l'Ocean on orroit tes eaux bruire :
Fier, on t'egaleroit aux fleuves les plus Grands :
  On te verroit au Ciel comme le Po reluire,
  Si je voyoy tes bords repurgés de brigans (13).

Auriege, *thou noble River, known to Fame*
For thy bright Waves, and for thy Golden Name.
Thy Borders every Scene of Plenty *ſhew,*
Who pours her Horn, *where'er thy Waters flow.*
Foix *to thy rapid Courſe owes all it's Pride ;*
And deep Garonne *it's navigable Tide.*
A mighty Mountain is thy awful Sire,
Whoſe tow'ring Head does to the Skies aſpire,
Hoary with Loads of everlaſting Snows,
Nor, e'en from Pole to Pole, an Equal knows.
O would the Muſe *aſſiſt the darling Theme,*
In loftieſt Notes, I'd ſing thy Cryſtal Stream.
With their juſt Praiſe, thy mantling Waves ſhould ſmile,
Rich as Pactolus, *fruitful as the* Nile.
Far as loud Ocean *can be heard to roar,*
Should ev'ry Murmur eccho from thy Shore.
Thy curling Surge ſhould proudeſt Floods out-vy ;
And like the Po *reſplendent reach the Sky.*
Cou'd I thy Banks from ambuſh'd Rogues releaſe,
And make the Traveller taſte thy Stream in Peace.

See alſo the ſeventh Sonnet, you will find this in the beginning of it :

François, arreſte toy, ne paſſe la campagne,
  Que nature mura de Rochers d'un coſté,
  Que l'Auriege entrefend d'un cours précipité :
  Campagne qui n'a point en beauté de compagne (14).

Stay, great Navarre, *nor leave theſe charming Plains,*
Where far above all Rival, Beauty reigns.
Rocks, Nature's Walls, the diſtant Proſpect cloſe ;
And all around the haſty Auriege *flows.*

(a) *It is a Lordſhip that was erected into a Marquiſate, for the late Mr* Duſſon, *elder Brother of Monſ.* de Bonrepaux, *Ambaſſador of* France *to the Court of* Denmark, *and afterwards in* Holland.

(b) Papyrius Maſſo de Flum. Gall. pag. 412.

(1) Hadrian. Valeſius in Notitia Galliæ, pag. 26.

(2) Papyr. Maſſo in Deſcript. Flumin. Galliæ, pag. 470, Edit. 1685.

(3) Valeſ. Notit. Gall. pag. 26.

(4) *See his* Geography, pag. 33, 88, *and* 128.

(5) *That of the* Pyrenean *Mountains.*

(6) Papyr. Maſſo, Deſcript. Flum. Gall. p. 470.

(7) Coulon, *Rivers of* France, *Tome* 1. *pag.* 483.

(8) *He had twice ſaid* the Arget, *which is the true Orthography.*

(9) *Note, that* Bertrand Helias, Hiſtoriæ Comitum Fuxenſium, lib. 1. *relates ſome curious Circumſtances concerning that Gold.* Papyr. Maſſo, Deſcript. Flum. Gall. pag. 412. *quotes his Words.*

(10) *See concerning this admirable Phænomenon, the 3d day of the 1ſt Week of* Du Bartas, *pag.* 288.

(11) Peter Olhagarai, *Preface of the* Hiſtory of Foix, Bearn, *and* Navarre.

(12) Du Bartas, *in the Appendix of the firſt Week*, pag. 934.

(13) *Since* Du Bartas's *Time, this has been remedied.*

(14) Du Bartas, ibid. pag. 936.

AURISPA (JOHN), a Native of *Noto* in *Sicily* (a), was one of the moſt Learned Men of the XVth Century. He underſtood the *Greek* and *Latin* Languages ; he was a good Orator, and wrote very well, for thoſe Times, both in Proſe and Verſe. It is ſaid that he was honoured with the Poetical Crown in *Italy*. He was Secretary to Pope *Nicolas* V, who gave him great Proofs of his Eſteem, by

(a) *The Name of this Town in* Latin *is* Netum.

preſenting him with two rich Abbies [*A*]. He entertained a long Correſpondence, by Letters, with *Philelphus*, and his Name is celebrated by *Laurentius Valla*, *Antonius Panormita*, and ſeveral other famous Authors. He retired to *Ferrara*, and lived there to a great Age, honoured with the Eſteem of the Lords of that Country [*B*], which proved very advantageous to him; for he did not only ſubſiſt, but alſo grow rich by their Liberality (*b*). What he compoſed is at preſent very hard to be met with [*C*].

(*b*) *Taken from the* Elogia Siculorum qui literis floruerunt, *compoſed by the Jeſuit* Hierome Raguſa, pag. 147, & ſeq.

[*A*] Nicholas V, —— *preſented him with two rich Abbies.*] He gave him That of *St Philip de Grandi* (1), the Thirty firſt of *May*, 1449, and that of *Ste Marie de la Roccade* (2), in the Year 1451. *Auriſpa* had a Law Suit for this laſt Benefice, with one who had it beſtowed upon him by *Alphonſus*, King of *Naples*. See *Rocchus Pirrus*, in the Two hundred and twenty fifth Page of his Account of the Church of *Syracuſa* (3).

[*B*] *He retired to* Ferrara, *and lived there to a great Age, honoured with the Eſteem of the Lords of that Country.*] I prove all this from a Paſſage of *Gyraldus*. “Johannes Auriſpa Siculus, *ſays he* (4), orator in aliquo poëtarum ordine reponi poteſt, quippe qui Græcè & Latinè probè doctus eſſet, carmina tamen ejus quæ ipſe legi neſcio quid Sicularum gerrarum habere videntur: fuit enim eo tempore quo nondum exquiſitæ literæ in lucem redierant. Vixit autem Ferrariæ ad ſummam ſenectutem, in pretio habitus à noſtris principibus, qui & eum locupletem reddiderunt: ab hoc ferunt Ciſtarellum familiam originem duxiſſe. —— John Auriſpa *of* Sicily, *the Orator, deſerves ſome ſort of Place among the Poets, being very learned in* Greek *and* Latin, *though his Poems, which I have read, contain I know not what old Wives Tales: for he wrote in the obſcurer Ages of Learning. He lived at* Ferrara, *to a great old Age, eſteemed by our principal Families, who made him rich; the Family of* Ciſtarella *is ſaid to owe it's Riſe to him.*”

[*C*] *What he compoſed, is at preſent very hard to be met with.*] Theſe are the Books aſcribed to him: *A Tranſlation of* Archimedes; the *Tranſlation of* Hierocles's *Commentary on the Golden Verſes of* Pythagoras; *and that of a Conſolatory Treatiſe of* Philiſcus *to* Cicero. *Geſner*'s Epitome mentions theſe three Pieces, without ſaying whether they were ever printed. It is certain, that *Auriſpa*'s *Hierocles* was printed at *Baſil*, by *Henry Peter*, in 8vo, in the Year 1543 (5). *Geſner* cites part of the Preface, by which it appears, that it was wrote when the Author was already eighty Years of Age (6). In the Library of *Gabriel Naudé*, there was a Manuſcript, entituled, *Comparatio de præſidentia Hannibalis Carthaginenſis, Alexandri Magni & Scipionis Majoris Romani apud inferos, ex Græco in Latinum converſa ab Auriſpâ Oratore ad Baptiſtam Senatorii & Equeſtris Ordinis Civem Romanum* (7).

(1) *It is at* Meſſina.

(2) *It is at* Lentini *in* Sicily.

(3) *Taken out of* Jerome Raguſa, *pag.* 148, 149 Elogiorum Siculorum.

(4) Lilius Gregor. Gyrald. de Poët. ſuor. Temporum Dial. I. pag. 531. *See alſo* Geſner *in* Bibl. fol. 386, verſo.

(5) *See* Geſner. Biblioth. fol. 231, verſo.

(6) Id. ib.

(7) Labbe, nova Biblioth. MSS. Librorum, pag. 231, Edit. 1653.

AUROGALLUS (MATTHEW) a Learned Man of the XVIth Century, and Profeſſor of three Languages in the Univerſity of *Wittemberg* (*a*); was born in *Bohemia*. He had made a curious Collection of the beſt Books of Antiquity, and was not contented to eſteem them, as many others do, who endeavour to procure themſelves a Name by their numerous Libraries, but loved alſo to read them. I have ſeen an Epiſtle Dedicatory (*b*), wherein he is exhorted to publiſh the Phyſician *Aëtius*, Nineteen Books of Natural Hiſtory compoſed by an unknown Author, the Hymns of *Callimachus*, the Orations of the Ten *Athenian* Orators, and ſeveral other *Greek* Manuſcripts, brought from the *Levant* to *Bohemia* by the Baron *Bohuſlas* of *Haſſenſteyn*, which came to his hands *cognationis & ſtudiorum hæreditario jure, as next Heir both in Kindred and Learning*. It ſeems to be inferred, from Thoſe *Latin* words, that he was related to That Baron. There are ſome Books of his remaining [*A*]. He died in the Year 1543 (*c*), and had been a great Aſſiſtant to *Luther* in the Tranſlation of the Bible.

(*a*) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of* Parthenius de Amatoriis Affectibus, *by* Janus Cornarius, Medicus Zuiccavienſis, *dated the* 1*ſt of* April, 1536.

(*b*) *That, mentioned in the preceeding Citation.*

(*c*) Micrælius, Syntag. Hiſt. Konig *is miſtaken in putting* 1533, *and quoting* Micrælius.

[*A*] *Some of his Books are remaining.*] I do not know whether there any more beſides *Compendium Hebrææ Chaldææque Grammatices*, printed at *Wittemberg*, in 8vo, in the Year 1525, and at *Baſil*, in the Year 1539; and *De Hebræis Urbium, Regionum, Populorum, Fluminum, Montium, & aliorum locorum Nominibus Liber, è veteri inſtrumento congeſtus*, printed at *Wittemberg*, in the Year 1526, and at *Baſil*, in 1539, in 8vo (1). That ſecond Edition was enlarged by the Author.

(1) Epit. Biblioth. Geſneri.

AUSONIUS, in *Latin Decius*, or rather *Decimus Magnus Auſonius*, one of the moſt excellent Poets of the IVth Century, was of *Bourdeaux* (*a*), and the Son of a Famous Phyſician [*A*]. He was educated with a very particular Care; the whole

Family

(*a*) Auſon. in Præfat. ad Syagrium.

[*A*] *He was the Son of a famous Phyſician.*] Whoſe Name was *Julius Auſonius*. He was a Native of *Bazas*, and ſettled at *Bourdeaux* (1). His Wiſe's Name was *Æmilia Æonia*, and was the Daughter of *Cæcilius Argicius Arborius*, who fled into *Aquitain*, after a Proſcription, which had deprived him of all the Eſtate he had in his Country (2). This *Arborius*, having fixed himſelf in the City, called *Aquæ Tarbellorum* (3), married a virtuous Woman, of little or no Fortune, whoſe Name was *Æmilia Corinthia Maura*. From this Marriage proceeded one Son, and three Daughters. The Son was the ſame *Æmilius Magnus Arborius*, who taught Rhetoric at *Toulouſe*, and who took ſuch a very particular Care of the Education of our Poet (4). One of the Daughters was married to *Julius Auſonius*, and brought him four Children, of which the Poet *Auſonius* was the ſecond. You will find all this, and what follows, in his *Parentalia*, or in his *Epicedion in Patrem*. This *Julius Auſonius* was a Man of very great Merit: and, if he was like the Picture which his Son has left of him, he was a Remnant of the Golden Age. There was the greateſt Uniformity imaginable in his Conduct. He offered, gratis, the Aſſiſtance of his Art, to all who deſired it: He ſtudied to keep up the good Opinion others had of him; but never judged favourably of himſelf.

Judicium de me ſtudui præſtare bonorum;
Ipſe mihi nunquam, judice me, placui (5).

It is from others I muſt ſeek Applauſe,
For my own Judgment always damns my Cauſe.

He had an Averſion for Law-Suits; he neither increaſed his Eſtate, nor diminiſhed it: he never was either Witneſs, or Informer, againſt any Perſon's Life (6), he was neither envious nor ambitious; he thought Swearing and Lying were both alike; he never was concerned in any Conſpiracy, Plot, or Cabal; he religiouſly obſerved the ſacred Laws of Friendſhip; he made Happineſs to conſiſt not in poſſeſſing what one would have, but in not wiſhing for what Fortune did not give:

Felicem

(1) Auſon. in Præf. ad Syagr. & in Epiced. Parent.

(2) *The Province which is now called* Burgundy.

(3) Scaliger *ſays it is the City of* Acqs *on the* Adour.

(4) Auſon. in Profeſſ. cap. 16. pag. 176.

(5) Auſon. in Epiced. pag. 298.

(6) Indice me nullus ſed neque teſte perit. *Id. Ibid.*

Family intereſted themſelves in it (*b*), either becauſe his Parts were very promiſing, or becauſe the Scheme of his Nativity had prognoſticated, that he ſhould attain to great Honours [*B*]. He made a ſurprizing Progreſs in Learning, and at the Age of Thirty Years was appointed to teach Grammar, in *Bourdeaux* (*c*). Some time after he was promoted there to the Office of Profeſſor of Rhetoric (*d*). He acquired ſo great a Reputation in This Employ, that he was invited to the Imperial Court to be Preceptor to *Gratian*, Son of the Emperor *Valentinian*. He made himſelf very agreeable both to his Pupil and his Pupil's Father, and received from them ſuch Rewards and Dignities, as made him a very eminent Example of *Juvenal*'s Maxim, *That when Fortune pleaſes, a Rhetorician may become a Conſul* (*e*). He was, in effect, raiſed to the Conſulſhip by the

(*b*) *See the Poems of* Auſonius, *entituled* Parentalia.

(*c*) Auſon. in Præf. ad Syagrium.

(*d*) Id. in Profeſſor. n. 24, p. 187.

(*e*) Si fortuna volet fies de Rhetore Conſul. *Juven. Sat.* 7. *ver.* 197.

Felicem ſcivi, non qui, quod vellet, haberet:
Sed qui per fatum non data non cuperet (7).

(7) Id. ibid.

Happy is he, who can his Wiſh reſtrain,
Not he, who can that anxious Wiſh obtain.

He did not endeavour to diſcover other Mens Secrets; he did not invent falſe Reports againſt his Neighbour's Reputation; but if he knew ſome prejudicial Truths, he concealed them.

Non occurſator, non garrulus, obvia cernens,
Valvis & velo condita non adii.
Famam, quæ poſſet vitam lacerare bonorum,
Non finxi: & veram ſi ſcierim, tacui (8).

(8) Id. ibid.

I ſhunn'd, with Caution, the officious Tale;
Saw what was bare, but ne'er withdrew a Veil.
I never forg'd, to urge another's Fate,
Falſe Facts; nor did I thoſe I knew relate.

He never thought, that not committing a Fault was a Matter of Merit; he preferred Morality before the Laws; that is, if I miſtake not, he did a good Action, becauſe it was good, and not becauſe it was conformable to the Laws.

Deliquiſſe nihil nunquam laudem eſſe putavi,
Atque bonos mores legibus antetuli (9).

(9) Id. ibid.

In want of Fault, I never Merit ſaw;
Nor Virtue, in Obedience to the Law.

He kept his Marriage Vow exactly, during the Forty five Years he was married (10); and if he had the Pleaſure to ſee what he wiſhed come to paſs, it was not by too great an Indulgence of Fate, but becauſe he ſet ſuch ſtrict Bounds to his Wiſhes.

(10) Ibid. pag. 300.

Non quia fatorum nimia indulgentia: ſed quod
Tam moderata illi vota fuere viro (11).

(11) Id. in Parental. cap. 1, pag. 110.

Nor did he this to Heav'ns Indulgence owe;
But to his limiting his Wiſh ſo low.

He was compared to the ancient Sages of *Greece*; and imitated them in the moſt difficult Point, which was to practiſe what they taught; he endeavoured much more to lead the Life of a wiſe Man, than to diſcourſe like one:

Quem ſua contendit ſeptem ſapientibus ætas;
Quorum doctrinam moribus excoluit:
Viveret ut potius, quam diceret arte ſophorum,
Quamquam & facundo, non rudis ingenio (12).

(12) Id. ib.

To rival Greece *in Wiſdom's School he ſought,*
More wiſely acting what her Sages taught;
Supreamly wiſe, he choſe not to excel
So much in ſpeaking, as in living well.

And yet he was eloquent in *Greek*, though not in *Latin*;

Sermone impromptus Latio: verum Atticæ linguæ
Sufficit culti vocibus eloquii (13).

(13) Id. in Epiced. pag. 298.

He ſtudied with Succeſs the Arts to ſpeak,
Tho' not in Latin, *yet in nobler* Greek.

We need not wonder, then, if, after his Death, he was honoured with this Elogy, *He imitated no Body, and is imitated by no Body.*

Inde & perſunctæ manet hæc reverentia vitæ,
Ætas noſtra illi quod dedit hunc titulum:
Ut nullum Auſonius, quem ſectaretur, habebat:
Sic nullum, qui ſe nunc imitetur, habet (14).

(14) Id. in Parental. cap. 1, pag. 110.

So good a Life met with a due Regard;
This great Encomium was it's juſt Reward.
As he cou'd find no Copy to purſue,
So he found none could copy what he drew.

He was honoured with ſome illuſtrious Offices, without having the Trouble to exerciſe them; and died at ninety Years of Age, without being ſenſible of any Decay. He walked without a Staff, and found no ſort of Defect.

Curia me duplex, & uterque ſenatus habebat
Muneris exſortem, nomine participem (15).

(15) Id. in Epiced. pag. 298.

Both Courts, both Senates, my Relation claim,
Excuſe my Preſence, but inrol my Name.

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Ipſe nec affectans, nec detractator honorum,
Pæfectus magni nuncupor Illyrici (16).

(16) Id. ib. pag. 302.

I neither ſought for, nor deſpis'd, a Name,
So Prefect of Illyricum *became.*

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Nonaginta annos baculo ſine, corpore toto
Exegi, cunctis integer officiis (17).

(17) Ibid. pag. 303.

Ninety Years Load without a Staff I bear,
My Body active, and my Senſes clear.

He compoſed ſome Works of Phyſic in *Latin*, which *Vindicianus* (18), and *Marcellus* (19), have honourably mentioned. *Scaliger* affirms, that he was the Emperor *Valentinians*'s Phyſician, before his Son was choſen *Gracian*'s Preceptor (20): but I have found no Proof it in *Auſonius*.

(18) *See* Scaliger, in Vitâ Auſonii.

(19) Marcell. in Epiſt. præfixâ lib. de Medica. & cap. 25, ejuſd. libri.

(20) Scalig. in Vitâ Auſon.

[*B*] *The Scheme of his Nativity had prognoſticated, that he ſhould attain to great Honours.*] *Cæcilius Argicius Arborius*, his Grandfather, by the Mother's ſide, underſtood Aſtrology, and had calculated This Nativity; he kept it private, but his Daughter diſcovered it. *Auſonius* informs us of theſe Particulars himſelf.

Tu cœli numeros, & conſcia ſidera fati
Callebas, ſtudium diſſimulanter agens.
Non ignota tibi noſtræ quoque formula vitæ:
Signatis quam tu condideras tabulis;
Prodita non unquam. Sed matris cura retexit
Sedula, quam timidi cura tegebat avi (21).

(21) Auſon. in Parental. cap. 9. pag. 117.

Thy Art from conſcious Stars our Lives can date,
And in Heav'ns Aſpects read the Book of Fate.
There all my future Fortunes didſt thou trace,
And in thy Schemes the pleaſing Secret place.
But what the Grandſire with ſuch Care conceal'd,
The curious Mother's prying Eye reveal'd.

He adds, that *Arborius*, meeting, from time to time, with the Frowns of adverſe Fortune, and lamenting his Son, the Emperor *Gratian*, in the Year 379 (*f*), after having gone through other very conſiderable Offices; for, beſides the Dignity of Queſtor, with which he was honoured in the Life of the Emperor *Valentinian*, he was created Prefect of the *Prætorium* in *Italy*, and in *Gaul*, after the Death of That Prince (*g*). The Thanks which he gave to the Emperor *Gratian*, for his Promotion to the Conſulſhip, is an excellent Performance. The time of his Death is not certainly known; but it is beyond queſtion, that he was living in the Year 388, and even in the Year 392, and that he lived to a great Age [*C*]. He had married a Wife of a good Family who died young (*h*). He had ſome Children by her, and did not marry any more. He was much eſteemed by the Emperor *Theodoſius*, and ſome believe That Monarch conferred on him the Dignity of a *Patrician* (*i*). They found this on a Letter, which appears, in moſt Editions, at the beginning of *Auſonius*'s Works. Nothing can be more obliging than That Letter: Some Critics judge it to be ſuppoſititious; but they cannot deny that This Emperor very much eſteemed *Auſonius*'s Poems, and exhorted him to publiſh them; for this appears by a Preface which is inconteſtably That Poet's own. There is an extreme inequality in his Works, either becauſe his Muſe was a little too inconſtant; or becauſe ſome Pieces have been inſerted in his Poems, which he had but rough drawn, or becauſe ſome particular Reaſons obliged him to permit the Publication of ſome Verſes, which he had not time to poliſh. Generally ſpeaking, there is ſomething harſh in his Manner, and in his Style; but it was rather the Defect of the Age, than of his Genius. They who are good Judges of Poetry can eaſily ſee, that if he had lived in *Auguſtus*'s time, his Verſes would have equalled the beſt of that time, ſo much Delicacy and Wit appears in moſt of his Writings. Though the general Opinion makes him a Chriſtian, yet ſome learned Perſons believe he was not one [*D*]. If they ground their Objection either on ſome laſcivious Verſes

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Son, who died at thirty Years of Age, comforted himſelf, under his Afflictions, with the Expectation of thoſe Dignities, which the Stars had promiſed to his Grandchild.

> Dicebas ſed te ſolatia longa fovere;
> Quod mea præcipuus fata maneret honos.
> Et modo conciliis animarum mixte piorum
> Fata tui certè nota nepotis habes.
> Sentis quod quæſtor, quod te præfectus, & idem
> Conſul, honorifico munere commemoro (22).

> *Pleaſed with the Honours Fate for me deſign'd,*
> *No longer thy own Griefs diſtract thy Mind.*
> *Ev'n now thou ſmil'ſt among the Dead, to ſee*
> *This full Accompliſhment of Fate's Decree:*
> *To ſee me thus adore thy pious Shade,*
> *A Queſtor, Prefect, and a Conſul made.*

Obſerve, that he ſuppoſes his Grandfather's Soul, even in the Abode of the Bleſſed, was ſenſible of the Accompliſhment of the Horoſcope, and of the particular Dignities which our Poet had obtained at the Emperor's Court. He is leſs Orthodox in another Place; for he there queſtions, whether any thing of us remains after our Death.

> Et nunc, ſive aliquid poſt fata extrema ſuperſit,
> Vivis adhuc, ævi quod periit meminens;
> Sive nihil ſupereſt, nec habent longa otia ſenſus,
> Tu tibi vixiſti: nos tua fama juvat (23).

> *And now if after Death there ought remains,*
> *In thy bleſt Shade ſweeteſt Remembrance reigns.*
> *Or if the Grave no farther Proſpect give,*
> *Yet thy paſt Life, will make thy Fame ſtill live.*

I cannot tell whether thoſe, who ſay he was a Pagan, have ever quoted this Paſſage, as a Proof of their Opinion.

[*C*] *It is beyond queſtion, that he was living in the Year* 392, *and that he lived to a great Age.*] He ſpeaks (24) of the Puniſhment of the Tyrant *Maximus*, whom *Theodoſius* cut off, in the Year 388 (25). *Baronius* proves, that *Paulinus* dedicated himſelf to a Monaſtic Life in his Retirement at *Nola* in the Year 394 (26). It was but few Years after the devout Life he had led in *Spain*, and which *Auſonius* had blamed. This makes us judge, that our Poet was living in the Year 392. Whence it follows, that he lived to a great Age, for he was already old when he was made Conſul in the Year 379 (27). Add to this, that there was but very little difference between his Father's Age, and his own (28); but he ſurvived his Father, who died at Ninety Years of Age.

[*D*] *Some learned Perſons believe he was no Chriſtian.*] *Voſſius* is of That Number. He ſays (22), "Poëta fuit gentilis, quemadmodum ex Paullino liquet: ut quæ Chriſtum celebrant perperam illi ſint tributa. —— *He was a Heathen Poet, as appears from* Paulinus: *So that Thoſe Poems, which celebrate* Chriſt, *are falſely aſcribed to him.*" Father *Briet* affirms the ſame thing, he only gives *Voſſius*'s Expreſſions another turn. "Ex Paulino certum eſt eum Ethnicum fuiſſe, quare opera Chriſtiana huic adjudicari ſolita, ſine dubio alterius ſunt (30). —— *It is certain from* Paulinus, *that he was an Ethnic, and therefore thoſe Chriſtian Compoſitions uſually aſcribed to him, muſt, undoubtedly, to be of another Hand.*" *Borrichius* goes further, for he affirms, that *Auſonius* often incurred *Paulinus*'s Cenſure, becauſe of his Paganiſm. "Religione Ethnicus, *Eòque* à *Paullino* amico, ſed Chriſtianis Sacris dedito identidem objurgatus (31). —— Paullinus diſcipulus Auſonii quem colebat ut præceptorem, ſed ut averſum à Chriſtiana religione ſubinde increpabat, quemadmodum ex opere ipſius liquidam eſt (32). —— *In Religion a Heathen, and on That Account reproached by* Paulinus, *who was his Friend, but had been converted to the Chriſtian Faith.* —— Paulinus, *a Scholar of* Auſonius, *whom he much honoured as his Maſter, but now and then blamed for his Averſion to Chriſtianity, as is evident from his Works.*" All this ſhews, that even great Authors do not always take the trouble of going to the Fountain Head, but ſometimes ſtop at the firſt Teſtimony they meet with. Thoſe, who conſult St *Paulinus*'s Works, find nothing there to perſuade them, that *Auſonius* profeſſed Paganiſm; and ſince *Paulinus* no where uſes any preſſing Exhortation to him to be baptized, they conclude, he had already profeſſed the Goſpel. They conclude yet it more certainly from thoſe expreſs Words they meet with there,

> Non reor hoc Sancto ſic diſplicuiſſe Parenti (33).
> Mentis ut errorem credat, ſic vivere Chriſto (34).

> *I hope my holy Tutor now will find*
> *The Chriſtian Faith, no Error of the Mind.*

So that the Reading of St *Paulinus*'s Works proves the very Reverſe of what *Voſſius* and ſome others have affimed; it demonſtrates *Auſonius*'s Chriſtianity, as *Lilius Gyraldus* acknowledges. "Chriſtianus quidem Auſonius fuit, ut ex ejus Verſibus, & item Paulini ejus diſcipuli facilè colligimus (35). —— *Auſonius was indeed a Chriſtian, as appears from his*

(*f*) *And not in the Year* 382, *as* Vinetus *affirms, in his Notes on* Auſonius's *Thanks.*

(*g*) *See Remark* [*F*].

(*h*) Auſon. in Parental. cap. 9.

(*i*) Albertus Petrus Rubenius, Diſſert. de Vita Fl. Mallii Theodori, pag. 81.

(22) Id. ib. pag. 118.

(23) Id. in Profeſſoribus, cap. 1, in fine, pag. 148.

(24) Id. in Claris Urbibus, cap. 7, pag. 237.

(25) *And not in the Year* 391, *as* Vinetus *affirms on this Place of* Auſonius. *He is more exact in the Life of* Auſonius, *he there has it the Year* 388.

(26) Baron. ad Ann. 394, n. 72, pag. 884.

(27) Auſon. in Gratiarum actione, pag. 709.

(28) Auſon. Epiſt. 1.

(29) Voſſius de Poët. Lat. pag. 55.

(30) Briet, de Poët. Lat. lib. 4. pag. 50.

(31) Borrich. Diſſertat. de Poët. pag. 73.

(32) Id. ib. pag. 74.

(33) *That is* Auſonius.

(34) Paulinus in Epiſtolâ *before* ad Auſonium in fine.

(35) Gyrald. Hiſt. Poët. Dial. 10, pag. 514.

Verſes that he compoſed [*E*], or on the manner in which he condemned the Solitude of *Paulinus*, or on the intimate Friendſhip he preſerved with the Pagan *Symmachus*, they

" *his Verſes, and alſo from his Scholar* Paulinus." It is therefore without Foundation that ſome would take from This Poet, what appears in Praiſe of JESUS CHRIST in his Collection of Verſes. Nay, tho' we ſhould take from him the *Carmen Paſchale*, and the excellent Piece, which begins with

Omnipotens ſolo mentis mihi cognite cultu,

as ſome Critics would take from him the *Oratio Paſchalis, verſibus Rophalicis*, yet there would be enough left in his Works to confute Thoſe, who affirm he was a Pagan. Now ſee of what Conſequence it is to apply to ſome among the Moderns, rather than others, when one is not willing to be at the Pains to run to the Fountain. If *Voſſius* had addreſſed himſelf to *Baronius*, he would have avoided the Fault he has committed, and ſo would They who copied it. He could never have believed, after reading *Baronius*, that St *Paulinus* gives the leaſt Proof of the pretended Paganiſm of our Poet *Auſonius*; for That learned Cardinal relates the reſpectful Anſwer of St *Paulinus*, and makes it appear, that *Auſonius*'s Thoughts, on That Friend's Retreat, does not differ from Thoſe, which worldly Chriſtians form, daily, when they ſee a young Man of Quality renounce all the Enjoyments of the World, to dedicate himſelf to a Monaſtic Life (36). It is pretended, that *Auſonius* thought ſome Miſanthropic Humour, or Malady like That of *Bellerophon*, made *Paulinus* retire from the World, and renounce the Muſes (37).

Triſtis, egens, deſerta colat: tacituſque pererret
Alpini convexa jugi: ceu dicitur olim
Mentis inops, cœtus hominum, & veſtigia vitans,
Avia perluſtraſſe vagus loca Bellerophontes (38).

Deſerts, or Alpine *Hills, ſhall be his Haunt,*
His dire Attendants, Silence, Grief, and Want:
There, like Bellerophon, *diſturb'd in Mind,*
Far ſhall he fly all Footſteps of Mankind.

Thouſands and Thouſands of Chriſtians might have made the ſame Judgment; it muſt therefore be but an impertinent Proof of Paganiſm. Without doubt *Arniſæus*, and the *French* Author, whom he quotes, were Chriſtians, and yet they judged, like *Auſonius*, of the love of Solitude; they diſcovered, clearly enough, that they imputed the Retirement of the Founders of Monks, to a melancholy Humour. "Medici inter ſigna morbi melancholici referunt, ſi quis " quærat ſolitudinem, aut ſi quem triſtis agat mœror, " torvave ſeverum fronte, vel à lætis ſociorum cœtibus arceat; & Gallicus quidam non inconcinnus " ſcriptor, ejus ordinis fuiſſe cenſet Franciſcum, Dominicum, alioſque Eremitas, aut Anachoretas, qui " contra naturæ præſcriptum politicis ſocietatibus ſe " ſubtraxerunt, in eremos, inſtar Endymionum, ſeſe " abdiderunt, & quo melancholica ingenia maximè " afficiebantur, novum vitæ genus, affectatæ religionis pallio veſtitum, condiderunt (39). - - - - - - - *The " Phyſicians eſteem it a Sign of a Melancholy Diſorder, to ſeek Solitude, or to be given up to Grief, to " have a ſtern, ſhy, Countenance, or to fly good Fellowſhip; and a judicious* French *Writer is of Opinion, " that This Claſs will take in* Franciſcus, Dominicus, " *and other* Hermits, *or* Anchorets, *who, againſt the " Law of Nature, have withdrawn themſelves from " human Societies, and hid themſelves in Wilderneſſes, " like* Endymion, *and afterwards covered, under the " Cloak of Religion, that new Kind of Life which " They affected only out of a melancholy Diſpoſition.*" *Baronius* has not forgot to obſerve, that *Auſonius* was educated by two Nuns, who were his Aunts (40). This is a Proof that he was of a Chriſtian Family. Now, Chriſtianity being upon the Throne in thoſe Times, and Paganiſm expoſed to Diſgrace and Perſecution, it ſeldom happened that a Chriſtian turned Pagan. Since, then, *Auſonius* was educated from his Infancy in Chriſtianity, we ought to believe he profeſſed it all the Days of his Life; for nothing is more abſurd than the Thought of *Giſelinus*, who ſays, That *Claudian* and *Auſonius*, being prevailed upon by the Authority and Eloquence of *Symmachus*, abjured the Chriſtian Faith, and plunged themſelves again into Idolatry (41). He pretends to prove this by the Teſtimony of St *Auguſtin*, and by the great Friendſhip *Symmachus* expreſſed in his Letters to them. The Jeſuit who confutes this, ſhews, that St *Auguſtin*, without mentioning *Auſonius*, ſaid only, that *Claudian* had been addicted to Paganiſm (42); this is not affirming he had ever once been a Chriſtian. And as for what concerns *Auſonius*, he is juſtified as well by the Silence of the Emperor *Gratian*, and of St *Paulinus*, as by their Kindneſſes. We might add, that the Reaſon, borrowed from the Friendſhip of *Symmachus*, is the weakeſt in the World: they were not united by the Conformity of Religion, but by the love they both of them had for Learning.

2° if a Love for Learn be not a stronger tye — than Conformity of Religion — Viz — Atticus an Epicurea & Cicero

It cannot be denied, but that Mr *Baillet* embraces the Opinion of thoſe who pretend, that *Auſonius* was a Pagan, I ſay it cannot be denied, when we conſider his Words. "Theſe are Defects, which he " ought to have made up by ſome good Qualities, " and by Maxims and Sentiments drawn from Morality, as the beſt Poets of Antiquity took care to " do before him. But, as he lived among Chriſtians, he was afraid, perhaps, that he might be miſtaken for one of them, if his Opinions, in Morals, had been found agreeable to theirs (43)." It is certain, that the beſt Maxims of Morality are found in *Auſonius*'s Works, and particularly the Apophthegms of the ancient Sages of *Greece*. What can be a finer Piece of Morality, than his Deſcription of *Vir bonus* (44)?

[*E*] *He compoſed ſome laſcivious Verſes.*] *Scaliger*, the Father, found ſome of *Auſonius*'s Epigrams ſo filthy, that he thought Fire only was able to purify them. "Nonnulla *(epigrammata)* adeo fœda atque " deteſtanda ut neque ſcriptore neque auditore digna, non in ſpongiam incumbere merita ſint, ſed " ſolis flammis expiari poſſe videantur (45). - - - - - " *Some* (Epigrams) *are ſo deteſtably obſcene, that " they deſerve neither Writer nor Reader, and, " inſtead of the Spunge, they ſeem to me to merit no other Purification than That of the Flames.*" I wonder he ſays nothing againſt the Obſcenities of the *Cento nuptialis*, which have principally excited the Indignation of ſeveral other Authors. Here is a fine Paſſage of Mr *Baillet*; "It were, at leaſt, " to be wiſhed, that ſome body had expunged " the abominable *Cento*, that wicked Piece of Patchwork, which he made up of ſeveral half Verſes " of *Virgil*, on Subjects purely *amorous*. It is with " much Juſtice, that the Univerſity of *Paris* complained, forty Years ago, of the Malice of This " Poet, in making *Virgil* ſpeak in ſo very lewd a " manner; who of all the Poets of Antiquity was " moſt celebrated for his Chaſtity *. And Father " *Briet*, a Jeſuit, has carried his Zeal yet further †, " when he repreſents this Action of *Auſonius* to us " as an Outrage highly penal; declaring it to be " as great a Piece of impudent Aſſurance, as of " ſcandalous Obſcenity, to make ſuch a Miſapplication; " and that there was ſomething rather diabolical " than human in That pernicious Art of perverting " Things, and changing good into bad, to lay Snares " for the Innocence and Integrity of Youth (46)." And becauſe many Perſons will be glad to read Father *Briet*'s own Words, I am going to copy them: *Centones ejus Virgiliani non tantum impuriſſimi ſunt, ſed & impudentiſſimi, quibus caſtiſſimos verſus, libidinoſæ affixit materiæ, opere, quod plus dæmonem, quàm hominem ſaperet, adoleſcentium pudicitiæ inſidiantem.* *Auſonius* wrote That Piece at the Inſtance of the Emperor *Valentinian*, who had compoſed ſuch another. He excuſes him himſelf on That Order, and obſerves, that a Prince cannot expreſs any ſort of Command more abſolute, than That of a Requeſt. He found himſelf much perplexed; for, in writing a wicked Poem, he expoſed himſelf to the Accuſation of groſsly ſacrificing his Reputation to Flattery; and by writing a better Poem than That of the Emperor, he was like to be condemned for his Inſolence, in having the Aſſurance to be more witty than his Maſter. He affirms, I. That he obſerved ſuch a Medium, that, without pretending to outdo *Valentinian*, he wrote a Poem not inferior to his. II. That he had the Advantage of pleaſing him, and not having conquered him, he did not incur the Diſgrace, which a Victory might have drawn upon him. This they are groſsly miſtaken. Theſe are, however, the moſt ſpecious Reaſons which have been alledged. *Ritterſhuſius* looked upon That Friendſhip as a great Prodigy (*k*).

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(36) Baron. ad ann. 394, n. 84.

(37) *I expreſs myſelf thus, becauſe tho'* Paulinus *gave this Senſe to* Auſonius's *Words, there is reaſon to believe it is not the true one, but that they rather ſignify an Imprecation againſt him who adviſed* Paulinus *not to anſwer* Auſonius's *Letters.*

(38) Auſon. Epiſt. 25, p. 697, 698.

(39) Arniſæus, Reflection. politic. pag. 9.

(40) Baron. ubi ſupra, ad Ann. 394, n. 85. *See Remark* [F] *n.* 7.

(41) Victor Giſelinus, in Scholiis ad ſecundum librum Prudentii contra Symmachum, apud Theoph. Raynaud. Hoploth. §. 2. Serie 1, cap. 14, pag. 56.

(42) Theoph. Raynaud. ibid.

(43) Baillet's *Judgment on the Poets*, Tom. 2, pag. 470.

(44) *Page* 529.

(45) J. Cæſar. Scalig. Poët. lib. 6, cap. 5, pag. 761.

* *The Univerſity's Anſwer to the Apology of Father* Nic. Cauſſin, *p.* 358.

† Philip. Briet. de Poëtis Lat. lib. 4. p. 50.

(46) Baillet, ubi ſupra, p. 470, 471.

Scaliger's

This is the Language of a cunning Courtier. But to do This Poet all the Juſtice, which the Delicacy of his Wit and Pen here deſerves, we muſt hear his own Words. “Piget Virgiliani carminis dignitatem tam joculari dehoneſtaſſe materia; ſed quid facerem? juſſum erat, quodque eſt POTENTISSIMUM IMPERANDI GENUS, rogabat qui jubere poterat, S. imperator Valentinianus, vir meo judicio eruditus: qui nuptias quondam ejuſmodi ludo deſcripſerat, aptis equidem verſibus & compoſitione feſtiva. Experiri deinde volens, quantum noſtra contentione præcelleret, ſimile nos de eodem concinnare præcepit. Quam ſcrupuloſum hoc mihi fuerit, intellige. Neque anteferri volebam, neque poſthaberi: quum aliorum quoque judicio detegenda eſſet adulatio inepta, ſi cederem: inſolentia, ſi ut æmulus eminerem. Suſcepi igitur ſimilis recuſanti: feliciterque & obnoxius gratiam tenui, nec victor offendi (47). ------ *I am aſhamed to have diſgraced the Dignity of* Virgil's *Poetry on ſo jocular a Subject: But what could I do? I was commanded to do it, and, which is* THE MOST ABSOLUTE SORT OF COMMAND, *I was deſired to do it, by him who could have commanded it, even by his Sacred Imperial Majeſty* Valentinian, *a Prince, in my Judgment, truly learned: who had, himſelf, treated a Nuptial Subject after the ſame ludicrous Manner, in very apt and witty Poetry. Deſiring therefore to try, how far he ſhould excel, in this our Trial of Skill, he commanded me to undertake the Work. You will readily imagine I had a very nice Task. I was neither willing to excel, nor be excelled: if I fell ſhort, it would look, in the Judgment of others, like Flattery: if I out-did, it would ſeem Inſolence. I undertook it, therefore, with an Appearance of Unwillingneſs: and, by a happy Courſe, I kept in Favour as an Equal, and offended not as a Superior.*” If it were true, that the *Cento nuptialis* of the Emperor *Valentinian* was not inferior to that of *Auſonius*, it muſt be ſaid, that This Monarch was not unskilled in Poetry; and beſides, as he was grave, and of exemplary Chaſtity, it may ſerve much for *Auſonius*'s Juſtification. “Omni pudicitiæ cultu domi caſtus, & foris, nullo contagio conſcientiæ violatus obſcœnæ, nihil inceſtum: hancque ob cauſam tanquam retinaculis petulantiam frænarat Aulæ regalis (48). —— *He obſerved the ſtricteſt Chaſtity, both at home and abroad, and avoided all Obſcenity and Pollution: and thus bridled, by his Example, the Licentiouſneſs of his Court.*” So great an Example may clearly prove, that the moſt ſevere and chaſt Perſons give way ſometimes to witty Performances, wherein the Deſcriptions of the chief Nuptial Ceremony abound with too much Looſeneſs and Obſcenity; for there is no queſtion to be made, but this Piece of Poetry of the Emperor *Valentinian* was very wanton. The Subject required it, being Matrimonial, which is always treated in a merry Vein. “Nuptias quondam ejuſmodi ludo deſcripſerat (*Valentinianus)* aptis equidem verſibus, & compoſitione feſtivâ (49). ------- *He (*Valentinian*) had himſelf treated a Nuptial Subject after the ſame ludicrous Manner, in very apt and witty Poetry.*” We may be well aſſured that the Emperor's Verſes were no leſs *amorous* than Thoſe of the Emperor *Gallienus* (50). It muſt be acknowledged then, that *Auſonius* deſerves ſome excuſe, becauſe he wrote his Nuptial *Cento* by way of Imitation, and at the requeſt of his Maſter, one of the moſt grave and chaſt Emperors that ever was, and, beſides, a great Follower of the moſt pure Chriſtian Doctrine (51). So that if he had not allowed of a Toleration (52), it would have been ſaid of him, that he wanted no Talent, which becomes the moſt Orthodox Monarchs. I only remark this to ſhew, that Thoſe who place *Auſonius* among the *Pagan* Poets, under pretence that he wrote ſuch a laſcivious Piece of Poetry as that *Cento Nuptialis*, do not give Things a thorough Examination. Without doubt he is to blame; I do not pretend to excuſe him. I only ſay, that this Fact is not a Proof of Paganiſm, nor ſufficient to give any juſt Suſpicions, that he was not a very Orthodox Chriſtian. I prove this from the Circumſtances of it. I mean, from the Emperor's Character, who commanded him to compoſe ſuch a Writing, and approved it. How many Chriſtian Poets are there, whoſe Works are more laſcivious than this *Cento Nuptialis?* Many of them muſt be degraded from the Name of Chriſtians, if we follow the Maxim of *Gyraldus*, “Chriſtianus quidem Auſonius fuit —— ſed petulantior tamen & laſcivior quam ut inter Chriſtianos numerari dignus ſit (53). —— Auſonius *was indeed a Chriſtian, but ſo looſe and laſcivious, that he deſerves not to be named among Chriſtians.*” Without going ſo far as *Italy*, is there not an *Epithalamium* in the Works of a Poet at the *Hague*, which, for Obſcenity, does not yield to the *Cento* of *Auſonius* (54). I addreſs this principally to *Ritterſhuſius*, who looked upon the Conduct of *Auſonius*, as monſtrous; I mean, that a Poet, who was a Chriſtian, both in Practice and Profeſſion, ſhould write laſciviouſly: “Illud imprimis apud me monſtri inſtar habet, hominem Chriſtianum, &, ut apparet, non nomine tantum; ſed & pectore & moribus, adeo ſæpe laſciva atque improba ſcribere potuiſſe, ut niſi nomen Auſonii eſſet adſcriptum, Bilbilitanum poëtam te legere putes (55). —— *To me it appears particularly monſtrous, that one, who is a* Chriſtian, *and that, as it ſeems, not in Name only, but alſo in Morals and Diſpoſition, could write ſuch wicked and laſcivious Verſes, that if the Title did not ſhew them to be* Auſonius's, *you would think you was reading* Martial.” He is not ſatisfied with the Excuſe the Author made on the Purity of his Life,

Laſciva eſt nobis pagina, Vita proba eſt.

My Book is wanton, but my Life is chaſt.

I relate this Excuſe at length, in another Article (56). Let us obſerve, that *Auſonius* was ſo ſenſible that he ſhould be blamed, that he endeavours to juſtify himſelf at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end, of That ſmall Poem. We have ſeen what he ſaid at the beginning, we ſhall ſee in another Place (57), what he ſaid at the end: It remains only to obſerve, what he ſaid in the middle. Know then, that after having deſcribed the Wedding-Feaſt, the Proceſſion of the Bride and Bridegroom, the Wedding Preſents, the Complements of the Company; and having modeſtly enough repreſented the firſt Diſcourſe of the married Couple, he ſtops there, and advertiſes his Readers, that what he had to ſay more, not being covered with a Veil, it was their part to decline going any farther. “Hactenus caſtis auribus audiendum myſterium nuptiale, ambitu loquendi, & circumitione velavi. Verum quoniam & feſcenninos amat celebritas nuptialis, verborumque petulantiam notus vetere inſtituto ludus admittit, cætera quoque cubiculi & lectuli operta prodentur, ab eodem auctore collecta: ut bis erubeſcamus, qui & Virgilium faciamus impudentem. Vos, ſi placet, hic jam legendi modum ponite, cætera curioſis relinquite (58). —— *Thus far I have veiled the Nuptial Myſtery with many Words, and long Deſcriptions, for an Entertainment to modeſt Ears. But, becauſe the matrimonial Solemnity requires ſome ſmutty Mirth, and Cuſtom has authoriſed theſe looſe Deſcriptions, the remaining Secrets of the Chamber and Bed, will be given you by the ſame Author; who muſt bluſh again and again, for impoſing upon* Virgil's *Words ſo impudent a Meaning. You that pleaſe may ſtop here; and leave the reſt to thoſe who are more curious.*” He has reaſon to ſay, that what he calls *Imminutio* (59), will be deſcribed in very obſcene Terms. *Moreri* has been the moſt indulgent of all Men; *There are ſome Pieces*, ſays he, *which* Auſonius *compoſed in his Youth, wherein he complies too much with the Liberty of the Age he lived in.* This Cenſure is not rigid enough, and ſuppoſes a Falſity; for certainly *Auſonius* was not young when he compoſed the Nuptial *Cento*. I do not ſpeak of the Verſes which he made on a handſome Slave, whoſe Name was *Biſſula*, and who had been adjudged to him for his Share of the Plunder, after a great Victory obtained in *Germany*, in the

Year

(*k*) In Epiſt. ad Solom. Pantherum.

(47) Auſon. in Præfat. Cent. Nuptial. p. 500, 501.

(48) Amm. Marcell. lib. 30, cap. 9.

(49) Auſon. in Præfat. Cent. Nuptial. p. 500, 501.

(50) *See the Article* ARODON, *near the End.*

(51) *See Mr* Flechier *in the Life of* Theodoſius, *pag.* 52.

(52) Amm. Marcell. lib. 30, cap. 19. & ibi Valeſius.

(53) Gyrald. Hiſt. Poët. Dial. 10, p. 514.

(54) *See* Baſium 20, ſive Epithalamium *of* John Secundus, p. 103.

(55) Conrad. Ritterſhuſ. Epiſt. ad Solom. Pantherum.

(56) *See Remark* [*D*] *of the Article* VAYER.

(57) *Ibid.*

(58) Auſon. in Cent. Nupt. pag. 513, 514.

(59) *That is*, The Defloration.

Scaliger's Miſtakes [*F*], and the principal Editions of *Auſonius* [*G*], will be the Subject of

Year 368; for we do not know to what Degree of Licentiouſneſs he carried Them; They are loſt, and we may only conjecture, that They were very free, ſince he requires Readers who had drunk hard.

> \- - - - - - - admoneo, ante bibas.
> Jejunis nil ſcribo: meum poſt pocula ſi quis
> Legerit, hic ſapiet (60).

> *He who would reliſh our laſcivious Page,*
> *Muſt firſt with flowing Cups his Taſte engage.*

This does not agree at all with what remains of this Poem; there is nothing obſcene either in the Words or Thoughts; we muſt conclude therefore, that the greateſt Part of it is loſt. A certain Commentator, without thinking of this, has proved the ſame thing by another Argument. He Remarks, That this Poem is too ſhort at preſent, to ſuppoſe it ever could have had ſo large a Preface as we now find prefixed to it (61): and conſequently it muſt have been much longer, when the Author finiſhed it, than we now have it. However, *Auſonius*, who was then paſt the Heat of Youth, deſcribed, in all likelihood, the Charms of his Slave with a pretty deal of Freedom: She appeared ſo agreeable to him from the firſt Moment, that he preſently ſet her at Liberty (62).

[*F*] *Theſe are* Scaliger'*s Miſtakes.*] I. He believed, *Auſonius* was raiſed to the Office of Prefect of the *Prætorium*, in the Emperor *Valentinian*'s Life (63). This is not true, *Auſonius* declares that he owed this Office ſolely to the Emperor *Gratian.* "Tot gradus nomine Comitis propter tua incrementa congeſti, ex tuo merito, te ac patre principibus, quæſtura communis, & tui tantum Præfectura beneficii (64). —— *So many Honours heaped upon me, as being your Præceptor, on account of your own Proficiencies, and great Merit, by both Emperors, your Father and yourſelf, the Queſtorſhip your joint Gift, but the Præfectſhip your own ſingle Favour.*" II. *Scaliger* believed, without Reaſon, that there was a Miſtake in the *Theodoſian* Code, where mention is made of *Auxonius*, Prefect of the *Prætorium* (65). He would have it read *Auſonius*, and not *Auxonius*. He would not have required ſuch a Correction, if he had obſerved, that the Perſon, concerned in that place of *Theodoſius*'s Code, died about the Year 371, and that *Auſonius* enjoyed the Conſulſhip in the Year 379, and lived yet many Years after. III. He would have all the Laws addreſſed to *Antonius*, Prefect of the *Prætorium*, to be corrected, and that *Auſonius* ſhould be read in thoſe Places, and not *Antonius*. This is wrong, for it is certain, that *Auſonius* was honoured with the Office of Prefect of the *Prætorium* of *Italy*, in the Year 376, five Months after the Death of the Emperor *Valentinian*, and that his Son *Heſperius* was given him for his Colleague (66). We know, alſo, that *Antonius* was made Prefect of the *Prætorium* of *Gaul*, about the ſame time. Things remained in the ſame State the following Year; *Auſonius* and his Son, diſcharged the Prefectſhip of *Italy*, and *Antonius*, that of *Gaul*; but, in the Year 378, *Antonius* was Prefect of the *Prætorium* in *Italy*, and *Auſonius* and his Son, were Prefects in *Gaul*, and ſo continued 'till the Year 380. You will find the Proofs of all this, in the Author quoted in the Margin (67). IV. *Scaliger* believed, that *Auſonius* ſpoke of himſelf in theſe two Verſes:

> Aut Italum populos, Aquilonigenaſque Britannos
> Præfecturarum titulo tenuere ſecundo (68).

> Latians, *and fartheſt* Britains *too obey*
> *Th' appointed Prefect's delegated Sway.*

It is a Miſtake: The Poem, wherein theſe two Verſes are, was compoſed in the Life-time of the Emperor *Valentinian* (69). Now *Auſonius* was not Prefect of the *Prætorium*, 'till after the Death of that Prince (70). V. There is no crediting what *Scaliger* affirms, That *Auſonius*, after his Conſulſhip, enjoyed the Office of Proconſul of *Aſia*, and that of Vicar of the Dioceſe of *Africa* (71). We find, indeed, one *Auxonius*, that was Vicar of the Dioceſe of *Aſia*, in the Year 365, and another *Auxonius*, that was Proconſul of *Aſia*, in the Year 381 (72). But this is nothing to *Scaliger*'s Opinion. VI. He miſtakes the Uncle for the Grandfather, in theſe Words. "Hoc tanto viro naſcitur Burdegalæ Decius Magnus Auſonius nomine avi materni, cognomine patris (73). —— *Of ſo great a Man was* Decius Magnus Auſonius *born at* Bourdeaux, *taking his Name from his Grandfather, by the Mother, his Sirname from his Father.*" *Auſonius*'s Grandfather, by the Mother, was called *Cæcilius Argicius Arborius*; he left a Son, whoſe Name was *Æmilius Magnus Arborius*. So that *Scaliger*'s Miſtake is plain. VII. He ſays, that *Hilaria*, and *Julia Cataphronia*,, who had made a Vow of Virginity, were *Auſonius*'s Aunts, by the Mother (74). This is only true with regard to *Æmilia Hilaria*, for the Nun *Julia Cataphronia*, was his Aunt by the Father (75).

[*G*] — *and the principal Editions of* Auſonius.] *Geſner*, and his Abbreviators, affirm, That *Aldus* is the firſt who publiſhed this Poet. They do not ſay in what Year, but, if they mean the Edition of *Venice*, in 1517, they may eaſily be confuted; for beſides, that *Aldus* was not then living, Mr *Van Beughem* affirms, that *Auſonius* was printed at *Milan*, in 1490 (76), and, ſince that, at *Venice*, in the Year 1496, with a Preface, by *George Merula* (77). The Edition of *Baſil*, 1523, by *Valentine Curio*, is ſufficiently known: That of *Lewis Mireus*, printed at *Lyons*, by *John de Tournes*, in the Year 1557, is preferable to all the former. The Bibliographers mention it, but I do not ſee that they take any notice of That which *Ducheri* publiſhed; in praiſe of which, *Nicolas Bourbon* made four Verſes, which may be ſeen on the reverſe of the Title of the Edition of *Lyons*, by *Sebaſtian Gryphius*, 1549. I ſay nothing of *Plantin*'s Edition, 1568, with the Notes of *Theodorus Pulman*. That of *Joſeph Scaliger*, at *Lyons*, by *Anthony Gryphius*, in 1575, with a very learned Commentary, under the Title of *Auſonianæ lectiones*, eclipſed all the former. Every Body knows, that *Elias Vinetus* is one of the Commentators who has beſtowed moſt Pains on our Poet's Works. He was Teacher of Claſſical Learning at *Bourdeaux*, and being preſſed, by ſeveral Perſons of that City, to publiſh an Edition of their famous Countryman, he endeavoured to oblige them, but found no Manuſcript of *Auſonius*, in the Libraries of *Bourdeaux*, ſo that all he could do, was to compare the Editions together. He reſtored and corrected ſeveral Paſſages, and while he was preparing his Commentaries, to give the Reaſons of his Criticiſms, he cauſed *Auſonius*'s Works to be printed, as he had corrected them. His Friend, *James Goupil*, had the Care of this Edition, which is that of *Paris*, 1551. Some Years after *Vinetus* recovered a Manuſcript, found near *Lyons*, and which gave him much Light; and as that left him but little Excuſe to thoſe who preſſed him to print his Notes, he publiſhed the Poem *de Claris Urbibus* at *Poitiers*, together with his Commentary, in the Year 1565. He ſent a Compleat Copy of *Auſonius*'s Works to *Anthony Gryphius*, who had deſired it of him, and engaged to print it immediately; but that Edition not appearing, he was perſuaded to make uſe of the Preſs, which was ſet up, in the mean Time, at *Bourdeaux*. He therefore gave another Copy to *Simon Millanges*, who began to print it at *Bourdeaux*, in the Month of *February* 1575, and finiſhed it by the beginning of Summer, in the ſame Year. At the ſame time came out the Edition of *Gryphius*; but, for want of Paper, *Millanges* could not print off *Vinetus*'s Commentary. It was not printed 'till four Years after *Millanges*'s Edition of *Auſonius*'s Works (78). Therefore, to ſpeak properly, it ought not to be ſaid, that the beſt Edition of *Auſonius*, is that of *Bourdeaux*, with the Commentaries of *Elias Vinetus*, in the Year 1575. *Præ reliquis verò laudanda luculenta Auſonii Editio, cum commentariis viri docti Eliæ Vineti vulgata, Burdigalæ A.* 1575; *& poſt ejus obitum A.* 1590, 4. (79). For, as I have ſaid before, thoſe Commentaries did not appear 'till 1580. *Moreri* has been exact in this Point; he is only miſtaken, in ſaying *Vinetus* was of *Xaintes*; the Word *Santo* ſignifies nothing here but *Saintongeois*, one of the Country of *Saintoinge*. The Library of the Archbiſhop of *Reims* (80), mentions an *Auſonius*, printed by of two Remarks below; and I ſhall not forget to obſerve the Miſtake of *Trithemius*, who pretended that *Auſonius* was Biſhop of *Bourdeaux* [*H*].

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(60) Auſon. in Biſſula, pag. 346.

(61) *See the* Auſonius *of* Tollius, *pag.* 342.

(62) Auſon. in Biſſula, pag. 341.

(63) Scalig. Auſon. in Lection. lib. 1. cap. 2. & lib. 5. c. 17. apud Alb. Pet. Rubenium, in Vitâ Mallii Theodori, pag. 16.

(64) Auſon. in Grat. Actione, pag. 702, 703.

(65) Lege II. de Patrociniis Viror. *See* Valeſ. in Amm. Marcell. lib. 29, c. 1. pag. 549.

(66) Auſon. in Grat. Act. p. 305.

(67) Albertus Petrus Rubenius in Vitâ Mallii Theodori, pag. 17, & ſeq.

(68) Auſon. in Moſella, ver. 407, pag. 419.

(69) *This is plain from Verſ.* 450.

(70) *See* Rubenius, in Vitâ Mallii Theodori, pag. 23.

(71) Scal. in Vitâ Auſon.

(72) Rubenius, in Vitâ Mallii Theodori, p. 24.

(73) Scalig. in vitâ Auſon.

(74) Id. ib.

(75) Auſon. in. Paren. n. 26, p. 140.

(76) Beughem in Incunabulis Typographiæ, apud Joh. Albert. Fabricium Biblioth. Lat. pag. 177.

(77) *There is a Copy of that Edition in the Catalogue of* Thuanus's *Library; it is in* Folio, *and perhaps of* Aldus.

(78) *Taken from the Preface of* Elias Vinetus.

(79) Joh. Albert. Fabricius, Bibl. Lat. pag. 177.

(80) *In the* 394*th Page.*

by *Millanges*, at *Bourdeaux*, with the Commentaries of *Elias Vinetus*, in the Year 1575. I imagine that this Miſtake proceeds from applying the Date 1575, to all the Pieces bound together, which only ſuits with *Auſonius*'s Works, at the beginning of the Volume. *Borrichius* is in the Wrong to ſay, I. That the Edition of *Vinetus*, is one of the beſt. II. That *Vinetus* has commented upon *Auſonius*'s Poem *de Urbibus* (81). Does not this look as if he had wrote no Commentaries on the other Poems of *Auſonius?* The beſt Edition of this Poet, is that of *Amſterdam* 1671; but I have elſewhere obſerved (82), that the Title falſely promiſes, that they have there inſerted all the entire Notes of *Mariangelus Accurſius*.

I ſhall give a Supplement to all this, in the Article MARTELLIUS (HUGOLIN), at the End of the Remark [*A*]. Not having Father *Lacarry*'s Book (83), I am forced to content myſelf with what I find of it in the *Journal des Sçavans*. "The double Prefectſhip of *Auſonius*, which gave *Scaliger* ſo much Trouble, is here clearly explained. We find that, in the Year 378, *Auſonius* was Prefect of the *Prætorium*, in the *Gauls*, and in *Italy*, with his Son *Heſperius*; but he was not Prefect in *Italy*, any longer than 'till about the Month of *July*, at which time one *Antonius* was appointed Prefect of the *Prætorium* in *Italy*, as he is ſaid to have been in the Code. So that the Prefectſhip of *Auſonius* and *Heſperius*, in *Italy*, was interrupted by *Antonius*; but he enjoyed it again, together with his Son, in 379, and continued, with him, that in the *Gauls*, without any interruption, during the Years 378, and 379 (84)." This Hypotheſis, and Chronology, are not agreeable to the Sentiment of *Rubenius*, before related. If I had Father *Lacarry*'s Book, I might, perhaps, be able to determine, which of them has explained this Matter with greateſt Accuracy.

[*H*] Trithemius *pretended that* Auſonius *was Biſhop of* Bourdeaux.] *Trithemius* affirms, That this Biſhop was very learned in the Scriptures, and as remarkable for his Piety as his Learning, and that he flouriſhed under *Maximus*, in the Year 310, and did ſome handſome Things, with St *Martin*, St *Ambroſe*, and St *Jerom*, in the Synod, which That Prince cauſed to be held at *Tryers*. What a heap of Fables are here! *Vinetus* obſerves, that ſome Perſons will have it, that *Auſonius* was canonized. He ſays alſo, that the Inhabitants of *Angoulême* honoured one *Auſonius*, amongſt their chief Saints, who was, as they ſay, their firſt Biſhop, and he does not think it impoſſible, but that the Poet *Auſouius*, upon being elected Biſhop by the Inhabitants of *Angoulême*, might have accepted that Dignity (85). A Manuſcript Chronicle of *Angoulême*, ſays, that *Auſonius*, a Diſciple of St *Martial*, and Biſhop of *Angoulême*, ſuffered Martyrdom, when the *Vandals* ravaged *Gaul* (86). *Alteſerra* confutes this, by obſerving, that a Diſciple of St *Martial* could not be living in the beginning of the IVth Century, when the Irruption of the *Vandals* (87) happened. However it be, our *Auſonius* is repreſented in very various Lights. Some ſay that he was not ſo much as a Chriſtian; and others, that he is in the Catalogue of the canoniz'd Saints.

(81) Auſonii Editio ſelectior eſt Joſ. Scaligeri & Eliæ Vineti. Borrich. de Poët. Lat. pag. 73.

(82) *Above, Citat.* (*b*), *of the Article* ACCURSIUS (MARIANGELUS).

(83) *Intituled*, Hiſtoria Galliarum ſub Præfectis Prætorio Galliarum.

(84) Journal des Sçavans, 12 Aug. 1675, pag. 225, *Edit. of* Holl.

(85) Elias Vinetus, in vitâ Auſon.

(86) Alteſerra, rerum Aquitanicar. lib. 5, cap. 8, pag. 339.

(87) Id. ib.

AUSTRIA (Don JOHN of), Natural Son of the Emperor *Charles* V, was born, at *Ratiſbon*, the Twenty fourth of *February* 1545. A Gentlewoman of *Ratiſbon*, whoſe Name was *Barbara* BLOMBERG (*a*), was willing to paſs for his Mother [*A*], to ſave the real Mother the Scandal ſhe muſt neceſſarily have undergone in being

(*a*) *See her Article.*

[*A*] Barbara Blomberg *was willing to paſs for his Mother.*] *Famianus Strada* ſays, that Cardinal *de la Cueva* revealed this Secret to him (1). That Cardinal had learned it from the Infanta *Clara Eugenia*, to whom *Philip* II, who concealed nothing from her, had diſcovered it. This Prince always pretended to the World, that *Barbara Blomberg* was the Mother of *Don John*. "Eodemque loco habitam à Philippo Rege ſcenæ pariter inſerviente (2). —— *And was treated as ſuch by King* Philip, *who likewiſe kept up the Pretence*." The Sacrifice which that Lady was willing to make of her own Reputation, to that of a great Princeſs, is nothing near ſo great as may be imagined: It is thought a Scandal to paſs for a private Gentleman's Miſtreſs; but how many Ladies glory to be Miſtreſſes of Kings and Emperors? I have ſaid that this Sacrifice was made in favour of *a great Princeſs*: *Strada* informs me of it. "Joannem Auſtriacum non ex Barbara Blomberga uti creditum ad eam diem, ſed ex longe illuſtriori ac Plane Principe femina procreatum: cujus ut famæ parceretur prætentam fuiſſe aliam à Carolo Cæſare. — John *of* Auſtria *was not born of* Barbara Blomberg, *as was then believed, but of a much more illuſtrious Lady, and even a Princeſs, to ſave whoſe Reputation, That other was only pretended by* Charles *the Emperor*." The ſame Hiſtorian remarks, that *Don John* was twice deceived, as to his Mother, and never informed of the Truth. He firſt believed himſelf to be the Son of *Magdalen Ulloa*, and afterwards of *Barbara Blomberg*. How happy and vigilant ſoever he was to diſcover the moſt ſecret Intrigues of the Enemy, he could never unravel this domeſtic Myſtery. "Habet profecto unde minus ſibi de ſua ſagacitate placeat humanum ingenium, quando tantus princeps, atque intima quæque vel in hoſte rimari ſolitus, domi ſuæ, ſuorumque ignarus adeo vixerit obieritque, ut bis in matre deceptus, ſemper alienam coluerit, nunquam ſuam (3). —— *It is indeed enough to make the human Underſtanding leſs proud of it's Sagacity, to ſee that ſo great a Prince, who could penetrate into the cloſeſt Secrets of the Enemy, ſhould yet live and die ſo ignorant of his own Birth, and of what ſo nearly concerned him, that he was twice miſtaken in his Mother, and could never diſcover where to pay his Duty right*." I wonder that Father *Strada* ſays nothing of a third Perſon, who paſſed for *Don John*'s Mother. The Author of a learned Diſſertation, printed in 1688 (4), ſpeaks with great Praiſe of *Catharine de Cordonna*, born at *Naples* in the Year 1559. She went into *Spain*, with her Couſin the Princeſs of *Salerno*, in the Year 1559, and, by her Virtue and Piety, acquired the eſteem of *Philip* II, in ſuch manner, that he commanded *Rui Gomez*, Prince of *Evoly*, Governour of *Don Carlos*, and *Don John*, to take care of This Lady. *Rui Gomez* took her home to his Houſe, and, upon obſerving her admirable Prudence, deſired her to undertake the Government of his Family, and to aſſiſt him in the Education of the two Princes. She acquitted herſelf of that Truſt with all the care imaginable, and *Don John* always honoured her as his Mother. The Author of the Diſſertation makes a Remark on that word: *Before we go any farther*, ſays he (5), *we ought to clear that Saint from an abominable Calumny, by which ſome abuſing that word, would inſinuate as if ſhe was* the true Mother *of* John *of* Auſtria. Strada *of* Rosberg *ſeems to have given occaſion to that ſuppoſition, by deſcribing that Prince's Mother, in his Genealogy of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *only by the Name of* Catharine. *But the chaſt and mortified Life which* Catharine de Cordonna *always led from her Infancy, could not leave Room for ſuch a Suſpicion.* He adds ſeveral other Reaſons to juſtify *Catharine de Cordonna*, and ends the Remark with theſe Words: *It was another more illuſtrious Perſon* (who was the Mother of *John* of *Auſtria*) *and whom our Saint* (6) *had alſo known, as the Hiſtorian of her Life obſerves; but who, for weighty Conſiderations, was never diſcovered.* Let us add to all this a Paſſage of Mr *Varillas*. The ſecret of the Birth of *John* of *Auſtria*, ſays he (7), *was never rightly diſcovered, and whether the too high quality of his true Mother required all theſe Precautions; or that more care was taken to avoid the Scandal, than the Sin; it is certain that* Charles *only diſcovered to* Quichade *who* John *of* Auſtria *was; and that he ordered him to let him paſs for his own Son, till his Imperial Majeſty, in reſigning his Dominious to* Philip II, *informed him that he was his natural Brother.* This Moderation of Mr *Varillas* is more to be commended,

(1) Strada, de Bello Belg. Decad. 1. lib. 10. pag 626.

(2) Id. ib.

(3) Id. ib. pag. 627.

(4) *Diſſertation on the* Hemina, *or Pint, of Wine, and the Pound of Bread, preſcribed by St* Benedict.

(5) *Page* 186.

(6) *That is*, Katherin de Cordonna. *Her Hiſtory is in the* General Hiſtory of the barefooted Carmelites, *Part* 1, *Book* 5. *See Diſſertation on the* Hemina, *pag.* 182.

(7) Varillas *Hiſtory of* Francis I. *Book* 13, *pag.* 389.

being publickly known to be ſo. The Child was carried into *Spain*, before he was a Year old [*B*]; the Emperor charged *Lewis Quixada* with this Commiſſion, whom he had ſeveral times experienced to be very well qualified for keeping a Secret (*b*). He ordered him to let the Child be brought up by his Wife *Magdalen Ulloa*, without giving any body room to ſuſpect who was the Father. *Quixada* ſerved his Maſter in This, with all the Fidelity imaginable, for he did not only keep the Secret inviolable, but had alſo an extraordinary Care of *Don John*'s Education. *Charles*, upon his Death Bed, diſcovered, to his Son *Philip*, that he was the Father of the young Lord whom *Quixada* educated at *Villagarſia*, and charged him to acknowledge him for the future as his Brother, and to treat him in that Quality. *Philip* did not perform this Order till two Years after [*C*], but then he did it in a very genteel Manner. He cauſed *Don John* to be educated with *Don Carlos*, and *Alexander Farneſe*. Thoſe three Princes were almoſt of an Age, but *Don John* was much the fineſt, both in Perſon and Parts. *Philip* was diſpleaſed at the averſion he found in him to an Eccleſiaſtical Character, for which his Father had deſigned him. And much leſs at a Frolick of That young Lord, in taking a Journey to *Barcelona*, without the King's leave, accompanied with a great number of young Gentlemen, to go to the War of *Malta*. But the Letters he received from the King, before he embarked, put a ſtop to that Voyage. He ſo readily obeyed the Order, he had received to return, that he, in ſome meaſure, appeaſed *Philip*'s anger by ſo immediate a Compliance; and he entirely recovered his Favour, by making the firſt Diſcovery to him of *Don Carlos*'s Machinations. There was but very little Friendſhip between Thoſe two young Princes [*D*]. A little while after, *Don John* was ſent to the Kingdom of *Granada* againſt the *Moors*, and ſignalized himſelf in that War. He was declared *Generaliſſimo* of the League againſt the *Turks*, and, in that Poſt, gained the famous Battle of *Lepanto*, in the Year 1571. After which he took the City of *Tunis*, and That of *Biſerta*, and returned triumphant into *Italy*, attended by *Amidas*, King of *Tunis*, whom he had made Priſoner. He had left a Garriſon in *Tunis* againſt *Philip*'s Order, and there was already a Rumour of conferring upon him the Title of King of *Tunis*, by the Interpoſition of the Pope. The King of *Spain* was not at all pleaſed with theſe continual Succeſſes; the Idea which he formed to himſelf of that young Prince's Ambition made him uneaſy (*c*). He ſent him to command in the *Netherlands*; but ordered him to pacify thoſe Provinces: He had not a Mind to have him there at the head of an Army. Being thus prejudiced againſt him, he eaſily believed all Reports which could give him room to ſuſpect his Brother's Conduct; and ſome ſay, that, to increaſe the Miſunderſtanding, means were uſed to inform him, that *Don John* was going to be married to Queen *Elizabeth* (*d*). To cut the Matter ſhort, I ſhall juſt obſerve, that *Eſcovedo*,

Ann. Ætat. 26

(*b*) Quem expertus erat arcanorum celantiſſimum. *Strada, dec.* 1, *lib.* 10, *pag.* 612.

(*c*) Quod Philippo ſuſpicionem intendit elatum victoriarum curſu juvenem non diu laturum privatam fortunam & regna nunc rogare aliquando invaſurum. - - - Philip *began to ſuſpect, that ſo young a Conqueror would be too much elated with his Victories, to be long ſatisfied with a private Condition, and that his next Step would be to importune him for ſome Kingdom.* Id. ib. pag. 617.

(*d*) *See Remark* [*F*].

mended, than the Liberty taken in the ſecond Edition of the *Menagiana*, in declaring plainly, that *Don John* of *Auſtria* was born of his Father's own Siſter. What gave occaſion to this, was an excellent Saying of *Charles* V. It ſeems upon cancelling an unjuſt Privilege, which he had granted, He ſaid, *I had rather deface my Hand-Writing, than my Conſcience.* Upon which we find, in the ſecond Edition of the *Menagiana*, pag. 422, the following Gloſs. *What a tender Conſcience is here, for one who was ſo great a Cheat all his Life, and, if ſcandal may be believed, did not ſcruple to lie with his own Siſter, while* Barbara Blomberg *ſerved as a Screen to this inceſtuous Commerce, by paſſing for the Mothor of* Don John *of* Auſtria.

[*B*] *The Child was carried into* Spain *before he was a Year old.*] *Brantome* tells another Story, which I will relate in the Remarks of the Article BLOMBERG; and which ought not to be believed to the Prejudice of *Strada*.

[*C*] Charles V *diſcovered, to* Philip II, *that* Don John *was his Brother, and charged him to acknowledge him as ſuch — which he obeyed not — till two Years after.*] The Application of an Hiſtorian to the principal Matters, makes him ſometimes not diſcover a Slip in Calculation. Here *Strada* affirms, that *Don John* was born the Twenty fourth of *February* 1545; that his Father died the Twenty firſt of *September* 1558; that *Philip* acknowledged *Don John* two Years after the Death of his Father; that he cauſed him to be educated with his Son *Don Carlos*; and that Theſe two Princes had not yet attained to their fifteenth Year, *annum quartum decimum nondum ſupergreſſi*. If *Strada* had reckoned right, he would have made it above fifteen Years. It cannot be pretended that the Year 1547, was That of the Birth. I confeſs that Mr *Moreri* vouches it, but it cannot be the Opinion of *Strada*, ſince, by placing the Death of *Don John* on the firſt of *October* 1578, he makes him Thirty three Years of Age. So then there is no fault of the Preſs in the number 1545. The Author of the Diſſertation on the *Hemina* (8) places the Birth of that Baſtard on the fourteenth of *February* 1545, and his Death about the firſt of *October* 1578, *in the Army near* Namur; and cenſures the Genealogy of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which makes him die at *Bruges* in the Twenty fifth Year of his Age. He alſo cenſures Father *Strada*, for having placed the Death of *Don John* in the Month of *December*; but we read, in expreſs words, in *Strada*, *Kalendis Octobris* (9). Mr *Varillas* is not to be credited, when he ſays, *That* Philip II, *let eleven Years paſs, before he performed his Father's Orders, and that* John *of* Auſtria *was already twenty Years of Age, when his Catholic Majeſty bethought himſelf to acknowledge him for his Brother* (10). According to this Calculation he would have been twenty four Years old. Let us remember that he was ſent *Generaliſſimo* to the Kingdom of *Granada*, in the Year 1569 (11). According to Mr *Varillas*, therefore, *Philip* II muſt have begun, by that important Office, to acknowledge him for the Natural Son of *Charles* V. This would be judging very wrongly of that Prince, to impute to him ſuch a precipitate Conduct.

[*D*] *He made the firſt diſcovery of* Don Carlos's *Machinations: there was but little Friendſhip between Thoſe two young Pinces.*] I ſhall relate one particular that is mentioned in *Brantome*. It is ſaid that *Don Carlos* "having diſcovered ſomething of moment to "*Don John*, he revealed it to the King of *Spain*, who "always loved him the better for it, though he re"warded him but very indifferently afterwards; and "*Don Carlos* hated him ſo much for it, that they "generally quarrelled, ſo that once he called him "Baſtard, and Son of a Whore; to which he "returned this Anſwer, *Si yo lo ſoy; mas yo tengo* "*padre mejor que vos; Yes I am ſo, but I have a* "*better Father than you*; and they were like to have "come to blows about it (12).

(8) Pag. 187.

(9) Strada, Decad. 1, lib. 10, pag. 611.

(10) Varillas's Hiſtory of *Francis* I. Book 13, pag. 389.

(11) Moreri *ſays* 1570.

(12) Brantome's Lives of Foreign Captains, Tom. 2, pag. 117, 118.

Eſcovedo, *Don John*'s Secretary, having been ſent to *Madrid*, by his Maſter, to ſollicite the Succours which were a long time expected, was killed there [*E*]. *Don John*, upon this, found himſelf to be in Diſgrace; and his vexation, to ſee himſelf ſacrificed to the Contempt of the Enemies, for want of Supplies to make head againſt them [*F*], threw him into a Diſtemper, of which he died the firſt of *October* 1578 (*e*). It was even believed that he was poiſoned [*G*]. He did indeed recommend his ſuppoſed Mother, and his ſuppoſed uterin Brother, as alſo his Domeſtics to King *Philip*, but durſt not mention to him his two Natural Daughters (*f*) [*H*].

(*e*) Majoribus in dies preſſus anguſtiis ac deſertus, uti palam querebatur à Rege, traditusque hoſtium ludibrio, ingens animi ſpeique princeps - - - - ex mœrore contabuit. - - - - *Being reduced to greater Straits every Day, and, as he complained openly, betrayed by the King, and ſacrificed to the Sport of the Enemy, that great and promiſing Prince, - - - - died of Grief.* Strada, dec. 1, lib. 10, pag. 619.

(*f*) *Taken from* Strada, *in the* 10*th Book of the* 1*ſt Decad.*

His Elogy may be ſeen, among thoſe of ſeveral other Warriors, in a Book compoſed by *Primo Damaſchino*, and printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1680, under the Title of *La Spada d' Orione ſtellata nel Cielo di Marte*. But if you are deſirous to ſee the Particulars of the Complaints made againſt his Conduct, with many of his intercepted Letters, you need only read the *Summary Diſcourſe of the juſt Cauſes and Reaſons, which obliged the States General of the* Netherlands, *to provide for their Defence againſt* Don John *of* Auſtria. It is a very curious Manifeſto printed at *Antwerp*, by *William Sylvius* the King's Printer, in the Year 1577. See alſo the Manifeſto publiſhed by Prince *John Caſimir*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, in the Year following, to juſtify his Expedition.

[*E*] Eſcovedo, Don John'*s Secretary, being ſent to* Madrid —— *was killed there.*] Mr *le Laboureur* ſays, that he had read ſome Memoirs written by Mr *Peireſc*, which make *Eſcovedo die after his Maſter*; and that Mr *du Vair*, who had been told that Particular, *in a familiar Converſation with* Antonio Perez, related it to Mr *de Peireſc* (13). This deſerves to be examined. Perhaps I ſhall compoſe an Article for *Eſcovedo*, wherein I ſhall treat of this more amply, and we ſhall ſee whether it was before or after *Don John*'s Death, that the Deſigns, which he and the Duke of *Guiſe* had formed, were known at the Court of *Spain*. *Philip* II was not ſo much in the wrong as was imagined; and *Don John* would have been able, in a little time, to have cut him out more work than the *Dutch*. He was no truer, in reſpect to his Sovereign, than the Duke of *Guiſe*. But it muſt be owned, that the jealous Humour of *Philip*, and his myſterious Politics, was the chief Cauſe of inſpiring his Family with thoſe rebellious Thoughts. "Multi fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli, & aliis jus peccandi ſuſpicando fecerunt (14). —— *Many Perſons have put others upon cheating them, by their fearfulneſs of being cheated, and have occaſioned, by their Suſpicions, the very Thing they ſuſpected.*"

(13) Additions to the Memoirs of *Caſtelnau*, Tom. 2, pag. 889.

(14) Seneca, Epiſt. 3.

[*F*] *He ſaw himſelf ſacrificed to the Contempt of his Enemies, for want of Supplies to make head againſt them.*] Thus the King of *Spain*, as great a Politician as he was, choſe rather to loſe the *Netherlands*, than not to ſatisfy the Jealouſies, and other hidden Paſſions, which diſquieted his Soul. It is to this that the *Dutch* are as much, or more, indebted for their Liberty, than to their good and wiſe Conduct. There are few great Affairs but what owe their Succeſs as much, at leaſt, to the Miſconduct of one of the Parties, as to the Prudence of the other. There was no great difficulty to draw *Philip* II into the Snare, as ſoon as his Jealouſies were diſcovered. *Strada* fancies, that the Prince of *Orange* wrote about *Don John*'s Marriage, with the Queen of *England*, to one of his Friends at *Paris*, and the promiſe which the Bridegroom made of Liberty of Conſcience to the Proteſtants, on purpoſe to increaſe King *Philip*'s Suſpicions: he thought that his News would not fail to be known by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador. "Quin ad hanc quoque ſuſpicionem Regi confirmandam haud ſanè dubitaverim aſpexiſſe Orangium, ſcriptis ad amicum litteris in Galliam, quibus Joan. Auſtriaci, atque Anglæ Reginæ conjugium ſignificabat: addebatque, pro ſuâ in eam rem operâ, ſpem ſibi ab Auſtriaco, factam liberæ per Belgium Religionis. Id, quod à Varga, Hiſpano apud Gallum oratore in arcana quæque intento, ſollicitè admonitum ferunt Philippum Regem (15). —— *I make no doubt, but the Prince of* Orange *had an Eye to the confirming this Suſpicion of the King's, in the Letters he wrote to a Friend in* France, *intimating a Marriage between* John *of* Auſtria, *and the Queen of* England: *and adding, that* John *had promiſed her, ſo far as in him lay, a Liberty of Conſcience through the whole United Provinces. This* Varga, *the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador in* France, *who was always on the Watch for Secrets, is ſaid to have met with, and to have ſent a particular Account of it to King* Philip."

(15) Strada de Bello Belg. Dec. 1, lib. 10, pag. 618.

[*G*] *It was believed —— that he was poiſoned.*] You will find here both Accounts, of *Strada* and *Brantome*. *Ex Mærore contabuit*, ſays *Strada* (16): *An vero ad hoc quo ſatis extingui potuit, venenum aliud cujuſquam dolo ſubjectum fuerit (namque in defuncti corpore extitiſſe non obſcura veneni veſtigia affirmant qui viderunt) equidem nihil ipſe ſtatuerim.* He died of Grief: But whether, to diſpatch him more effectually, any Poiſon was given him, (for thoſe who ſaw the Body, affirm there were very evident Signs of Poiſon,) I will not take upon me to determine. *That poor Prince*, ſays *Brantome* (17), *did not long enjoy that great Glory and Praiſe, for he, who had ſo often ſought Death in the hard Field of* Mars, *died in a ſoft Bed, as if he had been a Favourite of* Venus, *and not a Son of* Mars. *It was ſaid that he died of a contagious Diſtemper, which the Marchioneſs of* Avré, *with whom he was in love, had given him, but this is not generally ſaid, not even in* Spain: *for it is thought that he was poiſoned with perfumed Buskins.*

(16) Id. ib. pag. 619.

(17) Brantome's Lives of foreign Captains, pag. 140.

[*H*] *He durſt not recommend to* Philip II, *his two Natural Daughters.*] *Don John*, the handſomeſt Prince of his Time, was alſo very Gallant and Complaiſant. Judge whether he was not a lucky Man. He got a Daughter at *Madrid*, and another at *Naples*. She at *Madrid* was called *Anne*, and her Mother was a Perſon of the firſt Quality; and a perfect Beauty, "Ex Mariâ Mendoziâ ſplendidiſſimi generis formæque elegantiſſimæ puellâ (18). —— *Of* Mary Mendoza, *a young Lady of a moſt noble Family, and incomparable Beauty.*" The ſame Lady who had brought up *Don John* (19), brought up this Baſtard-Child likewiſe privately till ſhe was ſeven Years of Age, and then put her into a Nunnery. *Philip* II took her from thence, and ſent her to *Burgos*, where ſhe became perpetual Superior of the *Benedictine* Nuns. *Don John*'s other Daughter's Name was *Joan*: her Mother was a Lady of *Sorrento*, whoſe Name was *Diana Phalanga*, and after ſhe was brought up to ſeven Years of Age, by her Father's Siſter, the Ducheſs of *Parma*, ſhe was put into the Nunnery of St *Clara* at *Naples*, where, having lived twenty Years, ſhe was afterwards married to the Prince of *Butero*. Thoſe two Daughters of *Don John* died almoſt in the ſame Day, in the Month of *February* 1630. He had cauſed them to be brought up ſo privately, that he did not doubt but that the King was ignorant of the whole Secret: nor had he truſted it to his great Friend the Prince of *Parma*, who did not know any Thing of thoſe Baſtard Children, but, from the Ducheſs his Mother, a little before the Death of *Don John*. *Eas Regi incompertas crederat: quippe occultè adeo cauteque educatas, ut Alexander ipſe ſecretorum ejus planè omnium particeps filiarum alteram ignoraret: alteram non ab Auſtriaco ſed à Margaritâ matre haud pridem noſſet* (20). The Author of That Prince's Life, printed at *Amſterdam* in 1690, will have it, that Don John *diſcovered his Amours with the Fair* Mendoza, *and the Birth of his Daughter* Anne, *to his dear Nephew Prince* Alexander Farneze, *becauſe, both living at the ſame time, in the* Spaniſh *Court, they obſerved each other very narrowly, and becauſe they were too good Friends to hide any Thing*

(18) Strada, Dec. 1, lib. 10, p. 624.

(19) Catherine Ulloa, *the Wife of* Don Lewis Quixada.

(20) Strada, Dec. 1, lib. 10, p. 624.

Expedition. He got it printed, at *Newſtad*, in *High-Dutch* and *Latin*. There was another *Don John* of AUSTRIA [*I*], in the XVIIth Century, who made a conſiderable Figure in the World. He was the Son of *Philip* IV, by a Comedian [*K*].

Thing from each other. But, ſays he, *being well perſuaded, that the declaring of a Crime is a Crime, he had made a Secret of his Amours with* Diana *to him* (21). This is giving *Strada* the lie without Grounds, or Proof, and it is aſſigning a Reaſon for that Prince's Silence, which proves too much.

[*I*] *There was another* Don John *of* AUSTRIA, *in the XVIIth Century.*] He was the Natural Son of King *Philip* IV, of *Spain*, and was born in the Year 1629 (22). He was legitimated in the Year 1642, and no body paid the Complement of Congratulation upon it to *Philip* IV, with ſo much forwardneſs as *James Panzirola*, the Pope's Nuncio (23). The King's Love for that Child was the moſt tender imaginable. In the Year 1642 he declared him *Generaliſſimo*, both by Sea and Land, in the War againſt *Portugal*, and, ſome Years after, he ſent him into *Italy*, againſt the Rebels of *Naples* (24). The laſt Expedition having proved very fortunate, inclined that King to give the ſame *Don John* a Commiſſion to reduce the revolted *Catalans* to their Duty. After this he ſent him to command in the *Netherlands*. That Poſt did not contribute greatly to *Don John*'s Glory; that which he acquired by raiſing the Siege of *Valenciennes*, vaniſhed away by the ill Succeſs which attended him in other Places; and eſpecially by the loſs of the Battle of the *Dunes*, which was ſoon followed by the loſs of *Dunkirk*. He was no leſs unfortunate, in the War of *Portugal*, after the Peace of the *Pyrenes*; for the Army, which he commanded, was entirely defeated; and he fell into Diſgrace, and received Orders, from the King his Father, to retire to *Conſuegra* (25). He had no ſhare in the Government after the Death of That Prince; the whole Adminiſtration was in the Hands of the Queen-Mother, and the Jeſuit *Nidhard*. They would have removed him, under the ſpecious pretence of ſending him into the *Netherlands* to oppoſe the Arms of *France*; but he diſcoverred their Cunning, and would not go thither, pretending to be ſick. The Court, being offended with That Conduct, made him retire to *Conſuegra* (26). He did not forget himſelf in That Retreat, but managed ſo well the Diſcontents of thoſe, who were incenſed at the great Favour ſhewn to Father *Nidhard*, that, at laſt, This Jeſuit was forced to withdraw. He went from *Spain* to *Rome*, and from That Time *Don John*'s Affairs went better, 'till at laſt he was recalled to Court (27), and had the chief Direction of the Government. He died the ſeventeenth of *September*, 1679, after Twenty three Days Sickneſs (28). Some ſaid he had been poiſoned. "Vi ſono perſone, che " aſſicurano che foſſe un colpo uſcito dalla mano del" la *Reg. Mad.* è del Cardinal Nitardi, coll' aſſiſten" za de' ſuoi partigiani (29). —— *There are ſome* " *who affirm, that the Blow came from the Hands of* " *the Queen-Mother, and Cardinal* Nitardi, *by the* " *Aſſiſtance of their Party.*" Others have ſaid, that he was ſo much troubled at the King's Marriage, with the Daughter of the Duke of *Orleans*, that it was the Cauſe of his Death; and yet, according to the common Opinion, he was the chief Promoter of That Marriage (30). I remember to have read, in ſome Gazette, of the Year 1678, that the Marquis of *Agropoli*, being ſuſpected of having wrote a Comedy againſt *Don John*, was baniſhed to *Oran*.

[*K*] *Son of* Philip IV, *by a Comedian.*] All the World knows, that *Philip* IV was very much addicted to the Love of Women. He diſcovered that Inclination very early, and he had a Governor, who was ſo far from holding him up, in ſuch a ſlippery way, that he contributed to his Fall. It was the Count *d'Olivarez*; who was alſo ſubject to That Paſſion himſelf, and for That Reaſon, as ~~was~~ well as for the better ſecuring to himſelf the Adminiſtration of Affairs, encouraged the lewd Temper of his young Prince: he was in hopes, that, under the Reign of his Pupil, he ſhould have the greateſt Offices of the State, and he foreſaw, that if the Monarch ſhould lead a voluptuous and effeminate Life, he could exerciſe them with much more Authority: And beſides, that his own Debaucheries would have a much freer Courſe under a Maſter whom he ſhould only imitate. This Management of his had the deſired Succeſs. *Philip* IV aſcended the Throne at ſixteen Years of Age, in the Year 1621, and left the Care of the Kingdom to the Count-Duke, *d'Olivarez*, who neglected no means of continuing the Indolence of That Monarch. He invented new Diverſions, and brought to *Madrid* the moſt compleat Company of Comedians that could he formed in *Spain*. They acted before the King in the Year 1627. There was an Actreſs among them, whoſe Name was *Calderona*, that pleaſed him very much. She was not very handſome, but extreamly genteel and engaging, and had a charming Voice. The King no ſooner ſaw her on the Stage, but he fell in Love with her, and ordered her to be brought to his Chamber: He ſaid he had only a Mind to hear her ſpeak nearer him. As ſoon as the Count-Duke received this News, he managed the Meeting, and cauſed the Actreſs to be introduced at Night into his Majeſty's Chamber. She did not return from thence 'till the next Day, and then left the Prince ſo much in love with her, that he declared her his Favourite. She was but ſixteen Years of Age. After that they met frequently, ſhe proved with Child, and was delivered of our *Don John*. But, after her lying-in, ſhe broke off That Commerce (31), and ſhut herſelf up in a Nunnery, and took the Habit of a Nun, with the Benediction of the Pope's Nuncio (32).

(21) Vie de Dom Juan d'Autriche, pag. 146.

(22) Vita di Don Giovanni d'Auſtria, pag. 4. *Edit. of* Geneva, 1686.

(23) Ibid. pag. 7.

(24) Ibid. pag. 37.

(25) Ibid. pag. 284.

(26) Ibid. pag. 288.

(27) *Toward the end of the Year* 1676.

(28) Vita de Don Giov. d'Auſtria, pag. 628.

(29) Ibid. pag. 629.

(30) *See the* Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres, *for* July, 1686, pag. 827.

(31) Non volle poi la Calderona accoppiarſi più col Rè. ---- Calderona, *after this, would be no longer concerned with the King.* Vita di Don Giovanni d'Auſtria, pag. 5.

(32) John Baptiſt Pamphilio, *who was afterwards Pope* Innocent X. *This is taken from the Life of* Don Giovanni d'Auſtria, pag. 2, & ſeq.

AUTON (JOHN *d'*) a Gentleman of *Saintonge* (*a*), Abbot of *Angle* (*b*), of the Order of St *Auguſtin*, lived under the Reign of *Lewis* XII. *He was kept in waiting at Court, on purpoſe to write the private Hiſtory of That Prince* (*c*). This Work he actually performed, and it was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1615, in 4to, by *Theodore Godfry*. It extends only from the Year 1506, to 1508 (*d*). We find there *ſome Verſes which the* Author *had dedicated to his Sovereign* (*e*).

(*a*) Baudier, Hiſt. du Cardinal d'Amboiſe, pag. 44.

(*b*) Du Cheſne, Biblioth. des Hiſt. de Franç. p. 65.

(*c*) Baudier, Hiſt. du Card. d'Amboiſe, p. 44.

(*d*) Du Cheſne, Biblioth. p. 65.

(*e*) Sorel, Bibl. Franç. pag. 329.

AZOTUS, a City of *Paleſtine* near the Sea, one of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philiſtines* (*a*). There they kept the Chief of their Idols, called *Dagon*, which fell down and broke before the Ark which they had taken from the *Jews*, and placed in the Temple of that Idol (*b*). It does not appear, that the *Jews* ſubdued this Place before the Reign of *Uzziah* King of *Juda* (*c*) [*A*]. It was taken from them by *Tartan*,

(*a*) Joſhua xiii. 3. *where the* Geneva *Tranſlation calls it* Aſçdod.

(*b*) 1 Sam. v.

(*c*) 2 Chron. xxvi. 6.

[*A*] *It does not appear, that the* Jews *ſubdued this Place before the Reign of* Uzziah.] Look as long as you pleaſe, in the eleventh and fifteenth Chapters of *Joſhua*, to which *Moreri* refers, you will not find, that *Joſhua* conquered the City of *Azotus*. Nor is it truer, that Thoſe of the Tribe of *Judah*, conquered it in the Time of the *Judges*: The Author, who affirms it, and quotes the firſt Chapter of the Book of *Judges* (1), has no grounds for it. That which deceived either *Moreri*, or the Author whom he followed, is, that, in the fifteenth Chapter of *Joſhua*, This City ſeems to be in the Dividend of the Tribe of *Judah*. But he ought to have remembered, that they reckoned, in thoſe Dividends, both what was already conquered, and what was, afterwards, to be conquered. It appears plainly, from the third Chapter of *Judges*, that the five Governments of the *Philiſtines*, and conſequently this of *Azotus*,

were

(1) Chriſtoph. Heidmannus, in Palæſtina, pag. 90.

Tartan, General of the Army of *Sargon* King of *Aſſyria*, as *Iſaiah* tells us (*d*), who lived in that time. Some time after it was beſieged by *Pſammitichus* King of *Egypt*, and it was one of the longeſt Sieges ever heard of: for they lay before this Place Twenty nine Years, before they could take it (*e*). It was ruined, in all probability, by the *Egyptians*, ſince the Prophet *Jeremiah* mentions it only as the remainder of a City (*f*). It was conſiderable in the Wars of the *Maccabees*; and the taking of it was not the leaſt of *Jonathan*'s Exploits. The Enemies he had defeated retired thither, and ſhut themſelves up in the Temple of *Dagon*. He ordered it to be ſet on Fire, ſo that they periſhed in the ſame Flames which conſumed the Temple and City (*g*). We read, in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, that when St *Philip* had baptized the the Eunuch of Queen *Candace*, he was *caught away by the Spirit of the Lord, and was found at Azotus* [*B*]. Prophane Authors have mentioned this Place as the chief Trading City of the *Arabians* (*h*); and it's Inhabitants muſt neceſſarily have made a conſiderable Figure, ſince *Strabo* has placed them in the Liſt of the four Nations which were intermixed with the *Cœloſyrians*, and the *Phœnicians*, the two principal People, according to him, which poſſeſſed *Syria* (*i*). *Stephanus Byzantinus* pretends, that the Founder of *Azotus* was one of thoſe Fugitives who came from the *Red-Sea* into *Paleſtine*, and that he gave the Name of his Wife to the City which he built; which name ſignified a She-Goat. Mr *Bochart* has rejected all this (*k*). St *Jerom* ſays, That, in his time, *Azotus* was ſtill a conſiderable Town [*C*].

(*d*) Iſaiah xx. 1.

(*e*) Herodot. l. 2, c. 157.

(*f*) Jerem. xxv. 20.

(*g*) 1 Maccab. x. 83, &c.

(*h*) Pomp. Mela. lib. 1, cap. 10.

(*i*) Strab. lib. 16, pag 515. *See alſo* p. 522.

(*k*) Bochart. Geogr. Sacra, lib. 2, cap. 12.

were not conquerred by *Joſhua*. God himſelf, when he repreſented that This Conqueror was too old to finiſh That War, places theſe ſame five Governments among the Countries, that remained to be conquered (2). This diſcovers another Miſtake of *Moreri*; Joſhua, ſays he, *ſubjected it firſt to the* Hebrews, *towards the Two thouſand five hundred and eighty ſixth Year of the World, and it was afterwards one of the five Satrapies of the* Philiſtines. Was it not ſo before *Joſhua*'s Time, by the Teſtimony of God himſelf?

[*B*] *Was found at* Azotus (3).] *Moreri* pretends, it was in This City, that St *Philip* was taken away. If he had read the eighth Chapter of the *Acts*, which he quotes, he would not have ventured to have ſaid ſo.

[*C*] *St* Jerom *ſays, that, in his Time,* Azotus *was ſtill a conſiderable Town* (4).] Theſe are his Words, *Uſque hodie inſigne oppidum Palæſtinæ. - - - - - A conſiderable Town in* Paleſtine *to this Day.* Mr *Baudrand* will have it, that having been anciently an Epiſcopal City, under the Archbiſhopric of *Cæſarea*, it became afterwards a meer *Municipium* in St *Jerom*'s Time. *Olim Epiſcopalis ſub Archiepiſcopo Cæſarienſi, poſteà municipium tempore S. Hieronymi* (5). He muſt excuſe my ſaying, that this Change was certainly the very Reverſe. For what could have ruined the Biſhopric of *Azotus*, between the Time it's of Erection and the Age of St *Jerom*?

(2) Joſhua xiii. 3.

(3) Acts viii. 40.

(4) Hieronym. de Locis Hebraic.

(5) Baudrand. Lexic. Geograph.

B.

BABELOT, Chaplain to the Duke of *Montpenſier*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his Cruelty, during the Civil Wars of *France*, under *Charles* IX, that he has acquired a very conſiderable place in Hiſtory. It ought not, therefore, to be thought ſtrange, that I ſhould beſtow on him this Article. He was a *Franciſcan* Friar, who left the Monaſtery to follow “ the Army, out of his implacable Hatred “ to the *Calviniſts (a)*. He had ſo little Regard to his Character “ and Profeſſion, that inſtead of ſaving the Lives of thoſe whom the Fortune of “ War reduced to the Mercy of *Montpenſier*, that he earneſtly ſollicited him to put “ them to death; and could not endure that any of them ſhould be pardoned [*A*]. “ This Thirſt after the Blood of the *Calviniſts*, which the two firſt Wars could not “ allay, grew more raging in the third, when the Prince's *(b)* Soldiers being infor- “ med, that *Babelot* had imprudently ſhut himſelf up in *Champigni (c)*, gave ſuch a “ furious Aſſault to that place that they took it *(d)*. The pleaſure of finding them- “ ſelves Maſters of the Perſon whom they looked upon as their Executioner, made “ them more human to the Inhabitants of *Champigni*. Thoſe they pardoned, and “ diſcharged all their Revenge on *Babelot*. They hanged him on an extraordinary “ high Gibbet *(e)* [*B*]; and if they gave him time to prepare himſelf for Death, it “ was only to have leiſure to reproach him for his Cruelty. The Vengeance which “ the Duke of *Montpenſier*, who loved him, took for his Execution on the *Calviniſts*, “ when Chance, or Weakneſs, put any of them into his Hands, cauſed for ſome “ Weeks an *unfair War (f)* between the two Parties. The Soldiers of *Briſſac* cut “ the Throats of the Garriſon of *Mirebeau*, though they had capitulated in due “ Form; and *d'Andelot* treated that of *St Florent* in the ſame manner.” Here was a Man altogether deſtinated for the Deſtruction of the *Huguenots*, ſince, even after his very Death, he occaſioned the Slaughter of many of them. *Brantome* believed him guilty

(*a*) *I only tranſcribe the Words of* Varillas, *Hiſtory of* Charles IX. *Tom.* 2, *pag.* 147.

(*b*) *He means the Prince of* Condé, *Chief of the Proteſtants.*

(*c*) *A Town in* Poitou, *which belonged to the Duke of* Montpenſier.

(*d*) *In* 1568.

(*e*) *It is a great chance, if his Fraternity have not placed him in the number of their Martyrs.*

(*f*) *That is,* They gave no more Quarter.

[*A*] *He earneſtly ſollicited the Death of the* Calviniſts, *and could not endure that any of them ſhould be pardoned.*] *Brantome* deſerves to be heard. “ When they brought him, (*ſays he* (1), *ſpeaking of* “ *the Duke of* Montpenſier) any Priſoners, if it was “ a Man, he only ſaid to him, at firſt ſight, *My* “ *Friend, you are a* Huguenot, *I recommend you to* “ *Monſieur* Babelot. This Monſieur *Babelot* was a “ learned *Franciſcan* Frier, who governed him very “ ~~him very~~ peaceably, and never ſtirred from him; “ to whom the Priſoner was no ſooner brought, “ but, after a ſhort Examination, he was immediate- “ ly comdemned to death, and executed.”

(1) Brant. Memoires, Tom. 3, p. 281.

[*B*] *He was hanged on an extraordinary high Gibbet.*] This puts me in Mind of what *Galba* did to a Man, who endeavoured to ſave himſelf from Death, by pleading his Right of a *Roman* Citizen; he cauſed him to be faſtened to a Croſs, very well whitened, and much higher than the reſt: This was to honour the Quality of the Criminal, and give him a little Comfort; but all this might rather look like Mockery. “ Tutorem quod pupillum cui ſubſtitutus hæres “ erat veneno necaſſet cruce affecit, implorantique “ leges & civem Romanum ſe teſtificanti, quaſi ſola- “ tio & honore aliquo pœnam levaturus, mutari, “ multoque præter cæteras altiorem & dealbatam “ ſtatui crucem juſſit (2). —— *A Guardian, who had* “ ~~*who had*~~ *poiſoned his Ward, whoſe Heir he was,* “ *being condemned to be crucified, and pleading the* “ *Privileges of a Citizen of* Rome, *to alleviate and* “ *make his Puniſhment more honourable, he ordered* “ *him a Croſs painted white, and much higher than* “ *the reſt.*” I do not know what were the Motives to Thoſe, who made choice of a more exalted Gibbet for the Monk *Babelot*; perhaps they deſigned only to excite a greater Attention to the Fantaſticalneſs of the Characters of That Man, without any Alluſion, or Regard to the Practice of Antiquity. See *Juſtin* (3) concerning *Maleus*, a General diſgraced by the *Carthaginians*, *qui filium cum ornatu ſuo, in altiſſimam crucem in conſpectu urbis ſuffigi juſſit*; — *who commanded his Son to be hanged, in his fineſt Dreſs, on an exceeding high Croſs, in the full View of the City*; and *Silius Italicus* (4), concerning *Regulus*:

(2) Suet. in Galba, c. 9.

(3) Juſtin, lib. 18, cap. 7.

(4) Silius Italicus, l. 2. ver. 343.

- - - - - - - - Vidi cum robore pendens
Italiam cruce ſublimis ſpectaret ab altâ.

High from th' exalted Croſs he ſaw, unmoved,
His Country, he ſo faithfully had loved.

Haman, in the Book of *Eſther*, had prepared, for *Mordecai*, a Gibbet fifty Cubits high. Sometimes the exceſſive Height of the Gibbet, has been intended to expoſe the Sufferer to the View of a greater Multitude of People. See the Remark [*C*] of the Article OTHO III. I ſhall obſerve, by the way, that Thoſe, who compare This Croſs of *Galba* to That which *Verres* ordered for *Gavius* (5), are not exact; for all that was remarkable in the latter was, that it was not erected in the Place where the Inhabitants of *Meſſina* uſed to crucify Malefactors, but on That Side, which looked towards *Italy*. It was thus *Verres* choſe to inſult over the Sufferer, who declared himſelf a *Roman* Citizen; *He ſhall look,* ſaid he, *from the Top of his Croſs, towards* Italy, *and towards his Houſe.* “ Quid attinuit cum Ma- “ mertini more atque inſtituto ſuo crucem fixiſſent “ poſt urbem in via Pompeja, te jubere in ea parte “ figere quæ ad fretum ſpectaret, & hoc addere quod “ negare nullo modo potes, quod omnibus audien- “ tibus dixiſti palam, te idcirco illum locum deli- “ gere, ut ille qui ſe civem Romanum eſſe diceret, “ ex cruce Italiam cernere ac domum ſuam proſpi- “ cere poſſet. - - - - - *What did it avail, when the* “ *Cuſtom of the* Meſſinians *was to crucify their Ma-* “ *lefactors behind their City, in the* Pompeian *Way,* “ *for you to command the Croſs to be erected on That* “ *Side next the Sea, and to add, what you cannot* “ *poſſibly deny, what you declared openly before all* “ *the People, that you therefore choſe That Place,* “ *that he, who called himſelf a Citizen of* Rome, “ *might, from his Croſs, behold* Italy, *and caſt a* “ *Look towards his Houſe.*” It is this laſt Circumſtance which *Cicero* has chiefly inſiſted upon (6); though *Lactantius*, who had no occaſion for That Paticular in the Subject he was treating on, makes him only conſider the Indignity of That Puniſhment in general (7).

(5) Torrentius *has done it*; *ſee his* Comment. in Sueton. Galb. c. 9.

TORRENTIUS has miſtaken the Meaning of a Paſſage in *Cicero.*

(6) Cicer. in Verr. 7.

(7) Lact. Inſtit. Divin. lib. 4. c. 18.

[*C*] Brantome

Guilty of another ſort of Crime, that is, of inſpiring his Maſter with the Brutality of cauſing Women to be raviſhed [C].

[C] Brantome *believes him guilty ----- of adviſing the Brutality of cauſing Women to be raviſhed.*] The Duke of *Montpenſier* uſed to recommend his Priſoners to his Guidon, *Viro benè vaſato & benè mutoniato,* ---- *A Man extreamly well hung and provided. Brantome* deſcribes this very freely, and adds as follows: “This is the Puniſhment of Thoſe poor *Huguenot* Ladies, invented by Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, which I am apt to believe might be taken, by Monſieur *Babelot*, from *Nicephorus* (8), where he ſays, that the Emperor *Theodoſius* took away, and aboliſhed, a Cuſtom, long uſed in *Rome*, that is, if any Woman was taken in Adultery, the *Romans* did not puniſh her by preventing the Repetition of her Crime, but by the greateſt Provocations of her Luſt; for they ſhut the Criminal up in a narrow Lodge, and then ſuffered her impudently to take her Fill of Letchery with every Body that came, the moſt naſty and filthy. The Manner was for thoſe lewd and whoring Fellows to be furniſhed with certain little Bells, all the Time they were in company with the Lady, which, by their tinckling, and ringing, might not only diſcover what they were doing, to Thoſe who were paſſing by, or liſtening, but alſo ſignify, that This Puniſhment was accompanied with Shame and Ignominy. What Ignominy! which they cared much for! Truly this was a very abominable Cuſtom which That wiſe Emperor aboliſhed, as the Hiſtorian *Nicephorus* relates: in whom poſſibly Monſieur *Babelot* found it, and cauſed it to be copied by this brave *Guidon* (9).”

(8) *He had better have quoted* Socrates, l. 5. cap. 18.

(9) Brant. Memoires, Tom. 3. p. 282, 283.

BABYLAS, one of the moſt celebrated Martyrs of the ancient Church, was made Biſhop of *Antioch* in the IIId Century, under the Emperor *Gordian* (a). He governed his Church as a good and holy Prelate ought to do, and after having worthily diſcharged his Function about Thirteen Years, he obtained the Crown of Martyrdom towards the Year 251, during the Perſecution of *Decius*. Some ſay, he was actually put to Death for the Chriſtian Faith (b); and others ſay that he died in Priſon (c). All agree, he deſired to be buried with his Chains (d). It is pretended, that his Relics ſilenced one of *Apollo*'s Oracles. St *Chryſoſtom* has more than once diſplayed all his Eloquence to celebrate the Memory of St *Babylas*: It is pity he was not ſufficiently informed of the Facts which he advanced. He ſuppoſes that this Martyr was put to Death for denying a Criminal Emperor an Entrance into the Church [A]; and he ſpeaks of that Emperor's Crime like one who had but little conſulted Hiſtory [B]. Neither did he ſo much as know what was ſaid of That Prince's

(a) Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 6, cap. 29.

(b) Chryſoſt. Tom. 1. p. 641, 669.

(c) Martyrolog. Romanum ad diem 24 Januar. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib.* 6, *cap.* 39.

(d) Chryſoſtom. Tom. 1, pag. 660. & Martyrolog. Romanum ad diem 24 Jan.

[A] St Chryſoſtom -------- *ſuppoſes that this Martyr was put to Death, for denying a criminal Emperor an Entrance into the Church.*] It is certain, that *Babylas* died in the Reign of the Emperor *Decius*; and therefore, if St *Chryſoſtom*'s Account were true, it muſt have been *Decius* that was excluded from entring into the Church; but it does not appear, that *Decius* was ever at *Antioch* in the whole Time of his Reign. *Baronius* advances, without proof, that *Decius* went into *Syria*, in the Year 253, to make War againſt the *Perſians*, and that it was then that *Babylas* would not ſuffer his Church to be prophaned by the Preſence of ſuch an Emperor (1). This neither agrees with Chronology nor Hiſtory, nor with the Prudence of the Biſhop of *Antioch*. The beſt Chronologers place the Death of *Decius* in the Year 251 (2). No good Hiſtorian ſays that *Decius* was in the *Eaſt*, to make War with the *Perſians*, It is true, the Acts of St *Laurence* (3) affirm, that This Emperor went to make War againſt the *Perſians*, and that he took from them the Country of *Babylon*, *Aſſyria*, all *Perſia*, *Hircania*, and even *Bactriana*, and that he died at *Rome*, being poſſeſſed with a Devil a little after the Martyrdom of St *Laurence* (4); but thoſe Acts *are without Authority, and full of Faults* (5). Father *Noris* does not ſcruple to ſay, that all That War of *Perſia is a meer Fable* (6). With regard to the Prudence of St *Babylas*, we may ſay, that it would not have ſuffered him to reſiſt a *Pagan* Emperor. *It was not agreeable to the Conduct of the Church, for St* Babylas *to attempt hindring him from coming into it, if he had come thither, as a* Pagan, *to commit ſome Violence; for the Church had not, nor exerciſed, any Power over any, but thoſe that were of the Number of her Children, and ſhe patiently ſuffered the Inſults of Perſecutors.* Thus ſpeaks the Author of the Life of *Tertullian*, and of *Origen* (7). Mr *de Tillemont* confirms that Remark. *Upon thoſe Occaſions,* ſays he (8), *the Church defended herſelf only with Prayers, and with a peaceable and humble Patience, with which ſhe ſuffered the Inſults of Perſecutors. We find, in a Sermon, aſcribed to* St Chryſoſtom *, *that St* Roman *of* Antioch *oppoſed a Pagan Governour from entring into the Church; but it is a very extraordinary Thing, and the Fact is by no means certain.* He obſerves alſo, that all the Terms, which St *Chryſoſtom* makes uſe of, ſhew, that the Prince, whom St *Babylas* oppoſed, was a Chriſtian. So that it cannot be true, that this holy Man reſiſted *Decius*, and yet he died under the Empire of *Decius*: St *Chryſoſtom*, therefore, muſt be allowed to have fallen into a Miſtake, in ſaying, That St *Babylas* ſuffered Death for having denied the Entrance of his Church to an Emperor.

[B] — *and he ſpeaks of that Emperor's Crime, like one who had but little conſulted Hiſtory.*] He relates, that a certain People being in War with This Emperor, deſired to make an end of it, and to confirm the Peace *by all the ſtrongeſt and moſt inviolable Ties that were known among Men*; that the Agreement *was made and confirmed by Oath on both ſides*; that thoſe People being willing to ſhew their Enemies that they acted ſincerely, perſuaded their King to give his own Son as an Hoſtage to the Prince with whom they had concluded the Peace; that what followed made it appear, that inſtead of being *depoſited, as they intended, in the Hands* of a Friend, *he was put into the Mouth of a Lyon*; ſince that Prince, *having no regard either to the Youth* of the Son of his Allie, *or to the inviolable Sanctity of the Oath which he had taken, or to that all-ſeeing Eye of the Divine Juſtice for the puniſhing of Crimes — with his own Hand, cut the Throat of him whom he ought to have protected as a ſacred* Depoſitum, *and as the indiſſoluble Tie of the* Alliance (9). This, ſays St *Chryſoſtom*, was the Crime of That Prince, whom St *Babylas* treated in the following manner. “That great Prelate, on this occaſion, perfectly imitated the Zeal of *Elias*, and of St *John*; for he did not conſider, that he was then to reſiſt not only a Prince, or a common King, but him that was Maſter of a great Part of the Earth, who had a very powerful Army, and whom all things ſeemed to conſpire to make dreadful to him. He was not dazzled with all this outward Splendor — but that very Splendor ſerving only to repreſent to him, in the ſame Moment, the Supream Majeſty of that King whoſe Miniſter he was — he ſtept boldly to that *Criminal Prince*, in the midſt of his Guards, ſtopt him with his Hand againſt his Breaſt, repreſented his Crime to him, and forbad him, in the Name of God, from entring into the Aſſembly of the Faithful (10).” It is needleſs to obſerve, that St *Chryſoſtom* uſes the moſt lively and pathetic Figures of his Rhetoric, in the Relation of theſe Facts (11); one may eaſily think ſo, that knows (and who is ignorant of it?) he was a great Preacher, and ſpoke to a People full of Reſpect and Zeal for the Name of St *Babylas* (12). But is he not to be pitied for having employed

(1) Baron. Annal. ad Ann. 253, n. 128.

(2) Calviſius, Petavius, Pagi, &c.

(3) *See* Tillemont, Tom. 3, p. 600.

(4) *This Saint did not die till the Year* 258. Tillem. ib.

(5) Id. ib.

(6) Noris, de Epoch. Syro-Maced. p. 293, *cited by* Tillemont, ib.

(7) *Printed at* Paris, *in* 1675, *ſee there, pag.* 642.

(8) Tillemont, Tom. 3, pag. 821.

* Chryſoſt. Tom. 1, Orat. 48, pag. 547, a. 549, e. 550, e.

(9) *See the Lives of* Tertullian *and* Origen, pag. 632.

(10) Ibid. pag. 636.

(11) Eraſmus *adviſed the reading this Homily in the Colleges, as a more perfect Pattern for the Scholars than* Lyſias, Libanius, &c. *See the Letter which he wrote to the Head of a College of* Louvain; *it is the 24th of the 28th Book, pag.* 1705.

(12) *To the People of* Antioch. *St* Babylas *had been Biſhop of that City.*

Prince's Submiſſion to the ſevere Diſcipline of St *Babylas* [*C*]. We may point out the general Grounds of ſome of his Miſtakes [*D*]. All this will be treated of in the Remarks,

employed ſo many Ornaments, and ſo powerfully exerted his Imagination and Lungs, on ſuch Falſities? For what can be more chimerical, than to ſuppoſe People, who were Enemies to the *Romans*, ſhould perſuade their King to deliver his Son for an Hoſtage into the Hands of their Emperor? If any People did this, without doubt they were the *Perſians*. But it is very certain they did nothing like it, during the Epiſcopacy of St *Babylas*. I queſtion very much whether any *Roman* Emperor ever killed, with his own Hand, a young Prince, delivered to him as an Hoſtage, after the Concluſion of a Peace: But it is abſolutely falſe, that one of the Emperors, under whom St *Babylas* enjoyed the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, was ever guilty of ſo barbarous a Perfidy. I do not queſtion, in the leaſt, but that St *Chryſoſtom* erred very innocently; becauſe he did not only affirm thoſe Errors in the Pulpit, but alſo in a Piece he wrote againſt the Gentiles (13). If he could promiſe himſelf that his Auditors would forgive him for inſiſting upon a falſe and pious Tradition, he could not have expected the ſame Favour from the Enemies of the Chriſtian Name. He therefore believed himſelf, that what he aſſerted was true.

[*C*] *St* Chryſoſtom *did not know what was ſaid of that Prince's Submiſſion to the ſevere Diſcipline of St* Babylas.] St *Chryſoſtom* has ſuppoſed, that St *Babylas* had to do with a Monarch, who puniſhed with Death the holy Reſiſtance that was made againſt his entring into the Church. The Falſity of this Fact has been ſufficiently detected, by ſhewing that St *Babylas* died in the Reign of *Decius*, and that *Decius* had not met with any Reſiſtance at the Door of the Church of *Antioch*. Here is another Proof of the ſame Falſity. The Predeceſſor of *Decius* was *Philip*: And it was to him that St *Babylas* is thought to have refuſed the Entrance of his Church, nor conſidering him as an Emperor, but as a Chriſtian, who ought to ſubmit to the Rules of Diſcipline and Penance. Now it is pretended, that This Emperor ſubmitted to Thoſe Laws, and that he behaved himſelf towards the Prelate of *Antioch*, much in the ſame manner as *Theodoſius* has ſince done towards St *Ambroſe* at *Milan*. *Euſebius* relates, That the Emperor *Philip* was deſirous to aſſiſt at the public Prayers on *Eaſter*-Eve; but that the Biſhop would not ſuffer him to come into the Church, before he had obliged him to confeſs his Sins, and place himſelf among the Penitents; which the Emperor performed with all the Marks of a ſincere Piety, and Fear of God (14). *Euſebius* relates this only on a meer Hear-ſay, and neither names the Place of this great Event, nor the Prelate, who had the Honour of it. It is very ſtrange that ſuch things ſhould have been ſo confuſedly known. We even find ſome very learned Men, who will not allow the Emperor *Philip* to have been a Chriſtian. But however it be, we muſt not ſeparate the Courage of *Babylas*, and the Submiſſion of *Philip*, as St *Chryſoſtom* has done: they muſt either be both received, or both rejected. There are ſome Hiſtorians that ſpeak of it with greater exactneſs than *Euſebius*. The Chronicle of *Alexandria* obſerves, that the Empreſs was condemned to do Penance, as well as the Emperor her Huſband: It adds, that St *Babylas* made uſe of this Severity, becauſe *Philip* had killed the Emperor *Gordian*'s Son (15). Note, that *Eraſmus*, deceived by St *Chryſoſtom*, remarks the great Difference, as to the Succeſs, between the Courage of St *Babylas*, and that St *Ambroſe*. "Babylæ, *ſays he* "(16), parum feliciter ceſſit quod Imperatorem "impia cæde funeſtatum templo prohibuit; imo feliciter ceſſit ipſi qui præſulis autoritatem ſuâ morte "confirmavit. At Ambroſio ceſſit felicius, qui ſumma conſtantia ſuam tuens autoritatem, ipſum etiam "Cæſarem Chriſto lucri fecit. —— Babylas *had but* "*ill Fortune in denying his Church to an Emperor,* "*polluted with Blood, or rather had good Fortune in* "*confirming his Epiſcopal Authority by his Death.* "*But* Ambroſe *had better Fortune, in not only maintaining his Authority, with the greateſt firmneſs, but* "*alſo bringing over the Emperor to* Chriſt." And in another place: "Ambroſius Epiſcopus Mediolanenſis auſus eſt Theodoſium Cæſarem, ob crudelem "ac præcipitatam in Theſſalonicenſes ſententiam, "à templi limine ſecludere, poſtque ſævas objurgationes, poſt indictam ſatisfactionem in pœnitentium "claſſem relegare —— Tentavit idem Babylas Antiochenus Epiſcopus adverſus regem innocentis homicidio pollutum, & interfectus eſt (17). —— Ambroſe, *Biſhop of* Milan, *had the Courage to ſhut* "*the Church Door againſt the Emperor* Theodoſius, "*for his cruel, and haſty, Sentence againſt the People* "*of* Theſſalonica, *and after ſeverely reproaching him,* "*and enjoining him a ſuitable Atonement, to place* "*him among the reſt of the Penitents* —— Babylas, "*Biſhop of* Antioch, *attempted the ſame Thing* "*againſt an Emperor guilty of Murder, but loſt his* "*Life by it.*"

[*D*] *We may point out the general Grounds of ſome of his Miſtakes.*] We have juſt now ſeen that it was ſaid, St *Babylas* grounded his Conduct on *Philip*'s perfidious Murder. The Emperor *Gordian*, under whom he was Prefect of the *Prætorium*, had intruſted hin with his Son: after *Gordian* was dead, *Philip* deſigning to reign in his ſtead, killed the young Prince committed to his Care. St *Babylas* knowing him guilty of ſuch an execrable Murther, would not admit him into the Church: *Decius* revenged the Affront put upon *Philip*; and put *Babylas* to Death for it. This we find in the Chronicle of *Alexandria*, as it had been related by *Leontius*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, in the Year 348. He did not perfectly underſtand *Philip*'s Conduct, but came much nearer the Truth than St *Chryſoſtom*. The Emperor *Gordian*, under whom *Philip* was Prefect of the *Prætorium*, had no Child to truſt with any Body, for he had none at all. So that *Leontius* muſt quite miſtake the matter, in ſaying that *Philip* killed the Son, in order to ſucceed That deceaſed Emperor. The Truth of the Fact is this: *Philip*, taking the Advantage of the Emperor *Gordian*'s Youth, caballed in ſuch manner that he cauſed himſelf to be declared his Colleague and Guardian. The Factions were revived, that of *Gordian* was worſted: *Philip* cauſed him to be depoſed, and afterwards to be killed (18). The Miſrepreſentations of this Fact increaſed in time. *Leontius* ſaid, that *Philip* killed the Son of his Emperor, the ſame Son of whom That Emperor had committed to his Care. This is already one ſtep out of the way; and a direct departing from the Truth. St *Chryſoſtom* affirms, that *Philip* killed the Son of a Prince, with whom he had concluded a Treaty of Peace, the ſame Son this Prince had depoſited, as a Pledge of his Friendſhip, and of his ſincere Deſire, to live in perfect Harmony with him. This is a ſecond falſe Step; and is going a great way towards the Miſtake of *Leontius*. This laſt Author ſays, that *Decius* cauſed *Babylas* to be put to Death, to puniſh his Inſolence towards *Philip*. Thoſe who knew the Averſion that *Decius* had for *Philip*, ſuch an Averſion as was believed to have been the Cauſe of *Decius*'s perſecuting the Chriſtians, found this Aſſertion of *Leontius* to be very abſurd. They corrected it, therefore, by ſuppoſing, that *Philip* himſelf cauſed St *Babylas* to be put to Death (19); thus have they corrected one Fault with another, and unhappily deceived St *Chryſoſtom*. They have diſappointed him of ſome Reflexions, which he might have had an Opportunity of ſetting off with the Ornaments of his Eloquence, to repel the Inſults of the Pagans, and diſplay the Glory of the Evangelical Miniſtry. The Humiliation of an Emperor, at the word of a Biſhop, would have ſupplied St *Chryſoſtom* with ſome fine Thoughts; it is pity he did not know it. See how he glories in the Reſiſtance of St *Babylas*: "Whereas, *ſays he* (20), the Prieſts of the falſe Deities "are more Slaves to the Emperors, than to their "Gods, and attend their Worſhip only for fear "of thoſe Princes, to whom the Devils are alſo indebted for the Honour and Adoration paid them "by Men; on the contrary, this great Biſhop of *Antioch*, has demonſtrated, by puniſhing the Emperor himſelf, in a manner very ſenſible to a reaſonable Man, and as much as he was permitted to "do, according to the Extent of the Power of the "Church, that the Prieſts of the Religion of JESUS "CHRIST, are Slaves to no Body on Earth; and "that they ought to be ſo jealous of that holy Exaltation,

(13) *St* Chryſoſt. *Homily on St* Babylas, pag. 641, vol. 1. *alſo* contra Gentil. *and on St* Babylas, pag. 647, 655, &c. *cited in the Life of* Tertullian *and* Origen, *pag.* 632.

(14) Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 6, c. 34.

(15) Chron. Alexandr. pag. 630, *cited by* Tillemont, Tom. 3. pag. 822.

(16) Eraſm. Epiſt. 3. lib. 28. pag. 1586.

(17) Idem, Epiſt. 69. lib. 29, pag. 1803.

(18) Capitolinus *in the Life of* Gordian.

(19) *See* Tillemont, Tom. 3. p. 822.

(20) Contra Gentil. de S. Babyl. Oper. Tom. 1. p 664, 665, *cited in the Lives of* Tertullian *and* Origen, pag. 639.

Remarks, as alſo the Requeſt which it is pretended, [illegible] made to the Emperor *Julian*, concerning the Relics of St *Babylas* [*E*]. This [illegible] has the Honour of having obtained three great Victories over the Pagan Emperors, two in his Life-time, and the third after his Death (*e*). The Firſt is, the Advantage he gained over *Philip*, by obliging him to keep without the Church in the C[illegible]on of a Penitent: The Second is, That he had over the Perſecutor *Decius*, wh[illegible] choſe to prepare himſelf to ſuffer any thing for the Faith, rather than to do any thing unbecoming his Epiſcopal Function: The Third is, That which his Aſhes obtained, over the Oracle of *Apollo* near *Antioch* (*f*). Mr *Chevreau* has not been very exact in ſpeaking of the Martyrdom of St *Babylas* [*F*]. We ſhall examine This more particularly below.

" altation, which God has allotted them, as the " true Characteriſtic of their Dignity, that they muſt " be ready to laviſh holily their Lives, rather than " to ſuffer any Diminution of it. This very Ex- " ample, *adds he*, by confounding the Pride of the " *Pagans*, increaſed the Piety of the Faithful, who " learnt, from the Conduct of their Paſtor, to fear " God more than Man; and wholly ſtop the " Mouths of thoſe who durſt, with an extreme Aſ- " ſurance, maintain, that there was no true Cou- " rage among the *Chriſtians*, but that every thing " among them was falſe and counterfeit, and only " covered with fair Appearances."

[*E*] *It is pretended, that* Apollo *made a Requeſt to the Emperor* Julian —— *concerning the Relics of St* Babylas.] There was, near *Antioch*, a Temple and an Oracle of *Apollo*, in a Place called *Daphne*. Here Superſtition and Debauchery ſtrove which ſhould outdo each other. It was the Rendezvous of Lovers, and their Miſtreſſes: others went thither to pay their Devotions; and, in all probability, many purſued both thoſe Ends, at one and the ſame Time. *Gallus*, the Brother of *Julian* the Apoſtate, was no ſooner declared *Cæſar*, but, to put a ſtop to this double Diſorder, he built a Church in the place, and ordered the Tomb of *Babylas* to be brought thither. It is ſaid, that, upon this, *Apollo* returned no more Anſwers. The Tomb of this Martyr was the Cauſe of it, and not the Interruption of the Sacrifices: For, upon receiving the Sacrifices, in the Reign of *Julian*, the Oracle ſtill continued ſilent; and when *Julian* went himſelf to conſult it, he was told, that the dead Bodies, which incumbered that Place, ſhut the Mouth of the Oracle. The Emperor applied this only to St *Babylas*'s Tomb, and therefore ordered it to be taken away. The Chriſtians of *Antioch* brought it into the City. There was a Proceſſion of Perſons of all Ages, and both Sexes, who ſung a Song of Triumph all the way (21), repeating, for the Chorus of their Song, the Confuſion of thoſe who adore Idols, from *Pſalm* XCVII. Ἐξῆρχον δὲ τῶν ψαλμῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἱ τούτους ἀκριβοῦντες, καὶ ξυνεπήχει τὸ πλῆθος ἐν συμφωνίᾳ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐπῇδεν· ἠσχύνθησαν πάντες οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τοῖς γλυπτοῖς οἱ ἐγκαυχώμενοι τοῖς εἰδώλοις (22). *Thoſe who were skillful in ſinging, preſided in the Song, and the People anſwered, in Chorus, and repeated this Verſe*, "Confounded are all " they who worſhip graven Images, and glory in " Idols." We might conclude, *à fortiori*, from this Hiſtory, that the Birth of Jesus Christ impoſed Silence on all the Oracles of Paganiſm; if we did not otherwiſe find, from the Confeſſion of *Sozomen*, that this Oracle of *Apollo* gave Anſwers 'till the Empire of *Conſtantius*, in whoſe Time *Gallus* obtained the Dignity of *Cæſar*. The Objection ſeems yet ſtronger againſt Thoſe who do not acknowledge any diabolical Operation, in the Oracles of the Pagans. But ſee what Mr *Van Dale* anſwers: He ſuppoſes, that the Prieſts of *Apollo*, being unwilling to be ſo nearly obſerved by the Chriſtians, who came thronging to *Babylas*'s Tomb, invented an Anſwer which might oblige the Emperor to take away the Tomb of That Martyr. Thoſe Prieſts feared nothing ſo much as the Eyes of the incredulous, and concluded, they ſhould never be able to hide their cunning Practices from People who would be ſo curious to diſcover them, as the Chriſtians. Perhaps, alſo, the blind Superſtition of theſe Prieſts perſwaded them, that it would be a very religious Act, to get removed, from the Neighbourhood of their Temple, a Tomb of a Chriſtian Martyr, ſo much reverenced by the Enemies of their Gods. " Chriſtiani, quibus repleta erat Antiochia, aliique ejuſdem religionis aliunde advenientes, viſitabant " quotidie ſepulchra Martyrum, atque inprimis qui- " dem Babylæ. Sub quo prætextu dum loca illa " ita frequentarent, cum ſubreperent etiam huic O- " raculo oculiſque emiſſitiis omnia perluſtrarent, ut " ſic detegerent impoſturas ac præſtigias ibi exerci- " tas, neque id ferrent ea tempora, ut vi expellere " eos inde poſſent Antiſtites; illi ſub prætextu à " mortuis purgandi locum Dîs ſacratum, cum Ba- " bila aliiſque, Chriſtianos inde removere nitebantur. " Nihil enim magis aut citius detegere valebat An- " tiſtitum ejuſmodi impoſturas, quam continuus con- " curſus publicæque Panegyres, ob ludos aut feſta " publica ibi celebranda: ſi quarumcunque ſectarum " Philoſophis, eorumve ſequacibus ad illa pateret acceſ- " ſus (23). —— *The Chriſtians, with whom* Antioch " *abounded, and thoſe of the ſame Religion, coming* " *thither, from other Places, daily viſited the Tombs* " *of the Martyrs, and, above all, That of St* Babylas. " *By which means, as they had an Opportunity of* " *obſerving the Oracle, and of prying into every* " *Thing which paſſed, in order to detect the Frauds* " *and Impoſtures there carried on, the Prieſts not* " *having Power enough, in Thoſe Times, to drive* " *them from thence by Force, endeavoured to get them* " *removed, with* Babylas, *and others, under the Pre-* " *tence of clearing, from the Pollution of dead Bo-* " *dies, a Place, which was conſecrated to their Gods.* " *For the Jugglings of the Prieſts were like to be* " *as readily, and as fully, detected by theſe conti-* " *nual Aſſemblies, and public Commemorations, on* " *account of celebrating there Rejoicings and Feſtival* " *Solemnities; as if they were laid open to the ſtricteſt* " *Examination of all the ſeveral Sects of Philoſophers.*"

[*F*] *Mr* Chevreau *has not been very exact in ſpeaking of the Martyrdom of St* Babylas.] See what he ſays of it: "*Babylas*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, ſuf- " fered Martyrdom, with his three Children, for " not permitting *Numerian* to ſee the Ceremonies " of the Chriſtians, adding, *That a Man polluted* " *with Blood, and with the Sacrifices of Idols, could* " *not enter into the Church*; or, as *Suidas* ſays, " *That he would not ſuffer the Wolf to enter into* " *the Sheepfold of the Lord* (24)." I. *Babylas* had no Children; He ſhould therefore have ſaid, that three Brothers of his, who were yet Children, or very young, ſuffered Martyrdom with him (25). II. There is above thirty Years between the Death of *Babylas*, and the Reign of *Numerian*. III. The ancient Writers do not aſcribe to That Martyr Mr *Chevreau*'s Expreſſions. We muſt confeſs, that the Undertaking of a General Hiſtory is very difficult Matter. Mr *Chevreau* was a learned Man; he knew the Defects of thoſe who went before him in That Deſign; he took a long time for his Work; and yet - - - - - As he is yet alive (26), and, notwithſtanding his Age, enjoys a perfect Health of Body and Mind; therefore I do not doubt but he will publiſh a new Edition, yet more curious than the preceeding (27).

I hoped that Mr *Chevreau* could not have taken amiſs thoſe little Critical Notes we have juſt now ſeen; and, as I had all the Eſteem for him, which is due to his great Merit, I would have ſuppreſſed them, if I had thought they would have made him uneaſy: But I thought that he was above being concerned at ſo trifling a Matter. I fancied he would have applied to himſelf what I ſaid in my firſt Preface, and he was certainly one of thoſe Authors, who need not have been alarmed at little Loſſes (28). I was therefore ſurprized, at his unexpected Reſentment, and heartily troubled for having made him ſo. There are ſome Perſons of great Note, who can be my Witneſſes, that when I wiſhed him a yet longer Life than he had already enjoyed (29), I did it, not only

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(*e*) *See the Lives of* Tertullian *and of* Origen, *p.* 757.

(*f*) *See Remark* [*E*].

(21) *It was about* 40 Stadia, *that* is 5000 *Paces.*

(22) Sozomeni Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 5. cap. 20.

(23) Van Dale, de Oraculis, pag. 442. *See the* Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres *for* March 1684, pag. 15, 16.

(24) Chevreau's Hiſt. of the World, lib. 4, cap. 4, pag. 400, *of Vol.* 2. *Edit. of* Holland, 1687.

(25) *Lives of* Tertull. *and* Origen, pag. 758.

(26) *This was wrote in in* 1694.

(27) *He has actually publiſhed a new Edition at the* Hague, *in the Year* 1698, *with ſeveral Additions and Corrections, but has altered nothing in this Paſſage concerning* Babylas.

(28) *See the* Specimen of this Dictionary, *towards the End of the ſixth Paragraph.*

(29) *He died* Febr. 15. 1701, *aged* 87 *Years and ſome Months. See the Journal of* Trevoux *for* March *and* Apr. 1701, *pag.* 241, Dutch *Edition.*

only in regard to his being the Ornament of his Age, but alſo out of the Deſire I had, that he might find, in this ſecond Edition, the greatneſs of my Reſpect for him, and the Explanation of a thing, which had been expreſſed in an ambiguous manner. I am apt to think, that this Ambiguity was the chief Cauſe of his Diſcontent; he thought, that the pointed Line, *and yet* - - - - had ſome Poiſon in it. 'Tis a Gap, which his own Imagination filled with diſobliging Ideas; and I was deſirous, he ſhould know, that, according to my ſincere meaning, That *Hiatus* was left only as a general Repreſentation of the Impoſſibility of avoiding Faults, in a Work containing abundance of minute and particular things, even though an Author be ever ſo learned.

But, to come to the Point, Mr *Chevreau* himſelf acknowledges the Solidity of my firſt Remark; ſince he confeſſes (30), *that it had been better to have put* three Brothers, who were as yet Children, *to take away all Equivocation, and that he ought to have explained himſelf more clearly, than ſeveral Authors, who expreſſed it ſo before him.* As for the Expreſſions, which I ſaid the ancient Authors did not aſcribe to St *Babylas*, Mr *Chevreau* quotes *Georgius Syncellus*, and *Paulus Diaconus* (31); but can theſe Authors be called ancient, with reſpect to the time of the Martyr we now treat of? Did not they live towards the end of the VIIIth Century? Laſtly, he quotes ſeveral Writers, moſt of them modern, who have ſaid, that *Babylas* was ſlain by *Numerian*, and repeats theſe Words of Mr *Tillemont* (32); *We muſt confeſs, that the Hiſtory of St* Babylas *is embaraſſed with many Difficulties, beyond our Capacity to ſurmount.* I agree, that all this may ſerve to excuſe Thoſe, *who are not exact in their account of the Martyrdom of St* Babylas; but it will always be allowable to remark, where Care is not taken to chuſe ſuch Expreſſions, as are the moſt exact we can meet with.

I am very well ſatisfied, that Mr *Chevreau* has found Faults in my Book. Any one, who has not the fourth part of his Learning, may find a great many in it. If he had given ſome Examples of what he has ſaid, in general, concerning thoſe *eſſential Faults againſt our Language*, and concerning *thoſe mean, burleſque, obſcure, and perplexed Expreſſions* (33), I ſhould think myſelf obliged either to diſpute the Point, or ſubmit to the Accuſation; and I ſhould very willingly do the latter, if I could be made ſenſible of the leaſt Reaſon for it imaginable: But, ſince he has pointed out nothing, I may be allowed to take That part of his Book for general and looſe Reflexions (34). He charges me, particularly, with a kind of Contradiction, about a Man, *who had been*, as he ſays, *my Idol a long time* (35). I am ſure he would have omitted this, if he had ſeen how I have juſtified myſelf on that Point, in my *Reflexions on a Paper, entituled, The Judgment of the Public*, &c. And, as for uſing *Words, which*, he ſays, *nice Ears cannot endure* (36), the Reader may ſee, in an Explication, at the end of this Book, what I have to anſwer to That; I ſhould be glad to deſerve all that he ſays, by way of retorting, to the Period, which ends with *and yet* - - - - (37). And I ſhould think myſelf very happy, if I could be excuſed, for this Reaſon, that it is impoſſible, or next to impoſſible, to avoid committing a great many Faults, in ſuch a Work as this. I do not believe I ſhould ever have engaged in this Dictionary, if I had foreſeen, that all my Care to avoid Miſtakes could not have ſecured me from making a great many, and very groſs ones too.

To conclude, I muſt deſire my Readers to conſult the learned Work of Mr *de Larroque* (38), printed at *Leyden*, in the Year 1688, under the Title of *Matthæi Larroquani Adverſariorum Sacrorum Libri tres.* See the 79th, and following Pages.

(30) Chevræana, Part. 2. pag. 321, Dutch *Edition*.

(31) Ibid. pag. 321.

(32) Ibid. p. 329, 330.

(33) Ibid. pag. 320.

(34) *Compare this with the end of the Remark* [C] *of the Article* ROY.

(35) Chevræana, Part. 2, pag. 320.

(36) Ibid.

(37) Ibid. p. 330, 331.

(38) Daniel Larroquanus Matthæi filius.

BABYLON. *Moreri*, and his Continuators, have collected ſo many things concerning this City, that, to make this Article of any reaſonable length, I ſhould be obliged to repeat moſt of their Obſervations: So that, to ſpare the Public the diſtaſte of finding the ſame things in different Dictionaries, I ſhall confine myſelf here to a Fact, which they have not touched upon. I do not examine whether what they relate ſo be exact as it ought to be. The Inhabitants of *Babylon* pretended, that their City was very ancient; they counted Four hundred ſeventy three Thouſand Years from the firſt Obſervations of their Aſtrologers to the coming of *Alexander*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us (*a*). Others, keeping to a round number, ſay, that the *Babylonians* boaſted of having preſerved, in their Archives, the Obſervations, which their Aſtrologers had made on Nativities, for the ſpace of Four hundred and ſeventy Thouſand Years [*A*]. From hence we ought to correct a Paſſage of *Pliny* [*B*], which ſome Authors make uſe

(*a*) Lib. 11. pag. 118. *Edit.* Rhodomanni.

[*A*] *The* Babylonians *boaſted of having preſerved Obſervations, made by their Aſtrologers, —— for the ſpace of Four hundred and ſeventy thouſand Years.*] We ſhall only quote two Paſſages out of *Cicero*. "Contemnamus etiam Babylonios, & eos qui e Caucaſo cœli ſigna ſervantes, numeris & motibus ſtellarum curſus perſequuntur. Condemnemus, inquam, hos aut ſtultitiæ, aut vanitatis, aut imprudentiæ, qui CCCCLXX. millia annorum, ut ipſi dicunt, monumentis comprehenſa continent (1). —— *We muſt alſo deſpiſe the* Babylonians, *and others, who have made Obſervations of the Stars, from Mount* Caucaſus, *and attempted to trace their Number and Motion: We muſt deſpiſe them, I ſay, either for their Ignorance, their Vanity, or their Inconſiderateneſs, in affirming, that their Records take in Four hundred and ſeventy Thouſand Years.*" Let us ſee how he laughs at this in another Place. "Quod aiunt CCCCLXX millia annorum in periclitandis experiundiſque pueris quicunque eſſent nati, Babylonios poſuiſſe fallunt. Si enim eſſet factitatum, non eſſet deſitum. Neminem autem habemus autorem qui aut fieri dicat, aut factum ſciat (2). —— *It muſt be a wretched Miſtake, to ſay, that the* Babylonians *employed Four hundred and ſeventy Thouſand Years, in calculating the Nativities of all the Children, who happened then to be born. If this were true, they would certainly have continued the ſame Trade to this Day. But we have no good Author, who either affirms their practiſing it at preſent, or knows any thing of their having done ſo for that Space of Time paſt.*"

[*B*] *From theſe Aſtronomical Obſervations of the* Babylonians *we ought to correct a Paſſage of* Pliny.] Theſe are his Words; "Epigenes apud Babylonios 720 annorum obſervationes ſyderum coctilibus lateritiis inſcriptas docet, gravis auctor imprimis: qui minimum, Beroſus & Critodemus, 480 annorum. Ex quo apparet æternus literarum uſus (3). —— Epigenes, *an Author of great weight, tells us, that the* Babylonians *had Obſervations of the Stars, for Seven hundred and twenty Years, recorded on Bricks:* Beroſus *and* Critodemus, *who make the leaſt of it, ſay Four hundred and eighty Years.*" He had ſaid, a little before, that he believed the *Aſſyrian* Letters had been perpetual, or that the *Aſſyrians* had always made uſe of Writing, *Litteras ſemper arbitror Aſſyrias fuiſſe* (4). We ought, therefore, to look upon the Teſtimonies, he borrows from *Epigenes* and *Beroſus*, concerning the Aſtronomical Obſervations, recorded by the *Babylonians*, as Proofs of his Opinions; for the Concluſion, he draws from thoſe Teſtimonies, is the ſame with the Opinion he had laid down a little before: "Ex quo apparet, *this is his Concluſion*, æternus litterarum uſus. —— *From whence it appears, that the Uſe of Letters has been perpetual.*" Now there is nothing ſo abſurd as his Reaſoning, if he is ſuppoſed to ſpeak according to the preſent Readings of the Manuſcripts and Editions of his Books. *Epigenes*, a credible Author, affirms, that the Obſervations of the *Babylonian* Aſtrologers comprehend Seven hundred and twenty Years. Thoſe, who give them the leaſt Extent, as *Beroſus* and *Critodemus*, aſſign them Four hundred and eighty

(1) Cicero de Divinat. lib. 1, cap. 19.

(2) Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 46.

(3) Plin. lib. 7, c. 56.

(4) *Mr* Perizonius *believes it ought to be read* Aſſyriis. *See his* Diſſertatio Philologica de Originibus Babylonicis. *They are ſome* Theſes *which were maintained in the Month of* April, 1694.

uſe of improperly, either to confute the antiquity of *Babylon*, or for other Purpoſes. This a learned Profeſſor of *Leyden* has lately obſerved (*b*), and I wonder it has not been taken notice of ſooner. *Ariſtotle* knew, without doubt, that the *Babylonians* boaſted of having a Series of Aſtronomical Obſervations, comprehending a prodigious number of Centuries. He was deſirous to inform himſelf of the Truth of This by means of *Calliſthenes*, who was in *Alexander*'s Retinue, but found a great miſtake in the Account; for it is pretended, that *Calliſthenes* aſſured him, that the Aſtronomical Obſervations, he had ſeen in *Babylon*, comprehended no more than 1903 Years. *Simplicius* reports This, and borrows it from *Porphyry* (*c*). If *Calliſthenes* has computed right, it muſt be agreed, that, after the Deluge, Men made very great haſte to become Aſtrologers; for, according to the *Hebrew* Bible, there is but Two thouſand Years to be found from the Flood to the Death of *Alexander*. There is reaſon to queſtion what *Simplicius* reports; and it is remarkable, that all the ancient Authors, who have aſcribed the building of *Babylon* to *Semiramis*, have no other Authority, than That of *Cteſias*, whoſe Hiſtories abounded in Fables (*d*). And, therefore, we ſee, that *Beroſus* very much blames the *Greek* Writers for affirming, that *Semiramis* built *Babylon*, and adorned it with moſt beautiful Structures (*e*). The Supplement to *Moreri* quotes *Quintus Curtius*, in relation to the Immodeſty of the *Babylonian* Women. It may be added, that This Lewdneſs was very ancient. *Jeremiah*'s Letter, inſerted in the Book of

eighty Years. Therefore the uſe of Letters has been perpetual, and I have reaſon to believe, that it has always been practiſed in *Aſſyria*. It is thus *Pliny* argues, in his Natural Hiſtory, as we now have it: It is thus, I ſay, he argues, after having obſerved, that *Cadmus* brought the Uſe of Letters into *Europe*, and that the Invention of them, in *Egypt*, was ſaid to have happened fifteen Years before the Reign of *Phoroneus*. A Fool, a drunken Man, or a Dotard, could ſcarce have been Author of ſuch a Heap of Contradictions. It muſt, therefore, neceſſarily be ſuppoſed, that this Paſſage is not in it's original State: And it is greatly to be wondered, that a Thouſand learned Critics ſhould have examined theſe Words, without perceiving ſuch an inconſiſtent piece of Logic in them, as might make them ſuſpect, that the Paſſage was corrupted. *Scaliger*, *Voſſius*, Sir *John Marſham*, and Mr *Dodwell*, have ſo little miſtruſted it, that they have taken it for the Foundation of the Concluſions, which they would draw concerning the Age of *Beroſus* (5), or againſt the Antiquity of *Babylon* (6), or for other Purpoſes (7). Father *Hardouin* has corrected part of this Paſſage; but it was not to rectify *Pliny*'s Reaſoning; for, if this had been his principal Motive, he would have corrected all: It is Mr *Perizonius* (8), who has fully diſcovered the whole Matter, and proved the Corruption of the Text (9). He has demonſtrated, that the Number of a *Thouſand* muſt be added as well to the Account of *Epigenes*, as to That of *Beroſus*; and then *Pliny*'s Argument would ſtand thus; that, according to the Teſtimony of *Epigenes*, the Obſervations of the *Babylonian* Aſtrologers comprehended Seven hundred and twenty Thouſand Years; and, according to the Teſtimony of thoſe, who, like *Beroſus* and *Critodemus*, give them the leaſt extent, Four hundred and eighty Thouſand Years. And *Pliny* is certainly in the right, upon the Suppoſition he makes, that theſe Teſtimonies are authentic, to conclude, that the beginning of the *Aſſyrian* Letters is impoſſible to be traced. Now, when a thing is ſo ancient, that the Original of it is beyond finding out, we may, without any ſcruple, affirm it, as *Pliny* has done, to have been perpetual. But would any one venture to call it ſo, when the Proofs given of it's Antiquity leave it much later than ſeveral Things, whoſe Beginnings are known? This muſt have been *Pliny*'s Caſe, had he wrote what we find in his Work at this Time. Conſider well what he has ſaid concerning *Cadmus* and *Phoroneus*.

Father *Hardouin*'s Correction deſerves a diſtinct Explanation. He mends *Pliny*'s Text thus: "E diverſo Epigenes apud Babylonios CCCCLXX annorum M. obſervationes ſiderum coctilibus laterculis inſcriptas docet —— qui minimum, Beroſus & Critodemus, CCCCXC annorum. —— *On the contrary,* Epigenes *tells us, that, amongſt the* Babylonians, *there were celeſtial Obſervations for Four hundred and ſeventy Thouſand Years, inſcribed on Bricks.* —— Beroſus *and* Critodemus, *who make the leaſt of it, ſay Four hundred and ninety Years.*" On one ſide, he puts Four hundred and ſeventy Thouſand, inſtead of Seven hundred and twenty; and, on the other, Four hundred and ninety, inſtead of Four hundred and eighty. He builds on Manuſcripts, as to the laſt Correction, and on the Authority of *Cicero*, as to the firſt (10). It is true, he ſays, by the way, that the Paſſage itſelf, in *Pliny*, ſeems to require the firſt Correction. "Certè annorum millia locus iſte poſtulare videtur, non annos (11). —— *Certainly This Place requires the reading* Thouſands of Years, *inſtead of* Years." This looks as if he was ſenſible, how bad a Reaſoner *Pliny* is made by the common Reading. But, if a Thouſand be added to the Four hundred and eighty of the common Reading, we fall into another Difficulty; for, then, *Beroſus* allows Four hundred and eighty Thouſand Years to the Obſervations of the *Babylonian* Aſtrologers; and yet we know, that, when he mentions the great Care of the *Babylonians*, in preſerving the Memory of ſeveral natural and hiſtorical Matters, he ſpeaks but of a Hundred and fifty Thouſand Years. Βηρωσσὸς ἐν τῆ πρώτη τῶν Βαβυλωνιακῶν φησὶ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀναγραφὰς δὲ πολλῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φυλάσσεσθαι μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀπὸ ἐτῶν που ὑπὲρ μυριάδων ιε περιεχούσας χρόνον. περιέχειν δὲ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἱστορίας περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ θαλάσσης, καὶ πρωτογονίας, καὶ βασιλέων, καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς πράξεων (12). —— Beroſus, *in his firſt Book* concerning the *Babylonians*, ſays, he himſelf *was born in the Time of* Alexander, *the Son of* Philip; *and that there were Inſcriptions, preſerved, with great Care, at* Babylon, *comprehending above a Hundred and fifty Thouſand Years: And that theſe Inſcriptions contained Accounts of the Heavens, and of the Sea, of the Originals of Things, of Kings, and their Tranſactions.* It muſt be confeſſed, that this Paſſage equally proves theſe two things: The one, That the Number Four hundred and eighty, or Four hundred and ninety, ought to be ſtruck out of *Pliny*'s Text; The other, That Four hundred and eighty Thouſand muſt not be put in the room of it, but rather a Hundred and fifty Thouſand. And yet it might admit of ſome Cavil: It may be objected, that *Beroſus*, being better informed of the Fact, found Four hundred and eighty Thouſand Years, and inſerted That Calculation in a Book, which *Pliny* followed. It might alſo be objected, that the Numbers, in the Paſſage quoted by *Euſebius*, have been corrupted. However it be, I ſhould chuſe to retain the Correction of Father *Hardouin*, only with the Alteration, as to *Beroſus* and *Critodemus*, of an Hundred and fifty Thouſand, inſtead of Four Hundred and ninety.

I ſhall obſerve, by the way, that *Voſſius* has not been careful enough, in relating what concerns *Beroſus*, in the Paſſage of *Pliny*, which is the Subject of this Remark. He pretends, that *Pliny* ſays, *Beroſus* wrote the Hiſtory of what had paſſed during the Space of Four hundred and eighty Years. I quote *Voſſius*'s own Words. "Plinius, Lib. VI, Hiſt. Nat. Cap. LV, *(He ſhould have ſaid* Lib. VII, Cap. LVI.) refert Beroſum tradere memoriam quadringentorum annorum & octoginta (13). —— Pliny *reports, that* Beroſus *has given a Hiſtory of Four hundred*

(b) Mr Perizonius: *See Remark* [B] *Citations* (8) *and* (9).

(c) In lib. 2. de Cœlo, Com. 46, pag. 123.

(d) Marſhamus in Chronic. p. 507, Edit. 1676, in 4to.

(e) Beroſus, Chaldaicorum, lib. 3. apud Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Apion. pag. 1045.

(5) Scaliger, ad Græca Euſebii, pag. 407. Voſſius de Hiſt. Græcis. apud Perizonium, in Origin. Babylon.

(6) Marſham, Secul. 17, pag. 474. Edit. Anglic. apud eundem.

(7) *See* Dodwell. Obſervat. Cyprian. in Append. pag. 36, 37.

(8) *Formerly Profeſſor at* Franeker. *He is now Profeſſor of* Greek, *Hiſtory, and Eloquence, at* Leyden, *ſince the laſt Year* 1693.

(9) *See his* Diſſertatio I, de Originibus Babylonicis.

(10) *That is to ſay, on the two Paſſages in the Treatiſe* de Divinatione, *quoted above, num.* (1), *and* (2).

(11) Harduin. in Plin. Tom. 2, pag 134. n. 157.

(12) Beroſus, apud Alexandrum Polyhiſtor. citatum ab Euſeb. in Chronico, pag. 5, 6. Edit. Scalig. 1658.

(13) Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græc. p. 86.

of *Baruch*, touches ſomething of it, but in an obſcure manner, and wants a Commentary, taken out of *Herodotus* [*C*].

“ *hundred and eighty Years.*” Compare them with the Paſſage of *Pliny*, and you will find how wide they are from the Truth. Whom ſhall we truſt?

[*C*] Jeremiah's *Letter, concerning the Immodeſty of the* Babylonian *Women, wants a Commentary, taken out of* Herodotus.] This is *Jeremiah*'s Text: “ The Women alſo, with Cords about them, ſitting in the Ways - - - - - but if any of them, drawn by ſome that paſſeth by, lie with him, ſhe reproacheth her Fellow, that ſhe was not thought as worthy as herſelf, nor her Cord broken (14).” To underſtand this right, we muſt have recourſe to *Herodotus*, who informs us, That there was a Law at *Babylon*, which obliged all the Women of the Country to ſeat themſelves near the Temple of *Venus*, and there to wait for an Opportunity of lying with a Stranger (15). They were all forced to go through this Ceremony once in their Lives. The rich ſat in their Coaches, and had a great number of Domeſtics to attend them: The others had only an Incloſure of Cords; that is, they formed certain Ranks, which were ſeparated from each other with Cords (16), but in ſuch a Manner, that there was Liberty to go in and out, that Strangers might paſs freely in the Intervals, and make choice of her, who beſt ſuited their Taſte. When they had made their Choice, they caſt Money into her Lap, and led her aſide, in order to enjoy her. They put up a Prayer for her to the Goddeſs of the Temple (17). Theſe Women were not ſuffered to refuſe any Stranger, nor the Money given them, how ſmall ſoever was the Sum. They were obliged to follow the firſt Stranger, who threw them Money. Obſerve, that theſe Sums were appointed for Religious Uſes. Γίνεται γὰρ ἱερὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον (18). *This Money is held ſacred.* After the Performance of the Act, they might return to their Houſes; the Devotion, or Expiation, which the Goddeſs required, was accompliſhed. Thoſe, who were beautiful, or agreeable, were ſoon diſpatched, and relieved from Duty; but the ugly waited long for the propitious Hour to ſatisfy the Law. Some were ſo unfortunate, that three or four Years waiting did not end their Noviciate. Καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι (19). *Some wait three or four Years.* This removes all Obſcurity from *Jeremiah*'s Words. Each of theſe Women were kept in a little Cell, bound about with Cords, and did not come out but by breaking the Cord; after which, they inſulted over thoſe, who were yet in the Incloſure. We may apply to thoſe, who were taken out but late, theſe Lines of *Catullus*:

Tam gratum mihi, quàm ferunt puellæ
Pernici aureolum fuiſſe malum,
Quod zonam ſolvit diu ligatam (20).

Dear as the Golden Apple, in the Race,
Which check'd the flying Atalanta'*s Pace.*
Nor ſought ſhe Gold, but ſeiz'd the ſpecious Bait,
With Joy to end her tedious Virgin State.

Who can ſufficiently bewail the monſtrous Alliance, preſerved by Paganiſm, between the Worſhip of the Gods, and the moſt filthy Paſſions? It might juſtly have been called *The eaſy Devotion*, if the Comedy had contained more Acts and more Scenes, and if there had not been a diſadvantageous Mixture for the ugly; for three or four Years Patience was an hard Penance for one ſingle Rencounter. *Martin del Rio* retracted what he had ſaid, on the Words I have quoted from the Book of *Baruch*. He thought they were to be underſtood of certain Ligatures practiſed to make themſelves loved. See his *Magical Diſquiſitions* (21).

(14) *The Book of* Baruch *in the* Apocrypha, chap. 6.

(15) Herod. lib. 1, c 199.

(16) *I am forced to paraphraſe a little, to make* Herodotus *the better underſtood, who has not been particular enough in his Explanation.*

(17) *This was* Venus: *the* Babylonians *called her* Mylitta. Herod. lib. 1, cap. 199.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Catul. Epigr. 2.

(21) Lib. 3, Part I, Queſt. 3, pag. 13.

BACHOVIUS (Reinier) was born at *Cologne*, in the Year 1544. You may find his Life, among thoſe of the Civilians of *Germany*, in *Melchior Adam*. I ſhall not repeat what *Moreri* has taken from him: I will only give an account of the Perſecutions, which *Bachovius* ſuffered, at *Leipſic*, for his *Calviniſm*. At firſt he was only ſuſpected, and they were ſatisfied with keeping him out of all public Employs; but, the Times altering, he obtained the Office of a Senator, and afterwards, in the Year 1585, That of an *Echevin*, and, in three Years more, That of Conſul. The Elector, *Chriſtian* I, dying in the Year 1591, *Bachovius* was urged to profeſs *Lutheraniſm*; and, becauſe he would not, they compelled him to relinquiſh his Offices. He would not hearken to the advice given him to retire, though the danger of a Priſon was repreſented to him; he thought his Flight would give his Enemies a Handle to pronounce, that he eſteemed himſelf guilty: But, in the Year 1593, he was obliged to give way to popular Commotions, and leave *Leipſic*. He went firſt to *Serveſte*, and, the Year after, into the *Palatinate*, having loſt almoſt all his Effects. He met with a kind Protector in the Perſon of the Elector *Palatine*, and enjoyed ſeveral profitable and honourable Offices at *Heidelberg* till his Death, which happened the Twenty ſeventh of *February* 1614 (*a*). He publiſhed a Book, which diſcovered more of the Divine, than of the Civilian [*A*]. He left, among other Children, *Reinier* or *Reinhard* BACHOVIUS, whom he ſaw promoted, from the Profeſſorſhip of Politics, to That of Civil Law, in the Univerſity of *Heidelberg*. This Son obtained a great Name among the Civilians of the XVIIth Century [*B*]. He was particularly remarkable

(*a*) *Taken from* Melchior Adam, *in the Volume of* Civilians.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a Book, which diſcovered more of the Divine, than of the Civilian.*] It was a ſort of a Commentary on the famous *Heidelberg* Catechiſm. *Melchior Adam* ſpeaks thus of it; “ Propagandæ veritatis evangelicæ ſtudio edidit *Catecheſin Palatinatus*, teſtimoniis Sacræ Scripturæ ac ſententiis patrum, qui primis *quingentis* à Chriſto nato annis in Eccleſia Dei claruerunt, exornatam & illuſtratam, cum *epitome vitæ* eorundem *patrum*, & *methodica narratione de Conciliis*, quorum Canones in illo Catechetico libello citantur (1). — *Out of a ſincere Deſire for the Propagation of Evangelical Truth, he publiſhed the* Catechiſm of the Palatinate, *adorned, and illuſtrated, with the Teſtimonies of ſacred Scripture, and Opinions of the Fathers, who were famous, in the Church, for the firſt* five Centuries *after* Christ, *with an* Epitome *of the Lives of Thoſe* Fathers, *and a* Methodical Account of the Councils, *whoſe Canons are cited in That Catechiſm.*”

[*B*] Reinier *or* Reinhard Bachovius —— *obtained a great Name among the Civilians.*] *Conringius* calls him, *Diſciplinæ juridicæ æternum decus* (2). —— *The perpetual Ornament of the Civil Law. Vinnius* ſays he is, *ſubtiliſſimus Juriſconſultus, non tam ſuæ ſententiæ adſtructor, quam deſtructor alienæ* (3). —— *The moſt able Civilian, not ſo much in advancing Opinions of his own, as in overthrowing thoſe of others.* Another ſays, *Eo in his, quæ ad ſolidam noſtri juris interpretationem faciunt, acutiorem vix tradit prior ætas* (4). - - - *The former Age ſcarce produced a greater Interpreter of the Civil Law.* Laſtly, the Compliments of *accuratiſſimus, ſubtiliſſimus, acutiſſimus, inexorabilis Cenſor* (5). - - - *The moſt accurate, moſt able, judicious, moſt ſevere Cenſor*, are commonly given to him. The Elogy, *Vinnius* gives him, agrees

(1) Melch. Adam in vitis Juriſc. p. 472, 473.

(2) Conringius, de authoritate Juris publ. Juſtin. in Germaniâ apud Magirum Eponym. p. 99.

(3) Vinnius, cap. 11, de Pact. n. 9. apud Magir. Eponym. p. 99.

(4) Hahn. in Dedic. Obſerv. ad Weſenbec. apud eundem.

(5) Schutz, apud eundem.

remarkable for his ſkill in confuting, with great Subtility, whatſoever he undertook to oppoſe (b). He was wavering on the Point of Religion; for he ſaid, in confidence, to a *Lutheran* Profeſſor (c), that, if he might be permitted to read private Lectures of the Civil Law at *Straſburg*, he would leave his Profeſſorſhip of *Heidelberg*, and remove to *Straſburg*. He declared, that he deteſted the Doctrine of abſolute Predeſtination, and that he believed the Corporeal Preſence of JESUS CHRIST in the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, tho' he knew not the manner of it. The Perſon, to whom he diſcovered this Inclination, communicated it to the Magiſtrates of *Straſburg*, who ordered him to be aſſured he ſhould be welcome. *Bachovius* removed to that City, with his Library; but, not finding a maintenance there (d), he returned to *Heidelberg*, where his Friend found him under great Vexation and Sickneſs, in the Year 1629 (e).

(*b*) *See Remark* [*B*].

(*c*) *His Name was* Tabor, *and he was eſteemed a great Civilian.*

(*d*) Vitæ præſidiis deſtitutus religionem omiſit. ---- *Being diſappointed of a Livelihood he quitted that Religion.* Praſchius in Mauſoleo Taboris.

(*e*) *Taken from* Praſchius *in* Mauſoleo Taboris.

agrees but with too many Perſons: There are too many Writers, and Men of great Reaſoning, who have bad Succeſs in proving their own Doctrine, but yet can entirely demoliſh That of others. Men, who engage in Diſputes, are commonly ſtronger in the Offenſive, than in the Defenſive. See what an Elector of *Cologne* ſaid concerning the Quarrel between the *Cordeliers* and *Jacobins*. Father *Paul* relates it. See the fourth Book of his Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, Page 309 of Mr *Amelot de la Houſſaie*'s Tranſlation.

BACON (Roger) An Engliſh *Franciſcan*, lived in the XIIIth Century. He was a great Aſtrologer, Chymiſt, and Mathematician. It was this, undoubtedly, which occaſioned him to be ſuſpected of Magic. There runs a Tradition among the *Engliſh*, that This Fryar made a Brazen Head, which anſwered all his Queſtions [*A*]. *Selden* rejects this as a childiſh Fable [*B*], and obſerves, that no Hiſtorian has mentioned it, and that *Bale*, who had defamed *Roger Bacon*, recanted, and honourably repaired That Injury. *Francis Picus* ſays, That he read, in one of *Bacon*'s Books, “That a Man might become a Prophet, and fore-tell things to come by means of the Looking-glaſs, *Almucheſi*, compoſed according to the Rules of Perſpective; provided he uſed it under a good Conſtellation, and firſt brought his Body into an even and temperate State by Chymiſtry (*a*).” This is agreeable to what *John Picus Mirandulanus* has maintained, That *Bacon* only buſied himſelf with Natural Magic (*b*). This Fryar ſent ſeveral Inſtruments, of his own Invention, to Pope *Clement* IV (*c*). Several of his Books have been publiſhed: *Specula Mathematica & perſpectiva, Speculum Alchemiæ, De mirabili Poteſtate Artis & Naturæ, Epiſtolæ cum Notis*, &c. In all probability, he did not perform any Thing by compact with the Devil; but has only aſcribed to Things a ſurprizing Efficacy, which they could not naturally have. Conſequently, there is reaſon to ſay, that his Writings contain a great deal of Superſtition [*C*]. He was very much infatuated with Judicial Aſtrology.

(*a*) Franciſc. Picus, lib. 2. de Prænotione, cap. 1. & lib. 7. cap. 7. *cited by* Naudé, Apology for Great Men, *pag.* 490.

(*b*) Joh. Picus in Præfat. Apolog. *cited by* Naudé, ibid.

(*c*) Naudé, ibid. p. 493.

[*A*] *He is ſaid to have made a brazen Head, which anſwered all his Queſtions.*] *Maïer* remarks, That *Roger Bacon* is commonly introduced upon the Stage, in Comedies, as a great Magician, and that “the common Report is, that he, and his Fellow-Monk, *Thomas Bungey*, wrought ſeven Years to forge This Head, to know, from it, if there might not be ſome means to incloſe all *England* with a thick Wall and Rampart? Upon which it gave them an Anſwer, which however they could not rightly underſtand, becauſe, not expecting to receive it ſo ſpeedily, they were taken up in other things, than liſtening to the Oracle (1).” Theſe are popular Stories, which do not deſerve to be confuted. The like are told of *Albertus Magnus* (2).

[*B*] Selden *rejects this as a childiſh Fable.*] Theſe are his own Words: “Iſtiuſmodi caput ex ære conflatum ab eruditiſſimo Rogero Bachone eſt in ore noſtratis vulgi, ſed non ſine injuria in illius Matheſin, quam ſummam & à dæmonum præſtigiis puram monſtrant ſatis illius opera quotquot nos legiſſe contigit, & quidquid adverſus eum uti magum ſeu νεκυόμαντιν J. Balæus inſcitia dicam, an in optimas artes malitia, editione centuriarum prima ſatis incogitanter effutierat, id bene monitus omne non modo retractavit, verum in ea quæ tali & tanto viro digna ſunt poſtrema recognitione etiam prudenter commutavit. Nec quod hanc vulgi famam adſtruat, habent Annales noſtri (3). —— *Our common People are full of a Story of a brazen Head, made by the moſt learned* Roger Bacon, *very much to the Prejudice of his Mathematical Knowledge, which all his Works, which I have had an Opportunity of reading, demonſtate to have been very compleat, and intirely clear from diabolical Jugglings: and whatſoever* J. Bale, *either of Ignorance, or Malice to thoſe excellent Studies, had, in the firſt Edition of his Centuries, very inconſiderately thrown out againſt him, as a Magician, or Necromancer, he has, on better Advice, in his laſt Edition, not only retracted, but alſo wiſely ſubſtituted, in it's Place, what becomes the Character of ſo great a Man. Nor is there any Authority in our Hiſtory for That common Report.*” *John Dee*, an *Engliſh* Philoſopher and Mathematician, wrote an Apology for *Roger Bacon*. He mentions it in the Epiſtle dedicatory of his *Propædeumata Aphoriſtica de præſtantioribus quibuſdam naturæ virtutibus*. See *Naudé*, in the Four hundred eighty eighth Page of his *Apology for great Men*.

[*C*] *His Writings contain a great deal of Superſtition.*] *Martin del Rio*, who, of all Men in the World, in theſe Matters, is leaſt prodigal of his Abſolution to Perſons ſuſpected, clears *Roger Bacon* of Magic, and is contented to make him only a ſuperſtitious Author. “Alchindus, *ſays he* (4), Rogerius Baconus, & Geber Arabs, multis ſcatent ſuperſtitioſis; ideo vetitæ lectionis etiam hos putarim. --- Alchindus, Roger Bacon, *and* Geber, *the* Arabian, *abound in Superſtition, and therefore, in my Opinion, ought not to be read.*” *John Wierus* is not ſo favourable; for he puts *Roger Bacon, Petrus Aponenſis, Anſelmus Parmenſis, Cicchus Aſculus*, and ſome others, in the ſame Claſs; whereas *Martin del Rio* treats the three laſt, I have named, as true Magicians, and puts *Bacon* only in the number of the Superſtitious. “Ab hoc numero removeo, ut demoniacos magos, Picatricem Hiſpanum, Anſelmum Parmenſem, Cicchum Eſculanum, Petrum de Abono, & Corn. Agrippam, & Paracelſum ---- homines partim atheos, partim hæreticos (5). ---- *I exclude from this Number, as diabolical Magicians*, Picatrix *the* Spaniard, Anſelmus Parmenſis, Cicchus Eſculanus, Petrus de Abono, Cornelius Agrippa, *and* Paracelſus, ---- *Men partly Atheiſts, and partly Heretics.*” As for the reſt, *Wierus* agrees perfectly with him; that is, he took *Petrus Aponenſis, Anſelmus Parmenſis*, &c. for Practiſers of infernal

(1) Maierus, Symbol. aureæ Menſæ, lib. 10. pag. 453, *cited by* Naudé, Apology for great Men, pag. 491.

(2) *See, above, Remark* [*F*], n 2, *of the Article* ALBERTUS (Magnus).

(3) Selden de Diis Syris Syntagm. 1, cap. 2, pag. 38.

(4) Diſquiſit. Magicar. lib. 1, cap. 3, pag. 22.

(5) Ibid.

Aſtrology [*D*]. ———The Letter, which he wrote to Pope *Clement* IV, and which is now in the Library of *Lambeth*, together with great Encomiums on the Holy Scriptures, mentions a very odd Project; for he there exhorts That Pope to confirm, by Apoſtolical Authority, and to recommend to the whole Church, the Method he had found out to teach every Body *Hebrew*, *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Arabic*, in a very few Days. He pretended, that the Laity ought not only to read the Scripture, but alſo to underſtand the Originals [*E*]; and he averred, that his *Univerſal Grammar* was earneſtly wiſhed for, and had been confirmed by ſeveral Prophecies.

infernal Magic. “Superiorum magorum nugamenta itidem inſulsè ſequuti ſunt Appion Grammaticus, Julianus Apoſtata, Robertus Anglicus apud Helvetios miſere mortuus, *Rogerius Bachon*, Petrus Aponenſis Conciliator dictus, Albertus Teutonicus, Arnoldus de Villanova, Anſelmus Parmenſis, Picatrix Hiſpanus, vel author libri ad Alfonſum ſub Picatricis nomine, Cicchus Aſculus Florentinus, & plerique alii obſcurioris nominis ſcriptores, deplorati certe ingenii homines. Qui quum ſe magiam tradere pollicentur, non niſi aut deliramenta quædam nulla ratione ſubnixa, aut ſuperſtitiones piis omnibus indignas congeſſerunt (6). - - - - - *The Tricks of former Magicians are fooliſhly followed by* Appion *the Grammarian*, Julian *the Apoſtate*, Robertus Anglicus, *who died miſerably in* Switzerland, Roger Bacon, Petrus Aponenſis, *called the Reconciler*, Albertus Teutonicus, Arnoldus de Villâ Novâ, Anſelmus Parmenſis, Picatrix *the* Spaniard, *or the Author of the Book under his Name to King* Alphonſus, Cicchus Aſculus *the* Florentine, *and ſeveral other Writers of obſcurer Names, Men of deſperate Minds: Who, inſtead of the Magic they pretend to be Maſters of, have only heaped together either ſome idle Dreams, without any Foundation of Reaſon, or Superſtitions unworthy the Attention of all pious Perſons.*”

[*D*] *He was very much infatuated with Judicial Aſtrology.*] *John Picus* maintains, that the Book, entitled *Speculum Aſtrologiæ*, which treats of the Lawful and Unlawful Authors, who wrote upon Aſtrology, is a Work of *Roger Bacon* (7). That Book was condemned by *Gerſon* (8), and by *Agrippa, as exceedingly ſuperſtitious* (9). *Francis Picus* (10), and many others, have condemned it, becauſe the Author maintains in it, *with ſubmiſſion to better Judgments*, that the Books of Magic ought to be carefully preſerved, becauſe the Time draws near, that, for certain Cauſes not there ſpecified, they muſt neceſſarily *be peruſed, and made uſe of on ſome Occaſions. Naudé* adds, *That* Roger Bacon *was ſo much addicted to Judicial Aſtrology, that* Henry de Haſſia, Gulielmus Pariſienſis, Nicolas Oreſmius - - - - - *were obliged to inveigh ſharply againſt his Writings and all the Vanities of Aſtrologers* (11).

[*E*] *He pretended, that the Laity were not only obliged to read the Scriptures, but alſo to underſtand the Originals.*] As I have not read his Letter, I cannot ſay whether he relies upon this Argument: That a private Perſon, who underſtands neither the *Greek* nor *Hebrew* Language, is obliged to depend on the Fidelity and Capacity of Tranſlators: Which, it may be ſaid, is but a weak Foundation, and not to be truſted, to build our Salvation on. However it be, his Pretenſion is ſufficiently extravagant, and contains Impoſſibilities. This is the Judgment of the Author, who mentions this Letter. “Inter Scriptores 13 ſeculi, qui a Whartono pro Scripturis & ſacris vernaculis adducuntur, comparet *Rogerus Bacon*, cujus epiſtolam de laudibus S. Scripturæ ad Clementem IV. bibliotheca Lambethana tenet. Obſervat autem, Autorem illum portentoſa quædam & impoſſibilia in prolixa illa epiſtola comminiſci. Non enim tantum neceſſarium eſſe docet, ut omnes Chriſtiani ſacram Scripturam tanquam fidei ſuæ fontem & regulam perfecte ſciant, ſed etiam fontes Hebraicos & Græcos ab omnibus conſulendos aſſerit. Et quamvis incredibile videatur, ut ſinguli Chriſtiani linguarum iſtarum notitiam ſibi comparare poſſint, id tamen Baconus factu perquam facile eſſe perſuadere ſuis Lectoribus cupit, imprimis cum ſe Grammaticam, quandam univerſalem inveniſſe glorietur, cujus ope intra pauciſſimos dies quilibet linguam Hebraicam, Græcam, Latinam, & Arabicam, addiſcere queat; & ut omnes, quod legunt, etiam intelligant, ſe opus quoddam manuductorium ſeu præliminare ad promovendam S. Scripturæ intelligentiam editurum ſpondet, enixe Pontificem orans, ut artificium ſuum, ſummis omnium votis expetitum, & frequentibus vaticiniis confirmatum, Apoſtolica autoritate confirmet & univerſæ eccleſiæ commendet, unde innumera in eccleſiam beneficia redundatura minime dubitat (12). - - - - - *Among the Writers of the XIIIth Century, who are produced, by* Wharton, *in favour of tranſlating the Scriptures, and Divine Services, into our own Language,* Roger Bacon *is cited, whoſe Epiſtle, to* Clement IV, *on the Praiſes of Sacred Scripture, is now in the* Lambeth *Library. But he obſerves, that this Author, in that long Epiſtle, has projected ſomething very monſtrous and impracticable. For he holds it to be neceſſary for all Chriſtians, not only to underſtand perfectly the Sacred Scripture, as the Fountain and Rule of their Faith, but alſo to be able to conſult the* Hebrew *and* Greek *Originals. And, though it may ſeem incredible, that every Chriſtian ſhould be able to attain the Knowledge of thoſe Languages, yet* Bacon *would perſwade his Readers, that it may very eaſily be done, eſpecially ſince he pretends to have invented an univerſal Grammar, by the help of which any one may, in a very few Days, make himſelf Maſter of* Hebrew, Greek, Latin, *and* Arabic; *and, that all, who read, may underſtand, he promiſes to publiſh an Introductory Work, to make the Sacred Scripture more eaſily underſtood, earneſtly deſiring the Pope, that This Invention of his, ſo very much wiſhed for by all, and confirmed by ſeveral Prophecies, might be eſtabliſhed by his Apoſtolical Authority, and recommended to the whole Church, to which he is ſure it will bring innumerable Advantages.*”

(6) Wier. de Præſtig. lib. 2, cap. 4. *He obſerves, that* John-Francis Picus, lib. 7, c. 7. *refutes* Bacon.

(7) Lib. 1, adverſ. Aſtrolog. apud Naudé, pag. 526.

(8) Lib. de Libris Aſtrolog. non tolerandis Propoſit. 3. apud Naudé, pag. 525.

(9) In Epiſt. *apud eundem*, ibid.

(10) Lib. 7. de Prænot. cap. 2. *apud eundem*, ibid.

(11) Naudé, Apology for great Men, *pag.* 526.

(12) Acta Erudit. Lipſ. menſis Junii 1691, pag. 279. *In the Abſtract of the Book of Archbiſhop* Uſher, de Hiſtoriâ dogmate Controverſiæ de Scripturis & Sacris Vernaculis.

BACON (FRANCIS), Lord High Chancellor of *England* under King *James* I, was one of the greateſt Men of his Age, and one of thoſe, who beſt underſtood the Imperfections in the Philoſophy of that Time. He ſtudied hard to find out a Remedy for them, and formed very fine Plans for their Reformation [*A*]. The Public received his Works very favourably. A compleat Edition was made of them at *Francfort* in Folio, in the Year 1665. The *Journal of the Learned* did not mention it without beſtowing great Encomiums upon this illuſtrious Chancellor (*a*). The Treatiſe *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, which was reprinted at *Paris* in the Year 1624, is one of This Author's beſt Productions [*B*]. His *Moral and Political Works*, tranſlated into *French*

(*a*) *In the* Journal *of* March 8, 1666. *Note, that an Edition of them was promiſed in 6 Volumes in 12mo, in* 1684. *See* Nouvelles de la Republ. des Lettres, *for* June, 1684, *in the Catalogue of new Books, n.* 5.

[*A*] *He formed very fine Plans for their Reformation.*] See what Mr *Baillet* has ſaid of them, in the firſt Volume of the Life of Mr *Des Cartes* (1), and what *Gaſſendus* has ſaid in particular of *Bacon*'s Logic (2).

[*B*] *The Treatiſe* De Augmentis Scientiarum —— *is one of This Author's beſt Productions.*] See here what *Coſtar* ſaid of it to *Voiture*: *I have lately read the Books, which Chancellor* Bacon *wrote about the Advancement of Sciences, in which I found a great many admirable Things* (3). He afterwards gives Inſtances of ſome of thoſe Things, and by his Choice ſhews his good Taſte; for indeed they are all fine and great Thoughts. I have been informed, that *Bacon*'s Works were principally made uſe of by *Coſtar*, and that he took from thence the Ground, or Baſis, of his Col-

(1) Pages 147, 148.

(2) Opera, Tom. 1, p. 62.

(3) *Converſations of* Voiture *and* Coſtar, *pag.* 173, *Edit. of* Paris, 1654.

French by *Baudouin*, ſold ſo well, that they had a Run of ſeveral Editions. *His Life of* Henry VII, *King of England*, is very much eſteemed (*b*). By labouring ſo hard for the Republic of Learning, *Bacon* neglected his Domeſtic Affairs, in ſuch a manner, and plunged himſelf into ſo many Expences, that he died very poor. We ſhall produce two Authorities on this Subject [*C*]. His Death is placed on the Ninth of *April* 1626. He lived Sixty ſix Years.

lections; that is, having found ſome Thought in *Bacon*, which pleaſed him, he wrote it down, and, when he met with any thing, that related to it, in other Books, he added it to that Leaf; after which he needed no other Index, or Common-Place.

[C] *We ſhall produce two Authorities for* Bacon'*s Poverty.*] The firſt I am indebted for to the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*; for the ſecond, to the *Sorberiana*. The *Bibliotheque Univerſelle* informs me, that *James Howel* ſays, in a *Letter* (4) *dated the Sixth of* January 1625 (5), —— "That Chancellor *Bacon* "died ſo poor, that he ſcarce left enough to bury "him; which made *Howel* ſay, That, though he had "a great Genius for Learning, he had no great Judgment of Things. However, he imputes this "Chancellor's Poverty either to his Contempt of "Riches, or exceſſive Liberality. *Howel ſays*, That, "a little before his Death, he wrote a mournful Letter to the King, wherein he implored his Aſſiſtance, "*For fear he ſhould be reduced in his old Age to Beggary, and be obliged to ſtudy only how to live, inſtead of living, according to his Wiſh, only in order* "*to ſtudy*. Expreſſions, which ſeem as low to our "Author, as thoſe of another Letter, which he had "wrote before to the Prince of *Wales*, were prophane. He told That Prince, *That he hoped, as the* "*Father had been his Creator, the Son would be his* "*Redeemer* (6)."

Let us ſee, now, what *Sorbiere* ſays: "*Bacon's Natural Hiſtory*, at *Paris* 1631, tranſlated, or rather "epitomized, by *Peter Amboiſe* Eſq; *Sieur de la Madelaine*. The Tranſlator has added an Account of "That Chancellor's Life, and, at the end, a Tranſlation of his *New Atlantis*. Thoſe few excellent "Remarks, I have ſeen, make me wiſh greatly for "an intire and faithful Tranſlation. Mr *Boſwel* tells "me, he had a particular Intimacy with this extraordinary Man, who left him in his Will all his "Papers, which was the only one, which was executed out of a vaſt Number of Legacies, which he "gave by way of Pleaſantry. He bequeathed Four "hundred thouſand Livres to an imaginary College, "which he had given the Plan of, in his *New Atlantis* (7)." This Account does not ſeem to ſay, that *Bacon* died poor; it rather inſinuates, that he died not a little whimſical (8): But, if you conſider it cloſer, you will find there is a Sign of Indigence in it.

(*b*) See, in Sir Tho. Pope-Blount *pag.* 635, *the Judgment made of them by* Conringius, Boeclerus, &c. *there you ſee the Judgment of other Authors, to the Honour of Lord* Bacon.

(4) *The* 8*th of Sect.* 4. *of Vol. I.*

(5) *There muſt be an Error of the Preſs in this Date; for Chancellor* Bacon *did not die, till* Apr. 9. 1626.

(6) Biblioth. Univerſelle, Tom. 15. pag. 45.

(7) Sorberiana, pag. 41. *Edit. of* Holland.

(8) *See what the Sieur* du Maurier *ſays concerning the laſt Will of* Cerisantes. Memoirs of Holland, *p.* 430.

BACOUE (Leo), born at *Caſteljaloux* in the lower *Guienne*, forſook his Family Religion, which was That of the Reformed, and became a *Franciſcan*. He attained afterward to the Prelacy, and was made Biſhop of *Glandeve*. My Author obſerves, That Father *Leo Bacoue* is the only converted *Huguenot*, who was promoted to Epiſcopacy under the Reign of *Lewis* XIV (*a*). This Fryar publiſhed a *Latin Poem on the Education of a Prince*, about the time that the *Dauphin* was to have Preceptors. He re-printed it at *Paris* in the Year 1685. The *Journal des Sçavans* mentions it, the following Year (*b*).

(*a*) Rocoles, True Hiſtory of Calviniſm, *pag.* 166.

(*b*) January 21*ſt*, *pag.* 23.

BADIUS (Jodocus), ſirnamed *Aſcenſius*, becauſe he was born in the Borough (*a*) of *Aſſche* near *Bruſſels*, was in much Eſteem for the great number of Books, which he printed and commented. He was born in the Year 1462. He performed his firſt Studies at *Ghent*; he continued them in *Italy*, and made a great progreſs in the *Greek* Language at *Ferrara*, under *Baptiſta Guarini*. He ſettled at *Lyons*, and taught the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues there as well in public as in private. Afterwards he removed to *Paris*, and ſet up a Printing-Houſe there, which gained him great Reputation [*A*]. From thence came forth ſeveral Claſſic Authors, with his Explications and Notes [*B*]. He beſtowed the ſame Pains on ſome Modern Authors, as *Petrarch*, *Politian*, *Laurentius Valla*, *Baptiſta Mantuanus*, &c. He publiſhed alſo ſome Books of his own both in Proſe and in Verſe (*b*) [*C*]; and it is agreed, by good Judges, that, if his Domeſtic Cares had not obliged him to write as much, or more, for Gain, than for Glory, he would have ſucceeded much better than he did [*D*]. *Eraſmus* happened

[*A*] *He ſet up a Printing-Houſe, at* Paris, *which gained him great Reputation.*] Father *du Moulinet* informs us, That *Jodocus Badius* was the firſt, who brought into *France* the round Characters; and that, before him, all the *French* Printers made uſe of the *Gothic* Characters. *About the Year* 1500, *he came from* Italy *into* France, *as well to teach* Greek *in* Paris, *as to ſet up a very fine Printing-Houſe there, which he called* Prælum Aſcenſianum, *Aſcenſius*'s Preſs (1). Father *du Moulinet* forgets, that *Badius* ſtopt a very conſiderable Time at *Lyons*, before he came to *Paris*. See the Remark [*H*]. As for the reſt, Mr *Chevillier* has proved, againſt That Father, That *Printing in* France *did not begin with* Gothic *Letters* *, *and that* Roman *Letters were uſed there, before* Badius'*s Time* (2); And farther, that tho' *a great Number of* His *Editions were printed in a good Letter* —— *He printed ſeveral alſo in* Gothic (3).

[* *Gabriel Naudé*, in the ſeventh Chapter of his *Addition to the Hiſtory of* Lewis XI, pag. 317, and 318, of the Edition of 1630, pretends, that it was The *Workmen*, who, *leſs deſirous of Honour than Profit*, introduced the *Gothic* Character; but I know not how he underſtands This; ſince many of the old Editions, which we have in *ſquare Letters*, are no leſs charged with Abbreviations, than the *Gothic*, which ſucceeded them. Rem. Crit.]

[*B*] *He printed a great many Claſſic Authors, with his Explications and Notes.*] *Valerius Andreas* gives a Liſt of them, wherein we find *Horace*, *Perſius*, *Terence*, *Juvencus*, *Theocritus*, *Salluſt*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Quintilian*, *Aulus Gellius*, and ſeveral Treatiſes of *Cicero*. "Commentarii verò, ſive familiares enarrationes, circumferuntur, in Horatium "Flaccum, &c (4). —— *There are alſo handed about* "*Commentaries, or familiar Explanations, on* Horace, "&c." The Liſt of *Swertius* is ſtill larger, and mentions *Ovid*, and *Seneca*'s Tragedies (5).

[*C*] *He publiſhed ſome Books of his own, both in Proſe, and in Verſe.*] *Valerius Andreas* mentions theſe following: *Pſalterium B. Mariæ*, *Epigrammatum liber*, *Navicula ſtultarum mulierum*, *De Grammatica*, *De conſcribendis Epiſtolis*, *Vita Thomæ à Kempis*.

[*D*] *If his domeſtic Cares had not interrupted him,* ---- *he would have ſucceeded much better than he did.*] *Eraſmus* ſpeaks very freely of this; "Nec infeliciter omnino ceſſit conatus Badio; adeſt illi fa- "cilitas non indocta, felicius tamen ceſſurus, niſi curæ "domeſticæ, reique parandæ ſtudium, interrupiſſent "otium

(*a*) Moreri *was wrong to call it a Houſe. The Author, whom he quotes, makes uſe of the Word* Municipium. Geſner *gives* Badius *the Sirname of* Gandenſis.

(*b*) Ex Valerii Andreæ Biblioth. Belg. pag. 588, 589.

(1) Journal des Sçavans, *of* Jan. 31, 1684, p. 38.

(2) Chevill. Origin of Printing at *Paris*, p. 54.

(3) Ibid. pag. 108.

(4) Valer. Andreas, Bibl. Belg. pag. 589.

(5) Swert. in Athen. Belg.

happened to compare him, in ſome things, to *Budæus*; and it can ſcarce be credited, what a Clamour was raiſed at *Paris* againſt That Compariſon [*E*]. Thoſe, who place *Badius*'s Death in the Year 1526, are miſtaken [*F*]. He was incumbered with a very great Family, and it is ſaid, in his Epitaph, That, in all probability, the Number of his Children would have equalled That of his Books, had he made as early a beginning in the one, as he did in the other [*G*]; but that he had been much longer an Author, than a married Man. I would not warrant This to be exactly true [*H*]. His

" otium illud Muſis amicum, hujus laudis candidato " neceſſarium (6). —— *Nor was* Badius'*s Attempt* " *unſucceſsful; his Manner is eaſy, and not unlearned:* " *But he would have ſucceeded much better, if his* " *domeſtic Cares, and Endeavour for a Maintenance,* " *had not interrupted that Quiet, which the Muſes* " *require in one, who writes for Fame.*" He paſſes the ſame Judgment in one of his Letters (7). " Aliis " liberum erit de Badio judicare quod volunt; ego " ſemper illum habui in eorum numero, quorum nec " eruditionem, nec ingenium, nec eloquentiam poſſis " contemnere: tametſi non diſſimulo illum longe ma-" jorem fuiſſe futurum, ſi fortuna benignior otium ac " tranquillitatem ſtudiorum ſuppeditaſſet. ----- *Others* " *may judge as they pleaſe of* Badius; *for my own part,* " *I have always eſteemed him in the number of thoſe,* " *whoſe Learning, Underſtanding, and Eloquence, are* " *by no means contemptible: though I cannot deny but* " *theſe would have appeared to much greater Advan-*" *tage, if an eaſier Fortune had allowed his Studies* " *a greater Tranquillity.*" *Brixius*, after having given a very mean Idea of *Badius*, ſays, he ſtudied much more for Gain, than to become Eloquent. " Scio " Badium non eſſe prorſus ἄμȣσον. Verum qualis " qualis eſt talem ſe certe hominibus noſtris hacte-" nus probavit, ut quoties de doctis ſermo inter do-" ctos incidit de Badio plane ȣ̓δεὶς λόγος. Illi, " quod non inficiaris, quæſtus tantum non eloquentia " ſcopus eſt (8). ------- *I know* Badius *is not* " *altogether unlearned. But, let him be what he will,* " *the Appearance he has hitherto made in the learned* " *World is ſuch, that, whenever Men of Learning* " *ſpeak of others of their own Claſs, not a Syllable* " *is mentioned of* Badius. *It cannot be denied but* " *that his Aim was Gain, and not Eloquence.*"

[*E*] Eraſmus *compared him* ---- *with* Budæus; *and it can ſcarce be expreſſed, what a Clamour was raiſed, at* Paris, *againſt That Compariſon.*] *Brixius*, who was *Eraſmus*'s Friend, wrote to him a Letter on This Subject, part of which I have quoted. He told him plainly, That the learned Men of *Paris* were very angry to find, that he had, in ſome meaſure, preferred *Badius* to *Budæus*. " Quo major indig-" natio noſtrorum omnium animos ſubit, quod hâc " in opinione, juſtâ de cauſâ quum ſint, exiſtiment " illum abs te non tantum *Badio* collatum, ſed & " poſtpoſitum. —— Ea una commiſſura adeo noſtris " omnibus invidioſa eſt, ut multorum tibi benevolo-" rum animos à tui ſtudio abalienarit, ob id quod " exiſtimant *Budæum* cum *Badio* commiſſum perinde " eſſe ac ſi quis *Achillem* cum *Therſite* committeret " (9). —— *All our People have conceived ſo much the* " *greater Indignation againſt you, to find one, for whom* " *they have ſo juſt a Value, not only compared, but* " *even poſtponed, by you, to* Badius. — *This one Compa-*" *riſon has ſo diſguſted every Body here, that it has* " *drawn off a great many of your Well-Wiſhers from* " *the Reſpect they had for you, who look upon your* " *comparing* Budæus *with* Badius *to be juſt like* " *matching* Achilles *with* Therſites." *Eraſmus* juſtified himſelf, and made it appear, that he had very evidently given *Budæus* the Superiority. He wondered they had not perceived it in *France*; or, if they had, how they came to make ſuch an out-cry, and compoſe ſo many ſatirical Verſes. *Demiror iſthic eſſe doctos, qui hæc non videant, & ſi vident, magis etiam demiror eſſe qui vociferentur, qui maledicis Verſiculis rem dignam exiſtiment* (10). This Affair became ſo much talked of, that it reached the Ears of *Francis* I. " Si verus eſt rumor, ſic fremunt amici *Budæi*, quaſi " in cineres patris ac matris illius imminxerim. Cla-" mant ô Cœlum! ô terra! *Budæum* cum *Badio?* " Clamant me invidere gloriæ *Budæi*, meque multis " epigrammatis dilacerant. ----- Cauſa delata eſt & " ad Regis cognitionem. Volenti cognoſcere diſſidii " cauſam, dictum eſt *Budæum* me taxaſſe in loco " quodam, eo me offenſum quæſiſſe vindictam, eum-" que cum *Badio* contuliſſe (11). ------ *If Report* " *ſpeaks true, the Friends of* Budæus *are as much in-*" *cenſed, as if I had offered the greateſt Indignity to* " *the Aſhes of their Father and Mother. They cry* " *out to Heaven and to Earth, What!* Budæus *with* " Badius! *They charge me with envying* Budæus's " *Glory, and laſh me with their many ſtinging Epi-*" *grams.* ------ *The Matter is brought even to the* " *Knowledge of the King. To whom, on Inquiry into* " *the Cauſe of this Diſſention, they pretend, that* Bu-" dæus *has ſomewhere cenſured me, which has pro-*" *voked me to take this Revenge, by comparing him* " *with* Badius." If *Eraſmus* deſigned to honour *Badius* by That Compariſon, he was very much miſtaken; for this poor Man was wounded to the Heart, every time Complaints were made of the Injuſtice done to *Budæus*. It had been better for *Badius*, if *Eraſmus* had not thought of him. The offence was removed in the ſecond Edition.

[*F*] *Thoſe, who place his Death in the Year* 1526, *are miſtaken.*] *Swertius* was content to ſay, that he found *Badius* had lived to the Year 1526 (12). This indeed leaves it doubtful, whether or no he lived beyond that Year; but he does not pretend to affirm, that he did not live beyond it. *Konig*, inſtead of expreſſing himſelf thus cautiouſly, affirms, that *Badius* died in the Year 1526. And others have ſaid it after him. But let us conſider a little *Brixius*'s Letter, which I have quoted; it was written in the Year 1528, and mentions *Badius* as living. *Valerius Andreas* ſays nothing at all concerning his Death. *Moreri* places it about the Year 1529, or 1530. But he is miſtaken; for it is very well known, that *Eraſmus* rejoiced, in a Letter of the Month of *September* 1530, (13), that the current Report about the Death of *Badius* was not true: And we have an Edition of the Epiſtles of *Longolius*, publiſhed by *Badius* in the Year 1533. *Geſner* obſerves, in his *Bibliotheca*, printed in the Year 1545, that *Badius* had been dead about ten Years. He was not dead, when the Book of *Alphonſus à Caſtro*, againſt Hereſies, was printed at *Paris*; for *Badius* was one of thoſe, who printed it in the Year 1534 (14). The Title Page of *Peter Lombard, in Epiſtolas Pauli*, has theſe words; *pro hæredibus Jodoci Badii* 1535, *Menſe Decembri* (15). So that he was not living in the Month of *December* 1535.

[*G*] *The Number of his Children would have equalled thoſe of his Books, had he made as early a Beginning in the one, as he did in the other.*] This Thought was the Subject of the following Epitaph, compoſed for him.

Hic, liberorum plurimorum qui parens,
Parens librorum plurimorum qui fuit,
Situs *Jodocus Badius* eſt *Aſcenſius*.
Plures fuerunt liberis tamen libri,
Quod jam ſeneſcens cœpit illos gignere,
Ætate florens cœpit hos quod edere (16).

Here lies Jodocus Badius Aſcenſius,
Father of many Children,
Author of many Books:
His Books were more numerous than his Children,
Becauſe he commenced Author very early,
Father very late.

This is not the Epitaph, now to be ſeen on the Tomb of *Jodocus Badius*, in the Charnel-Houſe of the Collegiate Church of St *Benedict* at *Paris* (17), where he was buried (18). If we may rely upon the Truth of theſe Lines, he followed the Maxim of moſt of the Learned, and married late. See the Book entituled *Valeſiana* (19).

[*H*] *He had been much longer an Author, than a married Man* ------ *I would not warrant this to be exactly true.*] The *Sieur de la Caille* is the Cauſe of this

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(6) Eraſmus, in Ciceroniano, pag. 73.

(7) *The* 28*th of the* 22*d Book, pag.* 1172, 1173.

(8) Brixius, in Epiſtolâ ad Eraſmum inter Epiſtolas Eraſmi, 27. lib. 22, pag. 1166.

(9) Ibid. p. 1168.

(10) Eraſm. Epiſt. 28. lib. 22, pag. 1172.

(11) Ibid. Epiſt. 72, lib. 20, pag. 1030.

(12) Swert. in Athen. Belgic. pag. 490.

(13) *Letter* 23*d of Book* 25*th, pag.* 1373.

(14) *See* la Caille, Hiſt. of Printing, pag. 74.

(15) Cheville, Origin of Printing at *Paris*, p. 138.

(16) Swert. in Athen. Belgic. pag. 490, *relates this Epitaph, as made by a Friend of* Badius. *He ſhould have ſaid by his* Grandſon. *See the following Remark.*

(17) *You may read it in* la Caille's Hiſtory of Printing, *pag.* 75.

(18) Rocoles, True Hiſtory of Calviniſm, *pag.* 213.

(19) Pag. 5. Edit. Amſt.

His Son *Conradus* BADIUS was born at *Paris*, and ſettled at *Geneva*. He became a very good Proteſtant, and demonſtrated it in the *Koran of the Cordeliers*. He tranſlated the firſt Book of it, and compiled the ſecond, and adorned both with Marginal Notes, which are very ſevere. He was both a Printer and an Author, and made ſome Attempts in *French* Poetry. He wrote ſomething of this kind againſt *Noſtradamus* (*c*). Three of his Daughters were married to famous Printers [*I*]. I was a long time at a Loſs to know, what a certain Modern Author means, by ſeeming to charge *Henry Stephens* with having cenſured *Jodocus Badius* [*K*]. I have nothing to ſay concerning one *Conradus* BADIUS, who died, with all his Family, of the Plague at *Orleans*, where he was Miniſter, in the Year 1562 (*d*), and was a Friend of *Theodorus Beza* from his Youth (*e*).

Mr *Chevillier*, who collected ſeveral Elogies on *Jodocus Badius*, aſſerts, that he *had been Profeſſor of* Belles Lettres *in the Univerſity of* Paris, *and afterwards in the City of* Lyons, *where he read the Poets in Public* (*f*).

There is certainly a Miſtake in the Title of One of the Books, which *Valerius Andreas* aſcribes to him [*L*].

(*c*) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 237.

(*d*) Beza, Hiſtory of Churches, *lib.* 6, *pag.* 149.

(*e*) Ant. Fayus in Vitâ Theod. Bezæ, p. 45.

(*f*) Chevil. Original of Printing at *Paris*, pag. 137.

this Doubt: he ſays, That *Badius*, at his Return from *Italy*, taught ſeveral Gentlemen in *Lyons*, *and compoſed, and printed, a great many good Books, at the Houſe of* John Trechſel, *Printer at* Lyons, *whoſe Daughter*, Thelif Trechſel, *he married* ----- (20). *It was to him*, continues this Author, *that the learned* Robert Gaguin, *the twentieth General of the Order of the* Trinitarians, *who knew his Merit and Capacity for Correcting of the Preſs, wrote to print his Works, as appears by the Letter of That General to him, prefixed to his Epiſtles in* Quarto, *in the Year* 1498. *This obliged* Badius *to go to* Paris *about the Year* 1499, *or* 1500, *after the Death of his Father-in-law, both to teach the* Greek *Tongue there, and to reſtore the Art of Printing, which began to decline.* It appears from this Paſſage, that *Badius* was a married Man in 1500. He was then but Thirty eight Years of Age; therefore it cannot be ſaid, that he deferred his Marriage 'till he was old; *jam ſeneſcens cœpit illos gignere:* And yet his Grandſon, *Henry Stephens*, affirms it; for *Henry Stephens* is the Author of That *Latin* Epitaph, and of a *Greek* Epitaph, which turns on the ſame Thought. "Jodoco Badio elegantiſſimis "hiſce Epitaphiis parentavit ex filiâ nepos Henricus "Stephanus, quæ propter elegantiam non potui non "adſcribere (21). ------ Henry Stephens *his Grand-*"*ſon, by his Daughter, paid his Duty to* Jodocus "Badius *in theſe elegant Epitaphs, which, for their* "*Beauty, I could not forbear tranſcribing.*" The Epitaphs may be ſeen in *Henry Stephens* Book, *de Artis Typographicæ Querimoniâ.* Mr *Almeloveen* has publiſhed both of them, with another of the ſame Author in *Latin*, in his curious Diſſertation *De Vitis Stephanorum.*

[*I*] *Three Daughters of* J. Badius *were married to famous Printers.*] *Catherine Badius*, a Daughter of *Jodocus*, was married to *Michael Vaſcoſan* (22). *Perrette Badius*, another Daughter of *Jodocus*, was the Wife of *Robert Stephens* (23). *Jane Badius*, the other Siſter, married *John de Roigny* (24), who *made uſe of the Mark of his Father-in-law, and ſet the* Prelum Aſcenſianum *on his Editions for above Twenty five Years* (25). *Perrette* underſtood *Latin*, which ſhe learnt, either by her Father's teaching her, as Mr *Almeloveen* believes (26), or by hearing People ſpeak it in her Huſband's Houſe. Each of theſe Opinions is probable: Thoſe who are of the latter, may take it from this, that a Siſter of *H. Stephens*, Daughter of *Perrette Badius*, learned *Latin* without the Aſſiſtance of a Grammar, and only by uſe. For *Robert Stephens*'s Houſe was always full of People, who ſpoke nothing but *Latin*; ſo that the very Maid-Servants acquired That Language. See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of *Henry Stephens*, prefixed to *Aulus Gellius*, where you will find theſe words, directed to his Son: "Aviæ tuæ eorum quæ "Latinè dicebantur (niſi rarius aliquod vocabulum "intermiſceretur) haud difficilior erat intellectus, "quàm ſi dicta ſermone Gallico fuiſſent. Quid de "ſuperſtite ſorore mea, amita autem tua, nomine "Katharina, dicam? Illa quoque eorum quæ Latine "dicuntur interpretem non deſiderat: multa vero & "ipſa eodem loqui ſermone poteſt; & quidem ita "(licet nonnumquam impingat) ut ab omnibus intelligatur. Unde illi hæc Latinæ linguæ cognitio? "Artem certè Grammaticam haud magiſtrum habuit, "nec alius illi hac in re quàm uſus præivit. --- *Your* "*Grandmother underſtood as readily what was ſpoke* "*in* Latin, *except now and then ſome uncommon Ex-*"*preſſions, as ſhe did her own Mother-Tongue. Your* "*Aunt* Katharine *alſo, the only Siſter I have now* "*living, never needed an Interpreter for that Lan-*"*guage. She even ſpoke it pretty well herſelf, and,* "*though not without ſome Slips, yet ſo as to be eaſily* "*underſtood. Nor was ſhe taught this by Grammar,* "*but only by uſe.*" He explains what he means by this uſe, *viz.* that the Printers and Correctors of *Robert Stephens* ſpoke nothing but *Latin.*

[*K*] *I was a long time at a Loſs to know what a certain modern Author means, by ſeeming to charge* Henry Stephens *with having cenſured* Jodocus Badius.] This perplexity was occaſioned for want of underſtanding a Period of the Sieur *de la Caille*; which, I think, I have, at laſt, apprehended. That Period runs thus: "Here is his Epitaph, inſer-"ted by *Henry Stephens* in his Book *de Artis Typo-*"*graphicæ Querimonia*, printed by the ſame *Stephens* "in 1569, wherein are ſeveral Complaints addreſſed "to the ſaid *Badius*, both in *Greek* and *Latin* (27)." At firſt I thought it meant, that *Henry Stephens* had reproached *Badius* very much, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, for having ſpoiled the Trade: But, conſidering that he was his Grandſon, and finding nothing againſt *Badius* in the *Querimonia Artis Typographicæ*, which Mr *Almeloveen* has publiſhed, I could not tell what to think. Mr *Almeloveen* having aſſured me, that he had cut nothing off from the *Querimonia*, occaſioned my reading the whole Period over again; upon which I now apprehend, that theſe words, *both in* Greek *and* Latin, moſt probably relate, not to *Complaints*, but to *Epitaph*. At laſt I have had an Opportunity of conſulting the very Work of *Henry Stephens* (28). I found in it, I. A Preface in Proſe, againſt the Ignorance of Printers. II. A Poem, wherein Printing is introduced, complaining of it's decay. III. The Epitaphs, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, and ſome in *Latin* only, of ſome learned Printers. But I could no where meet with any Complaints, either againſt *Badius*, or addreſſed to him; ſo that this Paſſage of the Sieur *la Caille* is a Riddle to me, if it is not a miſtake. It is not to be wondered, that dead Languages, which admit of ſuch a Variety of Tranſpoſitions, ſhould be ſo obſcure to us; when our own will not a little puzzle us, by altering the uſual Order of the Words.

[*L*] *There is certainly a Miſtake in the Title of One of the Books, which* Valerius Andreas *aſcribes to him.*] He makes him Author of a Work, entitled, *Navicula ſtultarum Mulierum* (29), but notes neither the Place, nor Time, of the Impreſſion: he is ſatisfied, in regard to this, with copping the Catalogue of *Swertius*. I have been informed (30), that *Badius* publiſhed, in 1513, a Book, entitled, *Navis ſtultiferæ Collectanea ab Jodoco Badio Aſcenſio vario carminum genere, non ſine eorundem familiari explanatione, conflata.* It is probable, that the Book, which *Valerius Andreas* mentions, is the ſame with This; or, at moſt, that it differs only as a Part from the Whole. I am opinion, likewiſe, that the Work, publiſhed by *Badius*, in 1513, is taken from That, which is entitled, *Navis Narragoniæ*, written by *Sebaſtian Brandt* (31). Native of *Strasbourg*, Profeſſor of Law, and a good Poet for thoſe times, *viz.* the End of the XVth Century. See, in *Geſner's Bibliotheque* (32), what the *Navis Narragoniæ*, or *Navis ſtultorum*, is.

(20) Hiſtory of Printing, *pag.* 72, 73.

(21) Almeloveen de Vitis Stephanorum, pag. 28.

(22) La Caille, Hiſtory of Printing, *pag.* 102.

(23) Ibid. pag. 96.

(24) Ibid. pag. 105.

(25) Chevill. Hiſtory of Printing, *p.* 138.

(26) Almeloveen, ubi ſupra.

(27) La Caille, Hiſtory of Printing, *pag.* 74.

(28) *Mr* Almeloveen, *who lends his Books ſo obligingly, ſent me the* Artis Typographicæ Querimonia.

(29) *See Remark* [*C*].

(30) *By Mr* de la Coſte, *a* Dutch *Miniſter.*

(31) *Or* Titio.

(32) Geſner, Biblioth. fol. 593.

BADUEL

BADUEL (CLAUDIUS) in *Latin Baduellus*, lived in the XVIth Century. He was of the Reformed Religion, as appears from his *Latin* Tranſlation of ſome *Sermons of John Calvin*, which he publiſhed at *Geneva*; as alſo from the *Acts of the Martyrs*, which he printed in *Latin*, at the ſame Place, in the Year 1556 (*a*). I am very certain, he taught the *Belles Lettres*, in the College of *Nîmes*; for we find, among his printed Works, *Oratio ad inſtituendum Gymnaſium Nemauſenſe de Studiis Literarum*; and another Piece, intituled, *de Collegio & Univerſitate Nemauſenſi*. He wrote well in *Latin*, and was a good Orator, a good Father, and a good Chriſtian. Theſe two laſt Qualifications appeared very plainly in his *Epiſtola parænetica ad Paulum filium de vero Patrimonio & Hæreditate, quam Chriſtiani Parentes ſuis Liberis debent relinquere*. I refer you, for the Titles of his other Books, to the *Epitome* of *Geſner's Bibliotheque*: But I ſhall ſay ſomething of a *Diſcourſe* he publiſhed *on the Marriage of Men of Learning* [*A*]: and I ſhall ſhew, that the *Epitomizers* of *Geſner* have been guilty of ſome Omiſſions; for they take no Notice of *Baduel*'s having compoſed, in *Latin*, *a Funeral Oration* on the Lady *de St Veran* (*b*). The Catalogue of the *Oxford* Library aſcribes to him ſome *Notes on the Apocrypha*, printed at *London*, in the Year 1660.

[*A*] *I ſhall ſay ſomething of a Diſcourſe he publiſhed on the Marriage of Men of Learning.*] This is the Title of it: *De Ratione Vitæ ſtudioſæ ac literatæ in Matrimonio collocandæ & degendæ*. It was printed at *Lyons*, by *Sebaſtian Gryphius*, in 1544, in 4to, and at *Leipſic* in 1577, and 1581 (1). This laſt Edition contains One hundred forty three Pages, in 8vo. A Profeſſor at *Leipſic*, whoſe Name was *Gregory Breſman*, has added a Preface, very much in Commendation of the Author, and his Book. It is certainly a very judicious Performance, and full of excellent Morality. *Baduel* dedicated it to Mr *de Maſcencal* (2), firſt Preſident of the Parliament of *Toulouſe*. He ſets off, in it, the Excellency of Matrimony, and ſhews the Diſorders which uſually attend a ſingle State; and refutes thoſe, who object, that Matrimony is inconvenient to Men of Learning, by interrupting their Studies, and not allowing them the Liberty of applying wholly to their Books. He tells us (3), he had made choice of this State himſelf, and gives ſome Advice to thoſe, inclined to follow his Example, for the chuſing a proper Wife, very earneſtly exhorting to join the Pleaſures of an agreeable Marriage with the Profeſſion of Letters. He ſays, that *William Bigot*, a Perſon well skilled in Phyſic and Philoſophy, had promiſed a Treatiſe to prove Matrimony neceſſary; that is, according to the Sentiment of *Baduel*, in order to a perfect Enjoyment of Health. “Gulielmus Bigotius, *ſays he* (4), qui in Medicis ac Phyſicis diligenter verſatur, ſummam harum rerum habet ſcientiam, aliquando promiſit ſe de conjunctione Matrimonii uſuque ejus neceſſario ſcripturum. Neceſſarium (opinor) intelligit, ſine quo homo non poteſt valere. Itaque eam partem Naturæ, conjugium ad bonam Corporis conſtitutionem appetentis, nos ei explicandam relinquemus: in quo valde prudenter faciet, ſi eam commoditatem ex legitima uteris conjunctione, ejuſque moderatâ conſuetudine, petendam eſſe doceat: & ea incommoda oſtendat quæ ex liberis illis ac diſſolutis ſcortationibus humanis corporibus multa & magna afferuntur. - - - - *Therefore this Part of Nature*, ſays he, *which requires Matrimony, in order to a healthful Conſtitution, I ſhall leave him to explain: In which he will do very prudently, if he demonſtrates this Advantage to ariſe from a lawful and moderate Uſe of Copulation; and at the ſame time deſcribes the many, and great, Diſorders, the Body muſt be ſubject to, from a licentious and diſſolute Courſe of Venery.*” To give a juſt Idea of this Work, I ſhall borrow the Words of a Profeſſor of *Leipſic*, who procured a ſecond Edition of it. He remarks, that nothing is more neceſſary in the Conduct of Life, than to conſult the Rules of Prudence; but that there are few Perſons, who think of doing this, even in the Queſtion concerning Matrimony, which is the moſt difficult of all to determine with Judgment (5). The Impatience of Youth hurries us into it, without liſtening to any Advice, but That of Paſſion or Intereſt, *&c.* and yet the falſe Steps, which are made in it, are entirely irreparable. “Plerique vigentis Adoleſcentiæ annis, *adds he* (6), cum ineſt maxima conſilii imbecilitas atque imperitia, cœco quodam amoris impetu commoti ac fervore juvenili inflammati, ante implicantur conjugio, quàm quod illud vitæ genus ſit judicare potuerunt. Multi, formæ venuſtate allecti, plures dotis magnitudine ineſcati, neque pauci ſplendore generis faſcinati, his autoribus & conſuaſoribus agunt omnia. - - - - - - Quos, meo quidem judicio, ſatius erat, cum animis ſuis conſiderantes illud *Publii Syri, deliberandum eſt diu, quod ſtatuendum eſt ſemel*; & hoc item alterum, *Deliberare utilia, Mora eſt tutiſſima*; diu ſecum multumque deliberare, atque ad naturæ ſuæ rationemque vitæ inſtitutum conſilium conferre omne, præſertim cum in deligendo matrimonio, ſi quid erroris acciderit (accidit autem ſæpiſſimè) non quod aliis in rebus facere in promptu eſt, cum quis fortè ſe erraſſe intelligit rationem & conſiliorum mutationem inſtituere cuiquam ſit integrum: ſed aut ſtultitiæ pœnam luere, aut negligentiæ culpam præſtare oporteat ſempiternam. - - - - - *Moſt Perſons, in the Prime of their Youth, and before they are at Years of Diſcretion, puſhed on by a juvenile Heat, and the blind Paſſion of Love, hurry into Matrimony, before they can make any Judgment of That State of Life. Many are captivated with the Charms of Beauty, more with thoſe of Fortune, and ſome with the Splendor of a Family, and are led by no other Views but theſe.* - - - *Who, in my Opinion, would do much better, by conſidering That Saying of* Publius Syrus; We ought long to deliberate on what we can determine but once; *and That other*, To deliberate on Queſtions of Importance, is the moſt ſafe Delay; *to deliberate again, and again, and conſult their own Tempers, and the Nature of That State, in the moſt particular Manner; becauſe, if we commit any Miſtake in marrying (which is too often the Caſe), we cannot remedy it, as we do thoſe in other Matters, by changing our Methods and Counſels; but muſt ſit down by what we have done, and either do Penance for our Folly, or continue our Fault of Careleſſneſs, as long as we live.*” It being therefore ſo neceſſary, and at the ſame time ſo unuſual, to enter, with Prudence, into This State, it was thought of ſignal Service to the Public, to reprint *Baduel*'s Book, which contains the beſt Inſtructions in the World, and particularly adviſes to apply, by earneſt Prayer, to the Holy Ghoſt, for Aſſiſtance. The Author of the Preface holds it neceſſary to begin with this, when we deliberate on a Point ſo nice and hazardous. “Qui hanc vitæ conjugalis viam ingreſſuri ſunt, operam ante omnia dabunt, ut Deum ſibi conſiliarium, atque in rei tam arduæ conſultatione, atque affectione moderatorem, piâ ac religioſâ nominis divini imploratione aſciſcant. - - - - de quâ unius & trini Dei, in coëundo conjugio ardenti invocatione diligenter facienda, præter complura alia prudentiæ & circumſpectionis & cautionis in hoc vitæ genere conſtituendo, præcepta ſedulò tenenda, piè, ſapienter, & eruditè admodum in hoc quem tibi, Lector benevole, de alieno largientes offerimus, Libello diſſeritur. - - - *They, who enter upon This Way of conjugal Life, ſhould firſt of all endeavour, by Devotion and Prayer, to prevail with God to be their Counſellor and Conductor in ſo difficult an Affair.* - - - - - *Concerning which earneſt Application to the triune God, beſides ſeveral other Rules of Prudence and Circumſpection to be conſtantly obſerved in this State of Life, the Book, which I preſent the Reader with, at another's Expence, does piouſly, prudently, and*

(*a*) Friſii Epitome Bibl. Geſneri, p. 150.

(*b*) *She was Daughter of the firſt Preſident of the Parliament of* Toulouſe. *This* Funeral Oration, *tranſlated into* French, *by* Charles Rozel, *was printed at* Lyons, *in* 1546. *See the* Biblioth. *of* du Verdier.

(1) *It was this made* Mr Konig *falſly believe, that* Baduel *compoſed it in* 1581. *See his* Biblioth. Vetus & Nova.

(2) Ad Joh. Maſſencalum.

(3) De Ratione Vitæ ſtudioſæ in Matrim. collocand. pag. 3.

(4) Ibid. p. 47, 48.

(5) In deliberatione de contrahendo Matrimonio, quæ eſt una omnium difficillima. *Greg. Breſmanus* Præf. ad Lector.

(6) Gregor. Breſmanus, Præfatione ad Lector.

“ *learnedly treat.*” This Work of *Baduel* has been tranſlated into *French*, by *Guy de la Gard* (7); but, if he has not ſucceeded better in his Tranſlation of the Book, than he has in That of the Title, it cannot be very valuable. He intitles his Verſion, *A very uſeful Diſcourſe of the Dignity of Matrimony, and the virtuous Converſation of Men of Learning.* It was printed at *Paris*, in 1548, in 8vo.

(7) *Inferior Lieutenant in the* Seneſchalſhip *of* Provence, *in the Juriſdiction of* Arles. *See the* Biblioth. de la Croix du Maine, pag. 134. *and that of* du Verdier, pag. 532.

BAGNI (John-Francis) lived in the XVIIth Century. He was raiſed to the Dignity of a Cardinal by Pope *Urban* VIII, in the Year 1629, on the Recommendation of *France (a)*. Mr *Moreri* ſpeaks of him very largely, but not without committing Miſtakes, which it will be proper to take Notice of [*A*]. This Cardinal went through more Employs than Mr *Moreri* mentions, as will appear in our Remarks. One thing has been ſaid of him, in the *Sorberiana*, which is falſe on ſeveral Accounts [*B*]. He had a Brother, who was called the Marquis of

(*a*) *Miniſtry of the Cardinal* Richelieu, *at the beginning of the Year* 1630.

[*A*] *Mr* Moreri *ſpeaks of him —— and commits Miſtakes, which it will be proper to take notice of.*] He ſays, I. That Cardinal *Bagni* was of the Houſe of the Counts' *de Guidi*. This is pretending, that the Name of his Family was *de Guidi*: But he ſhould not have ſeparated the Name of *Guidi* from That of *Bagni* or *à Balneo*. *Naudé* never divides them. II. That he was born the fourth of *October*, 1573. This does not agree with an Author, whoſe exactneſs is infinitely more to be depended on, than That of *Moreri* (1). This Author places the Death of Cardinal *Bagni* on the Twenty fourth of *July*, 1641, and makes him Seventy ſix Years old. So that, conſequently, he was born in the Year 1565. III. That *Clement* VIII ſent *Bagni* into *France*, to congratulate *Henry* IV, on his Marriage with *Mary de Medicis*. This is not true. Mr *Moreri* did not underſtand *Thomaſin*, whom he quoted. He might read, in this Author, that Cardinal *Aldrobrandini*, Legate of *Clement* VIII, in *France*, as well on the Account of the Marriage of *Henry* IV, as of the Peace with *Savoy*, had *John-Francis Bagni* in his Retinue. And here is the whole Amount of this pretended Deputation. IV. *Moreri* multiplies *Bagni*'s Nunciatures beyond the Truth: He will have it, that he was twice ſent Nuncio into *France*, once under *Gregory* XV, and once under *Urban* VIII; and farther, that *Gregory* XV ſent him Nuncio into *Flanders*. *Thomaſin* does not go ſo far, but is ſatisfied with ſaying, that *Bagni* was ſent to *Paris* by *Gregory* XV, in the Quality of Nuncio-Extraordinary; and that he went from *Paris* into *Flanders* to act there as Ordinary Nuncio. *Gaſſendus* does not go ſo far as *Thomaſin*; he ſays, that *Bagni*, going as Nuncio to *Bruſſels*, paſſed through *Paris*, and ſaw there, *incognito*, all that was to be ſeen. *Tranſiit ſub id tempus* (that is, in the Month of *July*, 1621). “ Pariſiis memoratus ſupra Vicelegatus à “ Balneo, Pontificis Nuncius DESTINATUS in Flan“ driam, qui cum vellet ſingularia quæque in urbe “ ſpectare, ſed tamen quaſi INCOGNITUS, commo“ dum profectò convaluit Peireskius, qui ipſum variè “ deduceret ad eruditos, ad Muſæa, ad opera omnia “ rariora (2). —— *About the ſame time, the Vice*“ *legate* Bagni, *beforementiond, paſſed through* Paris, “ *to go to* Flanders, *being appointed Nuncio there by* “ *the Pope, who deſiring to ſee,* incognito, *every Thing* “ *remarkable in that City,* Peireſc *was luckily ſo* “ *well recovered, that he introduced him ſucceſſively* “ *to all the learned Men, and ſhewed him the Libra*“ *ries, and every Thing that was curious.*” I know very well, that he was Nuncio in *France*; but it was at another time. The ſame *Gaſſendus*, ſpeaking of the illuſtrious Men, with whom *Peireſc* was become acquainted, in the Year 1614, ſays This of our *John-Francis Bagni*. “ Unus fuit Joannes-Franciſcus Vi“ dius à Balneo, Patracenſis Archiepiſcopus, & per “ ea tempora Avenionenſis Vicelegatus. Singularis “ enim deinceps neceſſitudo interceſſit, ſeu donec ille “ Avenione degit, ſeu cum eſt verſatus perilluſtris “ Nuncius tam apud principes Belgarum, quam apud “ Regem Chriſtianiſſimum, ſeu poſtquam factus eſt “ Cardinalis raræ ac ſpectatæ virtutis (3). —— *One* “ *was* John-Francis Guidi Bagni, *Archbiſhop of* “ Patras, *and then Vice-legate at* Avignon. *There was* “ *a particular Intimacy between them, not only du*“ *ring his Reſidence at* Avignon, *but alſo while he* “ *was Nuncio-Extraordinary both to the States of* “ Holland, *and to the moſt Chriſtian King, and after* “ *he was made Cardinal for his great and ſingular* “ *Virtue.*” It is moſt certain, that *Bagni* was twice Nuncio; for *Naudé*, who was a long time his Domeſtic, and Library-Keeper, ſpeaks thus to him in the Dedication of his *Coups d'Eſtat*: “ My Lord, ſince “ you are now at *Rome*, enjoying the Honours due “ to your Deſerts, and That Quiet, which you have “ merited by ſo happy a Conduct in your public “ Employs, while you have been ſeven times Go“ vernour, once Vice-legate, and twice Nuncio, I “ did not think, &c.” He was ſent Nuncio to *Bruſſels* by *Gregory* XV, and into *France* by *Urban* VIII. *Thomaſin* and *Moreri* are both in fault; they could not give a right Account of one of the cleareſt matters in the World. It was during his being Nuncio in *France*, that *Bagni* was raiſed to the Cardinalſhip. *Gaſſendus* ſays, that, in the Spring of the Year 1631, he paſſed through *Provence*, in his Return to *Rome*, and that he went to ſee his old Friend Mr *de Peireſc*. “ Vere novo Cardinalis à Balneo, utrâque “ ſuâ Legatione functus, & accepto Pariſiis purpu“ rato pileo, Romam rediit (4). —— *In the begin*“ *ning of the Spring, Cardinal* Bagni, *having diſcharged* “ *both his Nunciatures, and received the red Cap at* “ Paris, *returned to* Rome.” He brought the learned *Gabriel Naudé* along with him. He continued in his Station of Nuncio at *Paris*, for above a Year after his Advancement to the Cardinalſhip, and was particularly concerned in reconciling the Differences between the Queen-Mother and Cardinal *Richelieu* (5). A *Manuſcript* Memoir of Mr *Baudrand* ſays, I. That he was not made a Cardinal at the Recommendation of *France, though we are told ſo in the Hiſtory of the Miniſtry of Cardinal* Richelieu; *but meerly by the Pope, as Nuncio of the Holy See, which is a Favour frequently conferred on thoſe, who are Nuncio's in* France, *and* Spain, *and at the* Imperial Court. II. That there is a Miſtake in thoſe words of *Gaſſendus*, which I have quoted (6); *accepto Pariſiis purpurato Pileo Romam rediit.* “The Pope “ doth not ſend the Red Hat to the Cardinals, which he “ makes, but they are obliged to come and receive “ it at *Rome*; for the Pope ſends only the *Calot* by “ a Courier, and afterwards the Red Cap by one of “ his Chamberlains. So that Cardinal *Richelieu* and “ Cardinal *Mazarin* never had the Red Hat, be“ cauſe they never went to *Rome* after their Pro“ motion. For above One hundred and twenty Years “ paſt, the Pope has never ſent the Red Hat to “ any but the Cardinal *Infant*, into *Spain*, which “ was a particular Favour in reſpect to his Brother “ the King of *Spain*.” All this is very curious: but yet Mr *Baudrand* ſhould not have cenſured *Gaſſendus*'s words, ſince they do not ſignify, that the Cardinal received the Red Hat; but only that he received the Red Cap. *Gaſſendus* ſays *Pileo*, not *Galero*. It is ſaid, that *Paul* V departed from the Cuſtom, introduced by *Sixtus* V: and That, in favour of the Duke of *Lerma*, to whom he ordered the Cardinal's Hat and Ring to be given, at *Madrid*, in 1618; this Duke being ſeventy Years old (7). See the eleventh Chapter of the fifteenth Book of *Pallavicini*'s *Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent.

[*B*] *One Thing has been ſaid of him, in the* Sorberiana, *which is falſe on ſeveral Accounts.*] It is pretended, that, at the ſight of the Thirty ſeven Volumes of the Councils, printed at the *Louvre*, he cried out, *I wonder there ſhould be ſtill any Heretics in* France. *What Chriſtian from henceforth can be any thing but a Catholic? Sorbiere* admires this Thought: “ Optime Cardinalis Banius, in Galliâ Nuncius, *ſays he*, “ dum 37 Vol. Concil. cerneret typis regiis impreſſa “ aiebat: Miror unde jam in Gallia hæretici fiant, “ quis enim hypotheſium Chriſtianarum ſervans po“ teſt non eſſe Catholicus (8)? It is falſe, That this Cardinal ever ſaw Thoſe Thirty ſeven Volumes: He died in the Year 1641, and That Edition of the Councils came out in the Year 1644. But, if he had ſaid, what is aſcribed to him, he muſt have very much betrayed

WHETHER the Councils in 37 Volumes are able to convert Heretics.

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(1) Baillet's Life of *Des Cartes*, Tom. 1. p. 119.

(2) Gaſſend. in Vitâ Peireſkii, lib. 3. ad Ann. 1621, pag. 289.

(3) Ibid. pag. 281.

(4) Ibid. l. 4, ad ann. pag. 307.

(5) *See the* Hiſtory of Cardinal *Richelieu*, by *Aubery*, Vol. I. pag. 264, 279, *Edit. of* Holl. 12mo.

(6) *Above*, *Citation* (4).

(7) Mercure Galant, *for* Apr. 1706, *pag.* 109.

(8) Sorberiana, *pag.* 52. *Edit. of* Holland.

of **BAGNI** [*C*], and was General of the Pope's Troops in the *Valteline*, in the Year 1624.

betrayed his Judgment. For nothing can be ſo improper for the Converſion of Heretics as a Work of many Volumes, as Thirty ſeven Volumes of the Councils. Of Ten thouſand Proteſtants, there will ſcarce be found two, who can read a Page in That Edition of the *Louvre*, and among thoſe, who underſtand *Latin*, the greateſt part have neither the Inclination, nor the Patience, to undertake ſo vaſt a reading. The Inconveniency would not be remedied by Tranſlations into the Vulgar Tongue; for who, among the Ignorant, would not loſe themſelves in ſuch a Sea as This? Without the Grace of GOD, and the Power of Education, the reading of the Councils would make an hundred Times more Infidels than Chriſtians. There is no Hiſtory, which affords more matter of Scandal, nor a more ſhocking Scene of Paſſions, Intrigues, Factions, Cabals, and Frauds, than This of the Councils (9). Thoſe, who publiſhed the *Menagiana*, forgot a good Jeſt, which I have heard ſeveral times, in the *Mercuriales* of Mr *Menage*. A witty Man is quoted there, who when he heard ſay, “ Such a “ one was condemned in ſuch a Council, *cried*, It “ was a ſign he did not know how to cabal ſo “ well as his Adverſaries, or had not the ſame ſupport “ from the ſecular Arm.” Can Thoſe, who know the Religion of *Sorbiere*, be well edified by his *Optime*?

(9) *See Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* NESTORIUS.

[*C*] *He had a Brother, called the Marquis of* Bagni.] Mr *Baillet* aſſures us, that This Marquis was the Brother of Cardinal *John-Francis Bagni*, and that, having quitted the Sword, he advanced himſelf, in Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, even to That of the Cardinalſhip, to which he was promoted in the Year 1657 (10). He had been *Nuncio in* France *all the time of the Pontificate of* Innocent X, *and the two firſt Years of* Alexander VII. --- *He died at* Rome, *the Twenty third of* Auguſt, 1663, *aged eighty Years* (11). Mr *Baillet* thinks it likely, that Mr *Des Cartes* went to ſee him in the *Valteline*: He grounds his Conjecture on This Marquis's being addicted to the Study of Natural Philoſophy (12). The Truth is, *Des Cartes* was not only well known to Cardinal *John-Francis Bagni*, but alſo much reſpected by him (13). The *French Mercury* ſays, “ That the Marquis *de* “ *Bagni*, to whom his Holineſs had given the Com- “ mand of his Forces in the *Valteline*, was known to “ be a Partiſan of *Spain*, deſcended from the Family “ of the *Colonna*'s, altogether *Spaniſh*, chief of the “ *Gibelins* in *Romagna*, and who had always been a “ Penſionary of *Spain*, having, as ſuch, accompanied “ the Conſtable *Colonna*, in his Journey into *Spain*, “ four Years ago (14).”

(10) Baillet's Life of *Des Cartes*, Tom. 1, pag. 161.

(11) Id. ib. p. 119, 120.

(12) Ibid. pag. 119. *See alſo* pag. 161.

(13) Ibid. pag. 253, 254, 300, 301, 302.

(14) Mercure François, Tom. 10, p. 179, ad Ann. 1624, *quoting the* Venetian Gazettes.

BAIUS (*a*) (MICHAEL), Profeſſor of Divinity at *Louvain*, was born at *Melin* in the Territory of *Aeth*, in the Year 1513. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his great Progreſs, and prudent Conduct, during his Studies at *Louvain*, that, from the Station of a Scholar, he was promoted to That of Principal of the College of *Standonck* (*b*). Having been three Years in That Office, he applied himſelf to teach Philoſophy; and, after ſix Years ſpent in Thoſe Lectures, he obtained the Place of Principal of the Pope's College in the Year 1549 (*c*). In the ſame Year he was made *Licentiate* in Divinity. Two Years after he took his Doctor's Degree, and was appointed *Regius* Profeſſor of Scripture. In 1563, he was one of the Divines ſent by the King of *Spain* from *Louvain* to *Trent* [*A*]. He was admired in That Council. He obtained the Deanry of St *Peter* at *Louvain*, in the Year 1575. At the end of Three Years he was promoted to the Dignity of Conſervator of the Privileges of the Univerſity (*d*). His Epitaph imports, that he was Chancellor of the ſame Univerſity, and Inquiſitor-General in the *Netherlands*. He was a very learned Man, and no leſs eminent for his Morality, Piety, and Modeſty, than for his Parts and Learning (*e*). He had read over St *Auguſtin*'s Works nine times (*f*): He compoſed ſeveral Works in Divinity [*B*], which diſcovered That Reading (*g*), and which contained, as was pretended, a great number of Propoſitions, condemned by Pope *Pius* V [*C*]. He wrote alſo ſome Books of Controverſy againſt Thoſe of the Proteſtant

(*a*) *He is more known by this* Latin *Name, than by that of* de Bay, *which was his true Name.*

(*b*) *It is the Name of the Founder.*

(*c*) *I correct* Valerius Andreas *thus, for his number*, CIↃ.IↃ.XCV, *is a moſt abſurd Fault of the Printer.*

(*d*) Ex Valer. Andreæ Biblioth. pag. 670.

(*e*) *See Remark* [*H*].

(*f*) Swert. in Athen. Belg. Valer. Andreas.

(*g*) *See Remark* [*E*].

[*A*] *The King of* Spain *ſent him from* Louvain *to* Trent.] See, in Cardinal *Palavicini*, all the Springs, which retarded or advanced the Deputation of *Michael Baius* (1). The Writer of *Commendon*'s Life has paſt over this ſlightly, and with too much Flattery (2); but the Author of the Hiſtory of the Council unravels all *Commendon*'s Intrigues very clearly, and gives him only what belongs to him. This Nuncio, being at *Bruſſels*, in the Year 1561, took notice of the Differences, which had happened at *Louvain*, on account of ſome particular Notions of *Baius* and *Heſſels*, concerning the Doctrine of Free-will, That of Good-works, and ſome others. Theſe two Doctors had kept Silence a long time, in condeſcention to thoſe who had given them that Advice; but hearing that, at the Sollicitation of the Franciſcans, the *Sorbonne* had condemned eighteen Propoſitions, and being exhorted by their Diſciples to defend their Cauſe, they prepared themſelves accordingly. *Commendon* put a Stop to This Paper-War, not by his fine Diſcourſes, as *Gratiani* affirms, but by writing ſuch Letters to the Pope, as occaſioned him to give order to Cardinal *de Granvelle* to enjoin them Silence (3).

[*B*] *He compoſed ſeveral Works in Divinity.*] He publiſhed ſome of them, the Titles whereof are theſe, as I find them in *Valerius Andreas*; *De Meritis Operum libri II. De prima hominis Juſtitia & Virtutibus impiorum libri II. De ſacramentis in genere contra Calvinum. De forma Baptiſmi.* All theſe Treatiſes were printed together at *Louvain* in the Year 1565. The next Year theſe following were printed there; *De Libero Hominis Arbitrio liber I. De Charitate, Juſtitia, & Juſtificatione, libri III. De Sacrificio liber I. De Peccato Originis liber I. De Indulgentiis liber I. De Oratione pro defunctis liber I.*

[*C*] *Which contained, as was pretended, a great Number of Propoſitions condemned by* Pius V.] I ſay, *as was pretended*; for the Fact is not yet ſettled, and I find *Michael Baius* is very far from granting, that he taught what was imputed to him. “ However, “ *ſays he* (4), among thoſe Propoſitions (5), there “ were ſome very different from our Sentiments; “ others which we never maintained, nor meddled “ with, in any Senſe, but all, or, at leaſt, moſt, “ of them, were turned, and expreſſed, in ſuch a “ malicious Manner, that the very Form of them “ alone might make them appear ſuſpicious, eſpecially “ in the Opinion of thoſe, who had not purpoſely “ ſtudied theſe ſorts of Queſtions.” This is the old Game of the ODIUM THEOLOGICUM: That Paſſion, which occaſioned a Proverb long ago, finds Hereſies where-ever it pleaſes; it frames ſuch artificial Extracts, and ſo proper to exaſperate the People, that it transforms, into pernicious Hereſies, That, which, when conſidered with it's Principles, Reſtrictions, and Applications, is not ſo much as heterodox. This Paſſion is contagious: A Phyſician, who affects to ſet up for an Informer, from a Motive of Zeal only, finds himſelf all on a ſudden poſſeſſed with the Sacerdotal Spirit; he produces unfair Extracts; he divides what he ſhould join, and joins what he ought to divide, and gives the Propoſitions ſuch a turn, as is proper to make them appear moſt ſhocking

A METHOD of extracting Propoſitions out of a Book that one would have cenſured.

(1) Palavic. Hiſtor. Concil. Trident. lib. 15. c. 7.

(2) Anthony Maria Gratiani, *Life of Cardinal* Commendon, *tranſlated by* Mr Flechier, *pag.* 153.

(3) Palavic. Hiſt. Concil. Trident. lib. 15. c. 7.

(4) *In his Letter to Cardinal* Simonetta *cited by* Gery, Apology for the Cenſures, *p.* 42.

(5) *He ſpeaks of thoſe which the* Franciſcans *ſhewed to Cardinal* Granvelle, *and which were afterwards ſent to* Rome. *See the* Apology for the Cenſures, *pag.* 42, 43.

ſtant Religion [*D*]. He paid ſuch a Reſpect to the Pope's Cenſure [*E*], that, tho' he did not believe, he had taught any Heterodox Doctrines, yet he would not ſuffer the Books to be reprinted, which were pretended to contain the cenſured Propoſitions (*b*). *Valerius Andreas* has committed ſeveral Miſtakes in ſpeaking of That Cenſure [*F*]. We are promiſed a New Edition of the Works of *Michael Baius*. It will contain ſeveral Pieces never yet printed. The Editor will illuſtrate it with many Theological and Hiſtorical Notes. He has compared the Editions of This Author's Works with the Manuſcripts to be met with in the beſt Libraries. There was a Report, that *Michael Baius*, to be revenged on the Jeſuits, who, he believed, had promoted the Cenſure of his Doctrine, employed all his Credit in *Louvain* to cauſe the Doctrines of *Leonard Leſſius* to be cenſured there (*i*). It ought not to be forgot, that the Bull of *Pius* V was very tender of his Honour [*G*]. His laſt Will was a Proof

(*b*) Val. Andreas, in Biblioth. pag. 671.

(*i*) *See the* Apology for the Cenſures paſſed on the two Univerſities, *publiſhed by Mr* Gery *in* 1688.

ing to the Conſciences of the Judges. The Phyſician *Francis Blondel* will ſoon afford us an Example. This is not the only Injuſtice obſerved in Perſons poſſeſſed with This Paſſion: Their double Weights and Meaſures give us another Inſtance of their Wickedneſs. Deſire their Cenſure againſt their Inquiſitors; ſhew them, ever ſo plainly, the Juſtice of your Cauſe; they will either turn a deaf Ear to it, or pay you with Nonſenſe. It is Then, that their Charity ſuffers all, and excuſes all.

[*D*] *He wrote ſome Books of Controverſy againſt thoſe of the Proteſtant Religion.*] The ſame *Valerius Andreas* ſupplies us with the following Titles; *Reſponſio ad Quæſtiones* Phil. Marnixii *de Eccleſiâ Chriſti, & Sacramento Altaris*, at *Louvain*, 1579. *Apologia pro Reſponſione contra Objectiones ejuſdem de veritate Corporis Chriſti in Euchariſtiâ*, at *Louvain*, 1581. *Epiſtola de Statuum Inferioris Germaniæ unione cum iis qui ſe deſertores Romanæ Eccleſiæ vocant, & de Juramento quod eorum juſſu à Clero & Monachis exigitur*, at *Louvain*, and at *Cologne*, 1579. He wrote alſo a Letter *de juramento juſſu Ducis Al*[illegible]*nii Antverpiæ in prætori concepto & comprobato.*

[*E*] *He paid a great Reſpect to the Pope's Cenſure.*] To comment rightly on this Text, I will make uſe of the Words of the Sieur *Gery*, Bachelor in Divinity. "This pious and learned Doctor, *ſays he*, " *ſpeaking of* Baius (6), at the Time of his greateſt " Reputation, ſaw, all of a ſudden, a Bull appear a" gainſt Seventy ſix Propoſitions, which the Sollicitors " of That Cenſure imputed all to him, tho' ſome of them " were none of his, others were turned in a malicious " Manner to make them obnoxious, and ſome others, " which the Bull itſelf acknowledged, might be main" tained in a Catholic Senſe. They were not ſatisfied " with ſending to *Louvain*, in the uſual Form, in " 1570; but a ſecond Publication was made of it " nine or ten Years after; and they affected to have " it done by a Jeſuit, in 1580; whom the Society " had without doubt ſollicited, to make a Shew of " their Credit. What did *Baius* do; and what did " the Faculty? Nothing elſe but humbly ſubmit, " and, for Peace ſake, and the Edification of the " Faithful, ſuppreſs all the Juſtifications, Expli" cations, and Repreſentations, which they might " have made." However, it muſt not be ſuppoſed, that *Baius* wrote nothing in his Juſtification: His Letter to Cardinal *Simonetta* (7) proves the contrary; for he ſhews there, that Dr *John Heſſels*, and himſelf, had put into Cardinal *Granvelle*'s Hands their Anſwer to certain Propoſitions, which he had communicated to them. The *Scotiſts* forged theſe Propoſitions, to cry down Thoſe two Doctors, and preſented them *to ſome dignified Perſons*, without either naming *Heſſels*, or *Baius*. If I was to be asked the Reaſon of their deſiring to cry down theſe two Profeſſors, I ſhould anſwer, that it was becauſe they had introduced a Method of Study, which had the Appearance of an unpleaſant Novelty. "After " the Explication of the *Maſter of the Sentences*, they were for reducing the Study of Di" vinity to the Holy Scriptures, and to the Wri" tings of the ancient Fathers (8)," and principally to thoſe of St *Auguſtin*. This " was not pleaſing " to Perſons poſſeſſed with quite different No" tions, and particularly to thoſe, who, not being " willing to trouble themſelves with much Study, " think it better to follow the Opinions already re" ceived by the Majority, than to be at the Pains " of eſtabliſhing new ones, on the ſolid Foundations " of Scripture: And theſe Perſons imagined, it was " with deſign to point at, and reflect upon, them, " whenever, in Lectures or Diſputes, any Sentiment " was advanced different from theirs, or any thing " taught contrary to the Maxims they had long " received from certain Authors." *Baius* was not ſatisfied with writing This Letter (9), but ſent an Apology for his Opinions to the Pope, in the Year 1569.

[*F*] Valerius Andreas *has committed ſeveral Miſtakes, in ſpeaking of the Cenſure, of* Pius V, *of* Baius (10).] I. He reports it for a Certainty, that the Bull of *Pius* V, againſt the Seventy ſix Propoſitions, was confirmed by *Gregory* XIII. In the New Edition of *Baius*, this will be ſhewn to be falſe (11). II. He aſſerts, that moſt of Thoſe Seventy ſix Propoſitions were extracted out of *Baius*'s Books. The contrary will be proved in the New Edition. III. He contents himſelf with ſaying, that the Bull of *Pius* V was publiſhed at *Louvain*, the ſeventeenth and nineteenth of *April*, 1570. But, beſides that, he ſhould have ſaid the ſixteenth of *November*; he is guilty of ſome Omiſſions. He does not ſay, that the Bull was publiſhed either by the Pope's or Cardinal *Granvelle*'s Order, but by the Order of the Duke *d'Alba*, and by That of the Synod of *Mechlen*. This was irregular, ſince the Pope had commiſſioned Cardinal *Granvelle* to notify the Bull to the Divines of *Louvain*, in ſuch manner as he ſhould judge moſt convenient. However, *Valerius Andreas* ſhould have expreſſed who Thoſe were, who gave order for the Publication of the Bull. He ought alſo to have obſerved, that, on the Days he mentions, I mean the ſeventeenth and nineteenth of *April*, *Michael Baius* declared his Opinion, in publick, upon the condemned Propoſitions. His Recantation was extorted from him by wicked Practices. The new Edition will treat of all theſe things. IV. He ſays, that ſome credible Perſons told the Pope, that ſome Divines of *Louvain* were writing an Apology for the condemned Propoſitions. It will be ſhewn, by the Teſtimony of *Toletus*, that they were falſe Informers, who reported theſe things to the Pope. V. He aſſerts, that *Gregory* XIII. condemned the ſame Propoſitions anew. This will be made appear to be falſe. VI. He places the Death of *Baius* on the ſixteenth of *December*; whereas it happened on the ſixteenth of *September* (12). I do not repeat, what I have already obſerved, concerning the wrong Chronology of his Printers (13). I ought not to add his making *the Year* 1551, the firſt of *Baius*'s *Regius* Profeſſorſhip of Divinity: He is not miſtaken; but the Epitaph of *Baius* was not grounded upon This Date, ſince it mentions That Profeſſorſhip to have continued forty Years, two Years more than the Calculation of *Valerius Andreas* requires. Theſe Bulls againſt *Michael Baius* may have been multiplied, by ſome Perſons, beyond the Truth, by making no Difference between condemning a Doctrine, and publiſhing another Perſon's Condemnation of That Doctrine. In this Senſe, indeed, it may be truly ſaid, that *Gregory* XIII condemned the Seventy ſix Propoſitions; for he not only inſerted, in a Bull of his own, the Conſtitution of *Pius* V, declaring, that he found it in the Pope's Regiſter, and that an entire Obedience ought to be paid to it; but he commanded alſo, that his Bull ſhould be ſolemnly publiſhed at *Louvain*, by the Jeſuit *Toletus*, in the Year 1580. *Morillon*, great Vicar of *Mechlen*, notified That of *Pius* V to the Divines of *Louvain*, in 1567: And, in the Year 1570, he notified it to them again, with a little more Formality.

[*G*] *The Bull of* Pius V *was very tender of his Honour.*] The Letter of *Baius*, which has been quoted (14), adds, " that, after many long Sollicitations,

" which

(6) Gery's Hiſtorical Apology for the two Cenſures of *Louvain* and of *Douay*, *pag.* 26, *Edit. of* Cologne, 1688.

(7) *The Sieur* Gery, *p.* 40, *produces part of it, which he tranſlated from the* Latin, *which is printed in the* Faſti *of the Univerſity of* Louvain, *p.* 366.

(8) Gery, Apology for the Cenſures, *pag.* 40, 41.

(9) *It is quoted in the* Bibliotheque Univerſelle, Tom. 14. pag. 198, *as being printed at the end of* Baius's *Apology at* Rouen, 1666.

(10) Valer. Andreas, in Faſtis Academicis Studii Lovanienſis.

(11) *What I ſay here, and in the Body of the Article, concerning the new Edition of* Baius, *is taken out of a Memoir, which fell into my hands, and which comes from good Authority.*

(12) *He has done it in the* Bibliotheca Belgica.

(13) *In the Citation* (*c*).

(14) *Above, Citation* (7)

Proof of his great Charity [*H*], for he left all his Eſtate to the Poor (*k*). He founded a College at *Louvain*, and dedicated it to St *Auguſtin* (*l*). He died the Sixteenth of *September* 1589, aged Seventy ſeven Years, and was buried in the Pope's College, of which he had been a long time Principal. His Nephew *James* BAIUS, Doctor of Divinity, cauſed a Monument to be built for him with a fine Inſcription (*m*). This Nephew followed his Uncle's ſteps. He was made Doctor of Divinty in the Year 1586 (*n*). He was often deputed for the Affairs of the Univerſity of *Louvain*, and executed his Commiſſions with great Prudence and Ability (*o*). He was Dean of St *Peter*'s in the ſame City, and *Regius* Profeſſor of the Catechiſm (*p*). He publiſhed ſome Treatiſes [*I*]. He gave all his Eſtate to the Founding

(*k*) Swert. in Athenis Belg. pag. 565.

(*l*) Id. ib.

(*m*) *You will find it in* Swertius ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 401.

(*o*) Swert. ib. p. 355.

(*p*) Valer. Andr. ibid.

“ which began from the Pontificate of *Pius* IV, they obtained, at laſt, a Bull of *Pius* V, dated the firſt of *October*, 1567, which condemns Seventy ſix (15) Propoſitions (16).” It is true, he who brought the Bull, by Commiſſion from Cardinal *Granvelle*, declared publickly, in the Aſſembly of the Faculty of Divinity at *Louvain*, that the firſt ſixty of thoſe Propoſitions were taken out of the Writings of *Baius* (17); but, in ſhort, the Bull did not name him; and beſides, the Condemnation was expreſſed very tenderly, ſince it allowed, that ſome of thoſe Propoſitions were capable of a favourable Conſtruction. Cardinal *Palavicini* informs us, that, in order to treat *Baius* with the greater Tenderneſs, Pope *Pius* V was contented with cauſing his Bull to be privately notified to the Univerſity of *Louvain*, by the Biſhop of *Mechlen*; but that *Gregory* XIII, finding the Evil was not remedied, judged it neceſſary to make a ſolemn Publication of it, and deputed his Preacher, the Jeſuit *Francis Toletus*, for that Purpoſe, who did not oblige *Baius* to a public Recantation, or put him to any Diſgrace. “ Hic ſtuduit Baium removere à pravis illis opinionibus, cohortatus, ut ſedis Apoſtolicæ judicio acquieſceret: & perpaucis colloquiis id obtinuit, privata illius retractatione contentus: atque hoc pacto Bajus non ſolùm illæſus perſtitit, ſed ipſius etiam nomini verba Diplomatis pepercere; quin per illud ejus errores manum tam mitem experti ſunt, ut vix viderentur errores, cùm aliquæ ex proſcriptis poſitionibus, nullis certis in hac exceptione adnotatis, dicerentur poſſe ſuſtineri in aliqua minùs propria ſignificatione (18).—— *He endeavoured to bring off* Baius *from his erroneous Opinions, adviſing him to acquieſce in the Judgment of the Holy See: This he accompliſhed after a few Conferences, and was content with his private Recantation: And, by this means,* Baius *not only continued free from Trouble, but eſcaped being ſo much as mentioned in the Pope's Bull. Nay, his Errors were, in That, ſo very tenderly handled, that they ſcarce ſeemed to be Errors; ſince ſome of the Condemned Propoſitions, without particularly excepting any of them, are therein declared to be capable of being maintained in a leſs obvious Senſe.*” We have obſerved, in another place (19), the Inconveniency of cenſuring a heap of Propoſitions, in ſuch a general and looſe manner, that the *reſpectivè*, in the Concluſion, cannot enable us to make any Diſtinctions. The Bull of Pope *Pius* V had this Inconveniency; and, beſides, left the Reader uncertain, on another account; for, without particularizing any thing, it affirmed, that, among the condemned Propoſitions, there were ſome, which might be maintained, in ſome certain Senſe. This was the leaſt that the Bull permitted, and there could be no queſtion, but it permits this; but it might be pretended, that it permitted much more. The placing of the Words produced this perplexing Obſcurity; a Comma was omitted: This Omiſſion made the Words capable of two very different Conſtructions; and That was the occaſion of much Conteſt. See the *Latin* I am going to quote, and admire the Turns and Chances of Controverſies. “ Quas quidem ſententias ſtricto coram nobis examine ponderatas, quanquam nonnullæ aliquo pacto ſuſtineri poſſint in rigore & proprio verborum ſenſu ab auctoribus intento hæreticas, erroneas, ſuſpectas, temerarias, ſcandaloſas, & in pias aures offenſionem immitentes, reſpectivè & præſentium autoritate damnamus (20). —— *Which Propoſitions, after having paſſed our ſtrict Examination, although ſome of them may in ſome ſort be defended in the literal and proper Senſe of the Words, and in which the Authors intend them to be underſtood, we condemn them reſpectively, by the Authority of theſe preſents, as heretical, erroneous, obnoxious, precipitate, infamous, and offenſive to pious Ears.*” That, which the Pagans called the Sport and Caprice of Fortune, is not excluded from this Sanctuary: the pretended infallible Oracle of *Rome* does not remedy the Miſchief. After having taken a great deal of trouble to concert all the Syllables of his Anſwer, he may ſee, that his Tranſcriber, or Secretary, by forgetting one *Comma*, ſhall be the Cauſe of the Damnation of an infinite Number of Perſons. Nay, farther, the *Comma* will do nothing there, whether you place it after *poſſint*, or not; the Equivocation ſtill remains. There is no Rule, either in Writing, or Printing, by which a *Comma* after *poſſint* muſt neceſſarily confine what follows to the Word *damnamus*. The moſt correct Books, which furniſh numberleſs Inſtances, where *Commas* placed, as this might be, after *poſſint*, do not at all hinder, but what follows, from ſuch a *Comma* to the next ſucceeding one, may relate to the Word *poſſint*, or any Word ſo ſituated.

[*H*] *His laſt Will was a Proof of his great Charity.*] The Apologiſt for the Cenſures of *Louvain*, and *Douay*, ſets this Virtue of *Michael Baius* againſt the pretended Miracles of *Leſſius*. “ It is a great Miracle, *ſays he* (21), to ſee ſo much Humility, accompanied with ſuch great Parts and Learning, that even *Toletus* could not forbear giving him the following Character, which is preſerved in *Louvain* by Tradition: *Michaele Baio nihil doctius, nihil humilius, — Nothing can be more learned, or more humble, than* Michael Baius. It is a great Miracle, to ſee ſo much Submiſſion and Patience, as appeared in his Conduct, in regard to the Pope's Bull. It is a great Miracle, to ſee a holy Prieſt, whoſe many Studies and Occupations have not abated his Piety; and who melts into Tears at the Altar, from a lively Senſe of the Sanctity of our Myſteries. Laſtly, it is a great Miracle, to ſee ſo much Charity for the Poor, extending ſo far, as to deſire no other Heirs, and which, for their ſakes, ſtifles all Sentiments of Nepotiſm, how juſt ſoever they might be, in him. This will make *Baius* always dear to Poſterity; whereas a Reputation, ſupported only by an artificial Pretence to Miracles and Wonders, without Foundation, will ſoon be loſt, and vaniſh away in Smoak.” Cardinal *Palavicini* reports, that *Commendon*, giving an account, to the Cardinal of *Mantua*, of the State, in which he found the Univerſity of *Louvain*, in the Year 1561, obſerves to him, that *Michael Baius*, and *John Heſſelius*, had taught ſome Novelties on Free-will, and that they were two Perſons very remarkable for their Learning, and good Lives (22); that *Ruard Tapper* had taken Umbrage at their Union, and thought they valued their Learning too much, though they were otherways very modeſt and virtuous; “ But, *adds he*, every one places his Pride in the Art he profeſſes, and bears other things very eaſily. *Compertum ſibi eſſe Ruardam in Theologicis diſciplinis præclarum, dum is, in illa Academia docens, in his duobus adhuc ætate juvenili obſervaret inſauſtam conjunctionem ingenii & audaciæ, ſolitum eſſe dicere ſe nonniſi ſchiſma ab illis expectare, & Theologicam lauream diu ipſis diſtuliſſe: eos profecto videri ſcientiæ ſuæ nimis amantes, quamvis alioqui probos & modeſtos: & hæc ille verba ſapienter uſurpavit, digna quæ à nobis repetantur*; ſed cujuſque ſuperbia in ea arte quam profitetur ſita eſt, cætera facile ſuffert (23).”

[*I*] James Baius *publiſhed ſome Treatiſes.*] A Panegyric on the Arrival of the Archduke *Albert*, and the Infanta of *Spain*: Catechiſmus, *ſive Inſtitutionum*

(15) Palavicin. Hiſtor. Conc. Trident. lib. 15. cap. 7. *ſays*, Septuginta novem Baii Poſitiones.

(16) Gery, Apology for the Cenſures, *p.* 43.

(17) Ibid. pag. 44.

(18) Palavicin. Hiſtor. Conc. Trident. lib. 15. cap. 7. n. 12.

(19) *In Remark* [*E*] *of the Article* ANGLUS (THOMAS).

A BULL of the Pope, wherein the placing of the Words cauſed an Obſcurity, which was increaſed by the Omiſſion of a *Comma*.

(20) *St* Amour's Journal, Part. 2. pag. 64 *cited in the* Biblioth. Univerſelle, Tom. 14. pag. 201. *See alſo the Difficulties propoſed to* Mr Steyaert, Part. IX. pag. 180. *and the new Edition of* Baius's *Works*, Part. II. pag. 235. & ſeq.

(21) Gery, Apology for the Cenſures, pag. 37, 38.

(22) Erant ambo & ſcientiâ & exemplo vitæ conſpicui. *Palavic. Hiſt. Conc. Trident. lib.* 15. *cap.* 7. *n.* 7.

(23) Id. ib. n. 9.

ding of a College [*K*], and died the fifth of *October*, 1614 (*q*). ——— The new Edition of the Works of *Baius*, which I mentioned as a thing to come, has appeared ſince the firſt Impreſſion of this Dictionary [*L*], and been condemned at

num Chriſtianæ Religionis libri IV, and *De Venerabili Euchariſtiæ Sacramento & Sacrificio Miſſæ, libri III.* (24).

[*K*] *He gave all his Eſtate to the founding of a College.*] *Swertius* aſſerts, I. That *James Baius* left the Adminiſtration of his Eſtate to his Nephew *Giles Baius*, Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity, and that he charged him to apply it intirely to the founding of a College, for young Perſons of his Country. II. That *Giles Baius*, in obedience to his Uncle's Will, cauſed a very fine College to be built, which is juſtly called BAIANUM. III. That this College had been built but few Years; he takes notice in what place. *Obſecutus patrini deſiderio, auguſtiſſimum* (Collegium) *ab hinc paucis annis extruxit è regione Pædagogii Falconis &* BAIANUM *meritò indigetatur* (25). But *Aubertus Miræus*, who could not be ignorant of what *Swertius* had wrote upon it, affirms only, that he had read ſomewhere, that *James Baius* had deſigned the Foundation of a College, for the Reception of young Students in Divinity. *De altero Collegio Sacrarum Literarum ſtudioſis adoleſcentibus pariter alendis piè prudenterque cogitaſſe ſcriptum invenimus* (26). Thus Writers deliver themſelves, when they can only praiſe a Man for the good Intentions, which an Author, whom they have read, aſcribes to him: For, when they know They have been actually executed, they expreſly mention it. *Aubertus Miræus*, therefore, knew nothing of the building of the *Collegium Baianum*. Now this Ignorance of ſo notorious a Fact is ſomething prodigious, in ſuch a Man, as This, who ſo well knew his own Country, the *Spaniſh Netherlands*.

[*L*] *A new Edition of the Works of* Baius —— *has appeared ſince the firſt Edition of this Dictionary.*] This is the Title of it: *Michaelis Baii celeberrimi in Lovanienſi Academiâ Theologi Opera: cum Bullis Pontificum, & aliis ipſius cauſam ſpectantibus, jam primum ad* Romanam *Eccleſiam ab convitiis Proteſtantium, ſimul ac Arminianorum, cæterorumque hujuſce temporis Pelagianorum impoſturis vindicandam, collecta, expurgata, & plurimis quæ hactenus delituerant opuſculis aucta: ſtudio A. P. Theologi.* Coloniæ Agrippinæ, *ſumptibus* Balthaſaris *ab* Egmont & *ſociorum*, M.DC.XCVI. It is a pretty large *Quarto*, divided into two Parts. The firſt contains, beſides thoſe Writings of his, which were already printed, ſix or ſeven Pieces of *Baius*, which had never been publiſhed. The ſecond conſiſts almoſt intirely of ſuch, as now make their firſt Appearance, and relate to the Cenſure of ſome of *Baius*'s Propoſitions. One of theſe is a Chronological Narrative of the Proceedings in that Cauſe, and was wrote by him, who had the Care of This Edition. This Narrative informs us, among other things, that *Michael Baius* was induced to form his Method of teaching Divinity, on the Scripture, and on the Fathers, and chiefly on St *Auguſtin*, for two Reaſons (27). The firſt was, becauſe the Proteſtants of the *Netherlands* boaſted to have the Scripture, and the ancient Fathers, on their Side. The ſecond, becauſe many Catholic Writers (28), deſerting the Hypotheſis of St *Auguſtin*, came extremely near That of the *Pelagians*. *Ruard Tapper*, and *Tiletan*, Profeſſors of Divinity at *Louvain*, diſapproved this new Method of *Baius*, as ſoon as they heard of it, after their return from the Council, in the Year 1552: And it is affirmed, that *Ruard* cried out one Day, *What Devil brought this Doctrine into our School, in our Abſence?* This was the beginning of a furious Storm againſt *Baius*; the *Franciſcans*, eſpecially, fell foul upon him. The reſpective Guardians of *Nivelle*, and of *Aëth*, ſent eighteen Articles to the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*, in the Year 1560, and deſired their Judgment upon them. That Univerſity condemned them all, ſome, to the Number of three, as falſe and contrary to the Scripture; and the reſt as heretical. *Baius* made Remarks on This Cenſure, and had a Mind to communicate them to ſome Doctor at *Paris*; but he gave over That Deſign, when he ſaw it impoſſible for him to obtain a Copy of this Decree of the *Sorbonne* (29). He communicated them to the Provincial of the *Franciſcans*. He ſhews plainly, that the *Sorbonne* had cenſured, as Heretical, what was viſibly contained in St *Auguſtin*. The Year following, a Liſt was preſented, to Cardinal *Granvelle*, of the Propoſitions extracted from the Writings of *Baius*, as was pretended; and yet ſome of thoſe Propoſitions were contrary to his Opinions; others he had never diſputed for, or againſt; and moſt of them were drawn up ſo artificially, that the very turn of the Expreſſions might make them ſuſpected either of Falſity or Hereſy (30). The Cardinal communicated them to *Michael Baius*, who returned an Anſwer not now to be found. The ſame Cardinal received Orders to impoſe Silence on the Parties; and by This means the Quarrel was compoſed: But it was renewed in the Year 1564; for *Tiletan* endeavoured to obtain the Cenſures of the Univerſities of *Spain* againſt *Baius*'s Writings (31), and he ſent Extracts of them to *Pius* IV, that they might be condemned. Other Extracts were added to Theſe, and ſent to *Pius* V, who iſſued a Bull, the firſt of *October*, 1567, wherein he condemned Seventy ſix Propoſitions. This Bull was neither publiſhed, nor fixed up, but was only read to *Baius*, and to the particular Faculty of Divinity at *Louvain*, the Twenty ninth of *December*, 1567, by *Maximilian Morillon*, Vicar-General of the Archbiſhop of *Mechlen* (32). This Vicar-General being required to give a Copy of This Bull, he refuſed it. He declared, that he had Orders to prohibit all the printed Books, out of which moſt of the Seventy ſix Propoſitions were ſaid to have been extracted. The Dean of the Faculty repreſented, That, for great Reaſons, it was very neceſſary, that the Books of *Baius* ſhould not be prohibited; neither were they. This Doctor wrote to the Pope, the eighth of *January* 1569, and ſent him an Apology, wherein he made it appear, that he had not taught thoſe Seventy ſix Propoſitions, and that moſt of them, if underſtood in a certain Senſe, were true, and the very Doctrines of St *Auguſtin*. The Anſwer, which the Pope returned him, the third of *May*, the ſame Year, contained an Exhortation to ſubmit to the Cenſure. *Baius* was extreamly ſurprized, when That Letter of *Pius* V was delivered to him, to ſee himſelf treated like a Rebel, who had incurred the Puniſhment of Excommunication and of Irregularity. He requeſted *Morillon* to be abſolved from This Sentence, but could not obtain it, without abjuring the Articles, which the Bull had condemned. *Summopere autem miratus eſt* Baius *ſecum agi ac ſi ſuas vindicias & apologiam ſcribendo Pontifici, in eum fuiſſet rebellis, ac Excommunicationis & Irregularitatis cenſuras incurriſſet: à quibus cùm peteret abſolvi, Morillonus abſolutionis beneficium ei impertiri noluit, quin prius Articulos per Bullam confixos ejuraverit* (33). From that time every Body was ſuffered to inveigh againſt This Doctor, as if he had really taught thoſe Seventy ſix Articles; they exclaimed againſt him in their Sermons, and in their Lectures: He bore this Oppoſition very patiently; but, in the Year 1570, he was adviſed, by three Biſhops (34), to vindicate himſelf. He explained himſelf, therefore, on theſe Matters, in his Auditory of Divinity, and declared, that, among thoſe Seventy ſix Propoſitions, there were ſome, which deſerved to be condemned, but which he had never maintained: that others were maliciouſly drawn up, which he did not admit of, in the bad Conſtruction that might be put upon them, though otherwiſe they were very capable of a ſound Interpretation. *Cœpit in Scholis Theologorum quid circa hujuſmodi Articulos ſentiret, cum multâ humilitate ac modeſtiâ, aperire: declarans nonnullos ipſorum eſſe falſos ac jure confixos, ſed à ſe nunquam traditos: alios eſſe arte ac dolo confictos, qui pravum ſenſum pati poſſunt, quem nunquam tenuit, licet & in ſano intelligi quoque facilè poſſent* (35). In the Month of *June* of the ſame Year, 1570, the Biſhops of the *Netherlands* held a Council at *Mechlen*, wherein, at the Inſtance of the Duke *d'Alba*, they engaged to cauſe the Bull of Pope *Pius* V to be ſolemnly publiſhed at *Louvain*, and to be ſigned by all the Profeſſors of Divinity. The Commiſſion for it was given to *Morillon*, who performed it the ſixteenth of *November*, the ſame Year. However, he could

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(*q*) Id. ibid. Swertius *ſays* October 9.

(24) Ex Valer. Andrea Bibl. Belg. pag. 401.

(25) Swert. Ath Belg. pag. 355. *This Book was printed in* 1628.

(26) Aub. Miræus de Scriptoribus Sæculi XVI. pag. 134.

(27) Oper. Mich. Baii, part. 2. pag. 192.

(28) *As* Bartholomew Camerarius, Albertus Pighius, Francis Horantius, *a Spaniſh Franciſcan, and* Ruard Tapper.

(29) Baii Oper. part. 2. pag. 193.

(30) Id. ib. pag. 194.

(31) *The Cenſures of the Univerſities of* Salamanca *and* Alcala *were not paſſed till after the Death of* Tiletan, Idem, pag. 195.

(32) Ibid. pag. 197.

(33) Ibid. pag. 199.

(34) Martin Richtovius *Biſhop of* Ipres, Francis Sonnius *Biſhop of* Bois-le-duc, *and* Cornelius Janſenius *Biſhop of* Ghent.

(35) Oper. Baii, part. 2. pag. 200.

at *Rome* by the Congregation of the *Index*. It contains many inſtructive Particulars, and ſeveral things, which would carrythe makers of Reflexions a great way. The Remark, which I ſhall give, concerning This Edition will make a good Supplement to this Article. The Editor was very ill treated by Father *Dez*, a Jeſuit, in a Work compoſed on purpoſe to defend the Church of *Rome* againſt the injuries he had done it (*r*).

not obtain the ſigning of the Formulary, which required the Approbation of the Cenſure of the Seventy ſix Propoſitions. The Faculty of Divinity of *Louvain* imagined this to be ſome Snare laid for them, and, though they were aſſured, by a Letter, from the Biſhop of *Boiſleduc*, and the Biſhop of *Ghent*, that there was no Deſign to ſurprize them, it does not appear, that ever they agreed to That Signing: But, the following Year, a Decree was made, importing, that the Seventy ſix Propoſitions ſhould be held for condemned, and that all the Members of the Faculty ſhould abſtain from teaching them, and that all the Books, wherein they ſhould be maintained, ſhould be taken away from the Students in Divinity (36). It is to be obſerved, that *Morillon* did not deliver any Copy of the Bull, which he thus ſolemnly notified. This gave occaſion to ſome to maintain, that it was not authentic, or, that, having been ſurreptitiouſly obtained, it would be revoked. Others maintained the contrary with great Heat. Pope *Gregory* XIII, being ſollicited by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, in his Maſter's Name, and by Father *Toletus*, in the Name of ſome Divines of *Louvain*, to apply a ſpeedy Remedy to Theſe Diſputes, formed a Conſtitution the Twenty eighth of *January*, 1579, wherein he inſerted the Bull of *Pius* V, without approving, or confirming, the ſame, and without condemning the Seventy ſix Propoſitions anew; he was contented to ſay, that he had found it among the Records of his Predeceſſor, and to order, that Credit ſhould be given to it. He ſent the ſame Father *Toletus* to *Louvain*, in the Year 1580. This Jeſuit there ſolemnly notified the Conſtitution of *Gregory* XIII, and asked *Baius*, whether he condemned the Seventy ſix Articles, or not. *Baius* anſwered, *I condemn them according to the Intention of the Bull* (37). All the Doctors, Licentiates, Bachelors, *&c.* declared, that they ſubmitted to That Bull. *Toletus* informed *Baius*, in ſome Converſation, which he had with him, that he was accuſed of teaching his Diſciples, privately, the Doctrines, which *Pius* V had condemned. *Baius* denied it, and deſired to undergo all manner of Puniſhments, if That Accuſation could be legally proved. But, no Steps being made towards it, *Toletus* promiſed to give a good Teſtimony of him at the Court of *Rome*, and declared it was falſe, that the reading of *Baius*'s Writings was forbidden. He propoſed to him the ſigning of a Formulary, which was very hard; but, however, *Baius* did it to procure ſome eaſe to himſelf. He was obliged to own, under his Hand, that he had taught many of the Seventy ſix condemned Articles, and that they were condemned in the Senſe, in which he had taken them. "Ei præſcripſit *(Toletus)* quandam Confeſſionis formulam, in qua fateri debuit multos ex damnatis 76 Articulis à ſe eſſe traditos, ac eo ſenſu proſcriptos quo eos docuiſſet; cui formulæ optimus hic Doctor, undique laceſſitus ac calumniis obrutus, ut tandem pace aliquâ frueretur, ſubſcripſit die vigeſimâ quarta Martii hujus anni 1580 (38)." He wrote a Letter to the Pope, wherein he declared the Calumnies ſpread againſt him, for the Space of twelve Years concerning thoſe Articles, and deſired a Copy of the Bull of *Pius* V. This was granted him, in *June*, 1580. Father *Horantius* wrote a Piece againſt him, the ſame Year. He complained of two things; one was, that *Baius* had anſwered *Philip de Marnix* too civilly (39). *Conquerens* 1. *quòd ejus epiſtolæ Marnixio ſcriptæ nimis benignæ fuiſſent* (40). The other, that *Baius* had affirmed, according to the Doctrine of St *Auguſtin*, that the Scripture only is to be conſulted, in order to judge of the Church. 2. *Quod* Baius Auguſtinum *ſecutus dixiſſet judicium de Eccleſia eſſe ex ſola Scriptura petendum* (41). *Baius* juſtified himſelf, in a Letter, which he prefixed to his Apology againſt *Philip de Marnix*, in the Year 1581. He was diſturbed again in the Year 1585; for his Enemies accuſed him to the Pope's Nuncio, and required, that he ſhould be examined on certain Articles, which they had drawn up againſt him (42). It is not known, whether he underwent This Examination.

The Author of this Chronological Narrative takes a prodigious deal of Pains to prove to us, that Mr *Leidecker*, and ſome other Miniſters are in the wrong to conclude, from That Bull of *Pius* V, that the Church of *Rome* has condemned the Doctrine of St *Auguſtin*, and favoured the new *Pelagians* (43). It ſeems to me, that he ſhews clearly enough the Invalidity of That Bull, the Diſhoneſty of thoſe, who made the Extracts, the Negligence of That Pope, and the Precipitation, wherewith he condemned thoſe Propoſitions, before he had examined the Works, from whence it was pretended, that they had been taken, *&c.* This Negligence appeared alſo from the Rules of Grammar not being obſerved in That Bull (44). It may be alledged, that *Urban* VIII, in his Bull againſt the Book of *Janſenius*, publiſhed in the Year 1642, confirmed the Bull of *Pius* V and That of *Gregory* XIII. But the Author anſwers, that *Urban* VIII, did not confirm thoſe two Bulls, but upon the Suppoſition of Facts, which were falſe, and that therefore his Confirmation was void. "Quandoquidem ergo *Urbanus* eas non confirmaverit, niſi ſupponendo quæ falſa ſunt; ex iſta confirmatione nullum robur accedit iſtis ſuorum Predeceſſorum Conſtitutionibus: quod enim in ſua origine vitioſum ac nullius roboris eſt, rati-habitione non fit validum, vel, ut jura loquuntur *, *Quod initio vitioſum eſt, non poteſt tractu temporis convaleſcere: nec firmatur tractu temporis, quod jure ab initio non ſubſiſtit* (45). —— *Since therefore* Urban *did not confirm them, but upon Suppoſitions, which were falſe; ſuch a Confirmation could add no Authority to the Conſtitutions of his Predeceſſors: For what is originally void, and of no Force, can never be made good by ſubſequent Ratification; or, as the Law ſays,* What is void from the Beginning, can never become valid by any Courſe of Time; nor does long Uſage confirm any thing, which did not legally ſubſiſt from the firſt." This Pope being deceived by *Francis Albizzi*, Aſſeſſor of the Holy Office, and Penſionary of the Jeſuits, imagined, that the Bull of *Pius* V had been attended with all due Formality, and had been confirmed by That of *Gregory* XIII. Theſe were two falſe Suppoſitions; for *Pius* V did not cauſe his Bull to be fixed up, or to be ſolemnly publiſhed, at *Rome*: And, as for Pope *Gregory*, he was ſatisfied with ſaying, that he found it among the Records of his Predeceſſor. *Urban* VIII, therefore, was made to affirm a Falſity, by inſerting, in his Bull, that the Articles, condemned by *Pius* V, had been condemned anew by *Gregory* XIII: and, to conceal the Knowledge of This Impoſture from the People, care was taken to leave the Conſtitution of *Gregory* XIII out of the Bull of *Urban* VIII, tho' the Bull of *Pius* V was inſerted in it. "Animadvertendum eſt quod *Urbanus* VIII in Bulla ſuperius memorata enunciaverit quidem à *Gregorio* XIII confirmatam fuiſſe *Pii* V Conſtitutionem, articuloſque in ea confixos denuò fuiſſe damnatos. Verùm hæc *Urbani* VIII Bulla apertè falſi ea ſaltem in parte convincitur, ſicut & ab *Joanne Sinichio Lovanienſis* Academiæ delegato *Romæ* convicta eſt, ex ipſomet *Gregorii* XIII Diplomate, in quo nihil de iſta confirmatione, aut de iterata hujuſmodi articulorum diſpunctione habetur. Ne autem id innoteſceret, *Albizzius*, Jeſuitarum ſtipendiarius, qui Bullam *Urbani* VIII conſcripſit, in ea quidem *Pii* V Bullam integram inſeruit, ſed non *Gregorii* XIII Conſtitutionem, ex qua ſingulis patuiſſet ejus mendacium, & quam falſo in Bulla *Urbani* dicatur *Pii* V Bulla à *Gregorio* XIII confimata, proſcriptique in ea articuli iterum à *Gregorio* XIII prohibiti: cum *Gregorius* XIII duntaxat teſtificetur tenorem Bullæ, quam inſerit, eſſe planè conformem tenori Bullæ, quam in *Pii* V regiſtro invenit; & iſti tenori eam fidem adhibendam,

(*r*) Quibus eam affecerat Baii nuperus editor.

(36) Ibid. p. 202, 203.

(37) Damno ſecundum intentionem bullæ, & ſicut bulla eos damnat. *Ib. pag.* 206.

(38) Id. ib. p g. 207.

(39) Æquo animo ferre non potuit quod Baius humaniori ſtilo ſuas ad Marnixium ſcripſiſſet epiſtolas. *Id. ib. pag.* 208.

(40) *Compare this Man with the* French *Miniſter, who complained publicly, in the Year* 1698, *of* Mr Jaquelot's *Letters to the Prelates of* France.

(41) Id. ib.

(42) Id. ib. pag. 209.

(43) Id. ib. pag 210, *&* ſeq.

(44) Ibid. pag. 235.

* ff. de Reg. Jur. & 6. Decret. eod. Tit.

(45) Ibid. p. 239, 240.

"dam, quæ ipſius Bullæ protographo debetur (46). —— *It is to be obſerved, That* Urban VIII, *in his Bull before-mentioned, declared, that the Conſtitution of* Pius V *had been confirmed by* Gregory VIII; *and that the Articles, therein condemned, had been condemned anew. But This Bull of* Urban VIII *aſſerts a Falſity, at leaſt in this Reſpect, as was proved by* John Sinnichius, *Deputy for the Univerſity of* Louvain, *at* Rome, *and from the Bull itſelf of* Gregory XIII, *wherein not a Syllable of That Confirmation, or of a ſecond Condemnation of Thoſe Articles, is to be found. But, that this might not appear,* Albizzi, *Penſionary of the Jeſuits, who drew up the Bull of* Urban VIII, *inſerted in it indeed the Bull of* Pius V, *but not the Conſtitution of* Gregory XIII, *which would have diſcovered his whole Fraud, by ſhewing how falſely he had made the Bull of* Urban *declare, that the Bull of* Pius V *was confirmed, and that the prohibited Articles were again prohibited by This Conſtitution of* Gregory XIII; *when This Pope only teſtifies therein, that the Tenor of the Bull, which he inſerts, is exactly conformable to the Tenor of the Bull, which he had found in the Regiſter of* Pius V; *and that the ſame Obedience ought to be paid to it, which was due to the Original.*" All this is much more proper to ſhew the Artifices uſed in the Condemnation of Books, than to confute Mr *Leidecker*; for, in ſhort, for one *Roman-Catholic*, who believes *Baius* to be innocent, there are above a thouſand, who believe him juſtly condemned; and therefore the Church of *Rome* may, with much likelihood, be accuſed of holding This Doctor's Opinions for Heretical, which are moſt agreeable to St *Auguſtin*'s Doctrine. This ought to make the Fate of ſome Men pitied. Though Paſſion, Irregularity, and Injuſtice, appear manifeſtly in the Proceedings uſed againſt them; yet, in the Opinion of the Majority, they will be ſuppoſed guilty. A Judgment againſt their Doctrine is ſufficient to ſecure the Prejudices of the Public. The Adverſary will enjoy the Fruit of his Frauds and Intrigues; he will conſtantly engage the Folly of the People on his Side, who generally preſume in favour of Tribunals.

A great Work of *Baius* is promiſed (47), if this new Edition goes off well. This will be his *Commentary on the Maſter of the Sentences*, and his *Explication of* David'*s Pſalms.*

(46) Ibid. pag. 242.

(47) In Præfat.

BALBUS. This Name makes ſuch a Figure in the Ancient *Roman* Hiſtory, that it is ſtrange the Hiſtorical Dictionaries ſhould pay ſo little Regard to it [*A*]. If I endeavour to repair their Fault, it is chiefly in reſpect to *Lucius Cornelius* BALBUS, who was Conſul in the Year of *Rome* 714, and who had a Nephew, whom I ſhall mention either in the Text, or in the Remarks, as occaſion offers. This Conſul was born at *Cadiz*. He ſignalized himſelf by his great Courage in the Wars, which the *Romans* carried on in *Spain* againſt *Sertorius*, and againſt the *Luſitanians*; inſomuch, that *Pompey*, being very well ſatisfied with his great Services, declared him a *Roman* Citizen. *Lucius Gellius* and *Cn. Cornelius*, who were Conſuls a little time after, made a Law, that all thoſe, whom *Pompey*, with the Conſent of the Council of War, had made Citizens of *Rome*, ſhould be actually ſo eſteemed. By this means *Balbus* entered into full Poſſeſſion of his Freedom of *Rome* (*a*). He took upon him the Prænome of *Lucius* from one of thoſe two Conſuls, and the Name of *Cornelius* from the other [*B*]. He was ſo much eſteemed in *Rome*, that he had the Friendſhip of the greateſt Men of the State, as of *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, *Cæſar*, and *Cicero*, and was adopted by *Theophanes* (*b*), who was very particularly beloved and regarded by *Pompey*.

(*a*) *See* Cicero in Oratione pro Cornelio Balbo, & ibi Manucium & Nicolaum Abramum.

(*b*) Cicero ib. & Epiſt. 7. ad Attic. lib. 7.

The ORIGINAL of the Sirname *Balbus*. Whether *Ch. Stephens* has rightly applied it to the *Atilii*.

[*A*] *The Hiſtorical Dictionaries have paid but little Regard to this Name.*] They are prodigiouſly barren on the Word *Balbus*. *Charles Stephens* remarks, that it was the Sirname of the *Atilii*, and that the firſt of This Family, who was called *Balbus*, was ſo called, becauſe he ſtammered; and that afterwards his Poſterity preſerved This Sirname. It is very likely, that This Appellation had the ſame beginning, in ſeveral Families, as it is certainly on the ſame Account, that, in all Countries, ſo many Perſons are named *White*, &c. And ſince there has been an Emperor of the Eaſt (1), and another of the Weſt (2), who had both of them the Sirname of *Balbus*, or *Stammerer*, from That Defect in their Speech; Why ſhould it ſeem ſtrange, that, in the time of the *Roman* Common-wealth, a like Defect introduced This Sirname into ſeveral illuſtrious Families? It is not, therefore, for This, that *Charles Stephens* deſerves to be criticized, but becauſe he miſtook the *Atilii* for the *Accii*, or *Atii*, and becauſe he expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a manner, as if the *Atilii* had no other Sirname but This: whereas they have had, among them, thoſe of *Regulus*, *Seranus*, *Calatinus*. Nay, there was one *C. Atilius Balbus*, Conſul in the Year of *Rome* 508, and 518, which is, perhaps, the cauſe of *Charles Stephens*'s Error. Mr *Lloyd* ought to have been ſatisfied with correcting This Article; but he thought it fitter wholly to ſuppreſs it; in Imitation of Thoſe Chirurgeons, who, inſtead of curing the Wound, cut off the whole Limb: Or, as Diſputants ſerve an Objection, when they find themſelves upon pretty much the ſame Terms with *Alexander*, in reſpect to the *Gordian* Knot. Mr *Hofman* neither cured, nor cut off, but retained the Article as he found it in *Charles Stephens*.

(1) Michael II, *of That Name, who was Emperor of* Conſtantinople, *from the Year* 820 *to* 826.

(2) Lewis III, *of That Name, who was alſo King of* France, *and who died in* 879.

WHAT Name thoſe, who obtained the Freedom of *Rome*, gave themſelves.

[*B*] *He took upon him, in reſpect to - - - - - the two Conſuls, the Prænome of* Lucius, *and the Name of* Cornelius.] It was the Cuſtom of *Rome*, that Thoſe, who obtained their Freedom, took upon them the Name of him, who procured them That Honour. It was for This Reaſon, that the Hiſtorian *Theophanes*, and his Poſterity, bore the Name of *Pompey*. I may be asked, *Why then did not* Cornelius Balbus *alſo take the Name of* Pompey? My Anſwer is, Becauſe he choſe rather to ground his Right on a Law, than on the Kindneſs of That General. The Law, I ſpeak of, is That made by the Conſuls *L. Gellius*, and *Cn. Cornelius*, with the Conſent of the Senate, in the Year of *Rome* 682. It imported, that all Thoſe, on whom *Pompey* had conferred the Freedom of *Rome*, with the Approbation of the Council of War, ſhould be reputed Citizens of *Rome*. "Naſcitur, Judices, cauſa *Cornelii* ex eâ lege quam *L. Gellius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, ex Senatus ſententiâ tulerunt; quâ lege videmus ſatis eſſe ſanctum, uti cives *Romani* ſint ii, quos *Cn. Pompeius* de conſilii ſententia ſingillatim civitate donaverit (3). —— *The Cauſe of* Cornelius, *Judges, is founded on That Law, which* L. Gellius, *and* Cn. Cornelius, *by Decree of the Senate, enacted; which we ſee has ſolemnly confirmed Thoſe, as Citizens of* Rome, *to whom* Pompey, *with Conſent of his Council, had reſpectively given That Privilege.*" *Balbus*, looking upon Thoſe two Conſuls as the true Authors of the Honour he enjoyed, took the Prænome *Lucius* from the one, and the Name *Cornelius* from the other. This is much more likely, than what *Manutius* ſays, *That, though* Balbus *had been made a* Roman *Citizen by* Pompey, *yet he was nevertheleſs obliged for That Freedom to* Cornelius Lentulus, *whoſe Prænome, and Name, he took, according to Cuſtom* (4). He conjectures alſo, that This *L. Cornelius Lentulus* is the ſame, who was Conſul, the firſt Year of the Civil War, that is, in the Seven hundred and fourth Year of *Rome*. To conclude, we learn from hence, that Cardinal *Baronius* made too long an Enumeration of *Titus*'s Favours to *Joſephus*, when he notes particularly, that, beſides the Right of a Citizen, he alſo conferred on him the Name of the Family of *Flavia* (5). For, in the firſt place, it was *Veſpaſian*, and not *Titus*, who made him a Citizen (6), and, after that, the Name *Flavius* was given him of courſe.

(3) Cicero Orat. pro Balbo.

(4) Manut. in Argumento Orat. pro Cornel. Balbo. *See alſo the* Note *on the ninth Book of* Cicero's Epiſtles to Atticus, pag. 8. Edit. Græv. *Where there ſeems to be an Error of the Preſs.*

(5) Baron. ad. ann. 36. n. 12.

(6) Joſeph. in Vitâ ſuâ.

[*C*] Capitolinus

Pompey. It is on account of this Adoption, that *Capitolinus* names him *Balbus Cornelius Theophanes* [C], when he ſays, that the Emperor *Balbinus* affirmed, that he was deſcended from him (*c*). The Proſperity of *Balbus* raiſed him up Enemies, who commenced a Law-Suit againſt him about his Freedom: *Craſſus*, *Pompey*, and *Cicero*, pleaded his Cauſe (*d*), and gained it. He found himſelf much perplexed during the War between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*; for he had great Obligations to both. It appears, that he gave the preference to *Cæſar*, but in ſuch a manner, that he endeavoured to bring Matters to a Reconciliation (*e*). *Velleius Paterculus* remarks it as a great Temerity, that *Balbus* was ſo bold, as to go to *Pompey*'s Camp, to gain over the Conſul *Lentulus*, who was conſidering at what Price he ſhould ſell himſelf (*f*). It was by this means, adds he, that *Balbus*, tho' a *Spaniard*, opened his way to the Triumph, the Pontificate, and the Conſulſhip. *Pliny*, indeed, obſerves, that *Balbus* was made Conſul, and that he was the firſt Foreigner, who obtained That Dignity (*g*); but, as for the Honour of a Triumph, he ſays it was another *Cornelius Balbus*, a Nephew of This, who obtained it, with the *Roman* Freedom, the firſt of all Foreigners (*h*). We ſhall ſee wherein *Paterculus*'s Fault conſiſts. Theſe two *Cornelii Balbi* were ſo rich, that the Uncle, at his Death, left Twenty five *Drachmas* to each *Roman* Citizen (*i*), and the Nephew cauſed a new City (*k*) to be built at *Cadiz* (*l*). The Uncle wrote a *Hiſtory of* Julius Cæſar, in the form of a Journal(*m*). It was, undoubtedly, he, who contracted ſo very ſtrict a Friendſhip with *Pomponius Atticus* [E]. Some have confounded *Cornelius Balbus* with *Cornelius Gallus* [F]. We ſhall ſhew, that *Voſſius* was

(*c*) Capitol. in Balbino.

(*d*) *See* Cicero's *Oration, pro* Cornelio Balbo.

(*e*) *See Remark* [G].

(*f*) Vell. Paterc. lib. 2, cap. 51.

(*g*) Plin. lib. 7, c. 43

(*h*) Id. lib. 5, cap. 5.

(*i*) Dio, lib. 48.

(*k*) Strabo, lib. 3, p. 116.

(*l*) *He was born there, as well as his Uncle.*

(*m*) Sidonius Apollinaris, lib. 9, Epiſt. 14.

[*C*] Capitolinus *names him* Balbus Cornelius Theophanes.] I give you this Author's words: "Familiæ vetuſtiſſimæ; ut ipſe (*Balbinus*) dicebat, "à Balbo Cornelio Theophane originem ducens, "qui per Cn. Pompejum civitatem meruerat, quum "eſſet ſuæ patriæ nobiliſſimus, idemque hiſtoriæ "ſcriptor (7). —— *Of a very ancient Family, as he* "(Balbinus) *himſelf affirmed, derived from* Balbus "Cornelius Theophanes, *who was made a Citizen* "*of* Rome *by* Cn. Pompey, *being of a noble Rank* "*in his own Country, and alſo an Hiſtorian.*" *Caſaubon* imagines, that This is to be underſtood of the Hiſtorian *Theophanes*, born at *Mytelene*, in the Iſland of *Lesbos* (8). *Voſſius* (9), Mr *de Tillemont* (10), and ſeveral others, are of the ſame Opinion. I believe they are miſtaken, and it is better to underſtand here the adopted Son, than the Father. *Cornelius Balbus* was the Son of *Theophanes* by Adoption: The three Titles, which *Capitolinus* made uſe of, belong to him, and the laſt only belongs to *Theophanes*. If I am told, that *Balbus* was not of nobleſt Rank in his own Country, I anſwer, No more was *Theophanes* in *Mitylene*. It is true, *Strabo* affirms, that *Theophanes* had a ſhare in the public Offices, and that he became the moſt Illuſtrious of all the *Greeks* (11). But This does not help us to confirm the words of *Capitolinus*: *Strabo* does not aſcribe to him Antiquity of Family, or Nobleneſs of Blood, which raiſed him above all the other *Mitylenians*; and This is the Point in queſtion, in *Capitolinus*. So that the Objection ſignifies nothing, ſince it would prove too much: And it is enough for me, that *Balbus*'s Enemies did not deny, but that he was of a very honourable Family. *Hunc in eâ civitate, in quâ ſit natus, honeſtiſſimo loco natum eſſe concedis* (12). It is likely, they would not acknowledge all he aſcribed to himſelf hereupon. There is another Objection to be feared. *Balbus* was Conſul, and *Theophanes* was not: Whence comes it, then, that *Capitolinus*, who remarked his Quality of Hiſtorian, forgot That of Conſul, much more proper, than the other, to ſet off the Nobility of *Balbinus?* I anſwer, that *Capitolinus* is not a Man, from whom much Accuracy, and Judgment, is to be expected. The worſt, which may come of it, would be to ſay, that he applied *Balbinus*'s Pretenſions wrong, and that he thought, that *Cornelius Balbus Theophanes*, from whom That Emperor ſaid he was deſcended, was the ſame *Theophanes*, of the Iſland of *Lesbos*, whoſe chief Glory was That of having been an Hiſtorian. I would not abſolutely reject this Conjecture; Men of better parts, than *Capitolinus*, might have taken the one for the other in that place; but I rather chooſe to ſay, that he knew *Balbus*, of *Cadiz*, was Author of an Hiſtory.

(7) Capitol. in Balbino, pag. 147.

(8) Caſaub. in hunc locum Capitol.

(9) Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græc. pag. 147.

(10) Tillemont's Hiſtory of the Emperors, Tom. 3, p. 489.

(11) Strabo, lib. 13, pag. 425.

(12) Cicero pro Cornel. Balbo, non procul init.

[*D*] *I ſhall mention wherein* Paterculus's *Fault conſiſts.*] Theſe are his words; "Tum Balbus Cornelius excedente humanam fidem temeritate ingreſſus "caſtra hoſtium ſæpiuſque cum Lentulo collocutus, "Conſule dubitante quanti ſe venderet, illis incrementis fecit viam quibus non Hiſpanienſis natus, "ſed Hiſpanus, in triumphum & Pontificatum aſſurgeret, fieretque ex privato Conſularis (13). —— "Cornelius Balbus, *by an incredible Raſhneſs, entring* "*into the Enemies Camp, to gain the Conſul* Lentulus, whoſe particular Friend he was, *treated* "*ſeveral times with him, who was, for ſome time,* "*conſidering what Price to aſk for his Treachery.* "*By this means,* Balbus *cleared the way to thoſe Preferments, whereby, though he was* not only *born* "*in* Spain, as ſeveral *Romans* and *Italians* were, "but *alſo of Natural* Spaniards (14), *yet he obtained,* "*in* Rome, *the Honour of a Triumph, and the Pontificate; and, from a private Perſon, became at laſt a* "*Conſul.*" I ſhall ſay nothing of This Action of *Balbus*, which *Cicero* has greatly celebrated in the places I quote (15). I will only dwell a little on *Paterculus*. Either he ſays nothing to the purpoſe, or he affirms, that *Balbus* was raiſed to the Conſulſhip, as well as to the Honour of a Triumph, and to the Dignity of Pontiff; and it would be in vain to deny This under pretence, that he did not ſay, *& Conſulatum*, as this ſeems to be the moſt natural Expreſſion, to ſignify, that *Balbus* was made Conſul: I ſhall not take upon me to preſcribe Forms to one, who ſpoke ſo politely, as That Author did; he had his Reaſons for altering the turn of his Phraſe, when he came to mention the Conſulſhip. But he was miſtaken in the Thing, and confounded the Uncle's Honours with Thoſe of the Nephew. That *Balbus*, who negociated with *Lentulus*, in the beginning of the Civil War, is the Nephew, as appears by *Cicero*'s Letters, which I have quoted. It was *Balbus* the Nephew, who triumphed over the *Garamantès*, the firſt Stranger honoured with a Triumph, as we learn from *Pliny* (16); but it was *Balbus* the Uncle, who was the firſt Stranger honoured with the Conſulſhip, as the ſame *Pliny* informs us (17). Theſe two *Balbus*'s were diſtinguiſhed, at *Rome*, by the Title of *Major*, given to the Uncle, and That of *Minor*, to the Nephew. I wonder, that *Salmaſius*, who diſtinguiſhed the Honours of both very well, did not take notice of this Fault of *Paterculus* (18).

(13) Paterc. lib. 2, c. 51.

(14) *This Explication of the difference, which* Paterculus *makes between* Hiſpanus *and* Hiſpanienſis *(if, however his Text admit of it) ſeems as good as That of* Lipſius, *who, by* Hiſpanienſis, *underſtood an Inhabitant of* Spain; *and by* Hiſpanus, *a natural* Spaniard.

(15) *Epiſt.* 32, *of Book* 10, ad Familiares; *and the Comment on Epiſt.* 9, *of Book* 8, *to* Atticus.

(16) Plin. lib. 5, c. 5.

(17) Id. lib. 7. cap. 43.

(18) Salmaſ. in Solin. c. 9.

[*E*] *He contracted a very ſtrict Friendſhip with* Pomponius Atticus.] This cannot be denied, when we conſider, that *Atticus*, having reſolved to end his Life by ſtarving himſelf, ſent for his Son-in law, and *L. Cornelius Balbus*, and *Sextus Peduceus*, to declare to them his final Reſolution (19). I think, I have read, in one of *Cicero*'s Letters, that *Balbus* was one of thoſe, who were often entertained at *Atticus*'s Table (20). Which would prove, that he delighted in hearing good things read (21).

(19) Corn. Nepos in Vita Attici, cap. 31.

(20) *I could not find the place; but I think I have read it in* Cicero's *Letters to* Atticus.

(21) *See, above, the Remark* [F] *of the Article* ATTICUS.

[*F*] *Some have confounded* Cornelius Balbus *with* Cornelius Gallus.] It is in relation to a Fact, which is far from honouring his Memory. They make him die in the Act of Venery (22). Without doubt, the firſt Occaſion of this Miſtake, was an Error of the Preſs. *Cornelius Gallus* had been put in the Liſt of thoſe, who died in that Condition, on the Authority of *Pliny* (23); and the Printer uſing a B, for a G, cauſed ſeveral to miſtake the one for the other. I find this Error in ſeveral Editions of

(22) Balthaſar Bonifacius, Hiſtor. Ludicra, lib. 16, cap. 16, ex Tiraquello, Leg. Connub. 15, n. 27.

(23) Lib. 7, cap. 53.

was in the wrong to cenſure *Savaro* [*G*]; that *Lloyd* and *Hofman* deſerve ſome Cenſure [*H*]; that *Paulus Manutius* is not entirely excuſable [*I*]; that *Glandorpius* multiplies Perſons of this Name unneceſſarily [*K*]; that the diſtinction of the greater and

of *Tiraquellus*'s Commentary on the Matrimonial Laws.

[*G*] Voſſius *was in the wrong to cenſure* Savaro.] Whilſt he was taking notice of a Fault, which he believed he had found in *Savaro*'s Commentary on *Sidonius Apollinaris*, he himſelf was miſtaken (24). *Savaro* had affirmed, that *Balbus*, to whom *Sidonius Apollinaris* aſcribes the Journal of *Julius Cæſar*'s Life (25), is the ſame with *Balbus Cornelius Theophanes*, of whom *Julius Capitolinus* ſays, in the Life of *Balbinus*, *That he had obtained the* Roman *Freedom by* Pompey'*s Favour, and that, moreover, he was the moſt Noble of his Fellow-Citizens, and an Hiſtorian. Voſſius* refutes this Pretenſion of *Savaro*, I. Becauſe *Balbus*, Author of the Journal, was an intimate Friend of *Julius Cæſar*, as appears by *Suetonius* (26), and by *Aulus Gellius* (27); whereas *Theophanes* was an intimate Friend of *Pompey*, which was made a Crime of to his Poſterity, as *Tacitus* obſerves, in the ſixth Book of his Annals. II. Becauſe *Theophanes* was a *Lesbian*, and wrote in *Greek*, and *Balbus* lived at *Rome*, and wrote in *Latin*.

If I had a mind to be over-critical, I might object to theſe Reaſons, I. that the ſame *Balbus*, who was one of *Cæſar*'s intimate Friends, was alſo one of *Pompey*'s Friends; and ſo far honoured with his Confidence, that *Pompey*'s other Friends were jealous of him (28). It is true, that the Conjunction, which was then between *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, having permitted *Balbus* to cultivate the Friendſhip of the latter, without failing in what he owed the former, it was at laſt found, that *Cæſar*'s Favours were ſuperior to Thoſe of *Pompey*: Nevertheleſs, *Balbus* obtained leave of *Cæſar* not to follow him againſt *Pompey*, and retired to *Rome* during the Civil War (29). It is true, alſo, that he was *Cæſar*'s Agent there, and that, by endeavouring to bring Matters to an Agreement, he did not appear altogether free from Partiality. But, after all, it is not ſufficient, in order to make a juſt Oppoſition between *Balbus* and *Theophanes*, to ſay, on the one ſide, as *Suetonius* does, that *Balbus* was an intimate Friend of *Julius Cæſar*, and, with *Aulus Gellius*, that *Balbus* was one of *Cæſar*'s Agents at *Rome*, during his Abſence; and to ſay on the other ſide with *Tacitus*, that *Theophanes* had been one of *Pompey*'s intimate Friends and that *Tiberius* imputed it as a Crime to *Theophanes*'s Poſterity: For, conſidering That Emperor's capricious Humour, he was like enough to perſecute a Family, under pretence, that it had obtained the Freedom of *Rome* by *Pompey*'s Favour. Now This would be true in a literal Senſe, as to *Theophanes*, though he ſhould be confounded with *Cornelius Balbus*; ſince it is not only certain, that *Pompey* conferred That Freedom upon him, but alſo that he pleaded for him, when they brought it into queſtion, and loaded him with Favours. So that *Voſſius*'s firſt Reaſon is not good. II. I might ſay, in the ſecond place, that the *Theophanes*, whom *Voſſius* means, lived at *Rome*, as well as *Balbus*; and ſince there have been *Romans*, who have wrote Hiſtories in *Greek*, it does not follow, that *Balbus* is not *Theophanes*, becauſe *Theophanes* wrote in *Greek*. Nay, how do we know, whether the *Balbus* in queſtion be not the *Cornelius Balbus*, whoſe eighteenth Book, of the 'Εξηγητικῶν, *Macrobius* has quoted (30)? *Simler* does not doubt it (31).

But, without trifling on Diſputes, which may be charged with too ſcrupulous a Preciſeneſs, here is the *jugulum cauſæ*, and the deciſive Point, in three words. *Voſſius* imagined, that *Savaro* confounded *Cornelius Balbus*, with *Theophanes*, born in the Iſland of *Lesbos*, and Author of an Hiſtory of *Mithridates*'s War. But he has not done this. He has only confounded him with the *Theophanes*, mentioned by *Capitolinus*, and who differs very much from Him of *Lesbos*, though he has This in common with him, that He alſo received his Freedom of *Rome* from *Pompey*. Now there is nothing more reaſonable, than to take the *Theophanes* of *Capitolinus*, for the *Cornelius Balbus* of *Suetonius*, and for the *Balbus* of *Sidonius Apollinaris*; for it is certain, that the ſame *Cornelius Balbus*, born at *Cadiz*, and honoured with the Freedom of *Rome*, by *Pompey*, was, by the Recommendation of the ſame *Pompey*, adopted by *Theophanes* of *Lesbos* (32): after which, according to Cuſtom, he named himſelf *Lucius Cornelius Balbus Theophanes*, as *Paulus Manutius*, and *Corradus*, have obſerved; the former in his Argument of *Cicero*'s Oration for the ſame *Balbus*; and the latter in his Notes on *Cicero*'s Epiſtles to *Atticus*: And both of them have taken this *Balbus* for the Hiſtorian *Cornelius Balbus Theophanes*, mentioned by *Capitolinus*. So that, if there had been any Fault to be found with This, *Voſſius* ſhould have cenſured Thoſe learned *Italians*, rather than *Savaro*, who came a long time after them.

[*H*] Lloyd *and* Hofman *deſerve ſome Cenſure.*] I ſay nothing of *Charles Stephens*; he has been a little too dry on our *Cornelius Balbus*; but what he mentions of him is not ill choſen. *Lloyd* has cut off ſome Words from it, which were not ſuperfluous, *viz.* That we ſtill have *Cicero*'s Oration for This *Balbus*; for they are two very different Facts, the one that *Cicero* pleaded ſuch a Cauſe, and the other, that we ſtill have his Plea; and it is in the latter Caſe, that the Readers are moſtly intereſted. Mr *Hofman* lengthens the Article (33), to inform us, that there was another *Cornelius Balbus*, of *Lesbos*, ſirnamed *Theophanes*, that is, to teach us a Falſity. *Lucius Cornelius Balbus Theophanes* is no way different from Him, who was of *Cadiz*, and who is the Subject of this Article.

[*I*] Paulus Manutius *is not entirely excuſable.*] I have already touched upon ſome of his Miſtakes; here are yet two more. The one is in his Argument of *Cicero*'s Oration for *Cornelius Balbus*, and in the Notes on That Paſſage of the Oration, where mention is made of the Adoption of This *Balbus*. He there ſays, moſt falſely, that *Theophanes* was one of *Pompey*'s Freed Men (34); for it was not his Liberty, but his Freedom of *Rome*, which *Pompey* gave *Theophanes*. "Quid Magnus hic noſter, *ſays Cicero*, qui cum
" virtute fortunam adæquavit: nonne Theophanem
" Mitylenæum ſcriptorem rerum ſuarum in concione
" militum civitate donavit (35)? —*What did our* Pom-
" pey *do, who loves to join Fortune and Virtue to-*
" *gether: did he not, in an Aſſembly of the Soldiers,*
" *preſent* Theophanes *of* Mitylene, *the Writer of his*
" *Hiſtory, with the Freedom of the City?*" The other Miſtake of *Manutius* is in referring us, among other Authorities, to the ſeventh Book of *Pliny*, chap. 43 (36), concerning the Triumph of *Cornelius Balbus* the Younger, Nephew to him we are ſpeaking of; for *Pliny*, in that place, ſpeaks only of the Uncle's Conſulſhip. One may eaſily be miſtaken in ſuch Caſes as theſe. Father *Hardouin*, on the ſame Place of *Pliny*, refers us to a Paſſage of *Paterculus* (37), where he only ſpeaks of *Balbus* the Nephew.

[*K*] Glandorpius *multiplies Perſons of this Name unneceſſarily.*] He ought not to have produced three Conſuls called *L. Cornelius Balbus*. It is to multiply Beings without neceſſity. He ſays, the firſt is *Balbus* the Elder, whoſe Conſulſhip he places in the Year of *Rome* 713. The ſecond is *Balbus* the Younger, for whoſe Conſulſhip he ſays nothing particular, contenting himſelf to ſet down the Words of *Paterculus*. The third is one *L. Cornelius Balbus*, who, he ſays, was made Conſul for ſome Days, towards the end of the Year, by *Auguſtus*, and *Marc Antony*, and had ſuch a vaſt Eſtate as to be able to bequeath Twenty five Drachma's to each Citizen of *Rome* (38). The Truth of it is, Theſe three Conſuls make but one; for *Balbus*, the Uncle, is the ſame with Him whoſe Conſulſhip was of ſo ſhort a Continuance. Do but conſult *Dion Caſſius*. To aſcertain this Conſulſhip, Father *Hardouin* ſays wittily, That *Balbus* was Conſul under the Conſulſhip of *Cn. Domitius Calvinus*, and of *C. Aſinius Pollio*, in the Year of *Rome* 714. *Conſul hic fuit, quoniam ita neceſſe eſt dicere*, Cn. Domitio Calvino *ſecundum*, C. Aſinio Pollione *Coſſ. Anno Urbis* DCCXIV (39). To conclude, if *Glandorpius* had known any thing of the Paſſage of *Pliny* (40), where *Balbus* the Elder is called Paternal Uncle, *Patruus*, of *Balbus* the Younger, he would not have deſcended to the Quotation of ſuch a bad Authority as That of *Volaterranus*, to inform us, that one

(24) De Hiſtor. Græc. lib. 1, c. 23. pag. 148.

(25) Sidon. Apoll. Epiſt. 14. lib. 9.

(26) Suet. in Cæſ. c. 81. *miſquoted by* Voſſius, cap. 71. *and by* Moreri, cap. 74.

(27) A. Gellius, lib. 17, cap. 9, *where he ſays, that* Julius Cæſar *and* Balbus *wrote to each other in Cyphers.*

(28) Cicero ad Attic. lib. 9, Epiſt. 13.

(29) Epiſt. Balbi ad Ciceron. lib. 9, ad Attic. p. 36, Edit. Grævii.

(30) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 3, cap. 6.

(31) Simler. in Epit. Bibl. Geſner.

(32) Et adoptio *Theophanis* agitata eſt. *Cicero pro Balbo.* Placet igitur etiam me expulſum & agrum Campanum periiſſe, & adoptatum patricium à plebeio, Gaditanum à Mitylenæo. *Id. Epiſt.* 7, *ad Attic. lib.* 7.

(33) *In Vol. I. of his* Continuation, *he has made good Additions, concerning* Cornelius Balbus.

(34) *He repeats it in his Notes on Epiſt.* 11, *to* Atticus, l. 5.

(35) Orat. pro Archia: Valerius Maximus *ſays as much*, lib. 8, c. 14.

(36) In Argument. Orat. Cicer. pro Balbo, *where, inſtead of quoting the* 43d *chap. of the* 7th *Book of* Pliny, *the* 37th *is quoted; and, inſtead of the* 29th *of* Solinus, *the* 42d *is quoted. This Edition of* Manutius *is of* Cologne, 1582, *in* 8vo.

(37) Lib. 2. cap. 51.

(38) Gland. Onomaſtic. Roman. pag. 277.

(39) Hard. in Plin. lib. 7, cap. 43. pag. 64. Tom. III.

(40) Lib. 5, cap. 5, pag. pag. 545.

and leſſer Conſulſhip is chimerical [*L*]; and that *Moreri* committed ſeveral Faults [*M*], though his Article of *Balbus* is very ſhort and dry.

I ſhall ſay but little of ſome other *Balbus*'s, mentioned by ancient Authors. *Lucius Lucilius* BALBUS, Diſciple of *Mucius Scævola*, and Preceptor of the famous *Servius Sulpitius*, was an excellent Lawyer. He flouriſhed about the Year of *Rome* 670. *Cicero* ſays, that *Sulpitius* exceeded his Maſter [*N*], who, by the Addition of a mature Judgment to his Learning, was ſomething ſlow, whereas his Diſciple was quick and expeditious. *Balbus*'s Writings are loſt, to which perhaps his Diſciple *Sulpitius* did not a little contribute, by inſerting moſt of them in his own (*n*). We muſt not, as *Glandorpius* has done, confound this *Balbus* with *Quintus Lucilius* BALBUS the Stoic Philoſopher, one of *Cicero*'s Interlocutors in the Books *de Natura Deorum* (*o*). *Publius Octavius* BALBUS was Cotemporary with *Cicero*, who praiſes him for his Knowledge in the Civil Law, for his Wit, and Probity, and for many other good Qualities (*p*). *Cicero* gives as good a Character of *Lucius Octavius* BALBUS, who lived at the ſame time (*q*). It is likely, that one of theſe two was the *Octavius Balbus*, of whom *Valerius Maximus* reports, that, having ſaved himſelf, through a Back-door, from the Cruelty of the Triumvirs, and hearing, that they were killing his Son in his Houſe, he returned back again, and cauſed himſelf to be put to Death (*r*). *Appian* reports the Matter ſomewhat differently (*s*).

one of thoſe *Balbus*'s was the Son of the other's Brother.

[*L*] *The Diſtinction of the greater, and leſſer, Conſulſhip is chimerical.*] Obſerve, a little, to what Extravagancy of Thought Men are ſubject. There are ſome, who, from theſe Words *Pliny*, *Fuit & Balbus Cornelius Major Conſul*, have fallen into the Chimera of two Degrees of Conſulſhip, and pretended, that *Balbus* was made Great Conſul, or Firſt Conſul (41). It was eaſy to ſee, that *Major*, in This Paſſage, does not relate to *Conſul*, but to the Name. Cornelius Balbus, *the Elder, was Conſul.*

[*M*] *And that* Moreri *committed ſeveral Faults.*] I. It is only with an *it is ſaid*, that he reports, that *Cornelius Balbus compoſed a Journal, or Ephemeris, of what happened daily to* Cæſar. If he had known, that *Sidonius Apollinaris* mentioned That Journal, as a Book, which was extant, and alſo commended it (42), he muſt have rejected, That *it is ſaid*. Some will have it, that *Symmachus* ſpoke of This ſame Book, when he wrote to his Friend: "Si impar eſt "deſiderio tuo Livius, ſume Ephemeridem C. Cæ"ſaris decerptam Bibliotheculæ meæ ut tibi muneri "mitteretur. Hæc te origines, ſitus, pugnas, & "quidquid fuit in moribus aut legibus Galliarum "docebit (43). - - - - - *If* Livy *does not fully ſatisfy "your Deſire of having the Hiſtory of ancient* Gaul, "*you need only take* Cæſar'*s* Ephemerides, *which I "made you a Preſent of out of my own ſmall Li"brary. This will explain to you the Origin, Si"tuation, Battles, Cuſtoms, and Laws of the* Gauls." But others pretend, that *Symmachus* means only the *Memoirs Cæſar* had wrote himſelf, and which we ſtill have under the Title of *Commentaries on the Wars of Gaul* (44). It is, nevertheleſs, true, that he wrote other Memoirs, under the Title of *Ephemeris*, as we learn from *Servius*. Why might not *Symmachus* ſpeak of the latter? II. The Advice he gives, *to take care not to confound This Author with one of the ſame Name, ſirnamed* Theophanes, *who was of* Lesbos, *as* Savaro, *and others have done*, contains two Faults. We have ſhewn the firſt, in juſtifying *Savaro* from the Cenſure of *Voſſius*. The ſecond conſiſts, in ſuppoſing, that there was an Hiſtorian, born in the Iſland of *Lesbos*, whoſe Name was *Cornelius Balbus Theophanes*; than which nothing can be more falſe. The Hiſtorian *Theophanes*, born at *Mitylene*, in the Iſland of *Lesbos*, was indeed *Cn. Pompeius Theophanes*, becauſe *Pompey* had conferred the Freedom of *Rome* upon him; but he never added the Name of *Balbus*, or *Balbus Cornelius*, to That of his Family; and there is reaſon to be ſurprized, that *Voſſius* ſhould make ſuch a Slip, as to ſay, that the Hiſtorian *Cornelius Balbus Theophanes*, mentioned by *Julius Capitolinus*, was *Theophanes* the *Lesbian*, who wrote the War of *Mithridates* (45). III. But again, Why muſt we take care not to do as *Savaro* did? It is becauſe *Cornelius Balbus dwelt at* Rome, and becauſe *Theophanes was of* Lesbos. Are not theſe two Attributes incompatible in the ſame Subject, and can a better Proof be required, for a perſonal Diſtinction? See how Errors grow: *Moreri*, deſigning to abbreviate *Voſſius*'s Proof, made it incomparably worſe, than it was. IV. He goes on thus: *I think he is the firſt, whom* Cicero *defended againſt an Accuſation, for taking, unjuſtly, the Title of a* Roman Citizen. Beſides, that the Expreſſion is ſo far from being clear (46), that one would think, by it, that the Cauſe of the Perſon in queſtion was the firſt that *Cicero* pleaded of That kind, which is neither what *Moreri* intended to ſay, nor what ought to be ſaid; there is This Fault in theſe Words, that they ought not to have mentioned this Fact as uncertain; when there was nothing more eaſy, than to be fully convinced of it, by reading the Arguments of *Paulus Manutius*, of Father *Abram*, &c. on *Cicero*'s Oration, *pro L. Cornelio Balbo*.

[*N*] Cicero *ſays, that* Sulpitius *exceeded his Maſter.*] *Cicero*'s Thought will be better comprehended from his own Words, than from mine. Read, therefore, what follows. "Cum dicendi causâ duobus peritiſſimis operam dediſſet (Servius) L. Lucilio Balbo, "C. Aquilio Gallo, Galli hominis acuti & exercitati "promptam in agendo & in reſpondendo celeritatem "ſubtilitate diligentiaque ſuperavit: Balbi docti & e"ruditi hominis in utraque re conſideratam tardi"tatem vicit, expediendis conficiendiſque rebus. Sic "& habet quod uterque eorum habuit, & explevit "quod utrique defuit (47). —— *As he* (Servius) *had "learned to plead under two excellent Maſters*, L. "Lucilius Balbus, *and* C. Aquilius Gallus, *he ex"celled his ingenious and experienced Maſter* Gallus'*s "great readineſs in ſpeaking and replying, by his "Subtilty and Diligence; and his learned and judi"cious Maſter* Balbus'*s deliberate Conſideration of "every thing, by his Expedition and Diſpatch. So "that he both had, what each of them had, and "made up, what each of them wanted.*"

BALBUS, BALBI, or BALBO (JOHN) a *Dominican* Monk, flouriſhed in the XIIIth Century. He underſtood *Greek*, a rare thing in thoſe Days, and much more *Latin*, than all his Fellow Monks together. He was as much eſteemed for his good Life, as for his Knowledge, and ſome have treated him as a *Saint* [*A*]. It was for this reaſon his Image was placed in St *Thomas*'s Church at *Pavia*. The Title of his Works may be ſeen in *Moreri*, who, inſtead of referring us to *Voſſius*'s Book on the

[*A*] *Some have treated him as a Saint.*] This appears from the following Paſſage. "Non vi hà mancato chi lo riponga nel numero de' Beati, e come "tale ſi vede dipinto nel Tempio di S. Tomaſo di "Pavia, in luogo eminente vicino al ſoffitato (1).—— "*There have not been wanting thoſe, who have placed "him in the Number of Saints, and he may be ſeen "painted, as ſuch, in the Church of* St Thomas, *at* "Pavia, *in a high Place near the Cieling.*"

[*B*] *Let*

(*n*) Pomponius, lib. 2, de Origine juris.

(*o*) Glandorp. Onomaſtic. pag. 552. *In* pag. 637, Glandorpius *takes, for one and the ſame Perſon, him who is made Interlocutor in the* Nature of the Gods, *him who is praiſed in the Oration for* Cluentius, *and him who is praiſed in the ſeventh* Oration againſt *Verres*.

(*p*) Cicero, Orat. pro Cluentio, fol. 114, C.

(*q*) Idem in Verrem Orat. 7, fol. 40, *B*.

(*r*) Valer. Maxim. lib. 5. cap. 7.

(*s*) Appianus, de Bello Civili, lib. 4, pag. 601.

(41) *See* Salmaſius, Exercit. Plin. pag. 383.

(42) Quis Opera Suetonii, quis Juvenci, Martiaiis Hiſtoriam, quiſve ad extremum BALBI EPHEMERIDEM FANDO ADAEQUAVERIT? - - - *Who can come up to the Style of the Works of* Suetonius, *the Hiſtories of* Juvencus *and* Martial, *or the excellent Ephemeris of* Balbus? Sidon. Apollinar. Epiſt. 14, lib 9.

(43) Symmach. Epiſt. 18, lib. 4.

(44) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Lat. p. 64, *where he aſcribes to* Suetonius *what belongs to* Symmachus.

(45) *See, in Remark* [*C*], Caſaubon *and others who have committed the ſame Fault.*

(46) *The Faults of this kind in* Moreri'*s Style are numberleſs.*

(47) Cicero, in Bruto, cap. 42.

(1) Alfonſo Fernandez apud Michaelem Juſtinianum in libro *de gli Scrittori Liguri*, pag. 312.

the *Latin* Hiſtorians, would have done well to remark, that *John Balbus* is far better known by the Name of *Joannes de Janua*, or *Joannes Januenſis*, than by any other. We ſhall obſerve why he went by This Name, and examine whether he be the ſame with *Jacobus de Voragine* [*B*]. We ſhall make but One Remark for all This, and for what may follow from it.

[*B*] *Let us ſee why he went by This Name, and —— whether he be the ſame with* Jacobus de Voragine.] *John Balbus*, a noble *Genoeſe*, was called *Januenſis*, or *de Janua*, becauſe he was of *Genoa*. He ſays himſelf, in his *Catholicon*, at the Word *Janua*, that he was of a City called *Janua*, which City is no other, than *Genoa*: From *Luitprandus*'s Time it was rather called *Janua*, than *Genoa*; either to inſinuate more clearly, that *Janus* was the Founder of it, or in regard to the Reaſon, mentioned by *John de Janua*, namely, that this City is the Gate of *Provence*, *Lombardy*, and *Tuſcany*. He informs us, in the ſame Place, that he was called *Frater Johannes Januenſis de Balbis*, and that he had wrote ſome other Books. At the end of the *Catholicon*, he ſays, that, after ſeveral Years of great Labour, he finiſhed it on the Day of the Nones of *March*, which is the ſeventh Day of *March*, 1286.

WHETHER *Joannes de Janua*, and *Jacobus de Voragine*, are one and the ſame Author.

Mr *Oudin*, formerly a Monk of the Order of the *Præmonſtratenſes*, and at preſent aſſociated with the Proteſtant Church, to the great Satisfaction of the Party, which has great Reaſon to think itſelf happy, in gaining ſo great a Man, and expects many fine Pieces from his Pen; I ſay, Mr *Oudin* pretends, that *Jacobus de Voragine*, Author of the *Golden Legend*, and *Johannes de Janua*, Author of the *Catholicon*, are only one and the ſame Perſon (2). His Reaſon for it is, that all agree they both lived at the ſame time, were both *Dominicans*, both of *Genoa*, and therefore both called *Januenſis*. So that it was an eaſy thing, for thoſe, who ſaw the Name of *Januenſis*, at the beginning of ſeveral Manuſcripts, preceeded by the Letter *J*, being the initial one of the Chriſtian Names *Joannes*, and *Jacobus*, to aſcribe them ſometimes to *Jacobus Januenſis*, and ſometimes to *Joannes Januenſis*; which muſt make two Authors of one.

But I muſt beg leave to tell him, that his Conjecture receives a ſevere Blow from the Enumeration, which the Author of the *Catholicon* has given of his Works, at the Word *Janua*; for, though there might have been a great Diſtance of Time, from his ending the Article *Janua*, to his finiſhing the *Catholicon*, yet it is not at all likely, that, if he had wrote any Books, during that time, he would have omitted adding them to the reſt in That Article, upon cloſing That Dictionary. And therefore it may be ſuppoſed, that the Catalogue, which he gives under the Word *Janua*, is of the Year 1286, in which he put the laſt Hand to the *Catholicon*. Now it is certain, that *Jacobus de Voragine* publiſhed an *Italian* Tranſlation of the Bible in the Year 1270. What likelihood is there, that, ſixteen Years afterwards, upon mentioning the Books he had given the Public, he ſhould forget one of ſo new an Undertaking, and, in all reſpects, ſo remarkable, as the Tranſlation of the Scriptures into the Vulgar Tongue? It is not at all probable, therefore, that *Jacobus de Voragine* ſhould be the Author of the *Catholicon*. However, we ſhall not determine this Point, but wait for the Information of the Learned, and particularly of Mr *Oudin*. Dr *Cave* alſo chuſes to ſuſpend his Judgment of it (3).

This is what I ſaid, in the Specimen of my Dictionary, but now I can ſpeak, in a more poſitive manner, againſt Father *Oudin*'s Conjecture: I have, for my Foundation, ſeveral good Reaſons, from a very able Hand (4). Here is the Extract of a Memoir, which came from *Dijon*. "I believe, it may be clearly decided, that *Joannes de Genoa* ought by no means to be confounded with *Jacobus de Voragine*. The firſt, who is the Author of the Dictionary, entitled *Catholicon*, was never cited by the Name of *Jacobus*. The ſecond, who is Author of the *Golden Legend*, was never cited by the Name of *Joannes*. The firſt is always called *Joannes de Januâ*, or *Januenſis*, becauſe he was, undoubtedly, of *Genoa*, of the Family of the *Balbi*. The ſecond, whoſe Family is unknown, is generally called *Jacobus de Voragine*, very rarely *Jacobus Januenſis*, and then we either underſtand *Archiepiſcopus*, or elſe ſuppoſe, that he was called ſo, by reaſon of the ſmall Diſtance between the Borough of *Liguria*, called *Voragine*, the Place of his Birth, and *Genoa*. The firſt was only a *Dominican* Monk. The ſecond was raiſed to the Archbiſhopric of *Genoa*. All Authors, and the *Dominicans*, among others, have conſtantly diſtinguiſhed the Names, the Country, and the Works, of Theſe two Writers. This is carefully obſerved, by *Leandro Alberti*, in his Deſcription *della riviera de Genoua di Ponente*. *James Bracelli*, a *Genoeſe*, who wrote in the Year 1431, and is Author of a little Book, *De claris Genuenſibus*, makes no mention, there, of *Jacobus de Voragine*, becauſe he was not of *Genoa*; but he ſpeaks, in it, with Praiſe of *Joannes Balbus*, the Author of the *Catholicon*, to whom he would not have failed to have given the Stile of Archbiſhop of *Genoa*, if he had enjoyed it, as he muſt have done, according to the Opinion of Thoſe, who confound him with *Jacobus de Voragine*."

MULTIPLICATION of *Joannes de Janua* into ſeveral Authors.

Simler is ſo far from confounding two Authors in one, that, on the contrary, he has made three of one; for he ſpeaks of *Joannes de Janua*, of *Joannes Januenſis*, and of *Joannes Balbus*, as of three different Authors (5). He is farther miſtaken, in writing *Baldus* for *Balbus*, a Fault, which *Quenſtedt* followed, in his Treatiſe of the Country of Illuſtrious Men (6). *Martinius* alſo gives into This Fault of Multiplication. It is in the Catalogue of the Dictionaries he conſulted to make his own; at the beginning of his *Lexicon Philologicum*, printed at *Bremen*, in 1623, and afterward at *Francfort*, in 1655, and reprinted at *Utrecht*, in the Year 1697. He mentions the *Catholicon*, which was finiſhed the Day of the Nones of *March* 1286, and quotes the very Words, at the end of the Dictionary of *Joannes de Janua*. Immediately after, he names a *Summa quæ vocatur Catholicon*, publiſhed by Brother *John de Janua*, and printed at *Venice*, in 1487. It is plain, that they are only two different Editions of one and the ſame Book, and that the firſt ought no leſs to be aſcribed to *John de Janua*, than the ſecond. *Martinius* would not have failed doing it, had he known what is in the Article *Janua*, in the *Catholicon*, finiſhed in 1286.

OF the Book, entituled *Catholicon*.

I find it is not yet rightly agreed, who was the Author of the Dictionary, firſt entitled *Catholicon*. Mr *du Cange* aſcribes it to our *John de Janua*, and ſays, that neither *Papias* nor *Ugutio*, who had made ſome Compilations before, uſed This Title (7): But *Borrichius*, who wrote afterwards, and had ſeen Mr *du Cange*'s Preface, undertakes to maintain, nevertheleſs, that *Papias* is the Author of the *Catholicon*, and that he finiſhed That Work, in the Year 1286 (8). He had found it affirmed in That Preface, that *Papias* did not flouriſh in the Year 1200, as *Trithemius* will have it, but in 1053, as the Chronicle of *Albericus* juſtifies; and yet he lays it down, as a certain Fact, that *Papias* finiſhed his Dictionary, in 1286. He ought either to have refuted Mr *du Cange*, or, at leaſt, to have obſerved, that he was miſtaken. This Proceding, and Silence, ſerve only to puzzle the Reader. However, it is a ſtrong Preſumption againſt *Borrichius*, to ſee, that he places the Concluſion of *Papias*'s Dictionary exactly in the ſame Year, 1286, that *Joannes de Janua* finiſhed his *Catholicon*. The above-quoted Memorial aſſures me, that *Papias* did not write the *Catholicon*, which was finiſhed in 1286, and that *John Balbi* is the firſt, who made uſe of the Word *Catholicon* for the Title of a Dictionary.

THE Age of *Papias*, according to *Barthius*.

THE Negligence of the Continuators of Compilations.

It was a long time ago, that *Barthius*, without having conſulted the Manuſcript Chronicle of *Albericus*, judged, that *Papias* was more ancient, than he was ſuppoſed to be. *Platina* delivers it for certain, that he lived in the Time of Pope *Innocent* III; that is, in the beginning of the XIIIth Century, which agrees with *Trithemius*. *Borrichius* places him at the end of the XIIth Century. But *Barthius*, in the third Chapter of the third Book of his *Adverſaria*, placed him under the Reign of *Henry* II (9), becauſe This Author carries the Liſt, which he gives, under the Word *Ætas*, of all the Princes of the paſt Age, no farther than *Henry*, whom he calls *minorem*, which he would not have done, if there had already

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(2) Oudin, Supplement. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. pag. 561.

(3) Cave, de Script. Eccleſ. pag. 750.

(4) *From the learned* Mr de la Monnoie.

(5) Epitome Biblioth. Geſneri.

(6) Pag. 307.

(7) Du Cange, Præfat. Gloſſar. Lat.

(8) Borrich. Append. de Lexicis Græcis & Lat. *at the end of his* Analecta ad Cogit. de Ling. Lat. 1682.

(9) *He died in the Year* 1024; *ſo that* Barthius's *Reaſon ſeems to prove too much.*

already been more than two Emperors of the Name of *Henry*. It is true, that *Barthius* raiſes a Suſpicion, which, generally ſpeaking, is juſtified by the prodigious Neglect of Thoſe, who continue, or enlarge, Compilations. This is, that, perhaps, *Papias* left the Article *Ætas* juſt as he found it in ſome old Dictionary, without continuing the Catalogue down to his own Time. Thus we find, in the Chronicle of the Abbot of *Urſperg*, in one Place, that the Author was at *Rome*, in the Year 1102 (10); in another, that he was very young, *in minori ætate*, in the Year 1198, and in another, that he was made an Abbot, in the Year 1215. If the Continuator had cleared up the Matter, with reſpect to his Additions, we ſhould not have met with ſo much Confuſion.

(10) *See* Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat., lib. 2. cap. 57. *and* Bellarm. de Script. Eccleſ. p. 335. *falſly accuſed by* Zeiller, de Hiſtor. pag. 155. *of having believed the Number* 1102 *to be falſified.*

BALDUS, a famous Civilian in the XIVth Century, was the Son of *Francis Ubaldus* [*A*], a Phyſician of *Perugia*. He ſtudied under *Bartolus*, and, being but fifteen Years of Age, he propoſed ſuch a puzzling Objection to him, that he required time to conſider of it; and the Anſwer to it was not given till the next Day. So that thoſe, who ſay, *Baldus* began his Studies very late, are groſsly deceived [*B*]. A little after his promotion to the Degree of Doctor, he maintained ſome Theſes, which *Bartolus* oppoſed for five Hours together, without being able to obtain the Victory. He often pleaded Cauſes againſt *Bartolus*, and there aroſe ſuch an Emulation between them, as ſoon degenerated into Hatred. This cannot be doubted, when we ſee, that *Baldus* made it his endeavour to eclipſe the Reputation of his Maſter. What has been ſaid, that, upon conſulting the *Pandects* of *Piſa*, on occaſion of a Diſpute which they had, concerning the reading of a Law, *Baldus* was convicted of ſeveral Falſifications, and that he was puniſhed for them in an ignominious manner, ought to paſs only for a Fable [*C*]. He taught at *Perugia*, and Cardinal *de Beaufort* was his Scholar there, who was afterwards Pope *Gregory* XI. He was called to *Padua* about the Year 1378; but left That Univerſity, when *Galeazzo Viſconti*, deſigning to re-eſtabliſh That of *Pavia*, drew thither, by the power of his Money, the ableſt Profeſſors

[*A*] *He was the Son of* Francis Ubaldus.] Obſerve, then, that *Baldus* is the Chriſtian Name of This Civilian, and *Ubaldus* his Sirname. *Moreri* calls him, beſides, *Peter*; which is confounding the elder Brother with the younger. *Petrus Ubaldus* was the third Son of the Phyſician *Franciſcus Ubaldus*, and was a good Civilian. And ſo was his Brother *Angelus Ubaldus*. See *Pancirollus*, in the ſeventieth, and following Chapters, of the ſecond Book *De claris Legum Interpretibus*.

[*B*] *Thoſe, who ſay,* Baldus *began his Studies very late, are groſsly deceived.*] It is reported, that he was forty Years of Age, when he began to ſtudy the Civil Law, and that *Bartolus* having ſaid to him, *tarde veniſti Balde.* —— *You come late* Baldus. *Baldus* anſwered him, *citius recedam.* —— *I ſhall return the ſooner* (1). *La Mothe le Vayer* has lengthened *Bartolus*'s Speech, and makes him ſay, *You come late*, Baldus, *you will be an Advocate in the other World. Sero venis Balde, eris advocatus in alio ſæculo.* I do not believe, that, if *Bartolus* ſaid this, he intended any Alluſion to *Cato*'s Jeſt. That Cenſor, to deride *Iſocrates*'s School, ſaid, *That the Scholars grew old in it, that they might exerciſe their Eloquence in Hell, at the Bar of* Minos (2). This Story, about *Baldus*, has no Foundation. *Pancirollus* proves, that, at the Age of fifteen Years, he ſtarted a very puzzling Objection to the famous *Bartolus*; that, at the Age of ſeventeen Years, he read public Lectures: and that, four Years after, he wrote a Book *de Pactis*, and another *de Conſtituto* (3). Theſe are the words of that Writer: "Opinioni "Bartoli adeo argutè contradixit, ut ille argumenti "acumine perterritus reſpondere non potuerit, com"mendatoque juvene tempus ad ſolvendum petiit, & "ſequenti mane reſpondit. Deinde 17 annum in"greſſus ſolenni interpretatione difficillimam legem "publicè Baldus explicuit, unde fabuloſum eſt quod "vulgò fertur, Baldum quadragenarium ad legum "ſtudia acceſſiſſe (4). —— *He objected ſo ingeniouſly "to the Opinion of* Bartolus, *that he was ſurprized "with the Force of the Argument, and could not ſolve "it, but, commending his young Opponent, deſired ſome "time to anſwer his Objection, which he accordingly "did the next Day. Afterwards, upon entring into "his ſeventeenth Year,* Baldus *explained a very diffi"cult Law in a ſolemn Lecture, whence That common "Report muſt be fabulous, that* Baldus *was Forty "Years old, when he firſt began his Studies on the "Civil Law.*" The Civilian *Zaſius* reports the ſame Story on the Credit of *Paul Citadin*; but *Tiraquellus* rejects it as a Fable (5). "Adducerem, *ſays he* (6), "quod de Baldo vulgo dicitur —— niſi ſcirem hæc "eſſe commentitia & prorſus fabuloſa, ut ex iis con"ſtat quæ ſupra diximus. —— *I ſhould mention what "is commonly reported of* Baldus, —— *if I did not "know it to be only an Invention, and a Fable, as "appears from what I have already ſaid.*" Mr *Baillet* obſerves, that *la Mothe la Vayer*, and Father *Bartoli*, *ſeem to have adopted This Opinion, as of a Fact well atteſted, — and not a Story made at random.* He refers to Preſident *Tiraquellus*, and to the eighth Chapter of the Elogies of *Paulus Jovius* (7). He cites *la Mothe le Vayer*, Letter 32, pag. 420, and *Bartoli*, Car. Hom. lit. pag. 248. I never read, that *Tiraquellus* was *Preſident*. *Paulus Jovius* obſerves, that *Baldus*'s Parts were not only forward, but laſting: "Præcoci ingenio pene puer, non ad optimam "modo frugem, ſed rariſſimo etiam naturæ dono ad "longam ſenectutem pervenit (8). —— *A Youth of "almoſt too early a Wit, and which yet not only pro"duced excellent Fruit, but alſo, by an uncommon "Gift of Nature, continued even to a good old Age.*

[*C*] *What is ſaid - - - - - - - that he was convicted of ſeveral Falſifications, and puniſhed for them - - - - - ought to paſs only for a Fable.* *] Some ſay, the Diſgrace, which he received, obliged him to exile himſelf, and to ſay, as *Scipio Africanus* did, that his ungrateful Country ſhould not ſupply him with a Grave: *Publicè traductum patria exceſſiſſe ferunt, & abeuntem Scipionis Africani verba protuliſſe, ingrata patria ne oſſa quidem mea habebis, ac in voluntario exilio ſenem defunctum fuiſſe* (9). Others ſay, that he was condemned to be marked with a hot Iron on the Forehead, and that *Bartolus* protected him. *Jaſon* had heard of it; but he was very much in the wrong to immotalize This *Hear-ſay* in his Works. Such Reports ſhould never be ſo far honoured, but in theſe two Caſes; the one, when they are extreamly probable; and the other, when they are to be branded with a Note of Reprobation; that is, refuted and hiſſed at. In this latter caſe, it is very uſeful to mention ſuch Traditions, becauſe nothing is more proper to make one ſuſpect the Reports of Fame, than to ſhew the fooliſh and ridiculous Credulity of foregoing Ages. To prove demonſtratively, that *Jaſon's Hear-ſay* is a Fable, there needs no other reaſon than this. *Jaſon* knew it only by Hear-ſay; if the thing had been true, he would have read it in an hundred Places. *Baldus* lived a very long time with great Honour: He wrote Books; he confuted whom he thought fit; he had ſome formidable Opponents and Adverſaries. We may be perfectly aſſured, that, if he could have been reproached with an Infamy, it would have been done in more than one Book. It is there, that *Jaſon*, and all the World, would have learned This Diſgrace. It is the Miſfortune of learned Men, who make themſelves eminent, and write much, that, ſooner or later, they will be publickly reproached with the leaſt Faults of their Youth. If other Authors become their Enemies, they muſt expect ſatirical Romances, rather than the Diſcretion of an Adverſary. Thus *Pancirollus* ſhould have apologized for *Baldus*; he ſhould have

(1) Panciroll. de claris Legum Interpret. l. 2, cap. 70, pag. 201.

(2) Plut. in Catone, p. 350.

(3) Pancirollus, ubi ſupra, p. 203.

(4) Ibid. p. 200, 201.

(5) Zaſius, apud Tiraquell. de Jure Primigen. Præf. n. 206.

(6) Tiraquel. ibid.

(7) Baillet's Famous Children, pag. 420.

(8) *To* 76 *Years of Age.*

* One Falſification related to the Law *Creditor*, the firſt of the Digeſt *de diſtractione Pignorum*; in which, they ſay, he was proved to have ſuppreſſed an *n*. *Bartolus* defended *Baldus*, not by denying the Fact, but by alledging, in his Favour, the Law *Ad Beſtias*, 31ſt of the Digeſt *de Pœnis*, which qualifies the Rigour of the Law, where the Offender is, otherwiſe, of great Merit. REM. CRIT.

(9) Panciroll. ibid. p. 201.

IN WHAT manner an Author ought to report a *Hear-ſay*.

ſors he could meet with. A quick Repartee, which *Baldus* made, the firſt time he appeared in the College of *Pavia*, cauſed him to be admired [*D*]. He had a formidable Colleague there, whoſe Name was *Philip Caſſolus.* This was a Man of an excellent Memory, and great Parts; but the good Opinion he had of his own ſufficiency having put him upon giving a Challenge, he was overcome, and his Glory ſacrificed to That of *Baldus* [*E*]. The Death of *Philip* did not free his Competitor from trouble; for there was ſuch a warm Emulation between the Profeſſor, who ſucceeded him, and *Baldus*, that they introduced the ſhameful and pernicious Cuſtom of bribing Auditors by Supplications. *Baldus* raiſed a great Fortune [*F*]. He compoſed a great many Books, and there is no probability of his having ſtudied but two Hours in a Day [*G*]. He muſt not be produced as an Inſtance of an Author without Faults; had he only had That of contradicting himſelf, he would fall very ſhort of Perfection; but he had a great many others [*H*]. The Excuſes he made for his Contradictions deſerve to be conſidered [*I*]. He died the Twenty eighth of

expreſly, and openly, made uſe of this Obſervation, and not have only ſaid; "Quæ omnia falſa eſſe & "alii potius eveniſſe non dubito, cum nulla de hoc "certa extet auctoritas, & eum Ticini deceſſiſſe con- "ſtet (10). *All which I conclude to be falſe, and ra- "ther to have happened to ſome other Perſon, ſince we "find no good Authority for it, and are certain, that "he died at* Pavia."

[*D*] *A quick Repartee, which* Baldus *made* - - - - - *cauſed him to be admired.*] He was of a ſmall ſize, ſo that, as ſoon as he appeared in the Auditory, they cried out, *Minuit præſentia famam*, - - - *His Preſence leſſens his Fame.* He anſwered, without altering his Countenance, *Augebit cætera virtus*, - - - - *Virtue will enlarge every Thing elſe. Pancirollus* adds, *Quo dicto omnibus ſui admirationem injecit* (11). —— *Which Reply made him much admired by all.*

[*E*] *The Glory of* Caſſolus *was ſacrificed to That of* Baldus.] *Caſſolus* had engaged himſelf to anſwer, upon the Spot, all Queſtions propoſed to him concerning laſt Wills. The Day and Hour were appointed to make good this Challenge. The Aſſembly was numerous: *Baldus* ſtood up, and propoſed a Queſtion, which *Caſſolus* could not anſwer. *Baldus* was obliged to ſhew the Law in Queſtion. Judge whether the Challenger was mortified. "Philippus, qui, ut "memoriâ cæteris antecellebat, ita ſuperbo titulo "Doctorum Doctor vocabatur, ingenio fretus, ſe ex "omnibus ultimarum voluntatum quæſtionibus ex "tempore reſponſurum profeſſus eſt. Statutâ ad "dicendum die, cum in magnâ expectatione eſſet, "ſurgens Baldus interrogavit, Ubi in jure cautum "reperiretur, parem non eſſe ejus, qui non vult, "ei, qui non poteſt, conditionem. Ad primam in- "terrogationem hæſitante Philippo, cum Baldus de "propoſita quæſtione legem oſtendiſſet, magnam "gloriam retulit (12). —— Philip, *who, as he ex- "celled all others in Memory, ſo alſo was called by "the proud Title of Doctor of Doctors, depending "upon his Abilities, undertook to ſatisfy extempore "all Queſtions concerning laſt Wills. The Day ap- "pointed being come, and great Expectation raiſed,* "Baldus, *ſtanding up, asked, Where it was, that the "Civil Law had provided, that the Caſe of him,* who "would not, *ſhould be eſteemed quite different from "That of him* who could not. Philip *being puzzled "at the firſt propoſing the Queſtion,* Baldus *produced "the Law required, and gained great Glory.*"

[*F*] Baldus *raiſed a great Fortune.*] The Opinions he gave only on the Point of Subſtitution, brought him in above Fifteen thouſand Crowns: "De jure "reſpondendo immenſam pecuniam coëgit, qui ex "ſolis ſubſtitutionum ſpeciebus plus quindecim millia "aureorum lucratus fuiſſe traditur. Aliunde præ- "tereà ex innumeris aliarum ſucceſſionum crimi- "numque cauſis & contractibus peramplas opes "accumulavit (13). —— *He got a prodigious Sum "of Money by his Practice in Law, ſo that one only "Article of Subſtitutions is ſaid to have procured him "Fifteen thouſand Crowns. Beſides innumerable "Cauſes of other Succeſſions, and criminal ones, and "Contracts, by which he heaped up immenſe Riches.*" He had ſeveral Lands, and lived in a pleaſant Country-Houſe near *Pavia*, from whence he came on his Mule to the Auditory. *Pancirollus* adds (14), *Domus vetuſtate vitiata adhuc hodie pro re memoranda oſtentatur.* - - - - - *The Ruins of the Houſe are ſtill ſhewn as a Curioſity.*

[*G*] *There is no probability of his having ſtudied but two Hours in a Day.*] *Pancirollus*, confuting this, relates, among other Things, that *Baldus*, going a Journey, which hindered him from ſpending ſo much of his Time in reading, as he was uſed to do, ſaid, *At every Step of my Horſe's Foot, I loſe a Law out of my Head. — Quot gradus equus ambulabat, tot leges ſibi excidere querebatur* (15). It is a Sign he had acquired, and ſtill retained his Knowledge, by much reading.

[*H*] *But he has a great many Faults.*] He advances a thouſand Things ſingular, and contrary to the Opinion of other Civilians, and without quoting any Law: they are only his own Fancies: He quotes Laws nothing at all to the Purpoſe: he treats of many things quite out of their Order: he is too barren on the eſſential Part, and too prolix on the uſeleſs: He anſwers Queſtions no Body ever asked: and anſwers nothing to what every Body asks: He confounds himſelf by his own Subtilties, and gives himſelf too much liberty: The Vivacity of his Wit is the Cauſe of the want of Uniformity in his Opinions. "Cum "parum ſibi conſtans ſæpenumero contrarius reperia- "tur, id tamen non levitate, ſed ingenii ſubtilitate "eveniſſe Paulus Caſtrenſis autumat (16). —— *His "Inconſiſtencies, and very often downright Contra- "dictions,* Paulus Caſtrenſis *thinks to be owing not "to the Levity, but Subtilty, of his Parts.*" Thoſe, who have a quick Imagination, have commonly but a ſhort Memory; and this is the Reaſon why they do not remember, when they conſider a Queſtion in one view, that formerly they maintained it in another ſenſe. They contradict themſelves without knowing it. Add to this, that a ſubtle Wit eaſily invents Arguments to prove and diſprove the ſame things. But it is a great Defect not to be capable of ſuſpending the Effects of This Subtilty, till the Mind is perfectly ſettled.

[*I*] *The Excuſes he made for his Contradictions deſerve to be conſidered.*] He ſaid, that our Underſtanding alters, and that he therefore argues one Day after one manner, and another Day after another. I believe he reſerved to himſelf, *in petto*, the Privilege, which he attributed to Legiſlators. The Biſhop of *Pavia* asked, one Day, why the Laws were ſo changeable; *Baldus* anſwered him, that the ſame things become either lawful, or unlawful, according to the Times. In time of War ſome things are permitted, which are forbid in time of Peace: Therefore Juſtice enjoins all things, which become proper to the Times; ſuch a Conduct is proportioned to the preſent Circumſtances, therefore it is juſt. Thoſe, who make Laws, imitate Phyſicians, who permit, order, and forbid, the ſame things, according to Times and Seaſons; theſe are what they obſerve. *Ipſe quoque ſe excuſat, quòd Intellectus, qui ratiocinatur, non ſemper ſit idem, ſed varius; & Epiſcopo Ticinenſi ſæpè interroganti, cur toties Leges mutarentur, reſpondit, flagrante bello permittitur, quod pacis tempore non licet, id ita juſtum eſſe, quod cuique ſuo tempore expedit, exemplo enim medicorum tempora à legum latoribus dicebat obſervari* (17). This was *Baldus*'s Anſwer; and This is either implicitly, or explicitly, the Principle, on which Authors argue, who confute themſelves, when they are to diſpute againſt two ſorts of Enemies. *This Propoſition is true and good, this Day, while I diſpute againſt* Pelagius; *in a Year's Time it ſhall not be ſo, if I am to diſpute againſt* Calvin. See what has been ſaid, above, concerning the Contradictions of Advocates, and the Apology *Cicero* makes for them (18). I remember to have read, that certain Controvertiſts, not being able to deny, but that the Church commands certain things, which

(10) Panciroll. ibid. pag. 202.

(11) Ibid. pag. 203.

(12) Id. ib.

(13) Ibid. pag. 204.

(14) Pag. 203.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ibid. pag. 203.

(17) Ibid.

(18) *In the Remarks* [*B*] *and* [*C*] *of the Article* ANTONY (MARC) *the Orator.*

of *April* 1400 [*K*]. His Death was ſomething Tragical: He had a little Dog, which he loved very much, and plaid with, and kiſſed very often. In one of theſe Careſſes he was bit by the Lip, and the Dog, being mad at that time, communicated a ſubtle Poiſon to the Body of *Baldus*, which had no effect for a long time; but at laſt it produced the *Hydrophobia*, or Dread of Liquids, and cauſed an incurable Diſtemper (*a*). *Baldus* lived Seventy ſix Years (*b*), and left two Sons, who proved good Civilians (*c*). *Zenobius*, the Eldeſt, was Biſhop of *Tiferno* (*d*).

(*a*) *Taken from* Pancirollus de claris Leg. Interp. l. 2. c. 70, pag. 201, & ſeq.

(*b*) P. Jovius, Elog. cap. 8, pag. 27.

(*c*) Pancirol. ibid. p. 203.

(*d*) Ibid.

which do not ſeem agreeable either to Scripture, or to the Primitive Church, have maintained, that they were nevertheleſs juſt and true, becauſe the Holy Spirit, who guides the Church, inſpires her in every Age with ſuch Interpretations, as are moſt proper for the good of Souls. "Scripturas eſſe ad tempus adaptatas & variè intellectas, ita ut uno tempore ſecundum currentem univerſalem ritum exponerentur, mutato ritu iterum ſententia mutaretur (19). Non eſt mirum ſi praxis Eccleſiæ uno tempore interpretatur Scripturam uno modo, alio tempore alio; nam intellectus currit cum praxi (20). —— *That the Scriptures are adapted to the Times, and to be variouſly underſtood, ſo that they ſhall be explained at one time, according to the Univerſal Uſage then prevailing; if this Uſage comes to alter, ſo muſt the Interpretation. ------ It is no wonder if the Practice of the Church interprets the Scripture at one time in one way, at another time in another; for the Underſtanding goes along with the Practice.*" I love this plain dealing.

[*K*] *He died the Twenty eighth of* April, 1400.] His Epitaph confirms it; ſo that *Bellarmin* is deceived in placing the Death of *Baldus* in the Year 1400 (21). *Trithemius*, who placed it in the Year 1423, aſſerted a Falſehood; but Mr *Moreri*, who ſaid, that, according to *Trithemius*, the Death of *Baldus* ought to be placed in the Year 1423, was not in the wrong. The *Dutch* Edition of his Dictionary ought not to have made the Correction of 1403, inſtead of 1423.

(19) Nicolaus Cuſanus, Epiſt. 2. ad Bohemos.

(20) Idem, Epiſt. 7.

(21) Bellarm. Script. Eccleſ. pag. 382.

BALDUS (James), one of the beſt *Latin* Poets *Germany* produced in the XVIIth Century, was born at *Enſiſheim*, in 1603. He turned Jeſuit in the Year 1624. He taught Rhetoric and Literature for ſix Years; he was a Preacher many Years, and preached alſo at the Court of the Elector of *Bavaria*, and acquired an extraordinay Reputation by his Poems. There were none, even among the Proteſtants themſelves, but praiſed them in a ſingular manner [*A*]. One of his laſt Works was his *Urania victrix, ſeu Animæ Chriſtianæ Certamina adverſus illecebras quinque ſenſuum corporis ſui.* Pope *Alexander* VII was ſo pleaſed with it, that he ſent his Medal in Gold to the Author. Father *Baldus* conſecrated it to the Bleſſed Virgin [*B*]. Some Senators of *Nuremberg* diſputed which of them ſhould have his Pen [*C*], and it is ſaid, that He, to whoſe ſhare it fell, kept it in a Silver Caſe. This Poet died at *Neubourg* the Ninth of *Auguſt*, 1668. His Poetry is of a miſcellaneous kind; and conſiſts of *Panegyrics*, *Treatiſes of Morality*, *Pieces for the Stage* [*D*], *Pieces of Devotion*, *Sylvæ*, *Odes*, *&c* (*a*).

(*a*) *Taken from* Sotuel, Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jeſ. p. 356.

[*A*] *Even the Proteſtants ------- praiſed his Poems in a ſingular Manner.*] Father *Southwell* expreſſes himſelf upon this, in theſe terms: "Ipſis Acatholicis etiam adeo placuerunt, ut publico typo eum Horatium Germanum nominare non dubitarint. ------ *The* Non-Catholics *were ſo pleaſed with them, that they did not ſcruple to name him, in print, the* German Horace." If I am not miſtaken, this is grounded on a Letter of *Barlæus*. Father *Baldus*, having ſeen the Verſes *Barlæus* had wrote in Praiſe of the Duke of *Bavaria*, wrote a very obliging Letter to him, and ſent him a Volume of his Poems. *Barlæus* returned him Thanks for it, with great Complements, and ſaid to him, among other things: "Reſtituiſti nobis lyram neglectam diu & intermiſſam, ut jam merito vocari poſſis lyricorum ſcriptor, aut potius Bojorum fidicen lyræ, ut ad Horatii verba alludam (1). ------- *You have reſtored the Lyre a long time neglected and unſtrung, ſo that you may now be juſtly called a Lyric Writer, or rather Maſter of the* Bavarian *Lyre, that I may allude to the Words of* Horace." This Letter was written the firſt of *March*, 1644. The Jeſuit was then Rector of the College of *Munich* (2).

[*B*] *He conſecrated a Medal of* Alexander VII *to the Bleſſed Virgin.*] This is what *Southwell* ſays of it. "Hanc verò Jacobus Deiparæ Virgini anathema appendit, ut palam faceret cui Palladi ipſe ſuos labores conſecraret (3). ----- *This Medal,* James *conſecrated to the Virgin Mother of* Chriſt, *that it might ſhew who was his* Minerva, *and Patroneſs of all his Labours.*"

[*C*] *Some Senators of* Nuremberg *diſputed which of them ſhould have his Pen.*] "I do not know, *ſays* Mr *Baillet* (4), whether he, who preſerved it in a fine ſilver Caſe, made on purpoſe for it, did not commit a Sacrilege; becauſe it ſeems to me, that Father *Baldus* had conſecrated it to the Holy Virgin, and that his Intention was, that it ſhould be hung up on one of her Images, or over one of her Altars, as *Lipſius* had formerly done in a like Fit of Devotion."

[*D*] *His Poetry --- conſiſts of Pieces for the Stage.*] There is one of them, which bears this Title: *Poëſis Oſca, ſive Drama Georgicum de Belli malis & Pacis bonis carmine antiquo, Attellano, Oſco, Caſco* (5). How ruſtic ſoever this Piece, and the Oſque and Caſque Gibberiſh, in which it was compoſed, may ſeem, yet I do not queſtion, but that it coſt the Author both more Time and Wit, than a grave Piece in good *Latin*. We muſt be cautious therefore of believing, that it was printed at *Munich*, in the Year 1617, as Father *Southwell* aſſerts. *James Baldus* was not capable of executing ſuch an Undertaking at the Age of fourteen Years.

(1) *See the* 467*th Letter of* Barlæus, *pag.* 911. *See alſo the* 487*th, written to the ſame* Baldus.

(2) *See the Table of* Barlæus's *Letters.*

(3) Sotuel, Biblioth. Soc. Jeſ. pag. 356.

(4) Judgm. on the Poets, Tom. 5. n. 1507, pag. 42.

(5) *Compare this with the Dialogue of* Mariangelus Accursius *which I have mentioned in the Remark* [*F*] *of his Article.*

BALDUS (*a*) (Bernardin), Abbot of *Guaſtalla*, born at *Urbino*, in the Year 1553, was one of the moſt learned Men of his time. He made ſuch great Progreſs under his firſt Tutors, that he found himſelf able to tranſlate the *Phænomena* of *Aratus* into *Italian* Verſe, while he was yet but a young Scholar. His Father, perceiving by theſe early Trials, that he had a very promiſing Son, ſent him to *Padua* in the Year 1573 [*A*]. *Bernardin* ſtudied *Homer* there under *Emanuel Margunius* (*b*), and

(*a*) *His Great-Great Grand-Father left the Name of* Cantagallina, *an illuſtrious Family of* Perugia, *from which he was deſcended, and took this.* Fabr. Scharloncin. *See below, Citation* (*e*).

(*b*) *He was of* Candia, *and Profeſſor of the* Greek *Tongue at* Padua.

[*A*] *His Father, perceiving his Capacity, by theſe early Trials ----- ſent him to* Padua.] Correct, by this, a Fault of *Nicius Erythræus*. I am ſure he had no Intention to leſſen the Fame of our *Baldus* in any thing, and yet he did leſſen it very much; but it was done inadvertently, and for want of obſerving the order of Time. He has ſaid, that after the Lectures of *Margunius* (1), *Baldus* thought himſelf

ſufficiently

(1) *Not* Marganius, *as it is in* Erythræus.

and, by himſelf, almoſt all the other *Greek* Poets, and underſtood them very well. He compoſed a Book at *Padua* concerning *Machines of War* (c), which made his Name fly beyond the *Alps*, and increaſed his deſire of underſtanding *French* and *High-Dutch*; for he thought it was a piece of good Manners to learn the Language of thoſe, whoſe Affection he had acquired. He became Maſter of thoſe two Languages with a great deal of Eaſe. He was forced to leave *Padua* on account of the Plague, and, being returned to *Urbino*, he applied himſelf for five Years to *Frederic Commandino*, an excellent Profeſſor of Mathematics, and learned of him all the parts of That Science. He was extremely ſorry for the Death of That learned Man; and, having applied himſelf to write his Life, this drew him into a deſign to write thoſe of all the *Mathematicians*. He laboured twelve Years about it. The *Commentaries*, which he publiſhed in 1582, on *Ariſtotle*'s Mechanics, diſcovered his Capacity in that ſort of Knowledge. To unbend his Mind in thoſe difficult Studies, he wrote a Poem in his Mother-Tongue concerning the *Art of Navigation*. *Ferdinand de Gonzague*, Prince of *Molfetta*, and Lord of *Guaſtalla*, being a great Lover of Mathematics, would have our *Baldus* near him. In That Court he began to write on *Vitruvius*, and compoſed the Book, *De verborum Vitruvianorum ſignificatione*. A Fit of Sickneſs having hindred him from taking a Voyage into *Spain* with his Maſter, he employed the leiſure Time, the abſence of *Ferdinand de Gonzague* gave him, in writing a very Methodical *Treatiſe of the Court* (d), and ſeveral other Works [*B*]. He was made Abbot of *Guaſtalla* in 1586, without ever once aſking it; and, from that time, he applied himſelf wholly to the Study of the Canon-Law, the Fathers, and Councils, and the Oriental Languages, without excepting the *Arabic* [*C*]. Having compoſed five Books, *De nova Gnomonice*, in the Year 1595, he tranſlated, in the following Year, the *Chaldee Paraphraſe on the Pentateuch*, and enlarged it with Commentaries; after which he tranſlated the Book of *Job*, and the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, from the *Hebrew*, and added *Notes* to them. He ſpent ſome ſpare Hours in explaining a Plate, which is at *Eugubio* [*D*], on which there are ſome old *Tuſcan* Inſcriptions. He began

ſufficiently able to tranſlate ſome *Greek* Poems into his Mother-Tongue: "Apud quem tantum profecit, "ut eo duce & cereum quodammodo lucente obſcu"riſſima Græcorum quorundam poëtarum loca pene"traverit - - - - - - Quamobrem eâ eſt incenſus animi "alacritate atque fiduciâ, ut auſus ſit poëmata Græca "in noſtrum ſermonem convertere (2). —— *Under "whom he made ſuch Proficiency, that, by his Inſtru"ction, and, as it were, ſhewing a Light, he was able "to underſtand the moſt difficult Paſſages of certain* "Greek *Poets* —— *This gave him ſo much Spirit "and Courage, as to attempt the Tranſlation of ſome* "Greek *Poems into our Language*." He had tranſlated a Poem of *Aratus* before he went to *Padua*.

[*B*] *He wrote ſeveral other Works.*] This Remark ſhall only contain the Titles of ſome of our *Baldus*'s Writings; I mean thoſe, which have not been mentioned in the Text of this Article, whether the Author compoſed them during his Maſter's Voyage, or at any other time. I ſay, then, that he tranſlated *Heronem de Automatis & Baliſtis*; the *Paralipomena* of *Quintus Calaber*, and the *Poem* of *Muſæus*; and wrote a Book of Mathematical Paradoxes; another, *de Scamillis imparibus Vitruvii*; another, *de Firmamento & Aquis*; another on the Deſcription of the Temple by *Ezekiel*; another, *De Hiſtoriæ ſcribendæ Legibus*; another, of the Antiquities of *Guaſtalla*; the Life of *Frederic*, and that of *Gui Ubaldus*, Dukes of *Urbino*; *Oeconomia Tropologica in S. Matthæum*; ſeveral *Latin* and *Italian* Poems, among which That, intituled *Deiphobe*, is an Imitation of the *Caſſandra* of *Lycophron*. The following Remarks will give the Title of ſome of his other Books. I ſhall obſerve here, that *Nicius Erythræus* has reaſon to ſay, that the Deſcription of the Temple is a very difficult Matter, but he was in the wrong to take *Jeremiah* for *Ezekiel*. "Jeroſo"lymitani templi —— deſcriptionem, *ſays he* (3), "per Hieremiam literis conſignatam & traditam, rem "involutam & multis difficultatibus obſeſſam, evolvit, "illuſtravit, atque hominum intelligentiæ aperuit. — "*The Deſcription of the Temple of* Jeruſalem, *left us, "in writing, by* Jeremiah, *a Subject obſcured and at"tended with many Difficulties, he cleared and illu"ſtrated, and made univerſally intelligible*"

[*C*] *He applied to the Study of the Oriental Languages, without excepting the* Arabic.] He ſtudied it at *Rome*, with *John Baptiſt Raimondi*, and alſo the *Sclavonian* Tongue, with ſo much Application, that he was almoſt a Stranger to all manner of News. *Romæ dum viveret fere neſcivit quid gereretur in aulis: Arabicæ enim linguæ cum Jo. Baptiſta Raimondo diligentiſſime ſtuduit, & arcana induſtria Sclavonicæ, quam perfectè callebat* (4). He tranſlated the *Geographical Garden* of an anonymous Author out of *Arabic*, and compoſed a *Dictionary* of that Language. He believed, that this unknown Author lived towards the end of the Xth Century. If *Marc Velſerus* had lived, he would have cauſed the Tranſlation of that Geographical Work, and the other Writings of *Baldus*, to be printed (5).

[*D*] *He took pains in the explaining of a Plate, which is at* Eugubio.] *Schoockius*, having but a confuſed Notion of this Work of *Bernardin Baldus*, aſcribed another to him, which is none of his. "E ſterquilinio "Anniano Bernardinus Baldus nuper collegit Antiqui"tates Ethruſcas anno 1637. Florentiæ evulgando "volumen typis perquam elegantibus cujus hæc in"ſcriptio; *Ethruſcarum antiquitatum fragmenta qui"bus urbis Romæ aliarumque gentium primordia, "mores & res geſtæ indicantur, à Curtio Inghira"mio reperta Scornelli prope Vulterram anno ſalutis* "M D.C.XXXVII. *Ethruſco vero* CIƆ CIƆ CIƆ CCCC XCV "(6). — Bernardin Baldus *lately collected the Antiqui"ties of* Tuſcany, *out of ſome Rubbiſh at* Annium, "*in the Year* 1637, *and publiſhed a Volume at* "Florence, *in a very neat Character, with this Title*; "Some Fragments of the Antiquities of *Tuſcany*, "ſhewing the Origin of the City of *Rome*, and of "other *States*, together with their Cuſtoms and "Tranſactions, found by *Curtius Ingharamius*, at "*Scornelli*, near *Volterra*, in the Year of *Chriſt*, 1637, "of *Tuſcany*, 3495." How could a Man, who knew that *Baldus* died in the Year 1617, commit ſuch a Miſtake? What is the more ſurprizing, is, that the ſame *Schoockius*, after ſpeaking in this Manner, at the Sixty ſeventh Page, ſpeaks, as he ought to do, in the Two hundred and ſeventeenth Page. "Si"mili ratione egit Bernardinus Baldus, vir cætero"quin longè doctiſſimus, annis abhinc ferme quin"quaginta evulgando ſuam quaſi divinationem in ta"bulam Æneam Eugubinam linguâ Etruſcâ veteri "perſcriptam, ſimul abutendo operâ Marci Velſeri "viri cæteroquin judicioſiſſimi (7). —— *Such was "alſo the Conduct of* Bernardin Baldus, *otherwiſe ex"tremely learned, who, about fifty Years ago, upon "publiſhing his Conjecture upon a Copper-Plate, en"graved in the old* Tuſcan *Language, at the ſame "time reflected upon the Work of* Marcus Velſerus, *a "Man otherwiſe very judicious*." Why then did he not correct his Miſtake? Perhaps he had forgot it, as it happens but too often to thoſe, who are fond of writing much. They can hardly maintain that Character, without copying, in haſte, whatſoever they find in all manner of Books. See what *Scharloncinus* began a very great Work in the Year 1603, I mean *A Deſcription of the World.* His Plan was no leſs Hiſtorical than Geographical, and extended to the leaſt Boroughs of which the Modern Writers have ſaid any thing. He finiſhed the whole Work, as to the Matter [*E*], but put only part of it in Order. He died the Twelfth of *October* 1617, after having laboured under a great Rheum for forty Days (*e*) [*F*]. He was extremely laborious [*G*], without Ambition, or Vain-glory, always ready to excuſe other Mens Faults, which he grounded on a very good Reaſon [*H*]; very devout, not only for a Mathematician, but alſo for a Churchman [*I*].

(c) De Tormentis Bellicis & eorum inventoribus.

(d) Libros ſex de Aulâ eruditiſſimos methodo analyticâ conſcripſit. *Scharloncinus. See the following Citation.*

(2) Nic. Erythr. Pinac. I. pag. 4.

(3) Id. ib.

(4) Fabritius Scharloncinus in ejus vita.

(5) Id. ib.

(6) Schoockius de Fabula Hamelenſi, p. 67.

(7) Ibid. pag. 217.

(*e*) *Taken from a Letter of* Fabricius Scharloncinus ad illuſtriſſimum & reverendiſſimum dominum Lælium Ruinum, Epiſcopum Balneoregienſem, ex-Nuntium Apoſtolicum ad Poloniæ regem. *See alſo* Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth. I. pag. 4. *and the Funeral Oration of* Baldus, *by* Marc Ant. Virgilius, *not printed in* 1607, *as Mr* Teiſſier *ſays*, Bibl. p. 229, *but in* 1617.

nus ſays concerning this Work of *Baldus.* "Tabulam Etruſcam Eugubinam interpretatus fuit: in "ea autem divinatione, ut ajebat, ſubciſivas unius "menſis horas conſumpſit. —— *He explained a* Tuſcan *Plate of* Eugubio; *and ſpent, in thoſe Conjectures, as he ſaid himſelf, the ſpare Hours of one "Month.*" Our *Baldus* is mentioned in the new Edition of the *Eponymologium* of *Magirus*, only to let us know, that he publiſhed a Book, in the Year 1637, the very ſame that *Schoockius* aſcribes to him. Is not this an admirable Choice?

[*E*] *He finiſhed the Deſcription of the World, as to the Matter.*] Theſe are the Words of his Hiſtorian. "Totum opus ad umbilicum perduxit: non digeſſit "tamen univerſum, quatuor, aut, ni fallor, quinque "tantum tomi fuerunt ordine alphabetico diſpoſiti: "ſupereſſent ſeptem aut octo diſponendi, quantum "ex chartarum & faſciculorum mole conjicere licet. "—— *He brought the whole Work to Perfection; but "had not adjuſted, I think, above four or five Volumes "of it in alphabetical Order; there might be about "ſeven or eight more to be digeſted, as near as one "could gueſs from the Quantity and Heaps of Papers.*" I do not believe, the Liſt, *Fabricius Scharloncinus* has given of our *Baldus*'s Works, is imperfect; but, according to the ill Cuſtom of moſt of thoſe, who give ſuch ſort of Liſts, he does not diſtinguiſh the Books, which have been printed, from thoſe, which have not (8). I have not tranſcribed the whole Liſt.

(8) *See, above, the beginning of Remark* [*E*] *of the Article* AUREOLUS.

[*F*] *He died —— after having laboured under a great Rheum for forty Days.*] I thought I might thus tranſlate *Scharloncinus*'s Words: *Poſteaquam dies* 40 *vehementi Diſtillatione vexatus fuiſſet. Voſſius* underſtood a *Catarrh*, by *Diſtillatio*, and he is not in the wrong to pretend, that theſe two Words are ſynonymous. That of Rheum ſeemed to me the moſt proper; becauſe a *Catarrh* ſeldom continues ſo long as forty Days. *Moreri*, by a great Miſtake, conſtrues this an Apoplexy of forty Days.

[*G*] *He was extremely laborious.*] He would riſe at Midnight to ſtudy, and read while he was eating. "In ſtudiis ſic aſſiduus fuit ut ſæpe & legeret & "comederet. S. Auguſtini de civitate Dei ter inter "prandium evolvit; ſtatim à noctis meridie dum ei "vires firmiores eſſent ad lucubrandum ſurgebat "(9). —— *He was ſo earneſt in his Studies, that "he often both eat and read. He thrice went thro' "St Auguſtin's Book* de Civitate Dei, *during the "Times of his dining: So long as his Conſtitution held "good, he roſe at Midnight to his Studies.*" He reckoned an *Euclid*, tranſlated into *Arabick*, one of his Books of Recreation. *A prandio Euclidem Arabicè editum, vel Libellum aliquem Germanicum, aut Gallicum in manus ſumebat* (10). *After Dinner he uſed to take into his hand an* Arabic Euclid, *or ſome high* Dutch *or* French *Book.* Happy are thoſe, who can take ſo much Pains, without impairing their Health.

(9) Scharloncinus in Vitâ Baldi.

(10) Id. ib.

Felices quibus iſta licent, miramur & illos,
Et noſtri miſeremur.

Happy are they whoſe Studies never tire;
Ourſelves we pity, while we them admire.

[*H*] *He was always ready to excuſe the Faults of others, which he grounded on a very good Reaſon.*] If we knew the Inſides, *ſaid he*, of thoſe, we take for the beſt of Men, we ſhould find not one, but who deſerves Correction. *Facile parcendum eſſe dicebat iis maxime qui in re levi impegiſſent, quoniam ſi quos cenſemus optimos, nudos conſpiceremus, nullum eorum non judicaremus multis dignum verberibus* (11): This may ſeem too far ſtretched: Perhaps it were better to keep to Cardinal *Mazarin*'s Maxim. He ſaid, *That the greateſt Men were like Beaſts for Sacrifice, which, though ever ſo nicely choſen, had always ſomething bad, when their Entrails were examined* (12). I remember, on this Occaſion, a Paſſage of Father *Rapin*, which I thought very judicious the firſt time I read it. It is a Thought he makes uſe of, by way of Apology, for *Cicero*. *There are*, ſays he (13), *certain things at the bottom of the Souls of the greateſt Men, which, if they could be perceived, would ſhew them to be as weak as others —— and often times the Reputation of thoſe, we ſo much admire, does not proceed ſo much from their Art in diſplaying their good Qualities, as from That of hiding their bad ones, and not ſuffering themſelves to be ſeen into.*

A REFLEXION on hidden Faults.

(11) Id. ib.

(12) *See the Preface of Mr* Chanut's *Memoirs.*

(13) *In the* Compariſon of *Demoſthenes* with *Cicero.*

[*I*] *He was very devout, not only for a Mathematician, but alſo for a Churchman.*] He faſted twice a Week; he communicated every Holy-Day (14), and was very charitable to the poor. His Mother ſaid, that, when he was but a Year old, he did not only look upon the Altars and Images with Joy, but alſo with Veneration (15). *With Joy*, I do not queſtion; for it is uſual for Children to leap at the Sight of Guildings, Ornaments, and Images: but, as for *Veneration*, That is another thing; they have at moſt but mechanical Motions, juſt as they are uſed. Our *Baldus* died well fortified with all the Sacraments of the Church, and in the Arms of Friars. *Spiritum Deo reddidit Sacramentis Eccleſiæ omnibus rite munitus* (16). *Quemadmodum ſanctiſſime vixerat, ita etiam ſanctiſſime in complexu cucullatorum patrum extremum vitæ ſpiritum edidit* (17).

(14) *Thus I tranſlate* diebus feſtis omnibus ſacrum faciebat: *Which Words, perhaps, mean only, that he officiated every Holy-Day. But it cannot be denied, that what I ſay is contained in the* Latin *Words of* Scharloncinus.

(15) Scharlon. ibid.

(16) Id. ib.

(17) Nic. Erythræus Pinacoth. 1, pag. 7.

BALESDENS (**JOHN**), Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, and in the Council, was born at *Paris*. He was admitted into the *French Academy* about the Year 1647, in the room of *Malleville*; and, if he had not given up his Pretenſions to Mr *Corneille* [*A*], he had ſucceeded *Mainard*, who died before *Malleville*. The Chancellor *Seguier* was his *Mecenas* (*a*). He publiſhed ſeveral Works, of which he was not the Author [*B*]. I think he lived till towards the Year 1676 (*b*). I have not found

(*a*) *See* The Hiſtory of the *French* Academy, pag. 230, 258.

(*b*) *The State of* France, *in* 1686, *places* Baleſdens *in the Liſt of the dead Academiſts, between* Conrart *and* des Marets: Conrart *died in* September, 1675.

[*A*] *He gave up his Pretenſions to Mr* Corneille.] See what the Hiſtorian of the *Academy* ſays of it. "Mr *Corneille* was afterwards received in the place "of Mr *Mainard*. Mr *Baleſdens* had alſo been pro-"poſed, and, as he had the Honour to belong to the "Chancellor, the *Academy* had That reſpect for it's "Protector, as to depute five of it's Members to him, "to know whether both Perſons propoſed were equal-"ly agreeable to him. The Chancellor aſſured them "he would leave the Society entirely at their Li-"berty; but, when they began to deliberate on their "Choice, the Abbot of *Ceriſy* preſented them with "a Letter from Mr *de Baleſdens*, full of a great many "Compliments to them, and to Mr *Corneille*, to "whom he deſired they might give the Preference, "proteſting that he paid him this Honour, as his due, "on all Accounts. The Letter was read, and "commended by the Aſſembly: and he (1) was "afterwards received into the firſt Vacancy, which "was That of Mr *de Malleville*; but I do not find "on what Day; for, ſince that Time, the long and "frequent Indiſpoſitions of the Secretary of the Aca-"demy have left great Vacancies in the Regi-"ſters (2)."

(1) *Mr* Baleſdens.

(2) Pelliſſon Hiſt. de l'Acad. Franç. pag. 220, 230. *Edit.* 1672, *in* 12mo.

[*B*] *He publiſhed ſeveral Works, of which he was not the Author.*] Mr *Pelliſſon* gives this Liſt of all found his Name in the *Petition of the Dictionaries*; and yet it ought to be there, according to the *Menagiana* [*C*]. He had lived in the College of *Harcour* [*D*].

that *Baleſdens* publiſhed (3). " He tranſlated the " Book entituled, *The Penitent Sinner's Looking-glaſs*; " and, among other Manuſcripts, which he had collected, he gave the following to the Public: *Cartiludium Logicæ, ſeu Logica memorativa, vel Poëtica, R. Patris Thomæ Murnor, cum notis & conjecturis. Rudimenta cognitionis Dei & ſui, Petri Seguierii Præſidis infulati. Elogia clarorum virorum Joannis Papirii Maſſonis*, in two Volumes. " *Gregorii Turonenſis opera pia, cum Vitis Patrum ſui temporis*, in two Volumes. *The Acts of the Conveyance of* Dauphiné, *made to the Crown of* France. *A Treatiſe of Brandy, by Mr* John Bronaut, *the King's Phyſician*. He publiſhed, alſo, Æſop's *Fables, corrected by himſelf, in* French, for the King's Instruction, with *Maxims Political and Moral*." Mr *de Marolles* ſays, That *Baleſdens* gave him " ſeveral Letters " in a figurative Style, without mentioning a very " great Number of others, of which he propoſed " to make ſeveral Volumes, there was ſuch a prodigious Number of them (4)."

[*C*] *His Name ought to have been in the* Petition of the Dictionaries, *according to the* Menagiana.] In Effect, theſe Words are found there; *the firſt Sample of my Poetry*, ſays Mr *Menage*, *was the* Petition of the Dictionaries. *I was looking for Rhimes to finiſh it. Mr* du Puy *ſent me* Claquedent *to Rhime to* Baleſdent (5). Mr *Menage* had the beſt Memory in the World; but yet he might miſtake one thing for another, even in thoſe, which perſonally concerned him. I do not believe, that he asked for the Rhime in queſtion, to finiſh his *Petition of the Dictionaries*; for That incomparable Satire was finiſhed before *Baleſdens* came into the Academy. He was not admitted before the Year 1647, or 1648; and That *Petition* was finiſhed about the Year 1642; I ſhall prove it from the Hiſtory of the Academy. Mr *Pelliſſon* relates, that Mr *Menage* ſuppreſſed That *Petition*, *after he had made it*: He goes on thus; " It remained above ten Years " concealed among his Papers, 'till a Perſon, who " had them all in his keeping, ſuffered himſelf to be " robbed of this, by a Perſon not unknown to us, " who ſoon gave ſeveral Copies of it (6)." Mr *Pelliſſon* had ſaid, in the ſame Page, That " a Printer " had lately publiſhed *this Petition*, in a ſmall Form, " with many Faults, *and that* it had ſince been more " correctly printed, in Quarto." Without doubt he means, by This more correct Impreſſion, the Edition of Mr *Menage*'s *Miſcellanea*, which appeared in the Year 1652. However it be, the Year 1652 is the Date of Mr *Pelliſſon*'s Book; and conſequently the *Petition of the Dictionaries* was finiſhed in 1642 (7). It might be ſaid, that, when Mr *Menage* was tired with keeping That Piece, which he had ſuppreſſed, and was reſolved to publiſh it himſelf, among his other Poems, he deſigned to enlarge it, by introducing the new Members of the Academy; and that, if *Baleſdens* is not among them, it is becauſe the Rhime, which Mr *du Puy* ſent, did not pleaſe, or was too difficult to come in there. Upon this Suppoſition, Mr *Baleſdens* was obliged to his Name, for eſcaping the Laſh, in the *Petition of the Dictionaries*, and That Name, ſo untractable, with reſpect to rhiming, produced a much more favourable Effect, than Thoſe of *Tuticanus* (8), and *Earinus* (9): But I do not think, there is any room to make this Suppoſition; for the *Petition*, printed in the Year 1652, does not contain the Name of any one Member, admitted into the Academy, ſince the Year 1640; and yet there were ſome among thoſe new ones, who lay open to Mr *Menage*, as much as he could deſire. Was good Mr *du Rier* a Tranſlator without Reproach?

[*D*] *He lived in the College of* Harcour.] Mr *de Marolles*, who informs me of this, adds, That *Baleſdens*'s Landlord was *a good Man, whoſe Name was* le Landez, *ſince Doctor of Divinity, and Uncle to the two* Mazures, *Curates of St* Paul, *one after another* (10). He ſays, *That* Baleſdens *was, at That Time, of a merry Humour, and of a diverting Converſation.*

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(3) Ibid. pag. 358.

(4) *In his* Catalogue of thoſe, who had made him Preſents of their Books.

(5) Menagiana, pag. 190, *of the firſt Edition of* Holland.

(6) Pelliſſon, Hiſt. de l' Acad. Franç. pag. 72.

(7) *See many curious things in the* Anti-Baillet, Vol. I, cap. 82, *concerning This* Petition of the Dictionaries.

(8) Quod minus in noſtris ponaris amice libellis,
Nominis efficitur conditione tui.
Lex pedis officio, fortunaque nominis obſtat,
Quaque meos adeas eſt via nulla modos. - - -
Thy Name, my Friend, ſhould in my Books appear,
But it diſdains poëtic Chains to wear.
Ovid. lib. 4, de Ponto Eleg. 12.

(9) Nomen nobile, molle, delicatum,
Verſu dicere non rudi volebam.
Sed tu Syllaba contumax repugnas. ---
Thy noble Name my Muſe with Pleaſure tries;
But the rough Syllable it's Aid denies.
Martial. lib. 9, Epig. 12.

(10) Memoirs de Marolles, pag. 32, ad Ann. 1616.

BALMIS (ABRAHAM *de*)

BALMIS (ABRAHAM *de*) a *Jewiſh* Phyſician, born at *Lecci* [*A*], in the Kingdom of *Naples*, flouriſhed at *Venice* in the Beginning of the XVIth Century. He compoſed a *Hebrew* Grammar [*B*], printed at *Venice* in *Hebrew* and *Latin*, by *Daniel Bomberg*, in the Year 1523. He tranſlated into *Latin* ſeveral Commentaries of *Averroës* on *Ariſtotle*, as alſo ſome Works of *Avem Pace*, and wrote a Book of his own, *De Demonſtratione*, and another *De Subſtantia Orbis*. See *Geſner's Bibliotheca*, and the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* of *Bartolocci*. We muſt not forget, that he taught in the Univerſity of *Padua* (*a*), and that he took a much greater Pleaſure in confuting what was advanced by others, than in laying down any thing certain of his own [*C*].

(*a*) Simon's Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, pag. 536.

[*A*] *He was born at* Lecci.] You will find theſe Words in *Geſner*'s *Bibliotheca*: " Ibidem (1) hic author " natum ſe ſcribit in Litio civitate agri Salentini quæ " à Brunduſio Hydrunto & Graia Gallipoli 24 miliaribus diſtat, eodem in loco ſita ubi olim Rudiæ " patria Ennii, ex reliquiis Rudiarum nacta originem (2). —— *There this Author writes, that he* " *was born in* Litium, *a City of the* Salentines, *which* " *is diſtant from* Brunduſium, *from* Otranto, *and* " Græcian Gallipoli, *Twenty four Miles, ſituated in* " *the ſame Place, where* Rudiæ, *the Native Place of* " Ennius, *formerly ſtood, and was built with the* " *Ruins of* Rudiæ." I wonder, that neither *Toppi*, nor *Leonard Nicodemo*, have mentioned him, in the *Bibliotheca Napoletana*.

[*B*] *He compoſed a* Hebrew *Grammar*.] He intituled it *Mikne Abraham*, that is to ſay, *Abraham*'s *Poſſeſſion*. Father *Bartolocci* is miſtaken, when he ſays, that *Daniel Bomberg* tranſlated it into *Latin* (3). If he had conſulted the Preface, he might have ſeen, that *Daniel Bomberg* cauſed That Tranſlation to be made by others. Firſt of all, he employed the Author himſelf, and deſired him to make his Tranſlation literal. This Strictneſs was obſerved for ſome time: Afterwards the Author uſed a greater Freedom, in order to have ſome Elegancy: After his Death, *Calonymos*, who finiſhed the Tranſlation, took infinitely more Liberty, and *Bomberg* did not oppoſe it (4). This ſhews, that *de Balmis*, was no longer living in the Year 1523. Mr *Simon* ſays, that the Tranſlation of That Grammar is *word for word, and very barbarous* (5); that, *in truth, there is but little Method, in That Author, but* that *otherwiſe he ſhews great Erudition*, and that, *in a great many Places, he corrects the Errors of the Grammarians, who wrote before him* (6). *Huetius* gives a very faithful Account of the *Latin* Tranſlation (7). He ſays, that *de Balmis* began it, and that *Calos Calonymos* finiſhed it; that the firſt rendered it barbarous, and more obſcure, than the Original; and that the ſecond, thinking to avoid the Defects of the other, ran into the oppoſite Extream.

[*C*] *He took a much greater Pleaſure in confuting - - - - - - than in laying down any Thing certain of his own.*] *Munſter* makes this Reflection on him. " Abraham de Balmis, *ſays he* (8), nihil aliud agere " mihi viſus eſt quam veterum doctrinam perpetuo " convellere atque impugnare, magis in inſectando " occupatus quam in docendo. At in dubium tantum vocare priſcorum præceptiones, cum interim " nihil certi ſtatuas, non docere eſt ſed ridere. —— " Abraham de Balmis *ſeems to me to do nothing* " *but continually attack, and oppoſe, the Doctrine of* " *his Predeceſſors, being more taken up with cenſuring, than with teaching. But, to weaken the Authority of the old Maxims, without eſtabliſhing ſomething new in their room, is not the way to inſtruct,* " *but to turn every thing into Jeſt.*"

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(1) *That is, in the Preface of his Tranſlation of the Commentaries of* Averroës, *in* Analytica, Topica, &c. Ariſtotelis, *printed at* Venice, *in the Year* 1523.

(2) Geſner in Biblioth. fol. 1, verſo.

(3) Julius Bartoloccius, Biblioth. magna Rabbin. Tom. 1, pag. 34.

(4) *See in* Geſner's Biblioth. fol. 1, *a Fragment of the Preface, which ſhews this.*

(5) Simon's Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, pag. 536.

(6) Id. ibid. lib. 1, ſub. fin. pag. 278.

(7) Huetius de Claris Interpretibus, p. 186, 187. *Mr* Baillet's Judgment of the Learned, Tom. 4, n. 724, p. 206, *makes him ſay, that this Tranſlation was made by an unknown Hand.*

(8) Munſter in Præfat. Grammat. Eliæ, apud Spizelii Felicem Literatum, pag. 958.

BALTHASAR (CHRISTOPHER) was a Man of Learning and Merit, in the XVIIth Century. He applied himſelf principally to the Study of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and This Application gave him a very great Diſguſt for the *Romiſh* Doctrines, and a great Deſire to embrace the Proteſtant Religion. He had a conſiderable Poſt in the *Preſidial* of *Auxerre* (*a*), and, becauſe he muſt either reſolve to quit that, or ſtill keep his Religion, he was for ſome time in doubt which part to take: But, at laſt, Conſcience got the better, and obliged him to leave *Auxerre*, his Eſtate, Office, Relations, and Friends, and go to *Charenton*, where he was publickly received into the Reformed Church. He perſevered in it to his Death, and edified his Brethren as well by his good Life, as by his Converſation. The Expences he was obliged to be at in *Paris* being too great for the Circumſtances he was in, and his Converſion expoſing him too much in ſuch a City as That, he conſidered, that it would be better for him to retire into ſome Province, and was very well pleaſed to find himſelf invited to go to *Caſtres* by a young and rich Counſellor of the *Bipartite Court of the Edict* (*b*), who lodged him in his Houſe, and allowed him a reaſonable Penſion. This Counſellor thought himſelf very fortunate in having a Learned Man with him, who might teach him a great many fine things by his Inſtructions and Converſation. But Mr *Balthaſar*, deſiring to labour for the Public, would have all his time at his own diſpoſal, and for that reaſon he took leave of his Counſellor. His Deſign was favoured by the National Synod of *Loudon* in the Year 1659; for That Aſſembly granted him a Penſion of Seven hundred and fifty Livres, to be paid by all the Churches of *France*, according to the Repartition, which was made of them (*c*). Before That Synod was held, he had prepared a good number of Diſſertations on material Points againſt Cardinal *Baronius* (*d*). He gave four or five of them to a Miniſter of *Caſtres*, who was one of the Deputies of the Province of *Upper Languedoc* and *Upper Guienne*. They were preſented to Mr *Daillé*, Moderator of That National Synod, who, of all the Miniſters, was beſt able to judge of the Goodneſs of thoſe Pieces. Mr *Daillé* was very well pleaſed with them, and gave all the Company a very advantageous Character of them. He brought them to *Paris*, where it was hoped they would have been printed; for they were thought to deſerve Publication. But the Event made it appear, that no Meaſures were, or could be, taken for it. The Author, who was very old, and afflicted with the Stone, happened to die; Mr *Daillé* died alſo; and, after this, the Church of *Caſtres* wrote ſeveral Letters to recover thoſe Diſſertations, but they could not ſo much as learn what was become of them. Mr *Balthaſar* left ſome others not quite finiſhed, and many Collections, moſt of which conſiſted of ſeparate Notes, wherein he had ſet down the Authorities and Teſtimonies he was to make uſe of againſt Cardinal *Baronius*. It is pity, that all this ſhould remain in a Cheſt, in the Poſſeſſion of I know not who (*e*). Mr *Balthaſar* wrote very well in *Latin*; his Panegyric on Mr *Fouquet* is in a fine Style. This is all that I have ſeen of his, and I cannot tell whether he publiſhed any thing elſe. If he had been leſs ſcrupulous about his Language, he might have made a quicker Progreſs in his Cenſure on *Baronius*. However, I believe what has been ſaid of his Scruples about his *Latin*, is ſomething Hyperbolical [*A*]. What is reported of his Credulity in Witchcraft ſeems to me more likely [*B*].

(*a*) *It was That of the King's Advocate.*

(*b*) *His Name was Mr* du Faur.

(*c*) *It was at the Requeſt, and Recommendation, of the Synod of Upper* Languedoc, *and of* Upper Guienne. *He enjoyed already a Penſion of* 300 *Livres. See the Acts of the National Synod of* Loudon, *in the Synodicon of Mr* Quick, Tom. 2, pag. 572.

(*d*) *He gave them the Title of* Diatribæ. *His Work was in* Latin.

(*e*) *Taken from a Memoir, communicated by Mr* de la Deveze, *heretofore Miniſter at* Caſtres, *and now at the* Hague.

[*A*] *What has been ſaid of his Scruples about his* Latin *is ſomething Hyperbolical.*] Among ſeveral Pieces, the Abbot *de Marolles* publiſhed in the latter Part of his Life, there is one, which contains *the Names of Thoſe, who had preſented him with their Books, or honoured him with their Compliments, in an extraordinary Manner.* There we find the following Words: "*Chriſtopher Balthazar*, who had made ſo "many Collections, with his own Hand, for ſeveral "manuſcript hiſtorical Treatiſes. He deſigned to "compoſe ſome Animadverſions on the Annals of "*Baronius*; but went a little too late about it, and "had not yet formed his Stile, intending to poliſh "it yet farther, after too elegant a Manner, inſomuch, that he could not write one whole Page "of his Book in a Day, though he was above Sixty "three Years of Age." If the Abbot *de Marolles* had dated the Time, which he pointed at, we had known at what Age Mr *Balthaſar* obtained a Penſion from the Synod of *Loudon*.

[*B*] *Notice has been taken of his Credulity in Witchcraft.*] The ſame Abbot *de Marolles* ſupplies me with the whole Commentary on This Text. The Paſſage is ſomewhat long, but I will not abridge it: What will not ſerve for one Purpoſe, may ſerve for another. "Let us return now into our Cloſet, where "one day, in a Company of learned Men, were "Mr *Balthaſar*, who is ſo ſkillful in the Knowledge of Hiſtory, and Mr *de Sorbieres*, whoſe "Affability and Learning deſerve alſo much Commendation: The one, from being a Catholic, had "embraced the pretended Reformed Religion (1), and "the other, from being a Proteſtant, was returned "to the Catholic Church. Whereupon, the firſt being taken to taſk, on account, that the Motives "of his Change could not be comprehended, conſidering his great Knowledge, ſaid, he was induced "to it, from a Belief, that there was more Purity, "and Simplicity, in the other Communion, than "in ours: That it had re-eſtabliſhed the Holy Liberty of the Goſpel, under the mild Yoke of Faith "in our Lord's Promiſes; and that it had taken "away all Abuſes, and Superſtitions, to place, in their "room, a Worſhip agreeable to the Uſage of the Primitive Church. All the Parts of his Anſwer were "diſputed; but That proving ineffectual, the Diſcourſe was turned to other Matters; and from the "Subject of Miracles, came to That, of the infinite "Number of Stories told of Sorcerers, and Apparitions, which would ſcarcely be credited by Children: "whereby it appeared, that he, who had ſhewn "himſelf ſuch an Enemy to Superſtition, admitted "it, in ſome Meaſure, by a ſufficient Credulity for "theſe Things; beſides that, having explained himſelf on the vain Predictions of Aſtrologers, he diſcovered plainly, that he adhered but too much to "them, as well as to Thoſe of *Noſtradamus*, in his "Centuries, than which nothing in the World can "be more groſs. This was the Judgment of the "whole Company, in which was preſent the Abbot "*Talman* (2), a Man of fine Parts, Mr *Baudeolt* (3), "Abbot of *Maſſai*, and the Abbot of *Verdus*, who "have ſo intirely ſhook off all popular Errors, with "Mr *de la Herpiniere* of *Blois*, ſo rational, in all "his

(1) *The Memoirs of the Abbot* de Marolles *were printed off the fifth of* January, 1656. *Mr* Balthaſar *had therefore made his Abjuration in* 1655, *at leaſt.*

(2) *He ought to have ſaid* Tallemant.

(3) *He ought to have ſaid* Bourdelot.

" his Sentiments, Mr *de Marſay le Boſſu*, Governor " of *Gien*, whoſe great Knowledge is accompanied " with a noble Elocution, and ſome others, whereof " one only endeavoured to maintain the Opinion, " which had been rejected (4)."

BALZAC, a ſmall Lordſhip in *Angoumois*, on the River *Charante*, is famous for having given it's Name to, and been a long time the Reſidence of, one of the moſt Eloquent Writers of the XVIIth Century [*A*], namely, the famous Mr *de BALZAC*. His Name was *John Lewis Guez*, and he was the Son of *William Guez*, a Gentleman of *Languedoc* [*B*], who was very deſerving, and who, having devoted himſelf early to the Service of *Roger de Bellegarde*, Mareſchal of *France*, and Governor of the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, conducted ſeveral Affairs with a great deal of Prudence. Before he was Twenty ſix Years of Age, he was ſent to the Court of *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, about ſome Negotiations of Conſequence, which he managed very ſucceſsfully, and gained the Eſteem of This Prince. Some time after, he was Governor to the Son of the Mareſchal *de Bellegarde*: This young Lord was killed in the Battle of *Coutras*, in the Year 1587 (*a*). The Father died in the Year 1579 (*b*). So that *William Guez*, having loſt theſe two Patrons, found a third in the Duke *de Epernon*, who deſired to have him near him. His Services proved very conſiderable on ſeveral troubleſome Occaſions. *Henry* IV, having obſerved with what Addreſs, Integrity, and Steadineſs, This Gentleman diſpatched the Affairs, on which the Duke *de Epernon* ſent him to Court, would willingly have retained him in his Service (*c*); but found him more inclined to a Country Life, than to That of the Court, with which his Virtue would not eaſily ſuit. This good Gentleman fixed himſelf in the Province of *Angoumois*, where he died the Twentieth of *September*, 1650, at the Age of an Hundred Years [*C*]. He had married a Gentlewoman of the Family of *Neſmond*, with whom he lived Sixty four Years in perfect Concord (*d*). He had by her, among other Children, the Famous Mr *de Balzac*, whom I am going to mention. See the *Latin* Elogy of *William Guez*, compoſed by Mr *de Girac*, and printed at the end of the *Chriſtian Socrates*. I have taken from it what has been juſt now read, to which I add; I. That *William Guez* did ſo much reſemble Father *Narni*, that, the firſt time Mr *de Balzac* ſaw That famous Preacher, he *thought his Father had diſguiſed himſelf in a Capuchin's habit* (*e*). II. That, among ſeveral other Virtues of *William Guez*, *Don Peter de St Romuald* praiſes the Magnificence, which he ſhewed in the Structure of the Caſtle of *Balzac*, and in That of his Houſe at *Angoulême* (*f*). That Houſe was *furniſhed with ſuch exquiſite Rarities, and particularly Pictures and other Ornaments*, that the Queen Mother, *Mary de Medicis*, would lodge no where elſe during her abode in *Angoulême*. III. That one of his other Sons was called Mr *de Rouſſines* (*g*). IV. That he had a Daughter, who is very often mentioned by *Monſieur de Balzac* [*D*].

[*A*] *It is famous, for having given it's Name - - - - - - to one of the moſt eloquent Writers of the XVIIth Century.*] I cannot tell what *Moreri* builds upon, when he ſays, that Thoſe of the Family of *Guez* have enjoyed the Name of the Lordſhip of *Balſac*. I. Firſt of all, he ought to have known, that *Balzac* is the Name of This Village, and *Balſac* That of the ancient Family of *Balſac d'Entragues* (1). II. Secondly, none but *John Lewis Guez* uſed the Name of *Balzac*; his Father always retained the Name of his Family (2); and if, after the Death of *John Lewis*, ſome of his Relations called themſelves *Balzac*, I do not believe it came to Mr *Moreri*'s Knowledge. In ſhort, what has been ſaid by ſome Perſons, "That, if Mr *de Balzac* had not taken the " Name of his Lordſhip, his Family Name at the " Head of his Works would have prevented their " great Succeſs in the World, and that People would " not have conceived ſo favourable an Idea of his " Letters, if they had been entituled *Monſieur Guez*'s " *Letters*; and that it is believed, the Name of *Balzac* being taken for That of a Noble and Ancient " Houſe, ſufficiently known, procured him the more " Reſpect (3);" this, I ſay, is partly probable, and partly very falſe. It is probable, that ſuch a plain Name, as That of *Guez*, might have prejudiced an Author in the Title of a Book (4); but it is very falſe, that *John Lewis Guez* put the Name of *Balzac* in the Title Page of his Books, to avoid this Inconveniency, and to make People believe, that they came from a great Lord; This was the thing, which *Sorel* would be at, with his confuſed, and perplexing, Expreſſions. Once again, this is falſe: for *John Lewis Guez* had taken the Name of *Balzac*, before he thought of printing his Letters. I cannot apprehend how it happened, that Mr *Menage*, who cauſed This Author's Poems, and *Latin* Letters, to be printed, where we ſee, both in the Title, and and at the Top of every Page, the Name of *Joannis Ludovici Guezii Balzacii*, ſhould ſay, that they bear the Name of *Joannis Ludovici Gueſæi Balzacii* (5). I ſhould think, that the Printer of the *Anti-Baillet* put *Gueſæi* inſtead of *Gueſii*, if I did not ſee the ſame Fault, in a very correct Edition of Mr *Menage*'s Poems (6).

[*B*] Balzac - - - - - *was the Son of* William Guez, *a Gentleman of* Languedoc.] Sometimes Mr *de Balzac* repreſents his Extraction, in ſuch a manner, as to give us an high Idea of it. He ſays, *That Thoſe, to whom he has the Honour of being related, have founded Monaſteries in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, and that* Angoulême *and* Toulouſe *are proud of the Marks of their Piety* (7). He tells us, in another Place, that the Great Grand-father of his Great-Great Grand-father was preſented with three Pariſhes, in *Languedoc*, by the Counteſs *Alix* (8). *Theophilus* gives us a quite contrary Idea of Mr *de Balzac*'s Family.

[*C*] *Who died at the Age of an hundred Years.*] I have made uſe of a round Number, after Mr *de Girac*, whom I have quoted; but I ought to rectify the Matter a little, by means of a Letter of Mr *Guez*, to his Son, ſigned *Guez*, and dated the twentieth of *November* 1642 (9). *He was then entered into the Eighty ninth Year of his Age.* He could not therefore be an hundred Years old, the twentieth of *September*, 1650, which was the Day of his Death. That Letter is a preſſing Exhortation to publiſh ſome Manuſcripts, but, above all, the Apologies againſt *Phylarchus*.

[*D*] *He had a Daughter, who is very often mentioned by Mr* de Balzac.] She was married to Mr *de Campagnolle*, who died Captain of the Guards, at *Montaubon*, and who was the Brother of a brave Man, whom *Thuanus* ſometimes mentions (10). That Captain of the Guards left a Son, who was killed at the Seige of *Lens* (11), and a Daughter, who is the Lady of CAMPAGNOLLE, ſometimes mentioned in Mr *de Balzac*'s Letters (12). He ſhews much Fondneſs for That Niece, and gives good

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(4) *The Abbot* de Marolles's Memoirs, pag. 276.

(*a*) *Father* Anſelm's Hiſtory of the great Officers, pag. 194.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) *See the* Choice Letters of *Balzac*, p. 364. *Edit. of* Holland.

(*d*) *She lived 'till the Year* 1653. *See the* 13*th Letter of* Balzac *to* Conrart, *Book* 3.

(*e*) Balzac, *Letter* 27, *to* Chapelain, lib. 3.

(*f*) *St* Romuald, Threſ. Chronol. ad Ann 1627.

(*g*) *Mr* de Balzac *wrote the* 40*th Letter of the* 8*th Book to him.*

(1) Sorel's Knowledge of good Books, pag. 28, *Edit. of* Holland, *and* Menage, Anti-Baillet, Tom. 1, pag. 4, *obſerved it.*

(2) Anti-Baillet, ib.

(3) Sorel's Knowledge of good Books, pag. 28, *cited in the* Judgment of the Learned, Tom. 1, pag. 484.

(4) *See the Preface of the* New Letters againſt *Maimbourg*'s Hiſtory of *Calviniſm, and in the* 22*d Letter*, pag. 764, *a Paſſage of the* Mercure Galant *on the Letters of the Chevalier* d' Her....

(5) Menage, Anti-Baillet Tom. 1. p. 4.

(6) *In the Index: It is the Edition of* Wetſtein *at* Amſterdam, 1687.

(7) Balzac, Miſcellan. Works, Diſc. 14.

(8) Choice Letters, *pag.* 367.

(9) Ibid. pag. 365. *Edit. of* Holl.

(10) *See the* Latin *Poems of* Balzac, *pag.* 112. *in* 12*mo.*

(11) *See the Volume of Letters to* Conrart, *Book* 5, *Letter* 3.

(12) *See the* 6*th Letter of the* 6*th Book, and the* 42*d of the* 9*th.*

good Advice for her Education. See his *Choice Letters*, Page 157, and the Forty ſixth, Forty ſeventh, and Forty eighth Letters of the ſeventh Book, in the Edition in *Folio*. I have found a Paſſage, in a Letter of *Coſtar*, which concerns the Lady of *Campagnolle*. *At* Balzac, ſays he (13), *you will ſee a Niece, beautiful and ingenious, who very well underſtands true gallantry from falſe, and who wants nothing but a little more of your Eſteem.* This he wrote to *Voiture*. I have ſeen another Book, in which there is ſomething, which may relate to This Lady. It is there ſaid, that *Langlade* (14), one of Thoſe, whom Cardinal *Mazarin employed moſt in his ſecret Negotiations, had, before he came to Court, fallen in Love with a young Lady in the Country, called* Mademoiſelle de Campagnol (15). "He "did not dare to propoſe Marriage to her; but he "had exacted a Promiſe from her, not to marry, "and engaged himſelf to let her know, when his "Fortune ſhould be in a Condition to make her "happy. He truſted *Gourville* with his Engagement to This young Lady, and, told him, with ſome "Diſcontent, that he did not think his Fortune was "ſufficient to pretend to This Alliance, having, in "all, but Forty thouſand Crowns. *Gourville* bid "him not trouble himſelf about That, but go, with "all Satisfaction, and conclude his Marriage, promiſing to give him as much more. Upon this "Aſſurance *Langlade* departed, and gave a great deal "of Joy to *Mademoiſelle de Campagnol*, by ſhewing "her he had not forgot her. They were married, and "*Langlade* returned to *Paris*, with his new Wife, "where they found *Gourville* had taken a fine Houſe "for them, and furniſhed it ſplendidly. He gave "*Langlade* That fine Furniture, with a great Quantity of Plate and Jewels for his Wife, beſides the "Forty thouſand Crowns; and Madam *de Parville* "(16) took great Care to ſhew this Country Lady "all the *Beau Monde*. This new married Couple "lived a long time together, in mutual Satisfaction."

(13) *See the 29th Letter of the* Entretiens des Voiture & Coſtar, pag. 249.

(14) Gallantries of the Kings of *France*, Tom. II. pag. 239, *Edition of* Bruſſels, 1694.

(15) Ibid. pag. 242.

(16) *She was a Miſtreſs of* Gourville's.

BALZAC (JOHN LEWIS GUEZ *Sieur de*), was born at *Angoulême*, in the Year 1595 [*A*]. He acquired an extraordinary Reputation very early. There was ſo lively an Imagination, ſo much Eloquence, and ſo many uncommon Thoughts, in the Letters, which he wrote in his younger Years, that thoſe, who ſaw them, were charmed with them, and praiſed them every where: So that, being in the Service of the Cardinal *de la Valette* (*a*), he ſoon became known, and eſteemed at Court; inſomuch, that Cardinal *Richelieu*, to whom he had wrote ſeveral times, did him the honour to anſwer him very obligingly. This Anſwer was printed with *Balzac*'s Letters, the firſt Edition whereof is of the Year 1624. He thought himſelf in the way of a very great Fortune [*B*]; his Letters ſold ſo well, that they had a Run of ſeveral Editions. They were praiſed beyond meaſure; but not with the unanimous conſent of all Readers. Some contradicting Spirits ſtarted up, either excited by Envy, which is moſt likely, or from a diſcovery of the weak Paſſages of *Balzac*'s Works. Theſe Diſſentions, having reigned for ſome time in Converſation, became a public War in the Year 1627, and one of the moſt cruel, that ever was known of this kind. It was begun by a young Monk, who wrote a little Book, intituled, *The Conformity of Mr* Balzac'*s Eloquence with That of the greateſt Perſons of the paſt and preſent Times.* Tho' this Piece was not printed, yet it went almoſt as publickly from Hand

(*a*) Sorel, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 121 *of the 2d Edit.*

[*A*] *He was born at* Angoulême, *in the Year 1595.*] I have not met with this in any Book; but obſerve, how I have inferred it from two Letters of *Balzac*. He mentions, in one of theſe two Letters (1), the Thanks he had given to Mr *Spanheim*, in 1649, for the fine Oration, which he had received from him, and *which had revived in him a Paſſion, which Fifty three Years had taken from him.* Without doubt, That Oration was his Funeral Oration on *Frederic Henry*, Prince of *Orange*: it may be ſuppoſed, that he received it in the Year 1648; for he was not quick in anſwering; he was, therefore, Fifty three Years of Age, in 1648, and muſt conſequently be born in 1595. In the other Letter, dated the fifteenth of *October*, 1637 (2), he ſpeaks of a Piece, which he compoſed, at ſeventeen Years of Age, and ſays, that it was full Twenty five Years, ſince his writing it. So that he was Forty two Years of Age, when he wrote That Letter, and conſequently muſt be born in 1595. St *Romuald* places his Birth in the Year 1598. *For he was*, ſays he, *Twenty eight Years of Age, in* 1626 (3); but he forgot to prove This Reaſon. I do not deny, but I have found a Paſſage, which proves, that *Balzac* was born in 1596. I quote it in the Remark [*B*].

(1) *It is the 14th of the 1ſt Book to* Conrart: *the Thanks to Mr* Spanheim *are in the 19th of the 5th Book.*

(2) *It is the 10th of the 3d Book to* Chapelain.

(3) *St* Romuald, Chron. Abridgment, ad Ann. 1598.

A WRITING publiſhed by *Balzac*, at 17 Years of Age.

The ſmall Piece, he compoſed, at ſeventeen Years of Age, is worth a Digreſſion. He owns, that, in writing it, he committed both a Fault, and a Folly, and excuſes himſelf, the beſt he can, on his Youth, and on *his compoſing it in* Holland, *without deſigning to publiſh it in print* (4). He took it very ill, that *Heinſius* revived that Fault. I have already obſerved (5), that this is an inconveniency, to which Authors, any thing famous, are very liable: They generally happen into ſome Paper Quarrel, which cauſes their Antagoniſts to ſearch out, carefully, every little Fault of their Youth, to reproach them with in public. I do not wonder, that ſome have believed, that, at This Time, *Balzac* would not have refuſed to make his Fortune in *Holland*, under the Profeſſion of an *Huguenot*. Before I read the Piece, I am mentioning, I took it to be a raſh Judgment; but I have altered my Opinion, since Mr *Minutoli* favoured me with a Tranſcript of That Writing (6). He had a printed Copy of it, of the Edition, which *Heinſius* cauſed to be publiſhed, at *Leyden*, in the Year 1638. The Title of it is, *A Political Diſcourſe on the State of the United Provinces of the* Netherlands, *by* I. L. D. B. *a* French *Gentleman*. It is a Pamphlet of four or five Pages, ſubſcribed, at the end, *John Lewis de Balzac*. This Work is very fine, full of Wit and Thought; but I am well aſſured, that *Baudius*, who was in a public Office at *Leyden*, and who received a Salary from the States of *Holland*, would not have decided ſo ſtrongly for the Juſtice, wherewith the States threw off the Yoke of *Philip* II, nor have ſought for ſuch high Compliments for *Holland*, nor ſuch cutting Invectives againſt the *Spaniſh* Government, nor, in ſhort, ſuch ſtudied Maxims, in favour of Liberty of Conſcience. So that it is very excuſable to ſuſpect, that the *French* Gentleman, perhaps, ſounded the Buſineſs, by That flying Sheet, and that, if the Republic, ſtruck with Admiration of ſo fine a Pen, and ſo well affected, had offered a good Poſt, the Author, of ſeventeen Years of Age, would have preferred it before his Country, and his Catholiciſm.

(4) *The 10th Letter to* Chapelain, *Book* 3.

(5) *See above, at the End of the Remark* [*C*] *of the Article* BALDUS.

(6) *He is Maſter of a great number of ſuch ſcarce Pieces, which he always took great care to collect.*

Mr *de Balzac* took his Journey into *Holland*, in the Year 1612. *Theophilus* was his Fellow-Traveller, whom, if we may believe Father *Goulu, he, at the ſame time, played a very ſcurvy Trick* (7), which occaſioned the Miſunderſtanding between That Poet and *Balzac*. The terrible Letter, which *Theophilus* printed againſt him, contains a Charge of two, or three, unpleaſant Adventures: *I do not ſpeak*, ſays he, *of the plundering of Authors; Doctor* Baudius'*s Son-in-law accuſes you of another ſort of Theft. - - - - - I do not repeat my having formerly drawn my Sword to revenge your being cudgelled.*

(7) Letters of Phyllarch. Part. I. pag. 257.

[*B*] *He thought himſelf in the way of a very great Fortune.*] It is very pleaſant to hear him relate the Reaſons of his great Hopes. Read, then, the ſecond Story, which he tells, in his *Entretiens* (8): it concerns himſelf. Among other things, you will find there the Proof of what I have ſaid, concerning the Elogies, given to his Letters, even before they were printed. He tells us, That the Biſhop of *Luçon*, being

(8) Entret. 8. pag. 132, *Edit.* 12mo.

Hand to Hand, as if it had been in Print, and no Body was ignorant, that a *Feuillant*, called Brother *Andrew*, was the Author of it [*C*]. Mr *de Balzac* deſired it might be publickly confuted; which was performed in the Apology, publiſhed by *Ogier* in 1627 [*D*]. The General of the *Feuillans*, whoſe Name, at that time, was Father *Goulu*, took Brother *Andrew*'s Cauſe in hand; and, under the Name of *Phyllarchus* (*b*), wrote two Volumes of Letters againſt *Balzac*, with an extraordinary Heat, as I ſhall relate in his Article. This Quarrel was the occaſion of a great many Books (*c*), and raiſed ſuch a Storm, as almoſt overwhelm'd Mr *Balzac*, as well becauſe of the Artifices of his Enemies, as becauſe he had given ſome hold to his Critics, by ſome very dull Hyberboles, vain Sallies, and tickliſh Propoſitions. He let this Storm blow over, without anſwering his Adverſary [*E*]. Upon whoſe Death, which happened in the Year 1629, a Calm enſued. The Public began to recover from the prejudices, they had ſuffered themſelves to be poſſeſſed with againſt Mr *Balzac*, who, making a good

(*b*) *That is to ſay*, Prince of Leaves, *by way of alluſion to his quality of General of the* Feuillans.

(*c*) Sorel, Bibl. Fr. pag. 121. *See the Article* JAVERSAC.

(9) *This happened in the Year* 1618.

being recalled from his Exile (9), *careſſed him extreamly, and complimented him as an illuſtrious, rare, and extraordinary, Perſon, and that, having invited him to Dinner, one Day, he ſaid, to a great many Perſons of Quality, at Table with him,* Here's a Man *(that Man was then but Twenty two Years of Age)* to whom we muſt do good, when it lies in our Power, and we muſt begin with an Abbey of Ten thouſand Livres a Year. *Is it poſſible to conceive a finer beginning? Money would have been lent him upon this, at* Rome, *and Wagers laid on his future Advancement. Nevertheleſs, Matters went no farther. Cardinal* Richelieu *did not remember what the Biſhop of* Luçon *had ſaid.* This puts me in mind of a Paſſage of the *Menagiana*: "Monſieur *de Balzac* aſ-" pired firſt to be a Biſhop. Afterwards he deſired " only to be an Abbot; but he did not ſucceed in " either. He even writes, in one of his Books, that " he ſhould never be an Abbot, unleſs he himſelf " ſhould be the Founder of the Abbey (10)."

(10) Page 190.

[*C*] *A little Book was publiſhed againſt him ---- whereof a* Feuillant, *called Brother* Andrew, *was the Author.*] He was of *Mans*; he reconciled himſelf afterwards to Mr *Balzac*, and went to ſee him, at *Angoulême* (11). Mr *Balzac* entertained him magnificently, and contracted a cordial Friendſhip with him, which continued as long as they lived (12). He wrote ſeveral Letters to him, wherein he ſtyles him, *The Reverend Father* Don Andrew de St Dennis. See, particularly, one of the Diſſertations, printed with the *Chriſtian Socrates*, in the firſt *Entretien*, and, among the *Latin* Letters, the Poem, entitled, *Iter ſperatum*, preceeded by a Letter, wherein *Balzac* relates the Change of That Monk with much Joy, and makes uſe of this fine Exclamation, a *Parody* on *Virgil* (13),

(11) *St* Romuald, Continuat. Chron. Ademari ad Ann. 1627.

(12) *See his Concern for the Intereſts of Father* Andrew, *in the 17th and 18th Letters of the 4th Book to* Conrart, *written in the Year* 1653.

(13) Virg. Æn. lib. 12. ver. 503.

O ſuperi tanton' placuit concurrere motu
Æterna poſthac mentes in pace futuras?

Jove, cou'dſt thou view, and not avert thy Sight,
Two jarring Authors *join'd in cruel Fight,*
Whom Leagues of laſting Love ſo ſhortly ſhall unite.

DRYDEN.

(14) Page 268.

Another *Latin* Letter, which preceeds This (14), informs us, that Brother *Andrew*, who, acccording to *Voiture*'s Expreſſion, had been the *Helena* of That War, having heard, that Mr *Balzac* was dead, lamented, and praiſed him. But, after this, being informed, that the News was falſe, he became a good Friend of the ſuppoſed deceaſed, and therefore made it appear, that he was not in the Caſe of This Sentence:

Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi (15).

(15) Horat. Od. 24. l. 3.

We ſlight that Virtue *we enjoy the moſt;*
And never know it's Value, 'till 'tis loſt.

This Circumſtance muſt not be forgot, that This Fryar, who was then Prior of the Convent of St *Memin*, near *Orleans*, had no ſooner heard of Mr *Balzac*'s dangerous Sickneſs, but he aſſembled all his Monks to pray with him for the ſick Perſon (16). The latter, being recovered, gave an Incenſe Pot for the Altar of their Church, of Four hundred Livres Value, and an annual Revenue to ſupply it continually with Perfumes. If *Moreri* had mentioned the evident Marks Mr *Balzac* gave of his ſincere Reconciliation with Brother *Andrew*, and with Father *Garaſſe*, there would not have been found ſo great a Want of Judgment in this Place of his Dictionary. *He was eſteemed, from the firſt, as the moſt eloquent Man in* France. *This Reputation raiſed him a great deal of Envy, and the Quarrel he had, toward the Year* 1627, *with Father* Goulu, *General of the* Feuillans, *and others, is ſufficiently known. All the World, however, was perſuaded of Mr* Balzac'*s Sincerity, and Generoſity, who died, as he had lived, very much of a Chriſtian.* What a ſtrange leap, from the Year 1627, to the Year 1654, in ſo few Lines! And, beſides, what ſignifies, *That Sincerity, and That Generoſity, which every Body was, however, perſuaded of?* Was That the Buſineſs in Hand? The Queſtion was, only to know, whether *Balzac* was a good, eloquent, and orthodox Author.

(16) *Preface to* Mr Balzac's Works, and the Relation of his Death.

[*D*] *This Piece was refuted, ----- in the Apology, publiſhed by* Ogier, *in* 1627.] There have been various Reports, about the true Author of That Work. Some believed, that he, who fathered it, was really the Author of it: Others, that he only lent his Name to a Piece, compoſed by *Balzac* himſelf. Here is what Mr *Menage* ſays of it; "Prior " *Oger* anſwered thoſe Books of Father *Goulu*, a-" gainſt Mr *Balzac*, in a Piece he intituled, *Mr Bal-*" *zac's Apology* (17), which is a Book, wrote with " ſome Learning and Elegancy. But *Oger* furniſhed " only the Learning: The Elegancy was, altogether, " Mr *Balzac*'s own. I have heard Mr *de Racan*, " and Mr *de Gomberville*, ſay ſo ſeveral Times, who " had ſeen Mr *Balzac* intent on That Work. And " I have read, elſewhere, that Mr *de Balzac*, ſpeak-" ing of That Work, declared, that he himſelf was " the Father of it, and *Oger* only the God-father; " that he had ſupplied the Silk, and *Oger* only the " Canvas (18)." In all Probability, the publiſhing this Report made the Sieur *de la Motte-Aigron* fear ſuch another Fate, which he endeavoured to prevent, by declaring, in the Preface to his Anſwer to *Phyllarchus*, that the Advice he had received from ſeveral Places, that they would give his Book a Maſter, obliged him to advertize all his Readers, *That he was no* Roger, *who fought under the Arms of* Leo; that he had not the Complaiſance of thoſe, who father other People's Children; that he could not endure to have his Books made for him; and that, for this, he was no more obliged to his Friends, than to the greateſt Strangers in the World. He tells us, in the ſame Place, that his Preface, on *Balzac*'s Letters, had been very falſely aſcribed to others. This will be ſeen more particulrly in his Article (19).

(17) *I have ſhewed, in the Remark* [*F*] *of Father* GOULU'*s Article, that Mr* Menage *is miſtaken in ſaying, that the Apology, publiſhed by the Prior* Ogier, *was an Anſwer to Father* Goulu'*s Books.*

(18) Menage's Remarks on the Life of *Peter Ayrault*, pag. 252.

(19) *See Remark* [*D*] *of the Article* MOTTE-AIGRON.

[*E*] *He let this Storm, raiſed againſt him by Father* Goulu, *blow over, without anſwering his Adverſary.*] I confeſs, that, at this very time, he took Pen in Hand to compoſe his *Relation to Menander*; but That Piece was not printed till a long time after. The reaſon of This Conduct appears from theſe Words of *Balzac*'s Twenty third *Entretien*. "You may remem-" ber the cruel Perſecution kindled againſt me above " twenty Years ago. At that time an Angel from " Heaven would not have been heard, if he had come " down to plead my Cauſe. The Faction was too " ſtrong, and too paſſionate, to allow the Public to " form a right Judgment. God be thanked, the " Storm is over, and, after it, ſucceeds a Calm. The " Face of Things being changed, it is to be hoped " that Right will alſo take place again." The Author a good uſe of his Diſgrace, and alſo of the indifferent Succeſs of his *Prince* [*F*], retired to his Country-Houſe, where he not only refined his Thoughts and Style, but his Heart alſo, and there preſerved, by his Epiſtolary Correſpondences [*G*], and the Pieces, he from time to time publiſhed, the Reputation of very great Merit, and of the beſt Pen in *France*. However, it muſt be confeſſed, that his Style ſeems too much laboured, and the turn of his Thoughts ſometimes too much affected, and ſeldom natural: but, tho' his Letters have not that eaſy Air, and that happy Sprightlineſs

thor, finding himſelf importuned anew to publiſh his Defence, complied with it. *Menander*, to whom he addreſſes his Relation, is *Mainard* (20). Though that Relation contains a Defence of ſome of the Paſſages, which Father *Goulu* had criticized, yet it is rather a general Anſwer, than a continued and compleat Refutation of the two Volumes of *Phyllarchus*. *Balzac* alſo vindicated ſome Paſſages, which a Doctor of *Louvain*, and a Doctor of *Bezançon*, had cenſured (21). I find there is a Fault in his Calculation. It appears by his Twenty ſeventh *Entretien*, that he did not reſolve to publiſh his Apologies, till above twenty Years after the Perſecution he had ſuffered from *Phyllarchus*. And yet, it is moſt certain, that the Volume of his Miſcellaneous Works, of which the Diſcourſe to *Menander* makes a very conſiderable part, was printed in the Year 1645, and his Bookſeller ſays in it, That the Author could not refuſe the Publication of it, at the repeated Inſtances of his Father, who was Ninety one Years of Age. If you compare Mr *Guez*'s Letter, which I have mentioned in the Remark [*C*] of the foregoing Article, with That Advertiſement to the Reader, you will find, that the Reſolution of printing the Apologies againſt *Phyllarchus* was taken in the Year 1644. How can this agree with the Twenty ſeventh *Entretien?*

[*F*] *He made a good Uſe of the indifferent Succeſs of his* Prince.] The Author's Friends had promiſed This Work as a Maſter-Piece, which would ſilence all Critics; eſpecially thoſe, who accuſed *Balzac* of being incapable of writing any thing but Letters. The Event did not anſwer theſe Expectations; That Book added nothing either to *Balzac*'s Reputation, or Fortune, and raiſed him ſome trouble from the *Sorbonne*. Though the Marquis *d'Aytona* had cauſed it to be burnt at *Bruſſels* (22); it was yet mentioned, with the utmoſt Contempt, in an Anſwer of the Abbot of St *Germain*, as a Book *ſuppreſt by the Cenſure of the Doctors, and the Sentence of the Judges, a Month after it's Birth*. Mr *Pelliſon* relates, that, in the Year 1636, *Balzac* read *ſome part of his* Prince, *which he then called the* Miniſter of State, *to the* French *Academy* (23). This would make one believe, that, at firſt, he had only a Mind to write the Cardinal's Panegyric. But it is certain, Mr *Pelliſon* was miſtaken. *The Prince* was printed in the Year 1631. This Book was to have been followed by two others; the latter of which was called the *Miniſter of State*. Some obſerve, that, in his *Prince*, he praiſes the Cardinal more than the King. (See the Thirty ſeventh Page of the fifteenth Volume of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*.) But this is falſe. We find, in the eighth Book of This Author's Letters, the Anſwer the Faculty of Divinity wrote to him, to ſignify, that they were ſatisfied with his offers to alter what they had found worthy of Cenſure. The *Latin* Letter, he wrote to a Father of the *Chriſtian Doctrine*, concerning This Proceſs of the *Sorbonne*, is admirable. It is in the Hundred eighty ſeventh Page of his *Epiſtolæ ſelectæ*, in the Edition, of *Paris*, 1651, in 12mo.

Obſerve, That ſome Perſons have affirmed, that this Work was one of the Author's beſt Performances. *It is thus, Sir, that you yourſelf have practiſed it in your* Prince, *and in your Relations to* Menander, *which are the two great Miracles of your Art, and the higheſt Pitch of Heroic Eloquence*. Thus ſays *Coſtar* in his Defence of *Voiture*. Mr *Richelet* ſays, in his Remarks on ſome Letters, *That the* Prince, *and the* Ariſtippus, *are two of the moſt Eloquent Pieces of* Balzac (24). If a Judgment of the Merits of *Balzac*'s *Prince* was to be made by the Number of Editions, it would be very advantageous: "At firſt came out "two Editions in *Quarto*, at the ſame time; then "another in the ſame form, but in ſmaller Cha- "racters, and full of Faults, which I believe was "printed at *Niort*, or at *Poitiers*. Afterwards, there "was one in 8vo, pretty good, though pirated. "After that, came out That of *Bouillerot*, in 8vo alſo, "but corrected; and laſtly the Edition in 12mo, of "*Courbé*." Theſe words are taken from a Letter, Mr *du Rondel* did me the Honour to write to me the tenth of *May* 1698. I am going to quote another part of it. "I have lately bought, *ſays he*, the "*Prince*, of the firſt Edition, wherein I found, with "unſpeakable delight, what Mr *de Balzac* had writ- "ten, and what he afterwards altered and cut off: "and it was on this occaſion, that I firſt rightly ap- "prehended what *Scaliger* meant by his *detrahendo fe-* "*cit auctiorem*. *Balzac*, by cutting off five or ſix Paſ- "ſages, ſuppreſſed Faintneſs, re-animated Weakneſs, "increaſed his Strength, and recovered the Atten- "tion, which was juſt forſaking the Reader." I make uſe of an Edition in 4to, of the Year 1632. The place, where it was printed, is not ſet down; but doubtleſs it was at *Rouen*. I have ſeen one, in a ſmall 8vo, printed at *Paris* by *Touſſaint du Bray*, 1632. It is called, in the Title, *The ſecond Edition corrected*. Mr *Perrault*, who ſo highly commended *Balzac's Ariſtippus* (25), ſaid nothing advantageous of his *Prince*. He only takes notice, that this Piece appeared after the Miſcellaneous Works. I flatter myſelf he will not take it amiſs, if I obſerve, that he is miſtaken. For the Miſcellaneous Works did not appear till a long time after the *Prince* (26). Let us conclude with a Paſſage of *Gabriel Naudé*: "Quibus omnibus velut coronidem "acceſſiſſe ferunt Balſaci, Viri Clariſſimi, Princi- "pem, Gallica modo pumice diligentur expolitum. "Verum enimvero, quoniam ipſe liber poſt meum "è Gallia diſceſſum typis fuit demandatus, ut prop- "terea nondum in manus meas pervenerit; varia- "que, ut audio, ac prorſus ancipiti judiciorum "alea fuit acceptus: hoc ſolum de illo pronunciare "poſſum, quod fuit ab antiquis in ſimili occaſione "ex formula uſurpatum, *Non liquet* (27). —— *To* "*all which, they ſay, is added, as a finiſhing Piece*, the "Prince *of the moſt famous* Balzac, *now repreſented* "*in the fineſt* French *Poliſh*. *But, as that Book was* "*not printed till after my leaving* France, *and is* "*therefore not yet come to my Hands, and has been,* "*I hear, very differently received: I can only ſay* "*this of it, as ſome of the Ancients did on a like* "*Occaſion*, It does not appear."

[*G*] *He kept up Epiſtolary Correſpondences*.] This Correſpondence was ſo great, that it over-powered Mr *Balzac*. For, beſides that he compoſed with extream Difficulty, he knew, that his Letters would be ſhewn to every body, and muſt therefore be very exact. See how he deſcribes his own Caſe in this reſpect. "He receives all the bad Compliments of "*Chriſtendom*, to ſay nothing of the good ones, "which give him yet more trouble. He is per- "ſecuted, he is killed, with the Civilities, which "come to him from the four Quarters of the "World; and laſt Night there lay fifty Letters on "the Table in his Chamber, which required An- "ſwers; and thoſe eloquent ones, and ſuch as might "be ſhewn, copied, and printed - - - (28)." He ſays in another place (29), "At this very time I am "ſpeaking to you, there lie a Century of Letters "on my Table, which wait for Anſwers: I owe "ſome to crowned Heads." As he was the firſt in *France*, who acquired a great Name by this ſort of Writings, ſo he obtained the Title of the *great Epiſtolizer*; and this he ſometimes gave himſelf. *Sciat ſe dignum fuiſſe invidiâ magni Franciæ Epiſtolarii* (30). — *Let him know he has drawn upon himſelf the Envy of the* great Epiſtolizer *of* France. The firſt Letters, he publiſhed, were not near ſo good as thoſe he wrote after his Retirement; and yet the latter did not ſell any thing like the former. *Sorel* had reaſon to make this Obſervation (31); and the Critic *Maimbourg* was not to blame for repeating it (32). This ſhews the capricious Humour of the Public.

[*H*] *His*

(20) Menage, Remarks on Ayrault, p. 252.

(21) *See the Pieces, added at the End of the* Chriſtian Socrates.

(22) Balzac's *Letter* 43, l. 8. Entretien, 13, p. 182.

(23) Hiſtory of the *French* Academy, pag. 221, & 167.

(24) Richelet's *Letters*, pag. 97.

(25) Perrault's Illuſtrious Men, pag. 176.

(26) *The Licence for printing his Prince, is dated the 18th of* Septemb. 1631; *and the Approbation is dated the third of* October *following. The* Miſcellaneous Works *were printed in the Year* 1645.

(27) Naudæus, Bibliogr. Polit. p. 47.

(28) Balzac, Entretien, 7.

(29) *The ſeventh* Letter *of the fifth Book, in the Volume* to Conrart. *See alſo the* Choice Letters, pag. 15. *and the* Letters to *Chapelain*, pag. 81, *Edit. of* Holland.

(30) Select Epiſtles, pag. 288.

(31) Sorel, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 135.

(32) *Preface to the* New Letters on *Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm*.

Sprightlineſs, which ſhines in thoſe of *Voiture*; yet they are very pleaſing, and have a certain lively and ſerious Gaiety, almoſt inimitable [*H*]. There appear alſo, in all his Writings, a great many Touches of Learning, well choſen, and well applied. In a Word, one cannot ſufficiently admire, conſidering in what condition he found the *French* Tongue, how he could open his way to ſuch a neatneſs of Style. It muſt not be wondered at, that his Writings ſavour of Labour. Elevation, and Grandeur, was his principal Character; which cannot be attained without Meditation. In all probability, future Ages will do his Works Juſtice, for the long Diſcredit, they ſuffered, by means of ſome Critics: Which did not hinder a great number of very excellent Judges from perſevering conſtantly in their firſt Admiration (*d*). He was a good *Latin* Poet; and his *Latin Letters* ſhew, that he wrote That Language in very great Purity. If he had many Enemies, who wrote againſt him [*I*], he had, on the other ſide, a very great number of Friends, and Admirers (*e*); and there were few Perſons of Merit, either *French* or *Foreigners*, who, in travelling through *France*, did not take the Pleaſure of making him a Viſit [*K*]. He was one of the forty Members of the *French* Academy [*L*]. Cardinal *Mazarin* endeavoured

(*d*) *See what Mr* Menage *ſaid of Mr* Balzac's *Eloquence*, Menagiana, pag. 112, 113, 114. *See alſo Mr* Perrault *in* Balzac's *Elogy*.

(*e*) *The great* DESCARTES *loved and eſteemed him very much. See his* Life *by Mr* Baillet, Vol. I. pag. 139, & ſeq.

[*H*] *His Letters ------ have ------ a certain lively and ſerious Gaiety, almoſt inimitable.*] Let us hear what *Richelet* ſays (33). "*Balzac* does not make a Complaint, which has not in it ſomething witty, new, and eloquent. —— He had a pleaſing ſprightly Melancholy: This appears in his Letters, and he never ſpeaks of it without charming the Heart, and inſpiring Delight. —— He diſcovers there a certain Melancholy full of Charms, which engages more than all the Gaiety in the World."

(33) Richelet, Lett. p. 81, 82.

[*I*] *He had a great many Enemies, who wrote againſt him.*] The Chancellor *Seguier*, having prevented the Publication of a Book compoſed againſt *Balzac* in 1636, received, a little while after, a Letter from that Author (34), which contains the following Words: "So long as there are none but theſe Pen-Gladiators, who preſent themſelves for Licence to appear in print, be not ſo ſparing of the Prince's Favours, but abate a little of your Severity. If it was a new thing, perhaps I ſhould not be diſpleaſed with the Suppreſſion of the firſt Libel, which ſhould abuſe me; but now there are as many of them, as will make a ſmall Library, I am very well pleaſed to ſee the Number increaſed, and I take delight in raiſing a monumental heap of Stones, which Envy has caſt at me, without doing me any harm." Among thoſe, who wrote againſt him, beſides the Perſons already mentioned, we may reckon *Daniel Heinſius*, who anſwered, with ſome ſourneſs, the Criticiſms, which *Balzac* had made on the *Herodes Infanticida*. See the Thirty fifth *Entretien* of *Balzac* upon this, and the Twenty fifth Letter of the firſt Book of *Chapelain*, and the twentieth of the ſecond Book. *Salmaſius*, who was *Heinſius*'s Enemy, and *Balzac*'s Friend, appeared in this Diſpute, and adjudged the Victory to his Friend: but a Miniſter of *Languedoc*, whoſe Name was *Croi* (35), took arms againſt *Balzac* in favour of *Heinſius*: and yet, a little while after, he wrote very ſharply againſt *Heinſius*; but it was indeed on other matters. *Nicolas Bourbon*, of the *French* Academy, is alſo one of the Number. See what the Hiſtorian of the Academy ſays of it (36). We muſt not forget *Coſtar*, who, thinking, that *Balzac* had, by way of Jealouſy, engaged Mr *de Girac* to criticize *Voiture*, addreſſed to him the Defence of *Voiture*, and ſtuft it full of ſtinging Railleries. The Blow was felt, and the matter came at laſt to an open War. And *Coſtar* threw off the Mask. See how Mr *Girard* reproaches him for it in the Preface to *Balzac*'s *Entretiens*. There are ſome Facts in the *Menagiana* very proper to be inſerted here. "Mr *de Balzac*, after having obliged Mr *de Girac* to write in *Latin*, againſt the Letters of *Voiture*, engaged alſo Mr *Coſtar* in the Defence of *Voiture*, and to write againſt Mr *de Girac*; this was to procure to himſelf the Praiſes of both Parties. I paſſed through *Mans* in my return to *Paris*, at the ſame time that the *Defence* was finiſhed. Mr *Coſtar* gave me two Copies of it, the one to be ſent to Mr *de Pincheſne*, Nephew to Mr *Voiture*, and the other to Mr *Conrart*. He told me, that he would willingly ſubmit it to any Alterations, either by adding, or diminiſhing. One of the Copies was communicated to Mr *Balzac*, who ſent ſome Corrections; but, in the mean while, the Work was printed. And, as his Corrections came when the Impreſſion was finiſhed, an Account was ſent him, that they were received too late; and the Book appeared ſuch as it was, which gave him ſome Uneaſineſs (37)." I paſs over the biting Expreſſions beſtowed on *Balzac*, in the *Hexameron Ruſtique*. See the Complaint, which Mr *Menage* makes, for having been introduced in it, to act a Part againſt Mr *Balzac* (38). I omit alſo what paſſed between Mr *du Moulin*, and him; for it was only a light ſkirmiſh of Controverſy, wherein each Party was complimented. Other Diſputes proceeded from it, which were more malignant (39); but, as far as I can remember, Mr *Balzac* received only this little Blow in it; *Vir ingenio compto & Gallicæ eloquentiæ laude clarus Balzacus, ſed in religionis negotio pluſquam infans.* —— Balzac *famous for his fine Underſtanding, and his* French *Eloquence, but in Matters of Religion ignorant below the Capacity of a Child.* Mr *du Moulin* gave it him in the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his Anſwer to *Petra-Sancta*. No notice was taken of it, as if the Inſult was not known. See the eleventh Letter of the ſecond Book to *Chapelain*. I ſhould be too tedious, if I ſhould undertake to ſpeak of one *de Vaux* (40), and all the other Adverſaries of *Balzac*.

(34) *It is the* 43*d of the* 3*d Book of the ſecond Part of the* Choice Letters.

(35) *He is the Author of the* Anonymous Anſwer to *Balzac*'s Letter and Diſcourſe on a Tragedy of *Heinſius*, entituled, *Herodes Infanticida*; *which Anſwer was printed at* Geneva (*tho' the Title does not mention it*) *in* 1642.

(36) Pag. 269, *Edit.* 1672. *See alſo the* 28*th, and* 36*th Letter of the ſecond Book to* Chapelain.

(37) Menagiana, pag. 166, 167.

(38) Ibid. pag. 323.

(39) *The Jeſuit* Sylveſter à Petra Sancta *having written ſharply againſt* du Moulin's Anſwer to *Balzac, was paid in the ſame Coin, by* du Moulin *and* Rivetus.

(40) *He publiſhed the* Tomb of the *French* Orator.

[*K*] *There were few Perſons —— who —— did not take the Pleaſure of making him a Viſit.*] This was a great Incumbrance to him, as appears by theſe words of his ſeventh *Entretien*. "Some troubleſome Perſons come here ſometimes, from above an hundred Leagues diſtance, and that on purpoſe, if they may be credited, who are almoſt the Death of him, beginning with their firſt Compliment, that his great Reputation, and the Celebrity, which he has given to the Place of his Abode, have obliged them to come and ſee A Perſon ſo well known, and A Village ſo renowned; ſo that he ought not to take amiſs ſo juſt and obliging a Curioſity. Some Days ſince, one of theſe curious Perſons began his Harangue with, *The Reſpect and Veneration, which he always had for him, and for the Gentlemen his Books.* Nothing can be more Hiſtorical than this; by which you ſee how far the Style of Compliments may be carried." They were not only learned Men, who went to ſee him, but great Lords alſo, and I am much deceived, if the Count *de Pigneranda* did not do him that Honour, when he paſſed through that Country, in his Return to *Spain*. Mr *Balzac* informs us with Pleaſure, that the ſame Count had reproached him for the ardent Zeal of his Pen, in the Defence of the Honour of *France*. This we find in the Letter, wherein he confutes the current Report, that he had compoſed a Manifeſto for the Prince of *Condé*, in 1651 (41).

(41) *It is printed at the end of the* Chriſtian Socrates.

[*L*] *He was one of the forty Members of the* French *Academy.*] Mr *Pelliſon*, having related, from the Regiſter of the Academy, that, on the thirteenth Day of *March*, 1634, Mr *de Boiſrobert* produced a Letter, which he had wrote, on his own Authority, to Mr *de Balzac*, to acquaint him, that, if he ſhould requeſt of the Society, by Letter, to be admitted among them, it would readily be granted. I ſay, Mr *Pelliſon*, having related this, adds, *That he did not find in the Regiſter what followed upon it; but that undoubtedly Mr* Balzac *was, upon his Anſwer, admitted, a little while after, into the Academy* (42). Mr *Balzac* did not find Mr *Pelliſon a faithful Hiſtorian* in

(42) Hiſtory of the Academy, pag. 221.

endeavoured to recall him to Court (*f*). Queen *Chriſtina* was very kind to him, and deſired him to write to her (*g*). The greateſt Lords of the Kingdom gave him, in his Deſert (*h*), many Marks of their Eſteem (*i*). His greateſt Excellency was, that he not only lived and died in his Retreat as a good Man, but alſo as a good Chriſtian. *While he was living, he ſet a-part Eight thouſand Crowns of his Eſtate for Pious Uſes* (*k*). He cauſed two Chambers to be built for him, in the Convent of the Capuchins of *Angoulême* [*M*], where he often reſided (*l*). It was there that he compoſed his *Chriſtian Socrates*. *He ſpoke ſome very fine things* on his Death-bed, and, by his Will, ordered himſelf to be buried in the Hoſpital of *Our Lady of the Angels* in *Angoulême*, *at the Feet of the Poor, that were buried there* (*m*). He bequeathed twelve thouſand Livres to that Hoſpital, and left a Fund, of an hundred Livres a Year, to be given every two Years as a Prize to him, who, in the Judgment of the *French Academy*, ſhould beſt compoſe a Diſcourſe on a Pious Subject (*n*). He died the eighteenth of *February* 1654 [*N*]. The Sieur *Moriſcet*, a Canon of *Angoulême*, made his Funeral Oration, and another *Moriſcet*, Brother of the former, and Advocate in the *Preſidial* of the ſame City, cauſed a Diſcourſe to be printed in Praiſe of the Deceaſed (*o*). An Edition of all *Balzac*'s Works was publiſhed at *Paris*, in the Year 1665, in two Volumes in *Folio*, with a Preface of the Abbot *Caſſagnes*, a Member of the *French* Academy. Conſult the *Illuſtrious Men* of Mr *Perrault*, and you will find there an Elogy of *John Lewis Guez*.

(*f*) *See* Balzac's *firſt Letter to that Cardinal, in the Vol. of* Letters to Conrart.

(*g*) *See the* 11*th Letter to* Conrart, lib. 3. *and ſeveral others in the ſame Volume.*

(*h*) *Thus he was pleaſed to call the Place of his Reſidence.*

(*i*) *This appears in an hundred Places of his Letters.*

(*k*) Epiſtle Dedicatory of *Balzac*'s Entretiens.

(*l*) Moriſcet, Account of his Death.

(*m*) St Romuald, Chronol. Abridgm. ad Ann. 1654.

(*n*) *This was not begun to be executed before the Year* 1671. *See the* Hiſt. of the *French* Academy, *Edit.* 2. *pag.* 555.

(*o*) St Romuald, ubi ſupra.

in this matter: He acknowledges, that Mr *Boiſrobert* had exhorted him ſeveral times to write a complimentary Letter to the Academy, and had even threatened him from the Cardinal, if he ſhould refuſe to write That Compliment: But he declares, that he wrote no Anſwer, and that, about five or ſix Months afterwards, he had an Account of his being made a Member of the Academy, and of his Name having been ſeen in the Sun of the little honeſt Man, Mr *de la Peyre* (43). From whence he concludes, that, if a Letter had been preſented, as from him, to the Academy, it was a falſe one. This is what he wrote to Mr *Conrart*, the Twenty ſecond of *September* 1653. It is not known, what anſwer he received from him to clear the matter; but it appears by a Letter of the third of *November*, of the ſame Year, that Mr *Conrart* had undeceived him. One would almoſt ſuſpect, that Mr *Conrart* had ſatisfied him, that he had ſeen the very Original of That Compliment under his own Hand; from whence we muſt conclude, that the greateſt Wits do not always remember the Letters they have written ſome Years before. What is unqueſtionable is, that Mr *de Balzac* took himſelf to be a true and abſolute Academiſt; for the Regiſter of the fourteenth of *April*, 1636, teſtifies, that he *read ſome part of his* Prince *in the Academy* (44); and it has been proved by his printed Letters, that he "ſent ſome of his Works to Monſieur *du Chatelet*, deſiring him to read them in the Academy, and to accompany them with ſome of his Words, which, he ſaid, would not only ſuffice to excuſe him to them for the Thanks, but alſo for the Speech, which he owed them (45)." He had juſt before ſaid, "That the Honour which the Academy had done him, to admit him into their Body, without obliging him to go to *Paris*, were two ſingular Favours at one time." I remember two Paſſages in his Letters, wherein he acknowledges the Gentlemen of the Academy for his Brethren. The firſt is in the ſixteenth Page of his Choice Letters, and the laſt in the Ninty fifth Page of his Letters to *Chapelain*.

[*M*] *He cauſed two Chambers to be built for him in the Convent of the* Capuchins *of* Angoulême.] I have not read any where, but in the *Menagiana*, that he had a Deſign to put on the Habit of that Order. "Mr *de Balzac* was ſo affected with Devotion, that he entered into a Convent of the *Capuchins*, where he had a Mind to put on their Habit. Nevertheleſs, he did not die there (46)." Perhaps he deſired, like many others, to die in the Habit of St *Francis*.

[*N*] *He died the eighteenth of* Feb. 1654.] The Liſt of the Academiſts, printed at the end of the ſecond Edition of *The Hiſtory of the Academy*, makes Mr *de Balzac* live 'till the Year 1657, ſince, in that Year, it names *Hardouin de Perefixe*, Archbiſhop of *Paris*, as his Succeſſor. On the contrary, the Liſt of the deceaſed Academiſts, printed at the end of the *State of* France, of the Year 1680, mentions Mr *de Balzac* as dead a conſiderable time before the Year 1654; ſince it places him before *Baro* and *Baudouin*, who died before the Year 1651. If Mr *Pelliſſon* had been concerned in the ſecond Edition of *The Hiſtory of the Academy*, the two Faults, which I have quoted, would not have been ſeen in the Liſt; one whereof relates to the time, when *Balzac* died, the other to the Perſon that ſucceeded him, who is not Mr *de Perefixe*. Moreover, Mr *de Perefixe* was not Archbiſhop of *Paris*, in the Year 1657. But Mr *Pelliſſon* has not examined theſe Particulars. Mr *Baillet*, who, without doubt, believed the contrary, is very excuſable, for having thought, that, on ſuch an Authority, he might place the Death of *Balzac* in the Year 1657 (47). As to the Day of his Death, *Moreri*, St *Romuald* (48), *Henningus de Witte* (49), Mr *Perrault*, and ſeveral others, ſay it was the Twenty eighth of *February*. But the Perſons, whom I have conſulted, informed me, that it was the nineteenth of *February*, according to the Contract made with the *French* Academy, concerning the Fund that *Balzac* left it, and according to a Manuſcript Letter of the Sieur *Moriſcet*. Laſtly, it was the eighteenth of *February*, if we may rely on theſe two things: the one is, that, in the Preface to *Balzac*'s Works, it is affirmed, that the Account of his Death was written the very next Day after: the other is, that this Account is dated the nineteenth of *February*, 1654.

(43) *In the Year* 1635, La Peyre *dedicated his Book, intitled* The Explication of the Times, *to the Academy, with this Title,* To the Eminent, *adorned with the Cardinal's Picture engraved on a Copper Plate, with a Crown of Rays round it, on each of which was inſcribed the Name of an Academiſt.* Hiſtory of the Academy, p. 195.

(44) Ibid. pag. 221.

(45) Ibid. pag. 106.

(46) Menagiana, pag. 238.

(47) Baillet, Judgm. on Poets, Tom. 4, n. 1487.

(48) *In the Table of his* Chronol. Journal, *printed in* 1664; *for he ſays nothing of* Balzac *under* Febr. 28.

(49) Diar. Biographic. ad Ann. 1654.

BANCK (Laurence) a Native of *Norcopin* in *Sweden*, was Profeſſor of the Civil Law, in the Univerſity of *Franeker*, for the ſpace of fifteen Years (*a*). He gained ſo great a Reputation, while he was a Student there, that, upon his Return thither from his Travels into *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, &c. the Civil Law Chair was preſented to him, together with a very good Salary (*b*). He died the thirteenth of *October* 1662 (*c*). I ſhall mention his Works below [*A*], and particularly an Edition, which he publiſhed, of the famous Book of *Taxes of the Romiſh Chancery* [*B*]. It is a Work ſufficiently curious to be conſidered a little more

(*a*) Witte, Diarium Biogr. ad Ann. 1662.

(*b*) Banck. Epiſt. Dedic. Taxæ Cancellariæ Romanæ.

(*c*) Witte, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *I ſhall mention his Works below.*] He publiſhed, at *Franeker*, in 1649, a Book intituled, *de Tyrannide Papæ in Reges & Principes Chriſtianos.* Seven Years after, he publiſhed *Roma triumphans, ſeu Inauguratio Innocentii X.* As to his Pieces, *De Bancæ Ruptoribus*; *De Duellis*; *De Conſiliis & Conſiliariis Principum*, &c. (1); I cannot aſcertain their Dates.

[*B*] —— *and an Edition, he publiſhed, of the Taxes of the* Romiſh *Chancery.*] I have related, in another Place (2), ſeveral things concerning theſe Taxes, and particularly mentioned the Edition of them, publiſhed by *Pinet*, in the Year 1564. I have obſerved alſo, that *d'Aubigné* quotes the Edition of *Paris*, in 1520. This is not the firſt, as ſome have imagined; for the

(1) Witte, Diar. ad Ann. 1662.

(2) *In Rem.* [*B*] *of the Article* PINET.

more particularly, and deſerves our making ſome Reflections on it, as well to rectify what we have already ſaid of it elſewhere (*d*), as to illuſtrate what ſeveral other Authors have written about it, who have not explained themſelves with due exactneſs.

Edition of *Bois-le-duc*, 1664 (3), ſhews, that this Book was printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1514, and at *Cologn* (4), in 1515; and was entituled *Regulæ, Conſtitutiones, Reſervationes, Cancellari, S. Domini noſtri Leonis Papæ decimi, noviter edite & publicate*, and that, in fol. 67, it has theſe Words: *Taxæ Cancellariæ, per Marcellum Silber, alias Franck, Romæ, in Campo Floræ, Anno* M.D.XIV, *die* XVIII *Novembris impreſſe, finiunt feliciter.* - - - - - *The Chancery Taxes, printed by* Marcellus Silber, *alias* Franck, *at* Rome, *in the* Campus Floræ, *the eighteenth of* November, 1514, *is happily completed.* This is atteſted by two of the *Echevins* of *Bois-le-duc*, together with the Town-Clerk, who had collated, Word for Word, this Edition of *Rome*, with That publiſhed by *Stephen du Mont*, Bookſeller at *Bois-le-duc*, in the Year 1664, and entituled, *Taxæ Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ, & Taxæ Sacræ Pœnitentiariæ Apoſtolicæ.* In this laſt we find (5) the Paſſage, quoted by *d'Aubigné*, from the *Paris* Edition, in 1530 (6): *Abſolutio pro eo qui matrem, Sororem, aut aliam conſanguineam vel affinem ſuam, aut commatrem, carnaliter cognovit, gr.* V. *Abſolutio pro eo qui Virginem deflorarit, gr.* VI. (7). —— *The Abſolution of him who has lain with his Mother, Siſter, on other Relation, either in Conſanguinity, or Affinity, is taxed at Gr.* V. *The Abſolution of him who has deflowered a Virgin, Gr.* VI. This is alſo to be met with in the Edition of *Franeker*, in 1651 (8). I am ſurprized it ſhould be wanting in the Edition of *du Pinet*, entituled, *Taxe des Parties Caſualles de la Boutique du Pape.* This is in *Latin* and *French*, with Notes added by the Editor. He was greatly to blame, in not mentioning on what authentic Copies he formed his Edition; for it differs from the others, both in the order of Matters, and in the Denomination of Monies. This mentions only *Tournois, Ducats*, and *Carlins*; and the others only *Gros*: at leaſt the Ducat and Carlin is very rarely mentioned. *D'Aubigné* affirms (9), that the *Paris* Edition ſays, *The Murder of a Father, or Mother, is rated at one Ducat, and five Carlins*; but, in the Edition of *Franeker* (10), and in That of *Bois-le-duc* (11), it is, “ Abſolutio pro eo qui interfecit patrem, matrem, ſororem, uxorem - - - - - - g. v. vel vij (12). *The Abſolution of him, who has murdered his Father, Mother, Siſter, Wife,* - - - - - - - - - *at g. v. or vij.*” I ſay, I am ſurprized, that this Article of Inceſt ſhould be miſſing in the Edition of *du Pinet* (13), in which we find more enormous Articles; Theſe, for inſtance; “ Abſolutio à lapſu carnis ſuper quocunque actu libidinoſo commiſſo per clericum, etiam cum monialibus, intra & extra ſepta monaſterii, aut cum conſanguineis vel affinibus, aut filiâ ſpirituali, aut quibuſdam aliis, ſive ab unoquoque de per ſe, ſive ſimul ab omnibus abſolutio petatur cum diſpenſatione ad ordines & beneficia, cum inhibitione, tur. 36. duc. 3. Si verò cum illis petatur abſolutio etiam a crimine commiſſo contra naturam, vel cum brutis, cum diſpenſatione, ut ſupra, & cum inhibitione, turon. 90. duc. 12. carl. 16. Si verò petatur tantùm abſolutio à crimine contra naturam, vel cum brutis, cum diſpenſatione, & inhibitione, turon. 36. duc. 9. Abſolutio pro moniali, qua ſe permiſit pluries cognoſci intra & extra ſepta monaſterii, cum rehabilitate ad dignitates illius ordinis, etiam abbatialem, turon. 36. duc. 9. Abſolutio pro concubinario, cum diſpenſatione ad ordines & beneficia, turon. 21. duc. 5. carlin. 6 (14). - - - - - - - - *The Abſolution and Pardon of all Acts of Fornication committed by a Cleric, in what manner ſoever, whether it be with a Nun, within or without the Limits of the Nunnery, or with his Relations, in Conſanguinity, or Affinity, or with his God-daughter, or with any other Woman whatſoever; and whether alſo the ſaid Abſolution be given in the Name only of the Cleric himſelf, or of him jointly with his Whores, with a Diſpenſation to enable him to take and hold his Orders, and eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and with a Clauſe alſo of Inhibition, coſts Thirty ſix* Tournois, *and nine or three* Ducats. *And if, beſides the above, he receives Abſolution from Buggery, and the Crime againſt Nature, although committed with brute Beaſts, with the Diſpenſation and Clauſe of Inhibition, as before, he muſt pay ninety* Tournois, *twelve* Ducats, *and ſix* Carlin's. *But, if he only receives Abſolution from Buggery, or the Crime againſt Nature, and committed with brute Beaſts, with the Diſpenſation and Clauſe of Inhibition, he pays only Thirty ſix* Tournois, *and nine* Ducats. *A Nun, having committed Fornication ſeveral times within and without the Bounds of her Nunnery, ſhall be abſolved, and enabled to hold all the Dignities of her Order, even that of Abbeſs, by paying Thirty ſix* Tournois, *and nine* Ducats. *The Abſolution of him, who keeps a Concubine, with Diſpenſation to take and hold his Orders, and eccleſiaſtical Benefices, coſts Twenty one* Tournois, *five* Ducats, *and ſix* Carlin's (15).” I conjecture, that *du Pinet* followed the Edition, which the Proteſtant Princes inſerted amongſt the Cauſes of their rejecting the Council of *Trent*, and which was entituled, *Taxa Sacræ Pœnitentiariæ* (16). Mr *Heidegger* recites ſome Pieces of it, which exactly agree with the Edition of *du Pinet* (17). It is obſerved by ſome, that there is an Epitome of the *Taxes of the* Romiſh *Chancery*, at *pag.* 603, & *ſeq.* of a Work entituled, *Luculenta Deductio Cauſarum recuſati Concilii Tridentini à Proteſtantium Germaniæ Principibus publicatarum*, and at the beginning of a Book of *Hunnius de Indulgentiis*, and at *pag.* 216, & *ſeq.* of *Muſculus*'s *Common Places* (18). The Author of the Book, entituled *Simonia Curiæ Romæ*, printed in 1612, has inſerted in it this Paſſage of the ſaid *Common Places* (19). Compare this with the Remark [*A*], of the Article TUPPIUS.

We ſhall ſay ſomething of the Edition, publiſhed by *Laurence Banck*. It was printed at *Franeker*, in the Year 1651, in 8vo. He ſays, he conſulted the moſt ancient Copies, both printed and Manuſcript; and, by comparing them Word for Word, ſupplied from thoſe, which were moſt perfect, what was wanting in the others. He made uſe of the Edition of *Cologn*, in 1523, of that of *Wittemburg*, in 1538, of that of *Venice*, in 1584 (20), and of a Manuſcript, which had been communicated by *John Baptiſt Sibon*, a *Bernardin* Friar, and Reader of the College at *Rome*. By this means he enlarged his Edition, ſomething beyond any of the former. He added a ſort of *Gloſſary*, or Notes, to explain the difficult Terms. He alſo ſubjoined a ſmall Piece, in *Italian*, containing the Taxes in Uſe, under Pope *Innocent* X; and explained the Value of Money, according to the Uſage of that Time. His Notes have been of great Service to the Author of the Remarks, added to the Edition of *Bois-le-duc*. Note, that, in the Preface of this here, it is obſerved, that the Inquiſitors have put the *Tax of the Chancery* in the Liſt of condemned Books. “ Naſcentem ſuffocare conati ſunt ipſi Authores, & in Indice Liborum prohibitorum, ex Patrum Concilii Tridentini authoritate, Hiſpaniarumque Regis & ducis Alban. decreto, Leodii anno 1570 edito, inter primæ Claſſis Authores atro calculo notarunt (21). —— *The Authors themſelves endeavoured to ſtifle it in the Birth, and branded it among the Works of the firſt Claſs, in the Liſt of prohibited Books, publiſhed at* Liege, *in the Year* 1570, *by the Authority of the Fathers of the Council of* Trent, *and by the Decree of the King of* Spain, *and Duke* d'Alva.” I have not This Edition of the *Index Librorum prohibitorum*. That, which I make uſe of, and which was copied from That of *Madrid*, in 1667, in Folio, places, only under the third Claſs, *Praxis & Taxa Officinæ Pœnitentiariæ Papæ, ab Hæreticis depravata* (22): Obſerve, that it is only condemned on the Suppoſition of it's having been corrupted by Heretics; and the *Index*, publiſhed at *Rome*, by Order of *Alexander* VII, uſes the ſame Words with this of *Spain* (23). But let them ſuppoſe as much as they pleaſe, that it has been corrupted by Heretics, the Editions of it, which cannot be diſowned, as That of *Rome*, in 1514; That of *Cologn*, in 1515; Thoſe of *Paris*, in 1520, in 1545, and in 1625 (24); and Thoſe of *Venice* (25), one in the ſixth Volume of the *Oceanus Juris*, publiſhed in 1533, the other in the fifteenth Volume of the ſame Collection, reprinted in 1584: Theſe Editions, I ſay, are more than ſufficient

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(*d*) *In Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* PINET.

(3) *It is in* Latin *and* Dutch, *in* 8vo *See Preface, and p.* 130.

(4) *By* Goſwin Colinius.

(5) Taxæ Canc. Apoſt. pag. 95, 96, *Edit. of* Bois-le-duc.

(6) *See Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* PINET.

(7) *That is, he muſt pay* 5 Gros.

(8) *It is that publiſhed by* Banck. *See pag.* 127.

(9) *See Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* PINET.

(10) P. 132.

(11) P. 103.

(12) *That is, he muſt pay* 5 *or* 7 Gros.

(13) *It was printed at* Lyons *in* 1564, *and at* Leyden *in* 1607, *and at* Amſterdam *in* 1701, *with a new* French *Tranſlation. Theſe* 3 *Editions are in* 8vo.

(14) Taxe des Parties Caſuelles de la Boutique du Pape, pag. 55, & ſeq. *Edit. of* Lyons, 1564 *in* 8vo.

(15) *I have followed* du Pinet's *Tranſlation.*

(16) *See* Heideggeri Myſter. Babyl. magnæ, Tom. II, p. 350, & ſeq.

(17) Ibid. p. 350, & ſeq.

(18) Daniel Francus, Diſquiſit. Academ. de Indicibus Libr. prohib. & expurgan. p. 115. Lipſ. 1684. 4to.

(19) Lydii Analecta in Clemang. pag. 17.

(20) *He means that publiſhed in* Tom. XV, Part. I. pag. 368, *of* Tractatus Tractatuum, ſeu Oceanus Juris Univerſi.

(21) *Preface of* Taxæ Cancell. & Pœnitent. Apoſtol. *Edit. of* Bois-le-Duc.

(22) Indices Libror. prohibitor. & expurgand. Hiſpanicus Romanus. Genev. 1667 *in Folio, pag.* 859, *col.* 2.

(23) Ibid. in Indice Rom. ejuſd. Edit. pag. 106.

(24) *Mr* Drelincourt *cites theſe* 3 *Editions of* Paris. *See his Words in Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* PINET.

(25) Heideg. Myſter. Babylon. magn. Tom. I. p. 547.

ſicient to juſtify the Reproaches of the Proteſtants, and to cover the Church of *Rome* with Confuſion. Our *Laurence Banck* was ignorant of almoſt all theſe Editions, I have particularized, as alſo of That of *Francfort*, in 1612, in 4to (26). *Rivet*, *Voëtius*, *Hottinger*, and ſeveral other, *Helluones Librorum*, *great Readers*, have falſely believed, that the Edition of 1520, was the firſt (27); for they have principally urged this Edition againſt the *Roman* Catholics, who would not allow, that ever the *Taxation of the Chancery* had appeared by Authority. *Voëtius* relates, that, in 1633, a Chancellor of *Bois-le-duc* declared he would abjure his *Catholiciſm*, if any one could ſhew him thoſe Abominations, which the Proteſtants had quoted, as from the *Taxes of the* Romiſh *Chancery*. Application was made to *Rivet*, who lent his Copy of the *Paris* Edition, in 1520 (28). *Voëtius*, in giving this Account, takes Occaſion to exhort, very pathetically, the Library-keepers of Proteſtant Univerſities, to preſerve and buy up the authentic Copies of this Work. “Quia autem, *ſays he* (29), hic *Taxæ Pœnitentiariæ* mentio facta, moneo exemplaria pauca hodiè haberi poſſe (quâ & quorum arte facilè prudentiores conjiciant;) aliqua tamen in manibus noſtrorum ſupereſſe editionis Pariſienſis 1520, in 4°, apud Tuſſain Denis. Edita etiam eſt Venetiis, cum quamplurimis aliis Tractatibus in Oceano Juris. Addo, rem & librum à Pontificiis paſſim negari, ubi ita uſu venit, ut noſtri, allegando illam Taxam, mendacii & calumniæ ſuſpecti fiant, imò & arguentur. Accidit anno 1633, ut quis J. Conſultus idemque Senator Sylvæducenſis, deſertionem & rejectionem Papatus mineretur, (more ipſis non inſolito,) ſi quidem tam abominanda, qualia ex Taxâ noſtri referunt, demonſtrari poſſent. Ut ampliſſ. & conſult. huic Viro ex aſſe ſatisfieret, quæſitum apud exemplari (30), me de etiam à me poſtulatum eſt. Quod cum mihi ab ipſis pontificiis editum nullum eſſet, petii commodato à celeberrimo Theologo Andreâ Riveto. Ante biennium alibi concertatione inter noſtros & Pontificios quoſdam obortâ ſuper eâdem hâc Taxâ, denuo conſultus, commonſtravi Bibliothecam D. Riveti, in quâ certo ſcirem exemplar edit. Pariſ. 1520. haberi; quippe quod ipſe ante annos aliquot manibus & oculis meis uſurpaſſem, & Fratribus Sylvæducenſibus ex ſummi illius Theolog. conceſſione aliquamdiu uſurpandum miſiſſem. Velim hâc occaſione obteſtatos omnes publicos Reformatarum Scholarum, Eccleſiarum, Politiarum, Bibliothecarios, exemplaria illa, ſi quæ in ipſorum poteſtate ſint, capſis incluſa diligenter cuſtodiant, ne à plagiariis auferantur; aut, ſi non ſint, hoc agant, ut à privatis ſive Bibliopolis, ſive Viris literatis, prece aut pretio quovis redimant. —— *But, ſince I have here mentioned the* Pœnitentiary Fees, *I muſt take notice, that there are but few Copies of it now to be met with, (by whoſe means, and what Contrivance, is not difficult to be conjectured,) though we have ſome of the* Paris *Edition, in* 1520, *in* 4to, *by* Tuſſain Denis, *ſtill remaining in our Hands. It was alſo publiſhed at* Venice, *with ſeveral other Tracts, in the* Oceanus Juris. *I muſt add, that both the Fact, and the Book, are denied by the Papiſt, inſomuch that when we cite thoſe Fees, we are not only ſuſpected, but even accuſed, of Forgery and Calumny. It happened in the Year* 1633, *that a certain Civilian, and Counſellor of* Bois-le-duc, *engaged (by an uſual Bravo) to renounce* Popery, *if thoſe Abominations could be proved, which our Proteſtants quoted from thoſe Fees. In order to give full Satisfaction to this honourable and learned Perſon, great Inquiry was made for a Copy of it, and, among others, Application was made to me. As I had not an Edition by me, which was publiſhed by the Papiſts, I borrowed one of That celebrated Divine,* Andrew Rivet. *About two Years after, being conſulted again, upon another Diſpute between our People, and ſome of the Papiſts, concerning theſe Fees, I ſhewed them the Library of* Rivet, *where I knew there was a Copy of the* Paris *Edition*, 1520; *having myſelf peruſed it, ſome Years before, and ſent it, by the Favour of that great Divine, to be peruſed, for ſome time, by the Fraternity of* Bois-le-duc. *I would take this Occaſion earneſtly to intreat all public Library-keepers of Proteſtant Seminaries, Churches, and Societies, who have any of theſe Copies in their Cuſtody, to take particular Care and ſecure them in their Caſes, out of the Reach of Plagiaries; and thoſe, who have not any of them, to make it their Buſineſs to procure ſuch as are to be met with in private Hands, either of Boookſellers, or Men of Learning, at any Rate.*”

I take the *Romiſh* Controvertiſts, who have not a Word to ſay againſt the Authority of the Edition of *Rome*, or That of *Paris*, to be under great Perplexity. This appears from the Anſwers of Abbot *Richard* to the *Prejugez* of Mr *Jurieu*. This Miniſter had publiſhed the *Abominations of the Tax of the Chancery* (31). The Abbot replies, that theſe were only *particular Facts*, which had never been *authorized by the Laws and Canons of the Church of* Rome (32). “We find, indeed, *continues he* (33), that [Mr *Jurieu*] relates * theſe Taxes from an old Book of the *Romiſh* Chancery. But is it not extremely ridiculous, to endeavour to paſs upon the World a Book of Taxes for Laws and Canons? Would it not be making a Jeſt of all Civil Law, to inſert Tables of Taxes into the Code, and reckon them in the Number of Laws? Would not this be doing great Honour to the Gentlemen concerned in them? Let Mr *Jurieu*, therefore, inform himſelf, what are the Laws and Canons of the Church of *Rome*; and let him know, in the mean time, that theſe old Taxes of the Chancery of *Rome* are not only of no Authority in the Church, but have always been regarded by her with Horror. Theſe *Taxes of the Chancery* began but under the Pontificate of *John* XXII, about the Year 1320; and the *Taxes of the Pœnitentiary* appeared only towards the Year 1336, under *Benedict* XII †; and both were immediately ſuppreſſed, and ever afterwards ranked in the Number of prohibited Books, according to the Remark of Mr *du Mont*, who printed them in the Year 1664; which ſufficiently ſhews the Church of *Rome*'s Abhorrence of thoſe Taxes, and that ſhe is far from propoſing, or obſerving, them for Rules, as Mr *Jurieu* would make us believe ſhe has done. Let him therefore conſider, that the Acts of the Officers of the Court of *Rome* are but particular Acts, and not at all the Acts of the Church.” This Anſwer is far from ſufficient; for, in the firſt place, the Church of *Rome* has never ſhewn, by the Suppreſſion of theſe Taxes, that ſhe has had them in Abhorrence. They have been printed thrice at *Paris*, twice at *Cologn*, and twice at *Venice*; and ſome of theſe Editions have been publiſhed ſince *Claude d'Eſpence* exclaimed publickly againſt the Enormities of this Book. We have ſeen, that the Inquiſition of *Spain*, and That of *Rome*, have condemned it only as they ſuppoſe it to have been corrupted by Heretics. I muſt add, in the ſecond place, that the Suppreſſion of ſuch a Work is not a ſure Sign of diſapproving the Rules it contains. This may only ſignify, that they repented of the Publication of it, as it gave ſo fair a Handle for the Heretics to reproach the Court of *Rome*, and to wound the Church of *Rome* through the Sides of the Pope. Theſe ought to be eſteemed Myſteries of State, *Arcana Imperii*, not to be divulged (34). Are there not Perſons of the ſame Opinion as to Ceremonies (35)? I paſs by many other Conſiderations, which a Controvertiſt might alledge againſt Mr *Jurieu*'s Adverſary; but I ſhall not content myſelf with obſerving, that *Claude d'Eſpence* exclaimed, very loudly, againſt the Abomination of theſe Taxes (36); I muſt alſo obſerve, that the Proteſtant Controvertiſts cite This, in all their Diſputes, and that the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition would have this Paſſage expunged from That Doctor's Book (37). Note, that the Inquiſition of *Rome* has condemned *Laurence Banck*'s Edition of the Taxes (38).

(26) Catalogue of the *Oxford* Library, *pag.* 132.

(27) Franci Diſquiſit. de Indicibus Libr. prohib. p. 115, 116.

(28) Voët. Diſputat. Theolog. Tom. II, pag. 296.

(29) Id. ib.

(30) *There is an Error in this Place. The* Errata *of the Author correct it,* me de explari. *But this does not rectify the Error.* Daniel Francus, Diſſert. de Indicibus Libr. prohibit. p. 115, *cites this Paſſage thus:* quæſitum apud alios de exemplari, etiam à me poſtulatum, exemplar.

(31) Jurieu, Prejugés legit. contre le Papiſm, Tom. I. p. pag. 295, & ſeq.

(32) Richard, Examen des Prejugés de Mr Jurieu, pag. 218.

(33) Ibid. pag. 319.

* Part. 1. pag. 295. *of his* Prejugés.

† Polydor. Virgil. de Invent. Rerum, lib. VIII, c. II.

(34) *Compare this with that of* Hor. de Art Poët. ver. 182. —— non tamen intus Digna geri promes in Scenam: multaque tolles Ex oculis, quæ mox narret facundia præſens. *Improper Sights do but diſgrace the Scene, Such had much better be deſcrib'd than ſeen.*

(35) *See Remark* [D] *of the Article* GRASSIS.

(36) *See a Paſſage of Mr* Drelincourt, *cited in Remark* [B] *of the Article* PINET.

(37) Index Hiſpan. Libror. prohibit. p. 232, col. 1.

(38) Index Rom. Libr. prohibitor. pag. 124, col. 2. & pag. 261.

BANDEL (MATTHEW), born at *Caſtro-novo* in *Lombardy*, flouriſhed in the XVIth Century (*a*). He was a *Dominican*. *Moreri* (*b*) has repeated the greateſt part of what *Voſſius* had ſaid of him; but he ought to have added ſome other curious matters of Fact, and not to have omitted two Circumſtances, which were taken notice of by *Voſſius*: One of which is, That the Tranſlation of *Egeſippus* is in *Italian*;

(*a*) *Theſe Words of* Voſſius, circa annum 1500. vivebat Matth. Bandellus, *in pag.* 677, de Hiſtor. Latinis, *are not worth regarding.*

(*b*) Moreri *under the Word* BANDELLA.

Italian; The other, that the Inhabitants of *Fermo* cauſed the Harangue, which *Matthew Bandel* made in praiſe of their City, in the Year 1513, to be placed among their Records (*c*). Here follow ſome Supplements. This Friar, being at *Mantua*, contracted a very ſtrict Friendſhip with *Julius Cæſar Scaliger*, which continued all his Life-time, and which he carefully cultivated in *Guienne* [*A*]. He was ſome Months Biſhop of *Agen*, and there he compoſed, in the *Italian* Tongue, the Hiſtories, or the Gallant Novels, which made him ſo famous. I have quoted them in the Remark [*M*] of the Article LEO X. and in the Remark [*I*] of the Article MAHOMET II. They are each of them dedicated to ſome Perſon of his Acquaintance (*d*). The Twenty firſt of his Second Part is dedicated to *Lucretia de Gonzague*, to whom he had been Preceptor (*e*). He dedicated another to his Friend *Scaliger*. They have been tranſlated into *French*, and we muſt ſay a word about the Judgment, which the Tranſlator made of them [*B*]. The Catalogue of *Thuanus*'s Library (*f*) informs me, that the three firſt Parts were printed at *Lucca*, in the Year 1554, in *Quarto*, and the fourth at *Lyons*, in the Year 1573, in *Octavo*. I wonder, that Mr *Menage* did not place this Monk in the Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtics, who have compoſed Love Verſes (*g*) [*C*].

(*c*) Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 677.

(*d*) *See Remark* [*A*].

(*e*) *See that Lady's Article.*

(*f*) *In pag.* 408, *of part* 2.

(*g*) *It is at the end of the* Anti-Baillet

[*A*] *He contracted a Friendſhip, with* Julius Cæſar Scaliger, - - - *which he cultivated* - - - *in* Guienne.] This would ſcarcely be known, but from theſe Words: “Eodem tempore Mantuæ degebat Matthæus Bandellus inſuper Dominicanus, vir eloquentiſſimus, & optimus, qui poſtea per aliquot menſes Epiſcopus Aginnenſis fuit, & Mantuæ Marium Æquicolam ſumma obſervantia coluit, atque ibi cum Julio Cæſare arctiſſima amicitiæ neceſſitudine conjunctus fuit, quam ab eo tempore, ad ſupremum uſque vitæ diem, in Aquitania perpetuavit. Is, quum unam hiſtoriarum ſuarum, quas Aginni Etruſca lingua Boccatium imitatus conſcripſit Julio dedicaret, eum non ſolum Scaligerum agnoſcit, ſed etiam illuſtriſſimum vocat in epiſtola dedicationis. Et quum in quatuor tomis ingentibus, ſingulas ſingulis ſummis, & nobiliſſimis, ac generoſiſſimis viris dedicaverit, neminem eorum majori honore, quam Julium affecit, quum aliquot ex illis illuſtres vocare nulla fuiſſet invidia (1). - - - - *At the ſame Time lived, at* Mantua, Matthew Bandel, *a Dominican, a very eloquent, and excellent Man, who was afterwards, for ſome Months, Biſhop of* Agen, *and, at* Mantua, *profeſſed a great Eſteem for* Marius Æquicola, *contracting alſo there a moſt intimate Friendſhip, and Familiarity, with* Julius Cæſar Scaliger, *which he continued afterwards, in* Guienne, *to the Day of his Death. He dedicated to him one of his Novels, which he wrote in* Italian, *in Imitation of* Boccace, *and calls him* Illuſtrious Scaliger, *in his Epiſtle dedicatory. And, though he dedicates every particular Novel, in all the four great Volumes, to ſo many ſeveral Perſons of the higheſt Rank, yet he honours none of them more remarkably than* Scaliger, *though calling ſome of Thoſe* illuſtrious *was far from a being Compliment.*” *Lucretia de Gonzague* wrote two Letters to Father *Bandel*, which intimate to us, that he was advanced to ſome Preferment. The firſt (2) ſhews, that he was in *France* (3), the ſecond that he was in *Guienne*: In the firſt he is called *Reverendo patre*, but, in the other, he is ſtiled *Monſignor P. Bandello*, and he is congratulated on his new Dignity. There is no Date of the Year to it. He was not yet a Biſhop, when *Julius Cæſar Scaliger* wrote him a Letter (4), on the Death of *Fracaſtorius*. The Anſwer (5), *Bandel* returned him, is dated *Baſſennii 22 Novemb.* 1553.

[*B*] *His Novels have been tranſlated into* French, —— *Here is the Judgment the Tranſlator made of them.*] Obſerve, firſt of all, that the firſt ſix were done into *French*, by *Peter Boaiſteau*, and the other by *Belleforeſt*. The Advertiſement to the Reader, prefixed to the firſt Volume (6), contains theſe Words: “Deſiring alſo that you would not to take it ill, if I have not confined myſelf to the Stile of *Bandel*; for his Phraſes ſeemed ſo harſh to me, his Expreſſions ſo improper, his Diſcourſe ſo ill put together, and his Sentences ſo barren, that I choſe rather to new-mould his Work, and put it into another Form, than to be ſuch a ſuperſtitious Imitator, having only taken the Subject Matter of the Hiſtory, as you will eaſily diſcover, if you have the Curioſity to compare my Style with his.” Obſerve here a Fact, which is pretty curious. *Belleforeſt*, working on the Thirty ſeventh Novel, was ſeized with ſuch a Remorſe of Conſcience, that he reſolved to leave off his Tranſlation. “I will here lay down my Pen, *ſays he* (7), and leave, from henceforth, theſe Subjects, which are capable of being turned every way, and may ſerve as Leſſons of Inſtruction to ſome, and, to others, as Examples, to incourage them in their Follies and Wildneſs; for what I have done of it, at this time, was rather to gratify a Friend, than out of any Deſire to be acceſſary to the Publication of any Thing of this kind. Not that Age exempts me from ſpeaking merrily and jocoſely; but, whatever may be concealed under them, that may colour the too ſoft, and tender, Expreſſions, neceſſary to be uſed in deſcribing Amours, there are different times for theſe Merriments: And, beſides, I have other Deſigns of greater Conſequence than *Bandel*'s Hiſtories, or the Amours of Thoſe, who, by their Example, ſhould deter us from following our ſenſual Appetite ſo far, as to become, at laſt, the Entertainment of Poſterity, by the Memory of our Follies. This King (8), then, ſhall put an End to my Undertaking, and make me, from henceforth, take my Leave of all prophane Subjects, unleſs, ſometimes, a more ſolid Hiſtory ſhould enliven my Spirits, and a longer Diſcourſe ſhould encourage me ſtill to go on with this Author, whom I have rather adorned and amplified, than followed, or imitated.” To excuſe what is paſt, he adds this Remark. “I do not write Love Stories out of Laciviouſneſs, but as one, who laughs at Fools, and thoſe, that are vainly tranſported with, and ſuffer themſelves to be conquered by, their Luſts; and accuſes Adulterers, deteſts the Infamous, abhors Murtherers, and is ſorry, that there are ſuch ſenſeleſs Men in the World, who ſacrifice their Lives for ſo ſhort a Pleaſure, as the Eaſe of the Body. In fine, I praiſe Virtue, and condemn Sin, wiſhing, that, as I myſelf have taken warning, by theſe Examples, ſo I may ſee others put an End to their Folly, by the Amendment of their Lives. If any Body takes more Delight in the merry Stories, that are in *Bandel*, let him divert himſelf with them as much as he pleaſes: As for me, (as I have ſaid) I give him up my Share of it, and leave him alſo the Happineſs and Honour he may receive from thence, by enriching this dry Author, and alſo our Language, with the natural Sweetneſs of his Eloquence (9).” See here a *French* Layman, who ſcruples to tranſlate, what an *Italian* Monk had wrote about Love. But this Scruple did not continue long; for *Belleforeſt* finiſhed That Tranſlation, and even added ſome Supplements to it.

[*C*] *Mr* Menage *has not placed him in the Number of Eccleſiaſtics, who compoſed Love Verſes.*] *Bandel* wrote ſome, and was congratulated for them, by his Friends. See *Julius Cæſar Scaliger*'s Epigram, *de Bandelli amoribus Thuſca lingua decantatis* (10), and the four Verſes I am going to tranſcribe:

Dum teneros loquitur dulcis Bandellus amores,
  Ipſe ſui oblitus tela remiſit amor.
Seu canit Aonium fontem fontiſque ſorores,
  Fonti ipſi ex illo lactea vena fluit (11).

While ſweet Bandellus *paints Love's various Charms,*
  The liſt'ning God *lets fall his uſeleſs Arms.*
  Or, if of Helicon *we hear him ſing,*
  His flowing Wit ſupplies the Muſes Spring.

The Catalogue of *Nicolas Heinſius*'s Library (12) informs me, that the *Canti XI, &c. dal Bandello*, were printed, at *Agen*, in the Year 1545, in 8vo.

(1) Joſeph. Scaliger. in Confutatione Fabulæ Burdonianæ, p. 269, 270.

(2) Letters of Lucretia de Gonzague. *Venice* 1552.

(3) *Page* 63.

(4) *Pag.* 56, *of his* Letters, *Edit. of* Leyden, 1600.

(5) Letter 57, *among thoſe of* Julius Cæſar Scaliger.

(6) Printed at *Paris*, in 1567; and reprinted, the ſame Year, at *Antwerp*.

(7) Belleforeſt, Tragi-Hiſtories, Tom. III. pag. 53, 54. *Edit. of* Roan, 1604.

(8) Henry VIII, *King of* England.

(9) Belleforeſt, ibid. pag. 65.

(10) *You will find it in Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* GONZAGUE (LUCRETIA de)

(11) Julius Cæſar Scaliger in Heroïbus, pag. 327, part. I, Poëmatum.

(12) *In page* 200, *of Part II.*

BANDOLE

BANDOLE (Anthony *de*), Advocate in the Parliament of *Provence*, publiſhed a French Tranſlation of *Xiphilinus*, at *Paris*, in the Year 1610, in *Quarto*. He alſo printed, in the ſame City, in 1609, in *Quarto*, a Parallel between *Cæſar*, and *Henry* IV, prefixed to *Cæſar's Commentaries*, tranſlated into *French*, and commented on by *Vigenere*.

BANGIUS (Thomas), Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Copenhagen*, was born in the Year 1600 *(a)*. He finiſhed his Studies in Humanity in the College of *Ottenſee*, in the Iſland of *Funen*, and, about the Year 1621, he went to *Copenhagen*, where he continued his Studies with great Succeſs. *Gaſper Brochmand*, Profeſſor of Divinity, and Biſhop of *Sealand*, made him Preceptor to his Son. *Bangius* was, at the ſame time, Preceptor to *Chriſtian Friis*, eldeſt Son of the Chancellor of *Denmark*. Having continued that Employ above five Years, he obtained a Penſion of the King, and went to *Roſtock*, from whence he returned to *Copenhagen*, upon the Emperor's Troops advancing towards the *Baltic* Sea. He finiſhed his Courſe of Divinity under Profeſſor *Brochmand*, and then went to *Franeker*, where he learned *Rabiniſm* and *Chaldaiſm* under *Sixtinus Amama*, by whom he was much eſteemed. He afterwards ſtudied at *Wittemberg*, where he received a Letter, in the Year 1630, from the Rector, and Council, of the Univerſity of *Copenhagen*, offering him the Profeſſorſhip of the *Hebrew* Tongue. He deſired to be excuſed, as not being learned enough to acquit himſelf worthily of that Office: But, being adviſed by Profeſſor *Brochmand*, who was then Rector, not to refuſe what was offered him, he accepted of it, upon condition that he might be permitted to imploy the Income of that Poſt in ſtudying the *Arabic* and *Syriac* Languages, for ſome Years, under *Gabriel Sionita (b)*. This being conſented to, he went to *Copenhagen*, and, in the Month of *September* 1630, he took poſſeſſion of the *Hebrew* Profeſſorſhip, and afterwards was made Doctor in Philoſophy. He diſcharged this Duty, to the Advantage and Improvement of the Students, till the Year 1652, when he was promoted to the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, vacant by the Death of *Brochmand*. He was made Doctor of the ſame Faculty in the Year 1653, in the King and Queen's Preſence. Three Years after, the Office of Library-Keeper of the Univerſity was conferred upon him, and he performed the Dedication of the Church of the *Trinity*, by a *Latin* Sermon *(c)*. Being taken ill, the eleventh of *October* 1661, his chief Care was of the Concerns of his Soul: He Confeſſed himſelf, and Communicated the ſixth Day of his Sickneſs, and died the Twenty ſeventh of the ſame Month *(d)*. He married, in 1638, the Daughter of a Senator, by whom he had fourteen Children, eight Sons and ſix Daughters. His Writings teſtify his Learning [*A*].

(*a*) Flemloſiæ Finorum. *I chuſe rather to ſet down the name of his Country in* Latin, *than to miſtake the vulgar Name.*

(*b*) He then taught at *Paris.*

(*c*) That Church was deſigned for the Religious Exerciſes of the Students.

(*d*) *Taken from his* Funeral Programma, *compoſed by* Peter Scavenius, *Rector of the Univerſity of* Copenhagen, *cited by* Witte, Memor. Theol. renov. pag. 1387.

[*A*] *His Writings teſtify his Learning.*] He was an Author before he was a Doctor: for, in the Year 1627, he publiſh'd an Expoſition of a Paſſage of *Jeremiah* (1). His *Vindiciæ locorum Geneſ.* xlviii. 16. *Geneſ.* lvi. 1. *Pſalm* xix. 1. appeared in the Year 1630. The Year following, he publiſhed *Fontium Iſraelis Trias, Jona, Michea, Ruth*; and in the Year 1634, his *Exercitatio Glottologica, de Ortu Linguarum.* His *Exercitationes octo literariæ antiquitatis* appeared in the Year 1638. The two Books, *Obſervationum Philologicarum*, appeared two Years after. The *Hermes & Pan Hebraicus, quo vivum abſoluti Hebraici Lexicographi exemplum proponitur*, was printed in 1641 (2). The *Phoſphorus Inſcriptionis hieroſymbolicæ, quo Stellæburgum regium Hafnienſe illuſtratur*, came out in the Year 1648, and was followed, the Year after, by the *Tropæum protevangelicum, quo ex Scriptis Pontificiorum oſtenditur veram eſſe lectionem*, Ipſum conteret tibi caput, *& ſoli Chriſto convenire.* The *Exercitatio elenchtica de Nephilimis, Gigantibus vulgo dictis, oppoſita Jacobo Boulducco* was a Work of the Year 1652; and the *Oliva Sacræ pacis repurgata*, a Work of the Year 1654; and the *Cælum Orientis & priſci Mundi*, a Work of the Year 1657. I do not mention the Titles of ſome other Works, which have not been omitted in the *Funeral Programma*, nor by *Albert Bartholin* (3). Some of the Books, whoſe Titles I have mentioned, are only Orations, of which Number is the *Oliva Sacræ pacis repurgata.* This, however, has obtained a Place for the Author in the Catalogue of the Reconcilers of Religion (4), and has been wholly inſerted in the *Irenicorum Tractatuum Prodromus*, by *John Duræus*, or rather *Dury*.

(1) *It is the 24th Verſe of Chap.* xxiii.

(2) *Father* Labbe, Biblioth Bibliothec. p. 198, *ſpeaks of that Book, tho' it has no Relation to his Deſign, and aſcribes it to* Thomas Bengus.

(3) In Libro de Scriptis Danorum.

(4) *See* Heidegger. de Concord. Eccleſ. Prot. pag. 208.

BARANZAN (Redemptus), a *Barnabite* Fryar, was one of the firſt, in the XVIIth Century, who ventured to quit the Path of *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy. *La Mothe le Vayer* ſays, that he *may be placed among the firſt Wits of our Age* (*a*), and that the Works of his Youth entitle him to it [*A*]. He adds, that this honeſt *Barnabite had many times promiſed him, but always under the good pleaſure of God*, That he would appear to him again, *if he ſhould depart this Life.* He did not keep his word, *Providence having ordered otherwiſe*; and he verified the Sentence of a *Latin* Poet.

Qui nunc it per iter tenebricoſum,
Illuc unde negant redire quemquam *(b).*

Who

(*a*) Chriſtian Diſcourſe of the Immortality of the Soul, *in Vol.* IV. *of his Works, in* 12mo, *pag.* 172.

(*b*) *Catull. Epigr.* 3.

[*A*] *He may be placed among the greateſt Wits of our Age; the Works of his Youth intitle him to it.*] Doubtleſs he means the Book *De novis Opinionibus Phyſicæ*, printed, at *Lyons*, in the Year 1619. *Konig* mentions two of This Fryar's Works. *Edidit*, ſays he, *Uranoſcopiam & campum Philoſophicum, ann.* 1620 (1). — *He publiſhed two Pieces, one called* Uranoſcopia, *the other* Campus Philoſophicus. I have had, in my Hands, a Copy of the *Campus Philoſophicus*, printed, at *Lyons*, in the Year 1619. It contained but one Volume, and treated only of Logic, very much in the manner of the *Peripatetics*; but the Approbation, annexed, gives me to underſtand, that This Volume is but the firſt Part of *Baranzen*'s Courſe of Philoſophy, and that the general Title of That Courſe is, *Summa Philoſophica Anneciacenſis*; which confirms what I have ſaid, that That Author taught in *Anneci*.

(1) *The* Oxford *Catalogue ſays* Uranoſcopia ſeu univerſa Doctrina de Cœlo, 1617.

Who now does Death's benighted Way explore,
From whence the wandring Soul returns no more.

I ſhall mention, in another place (*c*), ſome Perſons who have made ſuch Promiſes. *Baranzan* was of *Verceil*: He taught Mathematics and Philoſophy in the City of *Anneci* in *Savoy*. *Naudé*, in the Seventy ninth page of the Inſtruction, which he publiſhed in 1623, concerning the Society of *Roſicruſians*, mentions him as then dead.

(*c*) *In the Article* BONFADIUS.

BARBARUS (Francis), a Noble *Venetian*, was a famous Man in the XVth Century. He was not only very learned, but alſo very ſkillful in the managing Affairs of Government. He was no leſs a Stateſman, than a Man of Letters, as he made appear in all the public Employs, with which he was intruſted; and principally when he was Governor of *Breſcia*. The Vigilance, Steadineſs, Tractableneſs, and other great Virtues, wherewith he defended That City againſt the Forces of the Duke of *Milan*, commanded by the famous *Picinin*, cannot be ſufficiently admired. He had Enemies within, and without, the Town, and conquered them all. The Diviſions were very great in the City: the *Avogadri*, and the *Martinenghes*, were the Heads of two oppoſite Factions; he engaged them, by his Eloquence, to unite, and act in concert, for the Public Good. The length of the Siege, or Blockade, cauſed a Famine in the Town, and the Famine cauſed the Plague; and yet, under all theſe Obſtructions, he had the happineſs to fruſtrate all Attempts of the Enemy, for three Years, and force them to retire. This happened about the Year 1439 (*a*). Some Authors believe, that our *Francis Barbarus* is he, who wrote a Book *de Re Uxoria*, ſome *Letters*, and ſome Orations. It is the opinion of *Volaterran* (*b*), who adds, that he had been a Diſciple of *Chryſoloras*, and that he forgot all his *Greek* in his Old-age. *Volaterran* might perhaps be under ſome Miſtake [*A*]. *Francis Barbarus* died in the Year 1454 (*c*).

(*a*) *Taken from* Vianoli *in Book* 18, *of* The Hiſtory of Venice, *Tom. I. See alſo what he ſays in Book* 20, *pag.* 768.

(*b*) Volaterr. lib. 21, pag. 773.

(*c*) Voſſ. de Hiſtor. Lat. pag. 620.

[*A*] Volaterran *might perhaps be under ſome Miſtake.*] Theſe are the Grounds of my Suſpicion. I find, in *Vianoli*, that *Francis Barbarus*, who ſo ſucceſsfully defended the City of *Breſcia*, was the Father of *Zachary*, and That *Zachary* was the Father of *Hermolaus Barbarus* (1). I find, in *Geſner*'s *Bibliotheca*, that *Francis Barbarus*, Author of the Book *de Re Uxoria*, tranſlated the *Lives of Ariſtides* and *Cato* from the *Greek* of *Plutarch*, and dedicated them to his Brother *Zachary*. I find, in *Volaterran* (2), that *Hermolaus Barbarus* was Nephew (3) of That *Francis Barbarus*, who defended the City of *Breſcia*: *Volaterran* had mentioned this *Francis Barbarus*, in the Seven hundred and ſeventy third Page, and, among other things, had ſaid of him what follows: “He underſtood the *Greek* Tongue well, but, as I have heard his Relation, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, ſay, he forgot it quite in his Old-days. *Hic poſtremo ſeneſcens, uti ab* Hermolao *ejus neceſſario accepi, literarum Græcarum, quas probè tenebat, erat omnino oblitus.*” The other Particulars, which *Volaterran* has related of This *Francis Barbarus*, are, that he had been a Diſciple of *Chryſoloras*, that he had written a Book *de Re Uxoria*, ſome *Orations*, and ſome *Letters*, and that he acquired a great Reputation in defending the City of *Breſcia*. *Dum Brixiæ Prætor eſſet, eam urbem à Philippi ducis obſidione magnâ cum laude liberavit.* This gives room to ſuſpect, that *Volaterran* has promiſcuouſly joined together what belongs reſpectively to the Father and Son. The Paſſage of *Geſner* teſtifies, that *Francis Barbarus*, Author of the Book *de Re Uxoria*, and Tranſlator of the *Life of Ariſtides*, was the Brother of *Zachary Barbarus*. Now, according to *Vianoli*, *Zachary Barbarus* was the Son of him, who defended *Breſcia*, and Father of *Hermolaus*; it ſhould be ſaid, then, that he, who defended *Breſcia*, had a Son, whoſe Name was *Francis Barbarus*, who wrote the Book *de Re Uxoria*, and tranſlated the *Lives of Ariſtides* and *Cato* out of the *Greek* of *Plutarch*, and who was Uncle of *Hermolaus Barbarus*. According to this, *Volaterran* attributes certain Things to the Father, which belong only to the Son. Moreover, he, who defended *Breſcia*, might have had a Brother, whoſe Name was *Zachary*, to whom he had dedicated his two Tranſlations; and then *Volaterran*'s whole Miſtake would conſiſt, in not having known, that *Francis Barbarus* was the Grandfather of *Hermolaus*. If I had the Works of *Francis Barbarus*, probably, I might find ſome Circumſtances, which would decide the Queſtion. But, for want of that Advantage, I deſired Mr *de Larroque* to clear my Doubt; and this was his Anſwer: “Mr *Joli* proves (4), that the Author of the Book *de Re Uxoria* was the Grandfather of *Hermolaus*, and that he publiſhed it about the Time of the Council of *Conſtance*; for *Poggio* and *Paul Vergerio* mention That Book, in ſome Letters, dated from the City of *Conſtance*: *Poggio*'s Letter is written to *Guerini* of *Verona*, and That of *Vergerio* to *Nicholas Leontinus*. They praiſe *Francis Barbarus* for having written ſo well concerning Marriage, though he was very young, and not married himſelf. He dedicated the Tranſlation of the Lives of *Ariſtides* and *Cato* to his Brother *Zachary*, and died in the Year 1454. Mr *Joli* diſtinguiſhes two *Daniel Barbarus*'s.” Note, I have been told, that this Preface of Mr *Joli*, which I have quoted, contains ſeveral Elogies of the Author of the Book *de Re Uxoria*, and clears up a great many Things, that concern learned Men.

Geſner and *Voſſius* quote a Letter of *Andrew Brentius*, by which one may learn, that *Francis Barbarus*, Grandfather of *Hermolaus*, and Father of *Zachary*, had compoſed and tranſlated many Books. “Nimirum in te omnia Franciſci Barbari patris virtutum lumina eluceſcunt: cui certe multum Latina lingua debet, tot tantiſque ab eo libris partim compoſitis, partim converſis, à quo minime degenerat Hermolaus filius, te tanto patre non indignus (5). — *For, in you, all the Virtues of your Father* Francis Barbarus *ſhine in their brighteſt Luſtre: to whom, undoubtedly, the* Latin *Tongue is greatly indebted, on account of ſo many Books, ſome compoſed, and others tranſlated, by him; and from whom* Hermolaus, *a worthy Son of ſo great a Father, does not at all degenerate.*” It is very certain, by the Teſtimony of *Hermolaus* himſelf (6), that his Father's Name was *Zachary*; ſo that *Philip de Bergamo* was much miſtaken, when he made him the Son of *Francis Barbarus*, and Grandſon of *Zachary*: *Franciſci Barbari filius, Zachariæ Barbari nepos* (7). *Moreri*, as well here, as in a thouſand other Places, tranſlates *Nepos* by *Nephew*, which is a very groſs Fault. They, who pretend to write good *Latin*, uſe *Nepos* only to ſignify Grandſon: They, who are not ſo ſcrupulous in their *Latin* Style, uſe, indeed, the Word *Nepos* for *Nephew*, but they commonly add, *ex fratre*, or *ex ſorore*, to take off the Equivocation; if they ſay *Nepos* only, they mean *Grandſon*.

(1) Vianoli's Hiſtory of *Venice*, Tom. 1, lib. 20, pag. 768.

(2) Lib. 21, pag. 777.

(3) Ex fratre nepos.

(4) *In the Preface to the* French *Tranſlation of the Book* De Re Uxoria, *printed at* Paris, *in the Year* 1667.

(5) Andreas Brentius, Patavinus, Epiſtola ad Zachariam Barbarum apud Voſſium de Hiſtor. Lat. p. 621. *It is affirmed in the* Appendix *of Dr* Cave, pag. 157, *that* Hermolaus *was the Son of* Francis.

(6) *See the* 32*d Letter of the* 12*th Book of thoſe of* Politian.

(7) Phil. Berg. apud Voſſium de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 621.

BARBARUS (Hermolaus), Grandſon of the foregoing, was one of the moſt Learned Men of the XVth Century. He was born at *Venice*, the Twenty firſt of *May*, 1454 *(a)*. He made ſuch great, and ſpeedy, Proficiency in his Studies, that he began to write Books at the eighteenth Year of his Age [*A*]. The public Employs, wherein he was very early engaged, did not prevent his earneſt application to Learning [*B*]. He was ſent, by the *Venetians*, to the Emperor *Frederic*, and to his Son *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*; and This Deputation was ſo far from putting a ſtop to his Pen, that it ſupplied him with matter to exerciſe it; for he did not only publiſh the Speech [*C*], which he delivered before thoſe two Princes, at *Bruges*, in the Year 1486, but he wrote alſo a Treatiſe of the Agreement of Aſtronomy with Phyſic; I ſay, he wrote it the ſame Year, as he went through the City of *Cologne* in his way to *Mentz*, at the deſire of *Theodoric Flas*, a Phyſician of *Nuis (b)*. As he underſtood *Greek* very well, he undertook the moſt difficult Tranſlations, and began with a celebrated Paraphraſt on *Ariſtotle*; I mean *Themiſtius*. Afterwards he undertook *Dioſcorides*, whoſe Text he corrected as well as he could, and made a Tranſlation of it; to which he added a very learned Commentary. It is ſaid, that he alſo attempted two of the moſt difficult Treatiſes of *Plutarch (c)*: I cannot tell whether That Tranſlation was ever publiſhed. He had a deſign to tranſlate all *Ariſtotle*'s Works [*D*]; and he ſays, in one of his Epiſtles Dedicatory, that the Execution of that Deſign was a great way advanced. He had an extraordinary Facility in writing Verſes, and it is pretended, that he compoſed above Twelve thouſand [*E*]. But, of all his Works, there is none, which gained him ſo much Reputation, as That, which he perform'd on *Pliny*. He corrected near Five thouſand Paſſages of That Author, and occaſionally reſtored Three hundred in *Pomponius Mela (d)*. This noble Work has been criticiſed [*F*], as well as his other Books

(a) Geſner. in Biblioth. fol. 246, ex Trithemio.

(b) Geſner. in Bibl. fol. 317.

(c) De Iſide & Oſiride & cur Oracula deſierunt. *Geſner. in Bibl.*

(d) Hermol. Barbarus in Præfat. ad Alexandrum VI.

[*A*] *He began to write Books at the eighteenth Year of his Age.*] *Geſner* tells us ſo; *Ab octavodecimo ætatis ſuæ anno ſcribere exorſus multa elegantiſſima opuſcula compoſuit* (1). *Voſſius* intended the ſame thing: but, becauſe his Printer forgot two Letters, it occaſioned Mr *Teiſſier* to ſay, that *Hermolaus Barbarus began to write at Twenty two Years of Age* (2). This is his Tranſlation of theſe Words of *Voſſius*, *Ab anno ætatis duo vigeſimo ſcribere orſus fuit* (3). And thus you ſee the Errors of Printers are ſometimes of great Conſequence. It is plain, that *Voſſius* had written *duodevigeſimo:* So that two Letters, ſuppreſſed in this Word, have robbed an Author of four Years Glory. Mr *Teiſſier*'s Fault may be ſeen in the One hundred fifty ſeventh Page of Dr *Cave*'s *Appendix*.

[*B*] *His public Employs - - - - - did not prevent his earneſt Application to Learning.*] We muſt underſtand this with ſome Reſtriction; for it is certain, that thoſe Employs muſt have interrupted his Studies. "Honores, *ſays he* (4), in republica geſſi multos & "magnos: quâ fide, quâ opinione, quâ gratiâ, non "dixerim. Placet quidem impendiſſe annos penitus "duodecim, ſed octo reipub. continuos: totum id "tamen tempus literis ferè periit. —— *I have diſcharged many, and great, Truſts in the Commonwealth; with what Fidelity, Reputation, and Favour, I ſhall not pretend to ſay. I have been engaged in them full twelve Years, eight of which have been entirely ſpent on the Public: And the whole Time was almoſt quite loſt to Learning.*"

[*C*] *He publiſhed a Speech.*] It was dedicated to *Carondelet*, who was then Chief Secretary to the King of the *Romans*. The Author confeſſes, that he does not publiſh it exactly as he delivered it; but he declares, at the ſame time, that he gives it entirely as he had prepared it. If he did not ſpeak it as it was compoſed, it was, becauſe the Courtiers deſired him to be ſhort, and to come ſpeedily to the main Point. They were not ignorant, that the Study of polite Learning flouriſhed at that time in *Italy*, and that the Ambaſſadors from That Country took a Pleaſure in making long Speeches, ſet off with all the Ornaments of Rhetoric. Nay, *Hermolaus* was obliged to reduce the two Speeches, which he, and his Colleague had prepared, into one; and, as the Abridgment, and the Reduction, were to be made in the Space of an Hour and a half, judge of *Hermolaus*'s Preſence of Mind, which happily overcame all Theſe Difficulties. "Obſecro ne mirere ſi qua leges in hoc "libello quæ tunc dicta non fuerunt. Nec enim addidi nunc ea, ſed detraxi tunc, admonitus ab aulicis extemplo quam limen attigi ne longus eſſem, "ambitioſa reciderem, optima quæque dicerem, patientiſſimis omnino, ſed occupatiſſimis tamen Principibus, parcerem. Amputavi ſubito conſilio multa. "- - - - - Conſiderans hoc & æſtimans quod ſeſquihoram antequam Principes adiremus ſignificatum "nobis fuerit non duas orationes ſeorſum, ut cogitabamus & paraveramus, ſed unam duobus junctim habendam & recitandam eſſe (5). - - - - *Be not ſurprized if you meet with ſome Things here, which were not delivered. They are not now added, but were then ſuppreſſed, being adviſed, by the Courtiers, as ſoon as I appeared, not to be long, to cut off all Flouriſhes, to ſpeak only to the material Points, and to favour, as much as poſſible, Princes, who, though they had a great deal of Patience, yet had very little Leiſure. I immediately cut off many Things. - - - - - Conſidering, and providing for this alſo, that we were told, about an Hour and half before we were to be admitted into the Preſence, that we muſt not deliver two ſeparate Speeches, as we expected, and had prepared, but put both of them into one.*"

[*D*] *He had a Deſign to tranſlate all* Ariſtotle'*s Works.*] See what he ſays in the Preface to his *Pomponius Mela* (6). "Vocant nos majora quædam ſtudia, urgemuſque noſtrum illud vetus omnes Ariſtotelis libros in latinum vertendi exponendique "propoſitum. Quod ſi ad exitum perduxero (nam "bona ejus pars jam pridem peracta eſt) non dubito "futurum, quin de reliquo in literis labore gratia "mihi fiat. - - - - *I am intent upon greater Studies, and am carrying on the old Deſign of tranſlating into* Latin, *and commenting on, all* Ariſtotle'*s Works. Which if I can bring to Perfection, as a great Part of it is already done, I do not doubt but the learned World will thank me for all the reſt of my Time, ſpent in their Service.*" His Tranſlation of *Ariſtotle*'s Rhetoric was publiſhed after his Death. See the following Article.

[*E*] *He had an extraordinary Facility in writing Verſes; and had compoſed above Twelve thouſand.*] Among other Pieces of Poetry, he wrote a Poem of Six hundred Verſes, which bears the ſame Title with a Piece, written by his Grand-father *Francis Barbarus*, I mean, *de Re Uxoria*; but the Subſtance of them is very different. *Francis Barbarus* preſcribes Rules as well to thoſe, that would marry, as to thoſe, that are already married (7): he is ſo very particular, that he has a Chapter *de coïtus ratione. Hermolaus* confines himſelf to this Queſtion, *Whether a wiſe Man ought to marry* (8)? and concludes for the Negative.

[*F*] *That noble Work, on* Pliny, *has been criticiſed.*] It has been pretended, that he had too much indulged his Conjectures and Memory. *Pintianus* uſed him very rudely upon it. Thoſe, who pardon him the Defects of his Memory, do not forgive the Inſtances of his Temerity; but declare, very freely, that he has undertaken to correct many things, which were no Faults,

(1) Geſn. Biblioth. fol. 317.

(2) Teiſſier's Additions to the Elogies of *Thuanus*, Tom. 1. p. 354.

(3) Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 622.

(4) Herm. Barbar. Epiſt. 31, lib. 12, inter Politiani Epoſtolas.

(5) Herm. Barbarus Epiſt. ad Carondeletum, inter Epiſtolas Politiani 45, lib. 12.

(6) Apud Geſner. Biblioth. fol. 317, verſo.

(7) *See the Titles of the Chapters of his Work in* Geſner's Biblioth. fol. 246, verſo.

(8) Geſn. Bibl. fol. 317.

Books [*G*]. He was Embaſſador from the Republic of *Venice* to Pope *Innocent* VIII, when the Patriarch of *Aquileia* died. The Pope immediately conferred That Patriarchate upon him. *Hermolaus* was ſo imprudent as to accept of it, without waiting for the Approbation of his Superiors [*H*], though he could not be ignorant, that the Republic of *Venice* had made Laws, to forbid all Miniſters, ſent from thence to the Court of *Rome*, to accept any Benefice. *Hermolaus*'s Excuſes, grounded on the Pope's having compelled him to embrace the Prelacy, were not liſtened to. The Council of Ten ſignified very roughly to him, to renounce the Patriarchate, and that, if he did not, his Father ſhould be degraded from all his Dignities, and

Faults, but only ſurpaſſed his Underſtanding. It is true, that, in ſeveral Editions of *Pliny*, great Regard has been had for *Hermolaus*'s Corrections, ſince they have been inſerted in the Text; but it was ſaid, long ago, that this pretended Phyſician of *Pliny* had given him more Wounds, than he had cured. Let us ſee how Father *Hardouin* expreſſes it. “Ipſe (*Hermolaus*) in iis quæ attigit, ſæpè nimium conjecturæ, memoriæ etiam plus quam hominem deceat, tribuit: uti paulo acerbius eam ob rem invectus in eum Pintianus olim exprobravit. Sed conceſſa facile venia μνημονικῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, quod minus mirum ſit memoriam excidere aliquarum rerum, quam conſtare omnium: at non venia dignus æque, cum neglectis veterum exemplarium veſtigiis, & priſcarum ante ſe editionum ſecurus, plurima pro arbitrio, eruditè magis quam cautè ac verè, mutavit, vel planè peſſumdedit: cum plurima ex iis quæ caſtigavit, non errata illa ſint, ſed parum intellecta. Tantum nihilominus auctoritati Barbari ſubſecuta ætas eruditionique tribuit, ut conjecturas illius, ceu totidem κυρίας δόξας, in contextum inſeruerit, unde eliminandæ à nobis variis argumentis fuere. Senſit jamdudum hanc labem operi Pliniano illatam auctor Epigrammatis, alias haud perelegantis, in Commentarios à Stephano Aquæo editos, de quibus agendum mox erit. Sic enim ille:

Dum facere Hermoleos medicinam Barbarus optat
  Non paucis lacero vulneribus Plinio,
Perlæſum gravius conjecta vulnerat arte:
  Nec minus incauta plurima turba manu.
In tantum ut Latio jam deploratus abiret,
  Ob multa in Stygias vulnera feſſus aquas, *&c.*

“Felicior aliquanto SIGISMUNDUS GELENIUS, qui uno duntaxat archetyporum præſidio, collatis inter ſe exemplaribus, non pauca reſtituit, quæ Hermolao latuerant (9). —— *He* (Hermolaus) *in his Corrections, gives often too much Liberty to Conjecture, and to Memory a great deal more than any Man ought to do; for which* Pintianus *has a little too ſeverely reproved him. But his Faults of Memory are very excuſable, ſince it is much leſs to be wondred at the letting ſlip ſome things, than the retaining all: but he is not ſo eaſily to be pardoned, for ſlighting all old Manuſcripts, and former Editions, and boldly altering, in an arbitrary Manner, with more Learning than Caution and Truth, and ſometimes plainly defacing: ſince a great many of his Emendations appear where there were no Faults, but only his own Miſunderſtandings. And yet the ſucceeding Age paid ſuch a regard to the Authority, and Learning, of* Barbarus, *that they inſerted his Conjectures as ſo many authentic Gloſſes into the Body of the Text, which have coſt us a great many Arguments to remove. This Injury, done to* Pliny, *was obſerved by the Author of an* Epigram, *otherwiſe not very elegant, on the Commentaries publiſhed by* Stephanus Aquæus, *of which we ſhall preſently ſpeak. Thus he,*

While Barbarus, *and other Quacks, pretend*
The mangled State of Pliny'*s Text to mend:*
Their Art ſo much in blind Conjecture deals,
It boldly gives ten wounds for one it heals.
That thus defac'd he flies the Latian *Light,*
And gladly ſeek Repoſe in Realms of Night.

“SIGISMUNDUS GELENIUS *uſed a much more ſucceſsful Method, who, by the ſole help of Manuſcripts, which he collated, has reſtored a great many Places, which* Hermolaus *paſſed by.*” I have ſet down this long Paſſage, the better to convince Mr *Varillas* that he was miſtaken in a Matter, which was pretty well known. But yet, I am very well ſatisfied, that *Hermolaus*'s Work on *Pliny*'s Natural Hiſtory deſerves Admiration, conſidering the great Number of Authors he was obliged to conſult, and the little time he had for it. He ſays, he performed it in twenty Months: He broke the Ice for others; he found *Pliny* in a very bad Condition, and like a Land that had lain waſte a long time, or a Houſe infected with the Plague, or haunted by Hobgobblins. *Hæc erant in Pliniano codice flagitia, propter quæ non parum multi divinum opus tanquam ſenticetum, imo vero quaſi peſtilens aut lemuribus infame domicilium vitabant. Ea nos Græcis & Latinis auctoribus perlectis omnibus lucubratione viginti menſium revellere ac publicare curavimus* (10). As to *Volaterran*'s Notion, that it was an Undertaking little ſuitable to the Character of *Hermolaus Barbarus*; *opus impar ejus dignitati & vitæ inſtituto* (11), it has been very juſtly condemned, as well becauſe *Hermolaus* had entred upon it before he was a Churchman, as becauſe it were to be wiſhed, that many other Prelates would commit the like Faults. *Utinam ſic a multis ejus dignitatis atque inſtituti peccaretur* (12). *Voſſius* adds another Reaſon, which is, that *Pliny* did not make him neglect the Epiſcopal Functions; witneſs his Sermons, ſtill preſerved in Manuſcript at *Padua*. I ſhould rather chuſe to ſay, that, ſince the *Venetians* would not ſuffer him to accept that Dignity, he could not neglect the Patriarchal Functions in favour of *Pliny*. Note, that, having publiſhed that Work in the Year 1492, he added an Appendix to it, which he calls *Secundæ caſtigationes*, and which is dated at *Rome*, the thirteenth of *January*, 1493.

[*G*] *As well as his other Books.*] His Tranſlation of *Themiſtius* is not juſt, if we may believe *Voſſius*. “Ipſe ille Themiſtius ab Hermolao Barbaro, dum nimium ſtudet elegantiæ, tantâ converſus eſt libertate, ut ſæpiſſimè longè aliud dicat quam ſenſerit Themiſtius (13): —— Hermolaus Barbarus, *while he too much ſtudied Elegancy, took ſuch liberty in tranſlating* Themiſtius, *that he often ſaid thoſe Things which* Themiſtius *was very far from meaning:*” And he has ſhewn, in the Tranſlation of *Ariſtotle*'s Rhetoric, that he did not underſtand *Greek* well enough, if we rely on *Francis de Eſcobar* (14). It is objected, that he was ſo full of *Pliny*, that he too often made uſe of his Words in the Tranſlation of *Dioſcorides*. This Tranſlation has been often criticized by *Marcellus Virgilius*. *Doctè quidem & eleganter tranſlati, ſed (ut nonnullis videtur) nimis ad imitationem Plinii, quem dum ubique ſequitur à Dioſcoridis verbis aliquando recedere videtur. Marcellus Virgilius, qui poſt Hermolaum eoſdem libros tranſtulit, plerumque interpretationem ejus carpit* (15).

[*H*] Hermolaus *was ſo imprudent as to accept of the Patriarchate of* Aquileia, *without waiting for the Approbation of his Superiors.*] I know of no Body, who has related the Fact better, than *Peter Bembus*; for which reaſon it cannot be improper, or diſagreeable to all thoſe, who have not that Hiſtory, to ſee here what he ſays of it. “Eo mortuo Innocentius Patriarchatum (ſic enim appellant) Aquileienſium —— Hermolao Barbaro, legato apud ſe Veneto attribuit. Quod ubi civitas intellexit, tametſi Hermolaus ad Senatum ſcripſerat, coactum ſe à Pontifice veſtem ſenatoriam mutaviſſe: quoniam tamen ſacerdotiis cooptari cives Veneti, qui legati Romæ eſſent, lege prohibebantur; graviter tulit, auſum illum contra leges patrias facere. Auxit ejus rei magnopere invidiam, quod antea ex Hermolai literis, quas ad Senatum de Barbi morte dederat, more inſtitutoque majorum comitiis ſenatoriis præ-

(9) Hard. Præfat in Plinium ad uſum Delphini.

(10) Herm. Barbarus in Epilogo Operis p. 425. *Baſil* 1534.

(11) Volater. lib. 21. pag. 777.

(12) Cogitare debuerat Volaterranus, jam antequam ad Epiſcopatum provectus eſſet, parata majori ex parte habuiſſe, quæ ad iſtud opus pertinerent. *Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. pag.* 623. *Hermolaus ſays only,* Plinianas caſtigationes quas Legatus Romæ nec dum ſacris initiatus inchoaveram. *Præf. ad Alexand.* VI.

(13) Voſſ. de Philoſophia, pag. 8.

(14) Andr. Schott. Biblioth. Hiſpan. p. 333.

(15) Geſn. in Biblioth. fol. 317, verſo.

and ſoon after ſee his Eſtate confiſcated. They were inflexible: *Zachary Hermolaus* made uſe of all imaginable Means to obtain the Conſent of the Republic to the Patriarchate of his Son; but, not being able to gain his Point, he died of Grief [*I*]. His Son followed him ſoon after: Some ſay, that Grief alſo was the Cauſe of his Death [*K*]; but it is more likely, that he died of the Plague. *Pierius Valerianus* has placed him at the head of his *Unfortunate Learned Men.* He ſeems to me to run an extravagant Length, in ſaying, that it is not certainly known, whether *Hermolaus Barbarus* was ever buried [*L*]. This great Man died

at

judicium Patres fecerant, cujus ipſi civis nomen ad id adipiſcendum ſacerdotium Innocentio commendarent. Itaque deceptos in eo ſeſe, ac propè deluſos querebantur. Erat omnino Hermolai, propter ejus ſummam in literarum atque optimarum artium ſtudiis præſtantiam, magnum apud exteras nationes nomen, apud ſuos quidem certe maximum: nam ad doctrinæ ſingularem opinionem etiam vitæ perpetuam innocentiam adjunxerat. Simul is multum patris opibus, & gratia, qui ſummo proximum in civitate magiſtratum gerebat, multum clientelis, neceſſitudinibus, propinquitatibuſque pollebat. Quibus tamen in rebus omnibus ſatis ſibi præſidii non habuit: cum pluris à Patribus una legum charitas, majeſtaſque, quam ullorum civium omnibus aucta nominibus dignitas, atque claritas, fieret. Decemviri enim literas ad eum ſevere ſcriptas dederunt; mora omni, excuſationeque ſublata, ſacerdotium repudiaret: id ſi non faceret, patrem magiſtratu remoturos, & bona ejus publicaturos præ ſe tulerunt. At pater, perſpecta civitatis voluntate, omnibus tentatis rebus, cum jam eam flecti & leniri poſſe diffideret, ægritudine animi eſt mortuus. Filius non multo poſt Romæ, editis Plinianis caſtigationibus, immenſi propè laboris opere, privatus plebeio morbo periit. Eum vitæ finem Hermolaüs habuit, omnium ex ſua civitate, qui ante illum nati eſſent, Latinorum & Græcorum literis plane doctiſſimus (16). —— *Upon his Death,* Innocent *gave the Patriarchate (as it is called) of* Aquileia, *to* Hermolaus Barbarus, *Embaſſador for the* Venetians *at* Rome. *Which, when the Senate underſtood, notwithſtanding* Hermolaus *had ſignified to them by Letter, that he had not made this Exchange of his ſenatorial Robes, without being compelled to it by the Pope, the* Venetian *Laws not allowing any of their Citizens, who are ſent Embaſſadors to* Rome, *to accept of any Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, they were much incenſed, that he ſhould dare to infringe the Laws of his Country. What farther heightened their Diſpleaſure was, that, upon the News the Senate had received, by Letters from* Hermolaus, *of the Death of* Barbus, *they had, in their Aſſembly, according to ancient Cuſtom, made choice of a Perſon, whoſe Name they were to recommend to* Innocent, *to ſucceed in That Patriarchate. Therefore they looked upon themſelves as deceived, and in ſome Meaſure tricked by him. The Reputation of* Hermolaus *was very great in foreign Nations, on account of his extenſive Learning; and greateſt of all in his own; the Integrity of his Life being as extraordinary as his Knowledge. The Wealth and Intereſt of his Father, whoſe Office in the Republic was next to that of the chief Magiſtrate, the Number of his own Dependants, Friends, and Relations, were great Advantages to him. But yet all theſe put together were not ſufficient to protect him: ſince the ſingle Conſideration of the Value and Authority of their Laws was of more weight with the Senate, than all the Excellencies, which any of their Citizens could poſſibly attain. The Council of Ten wrote ſeverely to him, that, without delay or excuſe, he ſhould renounce his Eccleſiaſtical Dignity; and threatened to degrade his Father, and confiſcate his Eſtate, in caſe of Refuſal. The Father, finding the fixed Reſolution of the Senate, which he had, in vain, tried all poſſible means to ſoften and divert, died of Grief. The Son not long after, having publiſhed his Corrections of* Pliny, *a Work of immenſe Labour, died at* Rome *in a private Station, and of a vulgar Diſtemper. This was the End of* Hermolaus, *who, for his Learning in* Latin *and* Greek, *was the moſt extraordinary Perſon* Venice *had ever produced.*”

[*I*] *His Father —— died of Grief.*] We have juſt now ſeen, that *Bembus* aſſerts it. The thing is likely enough; for he was an ancient Man, and enjoyed one of the chief Poſts of the Republic. Such an hard Experience of the Decay of one's Credit in one's old Age, and to the Prejudice of a famous and dearly-beloved Son, is generally a fatal Blow. *Zachary Barbarus* died in the Year 1492, much reſigned to the Decrees of Providence: He was in the ſeventieth Year of his Life: He was much lamented, and his Funeral-Pomp was very magnificent. See the Letter, which *Hermolaus* wrote to his Friend *Antonius Calvus* (17). “Accedit quod ſeptuageſimum ingreſſus annum, quamdiu in familia noſtra vixit nemo; quod functus omnibus honoribus; quod republica incolumi; quod liberis honeſto loco poſitis; incredibili deſiderio & amore civitatis exceſſit, frequentia funeris tanta (ut audio) quanta in cive nunquam. —— *We muſt add, that having entred into his ſeventieth Year, to which none of our Family ever before arrived; that having attained all the higheſt Honours; that having ſeen the Republic in abſolute Security; that having placed his Children in honourable Stations, he died extreamly lamented and beloved by all, and was attended, I am told, at his Funeral, by ſuch Numbers, as no Citizen ever had been before.*”

[*K*] *Some ſay, that Grief alſo was the Cauſe of his Death.*] *Volaterran* affirms it: “Romæ deceſſit ex animi dolore exacerbante quod orator à Venetis miſſus, præter ejus autoritatem Senatus, Patriarcha Aquileienſis ab Innocentio fuerat creatus, ac propterea contumax & exul (18). —— *He died at* Rome *through exceſs of Grief, becauſe, being ſent thither Embaſſador by the* Venetians, *and made Patriarch of* Aquileia, *by* Innocent, *without their Conſent, he was therefore declared a Rebel, and an Exile.*” I am fully perſuaded, he died, being accounted a Rebel, and an Exile; for he always took upon himſelf the Title of Patriarch, notwithſtanding the ſtrict Orders he had received from his Sovereign to renounce the Patriarchate; but I believe he died of the Plague, and not of Grief. My Reaſon is, I. That, from the time of his Diſgrace to his Death, he was engaged in a Work, which required a great Compoſure of Mind, and a perfect State of Health (19). II. That *Peter Crinitus,* who lived at that time, declares, That *Hermolaus* died of the Plague (20). He does not relate it in general, but adds a very particular Circumſtance, which is, that *Picus Mirandulanus,* having heard at *Florence,* that *Hermolaus* was ſick of the Plague, ſent him an Antidote with all Speed; but the Meſſenger came too late. *Paulus Jovius* reports the ſame Fact. “Mors ante diem irrepſit, & peſtilenti quidem morbo properata, adeo ut quod à Pico Politianoque Florentiâ laboranti per diſpoſitos equos mittebatur miræ poteſtatis antidotum, veneni celeritate præverteret (21). - - - - - - *Death approached beforehand, being haſtened by a Peſtilential Diſtemper, which made ſuch quick Diſpatch, that the famous Antidote, which was ſent him with all poſſible Expedition from* Florence *by* Picus, *and* Politian, *came too late.*” So that I can eaſily believe what *Hermolaus Barbarus* ſays of himſelf, That he bore his Diſgrace without Uneaſineſs, and was even pleaſed with an Injury, which gave him an entire Leiſure for Study (22). His Friends were afraid he would ſink under his Diſgrace, and his Enemies declared ſo every where. It was undoubtedly by means of theſe latter, in order to rob him of the Honour of his Conſtancy and Tranquillity, that what was owing to a contagious Diſtemper, was aſcribed to Grief. See, in the Remark [*P*], what I quote out of *Alcyonius.*

[*L*] Pierius Valerianus —— *ſays, that it is not certain, whether* Hermolaus Barbarus *was ever buried.*] I ſay once more, that *Pierius Valerianus* ſeems to run an extravagant Length, in ſaying, that this Patriarch, dying in Poverty, and forſaken, was depri-

(16) Bemb. Hiſtor. Venetæ, lib. 1. fol. 18 verſo.

(17) *It is the 32d of the 12th Book of thoſe of* Politian.

(18) Volat. lib. 21, pag. 777.

(19) Viz. *The Correction of* Pliny.

(20) Crinit. de honeſtâ Diſciplinâ, lib. 1. c. 7.

(21) Jovius Elog. c. 36.

(22) *See the 31ſt Letter of the 12th Book of thoſe of* Politian.

at *Rome*, in the Year 1493. He expreſſes, in his Letters, a great Reſignation, and Tranquillity of Mind, in regard to the Treatment, he had received from his Country (e). I do not believe, he can be ſaid to have been a Cardinal [*M*]. It is reported, he had recourſe to the Devil, to know the Senſe of a *Greek* word [*N*], made uſe of by *Ariſtotle*. We muſt not forget, that *Laurence de Medicis* gave him ſome *Teſtimonies* of a ſingular Eſteem [*O*]. Mr *Varillas* has given us; a very entertaining and elaborate Account of *Hermolaus Barbarus*, but he is miſtaken in many things, and oftener than *Moreri* [*P*].

I ſhall

ved of Burial: "Ob ſuſceptum inconſulto Senatu ſuo Aquileienſe ſacerdotium exſul factus, & de poſſeſſione ejectus, vitam inopem aliquandiu traxit, Alexandri Pontificis ſummi ſportula quodammodo ſuſtentatus: paucis verò poſt menſibus peſtilentia contactus, deſertus ab omnibus, infeliciſſimo mortis genere oppreſſus eſt; quique laudatione, & eloquentia ſua innumeros ætatis ſuæ homines illuſtraverat, & funere, & honore ſepulchri ita defraudatus eſt, ut ubi ſepultus, quòve hominis cadaver conjectum fuerit, ignoretur (23).—— *Being exiled, and deprived of his Eſtate, for accepting the Patriarchate of* Aquileia, *without conſulting the Senate, he lived very poor for ſome time, and was in ſome meaſure maintained by the Charity of Pope* Alexander. *In a few Months after, he was taken with the Plague, and, being forſaken by all, died in the moſt wretched manner*; *and he, who, by his Elogies and Eloquence, had ſo highly honoured a great Number of his Cotemporaries, was ſo far denied both a Funeral and Grave, that, where his Corps was thrown, or buried, no Body can tell.*" *Paulus Jovius*, who wrote after *Pierius Valerianus*, does not only ſay, that *Hermolaus Barbarus* was buried, but alſo mentions the Place of his Burial. "Scilicet ut nimis ſevera patria optimi civis oſſa non haberet, quæ ſub colle hortorum ad Flumentanam portam ſepulchro condita è Campo Martio ab erudita Romana juventute ſalutantur (24). —— *But that his cruel Country might not have the Remains of ſo excellent a Citizen, they were buried under the Hill of the Gardens, near the* Flumentan *Gate, where they are viſited by the* Roman *Youth from the* Campus Martius." Mr *da la Rochepozai* (25), and Father *Oldoini* (26), point out the place of his Sepulture more clearly; they place it at *Santa Maria del Popolo*. If *Valerianus* had only ſaid, that the Fear of the Plague cauſed thoſe, who ſhould have aſſiſted the Patriarch (27), to forſake him, he would not have fallen into This Hyperbole.

[*M*] *I do not believe, he can be ſaid to have been a Cardinal.*] *Pierius Valerianus* is far from affirming it; he ſays ſome things, that are too inconſiſtent with it; but does *Paulus Jovius*, who has ſo clearly contradicted him as to the burying-place of *Hermolaus Barbarus*, ſay, that this Patriarch had obtained a Cardinal's Cap? Not in the leaſt: he only ſays, that he was deſigned for that Dignity. "Tuliſti quippe æquo animo ſuffragiorum ſeveritatem, quum ex eo tamen pari merito tibi purpura pararetur. Sed mors ante diem irrepſit (28). —— *Thy even Mind received the cruel Sentence unmoved, and ſuch appeared thy great Merit, that it was juſt about being rewarded with the Purple. But Death approached before hand.*" The Author of the *Nomenclator Cardinalium* reports, that *Tritbemius*, followed in this by *Pierius Valerianus*, and ſeveral others, aſſert, that *Hermolaus Barbarus* attained to the Cardinalſhip. As to himſelf, he affirms nothing, but contents himſelf with theſe words, *Cardinalis deſignatus, ſed ut fertur nondum evulgatus. — Deſigned a Cardinal, but, as it is ſaid, not declared. Voſſius* quotes the *Franciſcan, John Rioche*, who aſſerts (29), that *Hermolaus Barbarus* was made a Cardinal (30). Father *Hardouin* affirms the ſame thing (31).

[*N*] *It is reported, he had recourſe to the Devil, to know the Senſe of a* Greek *Word.*] This Word is ſo eſſential to the Peripatetic Natural Philoſophy, that, without firſt fixing the Senſe of it, there is no underſtanding what *Ariſtotle* meant, concerning the Nature of Body. I ſpeak of the Word ἐντελέχεια, which ſome *Latiniſts*, not being able to find a better, have at laſt rendered by That of *perfectihabia*. *Peter Crinitus* ſpeaks as if *Hermolaus* himſelf had boaſted of That magical Conſultation, and as if he had ſaid, that the Anſwer was given with ſuch a weak Voice, that he could make nothing of it. "Et revera perexilis vocula dæmonum & exigua eſt, quod olim noſter quoque Venetus Hermolaus dicebat, vocem ſe dæmonis prætenuem & pene ſubſibilantem audiſſe, qua ille, de Ariſtotelis forte entelechia interrogatus, ſibi ipſi & Georgio Placentino reſponſitavit (32). - - - - - *And, indeed, the Voice of Devils is ſoft and low, as our* Hermolaus, *of* Venice, *formerly ſaid, that he heard the Devil anſwer a Queſtion, he, and* George Placentinus, *had put to him, concerning the* Entelechia *of* Ariſtotle, *in a faint and whiſpering ſort of Voice.*" I believe I have gone to the Source of this Fact, by quoting *Peter Crinitus*: Moſt People (33) quote only *Bodin*'s *Dæmonomania*, where I have not yet met with this Tranſaction of *Hermolaus* (34). Some quote *Monrolius*, who mentions it in his Treatiſe *de Entelechia*. To conclude, ſome pretend, that *Budæus* is the Inventor of *Perfectibabia*: You will find theſe Words in *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, *And even Thoſe, who intended to praiſe him, have ſaid of him,* Eſt fœliciſſimus quidem, ſed audaciſſimus in novandis vocabulis. —— *He is very happy indeed, but very bold, in coining new Words*; *as when he rendered* Ariſtotle'*s* Entelechia *by the Word* Perfectihabia (35). Note, that ſeveral Perſons maintain, that *Cicero* has very ill tranſlated that Word of *Ariſtotle* (36).

[*L*] Laurence de Medicis *gave him ſome Teſtimonies of a ſingular Eſteem.*] He went to meet him, notwithſtanding his ill State of Health, and received him very magnificently at his Country Seat: "Cum Hermolaus Barbarus Reipub. Venetæ nomine legationes fortè per Italiam obiret, & ad urbem Florentiam obiter accederet, Laurentius Medicis (qui Florentinam Rempublicam non minore tum conſilio, quàm fortuna gubernabat) ſtatim tanto viro cum amicis pluribus (ut fit) obviam procedit: nihil veritus, quod ægros pedes haberet, ac ſummis doloribus vexaretur. Tum in Caiana villa (quam infinitis propè ſumptibus ædificabat) honorificentiſſimè illum accepit: ſimulque tanti hominis ingenio, & doctrina ſingulari provocatus, eam quoque liberaliſſimè ſtudiorum nomine illi obtulit, cum inſigni atque inſtructiſſima bibliotheca, quam ad exemplum Philadelphi mira tum induſtria paraverat, ut in eo quaſi Muſarum ſeceſſu ſimul cum Pico Mirandula honeſtioribus diſciplinis, ac philoſophiæ ſacris pro arbitrio incumberet. In quo Hermolaus Barbarus (ut homo maximè humanus) libenter ſe dixit & ſtudiorum cauſa, & Laurentii merito talem animum agnoſcere: villamque ipſam, ſi per publicas curas liceret, excipere (37). —— *As* Hermolaus Barbarus, *who happened to be charged with ſome Embaſſies, from the Republic of* Venice, *to* Italy, *took the City of* Florence *in his Way,* Laurence de Medicis, *who then governed the* Florentines *with no leſs Prudence than Succeſs, went out to meet ſo extraordinary a Man, with a great Number of his Friends, as the Ceremony is: Not at all regarding, that he had the Gout in his Feet, and was in great Pain. Then he received him very honourably at his* Villa Caiana, *which he had built at an infinite Expence: and, at the ſame time, in reſpect to his great Abilities, and extraordinary Learning, he offered him the Uſe of it, for the purſuing his Studies, together with a large and curious Library, which, in Imitation of* Philadelphus, *he had collected with ſupriſing Induſtry, in order to enjoy this Retreat of the Muſes, together with* Picus Mirandulanus, *in the Purſuit of Learning and Philoſophy. Which kind Offer,* Hermolaus Barbarus, *as he was perfectly complaiſant, readily replied he ſhould be glad to accept, not only for the ſake of his own Studies, but alſo in regard to his Highneſs's great Favour, if his public Commiſſions would have given him leave.*"

[*P*] *Mr* Varillas *has given a very entertaining and elaborate Account of* Hermolaus Barbarus; *but he*

(e) *See Remark* [*K*].

(23) Pier. Valerian. de Literatorum Infelicit. pag. 9.

(24) Jovius Elog. c. 36.

(25) Rochepozai in Nomenclat. Cardinal.

(26) Oldoini, in Athen. Romano.

(27) *See, below, the Paſſage of* Alcyonius.

(28) Valerian. de Litterat. Infel. pag. 9.

(29) In Compendio Hiſtorico.

(30) Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 621.

(31) Præf. in Plin.

(32) Crinit. de honeſtâ Diſciplinâ, lib. 6. c. 11.

(33) *Father* Rapin'*s* Reflections on Philoſophy, pag. 350. Teiſſier, Elog. Tom. 1. pag. 355.

(34) I have not had leiſure to look Page after Page for this, but I have not met with it in the places where it was moſt likely to be found.

(35) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 472. *reporting what* Genebrard *ſaid of* Budæus.

(36) Joannes Ferrerius Pedemontanus *confutes them in the Treatiſe* de Entelechiâ.

(37) Petrus Crinitus de honeſtâ Diſciplinâ, lib. 15, cap. 9, pag. 400.

I ſhall cite a Paſſage of *Alcyonius*, which will ſhew, that our *Hermolaus* congratulated himſelf on his Diſgrace, and that he never ſtudied with ſo much application, as after his Country had uſed him ill [Q].

he is miſtaken in many things, and oftner than Moreri.] He ſays (38), I. That *Hermolaus Barbarus* was eſteemed, at *Venice*, the moſt remarkable of all the Nobles for the Profeſſion of the higheſt, and niceſt, Gallantry. II. That no Body ever ſaw him ſtudy, or that no Books were to be ſeen in his Chamber, or Cloſet. I queſtion the firſt of theſe things, and the ſecond I hold to be falſe. III. That, having undertaken the moſt laborious Task, then known, in the Republic of Learning (this was the Correction of *Pliny* (39), he made uſe of the Authority of Manuſcripts, and that of The *Greek* and *Roman* Writers, who had treated on the ſame Subjects; and that, *in ſuch Places, where thoſe two Aſſiſtances failed him, he made uſe of his own Conjectures with ſo much Probability and Succeſs, that not one of them have been rejected.* See the Confutation of this, in the Remark [*F*]. IV. *That it was by this ingenious Method he diſcovered, that* Pliny *was born at* Como, *and that he compoſed a Diſſertation about it, which convinced all thoſe who read it.* Of all the Authors I have conſulted for a Liſt of *Barbarus*'s Works, I have found none, who aſcribes to him any ſuch Diſſertation. It is true, that, in his Preface to *Pliny*, he ſeems to prefer the reading *Catullum congerronem meum*, before That of *Catullum conterraneum meum*, whereby he eludes a very ſtrong Argument, which is taken from That Paſſage, to prove, that *Pliny* was of *Verona*. It is true alſo, that, independently from the reading *Congerronem*, which he will neither abſolutely admit, nor reject; he declares, that *Pliny* was of *Como*, and not of *Verona*; but he does not enlarge upon this; he contents himſelf with three Lines: This therefore cannot be called a formal Diſſertation. Now, though *Varillas* were in the right, as to this Point, yet he tells a great Falſity; for there is ſcarce any learned diſintereſted Critic, but always adjudged *Pliny* to thoſe of *Verona*. “Cauſam dudum adjudicarunt Veronenſibus eruditi, inter quos præcipui Polycarpus Palermus ſingulari opere de Plinii patriâ, & Scaliger in Euſeb. Chron. pag. 190 (40). —— *The Learned have long ſince adjudged the Cauſe to the City of* Verona, *among whom the principal are* Polycarp *of* Palermo, *in a particular Treatiſe on* Pliny'*s Country, and* Scaliger *on* Euſeb. Chron. *pag.* 190.” Very probably the miſunderſtanding *Paul Jovius*'s Words deceived *Varillas*. “Novocomenſibus C. Plinium ſecundum civem ſuum ab imperitis invidioſe ſurreptum erudita præclaraque ſententia reddidiſti (41). —— *Your great Judgment has reſtored to* Novocomum *her Citizen* C. Pliny II. *whom the illiterate had robbed her of.*” V. He tells us, in the *Secret Hiſtory*, That *the prodigious Deſire* Barbarus *had to remedy the Diſorders in Phyſic, made him attempt* Dioſcorides *in the ſame manner, as he had done* Pliny. Which is to confound the Order of Times. *Barbarus* lived ſo ſhort a time after the Publication of his Work on *Pliny*'s Natural Hiſtory, that he formed no new Deſigns; he had Books enough to finiſh; and I do not doubt but that he had begun with *Dioſcorides*, before he applied himſelf wholly to *Pliny* (42). VI. *Hermolaus's* Friends adviſed him *quietly to enjoy the Honour, which he had acquired by his* Pliny, *and his* Dioſcorides; but he himſelf told them, he muſt tranſlate what *Themiſtius* had left us on *Ariſtotle*, and *he performed what he had propoſed.* Here is a new Anachroniſm: the Tranſlation of *Themiſtius* is one of the firſt that *Barbarus* publiſhed. “Themiſtii Peripatetici Paraphraſes in aliquot Ariſtotelis Libros admodum adoleſcens Latinas effecit (43). —— *He tranſlated the Paraphraſe of* Themiſtius *the Peripatetic, upon ſome Books of* Ariſtotle, *when he was very young.*” He dedicated it to *Sixtus* IV, who had been dead eight Years, when he publiſhed his Notes on *Pliny*. VII. Hermolaus *did the Republic Juſtice, againſt his own Intereſt, and confeſſed, that they had Reaſon to be againſt him. He intreated the Pope to confer the Benefice on Him, who ſhould be preſented to him by the Ambaſſador of* Venice; *and expreſsly declared, that he would not have it, if he muſt purchaſe it at ſo great a Price, as the Diſpleaſure of his Citizens.* This ſeems to be a meer Romance: We have ſeen already (44), in the Paſſage of *Peter Bembus*, that *Hermolaus*'s Father would never let go his hold, and that he only endeavoured to ſoften the Republic. It is certain alſo, that the new Patriarch always preſerved his Title, and did not ſubmit to his Temporal Superiors. VIII. I do not know where *Varillas* read, *That the only Means, for* Hermolaus'*s Cure, was to ſend him right Bezoar, and that there was ſome of it in a Veſſel of Agate at* Florence, *which the Soldan* Caitbay *had preſented to* Laurence de Medicis. *Peter Crinitus*, who ought to know it as well as any Body, ſays, that the Antidote belonged to *Picus Mirandulanus*, who knew the Compoſition of it. “Pharmacon contra peſtem quod ille ſibi ſi quando incidiſſet aſſervabat diligentiſſimè, curat ut Romam quàm celerrimè ad Hermolaum devehatur. Dicebat autem Picus illud ipſum ex oleo ſcorpionum linguiſque aſpidum, & aliis ejuſmodi venenis, confectum (45). —— *The Remedy for the Plague, which he carefully kept for his own Uſe, whenever he ſhould meet with that Misfortune, he diſpatched to* Hermolaus, *at* Rome, *with all poſſible Expedition.* Picus *ſaid, it was a Preparation from Oil of Scorpions, Tongues of Aſps, and other Poiſons of that kind.*”

Mr *Moreri*'s Faults conſiſt in ſaying, I. That the Senate did not approve the Choice, which *Innocent* VIII made of *Hermolaus Barbarus*, for the Patriarchate of *Aquileia*. II. That *Hermolaus Barbarus* publiſhed *Pliny*'s Natural Hiſtory. The Senate would have no leſs diſapproved the Election of another Perſon; and the Republic was not diſpleaſed for what *Innocent* VIII had done in favour of *Hermolaus Barbarus*, but becauſe the Pope pretended to diſpoſe of the Patriarchate without conſulting them, and becauſe *Hermolaus* had acknowledged the Pope's pretended Right, in accepting of that Dignity, againſt the Laws of his Country. He publiſhed his Corrections on *Pliny* without *Pliny*'s Text (46).

[Q] *A Paſſage of* Alcyonius *will ſhew, that* Hermolaus —— *never ſtudied with ſo much Application, as after his Country had uſed him ill.*] Here is the Paſſage: it is Cardinal *John de Medicis* (47), who ſpeaks. “Exſilium igitur Barbaro non ſolum calamitatem detraxit, ſed etiam dignitatem auxit, quod quidem ita conſtanter, moderateque ferebat, ut facetiſſime jocaretur Muſas illud ſibi à patria impetraſſe, quoniam ægrè ferrent hominem ſuis ſacris initiatum ambitione vulgarium honorum diſtineri, & plebeis occupationibus impediri. Itaque plura ſcripſit biennio exſul quàm XX. ante annos cum patria frueretur & honoribus illius florentiſſimus eſſet, recognitionem erratorum Pliniani codicis, explanationem librorum de anima Ariſtotelis, cum tamen ante ejuſdem Philoſophi libros talis argumenti in Latinum convertiſſet, & XVI. libros de ratione diſſerendi, veteres Peripatetici organon eos appellant; & V. Rhetoricos & unum Poëticum, octoque Dioſcoridæ Medicos, quos alio etiam opere inſtruxerat quod Corollarium inſcribebat. Adjecerat quoque pulcerrimam expoſitionem ad libros analyticos poſteriores Ariſtotelis ante in Latinum tralatos (48). —— *Exile, therefore, not only eaſed him from Trouble, but advanced him in Dignity; and he bore it with ſuch Conſtancy and Moderation, that he uſed to jeſt, and very pleaſantly call it a Favour, which the Muſes had obtained for him, from his Country, in order to prevent one, initiated in their Myſteries, from being otherwiſe taken up, and interrupted with popular Ambition, and public Employments. Therefore he wrote more, in the two Years after his Baniſhment, than he did in twenty Years before, when he was in Favour with his Country, and in fulleſt Enjoyment of it's Honours; namely, a Correction of the* Errata *of* Pliny, *an Explication of* Ariſtotle'*s Books* of the Soul, *which he had before tranſlated into* Latin, *as alſo his ſixteen Books of* The Art of Reaſoning; *the Peripatetics call them* Organon; *and five* Of Rhetoric, *and one* Of Poetry, *and the eight Books* Of Phyſic of Dioſcorides, *enlarging them with a Work, which he calls a* Corollary. *He had likewiſe added an excellent* Commentary *on the latter Books of* Ariſtotle'*s* Analytics, *before tranſlated into* Latin.” This ſeems to refute what I have advanced above (49), but,

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(38) Varill. Anecdotes de Florence, pag. 187, & ſeq.

(39) *Mr* Varillas *ſays, that* Pliny'*s Natural Hiſtory contains 36 Books: he ought to have ſaid 37.*

(40) Harduin. in Plin. Tom. I, pag. 2.

(41) Jovius Elog. c. 36.

(42) *See towards the end of the following Remark.*

(43) Geſner. fol. 318. *Theſe Words,* Hos libros Themiſtii paraphraſticos Hermolaus Barbarus Venetiis A. 1570, in fol. edidit, *in the Journal of* Leipſic, ann. 1685, pag. 461, *are not exact; for that Edition was a great while after the Author's Death.*

(44) *Citation* (16).

(45) Petrus Crinitus de honeſtâ Diſciplinâ, lib. 1, cap. 7.

(46) *This Paragraph was at the End of the Remark of the Article* BARBARUS (FRANCIS) *in the firſt Edition.*

(47) *He was afterwards Pope* Leo X.

(48) Petrus Alcyonius in Medice Legato priore de Exilio.

(49) *In Remark* [*P*], *num.* v, *and* vi.

but, if you conſider it attentively, it does not; for, beſides that there might be ſome want of Exactneſs in this Enumeration of *Alcyonius*, it is certain, that part of the Writings, which he particularizes, are rather a Reviſion, or a more ample Expoſition, of what *Hermolaus* had already performed, than a quite new Undertaking; and it appears plainly, that *Dioſcorides* had paſt through his Hands before his Exile, and before the Correction of *Pliny*'s Text. It is a Confirmation of what I have ſaid againſt *Varillas*. Farther, it ought to be obſerved, that the Writings, in this Liſt, were not publiſhed before the Death of the Author, who, therefore, could not be adviſed to take his Eaſe, on account that his *Pliny*, and, afterwards, his *Dioſcorides*, had acquired him ſufficient Honour. We ſhall now ſee, that *Alcyonius* obſerves, that theſe Works of *Barbarus* were preſerved in Manuſcript, in a Library. " Et hæc quidem omnia (50) " adhuc diligentiſſimè aſſervari vidi à fratribus illius " cum, ſedecim abhinc annos (51), Venetiis Bibliothecam illius excuterem, atque incredibili ſum lætitia elatus cum cognovi doctiſſimi amiciſſimique " hominis elucubrationes non intercidiſſe, quod ne " eveniſſet magnopere verebar, cum in ſuburbano " Oliverii Caraphæ Collegæ mei ex peſtilentiâ obiiſſet, & domeſtici intimique familiares fugâ ſaluti " ſuæ conſuluiſſent, omniaque tanquam bona caduca " in medium reliquiſſent. Sed ejus generis ſcripta " ab interitu & furto vindicata fuiſſe narrabant Zenotelis cujuſdam operâ, quem ille habebat ad manum (52). —— *And all theſe I found were ſtill* " *very carefully preſerved by his Brothers, upon my* " *examining his Library at* Venice, *about ſixteen* " *Years ago; and it was an exceeding great Pleaſure* " *to me, to underſtand, that the Lucubrations of this* " *learned and friendly Man were not loſt, as I apprehended they had been, on his dying of the Plague,* " *at the Country Houſe of my Colleague* Oliveri Carapha, *and being forſaken by his Friends and Domeſtics, for fear of Infection, and leaving all his* " *Papers and Things in ſuch Confuſion, and without an Owner. But they informed me, that theſe* " *Writings were preſerved by the Care of one* Zenoteles, *who attended him.*" I cannot deny, but that *Barbarus*, in the Epilogue of his Corrections on *Pliny*, does promiſe an Edition of *Dioſcorides*; " Scire " oportet, *ſays he* (53), annotamenta hæc —— Dioſcoridi quoque prope diem emittendo profutura: " —— *It will not be improper to hint, that theſe Annotations* —— *will alſo be of Service in an Edition* " *of* Dioſcorides, *which I ſhall ſhortly publiſh.*" But I ſtill inſiſt, that *Varillas* has not diſtinguiſhed the Times. A Work of this Author, on *Dioſcorides*, had been ſeen, before he publiſhed That on *Pliny*, and after he had given a Paraphraſe of *Themiſtius*. See what follows: " Primum quidem dum Themiſtii " nobis paraphraſin atque id juvenis adhuc tam eleganter Latine loquentem producit: mox edito in " Dioſcoridem corollario tam variam ac reconditam " doctrinæ rerum omnium ſupellectilem depromit: " poſtremum Plinio —— ſuccurrit (54). —— *He* " *firſt publiſhed an elegant* Latin *Tranſlation of the* " *Paraphraſe of* Themiſtius, *while he was very young*; " *afterwards, by publiſhing his Corollary on* Dioſcorides, *he diſcovered an inexhauſtible Fund of Learning; laſt of all, he undertook the Aſſiſtance of* " Pliny."

(50) *The Work on* Pliny, *publiſhed by the Author himſelf, ſhould have been excepted.*

(51) Alcyonius *ſuppoſes that Cardinal* John de Medicis *ſaid this about the Year* 1512.

(42) Alcyon. in Medice Legato priore.

(53) Herm. Barbarus in Monito ad Lector. ad calcem caſtigat. pag. 521.

(54) Jo. Oporinus Ep. dedicat. Caſtigat. Herm. Barbari in Plin.

BARBARUS (Daniel), Great Nephew to the preceeding, was eſteemed for his Learning. He publiſhed a Commentary on the Five *Predicaments* of *Porphyry*, in the Year 1542. Two Years after, he publiſh'd a Commentary on the Three Books of *Ariſtotle*'s Rhetoric to *Theodectus*, which had been tranſlated into *Latin* by *Hermolaus Barbarus*. He had ſaid, in a Letter to *Geſner*, that he hoped ſpeedily to publiſh ſeveral Works of *Hermolaus* (*a*). We are indebted to him for the Edition of the Dialogues of *Speron Sperone*.

(*a*) *Taken from* Geſner, Bibl. p. 192, verſo.

BARBARUS (Daniel), of the ſame Family as the preceeding, was Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and famous for his Learning. He had much addicted himſelf to Mathematics and Philoſophy, before he was dignified in the Church; but, after his Promotion to Epiſcopacy, he applied himſelf wholly to the Study of Divinity. He was ſo prejudiced in favour of *Ariſtotle*, that he would willingly have taken an Oath of Fidelity to him, had he not been a Chriſtian (*a*). He was Embaſſador of *Venice* in *England*, when Pope *Paul* IV named him Coadjutor to the Patriarch *Grimani* (*b*). He was one of the Fathers of the Council of *Trent*, and expreſſed there a great Zeal for the Pope. He voted ſtrongly againſt thoſe, who deſired the Communion in both Kinds (*c*). He died in the Year 1569, aged Forty one Years (*d*). He had publiſhed ſeveral Works [*A*], and doubtleſs, if he had lived longer, he would have publiſhed many more (*e*).

(*a*) *Taken from* Thuanus, lib. 46, pag. 942.

(*b*) Palavic. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. l. xvi. cap. iv, n. 22.

(*c*) Id. lib. xviii. cap. iv. n. 4, ad An. 1562.

(*d*) Voſſ. de Scient. Mathem. pag. 355. Thuanus, l. xlvi. pag. 942.

(*e*) Thuanus ibid.

[*A*] *He had publiſhed ſeveral Works.*] A Commentary on *Vitruvius*, which was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1567. *La prattica della perſpectiva*, printed at the ſame Place, in the Year 1559, and in the Year 1568 (1). *Catena Græcorum patrum in quinquaginta Pſalmos latine verſa. Aubertus Miræus* (2), *Moreri*, *Teiſſier* (3), *Konig*, *Paul Freberus* (4), &c. aſcribe to him the Commentary on the Five *Predicaments* of *Porphyry*, and the Commentary on *Ariſtotle*'s Rhetoric, which I mention'd in the preceeding Article: But, as the firſt of theſe Commentaries was printed in the Year 1542, and the ſecond in the Year 1544, it is evident they are not the production of our *Daniel Barbarus*, who was born in the Year 1528 (5). *Freberus*, by a very ſtrange Miſtake, ſays, that our *Daniel Barbarus*, who died in the Year 1569, at 40 Years, of Age, had obtain'd the Patriarchſhip of *Aquileia* from Pope *Innocent* VIII. to whom he was ſent Embaſſador from *Venice* (6).

(1) Voſſ. de Scient. Mathemat. pag 355, & 425.

(2) De Scriptor. Sæculi XVI.

(3) Teiſſier, *Addit. to* Thuanus, Tom. I. p. 354.

(4) Freh. Theat. Vir. illuſtr. pag. 1465.

(5) *According to* Thuanus *and* Voſſius.

(6) Freher. ibid.

BARBARA, Wife of the Emperor *Sigiſmond*, was the Daughter of *Herman* Count of *Cilia* in *Hungary*. *Sigiſmond* had been taken by the *Hungarians*, and placed under the Guard of two young Gentlemen, whoſe Father he had put to Death. While he was under their Guard, he perſuaded their Mother to let him eſcape. This point was not gained without having made a great many Excuſes to her, for the Death of her Huſband, as well as a great many Promiſes. Among other things, he promiſed her to marry the Daughter of the Count of *Cilia*, a near Relation of this Widow; and he performed that Promiſe (*a*). She proved the moſt extraordinary Woman, that ever was ſeen. She had no manner of ſhame for her lewd Life. Nor did her great Singularity conſiſt in this; there have been but too many Princeſſes, who have ſhewn no Regard for what the World ſhould ſay of them, with reſpect to their Impudicities. What made

(*a*) Æneas Silvius in Addition. ad Anton. Panormitam de dictis & factis Alphonſi. l. iii. n. 44, p. 69.

her ſo extraordinary, was Atheiſm [*A*], which is almoſt without Example among Women. She did not believe there was either Heaven, or Hell [*B*], and laughed at thoſe Religious Perſons, who renounced the Pleaſures of Life, and mortified their Bodies. *Sigiſmond* found himſelf alſo ill married upon other accounts; for his Wife *Barbara* plotted, with ſome great Lords of *Bohemia*, to drive him out of the Kingdom, and to marry another Huſband. He diſcovered the Plot, and condemned the Empreſs to perpetual Impriſonment. When he was dead, ſhe was ſet at liberty (*b*); and, as ſhe had Thoughts of marrying again, ſome body repreſented to her the Example of the Turtle-Dove, which lives ſingle all her life, after the death of her firſt Mate. But ſhe anſwered, *If you would propoſe to me the Example of Beaſts, Let it be That of Pigeons and Sparrows* (*c*) [C]. She grew old at *Gratz* in *Bohemia*, without forſaking her Debaucheries (*d*), and died there about the Year 1451. The *Bohemians* buried her very magnificently at *Prague* in the Tomb of their Kings, as *Bonſinius* affirms in the ſeventh Book of the third Decad. *Prateolus* does not forget her in his Alphabetical Catalogue of Heretics, which makes him very ridiculous; for ſhe did not forge any new Doctrine, nor ſet up her ſelf as the Head of a Sect; She fell into the Impieties, which are common to all times. In all Countries, profane and impious People have always ridiculed thoſe, who, out of a Principle of Religion, undertake the Taſk of mortifying the Fleſh, inſtead of following the inclination of Nature (*e*).

(*b*) Ex Mathia, Theat. Hiſtor. in Sigiſmundo, pag. 998.

(*c*) Æneas Silvius, ubi ſupra, n. 5, pag. 56.

(*d*) Gretii in Bohemia in vita turpi & fœdis libidinibus infami conſenuit. *Mathias, ibid.*

(*e*) Barbara —— ſtultas appellabat virgines quæ pro Chriſti nomine paſſæ fuiſſent, propterea quod voluptatis gaudia non guſtaſſent. *Prateolus, pag.* 85.

[*A*] *What made her ſo extraordinary, was Atheiſm, which is almoſt without Example among Women.*] I am not ignorant of what has been lately publiſhed in a Satire on that Sex, which, in my Opinion, is Mr *Boileau*'s Maſter-Piece. In this new Piece, Impiety itſelf is made one of the Irregularities of Women;

Dans le ſexe j'ai peint la pieté cauſtique.
Et que ſeroit-ce donc, ſi Cenſeur plus tragique
J'allois t'y faire voir l'atheiſme établi,
Et non moins que l'honneur le Ciel mis en oubli?
Si j'allois t'y montrer plus d'une Capanée,
Pour ſouveraine loi mettant la deſtinée,
Du tonnerre dans l'air bravant les vains carreaux,
Et nous parlant de Dieu du ton de Des-Barreaux?

Juſtly I've ſhewn the Sex's flaming Zeal.
What if ſtill blacker Crimes I ſhould reveal,
The Female Atheiſt's gigantic Pride,
Trampling on Heav'n and Hell with impious Stride;
A bold Capaneus *in a Woman's Form,*
Daring the Heights of Providence to ſtorm;
Defy it's Laws, diſown it's ſovereign State,
And ſubſtitute that ſenſeleſs Idol, Fate;
To brave the dreadful Thunder's threatning Tone,
And ſpeak of God *as* Des-Barreaux *has done?*

But all this may be true, though there be not above four, or five Women, in *France*, fallen into thoſe impious Maxims. I am willing to own, that this Prodigy is become ſomething leſs extraordinary, ſince Women do not pretend to be ſo ignorant as formerly. It will require a certain Proficiency in falſe Metaphyſics, to ſink the Mind into this unhappy abyſs of Irreligion. However it be, I am very much of Opinion, with the Author of the *Thoughts on Comets*, that Women do not deſerve to be cenſured upon ſuch an account. "Atheiſm is not their Vice: "they make it a Virtue not to enter into deep Rea"ſonings; ſo that they ſtick to their Catechiſm, and "are much more inclined to Superſtition, than Im"piety; they are great Followers of Indulgences and "Sermons, and ſo much poſſeſſed with a thouſand "Paſſions, that fall, as it were, to their lot, that they "have neither the neceſſary time nor capacity to call "in queſtion the Articles of their Faith (1)." It is certain, they will ſooner find the Secret of reconciling Paſſions and Religion together, even in *Molinoſiſm* itſelf, than the Expedient of believing nothing.

(1) Some Thoughts on Comets, n. 142, pag. 421.

[*B*] *She did not believe there was either Heaven or Hell.*] See the Picture *Bonſinius* has left us of this Woman; "Barbaram Imperatricem ea tempeſtate "Græci diem obiiſſe ferunt, indomitæ libidinis muli"erem, quæ inter adulteros publicè vitam duxit, "proſtitutoque pudore viros ſæpſus petiit quam pe"teretur. Quum ab omni religione deſtituta foret, "ſuperos ac inferos eſſe negabat: religioſas ancillas, "jejuniis aut orationi rebuſque divinis intentas, gra"vius increpabat, nullis aſſeverans moleſtiis ac inedia "corpus eſſe macerandum: immo laute paſcendum, "in delitiis & voluptatibus alendum, & poſt mortem, "cum nihil ſuperſit, nullam deorum animorumque "curam eſſe ſubeundam (2). —— *The* Greeks *relate,* "*that the Empreſs* Barbara *died about that Time, a* "*Woman of inſatiable Lewdneſs, who ſpent her Life* "*publickly among Adulterers, and, laying aſide all* "*Modeſty, ſollicited the Men much oftener than they* "*ſollicited her. Having thrown off all Religion, ſhe* "*denied there was either God or Devil: She ſeverely* "*chid her Maids, who were devoutly inclined, and* "*ſpent their time in faſting and praying, and other* "*religious Exerciſes, affirming, that the Body ought* "*not to be mortified, or made uneaſy, but much ra*"*ther indulged and gratified in the moſt luxurious* "*manner; and that, as there was no ſuch thing as a* "*future State, it was needleſs to be concerned about* "*Gods and Spirits.*"

(2) Bonfinius, Rerum Ungaricar. Decad. III. lib. vii. pag. 344, 345.

[C] *If you would propoſe to me, ſaid ſhe, the Example of Beaſts, let it be that of Pigeons and Sparrows.*] It is one of the fineſt Common-Places of Mortality, to ſhew Man his Diſorders, by comparing them with the Regularity of Beaſts; Men tear each other to pieces; Man is a Wolf to Man (3); but Beaſts of the ſame Kind do not fight with each other. It was by this means that *Horace* endeavoured to make the *Romans* aſhamed, who engaged themſelves in Civil Wars; *The Wolves and Lyons*, ſays he, *do not do ſo*. He ſuppoſes his Objection to be ſo ſtrong, as to reduce thoſe, againſt whom he urges it, to a ſhameful Silence.

THE Inconveniences of a Syſtem of Morality form'd on the Conduct of Beaſts.

(3) Homo homini lupus. *Eraſm. Adag. chil.* 1, *cent.* 1, *n.* 70, *p.* 48.

Neque hic lupis mos, nec fuit leonibus
Unquam, niſi in diſpar, feris.
Furorne cœcus, an rapit vis acrior?
An culpa? reſponſum date.
Tacent, & ora pallor albus inficit,
Menteſque perculſæ ſtupent (4).

(4) Horat. Epod. 7.

Nor Wolf, nor Lion preys upon his Kind:
And ſhall we Man a greater Savage find?
Well may the Queſtion turn the Monſter pale,
And make the faultring Senſe it's Office fail.

Juvenal made uſe of the ſame Morality in his fifteenth Satire, *ver.* 159.

Sed jam ſerpentum major concordia: parcit
Cognatis maculis ſimilis fera: quando leoni
Fortior eripuit vitam leo? quo nemore unquam
Expiravit aper majoris dentibus apri?
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
Perpetuam, ſævis inter ſe convenit urſis:
Aſt homini, &c.

But Serpents now more Amity maintain:
From ſpotted Skins the Leopard does refrain:
No weaker Lion's by a ſtronger ſlain:
Nor, from his larger Tuſks, the Foreſt Boar
Commiſſion takes his Brother Swine to gore:

Tyger with Tyger, Bear with Bear, you'll find
In Leagues offenſive and defenſive join'd.
But lawleſs Man, &c. TATE.

Mr *Boileau* has very well tranſlated the *Latin* of thoſe two Poets, and joined other Examples to it (5).

Voit-on les loups brigans, comme nous inhumains,
Pour detrouſſer les loups, courir les grands chemins ?
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Un aigle ſur un champ pretendant droit d'aubeine
Ne fait point apeller un aigle à la huitaine :
Jamais contre un renard chicanant un poulet
Un renard de ſon ſac n'alla charger Rolet.
Jamais la biche en rut n'a pour fait d'impuiſſance
Trainé du fond des bois un cerf à l'audience :
Et jamais Juge entre eux, ordonnant le congrés,
De ce burleſque mot n'a ſali ſes arrêts.

Who ſees the High-way Wolf in ambuſh lye,
To rob his Brother Wolf in paſſing by ?
When does the Eagle on the Eagle prey,
By ſetting up a Claim to waif and ſtray ?
When does the Fox, whom conſtant Thefts maintain,
For Poultry ſtoln his Brother Fox arraign ?
When does the rutting Hind a Suit commence,
And proſecute the Stag for Impotence ?
When does the Judge, aſſign'd to try their Cauſe,
With baudy Orders ſtain the ſacred Laws ?

Though this is a very fine and pathetic Common-Place, yet it has it's Foible : For, firſt, it may be eluded by turning it into a Jeſt ; and, in the ſecond place, it may be ſeriouſly oppoſed by the Maxim ;

Nil agit exemplum litem quod lite reſolvit (6).

That Argument but little Force diſplays,
Which, ſolving one, another Doubt will raiſe.

that is to ſay, It may be retorted, and, by turning the Tables, the Moraliſt may loſe his Advantage. I do not pretend to approve of thoſe, who oppoſe Jeſts to Arguments ; but I ſay, it is a very great Diſadvantage to an Argument, to be able to be turned into Ridicule by thoſe, who love jeſting. Let us prove this by an Example. Suppoſe any body had undertaken to perſuade Mr *de Bautru*, that it is better to chuſe an old Miſtreſs, than a young one, and had quoted the place of *Pliny*, where it is ſaid, *That the Rams are fonder of old Ews than young ones* ; would he not have been confounded by this Anſwer, given him with a Sneer (7), *That is, becauſe Rams are Rams* (8). A *Roman* Lady made uſe of the like Thought, on ſomebody's wondering why the Females among Beaſts did not deſire the Male, but when they had a Mind to become Mothers. The Lady anſwered, *It is becauſe they are Beaſts. Simile dictum Populiæ Marci filiæ, quæ miranti cuidam quid eſſet quapropter aliæ beſtiæ nunquam marem deſiderarent niſi cum prægnantes vellent fieri, reſpondit*, beſtiæ enim ſunt (9). Was not this a confounding Stroke ? So much for the firſt Inconveniency. The other is not leſs conſiderable ; for, in ſhort, a Man, who is to be ſent to learn his Duty in the School of Beaſts, will tell you, that he deſires no better Doctrine. "For there, *ſays he*, I "ſhall learn to determine Right by Force : The "ſtronger Maſtiff does not ſcruple to rob the weaker "of his Share. What is more common than to ſee "Dogs fighting together ? Do not Chickens attack "one another in ſight of their common Mothers ? "Do not Cocks fight together ſo cruelly, that many "times the Battle does not ceaſe before the Death of "one of the Combatants ? Do not Pigeons, the Symbol of Meekneſs, come very often to Blows ? "What can be more furious, than the Engagement "of Bulls ? Does not Force decide their Right in their "Amours."

- - - - - - Ignotis perierunt mortibus illi
Quos Venerem incertam rapientes MORE FERARUM
Viribus editior cædebat ut in grege TAURUS (10).

No Pen their Hiſtories did e'er relate,
Who in promiſcuous Love have met their Fate,
Cut off by ſome ſuperior Lover's pow'r ;
As the Herd Bull no Rival can endure.

Illi alternantes multa vi prælia miſcent
Vulneribus crebris : lavit ater corpora ſanguis,
Verſaque in obnixos urgentur cornua vaſto
Cum gemitu : reboant ſilvæque & magnus Olympus :
Nec mos bellantes una ſtabulare, ſed alter
Victus abit, longeque ignotis exulat oris
Multa gemens, ignominiam plagaſque ſuperbi
Victoris, tum quos amiſit inultus amores,
Et ſtabula aſpectans regnis exceſſit avitis (11)

The ſtooping Warriors, aiming Head to Head,
Engage their claſhing Horns ; with dreadful Sound
The Foreſt rattles, and the Rocks rebound.
They fence, they puſh, and puſhing loudly roar ;
Their dewlaps and their ſides are bath'd in Gore ;
Nor, when the War is over, is it Peace ;
Nor will the vanquiſh'd Bull his Claim releaſe :
But, feeding in his Breaſt his ancient Fires,
And curſing Fate, from his proud Foe retires.
Driv'n, from his native Land, to foreign Grounds,
He with a gen'rous Rage reſents his Wounds ;
His ignominious Flight, the Victor's Boaſt,
And, more than both, the Loves, which unrevenged he loſt.
Often he turns his Eyes, and with a Groan
Surveys the pleaſing Kingdoms, once his own.
DRYDEN.

"Shall I not learn the moſt unnatural Barbarity in "the School, where you ſend me ? Do not ſome "Beaſts devour their young Ones ? Shall I not learn "Inceſt there ?

- - - - - - ſed enim damnare negatur
Hanc venerem pietas, coëuntque animalia nullo
Cætera delectu, nec habetur turpe juvencæ
Ferre patrem tergo : fit equo ſua filia conjux,
Quaſque creavit init pecudes caper, ipſaque cujus
Semine concepta eſt ex illo concipit ales.
Felices, quibus iſta licent : humana malignas
Cura dedit leges, & quod natura remittit
Invida jura negant (12).

But Piety this Paſſion muſt allow ;
All Creatures elſe promiſcuous Love purſue.
Bulls know no ſhame their Daughters to beſtride ;
The willing Filly makes her Sire a Bride ;
The wanton Goat does his own Kids enjoy ;
Nor to the Bird are his own young Ones coy.
O happy theſe ! while Man by Nature free,
To envious Laws gives up his Liberty.

"Shall I not learn there to ſeize on every thing that "lies within my reach, that I may lay up Proviſions like the Ant ?

- - - - - - - - - - ſicut
Parvula, nam exemplo eſt, magni formica laboris
Ore trahit quodcunque poteſt atque addit acervo
Quem ſtruit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri (13).

Great Heaps to raiſe, learn from the little Ant ;
See her vaſt Stores, to guard from future Want.

"Shall I not free myſelf from the hard Slavery, which "torments ſo many People, and makes them break "out into theſe pathetic Complaints ?

Que vôtre bonheur eſt extrême,
Cruels lions, ſauvages ours,
Vous qui n'avez dans vos amours
D'autre regle que l'amour même !
Que j'envie un ſemblable ſort !
Et que nous ſommes malheureuſes
Nous de qui les loix rigoureuſes
Puniſſent l'amour par la mort (14) !

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(5) *See his 8th Satire.*

(6) Horat. Sat. 3, lib. 2. ver. 103.

(7) *See* Menagiana, p. 323. *of the 1ſt Edit. of* Holland.

(8) Vervecum in patria craſſoque ſub aëre naſci. *Juven. Sat.* X. *ver.* 50.

(9) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. II. cap. v. in fine.

(10) Horat. Sat III. lib. 1. ver. 108.

(11) Virgil. Georg. lib. 3. ver. 220.

(12) Myrrha apud Ovid. Met. lib. 10. ver. 323.

(13) Horat. Sat I. lib. 1. ver. 32.

(14) *Theſe Verſes are taken from the* Paſtor Fido, *according to the Tranſlation of the Counteſs* de la Suze.

How

How exquiſite your Bliſs appears,
Cruel Lions, ſavage Bears;
Whoſe Loves no other Rule confines,
But that which Love itſelf enjoins!
How envied is your happy Fate!
How wretched is our ſlaviſh State;
Whoſe rigid Laws, againſt all Senſe,
Make Love a Capital Offence!

It cannot therefore be denied, but that the Examples, which the School of Brutes affords, of all manner of Irregularities, do ſomething weaken the moral Reflections I have mentioned in the beginning of this Remark: For, ſince Divinity aſſures us, all Beaſts are free from Sin, it cannot be ſaid, that ſome are grown diſorderly for a Puniſhment of their Faults, and that others have been preſerved regular for a Reward of their Virtue. So that whatever they do is equally regular; and, if any one ſhould ask, as *Sigiſmund*'s Widow did, *Why will you rather have me imitate the Turtle-Dove, than the Pigeon, or the Sparrow?* You can give no good Anſwer, without conſulting the Grounds of Morality, as much as you would be obliged to do, if you did not at all make uſe of the Example of the Turtle-Dove. What Anſwer would Mr *Boileau* give to a Sophiſt, who ſhould maintain, that his *rutting Hind* is a very falſe Compariſon? For, to make it good, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that this Brute is capable of being in the ſame Condition with thoſe Women, who ſue a Man *for Impotency*. Now can a Hind be in ſuch a Caſe? Does ſhe engage her Faith to a ſingle Stag? If one fails her, does ſhe not find others? Mr *Boileau*'s biting Invective, and Satire, would be well grounded in a Country, where there were no Laws of Marriage; but it is very certain, that, in ſuch a Country, Men would no more be ſued for Impotency, than Stags, nor condemned to ſhew their Manhood by a *Congreſs*, in purſuance of an Order of Court.

What I have ſaid does not at all leſſen my Belief, that the moral Obſervations, I am ſpeaking of, are very proper to affect moſt People. Therefore I do not blame *Francis de Sales*, who propoſed the Elephant for an Example of Chaſtity; and I condemn the Anſwer of the Empreſs *Barbara*. A thouſand things might be ſaid on this Subject. The Actions of Brutes are, perhaps, one of the moſt profound Myſteries, on which our Reaſon can be exerciſed; and I am ſurprized, that ſo few Perſons perceive it. But let us relate the Words of *Francis de Sales*: "The Elephant, *ſays he* (15), is one of the "moſt unwieldly, but, at the ſame time, the worthieſt "and moſt ſenſible of the whole Brute Creation. "I ſhall ſay one word of his Chaſtity; he never "changes his Female; he very tenderly loves the "Mate he has once choſen; but yet he cohabits "with her only every third Year, and then not "above five Days, and ſo privately, that he is "never ſeen in the Act: On the ſixth Day, he "makes his Appearance, and, in the firſt place, goes "directly to ſome River, and waſhes his whole "Body, nor returns to the Herd before he is purified. Is not this a fine, and a chaſte, Diſpoſition "of ſuch an Animal, and a good Example to married People, not to ſet their Affections on their "Senſuality and Pleaſure, but, as ſoon as thoſe "Gratifications are over, to waſh their Heart and "Affections, and purify themſelves as ſpeedily as "poſſible, that they may afterwards have their "Minds at full Liberty, for the Performance of "Actions more pure and exalted? *&c.*" What he ſays of the Elephant is taken from *Ariſtotle* (16), *Pliny* (17), and *Ælian* (18). *Claud. Spencæus* in his Treatiſe *Of the State of Widowhood*, where he ſpeaks of *Monogamy*, had remarked this of the Elephant, and given it, together with that of the Turtle-Dove, for eminent Examples of Modeſty and Chaſtity to Chriſtians.

(5) Introduction to a devout Life, *part* 3. *c.* 39.

Of the Chaſtity of the Nuptial Bed.

(16) Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 5. c. 15.

(17) Plin. lib. 8. c. 5.

(18) Ælian. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 8. c. 17.

BARBERINI (Francis), one of the beſt Poets of his Time, was born in the Year 1264, at *Barberino* in *Tuſcany*. His Mother being a Native of *Florence*, he went and ſettled in that City, where the Profeſſion of a Civilian, but, above all, the beauty of his Poems, made him very conſiderable. Moſt of his Works are loſt. That, which was intituled *The Precepts of Love* [*A*], had a better deſtiny. It was printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1640, and adorned with fine Cuts. It was done by the Care of *Frederic Ubaldini*, who took that occaſion to court the higher Powers; for the Houſe of *Barberini*, which was deſcended from this Poet, enjoyed the Papacy at that time. At the beginning of This Work he placed the Author's Life and ſome Elogies; and, becauſe there were ſeveral obſolete words in thoſe Verſes, he added a Gloſſary to explain them, and clear, or prove, the Senſe of them, by the Authority of cotemporary Poets (*a*).

[*A*] *His Poem entitled,* The Precepts of Love *was preſerved.*] This is equivocal; one might imagine that this Poem was a School of Coquettry, like that of *Ovid*, *de Arte amandi*; but it would prove a very great Miſtake. There is nothing more Moral than this Poem of *Barberini*. It contains nothing but Rules, which teach thoſe their Duty, who fix their Love on Glory, Virtue, and Eternity (1).

(*a*) *Taken from the* Acta Eruditorum, *in* §. 7. *of Vol. I. of the Supplements*, pag. 349.

(1) Acta Eruditor. pag. 349, *of the* 1*ſt Vol. of the Supplements.*

BARCLAY (William) a Learned Civilian in the XVIth Century, was of *Aberdeen* in *Scotland*, and of a very good Family [*A*]. Though he had been in favour with Queen *Mary Stuart*, he could not make his Fortune at the Court of the King of *Scotland*, the Son of that Princeſs. This made him reſolve to retire into *France* in the Year 1573 (*a*); and, though he was near thirty Years of

[*A*] *He was of a very good Family.*] Namely, That of *Barclay*, which is related to all the great Families of *Scotland*, as appears by a Patent, from King *James*, printed before the *Argenis*. I make uſe of the Word *Patent*, becauſe it is not a meer Letter, written to the Duke of *Lorrain*, as Mr *Menage* affirms (1), but a Letter, ſealed with the great Seal of the Kingdom, and addreſſed to all Perſons, in the uſual Form, *To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting.* Mr *Menage* is very excuſable in his Miſtake; but he, who cauſed this Superſcription, *Epiſtola Jacobi Scotiæ Regis, Carolo Lotharingiæ Duci*, to be placed before King *James*'s Atteſtation, is guilty, either of unpardonable Fraud, or Ignorance. He ought to have read That Writing, ſince he cauſed it to be printed, and prefixed to a Book (2). There is not a Line in it but will ſhew, that it was not a Letter written to the Duke of *Lorrain*. The *Italian* Tranſlator of the *Argenis* (3) tells us, That the Relations of the Lady *Malleville* would not agree to her Marriage with *William Barclay*, before they had ſeen Proofs of the Nobility he had boaſted of. He adds, That this vexed *Barclay*, only on account of the amorous Impatience, with which he was tranſported; for he was obliged to wait for the Arrival of a Certificate, before he could taſte the Pleaſures of Enjoyment. He goes on, and ſays, That, *when the Relations of the fair Lady ſaw the Royal Atteſtation, they were the firſt, who haſtened the Conſummation*, It is impoſſible to forbear wondering, when we find theſe things in the ſame Page with the King of *Scotland*'s Certificate; for This Prince declares,

(*a*) *The Life of* John Barclay, *prefixed to the* Argenis, *has it the Year* 1571.

(1) Menage, *Remarks on the Life of* Ayrault, *pag.* 228.

(2) *It is printed before the* Argenis.

(3) *His Name is* Franceſco Pona; *he wrote the Life of* John Barclay, *and prefixed it to his Tranſlation of the* Argenis.

of Age, yet he went to ſtudy the Civil-Law at *Bourges*. Some time after, he there took his Doctor's Degree [*B*]; and as he had a great deal of Wit, and applied himſelf very much to Study, he ſoon made himſelf capable to teach the Civil-Law. His Uncle, the Jeſuit *Edmond Hay*, procured him a Profeſſorſhip in that Science, in the Univerſity of *Pontamouſſon*, by the Credit he had with the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had lately founded that Univerſity. That Duke did not only confer the chief Chair on *Barclay*, but made him alſo one of his Counſellors of State, and Maſter of Requeſts of his Palace. In the Year 1582 *(b)*, *Barclay* married a Gentlewoman of *Lorrain (c)*, by whom he had a Son, who became a Famous Man, and was the innocent cauſe of his Father's falling out with the Jeſuits. This young Man had ſo much Wit, that they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to get him into their Order. His Father was angry with them for it; and they with him in their turn, and did him ſo many ill Offices with the Duke, that they obliged him to leave *Lorrain*. He went to King *James* at *London*, who offered him a place in his Council with a very good Salary; but he refuſed thoſe Offers upon account of the condition annexed to them, which was to embrace the Religion of the Church of *England*. In the beginning of the Year 1604, he returned into *France*, and accepted the Profeſſorſhip of the Civil Law, which was offered him by the Univerſity of *Angers*. He taught there with great Splendor [*C*], till his Death, which happened towards the latter end of the Year 1605 [*D*]. He was buried at the *Franciſcans (d)*. He publiſhed ſome Books [*E*], and

(b) *See Remark* [*A*], *of the following Article.*

(c) *Her Name was* Anne de Malleville.

(d) *Taken from* Mr Menage's *Remarks on the Life of* Peter Ayrault, *pag.* 228, & ſeq.

declares, expreſsly, that *Barclay* had a Wife already (4); and this is farther certain, from the Date of the Atteſtation (5). That Date is above a Month after the Birth of *John Barclay*, the Son of *William*, and of the Lady *Malleville*. Judge how the amorous *William Barclay* was obliged to delay his Joy, by waiting for a Certificate. The Author of *John Barclay*'s Life, in *Latin*, was in the ſame Error: He ſays, The Atteſtation was required, that he might prove himſelf a Perſon of Quality to his future Spouſe. *Cum Anna de Malavilla contracturus nuptias ex Scotia regias literas accerſivit, quibus ingenuæ nobilitatis titulos futuræ ſponſæ approbaret.*

[*B*] *He ſtudied the Civil Law at* Bourges - - - - *and there took his Doctor's Degree.*] *Cujacius* preſided at That Act (6). It is a great Falſity to ſay, that *Barclay*'s Marriage did not interrupt his Studies, and that, having continued them, after his Wedding, from a Scholar he became a Doctor, and, from a Doctor, a Profeſſor of the Civil Law: *Lequali* (nozze) *non rompendo il bel filo de gli ſtudii di lui, ſucceſſe che di ſcholare ch' egli era, paſſato al grado del Dottorato, riceve una lettura principale di Leggi* (7).

[*C*] *He taught, at* Angers, *with great Splendor.*] "He went to his Lectures, attended by his Son, "and two Servants, dreſſed in a magnificent Robe, "with a great Chain of Gold about his Neck (6)."

[*D*] *He died towards the end of the Year* 1605.] Mr *Moreri*, being deceived by *Nicius Erythræus*, and others, has put down the Year 1609, inſtead of the Year 1605. He believed, with Reaſon, that our *Barclay* went to teach the Civil Law, at *Angers*, in 1604; and he found, in *Nicius Erythræus*, that This Profeſſor lived five Years after taking Poſſeſſion of That Place. "Ab "Andibus optimis conditionibus evocatur, ut in ipſorum gymnaſio primariam Juris Civilis cathedram obtineret, ubi cum jam quinquennium docuiſſet eſt mortuus (9). - - - - *He was invited, by the Univerſity of* "Angers, *on advantageous Terms, to accept the principal Chair of the Civil Law, which he enjoyed* "*five Years, and then died.*" It was natural to conclude, that he did not die, *'till about the Year* 1609. But the *Italian* Author is miſtaken, ſince, beſides the Authority of Mr *Menage*, I can alledge this Reaſon; *William Barclay* was dead before the Differences between *Paul* V, and the *Venetians*, were ended. "Accendebant hominem & pietate & jam ſenecta liberiorem illæ turbæ quas multi ominabantur, cum Pontifex in Anglum Venetoſque diſtrictus, illum quidem jam à ſacris noſtris alienum acerbare, hos autem alienare videbatur. Sed tam pium conatum intercepit fœlix & in Chriſto obitus. —— *The Diſturbances, which many foreſaw, from the Pope's* "*Violence againſt* England *and* Venice, *which ſeemed* "*to exaſperate the former, already alienated from* "*our Communion, and to alienate the latter, ſtirred* "*up the good Man, whoſe Piety, and old Age, had* "*given him a greater Degree of Freedom. But a* "*happy, and truly Chriſtian, Death prevented his* "*pious Deſign.*" This we find in the Preface to the Book *De Poteſtate Papæ* (10). The Differences between the Pope, and the Republic of *Venice*, were ended in the Year 1607. The Sieur *Witte* being, perhaps, deceived only by *Moreri*, has placed the Death of *Barclay* in the Year 1609 (11).

[*E*] *He publiſhed ſome Books.*] Among others, *Præmetia*, on the Life of *Agricola*, and a Commentary on the Title of the *Pandects de Rebus Creditis & de Jurejurando*. He publiſhed it in the Year 1605, at *Paris*. But the two Pieces, which made the moſt Noiſe, were the Treatiſe of the Papal Power, and That of the Regal Power. The Title of the firſt is, *De Poteſtate Papæ, an & quatenus in Reges & Principes ſeculares jus & imperium habeat.* The ſecond is entitled, *De Regno & Regali poteſtate adverſus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium & reliquos Monarchomachos.* He publiſhed this latter Work at *Paris*, in the Year 1600, and dedicated it to *Henry* IV. The other did not come out of the Preſs before the Death of the Author, who durſt not even ſay, that he was writing ſuch a Work. "Et quidem *de Regno* libros quibus popularem ambitum "exagitabat nullâ diſſimulatione conſcripſit. Sed hoc "opus (*de Poteſtate Papæ*) ſecreto aggreſſus eſt, cum "tunc aliquid Pontifici negare hæreſis cenſeretur "(12). - - - - *He never diſſembled the writing his* "*Book, of* The Regal Power, *wherein he laſhes popular Ambition. But this Work* (Of the Papal "Power) *he undertook privately, the denying the Pope* "*any thing being, then, eſteemed Hereſy.*" He undertook theſe two Pieces, when he ſaw the Diſorders of the *League*, the Subjects in Arms againſt their King, and the legitimate Poſſeſſors of the Throne declared, by the Papal Bulls, to have forfeited their Crown. *Lorrain*, where he was advantageouſly ſettled, followed the Stream, and approved the Revolt of Subjects, and the Attempts of the Court of *Rome* againſt the Temporalities of Princes. He remained firm in his Principles; for he had learned them in a good School; neither muſt it be queſtioned, but that the Seditions of the *Scots* had been, in this Reſpect, his chief Catechiſm. Nothing is more proper to make the Republican Maxims hated, than to ſee, that they have produced Troubles, which have deſtroyed the Religion one believes to be the true one, and dethroned a Queen, by whom one was beloved. However it be, the Profeſſor of *Pontamouſſon* ſhewed an uncommon Steadineſs: Moſt Perſons alter their Principles as they change their Country and Intereſts; as for him, he preſerved thoſe Maxims in *Lorrain*, which he had in *Scotland*, though the Situation of Affairs was entirely reverſed. The Authority of the People, advanced above the Royal Power, ſerved, in *Scotland*, for the Ruin of Popery, and, in *France*, for the Ruin of the Proteſtants. Notwithſtanding all this, *Barclay* did not change his Opinion: He had found it unjuſt in *Scotland*, where it promoted the Catholic Religion, and found it no leſs unjuſt in *France*, where it promoted the ſame Religion. It is a Rarity to meet with ſo much Conſtancy in a Doctor; but thoſe, whoſe Principles turn like Weather-cocks, are every where to be found. I have ſaid, that *Barclay* durſt not

THE *League* did not alter *Barclay*'s Hypotheſis concerning the Independence of Kings.

(4) In Lotharingia conſediſſe, ibique affinitatem genere moribuſque ſuis non indignam contraxiſſe. *That, being ſettled in* Lorrain, *he had married a Wife, not at all unſuitable either in Family or Virtue.*

(5) *The* 19th *of* March, 1582. Moreri *makes it the* 28th.

(6) Menage, ubi ſupra.

(7) Franceſco Pona, ubi ſupra.

(8) Menage, ubi ſupra, pag. 231.

(9) Nic. Erythr. Pinacoth. III, pag. 76. Paul Freherus Theatr. pag. 1515, *makes him to continue Profeſſor five Years. He quotes* Imperialis *and* Thomaſin.

(10) *Mr* Menage, *Remarks on the Life of* Ayrault, *pag.* 228, *aſcribes this Preface to* John Barclay *the Son of* William.

(11) Witte, in Appendice Diarii Biographici.

(12) In Præfat. Operis de Poteſtate Papæ.

and one among the reſt, wherein he refuted ſome Authors, who, tho' of different Religions, did yet agree in Republican Maxims in favour of Religion [*F*]. He had an averſion for the *Calviniſts* [*G*]; which Spirit of Bitterneſs was probably occaſioned by the Condition he ſaw his Country in, when he was forced to abandon it for the ſake of his Catholic Religion (*e*).

(*e*) Quas (*literas*) cum idem Guillelmus videret una cum avita religione ſordeſcere, Principem vero ſuam marceſcere in infamis carceris ſitu, dolore confectus migravit, anno 1571, Lutetiam...... *Which* (Learning) *when* Barclay *ſaw trampled on, together with the Religion of his Anceſtors, and his Queen reduced to the Diſgrace of a Priſon, he was ready to ſink with Grief, and retired to* Paris. Vita Jo. Barclaii.

not own he was writing againſt the Maxims of the *Italians*; but this ought only to be underſtood of the time of the Continuance of the League; for, when it was defeated, he no longer made a Myſtery of his Work, but ſent it to the Preſs, and dedicated it to *Clement* VIII (13). But he took it away again from the Printer, and kept it near ten Years, during which time, he added a great deal to it, but cut off much more. He was making all the haſte he could to finiſh it, on the Apprehenſion of the Differences, which were likely to happen, between the Pope, and the *Venetians*; but Death hindered him from putting the laſt Hand to his Work (14).

[*F*] *He refuted ſome Authors, who, though of different Religions, yet agreed on Republican Maxims, in favour of Religion.*] He refuted two Proteſtants, *Buchanan*, and *Hubert Languet*: And alſo *Boucher*, one of the Curates of *Paris*, and a very violent *Leaguer*. This Man ſubmitted the Sovereign Authority to the People, for the good of the Catholic Religion; the others did the ſame thing for the good of the Proteſtant. So that they were all three united in the general Theſis, and all three Adverſaries to *Barclay*.

[*G*] *He had an Averſion for the* Calviniſts.] This appears by his Writings. Read theſe Words of Mr *Menage*: "He was a great Enemy to the *Calviniſts* "and *Lutherans*. In his Commentary on the Title "in the *Digeſts de Rebus creditis*, he ſays, ſpeaking "of *Doneau*, Doctor-Regent of the Civil-Law in the "Univerſity of *Bourges*, *Hugo Donellus unus ex præceptoribus meis: vir civilis Diſciplinæ peritus, ſed* "*malus, quia hæreticus Calviniſta* (15). —— Hugo "Donellus, *one of my Preceptors, to be admired for* "*his Learning in the Civil Law, but to be abhorred* "*for his* Calviniſtical *Hereſy*."

(13) Ibid.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Menage's Remarks on the Life of *Ayrault*, pag. 229.

BARCLAY (John), Son of the foregoing, was born at *Pontamouſſon*, the Twenty eighth of *January*, 1583 [*A*]. The Jeſuits of That Town, under whom he ſtudied, were ſo charmed with his Wit, that they uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to draw him into their Society. I have already ſaid, that this was the reaſon of his Father's going to King *James*, who was lately come to the Crown of *England*. He brought his Son along with him; his Son I ſay, who was already an Author [*B*], and had ſome new Works ready for the Preſs: He had publiſhed a Commentary on the *Thebais* of *Statius*, in 1601 (*a*), and he publiſhed a Latin Poem on the Coronation of King *James*, and the firſt part of the *Euphormio*, in the Year 1603. Thoſe two Pieces pleaſed his *Britannic* Majeſty very well, who loved and underſtood Learning. *John Barclay* dedicated to him That beginning of the *Euphormio*. He returned into *France* with his Father, who would not leave him with King *James*, for fear That Prince, who would willingly have retained him, ſhould engage him to abjure the *Romiſh* Faith. He continued at *Angers*, till his Father's Death; after which he went to *Paris*, where he married [*C*], and went ſoon after to *London*. He was there in the Year 1606, and

(*a*) *It was printed at* Pontamouſſon, *and dedicated to* Charles III, *Duke of* Lorain.

[*A*] *Was born at* Pontamouſſon, *the Twenty eighth of* January, 1583.] I have blindly followed Mr *Menage*, but reſerved to myſelf the Liberty to rectify him here by himſelf. He mentions, at Page 228, what I have taken for the Text to This Remark, and afterwards affirms, at Page 232, that *John Barclay* died *the twelfth of* Auguſt, *in the Year* 1621, *aged Thirty nine Years and ſix Months*. He muſt therefore be born in the beginning of the Year 1582. This is confirmed by another Fact, related by Mr *Menage*. In the Year 1603, *John Barclay* dedicated the firſt Part of the *Euphormio* to the King of *England* (1), and declares, in the Apology for the *Euphormio*, that he was but Twenty one Years of Age, when he cauſed that firſt part to be printed (2). An Author, who is but twenty Years and ſome Months old, does not uſe to ſay, that he is but Twenty one Years of Age; he expreſſes himſelf only in that manner, when he is in his Twenty ſecond Year. *Barclay* was, therefore, full Twenty one Years old, in 1603; and conſequently was born, not in the Year 1583, but in 1582. So that, if his Birth-day was the Twenty eighth of *January*, his Father's Marriage muſt be placed in the Year 1581, and not, as Mr *Menage* would have it, in the Year 1582. The ſame Conſequences will follow from what he ſays (3), that *Barclay, being but nineteen Years of Age in* 1601, printed a Commentary on *Statius*. He remarks, *that he, who wrote the Life of* John Barclay, *printed before the* Argenis, *is ſtrangely deceived in ſaying, that* John Barclay *was born at* Aberdeen (4). If he was miſtaken in the Place of his Birth, he was not miſtaken in the Time, which, he ſays, was the Twenty eighth of *January*, 1582. We read, under the Effigies of *John Barclay*, in the Frontiſpiece of the *Argenis*, that he was born the Twenty eighth of *January*, 1682: And thus the Engravers deceive us, as well as the Printers.

[*B*] *He was an Author very early.*] We have ſeen already, that, at nineteen Years of Age, he publiſhed a Commentary on *Statius*; he deſerves, therefore, to be inſerted in the next Edition of *Baillet*'s *Famous Children*; but he would deſerve it yet more, if his true Age had been known to *Nicius Erythræus*: for, in that Caſe, he muſt have been an Author at fifteen Years. And, indeed, *Erythræus* ſays, that *Barclay* was but ſeventeen Years of Age, when he wrote a Poem on King *James*'s Coronation; that is to ſay, in 1603. *Annum tum agebat Joannes decimum Septimum cum de Regis inauguratione elegantiſſimum carmen edidit, maximo verborum ſententiarumque ſplendore illuminatum; quod lectum Rex adeo probavit, ut* &c. (5). At that rate, he muſt have been but fifteen Years of Age, when, in 1601, he publiſhed a Commentary on the *Thebais* of *Statius*. Let us obſerve, here, a new Miſtake of That *Italian* Author, which proved contagious to *Moreri*, and ſo contagious, that it has produced another. Mr *Moreri* was not contented with ſaying, that *Barclay* was but ſeventeen Years of Age, when King *James* was crowned, but he has converted the printed Poem of This Author into a Speech delivered on that Occaſion. *Paul Freberus* places *John Barclay*'s Birth in the Year 1585, and the Panegyric on the Coronation in the ſeventeenth Year of his Age (6).

[*C*] *He went to* Paris, *and there married.*] "He "married *Loaiſe Debonnaire*, Daughter of *Michael* "*Debonnaire*, Treaſurer of the old *Bandes*, and of "*Urſina Deniſot*. —— He went afterwards, with "his Wife, into *England*, where he had, by her, "two Sons and a Daughter (7)." He did not marry at *Rome*: *Moreri*, who ſays ſo, did not, in the leaſt, underſtand his *Nicius Erythræus*, who would eaſily have informed him, that *Barclay* eſcaped from *England*, with his Wife and Son, and retired to *Rome*, where ſhe brought him another Son. *Ibi Barclaius ex uxore quam habebat maſculam prolem ſuſcepit. Sed aliquanto poſt — clam ex Anglia unà cum uxore & filio ſe fugâ ſurripuit, ac Romam venit* (8). —— *Romæ novam ex uxore ſuâ maſculam prolem accepit, ac cive uno*

(1) Menage's Remarks on the Life of *Ayrault*, p. 229.

(2) Ibid. pag. 231.

(3) Ibid. p. 228, 229.

(4) Ibid. pag. 228.

(5) Nicius Erythr. Pinacoth. 3, pag. 76.

(6) Freheri, Theat. pag. 1515.

(7) Menage's Remarks on the Life of *Ayrault*, p. 230.

(8) Nic. Erythr. Pinacoth. 3, pag. 77.

and it was then, that he came acquainted with Mr *de Peireſc*. He had lately publiſhed the Hiſtory of the *Gun-Powder-Treaſon*. It is a Pamphlet of Six Leaves (*b*), printed at *Amſterdam*. In the Year 1610 (*c*), he publiſhed, at *London*, an Apology for the *Euphormio*, and his Father's Treatiſe *De Poteſtate Papæ* [*D*]. In the Year 1612, he printed a Book at *Paris*, intituled *Pietas* [*E*]. It is an Anſwer to Cardinal *Bellarmin*, who had wrote againſt *William Barclay*'s Book of the *Papal Power*. Two Years after, appeared the *Icon Animorum*, which he publiſhed at *London*. From whence he went, in the Year 1616, to *Paris*, where he was preſented, by his good Friend Mr *de Peireſc*, to Mr *du Vair*, Keeper of the Seals. He went afterwards to *Rome*, being invited thither by Pope *Paul* V, where he publiſhed a Book of Controverſy, intituled *Paræneſis ad Sectarios*. He received a great many Favours from Cardinal *Bellarmin*, though he had written againſt him. He died at *Rome*, the twelfth of *Auguſt* 1621 (*d*), while his *Argenis* was printing in *France* (*e*) [*F*]. His body was carried into the Church of St *Onuphrius* upon the *Janiculum*. His Son erected a Marble Monument for him, in St *Laurence*'s Church, on the way to *Tivoli* (*f*): We ſhall give the Reaſon, in the Remarks, why his Widow cauſed her Huſband's Buſto to be taken from thence [*G*]. Many believe, that *John Barclay* made Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion in

Urbem noſtram auxit (9). *Maffeo Barberini*, who was afterwards Pope *Urban* VIII, was God-father to our *Barclay*'s new Son (10). In Reading theſe Words of *Erythræus*, one would never imagine, that *Barclay*'s Wife did not come to *Rome*, 'till four Years after her Husband; and yet *Gaſſendus* affirms it to be true. Read the Place, where he mentions the good Offices, which Mr *de Peireſc* did the Husband, in the Year 1616, and the Wife and Child in 1620. *Prætereo fuiſſe Peireskio non minorem circa Barclaii uxorem, filium, & Jo. Ludovicum Debonærum uxoris germanum, cum* QUARTO *poſt* ANNO *profecti Romam ad illum ſunt* (11). If Mr *Menage* had well conſidered theſe Words of *Gaſſendus*, he would not have ſaid, that *Barclay* went to *Rome*, in the Year 1617, and that his Wife, his Son, and his Brother-in-law, came to him there, in the Year 1619 (12). He adds, that *Barclay*'s Son came to *Paris* with his Mother, in the Year 1652; that *he made no great Figure*; that he compoſed *Latin* Verſes; and that, at the ſame time, he printed there a *Latin* Elogy. *Erythræus* ſpeaks of *Barclay*'s Widow, as of a preſumptuous and haughty Woman: See, below, the Remark [*G*]. In the *Latin* Life of *John Barclay*, it is falſly ſaid, that he married *Louiſe Debonnaire*, after having been employed in ſeveral Embaſſies by King *James*.

[*D*] *He printed his Father's Treatiſe* De Poteſtate Papæ.] If we believe Mr *Menage* (13), the printing That Book *loſt him great Part of the King of* England*'s Favour*. I cannot apprehend from whence this ſhould come, ſince this Book ſtrongly confutes the Pretenſions of the *Ultramontanes*, and particularly *Bellarmin*'s Arguments, and ſtoutly maintains the Independency of Kings. Could any thing be written more agreeable to King *James*? I conjecture, that *Gaſſendus*'s *Latin* (14) has deceived Mr *Menage*; and this convinces us yet more effectually, how difficult it is to write very clearly in *Latin*. Upon examining the Paſſage more cloſely, it will appear, that the Author does not affirm, that the Book, concerning the Pope's Power, diſpleaſed King *James*: but it may very eaſily be ſo underſtood, without ſome Attention. The Jeſuits did not believe, that the printing of That Book had diſpleaſed the King of *Great Britain*: But, on the contrary, they reproached *John Barclay* for having put it in the Preſs with That Prince's Conſent, and with the Corrections of the *Engliſh* Divines. *Neque vero niſi ejus* (Regis) *nutu patris tui librum à Britannici Evangelii miniſtris ad libidinem deformatum, Londini typis excuſum* (15). Mr *Menage* has not rightly marked the Year of the Impreſſion. That Work was printed in the Year 1609. The Congregation of the *Index* condemned it the ſame Year, by their Decree of the ninth of *November*.

[*E*] *He printed a Book at* Paris, *which he intituled* Pietas.] Here is the remaining Part of the Title; *Sive publicæ pro regibus ac principibus, & privatæ pro Gul. Barclaio parente, vindiciæ contra Bellarminum.* The Letter of *Eudæmon-Joannes*, which I have quoted, teſtifies, that *Barclay* took a Journey to *Paris* for the printing of That Work, to do more Service to the Proteſtants of *England*: for it was ſaid, "that "he thought he ſhould be leſs ſuſpected of Intelligence with the Enemies of the Church, if he "publiſhed That Work out of *England*." *Ac nunc quoque non diſſimili conſilio te Lutetiam è Britannia demigraſſe, ut cum & coram apud viros principes, & ſcriptis apud cæteros, Eccleſiæ cauſam calumniis tuis traduceres, tamen quanto majore locorum intervallo ab Rege disjungereris, hoc longius abeſſe à ſuſpicione fraudis* (16). This is one of the moſt cunning and common Touches of the ODIUM THEOLOGICUM. Thoſe, who are at a loſs to anſwer the Objections, raiſed againſt the Common Doctrines, fall upon the Perſons, who propoſe thoſe Objections: They brand them as ſo many falſe Brothers, who are in League with the Adverſaries, and only retain the outward Profeſſion of Orthodoxy, to enable them to do greater Execution.

[*F*] *He died - - - - - while his* Argenis *was printing in* France.] His good Friend, Mr *de Peireſc*, to whom he had ſent the Manuſcript, took care to find him a Printer, at *Paris* (17). The firſt Edition of This famous Book is That of *Paris*, 1621. It has been tranſlated into ſeveral Languages, as *French*, *Engliſh*, *Italian*, *Dutch*, &c. *Nicius Erythræus* obſerves, that it was tranſlated into *Italian* to ſatisfy the Curioſity of the Women. Hearing that this Book was very much cried up, they expreſſed a great Deſire of knowing the Contents of it. "Eadem ingenii fæcunditate peperit egregium illud opus, "Argenida nomine, quod & argumenti novitate, "& verborum ſplendore, ac rerum varietate, tantum commendationis habuit, ut mulierum etiam, "quæ illud miris in cœlum laudibus efferri audiebant, "ad cognoſcendum, quid illud afferret, ſtudia commoverit; adeo ut quidam quo animum illis expleret, in Italicum ſermonem illud converterit (18). "—— *The ſame Fruitfulneſs of Genius produced "that celebrated Work, entitled the* Argenis, *which, "for the Novelty of the Subject, the Beauty of "the Language, and Variety of Matter, was ſo "univerſally admired, as to raiſe, even among the "Women, a Curioſity to know what it contained; "ſo that, in order to gratify them with an Opportunity of reading it, ſome Perſon tranſlated it into* "Italian." Mr *de Peireſc* cauſed the Author's Effigies to be placed in the Title of the Book, with the following Diſtich, which he deſired *Grotius* to compoſe (19).

Gente Caledonius, Gallus natalibus, hic eſt,
  Romam Romano qui docet ore loqui.

His Birth in France, *his Name in* Scotland *ſhines*;
The Roman *Tongue he ev'n at* Rome *refines*.

[*G*] *We ſhall give the Reaſon, why his Widow cauſed her Husband's Buſto to be taken from thence.*] *John Barclay*'s Tomb was near the Gate of the Church-yard, over-againſt which Cardinal *Francis Barberini* had erected another, for his Preceptor *Bernard William*. Both Tombs were exactly alike. *John Barclay*'s Widow, being offended at ſo perfect a Reſemblance, would have demoliſhed her Huſband's Tomb; but, not being able to do That, ſhe would,

(*b*) *Intituled*, Series patefacti divinitus parricidii in maximum regem, regnumque Britanniæ cogitati, & inſtructi.

(*c*) *See the end of the Remark* [*D*].

(*d*) *On the Print before the* Argenis *they have put the 12th of* April.

(*e*) *Taken from Mr* Menage's *Remarks on the Life of* Peter Ayrault, pag. 228, & ſeq.

(*f*) Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth. 3, pag. 80.

(9) Ibid. pag. 79.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Gaſſendus in vita Peireskii ad Ann. 1616. pag. 283. *See alſo* pag. 288.

(12) Menage's Remarks on the Life of *Ayrault*, p. 231, 232.

(13) Ibid. pag. 231.

(14) Joannes Barclaius qui poſt editum de Summo Pontifice opus, nec jam ſolita apud Regem, ſuoſque pollens gratia - - - - ſubduxit ſeſe ex Anglia-- John Barclay, *having publiſhed the Book of the Papal Power, and not enjoying ſo much of the King's Favour as formerly, retired out of* England. Gaſſend. ib. pag. 282.

(15) Eudæmon-Joannes, Epiſt. monitoria ad Jo. Barclaium. n. 1.

(16) Id. ib.

(17) Gaſſend. Vit. Peireſk. pag. 288, 290.

(18) Nic. Erythr. Pinacoth 3, pag. 77, 78.

(19) Gaſſ. Vit Peireſk. pag. 290.

in *England* [*H*]: He denied it publickly [*I*]. His Books of Controverſy had no great Succeſs: the others had many Admirers [*K*], and have not wanted Cenſurers [*L*]. As to the Fortune he made at *Rome*, it is variouſly related. Some ſay,

would, at leaſt, have his Marble Buſto taken from it, and brought to her Houſe. Her Pride could not endure, that her Husband, who was Illuſtrious by his Birth, and more ſo ſtill by his Wit and Learning, ſhould be there parallelled with a pitiful Pedagogue. “ Quod uxor Barclaii mulier tumido, “ ut ajebant, animo atque elato, cum vidiſſet, ſtatim viri ſui imaginem ex ſepulchro illo, quod totum demoliri non poſſet, detrahi juſſit, ac domum “ ſuam afferri; quod acciperet indigne, eum cui ipſa “ nupta fuiſſet, generis ſplendore clarum, ſed ingenii & eruditionis fama clariorem, cum homine obſcuro, ac nullius fere ingenii, &, ut ipſa dicebat, “ pædagogo, componi (20).”

[*H*] *Many believe, that* John Barclay *made Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion in* England.] The Jeſuit *Eudæmon-Joannes* lays it to his Charge, that, while he lived at the Court of the King of *England*, he either actually was, or at leaſt paſſed for, a Heretic. He adds, that it was ſaid, This Prince made uſe of him, to tranſlate his Preface concerning the Oath of Allegiance into *Latin*, and to carry it to ſeveral Princes. “ Nam te quidem aliquot annis in “ aulâ ejus Regis ita verſatum ferunt ut hæreticus “ aut planè eſſes, aut haberere quidem certè. Cui “ nonnullam etiam Latinè reddendâ, deferendâque “ ad Principes præfatione ejus monitoriâ operam abs “ te navatam memorat (21).” *Erythræus*, not daring to ſay, poſitively, that *Barclay* was a Heretic in *England*, or, at leaſt, that he profeſſed Hereſy, does yet declare it as the Opinion of all the Papiſts of that Country, that King *James* made uſe of *John Barclay*'s Pen to compoſe the Book, entituled, *Funiculus triplex, & Cuniculus triplex.* Theſe are his Words: “ Utrum autem, apud regem, incor“ruptam catholicam religionem ſemper conſervave“rit, vel ſaltem, ſi non animo, ſpecie tenus hære“ticorum ſe erroribus oblinierit, incertum eſt mihi: “ illud autem certum, catholicorum omnium in An“glia fuiſſe opinionem, Regem illum in eo libro, “ cui titulus eſt *Funiculus triplex, & Cuniculus tri*“*plex*, componendo uſum fuiſſe Barclaio adjutore “ atque magiſtro (22).” I know of no body, who has been more deciſive on this Queſtion, than *Imperialis*. He ſays, plainly, that *Barclay* embraced the Religion of the *Church of England*, and afterwards abjured it; but, that they were ſo little perſuaded of the Sincerity of his Converſion at *Rome*, that, after his Death, they cauſed the Inſcription, and the Statue, which his Son had put upon his Tomb, to be taken away (23). *Paul Freherus* attributes this to the Jeſuits: “ Statuam & inſcriptionem quam ejus “ demortui gloriæ filius in templo S. Laurentii extra “ muros erexerat, patres Soc. Jeſu ſublatam & dele“tam voluerunt (24). —— *The Jeſuits ordered* “ *the Inſcription and Effigies, which his Son had de*“*dicated to his Memory, in St* Laurence'*s Church*“*yard, to be taken down and demoliſhed.*” The Truth of it is hard to be known: It is poſſible, ſomething was found among his Papers, or elſewhere, which might diſcover, that he was a Proteſtant in his Heart, and occaſion this Reſentment ſhewn againſt his Tomb. It is poſſible, on the other ſide, that the Vanity of his Wife might be the only Cauſe of the diſordering of his Tomb; and that this might give occaſion, to ſuch as are fond of Conjectures, or of idle Comments on Town-talk, to find a Myſtery in it, and ſome private Proceſs of the Tribunal of the Inquiſition.

[*I*] *He denied it publickly.*] We muſt either lay aſide the moſt certain Maxims, by which we judge of Facts, or acknowledge, that *John Barclay* did not renounce the Catholic Profeſſion in *England*. He declares publickly, that he was born, and always continued, a Catholic (25), and that, though he had accepted of an Office from King *James* (26), he never conformed to the *Church of England*, nor abſented himſelf from the Catholic Aſſemblies. *I was conſtant*, ſays he, *at the latter*. He calls to witneſs the *French* and *Spaniſh* Embaſſadors, and their Fathers Confeſſors, *who were alſo mine*, ſays he. Here is ſomething of yet greater force. He appeals to King *James*, of whom he boaſts to have obtained the Privilege not to be diſturbed in his Catholic Religion. King *James* was yet living, when *Barclay* publiſhed theſe Particulars: the Embaſſadors, to whom he appealed, were not all dead. How can it be thought therefore, that he declares a Falſehood? He vindicates himſelf from another thing, which had been laid to his Charge; That of having been the Author, or Promoter, of a terrible Libel, which appeared againſt King *James*, as ſoon as *Barclay* left *England*. Laſtly, he makes a Recantation of certain Doctrines, in the Book, which he had written againſt Cardinal *Bellarmin*. He does not forget to mention, that he went away with the Royal Permiſſion. *Neque furtum mei feci: impetrati regis pace publice cum familia à Britanniæ ora ſolvi.*

[*K*] *The others had many Admirers.*] See, in the Works of Sir *Thomas Pope-Blount* (27), and Mr *Baillet* (28), ſeveral fine Encomiums made on *Barclay*. The following, if it were true, would without doubt be the greateſt of all, in reſpect to the Dignity of it's Author. It is reported, that Cardinal *Richelieu* was continually reading the *Argenis*, and that from it he took all thoſe Counſels, and Political Expedients, with which he put *France* into ſo advantageous a Situation. *Ad immortalitatem Barclaii una ſufficiet illius Argenis, quam Richelæus ævi noſtri miraculum aſſiduis, ut ajunt* (29), *verſabat manibus, habebatque quaſi præceptricem ac directricem illius regiminis, quo deinceps Galliam venerabilem juxta terribilemque gentibus cæteris fecit* (30).

[*L*] *And have wanted not Cenſurers.*] We have ſeen the Diſtich under *Barclay*'s Picture, compoſed by *Grotius* (31). It is a great Compliment on that Author's *Latin* Style. However his Style has not been approved by every Body. “ The Anonymous Author of “ the little Book, entituled *Cenſura Euphormionis*, “ printed at *Paris* in 1620, ſpeaks of the Style of “ the *Euphormio*, in theſe terms: *& quod miretur ali*“*quis, latinitas quoque ipſa Romanas aures peregri*“*nitate radit, & veteris ſaporis imbutum palatum* “ *offendit.* —— *And what is very ſurprizing, even* “ *the* Latin *of it ſounds like a foreign Language to* “ *a* Roman *Ear, and is ſhocking to thoſe, who have* “ *any Reliſh for the Elegancies of Antiquity.* It is “ thought, to mention this by the way, that *Seton*, “ a Scotchman, was the Author of that little Book. “ *Joſeph Scaliger*, in his Three hundred and eleventh “ Letter to *Charles Labbé*, does not ſpeak at all more “ favourably of That Satire of *Barclay*. *Quanti Eu*“*phormionem Barclæi faciam ex eo cognoſcere potes,* “ *quod vix ſex folia ejus legere potuerim.* —— *What* “ *an Opinion I have of* Barclay's Euphormio, *you* “ *may gueſs from this, that I have ſcarce been able* “ *to read ſix Leaves of it.* Thus ſpeaks the Original “ of that Letter, which I have ſeen in *Charles* “ *Labbé*'s Hands; for, in the Edition of *Scaliger*'s “ Letters, there is an Aſteriſk in the ſtead of *Eu*“*phormionem Barclæi*. He gives much the ſame “ Account of it in his *Scaligerana ſecunda*: *There is* “ *a Pedant at* Angers, *who wrote a Satyricon, which* “ *ſeems at the beginning to promiſe ſome thing, but in* “ *Concluſion makes out nothing at all* (32). *Peter* “ *Muſnier*, a Canon of *Vezelai*, anſwered the Book “ entituled *Cenſura Euphormionis*, by another, enti“tuled *Cenſura cenſuræ Euphormionis*; but this An“ſwer was ſo very indifferent, that, in all probability, “ it made *John Barclay* himſelf write an Apology “ for his *Euphormio* (33). But, as it has been already “ obſerved, *John Barclay* was but Twenty one “ Years of Age, when he publiſhed the firſt Part of “ that Satire. His *Argenis*, which was written in his “ riper Years, is better done. And, if he, who wrote “ *John Barclay*'s Life, printed before the *Argenis*, “ may be believed, Cardinal *Richelieu* very highly “ eſteemed that Performance. I ſhall conclude with “ remarking, that a *Benedictine*, named *Bugnot*, who “ taught Rhetoric in the Abbey of *Tiron*, compoſed “ *Latin* Notes on that Work, which were printed “ at *Leyden* in 1664, with the *Argenis* (34).”

This is the Harveſt of the learned Mr *Menage*; I ſhall endeavour to gather up ſome Gleanings after him, and begin with theſe Words of *Balzac*: “ An Academiſt “ of *Rome*, a Confident of the formidable *Sciopius*, knowing

(20) Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth 3, pag. 81.

(21) Eudæm. Joannes, Ep. Monit. ad Barcl. n. 1.

(22) Nic. Erythr. Pinath. 3. pag. 77.

(23) Imper. in Muſæo Hiſtorico.

(24) Freh. in Theatr. pag. 1515. *He quotes* Imperialis, *and* Tomaſin.

(25) In Præfat. Paræneſis, ad Sectarios. *That Book was printed in the Year* 1617.

(26) In regis familia eſſe --- inter domeſticos. ---- *One of the King's Domeſtics*. Erythræus *ſays, that the King made him his Secretary*: ab epiſtolis, & conſiliorum omnium participem habuit. Freherus, *who quotes* Imperialis, *and* Thomaſin, *ſays, that his Place was That of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber*: titulo nobilis cubiculi regii honeſtatus.

(27) Cenſura Authorum, p. 655.

(28) Judgm. on the Poets, Tom. 4, pag. 152.

(29) *Here is an*, it is ſaid, *which has very much the Air of a Fable.*

(30) *In* Barclay's *Life, before the* Argenis.

(31) *See the end of the Remark* [F].

(32) *See* Mr Menage's *ſecond Additions to* the Life of *Ayrault*, pag. 539.

(33) *Mr* Menage *ſaid*, pag 231, *That* Barclay *publiſhed, at* London, *in* 1610, *the Apology for his* Euphormio, *which he dedicated to* Charles Emanuel, *Duke of* Savoy. *How can he ſay here, that the weak Anſwer, which was made to a Criticiſm on it, printed in the Year* 1620, *obliged* Barclay *to write his own Apology?*

(34) Menage's Remarks on the Life of *Ayrault*, pag. 232, 233.

ſay, that *Maffeo Barberini*, who loved him very well, having been created Pope, was a great Benefactor to him, and conferred a good Benefice upon his eldeſt Son, and the Office of his Holineſs's Chamberlain (*g*). Others ſay, that he was forced to amuſe himſelf with the culture of Flowers, to divert the Concern he was under, on ſeeing himſelf ſo little advanced (*h*) [*M*]. But it is certain, that he died before *Barberini* was elected Pope. He attempted ſome Things in Poetry, and ſeveral good Judges commend the *Latin* Verſes, we have of his, as very extraordinary (*i*). His Works have been confuſedly mentioned in *Moreri*'s Dictionary [*N*]. He was reviſing his *Euphormio*, in order to reprint it. He left behind him the *Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Jeruſalem* (*k*), and ſome Sheets of the *Hiſtory of Europe* (*l*). It could not, with any Truth, be ſaid, that King *James* ſent him Embaſſador to the Courts of the Emperor, King of *Hungary*, and Duke of *Savoy* [*O*]. He makes no mention of it himſelf, when he deſcribes the

"ing the Friendſhip, that was between Mr *Barclay*, "and myſelf, and the Love I had for his *Argenis*, "in order to moderate, as he ſaid, the Violence of "my Paſſion, offered to ſhew me in that new Hiſtory, which we had then in Manuſcript, Fifteen "hundred Improprieties, upon a fair Computation, "beſides innumerable other Faults, and ſtrange "Phraſes (35)." *Sorel*, an Enemy of *Balzac*, paſſed much the ſame Judgment on the Style of the *Argenis*. "As for the *Argenis*, *ſays he* (36), if it's *Latin* "is eſteemed, I am of a quite contrary Opinion; "for there are an infinite number of new Words in "it, which were never current in *Rome*, inſomuch, "that, if *Salluſt* were to return into the World again, "he would be at a loſs to underſtand them." He pretends, that, *in this, he only follows* the Opinion of the moſt learned, *who have ſome of them even gone ſo far as to ſay, That* Barclay'*s Language was rather* French, *than* Latin (37). He is not content with cenſuring the Style, but alſo condemns the Oeconomy of the Work itſelf, and is no leſs ſevere "on the *Euphormio* (38). "It is, *ſays he* (39), an "Hiſtory of a Perſon of mean Quality, but it is "extreamly ſilly. —— What gave this Book ſo "great a Run was it's being in *Latin*, and the Ra- "rity of ſeeing a modern Romance in that Lan- "guage; but it has never been conſidered, that it "is lucky for the Author, that he did not write it in "a Vulgar Language, becauſe there is now no "notice taken, that he does not underſtand how to "make each of his Perſons ſpeak agreeably to his "Character, which is the Grace of a Satire. In- "ſtead of this, he affects pedantic Expreſſions, and "makes a Footman ſpeak like a Schoolmaſter, who "underſtands *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtory; ſo that, all "this conſidered, together with the lowneſs of the "Adventures, the Satire of *Euphormio* appears to "be the Work of a School-Boy, juſt beginning to "learn Wit (40)." When he grew old, he was not quite ſo ſevere in his Cenſure; but he continued his Diſlike to the *Euphormio* (41). *That Satire*, ſays he (42), *was wrote in* Latin *by* John Barclay, *and tranſlated into* French *by* John Berault, Doctor of Phyſic, of the Faculty of *Paris*; *there is a good deal of Learning in it, with ſome touches of Satire on ſeveral Vices of the Age; but the Method of it is not the moſt ingenious, and agreeable, that ever was invented.* We have already ſeen what *Scaliger* thought of the *Euphormio*; This is the Judgment he paſſes on the Style. *There are a great many Faults in it, which every Body does not know: as there are Galliciſms in* Beza'*s Poetry* (43). We muſt not forget, that this Book had the ſame fate with the Treatiſe of the Pope's Power; it was condemned by the Inquiſition. The Decree orders the expunging ſome Parts of it: but *Nicius Erythræus* ſays, That the Bookſellers were forbid to ſell it, and all particular Perſons to keep or read it; and that, before this Order, he had read ſome Part of it. *Partem Euphormionis deguſtavi tum, cum nondum lata lex erat, ne bibliopolæ cuipiam liceret eum vendere, aut cuiquam domi habere ac legere* (44). Let theſe Words be well conſidered, and compared with ſome others in Page 77. It is ſurpriſing, that the Court of *Rome* ſhould ſhew ſo little regard to the Congregation of the *Index*: We ſhall ſee, that *John Barclay* was very graciouſly received at *Rome*, and moſt liberally ſupplied with every Thing, by the Bounty of the Pope, on account of the Reputation he had acquired by his *Euphormio*. "Romam venit, "ubi cum PRO eo quod ex EUPHORMIONE, quem "ediderat, celebratum ejus nomen eſſet, eſt ab omnibus humaniter exceptus, & à Paulo V, qui tum "Romanam Eccleſiam Pontifex adminiſtrabat, bonis "omnibus, quibus ſponte ſe exuerat, amiſſis, in victu, "veſtitu, ac cæteris omnibus ad vitam neceſſariis, mag- "nifice ac liberaliter habitus (45). Mr *Menage* has found a Fault in the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the *Argenis* (46). *Barclay*, addreſſing himſelf to King *Lewis* XIII, tells him, That the Prince, of whom he was born, deſerved in his Life-time the Sirname of *Le Grand*, the *Great*, which was not conferred upon him till after his Death. *Eo es parente genitus, qui vel confeſſione hoſtium, ſæculi ſui ſummus* Magni *cognomen ferre vivus debuerat, quod vos modeſtius extincto addidiſtis* (47). This is a Falſity: for *John Barclay*'s Father, dedicating his Book *de Regno*, to *Henry* IV, in the Year 1600, gives him the Title of *Henricus Magnus*. Mr *Menage* confeſſes, that he owes this Obervation to Mr *Nublé*.

[*M*] *Some will have it, that he was under a Concern on ſeeing himſelf ſo little advanced.*] The Author of the *Italian* Tranſlation of the *Argenis* confeſſes, that the Favours of *Paul* V, and *Gregory* XV, were no way proportionable to the Merit of *John Barclay, whether it be*, ſays he (48), *that Fortune is pleaſed to perſecute Virtue every where, or that the Pope thought, that Poverty was the true Mother of Knowledge* (49). He inſinuates, that *Barclay* was no good Oeconomiſt, and that his generous Temper, and numerous Family, reduced him pretty low. *Ivi dunque ſi tratteneva il Barclaio con facolta non poco anguſte riſpetto la numeroſa famiglia, e gli ſuoi ſpiriti generoſi.* In ſome *Latin* Verſes, where he introduces his Wife, who cauſes her Picture to be drawn, *Barclay* ſays he had but two Sons. In his *Latin* Life, thoſe Verſes are quoted, to prove, that he had two Sons and one Daughter. What Judgment is here!

[*N*] *His Works have been confuſedly mentioned in* Moreri'*s Dictionary.*] I. I have ſaid already, in the Remarks [*B*] and [*C*], that this Author has converted a Piece of Poetry into a Speech; II. And that he has falſly placed the Scene of *John Barclay*'s Marriage at *Rome*; III. And his Birth in the Year 1586. IV. He is in the wrong to think, that *Barclay's Satiricon Euphormionis* contains five Books. Properly ſpeaking, it contains but two, for the third is only an Apology for the other two; the fifth is not *Barclay*'s, but *Moriſot*'s; and the fourth is not built on the Model of the foregoing. It is the Book, which the Author entituled, *Icon animorum*. V. *Moreri* knew nothing of this, ſince he ſpoke of That *Icon animorum*, as of a diſtinct Work from the five pretended Books of the *Satiricon Euphormionis*. VI. If I am not miſtaken, *John Barclay* publiſhed no other Pieces againſt the Proteſtants, but only the *Parænеſis ad Sectarios*, which he carried ready finiſhed into *Italy*, and printed it at *Rome*, as ſoon as he arrived there. And yet, *Moreri* tells us, that *Barclay* publiſhed ſome Books againſt the Proteſtants, during the melancholy and ſolitary Life he led at *Rome*, amidſt the Favours of *Paul* V, and of his Succeſſor *Gregory* XV. The *Parænеſis ad Sectarios* was printed in the Year 1617. *Gregory* XV was not elected till the Year 1621. VII. He adds, that *Barclay* publiſhed alſo, at that time, the *Icon animorum*. This is falſe. That Work was printed at *London* in 1614, two Years before the Author went to *Rome*.

[*O*] *It could not with any Truth be ſaid, that he was ſent Embaſſador.*] A Writer of Panegyrics, or Lives, is too apt to make uſe of great Words. If a Prince appoints any Body to carry a Packet of

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(*g*) Ibid. pag. 79.

(*h*) Imperialis & Tomaſinus, apud Paulum Freherum, Theatr. pag. 1515.

(*i*) *See* Baillet's Judgment on the Poets, Tom. 4, pag. 152; *and Sir* Thomas Pope Blunt, Cenſura Autorum, p. 655,

(*k*) Ha laſciato dopo ſe l'Hiſtoria *de bello ſacro* ch' è la medeſima c'ha il Taſſo cantato nel ſuo Goffredo. --- *The ſame which was the Subject of* Taſſo's *Poem.* Franceſco Pona, *in the Life of* John Barclay.

(*l*) Id. ibid.

(35) *The 16th Diſcourſe among the* Miſcellaneous Works, pag. 405.

(36) Berger Extravagant, lib. 13, pag. 83.

(37) Sorel, Remarques ſur le Berger Extravagant, pag. 698. *See alſo his* Bibliotheque Franç. pag. 182.

(38) *The 13th Book of the* Berger Extravagant, *and in the Remarks on the 13th Book, and elſewhere.*

(39) Remarques ſur le Berger Extravagant, pag. 763.

(40) Ibid. pag. 765.

(41) Biblioth. Franç. pag. 182.

(42) Ibid. pag. 193. *See the End of the Text of this Article.*

(43) Scaligerana, pag. 23.

(44) Nicius Erythr. Pinac. 3, pag. 74.

(45) Id. ib. pag. 77.

(46) Menage's Remarks on the Life of *Ayrault*, pag. 232.

(47) Barcl. Epiſt Dedic. Argen.

(48) Franceſ. Pona, *in the Life of* John Barclay.

(49) *This Propoſition is very uncertain, and often very falſe. See the* Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obſtat Res anguſta domi & curta ſupellex. *Juvenal. Sat.* 3, *ver.* 164. *Rarely they riſe by Virtue's Aid, who lie, Plung'd in the depth of helpleſs Poverty.* Dryden. *See alſo the 56th and following Verſes of the 7th Satire.*

the Life he led with King *James* (m); and all that can be made of it, in my opinion, is, that this Prince might make uſe of him to tranſmit, to foreign Princes, ſome Copies of the Book, he compoſed for their common Intereſts, againſt the Pretenſions of the Court of *Rome*. His *Euphormio* and *Argenis* have been tranſlated into *French* [P].

(m) Barclaius in Præf. Parænes. ad Sectarios.

of Importance, you will ſoon ſee the Diſpatch of a Courier, converted into an Extraordinary Deputation; or even into a real Embaſſy. I am willing to believe, that, if the Preſents, which King *James* made to ſeveral Princes, as an Author, were intruſted to *Barclay*, it was not as to a meer Bearer; it is likely, that the King, who knew his Merit, made that Commiſſion agreeable to him; but, after all, That Meſſage makes ſo little Noiſe; that it is a Jeſt to ſay; “Illius (Regis magnæ Britanniæ) nomine legationes obivit ad Rodolphum Imperatorem, ad Matthiam Pannoniæ Regem, & ad (50) Emmanuelem Philibertum ducem Allobrogum (51). —— *He was ſent Embaſſador, by that King, to* Rodolphus *the Emperor*, Matthias *King of* Hungary, *and* Emanuel Philibert, *Duke of* Savoy.”

[P] *His* Euphormio *and* Argenis *have been tranſlated into* French.] I have already quoted *Sorel* (52), who obſerves, that the *Euphormio* was tranſlated into *French* by *John Berault*: I muſt add, that this Tranſlation was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1640, in 8vo, and that it was preceeded by two others, the Authors of which, *for fear of keeping too ſuperſtitiouſly to the Letter, have left the Work at leaſt as difficult as they found it* (53). *Berault* has ſubjoined a Key, and Commentary, to his Verſion. The Tranſlation of the *Argenis* was printed at *Paris*, by *N. Buon*, in 1624, in 8vo; but the Author of it is not named.

(50) *The Duke of Savoy's Name was* Charles Emanuel.

(51) *In the Life of* Barclay, *before the* Argenis.

(52) *Above, Citat.* (32).

(53) *See the Advertiſement of the Bookſeller, before the Tranſlation of* Berault.

BARCOCHEBAS, or *Barcochab* (a), excited innumerable Diſorders in *Judæa*, by his Impoſtures, and drew a dreadful Calamity upon his Nation under the Reign of *Adrian*. He was a *Jew*, who declared himſelf to be the *Meſſias*, and found a famous Rabbi, who favoured That impious Pretenſion (b). This falſe *Meſſias* ſuited himſelf ſurprizingly to the Prepoſſeſſions of That miſerable People; he ſpoke of nothing but Wars, Battles, and Triumphs; and the firſt Leſſon of his Goſpel was, that they ought to rebel againſt the *Romans*. He had ſo much the leſs Trouble to inculcate This Doctrine, becauſe he took his time, when the Zeal of Religion had thrown the *Jews* into a violent Rage againſt the Emperor. That Prince had newly eſtabliſhed a Colony near *Jeruſalem* (c), where he had ſettled Idolatry. The *Jews* looked upon this as an intolerable Abomination, and a prodigious Prophanation of the Holy Places; on account of which they were very inclinable to rebel. Some pretend, that Circumciſion was forbidden them [A]: this was to force their Conſciences. The *Talmud* alledges another reaſon for their taking up Arms [B]. Their Impoſtor is ſaid to have made uſe of the ſame Trick, which *Eunus* had practiſed in *Sicily*, to make the Slaves revolt; that is, he kindled Straw in his Mouth, that he might be thought to vomit Fire [C]. He fortified himſelf in ſeveral places; but he choſe the City of

(a) *That is,* Son of the Star. *He applied to himſelf the Prophecy of the Book of* Numbers, *chap.* xxiv, *ver.* 17. There ſhall come a Star out of Jacob.

(b) *His Name was* AKIBA. *See his Article.*

(c) *Which he called* Ælia Capitolina, *after his own Name and of* Jupiter Capitolinus, *to whom he cauſed a Temple to be built there.*

[A] *Some pretend, that Circumciſion was forbidden them.*] *Spartian* imputes their riſing to that Prohibition: *Moverunt ea tempeſtate & Judæi bellum quod vetebantur mutilare genitalia* (1). —— *The* Jews *at that time broke out into Rebellion, becauſe they were denied the Liberty of Circumciſion.* It is not unlikely, that the circumciſing of their Children was forbidden them, ſince we read in *Modeſtinus*, that they obtained from *Antoninus Pius* the Liberty of doing it; they had been diſturbed on that account, and were obliged to have recourſe to the Emperor's Juſtice. *Circumcidere Judæis filios ſuos tantum, reſcripto Divi Pii permittitur: in non ejuſdem religionis qui hoc fecerit, caſtrantis pœna irrogatur* (2). The Decree, which they obtained, ſeems to ſay, that ſometimes they circumciſed Children not born of their Sect. This was forbidden them on the Penalties eſtabliſhed againſt Caſtration.

[B] - - - - - *The* Talmud *aſſigns another Reaſon for their taking up Arms.*] It is reported, that the *Jews* had a Cuſtom to plant a Cedar on the Birth of a Son, and a Pine on that of a Daughter; and to make the Bridal-bed of the Wood of thoſe Trees, when their Children married. It is added, that, in a Journey, which the Emperor's Daughter made into *Judæa*, ſome part of her Chariot happening to break, her People cut one of theſe Cedars, and brought it to her; that the *Jews*, not being able to bear this, roſe up in Arms, and killed thoſe, who had cut down that Tree. The Emperor, underſtanding, that the *Jews* were revolted, marched in great Wrath againſt them, and extirpated them. “Ob crus carpenti vaſtata eſt Bethara. In more fuit ut cum naſceretur infans plantarent cedrum, cum infantula, pinum; cumque nati contraherent matrimonium, ex iis conficerent thalamum. Die quadam tranſiit filia Cæſaris, & confractum eſt ei crus carpenti. Cedrum iſtiuſmodi exciderunt atque ad eam attulerunt. Inſurrexerunt in eos Judæi atque eos ceciderunt. Relatum eſt Cæſari rebellare Judæos. Profectus ille in eos iracundus, excidit totum cornu Iſraëlis (3).” The *Jews* would be altogether inexcuſable, if they revolted on ſo ſlight an occaſion as this. Theſe poor People do not even know how to tell a Lie to their Advantage. What Ignorance is it to give the Emperor *Adrian* a Daughter! To conclude, Pines are Trees, which grow too ſlowly (4) to ſerve for a Bed, by that time a Daughter will be ready to ſhare it with a Man; and many of them would have deſerved to be pitied, if they had been obliged to wait for a Huſband, 'till their Pines were grown to a ſufficient Size.

[C] Barcochebas *is ſaid to have made uſe of the ſame Trick with* Eunus - - - - - - - *that is, he was thought to vomit Fire.*] This we learn from St *Jerome*. “Tu videlicet flammeus, immo fulmineus qui in loquendo fulminas. Atque ut ille Barchochebas auctor ſeditionis Judaicæ ſtipulam in ore ſuccenſam anhelitu ventilabat, ut flammas evomere videretur (5). - - - - - - *Thou haſt not only the command of Fire, but alſo of Thunder, in thy Words. And as* Barcochebas, *that Ringleader of the* Jewiſh *Rebellion, kindled Straw in his Mouth, and ventilated the Flame with his Breath, that he might be thought to vomit it.*” Here is a Man, whoſe Words were Fire and Flame, not only in a figurative, but literal, Senſe. As for *Eunus*, ſee what *Florus* ſays of him: “Syrus quidam nomine Eunus (magnitudo cladium facit ut meminerimus) fanatico furore ſimulato dum Syriæ deæ comas jactat, ad libertatem & arma ſervos quaſi numinum imperio concitavit; idque ut divinitus fieri probaret in ore abdita nuce, quam ſulphure & igne ſtipaverat, leniter inſpirans flammam inter verba fundebat (6). - - - - - - - - - - *A certain* Syrian, *named* Eunus *(the prodigious Slaughter he occaſioned makes me mention him) counterfeiting a divine Inſpiration, while he pretends to brandiſh a Lock of Hair of the* Syrian *Goddeſs, he excited the Slaves to aſſert their Liberty, and take up Arms, as it were by the Command of the Gods; and that he might prove his Commiſſion, having artfully conveyed into his Mouth ſome Fire and Sulphur, in a Nutſhell, he gently breathed out the Flames as he ſpoke.*” This is an Example to ſhew Sovereign Princes, how dangerous thoſe Per-
ſons

(1) Spart. in Vita Adriani, cap. 14.

(2) Modeſtinus Libro Regularum, apud Caſaubon in Spartian. Adrian. cap. 14.

(3) In Tractatu Talmudico Babyl. Gittin fol. 57. apud Joh. à Lent, de Judæorum Pſeudo-Meſſiis, p. 7.

(4) *It may be ſaid of them,*
..... Arbos
Tarda venit ſeris factura nepotibus umbram.
Virg. Georg. lib. 2. *v.* 58.
A ſullen Tree
At leiſure grows for late Poſterity.
Dryden.

(5) Apologia 2. adverſus Ruffinum.

(6) Florus, lib. 3. c. 19.

of *Bitter* for his place of Arms, and the Seat of his Empire. It is ſaid, that, to try the Courage of his Followers, he required them to cut off one of their Fingers, and on the Remonſtrances, which were made him, he left off that Teſt, and made uſe of another Invention [*D*]. He ravaged a great number of places, and maſſacred a Multitude of Perſons: He was particularly barbarous towards the Chriſtians [*E*]. The Emperor, being informed of theſe Violences, ſent ſome Troops to *Rufus* Governor of *Judæa*, with Orders for the immediate ſuppreſſing This Sedition (*d*). *Rufus*, in obedience to this Order, exerciſed a thouſand Cruelties, but yet could not obtain his End. The Emperor was forced to re-call *Julius Severus*, the greateſt Captain of thoſe Times, from *England*, and commit to him the whole Conduct of That War (*e*). This General gained his Point againſt the *Jews*, without giving them a general Battle. He attacked them after another manner, as well becauſe of their great number, as alſo becauſe he ſaw them fight like deſperate Men. He choſe therefore rather to charge them ſeparately, to cut off their Proviſions, to ſhut them up, and ſtraighten them (*f*); and at laſt, all was reduced to the Siege of *Bitter*, in the eighteenth Year of *Adrian* (*g*). The great number of *Jews*, who threw themſelves into that City, was the cauſe of their making a very long Defence, and being reduced to great Extremities by Famine (*h*). After the taking of that place, the War was not quite ended, but did not continue long: *Barcochebas* periſhed in it (*i*), and the *Jews* have not failed to invent ſome Fables about it [*F*]. The manner, in which *Adrian* diſperſed the Remains of that unhappy Nation, was very cruel [*G*]. But all the Stories,

(*d*) Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 4, c. 6. pag. 118.

(*e*) Xiphilin. in Adriano.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

(*g*) *About the Year of* Christ *CXXXIV*.

(*h*) Euſeb. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Id. ib.

ſons are to a State, who pretend to Inſpiration. This laſt enthuſiaſtic Impoſtor raiſed an Inſurrection of above Sixty thouſand Men, and gave the *Roman* People a great deal of Trouble.

[*D*] *It is ſaid that he tried his Followers, by obliging them to cut off a Finger, —— and that he made uſe of another Invention.*] It is reported, that he drew Two hundred thouſand Men after him, who had cut off one of their Fingers, to make Proof of their Courage. The wiſe Men, not approving ſuch a Mutilation, deputed ſome Perſons to him, to know how long he would thus mangle the *Jewiſh* Nation, *uſque quo tute Judæos mancos efficies?* He anſwered, *How then would you have me try their Strength?* They replied, *That he ſhould enroll none, but thoſe, who could pull up, with their Hands, a Cedar from Mount* Libanus. He took their Counſel, and found Two hundred thouſand Men more, who gave this proof of their Strength (7). You will ſay, theſe are *Jewiſh* Fables. It is true, and as ſuch I relate them; and, for that Reaſon, they belong the more properly to this Dictionary.

[*E*] *He was particularly barbarous towards the Chriſtians.*] Indeed he made a great Slaughter of the Gentiles, but he did not force them to renounce their Religion. He play'd the part of a Converter, only towards the Chriſtians; I ſay of a *Dragooning* Converter, and, perhaps, worſe (8); for he condemned all thoſe to Death, who would not forſake Jesus Christ, and load him with Curſes. *Juſtin Martyr* has complained of this: *Proximo namque bello Judaico Barcochebas defectionis Judæorum dux & princeps, ſolos Chriſtianos ad gravia ſupplicia niſi Chriſtum abnegarent & maledictis inceſſerent, protrahi juſſit* (9). *David Gans* does not deny, but that thoſe of his Nation ſpilled whole Torrents of Blood (10). I am even of Opinion, that he repreſents their Executions much more dreadful than they actually were. He pretends, that, in the City of *Alexandria* alone, they killed above Two hundred thouſand Perſons, and that, in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, and the parts adjacent, they did not leave one Man alive. *Tunc Judæi Bitterrenſes unxerunt eum (Barcocheban) & elegerunt ipſum in regem ſuper ſe, jugum Romanorum abjicientes. Occiderunt ex Romanis & Græcis qui in Africa innumerabiles inſtar arenæ maris, ſimiliter fecerunt Ægyptiis: incolæ urbis Alexandrinæ etiam ex Romanis interfecerunt ultra bis centena millia. Qui in Cypria, occiderunt omnes plane gentes vicinas, ut ne ſuperſtes quidem remaneret.* See what will be ſaid hereafter (11), concerning the omiſſion of a Common Form in *Adrian*'s Letters. O religious Wars, how horrible are your Cruelties!

[*F*] *The* Jews *have not failed to invent Fables on the Death of Barcochebas.*] They ſay, that, after the taking of *Bitter*, *Barcochebas*'s Head was brought to the Emperor *Adrian*, and that he asked *who had killed him?* and that he ordered the Soldier, who replied, *It was I*, to go and fetch the Body. The Soldier, being come to the Place, found a Serpent round *Barcochebas*'s Neck. The Emperor having viewed the Body, ſaid, *If this Man had not been killed by his own God, who could have hurt him* (12)?

[*G*] *The Manner, in which* Adrian *diſperſed the Remains of that unhappy Nation.*] I have a great deal of Reaſon to make uſe of the Word *Remains*; for the Number of *Jews*, who periſhed in that War, is not to be expreſſed. The Abbreviator of *Dio* relates, that they had fifty Fortreſſes, and Nine hundred and eighty five very conſiderable Boroughs, razed; that they had loſt Five hundred and eighty thouſand Men in Battles and Inroads, and that the Number of thoſe, who periſhed by Famine, Sickneſs, and Fire, is infinite: So that almoſt all *Judæa* remained without Inhabitants (13). Let us now ſee what was done with thoſe, who happened to ſurvive ſo great a Deſolation. "An incredible Number of "all Ages and Sexes * were ſold at the ſame Price as "Horſes, in a very famous Fair, called the Fair of "the *Turpentine Tree* †. Wherefore the *Jews* had "an Abhorrence for that Fair. - - - - - - Thoſe, who "could not be ſold there, were brought to *Gaza* ⸸, "and expoſed to Sale in another Market, eſtabliſhed "there by *Adrian*, and which, the Chronicle of "*Alexander* ſays, is yet called *Adrian*'s Market. "Thoſe, they could not ſell in *Paleſtine*, were tranſ"ported into *Egypt* ‡, where they periſhed by Ship"wrecks, and by Famine, or were killed by the "Pagans. - - - - - - - - - When the War was ended, "*Adrian* prohibited the *Jews*, by an Edict publickly "fixed up **, from returning to *Jeruſalem*, on pain "of Death ††, and Guards were purpoſely placed "there, to hinder them from entering it ††. That "Law denied them even the Liberty of coming "near it, or of being in any Place, where they might "have a Sight of it ‡‡. *Turtullian* *, and St *Jerom* †, go yet further, and extend That Prohi"bition all over *Judæa*; and the *Jews* ſeem to agree "to it, when they ſpeak of the Faſt, which they "inſtituted on account of That Decree, whereby "their Fathers had been forbidden to come into the "Country of *Judæa* ⸸." The Author, of whom I borrow This Paſſage, with all it's Quotations (14), makes a Remark on the Fair of the *Turpentine-Tree*. He obſerves, that "St *Jerom* ſays ‡, in a cer"tain Place, that *the Jews were ſold*, at *Abraham*'s "Tent, where is kept, *ſays he*, an annual Fair, "very much frequented. This is not difficult to "be granted, for, in the Place, where *Abraham* had "lived, in the Valley of *Mamre* [near *Hebron*], and "where he entertained three Angels, there was re"maining, in the IVth Century a Turpentine-Tree, "which the People of the Country ſaid had been "there from the Creation of the World." See the Remark [*G*] of the Article ABRAHAM: Let us return to the Calamity of the *Jews*. Some Authors ſay, that *Adrian* cauſed their Ears to be cut off, and tranſported them into *Spain* (15). It is very

(7) In Madraſch Rabbeta Megillot fol. 67, apud Joh. à Lent, ubi ſupra, pag. 10, 11.

(8) *I make uſe of a* perhaps, *becauſe ſeveral Perſons maintain, that the Alternative of Abjuration, or Death, would have been a leſs Cruelty, than what was committed in* France, *by the Dragoons in* 1685.

(9) Juſtin. Apologia pro Chriſtianis ad Antonin. Pium.

(10) David Gans, Germine Davidis ad Ann. 880. millenarii quarti, apud à Lent, p. 9.

(11) *In Remark* [*I*].

(12) Joh. à Lent, de Pſeudo-Meſſiis, pag. 14, ex Echa Rabbati.

(13) Xiphil. in Adriano.

* Hieronym. in Jerem. cap. 31, pag. 342. *b.*

† Chronic. Alex. pag. 596.

⸸ Id. ibid.

‡ Hiero. in Zach. cap. 11, p. 272. *d.*

** Id. in Iſ. cap. 6, pag. 31. *d.*

†† Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 4, cap. 6, pag. 218, & Demonſtr. Evang. lib. 2, cap. 38. pag. 71. *a.* Juſtin. Apol. 2, p. 84, *b. c.* Dial. pag. 234. *a.*

⸸⸸ Juſtin. pag. 84. *b.* Sulpic. Sev. lib. 2. pag. 149.

‡‡ Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. pag. 118, *d.* Hier. in Iſ. lib 3. p. 227.

* Apol. cap. 21, p. 20, *d.*

† In Judic. cap. 13. pag. 224, 225. cap. 6, pag. 31. *d.* In Daniel. cap. 9, pag. 595, *d.*

⸸ Scaliger. Iſag. lib. 1. cap. 6, p. 45.

(14) Tillem. Hiſt. des Emper. Tom. 2, pag. 501, 502, 503.

‡ In Zachar. cap. 8. pag. 262.

(15) Apud à Lent, de Pſeudo-Meſſiis, pag. 17.

Stories, the Rabbins tell on this Subject, are not to be credited [*H*]. This War coſt the *Romans* a great many Lives (*k*). If I mention in the Remarks ſeveral Facts, which concern this War, it is becauſe the Article of *Hadrian* refers to them, and there was a neceſſity of ſhortening, as much as poſſible, That Emperor's Article, by means of This Reference. The Jewiſh Authors ſuppoſe, that *Adrian* was perſonally in that War [*I*], that he beſieged and took the City of *Bitter*, and that he diſputed, with a Rabbi, about the Doctrine of the Reſurrection of the Dead [*K*]. This Fact is very curious; And will be found in the Remarks.

Euſebius

very likely, that Part of the Idolatries, which That Emperor eſtabliſhed in the new City of *Jeruſalem*, did not begin 'till after the Deſtruction of *Bitter*, and the Death of *Barchochebas*. It was one of the moſt ſenſible Shocks, which that unhappy Nation ever had to ſuſtain. *Adrian*, knowing their Abhorrence for Swine, cauſed one of Marble to be ſet up over the Gate, which led to *Bethlehem* **. He made uſe of the Stones of *Solomon*'s Temple ††, for the Building of a Theatre, and ſeveral Pagan Temples. Two of his Statues, and ſome Idols, were ſet up in the Place, where That Temple ſtood ⸸⸸. The Statue of *Jupiter* was ſet up in the Place of our Saviour's Paſſion. This is what St *Paulinus* affirms ‡‡: but, according to St *Jerom* *, *Jupiter*'s Statue was ſet up where JESUS CHRIST roſe from the Dead, and That of *Venus*, where he died. The Cavern, where he was born, was profaned by the Temple, and infamous Worſhip, of *Adonis* †. See Mr *de Tillemont*, to whom I am indebted for theſe Particulars (16).

[*H*] *All the Stories, which the Rabbins tell on This Subject, are not to be credited.*] They ſay, that the Slaughter was ſo great in *Bitter*, when the *Romans* made themſelves Maſters of it, after a Siege of three Years and a half, that the Horſes marched up to the Mouth in Blood (17). They add, that the Blood made ſo ſtrong a Current, that it carried Stones, of the Weight of four Pounds, along with it, and ran for the Space of four Miles into the Sea. Now *Bitter* was four Miles from the Sea. *Adrian* had a Vineyard-plot eighteen Miles long, and as many wide; (it is the Diſtance from *Tiberias* to *Zipporis*) where he made a Fence or Partition with the Bodies of thoſe, who were killed in *Bitter*: For he would not ſuffer them to be buried, nor were they buried 'till the Reign of his Succeſſor. There were two Rivers in the Valley of *Jadaim*, running on different Sides of it (18); the Rabbins computed, that the Water made but two thirds, and the Blood the other third,, of thoſe Rivers. For ſeven Years the *Gentiles* had no need to dung their Vines, they were ſo richly manured with the Blood of the Jews. The Blood carried away Stones with it of an immenſe Magnitude, and entered forty Miles into the Sea: *Quinimo ſanguis rapiebat ſecum petras magnitudinis quadraginta modiorum, donec ad quadraginta milliaria uſque in Oceanum flueret* (19). Three hundred Skulls of Children were found on one Stone. There are, in theſe Rabbinical Expreſſions, ſome touches of the Style, which *Rabelais* makes uſe of, to repreſent the Valour and Proweſſes of his *Garagantua* and his *Pantagruel*. But let us relate one more Story concerning the Slaughter of *Bitter*. In That City there were Four hundred Colleges, and in each College Four hundred Maſters, each of which had Four hundred Diſciples, or Scholars in his Claſs. In the firſt Attack, the Scholars made uſe of their Writing Pens (20), to kill their Enemies; but, after the Place was taken, they were packed up with their Books and thrown into the Fire. *Iſta pubes principio hoſtes impetum facientes graphiis ſuis confodiebat: cum vero hi prævalerent, urbem cœpiſſent, involverunt puerulos illos cum libris ſuis, eoſque igne ſic cremarunt* (21). The Jews ſay, that *Adrian* deſtroyed twice as many People of their Nation, as *Moſes* brought out of the Land of *Egypt*, and they eſteem him a greater Perſecutor of them, than either *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Titus* (22). One of their beſt Chronologers affirms, that the Loſs, which their Nation ſuſtained in the time of *Nebuſaraddan*, or in the Time of *Titus*, does not come up to That, which they ſuſtained under the Reign of *Adrian*; for the *Talmud* ſays, that Four Millions of Perſons periſhed at *Bitter*, *quadringentas myriadas*. Nevertheleſs, there is, in the Ritual of the Jews, a Hymn for the ninth Day of the Month *Ab*, being That of the Date of *Adrian*'s Edict, which prohibited their ſetting Foot in *Judæa*: I ſay there is an Hymn, wherein *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Adrian* are equally repreſented, as two great Scourges of their Nation. That Hymn names them often, but ſpeaks only once of *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*; it mentions Four hundred and eighty Synagogues burnt by *Adrian*. "Recordare Domine qualis fuerit Adrianus, crudelitatis conſilia amplexus, conſuluit idola ſe pervertentia. Et ſuſtulit, combuſſitque quadringentas & octoginta ſynagogas (23). ----- *Remember, O Lord, the Sin of* Adrian, *who, following the Counſels of Cruelty, and liſtening to Idols, which perverted him, deſtroyed, and burnt, Four hundred and eighty Synagogues.*"

[*I*] *The Jewiſh Authors ſuppoſe, that* Adrian *was perſonally in That War.*] *Euſebius* ſays expreſly, that the Emperor ſent ſome Troops to the Governor of *Judæa*, to chaſtiſe the Revolt of *Barcochebas*, and never mentions That Prince's going thither afterwards in Perſon. The Abbreviator of *Dio* ſpeaks only of the Generals, who were ſent into *Judæa* by *Adrian* (24). He remarks, that, during That Emperor's Stay in *Egypt* and in *Syria*, the Jews, who were diſcontented at the Building of *Ælia Capitolina*, durſt not ſtir, but appeared in Arms openly, as ſoon as he was gone. He adds, that *Adrian* ſent, againſt them, the beſt of his Generals, and particularly *Julius Severus*. This was a proper Place to ſay, whether he was preſent, in Perſon, when the Rebels were puniſhed; and yet That Writer mentions nothing of it: From whence it ſeems to follow, that *Adrian* did not at that time go into *Judæa*. But, not to conceal any Thing, it muſt be owned, that *Dio* makes a Remark, which intimates, that *Adrian* was preſent in That War. He ſays, that the *Romans* loſt ſo many Men in it, that This Emperor, writing to the Senate did not uſe the common Preamble, *Si vos liberique veſtri valetis bene eſt, ego quidem & exercitus valemus.* —— *If you, and your Children, are well, it will give me cauſe to rejoice; I have the Pleaſure to aſſure you of my own Health, and That of the Army.* One would think, that a Prince, who begins his Letter with Theſe Words, muſt be preſent in the Army; and if he is not, he ought not to make Uſe of That Compliment, neither in time of Proſperity, nor in Time of Adverſity. It does not, therefore, ſeem likely, that *Dio* would have made This Obſervation, if he had thought, that *Adrian* was near *Rome*, or very far from the Army, when he wrote to the Senate. This Objection may be eaſily anſwered; for, in the firſt Place, it may be ſaid, that *Adrian*'s Abſence was the very Occaſion of his not uſing That Form; from whence it would follow, that *Dio* did not rightly apprehend all the poſſible Cauſes of That Omiſſion, when he aſcribed it only to the Loſs, which the *Roman* Army had ſuffered. It may be ſaid, in the ſecond Place, that an Emperor, who is a great way from his Army, might very well make uſe of That Form, in a Letter, wherein he acquaints the Senate with the good News, which his Generals have wrote to him. In fine, it might be maintained, againſt *Dio*, that the Victory, obtained over the Jews, was ſo compleat, and did ſo effectually remove all Poſſibility of a new Inſurrection, that, tho' the *Roman* Army had ſuſtained great Loſſes, there was room to write to the Senate, according to the Style, commonly uſed in the News of Proſperity. It is poſſible, therefore, that This Writer might make a wrong Obſervation.

WHAT the Jews report of a little Bone called *LUZ*, which they ſay is in the Back of Man.

[*K*] *And, that he diſputed with a Rabbi about the Doctrine of the Reſurrection of the dead.*] This Fable ſays, that the chief Difficulty, objected by *Adrian*, was, that the Parts of a dead Body were diſperſed in a thouſand Places. He was anſwered, that there was a ſmall Bone in our Body, which was incorruptible, and that God would reſtore our Body again out of That little Bone. The Jews pretend, that

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(*k*) *See Remark* [*E*].

** Hieron. in Chron.

†† Euſeb. Demonſt. lib. 8. cap. 3. pag. 406.

⸸⸸ Iter Burd. p. 43. 2. Sulpic. Sever. lib. 2. pag. 149.

‡‡ Epiſt. 11. p. 134, 135.

* Epiſt. 13, pag. 102.

† Paulin. Epiſt. 11. p. 134, 135.

(16) Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emper. pag. 509.

(17) *See the Book* Echa Rabbati ſuper Thren. 11. *v.* 2. apud Noldium de Vita & Geſtis Herodum, pag. 453.

(18) In Tractatu Talmudico Giffin, apud à Lent, p. 16.

(19) Ibid.

(20) *An Inſtrument wherewith they uſed to write in thoſe times.*

(21) Tract. Giffin. apud eundem à Lent, p. 13.

(22) *See* Jo. à Lent, pag. 14.

(23) Apud eundem à Lent, pag. 18, 19.

(24) Xiphilin. in Adriano.

Euſebius ſuppoſes, that *Adrian* intruſted this War to his Lieutenants *(l)*. It is at leaſt very certain, that *Adrian* did not command his Uncle *Trajan*'s Troops in *Judæa* during the Rebellion of *Barcochebas*. *David Gans*, the Jewiſh Hiſtorian, is very much miſtaken in affirming it (*m*). Some ſay, that there were two *Barcochebas*'s, one under *Titus*, the other under *Adrian*; and that the firſt, having failed in the Teſt required of him, was killed as an Impoſtor, and a falſe *Meſſias*. Upon his declaring himſelf to be the *Meſſias*, a Paſſage of Scripture was alledged to him, which imports, according to the Jewiſh Expoſition, that the *Meſſias* will be able to diſcern, by the Smell, whether a Perſon accuſed be Innocent or Guilty (*n*) [*L*], and it being found, that this pretended *Meſſias* had not a Noſe good enough to make that diſtinction, he was put to Death. This Opinion is not much followed *(o)*.

(*l*) Euſeb. ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Tandem Trajanus Imperator miſit Adrianum ſororis ſuæ filium (*this Kindred is falſe*) ducem exercitus contra ipſos. - - - - - *At laſt, the Emperor* Trajan *ſent* Adrian, *his Siſter's Son, to command his Forces againſt them.* David Gans, in Germine Davidis, ad Ann. 3880, apud Lent de Pſeudo Meſſiis, pag. 9.

(*n*) Iſaiah xi. 3.

(*o*) Noldius de Vitâ & Geſtis Herodum, p. 391. *maintains this Opinion.* Lent *rejects it*, pag. 14, de Pſeudo-Meſſiis.

that a celeſtial Dew will ſoften That Bone, and make it grow, in the ſame Manner as a little Leaven raiſes the whole Maſs, or, as a Grain of Wheat ſhoots into the Ear. *Oſſiculum illud dicunt rore quodam cœleſti molliendum & extendendum ad inſtar fermenti quod in totam ſe maſſam diffundit, vel quemadmodum granum aliquod tritici in criſtam ſe exporrigit* (25). *Adrian* would not believe any thing concerning the Incorruptibility of That Bone; but the Rabbi, with whom he diſputed, made a Trial of it; and it reſiſted every thing, Fire, Water, the Hammer, *&c.* Here is a long Paſſage of *Manaſſes Ben-Iſrael.* "Ajunt in ſpina dorſi aliquod oſſiculum eſſe, quod nunquam pereat: ex iſto oſſiculo ſolo poſt interitum & annihilationem omnium aliarum partium, dicunt, hominem inſtauratum, reſtitutumque iri, in reſurrectione mortuorum; juxta illud, quod in Bereſit Raba Paraſ. 28. legitur; Adrianus (cujus oſſa comminuantur) quæſivit ex R. Jeoſuah filio Hanina, unde Deus benedictus germinare faciet hominem in futuro ſæculo? reſpondit ille, ex — luz, ſeu oſſiculo ſpinæ. Rurſus alter, unde noſti hoc? da mihi illud, inquit ille, oſſiculum, & te docebo: contudit illud in mola, ſed non tuſum eſt; conjecit in ignem & non conflagravit; conjecit in aquam, & non attritum eſt; impoſuit incudi, malleoque cecidit; ſed ne hilum comminutum eſt: Imperator Romanus, ſive quod rideret reſurrectionem mortuorum, ſive quod audiverat aliquod incorruptibile oſſiculum eſſe in corpore humano, cupiditate ejus ſciendi; vel quia, uti veriſimilius eſt, hæſitabat ob difficultates eas, quas jam recenſuimus, quæſivit ex R. Jeoſua filio Hanina, unde, vel quomodo reſtituerentur mortui, quorum membra tam longe, lateque diſperſa eſſent ac diſſipata? Reſpondit illi R. Jeoſuah, ex oſſiculo ſpinæ dorſi, appellato luz, quod incorruptibile eſt. Qui cum non poſſet facile adhibere fidem, experimento ei oſtendit ita eſſe. Hæc opinio, ſi quid antiquis credimus, non improbabilis eſt. Iſtud enim oſſiculum tale eſt, ut nequeat interire, quamvis hodie nullus ſit, qui illud noverit. Sunt qui arbitrentur, Davidem hujus oſſiculi mentionem facere, cum ait, Cuſtodiens oſſa ejus, unum ex iis non conſumptum eſt. Pſalm xxxiv. 21. (26). —— *They hold, that there is in the Spine of the Back a little Bone, which never periſhes: and that from this little Bone only, after Death and Annihilation of all the other Parts, the whole Man will be renewed, and reſtored in the Reſurrection of the Dead. According to what we meet with in* Bereſit Raba Paraſ. 28; Adrian *(whoſe Bones I wiſh may all be annihilated) asked* Rabbi Jeoſuah *the Son of* Hanina, *from whence the human Body was to ſpring up again for a future State. To which he anſwered, from* Luz, *or the little Bone of the Spine.* The other replied, how do you know that? I will take that Bone, ſays he, and ſhew you: he tried to grind it in a Mill; he threw it into the Fire; he endeavoured to diſſolve it in Water; he attempted to break it on an Anvil with a Hammer; but all to no purpoſe; it remained ſtill the ſame: The *Roman* Emperor, either in order to ridicule the Reſurrection of the Dead, or to be ſatisfied of the Truth of what he had heard of the Incorruptibility of a little Bone in the human Body, or which is moſt probable of all, being puzzled with the Difficulties we mentioned, urged *R. Jeoſuah*, the Son of *Hanina*, with this Queſtion. Whence, and by what means, ſhall the Dead be reſtored, whoſe Bodies have been diſperſed over the Face of the whole Earth? *R. Jeoſuah* anſwered him, From the little Bone of the Spine, called *Luz*, which is incorruptible. The Truth of which being doubted, he demonſtrated it by Experiment. This opinion, if we have any Faith in Antiquity, is not improbable. For That little Bone is of ſuch a Nature, that it cannot be deſtroyed, though there is no Body now who knows it. Some have believed, that *David* had regard to this Bone, when he ſaid, *Thou preſerveſt his Bones,* x *one of them ſhall not periſh. Pſal.* xxxiv. 21." Theſe doting Fools ſhould have ſaid, that this little Bone is the true Seat of the Soul.

[*L*] *The* Meſſias *will be able to diſcern by the ſmell whether a Perſon accuſed be Innocent or Guilty.*] Compare this with what will be related in the Remark [*C*] of the Article DEMOCRITUS.

x wrong both
versions [illegible].
no such thing.
the transposition
of the word
Not - quite
alters the
sense of y verse

Psalm 34. ver. 20. He keepeth all his Bones :} so that not one of them is broken. I presume prophetically alluding to our Saviours Crucifixion

(25) Hoornbeeck contra Judæos, l. 8. c. 5. p. 556.

(26) Manaſſ. Ben-Iſrael, de Reſurrectione, l. 2, cap. 15.

BARDE (JOHN *de la*), Counſellor of State, Marquis *de Marolles*, on the River *Seine*, was Embaſſador of *France* in *Switzerland*, in the Reign of *Lewis* XIV. He had been chief Deputy of Mr *de Chavigni*, Secretary of State (*a*). He aſſiſted at the Conferences of *Munſter*, as a Miniſter of the Second Rank, and ſome Endeavours were uſed to have him complimented with the Title of Excellency, but without any Succeſs [*A*]. He had then been named Embaſſador

(*a*) *See* Wicquefort's Embaſſador, Tom. 1. pag. 959.

[*A*] *Endeavours were uſed to have him complimented with the Title of Excellency, at the Treaty of* Munſter, *but without Succeſs.*] Mr *de Wicquefort* reports it, and adds, that the Plenipotentaries of *France* made their firſt attempt on the Nuncio, who anſwered, that he would not do it (1). They preſſed him to give Mr *de la Barde* that Title, and the firſt Viſit. The Reaſons he gave for his Refuſal were, That *he would not ſet an Example, which no body would follow,* nor make Mr *de la Barde* uſeleſs, *who was very ſerviceable to the Aſſembly.* He would indeed have made him uſeleſs, becauſe, if he had done him the Honour which was deſired, he muſt have put him under a Kind of Neceſſity of requiring it from all the other Embaſſadors, and of not appearing any more if they had refuſed him, as it would infallibly have happened. The *Venetian* Embaſſador imitated the Nuncio; and ſo *la Barde was obliged to be ſatisfied with the Honours they were willing to do him. He deſired the Emperor's Miniſters at* Oſnabrug *to diſtinguiſh him from the other Miniſters of the ſecond Rank, and ſince they could not treat him as an Embaſſador, not to treat him as a Reſident; and provided he was treated in the third Perſon after the* Italian *Manner, he ſhould not pretend to the place of Honour in Viſits or Conferences.* And indeed *he could expect no great Diſtinction, at* Munſter, *or* Oſnabrug, *by virtue of his Credential Letters for the* Swiſs Cantons. Mr *de la Barde* complained of an *Italian* Writer, for miſrepreſenting this matter, and, to convince him, affirms, that the Plenipotentiaries of *France* always treated him as an Embaſſador, and that they could do no otherwiſe, ſince the King's Patent, and all the Letters from Court, gave him that Character. "Avauxius ac Servianus hunc haud ſecus ac ſeipſos invicem habuere; neque aliter poterant, cùm regio diplomate atque omnibus Regis atque Mazarini ad ſe atque ad alios litteris legatus eſſet appellatus. Id eo

" accuratius

(1) Wicquefort's Embaſſador, Tom. 1. p. 360.

ſador to *Switzerland.* He ſerved *France*, with great Faithfulneſs, and Ability, in the whole courſe of that Embaſſy. He wrote the *Hiſtory of* France *in Latin, from the Death of* Lewis XIII, *to the Year* 1652. That Hiſtory was long expected, as a Maſter-piece [*B*]: It was printed, at laſt, in the Year 1671 (*b*), and well received by the Public. The Style of it is good; the Narrations are without Flattery, and ſhew a great Knowledge of the Intrigues of the Cabinet. The Author has Latiniſed his Name by That of *Labardæus.* The *Latin* Names, he gives to others, would puzzle the Reader, had he not taken care to place the *French* Names in the Margin. He had made a *French* Tranſlation of this *Hiſtory*, which, in the opinion of ſome good Judges, was very much inferior to the original *Latin* (*c*). " As he was very learned, in Matters " of Divinity, he alſo wrote a Book of Controverſy, in *Latin*, againſt the " Opinion of the Proteſtants, concerning the Euchariſt (*d*) [*C*]." The *Dutch Gazettes* have informed us, that he died in the Year 1692, being ninety Years of Age. The Addition I would make to the Remark [*C*] of this Article, will be found below, [*D*].

(*b*) *It is a* 4to *of* 780 *Pages.*

(*c*) A Manuſcript Memoir communicated by Mr *Lancelot*, one of the under Library-Keepers of the *Mazarine* Library at *Paris.*

(*d*) *The Abbot* de Marolles's *Catalogue of Authors.*

" accuratius mihi dicendum fuit, quod homo quidam Italicus eâ de re ſecus ſcripſit ex alienâ lubidine, atque invidiâ in Labardæum: nam id illi " ipſi tribuere nolim, qui in hujuſcemodi rebus etiam ſupra verum aliis favit, hos cùm Reſidentes, " aut ad minores Principes abſque ullo Titulo miſſi " eſſent, Legatos nihilo ſecius appellando (2). - - - - " D'Avaux *and* Servien *regarded him as their Equal*; " *nor could they indeed do otherwiſe, ſince his Royal* " *Credentials, and all the King's and* Mazarine's " *Letters, both to himſelf, and other Miniſters,* " *ſtiled him Embaſſador. It was neceſſary to be the* " *more particular in this Affair, becauſe it has been* " *miſrepreſented, by a certain* Italian *Author, out of* " *Envy and Prejudice to* la Barde: *For it cannot be* " *aſcribed to his Manner of writing, which inclines* " *to the other extream, and gives the Title of Embaſſador to Reſidents, and ſuch as are ſent without a Character to inferior Princes.*"

(2) Labardæus, Hiſt. de Rebus Gallicis, lib. 4. pag. 189, ad Ann. 1646.

[*B*] *His Hiſtory of* France *was long expected, as a Maſter-Piece.*] " Mr *de la Barde* is preparing a " *Latin* Hiſtory, which is to ſhew, that *France* has " either it's *Salluſt* or it's *Virgil.*" This is what Father *le Moine* thought proper to intimate to the Public, in his *Treatiſe of Hiſtory.*

[*C*] *He wrote a Book of Controverſy, in* Latin, *againſt the Opinion of the Proteſtants concerning the Euchariſt.*] This puts me in mind of what I have heard his Grandſon, the Abbot of *Brion*, Canon of *Notre-Dame* at *Paris*, ſay, *viz.* That he applied himſelf ſeveral Years, with great diligence, to examine the Opinion of ſome Fathers about That Queſtion, and to compoſe a large Volume of great Learning; but, all of a ſudden, it came into his Head to deſtroy that great Work, ſo that one Morning he threw all he had wrote upon that Subject into the Fire.

[*D*] *Here is what I would add to the Remark* [*C*] *of this Article.*] This relates to his Book of Controverſy. In a Manuſcript Letter of his, to one of his Friends, dated from *Solothurn, March* 3, 1663, we find theſe words. " Libellum ad te de " re ſeriâ, imò divinâ, mitto, quo tibi otii mei, " ſicuti prius negotii, ratio conſtet: in eo Latinitatem " noſtram ne quæſiveris, quam de divinis ſcribendi " atque diſputandi genius vix patitur. —— *I ſend* " *you a Treatiſe on a ſerious, and indeed a divine,* " *Subject, that I may ſhew you the manner of my* " *ſpending my leiſure Hours, as I have formerly* " *done in reſpect to my buſy ones: you muſt not look* " *for Purity in our* Latin, *it being ſcarce conſiſtent* " *with theſe Divinity Diſcourſes and Diſputations.*" His Friend anſwers him a little time after in this manner. " Reſtat ut de opuſculo tuo Theologico " gratias agam: in hoc ſolitam elegantiam tuam " deſideravi; neque verò tu argumenti ſeveritatem " excuſa: quid enim eſt tam contumax, quod niteſcere, quid tam horridum, quod poliri amenitate iſtâ tuâ non poſſit; ſed nimirum ingeniis " Helvetiis ſcribebas. —— *I muſt not forget to thank* " *you for your Piece of Divinity, in which I expected to have found your uſual Elegance: the nature of the Subject is no excuſe: for what is there* " *ſo obſcure as not to be illuſtrated, what ſo rough* " *as not to be poliſhed, by your fine Pen: but you* " *wrote to* Helvetian *Underſtandings.*" This Anſwer is dated the 19th of the ſame Month. Theſe Paſſages will fix the Time of this Book of Controverſy to this Year 1663.

BARLETTA (Gabriel), a Dominican Monk, diſtinguiſhed himſelf towards the end of the XVth Century [*A*], by a manner of Preaching much more becoming a Buffoon, than a Miniſter of the Goſpel. He was born at *Barletto* (*a*), in the Kingdom of *Naples. Henry Stephens* is not the only Perſon, who exclaimed againſt his manner of Preaching (*b*), full of mean Explications, only proper to expoſe our moſt venerable Myſteries to contempt; ſome Roman Catholics have not ſpared *Gabriel Barletta* on this Head [*B*]: And this Cenſure does

(*a*) *In Latin* Barulum.

(*b*) *See the Apology for* Herodotus, *where many Scraps of* Barletta *may be found.*

[*A*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf towards the end of the XVth Century.*] *Altamura*, in his *Bibliotheque* of the *Dominicans*, places *Barletta* in the Year 1470; from whence it appears, that *Poſſevin* was miſtaken only 200 Years. " Gabriel Barletta, *ſays he* " (1), Neapolitani regni, Apulus, Ordinis autem " Dominicani, Theologus & concionator utilis, cum " floreret anno 1270. —— Gabriel Barletta, *of* Apulia, *in the Kingdom of* Naples, *of the* Dominican " *Order, a Divine, and able Preacher, flouriſhed in* " *the Year* 1270." He adds, that his Sermons were printed ſeveral times, before the Edition of *Venice*, 1571.

(1) Poſſevin. Apparat. Sacr. Tom. 1. fol. 521, apud Altamur. p. 518. *This Fault is not to be found in the Edition of* Cologne, 1607. *It is there, pag.* 610, cum floreret Ann. 1470.

[*B*] *Some* Roman *Catholics have not ſpared him.*] *Theophilus Raynaud*, under the Name of *Petrus à Valle Clauſa*, wrote ſharply againſt *Barletta*, and reproached him particularly for his impertinent Anſwer to this Queſtion, *How the Woman of* Samaria *knew that* JESUS CHRIST *was a* Jew? *She knew it,* ſays he, *by the Circumciſion.* It muſt be confeſſed, that this Critic was not ſo exact as he ought to have been; for he does not only forget to mention the two other marks, whereby, as *Barletta* ſays, That Woman knew JESUS CHRIST to be a Jew; but he alſo makes *Barletta* ſay, that ſhe ſaw our Lord was circumciſed; but it is certain *Barletta* did not expreſs himſelf in that manner: " Prima ad habitum quem portabat - - - - - - ſecunda " quia Nazaræus in cujus capite novaculum non aſcendit - - - - tertia ratio ad circumciſionem: nullus " alius populus erat circumciſus. —— *The firſt Mark* " *was that of his Habit - - - - - the ſecond, his never* " *having had his Head ſhaved, as being a* Nazarene " *- - - - - the third, his Circumciſion: no other People* " *were circumciſed.*" It would ſignify nothing towards the Juſtification of this Critic, to ſay, that what he imputes to *Barletta* may be inferred from his words; for what a Man ſays ought never to be does much greater Service and Honour to the Catholics, than the Pains the *Dominicans* take to juſtify This Preacher [*C*]. His Sermons were printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1571, in Two Volumes in 8°. The Firſt Volume contains the *Lent* Sermons: the Second contains the Sermons on the *Advent*, *Pentecoſt*, *Whitſunday*, *Aſcenſion*, *and other Feſtivals* (*c*). He was yet living, when the *Turks* took *Otranto*, in the Year 1480 (*d*). Some of his Friends undertook to juſtify him, by denying him to be the Author of the Sermons, which paſſed under his Name [*D*].

(*c*) Poſſevin. Appar. ſacri, Tom. I. pag. 610.

(*d*) Altam. Biblioth. Ordin. Prædicat. p. 195.

confounded with the Conſequences, which may be drawn from what he ſays. How many things eſcape not only an Orator, but alſo an Author, whereof he does not perceive ſo much as the moſt immediate Conſequences? It is very poſſible therefore, that this Critic, by imputing to him thoſe Conſequences, imputes to him what he never thought of. So that, if a Man will be an exact and faithful Critic, he muſt preſcribe this Rule to himſelf; "Cenſure the very "words themſelves, which are obnoxious, and religiouſly forbear either to add or ſuppreſs a Tittle. "Shew the Authors the Conſequences, which proceed "from them, but do not aſſert, that they have ſeen "and admitted thoſe Conſequences; wait for what "they will reply, when they are told, that they "follow naturally, and neceſſarily, from what they "have ſaid." I cannot believe, that *Barletta* could ever have arrived at ſuch a heighth of Impudence and Extravagance, as to utter the *impudorata blaſphemia*, which his Critic imputes to him, in ſuch fine *Latin*. It is enough to accuſe him of not knowing what he ſaid with his third Mark. I ſhall therefore leave his Critic to *Altamura*'s Anger. "Peſſimè "igitur à Valle Clauſâ falſavit calumniaturus Barlettæ "ſententiam exſcribendo: reſpondit Samaritanam "cognoviſſe Chriſtum eſſe Judæum videndo eum "eſſe circumciſum. Ubi fraudulento ſilentio præterivit duas priores rationes, *&c* (2). —— Valle "Clauſa, *in order to vilify* Barletta'*s Opinion, has* "*moſt abominably miſrecited it, and made him ſay*, "That the Woman of *Samaria* knew *Chriſt* to be "a *Jew*, by ſeeing he was circumciſed. *Where he* "*unfaithfully ſuppreſſes the two former Reaſons before* "*given*, &c." Another of his Sermons was cenſured with greater exactneſs. In that, the Queſtion is, why the Holy Ghoſt deferred his coming into the World for ten Days. *Barletta* aſcribes this to the fear of being ſerved in the ſame manner as the Son of God was, and makes the Diſpute between the Father and the Holy Ghoſt to end only by this expedient. The Holy Ghoſt bethought himſelf to take the Appearance of Wind and Fire, that he might not run any hazard among Men. What can be ſaid meaner, and more unworthy of the Divine Majeſty?

A RULE which thoſe ought to follow, who impute certain things to an Author.

(2) Altamur. pag 519.

[*C*] *The* Dominicans *take a great deal of Pains to juſtify this Preacher*.] To begin with the Sermon on the *Pentecoſt*, I obſerve, that *Altamura* is ſo far from owning, that there is any thing in it worthy of Cenſure, that, on the contrary, he finds it repreſents the Obſtinacy of Mankind with wonderful Art, and is very much ſurprized at this raſh Accuſation of ſo eminent a Preacher. "Tanti nominis, *ſays he* (3), "concionatorem, tantoque cum fructu verbum Dei "diſſeminantem, ut adhuc vigeat ad perpetuum tanti viri decus commune in Italia proloquium. *Neſcit* "*prædicare, Qui neſcit Barlettare* (4). —— *So emi-* "*nent and edifying a Preacher, that to his immortal* "*Honour it continues a Proverb in* Italy, *to this Day*, "He who knows not how to imitate *Barletta*, "knows not how to preach." As for the main part of the other Objection, he anſwers it very poorly; for he pretends, that, according to *Barletta*, the Woman of *Samaria* knew by JESUS CHRIST's Garment, and his Hair, that he was a *Jew*; from whence, in arguing, ſhe drew this Conſequence, that *he was circumciſed*. Once more, the ſhorteſt and beſt way is to ſay, that this poor Preacher did not know what he ſaid with his third Mark: he had not known whereabout he was, had he taken it for a Subject to reaſon upon.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) He had already ſaid this in *pag*. 195, with a long Train of pompous Elogies.

[*D*] *Some undertook to juſtify him, by denying, that he was the Author of the Sermons, which paſſed under his Name*.] *Leander Albertus* pretends, that, in his Youth, he knew the ignorant Perſon, who forged thoſe unworthy Productions, which went under the famous Name of *Barletta* (5). It is much to be wondred, that the new Author of the *Bibliotheca* of the Order, has not alledged this reaſon in Juſtification of his Brother; ſome would be apt to ſay he durſt not make uſe of it, becauſe what *Leander Albertus* had ſaid was known to be falſe. But, whether it be ſo or not, it is at leaſt very certain, that there are ſome impertinent Things in the Writings, which are inconteſtably aſcribed to *Barletta*. We have ſeen the Cenſure of Father *Raynaud*. *Moreri* is in the wrong to maintain, That *ſeveral Proteſtant Authors have made uſe of his pretended Sermons, to ridicule the Catholics, and that, among thoſe*, Henry Stephens *is one of the firſt*: for I dare be poſitive, that the Sermons, from whence *Henry Stephens* took his Railleries, are none of thoſe, which *Leander Albertus* imputes to an Impoſtor. The Diſpute between the Father and the Holy Ghoſt is one of *Henry Stephens*'s Gaieties; now *Altamura* acknowledges, that *Barletta* is the Author of it.

(5) Alberti Deſcript. Ital. p. 370.

BARLEUS (MELCHIOR), a Native of *Antwerp*, a *Latin* Poet in the XVIth Century, and Son of *Lambert Barleus*, who was Keeper of the Records of *Antwerp*, above Forty Years, was educated under good Maſters, and teſtified by ſeveral Writings, both in Proſe and in Verſe [*A*], the Progreſs he had made. One of his Brothers, whoſe Name was *James*, left his Country for his Religion, and made his Eſcape into *Holland*, where, after having been Regent of the ſecond Claſs, in the College of *Leyden*, he was called to the *Brill*, to be Rector of the College there. *Gaſpar Barleus*, elder Brother of *Melchior* [*B*], ſucceeded in the Office of Keeper of the Records, which his Father had; but, when *Antwerp* was again brought under the Yoke of the *Spaniſh* Government, he left his Country, and retired into *Holland*. He carried his eldeſt Son along with him, who was yet in the Cradle (*a*), and of whom I ſhall ſpeak in the following Article.

(*a*) *Taken from* Gaſpar Barleus's *Funeral Oration ſpoken at* Amſterdam, *by* John Arn. Corvinus, *Jan.* 18, 1648.

[*A*] *He publiſhed ſeveral Writings, both in Proſe and in Verſe*.] Theſe are the Titles of them; *Brabantiados libri* 5. *&* *Antverpiæ Encomium*. *De Diis Gentium libri duo*, in Elegiac Verſes, at *Antwerp* in 1562 (1). *De raptu Ganymedis libri tres* (2), *& Bucolica*, at *Antwerp* 1572. A Speech *De vitæ humanæ felicitate*; cum adjuncto carmine, *De Rerum humanarum viciſſitudine*, ad Gaſparem fratrem, at *Antwerp* 1566 (3). *Hiſtoria de Domus Auſtriacæ Eminentia* (4).

[*B*] Gaſpar Barleus *was elder Brother of* Melchior.] I make no doubt but *Valerius Andreas* has taken this *Gaſpar* for him who was Profeſſor at *Amſterdam*, and whoſe *Latin* Verſes were ſo much cried up. If he has, he was groſly miſtaken: That Profeſſor was *Melchior*'s Nephew, and not his Brother. If it be ſaid, in order to excuſe *Valerius Andreas* on this account, that he does not make the Miſtake, which I have ſuppoſed, yet he would be in the wrong on another: for when an Author is deſcribed by his Relations, thoſe ought never to be made uſe of, who are unknown either in the Commonwealth of Learning, or in the World; and conſequently theſe words of *Valerius Andreas, Melchior Barleus, Antverpienſis, Gaſparis frater*, would be impertinent, if they were meant of *Melchior*'s Brother; becauſe that Brother, though he taught at *Bommel*, is an unknown Perſon. *Moreri* has committed the ſame Fault with *Valerius Andreas*.

(1) Valerius Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 669.

(2) Corvinus in Orat. Funebri Gaſpar. Barlæi.

(3) Valer. Andreas, ubi ſupra.

(4) Corvinus ibid.

BARLEUS (Gaspar), Nephew of the foregoing, was Profeſſor of Philoſophy at *Amſterdam*, and one of the elegant Latin Poets of the XVIIth Century. He was born at *Antwerp* in the Year 1584 (*a*). His Father, who was a Proteſtant, fled into *Holland*, when the Duke of *Parma* had made himſelf Maſter of that City. He ſtaid three Years in *Leyden*, after which he was called to *Bommel*, to be Rector of the College there. He enjoyed that place ſeven Years, and then died, having deſigned his Son *Gaſpar* for the Miniſtry of the Holy Goſpel. This *Gaſpar* ſtudied eight Years in the College of the Province of *Holland* at *Leyden*, and, being afterwards received into the Miniſtry, he ſerved a Country Church near the *Brill*. *Bertius*, being advanced from the Office of Sub-Principal to the Principalſhip of that College, thought no Perſon ſo fit to ſucceed him as our *Barleus*. His Recommendation was ſucceſsful; *Barleus* was made Sub-Principal, and, ſome time after, Profeſſor of Logic, in the Univerſity of *Leyden*. He concerned himſelf ſo far in the Diſputes of the *Arminians*, that he was removed from all his Offices, when the oppoſite Party had fully triumphed in the Synod of *Dort*, in the Year 1618. *Barleus* began, then, to ſtudy Phyſic, and, in two Years time, thought himſelf fit to commence Doctor. He took his Degree at *Caën*; but ſcarce ever practiſed at all. Some young Perſons deſired him to read Lectures to them in Philoſophy, and polite Learning; and, as it was what he had been uſed to, he reſumed this Employment, and regained a great Character for it, even in the Univerſity of *Leyden*. The Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, having erected a famous School in the Year 1631, offered him the Profeſſorſhip of Philoſophy. He accepted, and diſcharged it very honourably until his Death, which happened the fourteenth of *January*, 1648 (*b*). He was a Man of great Merit. There is extant a Volume of Speeches, which he pronounced on ſeveral Subjects, and which are not only commendable for the Style, but alſo for the Turn, and frequent Touches, of Wit. Poetry was his chief Talent: His Muſe was very copious and lofty (*c*). There ſcarce happened any great Subject during his Life, on which he did not beſtow ſome pompous Encomium, if he was not prevented by Reaſons of State [*A*]. Cardinal *Richelieu*, and Chancellor *Oxenſtiern*, were not forgot: much leſs did he paſs by the Conqueſts and brave Exploits of *Frederic Henry* Prince of *Orange*. Queen *Mary de Medicis*, and the magnificent Reception ſhe met with at *Amſterdam* (*d*), gave *Barleus* occaſion to exerciſe his Eloquence. He publiſhed ſome very ſharp Pieces of Controverſy, againſt the Adverſaries of *Arminius* [*B*].

That

(*a*) By the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his Letters, it appears that he was born *February* the 12th.

(*b*) *Taken from his Funeral Oration made by* John-Arnold Corvinus. *The* Diarium *of the Sieur* Witte *places his Death in* 1647.

(*c*) *See the Elogies that* Borrichius *gives him*, Diſſertat. de Poët. p. 140.

(*d*) *In* 1637.

[*A*] *There ſcarce happened any great Subject, during his Life, on which he did not beſtow ſome pompous Encomium, if he was not prevented by Reaſons of State.*] I make uſe of this Reſtriction, becauſe I have read in *Barleus*'s Letters, that he refuſed to write a Poem on the Coronation of the Emperor *Ferdinand* III, which had been requeſted of him. He conſidered, that he had to do with ſuſpicious Perſons, who would not fail to ſtigmatize him as a Penſionary of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; beſides, after having ſo highly celebrated the Victories of *Guſtavus* over the Emperor, he did not ſee how he could compliment *Ferdinand*, on any great Honour acquired in making War with the *Swedes*. Here is an honeſt Poet! How many of his Profeſſion get over theſe Scruples! They have a two-handed Pen; they do not only prepare Panegyrics for the conquering Party, be it who it will, but alſo, after the Event, make Verſes for both Parties (1). I do not queſtion but that there are Poets in *Italy*, who have complimented, or will compliment, both the Dauphin, and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, on the Campaign of 1693. Theſe are the Words of *Barleus*: “Literas accepi Vienna, quibus petitur uti laudatione aliqua velim proſequi Coronationem Ferdinandi tertii Imperatoris. Ego ſi ſapiam abſtinebo ab illa laudatione religioſiſſime. Quamquam enim ea poſſem ſcribere quæ ad laudes Imperatoris faciant, nec Reip. noſtræ adverſentur, tamen prout ſunt noſtratium ingenia, judicarent me beneficio obſtrictum Auſtriacis. Scimus Cæſarem non quidem aperto Marte nos petere, ſed per latus Hiſpani nobis gravem eſſe. Laudavi etiam non ita pridem Guſtavum Sueciæ Regem, ejuſque adverſus Cæſarem bella probavi. Jam ut laudem Ferdinandum tertium ob geſta adverſus Suecos feliciter bella, à prudentia mea impetrare non poſſum. Non ſum ambidexter, ſed ab omni adulatione alieniſſimus. Cuperem obſequi petitioni illuſtriſſimi Legati, ſed hoc cavendum ne dum foris benè, domi male audiam. Forte nimis ſum meticuloſus, ſed & illud certum illam Cæſaris laudationem à me profectam calumniæ ſuſpicionibuſque oportunam fore (2). —— *I received Letters from* Vienna, *deſiring I would compoſe ſomething in Honour of the Coronation of the Emperor* Ferdinand III. *But I think it prudent to decline this Task entirely. For though I might pay a Compliment to the Emperor, without the leaſt Prejudice to our Commonwealth, yet ſuch are the Suſpicions of our People, that they would believe me to be bribed by the Houſe of* Auſtria. *We know the Emperor does not ſtrike at us directly, but only by means of the* Spaniard. *Beſides, I have congratulated* Guſtavus, *King of* Sweden, *on his War with the Emperor. And I cannot think it conſiſtent with my Reaſon, to compliment* Ferdinand III, *on the very ſame Occaſion. I ſcorn to play a double Part, and have the greateſt Averſion to Flattery. I ſhould be glad to obey the Requeſt of the moſt illuſtrious Embaſſador, but muſt take care that, while I am eſteemed abroad, I am not ill thought of at home. Perhaps I am too ſcrupulous, but undoubtedly an Encomium on the Emperor, compoſed by me, would give room for Suſpicions and Reflexions.*” *Barleus*'s Fear was not without Foundation; and, if Reaſon would not ſuffer him to write the Panegyric of *Ferdinand* III, becauſe *Holland* was at War with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and an Author ſhould not blow hot and cold, Prudence no leſs adviſed him to forbear that Elogy. Thoſe, who believed him a Friend to the *Arminians*, would have defamed him as an Enemy to God and the State, and would not have been content with declaring him ſuch, both in private and in public. To conclude, if all the Heroes, he celebrated, paid him as well as Cardinal *Richelieu* (3), he had no reaſon to ſay, that the Culture of *Parnaſſus* is That of an ungrateful Soil.

[*B*] *He publiſhed ſome very ſharp Pieces of Controverſy againſt the Adverſaries of* Arminius.] In the Year 1615, he publiſhed a Piece at *Leyden*, entituled, *Bogermannus* ἐλεγχόμενος, *ſive Examen Epiſtolæ dedicatoriæ quam ſuis ad pietatem illuſtrium Ordinum Hollandiæ & Weſtfriſiæ notis præfixit Joannes Bogermannus Eccleſiaſtes Leovardienſis: in quo etiam Crimina à Matthæo Slado impacta Eraſmo Roterodamo diluuntur*. The Year following he publiſhed a little Book, the Title whereof was, *Diſſertatiuncula in quâ*

aliquot

(1) *Compare this with what* Macrobius, Saturnal. l. 2, cap. 5, pag. 337, *ſays of a Man who had taught two Ravens, the one to congratulate* Auguſtus, *and the other to congratulate* Marc Antony.

(2) Gaſpar. Barlæus, Epiſt. 334, pag. 668: *the Letter was wrote in the Year* 1636.

(3) *If we believe* Sorbiere, *that Cardinal gave him* 5000 *Livres for his Elogy.* Sorberiana, pag. 40.

That Wound was never healed: He was looked upon all his Liſe time, as a Favourer of that Sect [*C*], and many Perſons murmured againſt the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, for entertaining ſuch a Profeſſor. All his Proceedings were narrowly watched, and not the leaſt Favour ſhewn him. He was terribly exclaimed againſt, for ſome Verſes he had made on the Book of a Rabbi [*D*]. After his Death, his Letters were publiſhed in Two Volumes (*e*); but the *Sextus Empiricus*,

aliquot Patriæ Theologorum & Eccleſiaſtarum malè ſana conſilia & ſtudia juſta orationis libertate reprebenduntur. There was too much tartneſs in that piece, and it was too ſevere on the Preachers; for he pretends (4), that *Holland* afforded, " Viros Prædicatorii ordinis vocales plus ſatis, qui ad ſcribendos ſalutiferos libros inepti, ad prædicandum Chriſti ſapientiam elingues, tamen ad obtrectandum cum Magiſtratibus, tum diſſentientibus circa res religionis ſymmiſtis, diſerti ſint & copioſi. — *Preachers louder than they need to be, who have neither Pen to compoſe good Books, nor Tongue to deliver the Doctrines of Chriſtianity, but can find both in the moſt full and eloquent manner to defame not only Magiſtrates, but alſo their own Fraternity, who differ from them in matters of Religion.*" In the following Page he ſays, " Si templa aliquot Hollandiæ peragrare libeat, Theologos quamplurimos in ſpermologos, concionatores in convitiatores, pacis præcones in factionum principes & ſchiſmatis faciundi buccinatores transformatos mirabere, nec tam reformatæ amplius, quam peſſimis aliquorum moribus deformatæ religionis antiſtites eſſe jurabis. —— *If you look into ſome of the Churches of* Holland, *you will be ſurprized to find ſeveral Divines transformed into idle Praters; Preachers into Slanderers; and the Meſſengers of Peace into Ringleaders and Trumpeters of Faction and Schiſm: inſomuch that you would be apt to regard them as Prieſts of a Religion, not reformed, but deformed by the baſeneſs of their own Morals.*" This is a moſt violent Inſult on thoſe, whoſe Character ought to have obliged him to treat them with Reſpect. This Invective was immediately tranſlated into *Dutch*. I cannot well tell whether it was in this Diſſertation, that he called one *Vincent Drielenburch*, who had ſet up for a Prophet, by the Name of *Nebulo*; but either in this, or ſome other, Writing, he made uſe of that opprobrious Expreſſion; which exaſperated that Perſon to ſuch a Degree, that he publiſhed a Book, wherein he calls *Barleus* a Knave and a Raſcal, *Nebulonem & Sceleſtum*, and engaged to give an Hundred Livres to the Deaconry of *Leyden*, and to deliver himſelf up into the Hands of Juſtice, that his Puniſhment might be exemplary, if it could be proved, by ſolid Reaſons, that he was a Knave, *Nebulo*. *Vincentius etiam Drielenburch ſuis prophetandi partibus non defuit, nam anno ſuperiore à Gaſparo Barlæo in ſcripto quodam* Nebulonis *nomine deſignatus, id adeo Propheticæ ſuæ dignitati putavit eſſe injurioſum, ut edito mox ſcripto eumdem Barlæum ſceleſtum & Nebulonem nominaret*, &c. (5). A little while after, there came out a Book, which pretended to prove this Charge againſt *Drielenburch*, by ten inconteſtable Reaſons. He anſwered thoſe ten Reaſons, and flew out extremely againſt *Barleus*. The latter compoſed a *Remonſtrance to the States-General* during his Exile. It is dated from *Francfort*, in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1620, and intituled, *Fides imbellis, ſive Epiſtola parænetica ad illuſtriſſimos & potentiſſimos Fœderatarum Provinciarum Ordines.* It is a Piece very well written, wherein the ſad Conſequences of Perſecution, and the Rights of Conſcience, are very pathetically repreſented. You will find it in the *Præſtantium & Eruditorum Virorum Epiſtolæ* (6).

[*C*] *He was looked upon, all his Life-time, as a Favourer of the* Arminian *Sect.*] It is certain, that, after he was reſtored in the Univerſity of *Leyden*, he did not break off his Correſpondence with the *Arminians*. His Hundred and fifty ſixth Letter informs *Uytenbogard*, that *Polyander*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*, had diſcovered to his Friends, that all the Moderation, which appeared in the Writings, publiſhed by the Faculty of Theology, againſt the *Arminians*, came from himſelf: *Quidquid mollius leniuſque ſcriptum reperitur in ſpecimine, à ſe profectum eſſe, reliqua aſperiora collegarum eſſe* (7); but that he deſired the *Arminians*, who were made acquainted with it, would keep it ſecret, becauſe it would expoſe him to the Indignation of his Colleagues. *Rogavit me obnixè per D. Voſſium internuncium, vobis uti ſcriberem, ne ſi fortè hæc res ad aures veſtras pervenerit, ejus in reſponſo veſtro meminiſſe velitis, ne collegarum ſuorum invidiæ ac odiis, quorum jam ſemina jacta, miſer objiciatur* (8). The following Letter teſtifies, that one of *Polyander*'s Colleagues reproached him for having told this to *Barleus*, an Enemy of the Church: *Tu hoc dixiſti Barlæo, quem ſcis eſſe hoſtem Eccleſiæ, qui illud ipſum ad Uytenbogardum, & Epiſcopium perſcripturus eſt.* Theſe Letters were written in the Year 1630. It appears, by *Barleus*'s Letters, that he was always of the Opinion of the *Remonſtrants*.

[*D*] *He was exclaimed againſt, for ſome Verſes he had made on the Book of a Rabbi.*] *Manaſſes Ben-Iſrael*, one of the moſt learned Men among the *Jews*, in the XVIIth Century, publiſhed a Book on the Creation, in the Year 1634. *Barleus* made an Epigram upon it, and, according to Cuſtom, ſuffered it to appear at the Head of the Work. He declared too plainly, that he preferred a good Life before the Truth of ſpeculative Doctrines. A Divine of *Deventer*, made a mighty buſtle about it; he publiſhed a Piece, wherein he maintained, that the Epigram was full of Blaſphemies, and that the Author of it was a *Socinian*. Nay, there was a Deſign to bring the Matter before the States of *Holland*, to convict *Barleus*, and all the *Arminians*, of *Socinianiſm*. *Conſilia agitari uti Libellus iſte Cenſoris ordinibus Hollandiæ exhibeatur ut appareat Barleum & Remonſtrantes eſſe Socinianos* (9). *Barleus* defended himſelf with Heat, and was very angry. He maintained, that his Words were maliciouſly interpreted, and even falſified, that they might the better colour the Arts they made uſe of, to find ſuch a Meaning as he had never thought of. " Epigramma quoddam meum - - - - - - - quæſitis & perverſis detorſionibus malignè interpretatur. Dicit illo epigrammate contineri varia quæ Eccleſiæ pernicioſa, religioni Chriſtianæ probroſa, & in Deum ac Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum impia ſunt. Socinianiſmum adhæc autori epigrammatis impingit, &c. - - - - - - - Cenſor peſſima fide voculam è carmine ſuſtulit, & ſuam ſubſtituit, *maneamus* pro *vivamus*. Senſus affingit verſibus meis de quibus ne per ſomnium quidem cogitavi (10). - - - - - - *He maliciouſly interprets a certain Epigram of mine* - - - - - - - *by far-fetched and unfair Conſtructions. He ſays, that Epigram contains ſeveral Things deſtructive to the Church, opprobrious to Chriſtianity, and blaſphemous to* GOD, *and our* LORD JESUS CHRIST. *He alſo charges the Author of it with* Socinianiſm, *&c.* - - - - - - - *This Cenſurer has unjuſtly ſuppreſſed an Expreſſion of mine, and ſubſtituted one of his own,* maneamus, *inſtead of* vivamus. *He conſtrues my Verſes in ſuch a Senſe, as I never once dreamed of.*" He proteſted that he was no *Socinian*, that he never had been one, and that he deteſted the Doctrines of the *Socinians*. He added, that ſome would be glad to have him a *Socinian*, that their Hatred of him might find a larger Field of Triumph. *Non ſum Socinianus nec fui unquam, imo hoſtis ſum iſtorum dogmatum acerrimus. Vellent quidam me eſſe qui explendi in me odii materiam ſollicitè quærunt* (11). If that Judgment were falſe, it was, however, not unlikely; for thoſe who engage in Controverſies about Doctrines, accuſe their Adverſaries of ſo many things, that, commonly ſpeaking, nothing can mortify them more, than to appear quite different from their Repreſentations. However it be, it was lawful for *Barleus* to repulſe the Calumny; but he ought not to have made ſuch ſtinging Verſes againſt the Divine of *Deventer*, that perhaps *Archilochus* would not have exceeded them. That Divine's Name, in ſhort, was *Vedelius*, and his Book entituled *Deus Synagogæ*. A Profeſſor of *Utrecht* (12) ſeconded him in that Attack, by a Piece called *Vorſtius redivivus*, which *Vedelius* took care to get printed. *Voſſius* believed, that *Barleus* fell ſick, by laying the Inſults of thoſe two Antagoniſts too much to Heart. See what he wrote to *Grotius* the fifteenth of *December*, 1637. " Collega Barleus jam tertium menſem laborat quartanâ. Metuitur ei à μαρασμῷ.

" Ut

(*e*) *His Son-in-law*, Gerard Brandt, *cauſed them to be printed at* Amſterd. *in* 1667. *Some of the moſt conſiderable are to be ſeen in the Collection of* Epiſtolæ Præſtantium ac Eruditorum Virorum, *publiſhed, by the* Arminians, *in* 8vo *in* 1660, *and in* Folio *in* 1684.

(4) *Page* 4.

(5) Salomon Theodotus, in Pacificatorio diſſecti Belgii, pag. 176, 177.

(6) In Pag. 633, & ſeq. *of the Edit. of* 1684.

(7) Barlæus Epiſt. 156, pag. 356.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Barlæus, Epiſt. 388, pag. 675.

(10) Ibid. p. 674, 675. *See alſo pag.* 678.

(11) Ibid. pag. 679.

(12) Martin Schoockius. *See* Voetius ſelect. Diſput. Vol. I. pag. 1156.

Empiricus, which was expected from him, never appeared. He has ſhewn how able he was to write Hiſtory, by the *Relation of what paſſed in Braſil*, during the Government of Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau*. He publiſhed that Hiſtory in the Year 1647. Strange Reports were raiſed about his laſt Sickneſs [*E*], and about his Death [*F*]; but the Truth of it is hardly to be known: There is but little Credit to be given to Reports of this Nature; for it is notorious, from an hundred Examples, that, if an Author has diſtinguiſhed himſelf ever ſo little, Fame does very much magnify the Perſonal or Domeſtic Diſgraces, which befal him: And thoſe, who are acquainted with the whole Secret, are commonly Perſons too nearly concerned to publiſh what may occaſion the leaſt Diſreputation.

“ Ut convaleſcat, non videtur idem fore qui quondam “ (13). Afflixit valetudinem opere properando quod “ nunc excuditur. Eſt hoc de ingreſſu (14) reginæ “ matris in urbem noſtram, & honore pompæ ei “ exhibito. Typis prodibit auguſtis, plurimis exornatum picturis. Atque hoc quod dixi non diſſimulàt apud amicos. Sed multum metuo ne morbum “ hunc inde contraxerit, quod nimis ad animum revocaret quæ adverſus eum ſcripta ſunt à Doct. “ Vedelio, & Mag. Schoockio (15). - - - - - - - - *My* “ *Colleague*, Barleus, *has been afflicted with a Quartan theſe three Months. He is in ſome Danger of* “ *a Conſumption. If he recovers, he will ſcarce ever* “ *be the ſame Man again. He deſtroyed his Health,* “ *by applying ſo cloſely to the Work, which is now* “ *printing. The Subject is the Entry of the Queen-* “ *Mother into our City, and her magnificent Reception. It will appear in a very fine Letter, and adorned with ſeveral Copper-Plates. He owns, among* “ *his Friends, the Account I have now given. But I* “ *much fear, that his Diſtemper is rather owing to his* “ *laying too much to Heart the Calumnies publiſhed* “ *againſt him by Dr* Vedelius, *and Mr* Schoockius.” I believe, that moſt of *Barleus*'s beſt Friends found him too much concerned for the Cenſure of his Epigram; for they adviſed him to deſpiſe his Critics, whom they laſhed ſeverely. “ Tibi ſum auctor ut “ eos poſthac præteritione mulctes. Acerrima vindicta eſt contemtus: in malam rem homines ad “ civilia ingenia vexanda natos. Ex Epigrammate “ ſcilicet quo Manaſſen Judæum non proſcindis convitiis, totus in te Theologorum ordo aſperatus omnem Hæreticorum ſentinam in caput tuum infundet. - - - - - - Si verpum, apellam, recutitum eumdem dixiſſes, & virum, ut videtur, non malum “ poëticis ſcommatibus exagitaſſes, palmarium meruiſſes. - - - - - - - Si quid mihi apud te eſt fidei crabrones iſtos iterum dico poſthac negliges. Acrius enim “ poſt repulſam inſtant, & ubi excuſſeris venenum “ omne in aculeos advocant tanquam ipſi læſi (16). “ - - - - - - - *I deſire you would, for the future, repay* “ *them with Neglect. Contempt is the moſt galling* “ *Method of Revenge; and fitteſt to be uſed againſt* “ *thoſe, who are born to defame modeſt Merit, and* “ *prove a Peſt to Mankind. Becauſe your Epigram* “ *does not load* Manaſſes *the* Jew *with Reproaches,* “ *the whole Order of Divines are angry, and beſpatter* “ *you with all the Filth, which Hereſy ever produced.* “ - - - - - *If you had called him a circumciſed Wretch,* “ *and abuſed him, though he does not ſeem to deſerve* “ *it from you, with poetical Slander, you would have* “ *been admired.* - - - - - - - - *If I have any Influence* “ *over you, I again beg you would deſpiſe theſe Hornets. For a Repulſe only makes them return to the* “ *Charge with greater Fury, and, if you ſhake off their* “ *Venom, they only prepare to ſting you with all their* “ *Vengeance, as though you were the Aggreſſor.*” *Barleus*'s Epigram, which was the Cauſe of ſo much Stir, would have found a place here, if it had not lately been inſerted in a little Book, which is in every body's Hands (17). I am ſurprized to find in it but a very ſmall part of *Barleus*'s Verſes againſt *Vedelius*; but I wonder yet more, how *Sorbiere* could think, that the Paſſage, which he mentions, ſhews the Author ſcoffed at both Religions. Theſe are *Sorbiere*'s Words: “ Cùm “ Vedelius nomen ſuum in priori ſcripto analytico “ epigrammatis Barlæani reſtituiſſet (18) ait

- - - - - quid tenebroſo
Calumniator prave delites antro,
Et exoleta ſæve tergiverſator
Arceſſis orco monſtra perditæ ſectæ?
Cur verſipellis Sarmatæ malas voces
Portenta fidei, exſibilata Senenſis
Commenta verbis affricas ſerenatis?

“ Quæ ſane nec Calvinianis ſatisfacere nec aliis, ſed “ utriuſque religionis ludibrio habitæ poëtam merito “ ſuſpectum reddidere (19). - - - - - *Becauſe* Vedelius “ *had ſuppreſſed his Name in his firſt Piece, againſt* “ Barleus'*s Epigram, he makes him this Reply,*

Why ſtarts the Slanderer, in his darkſome Den,
The helliſh Maxims of the worſt of Men?
Why brings he back that curſed Sect to light,
Long ſince condemn'd to everlaſting Night?

“ *which can neither be agreeable to the* Calviniſts, “ *nor the others, but juſtly renders the Poet ſuſpected* “ *of ridiculing both Religions.*” A Man muſt be mad or drunk to judge ſo; for the Verſes, which we have juſt now read, are the moſt ſevere that can be made againſt *Socinianiſm*, and no Body can teſtify more earneſtly, than *Barleus* has done, how much he deteſted to be ſuſpected of that Hereſy. This Author's Proſe, which *Sorbiere* has quoted a little before, thunders full as violently againſt that Sect.

[*E*] *Strange Reports were raiſed about his laſt Sickneſs.*] I have heard ſay, that he thought himſelf to be made of Glaſs, and that he was afraid of being broke to pieces, when any body came near him. Others have told me, that he fancied himſelf Butter, or Straw, and durſt not come near the Fire. This is inconſiſtent with his Funeral Oration, ſpoken by *Corvinus*, Profeſſor of Law; for it is there affirmed, that he read a Lecture to his Scholars the Day before he died, and that he was going to read another, when a Faintneſs ſeized him, from which he never recovered. *Id quod dolemus, eo accidiſſe momento quo ſe parabat ut juventuti ſibi commiſſæ docendo debitum præſtaret officium* (20). “ Anteceſſit quidem eum “ morbus cum quo luctabatur ſubinde, non tamen “ tantus quin aliquomodo conſuetis adhuc ſufficeret “ laboribus. Audiverant eum, pridie diei quo eum “ mors invaſit, diſcipuli docentem: audiviſſent eadem qua occidit, niſi ipſis eum abſtuliſſet, ita ut “ accepimus, plurimis hodie exemplis fere epidemica “ lypothymia. —— *He had before laboured under an* “ *Indiſpoſition, which now and then afflicted him,* “ *but not ſo ſeverely as to hinder him from going on* “ *with his uſual Employments. His Pupils had been* “ *at Lectures with him the Day before he died, and* “ *were to have gone again the next, if a ſudden* “ *Fainting, as I have been informed, which, by frequent Inſtances, was become almoſt epidemical, had* “ *not carried him off.*” It is very remarkable, that he had a little before made uſe of the ſame Precaution: “ Inopinate eum extinxit, UT NOBIS RELATUM, Lipothymia. Inde factum ut eum extinctum ante audiverimus, quàm morti eſſe propinquum morbus prænuntiaret. - - - - *A ſudden Faintneſs, as I have been told, carried him off. So that* “ *we heard of his Death, before any Diſtemper had* “ *diſcovered him to be in Danger.*” Obſerve, that *Corvinus* had juſt before addreſſed his Speech to the Diſciples of the deceaſed. And can any one think he would have told them falſly to their Face, that they aſſiſted at one of his Lectures, the Day before his Death?

[*F*] *And about his Death.*] *Morhofius* reports, that *Barleus* died in a Well, and that it is not known, whether he fell into it accidentally, or threw himſelf into it. *Miſero fato periit, puteo ſubmerſus, an ſponte, an caſu, incertum, de morte ejus jam ſupra diximus.* It is thus he ſpeaks, in the Three hundredth Page of his *Polyhiſtor*. Doubtleſs he refers us to Page 155,

(13) *The Event did not confirm this Conjecture. The like are made every Day, that prove falſe.*

(14) *This is a true Galliciſm.* C'eſt celui de l'Entrée.

(15) Epiſt. præſt. & eruditor. Virorum, pag. 796. Edit. in fol. 1684.

(16) Rochus Honerdius in Epiſt. ad Barlæum, ibid. p. 795.

(17) *In the* Sorberiana, pag. 37, 38. *Edit. of* Holland, 1694.

(18) *Doubtleſs it is a Fault of the Preſs. Perhaps the Author had written* Siluiſſet; *for, beſides its being falſe that* Vedelius *put his Name to the firſt Piece, the very Verſes alledged ſuppoſe, that he had ſuppreſſed his Name.*

(19) Sorberiana, p. 39.

(20) Corvinus in Orat. Funeb. Barlei.

when he ſays, that he had already mentioned This Death: But, in the One hundred fifty fifth Page, he does not aſcribe it either to an Accident, or to a premeditated Deſign, but affirms, that *Barleus* became mad, and caſt himſelf into a Well; and quotes the Sixty fourth Letter of *Sorbiere*. "Eo nonnullorum excreſcit è fiducia nimia ambitio, ut ſiniſtro aliorum judicio in extremam incidant inſaniam. Quod Barlæo accidit, qui ob prælatum ſibi Spanhemium in maniam incidit, ſeque ipſum in puteo ſuffocavit, quod de eo Sorbierius refert *Epiſt.* 64. extatque apud Duportum *Muſarum ſubciſivarum, Lib.* 1. de eo Epigramma (21). —— *To ſuch an Extream are ſome Perſons hurried by Pride and Self-conceit, that a Diſappointment from the Judgment of others ſhall throw them into Madneſs. This happened to* Barleus, *who, on account of the Preference being given to* Spanheim, *fell into a Diſtraction, and drowned himſelf in a Well; This is related by* Sorbiere, Epiſt. 64. lib. 1. *And there is an Epigram upon it in* Duport's Muſæ Subciſivæ, lib. 1." This Quotation is very falſe, for here is what *Sorbiere* ſays. "The Death of *Barleus*, of which you deſire the Particulars, is not of that Importance (22), though he was a very worthy Man; for there will always be found a greater Number of excellent Poets than Phyſicians. When I was at *Amſterdam*, they ſpoke variouſly of his Death, as if Melancholy had haſtened it. It is true, that, having compoſed a *Funeral Oration*, in Verſe, on the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, and Dr *Spanheim* having ſpoke one in Proſe, he bore the Inequality of their Reward very impatiently: For, as *Salmaſius* ſaid, very pleaſantly, they made a great Miſtake, in giving the Trooper's Pay to the Foot Soldier, and That of the Foot Soldier to the Trooper. *Barleus* had but Five hundred Livres, and the other had Five hundred Crowns." There is nothing about *Barleus*'s Death in the *Sorberiana*. We find there, indeed, that, according to the common Report, *Barleus* was ſubject to ſome Fits of Lunacy: "Ferebatur intervalla quædam minus lucida habere, nec aberat conjectura oculorum qui non bene ſanam cerebi particulam indicabant. —— *He was ſaid to have Intervals of Phrenſy, and that a Wildneſs about the Eyes diſcovered his Brain was not right.*"

(21) Morhof. Polyhiſt. p. 155.

(22) *That is, of the ſame Importance with that of* Walæus *and* Viſlingius, *which he had mentioned juſt before.*

BARLEUS (LAMBERT), Brother of the foregoing, was born at *Bommel* in *Guelderland*, in the Year 1595 (*a*). He was *Greek* Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Leyden*. Before That, he had been Teacher of the Second Claſs in a College at *Amſterdam* [*A*], and, before he taught that Claſs, he had been Miniſter of the Baron *de Langerac*, the *Dutch* Embaſſador in *France* (*b*). He was called to *Leyden* to fill up the place of *Jeremiah Hoelzlin*, and a new Addition was made to that Office; for it was given him with the Title of Profeſſor in Ordinary (*c*), which is attended with ſeveral Advantages. He made his Inauguration Speech, *De Græcarum Literarum Præſtantia ac Utilitate*, the Twenty ſecond of *October*, 1641. In 1652, he publiſhed the *Timon* of *Lucian*, with ſeveral Notes, which have nothing very extraordinary, or profound, in them, but may be uſeful to Youth. He died the ſixteenth of *June*, 1655 (*d*). His Commentary on the *Theogony* of *Heſiod* was printed in 1658.

(*a*) Witte in Diario Biographico.

(*b*) Corvinus in Orat. Funebri Gaſp. Barlæi.

(*c*) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his* Timon *of* Lucian.

(*d*) Witte, Diar. Biogr.

[*A*] *He had been Teacher, of the ſecond Claſs, in a College, at* Amſterdam.] The *Dutch* give the Title of *Conrector* to the Teacher of this Claſs. That is to ſay, *The Rector's Aſſiſtant*. They call the Teacher of the firſt Claſs *Rector*. He has an Inſpection over the other Teachers.

BARLOW (THOMAS), Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in the Reign of *Charles* II, was a very learned Man. He was a long time Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and it has been ſuſpected by a certain Perſon, that he was removed from thence for being too Orthodox [*A*]. He was very zealous againſt Popery, as he demonſtrated by his Writings [*B*]. He had a large Collection of Books, and was a Man of great Reading. He died in the Year 1690, or thereabouts. Some ſmall Pieces, which were found among his Papers, have been publiſhed ſince his Death. He has been confounded with *William Barlow* [*C*], Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who flouriſhed under King *James* I, and alſo died under that Prince.

[*A*] *It has been ſuſpected, by a certain Perſon, that he was removed from the Univerſity of* Oxford *for being too Orthodox.*] This certain Perſon is a famous Miniſter, and Profeſſor of Divinity, at *Groningen*; in a Word, it is *James Alting*. He ſays, in a Letter dated the thirteenth of *March*, 1676, That Dr *Barlow* was lately advanced to the Biſhopric of *Lincoln*, on purpoſe that he might be removed from the Univerſity, where he taught the Orthodox Faith (1); for, adds he, the *Engliſh* are much inclined to *Pelagianiſm* and *Socinianiſm*: And, on this Occaſion, he mentions a Book, *De Unione & Communione cum Chriſto*, the Author of which is named *Sherlock*.

[*B*] *He was very zealous againſt Popery, as he demonſtrated by his Writings.*] When there was ſo much Diſcourſe about *Titus Oates*, and the horrible Conſpiracy, which he diſcovered, This Biſhop publiſhed a Book, wherein he maintained, againſt all Evaſions, that it is an Article of the *Roman* Faith, that the Pope may depoſe Sovereigns, and give their Dominions to others. This was a very good way to ſhew, that he deſigned to do the Papiſts ſome Prejudice; for, of all the Means likely to ſtir up the Zeal of the Nation againſt them, there is none can do it more effectually, than to ſhew, that they are always ready, from a Principle of Conſcience, to take up Arms againſt Proteſtant Princes. The Book, which *Barlow* publiſhed on That Subject, was immediately tranſlated into *French*, and publiſhed under this Title: *An Hiſtorical Treatiſe on the Subject of Excommunicating and Depoſing of Kings: at* Paris, *by* Claude Barbin, 1681 (2).

[*C*] *He has been confounded with* Wiliam Barlow.] The two Authors, who have added ſome Supplements to the Treatiſe of *John Deckherrus*, *De Scriptis Adeſpotis*, are fallen into this Error. *Deckherrus* had ſaid, that the Jeſuit, who wrote, in *Engliſh*, againſt King *James*, concerning the Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, was refuted by *Mr* Baclo, *Biſhop of* Lincoln. One of his Friends (3) informed him, by Letter, that This Prelate's Name was not *Baclo*, but *Thomas Barlow*; "Is ſi placet eſt *Thomas Barlovius* magni apud Anglos nominis, & de noſtratibus optime meritus. Optandum foret videre aliquando ἀνέκδοτα ipſius, quorum magnam in inſtructiſſima ſua Bibliotheca copiam habet, & nuperrime uno & altero opuſculo præſertim contra Curiam Romanam magnum litteratis deſiderium excitavit. Hiſtoria ejus de conſpiratione contra *Jacobum Angliæ Regem*, vulgo *The Gun-powder Treaſon*, non ita pridem publicum vidit. - - - - *His Name is* Thomas Barlow, *who is very famous in his own Nation, and deſerves very well of ours. It were to be wiſhed he would preſent the World with his Manuſcript Pieces, which are very numerous, and, by a late Taſte or two of which, chiefly*

"againſt

(1) Jac. Alting, Oper. Tom. 5. pag. 391.

(2) *I need not advertiſe, that the Place of the Edition is fictitious.*

(3) Paulus Vindingius. *See the Book* de Scriptis Adeſpotis, pag. 355. Edit. 1686.

" *againſt the Court of* Rome, *he has greatly excited* " *the Curioſity of the Learned. His Hiſtory of the* " *Conſpiracy againſt* James *King of* England, *commonly called* The Gun-powder Plot, *has been lately* " *publiſhed.*" The Letter, from which I have taken theſe Words, was written, at *Strasburg*, in 1681. It is plain therefore, that Mr *Deckherrus*'s Friend imagined, that the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who had wrote, for King *James*, againſt a Jeſuit, was yet living. Now this is a great Miſtake. It was in the Year 1609, that King *James* made uſe of the Pen of Dr *Barlow*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, againſt *Robert Parſons*, an *Engliſh* Jeſuit. If That Doctor had been yet living, in the Year 1681, his Age muſt have been a Circumſtance very extraordinary, and thoſe would have been inexcuſable, who ſhould have mentioned his Learning, and his Books, without taking notice of his great Age. It will be to no purpoſe to uſe any Evaſions, or urge, that ſome learned Men live an hundred Years; ſince it is very well known, that the Name of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who wrote for King *James*, was *William*, and not *Thomas*. I do not know whether an hundred Years would have been ſufficient for *Thomas Barlow* to be living in 1681, and to have been a Biſhop in the Year 1609; for it is very rare to be a Biſhop, in *England*, before the Age of Thirty five or forty Years. The Author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique de Lettres*, who took a ſmall Review of Mr *Deckherrus*'s, and Mr *Vindingius*'s Faults, did not only overlook this, but, which is worſe, adopted it (4).

(4) *See* de Scriptis Adeſpotis, pag. 372.

BARNES (ROBERT) *(a)*, Profeſſor of Divinity, and Chaplain to *Henry* VIII [*A*], King of *England*, was ſent, by his Maſter, into *Germany*, in the Year 1535 [*B*]. He conferred forthwith with the Proteſtant Divines, on the Subject of the Divorce: He had afterwards ſome Audiences of the Elector of *Saxony*, and joined with the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors, who propoſed to that Elector an Alliance againſt the Pope, and who deſired, that *Henry* VIII might be aſſociated in the League of *Smalcald*. They gave hopes of a Reformation in *England*; but, at the bottom, their only aim was to obtain an approbation of their Maſter's Divorce, and a Politic Alliance to give the Emperour more Trouble, who threatened to revenge the Injury done to his divorced Aunt. They carried back an Opinion of the Divines of *Wittemberg*, which was not altogether favourable for them [*C*]; but they ſuppreſſed the Concluſion, when they preſented it to the King. That part which

(a) *See Remark* [*A*].

[*A*] *He was Profeſſor of Divinity, and Chaplain to King* Henry VIII.] He was mentioned by theſe Titles, in the Credential Letters, which the King, his Maſter, gave him, in order to his Negotiation in *Saxony*; and thoſe Letters are dated from *Windſor*, the eighth of *July*, 1535 (1). His Chriſtian Name does not appear, in thoſe Letters, before That of *Barnes*. In *Germany* he gave himſelf the Name of *Antony Amarius*, though his true Name was *Robert Barnes*. When he dedicated his *Lives of the Popes* to the King of *England*, in the Year 1535, he ſigned *R. Barnes*, Doctor (2). It appears, in a Preface of *Luther* (3), that *Barnes* concealed his Name, and his Title of Doctor, in *Wittemberg*, for fear of the Perſecutors. *Melanchthon* calls him *D. Antonius Doctor*, or *D. Antonius*, in a Letter, which he wrote to the King of *England*, the thirteenth of *March*, 1535 (4).

[*B*] *He was ſent, by his Maſter, into* Germany, *in the Year* 1533.] The Preface, which I have quoted, informs me, that *Barnes* reſided at *Wittemberg*, about the Year 1530, and that he did even lodge in the Houſe of *Luther*. " Quis ante annos decem hoc decus in Barneſio quæſiviſſet, & quod Chriſtus ipſe " in eo nobiſcum verſatus eſſet? domeſticum enim " & commenſalem habuimus (5). —— *Who, ten* " *Years ago, would have expected this Honour from* " Barnes, *and, that* Chriſt *himſelf, in him, ſhould* " *make his Abode with me? For he both lodged and* " *boarded with me.*" *Barnes* might have lived in *Germany* 'till the Year 1535, and might have received Credential Letters there, from *Henry* VIII, to negotiate with the Elector of *Saxony*. Upon This Suppoſition, the Author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation of *England* might very well ſay, " That, at " laſt, while the Biſhop of *Hereford* was at *Smalcald*, " that is, in the Year 1536, *Barnes* was ſent, by " That Miniſter, into *England*, where he was very " well received by *Henry*, and entertained by *Cromwell* (6)." I ſay, upon This Suppoſition, this Account would be exact; for all that Mr *de Seckendorf* alledges againſt it, is, that *Barnes* came from *England* into *Germany*, in the Year 1535, with a Commiſſion from *Henry* VIII (7). He was therefore returned into *England*, before the Biſhop of *Hereford* ſent him thither, and therefore the Meſſage he was ſent on, by That Prelate, ought not to be taken for his Return Home. But can it be proved, that the Credential Letters were not ſent to *Barnes* into *Germany*, and that he himſelf was ſent into That Country? Yes, it may: *Seckendorf* proves it from the Records, which have furniſhed him with many good Pieces: " Venerat Wittenbergam (*Reg. x. fol.* 99. " *n.* 42.) verno hujus anni 1535 tempore, Doctor " EX BRITANNIA ab Henrico Rege MISSUS (8). — " *There came, to* Wittemberg, *in the Spring of the* " *Year* 1535, *a Doctor from* England, *ſent by* Henry VIII." *Melanchthon* confirms the ſame thing in *Greek*; for he made uſe of That Language to inform his good Friend *Camerarius*, that there was an Envoy from *England*, who ſpoke of nothing but of the King's ſecond Marriage, and who ſaid, that *Henry* VIII cared but little for the Affairs of Religion. Ἦλθε δὲ ϖρὸς ἡμᾶς ξένος τις ϖεμφθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Βρετανίας, μόνον διαλεγόμενος ϖερὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γάμου τοῦ Βασιλέως, τῶν δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων οὐ μέλει, ὥς φησι, τῷ Βασιλεῖ (9). But, though we are not allowed to make the Suppoſition before mentioned, yet we may nevertheleſs hold Dr *Burnet*'s Account to be true. That Hiſtorian ſays only, that the Biſhop of *Hereford* ſent *Barnes* into *England*: he does not deny, that *Barnes* was returned thither before.

[*C*] *He, and his Colleagues - - - - - carried back an Opinion of the Divines of* Wittemberg, *which was not favourable for them.*] Dr *Burnet* gives the Particulars of it very exactly; " Their firſt Sentiment " of this Matter, *ſays he* (10), was, that the Ordi" nances of the Levitical Law were not moral. - - - - " Afterwards they altered their Opinion, when the " Queſtion had been a little more agitated; but they " never agreed, that a Marriage, already conſummated, could be diſanulled, and they confirmed them" ſelves more and more in this laſt Opinion, ſo that " they condemned the King's two Marriages." He mentions this under the Year 1530. Not that he was ignorant, that This Opinion was given in 1536; but he did it, without doubt, to ſhew his Reader, all at once, the different Opinions of the Divines on the Divorce of *Henry* VIII. Mr *Seckendorf* thought ſo: for when he remarks, that the Opinion of the Divines of *Wittemberg* is to be found in the *Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England*, in the Collection of Records, and Original Papers, among thoſe belonging to the Year 1530, he adds this Parentheſis *(forte per occaſionem)*. " Annus & " dies reſponſo huic non eſt adſcriptus, & Burne" tus illud inter acta anni 1530 *(forte per occaſionem)* " retulit. Lib. II. fol. 94 (11). - - - - - *This Opi*" *nion is without Date, and* Burnet *has related it* " (perhaps occaſionally) *among the Tranſactions of the* " *Year* 1530. *Book* II. *pag.* 94." The Biſhop of *Meaux* did not know, that the Decree of *Wittemberg* was of the Year 1536. He ſpeaks only of *Melanchthon*'s Opinion, as to That Year, and does not criticize Dr *Burnet*, for having placed the Anſwer of the Divines of *Wittemberg*, in the Year 1530 (12). Mr *Seckendorf* obſerves, that the Copy of That Anſwer, which he read in the Archives of *Weimar*, is

(1) *See* Seckendorf, Hiſtory of Lutheraniſm, lib. 3. pag. 110. *in the Addition.*

(2) Id. in Supplementis ad Indicem I. *n.* 10.

(3) *That which be prefixed to the* Relation of the Martyrdom of *Barnes, inſerted in the ſeventh Volume of his Works. See* Seckendorf, lib. 3. pag. 262.

(4) *It is the* 26*th of the* 1*ſt Book.*

(5) Luther apud Seckendorf, lib. 3. pag. 262.

(6) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Book, 3. pag. 689.

(7) Seckend. lib. 3. pag. 262.

(8) Id. ibid.

(9) Melanchthon, *Letter* 170, *of the* 4*th Book, dated the* 11*th of* March 1535.

(10) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. Book 2. pag. 220. ad Ann. 1530.

(11) Seckendorf. lib. 3. pag. 112.

(12) *See the* Hiſtory of the Variations, lib. 7. n. 58.

which muſt have been diſagreeable to that Prince, was in the Concluſion (*b*). The Conduct of *Barnes* pleaſed the King of *England* very well; for which reaſon he was employed to cultivate a Correſpondence with the Princes of *Germany*. *He was ſent ſeveral times to thoſe Courts*; *and, among other Negotiations, he was the firſt who was employed in the Treaty of Marriage with* Anne *of* Cleves [*D*]. He was a good *Lutheran*, and made no Secret of it in his Sermons; for, in the *Lent* Seaſon of the Year 1540, he confuted the Sermon, which Biſhop *Gardiner* had preached againſt the Doctrine of *Luther*. He took *Gardiner*'s own Text, and taught a quite contrary Doctrine to what that Prelate had eſtabliſhed concerning Juſtification: he even attacked that Biſhop perſonally, after an indecent manner, and jeſted on the Name of *Gardiner*. *Gardiner*'s Friends complained to the King about it, who ordered, that *Barnes* ſhould give him Satisfaction for it; that he ſhould ſign certain Articles, and make a Recantation in the Pulpit. All this was performed, but in ſuch a manner, that Complaints were made, that in one part of his Sermon he had the Subtilty to maintain what he had retracted in the other. Upon theſe Complaints the King ordered him to be ſent to the Tower, from whence he never returned but to ſuffer Death in the midſt of Flames [*E*]; for the Parliament condemned him as an Heretic, without giving him leave to make his Defence. A little before his Death, he declared his Belief, rejected Juſtification by Works, the Invocation of Saints, *&c.* and deſired that the King would go about a good Reformation (*c*). The freedom of his Tongue had brought him into many Troubles a long time before. In *Wolſey*'s Proſperity, he preached ſo ſtrongly at *Cambridge* againſt the Luxury of the Prelates, that every body might eaſily gueſs he deſigned it againſt That Cardinal. *This occaſioned his been ſent for to* London, *where he came off - - - - - by the Sollicitations of* Gardiner *and* Fox, by means of abjuring ſome Articles propoſed to him. "Afterwards he was impriſoned again on new Accuſations, and then every one "believed he would be burnt. But he made his Eſcape, and retired into *Ger-* "*many*,

(*b*) Seckendorf Hiſt. Lutheraniſmi, lib. 3. pag. 110. & ſeq.

(*c*) *Taken from the* Hiſtory of the Reformation of England, *wrote by* Dr Burnet, *Biſhop of* Saliſbury, lib. 3. pag. 689. & ſeq.

WHETHER the Divines of *Wittemberg* reaſoned conſiſtently.

is longer than That, which is to be found among Dr *Burnet*'s *Original Pieces*. Here is the Paſſage, which was ſuppreſſed by the Embaſſadors of *Henry* VIII. "Etſi "conſentiamus cum Dominis legatis ſervandam eſſe "legem de uxore fratris non ducenda, manſit tamen "inter nos controverſum quod legati ſtatuunt diſpenſationi locum non eſſe, nos vero putamus eſſe illi "locum. Neque enim ſtrictius obligare nos lex poteſt quam Judæos: ſi autem lex diſpenſationem "admiſit, vinculum matrimonii utique fortius eſt "quam lex illa altera de uxore fratris. —— *Although* "*we agree with their Excellencies the Embaſſadors,* "*that the Law, which prohibits the marrying a Brother's Wife, is to be obſerved, yet we differ in this,* "*that they hold this Law cannot be diſpenſed with,* "*and we think it may. For we cannot be under a* "*ſtricter Obligation to the Law, than the Jews* "*were; and, if the Law admits of a Diſpenſation,* "*the Tie of Matrimony is more binding than that* "*other Law concerning the Brother's Wife.*" Mr *Seckendorf* conjectures, that the Embaſſadors ſuppreſſed That Paſſage, that their Maſter might ſtill entertain Hopes, that the Divines of *Wittemberg* would at laſt approve his ſecond Marriage.

This Thought is very reaſonable: and, in general, thoſe Divines might very juſtly ſuppoſe, that there are Acts, which ought not to have been executed, and which yet, being once executed, ought to be maintained. But, I confeſs, I cannot well apprehend how the beginning and end of their Opinion can be reconciled. They own, on the one ſide, that the Ordinances of the Levitical Law are Divine, Natural, and Moral; that no Law can be made in Oppoſition to them; and, that the Church has always judged, that a Man's Marriage with his Brother's Widow is inceſtuous. "Hoc manifeſtum eſt, & negare "nemo poteſt, quod lex tradita Levit. xviii. 20. "prohibet ducere fratris uxorem, &c. ſed divina, "naturalis, & moralis lex eſt intelligenda tam de vivi "quam de mortui fratris uxore, & quod contra hanc "legem nulla contraria lex fieri aut conſtitui poſſit (13):" and, on the other ſide, they maintain, that This Levitical Law may be diſpenſed with: *Legati ſtatuunt diſpenſationi locum non eſſe, nos vero putamus eſſe illi locum.* If it may be diſpenſed with, *Henry* VIII ought to have believed, that he was lawfully married to *Catherine* of *Aragon*. But, if it is Indiſpenſable, Divine, Natural, and Moral, and ſuch, in a Word, as will admit of no contrary Authority; laſtly, if the Church has always adjudged, that a Marriage, not conformable to This Law, is inceſtuous, then *Henry* VIII ought to have looked upon his Cohabition with *Catherine* of *Aragon* as no other than Inceſt, and therefore immediately he ought to have abſtained from it, and the Divines of *Wittemberg* ought to have made no Doubt, whether they ſhould approve, or diſapprove, his Divorce. The Maxim, *That there are things, which ought not to have been done, which, when once they are done, ought not to be undone,* could have no place here, ſince the Queſtion was about the Continuation of an Inceſt. Thoſe, who love Scandal, and want an Opportunity to recriminate, would not eaſily agree with the Obſervation of Dr *Burnet*, "That if, in the Conduct "of the *Saxon* Divines, there does not appear the "Cunning, the Policy, and the Diſſimulation, of the "Court of *Rome*, yet there appears in it, at leaſt, "the Candour, the Sincerity, and good Conſcience, "of the Apoſtolic Times (14)." For my own Part, I had rather ſuppoſe, that they did not reaſon conſiſtently, than that they deſigned to have the Pleaſure of reflecting on the Pope's Diſpenſation, and at the ſame time the Policy of carrying it fair to *Charles* V, and the Intereſts of his Couſin the Princeſs *Mary*: but an Adverſary, who loves to give things a malicious Turn, might, by way of Repriſal, paſs a ſevere Judgment on the Conduct of thoſe Divines (15).

[*D*] *He was employed in the Treaty of the Marriage with* Anne *of* Cleves.] This was a Misfortune to *Barnes*; "Becauſe the King being not well pleaſed "with that Marriage, ſpared neither the Author nor "the Inſtruments of it." This is what the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* aſſures us (16). *Luther* has touched on another Circumſtance; he ſays, That the true Cauſe of the King's hatred for *Robert Barnes*, was the Liberty, wherewith that Doctor diſſuaded him from repudiating *Anne* of *Cleves* (17). Mr *Seckendorf* pretends, that Dr *Burnet* obſerves the ſame thing (18): I queſtion it much; for I have not met with it in his Reformation of *England*.

[*E*] *He was ſent to the Tower, from whence he never returned, but to ſuffer Death in the midſt of Flames.*] The Relation of his Martyrdom was ſent from *England* into *Germany*. Mr *Seckendorf* found it in the Archives of *Weimar*, tranſlated into the *German* Language (19). *Luther* publiſhed it (20), and added a Preface to it, wherein, among other things, he praiſes *Barnes*'s Modeſty. "He was not "ignorant, *ſays he*, of the Failings of *Henry* VIII, "nor did he diſſemble them among his Friends; "but every where elſe he ſpoke of that Prince in "very reſpectful and honourable terms (21)."

(13) Apud Seckendorf, pag. 112. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. *in* Collection of Records, Part i. l. 2. n. 35.

(14) Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformation, lib. 2. pag. 229.

(15) *See the Biſhop of* Meaux's Hiſt. of the Variat. l. 7. n. 57.

(16) Hiſtory of the Reformation, lib. 3. pag. 689. ad Ann. 1540.

(17) In Præfat. Relation. Martyrii Barneſ. apud Seckendorf. l. 3. p. 262. n. 25.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Ibid. n. 24

(20) *It is inſerted in Vol. VII. of his Works, Edit. of* Altorf, f. 422. id. ibid.

(21) Ibid. n. 25.

“ *many*, where he applied himſelf wholly” to the Study of the Bible, and of Divinity. He made ſo great a progreſs in it, that he became very conſiderable both among their Doctors, and Princes. When the King of *Denmark* ſent Embaſſadors into *England*, he ordered, that *Barnes* ſhould accompany them (*d*), or rather that he ſhould be one of them (*e*). The Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, whom I quote in the Margin, might eaſily be juſtified in a Point, for which he is criticized (*f*). There are at leaſt two Books publiſhed by *Barnes* [*F*].

(*d*) Id. ib. pag. 683.

(*e*) Fox *mentions this laſt Opinion, which ſeems doubtful to* Dr Burnet, ibid. p. 689.

(*f*) *See Remark* [*B*].

[*F*] *There are at leaſt two Books publiſhed by* Barnes.] The one contains the *Articles of his Belief*; the other is the *Hiſtory of the Popes*. The firſt was printed in *Latin* with a Preface of *Pomeranus*, at whoſe Houſe *Barnes* lodged at that time. It was printed in the *German* Language, at *Nuremberg*, in the Year 1531. It contains nineteen *Theſes* according to *Luther's* Principles, and ſeveral Proofs taken from the Scripture, and the Fathers. The other Book was printed at *Wittemberg* in the Year 1536, with a Preface of *Luther*: It contains the Lives of the Popes from St *Peter* to *Alexander* III, and is dedicated to the King of *England*: The Author wrote the Epiſtle Dedicatory the tenth of *September* 1535. He treats the Popes very ill; and promiſes to continue their Hiſtory down to his own Time (22). Mr *Seckendorf* is of opinion, that this Book deſerves a ſecond Edition (23), and has inſerted the Preface of it in his Indexes, becauſe, *ſays he*, it is very difficult to be met with, and may be reckoned for loſt. *Quia Liber ipſe rariſſimè invenitur, & pro deperdito haberi poteſt* (24). It is certain, however, that a new Edition of it was publiſhed at *Leyden* in the Year 1615, which contains alſo the Lives of the Popes, written by *John Bale*, and which is not yet very ſcarce.

(22) Ex Scholiis ſive Supplementis Seckendorfii ad Indicem I.

(23) Recudi meretur. *ib.*

(24) Id. in Indice III, ad Ann. 1536.

BARNES (JOHN), in *Latin Barneſius*, an *Engliſh Benedictin* Monk, was one of thoſe *Roman Catholics*, who, following the Examples of *Eraſmus*, *Caſſander*, *Wicelius*, *Modrevius*, Father *Paul*, and many others, made all their life-time Profeſſion of the Catholic Religion, though they obſerved a great many abuſes in it, which they heartily wiſhed to ſee reformed. He wrote a Book againſt *Mental Reſervations*, which was not at all pleaſing to the Jeſuits [*A*], though he dedicated it to Pope *Urban* VIII. His *Catholico-Romanus pacificus* is full of ſuch things as cannot be reliſhed by thoſe, who are called good Papiſts [*B*]. Doubtleſs he deſired to bring the two Churches as near one another as ever he could. The Court of *Rome* was very much diſpleaſed with him for it. This poor Man, of unexceptionable Morals (*a*), being at *Paris*, was apprehended [*C*], and ſtript of the Habit of his Order, to be carried into *Flanders* bound on Horſeback. He was afterwards ſent to *Rome*, where he remained in the Priſon of the Inquiſition, till he was removed into That of Lunatics (*b*). In this latter Station he ended his Days, being moſt certainly worthy of a better fate. He was a profeſſed Monk of the Convent of the *Benedictins* of *Douay*, and had been Superior there (*c*); but, being not able to agree with the Monks of his Order, he retired into *France*, and did not obey the Summons of the *Benedictins*, requiring

(*a*) *See Remark* [*B*].

(*b*) *See the* French Mercury, *Vol. XIV. pag.* 336.

(*c*) Ibid. *Vol. XII. pag.* 752.

[*A*] *He wrote a Book againſt* Mental Reſervations, *which was not at all pleaſing to the Jeſuits.*] It was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1625, under the Title of *Diſſertatio contra Æquivocationes*: it was printed in *French* the ſame Year, and in the ſame place, under the Title of, *Traité & Diſpute contre les Equivoques*. The Approbation of the Faculty of Divinity ſays, that *John Barnes* was *Doctor of Arts, of Sacred Theology, and Profeſſor of the* Engliſh *Miſſion, and firſt Aſſiſtant for the Congregation of* Spain, and is dated the thirteenth of *July* 1624. The Author's Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated from *Paris* the thirteenth of *January* 1625. So that Father *Theophilus Raynaud* is miſtaken, when he ſays, that *Barnes* was carried to *Rome*, and impriſoned under the Pontificate of *Paul* V. I ſhall relate his own Words; for they inform us of ſomething concerning This poor *Benedictin*. “ Joannes Barneſius Jeſuitis admodum infen-
“ ſus, ob nonnullas ſuſpiciones de compertâ illis vitâ
“ ſuâ, eo loco fuit apud Paulum V, ut eum tan-
“ quam novæ fidei fabrum per Albertum Auſtriacum
“ è Gallia abductum, & è Belgio Romam avectum
“ judicaverit carcere dignum; donec emoto cerebro
“ inter fatuos pone S. Pauli minoris ædem ſacram
“ fatuari deſiit cum aliorum periculo (1). —— John
“ Barnes, *a great Enemy to the Jeſuits, from ſome*
“ *Suſpicions he had of their having diſcovered his*
“ *Manner of Life, was ſeized in* France *as a Heretic,*
“ *by* Albert *of* Auſtria, *and carried through* Flanders
“ *to* Rome, *where he was condemned by* Paul V, *to*
“ *be impriſoned; till, becoming diſtracted, he was re-*
“ *moved to the Hoſpital of* Lunatics *behind the Church*
“ *of St* Paul *the* Minor, *where he ceaſed to do miſ-*
“ *chief by his Madneſs.*” This Paſſage was quoted by *Edward Brown*, in the Eight hundred twenty ſixth Page of his *Appendix* to the *Faſciculus rerum expetendarum*, printed at *London* 1690. See the following Remark. We read in the *French Mercury* (2), That this honeſt Benedictin *believed, that the Jeſuits hated him mortally, after the Printing of his Book of Equivocations; that Doctor* Gamaches *(who was accounted one of the moſt able Divines of his Time) refuſed to give his Approbation of it, when requeſted of him*; and that he wrote that Book whilſt he was Confeſſor in the Convent of *Chelles* (3).

(1) Theophil. Rayn. in Theologia antiqua de veri Martyrii adæquate ſumpti notione. *This Book was printed at* Lyons *in* 1656, *under the Name of* Leodegarius Quintinus. *The Paſſage which I quote out of it, is pag.* 174 *of his* Apopompæus.

(2) *In Vol. XII, p.* 752.

(3) Mercure Franç. Tom. XII, p. 751.

[*B*] *His* Catholico-Romanus pacificus *is full of ſuch Things as no good Papiſt can reliſh.*] It was printed at *London* in 1690, in the *Appendix* of the *Faſciculus rerum expetendarum*. The Author of the *Appendix* informs us, that he had ſeen three *Manuſcripts* of This Work of *Barnes*; and he quotes theſe words of *John Baſier*, Profeſſor of Divinity. “ Bo-
“ nus *ille* Irenæus (4) tametſi vitæ inculpatæ & famæ
“ integræ fuit, mediâ Lutetiâ correptus, ſuo habitu
“ exutus, & quadrupedis inſtar barbarum in modum
“ alligatus ad equum, & ita vehementiſſimè avectus
“ primo in Flandriam, deinde Romam, ibi in In-
“ quiſitionis barathrum, deinde in maniacorum erga-
“ ſtulum erat detruſus (5). —— This *good* Irenæus,
“ *though of an unblameable Life, and unſpotted Re-*
“ *putation, was arreſted in the middle of* Paris, *ſtript*
“ *of his Habit, and tied upon a Horſe, more like a*
“ *Beaſt than a Man, in a very barbarous Manner,*
“ *and ſo carried away by violence, firſt into* Flan-
“ ders, *and then to* Rome, *where he was thrown*
“ *into the Dungeon of the Inquiſition, and afterwards*
“ *into the Receptacle of Lunatics.*”

(4) *That is, the Benedictin* Barnes.

(5) Brown, in Append. Faſciculi Rerum expetend. *He quotes* John Baſier, Diatriba de antiquæ Eccleſiæ Britannicæ libertate, *Brugis impreſſ.* 1556.

[*C*] *He was apprehended at* Paris.] They would have ſent him away the ſame Day he was taken, if the Captain of the Watch had been as impatient, as the Father Procurator of the *Benedictins* of *Douay* was. But this impatient Perſon was forced to acquieſce till next Day, and then Father *Barnes* was carried in a Coach to *Vilette*, where two *Benedictins* waited to go along with him, and with the Guards, who were ordered to carry him to *Cambray*. He was bound on a Horſe, and delivered to the Governour of *Cambray*, who ſent him to the Caſtle of *Waerden* (6). Father *Theophilus Raynaud* was in the wrong to ſpeak of Orders from *Albert* of *Auſtria*; for

(6) French Mercury, *Vol. XII. pag.* 753.

quiring him to return to *Douay*, or to retire into ſome other of their Monaſteries. He lodged at *Paris* near the College of *Navarre*, afterwards in the College of *Burgundy*, and laſtly in the Houſe of the Prince of *Portugal*, where the Captain of the Watch arreſted him the fifth of *December* 1626. He was writing an Anſwer to the Book intituled, *Apoſtolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, wherein he would have inſerted his particular Opinions about the Diſcipline of the Church (*d*). Father *Theophilus Raynaud*, concealing himſelf under a fictitious name, wrote againſt his Treatiſe of Equivocations [*D*].

(*d*) Ibid.

Perhaps it will be entertaining to the Reader, to find here the reaſon, why *Barnes* was an Enemy to the Jeſuits [*E*]: I mean the reaſon, which they have publiſhed.

for That Archduke was dead a long time before *Barnes* was apprehended. I have quoted This Jeſuit's Words in the firſt Remark.

[*D*] *Father* Theophilus Raynaud, *concealing himſelf under a falſe Name, wrote againſt his* Treatiſe of Equivocations.] I ſpeak of the Book entitled, *Splendor veritatis moralis, ſeu de licito uſu Æquivocationis, pro Leonardo Leſſio, adverſus Joannem Barneſium Anglum Monachum.* It was printed at *Lyons*, in 1627, in 8vo: The Author takes the Name of *Stephanus Emonerius.* I have a ſtronger proof of it, than That, which *Placcius* formed out of two Paſſages of Father *Alegambus* (7), in one of which it is ſaid, that *Theophilus Raynaud* compoſed, *ſub nomine alieno*, the Treatiſe, of which I have juſt now given the Title (8); and in the other, that he concealed himſelf under the Name of *S. Emonerius* (9). This is my Proof. Father *Abram* ſays, in his Treatiſe *de Mendacio* (10), that *Theophilus Raynaud* acknowledged the Book of *Emonerius*, entituled *Splendor veritatis moralis*, for one of his Works, and that he may eaſily be diſcovered in it. *Miror te hunc pro Theophili partu agnoſcere,* —— *I wonder you ſhould take this for one of* Theophilus's *Productions:* thus ſays one of Father *Abram*'s Interlocutors; the other anſwers; “ Quid ni vero agnoſcam cùm illum in ſuis “ Moralibus ſuum eſſe fateatur (11)? Quem ſi abdi- “ caret, nullo tamen negotio patrem vel ex ipſa “ filii facie cæteriſque corporis lineamentis agnoſcere “ poſſemus,

Sic oculos, ſic ille manus, ſic ora ferebat.

“ *Why not, when he owns it himſelf in his Moral* “ *Works? And if he ſhould diſown it, it were eaſy* “ *to find him out to be the Father, from the Reſem-* “ *blance it bears to him in every part of it,*

The Eye, the Hand, the Face exactly like.

Here is a Paſſage of *Theophilus Raynaud*, which ſhews, that he acknowledged the Confutation of *Barnes* to be his Work, and that this *Benedictine* was yet living in the Year 1650. “ Dixi ego ſane in præfatione “ operis de Æquivocatione, adverſus Caëtani ger- “ manum, bipedum omnium effrontiſſimum, Joan- “ nem Barneſium Anglum, qui vicenario carcere, in “ quem curante ſummo Pontifice recluſus eſt, nec- “ dum deterſit multiplicis adverſus Deum, & Reli- “ gionem Catholicum, ac S. Benedicti familiam, “ malignitatis rubiginem - - - - Societatem Jeſu, &c. “ (12). —— *I have ſaid, in my Preface to that* “ *Work* on Equivocation, *againſt* Caëtan's *own Bro-* “ *ther, the moſt hardened Wretch living, who, by* “ *twenty Years Impriſonment under the Juriſdiction* “ *of his Holineſs, has not worn off the leaſt Particle* “ *of the Canker of his abundant Virulency againſt* “ God, *the* Catholic *Church, and the Family of St* “ Benedict - - - - - *that the* Jeſuits, *&c.*”

[*E*] *This is the Reaſon, why he was an Enemy to the Jeſuits.*] On his Return from *Spain* into the *Netherlands*, he aſſiſted at one of their public Diſputations, wherein the Reſpondent propoſed his *Quodlibetal* Theſis thus: *An Joannes, in Hiſpania infamis, poſſit hic in Belgio abſque peccato infamari.* That is to ſay, *Can* John, *being infamous in* Spain, *be innocently defamed in the* Netherlands? Such Caſes of Conſcience have been examined by *Soto, Molina*, and ſeveral other Writers; but in a general manner, though with the Addition of ſome particular Circumſtances. Thoſe Generalities were not kept to in the Diſputation, at which *John Barnes* aſſiſted; for the Queſtion was reduced to ſuch preciſe Terms, by denoting in a particular Manner the time, and place, that he believed they meant him perſonally, and he would never be perſuaded to the contrary, though they made very humble Proteſtations to him, that they had no ſuch deſign. He reſolved to revenge himſelf, and make choice of the Subject of Equivocations. *Theophilus Raynaud* relates this, when he mentions the Anſwer, which he wrote againſt that Book of *Barnes.* “ Ad ſingularia locorum ac tem- “ porum adjuncta, illis in oris perfamiliaria, difficultas “ reſtricta eſt. - - - - Clara locorum deſignatione peti- “ tum ſe ratus Barneſius, bellum indixit inconcilia- “ bile Societatis Jeſu Doctoribus; nec ſe ullis un- “ quam vel conteſtationibus, vel mollibus ac propè “ ſupplicibus verbis, flecti paſſus eſt, ut nihil minus “ quam de eo notando cogitatum eſſe, in eo Theſium “ programmate ac proloquio, perſuaderetur (13). “ —— *The Difficulty was urged with particular Cir-* “ *cumſtances of Time or Place, according to the Cu-* “ *ſtom of their Diſputations.* —— Barnes, *thinking* “ *himſelf pointed at by the Place, which was named,* “ *declared perpetual War againſt the* Jeſuit *Doctors;* “ *nor could he ever be prevailed upon by any Eviden-* “ *ces, or the moſt candid and even humble Declara-* “ *tions, to believe, that there was not the leaſt Thought* “ *of aiming at him in the Diſcuſſion of that Theſis.*” He does not forget to ſay, that *Barnes* was condemned to perpetual Impriſonment; and that, having loſt his Senſes, he was removed to the Hoſpital of Lunatics; “ Barneſium, ob perículoſas novitates, —— “ carceri eſſe mancipatum, poſtea autem emota “ mente, in fatuorum ergaſtulo Tranſtiberino, (vulgo “ *gli Pazzarelli*) concluſus eſt; ubi anno 1643. “ erat ſuperſtes (14). —— Barnes, *for his pernicious* “ *Innovations,* —— *was thrown into Priſon, and* “ *afterwards, running diſtracted, was removed to the* “ *Madhouſe on the other ſide the* Tyber, *(commonly* “ *called* gli Pazzarelli*), where he was living in the* “ *Year* 1643.”

(7) Placcius de Pſeudonymis, pag. 189.

(8) Alegam. Biblioth. Soc. Jeſ. p. 432.

(9) Id. pag. 452.

(10) *Printed with his* Pharus Vet. Teſtamenti, *at* Paris *in* 1648, *folio.*

(11) *He does the ſame thing in his* Syntagma de Libris propriis. *See the following Remark.*

(12) Theop. Raynaud. Hoploth. §. 2. ſerm. 2. c. 12 p 256. *Edit. Lugd.* 1650.

(13) Theophil. Rayn. in Syntagm. de libris propriis, p. 22, col. 2. Apopompæi.

(14) Id. ib. pag. 23, col. 1.

BARON (PETER), Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Cambridge* in the XVIth Century, was a Frenchman born (*a*). He excited ſome troubles in that Univerſity, by certain Doctrines, which he delivered there, in the Year 1590. It was pretended, that his Opinions came very near thoſe of the *Pelagians. Whitaker, Tindal, Chadderton, Perkins, &c.* oppoſed them in their Sermons, Lectures, and Books; but, at firſt, they ſpared their Adverſary's Name, becauſe of his great Age. Perceiving afterwards, that he continued to dogmatize, and that he maintained an heterodox Hypotheſis in his *Summa trium de Prædeſtinatione Sententiarum*; *Whitaker* formally declared himſelf his Antagoniſt, and refuted his *Summa.* The Matter was brought before Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.* A Convocation of Prelates, and Doctors of Divinity, met at *Lambeth*: *Whitaker* was ſummoned to appear there, who maintained the common Opinion with ſo much Strength, that it became glorioulſy triumphant. That of *Baron* was condemned, and nine Articles (*b*) were drawn up, the twentieth of *November* 1595, which

(*a*) He gave himſelf the Sirname of *Stempanus*, which, I believe, is as much as to ſay *d'Etampes.*

(*b*) A loco, Lambethani dicti ſunt. *Alting. Theolog. Hiſt. p.* 305, 306.

which were received in the Univerſity by Public Authority. *Baron* was diſmiſſed, and returned into *France*: which reſtored Peace to that Univerſity (*c*). Some think, that he was uſed too ſeverely [*A*]. We ſhall ſee the Titles of ſome Works of this Profeſſor [*B*].

(*c*) Alting. ibid.

[*A*] *Some think, that he was uſed too ſeverely.*] The Extracts of a Book of *Thomas Fuller*, which Mr *Des Maizeaux* has been ſo kind as to ſend me, ſhall be my Commentary on this place. That Book is an Hiſtory of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and is to be met with at the end of *The Church Hiſtory of* Great Britain, *from the Birth of* Chriſt *till the Year* 1648.

" A Conteſt happened between Mr *Chadderton*, (afterwards Maſter of *Emanuel* College,) and Dr *Baro*, *Margaret* Profeſſor (1), about ſome heterodox Opinions, vented by the ſame *Baro*, both in his Readings and Print, (*viz.* in his Commentary on *Jonah*, and Book *de Fide)*.

" Whereupon the Doctor procured Mr *Chadderton* to be called into the Conſiſtory, in the Preſence of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr *Hauford*, Dr *Harvey*, and Dr *Legge*, where he utterly denied, that he had ever preached againſt the Doctor, but he propounded theſe Queſtions as erroneous and falſe.

1. *Primus Dei amor non eſt in natura fidei Juſtificantis.* —— The principal Love of God is not in the Nature of juſtifying Faith.

2. *Fides Juſtificans non præcipitur in Decalogo.*—— Juſtifying Faith is not commanded in the *Decalogue*.

" Many Papers, in *Latin*, paſſed between them, and at laſt they were conceived to come nearer together.

" The end of *Peter Baro*'s triennial Lectures began to draw near: now, although Cuſtom had made ſuch Courteſy almoſt a Due, to continue the ſame Profeſſor, where no urgent Reaſons to the contrary were alledged, yet the Univerſity intended not to re-elect him for the Place, meaning fairly to cut him off juſt at the Time, (which would be the leſs Pain and Shame unto him,) when his Years ſhould be expired (2). He himſelf was ſenſible of it, and, beſides, he ſaw the Articles of *Lambeth*, lately ſent to the Univerſity, and foreſaw, that Subſcription thereto would be expected from, *yea* impoſed on, him, to which he could not condeſcend, therefore reſolved to quit his Place. So that this his Departure was not his free Act, out of voluntary Election, but That whereunto his Will was neceſſarily determined; witneſs his own reply to a Friend, requiring of him the Cauſe of his withdrawing: *Fugio*, ſaith he, *ne Fugarer.* —— *I fly for fear I ſhould be driven away.*

" Some conceive this to be hard Meaſure, which was uſed to one of Dr *Baro*'s Qualifications: for, I. He was a Foreigner, a *Frenchman*, *Turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur hoſpes.* II. A great Scholar; for he that denieth Learning in *Baro*, (ſo witneſſed in his Works,) plainly affirmeth no Scholarſhip in himſelf. III. An inoffenſive Man for Life and Converſation; ſeeing nothing of Viciouſneſs could be charged upon him, which otherwiſe, in his Conteſt with Mr *Chadderton*, had been urged againſt him. Laſtly, an aged Men, coming hither many Years ſince, (when the Profeſſor's Place as much needed him as he it,) and who had painfully ſpent his Strength in the Employment. Others alledged, that, in ſuch Caſes of Conſcience, there is no Plea for Courteſy, and that *Baro*, as he was a Stranger, had brought in Doctrines to the infecting the Univerſity, the Fountain of Learning and Religion, and therefore Archbiſhop *Whitegiſt* deſigned the removing him from his Place (3).

This is, Sir, (they are Mr *Des Maizeaux*'s Words) *what* Fuller *ſays*; *and I chuſe to tranſlate him literally, though not ſo well, rather than run the hazard of deviating from his Senſe.* He takes notice, that all the *Engliſh* wrote *Baro* conſtantly, or *Baroe*, and that, in Original Writings, the Doctor ſigned *Baro*; from whence it might be concluded, that I ſhould have called him *Baro*, and not *Baron*, unleſs it be ſaid, that he latinized his Name, when he ſigned *Baro*, and that the *Engliſh* called him according to the *Latin* Termination. That which is certain, is, that the Name of *Baron* is much more uſed in *France*, than that of *Baro*, which is not altogether unknown neither, witneſs the Continuator of *Aſtrea* (4).

[*B*] *Here are the Titles of ſome of* Baron'*s Works.*] *Prælectiones* 39, in *Jonam*, printed at *London*, in 1579. *Summa trium Sententiarum de Prædeſtinatione. De Præſtantia & Dignitate divinæ Legis.*

(1) Margaret *Counteſs of* Richmond, *Mother of* Henry VII, *built ſome Colleges at* Cambridge, *and founded two* Profeſſorſhips *of Divinity, one at* Oxford, *and another at* Cambridge. *Thoſe who enjoy theſe Profeſſorſhips, and the Salary annexed to them, are called* Margaret Profeſſors. John Tiſter, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *was the firſt who enjoyed that at* Cambridge: Eraſmus *was the ſecond, and* Baro *the fourteenth.* This Marginal Note is Mr *Des Maizeaux*'s.

(2) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, ad Ann. 1596.

(3) Id. ibid. p. 145, & ſeq. *Edit. of Lond.* 1655.

(4) *See the* Hiſtory of the *French* Academy, pag. 321.

BARON (Vincent), in Latin *Baronius*, a Monk of the Order of St *Dominic*, was much eſteemed in the XVIIth Century, for ſeveral Books, which he publiſhed. He had the Famous *Theophilus Raynaud* for his Antagoniſt, and I do not know whether the Deſire of encountring ſo famous a Champion, might not make him take, for that Jeſuit's Work, what was really not ſo. He ſometimes has acknowledged himſelf miſtaken in his Conjectures on that Head. The Works of Father *Baron*, which are come to my knowledge, are, a Book, *on Juſtification, againſt the Doctrine of the Calviniſts*; *a Moral Theology*, divided into three Parts [*A*], and an *Apology for his Order* [*B*]. In his Moral Theology, he has treated on the principal Matters in diſpute between the *Dominicans* and the Jeſuits. He was a famous Preacher. Here

[*A*] *He compoſed a Moral Theology, divided into three Parts.*] The firſt is deſigned againſt the Doctrine of Probability, *adverſus Laxiores Probabiliſtas* (1). He therein confutes *Caramuel*, who had wrote four Letters againſt the Diſſertation, which *Fagnano*, Dean of the Prelates of *Rome*, had inſerted in his Commentaries on the Canon-Law. *Fagnano* maintains ſtrongly, that an Opinion, which is thought leſs probable, ought never to be preferred before that, which is thought more probable. *Caramuel* confuted him, and was confuted by our *Vincent Baron*. Father *Theophilus Raynaud* was refuted by the ſame Work, in relation to an Opinion of *Suarez*, condemned by *Clement* VIII. *Suarez* had maintained, that Confeſſion might be made by Letters: Father *Theophilus* contrived ſome Expedients to defend his Brother againſt the Pope's Cenſure, and Father *Baron* wrote againſt thoſe Expedients. He, at the ſame time, fell upon the *Janſeniſts*, ſince he maintained, againſt *Wendrokius*, " That ſometimes, though very rarely, there happen Caſes, wherein there may be an invincible Ignorance, as well of the Law of Nature, as of a poſitive Law (2)." In the ſecond Part, he attacks *Amadæus Guimenius*, and is not ſatiſfied with maintaining, that the looſe Opinions, which are imputed to the *Dominicans*, are not their true Sentiments; he ſhews alſo, what Judgment ought to be paſſed on thoſe Opinions. He acknowledges, in his Preface, the wrong Notion he had entertained in compoſing his Work: He thought, that *Amadæus Guimenius* was but a fictitious Name, which Father *Theophilus* had given himſelf (3). In the third Part he treats of Liberty, and of the *Media Scientia*; and he maintains, that the Fore-knowledge of God has no other Foundation, than his Decrees; and that this Fore-knowledge is ſo far from deſtroying Man's Liberty, that, on the contrary, it eſtabliſhes it (4). This muſt not be taken for a Paradox; for whoſoever ſhould ſay otherwiſe, would not follow the Definition of Liberty, which ought to be given in the Syſtem of Phyſical Predetermination: It is by virtue of the different Ideas of Liberty, that the Diſpute may be ſpun out, and the Reader ſo deluded, as not to be able to judge of the ill Succeſs of his Cauſe.

[*B*] —— *and an* Apology for his Order.] It is a *Latin* Work, like the foregoing: It is an Anſwer to the

(1) Journal des Sçavans, *March* 8, 1666. *pag.* 194.

(2) Ibid. pag. 198.

(3) Ibid. Apr. 12. 1666, p. 36.

(4) Ibid. June 21, 1666, pag. 257.

Here is a Memoir, which came into my hands ſince the firſt Edition of this Work (a). " Father *Vincent Baron* was born at *Martres*, in the Dioceſs of *Rieux* in *Gaſcony*. He entred into the Order of *Dominican Friars* at *Toulouſe* in the Year 1622. He taught Divinity for ſeveral Years, with applauſe, in the Convent of the ſame City, and was Prior there, as he was likewiſe at *Avignon*, and in the General Novitiate of the Suburb of *St Germain* at *Paris*. He was Definitor for his Province, in the General Chapter held in the Year 1656. Where he preſided at the *Theſes* dedicated to Pope *Alexander* VII, which gained him the eſteem of all the City, and of the whole Order. He was in the Aſſembly, when the Pope ſent to tell the Definitors, and the Fathers of the Chapter, that he was under the greateſt Concern to ſee ſo deplorable a looſneſs in Chriſtian Morality, which had been introduced into it by certain new Caſuiſts, exhorting them to compoſe another Syſtem, agreeable to the Doctrine of St *Thomas*. This engaged Father *Baron* to undertake thoſe Pieces he compoſed on that Subject. He was again elected Provincial, and afterwards the Father General ſent him Commiſſary into *Portugal*, on Affairs of Importance, wherein he was ſo ſucceſsful, that the Queen, the Court, and all the Monks, gave teſtimony of his Merit by a public Act. He returned to *Paris* to the General *Novitiate*, and died there the Twenty firſt of *January* 1674, being ſeventy Years old. Beſides ſeveral *Latin Poems*, which he left as a ſample of his capacity in Literature, he publiſhed the Books, which I ſhall mention below [*C*]." You will find a very honourable Paſſage concerning him in the Hiſtorical Apology for the Cenſures of *Louvain* and *Douay* (*b*). The Congregation of the *Index* was not favourable to him [*D*].

the cruel Invective of Father *Theophilus Raynaud*, entituled, *De immunitate Cyriacorum à Cenſuris*, and to him, who pretended to ſhew, that it is well if the tenth Part of all the Works, which are aſcribed to *Thomas Aquinas*, be really his. Father *Baron* enters the Liſt alſo, with Mr *de Launoi*, who maintained, that many Paſſages of the Fathers, cited in a Treatiſe of *Thomas Aquinas*, againſt the *Greeks*, are forged. This *Dominican* was not contented to write an Apology for his Order, he made alſo their Panegyric (5).

[*C*] *He publiſhed the Books, which I ſhall mention below.*] What I am going to tranſcribe is contained Word for Word in the Memoir, from which I have taken the Addition to this Article. *Theologia Moralis*, Paris, 1665, two Volumes in 8vo. *Primus Tomus ejuſdem correctus, Editio ſecunda* 1667, in 8vo. *Libri Apologetici contra Theophilum Rainaudum*, Paris, 1666, two Volumes in 8vo. *Mens ſancti Auguſtini & Thomæ de Gratia & Libertate*, 1666, in 8vo. *Ethica Chriſtiana*, Paris, 1666, two Volumes in 8vo. *Reſponſio ad Librum Cardenæ*, Paris, in 8vo. *Hereſy Convicted*, Paris, 1668, in 12mo. *Panegyrics on the Saints*, Paris, 1660, in 4to. The Book entituled *Ethices Chriſtianæ ſeptemdecim loci*, compoſed againſt one *Matthew Moya*, who had taken the Name of *Amadæus*, was cenſured at *Rome*, by the Intrigues of Cardinal *Nitard*, who was offended at it; and *Capiſucchi*, the Maſter of the ſacred Palace, who had approved of it, was turned out, and Father *Hyacinthus Libelli*, ſince Archbiſhop of *Avignon*, was put in his Room. *Capiſucchi* was afterwards re-inſtated, and, ſince that, made a Cardinal. I do not find, in this Liſt of the Works of Father *Baron*, the *Exercitatio*, which Mr *de Launoi* refutes with ſurprizing Sharpneſs, in one of his Letters, the fourteenth of his fifth Part. See the Remark [*P*], of the Article of (JOHN *de*) LAUNOI, at the beginning.

Two or three Months after I had received this Memoir, the following Account was ſent me. " Apologia pro ſacra congregatione Indicis ejuſque Secretario & Dominicanis, contra Petri à Valle clauſa Libellum famoſum inſcriptum, *de Immunitate Authorum Cyriacorum à Cenſura*; Romæ, typis —— M.DC.LXII, in 4°. Advertat lector præter innumera errata ex prælo paſſim ſenſum & ſtylum auctorum mutantia, addita nonnulla neceſſaria ſermone ſimplici, & multa adjecta convitia: has autem labes tollet ſecunda editio. —— *An Apology for the ſacred Congregation of the Index, and their Secretary, and for the* Dominicans, *againſt a Libel of* Petrus à Valle Clauſa, *under the Title of* The Exemption of Eccleſiaſtical Authors from Cenſure. *Printed at* Rome, 1662, *in* 4to. *The Reader is to take notice, that beſides innumerable Errors of the Preſs, which every where diſturb the Senſe and Stile of the Author, there are ſome material Things added in plain Language, and much Scandal: but theſe Imperfections will be corrected in a ſecond Edition.* This ſecond Edition was publiſhed at *Paris*, by *Simon Piget*, in the Year 1666, in two Volumes, divided into five Books. The firſt printed at *Rome*, at the Inſtance of Cardinal *Capiſucchi*, then Maſter of the ſacred Palace, who approved it, occaſioned the removing of the ſame *Capiſucchi* from his Office, by *Alexander* VII, a great Friend to the Jeſuits. It was alſo put into the *Index*, the Twenty eighth of *February*, 1664."

[*D*] *The Congregation of the* Index *was not favourable to him.*] Here is an Extract of their Decree, of the Twenty ſeventh of *September*, 1672. *Duo primi Tomi operum Fr. Vincentii Baronii, inſcripti* Theologiæ moralis Summa bipartita, *probibentur: tertius vero præfati auctoris ſuſpenditur donec corrigatur: ultimi autem duo Tomi ejuſdem Auctoris, ſcilicet quartus & quintus, quinque libros apologeticos continentes, pariter probibentur* (6). See the End of the preceeding Remark.

BARONI (LEONORA), an *Italian* Lady, one of the beſt Singers in the World, flouriſhed in the XVIIth Century. She was Daughter of the Fair *Adriana* of *Mantua*, and was ſo admired, that a great many fine Wits made Verſes in her Praiſe. There is a Volume of excellent Pieces, in *Latin*, *Greek*, *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniſh*, printed at *Rome*, under the Title of *Applauſi poëtici alle glorie della Signiora Leonora Baroni* [*A*]. Thoſe, who deſire to know the particular Perfections

[*A*] *There is a Volume of Pieces, in her praiſe, under the Title of* Applauſi poëtici alle glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni.] *Nicius Erythræus* ſpoke of this Work, when he ſaid, " Legi ego, in Theatro Eleonoræ Baronæ, cantricis eximiæ, in quo omnes hic Romæ, quotquot ingenio & poëticæ facultatis laude præſtant, carminibus, tum Etruſce tum Latinè ſcriptis, ſingulari ac prope divino mulieris illius canendi artificio tanquam fauſtos quoſdam clamores & plauſus edunt; legi, inquam, unum Lælii (Guidiccionis) Epigramma, ita purum, ita elegans, &c. (1). —— *I have read, in the* Theatre *of* Leonora Baroni, *the celebrated Singer, wherein all the Wits and Poets, here at* Rome, *have, in* Italian *and*

(*a*) *By the means of Mr* Pinſſon des Riolles.

(*b*) *Publiſhed in* 1688, *by Mr* Gery, *Bachelor of Divinity: this Paſſage is at p.* 243.

(5) Journal des Sçavans, March 7. 1667. p. 92.

(6) *See Father* Papebroch, Reſponſ. ad exhibit. Errorum, p. 287.

(1) Nic. Erythr. Pinacoth. II, pag. 129.

Perfections of her ſinging, may read the Account given by a good Judge, who had heard her ſing [*B*]. It is from him I have borrowed this Account.

" *and* Latin *Verſes, complimented and applauded her* " *divine Skill in ſinging; I have read, I ſay, one* " *Epigram of* Lælius Guidiccio, *ſo beautiful and ele-* " *gant, &c.*"

[*B*] *They may read the Account given by a good Judge, who had heard her ſing.*] " She is endowed " with fine Parts; ſhe has a very good Judgment to " diſtinguiſh good from bad Muſic; ſhe underſtands " it perfectly well, and even compoſes; which makes " her abſolutely Miſtreſs of what ſhe ſings, and gives " her the moſt exact Pronounciation and Expreſſion " of the Senſe of her Words. She does not pretend " to Beauty, neither is ſhe diſagreeable, nor a Co- " quet. —— She ſings with a bold and generous " Modeſty, and an agreeable Gravity. Her Voice " reaches a large Compaſs of Notes, and is exact, " loud, and harmonious; ſhe ſoftens and raiſes it " without ſtraining, or making grimaces. Her Rap- " tures and Sighs are not laſcivious; her Looks have " nothing impudent, nor does ſhe tranſgreſs a Vir- " gin Modeſty in her Geſtures. In paſſing from one " Key to another, ſhe ſhews ſometimes the Diviſions " of the enharmonic and chromatic Kind, with ſo " much Art and Sweetneſs, that every body is ra- " viſhed with that fine and difficult Method of ſing- " ing. She has no need of any Perſon to aſſiſt her " with a *Theorbo*, or a Viol, one of which is neceſ- " ſary to make her ſinging complete; for ſhe plays " perfectly well herſelf on both thoſe Inſtruments. " In ſhort, I have had the good Fortune to hear her " ſing ſeveral times, above thirty different Airs, with " ſecond and third Stanzas, compoſed by herſelf. " I muſt not forget to tell you, that, one Day, ſhe " did me the particular Favour, to ſing with her Mo- " ther and her Siſter: Her Mother played upon the " Lyre, her Siſter upon the Harp, and herſelf upon " the *Theorbo*. This Conſort, compoſed of three " fine Voices, and of three different Inſtruments, ſo " powerfully tranſported my Senſes, and threw me " into ſuch Raptures, that I forgot my Mortality, and " thought myſelf already among the Angels, enjoy- " ing the Felicity of the Bleſſed."

I have taken this from a Diſcourſe on *Italian* Muſic, printed with the Life of *Malherbe*, and ſome other Treatiſes at *Paris*, in 1672, in 12mo, at the end of which are theſe Words: *This Diſcourſe was compoſed by Mr* Maugars, *Prior of St* Peter de Mac, *the King's Interpreter of the* Engliſh *Language, and, beſides, ſo famous a Performer on the Viol, that the King of* Spain, *and ſeveral other ſovereign Princes of* Europe, *have wiſhed to hear him.*

BARONIUS (Dominic), a *Florentine* Prieſt and Preacher in the XVIth Century, wrote vigorouſly againſt the Church of *Rome*, and concurred with the *Vaudois* in *Piedmont* to maintain Orthodoxy; but, at laſt, he was eſteemed a falſe Brother, becauſe he maintained, that, in time of Perſecution, it was not neceſſary to make outward Profeſſion of the Truth [*A*]. *Celſus Martinengue*, Miniſter of the *Italian* Church of *Geneva*, wrote againſt him on that Subject, and Replies were made on both ſides. Theſe Books are become very ſcarce, I know not for what reaſon. Our *Baronius* compoſed a Maſs according to his own Fancy, which he thought likely to reconcile the Differences betwixt the two Religions; but he found himſelf diſappointed; for the Proteſtants rejected his Project (*a*).

(*a*) *Taken from the* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Vaudois, *compoſed by* Peter Giles, *chap.* 10, *pag.* 62, & ſeq. *Geneva* 1644.

[*A*] *He maintained, that, in Time of Perſecution, it was not neceſſary to make outward Profeſſion of the Truth.*] He did not therefore deſerve the Name of *Antinicodemite*, which *Peter Giles* gave him; but rather That of *Nicodemite*. Let us ſee in what manner That Hiſtorian ſpeaks of him. " *Dominic Baronius, ſays he* (1), was a *Florentine*, a Popiſh Prieſt, " and a Preacher of Repute, and who, in leſs dan- " gerous Times, had ſhewn ſome Zeal for the true " Religion, almoſt wholly embracing it, and con- " demning almoſt all the Papal ſuperſtitious Conſti- " tutions, except only ſome few Particulars, which " though he retained, yet he treated them ſo am- " biguouſly, that it could hardly be known what " was his Opinion of them, as appears in ſeveral " *Italian* and *Latin* Treatiſes compoſed by him, and " particularly in That of human Conſtitutions, where- " in he ſhews what may be admitted, and what " ought to be rejected. In that Book, among " ſeveral great Errors, which he condemns in the " Popiſh Church, he ſays of the Maſs ——." I do not ſet down the Paſſage, which *Peter Giles* alledges; but here is what follows that Quotation: " He wrote, in the ſame Stile, concerning the other " Popiſh Superſtitions: But, for all this, he endea- " voured to perſuade, that, in very dangerous Times, " and Places, People might diſſemble outwardly what " they thought of ſuch Errors, and even go to Maſs, " provided they conſtantly retained the Truth in- " wardly, and did not heartily concur in any of " thoſe Errors. He ſaid, that, in ſuch Times, and " Places, the Miniſter of Truth ought to make it " his Buſineſs to ſhew his Diſciples the Tares, and " to teach them how to diſcern them from the good " Grain, and to make them hate the Tares, and " love the Wheat with all their Heart: But, as to " the outward Profeſſion, that he ought to let the " Lord work his Pleaſure, without expoſing himſelf, " and others, to great Dangers. —— *Celſus de Martinengue* —— confuted, by a notable, and long, " Treatiſe, all the Reaſons *Baronius* alledged in " Support of his Opinion; and Replies were made " on both Sides for ſome Time. And *Baronius*, " thinking himſelf able to reconcile the two Reli- " gions, reformed the Maſs, in order, that, agree- " ably to what he had laid down, People might go " to it with a good Conſcience; and ſung it himſelf, " according to his own Reformation, and acted in " the ſame manner, in ſeveral other Points, thinking, " by that means, to pleaſe every Body, by trim- " ming. But his Proceding was condemned by a " great number of the truly Faithful, not only by " Words and Writings, but alſo by their Actions, " ſince they choſe rather to part with their earthly " Goods, and this temporal Life, than to ſhew any " outward Conſent to Popiſh Idolatry, and errone- " ous Superſtitions (2)."

(1) Peter Giles's Hiſtory of the Churches of the *Vaudois*, *chap.* 10, *pag.* 62.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 64. *See alſo p.* 246.

BARTAS (William de Saluste *Seigneur du*) A *French* Poet. See SALUSTE. wch is omitted-

BARTHIUS (Gaspar), one of the moſt learned Men, and fruitfulleſt Pens, of his Time, was born at *Cuſtrin* in the Country of *Brandenburg*, the Twenty ſecond of *June* 1587 (*a*). His Family was of an ancient Nobility [*A*]: His Father, *Charles Barth*, Profeſſor of the Civil Law at *Francfort* on the *Oder*, Counſellor to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and his Chancellor at *Cuſtrin*, died the ſixth of *February* 1597, at *Halberſtad*, from whence his Widow withdrew to *Hall* with her

(*a*) Hulſemannus in Concione funebri, apud Freher. Theatr. Viror. illuſtr. pag. 1546.

[*A*] *His Family was of an ancient Nobility.*] There are but few Gentlemen of Quality, and few great Lords, who can ſhew a more ancient Original than *Barthius*. One of his Anceſtors ſignalized himſelf her Children; *Gaſpar* was ſent to *Gotha*, afterwards to *Eiſenach*, and, after that, to ſeveral Univerſities of *Germany*, and *Italy* (*b*). He became ſo learned in a little time, that his Childhood was admired by great Men [*B*], and he compoſed ſeveral Books while he was a beardleſs Boy [*C*]. He had a wonderful Facility in making Verſes [*D*]; and alſo publiſhed a great many [*E*]. He learnt the living

ſelf in the War againſt the *Vandals* in the Retinue of the Emperor *Lewis* the *Debonair*, in the Year 856. He was a *Bavarian*; he commanded the Cavalry, and was killed in That War, as *Cyriacus Spangenbergius* obſerves (1). The Grandfather of *Barthius* was one of the chief Gentlemen of *Bavaria*: he went and ſettled in the Circle of the *Upper-Saxony*, where he bought ſeveral Eſtates, and, in the Year 1545, he was honoured by the Emperor, and the States of the Empire, with many noble Titles. "Avus idem noſter, ne in his terris minor eſſet "gentilibus ſuis alibi viventibus, à Carolo quinto, Con"ſilio & Senatus-conſulto omnium Imperii ſtatuum "tum Spiræ præſentium, ex integro Cæſareæ Ma"jeſtatis & ſacri Imperii auctoritate utriuſque nobilis "& miles Tornearius declaratus eſt, omniaque liberæ "& veræ nobilitatis privilegia accepit, cum ſingulari "integritatis, doctrinæ, & ſtrenuitatis teſtimonio, anno "Chriſtiano M. D. XLV (2). —— *That the Rank* "*of my Grandfather, in this Country, might not be in*"*ferior to That his Family held in other Places, he* "*was knighted, and declared Noble, both by the Em*"*peror* Charles V, *and his Council, and by Decree* "*of all the States of the Empire, then aſſembled* "*at* Spires, *and received all the Privileges of a free* "*and true Nobility, with a particular Teſtimony of* "*his Integrity, Learning, and Courage, in the Year* "1545." He enjoyed the Office of Chancellor at the Court of *Albert* of *Brandenburgh*, Elector of *Mentz*, Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, and Cardinal. One of his Anceſtors, whoſe Name was *Herman*, was Grand Maſter of the *Teutonic* Order, towards the end of the XIIth Century (3). The old Annals make mention of him: *Munſter* ſpeaks of him in his Coſmography; and the Catalogues of the Grand Maſters of That Order, even thoſe compoſed by *Jerom Megiſerus*, do not forget him. Others of the ſame Family are to be met with in the Relations of Turnaments, and in the Collections of the Coats of Arms of principal Noble Families of *Germany*. The Father of *Gaſpar Barthius* had ſeveral Brothers (4), who all died without Children (5). One of them had been Maſter of the Horſe to ſome great Princes, and did not want Learning (6). *Barthius* ſays, that he ſhall be the laſt of his Family: *Superſtes nunc ego omnibus paterni mei nominis familiam meam univerſam mecum rebus humanis brevi educam* (7). You ſee him in the Front of ſeveral of his Works, with the Title of *S. R. Imperii Eques*. The Thoughts of his Family dying with him was extreamly afflicting, and lay very much at his Heart: He often conſidered this melancholy Subject; which makes me believe, that he was very eaſily comforted on the Death of his Wife. She was barren, and likely, according to his reckoning, to outlive his Virility; for, otherwiſe, he would not have ſpoken in the manner we have ſeen. But, when he leaſt ſuſpected it, his Wife died. He ſoon took another, to ſee whether he could avoid the hard Fate, he had ſo much feared, of being the laſt of his Family. He looked upon himſelf no longer an uſeleſs Load on the Earth; this might be proper to call himſelf, while he deſpaired of having any Offspring. He had the Happineſs to beget Sons and Daughters by a ſecond Marriage; but he forgot to correct the Places of his Commentary, where he appears to be out of Hopes of leaving a Succeſſor. If he did not care to correct his Manuſcript, he ought, at leaſt, to have added ſomething, at the end of it, concerning his ſecond Marriage being more fruitful than the firſt. If I am asked, How I came to know, that his firſt Wife was not dead, when he complained of being the laſt of his Name? My Anſwer will be, That I infer it from this ſmall Calculation. *Barthius*'s Funeral Oration informs me, that he became a Widower in the Year 1643, and that his Mother died at *Hall*, the Twenty ſecond of *January* 1622. Now ſhe had been dead but eighteen Years, when he made his Complaints: "Ego inutile ferè pondus "terræ omnibus mei nominis mortalibus ſuperſtes "ſupervivo integro octodecennio (8). - - - *I am almoſt* "*an uſeleſs Load on the Earth, having outlived all* "*my Family full eighteen Years, and being the laſt* "*of my Name.*" His firſt Wife muſt therefore have been alive at that time.

[*B*] *His Childhood was admired by great Men.*] If I am allowed to extend the Word Childhood a little farther than uſual, my Text will be very true; ſince *Scaliger* ſet a great Value upon the firſt Productions of *Barthius*. "Cujus virtutem juvenilem "ac cordatos auſus Joſephus Scaliger *ſuſpexit* adeo, ut "divinationis inſtar hanc illi de Barthio vocem exci"diſſe compertum ſit, *natum eſſe adhuc unum æter*"*nitati ingenium, quod ſi ad maturitatem perveniret,* "*literas aliquandiu vivere poſſe* (9). - - - - - *Whoſe* "*juvenile Capacity, and judicious Performances,* Jo"ſeph Scaliger *ſo greatly amired, that, in a ſort of* "*prophetic Spirit, he declared thus concerning* Bar"thius, that there was now one Genius more born "for Eternity, and, if this ſhould live to Maturity, "Learning might ſurvive ſome time longer." *Daumius* ſays, that ſome learned Men were not aſhamed to learn of This young Scholar: "Eo adoleſcenti uti do"ctore non erubuerunt Taubmannus, Siberus, Schmi"dius. Quæ Gruteri aliorumque apud exteros vi"rorum de eo tum lata fuerint judicia, domi eorum "literæ aſſervatæ partim, partim lectæ, docent (10). "- - - - - - - - Taubmannus, Siberus, *and* Schmi"dius, *thought it no Diſgrace to be taught by This* "*Youth. The Judgment, which* Gruterus, *and other* "*Foreigners, paſſed on him, may be ſeen in their* "*Writings, either publiſhed, or in their own Hands.*" Another learned Perſon, who had been *Barthius*'s School-fellow, ſpeaks thus of him: "Novi - - - - "ante annos ferè quinquaginta pueri præſtabiles "minas, cum ſub Wilkii p. m. manu eſſemus "συσχολασαὶ: novi ante hos XLIII. annos Wite"bergæ adoleſcentem florentem gratia apud non"nullos, θαυμαζόμενον ἄνω κάτω ab æqualibus "(11). - - - - - *I knew him* - - - - - - *almoſt fifty* "*Years ago, a very promiſing Lad, when we were* "*Schoolfellows, under* Wilkius: *I knew him, about* "*Forty three Years ago, a Youth in great Eſteem a*"*mong ſome, and much admired by thoſe of his own* "*Age.*"

[*C*] *He compoſed ſeveral Books, while he was a beardleſs Boy.*] Mr *Baillet*, who has placed him in his Catalogue of *Famous Children*, will give us the moſt particular Account of him. He informs us, "That, at twelve Years of Age, *Barthius* turned "the Pſalter of *David* into all ſorts of *Latin* Verſes; "and that, in the ſame Year, he publiſhed other "Poems in the ſame Language; *and that* the Col"lection of Silvæ, Satires, Elegies, Odes, Epigrams, "and Iambic Verſes, which he cauſed to be printed "at *Wittemberg* in the Year 1607, comprehends all "the Poetry he compoſed from the thirteenth to the "nineteenth Year of his Age (12)." We have it from himſelf, continues Mr *Baillet* (13), "That, be"ing yet but in the ſixteenth Year of his Age, he "wrote a Treatiſe, or Diſſertation, by way of Letter, "on the Manner of reading *Latin* Authors uſefully, "by beginning with thoſe from *Ennius* to the end "of the *Roman* Empire; and continuing them, from "the Expiration of the *Latin* Tongue, to the Critics "of theſe latter Times, who have reſtored the an"cient Authors *. It is a Performance, which the "Author ſays coſt him but Twenty four Hours; "but it is ſo cloſe, and ſo full, that it ſhews *Bar*"*thius* muſt, even at that Time, have read a pro"digious deal; and that this Reading was ſo far from "being indigeſted, or confuſed, that it was accom"panied with a perfect Judgment, *&c.*" To this may be added, that he was but eighteen Years of Age, when he compoſed a Commentary on the *Ceiris* of *Virgil*, which was printed at *Amberg*, in the Year 1608, and contains much Learning.

[*D*] *He had a wonderful Facility in making Verſes.*] *Barthius*, having obſerved, that *Statius*, in ſome Meaſure, congratulated himſelf on having ſpent but two Days about the *Epithalamium* of *Stella*, which contains Two hundred ſeventy eight Hexameters, adds, that *Statius* did not expoſe himſelf to the Cenſure of

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(*b*) Hulſemannus, *ib.*

(1) In Annalibus Saxonicis, cap. 100, pag. 138.

(2) Barthius in Statium, Tom. II. pag. 1026.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Barthius *ſays, at pag.* 1026, 1027, *of his* Commentary on Statius, *in the ſpace of a few lines, that he had ſix Paternal Uncles, and that his Grandfather left ſix Sons. This is inconſiſtent.*

(5) Illiberes omnes—— exceſſerunt. *Ibid. pag.* 1027.

(6) Ibid. pag. 1025.

(7) Ibid.

BARTHIUS's cauſleſs Fear of dying without Poſterity.

(8) Id. ibid. pag. 826.

(9) Spizelius in Templo Honoris reſerato, pag. 381.

(10) Daumius Epiſt. 14. ad Reineſium.

(11) Reineſius Epiſt. 15. ad Daumium, pag. 46. *This Letter is dated* Jan. 14. 1651.

(12) Baillet, Famous Children, *p.* 297, 298.

(13) Ibid. pag. 296.

* It is to be found in the 50th Book of his *Adverſaria*.

living Languages, and made it appear, by his Tranſlations out of *Spaniſh* and *French* [*F*], that he was not contented with a ſuperficial Knowledge of them. It is ſurpriſing to find, what a number of Authors he muſt have read, from his *Adverſaria*, and Commentaries on *Statius* and *Claudian*. Moſt Critics are ſatisfied with reading Prophane Authors; but this was not enough for him; he acquired alſo a great Knowledge of Eccleſiaſtical Authors, eſpecially thoſe, who lived in the middle Ages. His conſtant application to Books obliged him to relinquiſh all manner of Buſineſs, and to lead a retired life at *Leipſic* (*c*). He reſolved early to diſengage himſelf intirely from the World, and the Study of Prophane Authors, in order to apply himſelf only to the great Affair of Salvation [*G*]. He put this deſign in execution in the latter Years of his Life; and it appears, by his *Soliloquia*, publiſhed in 1654, that his Thoughts were deeply engaged on Eternity [*H*]. He died the ſeventeenth of *September* 1658, a little above Seventy one Years of Age (*d*). The Manuſcript Works he left behind him [*I*], thoſe which were printed

(*c*) Spizelius, in Templo Honoris reſerato, pag. 383.

(*d*) Witte, Diarium, Biogr.

of *Horace* (14), ſince he did not make Two hundred Verſes in an Hour, as That Poet did, whom *Horace* ridiculed (15). “I find a great Hyperbole, *continues he*, in That Criticiſm, though I am not ignorant what it is to make a great many Verſes in a little time; for, in three Days time, I tranſlated into *Latin* the three firſt Books of the *Iliad*, which Tranſlation contained a little above Two thouſand Verſes.”

[*E*] *And alſo publiſhed a great many.*] For, beſides thoſe mentioned in the Remark [*C*], he publiſhed a Poem at *Francfort*, in 1623, entituled *Zodiacus vitæ Chriſtianæ; Satyricon, pleraque omnia veræ Sapientiæ myſteria ſingulari ſuavitate enarrans.* It is divided into twelve Books. In the ſame Year, and Place, he publiſhed *Epidorpidum ex mero ſcazonte libri III. in quibus bona pars humanæ ſapientiæ metro explicatur.* His Epigrams, divided into thirty Books, and dedicated to King *James*, appeared under the Name of *Tarræus Hebius* (16). The four Books *Amabilium Anacreonte decantati*, were printed in the Year 1612. He wrote a Paraphraſe on *Æſop*'s *Fables* in Verſe, a Tranſlation of *Muſæus* alſo in Verſe, and a Poem on *Leander* (17). I do not believe his Tranſlation of *Quintus Smyrnæus*, in Verſe, was ever publiſhed. He ſpeaks of it in the Five hundred eighty fourth Page of the third Volume of his *Statius*.

[*F*] *He compoſed Tranſlations out of* Spaniſh *and* French.] I do not know, that he tranſlated any thing out of the latter Language, beſides the Memoirs of *Philip de Comines*, which he put into *Latin*. He had much more Inclination for the *Caſtilian* Tongue, as he has ſhewn in ſeveral Places; and Don *Nicolas Antonio* was not ignorant of the Praiſes, which he beſtowed on the *Spaniſh* Books (18). I know but two *Spaniſh* Books, tranſlated into *Latin* by *Barthius*; one is the *Celeſtina*, the Author whereof was unknown to him; the other is the *Continuation of the* Diana *of* Montemajor. Here is the Title, which he gave to the Tranſlation of the *Celeſtina*. *Pornoboſcodidaſcalus Latinus. De lenonum, lenarum, conciliatricum, ſervitiorum, dolis, veneficiis, machinis pluſquam diabolicis; de miſeriis juvenum incautorum qui florem ætatis amoribus inconceſſis addicunt, de miſerabili ſingulorum periculo & omnium interitu*, at *Franckfort* 1624. He added ſome Notes to his Tranſlation. The *Spaniſh* Author of That Work, or of That Tragi-Comedy, was *Rodericus Cota*. The *Continuation of the* Diana *of* Montemajor, tranſlated by *Barthius*, is the Work of *Gaſpar Gil-polo*. *Barthius*'s Tranſlation was printed, at *Hanaw*, in 1625, under the Title of *Erotodidaſcalus, ſeu Nemoralium libri V.* Mr *Baillet* ſays (19), That he alſo tranſlated the *Pornodidaſcale* of *Aretin* into *Latin*. Without doubt, it is the ſame Book, which *Daumius* ſpeaks of in theſe Terms: “Reliqua quæ - - - - - - Barthius publicavit ex indiculo Colloquio P. Aretini *de las Damas* ex Hiſpanico ab ipſo tranſlato, & à nobis recuſo nuper, adjecto cognoſcere poteris (20). - - - - *The reſt* - - - - *which* Barthius *publiſhed from* Aretin's *inſtructive Dialogue*, On Ladies of Pleaſure, *tranſlated by him out of* Spaniſh, *and reviſed by us, will appear from the Work itſelf here ſubjoined.*” You may conclude from hence, that This *Latin* Tranſlation of *Aretin*, was not made from the Original, but from a *Spaniſh* Tranſlation.

[*G*] *He reſolved early to diſengage himſelf intirely from the World, - - - - - to apply himſelf only to his Salvation.*] Having ſaid, that his Mother had ſome Fore-ſight of her Death, three Years before ſhe died, and that he ſurvived That good Mother eighteen Years, in perfect Health, except a Weakneſs in his Sight (21), he adds; “Cupio autem cœptis ſcribendi laboribus demum aliquando defungi, & totum me Chriſto dedicare, quam rem ſæpius jam orſum hactenus infinita bellorum & bellicorum tumultuum exactionumque impedimenta hactenus ſuſpenderunt. - - - - - *My Deſire is to quit, at laſt, all farther Thoughts of writing, and dedicate myſelf intirely to* Chriſt, *which I have already very often attempted, but have hitherto been prevented by the Interruption of Wars, and Tumults of Wars, and other Hardſhips.*” To know at what Time he ſpoke thus, one need only remember, that his Mother died in the Year 1622. See the end of the Remark [*A*].

[*H*] *His Thoughts were deeply employed on Eternity.*] Here is the Teſtimony, which *Theophilus Spizelius* has given of him: “Sacrum nimirum ad Deum ſinceramque pietatem Barthius meditabatur acceſſum, plurimis piè literatorum ac Deo ſacratorum hominum exemplis incitatus. Quo de imprimis teſtatur inſigne SOLILOQUIORUM OPUS, extremis vitæ temporibus à Barthio publicatum, flagrantiſſimis ad Deum ſuſpiriis oppido plenum, & vel Auguſtino ſcriptore dignum, quod etiam hemiplecticus quotidiè revolvere, & per priorum meditationum veſtigia denuò cogitationes ſuas cœlo immittere, conſuevit; quinimò divinum amorem, quem intimis fibris ſemel imbibiſſet, continuis precum ejaculationibus alendum jugiter atque roborandum putavit, quouſque è ſacræ pariter ac literariæ ſolitudinis diverſorio, anno ævi noſtri octavo & quinquageſimo, ætatis vero ſeptuageſimo primo emigravit (22). - - - - - Barthius *was ſtudying to make his Approaches to God, and true Piety, being incouraged to it by the Examples of many of the piouſly Learned, who had devoted themſelves to God. This his admirable Piece of* Soliloquies *particularly demonſtrates, being publiſhed by him in his latter Years, and abounding with the moſt fervent Ejaculations to God, worthy of St* Auguſtin *himſelf, and which* Barthius, *though lame of one Side with the Palſy, uſed every Day to turn over, and by purſuing the Thread of his former Meditations, to ſend his Thoughts again to Heaven. He made it his Buſineſs to nouriſh and ſtrengthen inceſſantly that divine Love he had eſtabliſhed in his Heart, by the continual Exerciſe of Prayer, 'till he departed from this ſacred and learned Retreat in the Fifty eighth Year of our Century, and the Seventy firſt of his Age.*”

[*I*] *The Manuſcript Works he left behind him.*] *Daumius* has informed the Public, that there were found, among this Author's Papers, the ſecond and third Volumes of his *Adverſaria* (23); ſome *Notes*, and *Gloſſaries* on the Writers of *Paleſtine*, publiſhed by *James Bongars*: *Benedictus Paulinus Petrocorius de Vitâ S. Martini, & Paullinus Pellæus cum Tertulliani Jona, Juretique & Barthii animadverſionibus*: XXI Books of *Epigrams*: XII Books of *Anacreontics*: *The Zodiac of the Chriſtian Life*, corrected and enlarged in ſeveral Places: ſeveral other Poems, moſt of which had never been printed, and the reſt had been corrected: *Gloſſaries* on *Valerius Maximus*, and on the *Epiſtles of* Pliny *the Younger*. *Daumius* declares, that, if the Cruelty of the Times, entirely prejudiced againſt Literature, will permit it, and if, by the Liberality of ſome *Mecenas*, any Benefit may accrue by it

(14) Nam fuit hoc vitioſus: in hora ſæpe ducentos, Ut magnum, verſus dictabat, ſtans pede in uno. *He, turning on his Heel, vents, in one Hour, Two hundred Verſes, good ones to be ſure.* Hor. Sat. 4. l. 1.

(15) Barthius, in Stat. Tom. I. pag. 7.

(16) Spizelius in Templo Honoris, pag. 382.

(17) Id. ib. p. 386, 387.

(18) *See the* Bibliotheque of the *Spaniſh* Writers, *Vol. I. pag.* 403, 413, *Vol. II. pag.* 211.

(19) Judgment of the Learned, *Tom. I. pag.* 542.

(20) Daumius *in the Preface to* Barthius's *Commentary on* Statius, *dated* March 15, 1664.

(21) Barth. Commentar. in Statium, *Tom. II. pag.* 826.

(22) Spizel. Templo Honor. p. 384, 385.

(23) Daumius, in Præf. Comment. Barthii in Statium.

printed [*K*], thoſe which were burnt together with his Houſe [*L*], and thoſe which he is known to have wrote, but are loſt no body can tell how [*M*]: I ſay all theſe Works make ſuch a prodigious bulk, that it is ſcarce poſſible to conceive they could be performed by one Man. I do not know whether any, who have lived to turn grey in the duſt of a Regiſtry Office, ever wrote ſo much as this Author has done. There is a Story publiſhed, which had better have been ſuppreſſed, concerning a Tour, it is pretended, he made into *Holland* with a fair Lady [*N*]. Some learned Men have complained of the printing of That Story,

it to his Heirs, all thoſe Works may one Day be printed. *Si diritas permittat temporum politioribus heu Muſis prorſus infenſorum, fructuſque ſi aliquis Mæcenatum benignitate ad relictos* τȣ̃ μακαρίτȣ *hæredes ſit redundaturus* (24). I have not heard, that any of thoſe Manuſcrips have ever ſtirred out of his Heirs Hands, except the *Paulinus Petrocorius de Vita S. Martini*, which *Daumius* took Care to get printed in the Year 1681. The Bookſellers will not catch at that Bait as they did formerly, when *Barthius* touched their Honour, by declaring, in a Preface, that he had a very great Number of Books, which waited only for the Courteſy of the Bookſellers, to appear in public (25); and that they ſhould be printed, as ſoon as he could meet with an induſtrious Bookſeller to undertake it (26). This produced a very ſpeedy Effect, as to ſome of his Works, and a ſlower one as to others; but, nevertheleſs, moſt of theſe Books were printed, when that Preface was mentioned in the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*. Let us ſee in what Terms it was done; the Paſſage deſerves to be ſet down; it contains a Criticiſm ſomewhat ſatirical, but grounded on Reaſon. “There is a Preface before it, mentioning “the Titles of ſome Books, which the Author pro“miſed to beſtow on the Public, but few of which “have been printed (27), becauſe he found no Book“ſellers, as he himſelf obſerves (28), who had the “ſame Zeal, as himſelf, for the Advancement of Li“terature. But, if all his Works were like this, it “it may be pronounced, that we have loſt little “more than a great many Quotations of no great “Uſe. Not but that there might be ſome good “Things in them, as well as in this: But they are, “as it were, hid under ſo great a Number of Paſ“ſages of the Ancients, that it requires a great “deal of Patience to find them out (29).”

[*K*] *Thoſe which were printed.*] I will only here take notice of the chief of them: A great Volume in Folio, entituled *Adverſaria*, divided into ſixty Books. *Quibus ex univerſa antiquitatis ſerie omnis generis loci tam Gentilium quam Chriſtianorum ſcriptorum illuſtrantur & emendantur, cum rituum, morum, legum, formularumque obſervatione & elucidatione, cum undecim indicibus,* VII *auctorum,* IV *rerum*. At *Frankfort*, 1624. The Author has ſhown in it a ſurprizing Degree of Memory, Reading, and Learning; it is pity we cannot ſay as much of his Clearneſs, and Judgment. He left two other Volumes of *Adverſaria* of as large a Size, without reckoning his having reviſed and corrected the firſt. *De quo Adverſariorum Tomo ſecundo aut tertio, uterque enim jam peractus eſt, primo etiam recenſito in iis & amotis nebulis quas illi inducere livor voluit* (30). The whole contains an Hundred and eighty Books. Let us proceed to ſome other Titles. *Galli confeſſoris Chriſtianæ doctrinæ compendium, ſeu ſermo Conſtantiæ habitus; C. Barthius recenſuit & Animadverſionum librum adjecit*; Francfort, 1623, in 8vo, *Phœbadius contra Arianos cum animadverſionibus. Guil. Britonis libri Philippidos cum notis. Claudiani Ecdicii Mamerti de Statu Animæ, libri III. cum Animadverſionibus*; Cygneæ, 1655, in 8vo. *Æneæ Gazæi Dialogus de Immortalitate Animarum, cum Zacharia Mitylenæo Philoſopho Chriſtiano, Græcè & Latinè*, Leipſic, 1655, in 4to. *Barthius* publiſhed a new Tranſlation of *Æneas Gazæus*, and made uſe of That of *John Tarinus*, as to *Zachary*, both which Works he adorned with Notes. *Soliloquia rerum Divinarum*; Cygneæ, 1654, in 4to. A large Volume of Notes on *Claudian*, printed in the Year 1650, in 4to. And three large Volumes upon *Statius*, printed in 1664, in 4to. He was not well pleaſed with That Edition of *Claudian*, becauſe the Printer had not made uſe of a good Corrector (31). It is pity that there is no Table of Matters, nor, in general, any Index. His Commentaries on *Statius* are very free from that Fault.

[*L*] *Thoſe, which were burnt, together with his Houſe.*] It was a Country-houſe, which was burnt by the Careleſneſs of the Farmer, or ſome ſuch other Perſon, who inhabited it. “Cum villa noſtra urbana “non bello, non latronum manu, ſed perfidi incolæ “temeritate conflagravit (32). - - - - - - - *When my* “*Country-houſe was burnt down, not by the Misfor*“*tune of War, or the Violence of Robbers, but by the* “*Audacioùſneſs of the treacherous Inhabitant.*” It is, without doubt, That which *Daumius* calls *Incendium Sellerhuſanum*, which happened in the Year 1636. “Etiam nonnulla flammis, *ſays he* (33), incendio “Sellerhuſano, anno M.DC.XXXVI. abſumta periere. “- - - - - - *Some alſo periſhed in the Flames, in the* “*Fire of* Sellerhuſe, *in* 1636.” By this Misfortune, *Barthius* loſt his *Index Appulejanus* (34), all that he had wrote on *Tertullian* (35), his *Index* on *Thucydides*, &c. “In quo ſcriptore (Thucydide) per bellicos hos “triennales motus & exceſſiones ingens damnum ac“cepimus, *indicem* enim tam in auctorem quam Scho“liaſten (qui recentior tamen eſt quam vulgo attendi“tur) confeceramus, is cum parte Bibliothecæ periit “(36). Flammæ - - - - - - - ingens ſcrinium manu “mea ſcriptis chartis effertum, ſimul abſtulerunt: & “ſic perierunt mihi multa juvenilia & puerilia ſcripta “(37). - - - - - - *In which Writer* (Thucydides) *by the* “*Diſturbances and Removes, which War has occaſioned* “*for three Years together, I have met with great* “*Loſs; for I had made an Index, both to the Author* “*and his Scholiaſt, (who is much more modern, than* “*he is generally eſteemed,) this periſhed with part of* “*my Library. The Flames - - - deſtroyed a great Desk* “*full of my Manuſcript Works all together; and ſo* “*went many of my childiſh and youthful Productions.*” He ſays, that his Library had been already twice plundered, when the Fire made that new Havock. *Adeſſe Bibliothecæ non poſſumus miris modis duabus vaſtationibus depopulatæ, & uno incendio vix dimidiatim ereptæ* (38).

[*M*] *Thoſe, which were loſt, no body can tell how.*] *Daumius* ſays, that, after the Author's Death, they looked in vain for his Commentary on St *Auguſtin De Civitate Dei*, his Book *De Superſtitionibus Veterum*, his Treatiſe *De dubiis Scriptoribus*, his *Characters*, and ſeveral other Writings of that Nature. *Barthius* quotes very often the Books I have juſt now mentioned, and gives an advantageous Idea of them. It is very likely, conſidering the Nature of their Subjects, that they were none of the worſt of his Works. He had begun a great many others, to which he referred his Readers, as if they had been already printed. See the *Index Autorum* of his *Statius*, at the Word *Barthius*.

[*N*] *There is a Story publiſhed, concerning a Tour, it is pretended, he made into* Holland, *with a fair Lady.*] Mr *Colomies* mentions it on the Authority of *Iſaac Voſſius*. He was very much to blame to print ſuch Stories, which he had only met with in Converſation. Every body knows, that they, who like to entertain a Company pleaſantly, are furniſhed with a great many little Stories, to which they add ſuch Circumſtances as they think proper, to make them more ſingular and diverting. They would not take this Liberty, if they knew, that what they ſay would be printed. However it be, the Story runs thus: “Mr *Voſſius* - - - - - told me one Day, that *Barthius*, “being come from *Germany* to *Harlem*, to ſee *Scrive*“*rius*, he brought a very fine Lady along with him; “and that *Scriverius* had no ſooner ſeen her, but “he found the means to make *Barthius* drunk, that “he might entertain the Lady with more Liberty; “which ſucceeded according to his Deſire. Never“theleſs, he could not do it ſo well, but that *Bar*“*thius*, being recovered from his Drink, had ſome “Suſpicion of what had paſt; which increaſed in ſuch “a manner, that he carried the Lady back again in a great

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(24) Id. ib.

(25) Sequentur deinceps, uti quidem Typographorum comitas erit. *Barth. Præf. in Rutilii Itinerar.* it is dated *Octob.* 14, 1622.

(26) Expectant Editionem, ſi ſollertem Typographum nacti fuerimus. *Id. ib.*

(27) *It is certain that the beſt part of them is printed.*

(28) *He does not obſerve this in that Preface.*

(29) Bibl. Univerſelle, Tom. V, p. 240, *in the Extract of* Rutilius's Itinerary.

(30) Barthius in Statium, Tom. I. pag. 110. *See alſo the Preface of* Daumius.

(31) Id. ib. pag. 434.

(32) Id. ib. Tom. III. p. 1398. *He had ſaid, in the ninth Page of the firſt* Tome, Flammæ non ab hoſte ſed domeſtico ſcelere meæ tum manſioni injectæ. - - - - *My Houſe was ſet on fire, not by hoſtile, but domeſtic, Wickedneſs.*

(33) Daum. Præfat. in Statium.

(34) Barth. in Statium, Tom. I, pag. 9, & paſſim. alibi.

(35) Ibid. &c. p. 1338. *of the third Volume, where he ſays,* Notæ noſtræ in integrum fere Tertullianum - - - - - *Our Notes upon almoſt all* Tertullian.

(36) Ibid. Tom. II, p. 306.

(37) Ibid. Tom. I, pag. 9.

(38) Ibid. Tom. II, p. 372.

Story, and pronounced it a Fable [*O*]. *Barthius* had two Wives (*e*). He married the firſt in the Year 1630, and the ſecond in the Year 1644. The firſt died in the Year 1643, without bringing him any Children. The ſecond bore him a Son and three Daughters, and ſurvived him (*f*). He happened to be four times in beſieged Towns, and came off without any other loſs, than only once of his Cloaths and Arms (*g*). He complained of having been ill uſed by *Voſſius* [*P*]. He took *Scaliger*'s Part very warmly againſt *Scioppius* [*Q*], but was no Friend to the Learned *Reineſius*. The latter had diſcovered too many of his Faults, not to make him angry [*R*]. It was impoſſible that an Author, who wrote ſo many things, and with ſo much Precipitation, could eſcape the judicious Cenſure of *Reineſius*. It has been pretended, that it was not always for want of Memory, that

(*e*) Hulſemannus, in Orat. Fun. Barthii.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

(*g*) Qui intra obſidendam obſeſſamque urbem aliquando fuerit. Id quod nobis quater contigit, nuſpiam læſus, niſi ſpoliatione una veſtimentorum, & armorum direptione. *Barth. in Statium, Tom. II. pag.* 1041.

"a great Rage, and ſuffered her to be drowned in the *Rhine* (39)." It muſt not be denied, that *Barthius* had a bad Reputation, as to his Morals. One of his beſt Friends confeſſes it; but he maintains, that this was ill-grounded. "De moribus quæ invidi nugati ſunt quorumque cauſa ego ignotum meo malo abhorrebam, rem aliter quindecennali hac cum eo converſatione comperi. Adeo quicquid de eo dixerunt ſcripſeruntque ego hactenus prorſus credere abnui, cujus intima neſcio an æque alii patuerint (40). - - - - - - - - *As to the Vices, which have been maliciouſly objected to him, and on account of which I had an ill Opinion of him before I knew him, to my own Diſadvantage, I have found, by fifteen Years Converſation with him, that he is intirely clear of them. So that I have hitherto abſolutely contradicted all the Stories, which have been told, or wrote, about him, and I believe no body knows him ſo intimately as I do.*"

[*O*] *Some learned Men have complained of the printing of that Story, and pronounced it a Fable.*] See here what *Morhoſius* has ſaid of it; "Quibus (Colomeſii opuſculis) adjicitur libellus Gallico ſermone, cui titulus *A Collection of Particulars*, in quibus multa de eruditis familiariter à Voſſio aliiſque ſuppeditata, laudato ſemper autore, vir ille effutivit, quæ inſignis ſane temeritas fuit. Multa tamen in his ſunt mendacia, quale illud de Caſparo Barthio horrendum, qui concubinam ſuam Rheno ſuffocaverit, quod ejus cum Scriverio amores deprehenderit (41). - - - - - - *To which* (Colomeſius's Works) *is added a ſmall Piece in* French, *entituled*, A Collection of Particulars, *wherein, with the higheſt Indiſcretion, he blabbed out ſeveral Stories, familiarly told by* Voſſius, *and others, of learned Men, always remembering to name his Author. Among theſe are a great many Lies, ſuch as that horrid one about* Gaſper Barthius'*s drowning his Miſtreſs in the* Rhine, *on account of an Intrigue he had diſcovered between her and* Scriverius."

[*P*] *He complained of being ill uſed by* Voſſius.] Few Perſons had cauſe to make the like Complaint; for never was ſo learned a Man, as *Voſſius*, more complaiſant or modeſt to thoſe he cenſured. However, let us ſee *Barthius*'s Complaint at length. "Quo loco vir doctiſſ. (42) pulcrè etiam de *Lutatio* judicat doctum eſſe lectuque dignum Exegeten, præter quidem gloſſemata. Sanè longè melius & compertius, quam nuper Joannes Gerhardus Voſſius, qui Lutatium ex Servio & Higinio compoſitum dicere auſus eſt maximam partem. Qui doctiſſimus homo cum alio nos loco perperam (ut clara res eſt, & demonſtratum jam nobis alibi) ineptiarum & abſurditatis, nunquam à nobis læſus, & ab invidis planeque egregiè ineptis Thraſunculis incitatus, inſimulare auſus ſit, meritò utriuſque notæ hic habebitur, cum ea Commentariis Lutatianis inſint, quorum nec centeſimam partem Servianæ & Higinianæ Commentationes vindicare poſſint. Idem præſtantiſſimus vir incogitate eodem loco ſcribit Lutatium à Lindebrogio primum editum (43). - - - - - - *In, which Place That learned Man alſo judges favourably of* Lutatius, *that his Comment and Gloſſes are full of Learning, and worth reading. And, indeed, much more truly and juſtly, than* John Gerard Voſſius, *who boldly affirmed, that* Lutatius *had borrowed the greateſt part of his Performance from* Servius *and* Higinius. *This moſt learned* Voſſius *has alſo, in another place, with equal Injuſtice, (as I have demonſtrated elſewhere,) taken the Liberty to accuſe me, who never offended him, of Impertinence and Abſurdity, on the Inſtigation of ſome envious Boaſters, who are themſelves remarkably impertinent; by which he has, deſervedly, drawn upon himſelf both thoſe Accuſations, ſince* Servius *and* Higinius'*s Commentaries cannot lay claim to a hundredth part of what is contained in thoſe of* Lutatius. *The ſame excellent Man has alſo haſtily aſſerted, in the ſame Place, that* Lutatius *was firſt publiſhed by* Lindebrogius."

[*Q*] *He took* Scaliger'*s Part very warmly againſt* Scioppius.] Three Books, wrote againſt that great Man's Enemy, are aſcribed to him; and his Name was found out by way of Anagram, in That of *Tarræus Hebeius Nobilis à Sperga. Reſoluto Anagrammate Gaſperis Barthii Berolinæi confirmat Excellentiſſimus Geiſlerus de Mutatione Nominum. Exemplor. dec.* 1. *n.* 5. (44). The firſt of thoſe three Books is entituled *Cave canem, de Vitâ, Moribus, Rebus geſtis, Divinitate Gaſparis Scioppii Apoſtatæ Satyricon*, Hanov. 1612, in 12mo. The ſecond, *Scioppius excellens; in laudem ejus & ſociorum pro Joſepho Scaligero & omnibus probis Epigrammatum libri III. ex triginta totis hinc inde collecti.* It is printed with the firſt. The third, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ*, Hanov. 1613, in 8vo. See *Rhodius* in the place which I have quoted, and *Placcius*, in the 262d Page of his *Pſeudonymous Writers*.

[*R*] Reineſius *diſcovered too many of his Faults not to make him angry.*] They were ſuch Faults as an ingenious Man could not have defended; they were Faults which deſerved Condemnation, which is ſo much the more ſhocking and provoking. "A. Cl. Barthio quem tu tantum non in cœlum effers, & quem ſua defenſurum eſſe ſcribis nihil indigni iniquive expecto, tam licet ipſi in meis, ſi quando lucem adſpicient publicam, (lenta autem res eſt, & fortaſſe incumbent in ſpongiam, ut olim illius Ajax) quàm in ipſius mihi licere viſum eſt experiri; non exiſtimo autem Soli oblocuturum eſſe. Sunt enim pleraque, quæ nunc quidem produxi, adeo certa liquidaque, ut niſi temere litigare velit, ne calamum quidem contradicturus mihi tingere debeat. Perpende, quæſo, mi cariſſime NESTERE, ἄνευ πάθȣς, ubicunque ab eo diſſentio: maximè verò examina, quæ *cap.* 8, *lib.* 2. quo ejus in Plinium Valerianum, dictum Empericum, illatæ emendationes producuntur, trado & miraberis hominis doctiſſimi manifeſtiſſimas inſcitias, fruſtrationes, & puerilia παρεργάματα, audaces etiam conjecturas in autorem non intellectum invectas deprehendes magno numero. Iſtas ſi quis præfractè tueri præſumſerit, eum ne ſani quidem capitis eſſe dixero; Barthium autem mecum fore & viſurum, me quamvis indigno indice, id quod verum eſt nullus dubito. —— *I expect no other than a handſome Behaviour from* Barthius, *whom you cry up ſo to the Skies, and affirm to be about publiſhing a Defence of his Writings. He may try the Proof of my Works, if ever they ſee the Light, (which will require ſome time firſt, and, perhaps, they may come to the Sponge at laſt, as his* Ajax *did) as I have done in Reſpect to his; I do not ſuppoſe he will rail at the Sun. For a great many things, I have advanced, are ſo clear and certain, that he can never contradict them, except for the ſake of Contradiction. Examine, I beg of you, my deareſt* Neſterus, *without Prejudice, the places where I differ from him, but eſpecially* cap 8, lib. 2, *where his Emendations on* Pliny Valerianus, *called the* Empiric, *are conſidered. I there ſhew, and you will be ſurprized to ſee, the moſt manifeſt Ignorance, Miſtakes, and childiſh Notions, and bold Conjectures, and Miſunderſtandings of the Author, in great Number. If any one ſhould obſtinately preſume to defend theſe, I ſhall think him mad; but I do not doubt but* Barthius *will agree with me, and ſee the Truth, however unworthy I am to ſhew it.*" Theſe are the Words of *Reineſius*, in a Letter which he wrote to

(39) Colomeſii Opuſc. pag. 102, *Edit.* Ultraject. 1669.

(40) Daumius, Epiſt. 14. ad Reineſium, pag. 37.

(41) Morhof. Polyhiſt. pag. 71.

(42) *That is to ſay*, Nicolaus Loenſis *in chap.* 18. *of his* Miſcellanea.

(43) Barth. in Statium, Tom. II. pag. 871.

(44) Rhodius de Auct. ſuppoſit. n. 54.

that *Barthius* contradicted himſelf [*S*]. It is no wonder his Memory, how ſtrong ſoever it might be, ſhould often deceive him, conſidering his method of compoſing his Books [*T*]. He made no Collections, and ſcarce ever corrected what he had once written.

Neſterus, the Thirty firſt of *March*, 1638 (45). See alſo his fifteenth Letter to *Daumius*.

(45) *It is the* 6th.

[*S*] *It has been pretended, that it was not always for want of Memory, that* Barthius *contradicted himſelf.*] “Some have obſerved, that, when he gives his Judgment, he falls now and then into Contradictions, for want of Memory (46).” *Daumius* pretends, that thoſe, who took notice of that ſort of Contradictions, knew nothing of *Barthius*'s Deſigns. “He wrote, *ſays he*, all that came into his Mind, this Day one thing, and to morrow another, on purpoſe that, when he ſhould look over them again, ſome time or other, thoſe Contradictions might engage him to examine things more nicely, and give him a better Opportunity to correct, or confirm, what he had written. *Memini in publicis alicubi Diſputationibus diverſæ ſententiæ ejus loca exagitata fuiſſe. Sed auctores ſcopum ſcriptoris neſcio an vel per tranſennam viderint. Novi enim, hoc conſilio, eoque fine, Barthium ea, quæ in mentem ſibi venerant, in chartam conjeciſſe, etiam diverſis diverſo tempore ſententiis, ut quandoque ad ea revertenti illa diverſitas ampliorem de veritate cogitandi ſuppeditaret materiam, occaſionemque longè commodiorem retractandi vel ſtabiliendi quod ſcripſerat. Id quod fine capitis* VI *Libri undecimi & alibi ſæpius teſtatur* (47).” See how *Reineſius* has confuted this Apology (48).

(46) Baillet, Judgm. Tom. III. pag. 464.

(47) Daum. Epiſt. 14. ad Reineſium, pag. 37.

(48) Rein. Epiſt. 15. ad Daumium, pag. 45.

[*T*] *It is no wonder his Memory —— ſhould fail him, conſidering his Method of compoſing his Books.*] We muſt hear his own Words. “Puto jam tale quid ſupra notaſſe. Non enim poteſt, ut, nullis penitus rebus adjuti, omnium ſtrictam memoriam habeamus. Omnino enim aliter nos commentamur, quam ſolent homines etiam litteratiſſimi, dum auctores legunt, excerpentes quædam atque ea deinde excerpta in Silvam Obſervationum, eam porro Silvam in Commentaria redigentes. Nunquam tale quid factum à nobis eſt: Sed ut cuique auctori enarrando benè facere volumus, arrepto illi Animadverſiones hoc genus imputamus, ſolius memoriæ beneficio nixi, quam marginalibus nonnunquam prius Notis inſtruimus, dum cum libris veteribus Editiones comparamus. Cætera omnia è calamo fluunt elegante & minuto literarum ductu. Nec unquam ſcriptio repetitur: nec ullis lituris cruciatur: quarum nec decem aliquas hactenus hi Commentarii agnoverint (49). - - - - - - *I think I have before obſerved ſome ſuch thing. For it is impoſſible for me, who uſe no ſort of Aſſiſtance, to have a perfect Memory of every thing. For my Method of commenting is quite contrary to that commonly uſed by the moſt learned Men, who, in reading Authors, take Notes all along, and then afterwards reduce thoſe Notes into a Collection, aad that Collection into Commentaries. I have never done any thing like this: But, as I would do Juſtice in explaining each Author, I aſcribe theſe ſorts of Obſervation to every one reſpectively, by the ſole Strength of my Memory, which is ſometimes firſt directed by Marginal Notes, made on my comparing the ſeveral Editions. Every thing elſe flows from my Pen in a ſmall and exact Letter. Nor do I ever write any thing over again, or blot out what I have once wrote. Theſe Commentaries have not hitherto met with ten Inſtances of this Kind.*” I do not know whether it is right to boaſt of ſuch a thing; I think the Public deſerves more Reſpect.

(49) Barth. in Statium, Tom. III. pag. 466.

BASINA, Wife of *Childeric* King of *France*, and Mother of the Great *Clovis*, had been married to a King of *Thuringia*. *Childeric* being forced to leave his Dominions, becauſe his Lewdneſs had ſo exaſperated the People, that he had reaſon to fear the worſt from them, fled (*a*) to the King of *Thuringia*. He was received by him with all manner of Reſpect; without doubt *Baſina*, who was a very beautiful Princeſs, entertained him admirably well. Experience has always ſhewn, that thoſe laſcivious Princes, who are expelled their Country, do not renounce their Gallantries in the place of their Retreat. *Childeric* was an Example of it: He fell in Love with *Baſina*; and, finding her not cruel, he made no ſcruple to purſue the matter ſo far as to enjoy the Wife of that ſame Friend and good Neighbour, who furniſhed him with a place of Refuge [*A*]. He engaged her in ſo cloſe an Amour, that ſhe could never after quit it. The *French* recalled *Childeric* eight Years after they had expelled him (*b*). *Baſina* could not be eaſy with that Prince's Abſence. She left her Huſband, and went to *Childeric*; and, when he aſked the cauſe of her Viſit, ſhe anſwered, ingenuouſly, that it was her Love of him [*B*]; and that if ſhe had known any Prince beyond the Seas, who could have

(*a*) *About the Year* 460.

(*b*) Gregor. Turon. Hiſt. Franc. lib. 2. cap. 12.

[*A*] Childeric *made no ſcruple - - - - - - to enjoy the Wife of that ſame Friend - - - - - - who furniſhed him with a place of Refuge.*] There would be ground enough to believe it, though the Hiſtorians had not related it. Would *Baſina* have run after *Childeric*, if ſhe had not loved him, and taſted with him the Pleaſures of Love? But we have the Teſtimony of Hiſtorians: Theſe Words are to be found in the Author of the *Atchievements of the Kings of* France, in the ſeventh Chapter. “Dum fuit in Toringia cum Baſina Regina uxore Biſini Regis ipſe Childericus *commixtus* eſt. —— *While he was in* Thuringia, Childeric converſed criminally *with Queen* Baſina, *the Wife of King* Biſinus.” *Aimonius* relates the ſame thing in the eighth Chapter of the firſt Book, “Dicebatur idem princeps conſuetudinem *Stupri* cum ea habuiſſe, cùm exularet. —— *The ſame Prince was ſaid to have continued an adulterous Commerce with her in his Exile.*” *Rorico* is more expreſſive: I will quote him in the following Remark.

[*B*] *She anſwered him ingenuouſly, that it was her Love of him.*] According to *Gregorius Turonenſis*, in the twelfth Chapter of the ſecond Book of the Hiſtory of the *French*, the Anſwer was thus expreſſed: “I very well know that you are an uſeful and valiant Man. It is on this account, I am come to live with you; for, be aſſured, that if I had known of any Body, in the Provinces beyond the Seas, who could have been more uſeful to me than yourſelf, I would have gone and deſired to have lived with him.” The Abbot of *Marolles*, who thus tranſlated the Text of *Gregorius Turonenſis*, adds a Remark to advertiſe us, that *Baſina*'s *Meaning, in this Diſcourſe, is equivocal.* This is not unlikely: I do not believe that *Childeric* had given any proofs of his Military Valour in *Thuringia*: So that the Valour, which *Baſina* ſpoke of, might be of another nature, and more uſeful to a Queen than a Martial one; and I am tempted to believe, that, both in *Gregorius Turonenſis*, and in *Rorico*, we ought to read *virilitatem & viriliorem*, inſtead of *utilitatem & utiliorem*. The Equivocation will ſtill remain. *Baſina* anſwers, *I know your Virility, and that you are a very brave Man.* Thoſe words are better connected than the following, *I know you are an uſeful and valiant Man.* Let no body object the Immodeſty of theſe words, *I know your Virility*; is there not as much in a Woman's ſaying to her Gallant, *I know your uſefulneſs?* However it be, Here is the *Latin* of *Gregorius Turonenſis*: “His regnantibus ſimul have been more agreeable to her, ſhe would have gone to him. *Childeric* was charmed with this diſcourſe, married *Baſina*, and had a Son by her, who was a very brave Prince, and embraced the Chriſtian Faith. If this Woman's Conduct was worſe than That of *Helena* [*C*], That of *Childeric*, all Circumſtances rightly conſidered, was not better than That of *Paris*. Father *le Cointe*'s excuſes are but very trifling [*D*]. The Author of the *Galantries of the Kings of* France, relates the Viſions of *Baſina*'s Bridegroom better than Mr *de Cordemoi* [*E*].

Since

“ mul Baſina relicto viro ſuo ad Childericum venit. “ Qui cum ſollicite interrogaret quâ de causâ ad “ eum de tantâ regione veniſſet, reſpondiſſe fertur, “ *Novi, inquit, utilitatem tuam quod ſis valde ſtre-* “ *nuus, ideoque veni ut habitem tecum. Nam no-* “ *veris; ſi in tranſmarinis partibus aliquem cogno-* “ *viſſem utiliorem te, expetiſſem utique cohabitationem* “ *ejus.* At ille gaudens eam ſibi in conjugio copu- “ lavit.” The anonymous Author of the *Geſta Regum Francorum* (1), *Fredegarius* (2), and the Monk *Rorico*, relate *Baſina*'s Anſwer in the ſame manner as *Gregorius Turonenſis*; only *Rorico* has explained it much better, and expreſsly ſaid, that the Diſcourſe of that Woman was full of Lewdneſs. Which is ſo far from weakening my Conjecture concerning *virilitatem & viriliorem*, that it ſtrongly confirms it. Theſe are the words of *Rorico*: “ Baſina quoque “ Siſini regis uxor, apud quem latuiſſe præmonſtra- “ vimus Childericum, ſæpius relicto viri thoro con- “ ſortium noſtri Regis eſt experta. Quamobrem & “ eum nec multo poſt in Franciam eſt ſequuta, cu- “ piens loco uxoris habitare cum eo. Quam Chil- “ dericus cum inſperate conſpexiſſet, & ad quos uſus “ de tam longinqua provincia ad eum properaſſet “ inquireret, illa poſtpoſito pudore muliebri, ut erat “ nimis luxurioſa, tale fertur dediſſe reſponſum: “ quoniam novi utilitatem tuam & pulchritudinem, “ & quod ſis habilis & ſtrenuus, è domo veni ut “ habitem tecum, nam ſi in extremis terræ finibus “ utiliorem te cognoviſſem, & hunc nihilominus ex- “ petiſſem. Complacuit regi mulieris ſermo face- “ tus, & eam gaudens ſibi ſociavit in uxorem (3). “ - - - - - - Baſina *alſo, the Wife of King* Siſinus, “ *with whom, we have before ſhewn, that* Childeric “ *had taken refuge, often left her Husband's Bed to* “ *ſhare that of our King. For which reaſon, not* “ *long afterwards, ſhe followed him into* France “ *deſiring to live with him as his Wife.* Childeric “ *being ſurprized at ſo unexpected a Viſiter, and de-* “ *ſiring to know the Cauſe of her Undertaking ſo long* “ *a Journey, ſhe, laying aſide all female Modeſty, as* “ *being of too amorous a Conſtitution, returned this* “ *Anſwer: It was becauſe I know you uſeful and come-* “ *ly, able and vigorous, that I left my Home out of* “ *a Deſire to live with you; for if I had known of* “ *any one more ſo than yourſelf, though he had been* “ *in the furthermoſt Parts of the Earth, I would* “ *have gone to him. The King was much taken with* “ *her pleaſant Anſwer, and married her with much* “ *Satisfaction.*” This whole Relation of *Rorico* ſhews, that this Woman did not compliment *Childeric* as a brave Warriour, but as a complete Champion in Love.

[*C*] *Her Conduct was worſe than That of* Helena.] To give every Body their Due, I ought to ſay here, that this pretty Compariſon is none of my own; I find it in a modern Writer (4). “ Baſina, *ſays he*, the Mo- “ ther of *Clovis*, was not contented to proſtitute “ her Honour to *Childeric* I, who fled for Prote- “ ction to her firſt Husband *Biſinus*, or *Baſinus*, “ King of *Thuringia*; but did worſe than *Helena*, “ who at leaſt would be carried away, whereas this “ Woman came into *France* of her own Accord, “ and with ſo much confidence, that ſhe durſt tell “ *Childeric*, that, if ſhe had known a braver Man, “ and worthier of her Love, ſhe would have gone “ to him to the end of the World.”

[*D*] *Father* le Cointe'*s Excuſes are but very trifling.*] He takes it ill, that *Aimonius* ſhould ſay, that *Childeric* married *Baſina* before the Death of her firſt Husband (5). He pretends, that *Aimonius* is the firſt who ſaid it, and loaded the Birth of *Clovis* with ſuch an Ignominy. He adds, that this Hiſtorian is not to be credited, conſidering the Diſtance of the Time he lived in, and his Prepoſſeſſion againſt the *Merovingians*. He brings two other Reaſons, one that the *Germans*, who were the Stem of the *French*, did not permit Adultery; the other, that, if *Childeric* had married another Man's Wife, he would have expoſed himſelf to the ſame Danger, which forced him to leave his Kingdom eight Years before. From all which Conſiderations he chuſes rather to believe, that *Baſina*, not being able to endure the ill Treatment ſhe received from her Husband, fled into *France*, and that ſhe did not marry *Childeric* before ſhe had certain News of her Husband's Death. He remarks, that others ſay ſhe was divorced, and that therefore, under Paganiſm, nothing hindered her from marrying a ſecond Husbaud. He refers us to *Robertus Cenalis* (6). Let us examine a little into this Diſpute. In the firſt place, I ſay, that, if the Silence of the Authors, who preceeded *Aimonius*, is a good reaſon, it muſt no longer be ſaid, that the King of *Thuringia* abuſed his Wife, or that he divorced her, or that he was dead before *Childeric* married her. Theſe are Facts mentioned by none of the ancient Authors. In the ſecond place, does not *Gregorius Turonenſis* ſay, that *Baſina* left her Husband, and that her firſt Anſwer to *Childeric* pleaſed him ſo well that he married her? Is not this almoſt ſaying in expreſs terms, that ſhe was *Childeric*'s Wife before her firſt Husband was dead? In the third place, the Paſſage out of *Tacitus*, which Father *le Cointe* alledges to prove, that the *Germans* diſapproved Adultery, ſhews, that *Childeric* was exempted from the General Law (7); for whatever was the real Motive of the Woman's coming to him, ſhe declared it was grounded on that Prince's Valour: Beſides, the Puniſhment of Adultery was left to the Husband's Choice, and *Baſina* was no longer in her Husband's Country. Not to obſerve, that Laws are ſeldom made for Sovereigns. Laſtly, *Childeric* had nothing to fear from the Mutiny of his Subjects upon this account; he married a Stranger who was come to ſeek him: What harm could this do the *French*? I own that they had revolted eight Years before; but then they were alarmed, one for his Daughter, another for his Siſter, &c. for *Childeric*, at that time, gave himſelf up to debauchery in a very violent Manner (8). The Affair of *Baſina* did not at all concern them; would they have ever thought of breaking the Reconciliation by eſpouſing the Quarrel of a King of *Thuringia*?

[*E*] *The Author of the* Galantries of the Kings of France, *relates the Viſions of* Baſina'*s Bridegroom better than Mr* de Cordemoi.] Theſe are his words; “ It is reported, that having intreated *Childeric* not “ to lie with her on the Wedding-Night, ſhe ſent “ him three times into the Court-Yard of his Palace, “ deſiring him to obſerve, without fear, the Viſions “ which ſhould appear before him; and that, by her “ occult Science, he was entertained the firſt time with “ Unicorns, Lions, and Leopards; the ſecond time “ with Bears and Wolves; and the third time with “ Dogs and Cats; from whence ſhe concluded, that “ thoſe various Animals preſaged the Diverſity of the “ Manners and Cuſtoms of the Race, which was to “ proceed from their Marriage. It will be ſo much “ the more readily believed, that this report is only “ a Fable invented at pleaſure, if it be obſerved, “ that the ardent Paſſion, which that Queen had for “ *Childeric*, would, in all probability, never have “ permitted her to loſe ſo much time, which ſhe “ knew how to paſs more pleaſantly, than to lie in “ Bed alone, while her Lover was entertained with “ thoſe pretended Apparitions (9).” It cannot be denied, but that the Reaſon he alledges to confute that old Story has ſome force; but it would have had much more, if *Baſina*'s forwardneſs itſelf did not make it too probable, that the Ardour of her Paſſion had already received ſome conſiderable Relief. After what had paſſed between them, neither *Childeric* nor ſhe were like to pay much regard to the Marriage Ceremony, or to defer their Embraces till the Nuptial Solemnity had authorized them: And for that reaſon *Baſina* might well let him reſt till the following Night. Mr *de Cordemoi* pretends, that *Baſina*

was

(1) Apud du Cheſne, Tom. I. pag. 696.

(2) Ibid. pag. 727.

(3) Roric. de Geſtis Francorum, lib. 1. pag. 802, *in the firſt Vol. of* du Cheſne's *Edition*.

(4) *In* la Mothe le Vayer, Tom. X. pag. 342. *Letter* 43.

(5) Le Cointe Annal. Eccleſ. Francorum, Tom. I. pag. 94.

(6) Lib. 1. de Re Gallica, Perioche 12.

(7) *This is the Paſſage of* Tacitus; Severa illis matrimonia, nec ullum morum partem magis laudaveris, nam prope ſoli barbarorum ſingulis uxoribus contenti ſunt, exceptis admodum paucis qui, non libidine, ſed ob *Nobilitatem*, pluribus nuptiis ambiuntur. Pauciſſima in tam numeroſa gente adulteria quorum pœna præſens & *Maritis permiſſa*. *Their Marriages are very ſtrict, and no part of their Cuſtoms is more to be commended. For they are almoſt the ſole Pagans who allow but of one Wife, except only to ſome few, who are indulged with more than one, not in regard to their Luſt, but their Nobility. Altho' they are a numerous Nation, Adultery is very rare among them, and is always left immediately to be puniſhed at the Diſcretion of the Huſband.*

(8) *When they were reproached for their Sedition, they gave for their Reaſon*, Quia ſine lege abutebatur filias noſtras. *Becauſe he unjuſtly violated our Daughters.* De Geſtis Francor. l. 7.

(9) Galantries of the Kings of France, Tom. I. pag. 5.

Since the firſt Edition of this Work, I have read what Father *Daniel* has publiſhed, againſt thoſe, who ſay, that *Childeric* was expelled by his Subjects, that he was recalled at the end of eight Years, and that the Queen of *Thuringia* came after him, *&c.* This Author thinks, *That what* Gregorius Turonenſis *has wrote upon it, is nothing more than an Abſtract, or Abridgment, of ſome Romance current in his time* (*c*); and that the Viſions, Childeric *is pretended to have had on his Wedding Night*, and *which have been added to the Story of* Gregorius Turonenſis, *have the Air of a Romance*, as well as the reſt (*d*). I ſhall mention the Quarrel commenced with *Pâquier*, and the Anſwer returned to his Criticiſm [*F*]: From this Remark, it will appear, that Diſputes occaſion many Faults to be committed, as well of the Heart, as of the Underſtanding.

(*c*) *Father* Daniel, Diſſert. II, on the Hiſtory of *France*, *pag.* 425, *Edition of* Paris, 1696.

(*d*) Id. ibid. pag. 426.

was already with Child, and near her time, when ſhe deſired her Huſband to look for Apparitions three times ſucceſſively the ſame Night, at the Gate of his Palace, and he quotes *Fredegarius* for it (10); but it is certain, that his Witneſs contradicts him: *Fredegarius* ſays, that thoſe Viſions preceeded the Conſummation of the Marriage. *Cum primâ nocte jugiter ſtratu junxiſſent, dicit ad eum mulier, hâc nocte à coitu virili abſtinebimus. —— Cumque Baſinæ hæc univerſa narraſſet, abſtinebant ſe caſtè uſque in craſtinum.*

[*F*] *I ſhall mention the Quarrel commenced with* Pâquier, *and the Anſwer returned to his Criticiſm.*] Let us firſt relate *Pâquier*'s Words: "Our ancient Writers place *Clovis* among the Legitimate, but do not conſider, that, in their Account of his Life, they affirm the quite contrary. They all agree in this, that *Childeric*, having been expelled the Kingdom for his Extortions and Cruelties, retired to *Thuringia*, where, having been honourably received by the King, he fell in Love with his Wife Queen *Baſina*: inſomuch, that being afterwards recalled by the *French*, he carried her away, and married her, violating thereby the Law of Nations, and of Hoſpitality; and yet the Great *Clovis* was born of that Marriage (11)." Let us ſee, in the next place, the Cenſure of Father *Garaſſe*: He ſays, "*That Pâquier* adding ſomething of his own to the fabulous Report of the ancient Chroniclers, *ſets forth, that Childeric*, having fled for ſhelter to the King of *Thuringia*, fell in Love with his Wife, and raviſhed her, and carrying her into *France* married her in contempt of every Thing ſacred (12)." He goes on thus (13), "*Maſter Pâquier* might have deſpiſed ſuch Dreams, and learned from *Paul Æmilius*, and *Gregorius Turonenſis*, the falſity of this Narration; and the Sieur *Du Pleix* has related it very judiciouſly in the Life of *Childeric* —— (14). The ancient Chroniclers of *France* never judged or dreamed, that *Clovis* was a Baſtard, for having married *Baſina*, or any other *Thuringian* Woman; for if he married *Baſina*, he might have learned of the *French* Hiſtorians, that ſhe came herſelf into *France*, after the Death of her Huſband the King of *Thuringia*, and married *Childeric* her ſecond Huſband, from which true and lawful Marriage *Clovis* was born." Let us paſs to the Anſwers returned to *Garaſſe*. Firſt he was cenſured for having oppoſed *Gregorius Turonenſis* to Mr *Pâquier*, *who yet — forms his Doubts on that Author's Words* (15). They were quoted and confirmed by the Teſtimony of *Aimonius — who ſeems in ſome things to go farther than he*; for he remarks, that *Baſina* forſook her Huſband, *Priori abjecto viro* (16). Then to the Teſtimony of thoſe two Hiſtorians was added That of *Nicolles-Gilles*. Theſe are his Words, in the ſixteenth Page of the Life of *Childeric*: "During the time that *Childeric* was with *Baſinus*, King of *Thuringia*, he fell in Love with his Wife, whoſe name was *Baſina*; and after he was recalled to his Kingdom, the ſaid Queen *Baſina*, who doted very much on him, forſook the ſaid *Baſinus*, King of *Thuringia*, her Lord and Huſband, and came to *Childeric*, who forgetting the former Kindneſſes which he had received, married her, by whom he had *Clovis* the firſt Chriſtian King of *France* (17). It was obſerved, that *Richard* of *Vaſebourg* authorizes this Opinion in his Antiquities of the *Belgic Gaul*, and that *all our modern Hiſtorians follow it*. But it was thought ſufficient to quote *Belle-Foreſt*, who ſaid, "That *Childeric* determined to marry, but in ſo doing he appeared very ungrateful to his Hoſt, the King of *Thuringia*, whoſe Wife he debauched and married, without troubling himſelf for the wrong done to *Baſinus*, or the Reproach that he might receive for it (18)." At the Concluſion it was ſaid, that all the Authors, who have been quoted, "are as authentic, and judicious as your (19) Logician *Du Pleix*, who lent you his Whim in this Paſſage, to authorize your want of Judgment." The miſtake was not forgotten, which *Garaſſe* made, when he ſaid, that *Clovis* married *Baſina* (20). It was called both "an impious and malicious Ignorance; for by that means he would make the firſt Chriſtian King of *France* more abominable than thoſe brutiſh *Ethiopians*, who, as St *Jerom* ſays againſt *Jovinian*, defiled their Mothers Bed without any Diſtinction (21)." Inſtances of the like Abominations were quoted there, with many Exaggerations, and long Declamations.

This Diſpute ſhews us part of the Corruptions, which prevail in moſt Writings of this Nature. The Apologiſt paſſes over one of the Faults which had been cenſured: He does not juſtify *Pâquier*, nor does he own, that he was rightly accuſed as to that Article; I mean the Rape of *Baſina*. Our ancient Chroniclers have not mentioned it, and therefore *Pâquier* aggravated *Childeric*'s Ingratitude: he made Additions, which were both fabulous and ſcandalous. The Authority of *Gregorius Turonenſis* might well be alledged againſt him, and nevertheleſs his crafty Apologiſt ſuppoſed, that this Hiſtorian had only been alledged, in relation to the other parts of *Baſina*'s Adventures, and on that Suppoſition founded the moſt inſulting Reproaches. Here are already three great Corruptions; not to acknowledge That Part of the Remarks of a Critic, which is good and juſt; to diſſemble That, which is favourable to him in his Quotations; and to apply intirely, with much noiſe, to That only which may be turned into a diſadvantageous Senſe. Here is another Irregularity: *Garaſſe* cenſured ſome Faults, and committed others in his Cenſure. *Gregorius Turonenſis* was for and againſt him in different Reſpects; he made no diſtinction, but quoted him in a general manner, and placed him between *Æmilius* and *Du Pleix*. Ought he not to have given him the firſt Rank? He perplexed himſelf wretchedly about a pretended Marriage of *Clovis* with *Baſina*. This was done heedleſly: It appears plainly, that a Hurry of Mind, and a Diſtraction common enough among Authors, made him write contrary to what he thought; the Sequel of his Diſcourſe evidently ſhews he did not believe that *Clovis* was the Huſband of *Baſina*. Yet *Pâquier*'s Apologiſt falls violently upon that Paſſage: he takes it to be a capital Crime: His Zeal for the firſt Chriſtian King of the *French* grows warm, and he calls the Figures of Rhetoric to his Aſſiſtance. Is this to act honeſtly? His Adverſary had ſhewn him an Example of a like Corruption; for he had very wrongly armed himſelf with the Appearance of a great Zeal for the Honour of the Nation, on account of their firſt Chriſtian King. He had preferred a Kind of Impeachment for a Crime of State, very unjuſtly, ſince, except the Rape, *Pâquier* had only followed our ancient Hiſtories, and modeſtly repreſented their Conſequences. How ſhameful is it, that Authors ſhould be ſuffered to take the Liberty to engage Sovereign Princes in their petty Quarrels?

SOME Examples of the Frauds of Authors.

It is much more uſeful to make Readers ſenſible of theſe Faults in Writers, than to criticize Hiſtorical Falſhoods: and therefore I hope what I have juſt now obſerved will meet with Approbation.

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(10) Hiſtory of France, Tom. I. pag. 128, ex Fredeg. Scholaſt. cap. 12.

(11) Pâquier, Recherch. de la France, lib. 6, c. 44. pag. 588.

(12) Garaſſe Recherch. des Recherch. pag. 60.

(13) Id. ibid. pag. 61.

(14) Id. ibid. pag. 63.

(15) Defence of *Stephen Paſquier* againſt the Impoſtures and Calumnies of *Garaſſe*, lib. 2. §. 4. p. 160.

(16) Ibid. pag. 162.

(17) Ibid. pag. 163.

(18) Ibid. pag. 164. *Note, the Author obſerves, that* Ronſard confirms that Opinion in *Book* 4. *of his* Franciade, *and that* de Serres *calls that an* Illegitimate Marriage.

(19) *Theſe Words are ſpoken to* Garaſſe.

(20) Defence of *Paſquier* againſt *Garaſſe*, p. 166.

(21) Ibid. lib. 3. §. 2. p. 426, 427.

BASNAGE (Benjamin), the Son of *N. Baſnage*, Miniſter of *Norwich* in *England*, and afterwards of *Carentan* in *Normandy*, was born in the Year 1580. He devoted himſelf to his Father's Profeſſion, and was alſo Miniſter of *Carentan*; nay he continued ſo all his Life, though other more conſiderable Churches, and particularly that of *Rouen*, deſired to have him for their Miniſter. He conſidered his firſt Church as his Spouſe, from whom nothing but Death could divorce him; and therefore he would not make uſe of the liberty, which the National Synod of *Charenton* had given him, in the Year 1623 [*A*]. He aſſiſted in that Synod, as a Deputy of the Province of *Normandy*. In the Year 1631, he was again named by that Province to aſſiſt in the National Synod of *Charenton*; but the King forbad him to go thither, and took his Church from him. He was preſently after reſtored to it, and obtained leave to ſit in that Synod, as a Deputy of *Normandy*. The Remonſtrances, made to his Majeſty by that Aſſembly, produced this good effect. He had given ſuch Proofs of his Capacity and Prudence, that he was elected Moderator of the National Synod of *Alençon* in 1637. This Aſſembly wanted a Moderator, furniſhed with many Talents; for they had very nice Matters to handle. The Diſputes about Univerſal Grace had made a great noiſe; it was to be feared, that a Theological War would break out in the Reformed Churches of *France*, more formidable than a ſevere Perſecution; Mens minds were already very much heated, and prepoſſeſſed. This Synod ſettled Matters on a right foot, to which the Prudence and Conduct of the Moderator very much contributed. He was aſſociated with the Moderator in the National Synod of *Charenton* in the Year 1644. This Aſſembly deputed him to the Queen-Mother, who gave him ſome Marks of her Eſteem. He had a great number of Diſputes with the Controvertiſts; he wrote againſt the Church of *Rome*, and they againſt him (*a*). His *Treatiſe of the Church* was much eſteemed (*b*): He undertook a *Work againſt the indiſcreet Votaries of the Holy Virgin*, which remained imperfect. He died at Seventy two Years of Age, in 1652, which was the Fifty firſt Year of his Miniſtry. He left two Sons, who made his Name very Illuſtrious, both upon their own, and their Childrens, account [*B*]. It muſt not be forgot, that he was deputed to King *James*, and that, by That Prince's leave, he went into *Scotland*, where he did great Service to the Churches in their Temporal Intereſts. King *James*'s Letter of Leave ſtyles him *Deputy from all the French Churches*. He is often mentioned in the *Synodicon in Galliâ Reformatâ*; but That Work, being in *Engliſh*, does not always obſerve the true Orthography of proper Names [*C*], which ſometimes produces Confuſion.

(*a*) Leſcrivain, *and* Draconis *are the chief who wrote againſt him.*

(*b*) *If I am not miſtaken, it was printed at* Rochel, *in the Year* 1612.

[*A*] *He would not make uſe of the Liberty of quitting his Church, which was granted him by the Synod of* Charenton, *in* 1623.] The Provincial Synod of *Normandy* had permitted him to leave his Church; That Church had appealed about it to the National Synod, and That Appeal was rejected by the National Synod of *Charenton*, in the Year 1623. However our *Benjamin* did not leave his Church.

[*B*] *He left two Sons, who made his Name very Illuſtrious, both upon their own, and their Children's, Account.*] The eldeſt, *ANTONY BASNAGE*, was born in the Year 1610, and followed his Father's Profeſſion, and was Miniſter at *Bayeux*. He ſignalized himſelf by his Conſtancy and Courage in the laſt Perſecution; the Priſon of *Havre de Grace*, into which he was put at the Age of Seventy five Years, did not ſhake his Reſolution. When the Edict of *Nants* was repealed, he was ſet at Liberty, and fled into *Holland*: He died at *Zutphen*, in the Year 1681, aged Eighty one Years. He left a Son, whoſe Name is *SAMUEL BASNAGE*, Sieur *de Flottemanville* (1), who had been Miniſter with Him of the Church of *Bayeux*, and is at preſent at *Zutphen*. He is one of the moſt learned Miniſters, who left *France*. He had already publiſhed a Book in *Latin* (2), which is a Continuation of the Critical Obſervations on the Annals of Cardinal *Baronius*, which *Caſaubon* had begun. He is now writing an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (3). I have wrote the Article of the other Son of *Benjamin Baſnage*.

[*C*] *He is often mentioned in the* Synodicon in Galliâ Reformatâ, *which does not always obſerve the true Orthography of proper Names.*] For Example, in the Ninety fourth Page of the ſecond Volume of the *Synodicon in Galliâ Reformatâ*, mention is made of the Deputies of *Charenton, Sainte Mere & le Val de Serre*. It ought to have been ſaid, *Carentan, Sainte Mere Egliſe, & le Val de Serre*. In the Seventy fifth Page *Benjamin Baſnage* is ſtiled Miniſter of *Charenton*; and, in Pages 259, and 274, Miniſter of *Quarentin*; and, in Page 322, Miniſter of *Sainte Mere*. It ſhould be *Sainte Mere Egliſe*; and it ought to have been obſerved, that *Carentan* and *Sainte Mere Egliſe* are two Places, which made but one and the ſame Church among thoſe of the Reformed Religion. They had, indeed, each of them a diſtinct Place of Worſhip; but, as one was looked upon as annexed to the other, there was but one Paſtor, and one Conſiſtory for both. At Page 89, it is ſaid *the Conferente of* Conſtantine, inſtead of *the Conference of the* Cotentin. Theſe are Faults of Orthography, which may confound Readers, and make them think, that there were Churches, in *Normandy*, called *Sainte Mere, Charenton*, and *Quarentin*. A Perſon, who ſhould be employed by Bookſellers to make Additions to a Geographical Dictionary, might imagine he had made a conſiderable Diſcovery, by finding thoſe three Pariſhes in a Country, where the Geographers had not yet perceived them. Faults are like Sparks of Fire; That, which is at firſt but an Alteration of a Letter, becomes ſometimes a Complication, or Heap of monſtrous Falſities. It muſt be remedied early, *principiis obſta*. Here are alſo Miſtakes of another Nature. The Author of the *Synodicon* makes mention (4) of one *Peter Baſnage*, Son of *Anthony*, and Grand-ſon of *Benjamin*, and ſays, that this *Peter Baſnage* had no Church in the Year 1637. This is a Miſtake. *Anthony Baſnage* had but two Sons; the eldeſt called Mr *de Flottemanville*, who was born in the Year 1638. The younger was named *Francis*, and followed the Profeſſion of Arms, and died in the Year 1685. The ſame Author takes (5) Mr *Baſnage*, Miniſter of *Rotterdam*, to be the Son of *Benjamin Baſnage*; but he is only his Grandſon. Theſe ſmall Faults, which I find myſelf obliged to diſcover for the Inſtruction of Readers, do not hinder me from believing, that Mr *Quick*'s Work (6) is very curious and uſeful, and that all the Reformed of *France* are very much obliged to him for the Pains he has taken to make ſuch an ample and exact Collection of their Synods, and for the long Preface, which he has added to it.

(1) *He was born in* 1638.

(2) *Intituled* De Rebus Sacris & Eccleſiaſticis Exercitationes Hiſtorico-criticæ, *Ultraject.* 1692, *in* 4to.

(3) *He has already publiſhed three Volumes of it, in folio, entitled,* Annales Politico-Eccleſiaſtici Annorum D.C.XLV a Cæſare Auguſto ad Phocam uſque. *They were printed at* Rotterdam, *for* Leers, *in* 1706, *and dedicated to the States General in* 1705. *He promiſes to continue this Work.*

(4) *Page* 383.

(5) *Page* 497.

(6) *An* Engliſh *Miniſter, who, in* 1692, *publiſhed, at* London, *the* Synodicon in Galliâ Reformata; or, the Acts, Deciſions, Decrees, and Canons, of the ſeven laſt National Councils of the Reformed Churches of *France*, 2 *Volumes in Folio.*

BASNAGE (Henry), Son of the foregoing, was born at *Ste: Mere Egliſe* in Lower *Normandy*, the ſixteenth of *October*, 1615. He was one of the moſt able and eloquent Advocates of the Parliament of *Normandy*, into which he was admitted in the Year 1636. There was no conſiderable Cauſe, which he was not employed in. He went to *Paris*, with the Deputies of the Province of *Normandy*, on account of the * Tax called *Tiers & Danger:* It was he, who drew up the Memorial of the Province, and who was made choice of to defend That Cauſe. At the requeſt of the Marquis *de Matignon*, he took another Journey to *Paris*, to regulate the Shares of the Succeſſion with the Marquis *de Seignelay* (*a*); and it is well known, that he would have been concerned in the general Review of the Common Laws of *France*, if the Project, formed about it, had been put in execution (*b*). In the Year 1677, he was nominated Commiſſioner for the Affairs of Religion, and worthily diſcharged that Truſt. He was equally ſucceſsful in Conſultations, and Pleadings; and has made it appear, that he could prove as good an Author, as an Advocate. The *Common Law of Normandy*, which he publiſhed with very ample Commentaries in the Year 1678, was ſo much valued, and ſold ſo well, that a Second Edition of it, in Two Volumes in Folio, was publiſhed in the Year 1694. At the ſame time was printed a third Edition of his *Treatiſe of Hypothecæ, or Pledges*. And, notwithſtanding his great Age, the Author had the care of thoſe Editions: his Judgment and Underſtanding continued unimpaired. This is very rare, and happens only to thoſe, who have had both a lively Imagination, and a ſtrong Head; which was his Character. His Religion did not hinder thoſe, who were at the Head of the Parliament, and the reſt of the moſt conſiderable Members of that illuſtrious Body, from having a great Eſteem, and a particular Kindneſs, for him. He received all manner of Civilities from M. *de Monthelon*, firſt Preſident of *Rouen*, to whom he dedicated his *Common Law of Normandy* in the Year 1694. He died at *Rouen*, the twentieth of *October*, 1695, aged eighty Years and four Days. If he had not the pleaſure of ſeeing his Children in his old Age, yet it was a great Comfort to him to hear of the Honour, which they acquired in Foreign Countries by their excellent Writings [*A*]. He had alſo the Satisfaction to know, that his Son-in-Law, Mr *Bauldri*, Profeſſor of Sacred Hiſtory at *Utrecht*, had made himſelf very much eſteemed by his Lectures, and by a learned Commentary on the Treatiſe of *Lactantius de Mortibus Perſecutorum* (*c*).

* It is a Tax which the Gentry pay once in every King's Reign, for Foreſts and Woods.

(*a*) *He had married the Marquis of* Matignon's *Siſter-in-law.*

(*b*) *Some Perſons of Credit have been told, that M.* le Tellier, *Promoter of that Project, had nominated Mr* Basnage *for one of the Executors.*

(*c*) *Printed at* Utrecht, *in* 8vo, *in the Year* 1692.

[*A*] *If he had not the Pleaſure of ſeeing his Children - - - - - yet he heard of the Honour, which they acquired, in foreign Countries, by their excellent Writings.*] His eldeſt Son, *JAMES BASNAGE*, was but a little above Twenty two Years of Age (1), when the Church of *Rouen* deſired him for their Miniſter, in the Room of Mr *le Moyne*, in the Year 1676. He ſerved that Church with much Applauſe from that time, 'till the Revocation of the Edict of *Nants*. Then he retired into *Holland*, and ſettled at *Rotterdam*, where he is Ordinary Miniſter (2). The *Latin* and *French* Books, which he has already publiſhed, and chiefly his admirable Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Meaux*, have fully juſtified thoſe, who promiſed his Hiſtory of the Church would be a very compleat Work; which has been yet farther made good by the Publication of the Work itſelf (3). His other Works are the *Examination of the Methods propoſed by the Aſſembly of the Clergy of* France, *for the Re-union of Proteſtants to the Church of* Rome, printed, at *Cologn*, in 1684. *The Epiſtle of St* Chryſoſtom *to* Cæſarius *the Monk, together with three Epiſtolary Diſſertations*, printed, at *Rotterdam*, in 1687, and reprinted in 1694. *The Holy Communion, or a Treatiſe on the Neceſſity and Means of communicating worthily*, printed, at *Rotterdam*, in 1687, and ſeveral Times ſince. *A Treatiſe on Conſcience, with Reflexions on the Philoſophical Commentary*, printed, at *Rotterdam*, in 1696. *The Hiſtory of the Jewiſh Religion, from* Jesus Christ, *to the preſent Times, by way of Supplement to* Joſephus, actually printed, at *Rotterdam*, in five Volumes in 12mo.

His younger Brother, *HENRY BASNAGE*, Sieur *de Beauval* (4), was admitted Advocate in the Parliament of *Normandy*, and purſued his Father's Steps; but the Troubles, on account of Religion, made him rather chooſe to retire into *Holland*, than to follow a Path ſo glorious in the Eyes of the World. He was very young, when he publiſhed a little Piece on the *Toleration of Religions*, which was wrote with a great deal of Spirit and Judgment. He has acquired, and is daily maintaining, an immortal Reputation over all *Europe*, by publiſhing the *Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned*. The Diſputes he had with Mr *Jurieu* often interrupted him in That Work, and produced ſeveral very lively and ſharp Pieces, on both Sides. His Correction of *Furetiere*'s *Dictionary*, which he has improved with ſeveral Additions and Emendations, and an infinite Number of Examples, taken from more polite *French* Writers, is a Work of very great Uſe. He is again actually reviſing it.

Though theſe Gentlemen are yet living, there is a Neceſſity of mentioning them, to prevent their being continually miſtaken the one for the other, as has been already done in ſome Books. See the Remark [*C*] of the foregoing Article, and this Paſſage of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle:* Wherein it is ſhewn, that the Author of the Hiſtory of the Journals is not very well acquainted with Meſſieurs *Baſnage*. "I have already ſaid, that this Work (5) is very neceſſary; but I muſt add, that it would be much more ſo, if he, who wrote it, had been better informed; for he has committed ſeveral Miſtakes, which diſcredit the whole, 'till they be corrected. For Example, ſpeaking of the *Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned*, which is known to be wrote by Mr *de Beauval* the Advocate, he ſays, that a *French* Refugee Miniſter is the Author of it, and that his inſerting in the Title Page, *By Mr B*** Doctor of the Civil Law*, is only to conceal himſelf the better: That This Miniſter, and Author of That Work, is the ſame, who wrote againſt the Biſhop of *Meaux*, and againſt *Baronius*, confounding, at this rate, three very different Perſons. It is true, we may very well excuſe him on this Article; for it is very rare to ſee one ſingle Family produce ſo many famous Authors; and they, who are not well acquainted with every Branch of it, may very eaſily confound them (6)." This Reflexion is both ingenious and judicious.

(1) He was born at *Rouen* in 1653.

(2) Thoſe who have the Direction of Churches are ſo called, to diſtinguiſh them from other *French* Miniſters, who reſide in the Towns of *Holland*.

(3) *It was printed in* Nov. 1698, *in 2 Vols in Fol. See the* Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, 1698, *pag.* 382, & 500. *And the* Journal of Utrecht, Tom. IV. pag. 24.

(4) He was born at *Rouen, Aug.* 7, 1656.

(5) *That is to ſay*, M. Chriſtiani Junckeri Dreſdenſis Schediaſma Hiſtoricum de Ephemeridibus ſeu Diariis Eruditorum.

(6) Bibliotheque Univerſelle, Tom. XXII. p. 427, 428.

BASTA (Nicolas), by Nation an *Epirote*, was a good Officer of Horſe in the *Spaniſh* Service in the *Netherlands*, where the Duke *d'Alba* brought him in the Year 1567 (a). He ſignalized himſelf in the Defeat of *la Noue* before *Engelmunſter* in 1580 (b). The Duke of *Parma* gave him a very honourable Teſtimony [A], four Years after, by ſending him to the Aſſiſtance of the Elector of *Cologne*. His Father, whoſe Name was *Demetrius*, had born Arms forty Years in the Service of the Houſe of *Auſtria* (c). He was undoubtedly related to *George Baſta* [B], which is ſufficient to prevent the Cenſure of thoſe, who might perhaps be apt to blame me for publiſhing this Article. When a Perſon deſerves a place in a Dictionary, he in ſome meaſure opens the Gate to his Relations. Let this be obſerved once for all.

[A] *The Duke of* Parma *gave him a very honourable Teſtimony.*] It is this: "Hunc (*Blaſium Capiſuccum*) & Nicolaum Baſtam veterem Epirotarum equitum ductorem Coloniam mittens Alexander, Colonienſibus reſcripſerat, delectos à ſe fuiſſe ſtrenuos adeo gnaroſque militiæ viros ut horum conſilia, ſi occaſio ſe daret, tuto ipſe ſequi paratus eſſet (1). ----- Alexander, *ſending Him* (Blaſius Capiſuccus) *and* Nicolas Baſta, *the old* Epirote *General of Horſe to* Cologn, *wrote thus to the Inhabitants, that they were Perſons choſe by him for ſo remarkable a Courage and Skill in War, that, if he had Occaſion, he himſelf ſhould think it the ſafeſt Courſe to follow their Direction.*"

[B] *He was undoubtedly related to* George Baſta.] Some ſay he was his Brother (2), and obſerve, that four famous Hiſtorians (3) have aſcribed a glorious Action of *George* to *Nicolas*; it is the Succour thrown into *la Fere* in the Year 1596. *Bouteroue* has not been guilty of That Fault; he very rightly gives the Name of *George* to him, who performed That Action (4). Few Warriors will conſent to ſuch Aſſignments of Glory, and brotherly Love ſeldom reaches ſo far. The anonymous Author, who publiſhed the Hiſtory of the Archduke *Albert*, in the Year 1693, gives the Name of *Nicolas Baſti* to him, who brought a Convoy of Proviſions into *la Fere*.

(a) Strada, de Bello Belg. Dec. 1. lib. 6.

(b) Id. Dec. 2. lib. 3.

(c) Ib. l. 7. ad Annum 1585.

(1) Strada, de Bello Belgico, Dec. 2, l. 5. pag. 308.

(2) Angell. Galluccius, de Bello Belg. l. 8.

(3) Campana, Davila, Thuanus, Buſſieres.

(4) Rodolph. Botereius Commentar. de Rebus Gallicis geſtis, lib. 3, pag. 272.

BASTA (George), a famous General, in the beginning of the XVIIth Century, was originally of *Epirus* (a), but born in a Village called *la Rocca*, near *Tarentum*. He commanded a Regiment of *Epirote*, or *Albaneſe*, Horſe, when the Duke of *Parma* took Poſſeſſion of the Government of the *Netherlands* in the Year 1579; and he perfected himſelf in the Military Art under ſo great a Maſter as That Duke, who, ſoon diſcovering *George Baſta*'s Merit, made him Commiſſary General of the Horſe in the Year 1580 [A]. There was no conſiderable Enterprize, in which he did not aſſign him a principal part. During the Siege of *Antwerp* in 1584, he had Orders to keep the Field, to hinder any Succours from entring into the Place; and, in 1588, having reinforced the Troops, which beſieged *Bonn*, he contributed very much to the taking of that Town (b). In the Year 1590, he followed the Duke of *Parma* into *France*, to the Aſſiſtance of the *League*; and, in the Year 1592, he had the command of the Rear-guard during the firſt Retreat (c). He was alſo concerned in the Expedition of Count *Charles* of *Mansfeld*, in *France*, in the Year 1593 (d). After which, he went to make ſome Campaigns in *Hungary*, and returned into the *Netherlands*, where, in the Year 1596, he was charged with a very difficult Commiſſion, which he executed very much to his Honour (e); this was to throw a Supply of Proviſions into *la Fere*, then beſieged by *Henry* IV. Never was more Conduct, Secrecy, and Diligence, ſeen, than he made appear on that occaſion. But, without doubt, the beſt Theatre of his Exploits was *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*. In the Year 1601, he obtained a ſignal Victory over *Sigiſmund Battori*, who had cauſed himſelf to be elected Prince of *Tranſilvania*. The Imperialiſts loſt ſcarce 300 Men; but *Battori* loſt above 10000 Men, 110 Colours, 40 Pieces of Cannon, and all the Baggage of his Army. The Town of *Clauſemberg* was beſieged ſoon after, and forced to yield to the mercy of the Conqueror. *Baſta* rid himſelf of a troubleſome Rival, who had ſhared the Honour of that Day with him, I mean the *Waiwode* of *Walachia*, whom he cauſed to be killed in his Tent, on ſuſpicion of his holding a private Intelligence with the *Turks*. The Year following, he quite ruined the Affairs of *Battori*, by the taking of *Biſtric*, and the Defeat of *Moſes*, Prince of the *Sicules*: So that *Battori*, humbly deſiring a Peace, renounced all his Pretenſions, and was ſatisfied with obtaining the Quality of a Baron of *Bohemia*, by way of Favour. In the Year 1603, *Baſta* again defeated the Army, which *Moſes* had raiſed, and perhaps he would have forced the broken remains of it in *Temeſwere*, if the approach of the Winter had not hindered him from beſieging that Place. The Severities, he exerciſed, the following Year, againſt the Proteſtants of *Tranſilvania*, did the Emperor great Injury. He cauſed the like to be practiſed in *Hungary* by the Count *de Bel-joieuſe*, which made

[A] *The Duke of* Parma ----- *made him Commiſſary General of the Horſe.*] I ſhall take this Occaſion to obſerve, that, in thoſe Times, That Office was but of a new Creation in the *Netherlands*. That Duke *d'Alba* brought it thither from *Italy* in the Year 1567, where it lately owed it's Birth to *Ferdinand Gonzague*, Governor of the *Milaneze*. The Duke *d'Alba* conferred it on *Anthony Olivera*, deſcended from That *Martin Olivera*, whom Don *Pedro*, King of *Caſtile*, had ſent for from *France*, to ſerve againſt the *Moors* of *Granada* (1). *George Baſta* diſcharged That Office very well, and it was, during his Sickneſs at *Caudebec*, that the Cavalry, falling off from the good Diſcipline, under which he had kept it, did not perform it's Duty ſo well in the Attack, which the Royaliſts made, upon the Duke of *Parma*, in 1592 (2).

(a) Strada de Bell. Belg. Dec. 2. l. 3.

(b) *Taken from* Strada, ibid. & l. 6. & 10.

(c) D'Aubigné, Tom III. lib. 3, c. 9. Thuanus, lib. 102, circa fin. *See all the Exploits of* George Baſta, *during thoſe two Expeditions, in* Dondini, Hiſtor. de Rebus in Galliâ geſt.

(d) Angell. Galluccius de Bello Belg. lib. 1.

(e) Id. l. 8.

(1) Ex Strada, Dec. 1, lib. 6. ad Ann. 1567.

(2) Dondinus, Hiſtor. de Rebus in Galliâ geſt. lib. 3, pag. 513.

made *Stephen Boſtkai* take up Arms, who ſoon found himſelf ſtrong enough to obtain a Victory over the Imperial Troops, which That Count commanded. *Baſta* could only repair this Loſs in part; for if, on the one hand, the Siege, which he laid to *Caſſovia*, diſingaged the Count *de Bel-joieuſe*, he was, on the other hand, obliged to raiſe it (*f*). In 1605, he had the Vexation not to be able to hinder the *Turks* from making themſelves Maſters of *Gran* (*g*); but he had at leaſt the comfort, by his Encampment near *Comorra*, both to become an invincible Barrier againſt them, and to charge them advantageouſly, upon their going to take their Winter Quarters. The Peace, which was made with the *Turks*, the Year following, and the little time he lived afterwards, ſilenced the Hiſtorians as to any farther Account of his Exploits [*B*]. He was honoured with the Title of a Count (*h*). Some ſay the *Turks* never had any Advantage over him [*C*]. We muſt not forget, that he is an Author [*D*], and in very great Eſteem [*E*].

(*f*) Ex Thuano.

(*g*) Mercure Franç. Tom. I.

(*h*) Strada, Dec. 2, l. 3.

[*B*] *The Peace - - - - - - and his Death - - - - - - ſilenced the Hiſtorians, as to any farther Account of his Exploits.*] *Bonifacio Vannozzi*, in a Letter dated in *January*, 1608, ſays, that two Letters, wrote by *G. M. Praga*, the Seventeenth and Twenty fourth of *December*, 1607, informed him of *George Baſta*'s Death (3). I fancy that this *G. M. Praga* had been Secretary to this General. He lamented the Loſs of this Maſter, and commended the Kindneſs, which Count *Charles*, and the Counteſs his Mother, ſhewed him (4). I take notice of this, only to ſhew that this General did not die without lawful Iſſue. The Advice, which was given to *G. M. Praga*, makes me think, that he had a Mind to write the Hiſtory of his Maſter: That Advice is very good. *Vannozzi* repreſents to him, that, if a Man deſires not to paſs for a Flatterer, he muſt undertake the particular Hiſtory of ſome famous Action, in which the Perſon, whoſe Life he writes, had the principal Part. He points to one, as to *George Baſta*, and adds, that, by managing it in this manner, he would have an Opportunity of repreſenting the glorious Actions of a Man, without ſeeming to affect it. The great Advantage of this Method is, that it does not oblige an Hiſtorian to ſpeak of the Imperfections of his Hero; whereas an entire Hiſtory of his Life requires, that he ſhould be repreſented, not only with his Virtues, but his Vices too. Now how commendable ſoever a Perſon may be, he is not without his Faults; and ſometimes the bad Qualities are as numerous as the good. He quotes, on this Account, what *Livy* ſays of *Hannibal*: "Alcuni per fuggir'ill nome d'adulatore, tanto ambito, quanto dannato, ſi danno à ſcriver' un' attion publica, ò un tal membro di eſſa, nella quale habbia parte principale colui, di cui noi intendiamo iſtoriar l'attiani e la vita: verbi grazia, volendoſi porre in Carta la vita del ſig. Co. Baſta, ſi potrebbe pigliare à diſcriuer' un' accidente della guerra d'Ungheria, ſiaſi il tumulto e la Seditione de Ribelli, od altra impreſa, nella quale S. E. haveſſe hauuto parte principale: & coſi diſſimulatamente metterſi à dir delle ſue prodezze, con molto propoſito, e fuor di ſoſpetto; che hoggi di per lo più non ſi leggono vite e narrationi di Grandi, che non habiano del fauoloſo: E per cotali ſcrittori ſon tenuti à dire il vero, e fuggir la Menzogna: Stando che, così non fuſs' egli, non vi ſia alcuno tanto laudabile, che non habbia i ſuò Nei: Onde ſaggiamente Livio, dopo una gran diceria à favor d'Annibale, chiuſe il periodo così; *Æquabant vitia virtutes*: Perche, come peritiſſimo Maeſtro ſapeva, che non ſi poteva, ne doueva tralaſciar' indietro i cenni de' vizi, del deſcritto per vertuoſo (5)." He takes notice, that *Hannibal*, who had but one Eye, blamed the Painter, who gave him two, and recompenced him who drew him in Profil (6). This ſhews, that he would not have any Body tell a palpable Lie in his Favour; but was very well pleaſed with thoſe, who found out the Art of hiding his Imperfections. *Vannozzi* afterwards hits upon a *Latin* Precept, which is very fine: "*Convien dunque, ſays he* (7), ut veritas ante oculos habeatur, gratia, atque odiis poſthabitis; melius eſt enim Hiſtoricum, & Politicum, ſi non fert ratio temporum, ab Hiſtoria ſcribenda abſtinere, quam eam turpiter mentiendo, & adulando, quod pleroſque factitaſſe Flavius Vopiſcus ſcripſit, maculare. Republicæ enim intereſt, nequid omnino niſi quod ſit compertum & exploratum in lucem exeat, *&c.*" This means, that, if the Times will not allow of ſpeaking the Truth, it is better to forbear writing Hiſtories, than to tell Lies; for the Public is concerned, that whatever is printed be true. He concludes with another Rule; *To praiſe but little, and to blame ſtill leſs. Seniamo la Lettera*, ſays he (8), *con quel moraliſſimo Detto: Lauda parcè, & vitupera parcius.* This was well worth a Digreſſion; which I ſubmit to the Judgment of all diſcerning Men.

(3) Vannozzi, Miſcellaneous Letters, Vol. 3. pag. 189.

(4) Ibid. pag. 190.

(5) Id. ibid. p. 191, 192.

(6) Ibid. pag. 192.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

[*C*] *Some ſay the* Turks *never had any Advantage over him.*] Let us hear *Strada*. "Militari ſcientiâ clarum quem è Farneſianâ Scholâ ſupremum Cæſarei exercitus Ducem vidimus in Pannoniâ ex Othomanicis copiis perpetuò victorem (9). —— *Famous for his military Knowledge, who, from the Duke of* Parma'*s School, became chief General of the Imperial Army, and was always victorious over the* Ottoman *Forces in* Pannonia."

(9) Strada, Dec. 2. l. 3.

[*D*] *He is an Author.*] His *Maeſtro di Campo generale*, was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1606, and his *Governo della Cavalleria leggiera*, at *Francfort*, in 1612.

[*E*] *And in very great Eſteem.*] See here what *Naudæus* ſays of him in his Treatiſe of Military Study; "In equeſtris militiæ diſciplina quatuor ſeu duces ſeu tribuni communiter proponuntur, quorum de ea re lucubrationes tanquam abſolutiſſimæ omnium ſibi calculos & approbationem concilarunt; ſcilicet Georgius Baſta qui ſummus mandatorum curator in Belgico Regis exercitu, & Cæſarianarum deinde copiarum ductor ſummo cum imperio fuit. —— *In the Military Diſcipline of the Cavalry, four Commanders or Captains are commonly propoſed, whoſe Lucubrations on this Subject are univerſally approved, and eſteemed the moſt complete; namely,* George Baſta, *who was Commiſſary general in the King's Army in* Flanders, *and afterwards Geraliſſimo of the* Imperial *Forces.*" The three others are *Ludovicus Melzius*, *Flaminius à Cruce*, and *Johannes Jacobus Walhauſius*.

BATHYLLUS, a young Man of *Samos*, paſſionately beloved by *Anacreon*, who mentioned him often in his Verſes [*A*]. Among the remaining Odes, which we have of that Poet, there is one (*a*), wherein he draws the Picture this beautiful Youth.

(*a*) *It is the* 29*th*.

[*A*] Anacreon - - - - - - *mentioned him often in his Verſes.*] *Horace* obſerves it: Theſe are his Words,

Non aliter Samio dicunt arſiſſe Bathyllo
   Anacreonta Tejum;
Qui perſæpe cava teſtudine flevit amorem
   Non elaboratum ad pedem (1).

Thus for Bathyllus *did* Anacreon *burn,*
And in looſe Verſe his amorous Paſſion mourn.

Andrew Schottus ſhews an unaccountable piece of Madneſs in quoting theſe Verſes of *Horace*, to prove that *Mæcenas* loved the *Pantomime Bathyllus*, of whom I ſhall ſpeak hereafter (2). *Charles Stephens* was not leſs miſtaken, when he ſaid, that *Bathyllus*, the Darling of *Anacreon*, is the ſame with the *Pantomimus*, mentioned in theſe Words of *Juvenal*, *molli ſaltante Bathyllo* (3). Is not this as much as to ſay, that *Juvenal* and *Anacreon* were Cotemporaries?

(1) Horat. Epod. 14.

(2) Andr. Schot. ad Senec. Controv. Præf. lib. 5. pag. 484, *Edit.* Th. de Juges.

(3) *They are in* Satire VI. ver. 63.

[*B*] Poly-

Youth. His Deſcription is not confined, like thoſe of our Romances, to the viſible parts; but extends alſo to thoſe concealed; which is the reaſon that Madam *le Fevre* could not fill up all the places of her Tranſlation, but was forced to leave whole Lines with Aſteriſms. This ſame *Bathyllus* had been loved by *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*, who cauſed a Statue to be erected to him [*B*], in the Attitude of a Man ſinging, and playing on the Lyre. *Chabot* was miſtaken in calling him *Pantomimus* [*C*]. Mr *le Fevre*, in endeavouring to excuſe *Anacreon*'s diſſolute Life, has publiſhed ſome things, which were not very well known [*D*].

[*B*] Polycrates - - - - - - - *who cauſed a Statue to be erected to him.*] Some think, that *Juvenal* ſpeaks of it, when, addreſſing himſelf to the Gods, he ſays,

—— ut video, nullum diſcrimen habendum eſt
Effigies inter veſtras, ſtatuamque Bathylli (4).

Bathyllus' *Statue at this rate may prove*
Thy equal Rival, or a greater Jove.

Others read *Vagelli*, inſtead of *Bathylli*. That Statue of *Bathyllus* was in the Temple of *Juno*, at *Samos*, before the Altar. *Apuleius* has given a very particular Deſcription of it (5).

[*C*] Chabot *is miſtaken, in calling him* Pantomimus.] *Hic Bathyllus*, ſays he (6), *Samius fuit Pantomimus Anacreonti in maximis deliciis.* Very probably his Error proceeds from the Idea he had of another *Bathyllus*, to whom the Title of *Pantomimus* very well agrees, as ſhall be ſeen hereafter.

[*D*] *Mr* le Fevre, *in endeavouring to excuſe* Anacreon's *diſſolute Life, has publiſhed ſome things, which were not very well known.*] I will here perform the Promiſe I made in the Remark [*G*], of the Article ANACREON. This is the moſt proper Place for theſe Things. They would have made That Poet's Article too long; but I ſhall find room enough in this of *Bathyllus*. I ſay, then, that, as Mr *le Fevre* could not be ignorant, that our Poet's Love for *Bathyllus* paſſed for mere Sodomy, and that *Polycrates*'s Jealouſy of *Smerdias* made a great Noiſe, it is unaccountable how he could ſay, "We do not read, that *Anacreon*'s Plea"ſures were Matters of Scandal, nor that his Gaieties "were ever complained of (7)." What he obſerves, in another place, is much more reaſonable. He ſays, that more ſcandalous Paſſions have been ſeen in the Auxiliary Troops of *France*, than *Anacreon*'s Amours. His *Latin* Deſcription of them is too fine to be tranſlated: "An id potius amet quod patrum "noſtrorum memoria in copiis Auxiliaribus vidit Gal"lia?

Serica cum Dominam ducebant vincla capellam,
Cui nitidum cornu multo radiabat ab auro,
Et ſegmentatis ſplendebant tempora vittis.
Illa roſa & myrto ſertiſque recentibus ibat
Altum vincta caput, dilectæ conſcia formæ (8).

"*Or would he rather purſue thoſe Amours, which were* "*obſerved by* France *among the Auxiliary Forces, in* "*the Memory of our Fathers?*

Their Miſtreſs Goat *in ſilken Cords was led;*
Her gilded Horns their Rays of Glory ſpread;
Her Temples with the fineſt Ribbons bound,
Her Head with Myrtles, and with Roſes crown'd,
Proudly ſhe tript, and ſcarcely trod the Ground.

This is a Piece of ſecret Hiſtory, the Circumſtances whereof, it is likely, ſeveral Readers will enquire into; a She-Goat, the Miſtreſs of an *Italian* General, and led in Pomp with the Ornaments of a jointed Baby. It is impoſſible to carry farther, by the moſt ſtrained Conſtructions, the

Novimus & qui te tranſverſa tuentibus hircis (9).

We know who did your Buſineſs, &c.
And what the Goats obſerved with leering Eyes.

Mr *le Fevre* was brought into trouble for This Diſcovery: "It is not proper, *ſays he* (10), that People "ſhould know, that I made the Verſes about the "*Crowned Goat.* Your Father, to whom I formerly "told the Hiſtory of the She-Goat, mentioned in the "Dedication of *Anacreon*, and who is not ignorant in what manner I was treated in the Sanhe"drim, will tell you my Reaſons." Here is ſomething which will facilitate an Enquiry into this Fact. The Duke *de Nemours*, having beſieged *Lyons*, in the Year 1562, "was obliged to retire, being forſaken "by Three thouſand *Italians*, who deſerted for want "of being paid at the appointed Time. Their living "had been ſo licentious, that the Country People "knew no better Remedy, than to burn all the She"Goats of the Places, thro' which they paſſed (11)." I chooſe rather to quote *Varillas*, than *d'Aubigné*, who informs us, "That the Duke of *Guiſe*, having "a Mind, that the Duke *de Nemours* ſhould com"mand at the Siege of *Lyons*, *Tavannes* cauſed the "Army to diſband, and diſguſted the *Italians*, by "ſaying, that he could not lead Men to War, who "forced Children and She-Goats; a thing ſo well "known in the Country, that the Peaſants left not "one She-Goat alive, after their Departure (12)." The ſame Hiſtorian ſays, that the Baron *Des-Adrets*, leading his Men to fight againſt the Count *de Suze*, made no other Speech but this, "See there the "Murderers of Women and Children, and the Lovers "of She-Goates; let us fall on (13)." Doubtleſs *d'Aubigné* knew this by freſh Tradition, and had read an Hiſtorian, who had named the Chiefs of thoſe infamous Soldiers, and who ſays, that *Tavannes*, being either little ſatisfied with the Arrival of the Duke *de Nemours*, who was to command the Siege, or hoping for no good Succeſs from it, retired into *Burgundy*; that afterwards the Duke *de Nemours* "marched di"rectly into *Dauphiné*, where ſeveral Actions were "performed (14); but, *continues he*, the Duke *d'An*"*gueſol*, complaining of his Pay, retired at that Time, "except ſix Companies, which accompanied *Nemours*, "under the Command of *Brancaccio*. Thoſe *Italian* "Troops, ſent and paid by the Pope, did much "harm wherever they paſſed, and plundered the very "Shoes of the poor Lazars they met with, and "were, beſides, ſo villainous and deteſtable in their "Lives, that they brought She-Goats along with "them to make uſe of, for their more than brutiſh "Filthineſs; which was the Cauſe that, afterwards, "the Peaſants killed, and threw into their Layſtalls, "the She-Goats in all the Places through which "they paſſed." The Author of the *Hiſtory of the remarkable Things which happened in* France, *from the Year* 1547, *to the beginning of* 1597, relates the ſame things. "During theſe Tranſactions, *ſays he* "(15), the Sieur *de Tavannes* came from *Burgundy*, "within three Leagues of *Lyons*, with a Deſign to "ſtorm the City; but he was too far off, although "he had then with him above Five thouſand Men, "beſides Three thouſand *Italians*, in the Pope's Pay, "commanded by the Count *d'Angueſol* (16). Theſe "*Italians*, who were the greateſt Pilferers in the "World, carried a great many Goats with them, "and brutiſhly copulated with the Beaſts, *&c.* (17)" It appears by all theſe Authors, that this happened in the Year 1562. But here is a Writer, who mentions other Circumſtances. "The Hiſtory of *France*, "*ſays he* (18), tells us, That the Duke *de Nevers*, "coming from *Italy* into *France*, to aſſiſt the King, "whoſe Crown the Houſe of *Guiſe* endeavoured to "invade, under pretence of Religion, brought from "thence Two thouſand Goats, covered with Capa"riſons of green Velvet, with broad Gold Galoons. "It does not give us room at the ſame time to doubt, "what uſe theſe Goats were for; it tells us, that "they were Miſtreſſes for him, and all his Offi"cers." That Duke *de Nevers*, is, without doubt, *Lewis de Gonzague*, who married *Henrietta* of *Cleves*, the fourth of *March*, 1565. Now we do not read, that he went from *Italy* into *France*, with a Body of Troops, in the Year 1562. He was *Lieutenant General in the Marquiſate of* Saluces, *and the reſt of* Piedmont, *belonging to* France, *and he received* Orders *to draw out thoſe warlike Troops, which were there kept*

(4) Juven. Sat xiii. ver. 118.

(5) Apul. Floridor. p. 350, 351.

(6) Chab. in Horat. Epod. 14.

(7) Lives of the *Greek* Poets, p. 48, *Edit. of* Holl. 1680.

(8) Epiſt. Dedicat. Anacreont.

(9) Virg. Ecl. 3.

(10) Greek Poets, pag. 34.

(11) Varill. Charles IX, Tom. I, p. 225, *Edit. of* Holland.

(12) D'Aubigné Tom. I, p. 214, ad Ann. 1562.

(13) Ibid. pag. 203.

(14) Theod. Beza, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 11. pag. 230, ad Ann. 1562. *It was then, without doubt, that the She-goat ſo well dreſſed up, mentioned by Mr* le Fevre, *was ſeen. It was That of the General. The Soldiers verified then That Sentence of* Claudian, Utque ducum lituos ſic mores caſtra ſequuntur.

(15) *Page* 255, *Edit.* 1599.

(16) Beza *calls him ſo*, pag. 2[illegible]. *of his* Eccleſ. Hiſt.

(17) What I ſuppreſs ✗ here, is word for word what is in the laſt lines of *Beza.*

✗ if it be suppress'd
how shall a Reader
who has not Beza
by him know th
it is word for wo
you say that it
is word for wor
[illegible]
that you suppress
here

(18) D'Artagnan's Memoirs, *Tom. III*, *pag.* 466.

in reſerve (19); and having diſcharged, with the Money the Pope ſent him, *part of the Pay due to* his Soldiers, *he drew out of his Government about Thirteen thouſand Men, entered into* Dauphiné, raiſed the Blockade of *Lyons*, beſieged and took *Mâçon*, and went to join the Duke of *Anjou*, in *Champagne* (20). See *Davila*, in the fourth Book of his Hiſtory (21). One of theſe two things muſt be true; either thoſe Goats were ſeen twice in *France*, or they were not ſeen in the Army of *Lewis de Gonzague*: But however that be, *d'Artagnan*'s Memoirs certainly offend againſt Chronology; for, in the time of the Duke *de Nevers*'s Expedition, the Houſe of *Guiſe* did not attempt to uſurp the Throne. The Proteſtant Hiſtorians, who ſpeak of theſe Goats in the Year 1562, ſay nothing like it about the Duke of *Nevers*'s Troops, in 1567 (22). Now no Body can be ignorant, that their Silence in this Matter is of great Moment.

BATHYLLUS of *Alexandria* (a), a Freedman of *Mæcenas*, and very much beloved by him [*A*], invented, together with one *Pylades*, a new way of repreſenting all ſorts of *Dramatic* Pieces in Dances. This Invention was called the *Italian* Dance (b) [*C*], and comprehended *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, and *Satire*. Not that it was a mixture of them, but that both theſe *Pantomimes* preſerved the Character of each kind in the performance of their Play. They differed in this, that *Bathyllus* excelled in the Comic [*D*], and *Pylades* in the Tragic part (c). The Emulation, which prevailed between them, formed two Sects of long continuance: each of them left ſome Scholars, who endeavoured to make their School famous, and to perpetuate the Name of their Maſter (d); for the Followers of *Bathyllus* were called *Bathylli*, and thoſe of *Pylades* were called *Pyladæ*. Both of them preſerved the Methods and Characters of their Maſters. The Dances of the latter were grave, and proper to excite the great Paſſions of Tragedy; and thoſe of the former were merry, and ſuited with amorous Adventures and comical Subjects. They were ſuch Provocatives to Luſt, and gave ſuch irreſiſtible Temptations to the

[*A*] *He was a Freedman of* Mæcenas, *and much beloved by him.*] See the Scholiaſt of *Perſius*, on theſe words of the fifth Satire,

Tres tantum ad numeros Satyri moveare Bathylli,

and conſider this Paſſage of the Fifty fourth Chapter of the firſt Book of *Tacitus*'s Annals: "indulſerat ei "ludicro Auguſtus dum Mæcenati obtemperat effuſo "in amorem Bathylli. —— Auguſtus *encouraged theſe* "*Diverſions, in complaiſance to* Mæcenas'*s Fondneſs* "*for* Bathyllus." Conſult *Dion* alſo, in the Fifty fourth Book, and *Seneca* in the Preface to the fifth Book of *Controverſies*.

[*B*] *He and* Pylades *were Inventors of a new manner of repreſenting* Dramatic *Pieces in Dances.*] *Suidas* ſays expreſsly, that *Auguſtus invented the Dance of the* Pantomimes, Pylades, *and* Bathyllus *being the firſt, who introduced it* (1). Every body is ſenſible, that *Suidas* means, that *Auguſtus* was the firſt, who authorized, and eſtabliſhed, the Invention of thoſe two great Dancers (2). In the *Greek* of That Author it is Βακχυλίδου; This fault remains in the *Suidas* of *Æmilius Portus*, though *Lipſius* had corrected it (3), when he rectified two Paſſages of *Seneca*, one of which had, *Bathyllo Mæcenate* (4), inſtead of *Bathyllo Mæcenatis*, and the other, *Si Pantomimus eſſem*, *Pantillus eſſem* (5), inſtead of *Si Pantomimus eſſem*, *Bathyllus eſſem*. *Zoſimus* agrees with *Suidas* (6): he places, among the Cauſes of the Deſtruction of the *Roman* Empire, the Introduction of the Dances of the *Pantomimes* under *Auguſtus*, which were unknown before, and of which *Pylades* and *Bathyllus* were the Authors. *Athenæus*, where he ſpeaks from himſelf, names only *Bathyllus*, but when he quotes *Ariſtonicus*, he alſo mentions *Pylades* (7). It is true, that, to find this in his Text, we muſt correct one word of it, as *Salmaſius* has very well done. The *Greek* runs thus, Τοῦτον τὸν Βάθυλλον φησὶν Ἀριστόνικος καὶ Πυλάδης, οὗ ἐστὶ καὶ σύγγραμμα περὶ ὀρχήσεως, τὴν ἰταλικὴν ὄρχησιν συστήσασθαι ἐκ τῆς κωμικῆς, &c (8). We muſt read Πυλάδην, and tranſlate the words thus, "Ariſtonicus ait, Bathyllum hunc "& Pyladem qui librum de ſaltatione ſcripſit, Italicam ſaltationem compoſuiſſe ex comica, &c. —— "Ariſtonicus *ſays, that this* Bathyllus *and* Pylades, "*who wrote a Book on Dancing, invented the* Italian "*Dance from the Comic,* &c." There is no likelihood that, ſince ſo many other Writers had made *Pylades* partaker of the Honour of the Invention, or conferred it altogether upon him, he himſelf ſhould have aſcribed it all to his Rival in a public Piece. This Paſſage of *Athenæus* has ſerved the ſame Critic to correct *Suidas* (9). The words of *Suidas* ſignify, that *Pylades* wrote concerning the *Italian* Manner of Dancing, which he had invented, that is, concerning the Comic, Tragic, and Satiric Dancing (10). *Wolfius* and *Æmilius Portus* underſtand it ſo, becauſe they found no fault in theſe words: Ἔγραψε περὶ ὀρχήσεως τῆς ἰταλικῆς ἥτις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εὑρέθη. περὶ τῆς κωμικῆς καλουμένης ὀρχήσεως —— καὶ τῆς σατυρικῆς. *Salmaſius* pretends, that, inſtead of περὶ τῆς κωμικῆς, it muſt be read ἀπὸ τῆς κωμικῆς, and ſo on; which ſignifies, that *Pylades* wrote a Book concerning the *Italian* Dance, which he had invented and formed out of the Comic, *&c.* It is certain, that, by this means, *Suidas* would ſay a thing, which *Athenæus* relates poſitively. Let the Readers judge whether it might not be true, that *Pylades*'s Book treated in particular of the three ancient Sorts of Dances, and of That, which he had ſubſtituted in the Room of thoſe three, which was neceſſarily different from each of them, though perhaps it retained them all intirely.

[*C*] - - - - - - *which was called the* Italian *Dance.*] I chuſe rather to expreſs myſelf thus; than barely to ſay, that *Pylades* and *Bathyllus* invented the Art of repreſenting a *Dramatic* Piece by Dancing, and the Action of the Hands. I am not ignorant, that many Authors ſpeak of it as of a thing, which began firſt under *Auguſtus*: for, beſides the Authorities quoted in the foregoing Remark, it is certain, that *Suidas* ſays, ſomewhere, *That at this time* (that is, under This Emperor) *the Dance of the* Pantomimes *was introduced, unknown before,* οὔτω πρότερον οὖσα (11). *Zonaras* alſo places the Eſtabliſhment of it under *Auguſtus* (12). But, becauſe *Salmaſius* made it appear, that the Cuſtom of acting Dramatic Poetry by the Motion of the Feet and Hands was much ancienter than *Bathyllus* and *Pylades* (13), it is better to ſay, that they only perfected That Art, and practiſed it after a new Manner. He believes, that, before their Time, the *Pantomimes* performed their Dances and Geſtures while Tragedy or Comedy was repreſenting, and that theſe two Men were the firſt, who diſcharged all the Actors, and introduced Dancing only on the *Orcheſtra* (14). I ſhall obſerve elſewhere (15) with what new Entertainments *Pylades* enriched the Art he profeſſed. *Lipſius* believed himſelf to be the firſt, who diſcovered *Auguſtus* to be the Inventor of That Dance (16). This Diſcovery, as we have ſeen, is not very fortunate.

[*D*] Bathyllus *excelled in the Comic Part.*] *Athenæus* (17), and *Plutarch* (18), inform us of the difference, which was in this Reſpect between theſe two Dancers. It may be very well inferred from theſe words of *Seneca* the Father: "Quidam melius equitem "patiuntur, quidam jugum, & ut ad morbum te "meum vocem, Pylades in comœdia, Bathyllus in "tragœdia, multum à ſe aberant (19). —— *Some can* "*beſt bear a Trooper, ſome a Yoke, and, to inſtance in* "*my own Diſtemper,* Pylades *in Comedy, and* Ba"thyllus *in Tragedy, differ widely from each other.*" The Sequel of the Diſcourſe proves, that the Deſign is to ſhew, that a Perſon is not equally fit for different Parts. But, though each of theſe *Pantomimes* had the female Spectators, that I dare not ſay of them, in my Mother Tongue, what *Juvenal* did in Latin [*E*]. The *Romans* divided themſelves into Parties, on account of theſe two famous *Pantomimes*, and it ſeems, that the Friends of *Bathyllus* had once the Honour of cauſing *Pylades*, to be baniſhed (*e*). The kindneſs of *Mæcenas* for *Bathyllus* may authorize This conjecture, with ſubmiſſion to *Macrobius* [*F*]. See what we ſhall ſay in the Article of PYLADES. Mention is made of *Bathyllus* in the eighth Fable of the fifth Book of *Phædrus*. The Author of *Moreri*'s Supplement has given a very proper account of This *Pantomime*; but his Quotations are wrong; for the Citation from *Plutarch* concerns only a ſmall part of the Article, and That from *Lucian* has two great Defects; one is, that the Book *de Pantomimi Scena*, to which the Reader is referred, is a Chimera; the other, that the Treatiſe *de Saltatione*, where *Lucian* has ſaid many things of *Pantomimes*, does not particularly mention *Bathyllus* and *Pylades*. I believe I have diſcovered the Origin of this wrong Quotation.

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(19) Varillas, Hiſt. of Charles *IX.* *Tom. II.* *pag.* 102, Dutch *Edit.*

(20) Id. ib. pag. 103.

(21) Davila's Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of *France*, *lib.* 4. *pag.* 183.

(22) D'Aubigné, *Tom. I. Book* 4, *chap.* 12, *p.* 314. The Hiſt. of Remarkable Things, *pag.* 329. La Popeliniere, True and Perfect Hiſtory of the Troubles, *Book* 3.

(a) Athen. lib. 1, c. 17.

(b) Suidas in Πυλάδης. Athen. l. 1, cap. 17.

(c) Athen. ib. Plut. Symp. lib. 7, c. 8.

(d) Seneca, Nat. Quæſt. lib. 7. c. 32. *See* Salmaſ. in Carinum Vopiſci; Voſſ. Inſtit. Poët. lib. 2, cap. 38.

(1) Suidas in ὄρχησις.

(2) *See* Zoſimus, lib. 1.

(3) Lipſius in Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. pag. 63.

(4) Controv. Præf. lib. 5.

(5) Præf. lib. 3. Epitom.

(6) Zoſim. lib. 1.

(7) Athen. lib. 1. c. 17, pag. 20.

(8) Salmaſ. in Carinum Vopiſci, pag. 831. *Edit.* Lugd. Bat. 1671.

(9) Id. ibid. *See* Voſſius Inſtit Poët. lib. 2. pag. 180.

(10) Suid. in Πυλάδης.

(11) Suid. in Ἀθηνόδωρος.

(12) Zonaras, lib. 1.

(13) Salmaſ. in Carinum Vopiſci.

(14) Ibid. p. 830, 831.

(15) *In the Article of this* PYLADES.

(16) Lipſ. in Tacit. Ann. lib. 1.

(17) Lib. 1. cap. 17.

(18) Sympoſ. lib. 7. c. 8.

(19) Epitom. lib. 3. Præf.

(*e*) Dion. lib. 54.

had their Excellences and Perfection, as I have obſerved, yet they both undertook Tragedy and Comedy. *Bathyllus* was not the only one, who acted Plays, wherein ſome Perſons were to be repreſented in great Motion, as the *Pans*, and the Satyrs feaſting with *Cupid*; it appears, that *Pylades* ſignalized himſelf by repreſenting a Feaſt, given by *Bacchus* to the *Bacchantes* and Satyrs (20). *Voſſius*, who appropriates ſuch a Subject to *Bathyllus* (21), had not ſufficiently regarded the learned Diſſertation of *Salmaſius*.

[*E*] *I dare not ſay, in my Mother Tongue, what* Juvenal *did in* Latin.] To ſhew how indecent this would be, ſee here *Juvenal*'s words in the ſixth Satire.

Cheironomon Ledam molli ſaltante Bathyllo
Tuccia veſicæ non imperat: Apula gannit
Sicut in amplexu: ſubitum & miſerabile longum
Attendit Thymele, Thymele tunc ruſtica diſcit.

One ſees a dancing Maſter cap'ring high,
And raves and piſſes with pure Extacy:
Another does with all his Motions move,
And gapes and grins, as in the Feat of Love:
A third is charmed with the new Opera Notes,
Admires the Song, but on the Singer dotes:
The Country Lady in the Box appears,
Softly ſhe warbles over all ſhe hears;
And ſucks in Paſſion, both at Eyes and Ears.
DRYDEN.

Father *Tarteron*, the Jeſuit, ſuppreſſed this *Latin* in his new Edition of *Juvenal* (22), which he tranſlated into *French*. He alſo ſuppreſſed ſome other Paſſages, for the Reaſons, which he alledges in his Preface. Thus much by the by.

[*F*] *It ſeems the Friends of* Bathyllus - - - - - - - *cauſed* Pylades *to be baniſhed: The Intereſt of* Bathyllus *may authorize This Conjecture, with Submiſſion to* Macrobius.] He ſays, that *Pylades* incurred *Auguſtus*'s Indignation, becauſe the Diſpute between him and *Hylas*, who had been his Scholar, had raiſed a Sedition among the People. The anſwer aſcribed to *Pylades* by *Macrobius*, *Sir, you are ungrateful, let them concern themſelves with our Quarrel* (23), is the ſame with That mentioned by *Dion*, who reports, that this *Pantomime*, being recalled from his Exile, and reproved by *Auguſtus* for his Quarrels with *Bathyllus*, made anſwer, *It is to your Advantage*, Cæſar, *that we amuſe the People, and hinder them from giving attention to other matters.* Συμφέρει σοι, Καῖσαρ, περὶ ἡμᾶς τὸν δῆμον ἀποδιατρίβεσθαι (24). *Expedit tibi, Cæſar, populum nobis tempus conſumere.* Let who will take *Macrobius*'s Part againſt *Dion*: as to myſelf, I prefer the latter; and I think it moſt probable, that it was not in *Hylas*'s, but in *Bathyllus*'s Favour, that the Emperor was angry with *Pylades*. In the Article of the latter, we ſhall ſee the Oppoſition between *Dion* and *Suetonius*.

[G] *The Supplement of* Moreri *makes a wrong Quotation concerning* Bathyllus. - - - - - - - - *I believe I have diſcovered the Origin of it.*] *Salmaſius* quotes *Lucian* ſeveral times, who wrote a fine Treatiſe of Dancing. Among other Paſſages, he quotes That, which contains the Deſcription of the × Equipage of a *Pantomime*, if I may be allowed the Liberty of That Word, to expreſs all the Inſtruments made uſe of in Dancing. Now, before he quotes thoſe of *Lucian*, he has theſe words, *Lucianus de Pantomimi Scenâ & apparatu*: By which, he does not mean to denote the Title of a Book, but only the Matter of a certain Paſſage he is going to quote. However, Mr *Hofman* was deceived by it; for, after having mentioned part of what relates to *Pylades*, in the Book of *Salmaſius*, he refers us to *Lucian de Pantomimi Scenâ & appar.* and, as he puts theſe words in *Italic*, it is not to be queſtioned but this proved a Trap, into which the Continuator of *Moreri* fell headlong.

× or Paraphernalia

(20) *See the two* Greek *Epigrams mentioned by* Salmaſius in Carinum Vopiſci, p. 835.

(21) Voſſius, Inſt. Poët. lib. 2. pag. 181.

(22) *At* Paris 1689.

(23) Καὶ ἀχαριςεῖς βασιλεῦ ἔασον αὐτοὺς περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀσχολεῖσθαι. Macrob. Saturn. lib. 2. c. 7. in fine.

(24) Dion. lib. 54. ad Ann. 736, pag. 610.

BATHYLLUS, a *Latin* Poet, cotemporary with *Virgil*. See, in the Supplement of *Moreri*'s Dictionary, what is recorded of him. We have only to add this Circumſtance to it, that the ſecond Paper, *Virgil* cauſed to be poſted up, began with the Diſtich, which *Bathyllus* had appropriated to himſelf, and that the next words were, *Hos ego verſiculos feci*, &c. *Giraldus*, who is a Modern Author, ought not to have been quoted, but *Virgil*'s life by *Donatus*. I cannot tell where *Charles Stephens* found his *Bathyllus*, an excellent Tragic Poet, who did not ſucceed ſo well in Comedies.

BAUDERON (BRICE), a *French* Phyſician, born at *Parei*, in the Country of *Charolois*, flouriſhed towards the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth Century. He applied himſelf with great ſucceſs to the Compoſition of Medicines, and publiſhed a *Pharmacopœia* [*A*], which has acquired a very great Authority. It

[*A*] *He publiſhed a* Pharmacopœia.] It was printed ſeveral times. *John de Renou* has obſerved, that the ſecond Edition is of *Lyons*, by *Bennet Rigaud*, in 1596; and that the third is of *Lyons*, by *Peter Rigaud*, in 1603 (1). He ſays alſo, that he had ſeen, in the third, the Fault he had cenſured. Note, he makes this Remark, in a Book, printed in the Year 1623, wherein he anſwers a Complaint of the Son of *Bauderon*, and exhorts him to be "more diligent another "time, in examining and corrrecting more particu-"larly the Writings of his Father; in order to ren-"der them more clear and intelligible to thoſe of "his Profeſſion, inſtead of confounding and making "them more obſcure (2)." From hence we may infer two Things: one, that our *Bauderon* was not living in 1623: the other, that his *Pharmacopœia* had been publiſhed with Additions by his Son. It was tranſlated into *Latin*, by an *Engliſhman*, whoſe Name was

(1) Renou, Antidotaire, lib. vi. c. iv. pag. 739, *of the* French *Tranſlation, Edit. of* Lyons, *in* 1637.

(2) Ibid. *See the Article* RENOU.

It is in *French*. He ſettled at *Mâçon* (*a*), and practiſed Phyſic there many Years. It is from this place he dates the Preface of a *Latin* Book, he cauſed to be printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1620 [*B*], wherein he tells us, he was eighty Years of Age, and had practiſed Phyſic 50. He was not living in the Year 1623 (*b*).

(*a*) *See at the beginning of his* Praxis, &c. *the* French *Verſes of* John Baptiſt Verjus, *of* Maſcon.

(*b*) *See Remark* [*A*].

was *Philemon Holland*. This Tranſlation was printed, with ſome other Pieces of the ſame Kind, at *London*, in the Year 1639, in folio, and at the *Hague*, in 1640, in 12mo (3).

[*B*] *He cauſed to be printed at* Paris, *in* 1620, *a* Latin *Book.*] It is in 4to, and contains Eight hundred Forty nine Pages. The Title is, *Praxis in duos Tractatus diſtincta: in priore agitur de Febribus eſſentialibus, tam ſimplicibus, quàm compoſitis, confuſis, erraticis, malignis, ac peſtiferis, & ſymptomaticis, in genere & ſpecie curandis: in poſteriore, de Symptomatis & Morbis internis, à Capite ad pedes uſque.*

(3) MerckLini Linden. renovatus, pag. 133.

BAUDIER (Michael), a Gentleman of *Languedoc*, lived in the Reign of *Lewis* the XIII. He publiſhed ſeveral Books, which procured him the Character of a Copious, and Laborious, Author, and ſold very well. I know of no other than the following Books: *Inventory of the General Hiſtory of the* Turks (*a*): *The Hiſtory of the Seraglio*: *That of the Religion of the* Turks: *That of the Court of the King of* China: *The Life of Cardinal* Ximenes: *The Life of the Cardinal* d'Amboiſe: *The Life of the Marſhal* de Toiras: *Hiſtory of the Miniſtry of* Romieu: *The* Piedmontois *Soldier's relation from the Camp of* Turin *of what paſſed in the Campaign of* Italy, *in the Year* 1640.

(*a*) *The 2d Edition is of* Paris 1620, *in* 4to.

BAUDIUS (Dominic), Profeſſor of Hiſtory in the Univerſity of *Leyden*, was born at *Liſle* the eighth of *April* 1561. He began his Studies at *Aix la Chapelle*. His Father retired thither with his Family during the Cruelties of the Duke *d'Alba*, and died there in the Year 1576. A little time after, *Baudius* went to continue his Studies at *Leyden*, where he ſtaid but eight Months, and went afterwards to *Ghent*, whither his Mother had retired, and from whence ſhe ſent him to *Geneva*, where he ſtudied Divinity, and performed all the Exerciſes of a Student in that Science. In the Year 1583, he returned to *Ghent*, where he continued his Studies of Divinity under *Lambert Daneau*; then he went to *Leyden*, where, having applied himſelf fifteen Months to the ſtudy of the Civil Law, he was made Doctor of Law in *June* 1585. Some days after, he followed the Ambaſſadors, which the States General ſent into *England*, and became acquainted with ſeveral Perſons of Note, and particularly with the famous Sir *Philip Sidney*. He was admitted one of the Advocates of the *Hague* the fifth of *January* 1587, and, being very ſoon weary of the Bar [*A*], he went to travel into *France* [*B*], where he continued ten Years [*C*]. He found good Friends, and great Patrons, there: *Achilles de Harlai*, firſt Preſident in the Parliament of *Paris*, was one of the latter, and cauſed him to be admitted an Advocate in the Parliament in the Year 1592 (*a*). In 1602, *Baudius* went into *England*, with *Chriſtopher de Harlai*, whom *Henry the Great*,

(*a*) The Life of *Baudius*, which I ſhall quote hereafter, ſays 1591, but it appears, by his 23d Letter of the 1ſt Century, that it was in 1592.

[*H*] *He was ſoon weary of the Bar.*] Being a *Walloon*, he could not ſpeak *Dutch* well enough to plead with Succeſs; beſides he ſtood in need of an Employ, which would furniſh him with ready Money, and That is not to be expected from the Profeſſion of an Advocate, till after many Years. Add to this, that he a little fed himſelf with the Vain hopes of Court Preferment; and laſtly, that he was born a Poet, which, of all things in the World, gives the leaſt reliſh for the knotty Subtilties of the Bar. See the Advice *Lipſius* gives him to perſevere with Patience (1).

[*B*] *He went to travel into* France.] He had a good Opinion of himſelf, and fancied, that he might obtain a public Character to travel honourably. He imagined, that the States would ſend him to the King of *Navarre*, if his Friends ſhould requeſt it of them. He communicated his Thoughts to *Lipſius*, who was then Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Holland*: The Anſwer, which he received from him, taught him handſomely to know himſelf better, "Prioribus "(*literis*) agebas de legatiuncula ad Navarrenum: "quo fundamento, mi Baudi, aut qua ſpe? Nunquam id factum, & ut in tua perſona novum exemplum Ordines inſtituant, cave credas. Tu hoc "& alia mereris, ſed male res humanas noſti, ſi merita in his talibus appendis potius quam fortunam. "------ Hoc unum te moneo ne precipitent te "tuorum vota, pia, ſed improvida, qui ad lapſum "ſæpe impellunt dum cogunt feſtinare. Ne ſperne "honores, ſed nec avide appete, & qui eo minorem "te putant quia cares, tu eos habe pro minutis "(2). —— *You mention, in your former Letters, the "Deputation to the King of* Navarre, *but on what "Foundation, my Friend, and with what Hopes? "There has not been hitherto any Inſtance of ſuch a "Deputation, and I would not have you think the "States will now begin to appoint one in your Favour. You deſerve indeed this, and a great deal "more, but you are little acquainted with the World, "if you think Fortune has not a greater Share in "theſe Things than Merit. ------ One thing I "would adviſe you, not to give too much ear to the "Perſuaſions of Friends, which though well intended "are yet unſeaſonable, and who, by ſpurring on too "faſt, are often the Occaſion of a Fall. Neither "deſpiſe Honours, nor court them too eagerly: And, "if any think the worſe of you, for not being poſſeſſed of them, you ought to think as meanly of "them.*" This is a very wiſe Anſwer; *Seneca* could ſay nothing more judicious. *Baudius* was never the better for this good Advice: We ſhall ſee, in the Remark [*C*], that he continued all his Lifetime infatuated with Deputations and Embaſſies.

BAUDIUS's Infatuation with the Quality of Deputy. *See Remark* [*C*].

[*C*] ------- *where he continued ten Years.*] He teſtifies, in ſome of his Letters, that he deſigned to end his Days there, provided he could meet with a tolerable Maintenance. "Ægrè enim ægrè Galliam deſero, nec deſeram, niſi deſertus ab omni "ἐυελπίᾳ (3). ---- Ego hic aut alibi in hoc regno "ſedem exilii circumſpicio: ignoſcat mihi genius "patriæ, plane non teneor revertendi deſiderio (4). "------ *I have no Thought of leaving* France, *nor "will I leave it, unleſs all manner of Hope firſt "leaves me. ------- I will either here, or in "ſome other part of this Kingdom, find out a Place "of Exile; my Country muſt pardon me, for I have "indeed not the leaſt Deſire of returning.*" He alledges ſeveral Reaſons to *Thuanus*, why he did not intend to return into *Holland*, and he makes uſe of this

(1) *In a Letter dated* Oct. 1.1587. *It is the 2 th among thoſe of* Baudius *in Cent. IV. Edit. of* Leyden, 1650.

(2) Lipſius, *in a Letter dated in the Month of* Sept. 1588. *It is the 27th among thoſe of* Baudius, *in Cent. IV.*

(3) Baudius, Epiſt. 7 Centur. I. pag. 21. *It is dated from* Caën, June 1. 1591.

(4) Id. Epiſt. 8. ejuſdem Cent. p. 22.

Great ſent thither Ambaſſador (*b*). This *Chriſtopher* was the only Son of the firſt Preſident. At laſt *Baudius* ſettled at *Leyden*, being made Profeſſor of Eloquence there in *May* 1602. After the Death of *Merula*, he read Lectures on Hiſtory: and was allowed to do the ſame on the Civil Law. In the Year 1611, the States divided the Office of their Hiſtoriographer between him and *Meurſius* (*c*), and, in conſequence thereof, he wrote the *Hiſtory of the Truce* (*d*). That Work is well penned. *Baudius*'s Style was very polite, as appears by his *Letters*. His Friends publiſhed a great Number of them after his Death, and, from time to time, others have been added to them in the new Editions. He was a great Latin Poet [*D*]: the Verſes we have of his leave no room to doubt it. He compoſed ſeveral kinds of them, and in great Numbers: and they have born many Editions. He

(*b*) *See Remark* [*C*].

(*c*) Baudius, Epiſt. 98. Cent. 3.

(*d*) *Taken from his Life printed at the beginning of his Poems and Letters. See* Meurſius *alſo in* Athenis Batavis, *pag.* 155.

SOME Facts concerning *Baudius*'s Abode in *France*, &c.

this as the ſtrongeſt; That he could not leave *France*, while he hoped for any Thing there. "Nos ---- qui via non pervulgata ad bonam mentem adſpiramus non magis iſtic ad res tractandas idonei cenſemur quam ὄνοι λύρας; vultures togati omnia virtutis præmia poſſident bonis de præſidio dejectis, vel (quod deterius eſt) viri Mercuriales, quibus quam bene conveniat cum genere literatorum diſcimus magno noſtro malo. Denique (quæ ratio maxima eſt) non poſſum à vobis divelli quamdiu ſpeculæ locum videro (5). ----- *We ---- who quit the common Road, in our Search of Goodneſs, are eſteemed there as unfit for Buſineſs, as an Aſs to be a Muſician; The Vultures of the long Robe are in Poſſeſſion of all the Rewards of Virtue, in excluſion of the Good, or (which is worſe) The Men of Buſineſs and Traffic; whoſe Diſpoſition towards Men of Letters I know by ſad Experience. Laſtly, (which is the ſtrongeſt Motive), I cannot be torn from you, whilſt I have the leaſt Hope remaining.*" He was too happy to return into a Country, which he ſpoke ſo ill of. He deſired *Thuanus* to get him into the Family of the Prince of *Dombes* (6); and I believe he made the ſame Requeſt to *Scaliger* (7). He was recommended to a worthy Gentleman, who, beſides his Diet, allowed him Eight hundred Livres a Year (8), and, by that means, he found an Opportunity to inſinuate himſelf into the Acquaintance of all the moſt illuſtrious Perſons in the Parliament of *Paris*, which was then ſitting at *Tours*. He wrote, from *Caën*, to *Thuanus*, that he was about a Work like That of *George Caſſander* (9). I cannot ſay, whether any Body ever placed *Baudius* among the Reconcilers of Religion. He endeavoured to cauſe *Lipſius* to be invited to *Paris*, and was very much vexed, that this Affair was neglected; for he found a great Diſappointment in it. He deſired to ſee his Native Country again, without being at the Expence of the Journey, and in ſuch a manner as might do him Honour, and afford him a Pretence to give himſelf ſome Airs: He hoped to be deputed to fetch *Lipſius*: Was there not reaſon enough to be vexed that they ſhould be ſo backward at *Paris* to ſend for That great Man? "Lipſio equidem omnia ſumma cupio, & ob honorem hominis, & ob amorem literarum. Sed tamen mei potiſſimum commodi ratio à me ducebatur, cum tam ambitioſis flagitationibus hoc agebam, ut huc evocaretur. Suadebat enim voluntas, & rerum mearum ſtatus urgebat, ut in patriam excurrerem: quod ut ſine ſumptu meo & cum nonnulla dignitate fieret, bella occaſio eveniſſe videbatur, ſi quod ſpe ac votis præceperam, publico nomine ad eum accerſendum Legatus forem (10)." When he wrote this to *Thuanus*, his Affairs were in a bad Condition (11); he kept in the Country, becauſe his Purſe was too low to maintain him in *Paris*. The following Letter (12) to the ſame, was wrote in Priſon: He ſays, That no Body would be bail for him, and That, without it, Mr *Servin*'s good Office, at whoſe Recommendation the Judges had been favourable to him, would be intirely uſeleſs. In 1597, he was at *Paris*, full of too preſumptuous Pretenſions. The Envoy of the United Provinces was ſo ill, that it was thought he could not recover. *Baudius*, flattering himſelf with the Thoughts of ſucceeding him, wrote immediate- to *Scaliger*, and deſired his Aſſiſtance to procure him the Character of Envoy of the States General to *Henry* IV (13). *Scaliger* returned him almoſt the ſame Anſwer that *Lipſius* had done about ten Years before (14). In the Year 1598, *Baudius* wrote to the two Envoys of *Holland*, at the Court of *France*, moſt humbly beſeeching them to procure him ſome Employment in his Country's Service (15). In the Month of *July*, of the ſame Year, he was in Priſon for bailing another inconſiderately. *In carcerem conjectus ſum nullum ob flagitium, ſed ob inconſultam ſpondendi temeritatem* (16). In the Year 1602, he went into *England*, with *Chriſtopher de Harlai*, as his Secretary and Counſellor, and as a learned Man. *Profectus ſum in Angliam ut ei ſim à conſiliis, à ſecretis, ab interioribus ſtudiis* (17). The ſame Year he went into *Holland*, where he was made Profeſſor. This is all his Letters have informed me of concerning his Abode in *France*. He thought himſelf ſo fit for an Embaſſy, and had ſo ſtrong an Inclination this way, that his Profeſſorſhip at *Leyden* could not cure him of That Paſſion. Above all, he would fain have been appointed to congratulate *Henry* IV, in the Name of the States General, upon the Report, that This Prince had been elected King of the *Romans* (18). "Si qua occaſio aperiretur, ut extra ordinem publico nomine in Galliam legari poſſem, multum felicitati meæ gratularer. Sed hæc ægri ſomnia ſunt, ut & rumor ille qui pervagatur de Gallo deſignato Rege Romanorum. Quid ſi tamen ita eſſet, cum inſit in incredibili ſæpe veritas, & in veriſimili mendacium, non diſconveniret magnificentiæ Illuſtriſſimorum Ordinum, mitti qui publicam lætitiam ſecunda Oratione teſtarenter (19). ----- *I ſhould think myſelf very happy, if I could meet with an Opportunity of being ſent Embaſſador Extraordinary into* France. *But theſe are only a ſick man's Dreams, as well as the Report of the* French *King being elected King of the* Romans. *But, if it ſhould be ſo, as we ſometimes find incredible things to be true, and probable things to be falſe, it would not be unbecoming the Magnificence of the High and Mighty States to teſtify the public Joy on this Occaſion by a complimenting Embaſſy.*" In the Year 1607, he went into *England* to preſent his Poems to King *James*, and he had a great Notion of getting himſelf to be deputed to That Prince by the States General. For this Purpoſe he deſired Mr *Vander Myle*, *Barnevelt*'s Son-in-law, to recommend him to his Father-in-law; and did not queſtion but that *Barnevelt* would invent ſome Pretence for this Deputation. But, not ſucceeding in this, *Baudius* was reſolved to purſue his Deſign at all Events, and ſo undertook That Journey with no other Character than That of his own Deputy. "Si ampliſſimi Ordines aliquid huic mortali mandare dignarentur quod noſtra vox deferret ad aures Regis, forte nihil admitterent cujus eos pœnitere poſſet, & mihi tum gaudio tum honori eſſet reip. cauſa legari, nec Baudii negotium omittere. ---- (20) Sin fruſtra mecum hæc blanda ſomnia meditor ibo à me legatus (21). ----- *If the Illuſtrious States would vouchſafe to charge me with a Compliment to the King, perhaps they would do nothing they need be aſhamed of, and it would be both a Pleaſure and an Honour to me, to repreſent the Republic, and, at the ſame time, not to neglect my own private Affairs. --- But, if I only flatter myſelf with vain Hopes, I will go my own Embaſſador.*"

[*D*] *He was a great* Latin *Poet.*] See the Judgment *Borrichius* (22) and *Morhofius* (23) paſs on his Poems. The firſt Edition is not of the Year 1607 (24), but of the Year 1587: He dedicated it to *Peter Regemorterus*. This Epiſtle dedicatory is the ſecond of *Baudius*'s Letters. He had publiſhed a Book of *Iambics*, by itſelf, dedicated to the Cardinal *de Bourbon* (25). He dedicated ſome of his Poems to the King of *England*, and ſome others to the Prince of *Wales*, in the Edition of the Year 1607, and he went over Sea to make his Preſent to his two Patrons. He had the cruel Mortification to return Home without receiving the Value of a Farthing from

(5) Id. Epiſt. 6. Cent. I. pag. 18.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Epiſt. 8. pag. 22.

(8) Scipio Sardinius. *See Mr* Servin's *Letter to* Baudius, *pag.* 38 *of* Baudius's *Letters. See alſo pag.* 41.

(9) Epiſt. 7. pag. 20.

(10) Epiſt. 41. Cent. I. pag. 66. *dated in the Month of* Auguſt, 1595.

(11) *See the* 42*d*, *and* 43*d*, Letters *of the firſt Century.*

(12) *It is the* 44*th Letter.*

(13) *Letter* 55. *pag.* 70.

(14) *See above, Citation* (2).

(15) *It is the* 47*th Letter.*

(16) Epiſt. 48. *pag.* 74.

(17) Ib. 55. Cent. I. pag. 80.

(18) *See, above, the Remark* [*F*] *of the Article* AGATHON.

(19) Epiſtol. 71. Cent. I. pag. 103. *dated from* Leyden, March 25, 1603.

(20) Baudius Epiſt. 64. Cent. 2. pag. 253.

(21) Ibid. pag. 254.

(22) Differtat. de Poët. pag. 140.

(23) Polyhiſt. p. 306.

(24) *Mr* Baillet *believed it.* Judgment on the Poets, n. 1385.

(25) *See the* 9*th Letter of Iſt Century.*

He died at *Leyden*, the Twenty ſecond of *Auguſt* 1613 (*e*). He had ſome mortifications in the latter Years of his Life [*E*]. He was none of thoſe warlike Doctors in

thoſe two Princes; all he gained, by That Journey, was to become their Creditor, which was not worth his Expences. Here follow his Grievances and Complaints (26). “ Arbitror te ex indicio famæ factum “ eſſe certiorem, me ſuperiori menſe Auguſto transfretaſſe in magnam Britanniam, cujus & Monarchæ “ de manu in manum tradidi Saliſberiaci Poëmata “ mea, quorum minus malum carmen heroicum ejus “ honori inſcribitur. Duo vero Gnomarum Iambi- “ carum libri dedicati ſunt Principi Britanniarum, “ quicum horam amplius unam familiariter ſum collocutus. Sed hac fine ſtetit omnis regia liberalitas, “ nec teruncio factus ſum propenſior, ut vel meo “ exemplo liquere poſſit, magnos terrarum dominos “ poſſe perdere, non donare. Interim non pœnitet “ ſuſcepti itineris, niſi quod te non offenderim. “ Nam & habeo reges debendi reos, & olim fors “ fuat intelliget

Ἣν ἄτην, ὅ τ᾽ ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισε.
Durabo, & memet rebus ſervabo ſecundis.

“ - - - - - *I ſuppoſe you have heard, that, in* Auguſt “ *laſt, I croſſed the Sea into* Great Britain, *to whoſe* “ *King I preſented my Poems, at* Saliſbury, *with my* “ *own Hand, the moſt tolerable Copy of* Heroics *being inſcribed to him. The two Books of moral Sentences, in Iambics, were dedicated to the Prince* “ *of* Wales, *with whom I had the Honour of above* “ *an Hour's familiar Converſation. But the Royal* “ *Generoſity reached no farther, nor was I one Braſs* “ *Farthing the better for it, ſo true is it, from my* “ *Example, that great Princes can ruin, inſtead of* “ *rewarding. However, I do not, in the leaſt, repent of my Journey, except only in not meeting* “ *with you. For I have now thoſe Princes in my* “ *Debt, and perhaps they will ſome time or other* “ *remember*

How wrong to ſlight the braveſt of the Greeks!
We muſt with Patience wait for better Times.

[*E*] *He had ſome Mortifications in the latter Years of his Life.*] He was obliged to ſollicit a long time for an Augmentation of his Salary, though they could not be ignorant of the grievous Perſecutions he ſuffered from his Creditors. He deſired only to be admitted into the Sect of the *Millenarians*, that is, that his Salary might be raiſed to a thouſand Gilders (27), which was hardly granted him, after many mean Sollicitations, when *Scaliger*'s Penſion was divided among ſeveral other Profeſſors. “ Multis collegarum aucta “ ſunt ſtipendia, quo nomine illis gratulor non invideo: “ ſane omnes videntur quaſi facto agmine concurriſſe ad cernendam hæreditatem & legenda ſpolia “ maximi virorum Joſephi Scaligeri (28). Læſus “ eſſe videor quod præteritis comitiis nulla ſit habita Baudii ratio nec in augendo peculio, nec in “ causâ ordinariatus, quum tamen multi collegarum “ etiam plura obtinuerint quàm auſi erant ſperare (29). “ - - - - - *Many of my Colleagues have had their Stipends augmented, for which I congratulate, and not* “ *envy, them: Indeed they ſeem to have flocked together on Purpoſe to enter upon the Inheritance, and* “ *divide the Spoil of the greateſt of Men,* Joſeph “ Scaliger. *I think I have been very ill uſed, in* “ *not being taken notice of by the laſt Aſſembly either as to increaſing my Salary, or making mine a* “ *Profeſſorſhip in Ordinary, when ſeveral of my Colleagues have obtained even more than they could expect.*” Nay, at that very time, poor *Baudius* was the laſt, who was thought of, though he alledged, that he had contributed as much as any Body to That great Man's coming into *Holland* (30), At laſt his Stipend was raiſed, but they forgot his repeated Inſtances on another Account: he was left Profeſſor extraordinary, though he had ſollicited a long time for a Place among the ordinary Profeſſors, that he might enjoy the right of Suffrage in the Aſſemblies of the Univerſity, without which he could not have any ſhare in the Perquiſites ariſing from Promotions. “ Intellexi heſterna die ex ſermone noſtri “ Heinſii herois, habitam eſſe Baudii rationem in “ ſupplemento peculii. Quo nomine plurimum me “ Collegio Curatorum, in primis autem benevolentiæ “ tuæ debere confiteor. Sed ſi eadem opera in ordinem redactus eſſem, nulla ex parte beneficium “ claudicaret. Niſi forte honorificentius eſt quod extra ordinem nobis ob ſedulam in publico munere “ obeundo curam ac diligentiam præmium ſit decretum, quam ſi adſcriptus eſſem manipulo Ordinariorum. Mihi quidem judicia bonorum & optimæ voluntatis conſcientia potior eſt omni prærogativa ſententiæ dicendæ: tamen aliquid dandum “ eſt famæ, & publico hominum errori (31). - - - - “ *I underſtood yeſterday, from the Diſcourſe of our* “ *great* Heinſius, *that ſome Regard has been had to* “ *the augmenting my Salary. On which Account I* “ *own myſelf very much obliged to the College of Curators, but moſt of all to your particular Kindneſs.* “ *If by the ſame means I could have been ranked* “ *among the ordinary Profeſſors, the Favour would* “ *have been perfect in every Reſpect. Unleſs it be* “ *thought more honourable to decree me an additional* “ *Reward as Profeſſor extraordinary, on account of* “ *my great Care and Diligence in the Diſcharge of* “ *my Office, than if I had been liſted among thoſe* “ *in ordinary.*” *Baudius* was not grown the wiſer for *Lipſius*'s Advice. “ I value the Eſteem of good “ Men, *ſays he*, and the Teſtimony of my Conſcience, more than the Privilege of giving my “ Voice; but ſome Regard muſt be had to Fame, “ and popular Error.” Thus Men love to flatter themſelves, and deceive the Public: They would enjoy Honours, and the glory of deſpiſing them, at the ſame time. “ It is not, that we ourſelves value, *ſay* “ *they*, ſuch a Degree of Honour, or ſuch a Prerogative, which makes us ſollicit for it; but, becauſe the Vulgar will deſpiſe us, if we cannot obtain it.” But what had *Lipſius* ſaid to *Baudius?* “ Look on thoſe as the loweſt ſort of People, who “ ſhall deſpiſe you, becauſe they do not ſee Fortune “ favour you.” If *Baudius* had made uſe of this wiſe Maxim, would he have ſaid, that ſome Regard muſt be had to popular Opinions? To leave this moral Digreſſion, our Profeſſor attained the Right of voting before his Death: He was ranked, at laſt, in the Claſs of Profeſſors in ordinary (32); but, by the Maxim, *Turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur hoſpes*, it had been better for him, if he had not been received into it; for he was degraded from it; and becauſe, during That Suſpenſion, he had taken Place of a Profeſſor in ordinary at a Funeral, he was ſeverely reprimanded in a full Academical Council, where he was cited to appear for ſeveral other Reaſons (33). I ſay nothing of the Injunction he received, not to pronounce the *Speech* he had prepared againſt the Scholars of *Leyden*, who had, in a ſeditious Manner, committed many Diſorders (34). He was alſo forbid to publiſh it. But it was publiſhed afterwards, and is a very good Piece. I have not hinted, that they took from him the Profeſſorſhip of the Civil Law (35), and that the Academical Council declared to him, on his Admiſſion into the Body of the ordinary Profeſſors, that he ſhould take Place laſt of all (36). He would not ſubmit to That Sentence, but alledged his common Topic again, that ſome Regard ought to be had to the Errors of the People. “ Fortiter contemno & Stoica firmitate con- “ coquo ineptias illas & concertationes de loco, quum “ ad rectam rationem & ad ſerium ac ſeverum judicium rem exigo. Sed obſecundandum eſt populo “ & ſcenæ, cujus calculo magni ſæpe viri ex ejuſmodi inanibus vel æſtimantur vel depretiantur (37). “ —— *I heartily deſpiſe, and, with the Firmneſs of a* “ *Stoic, am intirely unconcerned at thoſe Follies and* “ *Contentions about Place, upon a ſtrict and ſerious Conſideration of the Matter according to right Reaſon.* “ *But we muſt ſuit ourſelves to the preſent Taſte and* “ *Times, according to which theſe Trifles have very* “ *often a great Share in advancing or blaſting the* “ *Characters of Great Men.*” This is down right declaring, that he did not regulate his Conduct by right Reaſon, duly conſidered, but by popular Follies, duly conſidered. Let us paſs to other Matters; his ill Husbandry made him fall into Poverty, and under the Hands of his Creditors, ſo as to occaſion, in his Perſon, ſome Diſgrace to the Univerſity: For he was put under Guardianſhip, as incapable of the Adminiſtration of his Eſtate. “ Ut liberer ab impe- “ rioſa

(*e*) Ibid. St Romuald *in his* Chronological Journal *has it the* 17*th of* June.

(26) Epiſt. 91. Cent. II. pag. 298. *dated the* 5*th of* May, 1608.

(27) *See the* 5*th Letter of the* IIId *Century*, p. 324.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Epiſt. ult. Cent. II. pag. 313. *dated* Febr. 14. 1609.

(30) Pag. 324.

(31) Epiſt. 6. Cent. III. *dated* May 13, 1609.

(32) *This was not yet done the* 17*th of* March, 1610. *See Letter* 15. *Cent. III. It was done* March 23, 1611. *See Letter* 79, *of the ſame Century.*

(33) *See Lett.* 92. *Cent. III, pag.* 470, *dated* July 2. 1612.

(34) *The Year* 1608. *See Lett.* 84, *and* 87, *Cent. II.*

(35) *It was without any mark of Diſhonour:* Nec ordine motus eſt quaſi neſcius exercendi, ſed honeſta miſſione donatus, ſtipendiis nullam partem imminutis, ut onere ſublevaretur. *Meurſius Athen. Bat.* pag. 156. *See alſo* Baudius, Epiſt. 79. Cent. III. pag. 445.

(36) Epiſt. 79. Cent. III.

(37) Ibid. pag. 447.

in the Cabinet, who will neither have Peace nor Truce, and who treat, as ill affected to their Country, all thoſe, who do not reject the Offers and Offices of the Mediators of Peace, as a dangerous Poiſon, and a fatal Snare. He earneſtly exhorted the States to make a Truce with *Spain*. It is true he durſt not put his Name to the two Speeches he publiſhed on that Subject (*f*). It is alſo true, that thoſe two *Speeches* [*F*], and the Verſes he made upon *Spinola*, excited great murmurings [*G*]. This pacific humour only regarded the State; for he was otherwiſe no Enemy to Poetical Quarrels: he maintained them with ſo much violence, that I do not believe, that the moſt famous Heathen Poets, for the bitterneſs of their Invectives, ſuch as *Archilochus*, and *Hipponax*, could ever heap up more abuſes, or make a more exquiſite choice of vilifying Expreſſions. He principally employed them againſt the declared Enemies of the great *Scaliger*. They could not bear any Contradiction, and the moſt Cunning Man would have ſound it a very difficult thing to ſtop their Mouths. So that there was a reciprocal Shooting, and alternate

(*f*) *He publiſhed one under the name of* Latinus Pacatus, *and the other under that of* Julianus Rosbecius.

“ rioſa auctoritate Curatoris homo jam quinquagenario major, nec, ut opinor, ætatis vitio delirus, aut ad agnatos & gentiles remittendus - - - - - dedecus vero publicum fuerit nos in hoc regno libertatis adminiſtratione bonorum prohiberi quaſi rebus noſtris ſupereſſe non poſſimus (38). - - - - *That I may be freed from the Arbitrary Power of a Guardian, who am now above fifty Years old, nor yet, I think, ſuperannuated, or in ſuch a State as to need being put under the Care of my Relations and Friends. - - - - - But this is a very public Diſgrace, to be debarred the Adminiſtration of my own Affairs, in a Nation of Liberty, as if I had loſt my Senſes.*” We ſhall mention hereafter his keeping a Miſtreſs, which made him the Jeſt of all the Country. In a Word, this poor Man went through ſo many Vexations, that he ſays, in one of his Letters (39), he would have put an end to his Life, if God had not ordered us to keep our Station here, ’till he calls us from it. His Courage and drinking kept him up. He was not ſurprized, when the Faction of his Colleagues threatened to expel him from the Chair of the Civil Law, or to oblige him to Silence by the great Noiſe the Scholars ſhould make (40). Was it not better to live like a Hermit, than with ſuch Colleagues?

[*F*] *The two* Speeches, *he made on the Peace, - - - excited great Murmurings.*] We ſhould rather ſay, they had like to have ruined him; for Prince *Maurice* was made to believe, that he was abuſed in it, and a Report was ſpread, that the Embaſſador of *France* had bribed the Author, with a good Sum of Money, to write concerning the Truce. *Baudius* was obliged to write both to the Prince, and his Secretary, in his own Juſtification; and to deplore his ill Fortune for expoſing him to a Crowd of malicious Calumniators, or falſe Interpreters of his Words (41). “Suppoſe, *ſaid he*, I have not had a ſufficient Knowledge of every particular Fact, to be able to adviſe what is moſt expedient for our Country; does it therefore follow, that I muſt appear to have acted like an ill Subject in freely ſpeaking my Sentiments in ſuch a Republic as ours?” “Quod ſi per imprudentiam factum eſt, ut à recte ſuadendo mens aberraverit, quandoquidem pleraque τῶν καθ’ ἕκαστα me latent, circa quorum cognitionem recti conſilii norma gubernari non poteſt: ſaltem nihil feciſſe arbitror præter officium boni civis, ſi in regno ac domicilio libertatis, quæ ſub ejus præſidio ſecura conquieſcit, auſus ſum uti felicitate temporum, quibus & ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias fidenter effari liceat (42).” In all Countries, there are but too many Perſons, who think no Body can differ from them on State Affairs, without being bribed by the Enemies of their Country. There are others of better Underſtanding, who know very well, that a Man may have a great Zeal for the Public Good, and, at the ſame time, be of an Opinion quite contrary to theirs; but yet make People believe, that ſuch an Opinion ſavours of Treaſon: they muſt do it to make others afraid to contradict them. Whether it proceeds from the Jealouſy of the Ignorant, who think, that there is no right way but their own (43), or from the Art of cunning Men, who make others believe what they do not believe themſelves, a Man is equally to be pitied, when he finds himſelf expoſed, as *Baudius* was, to the Fury of Slanderers. “Illud in univerſum obtinet, *ſays he*, vitio humanæ malignitatis, ut nihil tam commode dicatur à viris alicujus famæ & exiſtimationis quin læva interpretatione depravari poſſit. - - - - - Quid porro abſurdius eo genere hominum qui me rumoribus diſtulerunt, quaſi redemptus eſſem pretio ab ampliſſimo Præſide & Legato Jeanninio ut ſcilicet inanes logos pro inſigni liberalitate rependerem, & ſuccenturiarer doctor umbraticus viro in ſummis rebus trito ac ſubacto (44)? - - - - - *It is univerſally true, ſuch is the Malice of Mankind, that the beſt Thing which can be ſaid by Men of Character and Reputation is liable to Miſconſtruction. - - - - - But what can be more abſurd, than the loading me with this Calumny, as if I had been bribed by the illuſtrious Preſident, and the* French *Embaſſador, in order, it ſeems, to repay them empty Words for their great Liberality, and for me, who am only an obſcure Doctor, to be added as an Aſſiſtant to one, who has been ſo thoroughly verſed and employed in the greateſt Affairs?*”

[*G*] *And the Verſes which he made for* Spinola.] The Marquis of *Spinola* went into *Holland* before there was any thing concluded, either about a Peace or Truce. *Baudius* printed a *Poem* in Praiſe of That Marquis; but he ſuppreſſed the Copies of it, ’till the Buſineſs, which brought him thither, ſhould more plainly appear. He only gave ſome of them to his moſt intimate Friends. “Mitto tibi exemplum carminis quo gratulatus ſum Marchioni Spinolæ, quum in hanc regionem illius ergo adveniret. Curavi, ut vides, illud typis excudendum. Sed ex conſilio amicorum hactenus aſſervavi intra penetralia Veſtæ, nec communicavi niſi cum pauciſſimis intimæ admiſſionis. Certe non eſt viſum conſultum, ut ipſi traderetur. Non quod illic quidquam ſit indignum conſtanti vero vel bono cive: ſed quia non videtur, *&c.* (45). But yet it was known, that this Poem was printed; and the Author was like to have been baniſhed for it. He eſcaped that Puniſhment, only becauſe there were ſome equitable Perſons among thoſe, who examined that Piece of Poetry. *Penè mihi ſtetit exilio hæc editionis feſtinatæ temeritas, niſi ſanior pars inſpecto carmine me omni culpa liberaſſet* (46). A great many others would have pronounced, that no Body could praiſe That Marquis, without being a Traitor to the State, and a Penſioner of the Court of *Spain*. *Pravo & ſiniſtro ingenio nati ſunt qui crimen & pene perduellionis ſcelus putant, ſi quis aſſurgere audeat in laudem hoſtis. Tales multos alit hæc ætas, & quidem inter eos ſunt qui ſedent ad clavum reip. ſub quorum maxillis edendum* (47). They would, at leaſt, have appeared, outwardly, of Opinion, that whoever does not ſpeak, or write, according to their Inclinations, and prejudiced Notions, muſt neceſſarily be a Traitor: And this it is not to conſider, that Reaſon has different Faces, and does not appear in the ſame Light to all ſorts of Underſtandings. There were even particular Excuſes for *Baudius*: He was a good Poet, and could not avoid thinking on all remarkable Subjects; the Marquis of *Spinola*’s coming into *Holland*, was a Subject of that Nature; it was, therefore, very poſſible, that *Baudius* made Verſes on that Marquis, only to exerciſe his Muſe on a noble Matter, without any ill Thoughts againſt the State. This was not only very poſſible, but alſo very probable. Beſides, the Expectation of ſome Piſtoles, as a Reward for ſome Verſes, is very conſiſtent with the moſt perfect Loyalty. The worſt that could be ſaid of him, was, that he alternate Broadſides, between the Univerſity of *Leyden*, and the College of *Antwerp* [*H*]. I have not found, that *Baudius* makes any mention of his Children; but I know that he left his laſt Wife big with Child (*g*), and that he was at leaſt twice married [*I*], and that this was not the moſt unexceptionable part of his Life.

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(38) Epiſt. 9. Cent. IV. *dated* June 13, 1613.

(39) *It is the 19th of the IVth Century, p.* 496.

(40) Epiſt. 58. Cent. III. p. 408, 411.

(41) *See Letters* 2, 3, *and* 4. *Cent. III.*

(42) Epiſt. 4. Cent. III. pag. 320.

(43) Homine imperito nunquam quidquam injuſtius, Qui niſi quod ipſe facit nihil rectum putat. *Terent. Adelph. act.* 1. *ſc.* 2. *Mr* Morus, Præf. Notar. in Nov. Teſt. *ſays, that inſtead of* imperito *it ſhould be* ſemidocto. *It is certain, that, in the Matter here in queſtion, there are no ſuch falſe and raſh Judges, as the half Learned.*

(44) Epiſt. 3. Cent. III. pag. 319. *See alſo* pag. 321.

(45) Epiſt. 86. Cent. II. pag. 287.

(46) Ibid. pag. 288.

(47) Ibid. *See alſo Letter* 95. *Cent. II. p.* 302.

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he had not the Zeal of the Times, that is, ſuch a Temper of Mind as to take Fire, and ſtartle at the very hearing the Word *Spaniard*. He kept his Affections cool, and wiſhed well to the Public calmly, and without Paſſion, and only according to Reaſon. “Ego tamen ſi lentum hoc negotium ſperato pacis eventu concludetur, ut ex intimis ſenſibus voveo, non dubitabo virum *(Marchionem Spinolam)* affari, & quidquid hujus eſt muneris meque omnem ipſi offerre, ſalvo jure patriæ libertatis (48). —— *But if this tedious Treaty ends in a Peace, as I heartily wiſh it may, I ſhall make no Scruple to apply to him,* (the Marquis *Spinola*,) *and offer all the Service I am capable of, conſiſtently with the Liberty of my Country*.” But the Public has occaſion for quite another Diſpoſition, That of an artificial and blind Hatred. Diſcourſes, which feed this Paſſion, are at leaſt Appurtenances of Maxims of State, *Arcanorum Imperii*.

[*H*] *There was a reciprocal Storm, and an alternative Aſſault, between the Univerſity of* Leyden, *and the College of* Antwerp.] See the Book entituled, *Væ Victis, luſus Rhetorum advaticorum adverſus Leydenſes eructationes, munerario Godefrido Vrancken*. It is the true Name of a Jeſuit, mentioned by *Alegambus* (49); and yet he aſcribes the *Væ Victis* to the Jeſuit *Maximilian Habbeque* (50). It was printed in the Year 1609. There is mention made in it of a Writing, which I have not ſeen, publiſhed, the Year before, by the Jeſuits of *Antwerp*, againſt one *Sthlaſſius*. It would require a long Liſt, to give the Titles of all the Pieces, printed at that Time, in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, againſt the Profeſſors of *Leyden*, and in *Holland*, againſt the Jeſuits. *Baudius* was one of thoſe, whom the Jeſuits attacked after the moſt cruel Manner: He is terribly laſhed in the *Væ Victis*. *Scribanius* did not ſpare him in the Year 1607, in his *Dominici Baudii Gnomæ Commentario illuſtratæ*. *Baudius* did not deny, but that he had wrote too paſſionately againſt the Jeſuits, and ſeemed to be troubled for it; he hoped alſo, that Perſons of Candor would not take rigorouſly, what he had only expreſſed according to poetical Licence. Here is what he wrote to *Swertius* (51): “Utinam rebus integris, te monitore & conſiliario eſſem uſus! liber noſter, ſi non melior, ſaltem ſecurior & latioribus auſpiciis exiſſet in lucem. Multaque nimis licenter effuſa, vel privatis laribus incluſiſſem ne temere erumperent, vel, quod tutiſſimæ cautionis genus eſt, tardipedi deo commiſiſſem. Nunc poſt culpam admiſſam ſerio ringor, verum haud gravate veniam impetraturus confido apud elegantioris notæ judices & benignos rerum æſtimatores, qui non abrepti præjudiciis aut partium ſtudiis, in cauſæ cognitione diligenter expendent, quantum publicis legibus ac moribus licentiæ Poëtarum concedatur. —— Ante omnia & vellem & fuerat melius, non tetigiſſe unctos. Nec prudentiſſimo conſilio factum eſſe confiteor, quod tela ſtrinxerim in univerſam Sotericorum ſodalitatem. Sunt enim ex iis multi, quos ob doctrinam & virtutis ac probitatis indolem revereor atque obſervo. —— *I wiſh I had asked your Advice, before I had taken one Step. My Book, if not with Improvements, would, at leaſt, have been publiſhed with greater Pleaſure and Security. Many things, too freely touched, would either have been kept ſtill private, or, which is the ſafeſt Way, committed to the Flames. I now heartily repent of my Fault, but hope to meet with no ſmall Favour from Judges of the higheſt Rank, who eſtimate things fairly, and without being influenced by Prejudice or Party, will carefully conſider, what Allowances our Laws and Cuſtoms always make to poetical Licence. —— Above all I wiſh, and it had better, I never had meddled with the Jeſuits. Nor was it prudent to attack their whole Society. For there are a great many of them, whom, for their Learning, Virtue, and Probity, I reverence and eſteem.*” In another Letter, wherein he owns, that his Stile was too paſſionate, he hopes, that the Rage, which his Enemies expreſs againſt him, will excuſe him with equitable Perſons. He goes on, and ſays, “I have juſt now read a Book, publiſhed againſt me, which is altogether interwoven with ridiculous Lies, though the Title ſeemed only to promiſe the Pen of a Friend (52).” *Serio pœnitet quædam nimiæ acerbitatis foras erupiſſe, quæ domi continuiſſe, & vellem & fuerat melius. —— Verum ut rem natam intelligo, non erit mihi ſollicite cauſa dicenda apud æquos judices. Ipſa enim adverſariorum procacitas & convitia ſine more effuſa largam materiam mihi præbent non tantum ad ſperandam abſolutionem, ſed ad conſequendam laudem moderationis ac modeſtiæ. Vidi enim & evolvi heſterna die à capite ad calcem librum in me conjectum*, &c (53). Several Reaſons ſhew, that the Book he had juſt read, was the Commentary *in Gnomas* (54). Now that Commentary was a Work of *Scribanius* (55), and yet *Baudius* aſcribes it to *Roſweide*, with ſo much Perſuaſion, that he declares, nothing can alter that Belief: *For*, ſays he, *this reſembles the other Writings of that Jeſuit, like two Drops of Water; there appears the ſame Genius, Humour, Stile, and Character.* We may conclude from hence, by the way, that the beſt Judges of Stile may be miſtaken in their Opinion of this ſort of Likeneſs, and in the Conſequences they draw from thence, as to Authors of Books. *Non poſſum demoveri ab ea ſententia quin exiſtimem ac prorſus perſuaſum habeam, editorem hujus præclari fœtus eſſe Patrem Heribertum Roſweidum. Nam non ovum ovo, nec aqua è puteo tam ſimilis eſt aquæ, quam liber iſte refert nobis indolem, genium & characterem aliorum librorum, qui ab eodem Patre ſunt expoſiti* (56). What is remarkable in it is, that *Baudius*, who feared to find, in the Commentary on his *Gnomæ*, the Infirmities of which he knew himſelf guilty, had, as he ſaid, the Comfort to find nothing in it, but ſuch Falſities as were notorious to all thoſe, who knew him. *Verebar ne curioſus alienarum papularum obſervator, ea mihi ex vero objiceret, quæ seriò conſcientiam remorderent, & diligentius vivendi neceſſitatem imponerent. Nunc quæ de me inclementer dicit, pleraque talia ſunt, ut riſum non bilem moveant iis qui me nôrunt, nec ad alios judices provocandum habeo, quàm qui oculis & ſenſu communi non deſtituuntur* (57). It is commonly the Fault of Satiriſts; they are too ſparing in the Article of Spy-Money; they impute Crimes which are falſe, and omit thoſe which are true. *Baudius* diſowns the *German* Author, who had made his Apology in the Chair, againſt the Commentator on the *Gnomæ*. “Quidam paraſitaſter parvulus è Germania huc adveniens, me multum reclamante, impetravit à Senatu noſtro Academico, ut ſibi liceret publice pro mea dignitate ſcilicet adverſus illum declamare. Ac ne quid ad ſummam finiſteritatis deeſſet, aut ut caput unctius referret, etiam orationem illam in vulgus edendam curavit. Teſtari poſſum ex animi ſententia, mihi factum iſtud vehementer diſplicuiſſe. Satius enim erat me deſeri ab omni patrocinio, quam à tam infirmo tibicine cauſam noſtram ſuſtentari (58). —— *A certain inſignificant Sycophant coming hither from* Germany, *obtained leave of our Univerſity, in ſpite of all I could ſay to the contrary, to make a Declamation in my Defence, againſt that Author. And that he might completely ſhew his Awkwardneſs, or make a ſprucer Appearance, he has publiſhed that Oration. I can truly ſay, I am exceedingly diſpleaſed with this Performance. For it is much better to be deſtitute of all Defence, than to take up with ſo poor a one as this.*” I muſt further obſerve, that the Invectives, *Baudius* ſeems moſt to repent of, are thoſe which relate to Princes and crowned Heads. He did not ſpare even the King of *France*, who was an Ally of the Republic. *Sed horrifica dictu ſunt quæ in Lojolitas, in editorem Amphitheatri, in impuriſſimum Schoppium ſtringimus. Atque utinam hoc fine ſeſe cobibuiſſet ſtyli noſtri procacitas. Sed in Pontificem, in Philippos, in Archiduces, in partium duces, evomit virus acerbitatis ſuæ, nec parcit ipſi Liligero regi* (59).

[*I*] *He was at leaſt twice married.*] He ſpeaks of his Wife's Death, in a Letter of the tenth of *March*, 1610 (60), and he writes the Twenty firſt of *February*, 1613, that he was married again. *Opinor jam*

te

(*g*) *She was delivered of a Daughter, after the death of* Baudius. *See* Caſaub. *Epiſt.* 794. *pag.* 1012.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Bibli. Soc. Jeſ. pag. 162.

(50) Ibid. pag. 337.

(51) *Letter* 86. *Cent. II.* pag. 286, 287.

(52) *He ſays the ſame thing, pag.* 276, *concerning the* Commentary in Gnomas.

(53) Epiſt. 75. Cent. II. pag. 269. *dated* Nov. 10, 1607.

(54) *See* Romauld's Chronological Journal, June 17, *concerning that Book, and occaſionally concerning* Baudius.

(55) *See* Alegambeus, pap. 72.

(56) Epiſt. 75. Cent. II. pag. 270.

(57) Epiſt. 86. Cent. II. pag. 288.

(58) Ibid.

(59) Epiſt. 58. Cent. III. p. 406.

(60) *It is the* 14*th*, *of* III*d Century*.

Wine and Women were the two Rocks, on which his Reputation was ſhipwrecked [*K*]: This

te ex fama audiiſſe me choro maritorum iterum eſſe adſcriptum (61). I have not had time to look over every Letter, Page by Page, ſo that I cannot tell whether he mentions the Time, when he married his firſt Wife, or whether he had any Children by her, or not: but I know, that this Wife had Children by another Husband; for *Baudius* mentions a Son, and a Daughter of his Wife (62), and complains alſo of the Daughter's ill Houſwifry (63). Perhaps the Son-in-Law, which *Theophilus* gives to this Profeſſor, might be this bad Houſwife's Husband. It may be alſo, that, for want of Attention, *Theophilus* calls him Son-in-law, who was only *privignus*, the Wife's Son (64). The Author of the *Væ Victis* obſerves, that *Baudius* had no Children.

Natura quamvis liberos neget tibi
Effœte BURDI, nec tibi BAUDI, tua
Similes parentis Hecuba filios creet (65).

Tho' ſterile Burdius *no Offspring knows;*
Nor Hecuba, *whom for his Wife he choſe,*
To Baudius *his Infant Likeneſs ſhews.*

[*K*] *Wine and Women were the two Rocks, on which his Reputation was ſhipwrecked.*] Since this Remark will be ſomewhat long, I ſhall divide it into Sections.

I. As to the firſt, he confeſſes the Fact: See three fine Paſſages on that Subject, at the Head of his Letters, extracted from his own Letters. I only relate the firſt and ſecond. " Concurrant omnes, *ſays* " *he* (66), non dicam ut ille Satyricus, augures, haruſpices, ſed quidquid eſt ubique hominum curioſorum, qui in aliorum acta tam ſedulo inquirunt, " ut ea fingant quæ nunquam fuerunt, nihil inveniet " quod in nobis carpere poſſit livor, quam quod interdum ad exemplum priſci Catonis liberalius invitari nos patimur, nec ſemper conſiſtimus intra " ſobrietatem veterum Sabinorum. Huic quoque peccatulo indies moderari conamur, & pulchre procedit. —— *I defy, not only as the Satiriſt ſays, Augurs, and Soothſayers, but alſo all inquiſitive Perſons whatever, who pry ſo induſtriouſly into other* " *Peoples Affairs, and forge Facts which never happened, to diſcover, if they can, any thing in my* " *Character, worthy of Cenſure, except my now and* " *then indulging a little too freely, after the Example of old* Cato, *and breaking through the ſober* " *Rules of the* Sabines. *And even this ſmall Fault* " *I am every Day endeavouring to mend, and have* " *gained a good deal of Ground.*" He expreſſes this with a better Grace, in the ſecond Paſſage: " Malignitas obtrectatorum nihil aliud in nobis ſugillare " poteſt quàm quod nimis commodus ſim convivator, & interdum largius adſpergor flore Liberi patris (67). —— *The moſt malicious can accuſe me of* " *nothing but being too good a Companion, and ſometimes taſting a little too freely of the Favours of Father* Bacchus." Since he has confeſſed his Fault, there is no occaſion to produce *Scriverius* as a Witneſs againſt him, who ſuppoſes, that *Charon*, having given *Baudius* his Choice, either to remain in the other World, or to return into this, on condition to drink Water, and take his firſt Wife again, *Baudius* choſe the former (68). Here is already ſomething relating to the ſecond Head; *Scriverius* would not have made ſuch a Suppoſition, if *Baudius* had lived well with his firſt Wiſe.

II. Never had any Man leſs need to be comforted than he, when he loſt her. His good Friend *Heinſius* could not forbear being merry upon it, both in Proſe and in Verſe, which he addreſſed to him; he wrote to *Grotius* on the ſame Subject, and told him, That our Age did not come ſhort of That, which had ſeen *Xenophon* make an end of his Sacrifice, notwithſtanding the News of his Son's Death; nor of That, which had ſeen *Q. Martius* go from the Burial of his Son to the Senate. " *Baudius, ſays he to him,* made " himſelf drunk the Day he buried his Wife, and " left nothing to do for the Comforters; he had effectually adminiſtered to himſelf, before their coming, " all the Conſolation it was poſſible for them to think " of. The emptineſs of his Purſe is much more " grievous to him, than the Vacancy he has met " with in his Bed. I have helped him to ſome Money, " which has revived all his Spirits; for, inſtead of That " melancholy Air, and thoſe down-caſt Looks, which " appeared in him, as if his Wife had been ſtill living, " I ſay, inſtead of that great Sadneſs, I perceived him " raiſed all at once to a ſort of Gaiety." *Baudius noſter eo ipſo quo uxorem extulit die vinum guſtare voluit —— omnia ſolatia quæ exulceratis adhiberi mentibus ſolent ipſe occupavit. Nihil amicis in luctu reliquit quod vel imputare illi poſſent —— Stabat antea demiſſo vultu ac triſti: uxorem ejus vivere adhuc credidiſſes* (69). *Vix ſpes melior affulſit, reſpirare cœpit, & conſtanter multa de fragilitate vitæ diſputare: nemo funus eſſe in ædibus exiſtimaſſet* (70). All theſe Pieces of *Heinſius* are diverting. But this Inſenſibility was not the greateſt Fault *Baudius* committed, in relation to that Sex. We ſhall ſee, preſently, more unlucky Incidents.

As ſoon as he came into *France*, he ſtopped ſo long at *Caën*, that there was a Report he was detained there by a Miſtreſs. *Non poſſe me hinc à muliercula divelli quam impotenti amore depeream* (71). He denied it, and ſaid, that the Dangers, which he had met with in the Journey, were the Cauſe of ſo long a ſtay. He ſaid alſo, that, in ſpite of the Oppreſſions of the Profeſſors, he might, at leaſt, have taught the Civil-Law at *Caen*, if he had not engaged himſelf elſewhere. He gives a very bad Idea of That Univerſity, as to the Faculty of the Civil-Law. " Timuerunt ſibi Juridici Profeſſores ne ego —— eos de " imperitiæ poſſeſſione dejicerem. —— Præſes de quo " retuli verbis acribus homines iſtos caſtigavit eoſque " aſſimilavit Draconi Heſperidum hortorum. Tenes " quorſum. Quid multa? frementibus miſeris iſtis " leguleis partim odio religionis, partim conſcientia " Inſcitiæ ſuæ, perfectum eſt ut qui Leidæ gradum " accepiſſent, legitimè promoti videantur (72). —— " *Theſe Profeſſors of Civil-Law were afraid that I* " —— *ſhould diſpoſſeſs them of their Ignorance.* —— " *The Preſident, I told you of, ſeverely reprimanded* " *them, and compared them to the Dragon, who watched* " *the* Heſperian *Gardens. You know on what Account.* " *In ſhort; notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of thoſe* " *wretched half Civilians, partly from the Quarrel* " *of Religion, and partly from the Conſciouſneſs of* " *their own Ignorance, it was eſtabliſhed, that they, who* " *had taken their Degree at* Leyden, *ſhould be allowed* " *as regular.*"

Scriverius believed, that *Lipſius* meant *Baudius*, when he wrote to *Barclay*, in the Year 1599. " Scribit ad me, queritur, ſed parum apertè, & ulcus " aliquod ſermonum eâ veſte tegi equidem odoror. " Si leve curatu, parum eſt: ſin pravum aliquod & " *δυσίατον* (*inſanabile*) doleo cauſſa præclari ingenii quod ſeſe (ah temere, ah ſtulte) in barathrum " & præceps dedit. *Quis illigatum te triformi Pegaſus expediet Chimerâ?* Sed meliora opto (73). " —— *He writes to me, and complains, but with* " *ſo much Reſerve, that I ſuſpect ſome Ulcer at the* " *bottom. If it may be eaſily healed, the Matter is* " *not great; but if it be of a malignant Kind, and* " *incurable, I ſhall be ſorry for the ſake of ſo ingenious a Man, that he ſhould, fooliſhly, and inconſiderately, throw himſelf headlong into ſuch a Pit.* " Where will you find a *Bellerophon* to extricate you " from this monſtrous Chimæra? *But I hope better* " *Things.*" This ſavours of a Man drawn into, or deeply engaged in, an unhappy Intrigue.

To end with the worſt part, I ſhall anticipate the Order of Time, and here obſerve, that he had made a Promiſe of Marriage, which he did not keep. —— When he found himſelf a Widower, and preſſed both by his Poverty and Conſtitution, to ſeek another Wife, he charged two of his Friends to inform him of the Circumſtances of his former Miſtreſs, and declared to them, that, if ſhe was rich, he was ready to marry her before any other. He did not queſtion but that he was ſtill beloved by her. " Veteribus " amoribus meis ex animo volo, nec ullam præoptaverim, ſi ad cæteras dotes accedat etiam copioſus " imber qui olim per impluvium defluxit in ſinum " Danaes. —— Niſi moleſtum eſt, velim aliquid " temporis impartiare diſquiſitioni, quo loco res ejus " ſitæ ſint. Nam quin vivat noſtri memor, & non " immunis amorum, nullus dubito (74)." The Anſwer he received, was a Proof that he had too good an Opinion of himſelf; the Lady declared, ſhe did not love great Drinkers. *Baudius* apprehended her meaning,

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(61) Epiſt. 3. Cent. IV.

(62) Epiſt. 8. Cent. IV. pag. 486, & alibi.

(63) Epiſt. 22. Cent. III. p. 344.

(64) *See above, at the end of the Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* BALZAC (J. L. Guez de).

(65) In Epicithariſmate pag. 13.

(66) In Epiſtola quâdam ad Curatores Academiæ. *It is the* 33d *of Cent. III. of Edit. of* 1650, *the Paſſage is at pag.* 361.

(67) Epiſt. 26. Cent. III. p. 350.

(68) *See* Dominici Baudii Amores, pag. 14.

(69) Ibid. pag. 12, 13.

(70) Ibid.

(71) Epiſt. 16. Cent. I. pag 36.

(72) Epiſt. 23. Cent. I. pag. 45. *See alſo his Poem* In tres Juris Perverſores, ibid. p. 35.

(73) *See* Amores Baudii *at the beginning.*

(74) Epiſt. 22. Cent. III. p. 345, *dated* June 1. 1610.

This expoſed him to Contempt, and Public Laughter. His very Friends made ſmart

meaning, and his Conſcience was eaſed by that Refuſal; for he made a Scruple of breaking his Promiſe; but now he found himſelf free, ſince ſhe would not accept of him. "Etſi ſincero affectu nympham il-
"lam proſequor, tamen magis liberandæ fidei reli-
"gione, & veterum repromiſſionum ultro citroque
"ſtipulatarum memoria adductus ſum, ut conſortium
"ejus ambire non dedignarer, quam formæ leno-
"cinio, vel divitiarum conditione (75). —— Gaudeo
"me bona cum nymphæ ejus gratia liberatum eſſe
"nexu veteris promiſſi, *καὶ διπλεύρȣ συναλλάγ-*
"*ματος*, cujus adhuc me nonnulla inceſſebat ſuper-
"ſtitio (76)." It is remarkable, that all theſe Scruples of Conſcience did not hinder him from annexing a Condition to the Deſign of executing his promiſe. Which Condition was, that his former Miſtreſs ſhould be rich (77), or elſe he would not marry her; and, to ſoften what might be too hard in this Reſolution, he added, that, in this, he only conſidered her Intereſt; *for*, ſaid he, *would it not be very injurious to her, to bring me Children, who could expect no other Inheritance from us, but Poverty and Hunger?* "Tu
"vero me tacente ſatis intelligis quam parum ex uſu
"utriuſque foret, *τὸν λιμὸν καὶ τὴν ϖενίαν* (78),
"infelici contubernio invicem ſociari. Quocirca niſi
"tam bene fundatum ſit patrimonium amicæ, quam
"unice diligo, ut ſine notabili incommodo noſtris
"difficultatibus mederi queat, in rem communem eſt
"ut aliud mihi ſubſidium proſpiciam. Quod ne in
"eam partem velit interpretari, quaſi quidquam de-
"trimenti ceperit amor ille priſtinus, quo juvenculam
"forma & ætate florentem ſum complexus, teſtor ex
"animi ſententia me hoc ejus cauſa facere, ne li-
"beros educemus in ſpem egeſtatis atque eſuritio-
"nis (79)."

He made his Addreſſes elſewhere, *viz.* to one, whoſe Name was *Sophia*, in whom he found nothing good but her Riches. She had a very brutiſh Father, from whom he received a thouſand Hardſhips; and ſhe ſeconded her Father for ſome time, and complained of having been ſtolen: Very probably, ſhe had been taking a Ramble for ſome Days with *Baudius*, which was then a piece of Gallantry in that Country. *Baudius* thought this Complaint very ridiculous, and moſt likely to ſtain *Sophia*'s Reputation; and he ſaid, by way of Alluſion to *Fimbria*'s Proceſs againſt *Scævola*, that ſhe had nothing to complain of, except that the Weapon was not thruſt up to the Hilt.
"Nihil habet quod de nobis queratur, niſi forte
"velit eam intentare accuſationem quam adverſus
"Scævolam - - - - - quod ſcilicet non totum telum
"corpore receperit (80)." *Sophia* was pacified, and ſeemed to diſapprove her Father's Brutality. *Baudius* was in Raptures at this, and ſpoke of nothing but Marriage, though he knew very well, that this Miſtreſs had no other Merit but a good Portion. The laſt Obſtacle was removed, which was a Promiſe of Marriage, *Baudius* had made to a proſtituted Servant, who ſued him on his Promiſe (81), and I believe, that, after this, the Marriage with *Sophia* was conſummated. The following Paſſages prove This Lady's ill Qualities, and her Father's Brutality. "Heſterna die graviter apud Recto-
"rem queſtus ſum de - - - - - - Renovavi etiam ve-
"teres offenſas quod me in cauſa deſipientis Sophiæ
"allocutus eſſet tanquam vitæ iratum, & candidatum
"patibuli. Sed Sophiam iſtam ſuis moribus ulciſcen-
"dam permitto, ſi quidem rata habet quæ barbarus
"parens in me ruſtice & inciviliter deſignavit: nam
"contrarii rumores ad me deferuntur. Nonnulli
"dicunt eam honorifice & amice de nobis loqui:
"quod ſi ita eſt, recte & ordine facere ipſam arbitror,
"*καὶ γὰρ τόγε λώϊον εἴη*, & tunc paratus ſum
"omnium præteritorum memoriam fideli amneſtia ex
"animo delere, *καὶ μὴ μνησικακεῖν*. Sin talia
"flagitia probat, nunquam eam ſermone fuero dig-
"natus. Sunt enim qui dicant me ab ipſa proſcindi
"tam cruentis convitiis, quaſi crimen ſit quod vivam
"(82). - - - - - - *Yeſterday I complained heavily to*
"*the Rector concerning.* - - - - - - *I even ripped up*
"*former Grudges, and accuſed him of having trea-*
"*ted me, in the Affair of the fooliſh* Sophia, *as*
"*One angry with Life, and a Candidate for the Gal-*
"*lows. As for* Sophia, *I leave her to the Puniſhment*
"*of her own Manners; if ſhe indeed approves of the*
"*rude and uncourteous Treatment I have met with*
"*from the Brute her Father; for I have been told*
"*the contrary. Some ſay, that ſhe ſpeaks reſpect-*
"*fully and friendly of me; if This be true, I think*
"*ſhe behaves with juſtice and decency; and I am then*
"*ready to forget every thing paſt. But, if ſhe ap-*
"*proves of ſuch vile Treatment, I will never con-*
"*deſcend to ſpeak to her more. For I am informed*
"*by ſome, that She reproaches me with ſuch bitter-*
"*neſs, as if it were a Crime, that I am alive.*" Behold a good-natured Man! he had already ſhewn, that he was eaſy to be pacified. "Reverſus domum
"- - - - - - optata omnia comperi de mea Sophia,
"quæ me abſente ancillam lecti & arcanorum ſociam
"miſit ad patrem ſcitatum - - - - - - - - ſuper noſtra
"majeſtate, an durius accepiſſem plenam familiarita-
"tis repulſam, & an fera beſtia factus eſſem, amiſſa
"voluntate revertendi. Ego vero oculum mihi ex-
"ſculpi malim, quam pati ut tam opima conditio
"elabatur è manibus (83). - - - - - - - - - - *Returning*
"*home, I found every thing relating to my* Sophia
"*juſt as I could wiſh: She had ſent her Chamber-*
"*Maid and Confidant to her Father, to enquire* - - - -
"*concerning My Majeſty; whether I reſented her*
"*abſolutely denying to admit of my Familiarity, and*
"*whether I was ſo furiouſly enraged, as to reſolve*
"*never to return. For my own part, I would ſooner*
"*loſe an Eye, than miſs ſo fair an Opportunity of*
"*being happy.*" This Good-nature would be leſs ſhameful, were it not for the Poverty, to which *Baudius* was reduced, and the great Eſtate of His *Sophia*. We meet with the following Words, in the Ninty fifth Page of the *Dominici Baudii amores*, and in the firſt Letter of the IVth Century, Page 479. This Letter was written the Twenty firſt of *July* 1612. "Plerique putant hanc labem non alia condi-
"tione deletum iri, quam ſi inſulſum pecus uxorem
"duxero, cui præter Sophiæ nomen nihil adeſt hu-
"mani cordis. An ideo pereundum erat Pompeio
"magno, ſi Lucullus non eſſet luxurioſus? Ego in-
"vitam cogere non poſſum ut velit eſſe conjux in-
"victi Jovis, & tanti non eſt ut vel illi, vel furioſo
"parenti ſupplicem. Dos tamen non eſſet adſpernan-
"da, niſi marita foret, & poſſet abſque muliebri
"capite contingere. Poſtquam - - - - - - - - reverſus
"fuerit, perſuaſu amicorum decretum eſt mihi jacere
"noviſſimam aleam, & exquirere an mecum lege fi-
"delis *καὶ ἀδόλȣ ἀμνηϛείας* paſciſci velit. Para-
"tus ſum ex animi ſententia conceptis verbis jurare *μὴ*
"*μνησικακεῖν*: dum & ipſa levitatis culpam agnoſ-
"cat, & parentis furias non approbet. Si tergi-
"verſabitur, relinquam illam ulciſcendam ſuis mori-
"bus, & aliam conſortem invenero, quæ melius in-
"telliget ſuam felicitatem. - - - - - - - *Many think I*
"*can never wipe off this Diſgrace, but by marrying*
"*This Fooliſh Creature, who has nothing of Human,*
"*but The Name of* Sophia. *Would* Pompey *the Great*
"*have been ruined, if* Lucullus *had not been luxu-*
"*rious? I cannot compel her, againſt her Will, to*
"*be the Wife even of* Jupiter *himſelf; and it is not*
"*worth my while humbly to ſue either to Her, or*
"*her mad-brained Father. Her Fortune, I confeſs,*
"*is not deſpicable, could it be obtained without mar-*
"*rying, and having the Woman into the bargain.*
"*When he returns, I have reſolved, by the Advice*
"*of my Friends, to make one Effort more, and try,*
"*whether we can come to terms of Agreement, on*
"*condition of forgetting every Thing paſt. I am*
"*ready, on my part, ſincerely to ſwear an eternal*
"*Oblivion; provided She acknowledges her own Le-*
"*vity, and does not approve of the injurious Treat-*
"*ment of her Father. If ſhe ſhall refuſe to comply*
"*with this Offer, I will leave her to the Puniſhment*
"*of her own Manners, and look out for another*
"*Wife, who ſhall better underſtand her own Hap-*
"*pineſs.*" Some Days before he had more Courage. He had a good Opinion of himſelf: He ſays, in the ſame Letter, that he is not ſo exhauſted, but he may yet obtain a Woman of Merit, though he has been ſo fooliſh, as to pay a long Courtſhip to an impertinent *Xantippe*. "Non adeo exarui ex amoribus &
"humoribus, ut bona mea ſapienti fæminæ vendi-
"tare non poſſim, etiamſi tam inſipienter circa
"Sophiam deliraverim, ut mihi Socratica fides ob-
"jecta ſit (84)." He was reſolved to make a freſh Attempt; but was ſo much diſguſted at This fooliſh Creature, and her brutiſh Father, that he almoſt wiſhed

(75) Epiſt. 26. Cent. III. p. 349.

(76) Ibid. 349.

(77) She was then a Widow.

(78) *That is,* Hunger *and* Thirſt.

(79) Epiſt. 24. Cent. III. p. 347.

(80) Epiſt. ad Grotium, in Baudii Amoribus, pag. 85.

(81) *See Letter* 93, *of Cent. III. p.* 465; *and Letter* 18, *of Cent. IV. pag.* 496.

(82) Epiſt. 99. Cent. III. p. 471, *dated* July 2. 1612.

(83) Epiſt. 92. Cent. III. p. 463, *dated* March 3, 1612.

(84) Ibid. pag. 480.

ſmart Jeſts upon it, which have been printed. Nevertheleſs, we muſt not believe

ed to be again refuſed. “ Heri mihi Heinſius noſter
“ adſuit, & rogatu meo adductus, partim ſua ſponte
“ incitatus, recepit in ſe munus colloquendi ſerio cum
“ Feſto Hommio περὶ τῆς Σοφίας. Is tenet clavum
“ imperii, & patris animum habet in ſua manu.
“ Sed ſumma cum æquitate exſpecto quemlibet eventum,
“ & prope eſt ut malim repulſam, ita me tœdet
“ & contumeliarum parentis, & inſulſorum filiæ morum,
“ quæ præter nomen non poſſidet micam ſalis
“ (85). —— *Our Friend* Heinſius *was with me*
“ *yeſterday, and has undertaken, partly at my Requeſt,*
“ *and partly of his own meer Motion, to talk*
“ *ſeriouſly with* Feſtus Hommius *about* Sophia. *I*
“ *am little ſollicitous for the Event; nay I almoſt wiſh*
“ *to be refuſed, ſo tired am I of the Father's contumelious*
“ *Behaviour, and the folly and ſtupidity of*
“ *the Daughter, who has not common Senſe, and is a*
“ *Woman only in Name.*”

We are now come to the moſt diſgraceful Scene of All. *Baudius* kept a Concubine for ſome time. She was a Servant-Maid, who was common to ſeveral Students, and who, finding herſelf with Child, fathered it on *Baudius* alone. She inſiſted likewiſe, that he had promiſed her Marriage, and ſummoned him before the Judges, to oblige him to perform his Promiſe. This Affair was both matter of Scandal and Laughter; but they, who know the World, will eaſily believe, that it occaſioned more of the latter, than the former. *Baudius*'s Superiors could do no leſs than diſgrace him, by ſuſpending him from his Office. The Railleries, to which he found himſelf expoſed, made him take a Journey to *Ghent*. “ Inter alias cauſas quæ me moverant ut in viam me
“ darem hæc fuit non infima, ut prudenti abſentia
“ ſubterducerem me ab importunis conjugii diſparis
“ congratulationibus, quibus cottidie aures meæ circumſonabantur
“ (86). —— *Among other reaſons,*
“ *which induced me to take a Journey, This was not*
“ *the leaſt, that, by prudently abſenting myſelf, I*
“ *might avoid the Congratulations on an unequal Match,*
“ *with which I was perpetually teized.*” He ſeemed to queſtion, whether This Servant-Maid was with Child; but he was afraid, that, if ſhe ſhould lye-in, ſhe ſhould ſwear the Brat to Him; for which reaſon he deſired his Friends to order it ſo, that ſuch a Slut as ſhe ſhould not be admitted to take her Oath; and offered voluntarily to do whatever the Laws of Humanity required; that is, to take care of the Child, which ſhould be born: but he thought it hard to be obliged to it. “ Periculum enim eſt in mora, nam
“ propinqua partitudo appetit, ſiquidem paritura eſt,
“ nam permulti dubitant num ſit gravida, quod ſi eſt,

Sublimi feriam ſidera vertice.

“ Cuperem inſeri mandato, non eſſe illi ſcorto publice
“ diffamatiſſimo deferendum jusjurandum tempore
“ partionis, nec habendam fidem in deſignando
“ parente tam multorum capitum.

Cum ſuis vivat valeatque mœchis,
Quos ſimul complexa tenet trecentos.

“ Ego nihilominus ſponte mea incitatus faciam quod
“ officium humanitatis injungit. Sed cogi Baudium
“ non decet, non opportet, à tam proſtituti pudoris
“ ſcorto (87). - - - - - - - *Delays are dangerous;*
“ *for ſhe is near her Time, if ſhe be really with*
“ *Child, which many doubt of; if ſo,*

I'll ſtrike my Head againſt the Stars.

“ *I could wiſh it were inſerted in the Mandate, that*
“ *This moſt infamous Poſtitute be not allowed to give*
“ *her Oath at the time of her Delivery, and that*
“ *no credit be given te her in pointing out the Father*
“ *of the many-headed Offspring.*

Well fare the Jade, with her three hundred Sparks.

“ *However I am willing to do every thing, which*
“ *the Laws of Humanity require. But* Baudius *ought*
“ *not to be compelled by ſo ſhameleſs an Harlot.*” However, he choſe rather to keep Another's Child, than deſert a human Creature, and comforted himſelf with the Reflexion, that it would be a Proof of his Manly Vigor; and that hereafter it would be no Prejudice to his future Wife *Sophia*, who ſhould be a Field, for the Cultivation of which he would from thenceforth reſerve his whole Strength. “ Ut ut res cadet, nihil mihi evenire poteſt triſtius
“ aut deterius quam quod animo præcepi, & mecum
“ ante peregi. Nempe futurum, ut perjurio caput
“ alliget, & ὑποβολιμαῖον obtrudat heroi Baudio.
“ Quid tum poſtea? Malo agnoſcere alienum, quam
“ fœtum humanum non ali. Teſtimonio erit me
“ marem eſſe, & viri munia poſſe fungi. Nihil
“ inde abradetur in poſterum meæ Sophiæ, cujus arvo
“ familiari reſervabitur

Quidquid in arte mea poſſum promittere (88).

“ - - - - - - - - *However, nothing can happen to me*
“ *more unfortunate, than what I ſuſpect, namely, that*
“ *This Jade will perjure herſelf, and obtrude a Baſtard*
“ *upon the Hero* Baudius. *But what then? I*
“ *had rather father Another's Brat, than ſuffer an*
“ *human Creature to periſh. Beſides it will be a*
“ *Proof of my Manhood, and Ability to perform the*
“ *Duties of an Husband. My* Sophia *will not hereafter*
“ *find ſhe has loſt any Thing by it; for the*
“ *Culture of whoſe Field ſhall be reſerved*

All I can promiſe in the Tilling-Art.

He wrote This the Twenty ninth of *March* 1612, when it was reported, that the Servant-Maid was ready to lye-in. “ Fertur eſſe, ἐν ὀδύνῃ, ſed nullus
“ credo,

- - - - - - - - Licet illi plurima manet
Lacryma.

“ Snnt enim, quibus non poteſt perſuaderi, eam eſſe
“ gravidam, & ego quidlibet credo cadere poſſe falſimoniæ,
“ fraudis, & malitiæ in tam profligatam,
“ perditam, atque inteſtabilem fœminam. - - - - *She*
“ *is ſaid to be in labour; but I give no credit to it,*
“ *notwithſtanding all her Tears; for ſome will not*
“ *be perſuaded ſhe is with Child; and I can eaſily*
“ *believe ſo profligate, abandoned, and deteſtable, a*
“ *Woman capable of any Falſhood, Cheat, and wicked*
“ *Contrivance.*” He did not deny, but that he had promiſed the Girl Marriage; but pretended, that ſuch a Proſtitue, as ſhe, did not deſerve to enjoy the Benefit of the Laws: He did not believe, that any Faith ought to be kept with this Kind of Heretics; for he recollected, that he had read ſo in the *Code*; but, as he could not cite the place, he deſired *Grotius* to put his Advocate upon producing That Law, in order to put a ſtop to the Proceedings of his Doxy. And, as This Girl's Pretenſions was the only Thing, which hindered *Baudius*'s Miſtreſs from ſigning the Marriage-Contract, he deſired his Friend to diſpatch the Matter. “ Domum reverſus audivi nuncium
“ perquam optabilem de meis amoribus. Omnia
“ eveniunt ex animi ſententia, nec quidquam
“ deeſt ad votorum ſummam, niſi ut eximam ſcrupulum
“ de pollicitatione matrimonii cum exoleto iſto
“ propudio, labe & tabe meæ famæ & exiſtimationis.
“ Hanc tu peſtem ac perniciem ſi amolitus fueris pro
“ dignitate muneris quo fungeris, & pro auctoritate
“ qua merito vales plurimum, ſolidiorem capies gloriam,
“ quam

- - - - - - Diram qui contudit hydram,
Notaque fatali portenta labore ſubegit.

“ Tam viles perſonæ, tam diabolares victimæ publicarum
“ libidinum, non ſunt dignæ obſervatione
“ legum, ut memini aliquando legere in corpore
“ Juris, ſed locus non occurrit memoriæ. Quæſo
“ te, ut hiſce literis perlectis continuo cures accerſendum
“ advocatum vander Werven, qui legem horrendi
“ carminis dictet, cujus obnunciatione fulminari
“ poſſit fatalis illa fundi noſtri calamitas. Hoc
“ ego beneficium tanti faciam, ut nemini plus in vita
“ ſim unquam debiturus. Sed maturas oro, nam
“ amanti & animo cupienti nihil ſatis feſtinatur (89).
“ - - - - - - - *Returning home, I received the moſt*
“ *agreeable News in relation to my Love Affair.*
“ *Every thing is as I could wiſh, nor is any thing*
“ *wanting*

(85) Epiſt. ultima Cent. III. p. 475, 476, *dated* July 11, 1612.

(86) Epiſt. 90. Cent. III. p. 462, *dated from* Ghent, Dec. 4. 1611.

(87) Epiſt. 93. Cent. III. p. 465, *dated* March 28, 1612.

(88) Epiſt. 92. Cent. III. p. 464.

(89) Epiſt. 93. Cent. III. p. 465, *dated* March 28, 1612.

lieve All that the ſatyrical *Scioppius* has publiſhed on this laſt Head [*L*]. Some Tempers

“ *wanting to the Completion of my Deſires, but to remove the Scruple about my Promiſe of Marriage to* “ *That Proſtitute, the Stain of my Character and Reputation. If, by the Dignity and Authority of* “ *your Function, you can rid me of This Plague, you* “ *will gain more Honour, than He,*

Whoſe Toil the Dire, Portentous, Hydra quell'd.

“ *Such Infamous Wretches, ſuch Diabolical Victims* “ *to Public Luſt, deſerve not the Regard of the Laws;* “ *as I remember to have read ſomewhere in the* Code, “ *though the Paſſage does not at preſent occur to my* “ *Memory. I deſire you, upon the Receipt of This* “ *Letter, to ſend for the Advocate* Vander Werven, “ *who, by reciting the dreadful Denunciation, may* “ *terrify This Creature, who gives me ſo much Diſturbance. But be as expeditious as poſſible; for Love* “ *is impatient of Delay.*” This is what he wrote on the Twenty eighth of *March*. He was not clear of the Affair in the Month of *June*; the Girl was yet in hopes of being married to him either by fair or foul Means; and *Baudius* durſt not appear before his Miſtreſs, during this Suit with his Concubine. “ Hoc “ niſi fundamentum præſtruatur, non ſinit θυμός “ ἀγήνωρ, ut viam affectem ad meam Divam, quæ “ non intelligit ſua bona: nec ideo tamen demove- “ bor ab amandi propoſito, quamdiu ſpes aliqua ſupe- “ rerit expugnandi ferreum iſtud pectus (90). - - - - - “ *Till This Foundation be laid, my Pride will not ſuffer me to approach my Goddeſs, who does not under-* “ *ſtand her own Good; yet will I perſiſt in my Reſolution of paying my Addreſſes to her, whilſt there is* “ *any hope of conquering that ſtubborn Breaſt.*” He was inclined to enter into Articles with the Girl, and deſired *Grotius* to draw them up; hoping, that the Creature, intimidated by his Threatnings, would ſign the Agreement. “ A tuo diſceſſu nec patrem “ τῆς ἀσόφȣ Σοφίας allocutus ſum, nec me conve- “ niendum curavit Mercurii mater, niſi quod audio “ eam adhuc paſcere ebrioſas, futiles, & furioſas ſpes “ de matrimonio.

- - - - - - - - ſed prius Appulis
Jungentur capreæ lupis.

“ Quid mihi autor es ut faciam? expectem litis even- “ tum? hoc ſpiſſum eſt amanti, cujus animo nihil ſatis “ feſtinatur. Quanquam hiſce nugis jam longum “ valedixi, ſaltem inducias pepigi. Cuperem ad me “ mitti per hunc ipſum nuncium formulam tranſa- “ ctionis, quam ipſe concepiſti. Spero me effecturum “ injecto metu majoris malitatis ut cupide ſubſignet, “ & voluntariam condemnationem ſubeat (91). - - - - - “ *Since your Departure, I have not once ſpoke to the* “ *Father of the fooliſh* Sophia, *who, I am informed,* “ *ſtill entertains vain hopes of the Match. But, ſooner*

The Goat ſhall mix with The Appulian *Wolf.*

“ *What would you adviſe me to do? To wait the* “ *Event of the Suit? The Impatience of a Lover can-* “ *not bear delay: though I have bid a long Adieu to* “ *theſe Follies, at leaſt have made a Truce with them.* “ *I could wiſh you would ſend me by the Bearer of* “ *This The Articles of Accommodation, which you* “ *yourſelf have conceived. I hope, by threatning her* “ *with ſomething worſe, to prevail upon her readily to* “ *ſign Them, and ſubſcribe her own Condemnation.*” The Affair was yet undecided in the Month of *July* following (92), and *Baudius* thought it very ſtrange, that This Slut was not baniſhed out of the Country. “ Tot Juſtitiæ Antiſtites unicam maleficam Circen, “ quæ meos ſenſus venenavit, amoliri non poſſunt, “ ſaltem ut Leidam contagione ſua, & ædes meas “ noxia vicinitate, non infeſtet (93). —— *So many* “ *Diſpenſers of Juſtice cannot rid me of One miſ-* “ *chievous* Circe, *who bewitched my Senſes; nor even* “ *prevent her from infeſting* Leyden *with her Conta-* “ *gion, and my Houſe with her baneful Neighbourhood.* He believed, that ſhe was ſuffered to continue his Neighbour, that the Indignity of ſo many Affronts might force him to retire elſewhere. *Video hoc agi ut contumeliis haud tolerandis* ἀγήνορι θυμῷ *adigar ad diſpiciendam pedum viam, & quærendam haud inglorii atque inopis exilii ſedem* (94). At laſt he put an end ~~of~~ to the Affair, not by a Sentence of the Judges, but by way of Accommodation, on the Twentieth of *October* 1612. He conceded as little as poſſible; *redemi me captum quam potui minimo* (95); after which he was ſoon married. He wrote to *Peter Rubens* (96), that he was very well ſatisfied with his Wife. I do not know, whether he changed his Mind; but, however it be, This Marriage was of no long Continuance. *Baudius* died the Twenty ſecond of *Auguſt* 1613, being reduced to a miſerable Condition by a *Delirium*. *Delirio ac Vigiliis continuis miſerè attritus, omnique tandem robore exutus* (97). His beſt Friends laughed at his Follies in Love. One of them propoſed him as an Example to all Incontinent Perſons, and exhorted them to reſtrain their Paſſions by the moſt auſtere Remedies, rather than indulge them like *Baudius*:

Quiſquis es, exemplo tanti moveare mariti,
  Parce libidinibus luxurioſe tuis.
Addita ſit potius laſcivo fibula membro,
  Ut vindicta tuam tranſeat iſta domum (98).

Whoe're Thou art, a Slave to Joys of Senſe,
Let This Example teach thee Continence.
Wou'd'ſt Thou avoid vindictive Fortune's Frown,
Let the ſtrong Button keep the Rebel Member down.

See the Collection, entituled *Baudii Amores*, publiſhed by *Scriverius*, in the Year 1638. You will find there, at page 77, *A Cento Virgilianus* of *Daniel Heinſius*, “ ad Dominicum Baudium, qui poſtquam “ ignarus cum ancilla, cum qua tum alii, tum plu- “ rimi ſcholaſtici conſuerant, aliquamdiu congreſſus “ eſſet, ſolus præter expectationem prole ab ea eſt “ donatus —— *to* Dominic Baudius, *who, after hav-* “ *ing correſponded with a Girl, who was common to* “ *ſeveral Students, had alone a Child unexpectedly* “ *fathered upon him.*”

No doubt, ſome will ſay, it would have been better to have pointed out, in the Margin, where theſe Things are to be found, than to produce ſo many Paſſages of This Author; but many others will be glad not to be at the Trouble of looking for them. It is to pleaſe the Lazy, whoſe number was never ſo great as in This Age, that I have taken the Pains to collect Theſe Paſſages of *Baudius*. Let no one complain, that I diſturb the Aſhes of the Dead; for I ſay nothing but what *Baudius*'s Friends have publiſhed, and what other Authors have informed the Public of ſeveral times. See *Spizelius* (99), who cites a Book, which I would willingly have conſulted: It was printed in the Year 1675 (100).

[*L*] *We muſt not believe all that the ſatyrical* Sciοppius *has publiſhed on This laſt Head.*] He ſpeaks too ill of him, to deſerve credit; the moſt infamous Pimping, and Magic, are the Exploits, which he attributes to him. His *Latin* Words cannot modeſtly be rendered into *Engliſh*: The Original is This: “ Baudius Pariſiis, ubi multis annis in concubinatu ſum- “ ma cum infamia & velut *quadruplatoris* filium dece- “ bat, vixit, non tantum magiæ deditus, incantatoribus “ & ſortilegis ædes ſuas aperuit, & concubinæ ſuæ “ filiolam ad peragenda nefaria ſacra commodavit, “ Dæmoniumque de theſauris reconditis, imprimiſque “ de Petronio utrum is alicubi integer exſtaret, con- “ ſuluit; ſed etiam amicis quibuſdam majorem quan- “ dam ingenii divinitatem præferentibus ejuſdem con- “ cubinæ filium, puerum non inelegantem, turpiſſi- “ mus leno proſtituit, ut cum poſtea tumentibus pueri “ mariſcis ſcelus propalatum iri metueret, quo minus “ eum veneno contubernales tollerent, minimè impe- “ divit, actumque jam de miſſello puero fuerat, niſi “ unius contubernalium acumine expediti fuiſſent, “ anicula, quæ morbo mederi ſciret, inventa. Hæc “ nequaquam à me fingi, neminem paulò humanio- “ rum Pariſiis ignorare puto (101).” The General Senſe of which is as follows; that “ *Baudius*, living “ many Years in a State of Fornication at *Paris*, con- “ verſed with Magicians and Enchanters, and con- “ ſulted the Devil about hidden Treaſures, and par- “ ticularly whether *Petronius* was any where to be “ found entire; and that, having proſtituted the Son “ of his Concubine, and being in danger of being

“ diſcovered,

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(90) Epiſt. 96. Cent. III. p. 468, *dated* June 21, 1612.

(91) Ibid.

(92) *See Letter* 99, *of Cent. III, pag.* 473; *and Letter* 1, *of Cent. IV, pag.* 478.

(93) Epiſt. 1. Cent. IV.

(94) Ibid.

(95) Epiſt. 18. Cent. IV.

(96) *It is Letter* 3, *of Cent. IV, pag.* 482, *dated* Febr. 21, 1613.

(97) In Vita ejus.

(98) Scriverius in Epitaphio Baudii, p. 135. Baudii Amorum.

(99) Theophilus Spizelius in Infelice Literato, p. 11.

(100) Specimen Bibliosophiſtarum Gadenenſium, *publiſhed by* Schelgvigio.

(101) Amphotides Scioppianæ, pag. 166.

Tempers are expoſed to the hazard of loſing a good Name. It cannot be denied, that *Baudius* was of an amorous Complexion: He was but a Student in Divinity, when he fell in Love with a Girl, who lodged at the Profeſſor *Lambert Danæus*'s Houſe *(b)*. The Remarks will inform us farther of This Affair. He was too free in his Opinions, and even in his Diſcourſe, and had not the Prudence to accommodate himſelf to the Prejudices of the Times; This could not but create him Enemies, and expoſe himſelf to the ill Effects of their raſh Judgments (*i*). He conſulted Platonic Ideas too much; which is the reaſon, why he was a little too much ſcandalized at the Diſputes, which were raiſed in *Holland*. He foretold the ill Conſequences of them, ſome of which proved falſe, and others true. He thought They would occaſion an Alteration in the Government; in This he was miſtaken [*M*]; he believed they would create a Schiſm; In this he judged right [*N*]. They, who publiſhed his *Letters*, have procured more Delight

(b) See his 26th Letter Cent. II. pag. 224.

(i) See Remark [*M*].

"diſcovered, by ſome Marks of the Injury he had done him, he would have ſuffered him to be poiſoned, had not an Old Woman been found, who undertook to cure the Child." If Theſe things were ſo well known at *Paris*, as *Scioppius* affirms, how came it, that the Firſt Preſident appointed *Baudius* to be his Son's Secretary in an Embaſſy? *Scioppius* invented This, or had it from ill-grounded Stories, and divulged it in revenge for the abuſive Language, which *Baudius* had given him, even before The *Scaliger Hypobolimæus* appeared (102).

(102) *See Lett.* 79, *of* Baudius, Cent. II. pag. 276.

[*M*] *He thought They would occaſion an Alteration in the Government; in This He was miſtaken.*] We muſt hear Himſelf; He declares, that, were it not for Conſcience, and Religion, he would have retired elſewhere long before, and that the violent Diſputes of the Divines, and many other Diſorders, made him fear, that the Work of the Reformation would be very much endangered by them. "Niſi me in his locis conſcientiæ ſcrupulus, & religionis vinculum attineret, jampridem captum eſſet augurium de migrando, nec Leida ſpes meas includeret. Quanquam non peſſime mecum agitur. Sed nec ea noſtri ratio habetur, quam opportuit. Theologorum etiam noſtrorum diſſidentes, & virulentæ concertationes, odia fratrum, quæ ne morte quidem finiuntur, aliaque noſtræ militiæ flagitia, penè efficiunt ut & illud ſuperbum nomen reformatæ religionis, & ipſa cauſa incipiat mihi eſſe dubiæ ſanitatis. —— Præſagit mihi animus imminere his Provinciis fatalem rerum commutationem, & ex inteſtinis vitiis rediturum aliquando veteris imperii deſiderium. Suſpectus ſum multis, & charus acceptuſque non paucis, quod voce & ſtilo paſſim inculco ſubditorum obſequia in legitimos Principes, & pleno ore decanto veras laudes Archiducum (103). —— *Did not a Scruple of Conſcience, and the Tie of Religion, detain me, I had e'er now departed in a good Hour, nor had* Leyden *any longer been the Object of my Wiſhes. Though my Condition here is far from being the worſt. But I do not meet with proper Regard. Beſides, The virulent Diſputes of Our Divines, The Animoſities among Brethren, which Death itſelf cannot put an end to, and Other Enormities of our Warfare, induces me to ſuſpect, that the proud Name of Reformation, and the Cauſe itſelf, is but ſhort-lived. —— I foreſee a fatal Alteration in the Affairs of Theſe Provinces, and am apprehenſive, that the Inteſtine Diviſions, which reign among us, will make the People wiſh for the ancient Government. I render myſelf ſuſpected to Many, and acceptable to not a Few, by inculcating, both in Converſation and Writing, the Obedience of Subjects to their Lawful Princes, and celebrating the true Praiſes of the Arch-Dukes.*" I queſtion not, but *Baudius* propoſed the Doctrine *of the Obedience of Subjects*, which he mentions, with too much Indiſcretion, and Confidence; ſo that it is no wonder, if he was hated by ſeveral People. He was ſo bold alſo, as to inſert This Doctrine in a public Theſis; and it is obſervable, that his Academical Superiors did not oblige him to expunge it, but only ordered him to inform the Youth, that they ſhould not embrace ſuch Opinions inconſiderately. "Quærit primum ex me, an ſtatuiſſem præſidium & auctoritatem ſuffragii commodare defendendis corollariis periculoſæ aleæ plenis, ut eſt diſputare in ambas partes, An religio ſit de ſubſtantia reipublicæ, & negare fas eſſe ſubdito privatoque homini ob cauſam religionis arma ſumere contra Principem, & id generis alia. Reſpondi, cauſam non videri cur in hoc atrio libertatis non ſit fas abſque pervicacia ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias expromere. Tamen rogatus ut admonerem juventutem ne temere & abſque delectu talibus axiomatis aſſenſum præberet, ſignificavi me facturum (104). —— *He firſt asked me, whether I had reſolved to undertake the Defence of dangerous Propoſitions, ſuch as the Queſtion, whether Religion be eſſential to a State, and the Aſſertion, that it is unlawful for a private Man, and a Subject, to take up Arms againſt his Prince, for the ſake of Religion. I replied, that I ſaw no reaſon, why, in This Seat of Liberty, a man might not, without the Imputation of Perverſeneſs, think as he pleaſes, and ſpeak as he thinks. However, being deſired to admoniſh the Youth, not to aſſent to ſuch Propoſitions raſhly, and without Examination, I promiſed to do ſo.*" Never was Man fitter to gain himſelf Enemies by the Liberty of his Tongue, and his Maxims, than *Baudius*: "We make War, *ſaid he*, with the moſt powerful Princes of the World, and yet we are under the Correction of an hundred petty Rulers: *Bellum gerimus contra potentiſſimos Mundi Monarchas, & ſervire cogimur iſtis minutioribus ſatrapis* (105). See the Liberty he takes of cenſuring the Divines, who had condemned *Vorſtius*, without hearing him. Obſerve the ill Conſequences, which, he ſays, muſt follow, if theſe Gentlemen are ſuffered to decide concerning the Honour and Merit of others, on meer Preſumptions, Suſpicions, and Hear-ſays. "Evadet iſta effrænis audacia in optimi cujuſque deformationem, ſi præjudiciis, ſuſpicionibus, rumuſculis, & ſuſurris, tantum licentiæ permittitur, ut fama & fructu dignitatis exuantur viri doctrina meritiſque ſpectabiles. Sed de negotio fratrum, & ſacrati gregis, dabitur alias oportunior differendi locus (106). - - - - - - - *This unbridled Liberty, will blaſt the Reputations of the beſt of Men, if Men of Learning and Merit muſt loſe their Characters upon Prejudices, Suſpicions, Rumours, and Whiſpers. But I ſhall have a better Opportunity of conſidering the Buſineſs of the Brotherhood, and ſacred Herd.*" Once again, He was very fit to gain himſelf Enemies, and I am not ſurprized, that ſo many heinous Calumnies have been ſpread concerning him. In the Year 1609, he took a Journey into *Flanders*. During his Abſence, a Thouſand Stories went about, that he was gone to change his Religion, that he was already provided of a good Benefice, that he had turned Monk, and an hundred other things of this Nature, which gave occaſion to the Thirty third Letter of the IIId Century. He was in ſuch dread even of the Abſurdities of Common Fame, that he wrote This Letter to Two of the *Curators*.

(103) Epiſt. 72, Cent. III. p. 432, 433, *dated* March 9, 1610.

(104) Epiſt. 99, Cent. III. pag. 471.

(105) Epiſt. 82, Cent. II, pag. 278.

(106) Epiſt, 33, Cent. III, pag. 362.

[*N*] *He believed they would create a Schiſm; in this he judged right.*] He built his Conjecture on the great Animoſity, which he obſerved on both Sides. The Points in diſpute ſeemed to him capable of being accommodated, provided The Combatants would but hear each other with a charitable Diſpoſition. It was therefore the Diſpoſition of the contending Parties, which made him fear they would come to a total Rupture. He was upon the Spot; and could ſee, in what Manner *Gomarus*, and his Friends, on one ſide, and *Arminius*, with his Adherents, on the other, mixed their private Paſſions with the Intereſt of their Doctrines. He declared freely, that the *Spaniards* and *Hollanders* would ſooner agree together, than Theſe two Eccleſiaſtical light and Uſefulneſs to the Readers, than Honour to his Memory. They are politely written [*O*], and are full of Wit; but he commends himſelf too much in them; He appears too Poor [*P*], too Importunate to his Friends, too Craving, too Vain, too Selfiſh, and too Irregular. This is to apologize for the Age, he lived in, of which he complained ſo much. It is partly by Theſe Faults, that ſeveral learned Men render themſelves contemptible in the Places, where they live, whilſt they are the admiration of Thoſe to whom they are known only by their Works. Notwithſtanding the Length of This Article already, I cannot forbear ſubjoining here a very remarkable Particular; to wit, that *Baudius* had undertaken

Factions. Here follow his own Words: I ſet them down, that I may not be thought to deliver my own Opinions under his Name. I am in this, and many other Places, a bare Tranſcriber. “Utinam omnes noſtri muneris & ordinis pari voto ac ſtudio in eandem mentem conſpirarent! Sed facilius conveniet inter Belgas & Hiſpanos, quam inter fratres, ubi ſemel in contentionem exardeſcere cœperunt. Omnino res erumpet in ſchiſma, niſi fortibus conſiliis huic malo occurratur. - - - - - Si ſpiritu docilitatis & Chriſtianæ caritatis ducerentur duces (ut ſic dicam) partium, confectum negotium eſſet. Sed utrinque videre eſt magnos animorum motus, manifeſtam concurſationem, ut ſuffragatores ſibi concilient, denique mentem contentionis ſtudioſiorem, quam indagandæ noſcendæque veritatis:

Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.

“Sed ob Atridarum culpas ſupplicium ferunt Achivi: & Academia peſſimi odoris eſt non ſolum apud extraneos, verum etiam apud noſtros cives (107). - - - - - - *O! that All of our Function and Order would unanimouſly conſpire in Opinion! But ſooner will the* Hollanders *and* Spaniards *come to an Agreement, than The Brethren, when once they have began to grow warm in Controverſy. The Affair will end in a Schiſm, if The Evil be not provided againſt with the utmoſt Prudence and Caution. - - - Were the Leaders of each Party (if I may ſo call them) governed by a Spirit of Teachableneſs and Chriſtian Charity, the Buſineſs would be done. But, on both Sides, we ſee great Animoſity, a manifeſt Struggle who ſhall gain the moſt Converts, and a Temper of Mind more diſpoſed for Contention, than the Diſcovery of Truth;*

Alike in Guilt Beſieger, and Beſieg'd.

“*The* Greeks *ſuffered for the Offences of the Sons of* Atreus; *and the Univerſity ſtinks in the Noſtrils not only of Foreigners, but even of our own Countrymen.*”

[*O*] *His Letters are written politely.*] We read in the *Scaligerana* as follows: “Baudius a une Stile non Ciceronien, mais du temps de Domitianus: je garde toutes les Lettres de Baudius. - - - - - - Baudius *writes in a Stile, not* Ciceronian, *but ſuch as was practiſed in the Time of* Domitian: *I keep all his Letters by me.*” *Scaliger*, therefore, thought them elegant, and good. It does not appear, that *Baudius*'s Style is properly That of any Age of *Latinity*.

[*P*] *He appears too Poor.*] It was not ſo much the Honour of being the States Hiſtoriographer, as the Salary of That Office, which made him ſollicit for it ſo earneſtly. He put off his Creditors, 'till the Payment of his Penſion of Hiſtoriographer; That Time never came; and They would be no longer put off in That manner; inſomuch that he was reduced to Great Streights. “Flagitantium importunitas efficit me moroſiorem, quam naturæ meæ Genius, & amicitiæ tuæ reverentia patiatur. Aſſidue enim obtundor à moleſtis Creditoribus, quorum nomina rejicio in ſpem obtinendi ejus muneris; ſed tamdiu lactati ſunt hoc palpo, ut ulterius produci non poſſint (108). - - - - - - - - *The Importunity of my Creditors ſowres my Temper more than my natural Diſpoſition, and the regard I have for your Friendſhip, allow of. I put off the payment of what they demand by the hopes of obtaining That Poſt; but They have been ſo long wheedled with This Pretence, that they are reſolved to be put off no longer.*” When he ſaid, that his Eſtate feared neither Thieves, Fire, nor other Calamity,

Non incendia, non graves ruinas,
Non facta impia, non dolos veneni,
Non caſus alios periculorum;

and that It reſembled That of *Bias* (109); The Application was not more ingenious, than true: He ſpoke like an Hiſtorian, and not like a Rhetorician. At laſt came his Penſion of Hiſtoriographer; but it was only as a drop of Water to a Thirſty Man: He foreſaw it, and had been told of it; wherefore he wanted another Remedy, *viz.* a rich Wife. “Si poſſem in naſſam matrimonii illicere fœmininum aliquod opime dotatum (agnoſcis heic facundiam ſupplementi chronicorum) non aſpernarer dona deorum. Sed ad eam ſpem aſpirare non audeo, quamdiu mihi certamen erit cum hydra moleſtorum flagitatorum (110). - - - - - - *Could I but prevail upon ſome very rich Lady to marry me, I ſhould be thankful to Heaven for the Bleſſing. But I dare not entertain ſuch an hope, whilſt I am combating with an Hydra of importunate Duns.*” Let us add to this what he wrote to his Patron *Vander Myle.* “Recte dicebas nuper, nihil aliud poſſe locare in ſolido, & ad portum bonæ ſpei appellere quaſſatam ratem Baudii, quam opimum aliquod conjugium: ſed procax iſtud genus divitum ac fortunatarum mulierum ſpernit viros fama meritiſque celebres, niſi cenſu quoque cenſeantur (111). - - - - *What you ſaid, the other Day, is very true, that nothing but a wealthy Match can ſecure, and bring Home ſafe, poor* Baudius's *ſcattered Veſſel; but the Miſfortune is, your moneyed Ladies deſpiſe Men, even of the greateſt Reputation, who have not as much Money, as Merit.*” But no Relief came time enough: In vain did he beſeech the *Curators*, with the moſt moving Expreſſions, to deliver him from the hard Perſecution of his Creditors. “Humanitatis tuæ genium adjuro atque obteſtor per Deum immortalem, per fas Chriſtianæ Charitatis, per vinculum ſanctæ fidei, & quidquid apud gentes venerandum & antiquum habetur, impone tandem optatum finem diuturnæ expectationi; neu me patere longius verſari inter ſacrum & ſaxum, ſub ictu Creditorum, qui meas aures aſſiduè moleſtis vocibus circumſonant, ut defæcato animo ſtudia doctrinæ tractare nequeam (112). - - - - - *By the Eternal God, by the Laws of Chriſtian Charity, by the Bond of Holy Faith, and by whatever The World eſteems Venerable and Sacred, I adjure, I beſeech your compaſſionate Nature, to put, at length, a wiſhed for Period to my tedious Expectation; nor ſuffer me any longer to continue in this Perplexity, under the Laſh of Creditors, who are perpetually dunning me, and interrupting my Studies.*” He was left to their Mercy; and, except his Perſon, they ſeized on all that was in his Houſe. The Jeſuits of *Antwerp* knew it, and inſulted him upon it. Read but theſe Verſes, taken from the Thirty ſeventh Page of the *Væ Victis!*

Pauperior Codro Catti nil continet arca.
Qui pote? Jam dicam: Baudæus in ære tabernæ
Totus erat, (noſti quam pocula ſæpe ſalutet);
Caupo tulit lectos, ſedes, menſaſque, abacoſque,
Et chlamydem & veſtes, ollas, ignemque, focumque;
Nil Baudæus habet, ſecum tulit omnia Caupo.
Nec ſat erat. Quid ages Baudi? Venderis & ipſe?
Accipe Caupo libros, vetulas has ferto papyros,
Muſeum atque oleum, laternam & lampada ſume;
Sit modo liber adhuc Baudæus obire popinas.

The Poverty of Codrus *is his Fate:*
You aſk, how ſo? attend, while I relate.

Baudius

(107) Epiſt. 96, Cent. II, pag. 304.

(108) Epiſt. 5, Cent. III. pag. 323.

(109) Epiſt. 92. Cent. III. pag. 464.

(110) Epiſt. 15, Cent. III. pag. 335.

(111) Epiſt. 14, Cent. III. pag. 334.

(112) Epiſt. 14, Cent. III, pag. 333, *written to Mr* Vander Myle, *dated* March 10, 1610.

undertaken a Work, deſigned to effect a Coalition of Religions [*Q*]: A Work, which, beſides other Talents, required a great Share of Piety, as he himſelf aſſured *Thuanus*, in communicating to him his Deſign. You will find his own Words below.

Baudius had run up a long Tavern-Score;
(That Baudius *lov'd his Glaſs, you knew before)*
The cruel Vintner, when he cou'd not pay,
Carried Beds, Tables, Chairs, and All away:
Yet All too little: what remains there yet?
Say, Baudius! *Shall your Perſon pay the Debt?*
No! — Landlord, take my Books: if That won't do,
Away with Lamp, and Oil, and Papers too:
But at his Liberty let Baudius *move,*
From Tavern ſtill to Tavern free to rove.

Scriverius, *Baudius*'s good Friend, ſays little leſs, than the Jeſuits.

En, cum jure trium natorum ducitur uxor (113);
Et ſimul in barathrum præcipitatur amans.
Sic labuntur opes: ſic nil ſtipendia proſunt;
Penſio ſic domino ſæpe negata ſuo.
Pallia ſic alius, Cajæque monilia ſervat:
Æra fugant inopem ſic aliena famem.
Proſilit & duris urgens in rebus egeſtas:
Pignora ſtant, vacua non redimenda manu (114).

A Wife, at length, behold! The Lover gains,
And thence the Right, Three Children give, obtains;
Yet, cruel Fate! to Priſon dragg'd muſt go:
Thus there's an End of Wealth, and Penſion too.
Rich Cloaths and Jewels, once the wealthy Dame's,
Transferr'd from Caia, *now Another claims.*
Whilſt preſſing Want, with meagre Look, ſtands by,
And, unredeemable, his Pledges lie.

[*Q*] *He had undertaken a Work, deſigned to effect a Coalition of Religions.*] What he ſays of it himſelf, is This. "Jampridem animo concepi opus, & tractatu arduum, & uſu maximè neceſſarium, quod ipſum olim aggreſſus is, de quo nuper multus nobis ſermo fuit, Georgius Caſſander. Hic, tametſi nihil dicas, tamen auguror animo quid cogitationi tuæ occurrat; eſſe nimirum rem tantæ molis, ut eam vix mente complecti poſſim, nedum facultate conſequi. Fateor equidem ad hanc provinciam deligi par eſſe hominem inſtructum omnibus ingenii ac doctrinæ copiis. Opus inſuper multiplici inquiſitione, varia librorum ſupellectile, plurima rerum memoria, &, quod familiam ducit, pietate. Sed utilitatis magnitudo, & penuria talium virorum, debet etiam ad hunc honeſtiſſimum laborem mediocres viros invitare, ut, ſi a ſpe perficiendi abſint, ſaltem præclaræ voluntatis conſcientia perfruantur. Ego mihi conſcius ſum quam parum poſſum, ſed aggrediendi ſtudium probis omnibus me probaturum non deſpero. Deum certè confido piis conatibus adfuturum, in quem precipuè intuens, id oneris tollere decrevi. Quod ſi ſaltem effecero, ut aliorum ſcribendi ſtudia excitentur, qui digne hanc ſpartam exornare poſſint, nihil eſt quod me non aſſecutum eſſe exiſtimem (115). —— *I have, a long time, conceived the Deſign of a difficult, but very neceſſary, Work, which was undertaken, likewiſe, by* George Caſſander; *He, I mean, of whom we had, lately, ſo much Diſcourſe. Here, I gueſs at your Thoughts, before you declare them; namely, that the Work is of ſo extenſive and difficult a Nature, as ſcarce to be comprehended, much leſs executed, by me. I confeſs, The Undertaking requires a Perſon of the greateſt Ability and Learning, much Enquiry, many Books, a great Memory, and, above All, a pious Diſpoſition. But the great Uſefulneſs of It, and the Scarcity of Perſons ſo qualified, is ſufficient to engage Men of moderate Talents in ſo generous an Undertaking; that, if They cannot flatter themſelves with the Hopes of Succeſs, They may, at leaſt, enjoy the Conſciouſneſs of a worthy Intention. I am ſenſible of my own Inability; but I do not deſpair of approving my Intentions to All Good Men. At leaſt,* God, *I doubt not, will aſſiſt my Endeavours; in Confidence of whoſe Favour, I have determined to undertake the Task. And if I can but excite others to employ their Pens more ſucceſsfully on the ſame Subject, I ſhall have obtained the Utmoſt of my Wiſhes.*" *Colomies*, who has preſerved to us theſe Words of *Baudius*, adds; "Opus, animo, ut puto, conceptum, nunquam prodiit. Hinc patet, cur Baudium Georgii Caſſandri Aſſeclam in Gallia Orientali * dixerim, quod multis perobſcurum, nec immerito, videbatur (116). —— *This intended Work was, I think, never publiſhed; which is the Reaſon, why, in the* Gallia Orientalis, *I call* Baudius *The* Page *of* George Caſſander; *which to many ſeemed obſcure, and not without Reaſon.*"

BAUDOUIN (*a*) (Francis), in *Latin Balduinus*, a famous Civilian, was born at *Arras*, the firſt of *January*, 1520. He ſtudied Six Years in the Univerſity of *Louvain*; afterwards he was ſome time with a great Lord (*b*), at the Court of *Charles* V; and then went into *France*, where he acquired the Friendſhip of the moſt Learned Men (*c*), and, among others, That of *Charles du Moulin*, at whoſe Houſe he lodged (*d*). The eager Deſire of being acquainted with the moſt famous Miniſters, induced him to travel into *Germany* [*A*]: He ſaw *Calvin*

[*A*] *The eager Deſire of being acquainted with the moſt famous Miniſters.*] This is the only Fault, which the *Roman* Catholics could impute to Him; if we may believe his Elogiſt, *Papyrius Maſſo*. I have carefully peruſed That Author, to diſcover whether *Baudouin* ever forſook the outward Profeſſion of the Church of *Rome*. But I find nothing, which can perſuade me of it; for His becoming acquainted with *Calvin*, and *Bucer*, to learn, from their own Mouths, the Reaſon of their Separation, is no Sign, that he was a Proteſtant. It was meer Curioſity, and, at the moſt, but a kind of Diſtruſt, which ſignifies nothing, unleſs it be added, that, having heard the Reaſons of Theſe Reformers, he found them ſo good, that he came over to their Side. Now *Maſſo* is ſo far from ſaying this, that, on the contrary, he tells us, that *Baudouin* diſapproved of their Reaſons. "In Germaniam profectus à defenſoribus novæ ſectæ intelligere voluit, quas ob cauſas à Romana & veteri Eccleſia deceſſiſſent - - - - - quorum opiniones *Non Probans*, Bucerum tamen & Melancthonem aiebat ſibi ob modeſtiam placuiſſe: Calvinum diſplicuiſſe propter nimiam vindictæ & ſanguinis ſitim quam in eo deprehendiſſet (1). - - - - - *He travelled into* Germany, *to learn from the Defenders of the New Sect, for what Reaſons they had ſeparated from the* Roman *and Ancient Church.* - - - *And, though he* did not approve *of Their Notions, yet he commended* Bucer *for his Modeſty, but was diſpleaſed, he ſaid, with* Calvin, *for That Thirſt after Revenge and Blood, which he diſcovered in him.*" He ſays, I confeſs, that there was, formerly, an Intimacy between *Calvin* and *Baudouin* (2). But does this imply, that the latter had been a *Huguenot*? May not the Reader imagine, that they were acquainted at College, before *Calvin* became The Head of a Party? You may tell me, that Chronology does not allow of This; I reply, that you are much to blame, if you deſire to be underſtood only by Thoſe, who are acquainted with the Nativities of ſeveral Perſons, and will take the Trouble of arguing from Thence. Your Duty is to expreſs *Baudouin*'s Abjuration in ſuch clear Terms, that any Reader may ſee it from your Book alone, without the Help of Memory, or Reflexion. I go yet farther, and maintain, that Thoſe very Perſons, who

ſhould

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(113) *I take the meaning of this to be, that* Baudius *married a Widow with three Children.*

(114) Scriverius, in Baudii Amoribus, p. 135.

(115) Baudii Epiſt. ad J. A. Thuan. apud Colemeſii Opuſc. pag. 41, 42.

* Pag. 124.

(116) Colomeſii Opuſc. pag. 42.

(*a*) *He is called likewiſe* Bauduin, Balduin, Baudoin. *See the* Cabal Chimerique, pag. 250, *Edit.* 2. *He wrote himſelf, in* French, Balduin.

(*b*) *The Marquis* de Bergue.

(*c*) *Of* Budæus, *of* Baif, &c.

(*d*) Ex Valerio Andrea, Bibl. Belg. p. 221. *This is alſo to be found in* Baudouin's *third Reply to* Calvin, fol. B. 5.

(1) Papyr. Maſſo, Elog. Parte II, p. 156, 157.

(2) Familiaris quondam ſui. Id. ibid. p. 262.

Calvin at *Geneva*, *Bucer* at *Straſburg*, and others in other places. Being returned to *Paris*, he was invited to *Bourges*, to be Profeſſor of Civil-Law [*B*]; and he diſcharged This Office with ſo much Honour, that he made his Colleague *Duaren* jealous of him (*e*). At the end of Seven Years, he left That Profeſſorſhip, to teach the Civil-Law at *Tubingen* (*f*), whither he was invited; but, being informed, in his Journey, that *du Moulin* deſigned to return to that Univerſity, he ſtopped at

ſhould remember, that *Calvin* was at the Head of a Sect, before *Baudouin* left the College, will not find any thing, which looks like an Abjuration, in the *familiaris quondam ſui*; for, by explaining Theſe Words by other Paſſages of *Papyrius Maſſo*, They will fix upon this Senſe of Them: *Baudouin*, having aſſured *Calvin*, that he ſincerely enquired after the Truth, had ſeveral Conferences with him, in which his Wit, Docility, and Sagacity, ſo charmed *Calvin*, that He made a Friend of This Heretic, even before he was fully convinced of the Truth of his Doctrine. Their Intercourſe continued a long time; for two Years are not too long for ſolving the Difficulties, which *Baudouin* might propoſe. *Calvin*, who hoped to gain over, and wiſhed it paſſionately, careſſed him very much, and opened his Heart freely to him. At laſt This Prey eſcaped him: *Baudouin*, not finding all his Objections fully anſwered, would not embrace the new Doctrine. This is the Senſe, which might be given to the Words of *Papyrius Maſſo*. He ſhould not, therefore, have expreſſed himſelf in a Manner, ſo apt to miſlead the Reader.

Moreri is yet more to blame; for he cannot juſtify himſelf, by alledging the Privileges of an Elogiſt. He declares, by the Title of his Book, that he acts the Part of an Hiſtorian: he could not, therefore, allow himſelf the Liberty, which *Maſſo* might pretend to, under the favourable Title of *Elogium Franciſci Balduini*. *Maſſo*, intending to write the Elogy of a famous Civilian, might ſay, "I thought it allowable to diſguiſe what is diſadvantageous to the Memory of my Heroe." A bad Excuſe, and a continual Source of Illuſion, and Falſhood! But, after all, it comes better from a Panegyriſt, than an Hiſtorian. What ſhall we ſay, then, to *Moreri*, who contented himſelf with theſe Words; "He had the Curioſity to viſit *Calvin*, and the other Heads of the Proteſtants. It is ſaid alſo, that he was inclined to go over to their Party, but, that the the reading of a Piece of *George Caſſander* hindered him from it (3). He had contracted a Friendſhip with *Calvin*, but it was of no long Continuance." So far from finding the Abjuration of Popery in theſe Words, it appears clearly from them, that *Baudouin* never abjured the Church of *Rome*. Where is then The Hiſtorical Sincerity, and Perſpicuity, which require, that, if all other Books were burnt, the Hiſtory alone of a Man ſhould plainly inform every Reader whether he ſaid, or did, ſuch a thing? The Fault, which I cenſure, is, therefore, very great, if it be true, that *Francis Baudouin* changed his Religion: It will, therefore, appear enormous to Thoſe, who know, that he changed his Religion at leaſt ſeven times. Read the public Reproof, which he received for it; it is not expreſſed in general Terms, but attended with Circumſtances. "Ejectum te, Balduine, & excommunicatum ab omnibus piis, quicumque in Gallia aut Germania nomen tuum audierunt, negare non potes. Septies his viginti annis religionem mutaſti. Non ſæpiùs ferè ſerpentes pellem mutant. Educatus es apud tuos in Flandria Papiſticè. Poſteà Genevæ Chriſtianam Religionem profeſſus es: eoque nomine aliquoties ad corporis Chriſti communionem acceſſiſti: Inde Lutetiam profectus Papiſticum habitum recepiſti. Mox Genevam reverſus, & in Calvini contubernio, menſa, familiaritate, menſes multos commoratus, iterum Evangelici nominis factus es. Poſteà Biturigibus ad Papiſticam Idololatriam, tanquam canis ad vomitum, rediiſti. Inde Argentoratum profectus, Evangelicum te profeſſus es: cum Petro Martyre vixiſti. Cœnam Dominicam in Gallorum Eccleſiâ amplius decies participaſti. Mox Heidelbergam delatus confeſſioni Gallicarum Eccleſiarum, ſub qua paulo antè cœnam Dominicam duodecies ſumpſeras, hoſtis factus es, & Heſſuſſianis te partibus dediſti. Tandem in Galliam reverſus, quartùm Papiſta factus es. Horum ſi quid falſum aut fictum ſit, volo ut mihi oculos eruas: aut, ut calumniatorium tuum ſupplicium imitemur, crura mihi ſuffringas (4). - - - - - *You cannot deny,* Baudouin, *that All Good Men, either in* France *or* Germany, *who had heard of your Name, paſſed Sentence of Excommunication on you. In the Space of twenty Years laſt paſt, you have changed your Religion ſeven times. Serpents ſcarce oftener caſt their Skins. You was educated a Papiſt, in* Flanders, *your Native Country. Afterwards, at* Geneva, *you made Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion; under which Name you ſometimes partook of the Communion of the Body of* CHRIST. *From thence going to* Paris, *you turned Papiſt again; afterwards, returning to* Geneva, *and being many Months intimately acquainted with* Calvin, *you became once more an Evangelic. Some time after, at* Bourges, *you returned to Popery, as a Dog to his Vomit. From thence going to* Strasburg, *you profeſſed yourſelf a Proteſtant; and converſed with* Peter Martyr. *You received the Sacrament more than ten Times in The* French *Church. Not long after, at* Heidelburg, *you declared War againſt the Confeſſion of the* Gallican *Church, under which, but a little before, you had twelve times communicated, and went over to the Party of The* Heſſuſſians. *At laſt, returning to* France, *you embraced Popery for the fourth Time. If This be not All true, I give you leave to pull out my Eyes, or (to imitate your own Puniſhment for Calumny) to break my Legs.*" Theſe Words are taken from a long Letter, written to *Baudouin*, in the Year 1564. The ſame Computation had been already mentioned to him in the Year 1562, and with very curious Circumſtances; for he was put in mind, I. That, having deſired to be admitted to the Holy Sacrament in the *French* Church at *Strasburg*, he had made a long Declaration of his Faith in the Preſence of the Aſſembly. II. That, during his Abode at *Geneva*, he had made ſome public Diſcourſes on Matters of Religion. "Verboſiſſimam fidei tuæ confeſſionem publice in templo non infrequenti hominum conventu magna & confidenti voce pronuntiaſſes, ut ad ſacræ Cœnæ & corporis Chriſti communionem reciperereris - - - - in publica (ut vocant) congregatione conſeſſuque paſtorum & doctorum hominum tanquam Saul inter Prophetas verba de rebus ſacris faceres (5). - - - - - - *You had pronounced, with a loud and aſſured Tone of Voice, in a full Church, before a large Congregation, a very long Confeſſion of your Faith, in order to be admitted to the Communion of the Euchariſt.* - - - - - *You diſcourſed of divine Matters, like* Saul *among the Prophets, in a public Congregation (as they call it) and Aſſembly of Paſtors and learned Men.*" I have read this in a Letter, which *Francis Hofman* is ſaid to have been the Author of. Obſerve, that he is deceived in the Circumſtance of Time; for he ſuppoſes, that *Baudouin* made his firſt Abjuration of Popery at *Strasbourg*; This is falſe; he did it, there, the third time. The Proteſtants gave him the Sirname of *Ecebolius*, to ſignify, that he changed his Religion as often as his Linnen; and they quarrelled ſo often with him for it, in their Writings, that no One can pretend Ignorance of it (6). See the ſecond Volume of the Diſputes of *Voëtius*, page 780.

[*B*] *He was invited to* Bourges, *to be Profeſſor of the Civil-Law.*] We ſhall touch on a ſecond Fault of The Writers, who ſpeak of him; They ſcarce ever diſtinguiſh at what time he was provided with ſuch, or ſuch Offices. Mr *Menage*, who avoided This Fault, obſerves, that *he was Profeſſor of the Civil-Law, at* Bourges, *from* 1549 *to* 1556 (he ſhould have ſaid, from 1548 to 1555), *and that he received the Doctor's Cap, there, from the Hands of* Eguinarius Baro (7). The Ceremony of This Reception was performed the twelfth of *March* 1549, as Mr *Catherinot* informs us (8). He adds, that, in the Year 1553, the Wages of *Francis Duaren* amounted to Nine hundred and twenty Livres, Thoſe of our *Baudouin* to Three

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(*e*) Ex Papyr. Maſſon. Elog. Par. II. p. 256, 257.

(*f*) *Thus it muſt be called; and not* Turingia, *as* Valerius Andreas *has it.*

(3) *Compare this with* Thuanus's. *Words, quoted in the Article* CHARPENTIER (PETER), *and you will find a great Miſtake.*

(4) Antonius Guærinius (*ſo he is called in* Rivetus, Tom. III, p. 1127, col. 1, *but in the Epitome of* Geſner, *he is called* Guæimeus, *or* Cynarus,) Epiſt. ad Balduinum, pag. 56, apud Rivetum, Oper. Tom. III. pag. 1127, col. 1.

(5) Epiſt. ad Franc. Balduinum de Officio tum in religione, tum in ſcriptionibus retinendo. — *Of keeping to our Duty, both in our Religion, and our Writings.*

(6) *See the Book, which* Beza *wrote againſt him.*

(7) Menage's Remarks on the Life of *Peter Ayrault*, p. 157.

(8) Catherinot's Calvaniſm *of* Berry, p. 4.

at *Straſburg*, where for a Year he read Civil Law Lectures. Afterwards he went to *Heilderberg*, where he was Profeſſor of the Civil-Law and Hiſtory near five Years, till he was ſent for by *Anthony de Bourbon*, King of *Navarre* [*C*], who made him Tutor to his Baſtard. He carried his Diſciple to *Trent*, and, underſtanding,

Three hundred and fifty, and Thoſe of *Hugh Doneau* to Two hundred and thirty. I obſerve This, to convict *Papyrius Maſſo* of a Falſhood, who ſays, that *Baudouin*'s Wages were as good, as Thoſe of his Colleagues. " Accerſitur à Biturgibus ad docendi " munus ſuſcipiendum, futurus Collega Baronis, & " Duareni Juriſconſultorum, accepturuſque de publico " honorarium QUANTUM illis daretur (9). - - - - - " *He was invited, by the People of* Bourges, *to take* " *upon him a Profeſſorſhip, in conjunction with* Baro " *and* Duaren, *Lawyers, upon a Promiſe of a Stipend* " equal *to what his Colleagues received.*" I have ſhewn, elſewhere (10), that he is guilty of Another Falſhood. Mr *Catherinot* remarks, under the Year 1549, *That* Baudouin *was for ſome time ſuſpected of Hereſy, as having been a Diſciple of* John Calvin *at* Geneva *and Commenſal of* Charles du Moulin, *at* Paris. He ſays alſo, that, in 1556, *Baudouin* wrote againſt *Duaren* about Benefices, and that *Duaren* called him, in Contempt, *Balbin*. *See*, continues he, *his Picture, in a Letter of* Duaren, *of the thirteenth of* June 1555. I give ſome Extracts of This Letter in another Place (11). *Note*, that, during his Stay at *Bourges*, he held a Correſpondence with *Calvin* by Letters, and aſſured him, that he was a good Proteſtant in his Heart (12). He was upbraided with having ſuborned a rich Widow at *Bourges* (13), and having left That Univerſity, without taking Leave of his Landlord (14). I only mention theſe Things, that ſome Circumſtances may be ſeen of the Profeſſion, which our *Baudouin* exerciſed in the Univerſity of *Bourges*. Mr *Menage* affirms, that, in 1556 (15), he made, there, the Funeral Oration of *Eguinarius Baro*, whoſe Enemy he had been, if we believe *Duaren* (16). " Duarenus tantam Juvenis (Bal- " duini) gloriam non ferens, nunquam ſe Balduino " æquum præbuit (17). - - - - - Duaren *was ſo jea-* " *lous of young* Baudouin'*s Reputation, that he* " *never was a Friend to him.*" I ſhall farther obſerve, that the Date of his Call to the Profeſſorſhip of *Bourges* diſcovers a Miſtake of Mr *Bullart*. He ſays, that This learned Man *was gone to* Geneva, *to hear, from the Mouth of* Calvin *and* Beza, *the Reaſon, which had obliged them to forſake the Church of* Rome (18). He acknowledges, that This Journey preceded the Time, wherein *Baudouin* was made Profeſſor at *Bourges*. He ought, then, to grant, that *Baudouin* made it before the Year 1549, and conſequently, when *Beza* was not yet a fit Perſon to be conſulted on Thoſe Matters. It is certain, I. That *Beza* was yet a Papiſt, and at *Paris*, when *Baudouin* cried up *Calvin*'s and *Bucer*'s Letters in all Companies (19). II. That *Baudouin* was gone from *Geneva*, before *Beza* went thither (20). This ſupplies us with a ſtrong Proof of the Falſhood, contained in theſe Words of *Varillas* (21): " *Calvin*, who pretended to raiſe him " by the ſame Ways, that *Beza* had gained Repute " in the Party, invited him to *Geneva*, received him " in his Houſe, admitted him into the Intrigues of " the Conſiſtory, and made uſe of him ſeveral Years " as a Secretary. But, whether *Baudouin*'s Humour " was extremely fickle, as the *Calviniſts* reproached " him afterwards, or that he diſcovered, that *Cal-* " *viniſm* was but a refined Hypocriſy, as he declared " in a ſatirical Apology; he went from *Geneva* to " *Heidelberg*." *Beza* was not yet of the Proteſtant Religion, when *Baudouin* received ſo many Marks of Friendſhip from *Calvin*. *Baudouin*, after he had received Them, did not go to *Heidelberg*, but returned into *France*, and was ſeven Years Profeſſor at *Bourges*. I confeſs, that, after This, He went again to *Calvin* at *Geneva* (22), but he did not ſtay long there; he ſuffered a ſevere Reprimand there, and teſtified his Repentance; he went ſoon after to *Straſburg*, by *Calvin*'s Advice, and did not teach the Civil-Law at *Heidelberg*, 'till after he had taught it at *Straſburg*. " Quum illa Bituricenſis conditio eum " gravaret (oſtentatio enim, qua ſola pollet, evanue- " rat, ut ſpei & votis minimè ſatisfaceret) non du- " bitavit huc ſe recipere: & quum undique liberis " eum convitiis exagitarint, qui prius amici fuerant, " humaniter à me impetrata venia admiſſus fuit. Feci " quidem quod neceſſe erat, ut ſevera objurgatione " correctus lapſus ſui fœditatem agnoſceret. Servi- " liter aſſenſus eſt, & adulatoriè meis ſe conſiliis re- " gendum permiſit. Argentinam profectus nomen " dedit apud Paſtorem & Seniores Gallicanæ Eccle- " ſiæ (23). —— *Being diſpleaſed with his Situation* " *at* Bourges, *which by no means anſwered his vain-* " *glorious Expectations, he made no Scruple of retir-* " *ing hither; and, notwithſtanding the Reproaches,* " *which, on all ſides, were caſt on him by Thoſe, who* " *had formerly been his Friends, I received him kind-* " *ly. By a ſevere Reproof, which was neceſſary, I* " *brought him to acknowledge the Foulneſs of his Apo-* " *ſtacy. He ſervilely complied, and flatteringly gave* " *himſelf up to be governed by my Advice. Yet, going* " *to* Straſburg, *he went over to the Paſtor and Elders* " *of the* Gallican *Church.*" Thus you ſee how *Varillas* informed himſelf of Things, which he pretended to ſpeak of.

[*C*] *He was ſent for by* Anthony de Bourbon, *King of* Navarre] Some ſay, that he was, then, in *Lorrain*, in the Retinue of Prince *Caſimir*, Son of *Frederic*, Count *Palatine* (24). Others, that he was returned *into* France, *with the Heir of the Count* Palatine, *who came to compliment* Charles IX, *on his Acceſſion to the Crown* (25). But All this does not ſo much as touch upon the Intrigue, which *Beza* mentions. He ſays, that, after the Death of *Francis* II, They, who feared to loſe their Authority, in the Court of *France*, endeavoured chiefly to induce the King of *Navarre* to return back to the *Romiſh* Communion (26). They engaged him to ſend an Embaſſador to the Court of *Rome*, in hopes either to recover his Kingdom, or to obtain Another from the Catholic King, by the Pope's good Offices. On the other hand, Thy gave him Hopes, by ſuborn'd Perſons, that The Proteſtants of *Germany* might unite in his Favour, and aſſiſt him in recovering the Crown of *Navarre*; eſpecially, if means could be found out to reconcile the Religions. They mentioned a Profeſſor of *Heidelberg* to him, whoſe Name was *Baudouin*, who was a fit Perſon to negotiate ſuch Matters. He ſent for him into *France*; he conferred with him; and, judging him fit to find out the means of An Agreement in Religion, he ſet him to work; and, after ſome rough Draughts, prepared at *Paris*, he ſent him back into *Germany*, and charged him, by Name, to conſult with *Caſſander*. This Intrigue, deſigned to break off the Conference of *Poiſſy*, did not effect it. The Miniſters had already aſſembled there twice, when *Baudouin* returned with a Project of Union, printed at *Baſil* (27). He was reprimanded for returning too late: He found, that the Biſhop of *Valencia*, who had promiſed him a Profeſſorſhip of Civil-Law, had changed his Mind. All, that he could obtain, was to be Preceptor to the King of *Navarre*'s natural Son. He went to *Paris*, and gained Eſteem by his Lectures, in which he joined Civil-Law with Hiſtory; but he loſt his Reputation on the Publication of the Book againſt the Treaty for a Reconciliation of Religions, which he had brought from *Germany*. He undertook to write againſt *Calvin*, in his own Defence; the Conſequences of which we ſhall ſee below.

Varillas may be ſaid, in the main, to confirm this Account of *Beza*. He ſays, that " *Baudouin* went " from *Geneva* to *Heidelberg*, where he was Profeſſor " of the Civil-Law; 'till, *Caſſander* having inſpired " him with the Deſire of re-uniting all Religions, he " thought it beſt to begin with *France*, where he ex- " pected to find the leaſt Oppoſition. He came to " *Paris*, where he communicated, to the Cardinal " of *Lorrain*, the famous Conſultation, which the " ſame *Caſſander* had drawn up for the Execution of " his Project. The Cardinal received it with ſo " much the more Joy, as he foreſaw, that, though " it ſhould not produce all the Effect, which it's Au- " thor expected, yet it would, at leaſt, ſet the Pro- " teſtants at Variance, and divide the Miniſters of " the Aſſembly of *Poiſſy*, by the Overtures of Agree- " ment, which it would ſuggeſt to the moſt mode- " rate among them (28)." *Varillas* had ſaid juſt be-ſtanding, that *Anthony* was dead of a Wound, which he had received at the Siege of *Roüen*, he returned with his Pupil into *France*, and found his Eſtate and his Books plundered (*g*). He returned to his own Country, whither he was invited, to teach the Civil-Law in the Univerſity of *Doüay* [*D*]. He was promiſed great Advantages,

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(9) Papyr. Maſſo, Elog. Part II. pag. 257. *You will find the ſame Fault in* Bullart, Acad. des Sciences, Tom. I. pag. 228.

(10) *In the Article* DUAREN.

(11) *In the Remark* [*I*] *of the Article* DUAREN.

(12) *See* Beza's *Anſwer to* Baudouin, Oper. Tom. II. pag. 213. 214.

(13) Beza, ib. pag. 214.

(14) Id. ib. pag. 213.

(15) *He ſhould have ſaid* 1550. *See the Article* DUAREN, *Remark* [*E*].

(16) Menag. ubi ſupra.

(17) Papyr. Maſſo, ubi ſupra.

(18) Bullart, Academ. des Sciences, Tom. I. pag. 228. *The ſame Fault is in the* Theatrum *of* Ghilini, Tom. II. pag. 83.

(19) Beza Reſponſ. ad Balduin, pag. 206. Oper. Tom. II. *Note, that* Baudouin *ſays, in his third Anſwer*, fol. 80, verſo, *that This belongs to the Year* 1546.

(20) Balduin. ibid. fol. 83, verſo.

(21) Varill. *Hiſt. of* Charles IX. Tom. I. pag. 89. *Edit. of* Holland, 1686.

(22) Beza Reſp. ad Bald. Oper. Tom. II. pag. 213.

(23) Calvin, Reſp. ad Balduin, pag. 368. Tract. Theol.

(24) Valer. Bibl. Belg. pag. 222. *which agrees with* Baudouin's *Narrative, in his third Anſwer*, fol. 91.

(25) Menage, *Remarks on the Life of* Ayrault, pag. 157.

(26) Theod. Beza ad Franciſci Balduini Ecebolii Convicia Reſponſ. init. pag. 201, &c. Tom. II. Oper.

(27) *There is neither the Place of Impreſſion, nor the Printer's Name, inſerted in it.* Beza ibid. pag. 202.

(28) Varillas's *Hiſt. of* Charles IX. Vol. I. pag. 90. *Edit. of* Holland. *See alſo* Thuanus, lib. 28. pag. 567.

fore, that, by this means, *Baudouin* became Preceptor to the King of *Navarre*'s natural Son. He tells us, afterwards, how the Miniſters got "clear of the Difficulties, which *Baudouin* had thrown in their Way. But, *continues he* (29), They would not have diſentangled themſelves ſo eaſily from *Baudouin*'s ſecond Difficulty, if Fortune had not favoured them. He had perſuaded the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to ſend for the moſt famous Lutheran Profeſſors of the *Palatinate*, and the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, to introduce them into the Conference, where, he was ſure, they would be more zealous againſt the *Calviniſts*, than againſt the *Catholics*; and that, by this means, beſides the Pleaſure of ſetting the Heretics together by the Ears, their Quarrels would make them ridiculous to the Court, where their Doctrine was before admired; and the People, who thought them uniform, underſtanding, that they had quarrelled among themſelves, would ſo ſuddenly change the Eſteem they had for them into Contempt, that no *Frenchman* would leave the Communion of the Church for the future. It muſt be confeſſed, that the *Catholics* never received more wholeſome Advice, than This of *Baudouin*; and, if it had been put in practice with as much Diligence, as was requiſite in ſo delicate an Intrigue, all the Evils, which the Conference of *Poiſſy* produced, afterwards, would have been prevented. And, indeed, the Miniſters, who were not ignorant of their Adverſaries moſt private Maxims, having diſcovered what *Baudouin* had propoſed to their Diſadvantage, were tranſported againſt him with all the Exceſs of Paſſion, which Indignation, Spite, Jealouſy, and Fury, can inſpire, when animated by a falſe Zeal, and hidden under ſo ſpecious a Cover."

Note, That *Varillas* is miſtaken, when he ſays, that *Baudouin* carried *Caſſander*'s Conſultation to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*: For it was not made 'till three Years after (30). I ſhall give, below (31), the Title of The Work, which he carried, and ſhall obſerve (32), that he was employed to mediate an Eccleſiaſtical Agreement with the Prince of *Condé*.

[*D*] *He was invited, to teach the Civil-Law in the Univerſity of* Doüay.] The Marquis *de Bergue*, and ſeveral other great Lords of the *Netherlands*, engaged *Maximilian de Bergue*, Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, to manage matters ſo, that This Profeſſorſhip of Civil-Law might be procured for *Baudouin*. They deſired to make uſe of his Advice in Matters of State and Religion (33); for they knew his Opinion was, that the Laws againſt the Sectaries ought to be mitigated (34). "Nam Balduinus in ea erat ſententia, ut veterem Edictorum ſeveritatem leniendam profiteretur, affirmaretque, retinere eâ ratione Eccleſiæ auctoritatem neque veteres conſuêſſe, neque iis, quæ tunc erant, temporibus, poſſe (35). —— *For* Baudouin *was of ſuch an Opinion, as to declare, that the ancient Severity of the Edicts ought to be mitigated, and to affirm, that Our Anceſtors neither did, nor could, in thoſe Times, ſupport the Authority of the Church by ſuch means.*" So that there is reaſon to believe, that he returned to *Paris*, becauſe he would not be engaged, by the Duke of *Alba*, in the cruel Proceedings then in agitation. "Ac ne forte quæſitor reis datus capitalibus ſententiis provincialium ſuorum ſubſcribere cogeretur (36). —— *And leaſt, by being appointed to enquire into the Guilt of the Accuſed, he ſhould be obliged to join with thoſe of his own Province, in pronouncing Sentence of Death on Them.*" The Male-contents of the *Netherlands* promiſed themſelves great Things from his Counſels, ſince, beſides the Principles, which I have already mentioned, he was a Perſon of great Addreſs, and perfectly knew the World: "Ut in Belgiam venit, magnam ſui exſpectationem omnibus fecit. Solers animo, obſequendi gratiâ, & civili congreſſu, nec minus officii comitate, ad ingenia principum vitam inſtruxerat. Nec enim novorum hominum deliramenta ſectabatur, & rurſus in religione ſcrupulum oderat. Humaniuſque credebat, iniquitati temporum cedere, pietatiſque integritatem in paucis violare, quam vim adferre turbatis conſcientiis, quas in contaminatis hominibus nulla unquam ſupplicia eluunt (37). - - - - - - - *Upon his Arrival in the* Netherlands, *great Expectations were raiſed of him. He was a compleat Courtier; he never gave into the Follies of Upſtarts; nor was a Bigot to Religion. Beſides which, he thought it more becoming a Man to give way a little to the Iniquity of the Times, and rather to recede from the ſtrict Laws of Piety in a few Inſtances, than to offer Violence to diſturbed Conſciences, which, in Perſons infected with them, no Puniſhment can ever waſh out.*" The Author, whom I quote, had obſerved, that *Baudouin* had been very well known to *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, at *Heidelberg*. The third Apology of This Civilian informs us, that the Prince of *Naſſau*, who had been his Auditor at *Strasburg*, had lately careſſed him much in the *Netherlands* (38). Let us add to this, that he was eſteemed by *William*, Prince of *Orange*. "Franciſco Balduino, juriſconſulto egregio, pacis Eccleſiaſticæ ſtudioſo, magni facto à Principe Arauſionenſi Wilhelmo, aliiſque Belgarum proceribus, qui & opera ejus uſi ſunt, cur credi non debeat, nihil cauſæ eſt (39). - - - - - - - *I ſee no reaſon, why we ſhould not give Credit to* Francis Baudouin, *an excellent Civilian, who ſtudied the Peace of the Church, and was highly eſteemed by* William, *Prince of* Orange, *and others of the Nobility in the Low-Countries.*" It is *Grotius*, who ſays this, and who affirms, that That Prince, and other great Lords of the *Netherlands*, conſulted *Baudouin*. It was in their firſt Proceedings againſt *Spain*. He was preſent in the firſt Aſſemblies of *Breda*; and they employed him to draw up the Writing, in which they demanded, of the Ducheſs of *Parma*, the free Exerciſe of their Religion. He ſhewed, that Religion cannot ſubſiſt without An Outward Exerciſe, and that it requires This, as a neceſſary Support, and Nouriſhment (40). The Author, who informs me of this, obſerves, that *Baudouin* had been recalled from his Exile, by the Archbiſhop of *Arras*. *Ab exilio per Archiepiſcopum Atrebatenſum (it ſhould be* Atrebatenſem) *revocatus* (41). To underſtand This, The Reader muſt know, that, finding himſelf accuſed of Hereſy, he left his Country, and that, after his Flight, a Sentence of Proſcription was pronounced againſt him (42). It was revoked, when they recalled him, in order to conſult with him on the State of Affairs in the *Netherlands*. Note, that the Author, who ſpeaks of the Archbiſhop of *Arras*, does not relate the Thing, as he ought: The Chronicle of *John Francis le Petit*, to which he refers, will tell us the Circumſtances of it better: "*Francis Baudouin* - - - - - having before been baniſhed from *Arras* for his Religion, was ſent for by the ſaid Lord, Prince of *Orange*, from *France*, to conſult him on the Difficulties, which then occurred; who, after his Baniſhment, was revoked by the Chamber of *Artois*, at the Inſtance of the Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, went to the ſaid Prince, in the City of *Bruſſels*; where, having conferred with him, and and the other above-mentioned Lords, he drew up a Diſcourſe, in the Form of a Propoſal, concerning the Then Religious Troubles, which was ſent to the King of *Spain*, directed to his own Perſon, wherein are contained the true Means of preventing all Inſurrections, and extirpating Sects, and Hereſies (43)." This Diſcourſe is preſerved entire, in the Chronicle of *John Francis le Petit*. It is ſolid, and very judicious. This Chronicle ſays, that "*Baudouin* luckily hit upon the true Remedy of the Troubles, which the King, and his Council, might, of late, have known to be ſo."

Let us remark, by the way, that the Writers, who ſpeak of him, are in the wrong to ſay, that from the *Netherlands* he went to *Paris*. They ſhould have ſaid, that he did not go to *Paris*, till he had fled to *Geneva*, where he embraced the Proteſtant Religion (44). He boaſted, that, for the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, he had ſuffered Exile, and the loſs of all he had: but ſome affirm, that his Mother ſent him all that he could pretend to of his Patrimo-

ny.

(*g*) Valer. Andrea, Bibl. Belg. pag. 221, 222.

(29) Varill. ib. pag. 91.

(30) *See* Spondanus, ad Ann. 1564. n. 27.

(31) *In Remark* [*H*].

(32) *In Remark* [*M*].

(33) Valer. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 222.

(34) Id. ib.

(35) Id. ib.

(36) Papyr. Maſſo, Elog. Part. II. pag. 259.

(37) Nicol. Burgundius, lib. 2. Hiſt. Belg. p. 67.

(38) Baudouin. in Reſponſ. ad Calvin. & Bezam. fol. 88, verſo. *It was printed in the Year* 1564.

(39) Grotius in Rivetiani Apologetici Diſcuſſione, pag. 23.

(40) Joh. Grevius, Epiſt. ad Bernhard. Brantium. *It is the* 376*th of the* Epiſtolæ Eccleſiaſt. & Theologicæ. *Edit. of* Amſt. 1684. *He quotes* John Petit. Tom. I.

(41) Id. ib.

(42) *See* Nicolas Burgundius, ubi ſupra, p. 66.

(43) Joh. Francis le Petit, *Recorder of* Bethune, *in* Artois, *in his* Great Chronicle of the Netherlands, Tom. II. pag. 75. *Edit. of* Dordretcht, 1610.

(44) *See the Words of* Antonius Guærinius, *above, Citat.* (4).

Advantages, and was very courteouſly received by the Duke of *Alba*, on the Eve of That Day that Count *Egmont* was impriſoned: but, fearing to be choſen one of the Judges of Thoſe Perſons, whom they had a mind to put to Death, he deſired leave to be abſent for ſome Days, under pretence of fetching his Wife, and his Library; and, having obtained it, he returned to *Paris*, where he ſtayed. He read there public Lectures on ſome Parts of the *Pandects*, with the Applauſe of a Crowd of Auditors (*b*). He accepted the Profeſſorſhip of Civil-Law, which was offered him by the Univerſity of *Bezanſon*; but, underſtanding at his coming there, that the Emperor *Maximilian* had forbid That Univerſity to erect This Profeſſorſhip, he would read no Lectures there, though he was ſollicited to do it. He returned to *Paris*, where he followed the Advice of *Philip de Hurault* (*i*), which was, to teach the Civil-Law in the Univerſity of *Angers*. This He did near four Years, and till the Duke of *Anjou*, who was proclaimed King of *Poland*, ſent for him to *Paris*, at the time, when the *Poliſh* Embaſſy was received there [*E*] (*k*). He was deſigned for the Profeſſorſhip of Civil-Law in the Univerſity of *Cracow*

ny. “ Fortunis exutum fuiſſe negant conterranei & “ familiares: quia extra Cæſaris ditionem à matre & “ cohæredibus permiſſum fuit ſumere quantum ex “ hæreditate, ſi integra fuiſſet ejus conditio, perve- “ nire ad eum poterat: ut ne quidem aſſis jacturam “ fecerit. Et aliquando coram homini gratulatus “ ſum, quòd tam facilè recuperaſſet, quod ſibi crede- “ bat periiſſe (45). - - - - - - - - *His Countrymen and* “ *Acquaintance deny, that he was ſtripped of his For-* “ *tunes: ſince, when he was out of the Emperor's Power,* “ *his Mother, and Co-heirs, allowed him to take as* “ *much of his Patrimony as he could have claimed,* “ *had it remained entire; ſo that he did not loſe a ſingle* “ *Farthing: And I myſelf have perſonally congratula-* “ *ted him upon the eaſy Recovery of what he looked* “ *upon as loſt.*” Obſerve, pray, a want of Exactneſs in *Papyrius Maſſo*. He ſays nothing of the Journey, which our *Baudouin* took into the *Netherlands*, at the Sollicitation of the great Lords, who would remedy the Diſorders, which The too great Severity of the Penal Laws, againſt the Sectaries, produced daily. He ſpeaks only of a Journey taken, during the Government of the Duke of *Alba*. This is to forget the principal Thing, and to reduce the Affair to but a ſmall part of it. What I have quoted from *Valerius Andreas*, *Nicolas Burgundius*, and ſeveral others, and which is a very conſiderable Part of *Baudouin*'s Life, ought to be referred to the Year 1564, under the Government of the Ducheſs of *Parma*. It was in That Year, that *Caſſander* and *Baudouin* were conſulted by the Malecontents. The one, *viz. Caſſander*, was named by the Count *de Horn*, and the other by Count *Lewis* of *Naſſau* (46). It was believed, that Theſe two Men were capable of accommodating the Differences of Religion. The Prince of *Orange* promiſed great things to *Francis Baudouin*, and not only deſigned to procure him a Profeſſorſhip of Civil-Law, in the Univerſity of *Louvain*, or in That of *Doüay*, but alſo a Seat in the Privy-Council. *Baudouin*, returning into *France*, with a Promiſe to come back again into the *Netherlands*, at a proper Time, received many Preſents from That Prince. Count *Lewis* of *Naſſau* preſſed him ſeveral times to keep his Word, and endeavoured to dazzle him with the Splendor of Dignities: *Imminentium Honorum blanditiis allicere* (47). But *Baudouin* thought he ſhould not find his Account in the Buſineſs he had promiſed to undertake; all his Friends adviſed him not to concern himſelf in it, and he was in hopes of a better Reward for the Pains he took to reconcile the *Bourbons* with the *Guiſes* (48). Theſe are Particulars, which deſerved to have been touched upon by *Papyrius Maſſo*; and yet he has not ſaid a Word of them; but, inſtead thereof, tells us, That the *Spaniards* offered him the Profeſſorſhp of Civil-Law, in the Univerſity of *Doüay*; that They promiſed him a yearly Penſion of Six thouſand Florins, and a ſhare of Fifty thouſand Florins, in the Confiſcation of the Eſtates of Thoſe, who ſhould be proſcribed; and that The Duke of *Alba* received him civilly, *&c.* It would appear very ſtrange, that the *Spaniards* ſhould honour a Man in this manner, who had favoured the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſigns, if we did not remember *Baudouin*'s Inconſtancy, I mean, his extream Readineſs at changing Sides. The Hiſtorian, whom I quote, having mentioned a fine Diſcourſe of the Prince of *Orange*, adds, that it was the Fruit of *Baudouin*'s Converſations. “ Nemini mirum videri debet, tantam in illo principe eluxiſſe cognitionem Philoſo- “ phiæ; ex Balduini colloquiis hauſerat (49). - - - - - “ *No One ought to think it ſtrange, that This Prince* “ *diſcovered ſo great a Knowledge of Philoſophy; he* “ *acquired it by converſing with* Baudouin.”

I ſhall obſerve, in another Place (50), what he did in relation to the Maſſacre of *Paris*.

[*E*] *The Duke of* Anjou - - - - - - *ſent for him to* Paris, *at the time, when the* Poliſh *Embaſſy was received there.*] *Baudouin* was this Prince's Maſter of the Requeſts (51): He gained the Favour of the *Poliſh* Embaſſadors, by converſing with Them, and publiſhed a Diſcourſe *de Legatione Polonica*, dedicated to *John Zamoſki* (52); it is thought he would have gone into *Poland*, the Spring following, if he had not died. This is all that *Papyrius Maſſo* tells us of the Matter. Let us, therefore, look upon moſt of what is related by Mr *Bullart*, as fabulous Hyperboles. “ It was, *ſays he* (53), during *Baudouin*'s Abode at *Angers*, that the *Poliſh* Lords, who “ came to offer Their Crown to *Henry*, Duke of *Anjou*, “ arrived in *France*. A Perſon of Ability was wanting, “ to receive This ſumptuous Embaſſy, and to anſwer “ it. It was a material Point to return Thanks for “ This Offer, without depreſſing the Royal Dignity “ that was offered: It was requiſite to ſpeak both like a “ King, and a grateful Man. No Perſon in *France* was “ found better qualified to undertake this, than the prudent BAUDOUIN. The Duke of *Anjou* having “ ſent for him to *Paris*, This great Man appeared “ in the Halls of the *Louvre* among the chief Per- “ ſons of the State: He was Interpreter to That famous Embaſſy: He was no leſs applauded for the “ Excellency of his Anſwer, than the famous *Zamoſki* for That of his Speech; and he made himſelf “ ſo conſiderable to Thoſe Illuſtrious Embaſſadors, that “ it was reſolved to ſend him into *Poland* to ſettle “ That Crown on the Head of the new King, and to “ diſpoſe That Nation to receive him: but his laſt “ Sickneſs, which ſeized him at the ſame time, deprived him of That Honour, and the Duke of *Anjou* of the Hopes he had of re-eſtabliſhing the Univerſity of *Cracow* by his Means.” Nothing could happen more glorious, than This, to a Profeſſor of *Angers*: How comes it then, that one of his beſt Friends does not mention it, in the Elogy, which He conſecrated to him? No good reaſon can be aſſigned for it, unleſs we ſay, that it is falſe; for it is againſt all probability, that he ſhould be ignorant of ſuch a thing, if it really happened. Writers of Elogies may be permitted to make uſe of a more figurative, and flattering, Language, than Hiſtorians; but neither Lying, nor Amplifications, ſuch as change the Nature of an Adventure, ought any more to be allowed Them, than Hiſtorians; ſo that it may be ſaid, that Mr *Bullart* is guilty of an inexcuſable Exceſs. *Thuanus*, who has exactly related what concerned the *Poliſh* Embaſſadors, their Speeches, and the Anſwers, which were made to them, ſays nothing of our *Baudouin* (54). It is always the Biſhop of *Poſnania*, who ſpeaks, and a Chancellor, who anſwers him: *Birague*, Chancellor of *France*, replied, when They harangued *Charles* IX. *Chiverni*, Chancellor of the Duke of *Anjou*, returned an Anſwer, when They harangued This Duke, and when They read to him the Act of his Election. If any other ſpeaks beſides, it is, *Nicolas Chriſtopher Radzievil*, on the *Poliſh* Side (55), and *Paul de Foix*, for *Charles*

(*b*) *See Remark* [*K*].

(*i*) *The Duke of* Anjou's *Chancellor*.

(*k*) *Taken from* Papyrius Maſſo, ubi ſupra, pag. 258, & ſeq.

(45) Calvin. Reſponſ. ad Balduin. ſub fin. p. 370, Tractatuum Theolog.

(46) *Brother of* William, *Prince of* Orange.

(47) Nicol. Burgund. ubi ſupra, pag. 68.

(48) *Taken from* Nicolas Burgund. pag. 67, 68.

(49) Nicol. Burgund. Hiſt. Belg. pag. 131. ad Ann. 1564.

(50) *In the Article* CHARPENTIER (PETER).

(51) Menag. *Remarks on the Life of* P. Ayrault. pag. 185.

(52) *He was one of the* Poliſh *Ambaſſadors*.

(53) Bullart. Acad. des Sciences, pag. 229.

(54) Thuan. lib. 57. init.

(55) Id. ib. pag. 47.

Cracow (l), and it is thought he would have followed the new King into That Country, if Death hath not prevented him. He died in the Arms of his only Daughter [F], in the College of *Arras*, at *Paris*, the Twenty fourth of *October*, 1573 (m) [G]. This is the Sum of what *Papyrius Maſſo*, *Valerius Andreas*, *Aubertus Miræus*, *Bullart*, and ſeveral others, relate of him. It is very ſtrange, that they ſhould ſo boldly ſuppreſs all that relates to his changing of his Religion (n). One can hardly infer from their Narratives, that he lived once in the Proteſtant Communion. *Moreri* has, either through Ignorance, or Diſſimulation, omitted the ſame Things. But, in requital, he enlarges on the Quarrel between *Calvin* and *Baudouin*. It was a very ſharp one [*H*]. *Beza* came into it with a little too much

(l) Thuan. lib. 57. pag. 47.

(m) Papyr. Maſſo, Elog. Part II. pag. 261.

(n) *See Remark* [*A*].

Charles IX (56). My Remark would be of leſs weight, if *Thuanus* had made no manner of mention either of *Zamoski*, or *Baudouin*. But we find, that he ſpeaks of them both; and after this Manner: He ſays, That Speech of *Zamoski* was printed; but that it was not known, whether it had been ſpoken; *In eandem rem edita, an habita ſit incertum, Oratio luculenta a Joanne Zario Zamoſcio* (57): and he adds, that *Baudouin* cauſed another Speech to be printed, addreſſed to *Zamoski*. Is not This plainly giving us to underſtand, that *Baudouin* was not choſen to interpret That *Polander*'s Speech, and to anſwer it in the Preſence of the whole Court? What can be ſtronger againſt Mr *Bullart*'s Narrative?

[*F*] *He died in the Arms of his only Daughter.*] Her Name was *Catherine*. She was twice married; “ her firſt Husband was *John de Sauzay*, Sieur *de* “ *Sainte Ouanne*, in *Poitou*; and her ſecond Huſ- “ band was *Adam le Changeur*, Sieur *du Cotau*, in “ *Berri* (58).” She was born at *Heidelberg* (59). Her Mother's Name was *Catherine Biton*; and was of *Bourges*. She was the Widow of *Philip Labbé*, Great Grand-father of Father *Labbe* a Jeſuit, when ſhe married *Baudouin* (60). She had ſome Children by her firſt Husband, who, with their Grand-mother, were ruined by their Step-father, as *Calvin* relates it. “ Ipſum minime ϛοργικὸν eſſe clamant Bituriges, “ qui ſuos privignos, ſimul cum eorum avia, ſpoliave- “ rit (61). —— *The Inhabitants of* Bourges *cry out*, “ *that he had but little Affection for his Children-in-* “ *law, having ruined them, together with their* “ *Grand-mother.*” Our *Civilian* was more deſirous to leave a Daughter behind him, than a Son, becauſe he feared *Cicero*'s Deſtiny, whoſe Son inherited nothing of his Father's Eloquence. *Percontanti mihi malletne filiam, quam filium habere, minime* (62) *inquit, Roma enim Ciceronis filium non agnoſcebat loquentem* (63).

[G] *He died the Twenty fourth of* October 1573.] And not the eleventh of *November* 1572, as *Valerius Andreas* ſays. *Thuanus* places his Death on the eleventh of *November* 1573; Mr *Menage* on the Twenty fourth of *October* 1574; and yet he makes him but Fifty three Years, nine Months, and Twenty four Days, old, though he had placed his Birth on the firſt of *January* 1520. Theſe two Faults proceeded from *la Croix du Maine*.

[*H*] *The Quarrel between* Calvin *and* Baudouin *was very ſharp.*] I mentioned the Origin of it (64), when I ſaid, that *Francis Baudouin* diſperſed a little Book concerning a Re-union of Religions, whilſt the Conference of *Poiſſy* was held. It was an anonymous *Latin* Diſcourſe, compoſed by *Caſſander*, and entituled, *De officio pii ac publice tranquillitatis vere amantis viri in hoc religionis diſſidio.* When it was known at *Geneva*, that *Baudouin* deſigned to prejudice the Reformed by This little Book, it was thought proper to lay him open to the Public. For which reaſon, *Calvin*, in refuting This Piece, which he imputed to *Baudouin*, laſhed him ſeverely. His Refutation is entitled, “ Reſponſio ad verſipellem “ quendam mediatorem, qui pacificandi ſpecie rectum “ Evangelii curſum in Gallia abrumpere molitus eſt. “ —— *An Anſwer to a certain turn-coat Mediator*, “ *who has endeavoured to break off the right Courſe* “ *of the Goſpel in* France.” It is in the Volume of *Calvin's Opuſcula*, pag. 351, and the following. *Baudouin* defended himſelf, by publiſhing a Work, for which he had obtained a Licence in the Year 1557: he reviſed it, and added an Appendix to it (65). In a word, it was His *Ad leges de famoſis libellis & de calumniatoribus commentarius*, printed, at *Paris*, by *Andrew Wechel*, in the Year 1562, in 4to. *Calvin*'s Reply appeared in the Field ſoon after with a ſtrong Reinforcement (66); for it was accompanied with ſeveral Pieces compoſed by good Pens; beſides which, They publiſhed The Letters, which This Deſerter had written at ſeveral times to *Calvin*. “ Reſpondit “ quoque Joannes Criſpinus ejus conterraneus, & “ perpetuus, quoad ejus fieri potuit, amicus. Ad- “ juncta ſunt quorundam inſignium virorum ſcripta, “ quibus perpetua iſtius improbitas, ſumma impuden- “ tia, & extrema inſcitia ita manifeſtè redarguitur, “ ut ne nunc quidem poſſit ignorantiam ſuam diffi- “ teri. Additæ ſunt denique ipſius literæ variis “ temporibus ad Calvinum ſcriptæ, ut horrenda iſta “ defectio, ipſius apoſtatæ teſtimonio, apud omnes “ bonos ſanciretur (67). —— Johannes Criſpinus, “ *likewiſe, his Countryman, and, as far as he could* “ *be ſo, his Friend, anſwered him. There were* “ *added, likewiſe, Pieces by ſome of the beſt Hands,* “ *in which his perpetual Diſhoneſty, conſummate Im-* “ *pudence, and extream Ignorance, are undeniably* “ *proved. Laſtly there were added His Letters, written* “ *at different Times to* Calvin, *as a Satisfaction to all* “ *good Men of his horrid Apoſtacy.*” The Nature of this Collection will be more exactly known, if I give the Title of it here; which is This: “ Joannis Cal- “ vini reſponſio ad Balduini convicia. Ad leges de “ transfugis, deſertoribus & emanſoribus, Franciſci “ Balduini epiſtolæ quædam ad Joannem Calvinum “ pro Commentariis. Franciſci Duareni J. C. ad “ alterum quendam Juriſc. epiſtola, de Franciſco “ Balduino. Antonii Contii J. C. admonitio de fal- “ ſis Conſtantini legibus, ad quendam, qui ſe hoc “ tempore Juriſconſultum Chriſtianum profitetur. De “ officio tum in Religione, tum in ſcriptionibus, reti- “ nendo, epiſtola ad Franciſcum Balduinum Juriſ- “ conſultum. Ad legem III. C. Impp. de Apoſtatis, “ Joannis Criſpini Commentarius ad Juriſconſultos. “ —— John Calvin'*s Reply to the Calumnies of* Bau- “ douin. *Some Epiſtles of* Francis Baudouin *to* John “ Calvin, *by way of Commentaries on the Laws rela-* “ *ting to Deſertors, and Vagabonds. An Epiſtle of* “ Francis Duarenus J. C. *to another Civilian, con-* “ *cerning* Francis Baudouin. *An Advertiſment of* “ Anthony Contius J. C. *concerning the Spurious* “ *Laws of* Conſtantine, *to one, who, at this time,* “ *profeſſes himſelf a Chriſtian Lawyer. Of the Duty,* “ *to be obſerved, both in Religion, and Writings, An* “ *Epiſtle to* Francis Baudouin, *the Civilian. The* “ *Commentary of* Joannes Criſpinus *on the III. C.* “ *Imperial Law, concerning Apoſtates, addreſſed to* “ *the Civilians.*” This Collection, containing an Hundred and ſeventeen Pages, was printed in the Year 1562, in 4to. *Baudouin* compoſed a ſecond Anſwer, which was printed at *Paris*, and at *Cologne*, in the Year 1562. *Calvin*, not thinking fit to refute it, publiſhed a Piece, of but One Page, wherein he informed the Public, that he would Anſwer This Adverſary no more (68). It is there, that he reproaches him with having violated the Laws of Hoſpitality, by ſtealing ſome Papers, which might be of Service to him in his perfidious Attempts. “ Antequam reſ- “ pondeo, *ſays he* (69), monendi ſunt lectores nihil “ hac monedula eſſe furacius, ut hac parte fratrem “ ſuum patruelem Antonium Balduinum ſuperet, cui “ ob furandi ſolertiam, cognomen Ablativi à condiſ- “ cipulis inditum fuit. Tanta fuit mea erga ipſum “ facilitas, ut quicquid erat in bibliotheca mea char- “ tarum liberè, me abſente, excuſſerit. Subripuiſſe “ quæ in rem ſuam fore putabat, non aliunde peten- “ da eſt luculentior probatio, quàm ex ejus ſcripto, “ in quo ſe bellè prodidit. Certe fides ejus & hoſpi- “ talitas hic deprehenditur (70). ------ *Before I* “ *reply, I muſt inform the Reader, that nothing is* “ *more pilfering, than this Jackdaw, in which re-* “ *ſpect he exceeds his paternal Uncle,* Anthony Bau- “ douin,

(56) Id. ib. pag. 49.

(57) Id. ib. pag. 47. *Note, that the Pages are very ill marked here in* Thuanus, *Edit. of* Francfort, 1625.

(58) Menag. Remarks on the Life of *Ayrault*, pag. 158.

(59) Papyr. Maſſo, Elog. pag. 261.

(60) Menag. ibid.

(61) Calvin. Tractat. Theolog. pag. 370.

(62) *It ſhould be* imo *for* minime *makes a contrary Senſe to* Maſſo's *meaning.*

(63) Papyr. Maſſo, Elog. Part. II. pag. 261, 262.

(64) *In Remark* [*C*].

(65) *See* Beza's *Anſwer to* Baudouin. pag. 202, 209; *and* Calvin's *Anſwer to* Baudouin, init.

(66) *Entituled*, Reſponſ. ad Balduini Convitia: *It is in the ſame Volume*, pag. 365, & ſeq.

(67) Beza ibid. p. 202.

(68) *It is wrong placed in the Volume of his* Opuſcula; *for it is before the ſecond Piece, which he publiſhed againſt* Baudouin, *tho' it was wrote after it.*

(69) Calvin. in Præfat. Reſponſionis Thedori Bezæ ad Balduini convicia, p. 200. Oper. Tom. II.

(70) *See* Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 214.

much bitterneſs, even in the Opinion of ſeveral of his own Party [*I*]. It cannot be denied, that *Baudouin* was of a very inconſtant, and fantaſtical, Humour. He

“ douin, *who, for his cunning in thieving, was nicknamed by his School-fellows* The Ablative. *He had ſuch eaſy acceſs to me, that, in my Abſence, he had the Liberty of turning over all the Papers in my Library. That he pilfered what might be of Uſe to him, is evident from his Writings, in which he has finely betrayed himſelf. Here his Fidelity, and Obſervance of the Laws of Hoſpitality, plainly appear.*” *Beza* ſupplied his Place, and replied to *Baudouin*'s ſecond Piece, who ſpeedily publiſhed a third Apology againſt them. It appeared in the Year 1564, and the Title of it is, “Pro Fr. Balduino reſponſio ad Calvinum & Bezam, cum refutatione Calvini de ſcriptura & traditione (71). - - - - - - - - *An Apology for* Francis Baudouin, *and a Confutation of* Calvin *concerning Scripture and Tradition.*” The Preface, which *Baudouin* compoſed on *Optatus*, in the Year 1563, may be counted for the fourth Piece. It was tranſlated out of *Latin* into *French* by *Peter Veil*, who prefixed it to his *French* Tranſlation of *Optatus*, printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1564.

This Account affords us Matter for Cenſuring a Proteſtant Writer. He mentions the Intrigues relating to the Writing of *Caſſander*, and adds, that *Baudouin*, not having been called by the Catholics, nor by the Reformed, to the Conference of *Poiſſy*, diſcharged all his Spleen againſt the Miniſters, and publiſhed ſome Libels againſt *Calvin*, and *Beza*, and that They anſwered him. *Publicis ſcriptis inſectatus eſt Calvinum & Bezam, qui edito reſponſo ad illius probra reſpondent, & illum mendacii, perfidiæ, atque impietatis reum eſſe inſtituunt demonſtrare* (72). This is to declare him the Aggreſſor; which is falſe: So that This Author is not as faithful, and exact, as he ſhould have been.

[*I*] Beza *came into it with a little too much bitterneſs, even in the Opinion of ſeveral of his own Party.*] The Piece, which he publiſhed concerning it, is in the ſecond Volume of his Works (73). Here is a ſmall Extract of the Letter, which *Sainte Aldegonde* wrote to him in the Year 1566. “Statueram præterea certiorem facere te quàm hic ſiniſtrè plerique interpretentur libellos iſthic ultro citroque tum in Balduinum tum in Heſhuſium ſcriptos, ex eoque homines malevolos gravem Evangelicæ veritati conciliare invidiam. Sed quoniam audivi te harum rerum ab aliis eſſe factum certiorem, volui ab hoc argumento ſuperſedere. Rogo tamen, obſervande in Chriſto parens, ut vel in harum regionum gratiam, in quibus non modo cum hypocritis eo nomine nobis eſt colluctandum, verumetiam ab apertis hoſtibus gravia multa perpetienda, (qui ſuam tyrannidem in contentiones noſtras derivant) non graveres ſtylum quàm modeſtiſſimè in Evangelicæ veritatis Apoſtatas ac adverſarios temperare. Non quidem quòd parcendum illis cenſeam, qui nullum non lapidem movent, quò nos in invidiam graviorem vocent, ſed ne (dum illis pro merito reſpondetur) quod ſuis illi vaniſſimis erga nos maledictis atque calumniis nequeunt conſequi) nempe ut Evangelii lucem obruant, ejuſque ſectatores apertis veritatis hoſtibus excarnificandos tradant) id ipſum noſtris, etſi juſtiſſimis ac veriſſimis, non tamen, uti plerique exiſtimant, Evangelica manſuetudine dignis, vel accuſationibus, vel reſponſionibus, adeptos ſe eſſe glorientur. Id ſi feceris, uti omnino ſtatuiſſe te audio, & nos magna invidia levaris, & illis ipſis perfidis Apoſtatis turpem maledicentiæ notam inuſtam reliqueris. Itaque ut facias, vehementer hic omnes Evangelii ſtudioſi (qui te plerique ut parentem amant & colunt, reverenturque ut Præceptorem) etiam atque etiam te rogant (74). —— *I had determined likewiſe to have informed you of the Miſconſtructions, which ſeveral here put upon the Pieces written on both Sides, both againſt* Baudouin, *and* Heſhuſius, *and that ill-diſpoſed Perſons conceive from hence a Prejudice againſt The Goſpel-Truth. But, hearing, that you are already acquainted with it, I thought I might be diſpenſed with from entring upon this Subject. Yet, O venerable Father in* CHRIST, *I intreat you, for the Sake of This Country, in which we are not only neceſſitated to contend with Hypocrites, as ſuch, but have many Evils to ſuffer from profeſſed Enemys, who impute their own Tyranny to Our Diviſions, that you would be pleaſed to temper the Keenneſs of your Style, and write with as much Moderation, as poſſible, againſt Apoſtates, and the Enemies of the Chriſtian Faith. Not that I think they deſerve to be ſpared, who leave no Stone unturned to increaſe the Odium againſt us; but leaſt, by anſwering them as They deſerve, we ſhould give them an Opportunity of boaſting to have obtained That, by Our Accuſations, or Anſwers (which, though ever ſo juſt, and true, are, by many, thought not worthy of the Goſpel Mildneſs) which They cannot effect by their ill-grounded Calumnies and Reproaches; I mean, The Extinction of the Goſpel-Light, and The Perſecution of it's Followers by the avowed Enemies of Truth. If you do This, as I hear you have determined to do, you will both free us from a great Odium, and leave the ſhameful Brand of Calumny on Theſe perfidious Apoſtates. This All, who are Lovers of the Goſpel, here, moſt earneſtly intreat of you, whom They Love and Honour as a Father, and revere as a Teacher.*” It appears from theſe Words, I. That other Perſon had already informed *Beza* of the Prejudice, which the paſſionate Writings, that had appeared againſt *Baudouin*, did to the Reformed. Ill-diſpoſed Perſons took an Occaſion from them to render the Reformation odious. II. That he was moſt humbly deſired, for the future, to take off the Edge of his too ſharp Pen, if it were only in Favour of the Reformed of the *Netherlands*, who had, on this Occaſion, not only the Hypocrites (75), but alſo declared and violent Enemies, to deal with. III. That it was to be feared, that True and moſt juſt Anſwers, but void of Chriſtian Meekneſs, would accompliſh That, which The Impudence of Calumniators endeavoured in vain to effect, *viz.* That The Light of Truth ſhould be extinguiſhed, and it's Profeſſors ſuffer a cruel Perſecution. IV. That, if *Beza* condeſcended to This Advice, as it was ſaid he was reſolved to do, he would free the Church of *Chriſt* from a great Odium, and the Apoſtates would remain branded with Calumny. He anſwered *Sainte Aldegonde*, That, if He alone had been abuſed, he ſhould no more have been moved at it, than if he had heard a Dog bark in the *Indies*: But, Religion being concerned in it, he thought he was obliged to treat The Infamous Apoſtate, who had calumniated it, according to his Deſert; and that he regarded but little the Scruples of moderate Men. *The impudent Lies of That Calumniator*, ſays he, *muſt affect them as much, as the Vigor of Our Replies.* Every One may ſee, that it is neceſſary I ſhould ſet down his own Words; for many may imagine, I pervert the Senſe of them. Here they are: “Supereſt ut ad extremam tuam Epiſtolam paucis reſpondeam. Balduinum & Heſhuſium nonnulli vellent moderatius à me fuiſſe repreheniſos. Ego verò cuperem iſtos æquè affici impudentiſſimis eorum conviciis in homines innoxios contortis, ac juſtis noſtris defenſionibus. Quid non enim in optimum illum & innocentiſſimum Dei ſervum jaculatus eſt fœdus ille Apoſtata? in me verò quid non dixit? Et tamen Deus mihi teſtis eſt in animam meam, non multò magis me, ſi res mea privata ageretur, iſta petulantia commoveri potuiſſe, quàm ſi in his regionibus verſans audiviſſem canes in India latrare. Sed quum per noſtrum latus viderem Gallicas omnes Eccleſias ab iſto conductitio rabula confodi, & tanquam ſeditioſos accuſari, quotcunque iſtorum latronum telis corpora ſua non objecerunt, ut facere neceſſe fuit, niſi & Chriſti cauſam & regiam majeſtatem prodere maluiſſent, peccavi ſcilicet, quòd ejus calumniis ſic reſpondi, ut & ipſum ſycophantam ſuis coloribus depingerem, & cauſæ noſtræ bonitatem probarem. Itaque quod ad illum attinet, non diſſimulo me nullum peccatum agnoſcere, & moderatos iſtos nihil morari. De Heſhuſio, quoniam aliud argumentum tractabam, fateor cauſam illam potuiſſe aliter agi. Sed ſingularis illa iſtius hominis & inſcitia & audacia in hos veluti ſcopulos me adegit, ubi tamen ſpero me naufragium non feciſſe (76). —— *It remains only to anſwer your laſt Letter in few Words. There are, who could wiſh I had reproved* Baudouin *and* Heſhuſius *with more Moderation. And I cannot help wiſhing, theſe Perſons were equally affected with the impudent Calumnies They have vented againſt innocent Perſons, as with My Juſt Defence. For what has not This baſe Apoſtate*

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(71) Commentarius de ſtatu reip. & religionis in regno Galliæ, Tom. I. fol. 169. ad Ann. 1561.

(72) Id. ib.

(73) Pag. 201, & ſeq.

(74) Philippus Marnixius, Epiſt. ad Theod. Bezam. *It is the 6th among* Beza's *Letters*, pag. 206, 207, Tom. III. Oper.

(75) *I believe he means the Anabaptiſts.*

(76) Theod. Beza, Epiſt. VII, pag. 209.

He was, with reſpect to Univerſities, what certain Perſons are in relation to Miſtreſſes, who run from one Fair to Another, *and from Shore to Shore in the Sea of Love*. It is very probable, that, when he lived at *Bourges*, in the Romiſh Communion, he had more affection for the Proteſtants, than when he communicated with Them at *Heidelberg*. It may alſo be ſuſpected, that he neither liked Popery, nor Calviniſm, nor Lutheraniſm, and that he would have new-modelled Them, and perhaps many other Sects, to form A New One out of Them. What is certain, is, that he aimed at a Re-union of Religions (*o*). On the other hand, it cannot be denied, that he had very fine Parts, an Extenſive Knowledge (*p*), an admirable Memory, and an Eloquence ſo much the more perſuaſive, as he was a handſome Man (*q*), and had a ſtrong, and pleaſing, Voice (*r*). We are not to think, therefore, that there is any exaggeration in what has been ſaid of his

“ *thrown out againſt That beſt and moſt innocent Servant of* God? *What has he not ſaid againſt Me? And yet* God *is my Witneſs, that, were it only my own private Concern, This Inſolence would ſcarce move me more, than if I ſhould, in this Country, hear the barking of Dogs in the* Indies. *But, when I am ſenſible, that the whole* Gallican *Church is wounded through my Sides, by this hireling Brawler, and That All, who reſiſt the Attacks of theſe Robbers, which ought to be done, if we would not betray the Cauſe of* Christ, *and the King's Majeſty, are accuſed as ſeditious, I have offended, forſooth, in ſo anſwering his Calumnies, as to paint the Sycophant in his proper Colours, and prove the Goodneſs of Our Cauſe. Therefore, as to Him, I will not diſſemble, that I am conſcious to myſelf of no Fault, and that I diſregard theſe moderate Men. With regard to* Heſhuſius, *as I was, then, handling another Argument, I confeſs the Cauſe might have been otherwiſe managed. But the ſingular Ignorance and Impudence of the Fellow drove me upon theſe Rocks, upon which, however, I hope I have not made Shipwreck.*”

I ſhall make but two Reflexions on This Anſwer. In the firſt place, it is undeniable, that Readers give ſome reaſon to believe, that they are more offended at the Bitterneſs of an Apologiſt, than at That of the Aggreſſor. Let a Writer defame all the World, the Dead, the Living, Sovereigns, Subjects, his Brethren in Religion, The Adverſaries of his Party; let him exerciſe This Trade ſeveral Years ſucceſſively, and become more malicious, and ſatirical, as he grows old; I confeſs, that The Readers perceive it, and blame him for it: but if, at laſt, This Man happens to be very ill treated by Thoſe, whom he has provoked, you will hear an hundred times more Complaints againſt Them, than againſt Him. His very Enemies think it ſtrange, that he was not treated with more Moderation. They have read, with pleaſure, what was publiſhed to his Diſadvantage; and yet they will not ſtick to ſay, that he ought to have been ſpared. This is an Effect of the immoderate Inclination Men have for cenſuring others. Some People are pleaſed to approve of nothing. But let us not judge ſo of thoſe Moderate Perſons, whoſe Opinion is mentioned by *St Aldegonde*. Doubtleſs, They were yet more offended at the ſatirical Audacioſneſs of *Baudouin*, than at the Invectives of thoſe, who confuted him; but they could have wiſhed, that ſlandering had been the Character of the Enemies of the True Religion, and that They, who defended it, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by Wiſdom, and a moderate Style. They hated a ſatirical Diſpoſition, which mixes Defamation with Reaſon, in which Perſonal Injuries predominate; and They could not deteſt it without ſome uneaſineſs, whilſt it was common to their Enemies, and their Friends. Wherefore, They wiſhed, as well for This, as for ſome other Reaſons, that it were one of the diſtinguiſhing Characters of the Catholic Writers, and that the Proteſtants would not, by adopting it themſelves, free them from this Brand of Infamy. I obſerve, in the ſecond place, That *Beza* indulged his Imagination too far; for, if the Book, which he wrote againſt *Baudouin*, were the only One left us, we ſhould not only take This Civilian for a moſt infamous Raſcal, but alſo for an Author without any Wit, Learning, or Merit. He has, therefore, given a deceitful Deſcription of him; ſince it cannot be denied by thoſe, who have read what *Baudouin* has written, and what others have ſaid of him, that he was a Man of very great Parts. An Author may be excuſed, on account of the Infirmity of Human Nature for not allowing his Enemy to be Learned, Eloquent, and Ingenious. But, if he be permitted to conceal Theſe Truths, he ought, at leaſt, to abſtain from denying Them. The Paſſion, which an Author ſhews, in the Works, he compoſes againſt the Enemies of his Religion, may proceed, ſometimes, from a great Zeal; wherefore it muſt be ſaid, that Anger is equivocal between Temper, and Devotion. But I cannot ſee, how the Haughtineſs of a Writer can be reduced to an Evangelical Principle. I call *Haughtineſs* the Contempt he expreſſes for his Adverſary, and the Affectation of treating him as the moſt wretched of Authors; though the contrary be notoriouſly true, and is evident from his Employments, and Writings. I could wiſh not to have found, in the Hiſtory of the Reformed Churches, that *Baudouin died a wretched Pedant* (77). Such an Expreſſion ought not to have fallen from the Pen of *Beza*, who was then Profeſſor of Divinity, and formerly Profeſſor of *Greek*. He ſhould have left ſo unpolite, and contemptuous, a Way of treating Thoſe, who inſtruct Youth, to the Gentlemen of the Sword. He ſhould not have affronted a Profeſſion, which was of the ſame kind with his own. If it be ſaid, that he did not place *Baudouin*'s Pedantry in his being a Profeſſor, but in his perſonal Defects, this is to ſay nothing at all; ſince This Civilian did not want Politeneſs, and knew how to converſe with great Men, and enter into their Intrigues (78). An eager Deſire of treating him with Contempt induced *Beza* to ſay, that, when he was propoſed to the King of *Navarre*, in 1561, to be employed by him, That Prince did not know, that there was ſuch a Perſon, as *Baudouin*, in the World (79). This is one of Thoſe Things, which Authors advance at Random, and which they cannot juſtify afterwards. *Baudouin* affirms, that he was recommended to That Prince by the Queen of *Navarre* (80), to whom he had the Honour to pay his Duty, on the Wedding-day of That Queen's Daughter with That Prince (81). He affirms, that the Favour, and Good-will, of This Princeſs confirmed the Choice, which was made of him, for the Profeſſorſhip of Civil Law, at *Bourges*. This is very probable; for, as ſhe was Ducheſs of *Berry*, and promoted the Intereſt of Learning, there was no attaining to any Preferment in That Univerſity without her Concurrence. How was it poſſible for *Beza* to confute *Francis Baudouin*, on This Point? Some will, perhaps, ſay, that Zeal for Religion ſometimes induces Divines to treat a Man, whom they refute, with the greateſt Contempt, and as a wretched Author; for They think it expedient for the good of the True Church, that her Sons ſhould be perſuaded, that none but ignorant Men oppoſe her. I anſwer, that a Zeal, which ſhould occaſion a Conduct, ſo contrary to Sincerity, Reaſon, and Juſtice, and yet more to the ſtrict Morality of Jesus Christ, can never paſs but for a very blind Zeal. I will not mention the Inconveniences of ſuch a Conduct. It may be ſaid to ſuch Men; *You may eaſily defend your Cauſe, ſince you acknowledge, that it is ſo weakly attacked; your Triumphs are no ſign, that you fight for the Truth.*

Whether, in perſonal Reproaches, the Aggreſſor ought to leave the Defendant's Writings unanſwered.

I muſt make yet another Obſervation. *Sainte Aldegonde* did not give all the neceſſary Advice; he forgot one, which was very material: He did not adviſe the returning an Anſwer to *Baudouin*'s Third Apology. I know, that, in Matters of Right, a Man need not be ſo nice, as to leave none of his Adverſary's Works unanſwered. In a ſecond Reply, Things may

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(*o*) *See Remarks* [C] [*D*] *and* [*M*].

(*p*) Papyr. Maſſo, ubi ſupra, pag. 261.

(*q*) Statura fuit juſta, forma eximia, & per omnes ætatis gradus venuſta. *Id. ib.*

(*r*) Vocem canoram, firmiſſima latera, ut docens, Periclis inſtar, fulminare videretur. *Id. ibid.*

(77) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Book 4, pag. 645.

(78) *See* Burgundius's *Words in Remark* [*D*], *Citat.* (37).

(79) Beza, in Reſponſ. ad Bald. pag. 203.

(80) Balduinus, in III. Reſponſione, fol. 84.

(81) *That is to ſay, the* 20*th of* October, 1548.

his Auditory [*K*]. He eat, and drank, but little; and he took great Pains (*s*). He did not approve, that Hereticks ſhould be put to Death (*t*), and reproached *Calvin* very much, on account of *Servetus* (*u*). He was no Colleague of *Cujacius*, as ſome affirm [*L*]. I ſhall ſay ſomething concerning his Writings, and of his being accuſed of *Plagiariſm* [*M*]. *Note*, That *Theodorus Beza* ſays, that he died, either

(*s*) Vini cibique parciſſimus ..... nunquam otioſus. *Id. ibid.*

(*t*) *See Remark* [*D*].

(*u*) *See his ſecond Apology againſt* Calvin.

may be ſet in the beſt Light, which can be given them; and, then, a Man may promiſe himſelf, that the intelligent Reader will not think it ſtrange, if he does not enter the Liſts again: But, in Matters of Fact, relating to perſonal and defamatory Accuſations, the Aggreſſor muſt never be ſilent firſt; for, if he does not reply to the Apologies of The Accuſed, it is a Sign, that he wants Proofs, and that he is forced to ſtop at the Oppoſition of a meer Negative. *Baudouin*'s Third Anſwer is full of giving the Lye, and recriminating; and contains ſome Facts in Vindication of himſelf; ſo that *Beza* ought not to have left it unanſwered; he ſhould have been put in mind to ſupport his firſt Reply by a new Piece in Juſtification of the former. In theſe kind of Quarels, He, who quits the Field, loſes the Battle; Both Plaintiff and Defendant are obliged to anſwer every new Reaſon, alledged againſt them, tho' they were to publiſh twenty *Caſes* in their own Defence. Take notice of the Epithet *new*, which I make uſe of; for, if the Accuſer, for example, or his Friends for him, ſhould multiply Writings continually, repeating the ſame Things, only with ſome ſmall Alterations as to the Form, and never anſwering either the Matters of Fact, or the Reaſons of the Accuſed, the latter may keep a profound Silence; his firſt Apology is ſufficient, 'till, among the Multitude of Caſes, publiſhed by his Adverſary, One be found, containing ſomething new.

[*K*] *What has been ſaid of his Auditory.*] Biſhops, Counſellors, and Gentlemen of the Sword, appeared there. *Sammarthanus* affirms This, as having ſeen it. "Homo, *ſays he* (82), facundiſſimus, ipſoque oris ac totius corporis habitu non injucundus, ex hiſtoriarum & civilis diſciplinæ conjunctione, ſuis prælectionibus gratiam & venerem afferebat. Ac eum quidem ſæpe vidimus hoc ſplendido ſummæ doctrinæ apparatu, Lutetiæ profitentem, cum ad ejus auditorium permulti primæ notæ homines, epiſcopi, ſenatores, equites, libenter & maxima frequentia confluerent. - - - - - *He was a moſt eloquent Man, of a pleaſing Aſpect and Deportment; and ſet off his Lectures by a Mixture of Hiſtory and Civil Law. I have ſeen him often, with This ſplendid Equipage of Learning, in the Profeſſor's Chair at* Paris, *attended by many Perſons of the firſt Rank, Biſhops, Senators, and Gentlemen of the Army, who crowded to hear him.*"

[*K*] *He was no Colleague of* Cujacius, *as ſome affirm.*] *Beza* is one of them. "It is a ſhameful thing for you, *ſays he to him*, to reflect upon *Calvin*, as being of an Humor incompatible with others, *naturæ ακοινωνήτȣ*; for you have rendered yourſelf intolerable to all your Colleagues, wherever you came. If you deny it, *Duaren, le Conte, Cujacius, Hotman*, &c. will convict you of the contrary (83)." *Baudouin* replied, that *Cujacius* was his Succeſſor at *Bourges*, but not his Colleague, and that They had never ſeen each other. "Cujacius Balduino in ea Schola ſucceſſit: collega nunquam fuit, imo alter alterum nunquam vidit. Per literas aliquando collocuti ſunt, ſed tam amice ut nihil magis. Imo Cujacius Balduinum rogavit in illud ſuum collegium ut rediret. Si nobis non credis, Cujacium interrogato (84). - - - - - Cujacius *ſucceeded* Baudouin *in That School: he was never his Colleague; nay, They never ſaw each other. They correſponded ſometimes by Letter, but with the utmoſt Friendlineſs.* Cujacius *even entreated* Baudouin *to return to his College. If you do not believe me, ask* Cujacius *himſelf.*"

[*M*] *I ſhall ſay ſomething concerning his Writings, and his being accuſed of Plagiariſm.*] In his Twenty third Year, he commenced Author; for, in 1542, he publiſhed, at *Louvain*, *Leges de re ruſtica, item Novella Conſtitutio prima de hæredibus & lege Falcidia Juſtiniani*, which he had tranſlated from the *Greek*, and accompanied with a Commentary (85). This was reprinted, the following Year, at *Baſil* (86), by *Oporinus*, with a large Book of *Anthony Garron*. In 1545, he publiſhed, at *Paris*, *Prolegomena de Jure Civili*; and, in 1546, *Commentarii in libros IV. Inſtitut. Juris Civilis Juſtiniani Imperatoris.* His Commentary on the Laws of the twelve Tables was printed ſeveral Times. The third Edition is of *Baſil*, 1557, in 8vo, by *Oporinus*, who printed, at the ſame time, his *Juris Civilis Catecheſis*, and his Commentary *ad Edicta veterum Principum Romanorum de Chriſtianis*, a Work, wherein he maintains Toleration, and which, for That Reaſon, was cenſured by *Claude de Sainctes* (87). I omit ſeveral other Books of Civil-Law, publiſhed by This Author. But the following Particular muſt not be omitted: I find in Mr *Menage*, that, "At the Requeſt of the Prince of *Condé*, he wrote *a Treatiſe of the means of attaining to a good Reformation in Religion.* This Treatiſe having been publiſhed by a Carmelite, who had left his Order, and who added much of his own to it, *Baudouin* complained of This Proceeding to the Prince of *Condé*. The Prince baniſhed The Monk from his Court, and gave *Baudouin* leave to defend himſelf. On this Permiſſion, *Baudouin* wrote his *Advice on the Reformation of the Church*, in *Latin*, and afterwards in *French*: and his *Anſwer to a Preaching Calumniator*, in *French* (88)." In *Baudouin*'s Third Anſwer, it appears, that, by order of the Queen-Mother, he went to ſee the Prince of *Condé* in Priſon, and conferred with him about the reconciling of Religions, and that he was commanded to write a Book concerning This Conference, which was renewed after That Prince was ſet at Liberty. The compoſing of This Work hindered him from carrying a Letter to the Duke of *Guiſe* (89). Neither ought I to forget, that his *Conſtantinus, ſive de legibus Conſtantini Imperatoris*, printed at *Baſil*, in the Year 1556, was put in the *Index Librorum expurgandorum*, and that he paſſes for the Author of a Book, which was printed at *Strasbourg, Sub Chriſtianorum Jureconſultorum nomine contra Duarenum*, in the Year 1556; but he diſowned it (90). In *Geſner*'s Epitome, Another Work is aſcribed to him, which belongs to Another *Baudouin*; *Non hujus, ſed Petri Balduini, ſunt* (91). It is Notes on *Tully*'s Offices. It was He, who tranſlated an Hiſtory of *Poland* into *French*, written, in *Latin*, by *John Herburt* of *Fulſtin*, *Caſtellan* of *Sanoc*. This *French* Tranſlation was printed at *Paris*, in 4to, without the Tranſlator's Name (92). *He diſguiſed himſelf* ſometimes *under the Name of* Peter de la Roche, Petrus Rochius (93), *and called himſelf* Atrebatius, *by way of alluſion to* J C. Trebatius *and to his Country* (94).

As for the Plagiariſm, which was laid to his Charge, read what follows. "Pudendum eſt, & nimium illiberale illud plagium, quod ipſe inficiari non poteſt, de annotationibus in Juſtiniani Inſtitutiones Brecthano præceptori ſuo ſurreptis. Omitto quæ non modo Ferretus & Othomanus, quorum fortaſſis familiaritate tum abutebatur ex vetere illa formula τὰ τῶν φίλων κοινὰ, ſed etiam maximi ipſius inimici Baro, & Duarenus, optimo jure ex iſtius centonibus repetunt. Omitto etiam turpiſſimorum erratorum Centurias, quas Contius & ipſe Juris interpres in iſtius Conſtantino, quamvis exiguo libello, annotavit (95). - - - - - *He cannot deny That Ungenerous Plagiariſm, in his* Annotations on Juſtinian'*s* Inſtitutes, *which he ſtole from his Maſter* Brecthanus. *I omit what not only* Ferretus, *and* Othomanus, *whoſe Friendſhip perhaps he abuſed, from that old Maxim, that* among Friends All Things are common, *but what even his greateſt Enemies,* Baro *and* Duaren, *have a juſt claim to, in his* Cento'*s*. *I omit, likewiſe, the* Centuriæ *of moſt ſcandalous Errors, which* Contius, *who was himſelf an Interpreter of Law, remarked in his* Conſtantine." That *Contius*, mentioned by *Beza*, was Profeſſor of Civil Law at *Bourges*, and was called *Antony le Conte*. *Hotman* is alſo mentioned in This Paſſage. He was One of *Baudouin*'s Adverſaries, and treated him with the utmoſt Contempt (96). He

(82) Sammarthanus, Elog. lib. 2. pag. 86, Edit. *Jenenſ.* 1696. *See alſo* Papyr. Maſſo, pag. 259.

(83) Beza, Reſponſ. ad Bald. pag. 208.

(84) Reſp. pro Balduino 3. fol. 85.

(85) Valer. Andreas, Bibl. Belg. pag. 223.

(86) *And not in the Year* 1534; *as it is in* Geſner's *Epitome, pag.* 236: *A Tranſpoſition of a Cypher (a common Fault of Printers) has occaſioned the Year* 1534, *inſtead of* 1543.

(87) Claud. de Sainctes, ad Edicta veterum, fol. 6, verſo.

(88) Menag. Remarks on the Life of *Ayrault*, pag. 158.

(89) Ex Balduini Reſponſione ad Calvinum & Bezam, fol. 101, verſo, & 102.

(90) Valer. Andreas, ubi ſupra, pag. 225.

(91) Id. ib.

(92) *See* du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibl. Franc. pag. 366.

(93) Catherinot, *Calviniſm of* Berri, ſub. fin.

(94) *He ſubſcribed the Letters ſo, which he wrote to* Calvin.

(95) Beza Reſponſ. ad Balduini Convitia, pag. 203, 204.

(96) *See the Book, entituled* Strigilis Papirii Maſſonis, per Matagonidem de Matagonibus, *pag.* 269.

either in the proſecution of a Law-Suit, or of Vexation, becauſe Another was preferred before him to follow the Duke of *Anjou* into *Poland* (x). Many Reflexions might be made on the Oddneſs of his Fortune [*N*].

He even called him *Hermaphrodite*; and it ſeems he took this Word in it's natural Senſe; though elſewhere he takes it figuratively (97). "Uxor (inquis), *he ſpeaks to* Papyrius Maſſo, mihi nulla eſt, nec unquam fuit. Nec mirum, Maſſone; ſiquidem Balduini præceptoris tui ſimilis es, quem omnes dicebant eſſe Hermaphroditum (98). - - - - - *You ſay you have no Wife, nor ever had. This is not to be wondered at in* Maſſo; *for you are like your Preceptor* Baudouin, *who was ſaid, by All, to be an* Hermaphrodite." He pleaſes himſelf with ſaying, that *Cujacius* ſlighted *Baudouin*: "Cum omnes ſciant quod prædictus Cujacius non fecerit unquam numerum de Balduino plus quam de ſuis veteribus ocreis (99). - - - - *When All know, that the aforeſaid* Cujacius *made no more account of* Baudouin, *than of his old Boots*." Mr *Menage* obſerves, and wonders at it, that *Cujacius* never mentioned *Baudouin* (100). We have ſeen, that he wrote very obliging Letters to him (101).

[*N*] *Many Reflexions might be made on the Oddneſs of his Fortune.*] He was a Man of Wit, Learning, Eloquence, and Dexterity: He was a handſome Man; and he underſtood the Intrigues of the Court: Some of Theſe Qualities, which I have ſpecified, were very eminent in him. Great Princes employed him, ſeveral times, in Matters of Conſequence, which put him in the way to Preferment; and yet he could never advance himſelf much, and, I think, did not die very rich. How many Perſons, inferior in every thing to This great Civilian, riſe very high, attain to great Offices, maintain themſelves in them, acquire a good Name, great Riches, and much Authority? They have nothing ſhining in them; They do not excel in any thing, nor have any eminent Qualities: In vain do we look for That, in Them, which excites Admiration; we ſhall ſooner find it in other Perſons; who, nevertheleſs, continue always in a mean Condition, how often ſoever they have had a favourable Opportunity of raiſing themſelves. Moſt of Thoſe, who conſider This Train of Human Affairs, find ſomething in it, which diſpleaſes, and vexes them; and They diſcharge their Spleen on what They call the Injuſtice or Blindneſs of Fortune. They ſeldom hit the true Reaſon of it; and conſider but little Another Cauſe, which oftener produces This, than They imagine. They ought to know, that Eminent Qualities will not raiſe a Man to the Height, which they ſeem to promiſe, unleſs They be ſeconded by ſome other Qualities, or not croſſed by certain Defects; for, not being ſeconded, or being croſſed, they are an Inſufficient Cauſe, and, conſequently, according to the Laws of Mechaniſm, They muſt fail of their Effect. Now This is the Caſe of many of Thoſe, who are Men of Great Parts: They want certain Things, with which Theſe noble Talents would perform Wonders, and without which They can neither advance, nor ſupport, Them. The Qualities of Theſe Perſons are not well ſorted; there is not That Harmony, and Proportion, between Them, which ought to be: So that, inſtead of aſſiſting, They ruin one another: It is, therefore, no wonder, if a Man does not raiſe himſelf, and even if he miſcarries, with ſuch an Equipage. As for Thoſe, who attain to a great Fortune, and maintain themſelves in it, without having any Eminent Qualities, it is not to be wondered at. There is ſuch a Concert, or ſuch a Proportion, between Their good and bad Qualities, that they reciprocally ſupport each other, and form thereby a compleat Principle, which is ſufficient for the Production of a Thouſand profitable Adventures. It is with This, as with Machines; for, how coarſely ſoever they be made, They will play better, if their Parts are ranged, and proportioned, as They ought to be, than the moſt admirable Machine would do, if ſome Pieces were taken from it, or if ſome were added to it, which did not correſpond with the reſt. "It is not enough to join, to a Knowledge of the World, That of Books, much Wit, and Eloquence, and ſeveral other Eminent Qualities; if, otherwiſe, you are unpolite, capricious, indiſcreet, lazy, timorous, ſelfiſh, ſubject to mean Jealouſies, preſumptuous, incapable of following a tedious Buſineſs, inconſtant, fitter to begin an hundred new Projects, than to ſupport the Fatigue of carrying on the ſame Buſineſs for ſome time; I ſay, if you are a Man of ſuch a Stamp, and if, notwithſtanding your great Qualities, you do not raiſe yourſelf, do not blame Fate, the Iniquity of the Age, or the Malignity of your Neighbours; but blame yourſelf for it: impute the Cauſe of it to the Diſproportion between the Qualities, which have been allotted you." I reckon *Francis Baudouin* among Thoſe, who are in this Caſe. Note, that ſome Perſons, among Thoſe of this Stamp, do themſelves Juſtice: They know the Mixture, which renders all their fine Talents uſeleſs; and, if they murmur, it is not againſt their Neighbours, but againſt their own Temper, and againſt Nature, which counter-balances whatever Qualification ſhe had given them for riſing in the World. However, I do not intend to comprehend, in This Hypotheſis, a great Number of Particular Caſes, in which the Cauſes of a Bad, or Good, Fortune are altogether External; I mean, that They, who, notwithſtanding their eminent Qualities, remain in Obſcurity, have had no favourable Opportunity of raiſing their Condition, and that They, who have attained to great Preferments, without any Merit, have found themſelves in ſuch an active Whirl of Circumſtances, that They have had no Occaſion to ſecond it, and that their Incapacity was no obſtacle in their Way. But remember, that *Baudouin* did not want Opportunities: They were often thrown in his Way.

The Effect of the Proportions and Diſproportions between the Qualities of one, and the ſame, Man.

BAUTRU DES-MATRAS (MAURICE), chief Lieutenant of the Provoſtſhip of *Angers*. His Sons, and Grandſons, have made his Name very famous, as ſhall be ſhewed.

BAUTRU DES-MATRAS (JOHN), Son of the foregoing, was an Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, and One of the beſt of them; for *Anthony Loiſel*, in his Dialogue about Advocates, ſpeaks of him in this manner; *Bautru had a higher Flight, than They all; I do not ſay, that he was more Learned, than any of Them, but his Tongue was better hung, and, if I may ſay ſo, more* Angevin (*a*). *William* and *René* BAUTRU DES-MATRAS were his Brothers. *William*, Counſellor in the Great Council, and *Great Reporter* of *France* (*b*), was Father of the famous Mr *Bautru*, of the *French* Academy, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. *René*, Aſſeſſor in the *Preſidial* Court of *Angers* [*A*], and Mayor of *Angers* in

[*A*] René, *Aſſeſſor in the Preſidial Court of* Angers.] Doubtleſs *Daubigné* ſpoke of Him, on occaſion of a Woman (1), who was ſaid to be poſſeſſed with Devils. She has "two Devils, *ſays he* (2), one is called *Beelzebub*, and the other *Aſtaroth*. The firſt is a rude Devil, a great Enemy of the *Huguenots*, who beats every Body, and would have beat Monſieur *Matras* of *Angers*, if he had not taken up a Cudgel, and ſaid to him, *Beelzebub*, you Rogue, if you play your tricks with me, I will beat you like a Devil. —— The Clergy of *Angers* would have theſe two Devils to be firſt examined by the Church; one of the Judges of the Town ſaid, that their Honour was concerned in it; and, in 1604, was Father of *Charles*, Canon of *Angers*, known by the Name of PRIOR DES-MATRAS, and Author of ſome Treatiſes of Divinity (*c*) [*B*]. I think it is the ſame Prior *des-Matras*, who was ſo famous for his witty Sayings [*C*], that he came but little ſhort, in them, of Mr *Bautru* of the *French* Academy.

(x) Theod. Beza in vita Calvini, ad Ann. 1561, pag. 381.

(97) Tu es Hermaphroditus in negotiis ſtatus, ſicut fuit Balduinus in negotiis religionis. - - - *You are an Hermaphrodite in Matters of State, as* Baudouin *was in Matters of Religion.* Id. ib. pag. 284.

(98) Id. ib. pag. 281.

(99) Id. ib. pag. 269.

(100) Menage's Remarks on the Life of *Ayrault*. pag. 158.

(101) *Above, Citat.* (84).

(*a*) La Croix du Maine, pag. 209, *ſpeaks of him with praiſe, and ſays, that he died the* 23d *of* Auguſt, 1580, *aged* 40 *Years.*

(*b*) Ex Menagii notis Gallicis in vitam Petri Ærodii, pag. 176.

(1) Martha Broſſier *of* Romorantin, *in* 1599.

(2) Confeſſ. Cathol. de Sancy, Book I. chap. 6. pag. 352.

(*c*) Ex Menag. ibid.

“ in order to examine theſe Spirits, he began to ſpeak “ *Latin*, and *Matras* to ſpeak *Greek*.” See the Remark [*B*] of the Article GRANDIER.

[*B*] *Author of ſome Treatiſes.*] Here is what Mr *Menard* ſays of him, in his Liſt of the Writers of *Angers*. “ Carolus Bautru, Preſbyter, Doctor “ Theologus, & Profeſſor, Eccleſiæ Mauricianæ Andegavenſis Canonicus, maximi ingenii ſcientiarumque dotibus excellens, familiaque inter clariſſimas “ præcipua. Scripſit de ſanctiſſimo Euchariſtiæ Sacramento tractationem, brevi publicandam, quam “ vidimus. Interea typis expoſuit diſputationem ad “ articulum quartum quæſtionis 76. tertiæ partis Summæ Theologicæ Sancti Thomæ, *utrum tota quantitas dimenſiva corporis Chriſti ſit in hoc Sacramento*, Andegavi, apud Antonium Hernault, 1638 (1). “ —— Charles Bautru, *Prieſt, Doctor and Profeſſor* “ *of Divinity, Canon of* Angers, *a Man of great* “ *Wit and Learning, and of a very noble Family. He* “ *wrote a Treatiſe concerning the Sacrament of the* “ *Euchariſt, ſhortly to be publiſhed, which I have ſeen.* “ *In the mean time he put to the Preſs a Diſputation* “ *on the Fourth Article of the Seventy ſixth Queſtion* “ *of the Third Part of St* Thomas's *Summary of Divinity*, Whether the whole dimenſive Quantity of “ the Body of *Chriſt* be in the Sacrament. Angers, “ *for* Antony Hernault, 1638.”

(1) Apud Menag Annotations on the Life of *Peter Ayrault*, pag. 177.

[*C*] *He was famous for his witty Sayings.*] Mr *Couſin* obſerves (2), that Mr *Menage*'s Memory *ſupplied* him *with many witty Sayings, which he had learned in his Youth, and that the beſt of them were thoſe of the Prior* Bautru des Matras. This ſhews, that, in Mr *Couſin*'s Judgment, the Prior is to be preferred before the other *Bautru*, as to witty Sayings: for he could not be ignorant, that Mr *Menage* had as well learned Thoſe of *Bautru* the Layman, as thoſe of *Bautru* the Eccleſiaſtic. The *Menagiana* ſhews us, that Mr *Menage* had improved much more in the School of the firſt, than in That of the other.

(2) Journal of the Learned, *Auguſt* 11, 1692, pag. 544.

BAUTRU (WILLIAM) Count *de Serrant*, Counſellor of State in Ordinary, Introductor of Embaſſadors, Embaſſador to the Archducheſs in *Flanders*, and the King's Envoy in *Spain*, *England*, and *Savoy*, was of *Angers* (*a*), and Son of *William Bautru*, Counſellor in the Great Council (*b*). He was one of the fineſt Wits of the XVIIth Century. He was, above all things, admired for his Jeſts, and ſmart Repartees [*A*]; and we find, in the Writers of his Time, a thouſand Marks of his great Reputation. One of them (*c*) ſays; *He is a Man, who makes part of his Philoſophy to conſiſt in admiring but very few things, and who, for theſe fifty Years, has been the Delight of all the Miniſters and Favourites, and generally of all the great Men in the Kingdom, and was never their Flatterer.* He was admitted into the *French* Academy at the beginning of it's Foundation; he could not well be forgotten, being ſo well known to the Cardinal *de Richelieu*. His Marriage with *Martha Bigot*, Daughter of a Maſter of the Accompts of *Paris*, did not prove a very happy one. (A fine Subject for Common-Place and Reflexions!) [*B*] A Son proceeded from

(*a*) Hiſtory of the *French* Academy, pag. 347, *Edit.* 1672.

(*b*) Menage, Remarks on the Life of *William Menage*, pag. 376.

(*c*) Coſtar's *firſt Vol. of Letters*, pag. 120.

[*A*] *He was particularly admired for his Jeſts, and ſmart Repartees.*] I deſire no other Proof of it, than the Turn of the Poet St *Amant*, in laughing at Thoſe, who loved ſilly Jeſts, and Quibbles:

Si vous oiez une équivoque,
Vous jettez d'aiſe vôtre toque,
Et prenez ſon ſens malautru
Pour un des beaux mots de Bautru (1).

When Pun ambiguous you hear,
With tranſport you applaud the Joke:
'Tis wond'rous fine, I vow and ſwear;
A better Bautru *never ſpoke.*

The *Menagiana* would ſupply me with ſtrong Proofs, if I ſtood in need of them: Mr *Bautru* is to be found in every Page of it; and we are told, in the Preface, “ That, beſides the witty Sayings of Mr *Menage*, “ there are Others to be found there, and particularly Thoſe of the Famous Mr *de Bautru*, whom he “ knew perfectly well; for he had been his great “ Friend, and had ſeen and converſed with him very “ familiarly.” *Coſtar*'s Letter, which I have quoted (2), contains ſeveral Things, whereby one may diſcover Mr *Bautru*'s Genius. He had the Inſpection of the *Gazette* (3), and it is to him, that the Advertiſement of the *Gazetteer* of *Cologne* imputes what was too favourable to Cardinal *Mazarin* in the *Paris Gazette* (4).

(1) St Amant, *in the Poem entituled*, The Paltry Poet, pag. 228.

(2) *It is the 50th of the 1ſt Vol.*

(3) Menagiana, p. 328, *in Edit.* 1. *of* Holl.

(4) *Printed in* 1647. *See, there, Pages* 39, 45.

[*B*] *His Marriage —— did not prove a very happy one. A fine Subject for Common-places!*] Since, what I am going to ſay, was printed at *Paris*, with Privilege, I may, doubtleſs, publiſh it in *Holland*, without fear of incurring the Cenſure of Judicious Perſons. “ Mr *de S*--- (5) was the Son of Mr *de* “ *Bautru*; and, though they lived together, where “ Mr *de Seignelay* lives at preſent, yet neither of “ them owned themſelves as Father, or Son. Mr “ *de Bautru* ſaid, that he would own Mr *de S* —— “ for his Son, provided he was a good Man; perhaps he had ſome reaſon to queſtion whether he “ was ſo or not. The violent Suſpicions, which he “ had, of his Wiſe's Diſloyalty had induced him to “ proſecute her at Law, and to be revenged of her. “ And, indeed, he cauſed his Servant to be ſeized, “ whom he accuſed of having had intelligence with “ his Wiſe, and procured him to be condemned “ to be hanged, at his firſt Trial: The Servant appealed, and was only condemned to the Galleys, “ becauſe he made it appear, that Mr *Bautru* had “ done himſelf juſtice, and had uſed him cruelly. “ This Affair having made a great noiſe, Mr *de Bautru* reſolved to laugh at it, as well as others, “ and would ſay ſometimes: If the *Bautru*'s are “ Cuckolds, they are not Fools. His Wife would “ always be called *Madam de Nogent*, notwithſtanding “ her Marriage (6), ſaying, that ſhe would not be “ called *Madam Bautrou* by Queen *Mary de Medicis*, “ who could, then, hardly pronounce *French* right.” This is what I find in the ſecond Edition of the *Menagiana*; in which they have adjuſted This Paſſage, which was not intelligible in the Firſt Edition. But, ſince this Lady's Name has been written after the *Italian* Pronunciation, it is eaſy to ſee why ſhe refuſed to bear it. Quibbling prevailed at that time, and ſhe was expoſed to Raillery by various Alluſions to the Word *trou (Hole)*.

If Wit could ſecure a Man from Cuckoldom, which ſo many People dread, and ſo many call a Trifle, Mr *de Bautru* would have been exempted from This Diſgrace; but Wit, Courage, a noble Mien, and even the Royal Dignity, are no ſecurity againſt it. This Diſgrace has ſomething common with Death; but there is this difference; Death ſpares no Crowned Heads; and there are every where very virtuous Queens. Notwithſtanding this difference, the ſame Common-place of conſolation ought to make an infinite Number of People ſubmit to both theſe Accidents with Patience. A Poet, who was a Philoſopher endeavours, very nobly, to inſpire an indifference for Death, by this Reaſon: “ Good “ Kings, The moſt formidable Monarchs, the

(5) *In Edit.* 1. *of* Paris, *they have put* Serrant *at length.*

(6) *I do not underſtand This; for, to make it Senſe, The Lady, muſt, I think, have been called* Mademoiſelle, *or* Madam de Nogent, *when ſhe married Mr* de Bautru. *Now this is not at all likely; for Mr* de Bautru *had a Brother, who was called Mr* de Nogent, *which ſhews, that That Lordſhip did not come into their Family by Mr* de Bautru's *Marriage.*

from it, (*viz.*) *William* BAUTRU, Count of *Serrant*, Chancellor to the Duke of *Orleans*, and Huſband of *Mary Bertrand*, Daughter of *Macé Bertrand*, Lord *de la Baſiniere*, and Treaſurer of the Exchequer. From this Marriage proceeded two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Mary Magdalen*. The firſt was married to the Marquis *de Vaubrun*, her Uncle, *a là mode de Bretagne*, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter (*d*): The ſecond was married to *Edward Francis Colbert*, Count *de Maulevrier*, Lieutenant-General of the Armies of *France*, and Brother to Mr *Colbert*. The *Menagiana* informs me, that the Grandfather of theſe two Ladies died, being about Seventy Years of Age

(*d*) *See the following Article, Citat.* (*a*).

"Greateſt Warriors, the fineſt Genius's, the Inventors of Arts, and the moſt Subtle Philoſophers, "are dead; and ſhall you, an inconſiderable private "Man, and a Slave to a thouſand ſhameful Paſſions, "complain, that Death will not ſpare you?

Lumina ſis oculis etiam bonus Ancu' reliquit
Qui melior multis quam tu fuit, improbe, rebus.
Inde alii multi reges, rerumque potentes
Occiderunt magnis qui gentibus imperitarunt.
Ille quoque ipſe, viam qui quondam per mare magnum
Stravit, iterque dedit legionibus ire per altum,
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Lumine adempto animam moribundo corpore fudit.
Scipiades belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror,
Oſſa dedit terræ proinde ac famul' infumus eſſet.
Adde repertores doctrinarum atque leporum,
Adde Heliconiadum comites, quorum unus Homerus
Sceptra potitus eadem aliis ſopitu' quiete eſt.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Ipſe Epicurus obît decurſo lumine vitæ,
Qui genus humanum ingenio ſuperavit, & omnis
Præſtrinxit ſtellas exortus uti ætherius ſol.
Tu vero dubitabis, & indignabere obire
Mortua quoi vita eſt prope jam vivo, atque videnti,
Qui ſomno partem, &c (7)

(7) Lucret. lib. III. ſub. fin. *See* Bernier's Abridgment of *Gaſſendus*. Tom. VII, pag 27, *Edit.* 1684.

But, more to comfort thee, - - - - -
Conſider, Ancus *periſh'd long ago,*
Ancus, *a better Man, by much, than Thou.*
Conſider, Mighty Kings, in Pomp and State,
Fall, and ingloriouſly ſubmit to Fate.
Conſider, even He, That mighty He,
Who laught at all the Threatning of the Sea,
That chain'd the Ocean once, and proudly led
His Legions o're the fetter'd Waves, is dead.
Scipio, *That Scourge of* Carthage, *now the Grave*
Keeps Pris'ner, like the meaneſt common Slave.
Nay, Greateſt Wits, and Poets too, that give
Eternity to others, ceaſe to Live.
Homer, *their Prince, That Darling of the Nine,*
(What Troy *wou'd at a ſecond Fall repine*
To be thus ſung?) is nothing now but Fame,
A laſting, far diffus'd, but empty, name.
Nay, Epicurus *Race of Life is run,*
That Man of Wit, who other Men out-ſhon,
As far as meaner Stars the mid-day Sun.
Then, how dar'ſt Thou repine to dye, and grieve,
Thou meaner Soul, thou dead ev'n whilſt alive;
That ſleep'ſt and dream'ſt the moſt of Life away, &c.
CREECH.

Let us ſay the ſame to Thoſe inconſiderable private Perſons, who are vexed at the Intrigues of their Wives: "You torment yourſelves for a Thing, "from which the moſt powerful Monarchs, the "greateſt Warriors, the fineſt Wits, and the moſt "learned and zealous Doctors, are not exempted. "What are You, that you ſhould be more nice, "than they? learn, by theſe great Examples, to "bear your Misfortune patiently."

Give me leave to ſay, by the by, that our *Malherbe* made uſe of *Lucretius*'s Thought, in the Epitaph of a Prince.

Je ſuis poudre toutes fois,
Tant la Parque a fait ſes loix
Egales & neceſſaires,
Rien ne m'en a ſu parer:
Aprenez, ames vulgaires,
A mourir ſans murmurer.

In common Duſt, a Monarch once, I lye;
Such is th' impartial Law of Deſtiny.
Ye Vulgar Souls, when Fate's Decrees require,
Learn hence, without a murmur, to expire.

On occaſion of this Paſſage of *Malherbe*, Mr *Menage* mentions the Epitaph of *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, which ends thus:

At vos plebeio geniti de ſanguine, quando
Ferrea nec nobis didicerunt fata, nec ullis
Parcere nominibus, patientius ite ſub umbras.

You, who of baſe Plebeian *Clay are made,*
Since Death, impartial, ſtrikes the greateſt Head,
Reſign, contented, to the fatal Blow,
And go, with patience, to the Shades below.

Johannes Secundus is the Author of This Epitaph. Mr *Menage* made a Parody of *Malherbe*'s Verſes on occaſion of an Epic Poem (8).

(8) *See his* Obſervations on *Malherbe*, pag. 521.

I ſhall alſo obſerve, by the way, that the like Morality has been made uſe of, to teach all Men, that they ought not to complain of being ſubject to Death. It has been repreſented to them, that the greateſt Cities are deſtroyed; and are They ſo unreaſonable, as to think it ſtrange, that Man ſhould dye! "Ex "Aſia rediens, cum ab Ægina Megaram verſus navi"garem, cœpi regiones circumcirca proſpicere. Poſt "me erat Ægina, ante Megara, dextra Piræeus, "ſiniſtra Corinthus: quæ oppida quodam tempore "florentiſſima fuerunt, nunc proſtrata & diruta ante "oculos jacent. Cœpi egomet mecum ſic cogitare: "Hem, nos homunculi indignamur, ſi quis noſtrum "interiit, aut occiſus eſt, quorum vita brevior eſſe "debet, cum uno loco tot oppidum cadavera pro"jecta jaceant (9). —— *Returning out of* Aſia, *as I* "*ſailed from* Ægina *towards* Megara, *I began to* "*ſurvey the Countries around me. Behind me was* "Ægina, *before me* Megara, *on my Right* Piræeus, "*on my left* Corinth*: which Cities, formerly the moſt* "*flouriſhing, now lye in Ruins. I began to reflect* "*with myſelf: What! Shall ſo inconſiderable a* "*Creature as Man, whoſe Life ought to be ſtill* "*ſhorter, complain of being Mortal, when, at one* "*view, we behold the Ruins of ſo many Cities?*" *Taſſo* has copied this Thought very well.

(9) Servius Sulpicius Epiſt. ad Ciceronem. *It is the* 5th *of the* 4th *Book* ad familiares, *p.* 193, 194.

Giace l'alta Cartago; à pena i ſigni'
De l'alte ſue ruine il lido ſerba:
Muoiono le città; muoiono i regni;
Cuopre i faſti, e le pompe, arena ed herba;
E l'huom d'eſſer mortal par che ſi ſdegni:
O noſtra mente cupida e ſuperba! (10).

(10) Jeruſalem *of* Taſſo, *Canto* 15

Here lofty Carthage *lies: the poor Remains*
Of it's proud Ruins ſcarce This Shore retains.
Cities muſt die; Kingdoms to Death muſt yield,
Their Pomp concealed in Duſt, and Herbage of the Field.
And grudge we Death, to theſe Examples blind?
How covetous, How proud, The Human Mind!

Conſult the thirtieth Dialogue of *Balzac*, and you will find there a fine Imitation of this Thought in *Latin* Verſe; but you will not find theſe Words of *Rutilius* there:

Non

Age (e), and, properly ſpeaking, without Confeſſion [*C*]. He was no Bigot [*D*], and had been very much afflicted at his Wife's Diſloyalty [*E*].

Non indignemur mortalia corpora ſolvi;
  Cernimus exemplis oppida poſſe mori (11).

Repine no longer at Mortality;
Example teaches, that even Cities die.

Nor theſe Verſes of *Auſonius*:

Miremur periiſſe homines? monumenta fatiſcunt,
  Mors etiam ſaxis marmoribuſque venit (12).

What wonder, if the Human Frame decay?
Death ſweeps the Monuments of Art away.

Scarron, who turned every thing into Burleſque, made, as every one knows, a fine Sonnet upon this Thought. It begins thus:

Superbes monumens de l'orgueil des humains,
Pyramides, tombeaux, dont la vaine ſtructure,

The laſt ſix Verſes run thus:

Par l'injure des ans vous êtes abolis,
Ou du moins la pluſpart vous êtes demolis.
Il n'eſt point de ciment que le tems ne diſſoude:
Si vos marbres ſi durs ont ſenti ſon pouvoir,
Dois-je trouver mauvais qu'un mechant pourpoint
    noir,
Qui m'a dure deux ans, ſoit percé par le coude?

Ye Tombs, and Pyramids, that brave the Sky,
Proud Monuments of Human Vanity!
By Time deſtroy'd, in Ruins now Ye lye.
No Cement can reſiſt it's mighty Power:
If Time the ſtrongeſt Marbles can devour;
Should I complain, that a vile Doublet black
Betrays, in Two Years Wear, full many a Crack?

Let us not forget Authors of a low Rank: They, and firſt of all myſelf, ought to make ſome uſe of This Morality: The Faults, which eſcape us, are pardonable, becauſe the moſt famous and learned Writers, as the *Scaliger*'s, the *Salmaſius*'s, have committed many over-ſights. If ſuch Authors are often miſtaken, Thoſe of a mean Rank, in the Commonwealth of Learning, ought not to be aſhamed of their Miſtakes, any more than other Nations were aſhamed of being overcome, after the downfall of *Carthage*; *Poſt Carthaginem vinci neminem puduit* (13): This is what I have ſaid, in the Plan of this Dictionary (14). Obſerve, that it muſt not be pretended, that I contradict, here, what I ſaid there, and which I had enlarged on another place (15), that great Authors are moſt ſubject to commit Faults. This is very True in certain Reſpects; and, yet, their Miſtakes may ſerve for a Comfort, and Excuſe, to Vulgar Writers. But an ill uſe ought not to be made of them; we muſt endeavour to aim at Perfection.

[*C*] *He died, properly ſpeaking, without Confeſſion.*] The *Menagiana* affords me the Proof of this: "Mr *de Bautru* was about Seventy ſeven Years of Age, when he died. He came often to ſee me, two or three Years before his Death, on the Days that I held a Conference at my Houſe. I was at one of my Friends, when word was brought me, that he was fallen into an Apoplectic Fit. I ran to ſee him; but he had already loſt his Senſes. Father *de Harrouys* was ſent for to confeſs him. When they told him what he was come for, he ſaid to him, with a troubled Voice, Father, I do not know you, neither do you know me, and yet I muſt tell you the moſt ſecret Things that I have done. I ſaw him die —— He died, as it were, without ſpeaking, and even without Confeſſion. He confeſſed himſelf, indeed; if Confeſſion may be made by an Interpreter. As he was ſtammering, a Footman explained to the Confeſſor what his Maſter would ſay. I leave you to think, what a Confeſſion This was (16)." If the Queſtion ſhould be asked, Why his ordinary Confeſſor was not ſent for? it may, perhaps be anſwered, *Becauſe he had none*. It is probable, that he was one of Thoſe, who put off the Sacrament of Penitence to their laſt Hours.

[*D*] *He was no Bigot.*] This may be inferred from what I have juſt now ſaid, that there was no Acquaintance between him, and the Confeſſor, who prepared him for Death. But can any thing be more expreſs than the Teſtimony of his Son? "After the Death of Mr *de Bautru*, when they were about ſelling his Houſe, they found his Chapel out of order and in decay. It is no wonder, ſaid Mr *de S* —— (17), for Mr *de Bautru* neglected his Chapel, as much as he took care of his Kitchen and Library." If he preſerved an outward Appearance, it was only for the Sake of Decency: *Being retired to St* Lazarus'*s, ſome One gave him That Part of the Paſſion to meditate upon, which he thought would affect him moſt; and he fixt his Thoughts on the three Dice*; that is to ſay, on the Place, where it is ſaid, that the Soldiers caſt Lots for our Saviour's Garment. *He loved Gaming much* (20).

[*E*] *He was very much afflicted at his Wife's Diſloyalty.*] See, in the Remark [*B*], how he ſued his Wife, and the ſevere Puniſhment, which he cauſed to be inflicted on his Servant, her Accomplice. Is not This to be very ſenſible of the Diſgrace of the Forehead? But, on the other ſide, he ſoon laughed at it, as others did, and would ſay ſometimes, *If the* Bautru'*s are Cuckolds, they are no Fools* (21). It was the moſt cunning expedient he could chuſe (22); for, if ſuch a Jeſter, as he was, had appeared ſerious, ſullen and melancholy, he would have been very much laughed at. And, when all is done, he might jeſt upon it at his Eaſe, ſince he had not connived at the Fault; it is only a voluntary Cuckoldom, which may juſtly be reproached, either ſeriouſly, or in jeſt. *It is ſomewhat ſurprizing*, ſays Mr *Menage* (23), *that, for forty or fifty Years, Mr* de Bautru *ſhould have filled all* Europe *with his Jeſts, and witty Sayings, whilſt there were ſo many things to ſay againſt him.* Riſum fecit, ſed ridiculus fuit. *I do not know where I have read this: Aſſurance goes a great Way* (24).

(e) *It was in the Year* 1665.

(11) Rutilius Numatianus Itiner. lib. I. ver. 413.

(12) Auſonius, Epig. 35, pag. 30.

(13) Florus, lib. II, c. 7.

(14) *Towards the end of the IId Paragraph.*

(15) *In the new Letters againſt* Maimbourg, p. 24, & ſeq.

(16) Menag. pag. 104, *Edit.* 2, *of* Holl.

(17) *That is to ſay*, Serrant, *as in Edit.* 1, pag. 59.

(18) Menag. pag. 105.

(19) Ibid. pag. 97, *of Edit.* 1.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Ibid. pag. 104.

(22) *See the beginning of Remark* [*B*], *of the Article* AGESILAUS II.

(23) Menag. pag. 200, *of Edit.* 1.

(24) *These Words have been left out in Edit.* 2, *pag.* 105, *without mentioning the Author of the* Latin *Paſſage. It is to be found in* Quintilian, Inſtit. Orator. lib. VI, c. I.

BAUTRU (NICOLAS) Brother of the foregoing, was known by the Name of Count *de Nogent* [*A*]. He had five Children by his Marriage with *Mary Coulon*, Siſter

[*A*] *He was known by the Name of Count* de Nogent.] This Count was one of *Sorbiere*'s Patrons, as appears by the twentieth Letter of That Author, wherein he intreats him to improve, to his Advantage, the Elogy, which he had made on Cardinal *Mazarin*. This appears yet better by the Eighty firſt Letter, where he thanks him for the Money, which his Eminence had gratified him with. I quote theſe Letters, that They, who deſire to know Men by public Teſtimonies, may ſatisfy their Curioſity, They may alſo ſee the Forty ſeventh Letter. The *Menagiana* contains ſome curious Things concerning the Count *de Nogent*. "He came to *Paris* with but Eight hundred Livres yearly Rent; and he had an Hundred and fourſcore thouſand, when he died. The firſt Day he appeared at Court, he carried the King on his Shoulders through a watery Place in the *Tuilleries*. Monſieur *de Nogent* was an admirable Man at reviving a languiſhing Converſation. Being one Day in the Circle of the Queen-Mother, *Anne* of *Auſtria*, and perceiving the Converſation flag, and that the Queen-Mother, and the Ladies, among whom was Madam *de Guimene*, had been ſilent for ſome time; breaking Silence, and addreſſing himſelf to the Queen, Madam, ſaid he, is it not a very odd thing in Nature, that Madam *de Guimene* and myſelf ſhould be born in one Day, and but a quarter of an Hour after each other, and that ſhe ſhould be ſo Fair, and myſelf ſo Black (1)?" They, who have the Addreſs, which

about 60 Sterling

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(1) *Page* 41, *of Edit.* 2.

Siſter of *John Coulon*, Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*; I. ARMAND BAUTRU, Count *de Nogent*, the King's Lieutenant in *Auvergne*, Maſter of the Wardrobe, and Marſhal *de Camp*, who was killed in 1672, as he was paſſing the *Rhine* on Horſeback [*B*]. His Body was found, fifteen Days after, in the *Rhine*, three Leagues below *Tolbuis*, where the *French* croſſed That River. This Count had married *Diana Charlotte de Caumont de Lauſun*, Siſter to the Marquis *de Lauſun*, who has been Captain of the Life-Guards, and Governour of *Berri*, and had the Honour to be betrothed with Mademoiſelle *de Mompenſier*, Daughter of *Gaſton* of *France*, Duke of *Orleans*, and Grand-daughter of *Henry the Great*. II. NICOLAS BAUTRU, Marquis *de Vaubrun* [*C*], Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, and Governour of *Philippeville*. He married *Margaret Bautru* (*a*), and was killed in 1675, in the Battle, which was fought beyond the *Rhine*, a few Days after the Death of Marſhal *de Turenne*. III. LEWIS BAUTRU, called the Chevalier *de Nogent*, Colonel of Horſe. IV. MARY BAUTRU, Wife of *Rene de Rambures*, Marquis *de Rambures*: From this Marriage proceeded a Son, in whoſe Perſon the Family of the *Sires de Rambures* ended, as to the Male Iſſue. V. CHARLOTTE BAUTRU, Wife of *Nicolas d'Argouge*, Marquis *de Rannes*, Cornet of the Light-Horſe of the Guard, and Colonel-General of the Dragoons of *France* (*b*). He was killed in *Germany*, in the Month of *July* 1678 (*c*). He was Lieutenant-General. His Widow married again with *John Baptiſt Armand de Rohan*, Prince of *Montauban*, Son of *Charles de Rohan*, Duke of *Mombazon* (*d*).

(*a*) *Grand-daughter of Mr* de Bautru, *the fine Wit.*

(*b*) *This Article was taken from Mr* Menage's Obſervations on the Life of *William Menage*, p. 377.

(*c*) Merc. Galant.

(*d*) Menag. ibid. p. 506.

which he had, of reviving a languiſhing Converſation, are a great Help in the World; for, ſince, in the very Circles of the Queens of *France*, they are apt to fall into a kind of Drowſineſs, which is almoſt as troubleſome to the Company, as a Calm to Seamen; one may very well think, that a great many other Aſſemblies are ſubject to This Inconveniency. Is it not, therefore, very agreeable, that ſomebody ſhould be always ready to revive the Company, that it may not be ſaid, as Thoſe Ladies in the *Menagiana* did, *It rains Wearineſs, as faſt as it can pour?* But I wonder how the Count *de Nogent*, endowed with This Virtue, could be ſo weak, as Mr *Menage* repreſents him to be, againſt the Attacks of *Angeli*. " One Day, at the King's Dinner, *Angeli* ſaid to " the Count *de Nogent*, Let us be covered; This " is of no Couſequence to us. The Count *de Nogent* was ſo vexed at it, that it did not a little " contribute to his Death (2)." In the firſt Edition This was ſaid of Mr *de Bautru*, the Count *de Nogent*'s eldeſt Brother. It is true, that, inſtead of ſaying, that it contributed much to his Death, it is only ſaid, that he was very much troubled at it. It were to be wiſhed, that Mr *Menage* had corrected the *Menagiana* himſelf.

[*B*] Armand Bautru - - - - - *was killed in* 1672, *as he was paſſing the* Rhine.] The News Writers of thoſe Times informed the Public (3), *That They, who believed* the Count *was drowned, without having been wounded, and that his Horſe was the Cauſe of his Death*, were miſtaken; ſince, after his Body was found, it *was diſcovered, that he was killed by a Muſket-ſhot in the Head*. They publiſhed alſo, that his Body *was buried in the great Church of* Zevenart. In the Year 1686, the Marquis *de Biron* married a Daughter of This Count *de Nogent*.

[*C*] Nicolas Bautru, *Marquis* de Vaubrun.] It is He, of all the Family, who ſeems to have been moſt familiar with *Sorbiere*: That Author's printed Letters witneſs it; as alſo his Relation of a Journey to *England*. From the Letter, which he wrote to him, the eighth of *Auguſt*, 1657 (4), we learn, that This Marquis was Colonel General of the *Carabiniers* of *France*, and of an extraordinary Valour, but that it did not hinder him from being fond of good Books; " I wait, *ſays he to him*, for the Happineſs " of ſeeing you again at *Paris*, the next Winter, " in That Chamber of the *Louvre*, where I have " found you ſo often reading *Tacitus*, whilſt the other Courtiers were imploying the Morning in " powdering their Hair, and tying their Knots of " Ribbons." He was a very active Officer: His Diſputes with the Count *de Lorge*, after the Death of Marſhal *de Turenne*, had like to have proved very fatal to the *French*.

(2) Menagiana, p. 145.

(3) Mercure Galant *of* 1672, Tom. III.

(4) *It is the* 47*th. See alſo the* 58*th.*

BEAUCAIRE DE PEGUILON (Francis), in Latin *Belcarius Peguilio*, Biſhop of *Metz*, was a very learned Man in the XVIth Century [*A*]. He deſcended from one of the moſt ancient Families of the *Bourbonnois*, and was one of the firſt Gentlemen of his Country, who applied themſelves ſolidly to the Study of Literature. The Progreſs, which he made in it, induced *Claudius* of *Lorrain*, firſt Duke of *Guiſe*, to chooſe him for Preceptor to his ſecond Son, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. *Beaucaire* ſucceeded ſo well in this Employ, that he received many Praiſes for it from the Court of *France*, which he did not expect. He went with the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to *Rome*, where he conferred with *Paul Jovius*, Biſhop of *Nocera*, which did not hinder him afterwards from confuting That Prelate's Hiſtorical Miſtakes. At his return from *Italy*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* procured him the Biſhopric of *Metz* [*B*]: He carried him afterwards to the Council of *Trent*; and it was before That

[*A*] *He lived in the XVIth Century.*] According to *Konig*, he was alive in the Year 1625. *Res Gallicas, ſays he, anno* 1625, *in literas redegit.* - - - - - *In the Year* 1625, *he wrote an Hiſtory of the* French *Affairs*. Which is falſe. It is true, his Hiſtory was printed at *Lyons*, in the Year 1625, but it had been written a long time before. The Bibliographers often commit ſuch Miſtakes.

[*B*] *The Cardinal of* Lorrain *procured him the Biſhopric of* Metz.] Some ſay, that he only kept This Biſhopric for the Cardinal. The Reader will not be diſpleaſed to find, here, the Account, which *Theodorus Beza* gives of the whole Matter. " At " that ſame time (1), *ſays he* (2), *Charles* of *Lorrain*, Cardinal, and Biſhop of *Metz*, the greateſt " Enemy, that our Religion had, reſigned the Biſhopric of *Metz*; at which Thoſe of the Reformed Religion greatly rejoiced. But, as it was " not at all likely, that ſuch a Man, being the moſt " Ambitious and Covetous of any of his Rank in " the World, ſhould voluntarily reſign ſuch a noble " Preferment, it was immediately diſcovered, that " this Hypocrite had only reſigned his Title of Biſhop, " as making a Conſcience of holding ſo many Croſiers in his Hands, and reſerved, in the mean " time, all the Temporalities to himſelf. This Titular Biſhop's Name was *Peguillon*, one of his " Protonotaries, a Man of ſome Learning, but little " ſkilled in Divinity, who, being accompanied by " two other Biſhops, *viz.* of *Toul* and *Verdun*, both " like

(1) *That is, about the Year* 1556.

(2) Beza's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, lib. XVI. pag. 439.

That famous Aſſembly, that *Beaucaire* delivered the Speech [*C*], which is at the end of his thirtieth Book (*a*); for you muſt know, that he wrote an Hiſtory of his own Times in *Latin*, which is much eſteemed. He began it, when, in the Year 1568, he had reſigned the Biſhopric of *Metz* to Cardinal *Lewis* of *Lorrain* [*D*], and was retired to his Country-Seat, called *la Chrete*, in *Bourbonnois*. He brought it down from the Year 1462, to the Year 1567, and left off writing it, in the Year 1588. He was, then, in his Seventy fifth Year (*b*); for he was born the Fifteenth of *April* 1514 (*c*). He deſigned to continue it (*d*); but it is probable, the Infirmities of Old-age prevented him. He did not intend to publiſh This Work [*E*]; for he feared he had ſpoken ſuch Truths, as might raiſe him dangerous Enemies. It was *Philip Dinet*, Sieur *de St Romain* (*e*), who, having found This Hiſtory in the Author's Library at *la Chrete*, cauſed it to be printed, at *Lyons*, in the Year 1625 (*f*). It is ſaid, that *Beaucaire* died the Fourteenth of *February* 1591 (*g*). He was a very fit Perſon to draw up the Deciſions of a Council [*F*]; for he knew how to manage the Terms ſo well, that all the Diſputants, that were to be ſatisfied, were pleaſed with it. The manner of his voting, one Day, concerning Epiſcopal Authority, diſpleaſed

(*a*) *Taken from the Preface to* The Hiſtory of *Lewis* XI, *by* Varillas.

(*b*) Belcarius, in fin. lib. XXX.

(*c*) Id. in Præfat. Hiſtoriæ.

(*d*) Id. in fin. lib. XXX.

(*e*) *He had been the Duke of* Longueville's *Governor, and afterwards his Envoy in* Swiſſerland, *at ſeveral Times.*

(*f*) *In the Bookſeller's Advertiſement.*

(*g*) Spondanus, ad Ann. 1566, n. 34.

“ like himſelf, came to *Metz*, and alarmed a little thoſe of the Reformed Religion, who thought they were come as Inquiſitors, with ſome great Power, to perſecute them, which made many of them abſent from the City. But GOD diverted this Storm; and *Peguillon* was contented to publiſh a little Book in *Latin*, concerning Sanctification, and the Baptiſm of Infants, which was ſoon after anſwered: So that Thoſe, who had abſented themſelves, returned without any Moleſtation. But Theſe Biſhops gained a Nick-name by it, which was given them by thoſe of their own Religion, who ſirnamed them the *Lent Biſhops*, becauſe, ſaid they, they are as meagre as *Lent*, having only a ſmall Penſion, aſſigned them on the Biſhoprics, of which they enjoyed the Titles, but the Cardinal the Profits.” See the Remark [*D*].

[*C*] *He delivered a Speech before the Council of* Trent.] He ſpoke it on the Day, which the Fathers of the Council had choſen to give Thanks to GOD for the Battle of *Dreux* (3). The two Hiſtorians of That Council acknowledge This Prelate's Eloquence (4); but *Pallavicini*, who does not give ſuch a long Extract of the Speech, is more prolix on the Praiſes of the Orator, than Father *Paul*, and remarks alſo, that *Beaucaire* had loſt his Nephew in That Battle. “Belcarius Epiſcopus Metenſis vir eloquentia præclarus victorum laudes celebravit magnifica oratione ad Synodum, publicæ felicitati gratulatus in luctu domeſtico, quippe qui Gilbertum Belcarium ſui fratris filium amiſerat in conflictu, atque hæc omnia eleganti quam ſcripſit hiſtoriæ conſignata poſteritati tradidit (5). - - - - Beaucaire, *Biſhop of* Metz, *a Man of great Eloquence, celebrated the Praiſes of the Victors, in a pompous Oration before the Council, congratulating the Public Felicity amidſt Domeſtic Affliction; for he had loſt his Nephew,* Gilbert Beaucaire, *in the Battle; All which he delivered down to Poſterity in an Elegant Hiſtory, which he wrote.*”

(3) January 9, 1563.

(4) *See Father* Paul, lib. vii.

(5) Lib. 19. cap. 10. n. 5.

[*D*] *In the Year* 1568, *he reſigned the Biſhopric of* Metz *to Cardinal* Lewis *of* Lorrain.] When Cardinal *Charles* of *Lorrain* made This Biſhopric over to him, he reſerved the Right of Reverſion to himſelf; *Regreſſum, ut Romani Pragmatici vocant, ſibi exceperat* (6). But he did not make uſe of this Right for himſelf. The Biſhopric of *Metz* remained in *Beaucaire*'s Hands from the Year 1555, 'till 1568 (7). It is falſely ſaid, in the Advertiſement to the Reader, before his Hiſtory, that he went to *Trent*, with Cardinal *Lewis* of *Lorrain*, to whom he reſigned his Mitre. It is certain, that he reſigned it to him (8); but he followed Cardinal *Charles* of *Lorrain* to *Trent*. He was at *Rome*, in the Month of *November*, 1555, when the Pope gave him his Bull for the Biſhopric of *Metz*. This I infer from his ſaying, that he admired the Eloquence, with which That Pope repreſented the Epiſcopal Duties to him. “Menſe Novembri Paulus me Pontificatu Metenſi cedente Lotharingo Cardinale donavit, ac quum illi gratias agerem, me mei officii admonendo, & commiſſum populum commendando, facunda in primis & ſatis prolixa oratione reſpondit, ut tam expeditam in homine ſene & in multis negotiis verſato eloquentiam admirarer (9).” After he had reſigned, he retired Home, and, to employ his leiſure Hours, wrote a Commentary on the *French* Affairs. “Quum - - - - - poſt decimum tertium ex quo id munus ſuſcepiſſem annum, Metenſi pontificatu defunctus eſſem, eoque ceſſiſſem, & me ab hominum frequentia ſubducens in Chriſtianum fundum (10) paratum ſenectuti jam dudum inter noſtros Boios ſtudiorum meorum domicilium ſeceſſiſſem, ne omnino otioſum vitæ extremum tempus traducere viderer, commentarios rerum Gallicarum ſcripſi (11).”

(6) Belcar. lib. xxvi, n. 6.

(7) Ibid. ſub fin. lib. 30.

(8) Id. ibid.

(9) Id. lib. xxvii, n. 6. ad Annum 1555.

(10) *His Country Seat called* la Chrete.

(11) In Præfat.

[*E*] *He did not intend to publiſh This Work.*] He declares ſo himſelf. “Hos (*Commentarios*) me editurum non profiteor; lateant in Chriſtiana (12) noſtra bibliotheca, donec tuto exire poſſint: vere nec in cujuſquam gratiam aut odium ſcripſiſſe confirmo (13). - - - - *I have no Intention to publiſh them: let them reſt in my Library of* la Chrete, *'till they may ſafely come abroad; I declare, that I wrote them impartially, and with a ſtrict regard to Truth.*” This he ſays in his Preface; and here is what he ſays in the Concluſion of his Work: “Maturo judicio ne in multorum odia incurreremus, veritas enim odium parit, ut inquit poëta Comicus, non ſtatim edendos judicavimus. - - - - *Upon mature Conſideration, to avoid giving Offence to many, ſince, as the Poet ſays, Truth gains us Enemies, I thought proper to defer the Publication of of Them.*” He is very violent againſt the Proteſtants; but it is not in that Reſpect, that the Fear of offending ſeveral Perſons made him reſolve not to publiſh it.

(12) *Of* la Chrete.

(13) In Præfat.

[*F*] *He was a very fit Perſon to draw up the Deciſions of a Council.*] Father *Paul* mentions the Difficulty, which the Fathers of the Council found themſelves in, on the Queſtion about Marriage. “The firſt Chapter concerning Abuſes, importing the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Banns, ordered by *Innocent* III, - - - - - was touched and retouched ſeveral times, - - - but always ſo unſucceſsfully, that the laſt Correction was the worſt. Among other things, a Point, already agreed upon, was altered; which was, That all Marriages, made in the Preſence of three Witneſſes, ſhould be valid. And, inſtead of one of the Witneſſes, it was ſaid, That all Marriages, contracted without the Preſence of the Prieſt, ſhould be void; which raiſed the Eccleſiaſtic Order infinitely. - - - - - - I have not found in my Memoirs, who was the Author of This great Advantage, nor many other Particulars, which I would not have failed to mention, if I had known them. In the mean while, I muſt not rob *Francis de Beaucaire*, Biſhop of of *Metz*, of the Honour, which is due to him: for it was He, who, ſeeing the Impoſſibility of reconciling ſuch different Opinions, gave This Decree the Form it now bears, which really admits of ſeveral Senſes, but ſuits admirably well with the various Opinions about That Matter (14).” We find the following Words in the Annals of *Spondanus*: “In quo decreto ad formam reducendo quæ probaretur & in ſeſſione promulgaretur, cum patres valde perplexi eſſent, Franciſcus Belcarius Epiſcopus Metenſis, vir pius doctuſque & acumine ac maturitate ingenii præſtans, eum compoſuit quæ publicè conſpicitur, cæteris comprobantibus (15). - - - - *In the giving of which Decree the Form, which ſhould be approved of, and promulged in the Seſſion, when the Fathers were under great Perplexity,* Francis Beaucaire, *Biſhop of* Metz, *a pious, learned, and ingenious Prelate, drew up That, which is publickly ſeen, with the Approbation of the reſt.*” If any one ſhould ſay, that a Perſon, who could

(14) Hiſt. of the Council of Trent, lib. viii. ad Ann. 1563, pag. 730.

(15) Spondan. ad Ann. 1563. n. 39.

pleaſed the Flatterers of the Court of *Rome*; inſomuch, that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* cenſured him for it [*G*], and denied, that he had ever been his Diſciple. I refer the Reader to *Moreri* for ſome other things which I omit. I believe there is an Exaggeration in That *great Number of Books*, which he aſcribes to *Beaucaire*, and ſome Confuſion in the Titles, which he ſets down [*H*]. Cardinal *Pallavicini* praiſed *Lewis* XIII for permitting a Book to be dedicated to him, in which the Alliances of *Francis* I with the *Turks* are very freely cenſured (*b*). That Book is the Hiſtory of *France*, compoſed by our Biſhop of *Metz*. He had a Brother, whoſe Name was JOHN, who was educated with the Conſtable of *Bourbon* (*i*), and who had a Son killed in the Battle of *Dreux*, and a Daughter married to *Sebaſtian* of *Luxembourg*, Viſcount *de Martigues* [*I*].

could draw up a Decree ſo perſpicuouſly, that every Reader might know, that ſuch and ſuch things are condemned in it, and that only ſuch a thing is formally approved in it, would be a fitter Man to draw up the Deciſions of a Council than *Beaucaire*; This is my Anſwer. I agree, that ſuch a Man would be more proper for this Buſineſs, if Synodical Aſſemblies could, or would, ſacrifice Political Intereſts to Truth, and Integrity: But, becauſe They, who compoſe Theſe Aſſemblies, have not Virtue enough to act only in favour of Juſtice, or Faith enough to hope, that a good Cauſe will be ſufficiently protected by God, without the Aſſiſtance of Politics, there are no fitter Perſons for their Purpoſe, than thoſe, who know how to draw up Acts full of Ambiguities, and ſuch as may ſatisfy the oppoſite Parties. However, it cannot be denied, that the Biſhop, of whom I ſpeak, was a fit Tool for the Pope; ſince That Council deſigned to diſpleaſe none of the School Factions. "Who will not admire the Prudence of this Council? We are told very ingenuouſly (16), that the Members of it reſolved to contrive their Deciſicns in ſuch a manner, and to chuſe and adapt their Words ſo, as not to prejudice, in the leaſt, the different Opinions of the Schools, about which the Catholic Doctors were otherwiſe very much divided. We are farther told, that it concerned the Prudence of the Council not to expoſe the Church to new Troubles, by the Diſputes, which would have been raiſed among Divines, if their Doctrine had been diſcuſſed, and cenſured; and that it appears, that it is one of the Articles, on which the Pope had particularly inſiſted; not having intimated his Inclination for any particnlar Thing, but for the managing of the Schoolmen's Diſputes, that he might not thwart any Opinion without Neceſſity, and in order to re-unite all the Catholic Forces againſt the Sectaries. *This was practiſed ſo exactly*, ſays our Author, *that one may ſee, by the very Words, of which the Definitions are compoſed, that the Fathers of the Council have been ſcrupulouſly exact, in finding out Terms, which ſhould not prejudice any of Thoſe Opinions.* If Father *Paul* had ſaid This, ſuch a Diſcourſe would have been taken for a Satire on the Court of *Rome*: But it is Cardinal *Pallavicini*, who ſays it; and, conſequently, it muſt be believed to be true (17)."

[*G*] *The Cardinal of* Lorrain *cenſured him for it.*] Cardinal *Pallavicini*, having ſaid, that the Biſhop of *Metz* declared, that he believed, that Biſhops received their Authority immediately from God, and that they were not meerly the Pope's Delegates, and that the Pope's Power is not unlimited, adds, that, in this, he went beyond his Bounds, *hac in re plurimum ille cancellos tranſgreſſus eſt* (18). "It was ſuſpected, *continues he*, that the Biſhop, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, juggled, and acted in concert; but the Cardinal, in order to remove Theſe Suſpicions, declared, that he had never been *Beaucaire*'s Scholar, and cenſured him before the Embaſſadors of *France*, and twelve Biſhops." *Fama erat, hunc Epiſcopum Lotharingi magiſtrum fuiſſe: & ſane intimam cum eo familiaritatem exercerbat, atque ejus operâ nobilem illam Sedem acceperat. Unde ſuſpicio fuit, eos concorditer ſe geſſiſſe, & textum à diſcipulo obſcurè propoſitum fuiſſe dilucidatum à magiſtro interpretationis ſuæ claritate. Sed Cardinalis, hujuſce famæ conſcius, Gualterio negavit* * *ſe unquam Beauqueri diſcipulum fuiſſe; eum quidem à ſe agnoſci virum maximæ literaturæ, ſed minimi conſilii. Nec abſtinuit, quin illum caſtigaret coram duobus Gallis Oratoribus, & duodecim Epiſcopis* (19). They, who know the Spirit of a Court, which was the Soul of this Cardinal's whole Conduct, will not build much on what he ſaid, when he found, that he was called in queſtion for *Beaucaire*'s Opinions. He was willing to make uſe of him in ſounding the Buſineſs, in order to ſee whether any thing could be done to pleaſe the *Gallican* Church, but, afterwards, was as ready to diſown him, when he knew that the Court of *Rome* was offended at it. After all, *Beaucaire* was, perhaps, a Man of no great Conduct, as we may ſuppoſe This Cardinal declared. This is but too common among ſtudious Perſons.

[*H*] *There is ſome Confuſion in the Titles, which* Moreri *ſets down.*] He ſays, that *Beaucaire compoſed a Treatiſe of Children, that die in their Mother's Womb, - - - - and a Treatiſe againſt the* Calviniſts.] This is to declare plainly, that the firſt of theſe two Treatiſes does not oppoſe the Tenets of the *Calviniſts*; which is falſe; for it is deſigned to oppoſe the Opinion, which they have, that the Children of the Faithful are ſanctified in their Mother's Womb; and, therefore, that, though they die without receiving Baptiſm, they are, nevertheleſs, ſaved. The Paſſage of *Theodorus Beza*, which I have alledged before (20), informs us, that this Book of *Beaucaire* was anſwered. An anonymous Author replied to This Anſwer; his Reply was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1567, in 8vo (21), with the firſt Treatiſe of *Beaucaire* (22), and ſome others. Properly ſpeaking, the two Books, mentioned by *Moreri*, are but one and the ſame Book. *Spondanus* remarks, that *Beaucaire* publiſhed his Diſſertation againſt the Tenets of the *Calviniſts*, concerning the Sanctification of Children in their Mothers Womb, in 1567; but what I have ſaid before, ſhews plainly, that This Book had appeared before That time, and a little after *Beaucaire*'s Inſtalment in the Cathedral of *Metz*. Now he obtained That Biſhopric in the Month of *November*, 1555, as I ſaid in the Remark [*D*]. So that it muſt be ſaid, that *Beaucaire* prepared a ſecond Edition of his Treatiſe, and that he did not publiſh it till the Year 1567. He inſerted ſome Letters in it, which were intercepted at *Châlons*, on *Marne*, during the Conference of *Poiſſy*. Theſe Letters were written by *Taffin*, and *Theodorus Beza*. *Taffin*, Miniſter of *Metz*, had conſulted the Miniſters of the Conference of *Poiſſy*, on the Queſtion, Whether Children, baptized by a Woman, ſhould be re-baptized. He was anſwered, That ſome Perſons, of great Judgment, did not believe that it ought to be done, and that, therefore, they had thought fit to refer the Diſcuſſion of That Point to the Church of *Geneva*, and to That of *Zurich* (23). *Moreri* ſays, that the Hiſtory of *France*, by *Beaucaire*, begins with the Year 1460, and ends with the Year 1580. But, had he conſulted the Authors, whom he quotes, *Spondanus* (24) would have informed him, that it begins with the Year 1462, and ends with the Year 1566; that the Author promiſed, indeed, to continue it, if God gave him Life for it, but that the Effect of this Promiſe did not appear, though the Work was not publiſhed till about forty Years after *Beaucaire* had finiſhed it. The Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library commits the ſame Fault with *Moreri*: I do not wonder at it, ſince the Bookſeller's Preface contains This Error.

[*I*] *His Brother* JOHN —— *had* —— *a Daughter married to* Sebaſtian *of* Luxembourg.] *Beaucaire* ſpeaks of This Marriage, and ſays, that Queen *Mary Stuart*, the Wife of *Francis* II, procured him for her Niece, whom ſhe greatly loved (25). *Le Laboureur* confirms this. "*Sebaſtian* of *Luxembourg*, *ſays he* (26), partly out of Inclination, and partly in hopes of gaining the Affection and Favour of Queen *Mary Stuart*, married *Frances* (27) *de Beaucaire*, Daughter of *John S. de Peguillon*, and Maid of Honour to the ſaid Queen, who loved her entirely for her good Qualities. He had an only Daughter by her, whoſe

" Eſtate

(*b*) Pallavic. Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, lib. v. chap. I, n. 3.

(*i*) Belcarius, in Præf.

The Spirit of the Council of *Trent*.

(16) That is to ſay, in a Book, written by a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, name *Sueras*, and printed at *Paris* in 1615, concerning the *Sufficiency of Attrition*.

(17) *Taken from the* Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres, Febr. 1686, Art. I. pag. 127.

(18) Pallavic. lib. xix, cap. 6, n. 5. pag. 284.

* Littera Gualterii ad Borromæum. 7 Decembris & ſequentibus 1562.

(19) Acta Paleotti apud Pallavicinum. ibid. n. 6.

(20) *In Remark* [*B*].

(21) *The Title of it is*, Anonymi Antapologia contra Apologiam, Metenſium miniſtrorum nomine ſcriptam, pro everſione ſanctificationis Calvinianæ.

(22) *The Title is* Contra Calvinianorum dogma de ſanctificatione infantium in uteris matrum.

(23) Claude de Saintes, *Anſwer to the Apology of* Theodorus Beza, *cited by* Prateolus, Elench. Hæreſ. pag. 97, 98.

(24) Ad Ann. 1566. n. 34.

(25) Belcarius's *Hiſt.* lib. 28, n. 37.

(26) *Addit. to* Caſtelnau, Tom. II, p. 829, 830.

(27) *Her Uncle, who ſhould know beſt, calls her* Mary, Book 23, n. 37. *Mr* le Laboureur, *being better informed, calls her ſo likewiſe, in another Place.*

“ Eſtate ſhe managed with as much Care and Prudence, as ſhe had ſhewn in the Education of This great Heireſs (28).” *Brantôme* had not forgot this; for, in the Liſt of the Ladies, who were eminent in the Court of *Catherine de Medicis*, he places *Madam* de Martigues, *formerly called* Mademoiſelle de Villemontois, *a great Favourite of the Queen of* Scotland (29). Mr *le Laboureur*, *Tom. I, pag.* 318, ſays, that the Lady *de Villemontois* was *Mary de Beaucaire*, Daughter of *John*, Lord of *Puy-Gaillon*, Seneſchal of *Poitou*.

(28) *In* 1575, *ſhe married* Philip Emanuel *of* Lorrain, *Duke of* Mercœur. *Brother of* Louïſe *of* Lorrain, *Wife of* Henry III.

(29) The Lives of Illuſtrious Ladies, *p.* 94.

BEAULIEU (Lewis le Blanc Sieur de) Miniſter, and Profeſſor of Divinity at *Sedan*, in the XVIIth Century, was a Man very commendable for his Learning and Virtue. A great many Theological Theſes were maintained under his Direction, and collected into one Volume, after his Death, and printed in *England*. The Public was ſo well pleaſed with them, that This Edition was ſoon ſold off, and Another publiſhed in the ſame Country, in the Year 1683 *(a)*. If he had not been a *Frenchman*, a Preface would have been prefixed to the firſt, or ſecond Edition, giving an Account of the Author's Life; for the *French* are very apt to let the Hiſtory, or the Life, of a Kinſman, famous for his great Parts, and learned Works, fall into oblivion. The Impoſſibility I find of fixing the Time, and Place, of the Birth of *Lewis le Blanc*, the Time of his Promotion to the Miniſtry, and to the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, and other Hiſtorical and Chronological Circumſtances, muſt be imputed to ſuch a Negligence. I can ſay nothing more, than that he died in the Month of *February* 1675, and that he was well beloved by the Marſhal *de Fabert* (*b*), one of the greateſt Wits of his Age. Some of his Sermons were printed at *Sedan*, in the Year 1675. It is not in them, that the brighteſt Merit of the Author is to be looked for, but in his Theſes, wherein he treats, with a wonderful Clearneſs [*A*], and great Penetration, the moſt important Matters of Divinity, and applies himſelf chiefly to remove the Miſunderſtandings, which have ſo greatly multiplied Controverſies. He lays down the true ſtate of the Queſtion; he clears up things that are ambiguous, and makes it appear, that many Diſputes, which are thought to be real, are only Diſputes about Words. It is ſcarce credible, how much this Method prejudiced a great many ignorant Perſons againſt him [*B*]. They imagined, that he endeavoured to bring back the Reformed to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. They, who knew his Virtue, and Piety, did not ſuſpect any ſuch thing of him; nor they, who were capable of judging right of his Theſes: But many People in the remote Provinces knew him no otherwiſe, than as they had been told, that he ſhewed, that, in ſome things, the Divines of both Parties did not ſo much differ from each other, as was believed. Theſe Gentlemen, being unwilling to leſſen the Subjects of Diviſion, which they would rather have increaſed, or being accuſtomed to interpret things ill, or raſhly believe thoſe, who give a bad Turn to the Actions of their Neighbours, looked upon Mr *de Beaulieu* as a falſe Brother, who was promoting the great Deſign of re-uniting both Churches [*C*], which the Cardinal *de Richelieu* was ſo fond of. This Profeſſor's Penetration obliged him to

(*a*) *It is the third. The firſt is That of* Sedan, *in* 4to. *The two* Engliſh *Editions are in* Folio.

(*b*) *He was Governour of* Sedan.

[*A*] *He treated the moſt important Matters with wonderful Clearneſs.*] Becauſe Mr *Nicolle* will be ſooner believed, than myſelf, I ſhall quote a Paſſage of his *Lawful Prejudices againſt the Calviniſts.* “ One of their Profeſſors of *Sedan*, whoſe Name is *Lewis le Blanc*, has particularly ſignalized himſelf on this Subject, in his *Theſes of Juſtification.* That Profeſſor, who juſtly deſerves the Praiſe of having an extraordinray clear Head, and of being a very fit Man to unravel Queſtions, which are perplexed by the different uſe of Terms, examines, in his Theſes, the chief Differences between the Catholics and Proteſtants, on this Head, and concludes, on all the Articles, that The Catholics are in the right, and The Proteſtants only contrary to them in Words (1).”

[*B*] *This Method prejudiced a great many ignorant Perſons.*] They are not only weak Men, who have entertained Suſpicions againſt Mr *Beaulieu*: See here what an ingenious Miniſter has publiſhed; “ I reſpect Mr *le Blanc*'s Memory; but the concern for Truth obliges me to remark, what no one is ignorant of, namely, that This Divine wrote after a manner, which made his Orthodoxy much ſuſpected. Thinking to clear up Matters, to remove uſeleſs Diſputes, or Thoſe, which turn only on Words, and to take away all Equivocations, he has extremely ſtraitned the Space, which ſeparates us from the Church of *Rome*. He has reduced the moſt important Controverſies almoſt to nothing: And, by This Conduct, as alſo by his great Mildneſs, and the ſtrong Inclination, which he always ſhewed for Peace, he has given many Perſons occaſion to rank him among the *Latitudinarians* (2). —— The famous Mr *le Blanc de Beaulieu*, for whoſe Memory I have otherwiſe a great Veneration, is not a Divine, whoſe Pen is to be borrowed, to deſcribe the Opinion of the Reformed, about controverted Matters with the Papiſts. - - - - He was a little too Neutral in the Quarrel, which we have to decide with Them (3).” *Hæc ille* (Le Blanc, pag. 796, n. 56.) *qui laxus nimium eſt controverſiarum quas tractat arbiter, quo factum ut nimium partium adverſarum conciliationi intentus, à communi via Reformatorum ſæpe diſceſſerit* (4).

[*C*] *It was believed, he was promoting the great Deſign of re-uniting both Churches.*] Theſe falſe Suſpicions increaſed, when a certain Report was ſpread abroad, That the Marſhal *de Turenne*, being very fond of re-uniting both Religions, had ſounded the Profeſſor of *Sedan*, and received a Letter from him, which was ſhewed to all the Miniſters, in order to ſurprize them. This Report was not altogether groundleſs; for Mr *Jaquelot* ſays, that, in 1672, the Agent, who was employed in This Affair, *came to* Vaſſi, *in* Champagne - - - - - *with a Credential Letter, ſigned* Lewis, *and a Letter from Monſieur* de Turenne, *to Mr* de Beaulieu, *Profeſſor of Divinity at* Sedan, *and with That Profeſſor's Anſwer to Monſ.* de Turenne, - - - - - *and the Signatures of the Paſtors of* Picardy *and* Champagne, *whom he had viſited*; but he adds, that This Anſwer *did no Injury to Mr* de Beaulieu'*s Reputation* (5). *Note*, that he produces (6), an Act of the Synod of the *Iſle of France*, which juſtifies the Miniſters, who had ſigned. The Piece, in which he mentions theſe things, is a Letter againſt Mr *Benoit*, Miniſter of *Delft*, who did not fail to anſwer it; and who, among other Remarks, made this, that the Signatures of the moſt innocent Miniſters contained This Reſtriction; “ And I promiſe to contribute to it, as much as lies in my power, with a ſafe Conſcience (7).” He adds, that this laſt Clauſe, “ taken from

(1) Nicolle Prejug. legit cap. 11, *p.* 197, 198, *Holl.* 1683.

(2) Saurin's Examination of Mr *Jurieu*'s Theology, *pag.* 259.

(3) Id. ibid. *pag.* 477.

(4) Leydecker. Præfat. in Aphoriſ. Lud. de Dieu, §. 6.

(5) Jaquelot's Letter to the Paſtors and Governors of the *Walloon* Churches of the *United Provinces*, p. 32. dated from the *Hague*, Sept. 13. 1698.

(6) Ibid. *pag.* 33.

(7) Benoit's Apology, preſented to the Governors of the *Walloon* Churches, *pag.* 40.

to avoid certain Terms, commonly received, which he found ſomewhat inconvenient. He did it, particularly, as to the Doctrine of the Certainty of Salvation. This gave Mr *Arnauld* an occaſion to quarrel with him [D]. Mr *de Beaulieu* had no Children; his Widow, who was a very underſtanding and virtuous Woman, ſhewed an Heroic Conſtancy in the laſt Perſecution (*c*). She could never be forced to make any Abjuration; ſo that, after many Vexations, which ſhe endured, ſhe died without betraying her Profeſſion in the leaſt. Mr *le Blanc*, Counſellor in the Preſidial of *Sedan*, Brother to Mr *de Beaulieu*, endeavoured twice to make his Eſcape into *Holland*, after his Abjuration, but was taken in the Way, and brought back again into his Country. *The King forgave him the Puniſhment of the Gallies, to which he had been condemned for deſigning to leave the Kingdom againſt the Prohibitions (d).*

Mr *de Beaulieu* has been very often cited, in the Quarrel between two *French* Miniſters, who diſputed, among other things, about the Principle of Faith. What I cite out of their Writings, may ſerve to diſcover his Opinions, and Character [*E*], and,

from Mr *de Beaulieu*'s Letter, was a Snare laid for the Simplicity of good Souls. - - - - - It is certain, that Three ſorts of Perſons were concerned in This Project. I. Ill-minded Perſons. II. Plain and honeſt Men. III. Wiſe and clear-ſighted Perſons, but dazzled, either with the ſeeming Uſefulneſs of the Thing, or with the Name of Mr *de Beaulieu*, a Man of great Merit, but of too Apoſtolic a Sincerity, to diſintangle himſelf from the Craftineſs of the Marſhal *de Fabert*, an old Courtier, and who did not ſcruple to deceive People (8)." There is a ſmall Miſtake here; for the Marſhal *de Fabert* had been dead above ſeven or eight Years, before This Project was ſet on foot. Monſ. *de Turenne* was the Promoter of it.

[D] *This gave Mr* Arnauld *an occaſion to quarrel with him.*] He accuſed him of having renounced the Opinions of the *Calviniſts* in four Points of the Doctrine of the Certainty of Salvation (9). Mr *de Beaulieu* publiſhed a particular *Theſis* on This Subject, in Anſwer to Mr *Arnauld*. The latter replied after his Adverſary's Death (10): *A Diſciple, and intimate Friend*, of the deceaſed, anſwered Mr *Arnauld*'s Reply (11). I have compared The Diſciple's Anſwer and Mr *Arnauld*'s Reply together, but could not determine which was right, or which was wrong; They are properly Queſtions of Fact, about which a thouſand Equivocations, and all the Art of Diſputation, may be uſed on both Sides. A Man muſt have more leiſure, than I have, to examine This thoroughly. Nevertheleſs, I believe, if Mr *de Beaulieu* had written his Apology himſelf, his Cauſe would have been better defended.

[E] *What I quote out of their Writings, may ſerve to diſcover his Opinions, and Character.*] Let us begin with a Paſſage of Mr *Saurin*: He had juſt ſaid, That Mr *le Blanc*'s Name *is not ſo much authorized, as famous, among us* (12); and here is what he adds: What Mr *Jurieu* mentions of Mr *le Blanc* "is more fit to cry down his Doctrine, than to give it credit: For Example, Is it not a fine way of defending the Authority of the Scripture, and the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, to ſay *, *That it is neceſſary, that That, which is the firſt Principle of Faith, ſhould not be proved by itſelf, nor by another Principle; and yet, that the Principle of Faith ſhould not be an evident Thing, becauſe, as in Human Sciences, there are certain Principles, which are the firſt, on which all others depend, which neither depend on themſelves, nor on other Principles, ſo it is with the Doctrine of Faith.* They, who know the A, B, C, of the Art of Thinking and Reaſoning, know alſo, that a Propoſition, which is not ſelf-evident, and is not mediately, or immediately, demonſtrated by another ſelf-evident Propoſition, cannot be a Principle of Science, or of Faith, nor ſo much as paſs for a true Propoſition, whilſt it remains in That Obſcurity. —— Mr *Jurieu* adds, after Mr *le Blanc*, That, *though the Scripture*, that is to ſay, the Divinity of the Scripture, *be not ſelf-evident, it ought not to be concluded, therefore, that it is not the firſt Principle of Faith, and that it ought to borrow it's Authority from elſewhere* (13). Theſe Words neither agree with right Reaſon, nor the Word of GOD. The Divinity of the Scripture is evident by it's Characters —— Mr *de Beaulieu* reaſons no better, when he anſwers the Objection, which the Enemies of Chriſtianity make againſt the Holy Scriptures in this manner. *As for thoſe impertinent Queſtions, which are asked us, How do you prove, that the Apoſtles wrote their Books by Divine Inſpiration? We anſwer, That they require an unjuſt thing of us*; viz. *that we ſhould demonſtrate a thing, which is not to be demonſtrated. We, therefore, confeſs freely, that we cannot demonſtrate it, that is to ſay, prove and domonſtrate it Mathematically; But we deny, that it follows from thence, that Thoſe Books cannot be the firſt and certain Rule of Faith, becauſe it is the Property of the Principles of Faith not to be evident* (14)." See, in Mr *Saurin*'s own Book how he confutes Theſe Maxims.

We muſt inſert Mr *Jurieu*'s Anſwer here. "It is a curious Thing, *ſays he* (15), to ſee how Mr *Saurin* uſes Mr *de Beaulieu*, whom he calls, elſewhere, a moſt Excellent Man. But, here, becauſe he is of Mr *Jurieu*'s Opinion, and of That of the whole Church, concerning the Evidence of the Principle of Faith, he muſt needs be a Man of no very ſound Orthodoxy; he favoured *Popery*, and *Arminianiſm*; he was a great *Latitudinarian*; he ſaved as many Perſons as he could; he propoſed ſuch Abſurdities, that he deſerved to be ſent back to his A, B, C; and it is imprudent to own one's ſelf his Diſciple. The Truth is, we can hardly believe our own Eyes. Here we may perceive what advantage the Living have over the Dead, as the Wiſe Man tells us: Such a one pulls the dead Lion by the Beard, who durſt not have come within a thouſand Paces of him, if he had been alive. —— They, who knew the late Mr *de Beaulieu*, know, that he was the moſt reſerved Man in the World in ſpeaking his own Opinions; A faithful Hiſtorian of Thoſe of others, but moſt reſerved as to his own; giving his Reſolution only on notorious things, and ſuch as were owned by all Divines. So that, unleſs he had been out of his Wits, it is not to be imagined, that he would have explained his Mind about ſuch nice Propoſitions, had he not been perſuaded, that he followed the common Road. How could a Man, who made it his Study to know the Opinions of all Divines, and who ſeldom declared his own, be ignorant of a Matter of Fact, known to Mr *Saurin*, who never ſaw but the Outſide of great Libraries? Or, was Mr *de Beaulieu* ſo fooliſh, and ſo wicked, as to eſtabliſh an Impiety, of which he was the Author, as a public Opinion? Whom does Mr *Saurin* hope to perſuade of this? They, who have read the firſt Part of this Work, about the Matter of Fact, will be aſhamed of Mr *Saurin*'s Raſhneſs: Since they will ſee, that our Orthodox Divines, ſince *Calvin*, have ſpoken as Mr *de Beaulieu* did; and that, in This, and almoſt in every thing elſe, he is but an Hiſtorian. But does not Mr *de Beaulieu* advance ſome hard Things, about this Queſtion, which are peculiar to him? For Example *; *That the Proofs, which are alledged for the Divinity of the Holy Scriptures, are not of the Nature of Thoſe, which are called* de Fide, *in the Schools; that they are not drawn from any Principle, or Rule, of Faith, and that, by themſelves, they cannot make an Article of Faith.* Has any Body ſaid ſo? Yes; It has been ſaid, *Calvin* has ſaid it in ſtronger Terms; he calls Thoſe, who build Faith on the Characters of the Scripture (16), fooliſh and impertinent." Theſe Proofs are not of Thoſe, which are called *de Fide* (17). —— "The other

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(*c*) *Mr* Quick *ſpeaks of it in his* Prolegomena *to the* Synodicon in Gallia Reformata.

(*d*) Remarks on the Confeſſion of *Sanci*, pag. 555, *Edit.* 1699.

(8) Id. ibid. *pag.* 41.

(9) Arnauld's Overthrow of The Morality, *cited by* Peter Jurieu; Juſtification of the Morals of the Reformed, *Book IV. chap. xiv. pag.* 405. *Edit. of the* Hague 1685.

(10) *In his Book intituled*, Calviniſm convicted anew, *c.* 19.

(11) *See the* Juſtification of the Morals of the Reformed, *Book VI. chap. xiv. pag.* 3 6.

(12) Saurin's Examination of Mr *Jurieu*'s Theology, *pag.* 260.

* *Page* 24, *col.* 1.

(13) Id. ib. *pag.* 261.

(14) Id. ib. *pag.* 262.

(15) Jurieu's Defence of the Univerſal Doctrine the Church, *p.* 372, 373.

* Diſput. Tom. IV. de S. Script. No 9.

(16) Jurieu, ubi ſupra, p. 378, 379.

(17) Jurieu, ibid. pag. 381.

and, conſequently, will not be ſuperfluous. Some are perſuaded, that there is great Miſunderſtanding in This Conteſt [*F*]. His Doctrine concerning the Efficacy of Baptiſm was alſo cenſured. See the Book, which I quote (*e*), printed at *Amſterdam* in 1695. See, I ſay, the fifth Leaf of the Preface, and the Treatiſe, which makes the Concluſion of it. See alſo Mr *Saurin*, pag. 522, 550, *&c.* of his Examination of Mr *Jurieu*'s Theology. To conclude, I have juſt now diſcovered, that Mr *de Beaulieu* was born at *Pleſſis Marli* (*f*), where his Father was Miniſter, and that he died at the Age of Sixty Years, and ſix Months.

(*e*) Collection of ſeveral Treatiſes concerning the Efficacy and Neceſſity of Baptiſm.

(*f*) *A Lordſhip which belonged to M.* du Pleſſis Mornai.

“ other Accuſation againſt Mr *de Beaulieu* *, *of being a* Latitudinarian, *of enlarging the Way to Salvation, and of ſaving as many Perſons as he could*, is alſo ridiculous, ſince it is inconſiſtent with the Doctrine, which Mr *Saurin* lays to his Charge. He was rigid as to the Doctrine of Grace, and believed, that the Holy Ghoſt produced the Certainty of Faith, without Means, as we have ſeen. —— This Accuſation —— is entirely grounded on his explaining the State of ſome Controverſies otherwiſe than they are commonly underſtood. But, if he ſhould be deceived, it would only be a meer Error of Fact; for he never favoured any relaxed Opinion, nor eſtabliſhed the Indifferency of Religions, nor a general Toleration of all Sects, as Mr *Saurin* does.” Let us end with Mr *Saurin*'s Reply. “ I ſpeak of Mr *de Beaulieu* with all the Eſteem and Reſpect, which he deſerves; and I put a great Deference between him, and Mr *Jurieu*; not for the reaſon, which Mr *Jurieu* ſuppoſes, that is, becauſe the one is dead, and the other living; but becauſe the living does not reſemble the Dead in every thing. Nevertheleſs, I obſerve Mr *de Beaulieu*'s Faults as Thoſe of a great Man. This I may do. I do not ſend him back to his A, B, C, as Mr *Jurieu* accuſes me of doing, two or three times. I ſay only, That *Thoſe, who know the A, B, C, of the Art of Thinking and Reaſoning, know alſo*, &c (18). This is certain, and may be ſaid by Thoſe, who are perſuaded —— (19). I do Mr *de Beaulieu* no wrong in calling him a *Latitudinarian*. He was not ſo in the odious Senſe, which Mr *Jurieu* puts upon the Word, in taking a *Latitudinarian* for a Kind of Atheiſt. But he was ſo, in ſome Degree. The manner, in which he explains the State of ſome of our Controverſies, with the Papiſts, and other Sectaries, about Juſtification, the Certainty of Salvation and other matters, is a Proof of it: And our Learned and Sincere Divines do not deny it.” Since Mr *Jurieu* replied nothing, I end the Remark here.

[*F*] *There is great Miſunderſtanding in This Conteſt.*] Conſider well the above-mentioned Words of Mr *de Beaulieu* (20). They inform us, that he believed the Inſpiration of the Holy Scriptures could not be *Mathematically demonſtrated*. Let us compare That with This Anſwer of Mr *Saurin*. “ If, by Mathematical Demonſtration, Mr *le Blanc* underſtands ſuch a Demonſtration, againſt which Fleſh and Blood can make no Objection, I acknowledge, that the Divinity of the Scripture cannot be Mathematically demonſtrated: but, notwithſtanding, it may be Morally demonſtrated, ſo as to remove all doubts, which is manifeſtly contrary to Mr *Jurieu*'s Principles (21).” The comparing of theſe two Paſſages ſhews, that Mr *de Beaulieu*, and Mr *Saurin*, teach the ſame Thing in the main. They both own, that the Divinity of the Scripture cannot be Mathematically proved: But you will ſay, does not Mr *Saurin* maintain, That it may be proved by Moral Demonſtration? I own it; but I ſhould be very much miſtaken, if he could prove, that Mr *le Blanc* did not teach the ſame Thing. I am ſure, That great Divine never denied, that the Proofs of the Divinity of the Scriptures are as ſtrong as Moral Demonſtration. He had no Intereſt in denying it; for, becauſe a Man owns, that a thing cannot be proved by Mathematical Demonſtration, it does not follow, that, if he argues well, he muſt acknowledge, that it cannot be Morally demonſtrated. Let us farther ſhew the Miſunderſtanding of This Diſpute. Mr *Saurin* fancies, that, according to the Principles of his Adverſary, the Proofs of the Divinity of the Scripture do not exclude all Manner of Doubt. This is full of Equivocation. His Adverſary does not pretend, that They, who perceive the weight and force of Thoſe Proofs, ought ſtill to entertain ſome doubt; he does not deprive them of full Certainty, and entire Perſuaſion. He pretends only, They do not ſee, that the contrary is impoſſible; as it appears to be in Things, which have been Mathematically demonſtrated. It happens daily, that we are fully convinced of a Thing, and have not the leaſt doubt about it, though we know, that the contrary is poſſible. A Traveller, lodging in an Inn, the Maſter of which he never knew, eats, without fear, what is ſet before him; He knows very well, that his Meat may be poiſoned, and that there is no Metaphyſical, Phyſical, or Moral Contradiction, in ſuppoſing, that his Meat has been mixed with Poiſon, by chance, or out of Malice. He is not ignorant, that ſuch things have been done; nevertheleſs, he is perſuaded, that he ought not to fear any thing in This Caſe; He eats with a full Perſuaſion, that he ſhall not be poiſoned. We have ſtill leſs doubt, when we eat at a Friend's Houſe; and, yet, we are convinced, that it is poſſible, the Meat may be poiſoned. Therefore a Divine muſt not be cenſured for ſaying, that we are perfectly convinced of the Truth of the Doctrine, which our Paſtors declare to us, though the Reaſons, on which they ground them, do not prove to us, that it is impoſſible the thing ſhould be otherwiſe. Let us remember, that Mr *Saurin* gives up all Pretenſion to Geometrical Proofs; He is ſatisfied with Moral Demonſtration, againſt which Fleſh and Blood only can raiſe any Objections. Now This is exactly his Adverſary's Doctrine; They quarrelled therefore for they knew not what. Mr *Jurieu* declares, that he has not ſaid any thing, which can imply, that he *excludes Conviction of Conſcience* (22); he maintains, that he has laid down, that the Characters of Divinity, which appear in the Revelation, “ Are able to produce a Kind of Certainty in a Man, who has any Equity, and is not prejudiced, without the Aſſiſtance of the Spirit of God. But, firſt of all, there are no Men in the World, who are not prejudiced. All, who are not yet converted, are full of the Prejudices of the Fleſh. Beſides, we do not require I know not what Certainty; but a Certainty, which ſurpaſſes all Certainty, even That of Sciences grounded on Demonſtration (23). —— Surely, Thoſe Characters are not ſuch as can produce, in a well-diſpoſed Mind, a Certainty of Speculation equal to the Certainty of Geometrical Sciences (24). —— He ſays, firſt, That there are none of Thoſe well-diſpoſed Minds in the World, before Grace. II. That a Man, of Equity, and no Prejudices, might obtain a Kind of Certainty of the Divinity of the Scriptures, even without Grace. III. That the Certainty, which we require, is a Certainty, which ſurpaſſes That of Geometrical Demonſtration (25).” Obſerve farther, That Mr *Jurieu* declares, that he meant, “ that Thoſe internal and external Characters, placed and ranged, by the Arts of Logic and Rhetoric, in the Works of our learned Men, by laying down, at firſt, ſelf-evident Principles, and leading the Mind from one Concluſion to another, make a better Proof to Reaſon, than common Moral Demonſtration; But that Theſe ſame Characters, nakedly propoſed, and without Art, do not make up Moral Demonſtration, eſpecially to the illiterate, who muſt be led by the Hand, and are not able to underſtand ſeveral Things, which require Study and Penetration. Moſt of our ſimple and illiterate People never conſider attentively That Demonſtration, which is called Moral. But Theſe ſame Characters, put together, which do not make up Moral Demonſtration to the Mind, eſpecially in the common Sort of People, form a Proof of *Sentiment*, which is beyond all Exception, and which is as lively as the Impreſſion of the Sun on the Eyes (26).” Thus theſe Gentlemen are at laſt of the ſame Opinion: The one does not pretend to any Mathematical Demonſtration, nor the other neither.

* Saurin, pag. 399.

(18) Saurin, Defence of the true Doctrine of the Reformed Church, *p.* 164, 165.

(19) Note, *that Mr* Saurin *has not ſaid, as his Adverſary ſuppoſes, and on which he grounds his Exclamations*, Thoſe, who know their, *A, B, C, but* Thoſe, who know the *A, B, C*, of the Art of Thinking. *The Suppreſſion of the laſt Words is unfair.*

(20) *Citat.* (14).

(21) Saurin's Examination of Mr *Jurieu*'s Theology, pag. 262, 263.

(22) Jurieu's Defence of the Univerſal Doctrine of the Church, pag. 341.

(23) Id. ib. pag. 344.

(24) Id. ib. pag. 345.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Id. ib. pag. 343.

ther. The latter is for Moral Demonſtration, which the other grants him. The moſt plauſible thing, which can be ſaid in Mr *Saurin*'s Favour, is, that, at firſt, Mr *Jurieu* did not well explain his Opinion, and that he ſeems not to have explained it, but by contradicting himſelf, according to cuſtom. I believe alſo, that, when he began to meditate on this Subject, he did not very well know the Nature of Moral Demonſtration. He formed too great an Idea of it; and This was, probably, the Reaſon, why he durſt not ſay, that the Proofs of the Divinity of the Scripture amounted to ſuch an high Degree of Evidence. If he had known the true Nature of This Kind of Demonſtration, he would have leſs expoſed himſelf. Moral Demonſtration does not lie, like Geometrical, in an indiviſible Point; It has a greater compaſs, and extends, from a Great Probability, to a very Great Probability. Theſe are it's bounds, and, conſequently, there is a great way to go from the Place, where our Proofs begin to be called Moral Demonſtration, to the place, where they begin to be called Phyſical, or Metaphyſical, or Geometrical, Demonſtration. Perhaps, That, which deceived Mr *Jurieu*, was his ſeeing, that the Certainty, and Evidence, with which we know, that there was ſuch a Man as *Julius Cæſar*, ſuch a Republic as *Rome*, &c. does not paſs for Science, but for Human Faith, for Opinion, and, at moſt, for the Effect of Moral Demonſtration; and, becauſe he did not ſee, that the Inſpiration of the Scripture could be proved by as convincing Reaſons, as Thoſe, which prove, that *Cicero* exiſted, he feared to ſay, that there was Moral Demonſtration for This Inſpiration. If he entertained ſuch a Thought, he did not know the true Nature of Things; for it is not true, that the Foundation of the Certainty and Evidence, with which we know, that there was a *Roman* Republic, is meer Moral Demonſtration, nor that our Perſuaſion in that Reſpect is an act of Human Faith, or Opinion: It is Science properly ſo called; it is the Concluſion of a Syllogiſm, whereof the Major and Minor are clearly and neceſſarily true Propoſitions. There is at leaſt Phyſical Demonſtration in it. The School Philoſophers were not ignorant of This. "Ille actus non eſt fidei, ſed ſcientificus; innititur enim non humano teſtimonio, ſed repugnantiæ phyſicæ, qua video non potuiſſe tot homines conveniſſe ad mentiendum. —— Ille aſſenſus oritur à duobus principiis, quæ non patiuntur diſſenſum. Primum eſt hoc: *impoſſibile eſt tot homines tot ſæculis convenire ad mentiendum.* Secundum eſt: *hoc dicunt tot homines tot ſæculis* (27). —— *This Act is not of Faith, but ſcientifical; for it depends not on human Teſtimony, but Phyſical Contradiction, by which I ſee, that ſo many Men could not conſpire in a Lye.* —— *This Aſſent ariſes from two Principles, which demand our Aſſent: The firſt is*: It is impoſſible ſo many Men ſhould, for ſo many Ages, agree in a Lye. *The ſecond is*; This is affirmed by ſo many Men for ſo many Ages." However it be, Mr *Jurieu* explained himſelf better at laſt.

(27) Petrus Hurtadus de Mendoza, Diſput. 8. de Anima §.iii, n. 24, pag. 570.

Reflexion on Mr *Saurin*'s attributing the Objections of Unbelievers to Fleſh and Blood.

Let us take notice of Mr *Saurin*'s Remark, That, "if, by Mathematical Demonſtration, Mr *le Blanc* underſtands a Demonſtration, againſt which Fleſh and Blood can raiſe no Objection, he acknowledges, that the Divinity of the Scripture cannot be mathematically demonſtrated." It were to be wiſhed, that we had a general Rule to diſtinguiſh the Objections, which proceed only from Fleſh and Blood; for each Chriſtian Sect aſcribes the Objections, which are made by Others, to That Principle, and ſo the Ball is toſſed back again, and the Diſputants are ſo far from deciding a Controverſy, by maintaining, that a Doctrine is only oppoſed by Difficulties, ſuggeſted by Fleſh and Blood, that it is an everlaſting Diſpute, whether a Difficulty, or an Objection, proceeds from ſuch a Principle. I add, that there are ſome Truths, againſt which the moſt prejudiced, and moſt paſſionate, Men will not diſpute, though it be never ſo much their Intereſt to oppoſe them. *Porphyry*, a great Enemy of the Chriſtian Religion, and a great Zealot for Paganiſm, did not deny certain matters of Fact, alledged by the Chriſtians. The Intereſt of his Cauſe required, that he ſhould deny them; for it is a very great Advantage, in a Diſpute, to reject both the Matters of Fact, and the Conſequences of them. Mr *Saurin*, who is fully perſuaded, that the Objections, which the Reformed alledge againſt the Church of *Rome*, do not proceed from Fleſh and Blood, knows very well, that, when the Queſtion is about ſome Miracle, wrought by Relicks, They deny the Fact, and add, That, though the Miracle ſhould be certain, it would not prove the worſhiping of Relicks to be lawful. So that, according to the beſt Laws of Diſputation, carefully obſerved by the Orthodox, *Porphyry* might have thought himſelf obliged not only to deny the Conſequences of the Facts, alledged by the Chriſtians, but the very Facts themſelves. Fleſh and Blood, I mean his Prejudices, and Paſſions, might lead him to it; for the more things we require our Adverſaries to prove, the more we puzzle and tire them. How comes it, then, that That Enemy of JESUS CHRIST did not deny certain Facts alledged by the Apoſtles? Is it not becauſe they could be ſupported by much clearer Reaſons, than Thoſe, which he alledged for what he denied? I decide nothing: it will ſuffice to ſay, that ſometimes Fleſh and Blood lay down their Arms, and ſubmit to a Light, which does not pleaſe them.

(28) Saurin's Examination of Mr *Jurieu*'s Theology, pag. 262.

BEAUMONT (FRANCIS *de*) Baron *Des-Adrets*, was one of the Noblemen of *France*, whoſe Courage and Military Actions made the greateſt Noiſe in the Religious Wars, under the Reign of *Charles* IX. He was of *Dauphiné*, and had learned the Profeſſion of Arms in *Piedmont*, which was the beſt, and moſt famous, School of War in that Age. It is pretended, that the Deſire of revenging himſelf of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who had been againſt him in a Law-Suit *(a)*, made him declare for Thoſe of the Proteſtant Religion *(b)*. They add, that *Catherine de Medicis* wrote a Letter to him to excite him to Revenge, and even that ſhe permitted him to make uſe of the *Huguenots*, that he might the better ruin That Duke's Authority in *Dauphiné*. The Duke of *Guiſe*, Governour of That Province, had made *la Mothe Gondrin* his Lieutenant there: he was his Creature, and a Gentleman of great Courage *(c)*. *Des-Adrets*, judging, that he could not begin his Undertakings more ſucceſsfully, than by ridding himſelf of That Gentleman, practiſed upon ſome People in *Valence*, and managed his Intelligence in ſuch a manner, that *la Mothe Gondrin*, overwhelmed by the Sedition, which was raiſed in That City, was ſtabbed, there, in cold Blood. So that *Valence* was the firſt Town, which the Baron made himſelf maſter of, and where his Dignity was increaſed; for, whereas he was before Colonel of the Legionaries of *Lyonnois*, *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, and *Languedoc (d)*, he was choſen, the next day after the Sedition *(e)*, Adminiſtrator of Affairs, *till the Prince of* Condé*'s farther Declaration.* From That Time, he over-run all the Country, and, underſtanding, that the Proteſtant Party had made themſelves Maſters of *Lyons*, he went thither, and aſſumed all the Authority to himſelf [*A*], without much inquiring,

(a) *It was a Law-Suit againſt the* Vidame *of* Amiens. *See Remark* [*L*].

(b) Allard's Life of the Baron *Des-Adrets, cited by* Maimbourg, Hiſt. of Calvaniſm.

(c) Varillas, Hiſtory of *Charles IX.*

(d) Beza, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. xi. pag. 221.

(e) Apr. 28, 1562.

[*A*] *He aſſumed, at* Lyons, *all the Authority.*] Notwithſtanding the Pains *Varillas* took to trace all the Steps of *Des-Adrets*, he was miſtaken as to the Government of *Lyons*. He always built on This Foundation, that, as ſoon as That City declared for the Reformed, the Prince of *Condé* ſent Mr *de Soubiſe* ring, whether it would be acceptable. With Five hundred Men, he defeated the Three thouſand, which *St Vital* brought with him into the Neighbourhood of That City, to ravage the Country; he ranſacked *le Forez*, ſecured *Grenoble*, where he compelled the whole Parliament to go and hear a Proteſtant Sermon; he plundered and burnt the great Charter-Houſe; ſeized on *Pont St Eſprit*; entered, like Thunder, into the Country of *Avignon*; and had, doubtleſs, taken the chief City of it, to treat it as the Pope's Troops had treated the City of *Orange*, had he not been informed, within a League of *Avignon*, that the Catholics had made themſelves Maſters of *Grenoble*. He marched That way immediately, and ſpread ſuch a Terror among the Catholic Troops, that *Maugiron*, who commanded them, fled into *Savoy*, and durſt not return into *Dauphiné*. *Grenoble* was ſoon reduced under our Baron's Power, who treated That City more kindly, than they had reaſon to expect. He was much more barbarous in other Places [*B*], which he ſeized by main Force, and where he exerciſed great Cruelties by way of Repriſals [*C*]. The Victory, which he obtained, againſt the Count *de Suz*, at *Vaureas*, made him Maſter of *Orange*, and of the County of *Venaiſſin*, and made *Avignon* tremble a ſecond time. He defeated all the Pope's Troops; he entered into *Provence*; and overthrew all that appeared againſt him. Nevertheleſs, there were ſome Diſappointments, or private Jealouſies, which made him fail of relieving *Ciſteron*. This Diſgrace was followed by ſome others: The Duke of *Nemours*, after the ill Succeſs of the Siege of *Lyons*, won two Battles againſt the Baron *Des-Adrets*; but durſt not engage with him a third time; and

to be Governour there (1): for, when he ſpeaks of the firſt Diſcontent of *Des-Adrets*, he ſays, *it proceeded from the News, that* Soubiſe *was entered into* Lyons (2). This ſuppoſes, that, after having commanded there for ſome time, he left That Poſt, and that *Des-Adrets* ſucceeded him, but that *Soubiſe* was ſent thither again to the Excluſion of his Succeſſor. This Hiſtorian is miſtaken; The firſt, who commanded in the City of *Lyons*, after it had declared for the *Cauſe*, was the Baron *Des-Adrets* (3): *Soubiſe* was not ſent thither, but when he was thought to be a fitter Man for That Poſt, than the Baron; and he continued in it 'till the Peace. *Varillas* would have known this Gradation, had he conſidered well his own Words: "*Des-Adrets, ſays he,* - - - approaching *Lyons*, under Pretence of bringing a ſpeedy Succour to the Calviniſts of That great City, who had luckily ſeized upon it, flattered them ſo, that he perſwaded them to obey him, and to write to the Prince of *Condé*, that they ſhould be very well pleaſed to have him for their Governour (4)." I add, that *Maimbourg* (5), and his Copier (6), are miſtaken, when they ſay, that *Des-Adrets* ſeized on *Vienne*, and *Grenoble*, before he ſeized on *Lyons*. It is certain, that the firſt thing he did, after having made himſelf Maſter of *Valence*, was to haſten to *Lyons*, which he knew the Proteſtants had ſeized, three Days after the Sedition of *Valence* (7). Mr *Allard* did not know This Fact: he places the Expedition to *Lyons* after the Conqueſt of *Vienne*, which, as he ſays, happened after the Reduction of *Grenoble* (8).

[*B*] *He was very barbarous in ſeveral Places.*] For example; he treated the Garriſon of *Montbriſſon*, which had ſurrendered at Diſcretion, very cruelly. They repreſented to him, in vain, the Laws of Humanity; he would divert himſelf with ſeeing Thoſe miſerable Soldiers precipitated: they were brought to the Top of the Platform, above the Tower. Thoſe, who had not the Courage to precipitate themſelves, were caſt down headlong; and not ſo much as their Chief (9) was pardoned. Only one Soldier was ſaved. Twice he took a run from one end of the Platform to the other, as if he deſigned to leap farther, but ſtopt ſhort on the brink of the Precipice. *Des-Adrets* ſaid to him, with a ſharp Tone, It was enough to have twice ſounded the Ford: the Soldier replied, boldly, *That he would give him four times to do it.* Theſe Words ſoftened the Baron's ill Humour in ſuch a Manner, that he gave the brisk Fellow quarter, who durſt make uſe of his Jeſts in ſuch a preſſing Extremity (10). Some ſay (11), that the Baron's Soldiers, as barbarous as their General, received Thoſe, who were thrown down from the Tower, with horrid Cries, and Shouts, on the Points of their Halberts, and Pikes. *Caſtelnau Mauviſſiere* relates, in this Manner, the Cruelty, which he pretends *Des-Adrets* uſed in another Place (12). "About Two hundred Catholics, *ſays he* (13), who had compounded to ſurrender the Town, retired into the Caſtle, thinking, that the Capitulation would be kept. Nevertheleſs, the Baron *Des-Adrets* cauſed them to be thrown down headlong from the Top of the Caſtle, notwithſtanding the public Faith, which was ſworn, ſaying, That it was to revenge the Cruelty, committed at *Orange*. Some of Them, who were thrown down out of the Windows, from a very great Heighth, laying hold of the Bars, the ſaid Baron *Des-Adrets*, very unhumanly, cauſed their Fingers to be cut off. One of Thoſe, who were precipitated, falling down from the Top of the Caſtle, which was ſituated on a great Rock, chanced to take hold of a Branch of a Tree, which he would not let go: they ſhot, and threw many Stones, at him, but could not hit him. The Baron, wondering at it, ſaved his Life; and he eſcaped, as it were by a Miracle. When I was in *Dauphiné*, I went to ſee the Place with the Queen-Mother; He, who was ſaved, was ſtill living near That Place." *D'Aubigné* aſcribes the taking of *Mornac* to *Montbrun*, Lieutenant of *Des-Adrets*, and obſerves, that *Montbrun* endeavoured, in vain, to moderate the Slaughter; that one of Thoſe, who were thrown down, "continued hanging on ſome Branches, and that ſome Soldiers having ſhot at him, without wounding him, *Montbrun* ſaved him, and made him ſerviceable to him (14)." He ſays alſo, that Thoſe of *Orange* "placed ſeveral dead Bodies on Floats, and let them go down the River *Rhone* to *Avignon*, with theſe Words written on their Breaſts, "*Toll-Gatherers of* Avignon, *ſtop not theſe Tormentors; for they have paid Tribute at* Mornac." All theſe Facts are taken from *Beza*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (15), which ſhews plainly, that *Des-Adrets* was not the Author of what was done in *Mornac*. So that the Supplement to *Moreri* muſt be corrected by This, as well as the Memoirs of *Caſtelnau*, and *Maimbourg*'s Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*.

[*C*] *He was cruel, by way of Repriſal.*] Here we muſt take notice of a great Falſity of *Maimbourg*. After having mentioned the Cruelties of *Des-Adrets*, he adds theſe Words; "There were indeed ſome Catholics, who, being juſtly incenſed at ſo many horrid Crimes, abuſed the Right of Repriſals, and treated them almoſt in the ſame Manner, of their own Authority; but there were but few, who periſhed ſo (16)." He ſuppoſes, then, that *Des-Adrets* began to excerciſe Theſe Barbarities, and that the Catholics only followed his Example, and made uſe of them by way of Repriſals. But this is either groſs Ignorance, or prodigious Inſincerity; for Hiſtorians, leaſt ſuſpected of Partiality towards thoſe of the Proteſtant Religion, confeſs ingenuouſly, that the Cruelties, which were exerciſed at *Orange*, preceeded Thoſe of *Des-Adrets*. Do but read *Varillas*'s Hiſtory of *Charles* IX (17), and you will find there, that, before the Leaps of *Mornac* and *Montbriſſon*, the Catholics had exerciſed the moſt enormous Cruelties at *Orange*, and particularly That of precipitating People from the Tops of Rocks, or on Pikes and Halberts. See the Article SERBELLON (FABRICIUS), where I mention Theſe ſtrange Barbarities

CONFUTATION of *Maimbourg*.

(1) Varillas's Hiſtory of *Charles* IX, Tom. I, pag. 183.

(2) Id. pag. 213.

(3) *See* d'Aubigné, Tom. I, pag. 203, *and* Beza, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. xi, pag, 222, & ſeq.

(4) Varillas, pag. 200.

(5) Maimb. Hiſt. of *Calvin.* p. 273.

(6) Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary.

(7) Beza ibid. pag. 221, *and Book* 12, pag. 255, & ſeq.

(8) Allard's Life of *Des-Adrets*, pag. 42, *and* 39, *cited by* Maimb. Hiſt. of Calviniſm.

(9) *A brave Man, whoſe Name was* Moncelas.

(10) *See* Varillas. Charl. IX, Tom. I, pag. 212.

(11) Allard, ubi ſupra.

(12) *At* Mornac, *in the County of* Venaiſſin.

(13) Caſtelnau, Memoir. lib. iv. cap. 2.

(14) D'Aubigné, Hiſt. Univ. Vol. I. pag. 207.

(15) *Book* 12, p. 271.

(16) Maimb. Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, lib. iv, pag. 275, *Edit.* Holl.

(17) Tom. I, p. 203, 204.

and found it more proper to uſe Artifices, to induce This formidable Leader of the Proteſtants to change ſides [*D*]. They endeavoured to prevail upon him by Promiſes, and Threats [*E*]; they ſhewed him, that he had great Enemies in his Party [*F*]: At laſt, they ſtaggered him in ſuch a manner, that his Conduct became more and more ſuſpected by the Prince of *Condé*, and the Admiral. The Concluſion was, that they ſecured his Perſon [*G*], at *Romans*, the Tenth of *January*, 1563 (*f*). He did not come out of Priſon, but by the Treaty of Peace, which was concluded the

(*f*) Varillas, Hiſtory of *Charles* IX.

Barbarities. *Caſtelnau*, whom I have already quoted, makes uſe of this memorable Reflexion; “ Indeed it “ ſeemed, that, by a Judgment of GOD, *the Cruelties* were reciprocal on both ſides; and *Orange* “ was thought to be the Foundation of Thoſe, which “ were committed by the *Huguenots*, in cold Blood, “ in *Dauphiné*.” Let us not forget the Baron's Anſwer to his Officers, when they repreſented to him the Injuſtice he was going to commit, and the Evils, which it might draw on their Party. “ He replied, with a Face, whoſe natural Deformity was much increaſed by Fury, that the Puniſhment, which he was going to inflict, was neceſſary to ſtop the Cruelty of the Catholics, and “ that, in order to reduce them to the Laws of a “ fair War, which they had firſt violated at the taking “ of *Orange*, it was neceſſary they ſhould know, “ that the Calviniſts could wage a cruel War, as well “ as themſelves (18).” *Varillas*, who *ridicules Theſe two Excuſes*, could not confute him as to theſe Words, *which they had firſt violated at the taking of* Orange, ſince he had already obſerved, of himſelf, “ that the “ Baron heard of the Cruelties, committed at *Orange*, “ with thoſe inward Tranſports of Joy, which a “ bloody Man is capable of, when an unexpected “ Accident gives him an Opportunity of committing “ all manner of Exceſſes, without being reproached for “ having been the Aggreſſor (19).” I refer my Reader to the Anſwers, which *Des-Adrets* made to *d'Aubigné*, who asked him, one day, three things: “ Why he “ had committed ſome Cruelties ſo ill becoming his “ great Valour? Why he had forſaken a Party, to “ which he was ſo much indebted: and, then, why “ he had no Succeſs in any thing, ſince he had forſaken That Party, though he had acted againſt “ it (20)?” He anſwered, to the firſt Point, “ That “ no body commits a Cruelty in returning one; “ that the firſt are called Cruelties, and the ſecond “ Juſtice. Having, thereupon, made an horrible Diſcourſe, of above Four thouſand Murthers, committed in cold Blood, and of the Invention of unheard “ of Torments, and chiefly of the Leaps of *Maſcon*, “ where the Governour taught the very Children to “ ſee the *Huguenots* die without Pity, he ſaid, that “ he had ſerved them ſomething like it, having Regard to the Time paſt, and to the Time to come: “ with Reſpect to the Time paſt, not being able to “ endure, without great Cowardice, the tearing in “ pieces his faithful Companions; and, as for the Time “ to come, there were two Reaſons, which no Captain can diſapprove; the one, that the only Means “ to put a ſtop to the Cruelties of an Enemy, is to “ return them the like (21); whereupon he mentioned Three hundred Horſemen, ſent back, ſome “ time ago, to the Enemies Army, on Waggons, “ having each of them a Hand, and a Foot, cut off, “ to change a mercileſs War into a courteous one.” All his other Anſwers are full of Senſe; to which I refer my Readers as I have ſaid already, contenting myſelf to obſerve, here, I. That Theſe *Leaps of* Maſcon are to be found in the Article of That City. II. That our Baron juſtified himſelf more faintly to the Duke *de Nemours*, than to *d'Aubigné*. See the following Remark.

[*D*] *The Duke* de Nemours *uſed Artifice.*] If we may believe *Varillas*, the Duke *de Nemours* prevented *Des-Adrets*, by writing a Letter to him, *deſiring him to treat two* Italian *Soldiers, who were fallen into his Hands, as Priſoners of War* (22). But *Beza* ſays, the Baron wrote firſt to the Duke, to deſire him to ſet at Liberty two *Italian* Soldiers (23). There is no queſtion but that *Varillas* is miſtaken; for *Des-Adrets*'s Letter, ſet down at length in *Beza*'s Hiſtory, begins with the Requeſt of the Liberty of Thoſe two *Italian* Soldiers. *Varillas* has commited another Fault; for he does not faithfully report the Subſtance of That Letter: he pretends, that the Baron *imputed the bloody Executions of* Vaureas, Boulenne, *and* Pierrelate, *to the Neceſſity of obliging the Catholics to a fair War with the Calviniſts, whom they hanged as faſt as they took them*; and that he added, *that, after having obtained this Point, ſo neceſſary to his Party, that he could hardly find any Soldiers before, he obſerved exactly the Military Laws, which had learned in* Piedmont. There is nothing like This in *Des-Adrets*'s Letter; he only confeſſes, that, at *Pierrelate* and *Boulenne*, two Towns, which he had taken by Aſſault, *he could not, to his great Grief*, with-hold *the Soldiers from taking their Revenge on Four or Five hundred Men, whom they found there.* His Apology does not conſiſt in alledging juſt and neceſſary Motives of his Cruelties, nor in ſaying, that, having attained the end, for which he had commited them, he deſiſted from them; he only denies them; and he does it, as *Beza* obſerves, *in a very faint and ſoft Stile. Varillas* ſays truly, that the Duke *de Nemours*, apprehending by That Letter, that *Des-Adrets* was diſcontented, cauſed a Conference to be propoſed to him, which was accepted.

[*E*] *They endeavoured to prevail with him by Promiſes.*] They wrote very civilly to him (24), and, after having repreſented to him, that the way, he took, would infallibly lead him to a Confiſcation of Body and Eſtate, they tempted him with a Promiſe of the Collar of the Order, and with That of a Company of fifty Men at Arms, with the Sum of an Hundred thouſand *Livres*; and, if he choſe to live out of the Kingdom, they engaged themſelves to ſend him the Sum of an Hundred thouſand Crowns. The Duke *de Nemours* uſed all manner of Promiſes and Flatteries, when he conferred with *Des-Adrets*.

[*F*] *They repreſented to him, that he had great Enemies in his Party.*] The Marſhal *de Briſſac* communicated a Letter of the Admiral to him, which he had received in the following Manner. *Soubiſe*, who ſuſpected *Des-Adrets*, had acquainted the Admiral with it; the Soldier, who carried the Letter, was intruſted with an Anſwer to it; but, inſtead of carrying it to *Soubiſe*, he brought it to the Marſhal *de Briſſac* (25). Here are the Contents of it, as far as they relate to This Baron; “ As to what you write “ to me, concerning the Baron *Des-Adrets*, every “ Body knows him to be what he is; but, ſince he “ has, hitherto, ſerved ſo well in This Cauſe, “ we muſt bear his Inſolence a little; for it is to “ be feared, that his Inſolence may be changed into “ Fury. Wherefore my Opinion is, that you uſe “ your Endeavours to bring him to a Conference, “ and bear with him as much as you can.”

[*G*] *They ſecured his Perſon.*] Here is a Paſſage of *Caſtelnau*'s Memoirs. “ The Duke *de Nemours*, knowing *Des-Adrets* to be a good Captain, and a Perſon of great Credit and Reputation, thought it “ more expedient for the King's Service to gain “ him over, than to oppoſe him by Force; which “ he did ſo dexterouſly, with fair Promiſes, and “ ſmooth Words, (as being a very perſuaſive Prince, “ and who always knew how to prevail upon Men “ by his winning Addreſs) that the *Huguenots* never “ had, ſince, a greater Enemy in That Country, than “ This Baron, who began, from that time, to contrive Miſchief againſt them. The *Huguenots*, being very vigilant, had notice of it; for they had “ Spies every where. Which was the Reaſon, why “ the Baron *Des-Adrets*, being gone to *Valence*, “ was taken Priſoner by *Mouvans*, (by Advice of “ Cardinal *de Chatillon*, and of the Sieur *de Curſol*, “ ſince made Duke of *Uſez*,) who ſent him to *Nîmes*, where he was in very great Danger, and “ would hardly have eſcaped with Life, had it not “ been for the Peace; by Virtue of which he was “ ſet at Liberty (26).” See the twelfth Book of *Beza*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, where the Detention of *Des-Adrets* is mentioned at large. “ After divers Interrogations and Anſwers —— Peace intervening, “ he was releaſed, and ſent to his Houſe, without any “ Abſolution or Condemnation.” Theſe are *Beza*'s Words (27).

[*H*] *He*

How *Des-Adrets* juſtified his Cruelties.

(18) Varill. Hiſtory of *Charles* IX, pag. 211.

(19) Pag. 204.

(20) D'Aubigné, Vol. I, Book iii, chap. 9, pag. 216, *Edit.* 1626.

(21) *Admiral* Coligni *had taken this Method to correct the* Engliſh. *See the Application that was made of this, in the* New Letters againſt *Maimbourg*'s Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, Tom. I, pag. 188, 196.

(22) Varill. Charl. IX, Tom. I, pag. 272.

(23) Beza, Eccleſ. Hiſt. Tom. III, pag. 292.

(24) *It was the Marſhal* de Briſſac, *who wrote to him.* Theod. Beza *publiſhed his Letter*, Hiſt. Eccleſ. *pag.* 291.

(25) Beza, ibid.

(26) Caſtelnau's Memoirs, *Book* 4, *chap.* 11.

(27) Beza Hiſt. Eccleſ. Book xi, p. 306, 307.

the ſame Year; and then he profeſſed his firſt Religion, and, afterwards, bore Arms againſt the other; but without any Succeſs or Glory [*H*]; for which he is not the only Perſon, who has given very bad Reaſons (*g*). This General ſhewed no longer the ſame Vigilancy, Activity, Intrepidity, and Preſence of Mind, which had been admired as Prodigies, whilſt he ſerved the *Cauſe*. All Thoſe great Qualities, and the Victories, which he obtained over the Papiſts, did not hinder the Proteſtants from looking upon him as a *Goliah*, who *diſhonoured the Batiles of* Iſrael, by his barbarous Conduct [*I*]. *He died without Honour, in an ignominious Old-Age, equally deſpiſed by both Parties* (*h*); much unlike That Baron *Des-Adrets*, *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* who had been dreaded as far as *Rome* (*i*); for they were apprehenſive there, that

(*g*) *See Remark* [*H*].

(*h*) Maimb. Hiſt. of Calviniſm, *pag.* 275. *See Rem.* [*K*].

(*i*) Brantome's Elogy of *Monluc.*

[*H*] *He ſerved in the Catholic Party, without any Succeſs, or Glory.*] See, here, what is to be found in the ſame Hiſtorian. "Being fallen ſo low, He (28) "went yet farther, ſince; having born Arms againſt "Thoſe of the Reformed Religion, as well in *Dauphiné*, as in other Parts of *France*, being Colonel "of a Regiment of Foot, in which he got nothing "but Shame, with ſuch a loſs of his Reputation, "that he was never ſince employed, but remained "in his Houſe, a Spectator of other Men's Miſeries "(29)." *D'Aubigné* ſays, that he was defeated, when the Army of the Duke of *Deux Ponts* entered *France*, in the Year 1569 (30). He ſays, elſewhere (31), that, at *Lyons*, at the return of the King of *Poland*, an Uſher refuſed Admittance to *Des-Adrets*; and it was on this Occaſion, that He asked him the three Queſtions, mentioned before (32). He deſired to know of the Baron, why he had ſo little Succeſs in the Catholic Armies. "Child, *anſwered he, with a Sigh* (33), "nothing is too hot for a Captain, who has no more "Intereſt in the Victory, than his Soldiers: With "the *Huguenots*, I had Soldiers; and, ſince, I have "had none but Merchants, who think on nothing "but Money: The others feared nothing, and were "full of Revenge, Paſſion, and Honour; I could "not keep in the Reins of the firſt; but the latter "have worn out my Spurs." To ſpeak the Truth, Theſe Reaſons are very weak; and, to confute them invincibly, it would be ſufficient to refer the Readers to the great Number of general, and particular, Battles, in which the Proteſtants Troops were beaten. What! were not the Papiſt Soldiers *full of Revenge and Paſſion?* Did they not hear continually their Prieſts, who exhorted them to take Vengeance of the *Huguenots*, for their plundering and prophaning of Churches? is there any thing, which inſpires more Fury, than ſuch Diſcourſes? What ſhall we ſay of the Decrees (34), "which permitted all manner of "Perſons, and even ordered all Communities to fall "upon the *Huguenots*, at the ringing of the Alarm-"Bell, to purſue them ſtrenuouſly every where, and "and to kill them without Mercy, as ſo many wild "Beaſts, mad Dogs, and Wolves, that deſtroyed "all the Kingdom: So that, through the Crimes of "one Party, and the Revenge of the other, there was "nothing to be ſeen, in all the Provinces of *France*, but "Burnings, Blood, and Slaughter, and a Thouſand frightful Images of Death?" Could the Catholic Soldiers be free from Paſſion and Revenge amidſt ſuch diſmal Objects? Was it more neceſſary to uſe Spurs for them, than Reins for the *Huguenots? Monluc* and *Tavanes*, and ſeveral other Commanders of the ſame Party, make it appear, that it was the Baron *Des-Adrets*'s own Fault. At the Bottom, he did the Proteſtants more wrong, than he thought: and the Biſhop of *Meaux* knew how to take advantage of the Diſpoſition, he aſcribed to them, of having been full of Paſſion, and Revenge (35). But here is another Reaſon more falſe, than That which he gave to *d'Aubigné*. "Never "any Man acquired ſo great a Reputation in ſo ſhort "a Time; and never any great Commander loſt it "ſooner: For the Duke *de Nemours*, who was ſent "againſt him, and who could not defeat him by "open Force, had no ſooner brought him over to "his Party, but they repreſented him as the weakeſt, "and moſt unfortunate, Officer, of the Royal, and "Catholic, Party. Not but that he had always the "ſame Valour, and Experience; but there is a great "Difference between fighting for, and againſt, one's "King: For every thing is permitted in a Revolt; "and a Commander ſhews himſelf ſuch as he is; "whereas, in the Service of his Prince, he muſt appear ſuch as he ought to be; and he is more ſubject to Military Diſcipline. In effect, the Baron "*Des-Adrets* was as furious, as valiant; he ſignalized "himſelf more by the Terror of his Arms, than by "the Reputation of his Conduct; and he made more "Noiſe, than other Men of his Quality, becauſe "he was more cruel, and dreadful. In the King's "Army, they would not have ſuffered his Fury; "and the Law of Repriſals was ſo punctually obſerved, that both Parties were obliged to keep "Faith, and to wage a fair War (36)." Though it be my Intereſt to find Faults in Authors, ſince They are ſo many Materials for my Work, I am truly concerned, that ſo judicious a Perſon, as Mr *le Laboureur*, ſhould have publiſhed ſuch bad Reaſoning. Ask him, Why *Des-Adrets* was a great Commander during his Proteſtantiſm, and a very pitiful Officer in his Catholiciſm? He will anſwer you; it is *becauſe, in a Revolt, a Man does all that he can do; but, in a lawful War, all that he ought to do.* There was never a more falſe Maxim, or more injudiciouſly applied, than This; ſince it is certain, that, in a Civil-War, the King's Party acts with more Boldneſs, and Confidence, than the Other: For the rebellious Party, finding itſelf ſufficiently odious, will not begin the Breach of Military Diſcipline, the Violation of Capitulations, Slaughters in cold Blood, againſt the public Faith, *&c.* It is the Prince's Party, which gives itſelf more Liberty, in that reſpect, pretending to have only to do with People convicted of Felony, and actually under Sentence of Death: It ſeldom makes a fair War, but when the other Party reſolves to uſe Repriſals. At leaſt, Matters ſtood ſo in the Religious Wars, under *Charles* IX, and, conſequently, This Maxim was very ill applied. Beſides, I wonder, that Mr *le Laboureur* did not take notice of the Paſſage of *Brantome*, which he quoted a little after. That Paſſage is a Parallel between our Baron, and *Monluc*, wherein, though *Brantome* makes the latter a little leſs cruel, than the other, he ſays, nevertheleſs, that they might be compared in all things, *both very brave, and valiant, both very capricious, both very cruel; both Companions in* Piedmont; *and both very good Captains.* According to Mr *le Laboureur*'s Maxim, *Des-Adrets* would never have acquired the Reputation of a great Captain, if he had always ſerved his Prince: Why, then, did *Monluc* acquire That Reputation, or why did he preſerve, and perfectly maintain, it, even when, according to Mr *le Laboureur*, a fair War, and the Law of Repriſals, were punctually obſerved? Why then did *Des-Adrets* loſe all his Reputation, ſince That of *Monluc* was not leſſened?

(28) *That is, The Baron* Des-Adrets.

(29) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib xii. pag. 307.

(30) D'Aubigné, Tom. I. pag. 403.

(31) Ibid. pag. 215.

(32) *In Remark* [*C*].

(33) D'Aubigné, Tom. I. pag. 217.

A PASSAGE of *D'Aubigné* criticiſed.

(34) Maimbourg, Hiſt. of Calviniſm *pag.* 276.

(35) *See Mr* de Meaux's Hiſt. of the Variations, lib. x. n. 39.

A CRITICISM on a Paſſage of Mr *Le Laboureur.*

(36) Le Laboureur, *Addit. to* Caſteln. Tom. II. pag. 23.

[*I*] *The Proteſtants diſapproved of —— his barbarous Conduct.*] Beſides what has been already ſaid on this Subject (37), I ſhall obſerve, here, that it was ſaid, *that he taught his Children to be cruel, and to bathe themſelves in Blood* (38). *The eldeſt, who was afterwards a Catholic, was very buſy in the Maſſacre of* Paris. He died *at the Siege of* Rochel, *with Contrition for the great quantity of Blood, that he had ſhed.* The Proteſtants are little concerned, whether This Hear-ſay of *Brantome* be true, or not; for They were the firſt, who condemned This Baron's cruel Diſpoſition (39). But every Body is concerned not to ſuffer the Licence of Him, who publiſhed the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary: He ſays, *That, after a great Slaughter,* Des-Adrets *made his two Sons bathe themſelves in the Blood of the Catholics.* Father *Maimbourg* ſupplied him with This Gloſs (40). Both of them ſhould be told, that they ought not to take ſo great a Latitude in their Paraphraſes. Their Witneſs, grounded on a Hear-ſay, made uſe only of the Word *Blood.* What right had they to pretend, that he ſpoke of *Human Blood?* Do not Butchers contract an Habit of Cruelty, by the effuſion of the Blood of Beaſts?

(37) *In Remark* [*B*].

(38) Brantome's Apology of *Monluc.*

(39) *See* Beza's Hiſt. Eccl. lib. xi. pag. 221.

THE Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary criticiſed.

(40) Hiſt. of Calviniſm, *pag.* 274.

A Writer,

that he would fit out a Fleet, to pay the Pope a Viſit. We ſhall ſpeak of his Children in one of our Remarks [*K*].

Here is a Supplement, which I borrow from a Work, which I have read ſince the firſt Volume of This Dictionary was printed off. The Baron *Des-Adrets*, being but fifteen Years of Age, was One of the Two hundred Gentlemen of *Dauphiné*, who were in the Army, which *Odet du Foix*, Lord of *Lautrec*, commanded in *Italy*, in the Year 1527 *(k)*. He ſignalized himſelf every-where. In 1532, he obtained the Standard of the Company *of the Lord Depuy S. Martin, Lieutenant in the Government of* Provence *(l)*. He had ſome Diſpute with *George d'Urre de Venterol*, to whom That Company was given *in the Year* 1537, *and who* hindered him from obtaining the Lieutenancy *(m)*. This diſpleaſed him *ſo much, that he proteſted he would ſerve no more, and retired to his Father in* Dauphiné. Some time after, he went to *Turin*, to his Uncle *Boutieres (n)*, General of the Army of *Piedmont*, who *left him the Conduct of ſome Legionaries of That Province, which made part of the Garriſon of the Town. He continued in this Employ till the Diſgrace of* Boutieres, *which happened in* 1544, *and which obliged the Uncle and Nephew to retire into* Dauphiné *(o)*. A long Sickneſs hindered our Baron, above three Years, from bearing Arms. He had a Troop of Horſe under the Marſhal *de Briſſac*, Lieutenant-General for the King in *Italy (p)*, and was afterwards made *Colonel-General of the Legionaries of* Dauphiné *(q)*. He received three Wounds, at the Siege of *Vulpian*, in the Year 1555. The Charge of Colonel of the Legionaries of *Provence*, *Lyonnois*, and *Auvergne*, was given him; and he led them, with thoſe of *Dauphiné*, to the Duke of *Guiſe*, at *Turin*, in the Year 1557 *(r)*. He loſt his Baggage, and his Liberty, at the taking of *Moncalve*, in the Year 1558 *(s)*, and accuſed *Pequigni*, who was Governour there, of the Loſs of that Town. He cited him before the King, and loſt his Cauſe [*L*]. His Reſentment, for

A Writer, who quotes an Author, ſhould keep religiouſly to his Expreſſions, and not commit the Sophiſm, *à dicto ſimpliciter ad dictum ſecundum quid.* Let him conjecture, if he pleaſes; but he ought not to give his Conjectures as matter of Fact.

[*K*] *We ſhall ſpeak of his Children in one of our Remarks.*] *Brantome*, whom we have quoted concerning the eldeſt, ſays, That there was a younger, who was the King's Page; but *Beza* will tell us more Circumſtances about him. "The greateſt Evil, *ſays he, ſpeaking of This Baron* (41), was, that, growing worſe and worſe after this, he forſook the Reformed Religion, and carried his Children to Maſs; the eldeſt of which, having been bred up in *Germany*, during the Troubles at the Court of the Elector *Palatine*, became, ſoon after, one of the moſt vitious young Men in *France*; but GOD did not let him live long. The other two were Twins, and were born at *Geneva* during the Troubles, to one of which *John Calvin* was God-Father." Mr *Allard* relates, that He, who had been the King's Page, and of whom he mentions a very bold Action, "was involved in the Maſſacre on St *Bartholomew*'s Day (42). *Davila* ſays, in his fifth Book of the Civil-Wars of *France*, that the two Sons were called, the one Colonel *Montaumor*, and the other Colonel *Rouvray*, and that one of them was killed in the Maſſacre on St *Bartholomew*'s Day. The other died of Sickneſs (43)." Let us relate the bold Action of the Page. "The King ordered him one Day to call his Chancellor; This Page found him at Dinner; and, having told him, that the King would ſpeak with him, and the Chancellor having anſwered, that, after he had dined, he would go and receive the King's Orders: *How!* ſaid the Page, *will you defer one Moment, when the King commands you?* And, thereupon, he took one end of the Table-cloth, and threw all that was upon it to the Ground. This Story was told the King by the Chancellor himſelf, and his Majeſty, laughing, ſaid only, that the Son would be as violent and paſſionate as the Father (44)." Obſerve, that this Writer has not well apprehended theſe Words of *Davila.* "Nel Medezimo Palazzo (45), furono amazzati Teligni genero dell' Amiraglio, Guerchi ſuo luogotenente —— i Colonelli Montaumar, e Rourai, il figlivolo del Barone de S. Adrets, e tutti quelli della ſua corte (46). —— *In the Palace* Medezimo, *were killed* Teligni, *the Admiral's Son-in-law*; Guerchi, *his Lieutenant —— the Colonels* Montaumar *and* Rourai, *the young Son of the Baron* de S. Adrets; *and all theſe in his own Court.*" He does not pretend to ſpeak of two Colonels, that were the Sons of our Baron, nor is it well known, whether, by his Baron *de S. Adrets*, he meant ours. If he did, I fancy he was miſtaken. Let no one object theſe Words of *d'Aubigné*; "The Marquis *de Reſnel*, Brother of Prince *Porcian*, was killed by *Buſſi d' Amboiſe*, and the Son of the Baron *Des-Adrets*, about a Law-ſuit, which he had with his Couſin-German (47);" for the meaning of them is, that *Buſſi d'Amboiſe*, and the Son of That Baron, killed *Reſnel.*

Mr *le Laboureur* ſaid, in 1658, that the Family of *Beaumont* was extinct (48). I have been informed, by Mr *d'Hoſier*, by means of a Friend, that *Suſanna de Beaumont*, Daughter and Heireſs of our Baron *Des-Adrets*, was married to *Cæſar de Vaucerre*, Lord of *Teis*, and *St Deſier*, in *Dauphiné*. Their Poſterity continues to this Day. Mademoiſelle *Des-Adrets*, who died Maid of Honour to the Ducheſs of *Orleans*, after the Year 1680, and who had been a Proteſtant, was deſcended from This *Suſanna*. Her Brothers were the Marquis *Des-Adrets*, who is Captain of a Ship, and the Chevalier *Des-Adrets*, who was *Aide de Camp* of the Marſhal Duke of *Noailles*, when he was killed at the Siege of *Roſes*, in *June*, 1693. He had been Captain of a Ship; but was caſhired, becauſe he would not aſſiſt at the Lectures, which Mr *Renaude*, Engineer of *Marine*, read at *Breſt*, by the King's Order.

I ſhall inſert here the Addition, which I publiſhed at the end of the firſt Volume of this Dictionary. It contains theſe Words: *I have juſt now received* (49) *the Life of our Baron* Des-Adrets, *compoſed by Mr* Allard, *wherein Mr* le Laboureur'*s Miſtake is thus laid open.* "The Family of *Beaumont* is not extinct, as Mr *le Laboureur* believed, ſpeaking of the Baron *Des-Adrets*, in his Additions to the Memoirs of *Caſtelnau.* It continues ſtill in the Branches of *Pompignon* in *Languedoc*, of *Breſſet*, in *Auvergne*, of *Autichamp*, and of *St Quintin*, in *Dauphiné.* It is true, that That of Baron *Des-Adrets* ended in two Daughters, the eldeſt of which, whoſe Name was *Suſanna*, was twice married; the firſt Marriage was with the Lord of *Tarvanas*, in *Piedmont*; and the ſecond with *Cæſar de la Vauſerre*, to whom ſhe brought the Seat of *Des-Adrets.* The other's Name was *Eſther*, Wife of *Antony de Saſſenage*, Lord of *Iſeron* (50)."

[*L*] *He cited* Pequigni *before the King, and loſt his Cauſe.*] I ſhall ſet down Mr *Allard*'s Narrative. "The Baron, having accuſed *Pequigni* of the Loſs of the Town, and of his Liberty, and Baggage, pretended, that he ought to endemnify him for the Damage he had ſuſtained: For this end, he ſummoned him before King *Francis* II, who had ſucceded *Henry* II, where he maintained his Cauſe admirably well, and ſaid, that *Pequigni* ſuffered the Enemy to enter without Oppoſition; that he might eaſily have defended the Breach, ſince it was but ſmall, and the number of thoſe, who re-

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(k) Allard's Life of the Baron *Des-Adrets*, pag. 3, 4.

(l) Ibid. pag. 7.

(m) Ibid. pag. 9.

(n) *Brother to* Des-Adrets's *Mother.*

(o) Allard, ibid. p. 10.

(p) Ibid. pag. 12.

(q) Ibid. pag. 14.

(r) Ibid. pag. 16.

(s) Ibid. pag. 19.

(41) Beza's Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. xii. pag. 307.

(42) Allard, *Life of* Des-Adrets, pag. 81.

(43) Id. ib. pag. 90, 91.

(44) Ibid. pag. 82.

(45) *That is, The Admiral's Houſe.*

(46) Davila, lib. v. p. 272. *Edit. of* Venice, 1650.

(47) D'Aubigné, Tom. I. lib. i. c. 4. pag. 456.

(48) Le Laboureur, *Addit. to* Caſtelnau, Tom. I. pag. 23.

(49) *In the Month of* Sept 1696, *by the Care of the obliging Mr* Pinſſon des Riolles.

(50) Allard's *Life of* Des-Adrets, *pag.* 1, & 2.

for it, againſt the Houſe of *Guiſe* was managed by *Catherine de Medicis* (*t*), and had the Conſequences, which we have already ſeen. The Author, whom I quote, gives a very particular Account of it, as alſo of This Baron's Actions, which he performed after his Return to the King's Party. He makes them more conſiderable, than other Hiſtorians do; but he owns, that this brave Captain was ſuſpected of Intelligence with the Huguenot Party, that he was impriſoned, that he juſtified himſelf [*M*], and received Orders to raiſe a thouſand Foot, which he conducted to *Turin* (*u*). He was there during the Maſſacre on St *Bartholomew*'s Day. He ſoon returned into *Dauphiné*, and, *ſeeing the ſmall Account they made of him, he retired to* la Frette (*x*), *in the* Graiſivodan (*y*). He refuſed to ſign the Formularies of the League, in the Year 1577 (*z*). He went to compliment the Duke of *Maienne*, at *Grenoble*, in the Year 1581 (*aa*), and performed, there, an Act of his ancient Valour [*N*]. He accompanied *la Valette*, who was ſent into *Dauphiné* againſt *Leſdiguieres*, in the Year 1585 (*bb*). *At laſt, being tired with ſo many Fatigues, oppreſſed with Age, and extreamly diſguſted with the World, he retired again to* la Frette, *where he lived a Year with viſible Marks of his Return into the Boſom of the Church. He died, therefore, a true Catholic, after having made his Will, the Second of* Febr. 1586, *and was buried in a Chapel of the Parochial Church, which belonged to his Houſe* (*cc*). The Reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the Titles, which he gave himſelf, whilſt he was at the Head of the Proteſtants of his Province [*O*], nor to know, that his Countenance diſcovered the Fierceneſs of his Temper [*P*].

ſolved to paſs through it, very inconſiderable; that, if he denied it, he would make him confeſs it in a Duel. This Diſpute appeared ſingular to the Court; and theſe two Enemies had ſome Friends among the Great Ones, who hindered the Deciſion of it for ſome time. It went, nevertheleſs, in favour of *Pequigni*, by the Credit of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, which began to be very great in *France*; and they were forbid to attempt any thing againſt each other, on the Penalty of being puniſhed as guilty of High-Treaſon: Whereupon, the Baron was ſo enraged, that he ſwore he would be revenged on the *Guiſes*; and This was the Reaſon, why he embraced, afterwards, the Proteſtant Party: This is what *Thuanus* ſays; and it is agreeable to Truth (51)."

[*M*] *He was ſuſpected of Intelligence with the Huguenot Party, was impriſoned, and juſtified himſelf.*] At his Return into *Dauphiné*, after the Battle of *Moncontour*, "he was obliged to retire to his Houſe, becauſe *Gordes, Governor of the Province*, had conceived a great Hatred againſt him (52). It is thought, that he ſuſpected him of being ſtill inclined to the Huguenot Party, and even of having favoured the Armament, which was made, near *Geneva*, by Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, and of holding Intelligence with him. —— Whatever there was in it, it is certain, that *Gordes* made but little account of him; at which the Baron murmured highly, and made ſome Complaints, which were ſomewhat bold, and even raſh; which coming to the King's Ear, *Gordes* received Orders to cauſe him to be arreſted; which he did. He was carried to *Grenoble*, and from thence to *Lyons*, and impriſoned in *Pierreciſe*. At firſt, he was thought a loſt Man, and ſo much the more, becauſe Letters were intercepted from Princes, and the Admiral, in his Favour, and becauſe the chief Heads of the Proteſtants interceded for his Liberty (53)." He obtained it by the Peace, which was concluded in the Month of *January*, 1571 (54). He appeared before the King *in his Council*. "There he declared, that, being innocent, he ſupplicated his Majeſty to ſuffer him to renounce the Benefit of the Edicts of Pacification, made in favour of thoſe, who had acted againſt his Intereſts, under Pretence of Religion or Policy; that he had never done any thing, for which he might be blamed; that, if any Perſon was ſo bold as to maintain, that he was criminal in any reſpect, he was ready to make him deny it, Sword in Hand, if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to permit it. The King anſwered him, That he was perſuaded of his Innocence, and good Intention; that he had never queſtioned his good Conduct, and Zeal for his Service; that he was extreamly ſatisfied with him; that he always believed his Intentions were good, and other things of that Nature, of which he deſired his Majeſty to grant him an Act: Which was willingly done. It is in the Regiſters of the Chamber of Accompts (55)."

[*N*] *He performed, at* Grenoble, *in* 1581, *an Act of his ancient Valour.*] The Duke *de Maienne* "being at *Grenoble*, in 1581, the young *Pardaillan*, Son of *la Mothe-Gondrin*, ſpoke haughtily and injuriouſly of the Baron *Des-Adrets*, becauſe of the Loſs of his Father at *Valence*. The Baron was informed, in his Retirement, what Terms he made uſe of, and alſo, that he ſaid, if he met him, he would abuſe him: Which obliged him to come to *Grenoble*, where, having waited upon the Duke of *Maienne*, and having been kindly received by him, he ſaid, ſeveral times, and alſo in the Preſence of *Pardaillan*, that he had left his Solitude, and was returned into the World, to ſee if any One bore him any Grudge, and to give him Satisfaction; that his Sword was not ſo ruſty, nor his Arm ſo weak, or his Strength ſo much impaired by Age, but that he was able to give Satisfaction to all thoſe, who had any Complaint againſt him. *Pardaillan* neither ſaid, nor did, any thing, that might give occaſion for a Quarrel; ſo that *Des-Adrets* retired again, being ſatisfied with this laſt Bravery (56)."

[*O*] *The Reader will ſee the Titles, which he gave himſelf, whilſt he was at the Head of the Proteſtants of his Province.*] They are as follows: "*Francis de Beaumont*, Lord *Des-Adrets*, Gentleman in Ordinary of the King's Chamber, Colonel of the Legionaries of *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, *Lyonnois*, *Languedoc*, and *Auvergne*, Governor, and Lieutenant General for the King in *Dauphiné*, and my Lord the Prince of *Condé*'s Lieutenant in the Chriſtian Army, aſſembled for the Service of GOD, the Liberty and Deliverance of the King, and the Queen-Mother, the Preſervation of their States and Grandeur, and of Chriſtian Liberty in the ſaid Countries (57)." In the Chamber of Accompts of *Grenoble*, "there are ſeveral Ordinances drawn up in his Name - - - - - wherein he takes That Quality upon him, and, in others, he calls himſelf, *Chief Governor of the Companies aſſembled for the Service of* GOD, &c. There are ſome, which are thus directed; *To all the True and Faithful Subjects of the King, our Sovereign and Natural Lord, aſſociated in the Confeſſion of the Reformed Churches, and Well-wiſhers to the Peace and Tranquillity of this Country of* Dauphiné, *Greeting, and Peace through our Lord* JESUS CHRIST (58)." Was he not a very fit Perſon to uſe ſuch Language? Was he not a new Apoſtle, well qualified to imitate St *Paul*'s Evangelical Salutation?

[*P*] *His Countenance diſcovered the Fierceneſs of his Temper.*] *Thuanus*, who obſerved him ſo nicely, at *Grenoble* (59), in the Year 1572, that he was able to delineate him by Memory, ſo as any one might know him again, gives this Deſcription of him: "Erat jam totus canus, ſed cruda adhuc ac viridi ſenectute, Oculis truculentis, naſo aquilino, facie macilenta, ſed ruboribus interfuſa, ut lutum ſanguine maceratum, quod in P. Corn. Sulla obſervatum eſt, ori inſperſum diceres, de cætero corporis habitu prorſus militari (60). - - - - - *He was now quite grey-headed, but of a vigorous and robuſt old Age; he had fierce, ſparkling, Eyes, a ſharp Noſe, a lean Viſage, but fluſhed; ſo that you would ſay,*

(*t*) *Mr* Allard, ibid. pag. 25, 26, *produces this Queen's Letter.*

(*u*) Ibid. pag. 81.

(*x*) Ibid. pag. 83.

(*y*) *It was one of his Houſes.*

(*z*) Ibid. pag. 84.

(*aa*) Ibid. pag. 87.

(*bb*) Ibid. pag. 89.

(*cc*) Ibid. pag. 90.

(51) Ibid. pag. 19, 20.

(52) Ibid. pag. 75.

(53) Ibid. pag. 76.

(54) Ibid. pag. 77.

(55) *Mr* Allard *has publiſhed this Act*, p. 79, 80, 81.

(56) Ibid. pag. 87, 88.

(57) Ibid. pag. 28.

(58) Ibid. pag. 29.

(59) Thuan. de Vita ſua, lib. i. pag. 1165.

(60) Id. ib.

“ *as was obſerved in* P. Corn. Sulla, *that his Face* “ *was ſprinkled with a Mixture of Dirt and Blood;* “ *for the reſt of his bodily Conſtitution, it was al-* “ *together military.*”

BEAUNE (Renaud *de*) Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, and, afterwards, of *Sens*, in the Reign of *Henry* IV. See **SAMBLANÇAI** (William).

BEDA (Noel), Doctor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Paris*, was the greateſt Clamourer, and the moſt mutinous and factious Man, of his Time. He was a *Picard* (*a*), and lived in the Reign of *Francis* I. He declared himſelf a ſworn Enemy to all thoſe, who deſigned to make Learning flouriſh again (*b*); and it was on this ſcore, that *Eraſmus*, and *Faber Stapulenſis*, incurred his Indignation. He pretended to have found a great many Hereſies in the Paraphraſes of *Eraſmus*, and publiſhed a Book on that Subject. *Eraſmus* juſtified himſelf, and, accuſing him in his Turn, convicted him of a great number of Calumnies [*A*]. *Beda*, inſtead of proving, that he had been no Calumniator, or, inſtead of confeſſing, that he had not rightly apprehended his Adverſary's Meaning, had recourſe to the Art of Caballing: He read *Eraſmus*'s Books over again; he made new Extracts out of them, as unfaithful as the former [*B*], and gave them to be cenſured by the Faculty of Divinity; where his

[*A*] Eraſmus *convicted him of a great Number of Calumnies.*] See the Book entituled, *Supputationes Errorum in cenſuris Natalis Bedæ per Eraſmum Roterodamum.* It was printed in the Year 1527. The Reverſe of the Title page will inform you, that *Eraſmus* found One hundred eighty one Lies, Three hundred and ten Calumnies, and Forty ſeven Blaſphemies, in a pretty ſmall Book of his Cenſurer; and This, without dealing rigorouſly with him; for he was ſpared in many things, which deſerved to be taken notice of. “ Ac ne quis queratur iniquam “ ſupputationem, non imputavimus illi tam multa “ indocte, ſtulte, & ſine mente dicta. Non imputavimus tam multas propoſitiones, quas in cenſuris “ omiſit, &c (1). - - - - - *And, leſt any one ſhould* “ *think my Computation unfair, I have not charged* “ *him with many things, unlearnedly, fooliſhly, and* “ *inconſiderately, advanced. I have not imputed to* “ *him the many Propoſitions, omitted by him in his* “ *Cenſures*, &c.” A Man of Honour, and Conſcience, would have made it his chief Buſineſs to vindicate himſelf againſt ſuch kind of Liſts; but *Beda*, and Thoſe like him, find their Account better in repeating their firſt Accuſations an hundred times over, juſt as if nothing had been anſwered to Them. If *Eraſmus* may be credited, his Adverſary's Book diſpleaſed *Francis* I ſo much, that he prohibited the Sale of it. “ Impotenter & infeliciter edito libro ſic debacchatus eſt in me, ut Rex Chriſtianiſſimus mox, ubi “ rem cognovit, vetuerit codices divendi, haud dubie vetiturus excudi, ſi tempeſtive monitus fuiſſet (2). “ - - - - - *He railed ſo againſt me, in a weak and un-* “ *fortunate Work, that the moſt Chriſtian King, being* “ *informed of it, immediately prohibited the Sale of* “ *the Book, and, no doubt, would have put a Stop* “ *to the printing of it, had he had timely Informa-* “ *tion.*” The Book, which *Beda* publiſhed, at the ſame time, againſt *Faber Stapulenſis*, was likewiſe prohibited; nevertheleſs, the Copies of theſe two Books were ſuffered to be diſperſed. “ Urit hominem, quod liber, quem in Jacobum Fabrum ſcripſerat, edicto regio ſuppreſſus eſt, etiamſi non eſt “ ſuppreſſus (3). —— *He is nettled at the Royal* “ *Edict, which ſuppreſſes his Book againſt* James Faber, *though, in Reality, it be not ſuppreſſed.*” “ Nec “ juſſus premere preſſit, ſed eluſit Regis edictum, curans ut in Germaniam ſpargeretur, & iſtic clam diſtraheretur (4). - - - - *Though commanded to ſuppreſs* “ *the Book, he did not obey, but eluded the King's* “ *Edict, contriving to have it diſperſed, and private-* “ *ly ſold, in* Germany.

I ſhall ſet down, here, a Paſſage of Mr *Chevillier*'s Book about the Origin of Printing at *Paris.* “ *Francis* I - - - was ſo exaſperated againſt Dr *Noel Beda*, “ who had refuted the Paraphraſes and Annotations “ of *Eraſmus*, and againſt the Faculty, who had approved, and cauſed his Book to be printed (5), “ that, the Doctor, being gone to the Court about “ ſome Buſineſs of his Society, was kept Priſoner “ there for a whole Day, not obtaining his Liberty, “ but on Condition to appear whenever it ſhould “ be required, and a Letter under the Privy-Seal “ was ſent to the Parliament, dated from *Amboiſe*, “ the ninth of *April* 1526, whereby they were ordered to put a Stop to the Sale of *Beda*'s Book. “ I have read, in a Copy of the Regiſters of that “ Court, a Letter of *Jodocus Badius*, wherein he “ ſays, that he had printed Six hundred and fifty “ Copies of This Book, many of which had been “ ſent into *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *England*; “ that he had about fifty compleat Copies left, and “ promiſed not to diſtribute them (6). - - - - Moreover, *Lewis de Berquin*, a private Lutheran, and “ and a Friend of *Eraſmus*, with whom he held “ Correſpondence by Letters, preſented twelve Propoſitions out of *Beda*'s Book, pretending they contained ſome Impieties, and Blaſphemies, and required, that the Faculty ſhould be obliged to condemn, or prove them by the Holy Scripture. The “ King heard this Accuſer favourably; and, the tenth “ of *July* 1527, he ſent the Propoſitions, by the “ Biſhop of *Bazas*, to the Rector, whom he ordered “ to cauſe them to be examined by the four Faculties aſſembled together, and not by the Doctors “ of Divinity only, *quos in hac materiâ ſuſpectos* “ *habebat*, as the Regiſter of the Faculty ſays, - - - “ I find no written Account of what the Judgment “ of the four Faculties was (7).” Take notice, that the Divines of *Paris* had rendered themſelves ſo much ſuſpected of Paſſion and Anger, that the King would not permit them to be Judges in This Cauſe, without joining with them the three other Faculties. It will not be amiſs to ſee in what manner he bridled Theſe Zealots: Here is an Extract of the Letter, which he wrote to the Parliament, the ninth of *April* 1526. “ And, becauſe we are “ duly informed, that the ſaid Faculty, and their “ Agents, write indifferently againſt every Body, “ ſlandering their Honour and Reputation, as is done “ againſt *Eraſmus*, and may endeavour to the like “ againſt others, We command you - - - - to write “ immediately to Thoſe of the ſaid Faculty, or their “ Deputies, and to forbid them - - - - - to write, “ compoſe, or print, any thing whatſoever, either “ in general, or in particular, before it has been “ reviſed and approved by you, or your Deputies, “ and debated in a full Court (8).” Theſe Regulations did not continue long, though they ſeemed worthy of a general and perpetual Eſtabliſhment.

[*B*] *He made new Extracts out of them, as unfaithful as the former.*] The more he found himſelf convicted of Calumny, the more he endeavoured to ruin him, whom he had calumniated. He, therefore, reſolved to try, whether, by producing the ſame Accuſations a-new, under a Form ſomewhat different, he might not make a better Advantage of them. “ Urit “ hominem - - - - - quod ego reſpondens & meam “ innocentiam & illius impudentiam ſic omnibus ob “ oculos poſui, ut in ſpeculo non poſſit evidentius. “ Itaque prorſus animo gladiatorio parat vindictam, “ non ſe purgans, quod non poteſt, ſed eaſdem calumnias alia ſpecie rurſus ingerens. - - - - Habet “ ſexcentas propoſitiones è paraphraſibus decerptas - - - “ eas ut narrant ad Facultatem defert, & in aliquot “ jam audio pronunciatum. Sed quomodo proponit “ artifex? Omittit quæ rem explicant, quæ calumniam excludunt: addit de ſuo quæ faciunt ad calumniam: proponit velut à me dicta hoc tempore “ quæ dicuntur ab Evangeliſtis aut Apoſtolis, & ad “ Eccleſiæ primordia pertinent (9). - - - *He is vexed,* “ *to*

(*a*) Eraſm. Supputat. Errorum Bedæ, fol. 22.

(*b*) Beza's Hiſt. Eccl. lib. i. p. 2.

(1) Eraſmus *in the Reverſe of the Title-Page of his* Supputat. Errorum in Cenſuris Bedæ.

(2) Eraſm. Epiſt. 73. lib. xix. p. 892, *dated* Nov. 1527. *See alſo* Ep. 14. lib. 20. pag. 974. & Epiſt. 4. lib. 24. p. 1281.

(3) Id. Epiſt. 62. lib. 19. pag. 877, *dated* Nov. 30, 1527.

(4) Id. Ep. 71, lib. 39. pag. 886. *See alſo* Epiſt. 14. lib. 20.

(5) *That of* Beda *againſt* Eraſmus. *It was printed at* Paris, *by* Jodocus Badius *in* 1526, *in folio.*

(6) Chevillier's Origin of Printing at *Paris*, *pag.* 174.

(7) Ibid. pag. 175.

(8) Ibid. p. 179, 180.

(9) Eraſm. Epiſt. 62. lib. 19. pag. 817.

his fiery Temper, and his factious and violent Declamations againſt the Novelties of thoſe Times, and againſt Thoſe, who were not zealous enough to ſuppreſs them, gave him a kind of tyrannical Sovereignty [C]. This he abuſed in ſuch a manner, that, at laſt, they were obliged to give him up to the Secular Power, which, to

“ *to find my Innocence, and his own Impudence, repreſented, in my Anſwer, as faithfully, as in a Glaſs. He, therefore, prepares, with the Fury of a Gladiator, to take his Revenge, not by vindicating himſelf, which is out of his Power, but by repeating the ſame Accuſations under another Form. - - - - - He has ſelected Six hundred Propoſitions out of my Paraphraſes. - - - - - he preſents them, they ſay, to the Faculty; and, as I am informed, Judgment is given upon ſome of them. But how does This crafty Fellow propoſe them? He omits whatever tends to explain the Matter, or to remove Scandal: he adds of his own what contributes to Calumny: he propoſes, as if advanced, at preſent, by, me what was ſaid by the Evangeliſts, or Apoſtles, and related to the Infancy of the Church.*” *Beda* omitted none of the knaviſh Tricks of an unfaithful Maker of Extracts. He ſuppreſſed what was proper to juſtify the Accuſed Perſon, and to diſcover the Calumny: He added what would ſtrengthen his Accuſations; he turned to one Senſe what had been ſaid in another. There is nothing more eaſy, than to cauſe an innocent Opinion to be condemned by ſuch Artifices: See the Seventy third Letter of the nineteenth Book of *Eraſmus*. He contrived another Artifice; for he made choice of ſome Heads of Accuſation, and, having put them into *French*, he ſent them to the Court, to incenſe the Great Men, the Women, and all *France*, in general, againſt *Eraſmus* (10). He had already alledged the Title of King of *France*, which *Eraſmus* gave to the King of *England*, in dedicating a Book to him (11); I ſay, he had already alledged it, to render this poor Author odious at the Court of the Moſt Chriſtian King. I do not know, whether any one told him to his Face, that he was very much in the wrong, not to endeavour, before all things, to juſtify himſelf; and that it was diſgraceful to leave *Eraſmus*'s Liſts unanſwered, ſuch Liſts as convicted him plainly of groſs Errors, and ſhameful Calumnies. “ Quum meæ ſupputationes ob oculos omnium poſuerint hominis inſcitiam cum pari malitia conjunctam, non cogitat de purgando, ſed articulos aliquot decerptos ex acervo calumniarum & Gallicè verſos miſit in aulam regiam. - - - - Nunc eoſdem articulos vobis ingerit, ſcilicet in ordinem digeſtos, ut novi videantur, perinde quaſi nihil ſit reſponſum (12). —— *Though my* Computations *plainly diſcovered the Ignorance and Malice of the Man, yet he never thinks of juſtifying himſelf, but, ſelecting ſome Articles out of an Heap of Calumnies, he turns them into* French, *and ſends them to Court.* —— *Now he repeats the ſame Articles to you, drawn up in ſuch an Order, that They may appear new, as if they had never been replied to.*” He ſhould have anſwered This without having recourſe to ſo many unfair Practices. Perhaps *Eraſmus* was the only Perſon, who reproached his Adverſary with This. “ Niſi Beda prorſus diffideret ſuæ cauſæ, reſponderet ſaltem ad quædam loca tam impudenter calumnioſa vanaque, ut res manibus, quod aiunt, ſentiri poſſit. Nunc, hoc omiſſo, quod in primis curatum oportuit, vim parat, concitat facultatem, ut articulorum turba, ſuffragiis, & autoritate, me opprimat (13). —— *Did not* Beda *entirely diſtruſt his own Cauſe, he would at leaſt reply to ſome Paſſages, ſo impudently ſcandalous and falſe, that the thing may be felt, as the Proverb has it. But, having omitted This, which was his principal Concern, he now prepares Force, and ſtirs up the Faculty, to oppreſs me by a Multitude of Articles, by Votes, and by Authority.*” I ſay, *Eraſmus* was perhaps the only Perſon, who reproached him after this Manner; for, commonly, They who are not concerned in the Injuſtice of an Inquiſitor, govern themſelves by the Rule of *Thinking more, than Speaking.*

[C] *His factious Behaviour —— gave him a Kind of tyrannical Sovereignty, in the Faculty of Divinity.*] I do not know, whether any thing is more difficult, than to obtain an equitable Judgment, in a Proceſs of Doctrine, againſt ſuch a Man as *Beda*. He was naturally violent; he indulged this violent Diſpoſition with the greater Licence, as he covered himſelf with the fair Pretence of the Intereſt of Truth: He boldly defamed his Adverſaries in his Books: He called moderate Perſons baſe Prevaricators, which was a good means to oblige part of the Judges to ſide with him againſt their Conſciences; for there is no pleaſure in expoſing one's ſelf to be defamed by the Aſſeſſors of an Inquiſition: In a word, it was the ready way to tyrannize over the Faculty of Divinity. Here is the moſt faithful Deſcription, which can be ſeen, of the manner, how a Man of *Beda*'s Stamp may extort an Academical Decree, a Synodal Sentence, *&c.* *Michael Angelo* never painted more to the Life. “ In omni conſeſſu ſemper fuerunt, qui ſtudiis & improbitate rerum ſummam ſibi vindicant, nec temere fit, ut melior pars vincat. Per illos primùm res privatim decernitur, mox excluduntur integriores, adhibentur idonei, præfatio commendat concordiam, adduntur minæ; *hic*, inquiunt, *apparebit, qui ſint Lutheranæ factionis*. Si quis dixerit aliquid æquius, mox audit à frementibus, Luthero pejor. Sunt ingenia modeſta, quæ malunt quieſcere, quàm cum talibus contentionem ſuſcipere. Sunt qui in gratiam privatam deflectant à ſua ſententia: ſunt qui metuant aut ſperent aliquid, eoque premant quod judicant optimum: ſunt qui non intelligant, quod nudè proponitur: ſunt qui iiſdem affectibus excæcati ſunt, quibus Beda: ſunt quos utcunque ſanos clamor ac tumultus aliorum, ita ut fit, agit in furias. Ita non fit, ſed extorquetur ſenatuſconſultum. In quo prodendo rurſus qui extorſerunt admiſcent affectus ſuos, aliis vel inſciis, vel conniventibus. Et hoc dicitur collegii decretum (14). —— *In every Aſſembly, there have been Men, who, by dint of Induſtry and Diſhoneſty, gain a Superiority over the reſt; nor is it without cauſe, that the better Part prevails. Every Thing is firſt determined in private by theſe Men; afterwards Thoſe of Integrity are excluded; ſuch, as are for their Purpoſe, only admitted; they begin with recommending Unanimity, and end with Threats; Now, ſay they, we ſhall diſcover, who are of the Lutheran Faction. If any one delivers himſelf with more Moderation, than uſual, preſently it is murmured, that he is worſe than* Luther. *There are moderate Tempers, which chuſe to be quiet, rather than contend with ſuch Perſons: Others there are, who ſacrifice their Opinion to private Favour: with ſome, Hope or Fear prevails, and induces them to ſtifle what they judge to be beſt: Some do not underſtand what is nakedly propoſed: others are blinded by the ſame Paſſions with* Beda: *There are, who, though ſound of Mind, are driven to a Kind of Madneſs by the Clamour and Noiſe of Others. Thus a Decree is not made, but extorted. In the framing of which, They again, who extorted it, intermix their own Paſſions, the reſt either not perceiving, or conniving at it. And This is called A Decree of the Faculty.*” What he ſays in the fourth Fol. of his *Supputatio Errorum in cenſuris Bedæ*, is, likewiſe, a true Picture. “ Deliguntur Deputati ad id idonei, quos optant ii, quorum autoritas vel improbitas vincit in collegiis, in quibus frequenter, quod ait Livius, major pars vincit meliorem, nonnunquam minor ſed importunior ſuperat & majorem & meliorem. Allegatur Relator. Decernitur. Interim cum ſcribis res eſt. Et hinc inſulciuntur quædam obiter, quæ vel non ſentiuntur, vel diſſimulantur. —— *Deputies are pitched upon, proper for the purpoſe, who are choſen by Thoſe, whoſe Authority, or Knavery, has acquired a Superiority in the Colleges; in which, as* Livy *obſerves, The greater Part prevails over the Better, and ſometimes the Leſs, but more importunate, conquers the Greater and Better. An Informer is appointed. A Decree is drawn up. In the mean time Scribes are employed. Hence ſome things are frequently repeated, which are either not perceived, or are connived at.*” That, which is to be lamented, is, that the Management, deſcribed in this Paſſage, is put in practice, even when the Queſtion is to condemn what deſerves it moſt. See the Complaints made againſt the Cenſure of a Book of *Mary d'Agreda* (15). Obſerve, that our *Beda* accompliſhed his Deſign:

(10) Idem. Epiſt. 71, lib. 19, pag. 886.

(11) Ibid. Epiſt. 13, lib. 24, pag. 1309.

(12) Id Epiſt. 71, lib. 19, pag. 886.

(13) Id. Epiſt. 73, lib. 19, pag. 892.

(14) Eraſmus, Epiſt. 71, lib. 19, pag. 889.

(15) *In Remark* [C], *of the Article* MARY D'AGREDA.

to puniſh him for his high Offences, condemned him to make the *Amende honorable*, and to confeſs, at the Gate of the Cathedral Church of *Paris*, in the Preſence of a great Number of People, that he had ſpoken againſt the King and the Truth. He was, moreover, condemned to Baniſhment (*c*). This happened in 1535. He had very much oppoſed the Deſign, which *Francis* I had, to cauſe the *Sorbonne* to give a favourable Opinion for the Divorce of *Henry* VIII. He was not in the wrong in the main; for all, that was done to corrupt ſome Univerſities in *France*, was a true Myſtery of Iniquity; but he ruined his Cauſe by his Paſſionate Behaviour, and his mutinous Carriage [*E*]; and even involved himſelf in the

(c) Beza, Ibid. p. 15.

ſign: The Faculty of Divinity cenſured *Eraſmus*'s Book, the Twenty ſeventh of *December*, 1527. It is true, This Cenſure was not made public till four Years after (16).

[*D*] *He was condemned to make the* Amende honorable.] *Bartholomew Latomus*, who was then at *Paris*, wrote this News to *Eraſmus*. "Beda tuus fecit emendam, ut vocant, honorabilem, cum hac confeſſione quod contra veritatem & Regem loquutus eſſet, quæ verba ante ædem divæ Virginis magno populi concurſu præeunte præcone palam pronunciavit: ne forte Lutheranum illum fuiſſe putes. Sed tamen detinetur adhuc in carcere, detrudendus in Monaſterium aliquod, ut ferunt, ubi & quando Regi viſum fuerit. —— *Your Beda has made the* Amende honourable, *as they call it, with this Confeſſion, that he had ſpoken againſt Truth and the King; which words he pronounced openly at the Door of the Cathedral of the bleſſed Virgin, with a Cryer preceeding him, and before a great Concourſe of People: This I inform you of, that you may not think he was a Lutheran. However, he is ſtill kept in Priſon, to be thruſt into ſome Monaſtery, they ſay, where and when the King pleaſes*." This Letter of *Latomus*, dated the Twenty ninth of *June* 1535, is the Twenty ſeventh of the Twenty ſeventh Book of *Eraſmus*.

SOME Facts concerning *Beda*, in the Affair of the Divorce of *Henry* VIII.

[*E*] *He ſpoiled his Cauſe by his paſſionate Behaviour.*] Meſſieurs *de Bellai*, who concerned themſelves extreamly in the good Succeſs of *Henry* VIII's Divorce, ſpeak very ill of *Beda* in their Letters. "I have never yet ſeen This King (*of England*), nor thoſe that are in Credit with him, in ſo fair a way, as they are at preſent in; to which what your Divines have done has wonderfully contributed, according to the Advice, that is come from the Embaſſadors. But there is one *Beda* of That Number, who is a dangerous Perſon; and there would be no need of having many ſuch in a good Company." This is what *John du Bellai*, Biſhop of *Bayonne*, wrote from *London* to Mr *de Montmorency*, the Twenty ninth of *December* 1529 (17). His Brother, *William du Bellai*, wrote to *Francis* I, the ninth of *June*, 1530, that *Beda* had committed great Diſorders in the Aſſembly of the Faculty. "During which Diſcourſes, *ſays he*, and whilſt their Beadle was collecting the Names and Opinions of the Deliberators, to ſee what the Opinion of the Majority was, one of the ſaid Gentlemen, our Maſters, ſtood up, and took the Roll out of his Hand, and tore it; and thereupon, they all aroſe in great Diſorder and Tumult, ſome beginning to cry out, that they had done and ſpoke enough about it, and that the greateſt and ſoundeſt Party was of Opinion to deliberate no more about it, without writing to you, Sir, and to the Pope. In this manner the Company departed; and the King of *England*'s Embaſſadors, who were walking in a Gallery, ſeeing them come out in ſuch diſorder, and with ſuch a noiſe, and hearing all the Diſcourſe, which paſſed between them, retired very much diſpleaſed to their Houſes, putting a very ill Conſtruction upon this Buſineſs. And they told me, they knew very well heretofore, what were the ſecret Practices of *Beda*, and his Accomplices, to render the Conſultation ſuch as they had found it (18)." *Du Bellai* adds, I. That, at his Requeſt, the firſt Preſident *ſent for* Beda, Barthelemy, Tabary, *and ſome other Ringleaders of this Diſcord and Faction*, and made them promiſe, that they would meet again the next Day. II. That the ſame firſt Preſident "made the ſaid *Beda* come to him in the Church of our Lady, *about another Circumſtance*, and remonſtrated to him his Abilities, and the Inconvenience, to which he might put *the King*, and was ſo urgent with him, that he ſwore expreſly, not only not to hinder the King's Letters from being obeyed, but to uſe his Endeavour, as if it were for his own Life, to make the thing paſs without noiſe or ſcandal (19)." III. That, though, "at firſt, he would not *truſt too much to this Promiſe*, foraſmuch as, notwithſtanding another Promiſe formerly made to the great Maſter, *the ſaid* Beda had begun this Faction, without which the Buſineſs might have been determined without any trouble to the King. Nevertheleſs, ſeeing the firſt Preſident would truſt *to* Beda *for it, he* (du Bellai) *would not write again to the King about it*." The Letter of the fifteenth of *Auguſt* of the ſame Year is curious. *Du Bellai* informs Mr *de Montmorency*, I. That the Buſineſs "had been carried on by ſuch wicked Intrigues, that, *ſays he*, I have often ſeen the King's Buſineſs in danger to ſuffer greatly by it; and I aſſure you, that, if I had not daily made uſe of the Aſſiſtance of the firſt Preſident, who, beſides the Authority of his Place, has great Credit with the ſaid *Beda*, and his Accomplices, ſuch an inconveniency would have happened by the Attempt of a fooliſh, I dare not ſay an ill, Man, that the Ability of a thouſand wiſe Men would hardly have remedied it without extraordinary Trouble; and perhaps any other Judge, not infected with the Perſuaſion, which I perceive in the ſaid Preſident, that the before-mentioned *Beda*, when he ſpeaks Theologically, is infallible and impeccable, would have called That a Mortal Sin, which the ſaid Preſident can hardly believe to be a Venial Sin: However, the King has appointed Commiſſioners to enquire into the Abuſes and Inſolencies of the ſaid *Beda*, and his Accomplices." II. That the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors had obtained an Order, from *Francis* I, to the Beadle of the Faculty of Divinity, *to give an authentic Duplicate of ſome Act ſigned with* Beda's *own Hand*; and that they had addreſſed themſelves to the King, becauſe to have it "by the leave of the Faculty, was to go back to A, B, C, conſidering the Tyranny heretofore uſurped by the ſaid *Beda*, and his Adherents." III. That the firſt Preſident (20) "is ſo much perſuaded of the Sanctity of *Beda*, that he cannot believe the Faults he ſees in him, which are ſuch, to ſpeak the Truth, that, if I had committed ſuch myſelf, and had a dozen Heads, I ſhould have deſerved to loſe them all; as any Body may ſee, that will read the Legend, which the two Preſidents, *le Viſte*, and *Povellot*, will make of them. Nevertheleſs, My Lord, I do not conclude, that the ſaid *Beda* is the only wicked Perſon; for he has Companions enough, that would be glad to give the King occaſion to do ſomething haſtily againſt them, to acquire the Name of Martyrs with the Mob. I had often heard of their malicious Undertakings under the Title and Colour of Honeſty and Hypocriſy; but I could never have believed the tenth Part, if I had not ſeen it (21)." Theſe words are worth their weight in Gold; for they wonderfully repreſent the Character of many of thoſe turbulent Zealots, who cauſe a thouſand Diſorders in a State, by the deſire they have to domineer over the Multitude, and who willingly expoſe themſelves to Perſecution, that the People, intereſting themſelves in their Diſgrace, may make an Inſurrection, and finiſh what their Intrigues have begun. The Biſhop of *Bayonne*, in his Letters to Mr *de Montmorency*, confirms the greateſt Part of what his Brother had written; "The Buſineſs of the King of *England*, *ſays he* (22), was propoſed at *Paris*, after it could be deferred no longer; *Beda* played the Devil there, and the Aſſembly broke up without coming to any Concluſion; the King will have them begin again, and, if it be neceſſary, to

(16) *See* Chevillier, Of the Origin of Printing at *Paris*, pag. 173.

(17) *See the* Hiſt. of the Divorce of *Henry* VIII, *by* Mr le Grand. Tom. III, p. 421.

(18) Ibid. p. 455, 466.

(19) Ibid. pag. 468.

(20) *It was* Lizet, *whom* Beza *derided ſo much.* William du Bellai *repreſents him here as a weak Perſon, and unfit for the Office he bore.*

(21) Le Grand's Divorce of *Henry* VIII, Tom. III, pag. 473.

(22) *In a Letter, dated* June 17, 1530, apud le Grand, ubi ſupra, pag. 489.

the Crime of Perjury. He had much Credit with the firſt Preſident *Lizet* (*d*), a Man much more fit to act the part of a bad Controverſiſt, as he did before his Death, than to be at the Head of the firſt Parliament of *France*. *Beda* was one of the chief Promoters of the Death of *Lewis de Berquin*, as we ſhall relate in the Article of That Proteſtant Martyr. In general, there was no one in *Paris*, who ſhewed more Violence againſt Thoſe, who are called Heretics, than himſelf (*e*); and This is the reaſon, why *Beza* (*f*) aſcribes the Puniſhment, which was inflicted on *Beda*, of being *confined to* Mount St Michel, *where he died the eighth of* January, 1537 (*g*), *rather to the juſt Judgment of God, than to That of Men*. He had been Principal of the College of *Montaigu*. You will find, below, the Titles of his Works [*F*].

(*d*) *See Remark* [*E*], *and* Eraſmus, Epiſt. 56, lib. 3, pag. 1941.

(*e*) Beza, ubi ſupra, pag. 7, 14.

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 15.

(*g*) St Romuald, Journ. Chronol. Tom. I. pag. 132, *where he ſpeaks particularly of the Eſteem, which the Faculty of Divinity had for* Beda.

"ſend him the ſaid *Beda*. —— I was told, that the "Gentlemen of the Faculty were gone into the "Conclave, to re-aſſume the Buſineſs relating to the "King of *England*, *Beda*, *Barthelemy*, and their "Adherents, being the Authors and Promoters of it, "who, after ſo many Alarms on their Part, as you "have heard, have no ſooner been out of the Preſence of their Dean —— but they have, of their "own particular Authority, undertaken to break "what was generally done and concluded in ſo great "an Aſſembly (23). —— You know, my Lord, "that I formerly told you, that *Beda* was ſuſpected "of a Deſign to get the Regiſter falſified by the "Beadle; and I would not give him time to increaſe "That Suſpicion, rather than leſſen it (24)." By Theſe Strokes of the Pencil we may know the true Character of This Perſonage.

[*F*] *The Titles of his Works.*] *De unica Magdalena contra Jacobum Fabrum & Judocum Clichtoveum*, at Paris 1519. *Contra commentarios ejuſdem Fabri in Evangelia & Epiſtolas libri II. & contra Eraſmi paraphraſes liber I.* at Paris 1526. *Apologia adverſus clandeſtinos Lutheranos*, at Paris 1529. *Apologia pro filiabus & nepotibus Annæ contra eumdem Fabrum.* He is thought to be the Author of the *Reſtitutio in integrum benedictionis cerei paſchalis* (25).

(23) *Letter, dated* Auguſt 14, 1530, ibid. p. 491.

(24) *Letter, of* Aug. 15, ibid. p. 502.

(25) Aubert. Miræus, de Scriptor. Seculi. xvi, p. 21.

BEDELL (WILLIAM), Biſhop of *Kilmore*, in *Ireland*, was born in the Year 1570, at *Black Nottey*, in *Eſſex*. He ſtudied at *Cambridge*, where he took his Bachelor's Degree, in the Year 1599. He left That Univerſity to exerciſe the Miniſtry at *St Edmondſbury*, *in Suffolk*, which he did very zealouſly, without any Interruption, 'till he was made Chaplain to the Embaſſador, whom King *James* ſent to the Republic of *Venice* (*a*). During his eight Years abode at *Venice*, *Bedell* contracted a very intimate Friendſhip with Father *Paul*, and, when he returned into *England*, he brought the famous *Mark Antony de Dominis* along with him, as alſo ſeveral Manuſcripts, of Father *Paul*'s, and, among others, *The Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent. He returned again to *St Edmondſbury*, and, amidſt the Functions of the Sacred Miniſtry, he tranſlated into *Latin The Hiſtory of the Interdiction*, and That of *the Inquiſition*, which Father *Paul* had given him; and dedicated them to the King. He tranſlated, alſo, the two laſt Books of *The Hiſtory of the Council*. In the Year 1615, he was provided with a conſiderable Benefice, in the Dioceſe of *Norwich*, which he poſſeſſed twelve Years, applying himſelf very much to his Duty, and caring but little to make a noiſe in the World. He was ſo little known, that no one could give any Account of him to *Diodati*, a Divine of *Geneva* [*B*]. Nevertheleſs, his Reputation reached into *Ireland*, where, with a general Conſent, he was nominated to the Headſhip of *Trinity* College (*b*). He would not accept of This Place, without the Command of his Superiors; and, being commanded to do it by King *James*, he joyfully obeyed, and diſcharged the Duties of That Employment to Admiration. Two Years after, he was promoted to the Biſhoprics of *Kilmore* and ˣ*Ardagh*, in the Province of *Ulſter*, being, then, in his Fifty ninth Year (*c*). He found Theſe two Dioceſes in great Diſorder, and was very active in reforming Abuſes. He began with the Plurality of Benefices, and, to ſet a good Example, he reſigned the Biſhopric of ˣ*Ardagh*, and kept only That of *Kilmore*. He made ſome Regulations as to

(*a*) *It was* Henry Wotton.

(*b*) *This College is at* Dublin.

(*c*) *It muſt be, then, in the Year* 1629.

x this should be Armagh — which in the Province of Ulster, but for Ardagh there are four Towns of that Name one in ye County of Letrim — 2 in ye County of E Meath 3 in ye County of Longford & 4th in ye County of Cork, but no such Town in ye Province of Ulster & now Armagh is ye Metropolis of Ireland —— Kilmore is likewise in ye Province of Ulster in ye County of Cavan and under ye ArchBishop of Armagh —— Vide Collier's Dict.

Perhaps, Kilmore & Ardagh were joynt Bishopricks then as Bath & Wells are now, for I find our Bedell was Cotemporary with ArchBishop Usher of Armagh ——

*I cannot find any Bishoprick of this Name in Ireland nor any Town of the Name in the Province of Ulster.

I write this Observation Augst. 1746

[*A*] Bedell *contracted a very intimate Friendſhip with Father* Paul.] The Intimacy, which This Famous *Venetian* Divine had with *William Bedell*, was without any reſerve; he diſcovered his Heart to him, which was more imbued with the Faith of the Reformed Churches, than with That of the Council of *Trent*. Nothing, perhaps, more clearly evinces Father *Paul*'s reformed Faith, than the Particulars, which Dr *Burnet* publiſhed in the Life of our Biſhop of *Kilmore*: I ſhall ſpeak at large of it in another place (1). I ſhall only obſerve here, that Father *Paul* aſſiſted *Bedel* in learning the *Italian* Language, and that *Bedell* helped the other to learn the *Engliſh* Tongue. Father *Paul* confeſſed, that he received from him ſome other Inſtructions, which were more conſiderable: See, hereafter, the Remark [*H*]. I add, that *Bedell* tranſlated the Liturgy of the Church of *England* into *Italian*; and that he had the Liberty of conferring with Father *Paul when, and as often as he would*, even when none but Perſons known to him were ſuffered to come near him, by reaſon of the wounds, which That Father had received (2).

[*B*] *No one could give any Account of him to* Diodati.] What I ſay here would be no Encomium of a Perſon of little Merit; but, as to our *Bedell*, who was an able Divine, and a Miniſter, who performed his Office ſo worthily, one cannot ſay of him, that he was little known, without extolling to the Skies, at the very ſame time, his Modeſty, Humility, Diſintereſtedneſs, and ſeveral other truly Paſtoral Virtues, and very rarely to be found. Where are there Churchmen of great Abilities, who do not endeavour to make a Noiſe in the World, but chiefly to reach the Ears of Princes, and Favourites? Let us ſet down Dr *Burnet*'s Remark; "*Diodati, ſays he* "(3), That famous Divine of *Geneva*, being come "into *England*, could meet with no one, who "could give him any tidings of him, though he was "very well acquainted with the Clergy. He was "much ſurpriſed, that ſuch an extraordinary Man, "ſo much admired in *Venice*, ſo tenderly cheriſhed "by Perſons of the greateſt Merit, ſhould be ſo "little known in his own Country: he had loſt all "hopes of ſeeing him, when, meerly by accident, "he met him in the Streets of *London*, where they "expreſſed their great Surprize and Joy to each "other. *Diodati* preſented him afterwards to "the learned Dr *Morton*, Biſhop of *Durham*, whom "he informed of the particular Eſteem, which Father *Paul* had for him; and That Prelate gave "him a very favourable Reception."

(1) *In the Article* SARPI.

(2) *Dr* Burnet, *in the Life of* William Bedell.

(3) Burnet, ibid. pag. 35.

[*C*] *He*

to Reſidence: He was very zealous for the Converſion of the *Roman* Catholics, and, thinking, that nothing could contribute more to it, than a Tranſlation of the Scriptures into the *Iriſh* Language [*C*], he cauſed it to be undertaken. This Buſineſs met with many Obſtacles. He expreſſed a great Zeal for the Re-union of the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* [*D*]. He did not approve of Thoſe, who made uſe of a paſſionate Stile againſt Popery [*E*], and did not think them fit to undeceive Thoſe, who erred. He took a quite different Method: He was a Man of an Apoſtolic Charity;

[*C*] *He ſet on foot a Tranſlation of the Scriptures into the* Iriſh *Language.*] He had learned That Language; "and, though he was too old to ſpeak it, "yet he underſtood it ſo well, that he made a compleat Grammar of it, which, it is ſaid, was the firſt "that ever was made (4)." In favour of the new Converts, "he cauſed the Common-Prayers to be "read every Sunday in *Iriſh*, and aſſiſted at them "himſelf. —— The New Teſtament, and the Liturgy, had been already tranſlated into *Iriſh*; but, "judging, that the Old ought no longer to remain "untranſlated, he ſought for ſome one, who was "Maſter of that Language, to tranſlate it (5); —— "and, caſting his Eyes upon one *King*," aged about ſeventy Years, he put him into Orders, provided him with a Living, and deſired him to ſet about it. This Perſon, not underſtanding the *Oriental* Languages, was obliged to tranſlate it from the *Engliſh*; His Work was reviſed by *Bedell*, who, after having compared the *Iriſh* Tranſlation with the *Engliſh*, compared the latter with the *Hebrew*, with the LXX, and with the *Italian* Verſion of *Diodati*. When This Work was finiſhed, he reſolved to be at the Charge of the Impreſſion; but his Deſign was ſtopped: Advice was given to the Lord Lieutenant, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that it would be a ſhameful thing for a Nation to publiſh a Bible, tranſlated by ſuch a deſpicable Man, as *King* was (6). There was a Clergyman, who obtained the Benefice of This old Man, and *thruſt him out of it with Ignominy and Violence* (7). He was not only deprived of it, but alſo attacked in his Reputation. "It is uſual, *ſays Dr* Burnet (8), for thoſe, who commit ~~an~~ one Injuſtice, to "juſtify it by another, to load their Adverſaries "with Calumnies, and frequently to repeat their Accuſations, in order to prepoſſeſs the People againſt "them, and to oppreſs them ſo much, that they "may not be able to obtain any Redreſs, but entirely ſink under ſuch a weight of Malice." *Bedell* uſed all his endeavours to prevent the Oppreſſion of This poor Tranſlator, and prepared Matters to have the *Iriſh* Bible printed in his own Houſe; but the Troubles followed; and he did not live long enough to execute his Reſolution. The Manuſcript was not loſt; for, *by the Diligence of the famous Chriſtian Philoſopher, Mr* Boyle (9), *they were printing of it*, when Dr *Burnet* publiſhed the Life of our Bihop (10).

[*D*] *He expreſſed a great Zeal for the Re-union of the* Lutherans *and* Calviniſts.] He was not contented to impart his Thoughts by Letters to Mr *Durry*, *but did alſo aſſiſt him in the Expence, he was obliged to be at, to negotiate this Union, and gave him an annual Penſion of Twenty five Piſtols, which he paid regularly to his Correſpondent in* London (11). This Mr *Durry*'s Name in *Latin* is *Duræus*: The pains, he took, to execute his Project of Re-union, are almoſt incredible. I believe, without making much haſte, he took as many Journies, as the Jeſuit *Matthieu*, who was called *The Poſtillion of the League.* They may be compared in ſome things; but they differ in many others. One was the Miniſter of a League, which was already formed, and which, being actually in Arms, had none but violent Deſigns. The other was the Miniſter of a meer notional Confederacy, which was only to be built on the Moderation of Men. So that it is no wonder, if one of them rode Poſt, and the other travelled at his leiſure. There is, among the Treatiſes, which *Duræus* publiſhed in 1662 (12), *William Bedell*'s Opinion on the Queſtions, which the Undertaker of the Re-union had propoſed to the Divines. This Prelate made it appear, that he was fit for ſuch an Undertaking. A great Number of *Lutherans*, being ſettled at *Dublin*, refuſed to communicate with the Church of *Ireland*. They were ſummoned before the Archbiſhop's Council; They anſwered, that the *German* Divines did not find, that the Preſence of JESUS CHRIST in the Euchariſt was taught, conformably to their Doctrine, by the Church of *Ireland*. The Archbiſhop ſent them to the Biſhop of *Kilmore*; who gave them ſuch a ſolid Anſwer, that the *German* Divines, who ſaw it, adviſed the *Lutherans* of *Dublin* to communicate with the Church of That Place. Dr *Burnet* ſays upon This, that the Church of *England* has given *no poſitive Definition of the manner how the Body of* CHRIST *is preſent in the Sacrament:* So that Men *of different Opinions may practiſe the ſame Worſhip, without being obliged to declare themſelves, and without any Preſumption, that they act againſt their Belief* (13). I have always heard it ſaid, that there would be no better way to prevent Schiſms, and Diſputes, than to avoid Particulars, and to allow of as General Formularies as may be.

[*E*] *He diſapproved of thoſe, who made uſe of a paſſionate Stile againſt Popery.*] He preached one Day, among other things, as follows: "Give me leave, "my Brethren, to ſpeak my Thoughts freely; I "am very ſenſible, it will diſpleaſe many Perſons; "but That ſhall not hinder me from diſcharging my "Conſcience; and I hope Men of Underſtanding "will not take it amiſs. I have long ago been of "Opinion, that the manner, in which many Perſons treat their Adverſaries, in their Writings, "and in their Sermons, deſerves Cenſure; They "give a looſe to their Pens, and Tongues, and what "they ſay is only a Series of Calumnies, and injurious Language; They think they have done "Wonders, when they imitate their Enemies, or "when they ſurpaſs them in ~~them in~~ That Way, in "which He, who does the beſt, does, really, the "worſt; they endeavour to juſtify their Proceedings "by the Text; *Anſwer a Fool according to his Folly*, "without conſidering the other Text, *Anſwer not a* "*Fool according to his Folly, leaſt thou become like* "*unto him.* But they are, ſometimes, the more inexcuſable, becauſe, not underſtanding their Adverſaries Opinion, or, at leaſt, diſguiſing, and making "it more unreaſonable, than it is, the Proofs, which "they bring, have nothing that is ſolid, and conſiſt only in paſſionate Words about ambiguous "Terms, which each Party takes in a different "Senſe (14). —— Let us not envy the Papiſts, and "other Heretics, the Glory of outdoing our Adverſaries in railing; becauſe the more one excels in "this Art, the more one is remote from the great "Pattern of Charity, who ſays, *Learn of me, for I* "*am meek and lowly in Heart* (15). - - - - - It is not "with ſharp and cutting Expreſſions, but with ſolid "Reaſons, that Error is to be confuted. - - - - - - - "It is our Duty to confound Error, not to cavil, or "to rail. It is ſaid, that *Alexander*, having heard "one of his Soldiers ſcoff at his Enemy *Darius*, reprimanded him ſmartly in theſe Words; *Friend,* "*I liſted thee to fight againſt* Darius, *and not to treat* "*him unworthily, as you do* (16). But, in truth, "JESUS CHRIST, our Captain, is but little obliged to Thoſe, who treat their Adverſaries in this "manner; and it is very probable, that, if he was yet "on Earth, he would ſay to them; *Preachers of my* "*Goſpel, I am willing you ſhould refute Popery, and* "*that you ſhould oppoſe my Enemy Antichriſt, and* "*all the Sects, which fight under his Banner; but I* "*have not called you to give them ill Words.* Theſe "are my Sentiments concerning the manner, in which "we ought to treat Thoſe of the *Romiſh* Communion: Perhaps they do not conform to the Practice "of *Luther*, *Calvin*, and ſome other great Men. "But our Conduct muſt not be regulated according "to the Example of others: They were Men; and "perhaps they had the failure of too warm a "Zeal (17)."

This is a ſmall part of the Extract, which is given us of This Sermon, in This Prelate's Life. He, who gave it, informs us, that This Sermon was preached a little after the Difference, which happened in the Houſe

(4) Ibid. pag. 119.

(5) Ibid. pag. 120.

(6) Ibid. pag. 124.

(7) P. 125.

(8) P. 129.

(9) P. 131.

(10) *That is, in the Year* 1685.

(11) Burnet, *in the Life of* William Bedell, pag. 132.

(12) *This Book is entituled,* Irenicorum tractatuum Prodromus.

(13) Burnet, ubi ſupra, pag. 133.

(14) *This Prelate touches upon the two greateſt Faults of Thoſe, who manage Controverſies. The one is, that they will rail too much at their Adverſaries; the other is, that they do not faithfully repreſent the Opinions, which they refute: They diſſemble the ſtrong Reaſons of the oppoſite Party; they ſtick to falſe Interpretations,* &c.

(15) *Theſe Words of* JESUS CHRIST *were the Text on which the Biſhop preached.*

(16) *I believe the Biſhop miſtakes one for another here: It was* Memnon, *a General of* Darius, *who ſaid ſo to a Soldier, that ſlandered* Alexander. Plutarch Apophth. pag. 174. *But, as the Ancients are not always uniform in applying theſe kind of Sayings to the ſame Perſons, the Biſhop might, perhaps, have read what he ſays.*

(17) Burnet's *Life of* William Bedell, p. 145, 147.

Charity ; and it was his kind Uſage of the Papiſts, which, with the ſpecial Protection of God, ſaved him from their Fury [*F*], when they made ſuch a Maſſacre in *Ireland*, in the Year 1641. His Houſe, where ſeveral Perſons had taken Sanctuary, was ſpared for two Months ; and, at laſt, when the Papiſts reſolved to employ Force againſt Thoſe Perſons, they had ſuch a Regard for him, as to deſire him to ſend them away ; which if he did not, they declared, that they had Orders to ſeize him. But he choſe rather to give himſelf up to the Diſcretion of the Rebels, than to put thoſe out of his Houſe, who came for Refuge there. So they took him Priſoner, with his two Sons, and brought them, with thoſe few Perſons, that were in his Houſe, to the Caſtle of *Lochwater*. He had the Liberty to preach in his Priſon ; and, a little while after, he was ſet at Liberty, with his two Sons, by an exchange of Priſoners. He was carried to the Houſe of an *Iriſh* Miniſter, and died within a few Days (*d*), with the moſt Chriſtian Diſpoſitions, that a true Prelate can have. His End anſwered the good Life he had led ; he was the greateſt Example, that theſe latter Ages can parallel with the holy Paſtors of the Primitive Church (*e*). The *Iriſh* Catholics, whoſe Hatred for the Proteſtants, and Spirit of Rebellion, inſpires them with more Fierceneſs, than the Nature of their Climate, and Education, admired his Virtue, and gave him very ſignal Marks of their Reſpect, on the Day of his Burial [*G*]. His Learning was great [*H*] ; and he would have teſtified it to the Public by a greater Number of Books [*I*], if he had printed all Thoſe, which he compoſed. They were almoſt all loſt ; for the Rebels ſcattered his Papers, and his whole Library. He was Seventy two Years of Age, when he died, and was yet very vigorous ; neither did he uſe Spectacles (*f*).

(*d*) Feb. 7, 1642.

(*e*) *It is what Dr* Burnet, *Biſhop of* Saliſbury, *ſhews very particularly, and with great Eloquence, in the* Life *of this Prelate. See the following Citation.*

(*f*) *Taken from his Life, composed by Dr* Burnet ; *tranſlated into* French *by* L. D. M, *and printed at* Amſterdam, 1687, *in* 12mo.

Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*, where there were many Papiſts. Dr *Burnet*'s Judgment upon it is well worthy of attention. *He gives us*, ſays he (18), *ſuch a fine Method of handling Controverſies, that the Advice will, I think, be found to be as extraordinary, as it is little practiſed.*

(18) P. 143.

[*F*] *It was his kind uſage of the Papiſts, which ſaved him from their Fury.*] Their Bitterneſs, (I make uſe of the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*'s Words) was not ſtrong enough to reſiſt the Sweetneſs, which he had ſhewed on all Occaſions, and which made them ſay very often, that He ſhould be the laſt *Engliſhman*, who ſhould be driven out of *Ireland*. *He was the only Perſon in the County of* Cavan, *who was not diſturbed in his Houſe, nor in the Church-yard, or Church, which were full of poor perſecuted People* (19). When the Rebels ſent him Word to diſmiſs all thoſe, who ſheltered themſelves under his Roof, they added, *That, as he had done good to ſeveral People, and had not diſobliged any Body, they had more regard for him, than for any* Engliſhman *in* Ireland (20). See the following Remark.

(19) P. 181.

(20) P. 205.

[*G*] *The* Iriſh *Catholics - - - - - - - gave him very ſignal Marks of their Reſpect, on the Day of his Burial.*] The titular Biſhop of *Kilmore* had taken poſſeſſion of the Biſhopric : It was neceſſary to deſire his leave, that Biſhop *Bedell* ſhould be buried in his Church-yard : He alledged, at firſt, that it was holy Ground, which ought not to be prophaned by ſuch Burials ; but, at laſt, he granted all that was deſired, and, accordingly, on the ninth of *February*, 1642, “ the “ Body of the deceaſed was buried near that of his “ Wife, as he had deſired in his Life-time. On this “ ſad Occaſion, the *Iriſh* would pay him extraordi“ nary Honours ; The Chief of the Rebels drew up “ his Troops, and made them accompany the Corps “ in great Ceremony, from Mr *Shereden*'s Houſe, to “ the Church-yard of *Kilmore* ; They would alſo have “ had Mr *Clogy* (21), perform the Office, according “ to the Liturgy of the Church of *England* ; but, “ though the Gentry would have paid him this Com“ pliment, it was not thought fit to make uſe of it, “ for fear of ſtirring up the Rage of the Mob, which “ was already too much exaſperated. When the “ Body was laid in the Ground, they fired a Vol“ ley, and cried out in *Latin*, *requieſcat in pace ul*“ *timus Anglorum*, — *Peace be with the laſt of the* “ Engliſh ; and, indeed, they had very often pro“ teſted, that they had more Conſideration for *Be*“ *dell*, than for any of the other *Engliſh* Biſhops, “ and that he ſhould be the laſt that ſhould be remo“ ved from them (22).”

(21) *He had been Miniſter of* Cavan, *and had lived a long time with* William Bedell. *It is he, who furniſhed Dr* Burnet *with Memoirs, to write this Prelate's Life.*

(22) Burnet, ibid. pag. 222, 223.

[*H*] *His Learning was great.*] Father *Paul* declared, that he had learned more from *William Bedell*, in all the ſpeculative, and poſitive, parts of Divinity, than from any other Perſon he had converſed with (23). This ſame Father had read the New Teſtament in *Greek*, with ſo much Exactneſs, that he had made Notes upon each Word ; but he found, by *Bedell*'s Criticiſms, that he had not well underſtood certain Paſſages ; and was very much pleaſed to learn the true Senſe of Them, which This learned *Engliſhman* ſhewed him (24). *Marc Antony de Dominis* deſired the ſame Doctor to examine the ten Books of his *Eccleſiaſtical Republic*. “ *Bedell* corrected many Miſ“ applications of Scripture, and many Quotations of “ the Fathers, in it ; for That Prelate, being alto“ gether ignorant of the *Greek* Tongue, muſt needs “ have committed a great many Faults ;” the Number of which was ſo great, that *Bedell* could not correct them all (25). He obſerved ſome Miſtakes, in the Works of the learned *Uſher*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh*. “ They were neither many, nor of any great Mo“ ment ; but, becauſe they did not anſwer the un“ common Exactneſs of That great Man, he thought “ he was obliged to point them out to him : which “ he did ; and the Archbiſhop received his Cenſure “ with his uſual Mildneſs, and Humility (26).” He ſtudied much, “ and chiefly the original Text of “ Scripture, of which he had ſo often read the “ *Hebrew*, and the *Greek* of the LXX, that he had “ them as fluent as the *Engliſh* Tranſlation (27).”

(23) Burnet, ubi ſupra, pag. 8. Wotton *atteſts this Fact, in a Letter, which he wrote to the King of* England, *inſerted in the Life of* William Bedell. pag. 37, 38.

(24) Burnet, ibid. pag. 10, 11.

(25) Ibid. pag. 11, 12.

(26) Ibid. pag. 230.

(27) Ibid. pag. 227.

[*I*] *He had compoſed a greater Number of Books.*] I have ſaid, in the Body of this Article, that he publiſhed a *Latin* Tranſlation of ſome of Father *Paul*'s Works. I muſt obſerve, at preſent, that *Marc Antony de Dominis* was much better ſatisfied with *Bedell*'s Tranſlation, than with That of *Newton*. The latter tranſlated the two firſt Books of *The Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent ; and the other tranſlated the two laſt (28). *Bedell* publiſhed a Book of Controverſy in the Year 1624, and dedicated it to the Prince of *Wales*. This Book was a Confutation of ſome of *Wadſworth*'s Letters. This *Wadſworth*, Fellow Student, and Chamber-Fellow of *Bedell*, was provided with a Benefice in the ſame Dioceſe with *Bedell*, and was ſent into *Spain*, *about the ſame time*, that *Bedell* was ſent to *Venice* (29). I ſay, he was ſent into *Spain, in the ſame quality of Chaplain, aud to teach the* Infanta Engliſh, *when her Marriage had been agreed upon with King* James. He ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to forſake his Religion and his Country, and publiſhed ſome Letters, containing the Motives of his Change (30). *Bedell* confuted them. It is believed, that his Anſwer had ſome Effect on *Wadſworth*'s Heart, though it did not induce him to make an outward Profeſſion of the Reformed Religion. It is thought ſo, becauſe the Son of this new Catholic came to *Bedell* at *Kilmore*, and told him, “ That his “ Father had ordered him to return him Thanks for “ the Pains he had taken to inſtruct him ; that he “ read his Book continually, and he had heard him “ ſay ſometimes, after the reading of it, that he would “ make his eſcape.” *Bedell* mentions a Diſcovery, which was made, of the Number of the Beaſt, in the Inſcription of a *Theſis*, dedicated to Pope *Paul* V (31). It was found, that the numeral Letters of theſe Words, *Paulo* V. *Vice Deo* made 666 ; but he does not

(28) *This is what I find in the* French *Life of Mr* Bedell, pag. 25, 26. *Now This is to ſuppoſe, that This Work of Father* Paul *is divided into but four Books ; but all the Editions that I have ſeen conſiſt of eight Books.*

(29) *I ſet down the very Words of the Life of of* William Bedell ; *tho' I found ſome difficulty in them ; for it ſeems there are above twelve Years between* Wotton's *Embaſſy to* Venice, *and the Treaty of Marriage of the Prince of* Wales *with the* Infanta.

(30) Burnet, ibid. p. 4, 5.

(31) Ibid. pag. 14.

pretend to be the Author of the Diſcovery: However he was ſo (32), and he did Father *Paul*, and other Divines of the Republic of *Venice*, a very great Pleaſure, when he communicated it to them (33). He wrote a very long Treatiſe on theſe two Queſtions; *Where was the Reformed Church before* Luther; *and what was the Fate of Thoſe, who died in the Boſom of the Church of* Rome, *before the Reformation?* He was reſolved to publiſh it; and the Learned Archbiſhop *Uſher* often preſſed him to it: The *Iriſh* Rebellion occaſioned the Loſs of This Work (34), *and of a great Collection of critical Expoſitions on different Paſſages of the Scripture*, together with his Sermons, and learned *Paraphraſes on all the Epiſtles and Goſpels of the Day, according to the Liturgy of the Church of* England (35). *The* Iriſh *ſeized on them, and the other Manuſcripts, whereof there was a great Cheſt full; only his great* Hebrew *Manuſcript was fortunately taken* out of the Hands of theſe profane Men, *and is preſerved in the Library of* Emanuel *College. This good Luck happened by means of an* Iriſhman, *whom he had converted, who, mixing with the Rebels, brought away This Manuſcript, and ſome other Books, with him.* One would be apt to believe, that it is the ſame, which is mentioned in the Twenty fifth Page. Now it is ſaid there, that *Bedell* bought, of Rabbi *Leo, chief Chacham of the Synagogue - - - - the fine Manuſcript of the Old Teſtament, which he gave to* Emanuel *College; though he had a great Value for it; for it is ſaid, that it coſt him it's Weight in Silver.*

(32) Wotton *aſſured King* James *of it.* ibid.

(33) Ibid. pag. 13.

(34) Ibid. pag. 229.

(35) Ibid. pag. 227.

BEGAT (John), Counſellor in the Parliament of *Dijon*, was deputed to *Charles* IX, in the Year 1563, to preſent an Addreſs to His Majeſty, againſt the Edict, which granted the Proteſtants the Exerciſe of their Religion, after the firſt Civil-War. The States of *Burgundy* were reſolved not to ſuffer the Aſſemblies of the Proteſtants, notwithſtanding That Edict; and, to make the Court approve of it, *Begat* was ſent thither, who ſpoke vigorouſly on That Subject. Afterwards he publiſhed an Apology, wherein he pretends to ſhew, by ſeveral Arguments, that Two Religions ought not to be ſuffered in one State, and that Toleration is offenſive to GOD, and againſt the Public Peace. The Proteſtants publiſhed a Writing againſt it (*a*) [*A*].

(*a*) Ex Thuano, lib. 36, pag. 730, ad Ann. 1564.

[*A*] *He publiſhed an Apology - - - - the Proteſtants publiſhed a Writing againſt it.*] I have not yet ſeen any Catalogue of Authors, who make any mention of This Work of *Begat*; which made me reſolve to find it out: beſides, we ſhall ſee, in this Article, the little Regard, they had then in *France*, for the Royal Authority. The Province of *Burgundy* did not only refuſe to comply with the King's Pleaſure; but decided, after a mature Deliberation, in the Aſſembly of the States, that they would not obey his Will. When ſuch things as theſe are repreſented to the *French*, ſince the Revolution, which happened in *England*, in the Year 1688, they know not what to ſay, and could wiſh, that the Proofs of theſe Recriminations were no where to be found. I have the Remonſtrance of *Begat*, in *Latin*, printed at *Cologne*, in the Year 1564. It is entitled, *Reſponſum conventus trium ordinum ducatus Burgundiæ de edicto pacis nuper in cauſa religionis factæ, ad Chriſtianiſſimum Galliarum Regem, Carolum Nonum, anno* 1563. I wonder it ſhould be ſo little known; for it was tranſlated into ſeveral Languages, as I have juſt now ſeen, in the *Paradoxical Miſcellanies* of *Peter de St Julien*. The Paſſage is ſo curious, that it deſerves to be produced entire. "To ſpeak of a more
" recent Affair, when the Parliament of *Burgundy*,
" aſſembled at *Dijon*, deputed Mr *John Begat*, Coun-
" ſellor in the ſame, to lay before the King the
" Reaſons, why That Court had not proceded to
" the Publication of the Edict of *January* (1), (where
" the ſaid *Begat* ſpoke ſo well, and ſo learnedly,
" that no other Remonſtrance was better received
" in our Time: which may be judged ſo, becauſe
" the ſame *French* Remonſtrance has been tranſlated
" into *Latin, Italian, Spaniſh*, and *High Dutch*) it
" happened, that the ſaid *Begat* fell into private Diſ-
" courſe with the Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital*, on the
" ſame Subject; and, as the Counſellor inſiſted up-
" on the Privileges of *Burgundy*, and ſaid, that the
" King had ſworn, and promiſed, to obſerve them,
" the ſaid Sieur *de l'Hoſpital* (as knaviſh, as a Chan-
" cellor) replied, that it did not belong to Subjects
" to act againſt their King *ex ſponſu* (they were his
" Words); and that all Contracts of Sovereign Princes
" with their Subjects bind them no longer, than
" they think fit (2)."

(1) *I believe he is miſtaken, and that he confounds the Edict of* January, 1561, *with the Edict of Pacification, of the Month of* March, 1563.

(2) Peter de St Julien, *Dean of* Chalons, Paradoxical Miſcellanies, p. 123.

BELLAI, an illuſtrious and ancient Family in *Anjou*, which has produced ſome great Men. See, in *Moreri*, a long Series of the Genealogy of the *du Bellai*'s, and a pretty large Account of the Perſons of That Name, who have moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves. I ſhall avoid Repetitions, as much as I can, in ſpeaking of *William du Bellai*, and of his Brother *John du Bellai*: I mean, that, as far as can be done, I ſhall omit what *Moreri* has already mentioned.

BELLAI (William *du*), Lord of *Langei*, was Son of *Lewis du Bellai* (*a*), and of *Margaret de la Tour-Landri*. He did *Francis* I great Services, both by his Courage, and Parts; he was no leſs a good Captain, than an able Negotiator; and his Pen was as good, as his Tongue, and his Sword. His Dexterity in penetrating into the Intrigues and Deſigns of his Enemies, by his Spies, was ſurprizing. See, in *Moreri*, what *Brantome* ſaid of him, and add to it, what I relate below [*A*]. He was

(*a*) *He founded the Branch of* Langei.

[*A*] *His Addreſs, in penetrating into the Deſigns of his Enemies, was ſurprizing: add to it what I relate below.*] *Francis de Billon* obſerves, that the Lord of *Langey* never began the Execution of any Military Undertaking, before he had made uſe of his Pen to diſcover the State of things (1). He reports, afterwards, theſe Words of *Charles* V. Langey'*s Pen has fought more againſt me, than all the barbed Lances of* France (2). He commends This Lord's Secretaries very much; for, after having ſpoken of a Perſon, who offered Two thouſand Crowns of Gold, in vain, for a Copy of a Letter, which a Cardinal had written to *Francis* I, he adds, that This
" Perſon went away confounded, as having preſumed,
" that he had to do with ſuch good Merchants, as Thoſe
" of the late Marquis *du Guaſt*, whom a Secretary
" of the famous *Langey* (whoſe Name was *Landry*),
" by the Help of Money, ſounded to the very Bot-
" tom of their Thoughts: which he did out of Af-
" fection to a Maſter, who, in Caſe of Neceſſity,
" had a voluntary Sacrifice made him of the Hearts
" of his Secretaries, and other Gentlemen: Hence
" it is, that The Saying, *Langey*'s Education, is ſtill
" uſed in many Places, to his Praiſe, and to put
" *France* in Mind of the ſerviceable Perſons of his
" Time (3)." If the Author, who has ſpoken ſo much of the great Effects of the Pen, and alledged ſo many Examples of it, had known what I have now quoted, he would have adorned his Work, entituled *Arma Anſerina*, with it (4).

(1) Billon, *in his* Impregnable Fort of the Honour of the Female Sex. *Fol.* 236, *verſo*, *Edit. of* Paris, 1555, *in* 4to.

(2) Id. ibid. fol. 237.

(3) Id. ibid. fol. 245, verſo.

(4) *Printed at* Leyden, *in* 1679, *in* 12mo.

[*B*] *He*

was one of the chief Springs, which moved ſome Univerſities of *France* to vote according to the Paſſions of *Henry* VIII, King of *England*, when That Prince reſolved, by way of Divorce, to quit his Wife, and be at Liberty to marry *Anne Bullen*. It was the Intereſt of *France* to favour the King of *England*, in this Matter; for the divorcing of Queen *Catherine* was an Affront to the Emperor, and a Pleaſure to *Henry* VIII. This Affront on the one Side, and Pleaſure on the other, were very proper to form a ſtrict Alliance between the King of *England*, and *Francis* I; which was the reaſon, why *William du Bellai* uſed his utmoſt Endeavours in Favour of *Henry* VIII. He was ſent ſeveral times to the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*: He dexterouſly warded off the Blows, which were aimed at him there, in relation to the Severity, with which his Maſter puniſhed Heretics [*B*]. He was made a Knight of the Order, and Lieutenant General in *Italy*. He had compoſed *An Hiſtory of his own Times* [*C*], in *Latin*, divided into *Ogdoades* (*b*), and, afterwards, by the King's Order, he tranſlated it into *French*: Somebody ſtole this Work; ſo that the Public has been deprived of it, except ſome Fragments, and three or four Books, which MARTIN DU BELLAI, the Author's Brother, inſerted in his Memoirs [*D*]. You will ſee, in the Remarks, what Judgment *Montagne* paſſed on This

(*b*) La Croix du Maine *imagined, falſely, that* William du Bellai *had wrote a Book, entituled* Ogdoades, *which was different from his* Hiſtory of *France*.

[*B*] *He dexterouſly warded off the Blows, which were aimed at him in relation to - - - - the Puniſhment of Heretics.*] See the Subſtance of his Speech in the ninth Book of *Sleidan*: It was not poſſible to make a more artful Apology, than That, which he made for the Puniſhment, which *Francis* I, had inflicted on ſome of his Subjects, who had embraced the new Opinions. But *Langey*'s Converſations were, at leaſt, as artful as his Speeches: he conferred with the Doctors, and confeſt to them, that, on divers Points, the Opinions of the King, his Maſter, did not much differ from Thoſe of a Book, which *Melanchthon* had publiſhed (5). Father *Maimbourg* was very angry, upon this Occaſion, with *Sleidan*. "How "is it poſſible, *ſays he* (6), that the Lord *du Bellai* (7) "could have ſaid ſo falſe a thing and ſo contrary "to all Probability? He, who, in the beginning of "That ſame Year, had followed the King *in a famous Proceſſion, where That Prince ſhewed ſo much* "*Zeal for the Catholic Religion, and,* after which, "he cauſed ſix Men, convicted of Lutheraniſm, to "be burnt alive, with a ſlow Fire. *One might as* "*well ask*, how can a cunning and dexterous Embaſſador make uſe of any Diſguiſe, when he deſires to obtain things of great Importance, which "a ſincere Acknowledgment would infallibly make "him loſe?" Father *Maimbourg* confeſſes (8), that *du Bellai* declared, that They, who were puniſhed in *France*, were ſuch as the Proteſtants of *Germany* would not acknowledge. The ſame Jeſuit does not cenſure *Sleidan* for having ſaid, that *du Bellai* proteſted the King his Maſter had not declared againſt Lutheraniſm, by the Puniſhment, to which he had condemned ſome of his Subjects, and that none but malicious Calumniators could be guilty of ſo extravagant an Aſſertion. "Illum animadvertiſſe qui- "dem in ſuæ ditionis quoſdam: ſed hoc ad ipſo- "rum injuriam nullam pertinere, tametſi malevoli "dicant quum illos è medio ſuſtulit ipſorum quoque "cauſam veluti præjudicio quodam condemnaſſe: "rogat autem ne tam ineptis calumniis moveantur (9)." Father *Maimbourg* muſt therefore have believed, that The Embaſſador ſpoke in this Manner: Now what can be ſaid more contrary to Sincerity, more falſe, and more unlikely? Was it not notoriouſly known, that, at *Paris*, they gave no more Quarter to the Lutherans, than to the Zuinglians? See what has been ſaid, on all this, againſt Father *Maimbourg*, in the Critical Anſwer to his Hiſtory of *Calviniſm* (10). We have, here, an Article of the Religion of Sovereigns, and of the Embaſſadors Catechiſm; which is, That Hereſy ought to be perſecuted at Home, and careſſed in foreign Countries, in order to ſtir up a Civil War in a State, which it is their Intereſt to weaken, or in order to make an advantageous Alliance. It is the Embaſſador's Trade to act according to the Doctrine of Equivocations; and it ſhould have been chiefly invented for them. But, to go on, *Sleidan*'s Honeſty has been diſplayed in it's full Luſtre by Mr *Seckendorf*. He quotes *William*, and his Brother *John du Bellai*'s Letters, written to *Melanchthon*; wherein they aſſured him of the good Sentiments of *Francis* I (11). Nay, he quotes a Letter, which That Prince wrote to the League of *Smalcalde*, to excuſe the Puniſhments in queſtion (12). The Confederate Princes were plainly impoſed upon; and were made to believe many things, to hinder them from coming to an Accommodation with *Charles* V. A Modern Hiſtorian (13) obſerves, that *William du Bellai*'s Diſcourſe to the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*, aſſembled to deliberate on the Divorce of the King of *England*, was all a Cheat: And why ſhould he have been more ſincere to the Prejudice of *Francis* I, in *Germany*?

SLEIDAN juſtified againſt *Maimbourg*'s Accuſations.

[*C*] *He compoſed* An Hiſtory of his own Times *in* Latin.] *Scævola Sammarthanus* was much miſtaken, when he ſaid, that This Work was the Hiſtory of *France*, from the beginning of the Monarchy, to the time of the Author. *Hiſtoriam de rebus Gallicis ab ipſa imperii origine ad ſua uſque tempora, tum Latinè tum Gallicè, graviſſimo ſtilo perſecutus eſt* (14). If he had read the Prefaces, he would not have ſaid ſo; for *William du Bellai* declares, in expreſs Words (15), *That his Memoirs begin with the Infancy of Francis* I. He adds, that he had, at firſt, prefixed to them, by way of Introduction, a Diſcourſe about the Origin of the *Gauls*, and *French*, and the Reduction of Thoſe two Nations into one, which threw off the Roman Yoke; but that, afterwards, he laid aſide That Diſcourſe, and enlarged it ſo much, that he made a ſeparate Work of it, and one of the ſeven *Ogdoades*, which made up his Hiſtory. He treated, in That *Ogdoade*, I. Of the Antiquity of the *Gauls* and *French*; II. Of the Diviſion of *Gaul* and *France*; He gave, there, a Geographical Deſcription, and reconciled the Modern Names with the Ancient, as well as he could; III. Of the Laws and Cuſtoms, as well Military, as Political, and of the Offices, and Dignities. *He accommodated the Time paſt to the preſent, as well, and as near, as he could* (16). *Martin du Bellai* does no leſs clearly condemn *Scævola Sammarthanus*. "My deceaſed Brother, *ſay he* (17), "Meſſire *William du Bellai*. - - - - had compoſed "ſeven *Latin Ogdoades*, which he tranſlated, by the "King's Order, into our Vulgar Language, where- "in might be ſeen, as in a clear Glaſs, not only "a Picture of the Occurrences OF THIS AGE, "but alſo a wonderful Dexterity of Writing, accord- "ing to the Judgment of the moſt Learned." If it had been a compleat Hiſtory of the Monarchy, would he have recommended his Brother's Memoirs by the ſole *Occurrences of this Age*, and by the Stile?

Note, That the Work of the Antiquity of the *Gauls*, and *French*, is ſo full of Fables, that one would think the Author did not ſo much deſign to write a Hiſtory, as to forge a Romance. *Non Francogallicæ hiſtoriæ, ſed Amadiſicarum fabularum inſtituiſſe tractationem videtur.* Thus *Francis Hotman* ſpeaks of it, at the end of the fourth Chapter of his *Francogallia*.

[*D*] *Of which there remain - - - - three or four Books, which* MARTIN DU BELLAI - - - - - *inſerted in his Memoirs.*] He was both a Soldier and an Author, as well as his Brother. He was Knight of the King's Order, Captain of the fifty Men of Arms of his Ordinances, and his Lieutenant-General in *Normandy*. He left ſome *Memoirs*, which reach, from the Year 1513, *when he came to Court*, to the Death of *Francis* I. "They are, *ſays he* (18), Me- "moirs both of Peace and War, of which I can "partly ſpeak as an Eye-witneſs; for I was per- "ſonally

SOME Facts concerning *Martin du Bellai*.

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(5) *It was his* Loci Communes.

(6) Maimb. Hiſtory of *Lutheraniſm*, lib. 3, pag. 232.

(7) *In the preceding Page he is called* William de Langey, *Lord of* Bellai, *whereby the Order is inverted.*

(8) Pag. 231 *of his* Lutheraniſm.

(9) Sleidanus, lib. 9, fol. 218.

(10) Letter 18, p. 333, 3d *Edition.*

(11) Seckendorf, lib. 3, pag. 109. *See also* pag. 259, n. 12.

(12) Ibid. pag. 104.

(13) Le Grand's Hiſtory of the Divorce of *Henry* VIII, Tom. I, pag. 179.

(14) Sammarth. in Elog. p. 12.

(15) *In his Prologue. See* p. 454, *of the Memoirs of* Martin du Bellai, *Edit. of* Rochel, 1573, *in* 8vo.

(16) Ibid. pag. 457.

(17) *In the Preface.*

(18) *In his Preface.*

This Book [*E*]. The Prologue contains very important Pieces of Advice to Hiſtorians, and very ſolid Reflexions on the Indignities, which are offered to Hiſtory [*F*]. It is through a palpable Miſtake, that a Book, concerning Military Diſcipline,

"ſonally preſent, in ſeveral Places, on this, and the other, ſide of the *Alps*; and, as for the reſt, I could have certain Advice from thoſe, who were preſent." Of the ten Books, which make up This Work, there are but three, which belong to *William du Bellai*, if we may rely on the Title-page, on the Preface of *Martin du Bellai*, and on the Title of the Prologues of the *Ogdoades*: But, if we conſider the Running-title, and the particular Title, which is at the Head of each Book, we ſhall find, that the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth, Books belong to *William du Bellai*, and that the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, ninth, and tenth, belong to *Martin*. That, which belongs to *William*, is taken from the fifth *Ogdoade*, and reaches from the Year 1536, to the Year 1543 (19). The whole Work of *William* conſiſted of ſeven *Ogdoades*; but the firſt did not relate to *Francis* I; It treated of the Antiquities of the *Gauls* and *French*, &c. as I have already obſerved (20). The other ſix were deſigned for That Monarch's Reign. The ten Books, which remain, written partly by *William*, and partly by *Martin*, were printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1569, in *Folio*, by the care of *René du BELLAI*, Baron *de la Lande*, Son-in-law of *Martin*. Some quote an Edition of *Paris*, in *Folio*, in the Year 1572. I have ſeen one, which was printed off at *Paris*, the twentieth of *October* 1587, in *Folio*, by *Peter de Voirnir*, the King's Mathematical Printer, and was ſold by *Peter de Fuillier*. *Du Cheſne*, in his *Bibliotheque* of the Writers of the Hiſtory of *France* (21), ſays, that there is a *Geneva* Edition, in 8vo, 1594; but he ſays nothing of That of *Rochel*, 1573, in 8vo. *Hugh Sureau* tranſlated This Book into *Latin*, and publiſhed it at *Frankfort*, in *Folio*, in the Year 1574. *Martin du Bellai* died at *Glatigni*, the ninth of *March*, 1559 (22). He had married *Iſabella Chenue d'Yvetot*, and, by This Marriage, he became Prince of *Yvetot* (23).

[*E*] *What Judgment* Montagne *paſſed on This Book.*] Theſe are his Words (24). "It is always pleaſant to ſee things, written by thoſe, who have experienced how they ought to be managed; but it cannot be denied, that a great want of That Freedom, and Liberty, of writing is evidently diſcovered in Thoſe two Lords, which is conſpicuous in the old *French* Writers, as in the Sire *de Joinville*, Domeſtic Servant of St *Lewis*, *Eginard* Chancellor of *Charlemagne*, and, of later Memory, in *Philip de Comines*. We have, here, rather a Plea for King *Francis* againſt the Emperor *Charles* V, than an Hiſtory. I do not believe they have altered any thing as to the main; but they make a Trade of judging of Events, often againſt Reaſon, to our Advantage, and of omitting all that is tickliſh, in the Life of their Maſter; witneſs the removal of Meſſieurs *de Montmorency* and *Brion*, which is here forgotten; nay, the very Name of Madam *d'Eſtampes* is not to be found in it. Private Actions may be concealed; but, to paſs over in Silence, what every Body knows, and Matters, which have produced ſuch public Effects, and of ſuch great Conſequences, is an inexcuſable Fault. In ſhort, to have a full Knowledge of King *Francis*, and of the Things, which happened in his Time, you muſt look elſewhere if you will believe me. The Advantage, which may be reaped from the reading of This Hiſtory, conſiſts in the particular Account of the Battles, and Warlike Exploits, wherein Theſe Gentlemen were preſent, in ſome private Sayings, and Actions, of ſome Princes of their Time, and in the Practices, and Negotiations, conducted by the Sieur *de Langey*, where there are many things, which deſerve to be known, and Diſcourſes, which are not vulgar." If *Moreri* had read the Memoirs of theſe Gentlemen, one might very well ſay, that he knew but little how to judge of Books; for he ſays, the Stile of *William du Bellai is pompous, aud magnificent; and ſuch as Perſons of Quality ought to write in.* Firſt of all, it is certain, that the Stile of This Illuſtrious Perſon is not pompous and magnificent; it is incorrect; and it does not appear, that the Author took any pains about it; beſides it is full of broken *Latin* Terms; which ſhews, that the Author does himſelf Juſtice, when he declares, that he had no regard to the Perfection of the Stile. In the ſecond place, Perſons of Quality do not write in a pompous Stile; It is not by this Character, that one may diſcover, whether an Author be a Perſon of Quality, or not: A profeſſed Rhetorician, or preaching Monk, write an hundred times more pompouſly, than a Courtier.

MORERI judged ill of the Stile.

[*F*] *The Prologue of his Ogdoades contains very important Pieces of Advice to Hiſtorians, and very ſolid Reflexions on the Indignities, offered to Hiſtory.*] There never was more occaſion to attend to This, than at preſent; but the worſt of it is, that moſt of thoſe, who are guilty of the Faults, cenſured by *William du Bellai*, do not commit them through Ignorance. It is Malice, Animoſity, or the Deſire of pleaſing the People, and of getting Money by it, which engage Writers to falſify their Relations. Whatever may be the Cauſe of This Diſorder, I ſhall ſet down a long Paſſage of This Author. He obſerves, very judiciouſly, That it is neceſſary, that They, who are acquainted with Affairs, be ſpeedy in publiſhing Them; for, otherwiſe, it becomes too difficult to trace things back to their Original. "Slowneſs in Hiſtory, *ſays he* (25), is of ſo much the more dangerous Conſequence, becauſe the Lives of Mortals are ſhort: and, if nothing be committed to writing by thoſe, who know, and remember, the Affairs of their Times, They, who come after, though they are Maſters of a good Stile, and uſe Diligence, cannot write with certainty, and agreeably to the Truth. This we may, already, have obſerved in ſome of the laſt preceeding Years, of which to ſpeak truly, and at large, is a difficult Matter, partly through the Negligence, and partly through the Raſhneſs of the Hiſtorians themſelves, who, nevertheleſs, complain, that they have not Materials, worthy of their Studies, and Labour; but they would have done better, both for themſelves and us, if they had written nothing, rather than have publiſhed under the Title of an Hiſtory, a Parcel of fabulous and lying Stories, of which we have, at this Day, a greater Plenty, than we have of true Hiſtories. I have read, in ſome Chronicle (which I believe ſome will think to be a Dream) that a King of *France*, after Dinner, chaſed a Stag from *Compiegne* to *Loudun*, which is about 100 Leagues. Every one knows, that the virtuous, and praiſe-worthy, Prince, *Charles*, Duke of *Orleans*, after he had been thirty Years a Priſoner in *England*, for the Service of the Crown of *France*, at laſt returned home, and died, loaded with Years and Honour: yet we read, in more than twenty Authors, that he was beheaded at *Paris* for High-Treaſon. Did not the laſt King of *Scotland* die in a Battle againſt the *Engliſh*, in the Year 1514? and yet I have read, that he returned Victorious, and Triumphant, into his own Kingdom. I avoid Prolixity, in recounting a great Number of theſe Lies, which are certainly publiſhed only through the Raſhneſs, Careleſſneſs, and Indiſcretion, of Thoſe Hiſtorians, and Writers of Chronicles, who, oftentimes, deliver That for certain, which they firſt heard, without having any regard to the Credibility of the Perſon, who related it to Them; or elſe by ſetting down what is commonly reported among the People; which, generally, has very little Truth in it: from whence it proceeds, that Readers, who are better informed, are not very willing to believe other good ancient Authors, thinking that they wrote after the ſame manner. Thus, in another Caſe, Cardinal *Beſſarion* (26), ſeeing ſo many new Saints canonized at *Rome*, whoſe Lives he knew, and did not approve of; *Theſe new Saints*, ſaid he, *make me very doubtful and ſcrupulous with reſpect to what is ſaid of the Ancient ones.* And I wiſh theſe Writers of Chronicles would be quiet, or elſe give Names to their Books, anſwerable to the Contents, and that Thoſe, who are able and willing to ſpeak the Truth, were ſo zealous for the Honour and Glory of their Country, as to write in

(19) *Preface of* Martin du Bellai.

(20) *In Remark* [*C*].

(21) Pag. 85.

(22) La Croix du Maine, Bibl. Fr. pag. 314.

(23) Ibid. pag. 313.

(24) Montagne's Eſſays, Book 2, chap. 10, Tom. II, p. 155, *Edit. of* Paris, 1659, *in* 12mo.

(25) William du Bellai, *Prologue of his* Ogdoades, pag. 435, &c. Rochel *Edit.* 1573, *in* 8vo.

(26) *See* Bodin's *Words in Rem.* [*G*], *of the Article* LAUNOI (JOHN de) *towards the end. He applies them to thoſe lying Hiſtorians, who hinder us from believing others.*

Diſcipline, is aſcribed to *William du Bellai* [*G*]. I believe he is the Author of the other Works, which are aſcribed to him [*H*]; but I do not think they were ever printed. I except *The Epitome of the Antiquities of* Gaul, which was printed, with ſome other ſmall Pieces, in the Year 1556. *La Croix du Maine* aſſures us, that *William*

their own Language, what they have ſeen, or heard, from credible Perſons. Then the Men of Letters might enrich their Stile, and make it elegant, without the Trouble of ſearching the Truth amidſt ſo many Lies, Contradictions, and Inconſiſtencies, which are publiſhed by the ſaid Writers of Chronicles, who fooliſhly depend upon the Hear-ſay of the firſt Perſon they meet with."

[*G*] *It is through a palpable Miſtake, that a Book, concerning Military Diſcipline, is aſcribed to* William du Bellai.] *Du Verdier* aſcribes This Book abſolutely to him; but *la Croix du Maine* gives us to underſtand, that he is not ſure of it: He neither notes the Year, nor the Place, where it was printed, but ſays only, That *the Inſtruction of the Military Art is to be found printed under the Name of the ſaid Sieur* de Langey. *Du Verdier* is more exact; he gives the Title in this Manner; *Inſtructions about War, extracted out of the Books of* Polybius, Frontinus, Vegetius, Cornazan, Machiavel, *and ſeveral other good Authors, by Meſſ.* William du Bellai, *&c. printed at* Paris, 4to, *and* 8vo, *by* Michael Vaſcoſan, 1553. *Brantome* was fully perſuaded, that the ſame Book had appeared under it's Author's own Name: "The Book, *ſays he* (27), which Monſieur *de Langey* wrote concerning the Military Art, ſhews him to be a better Captain, than That, which *Machiavel* wrote on That Subject, does him: It was a fooliſh thing for the latter, who did not know what War was, to compoſe a Book about it; juſt as if a Philoſopher ſhould write a Book of Hunting, as *le Fouillou* did." It is eaſy to prove, by the Book itſelf, that *William du Bellai* is not the Author of it. The Author of the Work was but a *Gendarme* in the Company of the Sieur *de Negrepeliſſe*, in the Year 1528. He was at the *Siege and taking of* Troja, *under Monſieur* de Lautrec; *he retired to* Barletta, *a Town of* Apulia, after he came out of Priſon; for he had been taken Priſoner, when the Company, in which he ſerved, was defeated, in the Retreat, which the Marquis *de Salluſſes* made from before *Naples*. He ſays all theſe things himſelf in his Book: Now nothing of all this can agree with *William du Bellai*. He was a great Lord in the Year 1525, when the Queen Regent ſent him into *Spain* to *Francis* I. He was, in 1527, one of thoſe, who were preſent at the Judgment, given againſt Monſieur *de Bourbon* (28). The King ſent him the ſame Year into *Italy*, with Money, to the Confederate Princes, and to promote the Intereſts of the League with Pope *Clement* VII. He was ſent into *England* in the Year 1529, and 1533. He was, then, Gentleman of the King's Chamber. Being Governour of *Turin*, in the Year 1537, he was ſent into *Germany* to demand a Diet, in which the Pretenſions of the Emperor, and of the King of *France*, to the Duchy of *Milan*, might be diſcuſſed. He was not therefore commanded, the ſame Year, *in Quality of a Captain of a Company of Foot Soldiers, to aſſiſt the Sieur* de Roberval *in making himſelf Maſter of the Valleys of St* Martin, *and* Lucerne. Now the Author of the *Military Diſcipline* ſays, towards the end of the ſecond Book, that he received ſuch an Order: It is, therefore, moſt certain, that the Lord *de Langey* did not compoſe That Book. Theſe are ſuch demonſtrative Reaſons, that he, who makes uſe of them (29), does not think it neceſſary to add this; "If Meſſ. *William du Bellai* was the Author of it, he would not praiſe himſelf (30) for having a perfect Knowledge of War, and Learning, nor call himſelf, ſpeaking in the third Perſon, my Lord of *Langey* (31), as *Mambrin Poſeo* (32), an *Italian* Tranſlator, and the laſt *French* Correctors, have very well obſerved: Moreover, the Sieur *de Langé*, who forgets himſelf but little, or not at all, in his Memoirs, and who curiouſly quotes the Places, where he was, makes almoſt no mention of himſelf in all That Expedition, undertaken by Monſieur *de Lautrec*." Let us not be contented with knowing only, that This Work was aſcribed to a Perſon, who was not the Author of it, but let us know the Reaſon of this Miſtake, and the true Father's Name. *Raimond de Pavie*, Sieur *de Forquevauls*, a Gentleman of *Gaſcogne*, is the Author of This Work. He communicated a Copy of it to *William du Bellai*, *as to his good Lord and Friend, and to whoſe Judgment he had firſt ſubmitted it.* This Copy was found among the Papers of That Lord (33); This is the Origin of the Miſtake. If the Author's Kinſman had acquainted the Public with the Truth of This Fact, before *Naudé* publiſhed his *Syntagma de ſtudio militari* (34), it is probable, That *Syntagma* would not have retained the common Error, which we find in theſe Words; "Qui (Erricus Roanus) nunc in Tellina Valle ſub Chriſtianiſſimo Rege caſtrorum præfectus, idem omnino facit, quod quondam in Alpibus Taurinis Guilielmus Bellajus Langæus, eodem munere defungens, fecerat, editis etiam libris de re militari, quos poſtea Mambrinus Roſeus Italica, & omnes ferme populi ſua lingua reddiderunt, ob ſummam ejuſmodi librorum, qui ab expertis & celeberrimis noſtra & patrum memoria ducibus compoſiti fuerunt, utilitatem (35). —— *Who* (Henry de Rohan) *now* Marſhal de Camp *in the* Valteline, *under the moſt Chriſtian King, does the ſame, which was formerly done by* Bellai, *Lord of* Langey, *having publiſhed A Treatiſe of Military Affairs, which afterwards* Mambrinus Roſeus *tranſlated into* Italian, *and all other Nations into their reſpective Languages, on account of the great Uſefulneſs of ſuch Kind of Books, which have been written, in our own and our Fathers Memories, by experienced and famous Generals.*" *Naudé* is moreover miſtaken, in ſuppoſing, that the Books in queſtion were printed during the Life of *William du Bellai*. He ſeems to value That Work much. His Judgment was therefore different from That of a Commentator on *Onoſander*, of whom the Baron *de Forquevauls* complained in this manner: "This Military Diſcourſe is indeed a neceſſary Work, and uſeful to thoſe, who profeſs the Trade of War, and which will continue a long time eſteemed, and prized, in the Hands of the moſt Underſtanding Men, in ſpite of the Slanders, and contrary Opinion, of a Modern Author, who, in his Annotations on the Military Art of *Onoſander*, a *Greek* Writer, ſtrives to deſpiſe one, with whom this Author is not to be compared, in this Science, though he wrote more like a Doctor than a Soldier, during the leiſure, and idle Time, which the good Table, and the Amours of a certain Abbot with his Wife, afforded him (36), and though he has extracted his Commentaries from divers Authors; whereas the Text of him, whom I am ſpeaking of, was conceived on Horſeback, and written, Sword in Hand, by the Sieur *de Forquevauls* (37)." What was *la Croix du Maine* thinking of, when he ſaid, That the Conſtable, *Anne de Montmorency*, paſſed for the Author of the Book in queſtion (38). Did he not know, that the Conſtable, was a Man of no Learning or Reading, and was not able to write? Let us ſee from whence his Doubt proceeded: "It is, *ſays he*, becauſe, in reading that Book, I found, that the Author of it praiſes Meſſire *William du Bellai*, Lord of *Langey*, very much, and recommends him for his Learning and Skill in War; which makes me believe, that he is not the Author of it, but that thoſe Memoirs were found in his Library, without the Name of him, who wrote them, and that it was preſuppoſed it was his own Work, becauſe he had promiſed to write ſome Memoirs. I do not affert, that he is the Author of them, neither do I deny it." If he had read the Work well, he would have found ſtronger Proofs, than That, which he draws from the Praiſes given in it to *William du Bellai*.

[*H*] *I believe he is the Author of the other Works, which are aſcribed to him.*] See the Catalogue of them in the *French Bibliotheques* of *la Croix du Maine*, and *du Verdier*. Some of the chief of them were, perhaps, never finiſhed: It is probable, *la Croix du Maine* gave That for a perfect Work, which the Author only promiſes in the Prologue of the *Ogdoades*.

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(27) Brantome's Memoirs, relating to the great *French* Captains, Tom. I, p. 382.

(28) John du Tillet, *in his* Collections of the Ranks of *France, cited by the Baron* de Forquevauls. *See the following Citation.*

(29) *The Baron* de Forquevauls, *in the Life of ſeveral great* French *Captains*, pag. 332, 333.

(30) *In the 4th Chap. of the 3d Book, of Edit.* 1. *by* Michael Vaſcoſan *and* Gualliot du Pré.

(31) *This Reaſon is good for nothing, if it be built wholly upon the Words* my Lord: *An infinite Number of Authors imitate* Julius Cæſar, *who ſpeaks of himſelf in the third Perſon.* Will. Du-Bellai *followed this Method in his* Memoirs.

(32) *It ſhould have been* Mambrin Roſeo.

(33) *See th* Lives of many *French* Captains, *by* Francis de Pavie, *Baron* de Forquevauls, pag, 331.

(34) *The Lives, written by the Baron* de Forquevauls, *were printed at* Paris, *in the Year* 1643. *The* Syntagma Rei militaris *came out at* Rome, *in the Year* 1637.

(35) Naudæus, Syntagm. de ſtudio milit.

(36) *Here is a Fact for the Curious, in Secret Hiſtory: I do not exhort* them *them to ſearch it out; they will do it without being deſired, and I do not believe the thing is very difficult.*

(37) *The Baron* de Forquevauls, ubi ſupra, pag. 334.

(38) La Croix du Maine, Bibl. pag. 139.

William du Bellai was born about the Year 1498, at *Glatigni*, in *le Perche* (*c*). I believe he is miſtaken, as to the Time [*I*].

(*c*) La Croix du Maine. Biblioth. Franç. pag. 139.

[*I*] La Croix du Maine *aſſures us, that he was born, in* 1498, *at* Glatigni —— *I believe he is miſtaken as to the Time.*] After having ſaid, Page 139, that *William du Bellai was born in the Year* 1498, *or thereabouts*, he places his Death, in the following Page, on the ninth of *January*, 1543, at the Age *of* Forty ſeven *Years, or thereabouts*. Would a Man, ever ſo little exact, ſay ſo? Would he not place, either 1496, on one ſide, inſtead of 1498, or 45 on the other, inſtead of 43? But this is not the chief thing. *Brantome* obſerves, that *Langey died, not very old, and might have lived longer* (39). Can any one ſpeak thus of a Man about Forty four Years of Age. Moreover, Cardinal *du Bellai* was Sixty eight Years of Age, when he died (40); now he died in 1560; he was, therefore, born in the Year 1492. It cannot, then, be ſaid, that *William du Bellai* was born in the Year 1498; for he was older than his Brother, the Cardinal (41). I have juſt now diſcovered, that he died in his Climacterical Year. *Rabelais* obſerves it, in the Twenty firſt Chapter of his third Book, after having ſaid, that he died the tenth of *January* 1543. The Author of the Remarks on the *Confeſſion of Sanci* gave me notice of this Paſſage.

(39) Brantome's Illuſtrious *Frenchmen*, Tom. I, pag. 384.

(40) Teiſſier, Additions to *Thuanus*, Tom. I, pag. 184.

(41) Sammarth. in Elog.

BELLAI (JOHN *du*), younger Brother of the foregoing, was a Man of great Merit. He concurred, with his elder Brother, in favouring the Paſſions of *Henry* VIII, and decoying the Proteſtants of *Germany*, in order to ſerve *Francis* I, whoſe Affairs required, that a Quarrel ſhould, at any rate, be fomented between the Emperor, and *England*, by the Divorce of *Catherine* of *Arragon*, and that the Confederates of *Smalcalde* ſhould be amuſed with Lies, about the pretended Inclination of *Francis* I, to give the *Lutherans* ſome Satisfaction. This Conduct would have been more inexcuſable in *John du Bellai*, who was a Biſhop, than in his Brother *William*, who was a Lay-man; I ſay it would have been more inexcuſable, if That Biſhop had not been alſo an Embaſſador, and a Stateſman (*a*). The Definition of Perſons, inveſted with That Character, is well known. Let us add, that it is not unlikely, that *John du Bellai* had a ſincere Deſire, and even ſome Hopes, of a Reformation, and that, upon this Proſpect, he ſincerely encouraged *Melanchthon* to come into *France*; for he inclined, for ſome time, towards *Lutheraniſm*, and even reformed himſelf privately as to the Article of Celibacy, by a Marriage of Conſcience, which he contracted [*A*]. He was Biſhop of *Paris*, when, in 1534, he was ſent to *Rome* to ſoften Matters, in relation to the King of *England*; but he had no good Succeſs, and could not hinder the Pope from fulminating an Excommunication againſt *Henry* VIII. He was promoted to the Cardinalſhip, by Pope *Paul* III, in the Year 1535, and died, in 1560, at *Rome*, where he had retired, after the Death of *Francis* I. He was a Man, who would willingly have quitted the Mitre, and Croſier, to take the Helmet, and Sword [*B*]. If it be true, that he condemned

(*a*) *He was Biſhop of* Baionne, *in the Year* 1527, *when* Francis I. *ſent him Embaſſador into* England.

[*A*] *He reformed himſelf privately, as to the Article of Celibacy, by a Marriage of Conſcience.*] *Brantome* affirms it, in this manner; "I have heard a "Lady of great and ancient Quality ſay, That the "late Cardinal *du Bellai*, being Biſhop and Cardinal, "had married Madame *de Chatillon*, and died married; this ſhe ſaid, diſcourſing with Monſieur *de* "*Manne*, of *Provence*, of the Family of *Seulal*, and "Biſhop of *Frejus*, who had attended the ſaid Cardinal fifteen Years at the Court of *Rome*, and had "been one of his private Protonotaries; and, happening to ſpeak of the ſaid Cardinal, ſhe asked him, "Whether he had never told, and confeſſed to him, "that he was married? Monſieur *de Manne* was much "ſurprized at this Queſtion. He is yet living, and "can tell whether I aſſert a Lye; for I was there. "He anſwered, That he had never heard him, or "others, ſay ſo. Well then, I tell you ſo, replied "ſhe; for there is nothing more true, than that he "was married, and died really married to the ſaid "Lady *Chatillon* (1)." This Lady was the Widow of Monſ. *de Chatillon*, who was wounded before *Ravenna*, and who died of his Wounds at *Ferrara* (2). He had been in great Credit in the Reign of *Charles* VIII. His Widow, young and fair, was choſen Lady of Honour to the Queen of *Navarre*, and gave her the good Advice which That Queen mentioned in her *Hundred Novels*. Admiral *de Bonivet* crept into This Princeſs's Bed through a Trap-Door, but he got nothing there but a ſcratched Face (3). The Queen would have complained of this Attempt to her Brother *Francis* I, if the Lady *Chatillon* had not given her "This good Advice, which is one of the fineſt "and wiſeſt, and the moſt proper to avoid Scandal, "that could have been given, even by a firſt Preſident "of *Paris*; and which ſhewed, nevertheleſs, that the "Lady was as Cunning and Crafty in ſuch Myſteries, "as Wiſe and Diſcreet; and therefore it is not to "be doubted, that ſhe kept her Marriage with the "Cardinal very private. —— I believe, that the "Cardinal, her ſaid Husband, who was one of the "moſt Learned, Eloquent, Wiſe, and Prudent, Men "of his Time, had taught her to ſpeak ſo well, and "give ſuch good Advice. —— I think, the ſaid "Cardinal *du Bellai* might have done it; for, at that "time, he inclined much to *Luther*'s Doctrine and "Religion (5)."

[*B*] *He would have quitted the Mitre and Croſier to take the Helmet and the Sword.*] *Brantome* ſhall be my Witneſs again. He ſays, that, when *Charles* V ſo haughtily braved the King of *France*, at *Rome*, it was a Misfortune for *Francis* I, not to have any Embaſſadors there, that were Swords-men (6). "And "yet, had it not been, *continues he*, for Cardinal "*du Bellai*, who was as quick, and haſty, as any "Military Man, (and indeed he looked like one; for "he was qualified for any thing, and one of the "greateſt Men, both for Learning, and War) things "had not gone well there, and the King had been "much diſgraced. Which makes me think, that "there never were any Gown-men, who deſerved "more to be Embaſſadors on all Occaſions, than This "Cardinal (as he has demonſtrated in many Embaſſies, before he was a Cardinal, in *Italy*, *Germany*, and *England*), and the Biſhop of *Dax*, of "the Houſe of *Nouailles*, in *Limoſin*, who ſerved "our Kings worthily in That Station, in *England*, "and at *Venice* (where I have ſeen him), and afterwards at *Conſtantinople*. I will not wrong many "other worthy Perſons of their Character, whom "I have ſeen in ſuch a Station; but, in my Opinion, Cardinal *du Bellai*, and the Biſhop of *Dax*, "have ſurpaſſed them all; for they could as well "have made uſe of their Swords, as of their eloquent "Tongues: And, indeed, an Embaſſador is as often "obliged to treat of Affairs relating to War, as of "State Matters." *Thuanus* (7) and *Sammarthanus* (8) have obſerved, that This Cardinal removed the Fear of the *Pariſians*, who were in dread of *Charles* the Fifth's Army, and that he prepared all things for a vigorous Defence, having cauſed the City to be fortified. *Moreri* has ſaid the ſame, but with little Exactneſs;

(1) Brantome's Lives of the Gallant Ladies, Tom II, pag. 153.

(2) Idem. pag. 154.

(3) Ibid. pag. 155.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Idem. pag. 156.

(6) Id. Elogy of *Francis* I, *in* Tom. I, *of his* Memoirs, pag. 246.

(7) Thuan. Hiſtor. lib. 26, p. 538.

(8) Sammarth. in Elog. pag. 13.

condemned *Anne du Bourg* [*C*] to be burnt, his Vote muſt have been given at a Diſtance; for he was at *Rome*, when the Trial of *Anne du Bourg* was ſet on foot.

Exactneſs: He will have it, that *John du Bellai* did theſe things, when *Charles* V. entered into *Provence*, in 1537, and that the King, quitting his Capital, left This Cardinal there, and made *him his Lieutenant-General, to provide for the Security of* Picardy, *and* Champagne. Here are two Miſtakes: The Irruption of *Charles* V into *Provence* happened in the Year 1536; That, which put the *Pariſians* in fear, and occaſioned him to order their City to be fortified, happened likewiſe in the Year 1536 (9); but it concerned *Picardy*, and not *Provence*. It is That, which *Charles* V cauſed to be made by the Count of *Naſſau*. *Thuanus* (10) refers the Care of Cardinal *du Bellai*, for the City of *Paris*, only to the Invaſion of *Champagne*, in the Year 1544. But he is miſtaken.

(9) Mezerai, Abridg. Chron. ad Ann. 1536.

(10) Thuan. ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *It has been ſaid, that he condemned* Anne du Bourg.] This is to be found in Mr *Teiſſier*. *Many blamed him*, ſays he (11), *for being the firſt, who condemned* Anne du Bourg *to be burnt alive; for which Reaſon, ſay they,* God *took him out of this World, forty Days after the Execution of This Illuſtrious Martyr*. The Calculation would not be right, according to the Annals of *Spondanus*, who places This Cardinal's Death on the ſixteenth of *February* 1560 (12); for we find, elſewhere, that *du Bourg* was executed the Twenty third of *December* 1559 (13). The Author, whom Mr *Teiſſier* quotes, ſays, that This Cardinal died the ſixteenth of *February*, and fifty Days after *du Bourg*. His Calculation is leſs remote from the Truth, than That, which Mr *Teiſſier* imputes to him; nevertheleſs, it is not exact; and therefore This Obſervation is chimerical.

(11) Addition to the Elogies, Tom. I, pag. 184. *He quotes* Continuat. Sleid. per Michael Lunpord. lib. 2. *He ought to have ſaid* Lundorpium.

(12) Spond. Annal. ad Ann. 1560, n. 34.

(13) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3, pag. 248.

BELLARMIN (Robert), an *Italian* Jeſuit, was the beſt Writer of his Times, in Matters of Controverſy. He was born at *Monte Pulciano* (*a*), in the Year 1542, and admitted among the Jeſuits in the Year 1560. His Mother, *Cynthia Cervini*, was Siſter of Pope *Marcellus* II. He was ordained Prieſt, at *Ghent*, by *Cornelius Janſenius*, in 1569, and, the Year following, he taught Divinity at *Louvain*. He was the firſt Jeſuit, who taught this Science in That famous Univerſity, and he did it with extraordinary Succeſs. Having lived ſeven Years in the *Netherlands*, he returned into *Italy*, and, in 1576, he began to read Lectures on Controverſy, at *Rome*; which no Jeſuit had yet done in That City. He acquitted himſelf ſo well, that *Sixtus* V, ſending a Legate into *France*, in the Year 1590, gave him *Robert Bellarmin*, as a Divine, who might be very uſeful, if any Diſpute about Religion ſhould happen to be diſcuſſed. He returned to *Rome*, ten Months after, and was ſucceſsfully promoted to ſeveral Offices, either in the Society, or at the Pope's Court, till, in the Year 1599, he was honoured with the Cardinal's Hat. It is ſaid, that they were forced to threaten him with an *Anathema*, to make him accept of That Dignity. Three Years after, the Archbiſhopric of *Capua* was given him, which he reſigned, when, in the Year 1605, the new Pope (*b*) would have him near his Perſon. He was employed in the Affairs of the Court of *Rome*, till 1621. Then he left the *Vatican*, and retired to a Houſe of his Order, where he died, the ſeventeenth of *September*, in the ſame Year 1621. In his laſt Sickneſs, he was viſited by Pope *Gregory* XV, whom he entertained with the Compliment of the *Centurion* [*A*], *Lord, I am not worthy, that thou ſhouldeſt come under my Roof.* He charged the Jeſuit *Eudemon-Johannes* to teſtify publickly, that he died in the ſame Faith, which he always profeſſed, and maintained with his Pen (*c*). It appears, that, on the Day of his Funeral, he was looked upon as a Saint [*B*]. It is certain, that no Jeſuit did more Honour to his Order, than He, and that no Author maintained the Cauſe of the Church of *Rome*, in general, and That of the Pope in particular, better than He. The Proteſtants knew it very well [*C*]; for moſt of their learned Divines wrote againſt

(*a*) *A Town of* Tuſcany.

(*b*) *To wit*, Paul V.

(*c*) *Taken from the* Bibliotheque, *compoſed by* Alegambus.

[*A*] *He entertained Pope* Gregory XV *with the Compliment of the Centurion.*] Suppoſing, as he did, that the Pope is the Vicar of the Son of God, he did not ſee, in the Application of this Paſſage, all the Prophanation, which others ſee in it; and, perhaps, he thought he ſaid nothing but what was very pious. *Alegambus* relates This as a fine Circumſtance of *Bellarmin*'s laſt Hours. "Inviſit eum decumbentem Gregorius XV Pontifex Max. ac bis peramanter amplexus ſacrum ſe pro ejus valetudine facturum promiſit. Ipſe Chriſti Vicarium obſequioſiſſime reveritus uſurpavit illud Centurionis, *Domine, non ſum dignus ut intres ſub tectum meum* (1). - - - - *Pope* Gregory XV *viſited him, as he lay ſick, and, twice embracing him very lovingly, promiſed him, he would pray for his Health.* Bellarmin, *out of profound Reſpect to the Vicar of* Christ, *addreſſed him in the Words of the Centurion*, Lord, I am not worthy, that thou ſhouldeſt come under my Roof." The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, who made uſe of the ſame Words of the Centurion to a Prince, whom he looked upon as an Heretic, cannot be ſo eaſily excuſed. *Balzac*, who alledges this Example to his Cenſor, blames it at the ſame time. "What would he have ſaid of the Compliment of That *Spaniſh* Embaſſador in *England*, who received a Viſit of King *James*, with theſe Words of the Maſs: *Domine, non ſum dignus ut intres ſub tectum meum* (2)?"

(1) Alegambus, Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jeſu, pag. 409.

(2) Diſcourſe I, *to Cardinal* Bentivoglio, *in the Sequel of the* Chriſtian Socrates, pag. 442, 443.

[*B*] *It appears that, on the Day of his Funeral, he was looked upon as a Saint.*] The *Swiſs* of the Pope's Guard were poſted round the Coffin, to keep off the Crowd, who endeavoured to throw themſelves on the Corps, to touch and kiſs it. All that he had made uſe of, was taken away, and diſtributed to thoſe, who deſired to have Relics of Them for devout Purpoſes. "Adverſus undam populi concurſantis ad oſculum tactumque ſacri pignoris adhibere oportuit Helvetios è ſtipatoribus Pontificiis. - - - - - Quicquid rerum in uſu habuit raptum diſtractumque in poſtulantes eſt ad venerationem (3)." When *Bellarmin* reſigned his Archbiſhopric of *Capua*, the whole City was greatly afflicted at it: Some kiſſed his Garment; others rubbed their *Roſaries* devoutly againſt it; and every one preſſed for his Bleſſing (4). Theſe are Preludes of Worſhip, which may, in time, be followed by a Canonization in Form. It is pretended, that he foretold ſome things, and wrought ſome Miracles (5); and, becauſe, after his Death, the Odour of his Sanctity was rather increaſed than diminiſhed, the Congregation of the Rites was ordered, a-new, in the Year 1674, to proceed to the neceſſary Informations concerning his Life, and Miracles, to the end, that, if there be occaſion, he may be beatified (6).

(3) Alegambus, Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jeſu, pag. 409.

(4) Alegambus, ibid.

(5) Idem. pag. 410.

(6) Sotuel, *in* Bibliotheca Scriptor, *Societ. Jeſu*, pag. 722.

[*C*] *No Author maintained the Cauſe of the Church of* Rome *better than He. - - - - - The Proteſtants knew it very well.*] "They grant, that he "is againſt him for the Space of forty or fifty Years. Their Profeſſors, Lectures, and Theſes, made his Name reſound every where; *Ut littus Hyla, Hyla omne ſonaret* (d). He was atacked on all Sides, and his Adverſaries did not forget to examine, whether he had not contradicted, and afforded Weapons againſt, himſelf [*D*]. It is the Subject of a Book, which muſt needs have perplexed him not a little. There are ſome indiſcreet and raſh Men to be found every where; and therefore it is no wonder, if ſome Proteſtant Writers have publiſhed Falſhoods againſt *Bellarmin*, of which his Party took Advantage [*E*]. There is no great Inconvenience in this, when unknown Writers

“ is the moſt ſubtle Enemy of the Truth, that has hitherto undertaken to oppoſe it: That *Demetrius*, the Silver-ſmith, ſpoken of in the nineteenth of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, did not uſe ſo much Art in working his little Silver Shrines of *Diana*, as this cunning Artiſan of Error did, in re-building the Palaces, and Altars, of Superſtition: Which has given occaſion to compare him to That *Marcion*, of whom *Tertullian* ſays, that, Dedecus ſuum ingenio obumbrat, qui cum cauſas ubique ferè peſſimas tueatur & impiorum dogmatum patrocinio veriſſimum ſe Satanæ atque Antichriſti ſatellitem præbeat, agit tamen ingenio, ut ſpecioſis coloribus inducat omnia, & diſtinctionum præſtigiis, & umbris, eludat ea quæ ſolidiſſimâ veritate conſtituta ſunt (7). - - - - *He has the Addreſs to diſguiſe the badneſs of his Cauſe; and, though he generally undertakes to defend the worſt, and, by patronizing impious Tenets, ſhews himſelf a true Miniſter of* Satan, *and* Antichriſt, *yet he has the Art of giving a ſpecious Turn to every thing, and, by ſubtle Diſtinctions, of eluding what is built upon the ſtrongeſt Reaſon.*” Be ſure not to believe what *Alegambus* ſays, *viz.* That *Beza* owned, that *Bellarmin* had overthrown all the Proteſtant Authors. *Nec ipſi hoſtes auſi ſunt diffiteri, ex quibus Theodorus Beza, unus hic liber, ajebat, nos omnes humi proturbat* (8). It is a Jeſt to alledge ſuch things, without quoting the Book, where they are to be found. On ſuch Occaſions, the very Line, or, at leaſt, the Page, ought to be quoted, otherwiſe every one will take ſuch an Aſſertion for an ill-grounded Hear-ſay. I am fully perſuaded, that *Beza* had not ſuch a good Opinion of *Bellarmin*, and that, if he had, he would never have owned it. *Alegambus* ſays another thing, the Falſhood whereof is not ſo obvious; which is, That a new Lecture was founded at *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, to confute *Bellarmin*. “In Angliæ Academia Cantabrigienſi primum, mox etiam in Oxonienſi, nova prælectio inſtituta eſt, ad controverſias Bellarmini, ſi poſſent, refellendas (9).”

[*D*] *It has been examined, whether he has not contradicted himſelf.*] A Miniſter of *Lithuania*, whoſe Name was *Andrew Craſtovius*, compoſed a Work entituled, *Bellum Jeſuiticum* (10), in which he objects to the Jeſuits Two hundred and five Contradictions. Sometimes *Bellarmin* does not agree with the other Jeſuits, but moſt frequently *Bellarmin* confutes himſelf, in That Book.

I have ſaid elſwhere (11), that He was reproached with having made uſe of, and oppoſed, the ſame Principles, according as he was to diſpute either againſt the Proteſtants, or againſt the Enthuſiaſts. Here are ſome Particulars concerning that ſort of Contradiction. “Some, being willing to excuſe *Bellarmin*'s Contradictions, and want of Memory, have ſaid, that the great number of Perſons, who had a Hand in the Fabrick of This Work, I mean, of his Writings, like the Builders of *Babel*, introduced this Confuſion, for want of Underſtanding one another: But Thoſe of his Communion are ſo far from taking this for an Excuſe, that they reject it, as injurious to him: *Fuligati*, who wrote his Life, ſays, that he never employed an *Amanuenſis*. - - - - - I believe, the true cauſe of *Bellarmin*'s Contradictions, is, that the preſent neceſſity of attacking, or defending, is a more powerful Object, than any other; he cared but little, whether he was conſiſtent with himſelf, or not, provided none ſhould believe, that he agreed with his Adverſaries (12). - - - - *Bellarmin* has often verified This Obſervation in his Books of Controverſy: When he diſputes againſt the *Libertines* and the *Schwencfeldians*, about the neceſſity of the Scripture, he ſpeaks like a Proteſtant. And, when he diſputes againſt the Proteſtants, on the ſame Subject, he argues like a *Schwencfeldian*. If he undertakes to confute the *Pelagians* about the Perfection of Works, he makes uſe of all the Arguments of thoſe, whom he calls *Calviniſts*: If he has to do with the *Calviniſts*, he makes uſe of the Reaſons and Diſtinctions of the *Pelagians*. If he writes againſt the *Anabaptiſts* concerning the Baptiſm of Children, he proves it by the Scripture: If he diſputes with Us about Tradition, the Baptiſm of Children is one of the Points, which ſeems to him to prove the neceſſity of it, and of which the Scripture does not ſpeak after a convincing manner, as he ſays. This puts me in mind of the Compariſon, which I have ſeen ſomewhere, of *Bellarmin* with a certain *African*, whoſe Name was *Leo*, whom he himſelf compares to That Amphibious Bird of *Æſop*, who was ſometimes a Bird, and ſometimes a Fiſh; a Bird, when the King of Fiſhes exacted a Tribute; and a Fiſh, when the King of Birds exacted it. Ut Leo quidam Africanus in Granatenſi Regno natus, & poſtquam ſubjugatum eſt illud Regnum, in Africam profugus, de ſe fatetur, ſi Afros vitio aliquo notari ſentio, me Granatæ natum profiteor; ſi Granatenſes malè audiant, mox Afer ſum; Bellarminus certè multò quàm ille elgantius aviculam illam imitatur, qui nimirùm reſpondet, Tom. I. Controv. l. 1. c. 7. Patres ſecutos eſſe ſeptuaginta Interpretum Editionem; Idem. Tom. I. Controv. l. 1. c. 20. de 3. Eſdræ agens, ait Patres ſecutos eſſe Hebræos, & tamen illud alterum, notate, quanta vi verborum efferat. Negari (inquit) non poteſt. Ipſe tamen id ipſum loco poſteriori negat (13). - - - - - *Thus One* Leo Africanus, *born in the Kingdom of* Granada, *but who, upon the Reduction of That Kingdom, fled into* Africa, *confeſſes of himſelf; If I hear the* Africans *charged with any particular Vice, I profeſs myſelf a Native of* Granada; *if the People of* Granada *are reproached, preſently I am an* African. Bellarmin *certainly imitates That Bird with more Elegance, than He; when he replies,* Tom. I. Controv. l. 1. cap. 7. *that the Fathers followed the Edition of the* Septuagint; *whereas,* Tom. I. Controv. l. 1. c. 20. *treating of the third Chapter of* Eſdras, *he ſays, the Fathers followed the* Hebrew: *and yet obſerve how ſtrongly he aſſerts the former; It cannot be denied, ſays he: yet he himſelf denies it in the latter Place.*”

[*E*] *The Proteſtant Writers publiſhed Falſhoods againſt* Bellarmin, *of which his Party took Advantage.*] The Jeſuit *John Argentus* makes mention, in the Apology of his Order, of four Libels newly come out againſt the Society, the third of which is levelled directly againſt *Bellarmin*, and relates many things, which had cauſed, attended, or followed, his Death. Neverthele ſs, This Cardinal was yet living. Doubtleſs, *Theophilus Raynaud* meant This Libel, when he ſaid, that, Twenty five Years before (14), a Book was publiſhed in *Germany*, wherein *Bellarmin* was accuſed of having killed many Children, to hide his Incontinence (15). It was ſaid, moreover, that the Cardinal, being at laſt moved to Repentance, had gone to *our Lady of Loretto*, to ſee whether he could expiate his Crimes; but that the Prieſt, to whom he had confeſſed them, was ſeized with ſo much Horror, that he commanded him to be gone; which threw *Bellarmin* into a Deſpair, of which he died ſoon after. This is the Subſtance of That Libel. *Bellarmin* read it, and laughed at it. Doubtleſs, he made many Reflexions on a Book, which aſſerted his Death. *Theophilus Raynaud* thought, that Father *Gretſer* had given himſelf a needleſs Trouble in refuting theſe kind of Stories, and that they did great Prejudice to the Proteſtants (16); for one might learn from thence what Judgment was to be made of the pretended Letter of St *Udalric*, which ſays, that Six thouſand Children's Heads were found in the Wells of Pope *Gregory* II,

after

(d) Virgil. Eclog. 6, ver. 44.

(7) Ancillon's Critical Miſcellanies of Literature, Tom. I, pag. 348. *See alſo* Whitaker, *in the Preface to his Treatiſe* de Scriptura.

(8) Alegamb. Bibl. *Soc Jeſu*, pag. 411.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) *It is a Book in* 4to, *of* 161 *pages, printed at* Baſil, *in the Year* 1594.

(11) *In Remark* [*B*], *of the Article* ANTONY (MARC), *the Orator. Citat.* (7).

(12) Ancillon's Critical Miſcellanies of Literature, Tom. I, pag. 352.

(13) Id. ib. pag. 354.

(14) *This Calculation does not agree with the Year* 1650, *the Date of* Th. Raynaud's *Book, and with what that Jeſuit ſays, that* Bellarmin *laughed at That Libel.*

(15) Th. Raynaud's Hoplotheca, §. 2, Serie 2, cap. 1, p. 166, 167.

(16) *It appears from the* Biblioth. *of* Alegambus, *that* Gretſer *publiſhed* Vindicatio illuſtriſſimi Cardinalis Bellarmini à criminationibus & inſcitia Lutherani Magiſtelli Erneſti Zephirii, *at* Ingolſtad, 1611, *in* 4to, *and* Caſtigatio libelli famoſi adverſus illuſtr. Cardinalem Bellarminum, *tranſlated into* High Dutch, *by Father* Conrad Vetter, 1615.

Writers commit this Fault; but, when Profeſſors of Reputation impute to This Cardinal what he never taught, they injure their Cauſe, and expoſe themſelves to great Mortifications. A Profeſſor of *Sedan*, who has been very much talked of in *Holland*, is guilty of this Fault. It is remarkable, that *Bellarmin* did not follow the Doctrine

after he had driven away the Prieſts Wives. “Hæreticis, vel ad unam horam vagum mendacium, in lucro ponitur. Revera tamen ex hoc mendacio deceſſit illis haud exiguum. Siquidem inde deprehenſum eſt, qua fide ex horum mendaciloquorum majoribus quiſpiam, ex commentitia S. Udalrici Epiſtola, ſex millia capitum infantilium, intra puteum Gregorii ſecundi, cùm is uxores ſacerdotibus abſtuliſſet, reperta dixerit. Non eſt enim ovum ovo ſimilius, quàm hoc de Bellarmini infanticidiis ſcriptum, & illa S. Udalrici Epiſtola de cædibus per Clericos & Sacerdotes ſcortatores, adverſus quam ſubdititiam S. Antiſtitis Epiſtolam, & ipſe Bellarminus l. de Cleric. cap. 22. & Baronius anno 591. aliique certarunt.” It is no ways neceſſary, that the Falſities, publiſhed againſt *Bellarmin*, ſhould have a retroactive Effect on the Story of the Six thouſand Childrens Heads; but it is certain, that no better Service can be done to the Jeſuits, and in general to any Party, which one undertakes to defame, than to publiſh Calumnies, which may eaſily be confuted. It is worthy of Obſervation, that, among ſo many Perſons, poſſeſſed with an unconquerable Itch of publiſhing Satires, ſo few have the Art of poiſoning them as they ought. Moſt of Thoſe, who attempt it, are ignorant, that, in order to ſucceed well in it, that is, to direct the Blow right, a Man muſt religiouſly obſerve theſe two things: One is, to advance nothing but what may be proved; and, above all, to abſtain from Accuſations, which may eaſily be confuted: The other is, not to maintain obſtinately what has been once confuted. I had forgot a third Advice, which is, carefully to diſſemble one's Paſſion, and to hide the Appearances of it. I own, that a Man, who acts quite contrary to theſe Rules, finds but too many Perſons, in his Party, who greedily ſwallow down all that he ſays; but it is This very thing, which does a great Prejudice to their Cauſe; becauſe the other Party grows angry, and looks upon their Adverſaries, from whom ſo many Satires, ſo greedily ſwallowed, proceed, as Men deſtitute of Reaſon, Equity, and the Aſſiſtance of Grace. Theſe are not Reflexions at random, but grounded upon Experience. See how Father *le Tellier* takes advantage of ſome Stories, which are ſpread abroad without knowing whether they be true or falſe. Read what follows:

NECESSARY Qualifications for a good Satiriſt.

“For Example; What will it avail the Jeſuits of *China* to have been the firſt, and almoſt the only Perſons, who ſubmitted, and without the leaſt Reſiſtance, to the Apoſtolical Vicars, as ſoon as they appeared there in 1684; ſince, notwithſtanding this, their Enemies publiſhed again, the laſt Summer, by the Pen of their Secretary, the Gazetteer of *Holland*, that the Holy Father was extreamly angry with the Jeſuits, becauſe they would not acknowledge the Biſhops, whom he ſent to *China?* Can it be queſtioned, but that, ſome Years hence, This Lye will appear again in it's turn on the Stage? Likewiſe, what will it avail the Jeſuits of *Germany* to have an Atteſtation, ſigned by four of the Elector *Palatin*'s chief Counſellors, all Proteſtants, wherein they teſtify, that the Hiſtory of the Jeſuit, counterfeiting a Voice from Heaven, to deceive That Prince, and to animate him to the Deſtruction of Hereſy, is a meer Fable? Will this Atteſtation hinder ſome good Proteſtants, who ſhall continue the Jeſuitical Hiſtory, from making, ſome time or other, a Chapter about This chimerical Adventure, on the Credit of the Gazeteer of *Holland* (17)?”

Is it not ſtrange, that the Author of the *Religion of the Jeſuits* had rather follow his blind Paſſion, than make a good uſe of this Paſſage of Father *le Tellier?* So far from it, that he brought the Apparition of the *Palatinate* again on the Stage; and omitted nothing to make his Readers reject the Atteſtation of the Elector *Palatin*'s Proteſtant Counſellors (18). I have it from very good Hands, that he blamed the Miniſter, a Refugee, who inſerted This Atteſtation in his Abridged Hiſtory of *Europe* (19). Such Perſons ſpoil the Trade, they take in hand. They ſhould leave Satire to moderate Writers, who would compoſe them in a more dexterous and perſuaſive Manner.

[F] *A Profeſſor of* Sedan —— *is guilty of this Fault.*] He maintained ſome Theſes, in the Year 1674, concerning the Power of the Keys, and charged Cardinal *Bellarmin* with having ſaid, “That a contrite Man, full of Faith, and deſirous to be reconciled with GOD, periſhes eternally, except he can get a Prieſt to reconcile him before Death. WHICH I NEVER READ, *added he*, WITHOUT ASTONISHMENT AND INDIGNATION (20).” This implies, that he had often read theſe words in *Bellarmin*; and yet they are not to be found in That Author. The Guardian of the *Iriſh Capuchins* (21) diſputed againſt theſe *Theſes*, and complained, at firſt, very vehemently of the wrong, which was done to *Bellarmin.* He continued the Diſpute with the ſame violence, and confounded the Profeſſor. This was not all. When the Diſpute was ended, the King's Attorney *preſented his Petition againſt the ſaid* Profeſſor (22); the Conſequence of which was, that the Author of the *Theſes* made his Recantation in Writing, which was ſigned by him, and three other Miniſters.

No one has any reaſon to think it ſtrange, that ſuch an Accident ſhould be mentioned in a Dictionary of this Kind; for it would avail nothing, for the future, to be ſilent about it. And, though I ſhould have the Diſcretion not to ſay any thing of it, it would not be leſs known in *Holland*, where the *Journal of the Learned* is in every Body's Hand. Four Years ago, every one might have read, there, the Subſtance of what I have juſt now related; and beſides, that *the Authentic Proofs of Mr* Jurieu's *Recantation*, (for it was he, who compoſed, and maintained, theſe *Theſes*) *are three Certificates* produced by the Abbot *de Cordemoi*; one was made *by the King's Attorney at* Sedan, *the other by the Count* de la Bourlie, *Governour of the ſame City*, and the laſt by Father *Nicolas d' Hibernie, A Capuchin* (23). I have read theſe three Certificates, in the Book of the Abbot *de Cordemoi*; they are dated in the Year 1689. It may eaſily be imagined, that this Diſgrace afflicted thoſe of the Proteſtant Religion, and pleaſed the *Roman* Catholics.

It is againſt my Will, that I am forced to make an Addition to this Remark, in This Edition; but, Mr *Jurieu* having publiſhed ſomething very outrageous againſt me on this Subject, it will be proper to produce, here, both his Words, and my Reply. “The great blank, which remains in the laſt Pages of this Sheet, is a Temptation to me, which I cannot reſiſt, to alledge a notable Example of the Trifles, and the Malignity, which This Book is ſaid to be full of. The Caſe is this: Mr *Jurieu*, in a public and printed Diſpute, quoted a Paſſage out of *Bellarmin*, wherein through the Slip of the Author's Pen, or the Printer's Miſtake, inſtead of *attritus*, there was *contritus*; which made *Bellarmin* ſay, That a Man, weeping, penitent, and *contrite*, was damned, if he did not receive the Sacerdotal Abſolution: Whereas *Bellarmin* ſaid, that a Man, grievouſly bemoaning his Sins, through a Senſe *of Attrition*, was damned, if he did not receive the Prieſt's Abſolution. This moved a Monk to make a great Clamour. Mr *Jurieu*, in a Time of Perſecution, granted him, what he would have granted him any where elſe, even in a Country, where the Proteſtant Religion had been the prevailing Religion: that is, He acknowledged, that there was a Fault in the printed Copy, proceeding either from the Author's Hand, or from the Printer, and that *Bellarmin*'s Opinion was ſuch as the Monk ſaid. Any ſincere Perſon would have owned as much in *Amſterdam*, or *London*. Is this a Story, which, after having been printed in ſeveral Satires, deſerved to paſs, through a third and fourth Impreſſion, into a Book, which was deſigned for Immortality? Can any thing be more mean, or pitiful? There is therefore both Malice, and Meanneſs, in it (24).” Theſe are Mr *Jurieu*'s Words; and, in the following manner, I confuted them. “I

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(17) A Defence of the new Chriſtians, *Part* I, *pag.* 29. *Edit. of* Paris, 1687.

(18) The Religion of the Jeſuits, *printed at the* Hague, 1689, pag. 77. *See Remark* [*P*], *of the Article* LOYOLA.

(19) *Month of* Auguſt, 1686, pag. 160.

(20) Theſes de poteſtate clavium, p. 21, *cited by the Abbot* de Cordemoi, Letter to the New Catholics, p. 117.

(21) *He was called Father* Robert.

(22) *Certificate of the Sieur* Rambour, *the King's Attorney at* Sedan, *cited by the Abbot* de Cordemoi, ubi ſupra, p. 118.

(23) *In the* Abſtract of a Letter from the Abbot *de Cordemoi* to the Catholics of the Iſle of *Arvert*, in *Xaintonge*, *printed in the Journal of the 24th of* April, 1690, pag. 277, *Edition of* Amſterdam.

(24) Jurieu's Judgment of the Public on the Sieur *Bayle*'s *Critical Dictionary*, p. 46, 47.

Doctrine of the Jeſuits, concerning Predeſtination [*G*]; and that he did not favour looſe Principles of Morality, nor the Expreſſions, which Indiſcreet Zealots had inſenſibly introduced into the Litanies [*H*]. The Complaiſance, which he had for his Superiors,

"find, that *Bellarmin*'s Buſineſs ſticks in his Stomach: I do not wonder at it; but Prudence ſhould not have ſuffered him to make an Addition of it at the end of his Work. Silence had been beſt. The leſs certain things are ſtirred, the leſs they are troubleſome. What I have ſaid of That Affair is no Example *of Trifling and Malignity.* Without it, I ſhould have ill performed the Duty of an Hiſtorian; ſince the Original Deſign of my Work was to obſerve the falſe Accuſations, to which the Perſons, of whom I was to ſpeak, may have been expoſed. If I had omitted This in the Article of *Bellarmin*, might it not have been juſtly ſaid, that I was Partial, and that I omitted Things, which I could not pretẽd to be ignorant of? I borrowed it, not from a Satirical Book, as he falſely ſays; but from a Book of Controverſy, and from the *Journal of the Learned.* I do not examine the Turn, which he takes, to cover his Fault; I only deſire my Readers to have recourſe to my Dictionary, in order to compare the Pieces, which are produced there, with his Reflexions. By this Compariſon it will appear, how much Nature ſuffers in him, when he is obliged to perform ſome Act of Humility, and Sincerity. I am not ſurprized at it; for, when a Bow has been always bent one way, it is very difficult to bend it the contrary way, at the firſt undertaking. It is the ſame thing with the Fibres of our Brains (25)."

Moſt of my Friends thought, that I had too much neglected to make uſe of my Advantages: *Opportunities,* ſay They, *have not failed you, but you have been wanting to Them; and a Man ought to avoid this Reproach, in a Paper War, no leſs, than in a true War. Why did you not fully expoſe This Author's Subterfuges? Could you not have confounded him by ſuch and ſuch Reflexions?* I excuſed myſelf with the moſt proper means to put an end to this Diſcourſe; which was by ſaying, that ſuch Obſervations ſhould not be ſquandered away in a looſe Sheet; and that it was better to reſerve them for another Edition of my Dictionary. I have conſidered the matter, ſince, more than once, and have found, that the beſt way is to leave my Readers to reflect on this little Incident. It will not be difficult for them to compare all the Pieces of This Proceſs together, nor to diſcover, in Mr *Jurieu*'s Apology, the grimaces, and contortions, of a Man, who ſuffers the rack. After all, it belongs to the Abbot *de Cordemoi* to refute This Apology. It is my Buſineſs, rather to be the Hiſtorian, than the Author, of the Reflexions, which This Quarrel may afford.

[G] Bellarmin *did not follow the Doctrine of the Jeſuits concerning Predeſtination.*] He was a good *Thomiſt*, and no ways a *Moliniſt*. But, how great ſoever his Authority was among his Brethren, he had but few Imitators. The ſmall number of *Anti-Moliniſts*, in That great Body, was, nevertheleſs, of ſome uſe. I cannot better explain this Thought, than by ſetting down the words of the Author of the Hiſtory of the Congregation *de Auxiliis.* "We ſometimes meet with Men of an extraordinary Genius, who have acquired Credit, and have made themſelves neceſſary to their Society; and who, raiſing themſelves above the Fears and Conſiderations, to which others think themſelves obliged to yield, teach the Truths, which they have learned from good Studies, more freely, not being able to reſolve to betray their Conſciences, or to act againſt their Knowledge. The Society bears with them, and ſuffers this little Revolt, becauſe they know how to make it ſerviceable to their Party, and turn it to their Advantage and Glory; beſides they know, there is no danger, that ſuch an example ſhould be followed by a great number, and cauſe a Schiſm in the Schools of the Society. Nay it is for their Grandeur, and agreeable to their Principles, to have grave Doctors of all Opinions, as it may promote their Capital Doctrine of Probability. No one knows what may happen. Things may take a quite contrary Turn; and, if the Society ſhould find themſelves obliged, (at leaſt in ſome Provinces) to change their Opinion about Grace, as they did in *France* about the Pope's Authority, it would not be conſiſtent with their Dignity to look for grave Doctors elſewhere, on whoſe Authority they might ground their Change. Among the Divines, of whom I ſpeak, we may reckon Father *Tiphaine*, ſo famous for his two Works, *De Hypoſtaſi*, and *De Ordine*, and the Author of the *Theſis*, which was maintained at *Rome* in 1674, whoſe Opinions concerning Predeſtination, and Grace, are altogether agreeable to Thoſe of St *Auſtin* (26)." I have ſet down this Paſſage at length, not only becauſe it may be inferred from it, that *Bellarmin* was very much conſidered in his Order, and that he knew it well, but alſo by reaſon of a certain Salt, with which theſe words are ſprinkled, which is very proper to excite many Notions.

[H] *He did not favour looſe Principles of Morality, or the Expreſſions of Indiſcreet Zealots —— in the Litanies.*] The Patrons of This Morality did not approve of the Delay of Abſolution; but Cardinal *Bellarmin* "preached, before ſome Popes, the neceſſity, and uſefulneſs, of this Delay; and his Sermons are ſo full of this Doctrine, that it plainly appears, he laid it much to heart, and put it in practice very carefully. One may ſee ſome very fine Paſſages, extracted out of them by Cardinal *d'Aguire*, in his eighth and tenth Diſſertations on the third Council of *Toledo* (27)." He, who ſupplies me with theſe words, is a *Janſeniſt*, who publiſhed a Memorial, *containing*, I. *A Summary Deduction of the Origin and preſent State of the Doctrinal Diſputes in the* Netherlands, *and of the true means to put an end to them:* II. *A ſuccinct Anſwer to the three Accuſations of* Janſeniſm, Rigoriſm, and Novelty (28). He ſays, that the "Learned and Pious Cardinal *Bellarmin* might have paſſed for an Innovator, as well as for a Rigoriſt, if he had done, in theſe times, what he did on divers occaſions for the Re-eſtabliſhment of Diſcipline, and for the Reformation of Abuſes. The Alterations he made in his Archbiſhopric of *Capua*; the Order, which he ſettled in the Biſhopric of *Monte-Pulciano*, which he governed ſome Years, in the Abſence of the right Biſhop; the Advice, which he gave Pope *Clement* VIII, for the Reformation of the Church; That, which he addreſſed to his own Nephew, Biſhop of *Theana*, for his Conduct, and for the Adminiſtration of his Dioceſe; the Sermons, which he preached in the Apoſtolic Palace, and in the two Churches, I have already named, are ſo many witneſſes of the holy, and neceſſary, Novelties, which he endeavoured to introduce, and of which he made the Obligation known. —— Every one knows, that it is chiefly upon This (29) that the Accuſation of Novelty was firſt formed. But, if it be an Innovation, Cardinal *Bellarmin* cannot be cleared. For he made ſuch Alterations in the Litanies of the Holy Virgin, as would, now-a-days, make Thoſe exclaim greatly, who are ſo laviſh in beſtowing the Epithet of *Innovator*, and That of *Enemy to the Worſhip of the Holy Virgin*, that nothing is more common, in their Writings, than theſe kind of Accuſations againſt the moſt Catholic Perſons, and Thoſe, who are moſt truly devoted to the Worſhip of The Mother of GOD. But this moſt Pious and Learned Cardinal cannot be accuſed of Novelty in This, without accuſing Pope *Paul* V of it, by whoſe Order he made thoſe Alterations. He gives an account of it in a Preface, wherein he ſays, *That he has retrenched ſeveral Verſes of the Litanies of our Lady of* Loretto, *becauſe they were too metaphorical, ſuch as theſe,* TURRIS EBURNEA, HORTUS CONCLUSUS, *and the like; and that he had omitted others, becauſe, though they may admit of a good Senſe, they are ſuſceptible of an harſh one, from whence the Enemies of the Church take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſuch as theſe are:* MARIA, DEI ET HOMINUM MEDIATRIX, INTERCEDE PRO NOBIS; AB OMNI PECCATO LIBERA NOS DOMINA; *and others of that nature. For ſuch kind of Invocations ſeem to attribute to the Holy Virgin what is proper to* JESUS CHRIST *as* GOD."

[I] *What*

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(25) Reflexions on a Pamphlet, entituled, *Judgment of the Public*, &c. pag. 15.

(26) Abridged Hiſtory of the Congregation *de Auxiliis*, pag. 81.

(27) Memorial, &c. *See the Citation following.*

(28) *Printed at* Delft, *by* Henry van Riin, 1696. *It contains* 28 *Pages in* 4to.

(29) *To wit, the correction of ſome* Expreſſions, which ſcandalize the Heretics; as ſome in the *Pſalter*, aſcribed to St *Bonaventure*, which ſeem to aſcribe to the Holy Virgin what belongs only to GOD, or to JESUS CHRIST, ibid. p. 20.

periors, in ſuffering ſome things to be altered in his Writings, and altering ſome Paſſages himſelf, concerning the Efficacy of Grace, does not hinder him from being, in the main, an *Auguſtinian* Doctor [*I*]. He brought himſelf into Trouble, almoſt for the ſame Reaſons, which ſo much embroiled the Abbot *de la Trappe* with the Monks [*K*]. Some

[*I*] *What was altered in his Writings —— concerning the Efficacy of Grace, does not hinder him from being an* Auguſtinian *Doctor.*] Let us illuſtrate this by a Paſſage taken out of a *Janſeniſt* Book. "There is reaſon to believe, that the Doctrine of This Cardinal, on This Point, was, originally, very agreeable to St *Auguſtin*'s Notions, when he ſent his Controverſies to be printed in *Germany*, and that it was one of the Opinions, which his Brethren of That Country took the Liberty to alter, *in hopes*, ſays the Author of his Life, *to do more good among Heretics*. I do not fear making a raſh Judgment, in attributing this Alteration to Father *Gregory* of *Valentia*, That famous Martyr of the *Molinian* Grace. He was at *Ingolſtadt*, whilſt they printed *Bellarmin*'s Controverſies there; and he cauſed ſome *Theſes* to be maintained there, in the Year 1584, which are, perhaps, the firſt of the Society, in which this new Invention of the *Scientia Media* appeared, which he thinks to be neceſſary in order to defend Human Liberty againſt the new Heretics. I will not deny what is ſaid of the Heroic Patience of Father *Bellarmin*, for which the Author of his Life commends him on This Occaſion: yet it appears, by the Reviſion he made of his Work, in 1608, that he found it had been too much ſoftened, or rather too much corrupted, in relation to the Efficacy of Grace. And This Author of his Life, after having praiſed his Modeſty, and his Humility, in ſuffering the Alterations of ſome of his Opinions, teſtifies, that, on the other ſide, he firmly ſtood to Thoſe, which he believed to be either of Faith, or very much authorized in the Church *: *It cannot be conceived*, ſays he, *how inflexible he appeared on ſuch Occaſions, as was plainly ſeen by what happened in relation to what he had taught, in his Books, concerning Predeſtination, the Aſſiſtance of Divine Grace*, &c. That is, They could never make him change his Opinion in relation to Free-Predeſtination, which makes, as he ſays, Part of the Faith of the Church; nor concerning Grace, which he believes to be efficacious, not meerly by the Event, nor becauſe it pleaſes the Will to conſent to it; but by itſelf, and of it's own Nature: Which he poſitively ſays to be agreeable to St *Auguſtin*'s Doctrine, and alſo to the Holy Scriptures. This he had always at Heart: And the Congregation *de Auxiliis*, which was juſt broke up, and where he had heard the *Dominicans* maintain the true Influence of Grace, of itſelf, with ſo much Solidity, cauſed, without doubt, ſome Remorſe of Conſcience in him, for having had a Patience, ſo prejudicial to Truth, in permitting his Sentiments to be altered upon This Subject; or in having altered them himſelf, by virtue of the Promiſe, which he had made, when he was admitted among the Jeſuits, to follow the Opinions of the Society, as it's Conſtitutions obliged him to do. That which is certain, is, That he corrected, not all that was to be corrected, the Society being too far engaged to abandon him, but ſome Paſſages, in which it did not appear, that he acknowledged any other manner of Operation in Grace, than That, which is called *Objective*, and *Moral*; he will have it known on the contrary, that he admits of an effective, and phyſical, Operation: Voluntatem moveri per gratiam etiam efficienter & phyſice; Deum aſpirare voluntati bonum deſiderium, afflare initium bonæ voluntatis: quæ aſpiratio ſive afflatio phyſica actio eſt & Deo propria ‡. —— *That The Will is influenced, likewiſe, Effectively and Phyſically, by Grace; That* GOD *inſpires the Will with good Deſires, or inſpires the firſt Motions of good Inclinations; which Inſpiration is a Phyſical Operation, and proper to* GOD. This he repeats ſeveral times: *For fear*, ſays he †, *that any one ſhould imagine, that we only admit of a Moral Influence on the Will by Grace*." The *Janſeniſt* Author, having quoted ſome other Paſſages of The ſame Work of *Bellarmin*, concludes thus: "By all this it appears ſufficiently what we ſhould have found in *Bellarmin*, if his Work had not been altered by other Hands; and what That blind Obedience can do, which the Jeſuits promiſe to yield to the Society, when they are received into it; even in relation to the Doctrine of the Church. But it appears alſo, that the firſt and laſt Opinions of *Bellarmin* were for the Doctrine of Grace, efficacious by itſelf, and that the Engagement, which he was under to the Society, not having permitted him to expunge all that had been inſerted in his Works without his Knowledge, nor to alter the Foundation of the Opinions, which they had fathered upon him, yet he could not forbear giving Teſtimony to the Truth before his Death, knowing well, that he had ſaid enough to overthrow all that remained in his Works, contrary to St *Auguſtin* (30)." Let us obſerve, that *Robert Abbot* ſtrongly attacked *Bellarmin* in relation to the Alterations in the new Editions of his Works (31).

[*K*] *He brought himſelf into Trouble, almoſt for the ſame Reaſons, which ſo much embroiled the Abbot* de la Trappe *with the Monks.*] *Bellarmin* wrote a Book *de Gemitu Columbæ*, wherein he ſays, That one of the Things, which ought to make pious Souls lament and groan, is the great Remiſſneſs, into which ſome Religious Orders are fallen. Bitter Complaints have been made of This, as of a biting Invective (32). But the Cardinal has not wanted Apologiſts, who have maintained, that what he complained of, is but too true; and that the want of Reformation is ſo viſible in divers Places, that They, who live in this Diſorder, and do not perceive it, verify the Maxim, *Senſibile juxta ac multo magis intra ſenſum poſitum non facit ſenſationem* (33). Let us quote a Paſſage of *Theophilus Raynaud*: "Audivit Bellarminus aſper & mordax, quia in libro de Gemitu Columbæ fontem unum lacrymarum propoſuit, Religioſorum aliquorum Ordinum laxationem, quam homo ille ſpiritu barytono uſpiam cerni inficiatur, & utinam vel in ſpeciem verè inficiaretur. Sed tanti fuit, Bellarminum mordere quoquo modo. Nam eſſe aliquas Religiones laxatas, & quibus reformatio ſit neceſſaria, res eſt adeo nota, ut nemo niſi cœcus non videat, ait Major *in*. 4. *d*. 38. *q*. 23. Sed non eſt novum aliquos ita cæcutire, præſertim in cauſa propria, ut notum eſt ex eo exemplo quod recitat Nider *lib*. 2. *de Reform. Relig. cap*. 9. Epiſcopi ex ordine collapſo aſſumpti, qui, audiente ipſo Nidero, pertinaciſſime inficiatus eſt, ſuum Ordinem eſſe collapſum, & reformatione egere, quantumvis (inquit Nider), luce foret clarius toti mundo, contrarium eſſe verum (34). - - - - - *Bellarmin was taxed with Calumny and Invective, becauſe, in his Book* de Gemitu Columbæ, *he makes one Source of Tears to be the Decay of Diſcipline in ſome Orders; the truth of which This Author* (He, who complained of *Bellarmin*) *abſolutely denies; and I wiſh he could with reaſon deny it, even as to Appearances. But it was worth while to attack* Bellarmin *at any rate. For, that ſome Religious Orders have relaxed Diſcipline, and ſtand in need of Reformation, is ſo notorious, that no one, that is not blind, but ſees it, as* Major *ſays, in* 4. *d*. 38. *q*. 23. *But it is no uncommon Thing for People to be thus blind, eſpecially when the Caſe is their own; as appears from the Inſtance, alledged by* Nider, lib. 2. de Reform. Relig. c. 9. *of a Biſhop, taken from a fallen Order, who, in the hearing of* Nider *himſelf, obſtinately denied, that his Order was fallen, and ſtood in need of Reformation, when (ſays* Nider) *it was as clear as the Noon-Day, that the contrary was true*." The Pſeudonymous *Philadelphus de novo lacu*, who wrote a Treatiſe *de modernis Jeſuitarum moribus*, tells us, that it is queſtioned, whether *Bellarmin* be the true Author of the *Gemitus Columbæ* (35). This doubt ſeems to me very unreaſonable; for This Treatiſe came out whilſt That Cardinal was living, and was inſerted in the Collection of his Works. Obſerve, that the Dominican *Gravina*, is one of Thoſe who wrote againſt this *Gemitus*. See the Remark [*B*] of the Article KELLER.

[*L*] *Some*

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* Sin verò dogmata ipſa fidei, &c. ejus in operibus cenſura notabantur, dici non poteſt quàm ſtantem ſe immutabilemque præberet. Clarè id agnitum eſt in his quæ evenere circa editas opiniones *de predeſtinatione, de auxiliis divinæ gratiæ*, &c. lib. 2, cap. 5.

‡ Recognitio oper. Bellarm. Ingolſtadii, 1608, p. 96.

† Pag. 97.

(30) Gery's Apology, p. 177, 178.

(31) Rob. Abbotus, de ſuprema poteſtate Regia, *Præl.* II. Art. III.

(32) *The Author of this Complaint is a Monk, againſt whom the Jeſuit* Baeza *ſaid ſomething*, lib. 4. de JESU figurato, cap. 1, n. 32. *See* Theophilus Raynaud, Erotemat. de malis ac bonis libris, pag. 112.

(33) Theoph. Raynaud. ibid.

(34) Id. ib.

(35) *See* pag. 198, *of Mr* Mayer's *Diſſertation*; De Bellarmini fide ipſis Pontificiis dubia. *See, below, Citat.* (67).

Some have thought, that he did great Prejudice to the *Roman* Catholics, by his Books of Controverſy [*L*], becauſe the Objections of the Heretics are to be found in them. An ingenious Man, not being able to find *Bellarmin*'s Works in any Bookſeller's Shop in *Italy*, ſuſpected that they were forbidden to be expoſed to Sale, for fear the Opinions, which the Author confuted, ſhould be known [*M*]. The whole Body of Controverſies, publiſhed by this Cardinal, comprehended, at firſt, three Volumes in *Folio*; but they were divided into four, in the Edition of *Cologne*, 1615, becauſe

[*L*] *Some ſaid, that he did great Prejudice to the* Roman *Catholics by his Books of Controverſy.*] Father *Theophilus Raynaud* confeſſes, that ſome have thought, that, perhaps, it might be very expedient to ſuppreſs Cardinal *Bellarmin*'s Controverſial Books, as well becauſe the Heretics may eaſily make a wrong uſe of them, taking what is for their Turn out of them, and leaving the reſt, as becauſe the Catholics may be deceived by them, for want of underſtanding the Anſwers to the Objections. Some have thought, that Cardinal *du Perron* was of This Opinion; and, perhaps, they were not miſtaken: Nay, it is ſaid, that he openly declared it in Converſation, not conſidering the Conſequences of it. But, when he came to know, that he was charged with judging in this manner of *Bellarmin*'s Books, he ſtrongly denied it. *Doctiſſimus Card. Perronius cum hoc ſibi calumnioſum de Bellarmini Controverſiis judicium affingi inaudiſſet, copioſè & validè illud deterſit, ut refertur in ipſius Bellarmini vita* lib. 2. cap. 7 (36).

He wrote a Letter to That Cardinal, wherein he confuted this Accuſation with all his Induſtry and Strength. This Letter, dated from *Rome* the tenth of *February* 1605, is in the Life of *Bellarmin*, compoſed by *Fuligatti*, and in the Diſſertation of Mr *Mayer*, whom I quote before (37), and who informs us, that Cardinal *Bentivoglio* proteſted he had heard Cardinal *du Perron* paſs this Judgment on *Bellarmin*'s Controverſies. *Sancte teſtari - - - - - ſe ex ipſius Cardinalis* Perronii ore propriis hoc excepiſſe auribus de Bellarmini Controverſiis judicium (38). The Collector of the *Perroniana* had not heard him ſay the ſame thing, or elſe he did not think fit to mention it; for here is all he ſays: "Cardinal *Bellarmin* has a very fine and clear Wit. He has treated "very well of the Sacraments *in genere*; nothing "can be better. But we cannot ſay the ſame of the "Treatiſe *de Euchariſtia*. When he found any Subject already well ſcanned, and examined, by others, "he explained it wonderfully well by the beauty and "clearneſs of his Wit; but, when he found a Subject intricate and much confuſed, he loſt himſelf "in it (39). He often made uſe of the Tranſlations "of the *Greek* Fathers, without having recourſe to "the *Greek*; I wonder at it, ſince he underſtood "it very well. Among other Books, he makes uſe "of the *Præparatio Evangelica* for praying to the "Saints, and quotes it, in *Latin*, from the Tranſlation of *Trapezuntius*, which is very different from "the *Greek*, and which contains a Clauſe, not at "all to be found in the *Greek*." That my Readers may judge of all this, I have ſet down here the Paſſage of Cardinal *Bentivoglio*. "Tale era il concorſo generale intorno alle ſue controverſie (40) "benche non rieſcono mai tanto uniformi i giuditi, "che non vi ſiano ancora di quelli frà i più dotti "Cattolici, è più verſati in materie ſimili, che haverebbono qualche volta deſiderato di vederlo "ſtringere, ed abbater con forza maggiore alcuni "argomenti heretici, e con maggior pienezza riportare quei tanti, e ſi manifeſti vantaggi, che poteva "dargli in ogni queſtione la Dottrina Cattolica; "meco più d'una volta in Francia moſtro d'aver "queſto ſenſo particolarmente il Cardinal Perrone, "quel gran Cardinale, quel ch'e ſtato l'Agoſtino Franceſe del noſtro ſecolo: del reſto lo riconoſceva ancor egli un per de più dotti, e più eminenti, e più benemeriti ſcrittori, che haveſſe havuto la Chieſa ne i tempi noſtri (41). - - - - - *Such "was the general Opinion of his Controverſial Writings; though the Judgments paſſed on them were "not ſo uniform, but there were ſtill ſome among "the more learned Catholics, who wiſhed to have "ſeen him combat ſome Heretical Arguments more "forcibly, and with more eaſe obtain thoſe ſo great "and manifeſt Advantages, which the Catholic Doctrine might have given him on every Queſtion. "Cardinal* Perrone, *in particular, declared to me, "more than once, in* France, *that this was his Opinion; That Great Cardinal, who was the* French "Auguſtin *of our Age: yet even He acknowledged "him for one of the moſt eminent and moſt deſerving, "Writers, which the Church has had in our Time.*" By this it appears, that the Cenſure was reduced to This, that *Bellarmin* had not always confuted the Reaſons of the Heretics with all the Strength and Victory, which the Goodneſs of his Cauſe might have ſupplied him with. Obſerve, that ſome Proteſtants confeſs, that he ſets down their Reaſons and Objections honeſtly enough. Mr *Heidegger* praiſed him among others things, "quod non perinde malignus atque Jeſuitæ alii, Valentia imprimis, Vaſques, "Becanus, Maldonatus, *&c.* meliore ut plurimum "fide adverſariorum ſuorum argumenta allegavit, & "amantior quam illi veritatis, ſicubi erravit, prudens ſcienſque errare non videtur (42). - - - - *That, "being more candid, than the reſt of the Jeſuits, "particularly* Valentia, Vaſques, Becanus, Maldonatus, *&c. he generally repreſented the Arguments of "his Adverſaries more impartially; and that, as he "appeared to have a greater Regard, than They, to "Truth, if he was miſtaken, his Errors do not ſeem "to be voluntary.*" Let the Reader judge as he pleaſes of the Narrative of the Dominican *Vincent Baron*. That Monk engaged in Controverſies, and diſputed ſometimes with Proteſtant Divines. He affirms, that he heard one of them ſay, that *Bellarmin* had done them a very great Piece of Service, by putting their Divinity into good Order, and by giving more force to their Arguments, than they had in their Writers. Whereupon Father *Baron* praiſes *Bellarmin*'s Plain-dealing, but without forgetting to ſay, that he had throughly confuted the ſame Reaſons of the Proteſtants, which he had repreſented with all their Force (43). He adds, that he had heard ſay, in That Cardinal's Juſtification, that, in a Diſpute about Myſteries, the Arguments of thoſe, who attack are more eaſily apprehended, than the Arguments of thoſe, who reply. "Hoc ſolum adjunxerim quod in defenſionem Bellarmini me aliàs "audiviſſe memini, myſteria fidei hoc habere, quòd, "cum ſuperent captum rationis humanæ, faciliora "ſunt ſenſui argumenta quæ impugnant, quàm reſponſa, quæ defendunt (44)." This is to tell us plainly, that Complaints were made, that *Bellarmin* propoſed the Objections of the Heretics better, than he confuted them. I ſhall examine, in another Place (45), whether They, who are ſo honeſt as to ſet down fairly the Arguments of their Adverſaries (which but few Perſons do), behave anſwerably to the Spirit, which prevails, more or leſs, in all Communions, of not permitting the Sale of Heretical Books.

[*M*] *An ingenious Man —— ſuſpected, that they were forbidden to be expoſed to ſale, for fear of making known the Opinions, which They refuted.*] The ingenious Perſon, whom I mean, is Sir *Edwin Sandys*. See what he ſays: "I proteſt, it was never "in my Power to find *Bellarmin*'s Works, or Thoſe "of *Gregory de Valentia*, or any other of that Nature, in any of the Bookſellers Shops. But, inſtead of them, I found infinite Heaps of Invectives, and Declamations, every where; which "made me conjecture, that they were deſignedly "ſuppreſſed, and kept within the Incloſures of the "Monaſteries, leaſt, by the free and common reading "of them, wherein the Author muſt of neceſſity "have alledged the Arguments, and Tenets of the "Proteſtants, ſome Flower might be ſmelt, and "ſome Fruit, or Seed, of the Proteſtant Religion "might be taſted. I leave it to more ſagacious "Perſons to enquire whether this Conjecture of mine "be true, or not (46)." Let us add King *James*'s Words. "Fama proditum eſt, neſcio quàm verum, "libros controverſiarum Bellarmini in Italia non permitti vulgo, propterea quod objectiones ejus nimis

" validæ

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(36) Theoph. Raynaud, de bonis ac malis libris, pag. 223.

(37) *In Citat.* (35). *See* pag. 184, &c. *of this Diſſertation.*

(38) John Frider. Mayer, ibid. pag. 192.

(39) *Campanella* Synt. de libris propriis, cap. 4, Art. 9, *judges of it almoſt after the ſame manner:* Bellarminus, *ſays he,* controverſias hac tempeſtate plurimum illuſtravit, clarus, non inelegans, magnus in labore, ſed modicus tamen in inventione.

(40) *That is to ſay of* Bellarmin.

(41) Memorie, overo diario del Card. Bentivoglio, pag. 121, 122, Edit. Amſtel. 1648.

(42) Heidegger. Hiſtor. Papatus, p. 312.

(43) Baronius Apolog. lib. 4. Sect. 4, pag. 161, 162.

(44) Id. ib. pag. 162.

(45) *In Remark* [*G*], *of the Article* CHRYSIPPUS.

(46) Survey of the State of Religion, pag. 224. *Edit. in* 12mo. 1642.

becauſe ſeven new Treatiſes were added to the firſt Volume, whereof the laſt is the Reviſion, and Correction, which the Author made, of all his Works [*N*]. It is thus, that the Writers of the *Bibliotheque* of the Jeſuits have explained themſelves; but This is not exact [*O*]. Beſides this Body of Controverſies, he compoſed many other Books, which amount to three Volumes in *Folio*, in the Edition of *Cologne*, 1617 (*e*). Some of his *Sermons*, and many of his *Letters*, have been publiſhed ſince his Death (*f*). His Life has been written by four, or five, Authors [*P*]; the laſt, if I am not miſtaken, is *Daniel Bartoli*. The raſh Judgment, *Scaliger* paſſed on *Bellarmin*, cannot be ſufficiently condemned [*Q*].

Though this Jeſuit had eagerly maintained the Pope's Power over the Temporalities of Kings, yet he diſpleaſed *Sixtus* V, and had the Mortification to ſee his Work inſerted in the *Index* of the Inquiſition [*R*]. What he wrote on the ſame Subject

“validæ ſint, reſponſiones autem nimis debiles (47). —— *It is reported, with what Truth I cannot ſay, that the Controverſial Works of* Bellarmin *are not permitted to be publickly ſold in* Italy, *becauſe his Objections are too ſtrong, and his Anſwers too weak.*”

[*N*] *The Reviſion, and Correction, which the Author made, of all his Works.*] I have read a curious Particular in Mr *Chevillier*, which I ſhall relate here with great Pleaſure. “This Cardinal, ſeeing, that his Controverſies were printing in divers Places, and that many Faults were left in them, thought he ought to endeavour to remedy this Evil. He made ſuch an exact Copy of his Book, and corrected it ſo well, that there remained not one Error in the Manuſcript; and he gave it to a Bookſeller of *Venice*, to have a moſt exact Impreſſion of it. But it happened quite contrary to his Hopes. The Printer neglected this Edition ſo much, that it proved the moſt faulty of all. This famous Author, being vexed at it, took Pen in Hand to acquaint the Public with it, after having ſeen, that That Impreſſion, being accounted an Original one, had carried the Evil into a ſecond, and had alſo much infected the fair Edition of *Ingolſtadt*, to which it ſerved for a Model. He publiſhed his Book, entituled, *Recognitio Librorum omnium Roberti Bellarmini*, wherein he inſerted a *Correctorium*, which ſhews all the Faults of That Edition of *Venice*, and was printed in octavo, at *Ingolſtadt*, in the Year 1698. He complains, in the Preface, *pag.* 125, that, in above forty Places, the Printer makes him give a Negative, for an Affirmative, Anſwer, and an Affirmative for a Negative. And the *Errata*, which he made, fills Eighty eight Pages. *Et quod graviſſimum eſt (animadverti) ſuprà quadragintà locos ita eſſe corruptos, additis vel detractis negantibus particulis, vel alio modo immutatis, ut contrarium omninò ſenſum contineant, quod certè ſummo me dolore affecit —— tamen quoniam animadverti non paucos errores editionis primæ Venetæ in Editionem ſecundam Venetam, & in Ingolſtadienſem ex Venetâ expreſſam, tranſiiſſe, ideò in Correctorio notavi Libros, Capita, Paragraphos, Columnas, Literas, & Verſus* (48).” *Note*, that This *Correctorium* was, at firſt, printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1607, and that, in the Year 1596, the Author, cauſing his controverſial Works, reviſed, and enlarged, to be printed at *Ingolſtadt*, had acquainted the World, that he did not acknowledge the preceeding Editions for his. Not that they contained any Opinions, which ought to be diſapproved, but on account of the Faults of the Impreſſion, as he told *Poſſevin*, in the Year 1598 (49).

[*O*] *What the Writers of the* Bibliotheques *of the Jeſuits have ſaid of the Correction of his Works, is not exact.*] I find, in a Work, printed in the Year 1608 (50), that, before That Year, *Bellarmin*'s Controverſies had appeared, in four Volumes. The firſt Edition in three Volumes, in *Folio*, is of *Ingolſtadt*, 1586. The following Year, they were reprinted again, at the ſame Place, in *Octavo*. A new Edition was made of them in the ſame City, in 1588, and another in the Year 1590. The firſt Edition, in four Volumes, is of *Venice, apud Minimam Societatem*. An *Appendix* of ſeveral particular Treatiſes was added to it (51). It muſt be ſaid, then, that *Alegambus*, and his Continuator, are not exact, ſince they give us That of *Cologne*, 1615, for the firſt Edition, in four Volumes. They ſay alſo, that the firſt Edition of the firſt *Tome* came out in the Year 1581, That of the ſecond in the Year 1583, and That of the third in the Year 1592. This is contrary to *Poſſevin*'s Relation, and wants Exactneſs on another Account; for They ſhould have named the Place, where theſe pretended firſt Editions were made.

[*P*] *His Life has been written by four or five Authors.*] Mr *Teiſſier* reckons up nine of them, and ranges them in this manner; 1. *Daniel Bartoli*; 2. *Didacus Ramirez*; 3. *Jacobus Fuligatus*; 4. *Georgius Robertuſſonus*; 5. *Johannes Morinus*; 6. *Marcellinus Cervinus*; 7. *Petrus Morinus*; 8. *Sylveſt. Petra Sancta*; 9. *Tarquin. Galluccius* (52). But we muſt reduce the Number; *James Fuligatti*, *John Morin* (53), *Peter Morin* (54), and *Sylveſter Petra Sancta*, ought to paſs only for one Hiſtorian of *Bellarmin*; for the three laſt have only tranſlated the *Italian* Work of *Fuligatti*; and, if *Petra Sancta*, who tranſlated it into *Latin*, made ſome Additions to it, he ought not, therefore, to be conſidered as one of the Hiſtorians. If *George Robertuſſon* wrote This Cardinal's Life, ought he not to appear, in his Place, in the Body of Mr *Teſſier*'s Book? But he no where appears there. We meet with only one *Georgius Robertſonus* there, who was Author of the Life of *Robert Rollocus*, a *Scotch* Divine. *Note*, that *Tarquin Galluccius* did not compoſe *Bellarmin*'s Hiſtory, but only his Funeral Oration. Mr *Mayer* gave a more exact Liſt (55); he quotes the Life of *Bellarmin*, written by *James Fuligatti*, and printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1624, in 4to; *Daniel Bartoli de vita Bellarmini*, at *Rome* 1618 (56), in 4to; *Marcellinus Cervinus de vita & moribus Bellarmini*, at *Sienna* 1622, in 8vo; *Didacus Ramirez in vita Bellarmini ex variis authoribus concinnata*; & *Nicolao Antonio in Bibliotheca Hiſpana memorata*; And the Account *de pio obitu Bellarmini ex literis Eudæmono-Johannis*, printed at *Dilingen*, in the Year 1621. He quotes alſo *Gallutius*, *Alegambus*, *Sebaſtiani Badii decora Roberti Cardinalis Bellarmini* (57); the Elogies of *Euſebius Sarrini*, a *Florentin* Abbot of the Order of *Citeaux*; *Ughelli*, in the Four hundred fifth Page of the ſixth Volume of the *Italia Sacra*; *Imperialis*; *Andrew du Sauſſai*; & *Nicius Erythræus*. He forgot *Edward Coffin*, an *Engliſh* Jeſuit, who wrote a Book *de morte Cardinalis Bellarmini*, printed at *St Omer*, in the Year 1623, in 8vo: he diſguiſed himſelf under theſe two Letters C. E (58). *Note*, that *Didacus Ramirez* was a *Spaniſh* Jeſuit, who died the eighth of *April* 1647 (59).

[*Q*] *The raſh Judgment* Scaliger *paſſed on* Bellarmin *cannot be ſufficiently condemned.*] Let him ſay, as much as he pleaſes (60), that *if any One would give him a* Bellarmin, *he would not accept of it*, and that he would take care not to loſe his Time in reading ſuch an Author, who writes ill, *quod male ſcripſit non legam, nec male bonas horas collocabo.* But he is inexcuſable in ſaying, that *Bellarmin* did not believe any thing of what he printed, and that he was a meer Atheiſt (61). It is to uſurp GOD's Right who is the only Judge of Thoughts, and he who ſearches the Reins and the Hearts. It is to ſet a bad Example, and to authorize the fury of thoſe, who ſaid, that *Calvin*, *Beza*, &c. preached againſt their Conſcience, and had no Religion.

[*R*] *He had the Mortification to ſee his Work* de Pontifice Romano *inſerted in the Index of the Inquiſition.*] From This Fact Mr *Arnauld* draws a good Argument *ad hominem* againſt thoſe, who preach up the Authority of the Congregations of the *Index*. We find, ſays he (62), that *Bellarmin*'s Work *de Romano Pontifice* “was proſcribed by *Sixtus* V, becauſe he judged, as well as thoſe, to whom he had given it to be examined, that it had done great Prejudice to the Pontifical Dignity, by ſaying,, that the Power, which they pretended, that J. C. gave to

(*e*) Alegambus, p. 411.

(*f*) Sotuel, in Biblioth. Jeſuit. pag. 724.

(47) Jacobus Rex, in Proteſtatione Anti-Vorſtiana, apud Mayer. Diſſ. de fide Bellarm. pag. 183.

(48) Chevillier, of the Origin of Printing at *Paris*, pag. 162.

(49) *Taken out of* Poſſevin, in Appar. Tom. II, p. 388.

(50) Apparatus ſacer Poſſevini, Tom. II, pag. 330.

(51) Id. ib.

(52) Teiſſier, Bibl. Biblioth. in indice X, pag. 306.

(53) *Father of the Oratory; his* French *Tranſlation of* Fuligatti *was printed at* Paris, *in* 1635, *in* 8vo, *according to* Teſſier, pag. 193.

(54) *A Jeſuit: His* French *Tranſlation of* Fuligatti *was printed at* Paris, *in* 1628, *in* 8vo, *according to* Mayer. Diſſ. de fide Bellarm. pag. 165.

(55) Mayer, ibid.

(56) *It is probably an Error of the Preſs; for that Work of* Bartoli *was not printed till* 1677.

(57) Sotuel, Biblioth. Societ. Jeſuit. pag. 724. *calls him* Badus, *and places the printing of his Book at* Genoa, *in* 1671, *in* 4to. *Mr* Leti *ſpeaks very amply of This* Badus, *a Phyſician of* Genoa, *in the fourth part of the* Italia Regnante.

(58) Sotuel de Scriptor. Societ. Jeſu, pag. 185.

(59) Id. ib. pag. 173.

(60) In Scaligeranis, pag. 29.

(61) Ibid.

(62) Arnauld's Difficulties propoſed to Mr *Steyaert*. Part 9, pag. 38, & ſeq. *He quotes the* 7th *Chapter of the* 2d *Book of the Life of* Bellarmin, *written, in* Italian, *by Father* Fuligatti, *and tranſlated into* Latin *by* Sylveſter à Petra Sancta, *both Jeſuits.*

ject againſt *William Barclay* was treated ſtill worſe in *France* [*S*]. Among all the *Roman* Catholics, who have wrote againſt him, none has ſo fully diſcovered the weak Parts of his Works, as *John de Launoi* [*T*]. We ſhall mention two of *Bellarmin*'s Thoughts, which ſhew, that he loved Peace, and that he was not pleaſed with the Ambition of the Cardinals [*U*]. The Proteſtants have taken notice of one thing, which he ſays, concerning the Merit of Works, *viz.* That *Becauſe of the Uncertainty*

“ his Vicar, on Earth, over the Temporalities of Kings, is not direct, but only indirect; and it was for this reaſon, that, theſe Books *de Romano Pontifice*, were inſerted among the Prohibited. This is what theſe two Jeſuits (63) give us to underſtand, ſomewhat obſcurely, to induce us to believe, that this proceeded not ſo much from the Pope, as from *Bellarmin*'s Enemies, who had perſuaded him to it: *Doctrina Bellarmini autoritatem illam* MINUI, *quam Chriſtus Dominus Vicario ſuo in terris dedit ad Eccleſiæ dignitatem firmitatemque; idque fieri in opinione ipſius circa Dominium temporarium, quod Pontifici competit item* IN RES TEMPORARIAS. By which Theſe Authors underſtand the Power, which it is believed, at *Rome*, the Pope has, to depoſe Kings; as appears by the following Page, where *Bellarmin*'s Book againſt *William Barclay* on this Subject of depoſing Kings is called: *Tractatio de Poteſtate Pontificis* IN RES TEMPORARIAS, *adverſus Gulielmum Barclaium.* So that it was not for want of having underſtood *Bellarmin*'s Doctrine right on this Subject, that he received the Affront of having his Books put among the condemned Writers; but becauſe That Pope was not ſatisfied with the indirect Power, which he gave him, over Kings, and would have a direct one. And this continued as long as That Pope lived. For theſe ſame Authors acknowledge, that it was not, till after his Death, that the Cardinals expunged them *ex indice probroſorum ſcriptorum*. Pray, Sir, tell us, whether you think, that any Jeſuit will own, that it would have been a mortal Sin to read *Bellarmin*'s Books *de Romano Pontifice*, during the Life of *Sixtus* V, and that, if a Prieſt had done it, he would have deſerved *to be deprived, by a Sentence, of the Power of preaching, confeſſing, and directing Souls*.”

Conſult the Diſſertation of the famous Mr *Mayer*, *de fide Bellarmini ipſis Pontificiis ambigua*, printed at *Amſterdam* 1697, and you will find, there (64), a long Paſſage of *Fuligatti*, and ſome others. Conſult alſo the ſecond Tome of the *French Mercury*; it will inform you “ That, towards the end of the Year 1586, when the firſt Book of the Controverſies of *Bellarmin* was brought into *France*, of the Impreſſion of *Ingolſtadt*, *Stephen Michel*, a Bookſeller of *Lyons*, being at *Paris*, joined with another Bookſeller in publiſhing That Book; which they began to do; and, notice thereof being given to the King's Attorney-General, he cauſed one and twenty Sheets, already finiſhed to be ſeized, and forbad them to continue the printing of it: It was on account of the third Controverſy, where he treated *de Summo Pontifice*, and where he attributed an indirect Power to the Pope over Emperors, Kings, and Sovereign Princes, and divers other things againſt the temporal Sovereignty of Kings (65).” One may therefore ſay of the *medium*, which *Bellarmin* obſerved, between the *Ultramontain* Canoniſts, and the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, what *Herennius Pontius* declared in relation to the Conduct of his Son, who ſaved the Lives, but not the Honour, of the *Roman* Soldiers. *Iſta quidem ſententia ea eſt, quæ neque amicos parat, neque inimicos tollit, ſervare modo quos ignominia irritaveris* (66). —— *It is an Opinion, which neither gains you Friends, nor loſes you Enemies, barely to preſerve Thoſe, whom you exaſperate againſt you by Ignominy.* This Jeſuit obſerved a mean which diſpleaſed the Court of *Rome*, without pleaſing the Court of *France*. It is the common fate of moderate Opinions; they neither procure you Friends, nor appeaſe your Enemies, and they leave you for a mark to the two Factions, which place themſelves in the oppoſite Extreams.

[*S*] *What he wrote on the ſame Subject againſt* W. Barclay, *was treated ſtill worſe in* France.] I mean his *Tractatus de poteſtate ſummi Pontificis in Temporalibus adverſus Guilielmum Barclaium*, printed at *Rome* in the Year 1610. Mr *Mayer* obſerves, that King *James* wrote againſt This Treatiſe, and that the Senate of *Venice*, and the Parliament of *Paris*, condemned it. He gives us, in *Latin*, the Decree of That Parliament, and refers us to the Continuator of *Thuanus* (67). He ſays alſo, that This Work of *Bellarmin* wanted but little of being burnt at *Paris* by the Hands of the Common Executioner: “ Faces jam accendebat carnifex, ut pœnas à ſcripto & ſcriptore ſumeret, niſi Reginæ animus, & iteratis & non deſinentibus Jeſuitarum deprecationibus fractus, illas extinxiſſet (68). —— *The Executioner already began to light the Fire, to puniſh The Work and it's Author, had not the Diſpoſition of the Queen, influenced by the repeated and inceſſant Intreaties of the Jeſuits, extinguiſhed it.*” See the ſecond Tome of the *French Mercury*, and you will find, there (69), the Subſtance of the Remonſtrance of Mr *Servin*, the King's Firſt Advocate, and the Decree of the Parliament (70), in theſe Terms: “ The Court forbids all Perſons, of what Quality and Condition ſoever, on the Penalty of High-Treaſon, to receive, retain, communicate, print, cauſe to be printed, or to expoſe to ſale the ſaid Book. And enjoins thoſe, who ſhall have any Copies of the ſaid Book, or know any Perſons, who have, to declare it ſpeedily to the Ordinary Judges, that diligent ſearch may be made after them, at the Requeſt of the Subſtitutes of the ſaid Attorney-General, and that the Guilty may be proceeded againſt, as is requiſite (71).”

[*T*] *No One has ſo fully diſcovered the weak Parts of his Works, as* John de Launoi.] Mr *Mayer* will inform you fully of This, in his Book. See alſo the Remark [*I*] of the Article LAUNOI (JOHN).

[*U*] *He loved Peace, and had not learnt the Ambition of the Cardinals.*] *Peter de St Romuald* ſays, that the moſt excellent of all *Bellarmin*'s Works, “ treating of Controverſies, was proſcribed at *Rome*, and inſerted in the Index of Infamous Books. —— Which he bore, *adds he*, with the ſame Patience, as he ſuffered the Contradictions of a certain Cardinal, in the Conclave, ſaying to thoſe, who wondered at it, that an Ounce of Peace was worth more than a Pound of Victory. Being alſo asked (perhaps on account of that Cardinal) how it happened, that there were ſo few Cardinals in the Catalogue of the Saints; it is, *ſaid he*, becauſe they aſpire to be Moſt-Holy: A ſmart Anſwer for thoſe, who know what theſe Words ſignify in *Italy*; *perche vogliono eſſer ſantiſſimi* (72).” The meaning of which is, that the Deſire of being made Pope hinders the Cardinals from acquiring Holineſs, though That Deſire be a longing after the Title of Moſt Holy Father. The *Critical Miſcellanies* of Mr *Ancillon* inform me, that Mr *Godeau*, “ who wrote *Bellarmin*'s Elogy, ſays, that one of his uſual Sayings was, that the Cardinals are not Holy, becauſe they would be Moſt Holy, that is to ſay Popes, who are called Moſt Holy Fathers: An Opinion, which he had from his Uncle *Marcellus* II, who cried out, one Day, at Table, *Non video quomodo qui locum hunc altiſſimum tenent ſalvari poſſint* (73), I do not ſee how thoſe that are ſeated in St *Peter*'s Chair can be ſaved (74).” The Reſpect, which I have for the Memory of the late Mr *Ancillon*, a Man of much Piety and Learning, is not inconſiſtent with the Liberty I am going to take. I do not find an exact Connexion between the Cardinal's Thought, and That of the Pope. *Bellarmin*'s Intention was, not to ſay, that a Pope can hardly be ſaved, but that the Deſire of being made a Pope attaches the Cardinals in ſuch a manner to earthly Things, and unjuſt Intrigues, that they can make no Progreſs in the Way of Holineſs. But Pope *Marcellus* II had not this Thought; he only conſidered the Obſtacles, which a Man, who is actually Pope, meets with in the way of Salvation. So that *Bellarmin*'s Jeſt does not ſeem to me to be part of his Uncle's Inheritance. If it be objected againſt me, that a Pope ſtands in need of as many Intrigues to perform the Part, which he acts in the World, as a Cardinal to attain to the Pontificate;

(63) Fuligatti, *and* Petra Sancta, *in the Life of* Bellarmin.

(64) Pag. 177, & ſeq.

(65) *French* Mercury, Tom. II, pag. 32.

(66) Titus Livius, lib. 9, Decad. I.

(67) Jo. Frider. Mayer, S. Reg. Majeſt. Suec. per Germaniam Suecic Conſiliarius in Sacris Primarius, Doct. & Profeſſ. Theolog. & Eccleſiæ Hamburgenſis ad D. Jacobi Paſtor, Diſſert. de Bellarmini fide ipſis Pontificiis dubia, pag. 180.

(68) Id. ib. pag. 183.

(69) *French* Mercury, pag. 33, & ſeq.

(70) Novemb. 26, 1610.

(71) *French* Mercury. ib. pag. 36.

(72) Peter de St Romuald Abridg. Chronol. ad Ann. 1621, p. 416, 417.

(73) Onuphrius in Marcello II. apud Ancill. ibid. p. 329.

(74) Ancillon's Critic. Miſcel. Tom. I, pag. 328.

certainty of our own Righteouſneſs, and for fear of Vain-Glory, the ſureſt way is to put our whole Truſt in the alone Goodneſs and Mercy of God (g). Neither have they forgot what he preached at *Louvain*, in 1571, on the Excellency of the Bible. They *make uſe of it to confute all, that he has ſaid ſince, in his Works, againſt the Perfection and Sufficiency of the Scripture (h).* The Book, which ſupplies me with theſe Words, contains many ſolid and curious Remarks concerning *Bellarmin*. I find in it, that This Cardinal, *might, perhaps, have been Pope, if he had not been a Jeſuit* [*X*]; *for* Henry IV *told the* French *Cardinals, who went to the Conclave, after the Death of* Clement VIII, *that he ſhould be very glad if* Bellarmin *was made Pope (i).* I have read alſo, that *the ſame Jeſuit acquired the Eſteem of* Henry IV, *whilſt he was at his Court, whither he was ſent with Cardinal* Henry Cajetan (*k*), and that *it is certain, the beſt of his Works is*

cate; I ſhall anſwer, that it is another Queſtion, and that it is to exceed the Limits, which ought to be put to the Senſe of the Words, which *Bellarmin* made uſe of. I go further, and maintain, that, though the ſame Cardinal had ſaid, on ſome other Occaſion; *That Popes are ſo far from deſerving to be canonized, that they can hardly keep themſelves from Hell*; it cannot be pretended, that the *Italian* Words, which you have ſeen before, are the Copy of his Uncle Pope *Marcellus*'s Exclamation. That Exclamation puts me in mind of the Sally of a *Frenchman*, who heard ſomebody praiſe the Piety, and moral Severity, of *Innocent* XI, in the Year 1689. "The Catholic Church, *ſaid he*, has no need of ſuch a Pope; it were better for her to have a Sovereign Pontiff, who underſtands the Art of aggrandizing himſelf, and of taking hold of all Opportunities, according to the Politics of the moſt refined Courts. The Greatneſs, and Majeſty, of the Catholic Church, require a Head, not endowed with the Virtues of a Prieſt, but with the Talents of a cunning Politician. They require a Head, who has the Courage to damn himſelf, for the Good and Increaſe of his Dominions; this is the way to perform the Office of a good Shepherd, who gives his Life for his Sheep; this is to devote one's ſelf for the Republic, better than *Codrus*, and the *Decii* did (75). A ſcrupulous, and devout Pope, like good *Adrian* VI, is only fit to let the Temporals of the Church periſh (76), which are ſo advantageous for the Maintenance of the Spirituals." Such was This *Frenchman*'s Diſcourſe.

[*X*] *He might, perhaps, have been made Pope, if he had not been a Jeſuit.*] He had more Votes, than any of the reſt, in the firſt Scrutiny of the Conclave of *Leo* XI (77); nevertheleſs, they did not think of him, then, in earneſt. It was in the following Conclave (78), that they looked upon him as a fit Man to be Pope, and that they endeavoured to procure him the Pontificate; but Cardinal *Aldobrandini*'s Faction made this Deſign miſcarry. *Bellarmin*'s Virtue, and the too great Power of the Jeſuits, were the two chief Conſiderations, which hindred him from ſucceeding *Leo* XI. "Aldobrandino —— fuggiva. —— Bellarmino come Gieſuita ſcropoloſo, è che tal volta haveva improvato molte attioni di Clemente Zio, è di lui ſteſſo (79). —— Haveva Bellarmino grand' amici per eſſer egli di letteratura, è bontà ſingolare, mà l'eſſer Gieſuita, è di conſcienza delicata, lo rendevano poco amabile, appreſſo molti, li quali moſſero ogni pietra, per rovinarlo. —— Fù rinovata, è ſparſa per tutto la memoria del diſgreſſo dato à Bellarmino da Siſto V, che gli fece prohibire l'opera ſua *de poteſtate Papæ*: furono diſcorſe al vivo tutte le conſeguenze, che potevano deviare dall' eſaltatione di un Gieſuita; & inſomma s'adoprornò in maniera, che s'aquietò affatto il tutto (80). —— Aldobrandino —— *fled away.* —— Bellarmin, *as a conſcientious Jeſuit, and who had often diſapproved of many Actions of* Clement, *his Uncle, and of* Clement *himſelf.* —— Bellarmin *had great Friends, on account of his Learning, and ſingular Goodneſs; but his being a Jeſuit, and of a tender Conſcience, rendered him diſagreeable to many, who left no Stone unturned to ruin him. —— The Memory of* Bellarmin's *Diſgrace with* Sixtus V, *who prohibited his Book* De Poteſtate Papæ, *was revived, and ſpread every where: Every Conſequence, which might hinder the Promotion of a Jeſuit, was thoroughly diſcuſſed; and they employed their Intereſt in ſuch a manner, that the whole Affair was dropped.*" Let us ſet down, here, a Paſſage of Mr *Ancillon*. "I have always heard ſay, that the Court of *Rome* will take care not to place a Jeſuit in the Papal Chair, and that *Europe* ought not to deſire it; becauſe they would infallibly make themſelves Maſters of the Holy See; inſomuch that all the other Orders might look upon themſelves as excluded from it for ever, and that by this means they would make their Power, which is already very great, almoſt infinite and boundleſs: If we believe thoſe, who write on this Subject, it ſeems this Maxim is not new in the Court of *Rome*. They have diſtruſted the Jeſuits a long time, and are on their guard againſt them, in this reſpect; and we read, in the Life of *Bellarmin* himſelf, that *Clement* VIII, ſpeaking of That Cardinal, who had already made himſelf famous, ſaid, *Dignus, ſed Jeſuita eſt* (81)." We have a Proof, here, of the raſh Judgments, which are only grounded on firſt Appearances. If you do not examine things thoroughly, and if you conſider only the firſt Impreſſions, which they make on the Mind, you will imagine, that, in order to obtain a Dignity, it is a very great Advantage to belong to a very powerful Body; but, if you take the pains to reflect, you will find almoſt an invincible Obſtacle in This very Thing. Within theſe ten Years (82) we have ſeen two Examples of this. Nothing contributed ſo much to exclude the Cardinal of *Furſtemberg* from the Archbiſhopric of *Cologne*, and the Cardinal of *Bouillon* from the Biſhopric of *Liege*, as their being recommended, and protected, by the Court of *France*, whoſe Power was ſuperior to That of other States. Refer to This what I have ſaid in Remark [*H*], of the Article INNOCENT XI, and remember the Thought of *Florus*, *ipſa ſibi obſtat magnitudo*. I have already applied it, on a quite different Occaſion (83).

Note, That Monſ. *Godeau* obſerves, "that *Baronius*, having made ſome Overtures to *Bellarmin* of the Thought, that he, and ſome other Cardinals, had of making him Pope, he received the Propoſal as an Injury, was downright angry at it, and reſolutely anſwered, that, if the taking up of a Straw from the Ground could make him Pope, he would not ſtoop to take it up (84)." I wonder that Mr *Ancillon* has not ſpoken of the ſolemn Vow, which *Bellarmin* made, if the Papal Dignity, which he did not deſire, ſhould be conferred upon him. He engaged himſelf not to enrich his Relations. Theſe are the Terms of his Vow; "Die 24 Septembris anno 1614. fer. 6, in domo Novitiorum S. Andreæ degens, & exercitiis ſpiritualibus vacans, matura præhabita deliberatione in ſacrificio Miſſæ, cum ſumpturus eſſem S. Dom. noſt. corpus, votum vovi Domino in hæc verba: Ego Robertus, Cardinalis Bellarminus, è Societate Jesu religioſus profeſſus, voveo Deo omnipotenti in conſpectu B. V. Mariæ, ac totius cœleſtis curiæ, quod ſi fortè, quod non cupio, & precor Deum, ut non accidat, ad Pontificatum aſſumptus fuero, neminem ex conſanguineis vel affinibus meis exaltabo ad Cardinalatum, vel temporalem Principatum, vel Ducatum, vel Comitatum, vel quemcunque alium titulum, neque eos ditabo, ſed ſolùm adjuvabo, ut in ſtatu ſuo civili commodè vivere poſſint. Amen, Amen (85). —— *On the Twenty fourth of* September, *in the Year* 1614, *being in the Houſe of the Novitiates of St* Andrew, *and intent upon ſpiritual Exerciſes, after mature Deliberation in the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and being about to receive the Body of our Lord; I made a Vow to* God *in the following Words: I* Robert, *Cardinal* Bellarmin, *a profeſſed Religious of the Order of* Jesus, *vow to Almighty* God, *in the Sight of the bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *and the whole Heavenly Choir, that if, which I do not deſire, and wiſh to* God *may never happen,* is his Book de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis (*l*). I wiſh I had not met with theſe two Facts there; for they are not true [*Y*]. The Inſcription, which was put under this Cardinal's Print, imports, that he had preſerved his Virginity, and his Baptiſmal Innocency, and that he had never told a Lie (*m*). When he was dying, he bequeathed one half of his Soul to the Holy Virgin, and the other half to JESUS CHRIST (*n*). He was ſo patient, that he ſuffered Flies, and ſuch ſmall Inſects, to be very troubleſome to him [*Z*]. He let them alone, ſaying, that they had no other Paradice, than the Liberty to fly, and light, where they pleaſed. He was a Man of a ſmall Stature, and of a mean Outſide; yet he diſcovered the Beauty of his Wit in his Face (*o*). He expreſſed himſelf with Clearneſs, and premeditated the Words, which were to repreſent his Thoughts, ſo exactly, that no Raſures appeared in his Writings (*p*). His *Hebrew* Grammar is pretty well eſteemed; though it is thought, that he had but an indifferent Knowledge of That Language (*q*): ſome ſay, thet he was quite a Stranger to *Greek* (*r*). I do not believe the Pope ever

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(g) Bellarm. lib. v, de Juſtific cap. 7, n. ſit tertia, apud *Daille*, *Reply to* Cottibi, Part III, cap. 24. pag. 303.

(h) Ancillon's Critical Miſcellanies of Literature, Part I. pag. 333.

(i) Ancillon, ubi ſupra, p. 329.

(k) Id. ibid. pag. 333.

(75) Codrus pro patria non timidus mori. *Horat. Od.* 19, l. 3.

(76) *See Remark* [*Q*], *of the Article* HADRIAN VI.

(77) Conclave di Leone XI, pag. 454.

(78) *That of* Paul V.

(79) Conclave di Paolo V, pag. 512.

(80) Ibid. p. 519, 520.

(81) Ancillon's Critic. Miſcell. pag. 330, 331.

(82) *I write this in the Year* 1698.

(83) *In the Article* ACHILLEA, *Citat.* (29).

(84) *Godeau, Elogy of Cardinal* Bellarmin, apud Ancillon, ubi ſupra, pag. 332.

(85) Fulligattus in vita Bellarm.

(*l*) Id. ibid. pag. 373.

(*m*) Quam à matre virginem carnem acceperat, quam à ſacro lavacro innocentiam, Deo reddidit, ſibi nullius in omni vita mendacii conſcius. *Andr. Carolus. Memorab. Eccleſiaſt.* p. 538.

(*n*) Id. ibid. pag. 535.

(*o*) Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth. I, pag. 87.

(*p*) Id. ibid.

(*q*) Simon's Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, lib. 3, cap. 12.

(*r*) *See, towards the end of Remark* [*Y*].

" *happen, I ſhould ever be elected Pope, I will never* " *raiſe any of my Family or Kindred to the Purple,* " *Temporal Principality, Duchy, Earldom, or any o-* " *ther Title; nor will I enrich, but only aſſiſt them* " *to live comfortably in their Civil Capacity. Amen,* " *Amen.*"

[*Y*] Ancillon *advances two Facts concerning* Bellarmin, *which are not true.*] Every one knows, that Cardinal *Cajetan*, Legate of *Sixtus* V, in *France*, made it his chief Buſineſs to cauſe *Henry* IV to be excluded from the Crown. It was not at the Court of That Monarch, that *Bellarmin*, That Legate's Chaplain, *acquired* the King's *Eſteem*; for he was not there; he was at *Paris*, among the *Leaguers*, and uſed his utmoſt Endeavours for the Intereſt of the Rebels. This is what the Miniſters have not failed to object; Read this Paſſage of *Drelincourt*; " Whence comes it, that Thoſe of the Proteſtant Re- " ligion were in the King's Camp, whilſt *Bellarmin*, " *Panigarola*, and ſuch Perſons, were at *Paris*, " preaching up Sedition, and the Pope ſent ſome " Legates to authorize the *League*, and to throw " Oil into a Fire, which he ought to have ex- " tinguiſhed with his Tears, and his own Blood (86)?" As for what concerns the Treatiſe of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, it is a good Work in it's kind; but it is far from being *Bellarmin*'s beſt Book. There are ſeveral Treatiſes in his Volumes of Controverſies, which diſcover his Wit, Learning, and Capacity, more nobly. Twenty ſmall Pieces, every one as good as That, *de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, would not have raiſed him to the Degree of Honour, which he deſerved for the Form alone, in which he cloathed his Body of Controverſies; for ſee, here, the Commendation which a Learned *Engliſhman* gave him, on this Subject: " Vir erat, haud inficior, admirandæ induſtriæ, " doctrinæ, lectionis ſtupendæ, Bellarminus: qui ut " primus, ita ſolus, immanem illam molem, & im- " menſum chaos controverſiarum, ſtupendâ ingenii " dexteri felicitate, artificio ſingulari, excoluit, in or- " dinem redegit confuſum prius, accuratâ diligentiâ, " & multorum annorum ſtudio, eleganter expolivit: " præripuit ille palmam ſecuturis omnibus, & ſibi " deſponſatam vel deſtinatam cuicunque laudem ab- " ſtulit. Nam ab illo, qui tractant hodiè Contro- " verſias, ut ab Homero Poëtæ, ſua omnia ferè mu- " tuantur (87). - - - - Bellarmin *was, I confeſs, a* " *Man of ſurprizing Induſtry, Learning, and Reading;* " *the firſt, and only Perſon, who, with Abilities,* " *and Diligence, happily poliſhed, and reduced into* " *Form, the immenſe Chaos of Controverſies. In this* " *he ſurpaſſed All that came after him, who, in* " *treating ſuch Subjects, borrow almoſt every thing* " *from him, as the Poets do from* Homer." Conſiderable Faults have been obſerved (88), in the Treatiſe, which *Calixtus*, and Mr *Ancillon*, pretend to be the beſt of all This Jeſuit's Writings. See *Boſius*, in the ſecond Chapter of his *Introductio in Notitiam Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum*, with Mr *Crenius*'s Notes. *Librum*, ſays he (89), *omnium, quos Bellarminus edidit, optimum vocat D. Calixtus, tractatu de conjugio Clericorum, ſectione* 202. If we may believe Father *Labbe*, the firſt Edition of This Book of *Bellarmin* is of the Year 1617 (90). Father *Sirmond* took great care of it, as the Author had deſired him (91). Several other Editions were made of it, which the Printers ſpoiled extreamly; but, at laſt, a very correct one was publiſhed at *Paris*, by *Cramoiſi*, in the Year 1658, in 8vo. Father *Labbe*, who reviſed the Proofs, formed the Plan of a Work upon it (92), which ſome very good Judges take for the beſt he compoſed. I mean his *Diſſertatio de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*; which was printed, at *Paris*, in two Volumes, in 8vo, in the Year 1660. The Authors of the *Bibliotheque* of the Jeſuits knew nothing of the firſt Edition of This Treatiſe of *Bellarmin*; one of them, *viz. Alegambus*, mentions none, and *Sotuel* mentions only That of *Cologne* 1622, in 8vo. A new one was made in the ſame City in the Year 1684, in 4to; and the Continuation, which *Andrew de Sauſſai* publiſhed, in the Year 1665, was joined to it. *Bellarmin*'s Omiſſions were very conſiderable, as appears by the Supplement of Father *Oudin*, which was mentioned in the *News from the Republic of Letters*, in the Month of *April*, 1686.

Remark a Miſtake of *Boſius*. He ſays, there is no truſting to *Bellarmin*'s Judgment about the *Greek* Writers, becauſe he did not underſtand the *Greek* Language; and that This Ignorance, which appeared in his other Books, was moſt conſpicuous in the Treatiſe of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, as *Caſaubon* obſerved. " Græcarum Litterarum prorſus ἀμύητον " fuiſſe ſicut omnia illius ſcripta, ſic eximiè hic liber " noviſſimè ab eo profectus, Caſaubono judice exer- " citat. 16. ſect. 150. oſtendit, ut proinde judiciis " illius de Græcis ſcriptoribus ſatis tuto fidi non poſ- " ſit." *Boſius* had juſt before ſaid, that the firſt Edition of This Work of *Bellarmin* is of the Year 1616 (93). How could he believe then, that *Caſaubon* had ſpoken of it, in that manner, in a Book, which was printed in the Year 1614? But, after all, will you ſay is it true, that *Caſaubon* ſpoke of This Work; for, in this Caſe, *Boſius*'s Error will be very inconſiderable? I anſwer, there is a great probability, that he had This Treatiſe of *Bellarmin* in view. There is an Edition of *Cologne* 1613, ſet down in the Catalogue of *Oxford*: and I have ſeen one of *Lyons*, 1613, in 4to, Reviſed and Corrected by the Author. So that This Work was plainly enough hinted at, in That Paſſage of *Caſaubon*, where it is ſaid, that it was the laſt Book of *Bellarmin*, which appeared; we may, therefore, affirm, that Father *Labbe* is miſtaken, in placing the firſt Edition of it in the Year 1617.

[Z] *He ſuffered Flies - - - - to be troubleſome to him.*] This deſerves to be ſet down in *Fuligatti*'s own Words. " Inter inſignes Bellarmini virtutes, alii po- " nunt miram ejus in perferendis vexationibus pa- " tientiam, quam Jacobus Fuligattus laudat ſequen- " tibus verbis: *Culices, modicellas aviculas, ſicut &* " *alia parva naturæ incommoda, velut à* DEO *tra-* " *ditas ad exercitium patiendi, vultu adeò miti per-* " *ferebat, ut nec ipſe oppoſita manu, nec exciente* " *ventulum aliquo, eas conaretur abigere. Aliquando* " *Clementi Merlino R. rotæ auditori, dum ſermones* " *familiares, ut fit poſt negotia deciſa, ſererent, re-* " *tulit, ſe nocte ejus diei, qui eſt Catharinæ virgini* " *ſacer, adeò ad renes à beſtiolis quibuſdam nequam* " *ac damnificis morſu fuiſſe vexatum, ut magno ſenſu* " *converſus ad* CHRISTI, *præpendentis è cruce Domini,* " *ſimulacrum dixerit: ô Domine, ſi hoc quicquid eſt* " *damni, quod certè parum eſt, mihi tantum af-* " *fert moleſtiæ, ecquænam erunt ſupplicia damnato-* " *rum? ſi apud gehennam impios manent tormenta* " *tàm ærumnoſa, ne, precor, in ea me projicias, ete-* " *nim impar ero iiſdem ſuſtinendis. Cardinalis Creſ-* " *centius addit, Bellarminum ita ſe patientiæ velut* " *victimam deſtinaſſe, ut muſcas à vultu ne depella-* " *ret*

(86) Drelincourt of the Triumph of the Church, Part II, pag. 444.

(87) Montacut. Præf. ad Apparat. apud Thomas-Pope Blunt, Cenſ. Author. pag. 638.

(88) Bailet's Judgment of the Learned, Part II, pag. 90, 91.

(89) J. Andr. Boſius, Schediaſm. de Comparanda Notitia Scriptor. Eccleſ. cap. 2, pag. 425, Edit. Crenian. Lugd. Bat. Ann. 1699.

(90) Labbe, Præf. Diſſer. de Script. Eccleſ.

(91) Id. ib.

(92) Id. ib.

(93) *Father* Labbe *ſays the Year* 1617. *See above, Citat.* (90).

ever ſent him to *Louvain*, to put an End to the Diſputes of *Michael Baius* there, or to make a Report of them at *Rome* [*AA*]. So many Perſons have attacked him, and ſo many have defended him, that Catalogues have been made of both. The Liſt *of his Defenders was compoſed by* Beraldi, *an* Italian (*s*).

(*s*) Baillet, Tom. I, *of the* Anti's, pag. 81, 82.

“ *ret quidem, tametſi odioſæ nimiùm eſſent, ſicuti Romæ in æſtu ſolent; cùmque hoc mirarentur, qui aderant, ipſe ſuaviter, Haud æquum eſſe, ajebat, perturbare animantes illos, quibus non utique ſupereſſet paradiſus alius, quàm volitandi libertas, ac poteſtas, ubi malunt, commorandi* (94). —— *Among the remarkable Virtues of* Bellarmin, *others place his wonderful Patience, in enduring Vexations, which* James Fuligatti *celebrates in the following Words*: He conſidered Gnats, a little flying Inſect, and other ſmall Vexations, which Nature throws in our Way, as ſent by God, to exerciſe our Patience; and he ſuffered them ſo calmly, that he neither endeavoured to drive them away with his own Hand, nor permitted any one elſe to do it. In a Converſation, once, as is uſual after the Fatigue of Buſineſs, with *Clemens Merlinus*, Auditor of the *Rota*, he told him, that, on the Eve of the Feſtival of St *Catherine*, he was ſo tormented with the biting of pernicious Inſects at his Reins, that, through the Acuteneſs of the Pain, turning to the Figure of our Savour on the Croſs, he cried out, O Lord! if This trifling Affliction gives me ſo much uneaſineſs, what muſt the Damned endure? If ſuch dreadful Miſery awaits the Wicked in Hell, O! never throw me into it, for I ſhall be unable to ſupport it. Cardinal *Creſcentius* adds, that *Bellarmin* had ſo devoted himſelf to Patience, that he would not drive the Flies from his Face, though they were extreamly troubleſome, as is uſual at *Rome*, in hot Weather; which when the Standers by expreſſed their Wonder at, he mildly told them, It was unjuſt to diſturb thoſe little Creatures, whoſe only Paradice is the Liberty of flying, and reſting, where they pleaſe.” It is certain, there is a way of ſpinning out Conſequences from the Evangelical Precepts, or Counſels, which leads almoſt neceſſarily to That Patience, which is attributed to *Bellarmin*; but nevertheleſs Reaſon ſhews us, that it is no ways likely, that Jesus Christ, or his Apoſtles, in recommending to us ſo expreſsly the Contempt of the Conveniencies of Life, intended to forbid us the right of freeing ourſelves from the Vexation of Bugs, and of driving away a Fly, which is troubleſome to us.

[*AA*] *I do not believe the Pope ever ſent him to* Louvain *to put an End to the Diſputes of* Baius, *or to make a Report of them at* Rome.] Mr *Leydecker* ſays, I. That *Bellarmin* was ſent thither to inform himſelf of Thoſe Diſputes, and to pacify them; or, at leaſt to give the Pope an Account of them. II. That he acquitted himſelf very well of This Commiſſion, and that, after having heard *Michael Baius*, he returned to *Rome*, very angry for having found, that he treated, as Pelagian Doctrines, ſeveral Opinions of the Schoolmen, which were *Bellarmin*'s own (95). I can find no trace of this Deputation in the Writers of This Jeſuit's Hiſtory; and I know, that he made but little Noiſe, when he went to *Louvain*. He acquired his firſt Reputation in the ſeven Years, that he taught Divinity in That Place (96); and, as he was an *Auguſtinian* as to the Points in diſpute between *Baius*, and his Antagoniſts, it is not at all likely, he was ever angry with That Doctor, for the Reaſon, which Mr *Leydecker* mentions.

(94) Andreas Carolus, Memorab. Eccleſiaſt. pag. 535.

(95) Melch. Leydecker, Diſput Hiſtorico-Theologica II, de vario Janſeniſtarum fato. *See the Preface to the Edition of the Works of* Baius, 1696, *and* pag. 213, *of* Part II.

(96) Nicius Eryth. Pinacoth. I, pag. 85.

BELLEAU (Remi), a *French* Poet of the XVIth Century, was born at *Nogent le Rotrou*. I ſhall not ſay much of him; for *Moreri* has already obſerved almoſt all that I could have collected. This Poet turned the Odes of *Anacreon* into *French*, and deprived them of *a great part of their Beauty*, if we may believe ſome Authors (*a*); but others maintain, that he equalled the Original, and that, if he had loved drinking as well as *Anacreon* did, he would have out-done him. Do not truſt too much to This Encomium; for it is taken from a piece of Poetry, made by *Scævola de Sainte Marthe*, in praiſe of the *French* Tranſlation, of which I am ſpeaking (*b*). *Paſquier* thinks, that, in point of *Gaiety*, *Belleau was another* Anacreon *in his Time* (*c*) [*A*]. He acted *one of the chief Parts* in the *Cleopatra*, and the Rencounter of *Jodelle*, when *they were acted before King* Henry, *at* Paris, *in the Palace of* Reims ——— *and in the College of* Boncour (*d*). He died in 1577, and in his fiftieth Year (*e*). He commented on the ſecond Part of the Amours of *Peter Ronſard*.

(*a*) Teſſier, Addit. Tom. I, pag. 468, *Edit.* 1686, *He quotes the eighth Vol. of* Clelia, pag. 859.

(*b*) Sammarth Elog. lib. 3. pag. 13, 14.

(*c*) Paſquier, Recherch, lib. 7, cap. 7, pag. 622.

(*d*) Id. ibid. pag. 618.

(*e*) Thuan. lib. 64, pag. 204.

[*A*] Belleau, *according to* Paſquier, *was another* Anacreon *in his Time.*] This was alſo the Opinion of *Andrew du Cheſne*. “ The Country of *Perche*, *ſays he* (1), produced This genteel and learned Poet, among others, in the Reign of *Henry* II, whom I look upon as another *Anacreon* of our Age, in Matters of Gaiety: I mean, *Remi Belleau*, whoſe Deſign was to imitate *Sannazarius* in his Works. For, as the *Italian Sannazarius* made the Shepherds of his *Arcadia* ſpeak in Proſe, in which he placed all his *Tuſcan* Poetry; ſo our great *Belleau* has done the like in his Paſtorals.”

(1) Du Cheſne's Antiquities of the Towns of *France*, pag. 276.

BELLEFOREST (Francis *de*), was born in the Month of *November*, 1530, near *Samatan*, a Town of the Country of *Cominges*, in *Guienne* (*a*). He was but ſeven, or eight, Years of Age, when his Father died: His Mother, finding herſelf without an Eſtate, did all ſhe could to keep him ſome time at School. He was educated ſome Years in the Houſe of the Queen of *Navarre*, Siſter to *Francis* I. He ſtudied, afterwards, at *Bourdeaux*, under *Buchanan*, *Vinetus*, *Salignac*, *Gelida*, and ſome other learned Men; then he went to *Toulouſe*, to ſtudy the Civil-Law there; but his Genius made him apply himſelf to quite another thing. He trifled away his time in making French *Verſes*, *to pleaſe the Ladies*, and, having ſpent *ſeven or eight Years among the Delights of the Nobility*, and in the trifles of Gallantry, he went to *Paris*, where he attended the Profeſſors Lectures, and contracted a ſtrict Acquaintance with divers learned Men, and even inſinuated himſelf into the Company of ſeveral Perſons of Quality (*b*). He gained little, or nothing, by all This; inſomuch, that, if the Bookſellers had not bought the Productions of his Pen, he had not had Bread to eat. Study was his Inheritance; and he was one of thoſe Authors, who maintain their Families by dint of their Pens: His beſt Friends tell us, that, by the Bleſſing of God on the Labour of his Hands, he maintained

(*a*) La Croix du Maine, Bibl. Franc. pag. 88.

(*b*) Du Verdier Vau Privas, Biblioth. Fr. p. 366, 367.

his Family by his Books [*A*]. And, therefore, it is no wonder, if he wrote ſuch a great Number of Books (*c*), and undertook to write upon ſo many different Subjects, which were beyond the reach of his Abilities: He was obliged to follow the Direction of the Bookſellers, and to turn himſelf every way, according to the Taſte of the Public; that is, according as certain Books, good or bad, ſold well. It is ſaid of him, *That he had Moulds, in which he caſt new Books with great Expedition* (*d*). He died at *Paris*, the firſt Day of *January*, 1583, and was buried in the *Franciſcans* Church, as he had deſired in his Will (*e*). *Thevet*, who was not a more conſiderable Author, boaſted publickly, that *Belleforeſt* made him a public Reparation, on his Death-bed [*B*]. They had been much embroiled together. *La Popeliniere* ſpeaks very ill of theſe two Authors [*C*]. *Ghilini* has committed a great many Faults in a ſhort Elogy of *Belleforeſt* [*D*]; and, if he had been as ill informed in every thing elſe, his Works would be of no value.

(*c*) *You will find a large Liſt of them in the* Bibliotheque *of* la Croix du Maine, *and in That of* du Verdier Vau-privas.

(*d*) Du Haillan, *Epiſt. Dedicat. prefixed to* The Hiſtory of *France, Edit. of* 1584.

(*e*) La Croix du Maine, ubi ſupra, pag. 91.

[*A*] *His beſt Friends tell us* - - - - - - *that he maintained his Family by his Books.*] *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* (1) declares himſelf *Belleforeſt*'s intimate Friend, and Admirer. *I received*, ſays he, *as much Satisfaction* from our Correſpondence by Letters, *as I was afterwards ſorry for his Death.* - - - - - *His Name will be immortal among Men, ſo long as the World endures, by reaſon of the fine Works, which he compoſed.* Now ſee how he ſpeaks of his Friend's Fortune. Belleforeſt *was intimately acquainted* with *Ronſard, Baif, Belleau, Vigenere* - - - - *Chopin, the Ornament of the Palace of* Paris, *and many* others; he was *careſſed by Princes, beloved by the Nobility, and eſteemed by all the virtuous Men of this Kingdom; but his Fortune was ſo mean, that he lived only by his Study; and the Labour of his Hands and Mind, being bleſt with, and ſupported by, the Divine Grace, relieved the Neceſſities of his Family.*

(1) Biblioth. Franc. pag. 367.

[*B*] Thevet - - - - - *boaſted publickly, that* Belleforeſt *made him Reparation, on his Death-bed.*] There is nothing more diſhoneſt than This Man's Proceeding. He glories in the Humility, which his Adverſary expreſſed to him, on his Death-bed; and yet he abuſes him, as much as he could have done, before their Reconciliation. Theſe are his Words: "There are ſome, who, having no more Learning than *Munſter*, have, nevertheleſs, been ſo bold as to ſcrawl after him, and new-mould him; which is the ſecond Head, on which I ground my Complaint againſt Thoſe, who, not having been much farther than the Smoak of their Chimnies, their Stoves, or Cottages, dare, in the mean Time, perſwade themſelves, that there is no Spot of Ground, but what they have ferreted: but it is only in Imagination. To cover their too preſumptuous Undertakings, they have ſtollen, here and there, as much as they could; and, ſometimes, they have cut off ſmall Pieces from the Diſcourſes, which they have caſtrated: So that moſt of their huge Books are only compoſed of patched Pieces, which have ſo ill a Grace, that, by what I can hear, they ſerve only to wrap up Butter, and Sugar. If I ſpeak ſo openly, it is becauſe I am ſorry *Belleforeſt* was ſo indiſcreet as to patch up *Munſter*'s Coſmography. I queſtion not but ſome will think, that what I ſay of it proceeds from a Spirit of Revenge, and that, having been provoked by him, I intend at preſent to pour out the Fury of my Anger upon him. GOD ſhall be my Witneſs: And, truly, if he had offended me more than he did, I would not ſatirize, and ſpeak ill of, a dead Man. Beſides, at the end of his Life, acknowledging the Wrong, which he knew he had done, in printing thoſe Books, wherein, againſt his Conſcience, he aſperſed the Characters of good Men, and of thoſe, who patronized and ſupported them; he ſent for me, and, in the Preſence of two Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, and of his Phyſician, and Bookſeller *Gabriel Buon*, after having kiſſed my Hands, he confeſſed publickly, that he felt his Conſcience burthened for the blame he had laid on me; for which he asked my Pardon ſeveral times. As for me, I deſired him, the beſt I could, not to think any more of it: foraſmuch as we are all Men (2)."

(2) Thevet's Illuſtrious Men, Tom. VII, pag. 292, 293. *Edition of* 1671, *in* 12mo.

[*C*] La Popeliniere *ſpeaks very ill of theſe two Authors.*] I ſhall ſet down, ſomewhat at length, what he has ſaid of them, and I hope, it will not diſpleaſe thoſe, who love to ſee things in the original Authors, and who would find it difficult to procure the Author, whom I quote. "Theſe two Men, ſometimes Friends, and ſometimes Enemies, have deſerved the worſe of Learning, as they were unworthy to treat of it. Nay, they were as deſtitute of Wit, Judgment, Memory, and all the Qualifications of a good Genius, as they were ſupplied with Boldneſs to interpret ill, and write worſe, what they never underſtood. And, becauſe ſome haſty Travels of the one, and the Itch of Writing, which poſſeſſed the other, made their Eſſays acceptable to the Vulgar, who neither will, nor can, take time to examine things well; they ſet up for Scribblers, at ſuch a rate, that all the Printers of *Paris*, preferring their mean Capacity to all Judicious Works, ſtrove to buy up, publiſh, and make them appear to all the World. And, tho' they were never well inſtructed in their Youth, nay, without any conſiderable Experience of the things of this World, and, moreover, poor and deſtitute of all the Means, which the moſt knowing Men have always called the Wings of Virtue; yet theſe univerſal Wits have paſſed through all Profeſſions. There is no Language, or Science, but what they have prophaned. Nay, they have ſcribbled Hiſtories, Particular, and Univerſal, according to their fooliſh Fancies. How can one help it? As all Seaſons are attended with certain Accidents, which bring evil to All, and good to none, the Cauſes whereof are unknown to us, and cannot be imputed to the Faults of Men: So there have always been, and ever will be, certain private Men, in all States, who, being only fit to confound and ſpoil every thing, undertake nothing, but what will prejudice others, and profit no Body. Theſe Men are like Itching, the Forerunner of a Sickneſs to Thoſe, who are troubled with it. Their Hands itched; they could not forbear writing; not for the Public Good, but for their particular Profit; which they kept up with the wretched Labour of their unruly Pens. So that I have often lamented, that, *France* being ſo well provided with good Writers, ſuch low Genius's, who can boaſt of nothing but an aſſiduous, and uſeleſs, Labour, ſhould find People, who will throw away their Time in reading their Nonſenſe, their Annals, Hiſtories, and Univerſal Geographies, contrived, formed, hatched, and publiſhed in their ſolitary Dens. Thoſe, who do not take the Pains to inform themſelves of the Particulars of the World, and chiefly to obſerve the Courſe, and Iſſue, of each Man's private Actions, cannot believe, how much prejudice *Belleforeſt* and *Thevet* have done to Youth, and conſequently to the State; explaining abundance of Paſſages ſo ill, and many times in a quite contrary Senſe; corrupting, and falſifying, Matters; and taking many things for granted, which they had ridiculouſly fancied in their own weak Brains. Without mentioning a World of other Impertinences, wherewith they have patched up their ſilly Writings. Neither of the two *Cato*'s would in this have excuſed *Belleforeſt*, (though he boaſted to have written as much as St *Auguſtine*) if Poverty made him ſpeak like a Jay, that is, like a Beaſt. For he has ſhewed himſelf too brutiſh on all accounts towards Poſterity (3)."

(3) Popeliniere's Hiſtory of Hiſtories, pag. 456.

[*D*] Ghilini *has committed a great many Faults, in a ſhort Elogy.*] What he ſaid of our *Belleforeſt* contains, in all, but Twenty two Lines. Theſe are his Errors: He takes *Cominges* for a City of *Gaſcogne*: he affirms, that *Belleforeſt* publiſhed ſeveral Works in *Latin*, and, among others, *The Annals of* France in two Volumes; *The Hiſtory of nine Kings of* France, *whoſe Names were* Charles; *The Univerſal Hiſtory*, or *an Abridgment of Coſmography*. All this is falſe: Theſe Works, and all the other Books of This Author, were written in *French*. *Ghilini* adds, that there is a *Catalogue of the Illuſtrious Men*, who have made themſelves famous, in Monaſteries, both by their Learning, and their Actions, and *An Hiſtory of the Holy Martyrs*, in three Volumes, writen by This Author. But there is no manner of likelihood, that This Catalogue was ever printed. *La Croix du Maine* never ſaw it; and he knew only, that *Belleforeſt* mentions it in the Hundred ninety third Leaf of his Coſmography. *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, an intimate Friend of *Belleforeſt*, ſays nothing of This Catalogue; and no one is ignorant, that Authors refer to Works, which they have not yet made Public. The ſame *du Verdier* informs us, that “ The Life, “ Paſſion, and Burial of St *Dionyſius*, the *Areopagite*, “ and of his Companions, who were his Fellow-Martyrs, collected out of divers Authors, by the “ late *John*, Doctor of Divinity, great Prior of the “ Abbey of St *Denis* in *France*, and done into *French* “ by *Belleforeſt*, *is printed* in the Third Volume of “ the Hiſtory of the Lives and Deaths of the “ Saints (4).” This is the notable ground, on which Three Volumes of the Hiſtory of the Holy Martyrs are aſcribed to *Belleforeſt* by *Ghilini*, not as a Tranſlation, but as an Original. He attributes alſo the Tranſlation of St *Cyprian*'s Works to him. If he had conſulted *Vau-Privas*, he would have read there, that This Writer tranſlated only ſome Treatiſes of St *Cyprian* (5), and that all the Works of That Saint were tranſlated by *James Tigeou*. Laſtly, *Ghilini* is ſomewhat to be blamed for not knowing the Year of *Belleforeſt*'s Death, and for placing it about the Year 1600. As for the exceſſive Praiſes, with which he crowns This Author's Memory, They might be reckoned among his Faults, were it not that many other Writers might lead him into This Profuſion. I ſhall quote but one of Them. *René de Luſinge*, ſpeaking of *Belleforeſt*, ſays, *He is a Man of great Reading, who is not ignorant of any Thing, which is left confuſed in Antiquity, the Paſſages of which he clears up with great Care, and in good Language* (6).

(4) Du Verdier, pag. 372.

(5) Id. ibid. p. 371, 372.

(6) René de Luſinge, *The manner of reading Hiſtory, cited by* Mart. Zeillerus, de Hiſtor. Chronol. & Geograph. *Part II, p.* 172.

BELLEY, a City of *France*, and Capital of the Province of *Bugei*, is *very ancient*, *ſince the Epiſcopal See was eſtabliſhed there in the Year* 412 *(a)*. Conſult the Dictionary of *Moreri*, and add to it what follows: “ The Dioceſe of *Belley* ——— “ has four Towns, ſix large Boroughs, and more than Two hundred Villages, “ being extended ten Leagues in Diameter *(b)*. The Dignity of a Prince of the “ Empire is added to That of Biſhop of *Belley*; a Title, which was given by the “ Emperors to the Archbiſhop of *Bezançon*, and his three Comprovincials, or Suffragans, *Baſil*, *Lauſanne*, and *Belley*. The Sovereignty of the City of *Belley*, “ and it's Territory, which is pretty wide, belonged to the Biſhop. But he was “ deprived of it gradually, by a powerful and neighbouring Prince, under the “ Diſguiſe and Appearance of Protection. There are ſtill extant, in the Archives “ of the Church, ſeveral Excommunications iſſued on this Occaſion, and many “ others of Oppoſition, and Reſiſtance; but, in theſe Caſes, Right is on the ſide “ of Power *(c)*.” Since That Time the Revenues of the Biſhopric have greatly decreaſed; for “ it's largeſt Poſſeſſions conſiſted in the Rights, which This Rebel “ Lordſhip has uſurped, and which were confined almoſt wholly to the City *(d)*.” This is what I borrow from a Work of Mr *Camus*, Biſhop of *Belley*, publiſhed in 1644; in which he deduces theſe Facts, with ſome Obſervations, in order to refute a Monk, who had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of This Biſhopric [*A*]. I find, in *Guichenon*, that *John de Paſſelaigue*, Biſhop of *Belley*, obtained of *Lewis* XIII, in 1635, “ a Confirmation of all the Privileges, granted to the Biſhops of *Belley*, by the “ Emperor *Frederic* ——— excepting however the Regale, and the coining of “ Money *(e)*.” This *John de Paſſelaigue* ſucceeded *John Peter Camus*, who began to govern This Dioceſe in the Year 1609, and who found many Diſorders in the Convents [*B*], particularly in That of St *Sulpice*. I ſhall take Occaſion to remark the

(a) Guichenon's Hiſt. of *Breſſe* and *Bugey, Continuat. of* Part II, pag. 12.

(b) John Peter Camus, *Biſhop of* Belley, pag. 137, *of his* Anti-baſilic.

(c) Ibid. p. 138.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Guichenon, ubi ſupra, pag. 35, 36.

[*A*] *Some Obſervations, in order to confute a Monk, who had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of This Biſhopric.*] This Monk had written a Book, entitled *The Anti-Camus*. At the Thirty ninth Page were Theſe Words. *It is very ſtrange, that a little neglected Biſhopric behind the Alps, whoſe Name is ſcarce to be met with in the Archives of the Church, and whoſe Paſtor, for want of Employment at home (his Diſtrict is ſo ſmall) goes about preaching, like a Franciſcan, ſhould pretend, not only to equal, but to exalt itſelf above the Popes, to aboliſh their Order, and reform their Regulations.* “ The Dioceſe is not ſo ſmall, *replies Mr* Camus “ (1), but I can name to him five Archbiſhoprics, “ and more than Twenty five Biſhoprics, in *France*, “ of ſmaller Extent; more than twelve of which the “ ſole Provinces of *Languedoc* aud *Provence* can furniſh. I will prove to him twenty Archbiſhoprics, “ and an Hundred and twenty Biſhoprics, in *Italy*, of “ ſmaller Extent, than the Dioceſe of *Belley*. — It is “ not behind the Alps, if you do not conſider the “ Alps on the Side of *Italy*, in like manner, as, “ with regard to us, the Archbiſhopric of *Turin* is “ hid behind the Alps. Though it were in the Alps, “ Would it be the leſs conſiderable? How many “ noble Archbiſhoprics, and Biſhoprics, are there in “ this Great World of Hills? *Ambrun*, *Tarantaiſe*, “ *Grenoble*, *Guyenne* (2), *Maurienne*, *Syon*, *Lauſanne*, “ *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, *Arles*, *Ivreé*; All Dioceſes of “ Note, Churches Famous, and celebrated for their “ Antiquity and Extent. —— I will prove to him “ that the Antiquity of the Dioceſe, which he calls “ ſo ſmall, is more than a thouſand Years, and that “ there are, in *France* alone, more than thirty or “ forty Biſhoprics of later Date. —— Biſhoprics are “ not to be meaſured by their Revenues: otherwiſe a Curacy of *Sicily*, which I could name, and “ which has but One Cure, with Thirty thouſand “ Crowns *per annum*, would be a large Archbiſhopric (3).” Here are ſome particulars, which will gratify the Curioſity of ſeveral Readers, though they are not neceſſary to the Article of *Belley*.

[*B*] John Peter Camus *found many Diſorders in the Convents of the Dioceſe of* Belley.] The following is part of the Deſcription, which he gives of theſe Diſorders. “ There was An Abbey (4) of Monks, “ richly founded, whoſe Abbot was an Huguenot “ Captain, a married Man, and Governor of a “ neighbouring Fortreſs, who kept the whole Country about him in Awe and Fear (5).”

He took it into his Head to keep *a Stud* in the Convent, and “ having collected a great Number of “ Mares, which are very large and fine in *Breſſe*, he “ ſent for Stallions from *Spain* and *Germany*, and “ large Aſſes from *Auvergne* which are of an enormous “ Size, in order to produce Mules by their Mixture with the Mares, according to the Method eſtabliſhed in This Stud. —— The Church, which “ was as large as a Cathedral, ſerved as a Repoſitory “ for Hay, Straw, and other Forrage, neceſſary for “ the Suſtenance of theſe Animals, during four or “ five Months of the Winter, that the Earth is all “ covered with Snow. The Monks had but juſt the “ Liberty of part of the Choir about the Altar, to “ ſing the Service in, where they continued to do it

(1) P. 137, *of the* Anti-baſilic.

(2) *He ſhould have ſaid* Geneva.

(3) Ibid, p. 139.

(4) *It is, without doubt, That of St* Sulpice, *of the Order of* Citeaux.

(5) Anti-baſilic, pag. 351, 352.

the pious Fraud, which was publiſhed concerning the Foundation of This Monaſtery [*C*].

“it with Negligence enough. In the Abbot's Houſe were ſeveral Huguenot Soldiers, with their Trulls (a Baggage inſeparable from the pretended Reformation of Thoſe of the fifth Goſpel); and there they ſaid their Prayers, ſung their Pſalms, and lived, in ſhort, a merry Life, like Reapers at Harveſt, Grape-gatherers, or Conquerors, when they divide the Spoils of their Enemies. —— The pretended reformed Abbot, to ſtop the Mouths of the Monks, and prevent their Complaints, augmented their Prebends, or Canonical Portions, and, thro' Artifice, and worldly Prudence, careſſed them extreamly, admitting them to his Table in the Citadel, where he entertained them like an Abbot and a Captain, ſupporting them in their Humours, and protecting them againſt all the neighbouring Nobility. The Intimacy became ſo great, that they ſtyled him *Our Abbot*, and He Them *My Monks*, and ſaid *My Abbey*, when he ſpoke of their Houſe.

“You are not to think, that the Monks ſpent their Time in catechiſing the Soldiers, Governors of the *Stud*, and their Companies, which might have been formed into another Stud of Rational Brutes. —— This Convent became *A Church Militant*: for you might ſee Monks a-hunting with Soldiers, each with his Musket on his Shoulder: the Monks never ſtirred abroad but upon large Horſes, and the better according to the Permiſſion and Indulgence of the Abbot, always well armed, with Sword and Piſtol, and often with Carbine: they were ſeen every Day traverſing the Country in This Equipage; inſomuch, that it might be ſaid of them, as of the *Shulamite*, in the Canticles, that they were Choirs of Warriours, and Batallions of Choriſters (6).

This fine Management continued eight or nine Years. The Biſhop ſometimes threatned *to inform the Parliament, or the King's Governor, or Lieutenant, of it, in order to put a Stop to ſuch ſcandalous Proceedings:* but *the Monks, on the one ſide, made themſelves whiter by their Exemptions and Privileges, than their Habits; and, on the other, threatned him with the Power of the Abbot, who, as a formidable Scourge, kept the Nobility, Church, and People of the Country, in awe. And, as a Proof of his Violence, and Power, he went ſo far, as even to make an Attempt on the Perſon of the Governor, who had a Man ſlain at his Feet, after the Manner related in the* French *Mercury.* - - - - The King, to puniſh this Attempt, *commanded the Citadel to be razed*; and the Tyrant was turned out of it, as well as of his Abbey; *and afterwards, retiring among the Huguenots of* Languedoc, *from whence he ſprung, he was aſſaſſinated by Thoſe of the ſame Party, and his neareſt Relations, during the Siege of* Montauban The Abbey *was put into the Hands of a Profeſſed Abbot of the ſame Order, who, at leaſt, removed the Scandal of the Stud* (7).

At the Foot of the ſame Hill, is a Convent of Nuns, of the ſame Order: of whom the above-named Monks call themſelves the Fathers; and are indeed ſo; for they have the Direction and Viſitation of them. Here are no traces, or footſteps, of a Cloyſter, nor any kind of Regulation. It is a General Landing Place to all Companies; a true Watering-Place of Africa: *and ſurprizing Intercourſes are there carried on, under the Pretence of Relation and Conſanguinity. Whenever The Captain-Abbot, mentioned above, came, with the Officers of his Regiment, to ſee his Stud, he went down to pay a Viſit to the Monaſtery of the Valley, where he was received with great Reſpect; and we may ſuppoſe, that he made them fine Exhortations from the ninth Verſe of the ſeventh Chapter of the Firſt to the* Corinthians. *Thus there was a perpetual Intercourſe of Converſations, and Familiarites. —— A continual Flux, and Reflux, of Companies; the Great entered, the Small went out; The Gate was open to All, without reſpect to Sex, or Age. - - - - - In ſhort, Confuſion reigned there; and the Wound became ſo deſperate, for want of Judgment and Diſcretion, that Licentiouſneſs was there taken for Innocent Freedom, and Libertiniſm ſupplied the Place of Liberty* (8).

In vain did the Biſhop publickly exhort, and remonſtrate, again and again, againſt theſe Abuſes. “At laſt, he gave them to underſtand, that he was bound in Conſcience not to ſuffer theſe Irregularities any longer; ſince the Council of *Trent* had ordered the Biſhops and Ordinaries to ſee that the Nuns keep their Vows, whatever Privileges their Orders might lay claim to: Having apprized them of this; do but hear the Vanity and Preſumption of Two Reverends, who, at different Times, had had the Conduct of this Bleſſed Flock; and who expreſsly oppoſed This Reformation: the firſt replied, that the Council of *Trent* had been held by Biſhops, and, conſequently, that they were not bound to obey it, becauſe their Order was privileged, and exempt from the Juriſdiction of Biſhops, and that the Councils of Monks were their General Chapters. The Other, more artſul, alledged, that This Council having conſiſted but of [*trente*] *thirty* Biſhops, though there had been forty or fifty, it could have no Place in the Univerſal Church, of which the Monks made the moſt illuſtrious Part, the moſt perfect and compleat, as being in a State of Perfection. There was One Nun, of a fine, I know not whether of a good Wit, who, being *prepoſſeſſed* (not to ſay *prompted* *) by theſe excellent Tutors, or rather Fathers, replied, one Day, to the Remonſtrances of *M. D. B.* My Lord, You ſeem to me reſolved to broil us all *alive*, though we have not deſerved it. To which He replied readily, but coldly: My Siſter, you plainly ſhew, by your Diſcourſe, that you are very *lively*, and but little *dead* to yourſelf. I mean very little mortified: for, as The Fiſh, which is yet alive, leaps from the *Gridiron*, and tumbles among the Coals, which a dead one does not do: So thoſe Nuns, who are not well dead to the World, and whoſe Paſſions are alive, and often vivifying, chuſe rather, like *Salamanders* and *Piralides*, to live amidſt the Fire of Converſation, according to the Thought of St *Bernard*, who compares a Monk, converſing with the World unhurt, to the Miracle of the three Children in the Furnace, than to remain encloſed within a *Grate* †, crucified with JESUS CHRIST, their Spouſe. So little able were *M. C.* the Abbot, who ſucceeded the Captain, and all the Superiors of the Order, either to confine, or reform, theſe good Ladies, of whom, out of Decency and Modeſty, I ſhall ſay no more, leaving the reſt to the Imagination of the Reader, who, from what has been ſaid, may form conjectures of what is hid under the Curtain of Silence (9).”

The Book, from whence I borrow Theſe Fragments, has not been omitted by Mr *Baillet*, in his curious Liſt of ANTI's, any more than the ANTI-HERMITE, and ANTI-MOINE, of the ſame Mr *Camus*. He ſays of the two latter, that *they ſhared ſo in the fate of the reſt of this Author's Works, that it is ſcarce known, that there ever were ſuch Books. If they continue running on, with the ſame Precipitation, as hitherto, to Annihilation, the Memory of them will very ſoon be effaced; and it will be difficult to preſerve even their Names in Bookſellers Catalogues* (10). This is equally applicable to That entitled, *The* Anti-Baſilic, *in anſwer to the* Anti-Camus, *by* Olenix *of* Bourg-l'Abbé, I have, therefore, reaſon to believe, that the long Extracts, I have given of this Work, will be more agreeable, than if I had made uſe of a Reference, which would have been uſeleſs to the greateſt Part of my Readers.

It will be proper to take notice of ſome Inſtances of Neglect in the Narrative of Mr *Camus*. I. He does not Name the Huguenot Abbot, nor the Citadel, of which he was Governor. I ſupply this Defect, and ſay, that he ſpeaks of *Peter d'Eſcodeça*, Lord of *Boëſſe*, Baron of *Pardaillan*, Colonel of Horſe of the Regiment of *Champagne*, and Governor of the Citadel of *Bourg* in *Breſſe*. II. He was of *Guienne*, and not of *Languedoc*. III. The Diſorder, he was guilty of, ſhall, if you pleaſe, continue eight or nine Years, but not in Sight of Mr *de Bellei*, who was not conſecrated Biſhop, till the Year 1609. Now the Citadel of *Breſſe* was razed in the Year 1611 (11). IV. The King, at that time, was not, as yet, out of his Minority; V. And it cannot be ſaid, that the Governor committed all theſe Outrages under the Minority of *Lewis* XIII.

[*C*] *The pious Fraud, which was publiſhed concerning the Foundation of This Monaſtery.*] “The An-

(6) Ibid, p. 353.

(7) Ibid, p. 354

(8) Ibid.

* *The Original is a Play upon Words.* Sifflée, (pour ne dire Soufflée).

† *The ſame Word* (Gritte) *in* French, *ſignifies both a* Gridiron, *and a Grate of a Monaſtery.*

(9) Anti-baſilic, p. 355.

(10) Baillet's Anti's *Art.* 106.

(11) *See* Tom. II. *of the* French Mercury, pag. 133.

“cient Manuſcript Chronicle of *Savoy* - - - - - - imports, that *Amé*, the ſecond of the Name, Firſt Earl of *Savoy*, and Lord of *Bugey*, made a Vow to found an Abbey in his Eſtates, in order to obtain Iſſue; after which he had a Son, called *Humbert*, who falling ſick, and being in danger of dying, before the Accompliſhment of the Vow, his Father built, and founded, the Abbey of St *Sulpice*, in *Bugey*, at the Perſuaſion of the Counteſs of *Savoy*, his Wife.” The Words of the Chronicle are Theſe.

It happened one Night, that the Counteſs, as ſhe lay in Bed, ſighed ſeveral Times; The Earl enquired the Reaſon of it. Sir, ſaid ſhe, *I fear the loſs of our Son* Humbert. *Why ſo?* replied He: *Becauſe,* ſaid the Lady, *you have made a Vow to our Lord to found an Abbey, in caſe* GOD *grants us Iſſue, and you have forgotten to perform it, and ſeem not to care for it. Then the Earl replied; Doubt not, but I will, ſhortly, accompliſh it,* GOD *willing. Then he ſought for a proper Place; and, finding it, he built a fine Abbey on a Mountain, ſituated in* Bugey, *under the Name of the Confeſſor, St* Sulpice; *which he properly endowed, and eſtabliſhed an Abbot, and Monks, to praiſe* GOD *for the Iſſue he had granted him.* *Paradin*, in his Hiſtory of *Savoy* *, has exactly followed the Manuſcript Chronicle of *Savoy*; and adds, that, when the Abbey was finiſhed, and the Vow accompliſhed, the young Prince of *Savoy* recovered; placing the Time of this Foundation before the Year 1118 (12). *Guichenon* refutes all this very ſolidly: he ſays, that he found, in the Archives of St *Sulpice*, that, in the Year 1130, “Fifteen Monks, of the Order of *Citeaux*, and one *Bernard*, who was their Superior, went to the Mountains of *Bugey*, by Permiſſion of *Hugh*, Abbot of *Pontigni*, with a Deſign of doing Penance there, and leading an auſtere Life; and that *Amé*, the firſt Earl of *Savoy*, who was preparing to go to the Holy Land, in order to engage their Stay, granted them *Letters, and Privileges.* - - - - - As to the Occaſion of the Foundation, it is certain, that the Hiſtorians of *Savoy* are miſtaken, in publiſhing, that it was after the Birth of the young Earl *Humbert*, Son of the ſaid *Amé* - - - - for the Grants of Earl *Amé* import the direct contrary; the firſt of which, dated at *Yenne*, in the Preſence of *Pontius*, Biſhop of *Belley*, and *Humbert*, Biſhop of *Geneva*, has theſe Words: *Igitur quicumque iſta legerit, & audierit, hoc donum me feciſſe cognoſcat, tempore quo in montanis fratres hoſpitando retinui, ſcilicet antequam de uxore mea habuiſſem infantem*; i. e. *Be it known to all, who ſhall read, or hear, theſe Preſents, that I beſtowed this Gift, at the time, when I entertained the Brotherhood in the Mountains; that is, before I had a Child by my Wife*: and the ſecond; *Noverit omnis tam extraneus, quam propinquus, hanc meam donationem feciſſe, antequam de uxore mea, Matildi nomine, liberos aliquos procreaſſem*: i. e. *Be it known to All, Strangers as well as Natives, that this Grant was made before my Wife* Matilda *had brought me any Children* (13).”

* Book III, chap. 41.

(12) Guichenon's Hiſtory of *Breſſe*, and *Bugey*, *Continuat. of* Part II, pag. 101.

(13) Ibid. pag. 102.

I cannot perſuade myſelf, that Chance, or Ignorance, produced the Falſhood, which *Guichenon* has refuted. It is rather the Effect of the Artifice of the Eccleſiaſtics. They bring Water to their Mill whatever way they can; and, to encourage the Great to build Monaſteries, or give pious Donations, they forge Inſtances of Fruitfulneſs, or Recovery, or ſome other temporal Advantage, which they aſcribe to a Liberal Piety.

BELOY (PETER *de* (*a*), Advocate-General in the Parliament of *Toulouſe*, had not yet this Employ, when he wrote for the Rights of the King of *Navarre*, againſt the *League*. If he had been a Proteſtant, he would have done nothing, in This, but what had been very natural, and required no extraordinary Virtue; but, as he was a *Roman* Catholic (*b*), and at *Paris*, when he publiſhed That Work againſt the *League*, he ought to be looked upon with ſome Admiration. That Work is entituled, *A Catholic Apology againſt the Libels, Declarations, Councils, and Conſultations, made, written, and publiſhed, by the* Leaguers, *Diſturbers of the Peace of the Kingdom of* France, *who have taken up Arms, ſince the Deceaſe of* Monſeigneur, *the King's only Brother*; by *E. D. L. I. C.* It came out in the Year 1585, and was tranſlated into *Latin* [*A*]: The Writers of the *League* called it an infamous *Libel* [*B*], and the Author found himſelf expoſed to a ſevere Perſecution [*C*]. He was a learned Civilian,

(*a*) *He is ſo called, and not* Peter Belloi.

(*b*) *See* The Novenary Chronology of *Cayet*, Tom. I, fol. 17, verſo.

[*A*] *His* Catholic Apology *was tranſlated into* Latin.] I have ſeen two Tranſlations of it in That Language. One of them, if we believe the Title, was printed, at *Paris*, by *James Petit Chou*, 1586. In the other, we find neither the Place of the Impreſſion, nor the Printer's Name; but the Title is longer than in the Original; and there is an Advertiſement of the Tranſlator.

[*B*] *The* Leaguers *called it an infamous Libel.*] See the Book, entituled, *An Anſwer of the true* French *Catholics to the Advertiſement of the* Engliſh *Catholics for the Excluſion of the King of* Navarre *from the Crown of* France. The Edition, which I make uſe of, is of the Year 1589. On the back of the Title-page, you find a Catalogue of the *Diffamatory Libels*, at which That Anſwer is levelled: The *Catholic Apology by Belloy* is the Third of Thoſe Libels. I have ſeen a particular Anſwer to the chief Heads of That Work of *Beloy*, which paſſes for a Piece of *Bellarmin*'s. The Author calls himſelf *Franciſcus Romulus*. He neither attacks his Adverſary, about the Genealogy of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, nor about the Baſtardy, which was objected to *Henry* IV, by reaſon of his Mother's Marriage with the Duke of *Cleves*; nor about the Diſpute of the Preference of the Uncle to the Nephew; but reduces all to Religion, and to the Foundation of the Bull, which declared the King of *Navarre* to have forfeited the Succeſſion, and to be uncapable of reigning, only on account of his Hereſy. The firſt thing, which *Franciſcus Romulus* undertakes to ſhew, is, that the Author of *the Apology* is no Catholic, as he boaſts himſelf to be, but a meer Heretic, or perhaps an Atheiſt. *Nos igitur, us ejus veſtigiis inſiſtamus, demonſtrabimus primum Auctorem Apologiæ falſo ſibi Catholici nomen aſſumere, cum aut hæreticus, aut fortaſſe etiam Atheus ſit* (1). This it is to be over-fond of certain particular Doctrines, which, at the bottom, are not eſſential to Religion. They, who are fond of theſe particular Doctrines, impudently maintain, that whoever oppoſes them is a Falſe Brother, a Prevaricator, a Spy, a Traytor, and, to ſay all in a Word, an Atheiſt. In all Communions, there are ſome ſuch opinionated Perſons, without excepting the Proteſtants, who have quitted *France*. *Bellarmin* may ſerve to ſhew them their Illuſion; for He, whom he accuſed of Hereſy, and whom he ſuſpected of Atheiſm, always profeſſed the Catholic Religion, like a very good Man. Here is a Paſſage of *Anthony Arnauld*: “Who wrote That outrageous Anſwer againſt the *Catholic Apology*, but the Jeſuits, who induſtriouſly publiſhed the moſt falſe and ſcandalous Things imaginable againſt the Perſon, and Rights, of his preſent Majeſty (2)?”

(1) Franciſcus Romulus, Reſponſ. ad præcipua capita Apologiæ, quæ falſo Catholica inſcribitur, pag. 5.

(2) Arnauld's Plea againſt the Jeſuits, in 1594, pag. 23.

[*C*] *He found himſelf expoſed to a ſevere Perſecution.*] *Cayet* relates, that, at the time of his writing his Book (3), they drew up a Parallel between the chief Writer of the Royaliſts, and the chief Writer of the Leaguers (4). He means *Peter Beloy*, and *Lewis d' Orleans*. It was ſaid, “that both of them publiſhed their Books without their Names; He, who wrote for the League, was more eloquent, but a Calumniator; He, who wrote for the King of *Navarre*, was more learned, and a true *Frenchman*. The Writer of the League, contrary to the Royaliſt, was firſt rewarded for his Writings, and was made Advocate-General in the Sovereign Court of the Kingdom, during the Power of the League;

(3) *That is, in the Year* 1605.

(4) Novenary Chronology, Tom. I, fol. 20, verſo.

lian, and a Man of great Reading. He had already publiſhed ſome other Books [*D*]. *Du Pleſſis Mornai* acknowledges him for the true Author of the *Catholic Apology* (*c*). I ſhall produce the Fragment of a Letter, which will be a good Supplement to This Article [*E*].

I add, to what I have already ſaid, the true Duration of his Impriſonment. *Cayet* is ſatisfied with ſaying, that it laſted more than two Years (*d*); but *Beloy* relates, that it continued four Years. I ſhall produce his Words, which will ſerve as a Supplement to the Liſt, I give, of his Works [*F*].

“ and ſince he has met with much Trouble and Vexation. - - - - But He, who wrote in defence of the Majeſty of Kings, had Trouble and Afflictions, and was impriſoned in the beginning. In the Year 88, (5) he was clapt up in the Jail belonging to the Parliament (6). After the Death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, he was removed, and ſtrictly kept in the Baſtile for two Years; and, having found means to eſcape, he fled to *St Dennis*, where he found Monſ. *de Vic*, Governor for the King, who received him, preſented him to his Majeſty; and, for a Recompence of his Troubles, he is at this Day Advocate-General in one the Parliaments of this Kingdom (7).” The Fate of theſe two Authors, was, therefore, an Image of what was ſaid to *the Rich Man* (8); but it was an imperfect one; for *Lewis d' Orleans* proſpered again, after having endured ſome Fatigues, much more inconſiderable, than what he deſerved, by reaſon of his furious Rebellions.

[*D*] *He had already publiſhed ſome other Books.*] *La Croix du Maine* mentions the four following: *A Declaration of the Right of lawful Succeſſion to the Kingdom of* Portugal, *belonging to the Queen-Mother of the Moſt Chriſtian King*, at *Antwerp*, and at *Paris*, 1582, in 8vo. *A Panegyric or Remonſtrance for the Senechal and Judges - - - - of* Toulouſe, *againſt the King's Notaries, and Secretaries of the ſaid City*, at *Paris*, 1582, in 4to. *A Verbal Petition for the above-ſaid Lords, and Officers of* Toulouſe, *containing an Apology for, and Defence of, the Advertiſement, publiſhed in the Name of the Doctors Regents of the Univerſity of* Toulouſe, at *Paris*, 1583, in 8vo. *A brief Explication of this preſent Year* 1583, *according to the* Gregorian *Calendar*, at *Paris*, 1583, in 8vo. *La Croix du Maine* adds, that a Work of the ſame *Beloy* was printing at *Paris*, in 1584. *viz. A Computation of the Times ſince the Creation of the World*, *'till* 1582, *divided into two ſeveral Columes*; and that he would ſpeak, in another Place, of the *Latin* Works of This Author. The Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library mentions two Books; *Petri Beloii variorum Juris Civilis, liber* 4. *& Diſputatio de ſucceſſione ab inteſtato, &c.* at *Paris*, 1583, and *the Collation of the Edicts of Pacification* with *the Explication of the ſaid Edicts*, at *Paris*, *in* 1600, in 8vo. *Beloy* is Author of a *Commentary on the Edict*, which ordered the *uniting* of the King's Patrimony *to the Crown-Lands*, at *Toulouſe*, 1608, in 8vo.

[*E*] *A Fragment of a Letter, which will be a good Supplement to this Article.*] Here you have what the Author of the Notes on the Confeſſion of *Sanci*, and on the *Catholicon*, was pleaſed to write to me; “ I have a Book, which might have given you much Light concerning the famous Civilian, *Peter Beloy*: The Title of it is; *A Reply to the Anſwer, which the Leaguers have publiſhed againſt the Examination, which was drawn up, of their pretended Diſcourſe concerning the Salic Law of* France, 1587. There is in it an ample and fine Genealogy of *Peter Beloy*, in honour of That Learned Man, and which proves him a Gentleman of a Family originally of *Bretagne*, and tranſplanted into *Languedoc*, and elſewhere; but the moſt ſingular thing, I find in it, is, that it appears, that *Peter Beloy* was already Priſoner in the 1587; and, conſequently, that it was King *Henry* III, who cauſed him to be impriſoned, in complaiſance to the *Guiſes*, who accuſed him, moreover, of being a Shuffler, and a Heretic, and who had already cauſed him to be accuſed, the foregoing Year, before the King, by a Biſhop, —— whom I ſuſpect to be *G. Roze*, of having wrote the Book, for which, *Thuanus* informs us, that *Francis le Breton*, who was the Author of it, was hanged, in 1586. It appears, there, alſo, that *Beloy* was of a Family, whereof all the Members, and particularly himſelf, had always been good Catholics; that, at the Age of Twenty one Years, he was named Regent of the Univerſity of *Toulouſe*, by the Univerſity itſelf, and by the Parliament; that, afterwards, after having performed the Function of an Advocate, four or five Years, at *Toulouſe*, he was made Counſellor in the *Preſidial* of That City, with Marks of a moſt honourable Diſtinction by the Parliament of *Paris*; and that, what had given an Advantage againſt him, at *Paris*, to his Enemies, the Leaguers, was, that, during this long Abode, which he was obliged to make there, as a Deputy of his Brethren, to the Court (9), his Zeal for his Prince, and his Country, had moved him to oppoſe ſeveral ill Deſigns of the League. Moreover, I muſt obſerve, that, ſince it is certain, that he was already a Priſoner, in 1587, there is no Reaſon to ſay, that he was not impriſoned 'till 1588. Mr *Menage* has quoted a Diſcourſe at the opening of one of the Settings of Parliament, ſpoken by *Peter Beloy*, in the Year 1609 (10).” The Author of this Letter has inſerted part of theſe Facts in the ſecond Edition of his Notes on the Confeſſion of *Sanci* (11), and he obſerves one thing, which I ought not to omit; which is, that our *Beloy* was born in the City of *Montaubon* (12), and that his three elder Brothers were killed in the King's Service againſt the *Huguenots*.

[*F*] *This Remark will ſerve as a Supplement to the Liſt —— of his Works.*] The Epiſtle Dedicatory (13) of his Expoſition of *Daniel's Seventy Weeks* contains theſe Words. “ Finding myſelf at Leiſure, during the laſt Summer, I was preſſed, and almoſt compelled, by my Friends, to look over again, and review, part of *The Computation of Times* (14), which I formerly drew up in the Priſon of the *Baſtile* of *Paris*, where I was confined during the four Years Tyranny of the League, in order to the Publication of This Eſſay.” Conclude from this, that he would have publiſhed other Works of this Nature, and the more from his calling this little Diſſertation on *Daniel's Weeks*, *The firſt Eſſay of his Hiſtorical Diſcourſes*. We muſt, therefore, add this Diſſertation to the Catalogue of *Beloy's* Works. It is entituled, *An Expoſition of the Prophecy of the Angel* Gabriel, *touching the ſeventy Weeks, deſcribed by the Prophet* Daniel, *in the ninth Chapter of his Prophecies*, by Mr *Peter de Beloy*, *&c.* at *Toulouſe*, 1605, in 8vo. The following have, likewiſe, been omitted. *Of the Origin and Inſtitution of ſeveral Orders of Knight-hood, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular, dedicated to Monſeigneur the* Dauphin *of* Viennois, *Duke of* Bretagne; *at* Montauban, *for* Dennis Haultin, 1604, in 8vo. *An* Arrêt *of the Parliament of* Toulouſe, *pronounced in Appeal as of a Grievance reprehended by Father* John Journé, *a Monk of the Order of St* Dominic, *and Provincial of the ſaid Order in the Province of* Toulouſe, *on the Proceeding againſt him, ordered by the Biſhops of* Condom *and* d' Aure, *containing The Pleading on this Affair, by Mr* Peter de Beloy, *Counſellor and Advocate-General of the King in the ſaid Parliament*, at *Paris*, according to the Copy printed at *Toulouſe*, in 1612, in 8vo (15).

(*c*) Memoirs, Tom. I, pag. 657. *See alſo* Thuanus, lib. 10, pag. 628.

(*d*) *See Remark* [*C*].

(5) *See Remark* [*E*].

(6) Thuanus, lib. 93, pag. 251, *ſays it was by the King's Order.*

(7) Thuanus *ſpeaks of it*, lib. 82, pag. 33.

(8) Luke xvi, 25.

(9) *For an Affair againſt the Notaries of* Toulouſe.

(10) Menage's Origin of the *French* Tongue, at the Word *Chaperon*.

(11) Pag. 20, 21. *Edit. of* 1699.

(12) *I had made him a Native of* Toulouſe, *on the Authority of* la Croix du Maine.

(13) *It is addreſſed to* Mr Brulart de Sillery, *Keeper of the Seals.*

(14) *See, above, in Remark* [*D*].

(15) *Taken from a Manuſcript Memoir, communicated by* Mr Lancelot, *of the* Mazarine *Library at* Paris.

BELOT (N.), Advocate in the King's Privy-Council, under the Reign of *Lewis* XIII, publiſhed a Book, which gave occaſion to place him, with little Honour, in the famous *Petition of the Dictionaries* [*A*]. He undertook to prove, that our Language ought not to be made uſe of in learned Works, alledging, among other Reaſons, that the communicating the Secrets of Sciences to the People has produced great Evils. He promiſed another Work [*B*], wherein he was to ſhew the Particulars of That Proof.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a Book, which gave Occaſion to place him - - - - in the famous* Petition of the Dictionaries.] Mr *Pelliſſon* makes mention of it: “At that time, if I am not miſtaken, the Sieur *Belot*, Advocate, dedicated alſo a Book to the Academy, which I could not find, and which is not mentioned in the Regiſters, entituled, *An Apology for the* Latin *Tongue*; and it was That, which gave occaſion to This fine Paſſage in the *Petition of the Dictionaries*.

“La pauvre langue Latiale
“Alloit être trouſſée en male,
“Si le bel Advocat Belot, &c (1).”

What Mr *Pelliſſon* means by & *cætera* contains eleven Verſes, which are theſe;

Du Barreau le plus grand falot,
N'en euſt pris en main la defenſe,
Et protegé ſon innocence.
En quoy, certes, & ſa bonté,
Et ſon zele, & ſa charité,
Se firent d'autant paroiſtre,
Qu'il n'a l'honneur de la connoiſtre;
Semblable à ces preux Chevaliers,
Ces Paladins Avanturiers,
Qui, deffendant des Inconnuës,
Ont porté leur nom juſqu' aux nuës.

Thy Language, Latium, *ill had fared;*
But Belot, *Advocate prepared,*
Thy Patron ſtands, Thy ſtrong Defence,
And vouches for Thy Innocence.
In truth, Belot'*s a generous Friend,*
A Tongue, he knows not, to defend.
Like thoſe adventurous Knights of old,
Don Quixots *ſo renown'd and bold;*
Who, fighting for a Fair unknown,
Great Proweſs have in Combat ſhewn.

I have That Book, which Mr *Pelliſſon* could not find; and I am going to ſay ſomething of it; for it muſt be but little known, ſince, in the Year 1650 (2), it eſcaped the moſt curious Enquirers. The Title of it is: *An Apology for the* Latin *Tongue, againſt the Preface of Monſieur* de la Chambre, *in his Book of new Conjectures about Digeſtion, dedicated to Monſeigneur* Seguier, *Chevalier, Chancellor of* France. It was printed, at *Paris*, in the Year 1637, in 8vo, and contains about eighty Pages, including the Epiſtle Dedicatory, the Preface, &c. The Author ſays (3), that he was forced to publiſh it, and tells the occaſion of it. “You muſt know, that Monſieur *de la Chambre* —— having obliged me to give him my Opinion concerning his firſt Treatiſes, my Freedom made me find Fault with him as to the Language; and, having, nevertheleſs, continued to write in *French*, he thought himſelf obliged to prefix a Preface to his Book, entituled, *New Conjectures about Digeſtion*, in favour of our Language, againſt the *Latin*, which, being addreſſed to me, under the Name of Reader, I found myſelf obliged to anſwer it by this Apology, which my Friends got out of my Hands, by making uſe of the Authority of ſuch Perſons, as might command me to give it to the Public (4),” At the end of his Book, he added the Letter, which he wrote *to the Gentlemen of the* French *Academy*.

[*B*] *He promiſed another Work.*] *Note*, that he would have Mr *Seguier* intereſt himſelf in This Cauſe for political Reaſons. *The Welfare of the State*, ſaid he, *and That of Religion are concerned in it*. According to his Account, the ancient *Romans* ſuffered by having uſed the vulgar Language in every thing. “Such are the Effects, which the Secrets of the Learned, unſeaſonably diſcovered to the People, have produced among the *Romans*, and whereof the Example would be as dangerous to our Monarchy, as it was prejudicial to That Empire. I omit the fine Conſiderations, which might be drawn from each Science, and which would make it more clearly appear, of what Moment it is to keep them ſecret, or, at leaſt, not to declare them but to ſuch Perſons, as may be qualified for it. You will find matter of Wonder, and Aſtoniſhment, in in a Treatiſe of Politics, which I have entituled, *France*, or *The perfect Monarchy*, when you come to conſider, that the Knowledge of Philoſophy, imparted to the People, has produced ſo many Buſy-Bodies, and Sophiſters, the Knowledge of Divinity ſo many Heretics, and Atheiſts, That of Morality ſo many Hypocrites, and falſe Virtues, and That of Phyſic (becauſe 'tis profeſſed in our Language) ſo many Quacks, and Murtherers, who kill more Men than the Plague, and the War, both together, and who have no other way of livelihood, than That of killing ſo many People with Impunity (5).” It is not uſeleſs to preſerve the Memory of ſuch falſe turns of the human Mind; They are Poiſons, which may ſerve as Remedies.

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(1) Pelliſſon's Hiſtory of the *French* Academy. p. 195, 196.

(2) *It was at the Time that* Pelliſon *was writing the* Hiſtory of the Academy.

(3) *In the Preface.*

(4) Belot, *Preface*, fol. A. ii.

(5) Belot's Apology, pag, 28, & ſequ.

BEMBUS (PETER), a noble *Venetian*, Secretary to Leo X [*A*], and afterwards Cardinal, was one of the beſt Writers of the XVIth Century; though it muſt be agreed, that he made himſelf ſometimes ridiculous, by an affected way of making uſe only of ancient *Latin* Words [*B*]. His Hiſtory of *Venice* was very much cenſured

[*A*] *He was Secretary to* Leo X.] He wrote a great many *Letters* for That Pope; he was handſomely rewarded for them; and, beſides, he had the Honour of being looked upon as the Author of all Thoſe Letters; for they came out under his Name, and with Thoſe, which he had wrote for himſelf. The latter are divided into ſix Books, and the others into ſixteen. *Leo* X had another Secretary, who was as great a *Puriſt* as *Bembus* (1). He made choice of them before he came out of the Conclave, where he was promoted to the Papacy (2). Mr *Graverol*, the Advocate, would have publiſhed, with ſome Notes, the Letters, which they wrote for That Pope, if an untimely Death had not put a ſtop to That Work.

[*B*] *Made himſelf ſometimes ridiculous by an affected way of making uſe only of ancient* Latin *Words*.] “How many Follies has the Affectation of making uſe only of *Cicero*'s Words, and of what is called pure Latinity, cauſed certain *Italian* Authors to commit? Who would not laugh to hear *Bembus* ſay, that a Pope was elected by the Favour of the Immortal Gods, *Deorum immortalium beneficiis?*” I take theſe Words from the Author of the *Art of Thinking* (3). Before him, *Juſtus Lipſius* had judiciouſly, and pleaſantly, criticized *Bembus*'s Latinity (4). He blames him, among other things, for having ſaid, that the Senate of *Venice* wrote to the Pope; *Put your Truſt in the Immortal Gods, whoſe Vicar you are on Earth: — ut fidat Diis immortalibus, quorum vicem gerit in terris.* After this, we ought not to wonder, that he made uſe of the Word *Goddeſs*, ſpeaking of the Holy Virgin. It is in a Letter (5), where Pope *Leo* X reproaches the Inhabitants of *Recanati*, for having given bad Timber for the Building of our Lady of *Loretto*, cenſured by *Lipſius*, upon That Account. It has been alſo criticized by others, with reſpect to Sincerity (*a*). His Letters have not been more ſpared [*C*]. He began betimes to run the hazard of being an Author [*D*] ; and he was very ſucceſsful in it ; for his *Azolani* had an extraordinary Run (*b*). He was much taken notice of at the Courts of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and of the Duke of *Urbino*, which were then the moſt polite of That Country, and the Rendezvous of the fineſt Wits (*c*). He publickly teſtified his Gratitude for the Eſteem, with which the Duke and Ducheſs of *Urbino* honoured him, for he wrote a Book in their Praiſe (*d*). He was a good *Italian*, and *Latin*, Poet ; but he was juſtly cenſured for having publiſhed ſome looſe and obſcene Poems [*E*]. He is one of Thoſe, who have been accuſed of having ſpoken

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(1) *It was* James Sadolet, *who was afterwards Cardinal.*

(2) Bembus, Hiſt. rerum Venetar. in fine.

(3) Art of Thinking, Part III, chap. 19, pag. 366, *Edit. of* Amſterdam, 1685.

(4) Lipſius, Epiſt. 57, Centur. II, Miſcellan. pag. 177.

(5) *The 17th of the 8th Book.*

Loretto, and commands them to furniſh better, *leaſt*, ſays he, *it ſhould ſeem, that you deride us, and the Goddeſs herſelf*; —— *Ne tum nos, tum etiam Deam ipſam, inani lignorum inutilium donatione, luſiſſe videamini*. The Words, which Chriſtianity has conſecrated, as, *fides*, *excommunicatio*, ſeem barbarous to This Writer; he chooſes rather to make uſe of *perſuaſio* for *fides*, and of *aqua & igni interdictio* for *excommunicatio*. *Lipſius* finds ſome other Faults in him, as ſome *Italiciſms*, and alſo ſome *Soleciſms*. The ſame *Lipſius*, in his Notes on the ninth Chapter of the firſt Book of his Politics, comprehends, in a few Words, what he had more amply ſhewed in the above-cited Letter. Among other things, he ſays ; “ Cum tam curioſè à verbis ſibi caverit, reperio alibi, quæ non dicam Tulliana non ſint, ſed “ vix Latina. —— *Notwithſtanding his great Care* “ *in the Choice of his Words, I meet with ſome,* “ *which are not only not* Ciceronian, *but ſcarce* Latin.” The Phraſe *afferre naves*, which he criticizes, would be more pardonable in a *Dutchman*, becauſe the ſame Word in *Dutch*, which ſignifies *to bring*, ſignifies alſo *to carry*, which creates ſometimes very pleaſant Expreſſions from *Dutchmen*, who begin to ſpeak *French*. The Hiſtory of *Venice*, which *Lipſius* criticized ſo much as to the Stile, appeared, to our Mr *Balzac*, the Work of a mean Wit, and of a dry and grovelling Author (6).

[*C*] *His Letters have not been more ſpared.*] His Friends have been challenged to ſhew any one of them, that do not groſsly treſpaſs againſt *Grammar*, and that is not remarkable for ſome egregious Childiſhneſs, and moreover without any Solidity. “ Ut cæteram carminum ejus obſcœnitatem taceam, quid “ ejus epiſtolis ineptius, & quidem illis quas Pontificis maximi nomine & de rebus maximis ſcripſit, “ & ad viros maximos? Mentiar ego cum *Scipione* “ *Gentili* *, & luam gravi pœna, ſi vel unam mihi “ in tot illis voluminibus Epiſtolam oſtendant amatores ejus, quæ non inſigni aliquo vitio Grammatico laboret, aut puerili aliqua ineptia conſpicua “ ſit & demonſtrabilis. Ne quid de rebus ipſis atque “ ſcientiis dicam ſapientiæ inaniſſimis, & mire languidis, & (repetendum eſt enim, quod ejus proprium maxime eſt) ineptis (7). - - - - *To ſay nothing of the other Obſcenities to be met with in* “ *his Verſes, what can* [illegible] *more trifling, than his* “ *Letters, even Thoſe, which he wrote, in the Pope's* “ *Name, on Affairs of* [illegible] *greateſt Importance, and* “ *to the greateſt Men? Let me paſs for a Liar with* “ Scipio Gentilis, *and ſuffer great Puniſhment, if* “ *his Favourers can ſhew me but one Letter in ſo* “ *many Volumes, which does not ſomewhere remarkably offend againſt* Grammar, *or is not conſpicuous* “ *for ſome childiſh Impertinence. I ſay nothing of* “ *the Subject Matter of them, and That ſurprizing* “ *Emptineſs, and (I muſt again repeat it, as being* “ *peculiar to him) That Impertinence.*”

[*D*] *He ventured betimes to run the Hazard of being an Author.*] During the three Years (8) he was in *Sicily*, a Scholar of *Conſtantine Laſcaris*, Profeſſor of the *Greek* Tongue, at *Meſſina*, he compoſed a *Latin* Treatiſe *de Monte Ætna*, which was printed in 1486 (9). Being returned home to his Father, he followed him ſome Years after to the Court of *Hercules d'Eſt*, Duke of *Ferrara*. He made himſelf beloved, and reſpected, there ; and it was at this time, that he wrote his *Azolani*. They are Diſcourſes on Love, ſo called, becauſe it is ſuppoſed, that they were made in the Caſtle of *Azolo*. He was, then, but twenty ſix Years of Age (10). This *Italian* Book had great Succeſs, both among Men and Women; one would have paſt for a Novice in *Italy*, who ſhould have been a Stranger to it. “ Eos libros tanta hominum, mulierum etiam, “ medius fidius, approbatione, & tanquam plauſu exceptos recentes eſſe meminimus, ut extemplo cuncta “ eos Italia cupidiſſimè lectitarit, atque didicerit : ut “ non ſatis urbani aut elegantes ii haberentur, quibus “ Aſulanæ illæ diſputationes eſſent incognitæ (11).” It has been printed ſeveral Times. One *John Martin*, Secretary to Cardinal *de Lenoncourt*, made a *French* Tranſlation of it, which he publiſhed in the Year 1545.

He tranſlated it from the *Italian* Edition of the Year 1540, which had been preceeded by three or four others, ſince That of the Year 1515 ; and he obſerves this, to prevent any Perſon from wondering at the Differences, which were between his Tranſlation, and the Original, printed by *Aldus*, in the Year 1515 (12). “ If they pleaſe to conſider, *ſays he* (13), “ that *Bembo*'s Work has been three or four times reprinted ſince That Time, and that the ſaid Signior “ *Bembo* has cut off ſome things from it, which ſeemed ſuperfluous to him, and alſo that the laſt Impreſſion (which I have followed,) is of the Year “ 1540, made, (as it is to be ſuppoſed) by his Authority, and Permiſſion ; my Opinion is, that they “ will not ſay, that I have wronged the Author in “ any thing.” This was of ſome uſe to *Gaffarel*, who, finding himſelf cenſured for employing his Pen in Matters ill-becoming a Clergyman, excuſed himſelf by the Authority of divers Examples ; and by name, That of the *Azolani* of Cardinal *Bembo* (14). It might have been objected to him, that That Work was compoſed by a young Gentleman, who was not yet engaged in the Eccleſiaſtical State : but he might have replied, that the Author publiſhed a new Edition of it, after his Cardinalſhip.

[*E*] *He has been cenſured for having publiſhed ſome looſe and obſcene Poems.*] We have ſeen already (15), what *Lanzius* reproaches him with ; here is a Paſſage of *Scaliger* : “ Petrus Bembus elegiaco (carmine) “ eam partem corporis humani celebravit, ſine qua “ nulla obſcœnitas foret. Legatur ejus Elegia, cujus “ initium :

Ante alias omnes, meus hic quas educat hortus,
  Una puellares illicit herba manus :

“ quod poëma merito vocare poſſis obſceniſſimam elegantiam, aut elegantiſſimam obſcenitatem. Unius “ & quadraginta diſtichorum eſt (16). - - - - - - Peter “ Bembus *celebrated, in Elegiac Verſe, That Part of* “ *the Body, without which there would be no Obſcenity. Read his Elegy, which begins thus :*

Of all the Plants, which in my Garden grow,
This moſt the Female Touch deſires to know.

“ *which Poem may deſervedly be called The Moſt Obſcene Elegance, or The Moſt Elegant Obſcenity. It* “ *conſiſts of Forty one Diſtichs.*” *Thuanus* and *Menage*, ſhall ſerve as new Witneſſes; the former by theſe Words ; “ Illius (Bembi) multa licentioſius, ut “ temporum nequitia & domini cui ſerviebat mores “ ferebant, ſcripta extant (17) ; - - - - - *There are extant ſeveral looſe Compoſitions of the ſame* Bembus, “ *which are owing to the Vice of the Times, and the* “ *Manners of the Maſter, whom he ſerved.*” And the latter by this Remark : “ If it was true, “ that *John della Caſa* was excluded from the Cardinalſhip for his Poem, Cardinal *Bembo* was more “ fortunate than He ; for the licentious Verſes, which “ he wrote in his Youth, and which are yet more “ licentious than Thoſe of the *Capitolo del Forno*, did “ not hinder him from being made a Cardinal (18).”

[*F*] - - - - *and*

(*a*) *See* Bodin, Method. Hiſtor. cap. 4, pag. 93.

(*b*) *See Remark* [*D*].

(*c*) Joh. Caſa in vita Bembi.

(*d*) *Entitled*, De Guido Ubaldo Feretrio, deque Elizabetha Gonzagia, ad Nicolaum Teupolum.

(6) *See his* Diſſertation on a Speech, ſpoken at *Rome*, pag. 273. *It is the* 9*th Diſcourſe of his* Miſcellaneous Works.

* Comment. in Ep. Pauli ad Philem, cap. 18.

(7) Lanzius, Orat. contra Italiam, pag. 783.

(8) *That is, from* 1482, *to* 1485.

(9) Bembus, Epiſt. 6, l. 2.

(10) Joh. Caſa, in vita Bembi, pag. 143.

(11) Id. ib.

(12) *There is, in the* 183*d Page of the ſecond Part of the Catalogue of the Library of* Nicolas Heinſius, Gli Aſolani di Pietro Bembo. Ald. 1505. *It is certain, that they were printed in That Year. See the* 8*th Letter of the* 4*th Book of* Bembus.

(13) John Martin's Advertiſement to the Reader. *It is to be found at the end of the Book.*

(14) Gaffarel's *Preface to the* Unheard of Curioſities.

(15) *See, above, Citat.* (7).

(16) Scaliger, Confutat. Fabulæ Burdonum, pag. 323.

(17) Thuanus, lib. 3, ſub fin. pag. 66.

(18) Menage, Anti-Baillet, cap. 120.

ſpoken of the Word of God with great Contempt [*F*]. Perhaps he only found fault with the Stile of it. Authors differ about the Sex of his Children [*G*]; but they agree, in ſaying they were illegitimate, and three in Number. One of his Letters informs us, that his two Grandmothers lived a hundred Years [*H*]. He died in the Year 1547 (*e*), in his Seventy ſeventh Year (*f*). *Speron Sperone* ſays, he ſet a great Value on the Knowledge of Languages [*I*]. If this Article be ſhort, it is becauſe *Moreri* has ſpoken at large of Cardinal *Bembo*.

Upon the Death of his Mother, he wrote a very fine conſolatory Letter to his Father BERNARD BEMBUS. He ſays in it, that ſhe had lived Forty eight Years with her Huſband, in a Concord, which no Complaint had ever interrupted [*K*]; and he ſeems to be very much afflicted for the Loſs of This good Mother.

(*e*) Thuan. Hiſt. lib. 3, ſub. fin.

(*f*) *And not in his 68th Year, as* Moreri *ſays, after having obſerved, that he was born, in* 1470, *and that he died in* 1457.

[*F*] ------ *and for having ſpoken of the Word of* God *with great Contempt.*] I can go back no farther, than a *German* Author, whoſe Name is *Thomas Lanzius*, who publiſhed ſeveral Speeches, for, and againſt, the Nations of *Europe*. He ſays, without quoting any Body (19), that *Bembus* adviſed a Friend not to read St *Paul's* Epiſtles, for fear of ſpoiling his Stile. "Advertite, auditores, inepti hominis impietatem cum pari ſtultitia conjunctam. Is ſiquidem Epiſtolas omnes Pauli palam condemnavit, eaſque deflexo in contumeliam vocabulo Epiſtolaccias eſt auſus appellare, cum amico autor eſſet ne illas attingeret, vel, ſi cœpiſſet legere, de manibus ejiceret, ſi elegantiam ſcribendi & eloquentiam adamaret (20). —— *Obſerve, Gentlemen, the equal Impiety and Folly of the Man. He openly condemned All St* Paul's *Epiſtles, and contemptuouſly dared to ſtile them* Epiſtolets, *adviſing a Friend not to meddle with them, or, if he ſhould begin to read them, preſently to throw them by, if he loved Elegance of Stile, and Eloquence.*" Others pretend, that, having heard, that *Sadolet* explained the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, he ſaid to him; Let theſe Fooleries alone, they do not become a grave Man: *Omitte has nugas, non enim decent gravem virum tales ineptiæ* (21). We ſhall ſee, in another place (22) a Story, which was ſpread abroad, which would induce one to think, that he did not believe the Immortality of the Soul.

[*G*] *Authors differ about the Sex of his Children.*] *Moreri* gives him two Sons and a Daughter; but *Imperialis* obſerves, that *Bembus* kept a Concubine all his Life-time, by whom he had three Daughters (23). It is certain, that *Bembus* had a Son, whoſe Name was *Torquato*, to whom *Manutius* dedicated his *Virgil*. I do not queſtion but that *Imperialis* is miſtaken; for *John della Caſa*, who wrote the Life of *Bembus* with great Application, ſays expreſsly, that his Miſtreſs had two Sons by him, to wit, *Lucilio* and *Torquato*, and a Daughter, whoſe Name was *Helena*, who was married to *Peter Gradenigue*. He remarks alſo, that This Miſtreſs was a fine Woman, and that *Peter Bembus*, a well-ſhaped, polite, gallant, and courteous Man, was greatly beloved in all Companies. During his Abode at *Ferrara*, Duke *Hercules d'Eſte*, and *Lucretia Borgia*, the Wife of *Alphonſus d'Eſte*, ſhewed him a particular Friendſhip (24).

[*H*] *One of his Letters informs us, that his two Grandmothers lived a hundred Years.*] This Letter being ſhort, I ſhall ſet it down at length (25): It appears by it, that *Bembus* would willingly have ſacrificed theſe two old Women to the Life of his deceaſed Brother. "Petrus Bembus Herculi Strotio. Avias ambas meas effœtas, deplorataſque fœminas, & jam prope centum annorum mulieres, mihi fata reliquerunt: unicum fratrem meum juvenem ac florentem abſtulerunt, ſpem & ſolatia mea. Quamobrem quo in mœrore ſim ipſe facile potes exiſtimare. Reliqua ex meis intelliges. Heu me miſerum! Vale. Id. Jan. 1504. Venetiis. —— Peter Bembus *to* Hercules Strozza. *Fate has left me both my Grandmothers, wretched old Women, and now almoſt an hundred Years old: but it has robbed me of my only Brother, in the Flower of his Youth, my Hope and Conſolation. You may, from hence, eaſily gueſs at my Affliction. The Reſt my People will inform you of. Farewel.* Venice. *The Ides of* January, 1504." He was much more affected with his Mother's Death. See the Remark [*K*].

[*I*] *He ſet a great Value on the Knowledge of Languages.*] So far as to prefer it before the Marquiſate of *Mantua.* "Jo ſo nulla per riſpetto à que glorioſi: ma quel poco che io ne ſo delle lingue, non lo cangierei al Marcheſato di Mantoua (26). ----- *I am not vain of my Knowledge in any Language; but the little I know of them I would not exchange for the Marquiſate of* Mantua." A Writer of Dialogues makes no ſcruple to aſcribe to his Interlocutors, what they never ſaid; and therefore I ſee no great reaſon to believe, that *Peter Bembus* was really of This Opinion, having no other Proof for it, than This Author's Dialogue. Some have quoted *Speron Sperone*, as if *Bembus* had only mentioned his Talent of writing in *Latin* (27); but it is certain, from the Words that I have cited, that *Bembus* ſpoke, in general, of the Knowledge of Tongues: And it muſt not be imagined, that he pretended to exclude the *Greek*, which he had learned in *Sicily* under *Laſcaris*, ſo far as to write it very well (28).

[*K*] *His Mother had lived Forty eight Years with her Huſband, in a Concord, which no Complaint had ever interrupted.*] Theſe are his Words: "Cum duæ eſſent cauſæ quibus maximè commoveri debui ad luctum, una quod me parente optima meique amantiſſima orbatum viderem; altera, quod te privari lectiſſima prudentiſſimaque conjuge, cum qua duodequinquaginta annos SINE ULLA QUERELA concordiſſimè vixiſſes, tibi patri meo acerbiſſimum atque luctuoſiſſimum putarem futurum; harum duarum cauſarum altera me abs te levari ſentiebam, &c (29). ---- *Tho' I have two Reaſons to be afflicted; the One, The Loſs of the beſt and fondeſt of Mothers; the Other, The extream Concern, which muſt affect you, O my Father, at being deprived of the choiceſt and moſt prudent of Wives, with whom you have lived Forty eight Years, in the utmoſt Concord; yet you yourſelf afford me Relief from one of theſe Occaſions of Sorrow,* &c." This Letter, dated from *Urbino*, the Twenty ſecond of *November*, 1509, is a great Elogy of the Mother, and an illuſtrious Teſtimony of her Son's Affection. It deſerves to be read from the beginning to the end. *Bernard Bembus* had already ſome Grandſons. His Wife had lived near ſeventy Years. There is another Letter of *Peter Bembus*, wherein he ſhews his Brotherly Affection; for he gives there a lively Repreſentation of his Siſter's Unhappineſs, that he might obtain ſome Remedy for That Lady's Misfortunes from the Patriarch of *Venice*. She was married to a Man, who gave himſelf over to all manner of Lewdneſs, and who beſtowed that Affection, which was due to his Wife, on Proſtitutes. "Marcelli ejus mariti meretricio amore animus turpiter abalienatus (30). De Marcello etiam ſpero fore, ut cum ſe ille meretricia conſuetudine plenâ infamiæ, plena calamitatis, liberatum per te ſolutumque ſedato animo atque pacato cognorit, tibi gratias agat, quod illum belluarum more ſine pudore, ſine lege, ſine ullo officio degentem, ad hominum vitam rationemque traduxeris (31). ----- *As for* Marcellus, *I am in hopes, that, when he comes ſeriouſly to reflect, that you have freed him from the Infamy and Danger of a Life ſpent among Harlots, he will return you thanks for bringing him over from a brutal, ſhameleſs, and irregular, Conduct, to the Life and Reaſon of a Man.*" He abuſed her horribly, without being moved to pity by her Patience, and Silence, and by that Modeſty, whereby ſhe endeavoured to bring him back to his Duty. "Nolo tibi commemorare quot aut quantas indignitates Antonia ſoror univerſum biennium pertulerit, dum prudens atque optima mulier, humanitate, pudore, continentia, labore etiam ſummo ſuo, quodque in hujuſmodi rebus ſolet eſſe difficillimum, taciturnitate, viri improbitatem, perditiſſimoſque mores placare, ac flectere in melius, cupit (32). —— *I forbear to recount to you the many Indig-*

(19) Konig *quotes* Scipio Gentilis, Comment. ad Epiſt. Pauli ad Philemon, pag. 40.

(20) Lanzius, ubi ſupra.

(21) Gregor. Michael, Not. in Curioſitates Gaffarelli, pag. 111.

(22) *In Remark* [*P*], *of the Article* MELANCHTHON.

(23) Imperalis, in Muſæo Hiſtor.

(24) John della Caſa, *in the Life of* Bembus.

(25) *It is the* 16*th of the* 3*d Book*, pag. 486.

(26) Speron Sperone, *in the Dialogue* Delle Lingue, fol. 107, verſo.

(27) Teiſſier, *Add. to* Thuanus, Tom. I, pag. 11.

(28) John Caſa, in Vita Bembi.

(29) Petrus Bembus, Epiſt. vi. lib. 1, pag. 426.

(30) Id. Epiſt. i, lib. v. pag. 559.

(31) Ibid. pag. 562.

(32) Id. ib. pag. 560.

He was blamed for having followed the Cuſtom of Flatterers, with whom the Merit of the living always exceeds That of the dead; for he publiſhed, that *Paul* III, was more learned, than *Leo* X. It is worth while to ſee how he juſtified himſelf [*L*]. After the Death of *Navagier*, in 1530, the Council of Ten pitched upon Him to write *The Hiſtory of the Republic of* Venice (*g*) [*M*]. His Age of ſixty Years would have made him decline This Trouble, had he not been more willing to incommode himſelf, than not to do this Service to his Country (*h*). I muſt ſay a Word of the Deſign, it is pretended he had, to refuſe the Cardinalſhip [*N*]. His Hiſtorian enlarged on this Point, and did not fail to ſay, that his Narrative would paſs for a Fable, with many Perſons, who judge of their Neighbours by themſelves. He has nobly expreſſed This Common-place [*O*], as will be ſeen below (*i*); and I ſhall examine it more at large, in the laſt Remark of this Article.

(*g*) Bembus Epiſt. 25. lib. 3. pag. 501.

(*h*) Id. init. Hiſtor. Rerum Venet.

(*i*) *Citat.* (40).

" *nities my Siſter* Antonia *has ſuffered for full two Years; whilſt That prudent, and beſt of Women, endeavours, with Complaiſance, and Modeſty, with Patience, and even the greateſt Pains, and (what is uncommon in ſuch Caſes) with Silence, to reform the abandoned Morals of her Huſband, and bring him back to the right way.*" This is a finer Letter, than the other; it is dated from *Urbino*, the ſeventh of *July*, 1510, which occaſions a ſmall Difficulty; for it is ſuppoſed there, that *Bembus*'s Mother was yet living: " Curandum tibi certe eſt ne Soror mea, ne Pater, ne Mater, ne univerſa noſtra familia - - - ſecure tandem ac planè liberè irrideamur (33). - - - - *It is certainly incumbent on you to take care, that my Siſter, Father, Mother, and whole Family, be not, ſecurely, and with Impunity, made the Subject of Mockery and Deriſion.*" And we have ſeen, that he wrote a Letter of Conſolation to his Father, upon his Widowhood, in the Month of *November*, 1509. It were to be wiſhed, that ſo many Letters of great Men were not wrong dated (34).

[*L*] *It is worth while to ſee how he juſtified himſelf from the Charge of Flattery.*] When, in 1535, he publiſhed the Letters, which he had written in the Name of *Leo* X, he dedicated them to *Paul* III, and declared him much more learned, than Pope *Leo* X was. " Eas autem ad te, Paule, potiſſimum literas mitto; quia Pontifex maximus es, ut Leo decimus fuit, & in optimarum artium diſciplinis multo, quam ille, habitus doctior. Vera enim fateri omnes non ſolum honeſtè poſſumus, ſed etiam debemus. —— *I, therefore, dedicate theſe Letters to you,* Paul, *becauſe you are Pope, as was* Leo X, *and eſteemed more learned, than He. For we not only may, but ought, to confeſs the Truth.*" This Elogy was looked upon as exorbitant; *Bembus*'s Character, and the Remembrance of the great Favours he had received from *Leo* X, were not to be ſeen in it. " Eſſe nonnullos, qui me in laudando Paulo Pont. Max. longius progreſſum eſſe putent, quàm aut mei mores, aut ſumma in me Leonis X officia, aut veritas omnino ipſa poſtularit (35). - - - - *Some there are, who think I have gone farther in commending Pope* Paul, *than my own Character, or the Favours I received from* Leo X, *or than even Truth itſelf demanded.*" He anſwered *Molſa*, who gave him Notice of This Cenſure, That he had only given the Preference to *Paul* III, as to Literature, which the Domeſtic Misfortunes of *Leo* X had hindered him from making any great Progreſs in; that he had taken care not to judge which of the two ſurpaſſed the other in Prudence, Firmneſs, Temperance, Goodneſs, and Liberality; that it was not difficult to know, that *Paul* had more Learning, than the other; that he had never failed to acknowledge the Favours of *Leo* X, though he was leſs indebted to him for his Fortune, than to *Julius* II. " Tametſi mediam plus partem earum quas habeo fortunarum omnium Julius ſecundus Pont. Max. cui nunquam inſervivi, contulit (36). - - - - *Tho' Pope* Julius II, *whom I never ſerved, conferred on me more than half the Fortunes I poſſeſs.*"

[*M*] *He was pitched upon to write the Hiſtory of the Republic of* Venice.] They would have him to begin it, where *Sabellicus* had ended it (37), and continue it down to his own time. This Interval comprehended Forty four Years (38). He did not compleat it; for he ended his Work at the Death of *Julius* II. This Hiſtory is divided into twelve Books, and was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1551, and reprinted, the ſame Year, at *Paris*, by *Michael Vaſcoſan*, in 4to. It was afterwards printed at *Baſil*, with the other Works of *Bembus*, in three Volumes, in 8vo, in the Year 1567. Neither He, nor any one elſe, could reap any Benefit from *Andrew Navagier*'s Labour, who had a like Commiſſion, and who, at his Death, had ordered all his Writings to be burnt (39). We have ſeen, in the Remark [*B*], what Judgment was paſſed on the Hiſtory written by *Bembus*.

[*N*] *It is pretended, he had a Deſign to refuſe the Cardinalſhip.*] *Moreri* ſpeaks of it at large; but he has not diſcovered the Beauties, with which *John della Caſa*, whom he copies, has adorned That Narrative. This Hiſtorian of our *Bembus* declares, he is not ignorant, that ſeveral People will reject this Part of his Narrative; and That, ſince moſt Men judge of others by themſelves, it will not be believed, that *Peter Bembus* ſincerely deſpiſed a Degree of Honour, which almoſt every one judges to deſerve the moſt paſſionate and earneſt Wiſhes; but that, as for himſelf, who writes, whilſt things are yet freſh in Memory, and whilſt part of the Actors are yet living, he ought not to be ſuſpected of an Impoſture; but that, after all, he is not afraid of the Appearances of Falſhood, which attended the Truth he was about to publiſh, remembring very well, that the Fault of Thoſe, who venture to advance Untruths in Hiſtory, is as great, as the Fault of Thoſe, who dare not ſpeak out the Truth. I do not repreſent the Beauties of the Original, any more than *Moreri*; and therefore I ſhall ſet down the Author's own Words for the ſake of thoſe, who underſtand *Latin*. " Non ſum neſcius multos fore, qui noſtræ orationi hac in re parum fidei habeant: plerique enim omnes, quid de aliena voluntate credendum ſit, de ſua conjecturam faciunt: itaque incredibile multis viſum iri intelligo, Bembum id verè atque ex animo aſpernatum eſſe, quod omnes fere ſumma cupiditate expetendum atque optabile eſſe exiſtiment; tametſi ſcribimus hæc recenti hujus facti memoria, multiſque, qui in agendo adfuerunt, ſuperſtitibus, quos mendacii atque impudentiæ noſtræ conſcios ac teſtes habere cur velimus cauſa nulla eſt. Sed quoniam par eorum peccatum eſſe cenſemus, qui mentiri in hiſtoria audent, atque eorum, qui dicere verum reformidant; mendacii ſpeciem, verum cum dicturi eſſemus, non horruimus (40)." I find myſelf obliged to ſay here, that I am none of Thoſe, of whom *John della Caſa* foreſaw the Incredulity. I have ſeen ſo many Characters in *Peter Bembus*'s Letters, not only of an honeſt Man, and a generous and aſſiduous Friend, but alſo of a learned Perſon, who preferred the Calmneſs of a retired Life, which permits an entire Conſecration to the Muſes, before the Vanities and Pomps of a Court, that I can eaſily imagine, he wiſhed in earneſt not to be a Cardinal.

[*O*] *His Hiſtorian ſays, that this will paſs for a Fable with Thoſe, who judge of their Neighbours by themſelves; and he has nobly expreſſed This Common-place.*] It is what we have ſeen in his *Latin* Words; and, conſequently, there remains only for me to prove, that there is a Common-place in them; which I ſhall eaſily do. One of the Difficulties, which attend the writing of Hiſtory, is, that the Readers are apt to look upon the nobleſt Actions, of which they find themſelves incapable, as ſo many Lies: This has been obſerved long ago. " Ac mihi quidem, *ſaid* Salluſt (41), - - - - - in primis arduum videtur, res geſtas ſcribere; primum, quod facta dictis exæquanda ſunt; dehinc, quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malevolentia & invidia dicta putant, ubi de magna virtute, atque gloria bonorum memores, quæ ſibi quiſque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit, ſupra, veluti ficta, pro falſis ducit. - - - - - *For my own Part, I look upon the writing of Hiſtory to be the moſt difficult Task; firſt, becauſe the Actions and Stile muſt correſpond; then,* " *becauſe*

(33) Id. ib.

(34) *See Remark* [*B*], *of the Article* AMMONIUS (ANDREW).

(35) Bembus, Epiſt. 85, lib. 6, pag. 701.

(36) Id. ib. pag. 702.

(37) *About the Year* 1486.

(38) Bembus, init. Hiſtor. Rerum Venetar.

(39) Id. ibid.

(40) Joannes Caſa, in vita Petri Bembi, pag. 150, Collect. Bateſii.

(41) Salluſt. in Proœm. belli Catilin. pag. 6, 7.

becauſe moſt Readers think, when you find fault, it is through Malevolence and Envy; and becauſe, when you celebrate the remarkable Virtue and Glory of good Men, what each Man thinks he could with eaſe have performed himſelf, he admits to be true, but, what is above his Capacity, rejects as falſe.” *Pericles* had already made the ſame Obſervation concerning Thoſe, who hear a Funeral Oration. “The Praiſes, *ſaid he*, which the Auditors think themſelves capable of deſerving, are not ſubject to be criticiſed; but, if they exceed their Strength, they render them envious and incredulous, and are looked upon by them as Fiction, and a Piece of Flattery.” *Eatenus tolerabiles ſunt alienæ laudes, quatenus ſeipſum quiſque parem arbitratur alicui illarum aſſequendæ: quibus vero imparem, iis invidet, fidemque non habent* (42). The Foundation of all this is, that every one is apt to meaſure other Men's Actions by his own. “Quæ volumus & credimus libenter, *they are* Julius Cæſar'*s Words* (43), & quæ ſentimus ipſi, reliquos ſentire ſperamus. —— *What we deſire, and willingly believe, and what we ourſelves think, we hope are the Sentiments of others.*” Nothing is more eaſy, than to deceive Thoſe, who never deceived others, aud nothing is more difficult than to draw thoſe into a Snare, who have always acted fraudulently (44). The Reaſon, both of This Facility, and This Difficulty, may eaſily be gueſſed at. A good, plain, and ſincere, Man does not ſuſpect any Inclination to Deceit; and for That Reaſon, he acts without much Precaution; but a Knave, thinking, that others are like himſelf, keeps on his Guard againſt all the Artifices, which he knows he ſhould make uſe of on the like Occaſions. It is uſual to judge diſadvantageouſly of Thoſe, who miſtruſt every thing, and who readily believing all the ill Reports, which are ſpread concerning their Neighbours, deny, or queſtion, or put an ill Conſtruction on, the beſt, and the moſt laudable Actions, which they hear of. What *Phædrus* ſaid of certain Perſons, who take the Deſcriptions or Cenſures of Vice for perſonal Affronts, may be applied to them; *Are you ſo imprudent*, ſaid he to them, *as to reveal the Secrets of your Hearts in ſuch a manner?*

Suſpicione ſi quis errabit ſua,
Et rapiet ad ſe, quod erit commune omnium,
Stultè nudabit animi conſcientiam (45).

Others had already made uſe of This Thought. *Cicero* had ſaid; “Neminem nomino; quare iraſci mihi nemo poterit, niſi qui ante de ſe voluit confiteri (46). —— *I name no body; no body, therefore, can be angry with me, but He, who is reſolved to betray himſelf.*” St *Jerom* ſaid; “Quando ſine nomine contra vitia ſcribitur, qui iraſcitur, accuſator eſt ſui (47). —— *Since we write againſt Vice, without pointing out the Offenders, He, who takes it ill, is his own Accuſer.*” It is therefore pretended, that Theſe credulous Men, with regard to Slanders, who are, otherwiſe, incredulous as to the Praiſes of their Neighbours, ſhew, thereby, the bad State of their Minds, their Diſpoſition to Evil, and their Inability for what is Good. *Faber* made uſe of this Common-place againſt Thoſe, who pretended, that he had acted contrary to Piety, in maintaining, that the Paſſage of *Joſephus*, relating to JESUS CHRIST, is ſpurious. *They will make it appear*, ſays he, *that Impiety ſeems but a Trifle to them, if they accuſe others of it without Reaſon.* “Si quis tamen aliter judicaverit, & meum ſcribendi conſilium in crimen detorſerit, is, ut ait ἠθικώτατος poëta.

Stulte nudabit animi conſcientiam.

“Quemadmodum enim & recte & vere olim pronunciavit Amphis,

Ὅςις ὑμνύοντι μηδὲν πείθεται,
Αὐτὸς ἐπιορκεῖν ῥᾳδίως ἐπίςαται.

“Sic non minus vere dici poteſt, Qui ob rem nullam alios impietatis inſimulant, eos ſatis aperte oſtendere quam leve peccatum exiſtiment tam dirum ſcelus (48).” The two *Greek* Verſes of this Paſſage have a very fine Senſe; they ſignify, that He, who will not believe his Neighbour's Oaths, will eaſily be guilty himſelf of Perjury: which is much like theſe Words of *Tertullian* to a Maker of raſh Judgments; *ſi potes iſta de aliis credere, potes & facere.* - - - - - *If you can believe theſe things of others, you are capable of doing them yourſelf.* One of Thoſe, who wrote againſt *Marc Antony de Dominis*, laid a great Streſs upon This Common-place. “Hic aliud argumentum adducam, quo oſtendam, conſcientiam tuam & fidem meritò nobis & cordato cuivis ſuſpectam eſſe debere. Noſti, opinor, Oratoris dictum, cujus veritatem quotidiana experientia declarat: *Ut quiſque peſſimus eſt, ita de aliis peſſimè ſuſpicatur.* Qui faſtu tumet, ſuperbos; qui divitiis inhiat, avaros; qui ſanctitatem fingit, hypocritas; qui dolos verſat, proditores; qui nullâ fide & conſcientiâ eſt, conſcientiam penſi non habere unà ſecum omnes exiſtimat (49). - - - - - Si Vigilantianis, qui nullos caſtos ex Clero credebant, benè objicit Hieronymus, ſatis oſtendunt quàm ſanctè vivant, qui malè de omnibus ſuſpicantur; certè ſatis conſcientiam tuam, quam jactas puram, quam ſit tetra & impia oſtendis, qui de Scriptoribus Romanis, Pariſienſibus, modernis, antiquis, Græcis, Latinis, Imperatoribus Chriſtianis, Summis Pontificibus antiquiſſimis, Conciliis generalibus pleniſſimis, ſex Chriſtianis ſæculis, tetra & impia non ſuſpicaris modò, ſed certiſſimè affirmas, ubi ne leviſſima quidem juſtæ ſuſpicionis umbra eſt (50). - - - - *I will here produce another Argument, to ſhew, that we, and every honeſt Man, ought to ſuſpect your Conſcience and Faith. You know, I preſume, the ſaying of the Orator, the Truth of which is confirmed by every Day's Experience*, The worſe a Man is himſelf, the more apt he is to ſuſpect others. *The haughty Man ſuſpects every one elſe of Pride; The covetous Man, of Avarice; the Pretender to Sanctity, of Hypocriſy; the Trickſter, of Knavery; and the Man of no Faith or Conſcience, of the want of both* - - - - - *If St* Jerom *objects, with reaſon, to the* Vigilantians, *who believed none of the Clergy were chaſt, that They, who ſuſpect ill of others, ſhew how holily themſelves live; ſurely you betray the Impiety and Foulneſs of your Conſcience, whoſe Purity you boaſt; when, without the leaſt Shadow of juſt Suſpicion, you not only ſuſpect, but confidently affirm, baſe and impious Things of of the* Roman *Authors*, Pariſian, *Modern*, *Ancient*, Greek, Latin, *Chriſtian Emperors*, *Ancient Popes, the fulleſt General Councils, and the ſix Chriſtian Centuries.*”

Obſerve, that there is no Subject, on which the *Roman* Catholics have made more uſe of this Common-Place, than That of Continency; for they have affected to ſay, that Thoſe, who accuſe the Clergy of not obſerving it, and Thoſe, who think the Obſervation of it to be almoſt impoſſible, are laſcivious Men, who judge of others by themſelves (51). The Jeſuit, who wrote againſt *Thuanus*, under the falſe Name of *Joannes Baptiſta Gallus*, was ſo audacious as to ſay, that That great Man, having the Reputation of loving Women, eaſily believed, that other Men had the ſame Fault, and alledged *Nero* to him. “Quod de Nerone ferunt, qui cum perditiſſime & impuriſſime viverit, caſtum eſſe poſſe neminem cenſebat (52). —— *As they report of* Nero, *who, being himſelf addicted to the moſt ſcandalous Debaucheries, believed no Man could be chaſt.* Oſtendunt, *continues he*, ajebat S. Hieronymus, de hæreticis agens, quam caſtè vivant, qui benè de aliis ſentire aut loqui nequeunt. σφῆς ἀτασθαλιης διαμετρεῦσι ἅπαντας. —— *St* Jerom, *treating of Heretics, ſaid, They ſhew, how chaſtly they live, who cannot think, or ſpeak, well of Others*: They meaſure others by their own Impurity.” The *Greek* is quoted as out of *Gregory Nazianzen*. What is alledged of *Nero*, is to be found in *Suetonius*, and in ſtronger Terms. “Ex nonnullis comperi, *ſays the Hiſtorian* (55), perſuaſiſſimum habuiſſe eum neminum hominum pudicum, aut ulla corporis parte purum eſſe: verum pleroſque diſſimulare vitium, & calliditate obtegere: ideoque profeſſis apud ſe obſcœnitatem, cætera quoque conceſſiſſe delicta. - - - *I have been informed by ſome, that he was fully perſuaded, that no Man was chaſt or pure in any part of his Body; but that many only diſſembled Vice, and artfully concealed it: for which reaſon, when any one made Profeſſion of Obſcenity before him, he allowed him every other Vice.*” If I add to all this a cruel and impudent Invective of *Scioppius* againſt *Theodorus Beza*, it is only to confute it. He aſſerts, that the reaſon, for which That Miniſter ſuſpected

(42) Thucydid. lib. 2, p. 100, 101, Edit. Latinæ Francof. 1589.

(43) Cæſar. de bello Civili, lib. 2, pag. 296.

(44) *See the* French *Verſes, which I have produced in Remark* [*A*], *of the Article* EVE.

(45) Phædrus, lib. 3, in Prologo.

(46) Cicero pro lege Manilia.

(47) In Rufin. lib. 1. cap. 3.

(48) Tanaquillus Faber, Epiſtol. 44. lib. i. pag. 128.

(49) Fidelis Annoſus Verementanus Theologus (*that is to ſay*, John Floyd, *an* Engliſh *Jeſuit*) in hypocriſi Marci Antonii de Dominis detecta, pag. 116, 117. Alegambus *calls him* Annotus Fidelis Verimontanus.

(50) Id. ib. pag. 134.

(51) *See the* New Letters againſt *Maimbourg*'s Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, pag. 681.

(52) Jo. Baptiſta Gallus, in Notationib. in Jac. Auguſti Thuani Hiſtoriarum libros, cap. 9.

(53) Sueton. in Nerone, cap. 29.

pected the Falſity of the Hiſtory, which we read in the eighth Chapter of St *John*, is, becauſe it is ſaid there, that Jesus Christ remained alone with the Woman, who was accuſed of Adultery (54). "Talis Beza, qui in octavum caput Johannis affirmat, ſibi mulieris in adulterio deprehenſæ hiſtoriam ſuſpectæ fidei ac veritatis eſſe, quòd Christus dicatur ſolus cum ſola fœmina remanſiſſe: ſibi nempe conſcius, quid ſolus ipſe cum Candida ſua ſola agere conſueverit: qui, ſicut Spartani, quòd Martiales ac bellatores eſſent, omnes Deorum dearumque imagines atque ſtatuas haſtatas faciebant, tamquam Deos omnes virtute bellica præditos exiſtimarent; ita ipſe propter ſuam libidinem & impudicitiam, Christum quoque Sanctum Sanctorum, &c (55). - - - - *Such is* Beza, *who, on the eighth Chapter of St* John, *affirms, that he ſuſpects the Truth of the Story of the Woman taken in Adultery, becauſe* "Christ *is ſaid to have been left alone with the Woman: being conſcious to himſelf of what was wont to paſs between him and his* Candida, *when alone together: And, as the* Spartans, *worſhippers of* Mars, *and Warriours, made the Statues of all their Deities armed with Spears; ſo this Man, being himſelf libidinous and immodeſt, ſuppoſes* Christ, *the Holy of Holies*, &c." Never was Satire ſo ill grounded as This; for it is true, indeed, that the Hiſtory of This Woman was ſuſpected by *Beza*; but it is no ways for the reaſon, which *Scioppius* alledges: *Beza* gives ſeveral reaſons for it; and, if he obſerves, that Jesus Christ was left alone with The Woman, it is not becauſe ſuch a Circumſtance contains a Motive of ſome diſhoneſt Suſpicion, but becauſe the thing itſelf does not agree with the Sequel of the Text, and does not ſeem probable (56).

× Alone, in regard to the Accusers whose consciences had sent them away one by one, but the Company which our Saviour was teaching before the Scribe, & Pharisees brought the woman were still left — otherwise how could she be standing in the Midst when Jesus dismissed her

(54) *The Franciſcan* Feuardentius *had already publiſhed the ſame Lie, in the 13th Chap. of the 4th Book of his* Theomachia Calviniſtica, p. 164.

(55) Scioppius, in Scaligero hypobolimæo, fol. 15. verſo.

(56) *See the Notes of* Beza *on the 8th Chap. of St* John.

BEME, Murtherer of Admiral *de Chatillon*, on St *Bartholomew*'s Day, would not deſerve a Place in This Dictionary, were it not, that many Perſons, knowing a Man by ſome very enormous Crime, deſire to know what became of him afterwords, and of what manner of Death he died. Now they cannot well ſatisfy their Curioſity, without much Trouble, when the Perſon in queſtion is of mean Rank; wherefore, it muſt be a great Pleaſure to them, when a Book is put into their Hands, whereby they are enabled to ſatisfy themſelves immediately. Let thus much be ſaid, once for all, in regard to ſuch like Articles. BEME, then, a *German* by Nation [*A*], educated in the Houſe of the Duke of *Guiſe*, made himſelf the chief Executioner of the Maſſacre, which was reſolved upon againſt the Admiral (*a*). It was *Beme*, who, as ſoon as the Chamber Door was broke open, aſked him, *Art thou the Admiral?* And, knowing by his Anſwer what he had aſked, he run his Sword through his Body, and then gave him a great cut, with his Back-ſword, over his Face. It was He, who anſwered the Duke of *Guiſe*, enquiring *If the Buſineſs was done*, that it was done, and who threw the Body, by the Duke's Order, out of the Window. He was taken in *Xaintonge*, by the Garriſon of *Bouteville*, in the Year 1575. He promiſed a great Ranſom, and to cauſe *Montbrun* to be releaſed, whom the Catholics had taken in *Dauphiné*. The Deſire alone of ſaving *Montbrun*, kept *Beme* from being put to Death; wherefore he was in great fear, when he heard, that *Montbrun* was executed; *He bribed a Soldier, who ſaved him on a good Horſe, with a Piſtol at his Saddle Bow.* Bertanville, *Governor of the Place, finding, that he was eſcaped, mounts on a cropt Horſe alone, and overtakes* Beme, *and the Soldier; and, having no other Weapon but a Sword, makes at both of them; the Soldier would not wait for him; but* Beme *cried out to him, Thou knoweſt that I am a dangerous Fellow,* and fired his Piſtol; *the other, anſwering,* I will not ſuffer thee to be ſo any longer, *thruſt his Sword up to the Hilt into his Priſoner's Belly.* Thus *d'Aubigné* relates the Fact (*b*). *Beza* ſays much the ſame (*c*) [*B*]; but we ſhall ſee below, that *Thuanus* relates the Matter with other Circumſtances [*C*]. *Mezerai* calls This Murtherer *N. Dianovitz-Beſme* (*d*).

(*a*) Thuan. lib. 42. pag. 1075.

(*b*) D'Aubigné, Hiſt. Tom. II. lib. 2. cap. 16. p. 749.

(*c*) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 16. pag. 479.

(*d*) Mezer. Tom. III. in fol. pag. 380. Edit. 1685.

[*A*] *He was a* German *by Nation.*] He was born in the Country of *Wirtemberg*, and it is ſaid, he was the Son of One, who had been intruſted with the Artillery (1). The Author of the Book, *de furoribus Gallicis* (2), obſerves, that it was ſaid, that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* had married one of his Baſtards to *Beme*. He calls him always *Benſius*: It is probably a Fault of the Printer for *Bemeſius*. *Cavriana*, whom I ſhall quote below, ſays, that This Perſon had been Page to the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Father.

[*B*] *He was ſlain by* Bertanville - - - - - - - - *Beza ſays much the ſame.*] Let us relate what he ſays; for it contains ſome other Circumſtances. Speaking of the Defeat of the *Reiters* (3), commanded by *Thoré*, Son of the Conſtable *Anne de Montmorency*, he ſays, that *Clervant* was taken Priſoner there; "And had it not been for the Credit of divers Lords his Relations (and becauſe, about the ſame, *Beſme*, one of the chief Murtherers of the Admiral, as well for That, as for other Reaſons greatly beloved by the Duke of *Guiſe*, had been taken by Thoſe of the Reformed Religion near *Ponts* in *Poictou*) (4) he would hardly have ſaved his Life. - - - - - - Some time after, he was conducted to *Paris*, and much carried about, to try if they could exchange him for *Beme*; but, though he was in very great Danger of his Life, being deſired to agree to That Exchange, he generouſly anſwered, that he would never conſent to be exchanged for ſuch a deteſtable Murtherer; and God favoured him ſo much, that, having been put to ranſom - - - - - - - he was at laſt ſet at liberty, and *Beme*, thinking to make his Eſcape from the Caſtle, where he was a Priſoner, was retaken, and cut in pieces, as he deſerved, except that it was not done by the Hands of a Common Executioner (5)." *Cavriana*, having ſaid, in his Diſcourſes on *Tacitus*, that *Beme* ſhot the Admiral with a Piſtol, adds that This Murtherer was killed in the ſame manner, ſome time after, as he was returning from *Spain*. *Fu pochi anni dapoi venendo d'Eſpagna con ſomigliante ſpezie di morte del ſuo fatto premiato.* This Account is not ſo clear, and ſo particular, as it ſhould be; but ſome other Writers have cleared up the Matter.

[*C*] Thuanus *relates the Matter with other Circumſtances.*] He ſays, that *Beme*, returning from *Spain*, whither the Duke of *Guiſe* had ſent him to buy Horſes, or, under That Pretence, to renew the Correſpondence, which the late Cardinal of *Lorrain* had kept up with *Philip* II, was taken near *Jarnac*; that he offered his good Offices to releaſe *Montbrun*, and a very conſiderable Sum; but that his Propoſals were not regarded, and that, on the contrary, Thoſe, who had taken him, ſollicited the *Rochellers* to buy him of them for a thouſand Piſtoles, and afterwards to puniſh him with the utmoſt Severity for the infamous Murther of the Admiral; that the *Rochellers*, for fear of repriſals, and by the Counſel of *la Noüe*, rejected theſe Offers; that *Bretouville*, Governor of *Bouteville*, being unwilling to ranſom a Priſoner, and fearing, that, if he ſhould put him to Death, he would ſet an example, which might be attended with ill Conſequences, found out an expedient; which was to ſuborn a Soldier to ſupply *Beme* with the

(1) The Life of Admiral *Coligni*, pag. 129.

(2) *He diſguiſed himſelf under the Name of* Erneſtus Varamundus Friſius.

(3) *In* 1575.

(4) *He ſhould have ſaid* Xaintonge.

(5) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 16, pag. 479.

the means to eſcape. This Soldier, and *Beme*, made their Eſcape accordingly; but they fell into the Ambuſcades, which *Bretouville* had laid for them, and *Beme* was killed with ſeveral Stabs (6). *Mezerai* relates the Matter much in the ſame manner (7): He ſays, that the Conſiſtory of *Rochel* would have given a thouſand Crowns for That Priſoner, to have puniſhed him publickly; but the Wiſeſt, and *Bertoville* (8) *Governour of the Place* (9), apprehended a Retaliation. *Peter de St Romuald* ſays, "that the *Rochellers* deſired to have *Beme*, at the Perſuaſion of *la Noüe*, who would have put him to a ſevere and ſhameful Death; *and that* Beme, *being mortally wounded by* Bertoville, and afterwards killed by the Soldiers, was, at laſt, ſent to the Baron *de Rufec*, at his great Sollicitation, who cauſed him to be honourably buried *at Engoleſme*; *and that* the Soldier, who had endeavoured to favour his Eſcape, being grievouſly wounded, came off with a Ranſom, and was baniſhed the Place (10)."

(6) Thuan. lib. 60, ad Ann. 1575, p. 125, 126.

(7) Mezerai, Hiſt. of *France*, Tom. III, *in Fol.* p. 380.

(8) *Thus he calls him, who, in* d'Aubigné, *is called* Bertantville, *and in* Thuanus, Bretovilla.

(9) *That is*, Bouteville.

(10) *St* Romuald, Journal. Chronolog. *at the 24th of* Auguſt, p. 214.

BENCIUS (Francis), an *Italian* Jeſuit, was born at *Aquapendente*, in the Year 1542 [*A*]. He ſtudied the *Belles Lettres* at *Rome*, under *Marc Antony Muretus*, and made ſo happy a Progreſs under the Lectures of this Great Rhetorician, that he became one of the moſt excellent Orators of That Time. He was likewiſe a very good *Latin* Poet. There is ſomething very ſurprizing in the Manner, in which it is ſaid he came to a Reſolution of taking the Habit of a *Jeſuit* [*B*]. He taught Rhetoric for many Years, at *Rome*, in the College of the Society, and died there, the ſixth of *May*, 1594 (*a*). He had three Brothers, who were likewiſe Jeſuits (*b*): His Father was yet alive in the Year 1590 (*c*). You will find, in *Moreri*, the Titles of ſome of his Works; I ſhall confine myſelf to his *Speeches* [*C*].

(*a*) Alegambus, Bibl. Societ. Jeſu, pag. 115.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the* Poems of *Bencius.*

[*A*] *He was born at* Aquapendente *in the Year* 1542.] The Elogies, extracted from *Thuanus* by Mr *Teiſſier*, inform us, that *Bencius* was born in a Village of *Tuſcany*, called *Aquapendente*, *which was the Patrimony of his Father* (1). The *Latin* Words of *Thuanus* are, *Patrimoniali Etruriæ oppido, cui Aquæpendenti nomen, natus* (2). The Word *oppidum* being equivocal, and ſignifying ſometimes a Borough, ſometimes a Town, it muſt not here be taken for a Village, but a Town. I know not whether *Thuanus* had reaſon to ſay, that the Father of *Bencius* was Lord of it. *Alegambus* ſays no ſuch thing; and it is not uſual with That Author to ſuppreſs what may enhance the Birth and Riches of the Writers of his Order.

I have two reaſons for fixing the Birth of *Bencius* to the Year 1542; the one is, that he died in the Year 1594; This is attended with no difficulty; the other is, that we find in *Alegambus*, that he died in the Fifty ſecond Year of his Age. *Alegambus* is a little confuſed in his Figures; however I was of Opinion there was no Error in This; but I am ſurprized, that, in making The *Errata* of his Work, he did not rectify the following. *Annos natus* XX, *in Societatem eſt aſcitus*, XV *Cal. Junii, anno Chriſti* MD.LXX (3). —— *Anno Salutis* MD.XCIV, *migravit e vitâ, ætatis ſuæ* LII, *poſtquam venit in Societatem* XXVII (4). He ſays, that *Bencius*, having become a Jeſuit in 1570, at the Age of twenty Years, was in the Fifty ſecond Year of his Life, and Twenty ſeventh of his Profeſſion, in 1594. Theſe Computations deſtroy each other. *Nicius Erythræus* is more conſiſtent; for, having once ſaid, that *Bencius* became a Jeſuit at the Age of twenty Years, he allows him Fifty two Years of Life, and Thirty two of Jeſuitiſm (5).

[*B*] *There is ſomething very ſurprizing in the manner of his coming to a Reſolution of taking the Habit of a Jeſuit.*] They, who would read the Particulars of this Adventure, may conſult *Alegambus*, and *Nicius Erythræus*. They will there read of nocturnal Apparitions, of a Crucifix, and many other things. I ſhall only obſerve, that *Nicius Erythræus* goes farther, than the other Author. The latter is ſatisfied with telling us, that, from the time *Bencius* firſt confeſſed himſelf, which was to ſome of the Jeſuits, he took it into his Head, that he ſhould one Day be of their Order (6): but, according to *Nicius Erythræus*, he thought he heard, during his Confeſſion in the Church of the Jeſuits, a Voice, which pronounced theſe Words; *You ſhall alſo be, one Day, of the Number of theſe Religious* (7): *Alegambus*, as I have already obſerved, does not extenuate what advances the Credit of his Society. It is probable, therefore, *Nicius Erythræus* has here expreſſed himſelf hyperbolically: the Fact, in paſſing from Mouth to Mouth, was exaggerated before it reached the Ears of This Writer.

[*C*] *I ſhall confine myſelf to his* Speeches] Some of them were printed ſeparately; and Manuſcript Copies of others were handed about. Theſe Copies became imperfect, in proportion as they multiplied. This made the Author reſolve to publiſh an Edition of his *Speeches* in 1590 (8). He dedicated it to Cardinal *Aſcanio Colonna*. He publiſhed likewiſe the ſame Year a Collection of *Latin Poems*, and dedicated it to Cardinal *Francis Sforza*. His *Speeches*, to the Number of Twenty ſix, are accompanied with a ſhort Diſſertation *de Stylo & Scriptione*, and contain, among other Pieces, the funeral Oration of *Muretus*, That of *Alexander Farneſe*, Duke of *Parma*, and That of Cardinal *Alexander Farneſe*. The *Poems* are divided into four Books. They were reprinted with the *Speeches*, at *Ingolſtadt*, in the Year 1599; and there are added to them Two *Dramatic Poems* of the ſame Author (9), which had been publiſhed ſeparately. The Edition of *Cologne*, for *John Kinchius*, in 1617, in 12mo, contains all This. It is pretty correct; but the Paper and Character are very bad. The Publiſher has not added the Poem in *Hexameter* Verſe, entituled, *Quinque Martyres*, or the five Martyrs, in which *Bencius* has celebrated the Martyrdom, which Five Jeſuits ſuffered in the *Indies*, in 1583. This Work, divided into ſix Books, was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1591, and dedicated by *Benedictus Georgius* to Cardinal *Octavio Aquaviva*, Nephew of *Claudius Aquaviva*, General of the Jeſuits. I have the Edition of *Antwerp*, in 1602, in 12mo. The Author ſets off the Simplicity of Hiſtory with Poetical Fictions, of which he gives the Reader notice: *Si qua viſa, & quæ ſpeciem habent miraculi, inſerta ſunt, factum eſt, ut Poeticum Artificium Hiſtoriæ ſimplicitati mederetur.* Relations in Proſe have often need of the ſame Advertiſement.

Mr *Teiſſier* affirms, that *Nicius Erythræus* ſays, that This Jeſuit *tranſlated* Ariſtotle'*s Rhetoric ſo well, that it is difficult to find a more perfect Work of the Sort* (10). I have not met with This in *Erythræus*'s Elogium of This Jeſuit: I only find, that *Muretus* dedicated his *Latin* Verſion of *Ariſtotle*'s Rhetoric to *Bencius*, and that the latter read Lectures on the ſame Work (11).

(1) Teiſſier's Elogies, Tom. II, p. 206, *Edit. of* 1696.

(2) Thuani, Hiſtor. lib. cix, p. 612.

(3) Alegambus, Bibl. Societ. Jeſu, pag. 114.

(4) Ibid. pag. 115.

(5) Nic. Erythr. Pinacoth. II, pag. 115.

(6) Ex eo tempore ſubiit animum ea cogitatio, *Et tu de illis eris.* Alegambus, p. 114, 115.

(7) Viſus eſt vocem in hæc verba audire. *Et tu quoque aliquando Religioſorum iſtorum numerum augebis.* Nic. Erythr. Pinacoth. II, pag. 155.

(8) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of this Edition.*

(9) *Entituled* Ergaſtus, *and* Philotimus.

(10) Teiſſier's Elogies, Tom. II, pag. 207.

(11) Nic. Eryth. Pinacoth. II, pag. 157.

BENEDICTIS (Elpidio *de*), had a good Share in the Eſteem and Affairs of Cardinal *Mazarin*. He was his Secretary during his Nunciature in *France*, and afterwards his Agent at *Rome*. He acquitted himſelf ſo well of That Employ, that the Cardinal praiſed his Fidelity and good Conduct, in his laſt Will, and recommended him to the Moſt Chriſtian King. This Recommendation was not fruitleſs; for the Abbot *Benedictis* was declared Agent of *France* at *Rome*, and loaded with Riches. He was ordered, by the Cardinal's Heirs, to cauſe a ſumptuous Funeral Service to be performed for him in the Church of *St Vincent* and *St Anaſtaſius*, which had been his Eminence's Pariſh. He performed it admirably well.

and publiſhed a Deſcription of This Funeral Pomp (*a*). He was ordered to cauſe a Funeral Solemnity to be performed for the Queen-Mother (*b*), with all manner of Pomp, in the Church of *St Lewis*, which is That of the Nation; he performed it like a Man, who perfectly underſtood theſe ſort of Ceremonies. The Deſcription of Theſe Funerals is to be ſeen in a Book, which he publiſhed (*c*). He wrote another, which is an authentic Monument of his Zeal for the Honour of his Benefactor; for, having been informed, that a Book was handed about, which ſtrangely defamed Cardinal *Mazarin*, he publiſhed a Collection of divers Memoirs in *Italian*, which he thought proper to confute That Satire. He enlarged it ſoon after, and added ſome Political Reflexions to it. He tranſlated the Treatiſe of the Prince of *Conti*, concerning the *Duty of Great Men*, into *Italian*. I ought not to forget the *Chronological Tables*, which he publiſhed. Thoſe who have ſeen the Houſe and Garden, which he cauſed to be built near *Rome*, or who have read the Deſcription, which he gave of them, under the Title of *Villa Benedicta Literaria*, muſt grant, that he underſtood Architecture, and knew how to adorn and embelliſh a Houſe. He is the Author of the Decorations, which are to be ſeen in a Chapel, dedicated to *St Lewis*, in the Church of the ſame Saint, which Chapel he cauſed to be built almoſt from the Foundation (*d*).

(*a*) *This is the Title of it*; Pompa funebre nell' Eſſequie celebrate in Roma al Cardinal Mazarini nella Chieſa de Santi Vincenzo & Anaſtaſio.

(*b*) Anne *of* Auſtria, *Mother of* Lewis XIV.

(*c*) *Entituled*, Il mondo piangente & il cielo feſteggiante nel funerale Apparato dell' Eſſequie celebrate in Roma nella Chieſa di San Luigi de Franceſi alla glorioſa memoria di Anne d'Auſtria Regina di Francia.

(*d*) Ex Bibliotheca Romana Prosp. Mandoſii Cent. 4, n. 71.

BENI (PAUL), Profeſſor of Eloquence, in the Univerſity of *Padua*, from the Year 1599, 'till his Death, which happened in the Year 1625, was one of the moſt copious Writers, that flouriſhed in his Time. He was a *Greek* by Nation [*A*], as it has been lately ſaid; and was not born at *Eugubio*, in the Duchy of *Urbino*, as many Perſons affirm. He lived a long time among the Jeſuits; but he left their Society, becauſe they would not permit him to publiſh a Commentary on *Plato*'s *Feaſt*: The Obſcenity of the Subject obliged them to refuſe him the Permiſſion he deſired. The Reputation, which his Works procured him, moved the Senate of *Venice* to chooſe him to ſucceed *Riccoboni*, in the Chair of Eloquence; but he did not anſwer the Hopes, which were conceived of him. He tired his Auditors with long, wordy, Diſcourſes, void of Matter, and pronounced in a languid manner, which, together with ſome other Reaſons (*a*), and the pleaſing manner, in which his Colleague, *Vincent Contarini*, delivered his Learning, made his Auditors deſert ſo faſt, that, ſometimes, there were not ſo many Perſons in his School, as are required for the ſigning of a Contract (*b*). This did not diſcourage him from his Study, nor leſſen his extraordinary Application to his Books, and his Pen. One may eaſily be convinced of this, by the great number of Books, which he gave the Public, wherein there is, doubtleſs, a great deal of Learning and Wit. He ſingly maintained a Quarrel againſt the Academy *della Cruſca* [*B*], with ſuch Succeſs, as rendered him formidable to many Authors [*C*]. The Reſpect, they have, at *Padua*, for the Memory of *Livy*, did not hinder our *Paul Beni* from attacking That Hiſtorian with the utmoſt Vigor (*c*). Conſult *Moreri*'s Dictionary; for I only mention what he has omitted.

(*a*) Oderant autem univerſi morboſas quaſdam animi anguſtias quibus ipſe indolis haud ita liberalis referebat indicia. *Imperial. in Muſeo Hiſtor. p.* 160.

(*b*) In eo gymnaſio crebris jactaretur ſermonibus male de Benii rebus actum fore, ſi pactum ei aliquod fuiſſet celebrandum, quando vel duobus eidem in ſchola ſua teſtibus contigiſſet egere. *Id. ib.*

(*c*) *Taken from* Paul Freherus, in Theatro, pag. 1518.

[*A*] *He was a* Greek *by Nation.*] I was ſurprized to find This affirmed in the *Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned* (1), and, in order to know, which of the two ſaid ſo, The Author of That Journal, or the Author of the Book, mentioned by Him, I conſulted the Life of *Taſſo*, and found theſe Words in it (2); "All "the Learned Men in *Italy* - - - - - - have followed "*Paul Beni*'s Opinion unanimouſly. That Learned "*Greek*, tranſplanted into *Italy*, made it appear, in "an elaborate Compariſon of the Poems of *Homer*, "*Virgil*, and *Taſſo*, that the modern Poet had com"prehended all the Beauties of the two Ancient in "his Work, without imitating their Faults." I thought it was a Miſtake; for I knew, that *Tomaſini*, and *Lorenzo Craſſo*, affirm, that he was born at *Eugubio*; and he calls himſelf *Eugubinus*, in the Titles of ſome of his Books, and in the Inſcription, which he deſired might be put on his Tomb; and, therefore, I followed This Opinion in the firſt Edition of This Dictionary. But I have been freed from my Error by the Abbot *de Charnes*, and That in ſuch a Manner, as engages me to think myſelf happy in having ſaid, that I eſteemed and honoured him very much. He ſupplied me with a Paſſage, which does not permit me to doubt, that our *Beni* was born in *Candia* (3). It is true, He was but a Child, when he came into *Italy*.

[*B*] *He ſingly maintained a Quarrel againſt the Academy* della Cruſca.] Every Body knows, that the *Italian* Dictionary of That famous Academy of *Florence*, is a Work of great Importance; "Which was, "doubtleſs, the reaſon, why, as ſoon as it appeared, "it met with almoſt as many Critics, as Readers. "Among others, *Beni* did not ceaſe to cry down "This Work, and to declame againſt the Authors of "it, as ſo many Monopolizers of the *Italian* Language: He undertook to make it appear, that they "had neither Ability, nor Authority, requiſite to "decide in ſuch a Manner. The Book, which he "publiſhed on That Account, was printed at *Padua* "in the Year 1613, in *Quarto*, under the Title of "*Anti-Cruſca, ô vero, Il Paragone della Lingua Italiana, nel qual ſi monſtra chiaramente que l'antica* "*ſia inculta e rozza à la moderna regola*, &c (4). - - - "The Gentlemen of the Academy choſe to anſwer "him with the Pen, inſtead of proceeding againſt "him any other way. But, if we may believe *Tomaſini*, This Method, which was, beſides, the longeſt, "and the moſt perplexing, did not ſucceed to their "Honour. For it occaſioned a furious Reply from "*Beni*, who produced it as a Defence of the *Anti-Cruſca*. He publiſhed it under the Title of *Il Cavacanti, ô vero, la Difeſa del Paragone della Lingua Italiana*, &c (5). - - - - - - - The End of This "Combat was ſo glorious for *Beni* (in the Opinion "of *Tomaſini*) that he obtained the Victory over all "the Academy *della Cruſca*, and was proclaimed *De*"*fender of the* Italian *Tongue* (6)." Let us ſee the Words of *Tomaſini*. "Adverſus Academicos Cruſ"cantes, & Dictionarium Italicum ab iiſdem editum, "Anti-Cruſcam condidit. Cui cum reſpondiſſent "Academici, cumulatè libro iiſdem altero ſub Caval"cantis nomine ſatisfecit, ſeque à variis eorumdem "jurgiis validè adeo vindicavit, ut toto orbi clariſſi"mus acerrimuſque Italici Idiomatis Defenſor fuerit "acclamatus (7)." It is ſaid, that he obtained as great a Victory over Theſe Gentlemen ſome time after, in defending *Taſſo* againſt their Cenſures (8).

[*C*] — *which rendered him very formidable to many Authors.*] He was ſummoned to appear at *Rome*, on the Account of the Book, he publiſhed, on the Affairs *de Auxiliis*, without knowing them. "What he ſuf"fered

(1) *Month of* December, 1690, *in the* Extract of the Life of *Taſſo, compoſed by the Abbot* de Charnes.

(2) *In the Preface.*

(3) *It is taken from the firſt Diſcourſe of* Paul Beni, *on the Compariſon of* Homer, Virgil, *and* Taſſo, *printed in* 1607.

(4) Baillet, *Article* 162, *of the* Anti's.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Tomaſini, Elog. Tom. I, pag. 351.

(8) Baillet, *Article* 162, *of the* Anti's.

> “ fered from Eccleſiaſtical Judges, made him but “ little wiſer. He inveighed, ever after, againſt Au- “ thors of different Merit, without ſo much as ſpar- “ ing *Livy*. So that he became the Terror of the “ Writers of his Time; ſome of whom durſt not pub- “ liſh their Compoſitions, for fear of expoſing them “ to his unmerciful Cenſure (9).”

BENNON, Biſhop of *Miſnia* or *Meiſſen*, in *Germany*, in the XIth Century, was canonized by *Hadrian* VI. The Bull of the Canonization, dated the Thirty firſt of *May*, 1523 [*A*], grounds *Bennon*'s Merit, I. On his having been the only Biſhop of *Germany*, who was true to the Court of *Rome*, in the Quarrels between *Gregory* VII, and the Emperor *Henry* IV. II. On the Miracles, which he had performed [*B*] in his Life-time, and after his Death. This Canonization had been a long time ſollicited at *Rome*, and perhaps had never been obtained, if *Luther* had not ſhaken off the Pope's Yoke, in the ſame Country, where the Body of *Bennon* lay: But the Court of *Rome*, thinking, that the Inſtitution of a new Saint, would ſupport the ſtaggering Faith of That Country, yielded, at laſt, to the Inſtances of the Biſhop of *Meiſſen*, who went to the Pope with powerful Recommendations from *Charles* V, the Archbiſhops of *Magdeburg*, and *Saltzburg*, and the Marquiſſes of *Miſnia*. *Luther* was not ſilent on this Occaſion; but publiſhed a Treatiſe in *High-Dutch*, which he entituled, *Againſt the new Idol, and old Demon, of* Meiſſen. *Emſer* wrote ſharply againſt This Treatiſe of *Luther*, and boaſted inſultingly, that, notwithſtanding the Invectives of This Enemy of the Church, a wonderful Concourſe of People had aſſiſted at the Ceremonies of This new Solemnity; and he preſaged, that it would continue for ever. His Prediction was ſoon convicted of Falſhood [*C*]; That of *Bennon* was confuted at the ſame Time (*a*) [*D*]. *Emſer* thought himſelf particularly obliged to write, upon this Occaſion, againſt *Luther*; for he had publiſhed the Life of *Bennon*, in the Year 1512; wherein, among other things, he alledged divers Reaſons, why the Bull of Canonization had not been yet obtained, after ſo much Expence, and ſo many Sollicitations (*b*). There is a ſtrange Miſtake in *Moreri*'s Dictionary (*c*).

[*A*] *Dated the Thirty firſt of* May 1523.] We find the ſame Date in *Moreri*'s Dictionary. And That is not wrong. But we find there alſo, that Pope *Adrian* IV diſpatched This Bull; which is an unpardonable Falſity. *Adrian* IV lived in the XIIth Century.

[*B*] *Grounds his Merit on ſome Miracles, which he performed.*] The chief of them are; I. That the Keys of his Cathedral, which he had thrown into the River *Elbe*, after he had ſhut up That Church againſt the Emperor and his Embaſſadors, were found in the Belly of a Fiſh, and carried back to the Prelate. II. That he paſſed over the *Elbe* dry-ſhod. III. That he turned Water into Wine. IV. That, with a kick of his Foot, he cauſed a Fountain to ſpring up; and this is ſufficient ground for the Church of *Rome* to boaſt, that the Fable of *Pegaſus* has had it's Accompliſhment among the Chriſtians. V. That he celebrated Maſs in two places at one and the ſame time. VI. That, after his Death, he came, in a Dream, and put out an Eye of *William* Marquis of *Miſnia* (1). One may eaſily gueſs, that *Luther* did not ſpare Theſe Miracles.

[*C*] Emſer's *Prediction was ſoon convicted of Falſhood.*] The Inſpectors, or Viſitors, who were ſent into *Miſnia* in the Year 1539, having notified to the Country Prieſts, that they ſhould conform themſelves to the Confeſſion of *Augsburg*, went, ſoon after, to exhort the Canons of the Cathedral Church of *Meiſſen* to do the ſame. Their Dean, *Julius Pflug*, having convened the Chapter, it was reſolved, to leave Matters as they ſtood. Whereupon, they were enjoined not to perform any Act of Religion in the Church, according to the ancient Ritual; and *Bennon*'s Tomb was demoliſhed, as an Object of *Baalitic* Idolatry (2). Behold, then, a Worſhip, which, inſtead of being eternal, as *Emſer* had prognoſticated, was but of fifteen Years continuance. A wiſe Man ought to be extreamly reſerved concerning future Events, even when Appearances are favourable; and I think thoſe are to be pitied, whoſe Profeſſion requires, that they ſhould keep up the Hopes of the People; for very often they are obliged to make Almanacks againſt their Knowledge.

[*D*] *The Prediction of* Bennon *was confuted at the ſame time.*] His Life ſays, That he declared, when he was dying, that he had obtained, by his Prayers, that the Worſhip, eſtabliſhed in his Cathedral, ſhould never ceaſe. *In eo tamen maxime falſum eſſe apparet, quod, teſte Emſero, moriturus dixerit,* precibus ſuis effectum eſſe, ut cultus Eccleſiæ Miſnenſis perpetuus ſit futurus (3). This Worſhip was ſingular, and was not to be ſeen at *Rome* itſelf. The Intervals of the Pſalmody were ſo contrived, in the Cathedral of *Meiſſen*, that, every Hour of the Day and Night, they ſung the Praiſes of the Cœleſtial Court. *Ut nullum diei aut noctis tempus cantu & Deorum hymnis ac laudibus vacet* (4). *Bennon* died like a falſe Prophet, if he declared, when he was dying, that this would always continue.

BENSERADE (*a*) (**Isaac** *de*), one of the fineſt Wits of the XVIIth Century, was of *Lions*, near *Roan* (*b*). He was born a Proteſtant, as appears by his ×Chriſtian Name; but was not bred in That Religion; for he was but a Child, when his Father turned Catholic. The Reaſon why the Biſhop, who confirmed him, did not take from him the Name of *Iſaac*, is very ſingular [*A*]. It is ſaid, that his Anceſtors were very conſiderable [*B*]; but every one does not agree to This. When his

[*A*] *The Reaſon why the Biſhop - - - - - did not take from him the Name of* Iſaac, *is very ſingular.*] *Benſerade* was but ſeven or eight Years of Age, when the Biſhop, who confirmed him, asked him, *If he would have his Jewiſh Name changed for a more Chriſtian one? With all my Heart,* anſwered he, *provided you will give me ſomething to boot.* The Prelate, ſurprized with the Child's Wit, would not change his Name, but ſaid, *We muſt leave it him; he will make it very illuſtrious.* This Particular has been communicated to me by a good Hand; and I think it will be found in the Life of *Benſerade*, written by the Abbot *Tallemant*, if ever it be printed.

This is what I ſaid in the Year 1694; and my Conjecture has proved true: That Diſcourſe of the Abbot *Tallemant* is to be found at the beginning of *Benſerade*'s Works, printed at *Paris* in the Year 1697, and in *Holland* 1698. The Particular, I have mentioned, is to be found in it.

[*B*] *It is ſaid, his Anceſtors were very conſiderable.*] It is the Cuſtom for a Perſon, who is admitted into the *French* Academy, to make the Elogy of Him, to whom he ſucceeds. Mr *Pavillon*, Succeſſor

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(9) Id. ibid.

(*a*) *Taken out of* Seckendorf's *Hiſtory of Lutheraniſm*, lib. i, pag. 285.

(*b*) Ex eodem Seckendorfio, ib. pag. 286, in Aditione.

(*c*) *See Remark* [*A*].

(1) Apud Seckendorf. Hiſtor. Lutheran. lib. i, pag. 285.

(2) Id. ibid. lib. iii, pag. 221.

(3) Ibid. lib. i, pag. 286, litera *a*.

(4) Emſerus apud Seckendorf. ibid.

(*a*) *Thus he ſpelt his Name in a Letter, which he did me the honour to write to me, the* 18*th of* May, 1685. *I found* Benſſeradde *at the end of the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the* Paraphraſe on the nine Leſſons of *Job. The Abbot* Talleman *calls him always* Benſſerade.

(*b*) *Diſcourſe concerning the Life of Mr* Benſerade, *before his Poems; Edit. of* Paris, 1697, *and of* Holland, 1698. Tallemant *is the Author of That Diſcourſe.*

× I suppose th
Abraham &
Jacob are
not Names
fit for a Papi
since the Nam
alone of Isaac
be sufficient
to shew a Man
is a Protes
born

his Father died, *he left him very young, with a very ſmall Eſtate, and very much encumbered; ſo that he choſe rather, as it is ſaid, to give it away, than to go to Law about it* (c). He made himſelf known to the Court by his Verſes, and his Wit, and had the good Fortune to pleaſe Cardinal *de Richelieu* [C], and Cardinal *Mazarin* [D]; ſo that they put him in a Condition, not only to live handſomely, but alſo to lay up ſomething

ceſſor of Mr *de Benſerade*, praiſed him with great Delicacy: See, here, in what manner he handled what related to his Extraction. "This is not a Place, "where the Nobility of This illuſtrious Man ought "to be diſplayed. Here the Chance of Birth makes "no one to be eſteemed or deſpiſed: Hence it is, "that, in the Funeral Pomp of the deceaſed Members, the Images of their Anceſtors are not car"ried before them; we only take care to expoſe "their Talents, and their Works, to the public "View. Let the Elogy of the Deceaſed be, every "where elſe, adorned with the Name of the ancient "Lords of *Maline*; let others reckon, among his "Anceſtors, Him, who, in the beginning of the "laſt Century, was great Maſter of the Artillery: "my Buſineſs, here, is only to ſpeak of That, which "made him admired in his Life-time, and will per"petuate his Memory after his Death (1)."

Here is what is to be found in the Diſcourſe of the Abbot *Tallemant*: "Tho' Mr *de Benſerade* ſpoke "but little of his Father, yet he did not for"get his Anceſtors, one of whom had been Cham"berlain to one of our Kings, and Caſtellan of the "Caſtle of *Milan* - - - - - By the Mother's Side, he "was related to the *Vignancours*, and to the *la Portes*; "his Mother bore the laſt Name, which was That "of the Mother of Cardinal *de Richelieu*. —— She "would not willingly allow ſhe was related to the "Cardinal, ſaying, often, in her Family, ſhe was "not the *la Porte*, they took her for. —— Admi"ral *de Brézé* looked upon *Benſerade* as a Perſon "belonging to him." It is affirmed, in the Epiſtle dedicatory of his Works (2), that he had the Honour to belong to the great Cardinal *de Richelieu*. I deſire you to compare this with the following Paſſage of the *Menagiana*. By what I have heard, "Mr *de* "*Benſerade* was Son of an Attorney of *Giſors*; and "I was much ſurprized, when the Abbot *Regnier* "read here, the other Day, Mr *Pavillon*'s Speech, "which he made, when he was admitted into the "Academy, wherein he gives Mr *de Benſerade* a "magnificent Genealogy. But I ſhould not eſteem "him leſs, if he was of a meaner Birth. The Learn"ed ought to value themſelves for being the Sons "of their own Works. Mr *de Benſerade* had a pret"ty Houſe at *Gentilli*, and, over the Gate of That "Houſe, he had ſet up a Coat of Arms, with an "Earl's Coronet, which he had given himſelf. One "of his Friends, ſeeing it, ſaid, one Day, *Poets may* "*do theſe things* (3)." Obſerve, that Mr *Pavillon* ſays nothing of what is mentioned by the Abbot *Tallemant* concerning *Benſerade*'s Anceſtors; which makes me ſuſpect, that they have followed ſome general Notions; for they would not have ſwerved ſo ſtrangely from Uniformity, if they had followed Genealogical Titles, well proved. Whatever may be ſaid of *Benſerade*'s Anceſtors, his Father's Obſcurity cannot be doubted. Some had heard ſay, that he was an Attorney of *Giſors*(4), and others, that he had been Juſtice in *Eyre* (5). His Son made but little mention of him, though he did not forget his Anceſtors (6). Would you have a greater Proof of a mean Condition? Take notice of another thing. A great many Perſons can prove their Father's Nobility, better than That of their Grand-father, and, if you would oblige them to prove That of their Great-Grand-father, they would find it more difficult ſtill. *Perſius* has made this Obſervation (7). It is quite the contrary here. We muſt skip over ſome Degrees, in going back, if we would get clear of Genealogical Darkneſs. Our *Benſerade* finds nothing to pleaſe him in his Father, or his Grand-father; he finds his Nobility only in paſt Ages. It is certain, that Nobility of Blood is, ſometimes, like Thoſe Rivers, which fall down a Precipice, and, having run ſome Miles under Ground, riſe again (8). Genealogical Hiſtory, which is commonly preceded by fabulous Times, is often interrupted by ſome Periods of obſcure Times. It is a Geographical Map, which has it's Deſarts, and unknown Countries. See Mr *Pavillon*, who was obliged to make a Leap of One hundred and fifty Years back to unite two illuſtrious Ends in the Family of *Benſerade*. I ſhall make hereafter (9) an *Antitheſis* of *Perſius*'s Verſes, in another Senſe.

I know not what to ſay of one *NICOLAS BENSERADE*, to whom *Eraſmus* wrote ſome Letters (10), and of whom he ſpeaks, as of a very good Man, who had done him much good, and who had ſome Learning (11). He is called a Civilian (12). Would our Mr *de Benſerade* have placed him among his Anceſtors?

[C] *He had the good Fortune to pleaſe Cardinal* Richelieu.] Mr *Pavillon* informs us, that This Cardinal took care of the Education of *Benſerade*. "You "have ſeen, *ſays he* (13), in This worthy Member, "the Fruit of the Care, which the great Car"dinal *de Richelieu* took of his Education; He, "who gave Birth to your learned Aſſembly, edu"cated him in his Youth; and, as Men are only "conſidered by you in relation to their Wit, before "you had aſſociated him, he might have boaſted, "that you were Children of one and the ſame Fa"ther." Theſe Words might induce one to think, that *Benſerade* was known to This Cardinal only as a very hopeful young Man, who deſerved ſo much the more That chief Miniſter's Protection, as he was the Son of a converted Huguenot; but, if we conſider the Circumſtances of the Time, if we conſider, that the *Cleopatra* of *Benſerade* was printed in the Year 1630 (14), we cannot doubt, but that he had actually a Share in *Richelieu*'s Eſteem, in Quality of an Author, and a fine Wit.

[D] —— *And Cardinal* Mazarin.] Give me leave to inſert here a long Paſſage of a Book, the Title whereof is ſomewhat ſurprizing (15). Many Readers will be well pleaſed to ſee it here, without being obliged to turn to another Book: Beſides, ſome of them may chance not to have the *Arliquiniania* in their Cloſets. "Your Story puts me in mind of a Thing, "which made *Benſerade*'s Fortune: I have it from "himſelf. Were you acquainted with him? Yes, "ſaid I, I converſed with him till his Death: He "was the quickeſt Wit, and the moſt zealous Friend, "that ever I ſaw; he was a good, and gallant, Man, "and I will tell you, one Day, ſome particular things "of him. You know then, replied *Arlequin*, that "*Benſerade* came young, agreeable, and full of merit, "to Court. He applied himſelf to Cardinal *Maza*"*rin*, who loved him, but with ſuch a Friendſhip, "as produced no Advantage to him. *Benſerade*, "continuing to follow his Genius, made gallant "Verſes every Day, which gained him a great Repu"tation. The Cardinal, being one Evening with the "King, related to him after what manner he had "lived in the Pope's Court, where he had ſpent his "Youth. He ſaid, that he loved the Sciences, but "that his chief Application had been to polite Learn"ing, and eſpecially Poetry, wherein he ſucceeded "pretty well; and that he was, at That Pope's Court, "what *Benſerade* was at That of *France*. Soon af"ter, he retired to his Apartment. *Benſerade* hap"pened to come in, an Hour after; and his Friends "told him what the Cardinal had ſaid; they had "ſcarce ended, when *Benſerade*, being filled with "Joy, left them bluntly, without ſaying any thing. "He ran to the Cardinal's Apartment, and knocked "as hard as he could, to be heard. The Cardinal was "juſt gone to Bed; *Benſerade* was ſo preſſing, and "made ſo much Noiſe, that they were obliged to "let him in. He went, and fell on his Knees by the "Bolſter of his Eminence's Bed, and, having begged "a thouſand Pardons for his Rudeneſs, he told him "what he had heard, and thanked him, with an "inexpreſſible Ardour, for the Honour he had done "him in comparing himſelf to Him, as to the Re"putation he had for Poetry; adding withal, that "he was ſo proud of it, that he could not contain "his Joy, and that he ſhould have died at his Door, "if he had been hindred from coming to pay him "his Acknowledgment for it. This Zeal pleaſed the "Cardinal

(c) Tallemant, ibid.

(1) *See the* Hiſtorical Letters of *Feb.* 1692, p. 169, 170.

(2) *Printed at* Paris, *by* Charles de Serci, *in the Year* 1697.

(3) Continuation of the *Menagiana*, pag. 53, *Edit. of* Holl.

(4) Menagiana, ibid.

(5) Tallemant's Diſcourſe on the Life of *Benſerade*, init.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) *See Remark* [*B*], *of the Article* GENTILIS (SCIPIO.)

(8) *Such is the* Guadiana *in* Spain.

(9) *In Remark* [*B*], *of the Article* GENTILIS (SCIPIO).

(10) *See the* 21*ſt and* 24*th Letters of the* 9*th Book of* Eraſmus. *One of them is dated in the Year* 1499; *and the other in the Year* 1498.

(11) *In the Table of* Eraſmus's Letters.

(12) Eraſm. ibid. *See alſo* Epiſt. 24, lib. 5, pag. 323.

(13) Hiſtorical Letters, of *Feb.* 1692, pag. 171.

(14) *See Remark* [*O*].

(15) *Entitled* Arliquiniana. *I cannot ſee why they chuſe rather to ſay* Arliquiniana, *than* Arlequiniana, *ſince every one ſays* Arlequin, *and not* Arliquin.

ſomething for his latter Years. He had ſome Penſions aſſigned him *on a Biſhopric, and two Abbeys* (d) [E]; ſo that he might be looked upon as *a kind of Eccleſiaſtic* (e). The Queen-Mother gave him a Penſion of Three thouſand Livres, when, upon the Death of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, he loſt his Penſion (f). He *found means to ſubſiſt* at Court, *by means of* the Thouſand Crowns of the Queen-Mother, *and by That of ſome rich and liberal Ladies* (g). I have read ſomewhere, that the Court had reſolved to depute him to the Queen of *Sweden*; but it was not put in Execution [F]. His Sonnet

"Cardinal very much. He aſſured him of his Protection, and promiſed him that he would not be uſeleſs to him; and indeed, ſix Days after, he ſent him a ſmall Penſion of Two thouſand Livres; ſome time after, he had other conſiderable Penſions on Abbeys; and he might have been a Biſhop, if he would have been a Churchman (16)." The Abbot *Tallemant* will not agree to this latter Fact. See the following Remark.

[E] *He had ſome Penſions aſſigned him on a Biſhopric, and two Abbeys.*] He obtained one from Cardinal *de Richelieu*, "from the Time that his firſt Works appeared: it was continued to him till That Cardinal's Death; and he would, perhaps, have found the ſame Protection with the Ducheſs of *Aiguillon*, if the four following Verſes, which he made after the Cardinal's Death, had not offended her very much:

Cy-giſt, ouy giſt, par la mort-bleu,
Le Cardinal de Richelieu,
Et ce qui cauſe mon ennuy,
Ma penſion avecque luy.

Here lies, ay here doth lie, morblew,
The Cardinal de Richelieu,
And, what is worſe, my Penſion too.

"This Penſion was pretty conſiderable, as I have been aſſured; which was a terrible Loſs to him, and which would have very much incommoded him, if it had not been made up by another of Three thouſand Livres, which the Queen-Mother gave him (17)." Let us admire here the Power of the Habit of Jeſting. A Poet, who has a turn this way, will rather hazard his Fortune, than loſe the Opportunity of a Jeſt, even the moſt unnatural Opportunity, and the moſt oppoſite to Decency; for what can be conceived more indecent, than to jeſt on the Death of the greateſt Man that ever was in the Miniſtry of *France*? And if, for this reaſon alone, Pleaſantry be improper, it is ſtill more ſo, when the Poet, who jeſts on that Subject, had received a conſiderable Penſion from the deceaſed. I cannot blame the Ducheſs of *Aiguillon* for ſuppreſſing this Penſion; She was leſs to be blamed for it, than Mr *Benſerade*. But let us proceed to other Favours, with which this fine Wit was gratified. Cardinal *Mazarin* procured him a "Penſion of a thouſand Crowns on the Abbey of St *Eloy* —— and, when he died, left him a Penſion of Two thouſand Livres on the Biſhopric of *Mende*. Laſtly, *Benſerade* had yet another Penſion of Two thouſand Livres on an Abbey of the Abbot *de Fourilles*, called *Haut-Villiers*. —— Beſides this, he had a yearly Rent of Five hundred Crowns on the Town-houſe of *Lyons*, and a great deal of ready Money (18)." He would willingly "have had a Title; and perhaps they would not grant him this Favour, becauſe he had not, at firſt, dedicated himſelf wholly to the Church. But, if he did not obtain That, which he HAD EARNESTLY DESIRED (19), he met with ſomething, which he did not expect (20)." We are told, afterwards in what manner he received the Three hundred Piſtols, which the King ſent him one Morning (21). That Prince gave Ten thouſand Livres for the Figures, wherewith the *Roundo*'s of *Benſerade* on *Ovid*'s Metamorphoſes were adorned.

The Abbot *Tallemant* ſays, "It may perhaps be wondered at, that, being ſo well to paſs as he was, he jeſted ſo much on his Poverty: But, in anſwer to this, we need only diſtinguiſh the times; it was at his firſt coming to Court." If the Dates were well enquired into, it would perhaps be found, that This Apology is not right, and that Mr *Benſerade* complained of Poverty, even when he did not feel the Inconveniencies of it. He would not be the only Poet, who has been guilty of This Fault; and it is an Irregularity, which deſerves more to be cenſured, than That, for which *Seneca* was blamed, who praiſed and recommended Poverty in the midſt of an exceſſive Opulency. It is better to do this, than to complain of being poor, when one is in very good Circumſtances. However it be, our *Benſerade* is an example, which may be alledged againſt the Author of a pretty *Roundo*, which I mention elſewhere (22), and which begins thus, *Le bel Eſprit au ſiecle de Marot*. His Verſes helped him to attain a pretty good Fortune, and put him in a Condition to be able to lend the Ladies a Coach and Footmen. Doubtleſs, he deſerved a Reward; but they ſhould not have aſſigned him Penſions on the Revenues of the Church, *non hos quæſitum munus in uſus*. See the Remark [G] of the Article THOMAS. There is no queſtion, but ſeveral other Wits envied him, as well on account of his Coach, as becauſe he had the Advantage of frequently dining at the beſt Houſes in *Paris*. One of them (23) compoſed a Sonnet with this Concluſion:

Il frequente les bonnes tables,
Et je ne mange que chez moi:
J'en connois de plus miſerables (24).

Abroad to Dinner he can roam;
But I, alas! muſt eat at home.

This is the taſte of the ancient Paraſites.

Si triſti domicœnio laboras,
Turani, potes eſurire mecum (25).

If there no Invitation be,
Turanius, *you may faſt with me.*

Let us obſerve, that this Sonnet "was very improper at that Time; for ſickneſs and weakneſs obliged Mr *de Benſerade*, towards the latter end of his Life, to dine ſeldom abroad, and to make few Viſits (26)."

[F] *The Court had reſolved to depute him to the Queen of* Sweden; *but it was not put in Execution.*] I have read this in a Letter of *Coſtar* to the Marchioneſs of *Lavardin*. *Coſtar*'s words deſerve to be ſet down; ſince they inform us, that *Benſerade* was not in very good Circumſtances at that time. It is an ill Cuſtom among ingenious Gentlemen not to date their Letters. If *Coſtar* had dated his, we ſhould know the Year, wherein *Benſerade* was to have had This Employment. "You have been informed, that the Queen ſends him to *Sweden*, and that he will ſet out in a Week or ten Days. He has waited in vain, a long time, at *Paris*. I do not know whether *Stockholm*, and the Northern Air, will be more favourable to his Fortune, than That of the Court has been. I am ſure, that all the Ice and Snow of the North will not be able to extinguiſh That noble Fire, which animates him, and that the Preſence of the braveſt and moſt ingenious of Queens will inſpire him with things, worthy to be conceived under a better Heaven, and milder Climate (27)." See, in the Collection of the fine Pieces of the *French* Poets, the Jeſt, which This Embaſſador made on the Meanneſs of his Equipage. *Scarron* could not be ſilent on the Miſcarriage of this Deputation: See how he dates an Epiſtle to the Counteſs *de Fieſque*;

L'an que le Sieur de Benſerade
N'alla point à ſon Ambaſſade (28).

The Year, in which the Sieur Benſerade *did not go upon his Embaſſy.*

This does not inform us, in what Year it was. I cannot tell why Mr *Tallemant* ſays, that ſome One made

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(d) Menage, Anti-Baillet, *Article* 145. *See alſo towards the end of Remark* [D].

(e) *See the* Anti-Baillet, ibid.

(f) *See the beginning of Remark* [E].

(g) Diſcourſe concerning the Life of Mr *de Benſerade*.

(16) Arliquiniana, pag. 235. *Edit. of* Holland.

(17) *The Abbot* Tallemant, ubi ſupra.

(18) Tallemant, ibid.

(19) *I write this in* Capital Letters, *to ſhew the Oppoſition between the Abbot* Tallemant, *and the Author of the* Arliquiniana, *who ſays, that* Benſerade *would have been a Biſhop, if he* had been willing to be a Churchman. *See Citat.* (16).

(20) Tallemant, ibid.

(21) Ibid.

(22) *In the* New Letters againſt *Maimbourg*, pag. 590, & ſeq.

(23) *The Abbot* Eſprit.

(24) *This Sonnet was made on* Job. Tallemant, ubi ſupra.

(25) Mart. Epigr. 80, lib. 5. *See alſo* Epigr. 78, 79, lib. 12.

(26) Tallemant's Diſcourſes on *Benſerade*.

(27) Coſtar, *Letter* 165, *of* Vol. I, pag. 480.

(28) Tom. V, pag. 231. *I ſpeak of the Collection publiſhed by the Author of the* Journey into *Spain*.

Sonnet of *Job*, compared with That of *Urania*, raiſed his Fame greatly [*G*] ; for how great an Honour was it, to be the Head of a Party againſt *Voiture* (*b*), and to have, on *Parnaſſus*, the Faction of the *Jobelins*, diſputing the Ground with the Faction of the *Uraniſts ?* It is certain, This Diſpute divided the whole Court, and the Wits, and that ſome very illuſtrious Perſons declared, againſt *Voiture*, for *Benſerade*. The latter ſucceeded wonderfully in the Verſes, which he made for Interludes [*H*] ; but he miſcarried in his *Roundo*'s upon *Ovid* (*i*). He was admitted, ſomewhat late, into the *French Academy*, ſince it was in the Year 1674 ; and he was then above ſixty Years of Age. He ſucceeded *Chapelain* in this Place, and made his Elogy, which diſpleaſed the Count *de Rabutin* (*k*), and which was rather an Homage paid to Cuſtom, than an Effect of Sincerity. Some Years before his Death, *he applied himſelf to pious Works, and tranſlated almoſt all the Pſalms* (*l*) : Another Homage paid to Cuſtom ;

made theſe two Verſes *in his Gazettes* ; for *Scarron*'s Epiſtles ought not to be called by That Name.

[*G*] *His Sonnet of* Job - - - - - - - *raiſed his Fame greatly.*] This Sonnet, and That of *Urania*, occaſioned a World of Verſes, which may be ſeen in the Collection of choice Pieces. I believe, that, during the Courſe of This Conteſt, one of the fineſt and moſt ingenious Pieces was the *Gloſe à Mr Eſprit* (29). *Sarrazin* compoſed it : he had declared for the Sonnet of *Urania*. *Balzac* wrote a ſevere Cenſure of theſe two Sonnets, which is to be found at the End of his *Chriſtian Socrates*. When one examines this Cenſure, one cannot but ſay, that there are ſome excellent Pieces, which have great Imperfections. There are certain Beauties and Graces, which ſhine in ſuch a Manner, in the midſt of the Faults, which eſcaped the Author, that Theſe Faults are not taken notice of. But, after all, I do not ſee, that theſe two Sonnets paſs, at this time, for the beſt Pieces of their Authors. See what a good Critic (30) ſaid of them ; "Many " Perſons have concerned themſelves in this Conteſt " (31) ; and it is carried to ſuch a Height, that con" ſiderable Wagers are laid in favour of the one, and " of the other. But it is to be feared, that the ſame " thing may happen to theſe two Pieces, that hap" pened to Thoſe two Sonnets, which divided *Par" naſſus* into two famous Factions, under the Names " of the *Jobelins*, and the *Uranins*. For, being ex" amined more narrowly, they loſt a great deal of " their Worth and Eſteem.

The Author of the Epiſtle which ſerves as a Preface to the new Tranſlation of *Perſius* and *Juvenal* (32), relates a curious Particular, which I cannot omit. " Thus (33) a great Prince, who knew a great " deal, but who had ſtill a better Taſte, than Capa" city, for good things, judged ſo well, in two " ſmall Verſes, of the two famous Sonnets, which for" merly amuſed the whole Court, and divided it into " two Cabals of Wits, whoſe War was very inno" cent. *Voiture* had ſome formidable Partiſans ; and " ſo had *Benſerade*: but, in truth, the Deciſion of " the Prince of *Conti*, which Nature alone dictated " to him, gave the Cauſe to the *Jobelins*, and That " without Appeal. This is the Decree.

L'un eſt plus grand, plus achevé ;

Mais je voudrois avoir fait l'autre.

The One is more Grand, and more Perfect ; but I would rather have been the Author of the Other.

" The firſt Verſe relates to *Voiture*, and the ſecond " to *Benſerade* ; who, I believe, was very well ſa" tisfied with the wiſh of a Judge, who was ſo much " the more incorruptible, as, in reading the terms, " which he made uſe of, every Body perceives he " judged without any partiality." The Abbot *Tallemant* makes no mention of theſe two Verſes of the Prince of *Conti* ; though he ſays, that the Prince ſaid, he never ſaw a finer Sonnet than That of *Job*. " The " End of it, *ſaid his Highneſs*, is the moſt lucky in " the World ; but, though the other Verſes are very " gallant, yet they ſeem rather careleſs, than poliſhed " and finiſhed." Madam *de Longueville* declared for the Sonnet of *Voiture* (34). Note, that *Benſerade* made his Sonnet *upon ſending the Paraphraſe, he had compoſed, on* Job, *to a Lady* (35) ; obſerve this, I ſay, as a Proof of the prophane Licence, which amorous Poets give themſelves. Ought the Patience of *Job*, That Canonical, Divine, and Sacred, Example, to ſerve as an Introduction, or Text, to a Declaration of Love ? Ought not a Chriſtian Poet to have more reſpect for the Hiſtories of the Bible ? Ought he to have ſet his Patience, and his pretended Miſery, above That of *Job*, under pretence that he was in love, and durſt not declare it ?

[*H*] *He ſucceeded wonderfully in the Verſes, which he made for Interludes.*] Theſe Verſes were of quite a new Invention ; They characterized, at the ſame time, the Poetical Deities, and the Perſons, who repreſented them. The Author of the *News from the Republic of Letters*, has mentioned This Singularity by the by. " Mr *de Benſerade* read (36) a Piece of " his own Compoſition, which was wonderfully ap" plauded. It is an abridged Picture of the forty " Academiſts, as to their Perſons, their Talents, Ad" ventures, and Fortunes. He ſpeaks freely of every " one of them ; but with That ingenious and inimi" table Turn, which he made uſe of in his Verſes " for Interludes, perſonally proper to the Ladies and " Lords of the Court, who were to appear in the " Entries (37)." Mr *Perrault* explained this much better : Let us ſee what he ſays of it ; " *I am going to " ſpeak of another* Kind of Poetry, which has been ad" ded to the Ancient ; I mean the admirable Verſes, " which Mr *de Benſerade* made for the King's Inter" ludes. Heretofore, when they made *Stanza*'s, up" on *Jupiter*, for Inſtance, who, making his Entry, " ſtrikes the Cyclops with his Thunder-bolt, thoſe " *Stanza*'s ſpoke only of *Jupiter*, as *Jupiter*, and not " at all of the Perſon, who repreſented him. But " Mr *de Benſerade* turns his Verſes in ſuch a manner, " that they are equally underſtood of both ; and, as " the King generally repreſented *Jupiter*, ſometimes " *Neptune*, and other times *Mars*, or the *Sun*, no" thing is more admirable, than the delicate and art" ful Manner, in which he praiſes him, without ad" dreſſing himſelf to him. The Perſon, who is re" preſented, and the Actor, are both pointed at ; " which creates a double Delight, by giving two " things to be underſtood at one time, which, being " ſeparately fine, become ſtill finer, when joined to" gether (38)." I add a third Witneſs to theſe two, becauſe he deſcribes the Verſes in queſtion more fully in ſome Reſpects, and becauſe he ſupplies me with a Proof of two following Remarks. " We have loſt, " *ſays he* (39), a fine Wit, who excelled in the Art " of fine and agreeable Rallery, both in his Converſa" tion, and in his Writings ; eſpecially in the inge" nious Verſes for Interludes, which he made ſeveral " Years for the whole Court. He was an Original " in this Kind ; the Ancients have not ſupplied him " with any Model of This Sort of Rallery, and no " one has hitherto ſucceeded in imitating it. He " joined, to the Deſcription of the Gods, and God" deſſes, and other Perſons, who were repreſented " in theſe Interludes, ſome lively and natural Pictures " of the Courtiers, who repreſented them : He often " diſcovered their Inclinations, their Amours, and " even their moſt private Adventures, in ſo fine, ſo " pleaſing, and ſo nice, a manner, that thoſe, whom " he pointed at, were the firſt, who were pleaſed " with it, and that his Jeſts did not affect them with " Reſentment, or Vexation, which is an eſſential " Mark of their Perfection." See alſo the firſt Letter of the ſecond Part of the Count *de Rabutin*, and the Diſcourſe of the Abbot *Tallemant*. In That Diſcourſe you will find, that *Benſerade* had a Quarrel with the Preſident *de Perigni*, and with *Moliere*, who had both made Verſes for Interludes. Which ſhews, that he deſired to be the only Perſon, who ſhould be employed in this Buſineſs.

(*b*) *He was the Author of the* Sonnet of *Urania.*

(*i*) *See the* Menagiana, pag. 189, *of Edit.* 2. *of* Holland.

(*k*) *See that Count's Letters*, Part iv, Lett. 91.

(*l*) Tallemant's Diſcourſe on *Benſerade.*

(29) *You will find it among* Sarrazin's Poems, pag. 86, *Edit. of* 1658, *in* 12mo.

(30) *Mr* Sallo, *in the* Journal of the Learned, *Jan.* 26, 1665, pag. 48, *Edit. of* Holl.

(31) *It is That, which was raiſed on the* Joconde *of Mr* de Bouillon, *Secretary to the late Duke of* Orleans, *and on the* Joconde *of Mr* de la Fontaine.

(32) *Made by the Jeſuit* Jerom Tarteron, *and printed at* Paris, *in* 1689.

(33) *That is to ſay, in judging by what paſſes in ourſelves when we read.*

(34) Tallemant's Diſcourſe on *Benſerade. He relates ſome Particulars concerning the War of the* Uraniſts, *and* Jobelins.

(35) Id. ib.

(36) *The Day, when Mr* Corneille *the younger was admitted into the* French Academy.

(37) *Month of* January, 1685, p. 37.

(38) Parallel of the Ancients and Moderns, Tom. II, pag. 112, *Edit.* Holl.

(39) Collection of witty Sayings, *printed by the Widow* Cramoiſi, 1693, pag. 204, *Edit.* Holl. *This Book is aſcribed to Mr* de Calliere, *of the* French Academy, *and Plenipotentiary of* France, *at the Treaty of* Ryſwick.

[*I*] It

Cuſtom; but which may alſo proceed from a good Principle [*I*]. He died in the Month of *November*, 1691, in his Eighty ſecond Year (*m*); others ſay, that he died before he was eighty Years of Age (*n*). He had a Penſion from the Duke of *Orleans*, and an Apartment in the Royal Palace (*o*). He was a very honeſt Man, and of an admirable Converſation; having a good Talent at Jeſting [*K*], and telling People their Faults, without making them angry [*L*]. *He had a bold way with him, which made him behave familiarly towards thoſe of the firſt Quality; ſo that he might ſay what he would, without being contradicted; nay, he ſeemed to have an aſcendant over the moſt conſiderable Perſons.* —— *His Familiarity had even ſomething imperious in it; for he was not contented with taking the Liberty of contradicting others, but would not ſuffer his own Compoſitions to be criticized, and defended them ſo conceitedly, that thoſe very Perſons, whom he conſulted, could not ſpeak their Thoughts without expoſing themſelves to his Anger* (*p*). *He was ſincere, and very officious, eſpecially to the Ladies; for his Coach, and his Servants, were always at their Service* (*q*). He was not learned [*M*]; but I would not alledge, as a Proof of his Ignorance, that he could not tell, one Day, what Difference there is between the *Hamadryads* and the *Dryads* [*N*]. He began early to appear in Print; for it is ſaid, that his Tragedy of *Cleopatra* was printed in the Year 1630; which made ſome ſay, that he *was more than a* Jubilate *Author* [*O*]. *Furetiere* abuſed him too

(*m*) *See the* Hiſtorical Mercury *of* Nov. 1691, pag. 537.

(*n*) *The Abbot* Tallemant, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Hiſtorical Mercury, Nov. 1691, pag. 537.

(*p*) *Abbot* Tallemant, ibid.

(*q*) Ibid.

[*I*] *It was perhaps in compliance with Cuſtom, that he tranſlated the Pſalms in his old Age; which might alſo proceed from a good Principle.*] I am the more inclined to believe This proceeded from a good Principle in Mr *de Benſerade*, becauſe his Submiſſion to GOD was very great during his laſt Sickneſs. Let us quote the Abbot *Tallemant* for it. "No Man "could begin his Life with more Gallantry, nor "end it with more Piety, or a greater Submiſſion "to the Will of GOD, than Mr *de Benſerade*. He "ſuffered ſuch violent Pains, that *Job*, whoſe Patience "he had celebrated, did hardly ſuffer ſharper; they "were ſo terrible, that one of a leſs lively Temper, "and much leſs ſenſible than he was, could not "have been able to bear them (40)."

[*K*] *He had good Succeſs in Jeſting.*] A Paſſage, which I have juſt now quoted (41), ſhews, that he was Maſter of this Talent. Here is another Teſtimony, taken from the ſame Author. It is a Teſtimony, which may be called *practical*; for it conſiſts in an Example. "A Courtier was ſuſpected of being "Impotent, and would not own it; he met *Benſerade*, who had often jeered him about it, and ſaid "to him, Sir, notwithſtanding all your poor jeſting, "my Wife is lately brought to Bed, *Alas! Sir*, replied *Benſerade, the World never doubted of your* "*Lady* (42)." You may find ſome of his witty Sayings in the Continuation of the *Menagiana*, and in the Diſcourſe of the Abbot *Tallemant*.

[*L*] *He told People their Faults, without making them angry*] Nothing is more true, than the Saying, *Obſequium amicos, veritas odium parit*, that is, *Friends are made by Complaiſance, and Enemies by ſpeaking Truth*. They, therefore, who know how to make Truth appear without That odious Look, which commonly attends it, muſt needs have a very ſingular Dexterity. This was the Talent, which *Benſerade* was praiſed for by his Succeſſor. "What a wonderful Addreſs, to make the moſt paſſionate Men "bear jeſting, and to praiſe the Modeſt, without "offending their Modeſty; to ſpeak the Truth in "the midſt of a Court, without prejudicing his Fortune, "and to divert thoſe very Perſons, whoſe "faults he reproved. Amiable Cenſor, whoſe ingenious "Verſes, being purged from the Gall of Satire, "found the admirable Art of reproving All, and offending "none (43)." Mr *Pavillon* cannot be accuſed of having carried the Matter too far, though what is ſaid in ſome *Factums* (44) ſhould be true; for there is no general Rule, but will admit of an Exception: It is the Author of the *Factums*, who may be ſuſpected of overſtraining things. He ſays (45), that *Benſerade* "had ſet up for a Gallant in the old Court, "by Songs and Ballad-Verſes, which had gained him "a Reputation during the Reign of bad Taſte, Double "Meanings, and Points, which ſtill keep their Credit "with him. They have drawn upon him, *continues* "*he*, ſome Threats, and melancholy Adventures, "which have ſerved by way of Date to certain burleſque "Gazettes." At Page 28 of the third *Factum*, he ſays, that "the ſcandalous Liſt, *which* Benſerade "*drew up, of the Academy*, and which he had the "Aſſurance to read publickly in one of the ſolemn "Aſſemblies, *contained* ſuch ſhocking and outrageous "things, that they drew upon him the Threats of a "Perſon of the firſt Quality, who was concerned in "them; inſomuch that, notwithſtanding his Imprudence, "he was obliged to ſuppreſs it out of reſpect "to his own Shoulders (46)."

[*M*] *He was not Learned.*] This was ſo well known, that no ſcruple was made of owning it, when Mr *Pavillon* was admitted into the *French* Academy, a Day favourable to Mr *Benſerade*, wherein they were rather diſpoſed to give him more than his Due, than to take from him what belonged to him. See, here, how Mr *Charpentier* expreſſed himſelf in the Anſwer he made to the Diſcourſe of the new Academiſt. "The Society has loſt one of it's Ornaments in Mr "*de Benſerade*: He was an original Wit, and owed "all his Reputation to himſelf alone. He equalled "the Ancients, without borrowing any thing of "them; NEITHER WERE THEY VERY WELL "KNOWN TO HIM; and, if any of their Thoughts "have appeared in his Writings, it was rather an "effect of Chance, than of Imitation. He ſhewed, "that one could ſtill produce ſomething new under "the Sun; and this Character of Novelty was ſo natural "to him, that, whenever he would forſake it, "he was no more the ſame Man; and the Correſpondence, "which he held with the Graces, became "interrupted, when he followed other Ideas, than "his own." I do not wonder that this want of Erudition was not ſuppreſt; for it afforded matter for a delicate and refined Elogy.

[*N*] *He could not explain the Difference between the* Hamadryads, *and the* Dryads.] The Thing is This: We ſhall ſee, that he came off with a Piece of Wit. "Being one Day at the *Opera*, in the Box of "the Duke of *Orleans*, the King's Brother, the Ducheſs "of *Orleans* asked him, What difference there "was between the *Hamadryads*, and the *Dryads*? "He found himſelf much perplexed; but, not thinking "it fit to be ſilent, and perceiving, that an Archbiſhop, "and a Biſhop, waited in the Paſſage for the "Ducheſs's going out, being unwilling to ſhew their "Croſiers in the Box, he replied, *There was as much* "*difference as between Biſhops, and Archbiſhops.* This "immediately raiſed a laugh, and, the Ducheſs repeating "it the next Day at her *Toillet*, ſome one, "looking upon a Clergyman, his Friend, ſaid, pointing "to him, *Here is one your Highneſs may make a* "Dryad, *and* Hamadryad *of, whenever you are* "*pleaſed to go about it ſeriouſly* (47)." Mr *Benſerade*'s Perplexity in this Caſe does not ſeem to me a true Sign of Ignorance; for I am ſure, that the Queſtion of the Ducheſs of *Orleans* would have put ſeveral celebrated Regent Doctors to a ſtand (48). Theſe things are better known when we firſt leave the College, than after we have grown old in more ſublime Studies.

[*O*] *He was more than a* Jubilate *Author.*] This Expreſſion is borrowed from a Cloyſter. A Monk of fifty Years Profeſſion, is a *Jubilate* Religious, who is excuſed from *Matins*, and the Rigors of the Rule, in ſome Places (49). The Conventions have formed This Expreſſion on the Duration of the Jewiſh *Jubilee*, which was of fifty Years (50). See how Mr *Menage* proves, that Mr *Benſerade was more than a* Jubi-

(40) Tallemant's Diſcourſe on *Benſerade*.

(41) *Citat.* (39).

(42) Collection of witty Sayings, pag. 24, 25.

(43) Pavillon's Speech made to the *French* Academy. *See* Hiſtorical Letters, *Feb.* 1692. pag. 170.

(44) Furetiere.

(45) Pag. 19. of *Factum* II.

(46) *The Abbot* Tallemant, ubi ſupra.

(47) Tallemant, ibid.

(48) *See the Article* DRYADES.

(49) *See* Furetiere, *at the Word* JUBILE.

(50) Ibid.

too much in his *Factums* (r). *Sarraſin* had a fling at him, in the *Funeral Pomp of* Voiture: It is He, whom he calls *Rouſſelin de Grenade*, in the third Chapter of *The great Chronicle of the noble* Vetturius; and he makes uſe of this Name, becauſe *Benſerade* was red-haired [*P*]; and becauſe he uſed to ſay, in jeſt, and by reaſon of the Reſemblance of Names, that he was deſcended from the *Abencerrages*. I found this written with a Pen, in the Margin of a Copy of *The Funeral Pomp of* Voiture, in poſſeſſion of a Perſon, who knew the Secret Hiſtory of that Time. It appears by this Chapter of *Sarraſin*, that *Benſerade* had ſupplanted *Voiture*, in the Houſe of Madam *de Saintot* [*Q*]. I was in hopes to have found many things relating to the Life of Mr *de Benſerade*, in the Collection of the fineſt Pieces of the *French* Poets (s): The Title aſſured me of it; but, when I came to read the Page, referred to in the Table, I did not meet with one Line of Hiſtory in it.

(r) *See pag.* 18, *of* Factum II, *and* pag. 27, *of of the* IIId. *Edit. of* Holland.

(s) *This Collection is in five Volumes. The Author of the* Memoirs, *and* Journey to *Spain, publiſhed it at* Paris, *in the Year* 1692. *It was preſently reprinted at* Amſterdam.

a Jubilate *Author*. He ſuppoſes, that the *Cleopatra* of This Author was printed in the Year 1630, and then goes on in this manner; "He died in the Year 1691, aged eighty Years: So that he wrote That Piece Sixty one Years ago; and I ſuppoſe, that he was at leaſt twenty Years of Age when he compoſed it. Moreover, it is to be obſerved, that a Piece for the Stage was ſeldom printed until a Year after it had been acted the firſt Time (51)."

Mr *Menage* is miſtaken, in ſuppoſing, that The *Cleopatra* of our Author was printed in the Year 1630; and I am ſurprized, that, having ſo many Opportunities of coming at the Truth of this Fact, at *Paris*, he neglected to inform himſelf, or to employ, in the Enquiry, ſome of thoſe young Perſons, who attended his *Mercurials*. By Accident, I have met with a Copy of the firſt Edition of the *Cleopatra* of *Benſerade* (52); and have found, by this means, that this Piece was printed for *Antony de Sommaville*, in 4to, and finiſhed the Twenty ninth of *March*, 1636.

Let us add, to this, theſe Words of the Abbot *Tallemant*. "He had ſcarce left the College, when he produced two or three Dramatic Pieces; I have ſeen two of them, one of which was entituled, *Iphis and Hiante*, and the other *Marc Antony* (53): Both of them had pretty good Succeſs; But, if he loved Comedy, he was no leſs fond of the Actreſſes; and it is ſaid, that, with the late Marquis *d' Armentieres*, who was then an Abbot, he left the *Sorbonne*, where their Parents would have had them ſtudy, and went almoſt every Day to the *Hotel de Bourgogne*, where they met their Miſtreſſes, who were *la Valiote*, and the Fair *Roze* (54)."

[*P*] Benſerade *was red haired.*] The Abbot *Tallemant* believes, that *Benſerade* loved the fair *Roze*, "becauſe of the likeneſs of their Hair: Her Hair was of a lively fair Colour; as for him, he confeſſed freely, that he was red haired, and called himſelf ſo, and thereupon compared himſelf with ſome of the greateſt Lords of the Court, without troubling himſelf whether it would pleaſe them or not (55)."

[*Q*] *He had ſupplanted* Voiture, *in the Houſe of Madam* de Saintot.] *Sarrazin* expreſſes himſelf thus: *How* Vetturius *came to the Court of Queen* Lionelle de Galle: *How he fell in Love with her, and how he was driven from thence by the Intrigues of* Hunault d'Armorique, *and of* Rouſſelin de Granade. The Manuſcript Notes of my Copy (56) inform me, that Madam *de Saintot* was denoted under the Name of *Lionelle de Galle*, becauſe of *Gaillonet*, her Father's Houſe. Mr *de la Hunaudaye*, who was a *Breton*, was denoted by *Hunault d' Armorique*.

(51) Menagiana, pag. 335, *Edit.* 1. *of* Holl.

(52) *It is the Orthography of his Name, both in the beginning, and at the end of the Epiſtle Dedicatory, and in the King's Privilege.*

(53) *It is likely the ſame, which* Mr Menage *calls* Cleopatra.

(54) Tallemant's Diſcourſe on *Benſerade.*

(55) Ibid.

(56) *See towards the end of the Text of this Article.*

BERAULD (Nicolas), in *Latin Beraldus*, ought to be reckoned among the Learned of the XVIth Century. He was Tutor to Admiral *de Coligny* [*A*]. *Eraſmus* praiſes him in more than one place [*B*], and confeſſes, that, paſſing through *Orleans*, in his Way to *Italy*, he lodged at his Houſe [*C*], and received many Favours from

[*A*] *He was Tutor to Admiral* de Coligny.] See here the Proof of it. "Natus eſt hic Gaſpar anno MDXVII. menſis Feb. die XVI. qui cum puer indolem virtutis atque ingenii mirificam oſtenderet, mater cum patre mortuo bonis literis ab ineunte ætate imbuendum curavit: eique Nicolaum Beraldum, qui tum eruditionis laude in primis totius Galliæ florebat præceptorem attribuit (1). —— *This* Gaſpar *was born in the Year* 1517, *the ſixteenth of* February; *who diſcovering, in his Youth, ſurprizing Talents of Virtue and Wit, his Mother and deceaſed Father took care to train him up very early to Learning; and, for this Purpoſe, put him under the Tuition of* Nicolas Berauld, *the moſt famous Perſon for his Learning in all* France." The ancient Life of This Admiral ſays no more; but That, which was publiſhed in the Year 1686, has more Circumſtances. It informs us, that "*Berault* was firſt of all made Tutor to the Elder, who, having abundance of Wit, made a great Progreſs under ſo good a Maſter (2). Afterwards he was alſo *Gaſpar*'s Tutor, and did not find him of a more penetrating Wit (for few ſuch were found), but of a Spirit more diſpoſed to Obedience, ſo that, in a little time, he not only taught him *Latin*, but alſo Philoſophy. As Mr *de Montmorency*, who was but newly made Conſtable, loved his *Siſter, and her Children*, he found time, notwithſtanding his great Occupations, to take care of the Education of his Nephews; wherefore he ordered *Berauld* to come to him regularly once a Week, and to give him a true Account of all, that he ſhould obſerve in them, whether good or bad. Now *Berauld*, being come to him, according to his Command, and having told him, that he was more ſatisfied with *Gaſpar*, than with *Odet*; The Conſtable took the one for the other, and told him, he knew how to remedy it, for that he deſigned *Gaſpar* for the Church; and that *Odet*, as the eldeſt, ſhould keep up the Honour of his Family. — *Berauld*, being ſurprized at this Anſwer, asked him, Whether it was requiſite, that an Eccleſiaſtic ſhould be ignorant, and a Man of the World learned? This Diſcourſe of *Berauld* made the Conſtable perceive, that he had miſtaken the Matter; and he was very well pleaſed to hear, that *Gaſpar* had ſo good a Diſpoſition for Learning, and that there was reaſon to hope ſomething good of him. But, *Berauld* having related this Converſation to his Scholar, he was ſo afraid of being made a Churchman, that they could no longer prevail with him to look into a Book.

[*B*] Eraſmus *praiſes him, in more than one place.*] What he ſays of him, in his *Ciceronianus*, is a Mixture of good and bad; for, if on the one hand he allows him the Talent of Speaking well, he ſays, on the other hand, that he had not the Talent of Writing well, and repreſents him as very indolent. "Agnoſco dictionis illaborato fluxu Pino non diſſimilem: verum is in hoc genere nunquam nervos intendit ſuos, dicendo quam ſcripto felicior. Quid poſſit, ſatis divino, ſed eſt magni laboris fugitantior (3). —— *I acknowledge, he is not unlike* Pinus, *in the eaſy flow of his Stile: but he never exerts himſelf this way, being a happier Speaker, than Writer. What he is capable of doing, I can eaſily divine; but he is of an indolent Diſpoſition, and hates Trouble.*" In the following Remark, the Praiſes he gives him are more pure, and in greater Number. Obſerve, that he dedicated his Book, *de Conſcribendis Epiſtolis*, to him, in the Year 1522.

[*C*] *He lodged at his Houſe.*] Let us ſet down the whole Paſſage: it will afford us a Point of Criticiſm on the Modern Hiſtorian of Admiral *de Coligny*.

(1) Vita Gaſp. Colinii, pag. 33, 34, *Edit.* Ultraject. Ann. 1645.

(2) *Life of* Gaſpar de Coligny, pag. 8, 9.

(3) Eraſm. in Ciceron. pag. 74.

from him. We learn thereby, that *Berauld* lived at *Orleans*. Some ſay he was born there [*D*]; but others affirm, he was of *Languedoc* [*E*]. He wrote upon *Pliny* [*F*]; of which Father *Hardouin* has made no mention, in his excellent Catalogue of the Commentators on That ancient Author. He expreſſed a juſt Concern, in his Preface, for the Abuſes of the Preſs. Doubtleſs, the Reader will be well pleaſed to ſee his Complaint [*G*], and the Catalogue of ſome other Pieces, which he publiſhed [*H*]. One thing has been lately reported, whereby it appears, that he was an honeſt

“ Nicolaus Beraldus lepide nimirum hoſpitalis teſſeræ meminit in ſubſcriptione ſua. Nam memini cum olim eſſem *Aureliæ Italiam* aditurus me hominis hoſpitio uſum, atque apud eum dies aliquot ſanè quam benigne comiterque habitum. Etiam nunc audire mihi videor linguam illam explanatam ac volubilem, ſuaviterque tinnientem & blande canoram vocem, orationem paratam ac pure fluentem: videre os illud amicum & plurimum humanitatis præ ſe ferens, ſupercilii nihil: mores venuſtos, commodos, faciles minimeque moleſtos: quin & interulam ſericam velut apophoretum obtulit abituro, vixque ab homine impetravi ut liceret recuſare (4). ——— Nicolas Berauld *makes diverting mention of our former Acquaintance, in his Subſcriptions. For I remember, when I was at* Orleans, *deſigning to go to* Italy, *I was entertained in a very friendly manner at his Houſe for ſome Days. Even now I fancy I hear That voluble, ſweet, and harmonious, Voice, That ready and flowing Elocution: I have now before my Eyes That friendly, and humane, Aſpect; Than graceful, eaſy, and genteel, Behaviour: And, upon my Departure, he preſented me with a ſilken Veſt, which I could ſcarce prevail with him to permit me to refuſe.*” This Letter is dated the Twenty firſt of *February*, 1516; from whence it may be inferred, that *Berauld* was not young, when he was made Preceptor to the Sons of the Marſhal *de Chattillon*. But how ſhall we reconcile That Volubility of Tongue, which *Eraſmus*, an Ear-Witneſs, aſcribes to him, with the following Words? “ The Admiral had two things in him, which ſeemed extreamly oppoſite, *viz.* a great Vivacity of Wit, and a very ſlow Speech; ſo that one would have ſaid, that he muſed upon what he was going to ſay. The Politicians would have it to be a Piece of Cunning to gain time to obſerve thoſe with whom he had to do. - - - - - It is much more likely, that it was a Fault, which he had contracted by the conſtant Attendance upon his Maſter, *Nicolas Berault*, in whom the ſame Thing was obſerved (5).”

[*D*] *Some ſay, that he was born at* Orleans.] *Nicolai Beraldi* AURELII - - - - *dialogus.* - - - - *The Dialogue of* Nicolas Beraldus *of* Orleans. Thus ſpeaks *Geſner* (6). See alſo *Rocolles*, Page 214 of the true Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*. I ſhall ſet down his Words in the following Remark.

[*E*] *Others affirm, that he was of* Languedoc.] “ Their Mother, *Louiſe de Montmorency*, aſſiſted with the Advice of her Brother, took care of their Education, and gave them *Nicolas Berault*, born in *Languedoc*, for their Tutor, but he had acquired Literature at *Paris*, whither he came very young.” Theſe Words are in the eighth Page of the new Life of the Admiral. *Geſner* might be deceived by the long Abode, which *Berauld* made at *Orleans*, where he was Profeſſor of the Civil-Law, if I am not miſtaken. *Rocolles* ſpeaks of it thus, at the Two hundred and fourteenth Page of the true Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*: *Nicolas Berauld, of Orleans, A great* CIVILIAN. *Geſner* mentions a Speech of *Berauld*, *de Juriſprudentia vetere ac novitia.*

[*F*] *He wrote upon* Pliny.] He is the third of the Commentators on That Author, mentioned by *Eraſmus*. *Hermolaus Barbarus* is the firſt (7), *Budæus* the ſecond, and *John Cæſareus* the fourth. “ Poſt hunc *(Budæum)* Nicolaus Beraldus, homo ſupra peritiam humanarum literarum, Mathematices etiam pulchrè callens, quodque hic vel præcipuum erat ſani judicii, non minore ſtudio quam religione verſatus eſt in hoc labore. Nuper omnium poſtremus Joannes Cæſareus, in omni genere literarum exercitatiſſimus, non infelicem operam præſtitit (8). - - - - - *After* Budæus, Nicolas Berauld, *a Man skilled beyond the Knowledge of human Literature, well verſed likewiſe in Mathematics, performed This Task, and, what demonſtrated the Soundneſs of his Judgment, with no leſs Religion, than Care. Laſt of all,* Joannes Cæſareus, *a thorough learned Man, beſtowed his Pains not unſucceſsfully.*” *Eraſmus* ſpeaks thus, in the Preface to *Pliny*, which was printed at *Baſil*, by *Froben*, in the Year 1525. He aſſures us, that he had corrected many Paſſages, and that *Pliny* had never appeared in a better Condition. *In cæteris item ita vigilatum eſt, ut meo periculo non dubitem polliceri nunquam hactenus exiſſe Plinium felicius tractatum* (9). Nevertheleſs Father *Hardouin* ſays nothing of this Edition, and he only reckons *Cæſarius* (ſo he calls him) among thoſe, who wrote on ſome Part of *Pliny*. He aſcribes to him only ſome *Scholia* on what relates to Fiſhes, in the ninth Book. Mr *Chevillier* goes, then, too far, in theſe Words of the One hundred ninety firſt Page of his Origin of Printing at *Paris*; “ I wondered, when I ſaw, that nothing was ſaid, there, of *John Cæſarius*, and that no mention was ~~mention was~~ made of his Work, neither in the Preface, nor in the Liſt of the chief Editions of That famous Author, which was inſerted in the firſt Volume (10).” This will ſerve as a Note, or Appendix, to what is ſaid concerning the Omiſſion of *Berauld*, in the Text of the Article.

[*G*] *His Complaint of the Abuſes of the Preſs.*] “ *James Fontaine*, Profeſſor of the Civil-Law in the Univerſity of *Paris* - - - - - very much approves the Advice, which *Nicolas Berauld* gave to Sovereigns, to redreſs this Evil, and to make Edicts to remove all thoſe from the noble Art of Printing, who, for want of Learning, ſhould be judged uncapable of exerciſing it. Quarè prudentiſſimè in Præfatione operis ſui Pliniani admonet longè eruditiſſimus Nicolaus Beraldus, ut aliquo publico decreto inſolentiſſima iſta ignorantum Impreſſorum audacia reprimatur; quibus hoc debemus ſtudioſi, quòd pro unaquâque literâ invenimus plagam, pro Syllabâ crucem, pro libro tormentum. Sed rei indignitas, quæ loqui compulit, etiam tacere cogit. - - - - - *The very learned* Berauld *very prudently adviſes, in the Preface to his Work on* Pliny, *to repreſs, by public Decree, the uncommon Impudence of ignorant Printers; to whom the Learned owe That Perplexity and Torment, which every Letter and Syllable of a Book affords them* (11).” Theſe Words of *James Fontaine* are to be found in the Elogy, which he made upon *Bertholdus Rembolt* a famous Printer. *It occurs in the Sexte of the Decretals, printed, by* Chevalon, *in the Year* 1520 (12).

[*H*] *Some other Pieces, which he publiſhed.*] Here are Thoſe, which *Geſner* mentioned; *Dialogus, quo rationes explicantur, quibus dicendi ex tempore facultas parari poteſt; deque ipſa dicendi ex tempore facultate*; at *Lyons*, 1534: *De Juriſprudentia vetere ac novitia oratio, cum erudita ad antiquorum lectionem ac ſtudium exhortatione*, at *Lyons*, 1533: Notes on the *Ruſticus*, and on the *Nutricia*, of *Politian*. It is true, that *Geſner* is not poſitive, as to this laſt Work. *Fertur etiam in Politiani Nutricia ſcripſiſſe, ſi bene memini* (13). *Jodocus Badius*, dedicating the ſecond Part of *Politian*'s Works to *Lewis de Berquin*, in the Year 1512, excuſes himſelf as well as he can, for not having yet printed *the moſt learned, and moſt ſolid Epiſtle*, which *Berauld* had compoſed againſt *Laurentius Valla*, and dedicated to his good Friend, *Lewis de Berquin*. *Rocolles* ſays, that This Work of *Berauld* was entituled, *Of Recrimination, againſt* Laurentius Valla, Anthony *of* Palermo, *and* Bartholomew Ficius (14). The Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library mentions a *Dictionarium Græco-Latinum Nicolai Beraldi*, printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1521, and another Book, entituled *Syderalis abyſſus*, printed at the ſame Place, in 1514.

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(4) Idem, Epiſt. 14, lib. i. p. 56.

(5) *Life of* Gaſpar de Coligny, pag, 18.

(6) Geſner, Bibl. 518.

(7) *Father* Hardouin *obſerves, and with reaſon, that the firſt, who wrote upon* Pliny, *was* John Andrew Valerienſis Antiſtes in Corſica. *I believe it ſhould be* Alerienſis.

(8) Eraſm. Præfat. in Plin. *It is printed among his Letters, in* Book xxviii, pag. 1682.

(9) Ibid. pag. 1683.

(10) *That is, in Father* Hardouin's *Edition.*

(11) Chevillier's Origin of Printing, pag. 183.

(12) Id. ib.

(13) Geſn. ubi ſupra.

(14) Rocolles's True Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, pag. 214.

honeſt Man [*I*]. He was very much eſteemed by *Stephen Poncher*, Biſhop of *Paris*, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Sens* (*a*), a Prelate of great Authority in the Kingdom, and a Patron of Learning. His Son, **FRANCIS BERAULD**, was a very learned Man. He underſtood *Greek* well, and taught it at *Montbeillard*, in the Year 1554 (*b*). He taught at *Lauſanne*, when *Beza* went thither in 1549 (*c*). He taught there alſo, in the Year 1557 (*d*). He was at *Geneva* in the Year 1561 (*e*). He was Principal of the College of *Montargis*, in the Year 1571 (*f*); from whence he went to *Rochel*, to exerciſe the like Employment (*g*). He was a good *Greek* and *Latin* Poet (*b*). It is unneceſſary to obſerve, that he was a Proteſtant. He tranſlated ſome Books of *Appian* [*K*].

(*a*) *This appears by a Letter from* Budæus *to* Eraſmus. *It is the* 60*th of the third Book of Thoſe of* Eraſmus.
(*b*) Colomeſ. in Gallia Orient. p. 17.
(*c*) Ant. Fayus, in vita Bezæ, pag. 14.
(*d*) Melch. Adam. in vita Stuckii.
(*e*) Colomeſ. ibid. pag. 55.
(*f*) Ibid. pag. 46.
(*g*) Ib. *and* pag. 38. *See the Letter, which* Beza *wrote to him; it is the* 71*ſt of thoſe of* Beza.
(*b*) Colomeſ. ibid. pag 22, 40.

[*I*] *He was an honeſt Man.*] Madam *de Chatillon*, and her Brother, the Conſtable *de Montmorency*, had a Mind to make a Churchman of *Gaſpar de Coligny*, and, knowing from him, that it was againſt his Inclination, *he ordered* Berault *to inſinuate their Pleaſure to him, thinking that, as he had all along governed his youthful Spirit, he knew better how to prevail with him, than any one elſe.* They repreſented to him, that his Scholar might forget him in the Profeſſion of Arms; but that, in an Eccleſiaſtical State, he would always ſtand in need of him, and load him with Benefices. *They could not have taken a more cunning way to engage him to do what they deſired: But* Berauld, *who was more honeſt, than intereſted, inſtead of uſing all the Endeavours, which they expected,* only repreſented to his Pupil the Advantages of the Dignity of a Cardinal, and at the ſame time pointed out to him the Dangers of it, and adviſed him not to ingage in it againſt his Inclination (15).

[*K*] *He tranſlated ſome Books of* Appian.] *Henry Stephens* made choice of him to tranſlate *Annibal*'s Wars, and Thoſe of *Spain*. "Sicut hoſce duos Libellos "à me ex Italia (uti dixi) allatos primus edidi, ita "etiam primus latinè vertendos curavi, & quidem "delecto ad id munus viro Græcæ linguæ non pa"rum perito, Franciſco Beraldo Aurelianenſi (16). "- - - - - *As I was the Firſt, who publiſhed theſe* "*two Books, which, as I ſaid, I had brought with* "*me from* Italy, *ſo was I the Firſt, who got them* "*tranſlated into* Latin, *having, for that Purpoſe,* "*made choice of* Francis Berauld *of* Orleans, *a Man* "*not a little ſkilled in the* Greek *Language.*" He ſhews, in his Notes, why he preferred *Francis Berauld*'s Tranſlation before That of *Cælius Secundus Curio*.

(15) The Life of Admiral *de Coligny, printed in* 1686, pag. 10, 11.

(16) Henricus Stephanus, in Præf. Appiani.

BERAULT (**Claude**), Author of *The Commentary on* Statius, in uſum Delphini, died at *Paris*, in the Month of *March*, 1705. He was *Regius* Profeſſor of *Syriac*, after the Death of Mr *d'Herbelot*.

BERAULT (**Michael**), Miniſter, and afterwards Profeſſor of Divinity at *Montauban*, flouriſhed about the end of the XVIth Century, and beginning of the XVIIth. He became very conſiderable among Thoſe of his Party. He *had been a Monk*, if we may believe *Scaliger*, who gives him the Character of a *learned* and *able Man* (*a*). He was pitched upon, in 1593, to diſpute againſt *Perron*, in the Conference of *Mante*, as I have ſaid in another Place (*b*); and he publiſhed a Work againſt the ſame *Perron*, in the Year 1598 [*A*]. During the Civil-Wars, he greatly favoured the Intereſts of the Duke *de Rohan*, and he publiſhed, with That View, ſeveral Pieces, which brought him into Trouble [*B*]. In 1605, he *almoſt publickly made Intereſt*, to be appointed Deputy to the General-Aſſemblies of the Proteſtants (*c*). He informs us of an *Æra*, which is very curious: I mean That, which induced many Proteſtant Divines of *France* to begin to read the Fathers (*d*).

(*a*) Scaligerana, *at the Word* BERAULT, pag. 29.
(*b*) *In Remark* [*B*], *of the Article* ROTAN.
(*c*) *History of the Edict of* Nants, Tom. I, pag. 425.
(*d*) *See the Preface to his Book, entituled,* A Defence of the Vocation of the Miniſters.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a Work againſt the ſame* Perron, *in* 1598.] It was printed at *Montauban*, by *Dennis Haultin*, and dedicated to the Magiſtrates, and People, of the Town. It is an *Octavo* of Four hundred ninety eight Pages, entituled, *A ſhort and clear Defence of the Vocation of the Miniſters of the Goſpel againſt the Reply of Meſſire* James Davy, *Biſhop of* Evreux, *drawn up Article by Article from the ſame Reply.*

[*B*] - - - - *Some Pieces, which brought him into Trouble.*] The King's Commiſſary at the National Synod of *Charenton*, in 1631, demanded, among other things, "That the Miniſters ſhould be prohibited "from meddling with State Affairs (1). This was "aimed at *Beraud*, Miniſter of *Montauban*, a Man "of a warm Spirit, and who went faſt. During the "laſt Troubles, he had written a Book, in which, "not ſatisfied with juſtifying the taking up of Arms, "he undertook to maintain, that the Miniſters them"ſelves had a Call to bear them, and to ſhed Blood. "The Commiſſary aggravated the Importance of "This Opinion, which was dangerous in ſuch a Man, "as *Beraud*, who, beſides the Quality of Miniſter, "had That likewiſe of Profeſſor of Divinity. He "firſt pronounced the Condemnation of the guilty "Perſon, and then ordered the Synod to cenſure "him. Before they could give any Anſwer in the "Affair of *Beraud*, it was neceſſary to hear him (2). "He owned the Book; He pretended, he had not "taught in it the Doctrine he was charged with, "and excuſed whatever was ſuſpicious in it from "the Malice of the Times. He ſaid, there were, "indeed, ſome ambiguous Expreſſions in it; and that "he deteſted the Conſequence, which was drawn from "them. The Commiſſary would not admit of this "kind of Excuſe; and he convicted *Beraud* of having "expreſsly written, in a Preface to his Book, the "Things, of which he was accuſed. So that he "was ſeverely cenſured by the Synod, who treated "the Expreſſions of his Book as ſcandalous Terms, "which he had improperly made uſe of. This Doctrine was condemned, and the Miniſters were "forbid to teach it. In the mean time, *Beraud* "was ſecluded the Synod; and, before his re-eſtabliſhment, he incurred a freſh Cenſure on the "Part of the Commiſſary."

After the Deputies of the Synod had harangued the King, *Berauld* was permitted to take his Seat in the Aſſembly (3).

(1) Hiſt. of the Edict of *Nants*, Tom. II, pag. 518.

(2) Ibid. pag. 519.

(3) Ibid. pag. 523.

BERENGARIUS (*Peter*), of *Poitiers*, Diſciple of *Abelard*, eſpouſed his Maſter's Intereſt very much, who was condemned by a Council (*a*) in 1140; and becauſe he looked upon St *Bernard* as the chief Cauſe of his Condemnation, he wrote moſt vehemently againſt him. He publiſhed *An Apology for* Abelard (*b*), wherein he

(*a*) *Held at* Sens.
(*b*) *It is printed with the Works of* Abelard *at* Paris, 1616.

he ſets forth, that his Enemies prepared the Judgment of the Trial amidſt their Cups [*A*], and that the accuſed, ſeeing the ill Diſpoſition of his Judges, deſired, that his Cauſe might be referred to the Pope [*B*]; that, nevertheleſs, they condemned him, and that St *Bernard* prepoſſeſſed the Holy Father, with ſo much Diligence, that *Abelard* was ſpeedily condemned at *Rome*, without being heard [*C*], and even without giving him time to appear before the Tribunal, to which he had appealed. Upon this the Apologiſt relates the Reaſons, which might be alledged in favour of St *Bernard*, viz. *That the Zeal of GOD's Houſe had eaten him up; that the Leproſy, which disfigured the Body of the Church, would have ſpread all over it, if the Evil had not been ſtifled in it's Birth; and that, to ſave the Readers the trouble of turning over ſeveral Volumes, it had been thought fit to give a ſhort Liſt of* Abelard*'s pernicious Propoſitions*. He, who made Thoſe Extracts, cannot be excuſed; and, whether St *Bernard* alone was at the Trouble of doing it, or whether, beſides the Propoſitions extracted by him, he produced Thoſe, which others ſupplied him with, it is certain, that This Paſſage of his Life does little Honour to his Memory [*D*]. The Liſt, which he produced, contained ſome things, which *Abelard* had never ſaid, nor

[*A*] *He ſets forth, in his Apology for* Abelard, *that his Enemies prepared the Judgment of the Trial amidſt their Cups.*] A more ſatirical Deſcription cannot be ſeen, than That, which *Berengarius* gives of the Preliminaries of That Synodal Judgment. He ſays that, after the Fathers of the Council had well eat and drank, they cauſed *Peter Abelard*'s Writings to be read to them. While it was read to them, they ſtamped with their Feet, they laughed, they jeered, they drank; and when they heard any thing, which was new to their Ears, they gnaſhed their Teeth againſt the Author, and demanded of each other, If they would ſuffer ſuch a Monſter to live? They had drank ſo much, that they fell aſleep; ſo that, when their Reader met with ſome ſuſpicious Paſſages, and asked, If they did not condemn it? They ſtarted out of their Sleep, and ſaid, half aſleep, ſome *damnamus*, and others only *namus*. *Berengarius*'s Words have greater force, than mine; therefore give me leave to produce them. He applies the Thoughts of the ancient *Latin* Poets very prettily. “ Poſt aliqua Pontifices inſultare, pedem pedi applodere, ridere, nugari conſpiceres, ut facile quilibet judicaret illos non CHRISTO vota perſolvere, “ ſed Baccho. Inter hæc ſalutantur cyphi, pocula “ celebrantur, laudantur vina, Pontificum guttura irrigantur. —— Lethæi potio ſucci Pontificum corda jam ſepelierat. Ecce, inquit Satyricus,

- - - - - - inter pocula quærunt
Pontifices ſaturi quid dia poëmata narrent.

“ Denique cum aliquid ſubtile divinumque ſonabat “ quod auribus pontificalibus erat inſolitum, audientes omnes diſſecabantur cordibus ſuis, & ſtridebant “ dentibus in Petrum, & oculos talpæ habentes in “ Philoſophum, hoc, inquiunt, ſineremus vivere monſtrum. —— Cujus *(vini)* calor ita inceſſerat cerebris, ut in ſomni letargiam oculi omnium ſolverentur. Inter hæc ſonat lector, ſtertit auditor. Alius “ cubito innititur ut det oculis ſuis ſomnum, alius “ ſuper molle cervical dormitionem palpebris ſuis “ molitur, alius ſuper genua caput reclinans dormitat. “ Cum itaque lector in Petri ſatis aliquod reperiret “ ſpinetum, ſurdis exclamabat auribus Pontificum, “ *damnatis?* Tunc quidam vix ad extremam ſyllabam “ expergefacti, ſomnolenta voce, capite pendulo, “ *damnamus* ajebant. Alii vero damnantium tumultu excitati, decapitata prima ſyllaba, *namus* inquiunt.” I cannot forbear inſerting here this ſhort Story. A Judge was wont to fall aſleep ſometimes on the Bench: “ One Day the Preſident, gathering “ the Votes of the Court, and coming to ask his: “ he anſwered, ſtarting out of his Sleep, and not “ being quite awake, *That his Opinion was, that the* “ *Man ſhould be beheaded. But the Buſineſs in hand* “ *is about a Meadow*, ſaid the Preſident: *Let it be* “ *mowed then*; replied the Judge (1).” *Balzac* had perhaps read this in a burleſque Piece of *Francis Hotman*, diſguiſed under the Name of *Matago de Matagonibus*, againſt *Matharel*. “ Nota omnibus, “ *ſays he*, eſt hiſtoria de eo qui cum dormiens à præſide excitatus & ſententiam interrogatus eſſet, ſemiſomnis dixit, ſuſpendatur, ſuſpendatur, credens “ criminalem proceſſum eſſe. Cui præſes, quinimo, “ inquit, agitur de prato; ergo defalcetur, reſpondit “ ebrius.”

[*B*] *Seeing the ill Diſpoſition of his Judges, he appealed to the Pope.*] *Otho Friſingenſis* ſays, that *Abelard* apprehended he ſhould be overwhelmed by popular Tumults, and that, to avoid this Misfortune, he demanded to be referred to the Court of *Rome*. *Dum de fide ſua diſcuteretur, ſeditionem populi timens, Apoſtolicæ ſedis præſentiam appellavit* (2). He had reaſon to diſtruſt a Mob, animated by the Declamations of his Accuſers, who cried him down as a Deſtroyer of the moſt Holy Myſteries of the Goſpel.

[*C*] *At the Inſtigation of St* Bernard, *he was condemned without being heard.*] The ſame Injuſtice was done him, in the Council of *Soiſſons*, and this was done on a very ill Pretence; which was, That they feared the Subtilty of his Logic, and the Force of his Eloquence. *Libros quos ediderat propria manu ab Epiſcopis igni dare côactus eſt, nulla ſibi reſpondendi facultate, eo quod diſceptandi in eo peritia ab omnibus ſuſpecta haberetur, conceſſa* (3). The Preſident *d'Argentré*, had reaſon to find fault, that, upon ſuch an account, they ſhould tranſgreſs one of the moſt Sacred Laws of Juſtice; that *No Man ought to be condemned unheard; audiatur & altera pars.*

Qui ſtatuit aliquid parte inaudita altera,
Æquum licet ſtatuerit, haut æquus fuerit (4).

He, who determines any thing, without hearing the other ſide, though he determines right, is unjuſt.

Here is what He, who publiſhed *Peter Abelard*'s Works, ſays of That Author; “ Queritur eum non “ fuiſſe auditum in Concilio contra eum coacto, quod “ omnes quantumvis docti & ſubtiles ejus acumen ingenii, linguæ verſatilis volubilitatem, eloquentiæ “ flumen aureum, vel potius fulmen igneum & triſulcum, ſyllogiſmorum gryſos & contorta enthymemata, reformidarint (5). —— *He complains, that* “ Abelard *was not heard, in the Council, which was* “ *called againſt him; becauſe All of them, learned and* “ *ſubtile as they were, dreaded the Acuteneſs of his Wit,* “ *the Volubility of his Tongue, the golden Flow, or* “ *rather Lightning, of his Eloquence, with the Subtility and Pointedneſs of his Syllogiſms and Enthymema*'s

[*D*] —— *this Proceeding of St* Bernard *does little Honour to his Memory.*] Zeal and Solitude made him very choleric, and very credulous, if we may believe the ſame Author (6). This Obſervation was made by a more ancient Author, though it has not retained all the Impreſſions of it's Original; for ſee what *Otho Friſingenſis* ſays: “ Erat autem Bernardus Clarævallenſis Abbas tam ex Chriſtianæ religionis fervore “ zelotypus, quam ex habitudinali manſuetudine quodammodo credulus, ut & Magiſtros, qui humanis “ rationibus ſeculari ſapientia confiſi nimium inhærebant, abhorreret, & ſi quicquam ei Chriſtianæ “ fidei abſonum de talibus diceretur, facile aurem “ præberet (7). —— Bernard, *Abbot of* Clairvaux, “ *was both paſſionately zealous for the Chriſtian* “ *Religion, and, thro' an habitual Mildneſs of Diſpoſition, a little too credulous; inſomuch, that he* “ *abhorred thoſe Teachers, who, depending on worldly* “ *Wiſdom, ſtuck too much to human Reaſon; and,* “ *whenever they were reported to him to have advanced any Doctrine contrary to the Chriſtian Faith,*

“ *he*

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(1) Balzac, Ariſtip. pag. 199.

(2) Otho Friſing. de geſtis Frideri. lib. i, c. 48.

(3) Id. ibid. cap. 47.

(4) Seneca Medea, Act. II, ſc. II.

(5) Argentré apud Franc. Amboeſium, Præf. Apolog. ad opera Abælardi.

(6) Argentré, ibid.

(7) Otho Friſing. de Geſt. Frid. lib. 1, c. 47.

nor written; and ſome things, which *Abelard* never underſtood according to the Senſe, which was imputed to him *(c)*. This is what the Apologiſt intended to ſhew, in the ſecond Part of his Work; but he did not write it; and he had his Reaſons for it [*E*]. In the mean time, he gave St *Bernard* to underſtand, in the firſt Part, that he ſhould not perſecute others on account of their Doctrine, ſince his own Writings were not free from Errors. He maintained, againſt him, That he had taught a Thing, which he would not have failed to inſert, as a monſtrous Doctrine, in his Extracts out of *Abelard*, if *Abelard* had vented it (*d*). This Recrimination of *Berengarius* was uſeleſs; he had to do with one of thoſe privileged Perſons, who acquire the Benefit of Impunity, by the great Services, which they pretend they have done to the Cauſe [*F*]. He had no better Succeſs in repreſenting to That Informer the Indulgence, which was ſhewn to the Errors of ſome Fathers of the Church. Beſides This Piece of *Berengarius*, we have two Letters of his, one to the Biſhop of *Mende*, the other againſt the *Carthuſians*. They are printed with *Abelard*'s Works. He ſupports, in all his Writings, the Character of a fiery, ſowre, Spirit, which *Petrarch* gave him [*G*]; but he ſays, that his Invective againſt the *Carthuſians* was

(*c*) *See Remark* [*I*].

(*d*) Viz. *That the Soul was created in Heaven.* Dum dignitatem animæ jactitas, originem ei ſidercam flore jejuni eloquii nundinaris. Quod ſi in Petri opuſculis hujus vecordiam reperiſſes, non eſt dubium, quin eam inter illa quæ peperiſti capitulorum monſtra locaſſes. *Bereng. in Oper. Abælardi*, p. 315.

“ *he readily believed it.*” Thus the Providence of GOD diſpenſes good and evil: Moſt of Thoſe, who have a great Zeal, become credulous and ſuſpicious, and eaſily conceive an extraordinary Animoſity againſt Thoſe, whom they ſuſpect; They write Letter upon Letter againſt them (8); They alarm the Conſciences of others, and give themſelves no reſt, 'till they have inſpired their Prepoſſeſſions into every Body. If a Book is to be examined, GOD knows how difficult it is for them **them** to underſtand the true Senſe of the Author, and to put the moſt equitable Conſtruction upon his Words. See the Remark [*I*].

[*E*] *He did not write the ſecond Part of his Apology for* Abelard; *and he had his Reaſons for it.*] Perhaps he did not give the true Reaſon of his Silence. This Reaſon was, probably, the fear of ſtirring up all the Monks, and the Clergy, againſt him, and of being expoſed thereby to the People's Indignation, and a thouſand Miſchiefs. He knew how odious he had made himſelf by the firſt Part of his Book; but the ſecond would have much more exaſperated the People. The firſt contained only hard Words, and Reproaches, with ſome Recriminations, which could do but little Prejudice to St *Bernard*; but the ſecond would have convicted him of Knavery, or Ignorance, and conſequently of being an unjuſt Perſecutor. The plainer the thing had been, the more angry they would have been with *Berengarius*, the Deſtroyer of an holy Reputation, ſo uſefully eſtabliſhed in the Minds of People. So that he found it more proper to be ſilent, and to juſtify his Silence by ſhameful Nonſenſe. He declared, that Time had made him wiſe, and that he had embraced St *Bernard*'s Opinion, and refuſed to protect Doctrines, which ſounded ill, though they were not bad in the main: *Laſtly*, That if he had ſaid any thing againſt the Man of GOD, he deſired it ſhould be looked upon as ſaid in jeſt, and not in earneſt. *Proceſſu temporis meum ſapere crevit: & in ſententiam Abbatis pedibus, ut dicitur, ivi. Nolui eſſe patronus capitulorum objectorum Abelardo, quia etſi ſanum ſaperent, non ſane ſonabant. - - - - - Si quid in perſonam hominis Dei dixi joco, legatur non ſerio* (9). And yet, a little before, he had ſaid, that his Cenſure of St *Bernard* was well grounded. It is the true Senſe of theſe Words; *Legant eruditi viri Apologeticum quem edidi, & ſi dominum Abbatem juſtè non argui, licenter me redarguant.* Is not this the Nonſenſe of a Man, who dares not ſay, that he is in the right, and who is aſhamed to confeſs, that he is in the wrong?

[*F*] *He had to do with one of thoſe privileged Perſons, who acquire the Benefit of Impunity by the great Services, which they pretend they have done to the Cauſe.*] St *Bernard* had a very agreeable Stile: The whole World was over-run with the Productions of his Pen; his Books flew every where; and were in great Numbers. *Mirantur homines in te liberalium diſciplinarum ignaro tantam ubertatem facundiæ, quia emiſſiones tuæ jam cooperuerunt univerſam ſuperficiem terræ* (10). The Reputation of his Sanctity, Zeal, and Miracles, was no leſs ſpread, than That of his Pen. *Jamdudum ſanctitatis tuæ odorem ales per orbem fama diſperſit, præconiſavit merita, miracula declamavit* (11). With all theſe Advantages, he was able to ruin any Man's Reputation; much leſs could ſo great a Philoſopher, as *Abelard*, expect to paſs for Othodox in ſpite of him. *Berengarius* has very happily repreſented the Authority of the Man of GOD in this manner, “ Damnatur, proh dolor! abſens, “ inauditus, & inconvictus. Quid dicam, quidve non “ dicam? Bernarde,

Nil opus eſt bello, veniam pacemque rogamus,
   Porrigimus junctas ad tua lora manus.
Jura cadent rerum, vertetur ſanctio legum,
   Si vis, ſi mandas, ſi ſic decernis agendum,
Quem penes arbitrium eſt & vis & norma loquendi (12).

“ *He is condemned, alas! abſent, unheard, and un-* “ *convicted. What ſhall I ſay, or what ſhall I not* “ *ſay?* O Bernard,

Enough of War; henceforth let Diſcord ceaſe;
Vanquiſh'd, to Thee we humbly ſue for Peace;
Right ſhall be Wrong, Unlawful Law ſhall be;
For Right and Law depend alone on Thee.

Where is the Orthodoxy, that can hold out againſt ſuch Accuſers? The People are ſo much prepoſſeſſed, that they will ſcarce ſuffer one to make a Defence; It cannot be done without charging the Promoter of the Proceſs, and the Informer, with Calumny; but there is no enduring This. *What? ſhall we ſuffer ſo great a Servant of* GOD *to be defamed, as an egregious Calumniator?* GOD *forbid; the Honour of the Church is too much concerned in it.* Thus an inconſiderable private Man may ſay; “ I ſhall be Ortho- “ dox, or Heterodox, according as ſuch a one pleaſes; “ for, if he attacks my Doctrine, they neither dare, “ nor can, abſolve me; My Juſtification would diſgrace “ him, and would rejoice the Enemy too much. “ In vain might I accuſe him, in my turn; no re- “ gard would be had to it: I have not laboured “ for the Good of the Church like him; I do not “ deſerve the Immunities, which are due to his Stu- “ dies, and indefatigable Vigilance. A great many “ People would take it ill, that I ſhould dare to pub- “ liſh Apologies, and would ſay to me, if they durſt “ ſpeak their Mind, what *Caligula* ſaid to his Bro- “ ther. *What? Do'ſt Thou take an Antidote againſt* “ Cæſar (13)? I ſhould ſeem to them worthy of a “ new Accuſation, becauſe I did not ſink under the “ firſt.” *Quintus Scævola*, who was one of the honeſteſt Men of his Time, was treated in the ſame manner; “ Diem Scævolæ dixit poſteaquam compe- “ rit eum poſſe vivere: cum ab eo quæreretur quid “ tandem accuſaturus eſſet eum, quem pro dignita- “ te ne laudare quidem quiſquam ſatis commodè “ poſſet, ajunt hominem (ut erat furioſus) reſpon- “ diſſe, quod non totum telum corpore recepiſſet “ (14). - - - - - *When he found* Scævola *was out of* “ *Danger, he entered an Action againſt him; and,* “ *being asked, what he had to alledge againſt a Per-* “ *ſon, whoſe Merit deſerved the higheſt Praiſe, the* “ *enraged Fellow is ſaid to have replied, Becauſe he* “ *did not receive the whole Weapon in his Body.*”

[*G*] *He ſupported, in all his Writings, the Character of a fiery, and ſowre, Spirit, which* Petrarch *had given him.*] Theſe are *Petrarch*'s Words in his Apology: “ Damnavit Bernardus Clarævallenſis Abbas “ Petrum

(8) D. Bernardus cum eo ſimultates graviſſimas exercuit, ita ut literas acrimoniæ plenas ſcripſerit ad varios, *Argentré, ibid.*

(9) Berengar. in Oper. Abælardi, p 322, 323.

(10) Ibid. pag. 302.

(11) Ibid. pag. 303.

(12) Ibid. pag. 307.

(13) Trucidaturus fratrem, quem metu venenorum præmuniri medicamentis ſuſpicabatur, Antidotum inquit, adverſus Cæſarem? *Sueton. in Calig. c.* 29.

(14) Cicero, pro Sex. Roſcio.

was only deſigned to reclaim them from their detracting Temper (*e*). They, who have ſaid, that he was of a ſmall Stature, have miſunderſtood the Author they quote (*f*). At the bottom, the Reproaches of Heterodoxy, which he made to St *Bernard*, are meer Cavils, and ſerve only to ſhew, that, when a Man inſiſts too rigidly on certain Expreſſions, without putting on That Spirit of Equity, which looks for the Senſe of an Author in the Deſign, and Principles, of his Works, it is eaſy for him to diſcover Erroneous Propoſitions. I do not pretend, that all the Errors, imputed to *Abelard*, have as bad a Foundation as This [*H*]; but it cannot be denied, as to the greateſt part of them [*I*]; and therefore St *Bernard*'s Friends had now juſt Reaſon to complain, that ſome Errors are found in his Works, by making uſe of his own Method againſt him. It is for the Advantage of the Public, that ſome Men ſhould be obliged to cry out,

— — — — — — Eheu
Quàm temerè in noſmet legem ſanximus iniquam ! (*g*)

— — — — *unthinking that we are,*
T' eſtabliſh Precedents againſt ourſelves.

(*e*) Volui reſecare in eis immoderatam licentiam linguæ, qua velut quidam Geometræ totum orbem menſurabant. *Ibid, pag.* 323.

(*f*) *See Remark* [*G*].

(*g*) Horat. Sat. iii, lib. 1, ver. 66.

"Petrum Abælardum literatum quondam virum. "Huic iratus Berengarius Pictavienſis vir, & ipſe "non infacundus ac diſcipulus Petri, contra Bernardum librum unum ſcripſit, non magni quidem "corporis, ſed INGENTIS ACRIMONIAE. De "quo poſtmodum à multis increpatus ſe excuſavit "quod adoleſcens ſcripſiſſet, & quod ſibi viri ſanctitas nondum penitus nota eſſet. - - - - - - Bernard, "*Abbot of* Clairvaux, *condemned* Peter Abelard, *a* "*very learned Man. Enraged at This*, Berengarius, "*of* Poitiers, *himſelf not ineloquent, and beſides a* "*Diſciple of* Peter, *wrote one Piece againſt* Bernard, "*not very bulky indeed, but of* Great Acrimony. "*Being reprehended by many for it, he pleaded, in* "*his Excuſe, that he wrote it in his Youth, when* "*he was not as yet ſufficiently acquainted with the* "*Sanctity of* Bernard." *Francis d'Amboiſe*, not conſidering this Paſſage with ſufficient Attention, found in it, that *Berengarius* was a little Man; "De Berengario - - - - - Petrarcha in Apologia ait ipſum "fuiſſe facundum, non magni corporis, ſed ingentis "acrimoniæ (15). - - - - - Petrarch, *in his Apology,* "*ſays, that he was an eloquent Man, of ſmall Stature, but great Acrimony.*" This ought to teach Authors, and, firſt of all, myſelf, to be continually on their Guard againſt thoſe Diſtractions of Mind, which are ſo often the Cauſe, that we apply, to one thing, what Thoſe, whom we tranſcribe, have ſaid of another.

[*H*] *The Reproaches of Heterodoxy, which he made to St* Bernard, *are meer cavils.* —— *The Errors imputed to* Abelard *have not All as bad a Foundation as This.*] For example, no wrong was done him, in accuſing him of having too far extended the Power of Free-will, and the Neceſſity of Grace too little. He expreſſed himſelf ſo clearly upon This (16), that whoever ſhould undertake to juſtify him, would imitate the Inſincerity of Thoſe, who, on other queſtions, maintain, that he was an Heretic. Neither muſt there be any cavilling about certain Articles, which it is difficult not to adopt, when once the Doctrine of Free-will is embraced. We may, therefore, ſay, that it is very true, that *Abelard* had a great Indulgence for ſins of Ignorance, and that he damned no body for *Philoſophical Sin* (17). He ſeems alſo to me to have taught plainly, that JESUS CHRIST did not die to redeem us from the Tyranny of the Devil; but that the Love, which GOD ſhewed to Mankind by the Incarnation of his SON, ſhould incline us to love him reciprocally; and to follow the Inſtructions, and the example, of an Incarnate GOD. This Doctrine is half Socinian, and, according to St *Bernard*, whoever maintains it deſerves leſs to be confuted, than to be cudgelled. *Annon juſtius os loquens talia fuſtibus tunderetur, quam rationibus refelleretur* (18)? Here is another offenſive Doctrine; *viz.* that Things, which never were, nor ever ſhall be, are not poſſible. This was, without doubt, *Abelard*'s Opinion (19); and I do not ſee, that They, who ſay, that GOD is determined by his Infinite Wiſdom to do what is moſt worthy of himſelf, can conſiſtently with themſelves deny This Philoſopher's Doctrine. See the Remark [*M*]. I omit ſome other Opinions, which might reaſonably have been imputed to him, and which are either true, or indifferent to Religion.

[*I*] —— *but it cannot be denied as to the greateſt Part of them.*] This Aſſertion was falſely imputed to him: "Deus pater plena eſt potentia, Filius quædam "potentia, Spiritus Sanctus nulla potentia. - - - - - "GOD *the* FATHER *is Full Power, The* SON *Some* "*Power, The* HOLY GHOST *No Power.*" They, who are moſt partial to St *Bernard*, own, that he did not apprehend the Author's Opinion. "Abælardi "mentem aſſecuti non videntur S. Bernardus, Abbas "S. Theodorici, & Anonymus, qui ipſi tribuunt, &c. "(20). —— *St* Bernard, *Abbot of* S. Theodoric, *and* "*an Anonymous Author, do not ſeem to have underſtood* Abelard'*s Meaning, when They impute to him,* "&c. Non ideo in Sabellianam aut Arianam hæreſim impegit, non Trinitatem deſtruxit, non blaſphemiam dixit in Spiritum Sanctum, non Deorum "novorum annuntiator fuit, ut maximi illi viri fervore diſputationis abrepti ipſi improperarunt (21). "—— *He was not a* Sabellian, *or an* Arian, *he did* "*not deſtroy the Trinity, he did not blaſpheme againſt* "*the* HOLY GHOST, *he was not a ſetter forth of* "*new Gods, as theſe Great Men, carried away by* "*the Heat of Diſputation, have haſtily aſſerted.*" The Thing ſpeaks of itſelf, when the whole Paſſage of *Abelard* is examined. He was found a Heretic in theſe words: "Spiritus quamvis ejuſdem ſubſtantiæ "ſit cum patre & filio, unde etiam Trinitas ὁμούσιος, id eſt, unius ſubſtantiæ, prædicatur, minimè "tamen ex ſubſtantia patris aut filii, ſi proprie loquimur, eſſe dicendus eſt, quod oportet ipſum ex patre vel filio gigni, ſed magis ex ipſis habet procedere. —— *The Spirit, though he be of the ſame* "*Subſtance with the* FATHER *and the* SON, *whence* "*the Trinity is ſaid to be* ὁμούσιος, *or Conſubſtantial, yet he muſt not be ſaid to be of the Subſtance* "*of the* FATHER *and* SON, *properly ſpeaking, becauſe he muſt be begotten of the* FATHER *or* SON, "*or rather proceed from them.*" But, if the Laws of Equity had been ever ſo little followed, it might have been apprehended, that he acknowledges the Subſtance of That Doctrine, and that he has nothing Particular, but one of Thoſe Abſtractions of Logic, which will always be unavoidable by Thoſe, who will argue about the Difference of the Three Perſons. He was charged with teaching that the HOLY GHOST is the Soul of the World (22), and that there is no ſin, either in Action, or in the Will, or in Luſt, or in the Pleaſure, which excites it, and that we ſhould not deſire to ſtifle theſe things. He maintains, in his Apology, that he had never ſaid, nor wrote, ſuch a Propoſition (23). There is mention made of an Apology, which he publiſhed, wherein he partly denied the Propoſitions, that were objected againſt him, as to the words, and altogether as to the Senſe. *Ad Cluniacenſe Cænobium ſe contulit. Apologeticum ſcribens prædictorum capitulorum, partim verba, ex toto autem ſenſum negans* (24).

But there is ſome reaſon to believe, that This Apology is loſt (25). In That, which we have, he maintains, that he never wrote one of the Books, from which ſome of the Doctrines, which are imputed to him, were taken, and that That Work is aſcribed to him with the ſame Malice, or with the ſame Ignorance, as all the Propoſitions of the Catalogue; "Sed ſicut cætera contra me capitula, ita & hoc quo-

(15) Præf. Apologet. ad Opera Abæl.

(16) *See his* Expoſition of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, pag. 652, & ſeq.

(17) *See his Works*, pag. 407, 591, 592.

(18) Bernard. Epiſt. ad Innoc. Papam.

(19) *See* pag. 1112, 1117, *of his Works.*

(20) Natalis Alexander, Sæc. xi, xii, Part. III, pag. 19.

(21) Id. ib. pag. 21.

(22) *Nothing is worſe grounded than This. See Father* Alexander, ibid. pag. 27.

(23) Oper. Abæl. pag. 333.

(24) Otho Friſing. lib. i, cap. 49.

(25) *See the Notes of* Andrew du Chene, *on* Abelard's Relation, pag. 1161, 1162.

The Miſchief is, that the Event does not always prove prejudicial to the Aggreſſor; for we ſee, to this Day, the unfortunate *Abelard* covered with Shame and Ignominy [*K*], whilſt his Adverſary is invoked as a Saint. He had been condemned at *Soiſſons*, in a Council, where the Pope's Legate preſided; which Legate underſtood nothing of the State of the Queſtion [*L*]. *Gerſon* believed, that the famous *Berengarius*, who denied the Real Preſence, was a Scholar of *Peter Abelard* (*b*); perhaps he took him for Him, who makes the Subject of This Article; however he is miſtaken, ſince *Abelard* was not ten Years of Age, when the Adverſary of the Real Preſence died.

They, who would know more particularly, whether *Berengarius* had Reaſon to pretend, that *Abelard* was not an Heretic, who deſerved the Perſecutions, which were raiſed againſt him, will do well to conſult Mr *du Pin*, who paſſes an equitable Judgment on This Man's Doctrine; and particularly on the fourteen Propoſitions extracted out of his Works, and read in the Council of *Sens*. *It cannot be denied*, ſays he (*i*), *but that his Opinions concerning the Myſtery of the Trinity were Orthodox, and that he believed the three Divine Perſons to be of the ſame Nature.* I ſhall ſet down all that he has ſaid about this Propoſition of *Abelard*; *GOD cannot do but what he does* [*M*]. It is a more important and difficult Queſtion, than can be imagined. I ſhall

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"que per malitiam vel ignorantiam prolatum eſt." *Berengarius*, his Apologiſt, denied it with more reſtriction. "Indiculum vidimus, in quo non Petri dogmata, ſed nefandi commenti capitula legimus. —— Hæc & alia indiculus tuus continet, quorum quædam, fateor, Petrus & dixit & ſcripſit, quædam verò neque protulit neque ſcripſit. Quæ autem dixerit, & quæ non dixerit, & quam Catholica mente ea quæ dixerit ſenſerit, ſecundus arrepti Operis tractatus Chriſtiana diſputatione ardentur & impigrè declarabit (26). —— *I have ſeen an Index, in which I have read, not the Tenets of* Peter, *but Articles impiouſly invented.* —— *Your Index contains Theſe and Others, ſome of which, I confeſs,* Peter *both ſpoke, and wrote, and ſome he never either produced, or wrote. What he has ſaid, and what he has not ſaid, and with how Catholic a Diſpoſition he conceived what he has ſaid, The ſecond Treatiſe of the Work, complained of, will warmly and zealouſly declare, in a Chriſtian Diſputation.*" Some accuſe *Abelard* of having taught, *that there are as many Heavens, as Days in the Year*; and they add, that he was anſwered, *That he ſuppoſed ſo great a number of them, that he might ſecure one, which would fit him* (27). But this is rather Jeſting than Diſputing. It was, therefore, a very great Piece of Injuſtice to give the Cauſe for the Accuſer, without knowing, whether the Accuſed acknowledged the Work, out of which Theſe Propoſitions were extracted, for his own; whether he owned, that they were faithfully extracted; whether he underſtood them in the Accuſer's Senſe, *&c*? And the Pope, who, from the Extracts, condemned the Books to be burnt, and *Abelard* to a Cloyſter, without informing himſelf, whether *Abelard* taught thoſe things, was more unjuſt, than the Synod of *Sens*. The Accuſer's Letters, and the Meſſenger, whom he ſent to the Court of *Rome*, and who ſaid all that was neceſſary to make *Abelard* odious (28), compleated the Oppreſſion. *Francis d'Amboiſe* has deſcribed very lively the Part, which St *Bernard* acted in This whole Proceſs. It was That of a Trumpeter ſounding the Charge, and That of an Incendiary ſetting Fire to the Powder (29): ſince he ſent to the Pope all the filth he could collect, and which ill-affected Perſons had gathered either out of his Adverſary's Writings, or Lectures, or out of the Papers, which were publiſhed under his Name. And, therefore, I do not wonder, that *Horſtius* inveighed againſt *Francis d'Amboiſe* (30); but I cannot tell whether he cenſured him for a thing, which deſerved it; I mean for having ſaid, that *Peter* the Venerable wrote to *Innocent* II, that *Abelard*, oppreſſed by the Vexations of ſome Men, who treated him as an Heretic, appealed to the Holy See. *Ait Abælardum —— gravatum vexationibus quorundam qui illi nomen hæretici quod valdè abominabatur imponere volebant, Majeſtatem Apoſtolicam ſe appellaſſe.* Whoever wrote thus to the Pope, plainly laid the Blame upon St *Bernard*; but This Buſineſs was not tranſacted in this Manner. *Peter* the Venerable ſaid only, that *Abelard* gave out, he was perſecuted. *Quæſivimus quo tenderet, gravatum ſe vexationibus, &c. Majeſtatem Apoſtolicam ſe appellaſſe reſpondit.*

[*K*] *We ſee, to this Day, the unfortunate* Abelard *covered with ſhame and ignominy.*] Thus he is charged to the end of the World with all the Errors, which were imputed to him in the Council of *Sens*, and with ſeveral others. *Peter* of *Pergamo* charges him with denying, that God is the Author of all Good, that he is a ſimple Being, that he alone is Eternal, and that every thing, which exiſts, is either Creator, or Creature (31). *Bernard* of *Luxenburg* aſcribes the ſame Things to him, upon the Credit of the other. *Prateolus* has followed *Bernard* (32), and has been copied by the Jeſuit *Gaultier* (33). *Belleforêt*, and *du Haillan*, have done like *Prateolus*. The Writers of the Catalogues of Heretics, who like Sheep follow one another, *Sanderus*, *Alphonſus de Caſtro*, *&c.* have not failed to adopt theſe Accuſations. But, on the other hand, They, who inſerted him in the Catalogue of the Witneſſes of the Truth (34), knew not what they did: He had indeed ſome particular Opinions about the Euchariſtical Accidents; but it was rather in ſuppoſing the Real Preſence, than in denying it.

[*L*] *The Legate, who condemned him, underſtood nothing of the State of the Queſtion.*] After the Condemnation was pronounced, one of the Accuſers muttered, that he had read in *Abelard*'s Book, that God the Father is the Only Almighty (35). The Legate, having a very good Ear, heard it, and anſwered, that they ought not ſo much as to believe, that a Child was capable of falling into ſo great an Error, ſince, according to the common and public Faith, there are three Almighties. A Doctor, laughing at the Legate, could not forbear quoting theſe words of St *Athanaſius*; *& tamen non tres omnipotentes, ſed unus omnipotens.* —— *And yet there are not Three Almighties, but One Almighty.* His Biſhop cenſured him for it; but he was boldly anſwered with a Paſſage of *Daniel*, concerning ignorant Judges, who deſerve more to be condemned than Thoſe, whom they judge. "Sic fatui filii Iſraël, non judicantes neque quod verum eſt cognoſcentes condemnaſtis filium Iſraël. Revertimini ad judicium, & de ipſo judice judicate." He added of his own; "qui talem judicem quaſi ad inſtructionem fidei & correctionem erroris inſtituiſtis, qui cum judicare deberet, ore ſe proprio condemnavit. —— *Who have ſet up ſuch a Judge, as it were for Inſtruction in the Faith, and Correction of Error, who, when he ought to have judged, condemned himſelf out of his own Mouth.*"

[*M*] *Mr* Du Pin*'s Judgment on This Propoſition of* Abelard, God cannot do but what he does.] "Neither does he deny, that Power, Wiſdom, and Love, are Attributes common to the three Divine Perſons; nay he declares the contrary in expreſs words: but he attributes Power to the Father, Wiſdom to the Son, and Love to the Holy Ghost, by by way of Appropriation; in which he does not ſeem to recede from the Doctrine of the Fathers and Divines. But he does not think, and ſpeak, as others do, in the Third Propoſition, wherein he maintains, that God cannot do but what he does, and cannot do all that he does not; not but that he acknowledges, that the Power of God in itſelf can extend to other Objects; but he pretends, that, being conſidered as joined to the Wiſdom and Will of God, he cannot will, or do any thing, but what he wills, and actually does (36)." You will ſee this more at large in the Subſtance, which Mr *du* Pin

(*b*) Gerſon, Oper. Tom. iv. Alphabeto 69, Lit. Q. fol. 212.

(*i*) Du Pin, Biblioth. of the Eccleſiaſtical Authors, Tom. IX, pag. 122. *Edit. of* Holl.

(26) Bereng. in Oper. Abæl. p. 310.

(27) Garaſſe, *in his* Summary of Divinity, pag. 304, *and in his* Curious Doctrine, pag. 266.

(28) Quod melius Nicolaus iſte meus, imo & veſter, viva referet voce. *Bernard. Epiſt. ad Innoc. II. in Operib. Abæl. pag.* 275.

(29) Hoc claſſico multi ad arma ſpiritualia excitati ſunt --- Admovet faces incendii ut damnationem ab eo (*Pontifice*) extorqueat. *Amboeſ. Præf. Apol.*

(30) Notis in Bernard. fol. 37.

(31) Petr. Pergam. apud Bern. Lutzenburg. Catal. Hæret.

(32) Prateol. Elench. Hæret.

(33) Gault. Tabul. Chronol.

(34) *See the Life of* Abelard, *by* Thomaſius, *printed in the firſt Part of the* Hiſtoria Sapientiæ & Stultitiæ, *at* Hall, *in* Germany, *in* 1693.

(35) Oper. Abæl. p. 24.

(36) Du Pin, Biblioth. of Eccleſiaſtical Authors, Tom. IX, pag. 122, *Edit.* Holl.

ſhall add to this, that the Proteſtants are more inclined to condemn *Abelard* [*N*], than many Catholics are, and I ſhall quote a Paſſage of Mr *Joli*, a Canon of *Notre Dame* at *Paris*.

Pin has given of one of *Abelard*'s Works (37). "In "the third Book, he treats particularly of the Power "of God; and he maintains, that God can do "but what he does, and cannot do all that he does "not, becauſe God can do but what he wills: now "he cannot have the Will to do any thing but what "he does, becauſe he does neceſſarily will all that "is fit to be done; from whence it follows, that, "whatever he does not, is not fit to be done; that "he cannot have the Will to do it; and conſequently "that he cannot do it. He himſelf confeſſes, that "this Opinion is peculiar to him; that ſcarce any "body elſe approves of it; that it ſeems contrary to "the Doctrine of the Saints, and to Reaſon, and "to derogate from the greatneſs of God. Hereupon he raiſes a difficult Objection againſt himſelf: "*A Reprobate*, ſays he, *may be ſaved; but he cannot* "*be ſaved except* God *ſaves him: therefore* God "*can ſave him, and conſequently do ſomething, which* "*he does not.* He anſwers, that it may be ſaid indeed, "that this Man may be ſaved, as to the Poſſibility "of human Nature, which is capable of Salvation; "but that it cannot be ſaid, that God can ſave him, "with relation to God himſelf, becauſe it is impoſſible, that God ſhould do what he ought not "to do: He explains this by divers Examples: A "Man that ſpeaks may hold his Tongue; but a "Man that does actually ſpeak cannot be ſilent: the "Voice may be heard, but a deaf Man cannot hear "it: a Field may be manured, though a Man cannot "manure it, *&c* (38)."

I may perhaps examine this Doctrine in one of the Remarks on the Article WICLIFFE.

[*N*] *The Proteſtants are more inclined to condemn* Abelard *than many Catholics.*] "*Hornbeck*, at the beginning of his *Apparatus ad controverſias & diſputationes Socinianas*, obſerves *Abelard*'s Hereſies. "—— *Perizonius* in his *Specimen Apologeticum anti-Gualterianum* (39) *accuſationibus Jacobi Gualterii* "*Jeſuitæ oppoſitum*, in his fifth Defence, *de fide implicita*, gives likewiſe an ample Deſcription of *Abelard*, and of his Opinions, and ſhews at large, "*Pontificios, & nominatim Jeſuitas, in multis cum* "*Abailardo convenire*: —— *that the* Roman *Catholics, and particularly the Jeſuits, agree in many* "*things with* Abelard. He draws a Parallel between "them, and ſhews, in another Place of That fifth "Defence, *Quàm pulchrè Socinianis præluxerit, minimè obſcurum eſt*: - - - - - *that it is well known how* "*he prepared the way to Socinianiſm. Beckmannus*, "in his Theological Exercitations, *Exercit.* 2 ſays, "that, Socinus hunc errorem, Chriſtum pro peccatis "noſtris non eſſe mortuum, è lacunis veterum hauſit; quippe, anno Chriſti 1140, in Gallis Petrus "Abailardus (quem Bernardus & Otho Friſingenſis "Abailardum, Platina Baillardum, vocant) idem docuit (40). - - - - - - - Socinus *borrowed This Error* "*(that* Chriſt *did not die for our Sins) from the Ancients; ſince, in the Year* 1140, Peter Abelard "*(whom* Bernard *and* Otho *of* Friſingen *call* Abailard, "*and* Platina Baillard*) taught the ſame in* France. "*Joly*, a Canon of *Notre Dame* at *Paris* - - - - ſays, "in his Treatiſe of the Reſtitutions of Great Men, "That *Abelard*'s Enemies, being jealous of his Reputation, did ſo much impoſe upon St *Bernard*, "who proceeded honeſtly in the matter, that we "find, that the Book of the Sentences was condemned to be burnt under the Name of *Abelard*, as "being the Author of it; though it was of *Peter* "*Lombard*, Biſhop of *Paris*: a Work, nevertheleſs, "*adds he*, which is known to be canonized in the "*Sorbonne*; and on which all the Scholaſtic Divinity "is founded. He ſays again, That the ſame *Abelard* was very much abuſed and perſecuted by the "Monks of St *Denis* in *France*, and by St *Gildas* "(41) of *Ruys*, near *Vannes*, in *Bretagne*; becauſe "he reproved their Vices (42)."

I ſhall obſerve two things, upon This Paſſage of Mr *Ancillon*: the one is, that, in effect, *Abelard*'s Opinions, about the Doctrine of Grace, are much the ſame with Thoſe, which the Jeſuits maintain. But Mr *du Pin* obſerves, that, if This Author's Doctrine "be not conformable to St *Auguſtin*'s Doctrine "- - - - - - neither is it Pelagian, nor Semipelagian, "ſince he acknowledges the Neceſſity of Grace for "the beginning of good Actions, and maintains only, that God has given an equal Grace to all "Men, whereof every one may make a good uſe, "or reject it (43)." The ſecond thing I have to obſerve, is, that I ſhall enquire, in another place, whether the Book of the Sentences, *condemned to be burnt under the Name of* Abelard, be That of *Peter Lombard*.

(37) *Book III, of the* Introduction to Divinity.

(38) Du Pin, ibid. Tom. IX, pag. 219, 220.

(39) *This is an Anti, omitted by* Mr Baillet.

(40) Ancillon, Mêlange Critique de literature, Tom. I, pag. 4.

(41) *He ſhould have ſaid*, and by thoſe of St *Gildas*.

(42) Ancillon, ubi ſupra.

(43) Du Pin, ubi ſupra, pag. 122.

BERENICE, the Name of ſeveral Women and Cities. We ſhall ſpeak of ſome of Theſe Women; and, as to the Cities, we ſhall only obſerve, that *Ortelius* reckons nine of them, and that the two chief were in *Africa*, one in *Pentapolis*, and the other in the Red-Sea. The latter received This Name in honour of *Berenice*, the Mother of *Ptolomy Philadelphus* (*a*), and the other in honour of *Berenice*, the Wife of *Ptolomy*, the Third of That Name (*b*). *Berenice* is a *Greek* Name [*A*].

(*a*) Plin. lib. vi, c. 29.

(*b*) Solinus, cap. 27.

[*A*] Berenice *is a* Greek *Name.*] It was formed from That of Φερενίκη, that is to ſay, *Victory-Bearer*, by the *Macedonians*, who changed *Ph.* into *B.* See *Plutarch* (1), and *Steph. Byzantinus* (2). Hence it is, that ſome Authors call Her *Pherenice*, whom others call *Berenice*. There are ſome, who, inſtead of *Berenice*, ſay, in *Latin*, *Beronice*.

(1) Plutarch. in Quæſt. Græcis 292, E.

(2) Stephan. Byzantin. voce Βέροια.

BERENICE, Daughter, Siſter, and Mother, of ſome Perſons, who carried the Prize at the Olympian Games (*a*), obtained, by reaſon of ſuch Singularity, leave to aſſiſt at Thoſe Games, which had been forbidden other Women, by a public Decree [*A*]. Some ſay ſhe obtained This Privilege, before her Son was Victor [*B*]. It

(*a*) Uñ Berenice, quæ filia ſoror, mater Olympionicarum. *Plinius lib.* 7. *cap. xlii. ex Editione Harduini, quæ juxta MSS. omnes habet Berenice, cum libri editi habeant Plerenice.*

[*A*] *She obtained the Privilege of aſſiſting at the Olympic Games; which had been forbidden Women by a public Decree.*] This Prohibition ſuppoſes, that They did not truſt to the Suggeſtions of Decency and natural Modeſty. The Champions were ſtark naked; which alone ought to have baniſhed the fair Sex from Theſe Shews: Nevertheleſs, They did not rely upon This: Laws were made, and publiſhed, to forbid Women the Sight of Theſe Exerciſes. Thus far there was no harm in it: They were ſenſible of the great Power of Curioſity: But who would not condemn the extream and cruel Rigour of Theſe new Legiſlators? They ordered, that, if any Woman was ſurprized in Theſe Aſſemblies, or if ſhe paſſed the River during That Time, ſhe ſhould be thrown headlong from the Top of a Hill (1). It is no wonder, that no Woman ſuffered this terrible Puniſhment (2). The Sight of ſome naked Men could not be a Charm, or Allurement, ſtrong enough to make them blind to ſo great Danger; and, if there was found a Woman, who did not obſerve this Prohibition, it was becauſe ſhe thought ſhe ran no hazard; for ſhe was diſguiſed in Man's Apparel, and did not think, that a ſingle Leap would betray her. She was probably ſo overjoyed to ſee her Son come off Conqueror, that ſhe threw herſelf a little too merrily over the Barrier: Nay, how do we know, but that her Cloaths catched in

(1) *See* Pauſanias, Book v, pag. 133.

(2) Id. ibid

It was enough, that they knew her Father, and her Brothers, had obtained This Advantage, and that they ſaw her, accompanied by her victorious Brothers, preſent her Son, ready to diſpute theſe kind of Crowns. *Pauſanias*'s Narrative differs from this, and is, perhaps, better. He ſays, that the Inhabitants of *Elis* made a Law, which condemned all Women, who, by ſtealth, ſhould be preſent at the Olimpic Games, or paſs over the *Alpheus* (*b*), on any Occaſion whatever, during the Time, which was forbid them, to be caſt headlong from a Rock (*c*). There was but One, who diſobeyed this Order; her Name was *Callipatira*, according to ſome, *Pherenice* according to others [*C*]. After the Death of her Huſband, ſhe pretended to be One of Thoſe, who inſtructed young Men in the Exerciſe of the Olympic Games, and, under This Diſguiſe, ſhe preſented herſelf in the Field of Battle with her Son, whom ſhe brought thither as an Athlet, whom ſhe had inſtructed, and who prepared himſelf for the Combat. Seeing her Son obtain the Victory, ſhe leaped over a Barrier, which ſerved as an Incloſure to the Maſters of the Combatants, and diſcovered her Sex by This Action. She would have been proceeded againſt according to the Laws, were it not that the Judges thought they ought to acquit her, becauſe they found, that her Father, and her Brothers, and now her Son, had obtained the Prizes of Thoſe Games: So much Glory, in One Family, procured This Lady her Pardon. But They made a Law, that, for the future, the Maſters of the Athlets themſelves ſhould come naked to Thoſe Shews. It muſt not be forgotten, that This *Berenice* was the Daughter of That *Diagoras* the *Rhodian*, who was ſo famous in the Public Games of *Greece* (*d*). I do not know whether any Modern Commentator obſerves This. It is eaſy to find out in what Time This *Berenice* lived [*D*].

(*b*) *It is the Name of a River, near which the Olympian Games were celebrated.*

(*c*) Pauſan, lib. v, pag. 153.

(*d*) *See Remark* [*C*].

in ſomething, by an unfortunate Accident? However it was, ſhe afforded, without thinking of it, a new Spectacle, which diſturbed the Solemnity, and occaſioned a Tryal, from which ſhe came off victoriouſly. I ſay, *without thinking of it*; for we muſt not believe, what a learned Critic ſays, that ſhe put off her Cloaths, to diſcover her Sex, when ſhe ſaw her Son's Victory. "Scribit autem (*Pauſanias*) nemini fuiſſe ſuſpectam, donec viſo filio victore veſtem, abjiceret mulieremque ſe oſtenderet (3). - - - *But* Pauſanias *writes, that ſhe paſſed unſuſpected, 'till, ſeeing her Son come off Victor, ſhe threw aſide her Cloaths, and diſcovered, that ſhe was a Woman.*" He is in the wrong to aſcribe This to *Pauſanias*, who intended no more, than that The Lady, getting over the Barrier, diſcovered a Nakedneſs, which ought to have been concealed. Theſe are his *Greek* Words; Τὸ ἔρυμα ἐν ᾧ τοὺς γυμναστὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπειλημμένους τοῦτο ὑπερπηδῶσα ἡ καλλιπάτειρα ἐγυμνώθη. *Septimentum id, quo magiſtros ſecluſos habent, tranſiliens nudata eſt* (4). *Romulus Amaſæus* has miſ-tranſlated it, *tranſiluit veſte poſita*, as *Sylburgius* has obſerved.

(3) Schefferius in Ælian, lib. x. cap. 1.

(4) Pauſan. lib. 5, pag. 153.

[*B*] *Some ſay, that ſhe obtained This Privilege, before her Son was Victor.*] *Valerius Maximus* affirms it; theſe are his Words: "Pherenices quoque non vulgaris honos, cui ſoli omnium fœminarum gymnico ſpectaculo intereſſe permiſſum eſt, cum ad Olympia filium Euclea certamen ingreſſurum adduxiſſet Olympionico patre genita, fratribus eamdem palmam aſſecutis latera ejus cingentibus (5). - - - - *Uncommon was the Honour paid to* Pherenice, *who alone, of all other Women, had the Privilege of being preſent at the Athletic Games: This Lady, born of a Father, who had been crowned a Victor, and attended by her Brothers, who had all obtained the ſame Honours, preſented her Son* Eucles *to contend for the Prize at the Olympic Games.*" *Ælian* ſays the ſame thing, and that the Cauſe was pleaded, and that *Pherenice* gained it (6). There is no room to doubt, but that *Euclea*, in *Valerius Maximus*, is the Name of the young Champion, who was brought into the Liſts by *Berenice*. *Pauſanias* does not call him ſo; but *Piſidorus*, or *Piſirodus* (7). It ought not to be conjectured, that *Euclea*, in the *Greek* Authors, who ſupplied *Valerius Maximus* with This Event, was the Epithet of the Games, and not the Name of the Champion, and that the *Latin* Writer, for want of Attention, took an Epithet for a Proper Name: I ſay This Conjecture ought not to be mentioned, ſince we find an Athlet called *Eucles*, who was, at leaſt, *Berenice*'s Nephew (8). It muſt be ſaid, then, that ſome *Greek* Authors gave her Son the Name of *Eucles*, and that *Valerius Maximus* followed them. See the following Remark.

(5) Val. Maxim. lib. viii, ſub. fin.

(6) Ælian. lib. x, cap. 1.

(7) Pauſan. ubi ſupra; *he ſays,* Πεισίροδος, *and* lib. 6, pag. 184. Πεισίδωρος: *the one ought to be corrected, by the other; for it is plain, that one and the ſame Perſon is meant in both theſe Paſſages. It is beſt to read* Piſidorus *in both.*

(8) Apud Pauſan. lib. vi, p. 183, 184.

[*C*] *Her Name was* Callipatira *according to ſome,* Pherenice *according to others.*] This *Pauſanias* obſerves, in his fifth Book (9): but, in the ſixth (10), he ſeems plainly to prove, that *Callipatira*, and *Pherenice*, were two Siſters, Daughters of the famous Athlet *Diagoras*. He ſays, that *Diagoras* had the good Fortune to obtain ſome Victories, and to have three Sons, who obtained ſome, and ſome Daughters, whoſe Sons likewiſe carried the Prizes. He ſays DAUGHTERS, in the Plural Number; from whence it muſt be concluded, that *Diagoras*'s two Grand-children, of whom he ſpeaks, were not Brothers, but only firſt Couſins, Sons of two Siſters. He calls one of Theſe two Grand-children, *Eucles*, and the other *Piſidorus*. He ſays, that *Eucles* was the Son of *Callianax*, and of *Callipatira*, Daughter of *Diagoras*. He does not name the Mother of *Piſidorus*, but ſays only, that his Mother, diſguiſed like a Maſter of the young *Athlets*, brought him into the Liſts of the Combatants. I ſay again, that, ſince he ſpeaks of *Diagoras*'s Daughters in the Plural Number, and ſince he ſays, that *Diagoras*'s Grand-ſons, by the Daughters ſide, had obtained ſome Victories, he muſt have pretended, that the Mother of *Eucles*, and the Mother of *Piſidorus*, were Siſters: Now the Name of *Eucles*'s Mother was *Callipatira*; we may, therefore, reaſonably think, that the Name of *Piſidorus*'s Mother was not *Callipatira*, but *Pherenice*; for it is the Name, which many give her, in the fifth Book of *Pauſanias*: and, if ſome called Her *Callipatira*, who, under the Diſguiſe of a Maſter of the *Athlets*, brought her Son *Piſidorus* to the Combat of the *Olympian* Games, it muſt be attributed to the ſame Cauſes, which make ſo many careleſs Writers confound the Actions of one Perſon with Thoſe of another.

(9) P. 153.

(10) P. 184.

[*D*] *In what Time This* Berenice *lived.*] *Pauſanias* informs us, that ſhe was the Daughter of *Diagoras*, and Siſter of *Dorieus* (11). Now *Dorieus* fought for the *Lacedæmonians*, againſt the *Athenians*, at the time that *Conon* was General of the latter (12); and, therefore he flouriſhed about the XCVth Olympiad. Conſult the Remark [*D*] of the Article DIAGORAS the *Rhodian*, in which I enquire when he lived.

(11) Pauſan. lib. 6. pag. 184.

(12) Idem. pag. 185.

BERENICE, a courageous and revengeful Woman, having loſt her Son, by the Contrivance of *Laodice*, mounted, well armed, on a Chariot, and purſued the Murtherer ſo briſkly, that ſhe killed him. His Name was *Cæneus*, and had only executed a Royal Order. She miſſed him, in throwing her Javelin at him, but killed him with a Stone; afterwards ſhe drove her Chariot over him, and retired,

through

through the Enemy's Troops, to the Houſe, where ſhe believed her Son's Body was hid. This we find in *Valerius Maximus* (*a*). There is ſome Probability, that This Author has confounded what relates to two different Perſons. The Commentators are puzzled about it [*A*]. See the Remark.

(*a*) Valer. Maxim. lib. ix. cap. 10, ſub. fin.

[*A*] Valerius Maximus *has confounded what relates to two different Perſons. The Commentators are puzzled about it.*] *Oliverius*, who wrote long Notes on *Valerius Maximus*, full of trivial Erudition, pretends, that the *Berenice* in queſtion was alſo called *Laodice*, and that ſhe was Siſter of *Mithridates*, who waged ſuch a long War with the *Romans*. Whereupon, he relates, that This Lady was firſt married to *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*; that her ſecond Husband was *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*; and that the two Sons, which ſhe had by *Ariarathes*, having been killed by *Mithridates*, the one immediately, and the other mediately, ſhe armed herſelf, and purſued *Cæneus*, who had executed the Order of *Mithridates*, and puniſhed him, as *Valerius Maximus* relates. I obſerve, againſt This, I. That *Valerius Maximus* was ſo far from intending to ſpeak of a Woman, whoſe Name was *Berenice*, or *Laodice*, that he remarks, that *Laodice* cauſed the Son of *Berenice* to be killed. II. The firſt Part indeed of our Commentator's Narrative is to be found in *Juſtin* (1); but we do not find there, that the Siſter of *Mithridates*, who was the Wife of *Ariarathes*, and of *Nicomedes*, had any other Name, than That of *Laodice*. III. We do not find there, that the ſecond Son of *Ariarathes* and *Laodice* was killed by Order of *Mithridates*; we find, on the contrary, that he died of Sickneſs. *Nec multo poſt adoleſcens ex ægritudine collecta infirmitate decedit* (2). IV. The latter Part of This Narrative is manifeſtly contradicted by *Juſtin*: See in what manner he relates, that *Laodice* endeavoured to revenge herſelf of her Brother, after having loſt her two Sons. *Nicomedes*, her ſecond Husband, ſuborned a very handſome Youth, to make it believed, that there remained yet a third Son of *Ariarathes*, and ſent *Laodice* to *Rome* with Orders to teſtify, that *Ariarathes* had left three Sons, whereof the laſt was yet living, and demanded his Father's Kingdom of the *Romans*. It is too bold to advance ſeveral Facts, with their Circumſtances, without being able to cite Authorities for them. Where did *Oliverius* read, that the Siſter of *Mithridates* mounted on a Chariot, and purſued *Cæneus*, the Murtherer of her ſecond Son, *&c?* I ſhall obſerve, by the way, that *Freinſhemius* had no reaſon to accuſe *Juſtin* of contradicting himſelf, or of confounding Hiſtory prodigiouſly (3). *Juſtin* ſpoke of two *Laodices*, married to two *Ariarathes*'s. The firſt killed five of her Children, after the Death of her Husband, and would have killed the ſixth, the only one that remained, if her Relations had not prevented it (4). The People got rid of This furious Woman. The ſecond *Laodice* married That Son of *Ariarathes*, who was the only remaining one. This will plainly appear in another Place (5). I wiſh *Juſtin* was guilty of no other Confuſions, and Contradictions.

Father *Cantel* obſerves, that *Oliverius* was in the wrong to aſcribe the Action, which *Valerius Maximus* relates, to *Mithridates*'s Siſter. He believes, that *Valerius Maximus* meant *Berenice*, and *Laodice*, Wives of *Antiochus Theus*, and both Daughters of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. It is not univerſally agreed, that they were Siſters: *Polyænus*, quoted by one of Father *Cantel*'s Fraternity (6), ſays, that *Laodice*, the Wife of *Antiochus Theus*, was her Husband's Siſter, and Daughter of *Antiochus Soter*. As for *Berenice*, the other Wife of *Antiochus Theus*, it is generally agreed, that ſhe was the Daughter of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. Nevertheleſs, Father *Cantel* is not to be condemned; he has *Appian*'s Authority for what he ſays (7). He has ſome reaſon to believe, that *Valerius Maximus* meant the Wives of *Antiochus Theus*; but he ſhould have cenſured him for having made an Addition to the ſad Fate of *Berenice*. The Valour, which That Author aſcribes to his *Berenice*, and her good Succeſs, mentioned by him, againſt her Son's Murtherer, do not agree with the Wife of *Antiochus*; for ſhe was ſo far from being able to revenge her Son's Death, that ſhe was cruelly murdered, with him, in the Place, whither ſhe had fled. But it is true, that it was one *Laodice*, who was the cauſe of This Misfortune (8). But, ſince Father *Cantel* believed, that the Author, whom he commented, had the Hiſtory of the Wives of *Antiochus Theus* in view, he ſhould not have marked the Six hundred ſixty fourth Year of *Rome* in the Margin: This Chronology differs too much from That, which belongs to Theſe two Princeſſes (9).

Faults of *Oliverius*, the Commentator on *Valerius Maximus*.

Examination of the Opinion of Father *Cantel*, One of the Commentators in *Uſum Delphini*.

(1) Juſtin. lib. xxviii, cap. i, ii.

(2) Ibid. lib. xxviii, c. ii.

(3) *See* Grævius's Juſtin. pag. 548.

(4) Juſtin. lib. xxxvii, cap. i.

(5) *In the Article* CAPPADOCIA, *Remark* [*I*], n. III.

(6) *By Father* Hardouin, *on* Pliny, lib. 7, cap. 12, pag. 25.

(7) Appian. in Syriacis circa finem.

(8) *See* Juſtin, lib. xxvii, cap. i.

(9) Antiochus Theus *began to reign about the Year of* Rome 492. *See* Calviſius, ad Ann. Mundi 3689.

BERENICE, Daughter of *Ptolomy Auletes*, King of *Egypt*, ſucceeded her Father before his Death. I do not find, that ſhe excited the *Egyptians* to expel him (*a*); and there is ſome probability, that they were inclined, of themſelves, to get rid of a troubleſome Yoke, without being animated to it by Her: But it is certain, that, as ſoon as the Father was driven out, the Daughter was crowned [*A*]. This baniſhed Prince implored the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, and obtained, at laſt, that *Gabinius*, Governor of *Syria*, ſhould endeavour to reſtore him. *Pompey* performed it; for the People of *Rome*, relying on ſome Verſes of the *Sybil*, would not concern themſelves with This Re-eſtabliſhment. On the other ſide, *Berenice* did her utmoſt Endeavours to maintain herſelf on the Throne; and, though ſhe feared the *Romans*, ſhe made no Propoſals of Accommodation to her Father, nor ſhewed him any Civility (*b*). And, believing that a Huſband would be of great Uſe to her, ſhe invited a Prince, whoſe Name was *Seleucus*, deſcended from the Kings of *Syria*, and ſhared with him her Bed, and her Scepter. She was ſoon weary of him, not finding him a Man of any Merit; and cauſed him to be killed (*c*). Afterwards ſhe caſt her Eyes on *Archelaus*, the Son of him, who had forſaken the Party of *Mithridates*, to join

(*a*) *See Remark* [*C*].

(*b*) Ἐπιεικὲς μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν, καίτοι φοβουμένη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔπραξε. Ea quamquam Romanos metuebat nihil tamen manſueti Ptolemæo exhibuit. *Dio. lib.* 39, *pag.* 130.

(*c*) *See Remark* [*C*].

[*A*] *As ſoon as the Father was driven out, the Daughter was crowned.*] *Strabo* obſerves, that That Prince had three Daughters, and that the eldeſt, who was legitimate, was placed on the Throne (1). This Narrative is not exact, if it be ſuppoſed, that *Porphyry* gave a true Account of This Revolution; for he affirms, That *Cleopatra*, or *Tryphene*, and *Berenice*, Daughters of *Ptolomy*, reigned together, the firſt Year of their Father's Flight, and that, *Tryphene* being dead, her Siſter *Berenice* reigned two Years alone (2). This ſhews, that *Berenice* was not the eldeſt, and confirms my Opinion, that ſhe did not plot to dethrone the King: The Suſpicion rather falls on her Siſter *Tryphene*. I do not pretend to deny, that it is poſſible Ambition might prompt them to favour the Malecontents, and open a way to the Throne for themſelves, by the Depoſition of their Father; I pretend only, that the ancient Books do not contain this Fact. Mr *Baudelot* maintains the contrary (3); but I am certain, that, if what he alledges out of *Dio Caſſius*, *Porphyry*, and *Photius*, be examined, his Opinion will not be found to be confirmed thereby. His ſtrongeſt Allegation is, that *Ptolomy*, ſtifling all fatherly Affection, cauſed his Daughter *Berenice* to be put to Death for what ſhe had done. It is plain, that, without making her an Accomplice in the Revolt of the *Egyptians*, one may think ſhe was guilty enough in her Father's Judgment, by conſidering only, that ſhe accepted the Crown, and uſed all manner of means to maintain her Uſurpation.

(1) Strabo, lib. xvii. pag. 547.

(2) Porphyr. apud Euſebium, in Chron. pag. 60. *Edit.* Scaligeri 1658.

(3) Baudelot de Dairval's Hiſtory of *Ptolomy Auletes*, pag. 131, 167, & ſeq.

join with *Sylla*. She offered herſelf to him in Marriage [*B*], and promiſed him, that he ſhould ſhare in her Royalty. He was, then, in *Gabinius*'s Army; and he might eaſily have been hindered from going to *Berenice*, if *Gabinius* had not rather, for his particular Intereſt, given him the Liberty to marry That Princeſs [*C*]. *Archelaus* married her, and put himſelf at the Head of Her Army to repel the *Romans*, who pretended to reſtore King *Ptolomy*. He was ſlain in Battle; *Ptolomy* re-entered *Alexandria*, and cauſed his rebellious Daughter to be put to death without Mercy (*d*). Such was the Fate of *Berenice*. A modern Author has very well unfolded the Intrigues

[*B*] *She offered herſelf to* Archelaus *in Marriage.*] I have reaſon to ſay This; but Father *Noris* had no reaſon to ſay it. "Archelaus à Berenice ſpe nuptiarum Alexandriam evocatus, eadem uxore ducta, copias contra Gabinium ducens, victus prælio occubuit, menſe regni ſexto, ex Strabone, lib. 12. pag. 385 (4). - - - - - Archelaus, *being invited to* Alexandria *by* Berenice, *upon an Offer of* Marriage, *after having wedded her, lead an Army againſt* Gabinius, *and fell in Battle, in the ſixth Month of his Reign, according to* Strabo, *lib.* 12. *pag.* 385." Had I no other Author to quote but *Strabo*, I would not have ſaid, as Father *Noris* did, that *Berenice* gained him, by a Promiſe of Marriage. I do not find in *Strabo*, that That Princeſs had any Thought of *Archelaus*; I find only that the *Egyptians*, having expelled their King *Ptolomy*, ſought for a Prince of the Royal Blood, to marry him to *Berenice*, and that *Archelaus*, knowing this, offered himſelf to them, under the ſuppoſed Quality of the Son of *Mithridates Eupator*, and was accepted, and reigned ſix Months. Ταύτῃ ζητουμένου ἀνδρὸς βασιλικοῦ γένους ἐνεχείρισεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς συμπράττουσι, προσποιησάμενος Μιθριδάτου τοῦ Εὐπάτορος υἱὸς εἶναι, καὶ παραδεχθεὶς, ἐβασίλευσεν ἓξ μῆνας (5). *Ei cum quæreretur maritus regio ſanguine natus, dedit ſe Archelaus auxiliariis ſuis, ſimulavitque ſe filium eſſe Mithridatis Eupatoris, itaque receptus ſex menſes regno potitus eſt.* This affords us an Example of the great Care, with which a Writer ought to relate what he finds in Authors. The leaſt Liberty, he takes, is ſufficient ſometimes to injure a Perſon's Honour. It is not decent, or becoming the Dignity of a Queen, to offer herſelf in Marriage, and to entice a young Man by the Hopes of marrying her. It belongs to her Subjects to procure a ſuitable Match for her; which is the Account *Strabo* gives in relation to *Berenice*. The Caſe ſhould not therefore have been repreſented as Father *Noris* has done it, or elſe he ſhould have quoted other Authors, than *Strabo*. If *Dio* had been quoted, *Berenice* might have been decried as a Princeſs, who, after having uſurped the Throne of Him, to whom ſhe owed her Life, went in queſt of an Husband, and offered herſelf, and her Crown, as a Price of the Protection ſhe ſtood in need of. See the following Remark.

[*C*] Gabinius, *who could have hindered him from going to* Berenice, *choſe to let him eſpouſe This Princeſs.*] *Gabinius* preſently diſcovered *Archelaus*'s Deſign, and ſecured him; which might have put an end to The Buſineſs: But, fearing he ſhould not find Difficulty enough in the reſtoring *Ptolomy* to have room to demand all the Sums, which That Prince had promiſed, he ordered the matter ſo, that his Re-eſtabliſhment met with ſome Obſtacles. In this View, he found no better Expedient, than to ſuffer *Archelaus* to put himſelf at the Head of the Rebels. *Archelaus* paſſed for a Man of Courage, and had a great Reputation: To drive him from *Alexandria* ſeemed a great Exploit to *Gabinius*, for which he might honourably demand great Rewards from *Ptolomy*. Beſides, *Gabinius* did not releaſe his Priſoner, 'till he had extorted a great Sum from him (6): So that he took Money on all Hands, that is of both Parties. A notable Inſtance of the Tricks that are plaid to Sovereigns. Sometimes one Campaign would end a War, if Generals, for their private Advantage, did not dexterouſly ſupply the Enemy with an After-game. Take notice, they were obliged to ſpread a Report, that *Archelaus* had made his Eſcape (7). *Gabinius*, being well paid for the leave he had given him to eſcape, pretended, without doubt, to be angry with Thoſe, who kept him. A new Scene of The Comedy! But I obſerve, that *Strabo* knew nothing of all this Management of *Gabinius*. He ſays, that *Archelaus* was brought to *Berenice*, without *Gabinius*'s Privacy. Λαθὼν δὲ τοῦτον κομίζεται δία τινὸς (or τίνων) εἰς τὴν βασίλισσαν, καὶ ἀναδείκνυται βασιλεύς. *Eo* (Gabinio) *neſciente, per amicos quoſdam ad Reginam deductus, rex declaratus fuit* (8). Thus he frees that *Roman* General from a great Reproach. *Strabo* clears *Berenice* in great Meaſure, and induces us to believe, that ſhe was not guilty of her Father's Expulſion. He ſays plainly, that That Prince was expelled by the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, who afterwards ſet the Eldeſt of his three Daughters on the Throne, and cauſed one *Cybioſactes* to come from *Syria*, who pretended to be deſcended from the Kings of *Syria*, and gave him the Queen in Marriage. She, being diſpleaſed with the Baſeneſs ſhe obſerved in him, cauſed him to be ſtrangled a few Days after. It is ſaid, that he cauſed *Alexander*'s Body to be put into a Glaſs Coffin, to appropriate to himſelf That of maſſy Gold, out of which he took it. I have read this Fact in a Modern Writer, who quotes *Strabo* and *Suetonius*, two Authors, who ſay not a word of it (9). The latter ſays in general, that That Prince was ſordidly avaricious. "Alexandrini Cybioſacten eum (Veſpaſianum) vocare perſeverarunt, cognomine unius è regibus ſuis turpiſſimarum ſordidum (10). - - - - - - *The Inhabitants of* Alexandria *continued to nick-name* Veſpaſian Cybioſactes, *from one of their Kings, who was moſt ſordidly covetous.*" Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀπεστραγαλλισεν ἡ Βασίλισσα, οὐ φέρουσα τὸ βάναυσον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀνελεύθερον: They are *Strabo*'s Words: *Hunc intra paucos dies regina ſtrangulavit, cum ejus ſordes illiberalitatemque pati non poſſet* (11).

You will tell me, that, in the foregoing Page, That Writer mentions one *Ptolomy*, who being come from *Syria*, had carried off The golden Urn, but drew no profit from This Action, being ſoon overthrown: But how do you know, that This is to be underſtood of *Berenice*'s Husband? Do you not ſee, that *Strabo* gives only the Title of *Cybioſactes* to the latter, and that he gives the Name of *Ptolomy*, and the Sirname of *Coccus*, and *Pariſactus*, to the other? Ἐσύλησε δ' αὐτὴν ὁ Κόκκης καὶ Παρείσακτος ἐπικληθεὶς Πτολεμαῖος: *aureum Ptolemæus cognomento Coccus & ſubditicius rapuit* (12). Do you not know, that *Dion* calls Him, that was married to *Berenice*, *Seleucus* (13)? Can it be believed, that, if *Strabo* had pretended to ſpeak of the ſame Man, in the Five hundred forty ſixth, and Five hundred forty ſeventh Pages, he would have expreſſed himſelf as he does? There is no Word, or Phraſe, in his Narrative, which inſinuates, that the *Syrian*, who carried away the golden Tomb, is the ſame *Cybioſactes*, whom *Berenice* put to Death. Nevertheleſs, read the learned Reflexions of Mr *Baudelot*, who believes, as well as the Abbot *de St Real*, that *Cybioſactes*, and *Ptolomy Coccus*, are one and the ſame Perſon (14).

[*D*] Archelaus *was ſlain in Battle.*] This does not agree with the ſeventeenth Book of *Strabo*, where we read, that *Ptolomy*, being re-eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, cauſed his Daughter, and his Son-in-law *Archelaus*, to be put to Death. Καταχθεὶς ὑπὸ Γαβινίου Πτολεμαῖος, τόν τε Ἀρχέλαον ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὴν Θυγατέρα. *Ptolemæus, à Gabinio reductus, Archelaum ac Filiam interimit* (15). But I had rather depend on the twelfth Book of *Strabo*, than on the ſeventeenth; becauſe *Plutarch* plainly confirms, what *Strabo* relates in the twelfth Book, that *Archelaus* was ſlain in Battle. Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὁ Γαβίνιος ἀνεῖλεν ἐν παρατάξει, κατάγων τὸν Πτολεμαῖον. *Eum Gabinius Ptolemæum reducens in pugna occidit* (16). *Plutarch* ſets forth, that *Marc Antony* performed ſeveral courageous Actions in *Gabinius*'s Army, when *Ptolomy* was re-eſtabliſhed, and that he did likewiſe an Act of Humanity, which was much praiſed; namely, that he cauſed the Body of his Friend *Archelaus* to be ſought for, and made a ſplendid Funeral for him. Is not this a Proof, that *Archelaus*

(*d*) Ex Dione, lib. xxxix, pag. 130, 131.

(4) Noris's Cenotaph. Piſan, pag. 225.

(5) Strabo, lib. xii, pag. 384. *See alſo* lib. xvii, pag. 548.

(6) Ex Dione, lib. xxxix, pag. 131.

(7) Dio, ibid.

(8) Strabo, lib. xvii, pag. 548.

(9) *The Abbot* de St Real, *in his* Ceſarion, Entret II, pag. 78.

(10) Suetonius *in* Veſpaſ. cap. xix.

(11) Strabo, lib. xvii, pag. 548.

(12) Ib. ib. pag. 546.

(13) Dio, lib. xxxix, pag. 130.

(14) Baudelot de Dairval's Hiſt. of *Ptolomy Auletes*, pag. 170.

(15) Strabo, lib. xvii, pag. 548.

(16) Ibid. lib. xii. pag. 384.

trigues, which were carried on at *Rome*, for the Re-eſtabliſhment of *Ptolomy*; but he is miſtaken as to the Circumſtances of *Archelaus*'s Detention [*E*].

Archelaus was killed in Battle? Γεγονὼς γὰρ αὐτῷ συνήθης καὶ ξένος ἐπολέμει μὲν ἀναγακίως ζῶντι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα πεσόντος ἐξευρων, καὶ κοσμησας βασιλικῶς ἐκήδευσε. *Nam quùm familiaritas ei cum illo & jus hoſpitii interceſſiſſet, bellum cum vivente geſſit neceſſario, corpus interfecti requiſitum regio cultu funeravit* (17). *Dio Caſſius* relates the matter in ſuch a manner, as plainly ſhews, that *Archelaus* was killed in the Fight, which decided the Quarrel between the Father and the Daughter, and that, after That Victory of *Gabinius*, the *Egyptians* were obliged to open the Gates of *Alexandria* to *Ptolomy*, who cauſed *Berenice* and divers others to be put to Death.

[*E*] *A Modern Author* —— *is miſtaken as to the Circumſtances of* Archelaus'*s Detention.*] The Modern Author, whom I mean, is the Abbot *de Saint Real*. See the *Ceſarion*, which he publiſhed in the Year 1685. The Miſtake, which I deſign to take notice of, conſiſts in his ſuppoſing, that *Archelaus* departed *privately from Gabinius* to marry the Queen of *Egypt* (18); and that, being taken Priſoner in a Battle, after the *Romans* had made themſelves Maſters of *Peluſium*, Gabinius *gave him the Aſſiſtance, which was neceſſary for his Eſcape*, upon paying a great Ranſom (19). *Dio Caſſius*, whom he quotes, ſays, in expreſs Words, that *Gabinius* let *Archelaus* eſcape, before the Army marched towards *Peluſium*, and before there was any Battle (20).

(17) Plutarch. M. Antonio, pag. 917.

(18) St Real, Cæſarion, pag. 80, *Edit.* Holl. 1685.

(19) Ibid. pag. 82.

(20) Dio, lib. xxxix, pag. 131.

BERENICE, Daughter of *Coſtobarus*, and *Salome*, Siſter of *Herod the Great* [*A*], was firſt married to *Ariſtobulus*, Son of the ſame *Herod*, and of *Mariamne*, and lived unhappily enough with him; for, becauſe he had a Brother married to the Daughter of *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*, he often upbraided *Berenice* with having undermatched himſelf in marrying her, and that, in ſo doing, he had made himſelf much inferior to his Brother. *Berenice*, all in Tears, reported theſe, and other Diſcourſes, to her Mother, and incenſed her greatly: Inſomuch, that *Salome*, who had a great Power over *Herod*, made him jealous of *Ariſtobulus*, and was the chief Cauſe that induced That cruel Father to make away with him (*a*). Though *Berenice* had five Children (*b*), ſhe married again with a Brother of *Antipater*'s Mother; which *Antipater* was *Herod*'s Son. Having loſt This ſecond Huſband, ſhe went to *Rome*, and gained the Eſteem of *Auguſtus*: But, above all, ſhe inſinuated herſelf into the Favour of *Antonia*, the Wife of *Druſus* [*B*], which, afterwards, ſtood her Son *Agrippa* in good ſtead. The firſt time the latter went to *Rome*, his Mother *Berenice* was yet living [*C*]; but, the ſecond time he went thither, ſhe was dead.

(*a*) Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 17.

(*b*) *Three Sons and two Daughters: The Sons were* Agrippa, *the firſt of That Name, King of* Judæa; Herod, *King of* Chalcis, *and* Ariſtobulus: *The Daughters were* Herodias, *and* Mariamne. Ibid. c. 18.

[*A*] *She was Daughter of* Coſtobarus, *and of* Salome, *Siſter of* Herod *the Great.*] *Joſephus* ſays ſo in expreſs Words: It is, therefore, through want of Memory, that Dr *Mountague* queſtions, whether it was ever determined, that *Berenice* was the Daughter of *Coſtobarus*, or of *Joſeph*. *Quam* (Berenicen filiam Salomes) *vel è Coſtobaro vel Joſepho, nam non minime pro certo traditum, genuerat* (1). *Cornelius à Lapide* believed falſly, that *Herod* was the Father of our *Berenice* (2).

[*B*] *She inſinuated herſelf into the Favour of* Antonia.] There is a Paſſage in *Strabo*, which deſerves to be produced. Καίσαρ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐτίμησε τοῦ Ἡρώδου καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σαλώμην, καὶ τὴν ταύτης θυγατέρα Βερενίκην: That is; *The Emperor honoured the Sons of* Herod, *and his Siſter* Salome, *and* Berenice, *the Daughter of* Salome (3). It is probable, theſe two Women went together to *Rome*, to diſpute the Kingdom of *Judea* with *Archelaus*, the Son of *Herod*; for it is known, that *Salome* went thither, at That Time, with her Family (4).

[*C*] *The firſt time* Agrippa *went to* Rome, *his Mother* Berenice *was yet living.*] For we read, in *Joſephus*, that *Agrippa* lived familiarly with *Druſus*, the Son of *Tiberius*; and that he acquired the Friendſhip of *Antonia*, the Wife of *Druſus*, the Brother of *Tiberius*, by reaſon of the Eſteem, which *Antonia* had for *Berenice*, the Mother of *Agrippa* (5). That Hiſtorian adds, that *Agrippa*, out of reſpect to his Mother, reſtrained his Natural Inclination, which prompted him to be laviſh of his Fortune; but that, after her Death, he was ſo prodigal, that he quite exhauſted it. Having neither Money nor Credit left, he returned to *Judea*, from whence, after divers Adventures, he came back to *Rome*, and went to ſalute *Tiberius* in the Iſland of *Capreæ*. He was, at firſt, very well received by him; but he had, afterwards, good need of *Antonia*'s Protection. I do not know, where *Noldius* had read, that *Berenice* died at *Antonia*'s Houſe (6).

(1) Montacut. in Apparat. V. n. 74, p. 191. apud Noldium, de vita & geſtis Herodum pag. 297.

(2) Corn. à Lap. in Act. xxv. ver. 13. pag. 363. apud Noldium, ibid. pag. 296.

(3) Strabo, lib. xvi, pag 526.

(4) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xvii, cap. 11.

(5) Ibid. lib. xviii, cap. 8.

(6) Noldius de Vita & Geſtis Herodum. p. 297.

BERENICE, Grand-daughter of the foregoing, and Daughter of *Agrippa*, the firſt of That Name, King of *Judæa*, was much talked of on account of her Amours. She was betrothed to one *Marc*, the Son of *Alexander Lyſimachus*, *Alabarche*; but he died before the Marriage was conſummated. A little after, ſhe was married to her Uncle *Herod*, who, at the Requeſt of *Aprippa*, both his Brother, and Father-in-law, was made King of *Chalcis*, by the Emperor *Claudius* (*a*). She was but ſixteen Years of Age, when her Father died (*b*). She loſt her Huſband in the eighth Year of the Emperor *Claudius* (*c*), and behaved very ill in her Widowhood; for the general Opinion was, that ſhe committed Inceſt with her Brother *Agrippa*. To put a ſtop to Theſe Reports, ſhe endeavoured to marry again, and offered herſelf to *Polemon*, King of *Cilicia*, provided he would change his Religion (*d*). It will eaſily be believed, that ſhe required this Condition rather out of Vanity, or Policy, than out of Zeal; but it is no uncommon thing for a zealous, and amorous, Woman to ſet up for a Converter. *Polemon*, having more Regard to the Riches, than the Reputation, of the Lady, who courted him, accepted her Offers, cauſed himſelf to be circumciſed, and married her: And, if he did not continue all his Life-time in the Bonds of This Marriage, it was not his own Fault, but That of *Berenice*; ſince This lewd Woman left him, and returned whither ſhe pleaſed [*A*]. He forſook Judaiſm

(*a*) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xix, cap. 4.

(*b*) Ib. c. 7.

(*c*) Ibid. lib. xx, cap. 3.

(*d*) Ib. c. 5.

[*A*] *This lewd Woman left* Polemon, *her Husband, and returned whither ſhe pleaſed.*] I ſhall here tranſcribe A Paſſage, which is full of Faults. *That* Berenice, *of whom our* Xiphilinus *makes mention, was the Daughter of* Archelaus, *and the Wife of* Herod, *after whoſe Death, ſhe married* Polemon *King of* Lycia, *whom ſhe left*, propter nimietatem coitus, ut quidam dixerunt, *ſays* ×Joſephus, *lib.* 20. *cap.* 2. This is what

× Josephus, lib. 20. but cap. 7th in the English translation by Jn. Court daiſm immediately, to return to his firſt Religion (*e*). *Berenice*'s ill Life did not hinder her from practiſing the Jewiſh Obſervances. She had made a Vow, and, to accompliſh it, ſhe went to *Jeruſalem*, and ſubmitted to the Cuſtom, which was, That before any Perſon offered his Sacrifices, he ſpent thirty Days in Prayer, and Supplication, without drinking Wine, and had his Head ſhaved. Whilſt ſhe obſerved theſe Ceremonies, ſhe received a thouſand Affronts from the *Roman* Soldiers, and was in Danger of her Life: In vain did ſhe go bare-foot, to interceed for the People with the Governor *Florus*; ſhe obtained nothing, not ſo much as the Civilities, which her Quality, and Sex, made indiſpenſable (*f*). She was ſtill in Favour with her Brother *Agrippa*; and ſhe ſeconded him in his Deſign of preventing the Deſolation of the *Jews*, by exhorting them to ſubmit to the *Romans*. But all theſe Exhortations, accompanied with Tears, proved ineffectual (*g*); ſo that *Berenice*, either to avoid being involved in the Ruin of the Nation, or to exerciſe her Parts, went to *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, and gained the one ſo fortunately by her Liberality, and the other by her Beauty [*B*], that ſhe was in a fair way of becoming a *Roman* Empreſs. She enſnared *Titus*, and ſaw the Hour, that, of a favoured Gallant, he would become her Huſband [*C*]: But the Murmurs of the *Roman* People fruſtrated her Hope; ſhe

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Id. de Bell. Jud. lib. ii, c. 26.

urt's Eng. translation lib. 2. c. 15

(*g*) Ib. cap. xxviii, xxix.

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what I find in the Annotations of the Sieur *de Canque* on the Hiſtory of *Dio Caſſius*, abridged by *Xiphilinus* (1). Let us obſerve, in the firſt place, that the *Berenice*, ſpoken of in thoſe Words, is the Miſtreſs of *Titus*; and then let us reckon up the Faults. I. She was not the Daughter of *Archelaus*. II. *Polemon* was not King of *Lycia*. III. The Reaſon, why ſhe left him, was not becauſe he performed, too often, what is called the Conjugal Duty. It was rather a quite contrary reaſon. For ſee how the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian, quoted by the Author of the Annotations, expreſſes himſelf: ȣ μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ συνέμεινεν ὁ γάμος, ἀλλὰ Βερνίκη δι' ἀκολασίαν, ὡς ἔφασαν, καταλείπει τὸν Πολέμωνα. *Id tamen conjugium diuturnum non fuit, propter intemperantiam, ut fertur, diſcedente ab eo Berenice* (2). If This Author had conſulted the Tranſlation of *Genebrard*, he would not have fallen into the Error, which he has committed; he would have read there; *This Marriage did not continue long; and it is ſaid, that it was by reaſon of* Berenice'*s Intemperance, who left him.* Granting, that the Words of the *Jewiſh* Author, conſidered in themſelves, may have I know not what ambiguity, which may make one doubt, whether the Matter in queſtion be the Huſband's, or the Wife's Irregularity, was there no means to remove the Ambiguity? Was it not ſufficient to obſerve the ill Life of *Berenice*? They, who know how ſhe lived, will readily acknowledge, that ſhe could not be diſpleaſed with a Man, for being indefatigable in the Exerciſes of Love. All Perſons, *Berenice* among the reſt, generally ſpeaking, admit of This Maxim, *Too much of Nothing* (3); but the Varieties are infinite, when the Queſtion is to fix the bounds between *too much* and *enough*: Opinions are very different. If the Conſtitution of *Berenice* be no Argument againſt the general Theſis, it is One againſt the Application of it; it is not affected by it; it calls That Mediocrity, which others call Exceſs. It is not indeed ſuch, as literally fulfils the Sentence of the thirtieth Chapter of *Proverbs*; "Tria ſunt inſaturabilia, & quartum "quod nunquam dicit, ſufficit, Infernus, & os vulvæ, "& terra quæ non ſatiatur aqua; ignis vero nunquam "dicit, ſufficit. - - - - - *There are three things, that "are never ſatisfied, yea a fourth, which ſaith not, "It is enough; The Grave, and The Womb, The "Earth, that is not filled with Water; and the "Fire, that ſaith not, It is enough*:" or ſuch, as falſifies That of *Pindar*;

- - - - - - - - Ἀνάπαυσις
Ἐν παντὶ γλυκεῖα ἔργω· Κόρον δ' ἔχει
Καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ τέρπν' ἄνθε' Ἀφροδίσια (4).

In ev'ry Exerciſe, 'tis beſt
Alternately to work and reſt:
Honey, and Love's inviting Joy,
Too largely if we taſt them, cloy.

But, at laſt, it gives the Lie to This Maxim; *Nature is ſatisfied with a little.*

The Author, whom I refute, ſhould rather have placed *Polemon*'s Offence in the Defect, than in the Exceſs, and compared That Monarch with the firſt Huſband of Queen *Joan* of *Naples*. It is true, *Polemon* came off cheaper than the other; for he did not loſe his Life, as the other did.

Some Caviller will perhaps tell me, that Mr *de Canque*'s meaning is, that *Berenice* forſook *Polemon*, becauſe he was not able to ſupply her amorous Deſires; but I maintain, that the Words are not ranged in ſuch a manner as to be ſo underſtood. Whatever his Thought was, they plainly ſignify, what I ſuppoſe, and, conſequently, they repreſent *Berenice* as a Woman of a moſt extraordinary Humour. See what I ſhall quote out of the Letters of the Count *de Buſſi Rabutin*, in the Remark [*D*] of the Article GLEICHEN.

[B] *She gained* Veſpaſian *by her Liberality, and* Titus *by her Beauty.*] *Tacitus* informs us, that This Lady intrigued to place the Crown on *Veſpaſian*'s Head. I do not wonder at it; ſhe had more to hope for from him, than from his Competitors, if he came to the Empire. "Mox per occultos ſuorum nuntios "excitus ab urbe Agrippa, ignaro adhuc Vitellio, "celeri navigatione properaverat. Nec minore animo "regina Berenice partes juvabat, florens ætate formaque, & ſeni quoque Veſpaſiano magnificentia munerum grata (5). —— *Afterwards*, Agrippa, *upon "ſecret Intelligence from Thoſe of his Party, left the "City, and ſet ſail with all Expedition. Queen* "Berenice, *with equal Reſolution, favoured his Deſigns, being then in the Flower of her Youth and "Beauty, and agreeable to old* Veſpaſian *on account of "the Magnificence of her Preſents.*" The ſame Hiſtorian informs us, that *Titus* loved her, and that it was thought ſhe was the cauſe, why he did not finiſh his Journey, but return into *Judæa*, after he heard of *Galba*'s Death at *Corinth*. "Fuere qui accenſum "deſiderio Berenices reginæ vertiſſe iter crederunt. "Neque abhorrebat à Berenice juvenilis animus: ſed "gerendis rebus nullum ex eo impedimentum (6). — "*Some believed, that the Love of* Berenice *ſtopped his "Journey; nor indeed was he averſe to the Lady; but "This was no Interruption to his Affairs.*" This Hiſtorian refutes Calumny in two words: He owns, This Queen touched the Heart of *Titus*; but he declares, it was but an amorous Amuſement, which did not prevent him from attending to his Affairs.

[*C*] *She ſaw the Hour* —— *that* Titus *would become her Huſband.*] *Agrippa*, and his Siſter *Berenice*, took a Journey to *Rome*, in the fourth Conſulſhip of *Veſpaſian*; great Honour was done them; ſhe lodged in the Palace; ſhe lay with *Titus*; and began to diſpoſe of all things like a lawful Wife: But *Titus*, underſtanding, that the People were ſcandalized at it, ſent her away. This is what *Xiphilinus* relates (7); and he obſerves, that *Berenice* was, then, in her Prime, and in great Luſtre. Βερενίκη δὲ ἰσχυρῶς τε ἤνθει. *Berenice maxime florebat* (8). Nevertheleſs, ſhe was then Forty four Years of Age; for the fourth Conſulſhip of *Veſpaſian* fell in the Year of JESUS CHRIST 72 (9), and ſhe was ſixteen Years of Age, when her Father died (10), that is to ſay, the third Year of the Emperor *Claudius* (11), which was the Forty fourth of JESUS CHRIST. This may be eaſily calculated. Beſides, ſhe entred young into the Liſts, and had contended vigorouſly, and without Intermiſſion; ſhe had a Huſband, and perhaps Children, in the ſixteenth Year of her Age: She had had a ſecond Huſband, and ſome Gallants, and yet ſhe

(1) *They are at the end of the* French *Tranſlation of* Xiphilinus, *by* Antony de Bandole, *and printed at* Paris, *in* 1610, *in* 4to.

(2) Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xx, cap. 5, (*and not* cap. 2.) pag. 693.

urt's English translation — 7th not

(3) Id arbitror adprimè in vita eſſe utile, ut ne quid nimis. *Terentius, in Andria.* Act. i. Sc. i. *See alſo in* Eraſmus, Chil. i, Cent. vi. n. 96. pag. 226, *ſeveral ſuch like Sentences.*

(4) Pindar, Nemeor. Od. vii. p. 780. *See a like Sentence of* Homer, *in Remark* [*E*], *of the Article* XENOPHANES.

(5) Tacit. Hiſtor. lib. ii, cap. 81.

(6) Ibid, cap. ii.

(7) In Veſpaſiano.

(8) Xiphil. in Veſpaſ. pag. 222.

(9) *See* Calviſius.

(10) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 19, cap. 7.

(11) Ibid.

ſhe retained only the Title of the Emperor's Miſtreſs, or Concubine. In the XVIIth Century, the *French* Stage reſounded with the Amours of *Titus* and *Berenice* [*D*]. She had too beautiful a Siſter for them to love each other [*E*]. The Holy Scripture makes mention of *Berenice* [*F*]. Great Miſtakes have been committed in relation to This Princeſs.

ſhe was in her greateſt Luſtre at Forty four Years of Age. This was enough to expoſe her to Envy. *Suetonius* obſerves, that the Separation was with Regret on both ſides. “ Nec minus libido (*ſuſpecta erat in Tito*) propter exoletorum & ſpadonum greges, propterque inſignem reginæ Berenices amorem, cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur. - - - - Berenicem ſtatim ab urbe dimiſit invitus invitam (12). - - - - *Nor was* Titus *leſs ſuſpected of Luſt, on account of the many Catamites and Eunuchs, as alſo from his remarkable Love for* Berenice, *to whom he is ſaid to have promiſed Marriage.* - - - - *He immediately diſmiſſed* Berenice *from the City, to the great Regret of both.*” *Titus* did himſelf great Violence in ſending away *Berenice*, to put a ſtop to the Complaints of Slanderers. *Berenice* was much vexed at being ſent away: no doubt ſhe would rather have ſuffered the Continuance of Calumny: And, if it be true, that *Titus* had promiſed her Marriage, as was reported, we may very well believe, that ſhe loudly exclaimed againſt the Unfaithfulneſs of Men. It is probable, that, to moderate her Grief, *Titus* repreſented to her, that it is was a Sacrifice he was obliged to make to the Murmurs of the whole City; but that, after having given way to This Torrent for a while, they ſhould meet again. It is certain, that *Berenice* behaved, as if ſhe had been ſent away in this manner: Some time after ſhe returned to *Titus*; but ſhe got nothing by it; for he would not hear of her any more. I believe, *Xiphilinus* is the only Hiſtorian, who has obſerved, that *Berenice* was ſent away twice, the firſt time in the Reign of *Veſpaſian*, and the ſecond in That of *Titus*. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Τίτος οὐδὲν οὔτε φονικὸν οὔτε ἐρωτικὸν μοναρχήσας ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς καίπερ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς, καὶ σώφρων καίτοι καὶ τῆς Βερονίκης ἐς Ῥώμην αὖθις ἐλθούσης, ἐγένετο (13). Titus, *from the Time that he became ſole Emperor, neither committed Slaughter, nor was a Slave to Love; but was courteous, though plotted againſt; and chaſt, though* Berenice *was returned to the City.* *Xiphilinus* probably is not miſtaken, tho' *Aurelius Victor*, and the other Hiſtorians, mention but one Diſmiſſion. “ Ut ſubiit pondus regium, Berenicen nuptias ſuas ſperantem regredi domum - - - - - præcepit (14). - - - - *When he had taken upon him the Royal Authority, he commanded* Berenice, *who was in Hopes of being married to him, to return home.*” Theſe Words of *Aurelius Victor*, compared with what he had ſaid before, convict him of extream Negligence. He ſays, here, that *Berenice* was in hopes of marrying *Titus*, and he had ſaid, juſt before, that ſhe was his Wife. “ Cœcinam Conſularem, adhibitum cœnæ, vix dum triclinio egreſſum, ob ſuſpicionem ſtupratæ Berenices UXORIS SUAE, jugulari juſſit. - - - - Cœcina, *of Conſular Dignity, whom he had invited to his Table, had ſcarce left it, when, by the Emperor's Order, he was put to Death, on Suſpicion of having violated his Wife* Berenice.” Let us infer from hence, that *Berenice* lent an Ear to other Lovers, beſides the Emperor. This is common enough in the Miſtreſſes of great Princes. I cannot paſs over an Error of *Noldius*. He ſays, in Page 408, that *Dio Caſſius*, or *Xiphilinus*, are miſtaken in placing *Berenice*'s Divorce under the Reign of *Veſpaſian*, ſince *Aurelius Victor* affirms, that *Titus* did not ſend her away, 'till after he had taken Poſſeſſion of the Crown. *Ut ſubiit Pondus Regium* (15). This *Noldius* ſays, Page 408; but, at Page 409, he affirms, that *Berenice* returned to *Rome*, to make a new Attempt on *Titus*'s Heart, and that her Deſign miſcarried. He quotes *Xiphilinus* for This. What! After having ſaid, that an Author is miſtaken, ſhould we affirm what he advances? Should we prove it by his Teſtimony?

[*D*] *In the XVIIth Century, the* French *Stage reſounded with the Amours of* Titus *and* Berenice.] Two Pieces, entitled *Berenice*, were acted at the ſame time: One was compoſed by *Corneille*, and the other by *Racine*; each of them had it's Partizans: The Abbot *de Villars* publiſhed ſome Critical Obſervations on both. I ſhould not have known, that he is the Author of Thoſe Obſervations, if I had not read theſe Words in the *Sentimens de Cleanthe* (16). “ Would you have queſtioned it, if you had recollected the Critic on the two *Berenices*? - - - - For what reaſon ſhould we have eſcaped That Critic on two excellent Poets, one of whom did not vouchſafe to anſwer him, and the other declared, in but two Words, why he did not anſwer him (17)?”

Here are ſome Extracts, which ſeem to me worthy of the Place I give them. “ I am very ſorry, *ſays a Lady, writing to the Count* de Rabutin, that I cannot ſend you the *Berenice* of *Racine*, this Day; I expect it from *Paris*, and I am ſure it will pleaſe you; but, for that Purpoſe, you muſt have a refined Tenderneſs; for no Woman ever carried Love and Delicacy ſo far as ſhe does. Good God! What a pretty Miſtreſs! And what pity it is, that a ſingle Character cannot make a good Piece: *Racine*'s Tragedy would be perfect (18).” The Count anſwered her: “ I have juſt now read *Berenice*. I do not find ſo much Tenderneſs in it, as I expected. I remember, that, when I pretended to have ſome, I could have out-done *Berenice*: *Titus* does not ſeem to me to love her ſo much as he ſays, ſince he uſes no Endeavours, in her favour, with the Senate, and the People of *Rome*. He yields immediately to the Remonſtrances of *Paulinus*, who, finding him ſhaken, brings the People, and Senate, of *Rome*, to engage him; whereas, if he had ſpoken reſolutely to *Paulinus*, he would have found every one ready to ſubmit to his Will. I would have done ſo myſelf; and, by this means, I ſhould have joined Love and Glory together. As for *Berenice*, if I had been in her Place, I would have done as ſhe did, that is, I would have left *Rome* full of Rage againſt *Titus*; but *Antiochus* ſhould not have been the better for it (19).” Here is the Reply, that was made to him. “ Your Heart is not ſo indifferent as I believed it to be, ſince you remember ſtill, that you could have outdone *Berenice* in Point of Tenderneſs, and you muſt have carried it to a very high Pitch, to have ſurpaſſed her: I commend, and eſteem, you for it. He, who pretends to Love, muſt not do it by halves (20).” From theſe three Paſſages, we learn, what Judgment was paſſed on Mr *Racine*'s *Berenice*, and how much the Ladies are naturally inclined to approve of Thoſe Hearts, which have the utmoſt Tenderneſs. I do not find, that the Count *de Rabutin*'s Criticiſm is well grounded; for he would have had the Poet falſify an Event, which ought to be preſerved on the Stage. *Berenice*'s Diſmiſſion is ſo well known in Hiſtory, that they, who had not found it in the Tragedy, might juſtly have exclaimed againſt the Author. Without doubt, Mr *Racine* foreſaw this; and it is probable this was the Reaſon, why he repreſented *Titus*'s Paſſion inferior to That of the Lady: This might diſpleaſe the Fair Sex; but the Author found, that this Inconvenience did not equal the other.

[*E*] *She had too beautiful a Siſter, for them to love each other.*] *Joſephus* obſerves, that *Druſilla*, the Siſter of *Berenice*, liſtened to the Propoſals of *Felix*, Governor of *Judæa*, to ſecure herſelf from her Siſter's Jealouſy, who could not endure, that ſhe (*Druſilla*) ſhould be ſo beautiful. *Druſilla* was courted by *Felix*, whilſt ſhe was married to *Azizus*, King of *Emeſenians*. She yielded, and married *Felix*, and ſhe even ſeems to have abjured the Jewiſh Religion (21). The Hatred of Brothers is great; and ſome Maxims might be quoted upon this Subject; but, if I am not miſtaken, the Hatred of Siſters exceeds it. We may touch upon this in ſome other Place (22).

[*F*] *The Holy Scripture makes mention of* Berenice.] We find, in the Twenty fifth Chapter of the *Acts*, that *Agrippa* and *Berenice* came to *Cæſarea*, to ſalute *Feſtus*, and that, having been told of St *Paul*, who was then in Priſon, they had a mind to hear him; and that, for this Purpoſe, they went to the Place of Audience, with great Pomp (23), and heard St *Paul*.

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(12) Sueton. in Tito, cap. vii.

(13) Xiphilin. in Tito, ſub. init.

(14) Aurel. Victor, in Epitom.

(15) Noldius, de Vita & geſtis Herodum.

(16) *It is the fictitious Name of him, who criticized the* Converſations of Father *Bouhours. The Abbot* de Villars, *whom he points at here, had publiſhed the Treatiſe*, de la Delicateſſe, *for Father* Bouhours, *againſt* Cleanthe.

(17) Sentimens de Cleanthe, Part II, p. 2. 1672.

(18) *The* 133d *Letter of Count* de Buſſy Rabutin's Letters, Part. III, pag. 246. *Edit.* Holl. *This Letter is dated from* Dijon, July 28, 1671.

(19) Ibid. *Lett.* 148, Part III, pag. 268.

(20) Ibid. *Lett.* 152, p. 279, 280.

(21) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 5. pag. 693.

(22) *In Remark* [*B*], *of the Article* DRUSILLA.

(23) Μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας; cum multa oſtentatione *ſeu* ambitione *Actor. Apoſtol. cap.* xxv. *ver.* 23.

St Paul pleaded before Agrippa [illegible] Anno Christi. 55.

Princeſs [*G*]. I could not take notice of all the Queens, who have born this Name, I ſhall remark ſome Errors of *Moreri* [*H*], *Hofman*, *Charles Stephens*, &c. [*I*].

[*G*] *Great Miſtakes have been committed in relation to This Princeſs.*] *Sabellicus* believed, that ſhe was the Wife of *Ariſtobulus*, and afterwards of *Antipater* (24). This is to confound two *Berenices*, *viz.* the Grand-mother, and the Grand-daughter, together: The former was married, the firſt time, to *Ariſtobulus*, and, the ſecond time, to an Uncle of *Antipater*, and not to *Antipater* himſelf. This is, then, a ſecond Miſtake of *Sabellicus*. As for the *Berenice*, whom he ſpeaks of (the Miſtreſs of *Titus*) ſhe had neither of Theſe two Huſbands. I ſhall ſet down a Paſſage of *Juvenal*, which is, doubtleſs, to be underſtood of the latter *Berenice*, who was beloved by *Titus*, and who was ſuſpected of Inceſt with her Brother *Agrippa*;

Grandia tolluntur cryſtallina; maxima rurſus
Myrrhina, deinde adamas notiſſimus, & Berenices
In digito factus pretioſior: hunc dedit olim
Barbarus inceſtæ, dedit hunc Agrippa ſorori,
Obſervant ubi feſta mero pede ſabbata Reges,
Et vetus indulget ſenibus clementia porcis (25).

Rich Chryſtals of the Rock ſhe takes up there,
Huge Agat Vaſes, and old China Ware:
Then Berenice'*s Ring her Finger proves,*
More precious made by her inceſtuous Loves;
And infamouſly dear: A Brother's Bribe;
Ev'n GOD'*s Anointed, and of* Judah'*s Tribe;*
Where barefoot they approach the ſacred Shrine,
And think it only Sin to feed on Swine.

DRYDEN.

The Scholiaſt of *Juvenal* underſtands, here, by *Berenice*, a Siſter of *Ptolomy*, King of *Egypt*, and, by *Agrippa*, a Son of *Julia*, Daughter of *Auguſtus*; That Son of *Julia*, and of *Agrippa*, whom *Tiberius* put to Death, after the Deceaſe of *Auguſtus* (26). To ſay no worſe, it is prodigious Careleſſneſs in This Scholiaſt; for it appears plainly, upon a little attention, that *Juvenal* ſpeaks of an *Agrippa*, who lived in *Judæa*, which can no ways agree with the Son of *Julia*. Beſides that, according to *Noldius*'s Obſervation (27), no one ever ſaid, that *Agrippa*, and his unchaſte Siſter *Julia*, were ever accuſed of Inceſt. It is not eaſy to reprove the Scholiaſt on the other Point, becauſe the repeating of the Word *dedit* made ſome learned Men believe, that the Poet ſuppoſes here two Perſons, who gave each a Diamond of great Value to his Siſter; I. A King of *Egypt*. II. An *Agrippa*. This Explication is not good. The whole muſt relate to *Agrippa*, King of the *Jews*, and to his Siſter *Berenice*: And we learn a Particular here, which *Joſephus* did not touch upon; namely, that *Berenice* received a Diamond of great Value from her Brother, and that ſhe wore it, which cauſed their inceſtuous Love to make the greater Noiſe. *Baronius* thought, that *Juvenal* alluded to a precious Stone, mentioned by *Pliny*, which *Ptolomy*, King of *Egypt*, gave to his Wife, who was alſo his Mother, as *Baronius* pretends. *Alludere videtur pretioſo lapidi, quem prius dedit Ptolemæus Ægypti Rex uxori ſimul & matri. Verum Plinius tradit fuiſſe topazion* (28). A modern Author, whom I have already quoted ſeveral times (29), finds many Faults in This Opinion of the Annaliſt. I. *Juvenal* ſpeaks of a Diamond, enchaſed, or ſet in a Ring; but the precious Stone, mentioned by *Pliny*, was a rough Topaz, which was afterwards made into a Statue. II. It was not *Ptolomy*, who gave This Topaz to his Mother; but it was *Polemon*, Governor of the Iſland, where the Topaz was found, who gave it to *Berenice*, Mother of the King, that ſucceeded Him, who then reigned. III. *Pliny* does not ſay, that *Ptolomy Philadelphus* made a Preſent of This Stone to his Wife *Arſinoë*, who was alſo his Siſter; he ſays only, that they made a Statue of *Arſinoë*, the Wife of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, of That Stone, and that This Statue was four Cubits high, and that it was conſecrated in a Temple, which was called *The Golden Temple*. We may add a fourth Cenſure; which is, That we do not find, that any King of *Egypt* married his own Mother, and that This agrees leſs with the Father of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, than with any other. It is of his Wife, that *Pliny* ſpeaks, when he ſays, that the Topaz in queſtion was brought to Queen *Berenice*. I am much leſs ſurprized at theſe Faults of *Baronius*, than to find Father *Hardouin* of Opinion, that *Juvenal*'s Words are to be underſtood of the Diamond of the ſame *Berenice*, mentioned by *Pliny*, the Wife of *Ptolomy Lagus*, and Mother of *Ptolomy Philadelphus* (30). The *Juvenal Variorum* contains many Miſtakes in relation to *Berenice*. There is in it a Note, which ſays, that the *Berenice*, mentioned by That Poet, was Queen of *Judæa*, and *Herod*'s Wife: that, according to others, he meant *Berenice*, *Herod*'s Wife, and, after her Huſband's Death, Miſtreſs to her Brother-in-law, that is, to *Agrippa*, her Huſband's Brother. This is all wrong; for, in the firſt Place, here are two different *Herods*, which they have not taken care to diſtinguiſh by any Mark whatever. One of them muſt be He, who ſlew the Children of *Bethlehem*; the other muſt be the King of *Chalcis*, Brother of *Agrippa*, the firſt of That Name. Now, the firſt of the two *Herods* had no Wife, whoſe Name was *Berenice*; and there was no *Berenice*, Queen of *Judæa*. Neither was there any *Berenice* in *Judæa*, whoſe Inceſt conſiſted in the Love of her Brother-in-law. The Inceſt, mentioned by *Joſephus*, and *Juvenal*, conſiſts in the Amours of *Agrippa*, the ſecond of That Name, with his own Siſter *Berenice*. That, which deceived the Author of the Annotation, is, that *Berenice* was the Widow of *Herod*, King of *Chalcis*, and Brother of an *Agrippa*, when her Love for *Agrippa* was ſpoken of: But the *Agrippa*, of whoſe Brother ſhe was Widow, was not He, with whom ſhe committed Inceſt. She was Daughter of That other *Agrippa*, and Siſter to This. There is another Remark in the *Juvenal Variorum*, the Author of which calls himſelf *Lubin*. This *Lubin* makes uſe of a pleaſant manner of arguing. After having ſaid, that *Herod Agrippa* was *Berenice*'s Brother, he proves, that the Love of That *Agrippa* for *Berenice* was Inceſt, becauſe ſhe had been married to her Uncle *Herod*. *Herodes Agrippa dedit inceſtæ ſuæ ſorori Berenice, cum qua inceſtum commiſerat,* UTPOTE *quæ ante nupta erat patruo ſuo Herodi.* *Noldius*, who obſerved two Faults in This *Variorum*, and who placed them to the Account of *Schrevelius*, the Compiler of That Commentary (31), took no notice of This.

FAULTS in the Edition of *Juvenal Variorum.*

[*H*] *I ſhall remark ſome Errors of* Moreri.] The firſt *Berenice*, of whom he ſpeaks, is the Mother of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*. What he ſays of her is not to be found in the Author, whom he quotes (32). The ſecond is the Daughter of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and Wife of *Ptolomy Evergetes*: He quotes *Ælian*, and *Juſtin*, who do not ſay what he relates. He ſhould have quoted *Hyginus* (33) who mentions what relates to this Queen's Head of Hair. As for the Temple of *Berenice the Guardian*, I confeſs, I cannot diſcover the Source of it, and, therefore, I dare not affirm, that *Moreri* has advanced a Falſhood. I have many ſuſpicions about it. He ſhould have remembered, that he had ſaid, in the Article of ARSINOE *the Daughter of Antiochus Soter*, that *Berenice*, the Wife of *Ptolomy Evergetes*, was the Daughter of *Magus* King of *Cyrene* (34), and Brother of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and, conſequently, Uncle of *Ptolomy Evergetes*. At that time, *Berenice*, the Wife of *Ptolomy Evergetes*, was but his firſt Couſin; at preſent, ſhe is his own Siſter. Every one ſees how much ſuch Variations confound the Readers, and are ſufficient to make them weary of the Study of a Dictionary. Such a Chaos ſhould be cleared, by obſerving, who They are, that relate things one way, and who Thoſe, that relate them another way. The third *Berenice*, according to *Moreri*, is Siſter to the ſecond, and Wife of *Antiochus Soter*, King of *Syria*. He ſhould have ſaid *Antiochus Theus*, and not *Antiochus Soter*; the former was the Son of the latter, and was married to a Daughter of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, whoſe Name was *Berenice* (35). The fourth is the Daughter of *Ptolomy Auletes*. I have made an Article about her; ſee the Remarks of it. The fifth is *Berenice* the Siſter of *Agrippa* II of That Name. What *Moreri* ſays, that This *Princeſs was with her Brother* Agrippa *in the Year* 55, *when* St Paul *pleaded his Cauſe in their Preſence, and in That of the Proconconſuls* Felix *and* Pontius (36) Feſtus,

ſuppoſes

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(24) *In Paraphraſi* ad Titum Suetonii apud Noldium, de Vita & Geſtis Herodum. p. 414.

(25) Juven. Satir. vi. ver. 154.

(26) *He had been confined by* Auguſtus, *to the Iſland* Planaſia, Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 3. *and not in* Sicily, *as the Scholiaſt ſays.*

(27) De Vita & geſt. Herodum, pag. 412.

(28) Baron. Annal. ad Ann. 58. n. 164. *He quotes* Pliny, lib. 37. c. 8.

(29) Noldius, ubi ſupra, p. 412.

(30) Harduin *in* Plin. lib. xxxvii. cap. 8. pag. 392. Tom. V.

(31) Noldius de vit. & Geſtis Herodum, pag. 411, 412.

(32) *He cites* Appian; *he would have done better to have quoted* Pauſanias, lib. i. pag. 6.

(33) Aſtronom. lib. ii. cap. 24.

(34) *He ſhould have ſaid* Magas; *He was King of* Cyrene; *and it is true, that, according to* Juſtin, lib. xxvi. cap. 3, *he married his only Daughter* Berenice *to his Brother's Son; I mean, to* Ptolomy, *ſirnamed* Evergetes. *This Magas was the Son of a* Macedonian, *of mean Condition, and of* Berenice, *who was afterwards Wife of* Ptolomy Lagus. Pauſanias, lib. i. pag. 6.

(35) *See* Juſtin, lib. xxvii, cap. 1.

(36) *It ſhould be* Portius.

ſuppoſes that Thoſe two *Proconſuls* commanded in *Judæa* at the ſame time, which is falſe (37). He ought not to have quoted *Strabo*; for what He ſays relates to another *Berenice*, whom *Moreri* forgot, *viz.* the Grandmother of *Titus*'s Miſtreſs.

[*I*] ----- *Of* Hofman, Charles Stephens, *&c.*] I. *Hofman*'s firſt Miſtake conſiſts in affirming, that the *Berenice*, mentioned by *Juvenal*, was the Daughter of *Herod* the *Aſcalouite* (38), and Wife of her Brother *Agrippa*. This is, at leaſt, a double, or tripple, Miſtake; for That *Herod* had no Daughter, whoſe Name was *Berenice*, nor a Son, whoſe Name was *Agrippa*: She, whom *Juvenal* ſpeaks of, was Daughter of the firſt *Agrippa*, and was never married to her Brother *Agrippa*, the ſecond of That Name; it was only believed, that ſhe had an inceſtuous Commerce with him. St *Chryſoſtom* was miſtaken, or ſpoke figuratively, when he called her the Wife of *Agrippa* (39). II. It is a ſecond Miſtake to ſay, that the *Berenice*, whom *Titus* loved, is different from Her, whom *Juvenal* mentions. *Hofman* makes them different, ſince he treats of Her, who was *Titus*'s Miſtreſs, in an Article apart. III. It is not true, that the *Berenice* of *Juvenal* made a Journey to *Jeruſalem* with her Head ſhaved and bare-footed. *Hofman* ſhould have ſaid, that, in order to accompliſh a Vow, ſhe went to *Jeruſalem*, where ſhe obſerved the Ceremonies required in ſuch Caſes; which were, that, before any Sacrifices were offered, they put up Prayers for thirty Days, had their Heads ſhaved, and abſtained from Wine. This is all that *Joſephus* tells us concerning This Journey of *Berenice* (40). It is true, he obſerves, that ſhe went bare-footed to the Governor's Audience; but this cannot be ſaid to be a Journey to *Jeruſalem*. IV. What ſignifies it to quote the Twenty fifth Chapter of the *Acts*, and the ſixteenth Book of *Strabo*, immediately after having ſaid, that *Berenice* went to *Jeruſalem*, with her Head ſhaved, and bare-footed? Is This mentioned in the Book of the *Acts*? And does not *Strabo* ſpeak of a *Berenice*, who was the Grand-mother of This: LLOYD has committed the firſt and third Fault of *Hofman*; and it is from Him, that the latter traſcribed them. CHARLES STEPHENS falſifies *Pliny*'s Teſtimony; He makes him ſay, That *Ptolomy Philadelphus* built a fine Town on the Red-Sea, and called it *Berenice*, after his Mother's Name. *Pliny* ſays only, that That Town bore the Name of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*'s Mother. *Berenice, Oppidum matris Philadelphi nomine* (41). This puts me in mind of a Fault of *Hofman*, which I had omitted: He makes *Pliny* ſay, that That *Berenice* gave her Name to a City, which ſhe cauſed to be built. Thus much concerning the firſt Fault of *Charles Stephens*. The ſecond is his having ſaid, that there was a *Berenice*, the Daughter of *Herod* the *Aſcalonite*, who married her Brother *Agrippa*. We have already found This Fault in *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*; *Lloyd* took it from *Charles Stephens*. Some one will tell me perhaps; "you miſunderſtand theſe Words; "*Berenice, Herodis Aſcalonitæ filia, quæ nupſit* "*etiam Agrippæ fratri* (42). You explain them, as "if the Meaning of them were, that *Berenice* married her own Brother; but they muſt be underſtood in this Senſe; that ſhe was married to *Agrippa*'s Brother, which is the Senſe of *Lloyd* and *Hofman*'s Words. *Berenice Herodis Aſcalonitæ filia,* "*Agrippæ fratris uxor.*" I anſwer, That I explain the *Latin* Words of theſe three Authors in the moſt natural Senſe; and that, ſince the two latter confirm the Words alledged, by the Authority of *Juvenal*, they meant, without doubt, that *Agrippa* was the Husband, and not the Husband's Brother. I can, at leaſt, convict them of a Falſity: They ſuppoſe, that *Berenice*, the Wife of *Agrippa*'s Brother, was the Daughter of *Herod* the *Aſcalonite*: This is falſe; ſhe was the Daughter of *Agrippa*, the firſt of That Name, who married her to his Brother *Herod*, King of *Chalcis*. The third Fault is, his quoting *Strabo* for the pretended Daughter of *Herod* the *Aſcalonite*; whereby it appears, that *Charles Stephens* knew not, that *Strabo* ſpeaks only of the Daughter of *Salome*. That Daughter makes a ſeparate Article in his Dictionary: which ſhews, that he did not take the one for the other, but that he fancied to himſelf two diſtinct Perſons; which might paſs for a fourth Miſtake.

(37) Acts xxiv. 28.

Festus was 2 years at last after Felix Acts Chap. 24 V.27

As there is but 27 verses in this Chap in Greek nor English

(38) *He who ſlew the Children of* Bethelem.

(39) Apud Cornel. à Lapide in Act. xxv, ver. 3, *cited by* Noldius, pag. 404.

(40) De bello Judaic. lib. ii. c. 26.

lib.2.c.15

(41) Plin. lib. vi cap. 29. p. 733.

(42) *They are in* Charles Stephens.

BERGAMO (JAMES PHILIP *de*), an *Auguſtin* Monk, was born at *Bergamo*, in the Year 1434. He compoſed, in *Latin*, a *Chronicle* from the Creation of the World, down to the Year 1503 [*A*]; and a Treatiſe of *Illuſtrious Women*. He was of a very conſiderable Family [*B*], and became a Monk in the Year 1451 [*C*]. He had a particular Devotion for *Nicolas Tollentin*, by whoſe Interceſſion he believed himſelf to have been cured of the Plague, in 1474 (*a*). He died at *Bergamo*, in the Year 1518, in the Monaſtery of his Order, of which he had been Prior, and had repaired it at a very great Expence (*b*). Conſult *Moreri*'s Dictionary, under the Word FORESTA. What you meet with faulty, there, may be corrected by comparing it with This Article.

(*a*) *See his* Chronicle, *at the Year* 1446, fol. 290.

(*b*) *Taken from* Phil. Elſſius in Encomiaſt. Auguſtin. p. 314, 315.

[*A*] *He compoſed, in* Latin, *A* Chronicle *from the Creation of the World down to the Year* 1503.] *Voſſius* obſerves, that the firſt Edition is of *Breſcia*, and that it ends at the Year 1485, and not 1436, as *Poſſevin* affirms (1). *Bellarmin* has committed the ſame Miſtake (2). The ſecond Edition is of *Venice*, and comes down to the Year 1503. *Voſſius* ſays, that the Author remarks, at the end of the Book, that he was then Sixty nine Years of Age. This Work was re-printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1535, with a *Continuation* down to That Time. It was tranſlated into *Italian*, and publiſhed, at *Venice*, in the Year 1540, in *Folio*. This Edition contains *Additions* to the Work of the firſt Compiler, down to the Year 1539. The Author of theſe Additions was One *Bernardino Bindoni*, of *Milan*. I am of Opinion, that *Philip* of *Bergamo* continued the Work after the Year 1503, and that Part of what follows was His; but This *Italian* Verſion does not diſtinguiſh the Additions, which came from another Hand. I have not found, at the end of the Year 1503, that the Author gives us the Account of his Age, as related by *Voſſius*.

This Chronicle is tolerably good, eſpecially as to the Times, near which the Author lived. He has taken care to diſtinguiſh the Famous Men, who lived in each Century, and he gives us ſome Particulars relating to the Moderns, which are curious enough. *Geſner*, in 1544, knew no Edition of This Book (3).

[*B*] *He was of a very conſiderable Family.*] It was That of the *Foreſti*. *Matthew de Bergamo*, who was of this noble Family, and a very learned Civilian, obtained, of the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, very great Privileges, both for himſelf, and his Poſterity. He was created a Count *Palatin*, with the Right of inſtituting Notaries, Doctors, Knights, and Judges, in every part of *Italy*, and of legitimating Baſtards, *&c.* A Liſt of all theſe Privileges is to be met with in Our Author's Chronicle (4). They have been confirmed by all the Lords, who have been in Poſſeſſion of *Bergamo*. The Letters Patents of this Grant of *Lewis* of *Bavaria* were dated at *Trent*, the twentieth of *January*, 1330 (5).

[*C*] *He became a Monk, in the Year* 1451.] He affirms, ſomewhere in his Chronicle, according to *Voſſius*, that *John Rochus* admitted him into his Convent, with ſome other young Perſons, in the Year 1451; but I find, in the *Italian* Verſion of This Chronicle, that it was *John* of *Novara*, Superior of the *Auguſtins* of *Bergamo*, who aſſociated him to his Order, the firſt of *May*, 1451. He had been ſpeaking of *John Rochus*, Reformer of the *Auguſtins*, and their General, who died at *Mantua*, in the Year 1461, aged ſeventy Years. Immediately after, he ſpeaks of *John* of *Novara*, who had ſtrongly ſeconded *John Rochus* in the Work of Reforming the Order, and who ſucceeded him in the Dignity of Prior of the Convent of *Crema*, in conſequence of which he was promoted to the ſame Office in the Convent of *Bergamo*. They, who have the *Latin* Edition, which *Voſſius* made uſe of, may examine whether he is miſtaken. The *Italian*, which I conſult, was made from the Edition of *Paris*, corrected from many Errors.

(1) Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. lib. iii. cap. 11. p. 662.

(2) Bellarm. de Script. Eccleſ. pag. 411.

(3) Geſner, Bibl. fol. 360. verſo.

(4) Phil. Bergom. Chronica. fol. 249. ad Ann. 1330.

(5) Id. ibid.

BERGIER (Nicolas), was born at *Reims*, in the Year 1557. He ſtudied there in the new Univerſity, which the Cardinal of *Lorrain* had lately eſtabliſhed, and was alſo a Teacher in it for ſome Years. From the College he went to the Count *de Saint Soupplet*, Great Bailiff of the Province, to be Tutor to his Children, and, afterwards, embraced the Profeſſion of an Advocate, in which he had very good Succeſs. The Inhabitants of the City of *Reims*, who knew his Merit and Capacity, made him their Syndic, and deputed him often to *Paris*, upon the Affairs of the City. This brought him acquainted with ſeveral learned Men, and, amongſt others, with Meſſ. *Peireſc*, and *Du Puy*, to whom he communicated the Deſign of his Book of the *High-Ways of the* Roman *Empire*, and who encouraged him greatly to put it in Execution. For this End, Mr *Peireſc* communicated to him the Map of *Peutinger* (*a*). But of all the Friends, and Patrons, which his good Qualities procured him, the chief, and moſt famous, was *Nicolas de Bellievre*, Preſident *a Mortier*, in the Parliament of *Paris*; who procured him a Brief of the Crown, conſtituting him Hiſtoriographer, with a Penſion of Two hundred Crowns, and entertained him at his Houſe, where he ſpent the Remainder of his Life. He died the fifteenth of *September*, 1623, in the Caſtle of *Grignon*, belonging to Monſ. *de Bellievre*. The Epitaph, which That illuſtrious Preſident made to the Memory of his Friend, is to be found at the beginning of *The Hiſtory of* Reims, printed in 1629 (*b*). I ſhall ſpeak, below, of *Bergier*'s Works [*A*]. See alſo, at the end of this Dictionary, the Diſſertation *on the Day*, Remark [*B*].

(*a*) *See* Gaſſendus, *in the Life of* Perieſc.

(*b*) *A Memoir, communicated by Mr* Oudinet, *Keeper of the Cabinet of Medals of* Lewis XIV. *I give it as I received it.*

[*A*] *I ſhall ſpeak of* Bergier'*s Works*.] Beſides *the Hiſtory of the High-ways of the* Roman *Empire*, he compoſed alſo *le bouquet Royal*, which is a Relation of the Coronation of *Lewis* XIII, printed at *Reims*, in the Year 1637; A Treatiſe of *Day-break*, printed at *Reims*, in the Year 1629, and which had been printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1617, under the Title of *Archemeron* (1); *Le deſſein de l' Hiſtoire de Reims*, printed in 1637. He wrote the Life of St *Albert*, with the Hiſtory of the Tranſlation of his Body from *Reims* to *Bruſſels*, in the Year 1612, at the Requeſt of the Archduke *Albert*. He received a Chain of Gold as a Reward, ſent him by that Prince; but the Work was not printed; and the Manuſcript is in the Hands of the Author's Heirs, with ſome other Papers, written with his own Hand, concerning *the Excellency of Learning*; *and the Antiquity and Excellency of Poetry, and Speculative Muſic* (2).

(2) *Conſult my* Diſſertation on the Day, *at the end of the laſt Volume, and chiefly in Remark* [*B*].

(2) *Taken from a Memoir, communicated by* Mr Oudinet.

BERIGARDUS (Claudius), one of the moſt ſubtile Philoſophers of the XVIIth Century, was of *Moulins*. He acquired ſuch a Reputation in the Univerſity of *Paris*, that the Great Duke of *Florence* drew him to That of *Piſa* (*a*). He taught Philoſophy, there, twelve Years (*b*); after which, he was invited to *Padua*, for the ſame Profeſſion. He was diſcharging it honourably, when, in 1643, he publiſhed a Book at *Udina*, which greatly diſpleaſed ſeveral Divines [*A*], though it was approved by the Holy Office. He had publiſhed another at *Florence*, in the Year 1632 (*c*). His Cut, prefixed to the Book, printed in the Year 1643, makes him Fifty one Years of Age; but the Year of the Century is not marked.

(*a*) *See the Preface to his* Circulus Piſanus, *in* lib. 8. Phyſicor. Ariſtot.

(*b*) *See his firſt Epiſtle dedicatory.*

(*c*) *Entituled*, Dubitationes, Gul. Galilæi. Lyncei.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a Book —— which greatly diſpleaſed ſeveral Divines.*] The Title of it is *Circulus Piſanus*. See, here, the Judgment, which an Archdeacon of *Canterbury* paſſed on it. “Hunc (Cæſalpinum) eâdem impietatis viâ & ratione non modò ſecutus eſt, ſed ſuperavit, Claudius Berigardus Molinenſis, qui unà cum impiâ Ariſtotelis diſciplinâ obſoletam iſtam quoque veterum Ionicorum (quemadmodum de iis ipſe cenſuit ac alii plerique cenſuerunt) revocavit; cùm enim diſputationes ſuas dialogorum conſuetudine perſcripſit, ſermonem in duas perſonas Charilaum & Ariſtæum diſtribuit, quorum alter Ariſtotelem, qui præter materiam, quendam primum motorem, providentiæ tamen expertem, poſuit, alter antiquos iſtos defendit, quos omnia corporea eſſe velle, nullumque primum motorem ab univerſo corporeo diſtinxiſſe putavit. Atque adeo uno eodémque opere diverſas cùm Epicureæ tum Peripateticæ impietatis rationes adornavit, quanquam Ariſtotelis diſciplinam fuſiùs & ardentiùs excoluit, atque eam potiſſimum quam libro Phyſicorum octavo, libriſque de Cœlo & rerum Generatione, tradidit, quibus univerſam mundi fabricam ſine Providentiâ architectrice extruxiſſe ſe putat Philoſophus. Neque nefaria ſua dogmata diſperſè uno aut altero capite (ut Cæſalpinus) inſinuavit, ſed apertè omnem Peripateticæ impietatis rationem ſecutus eſt, neque numinis providentiam ut ille è rerum naturâ tollere ſatis habuit, niſi & ſalsè dictis (qualia vir non admodum facetus potuit) increparet (1). —— Hunc autem ſicut & Cæſalpinum, quanquam multò uberiùs rem tractavit, & quidem integrum peripateticæ impietatis ſyſtema deſcripſit, hoc loco redarguere operæ pretium non exiſtimo, quòd in uno Ariſtotele vincantur qui ab eo ſteterunt omnes (2). —— *He* (Cæſalpinus) *was not only followed but ſurpaſſed, in this Way and Method of Impiety, by* Claudius Berigardus *of* Moulins; *who, together with the blaſphemous Doctrine of* Ariſtotle, *revived That of the ancient* Ionians, *obſolete both in his own, and the Opinion of Others: for, writing his Diſputations in the Way of Dialogue, he divides the Diſcourſe between two Perſons,* Charilaus *and* Ariſtippus; *of whom the One defends* Ariſtotle, *who, beſides Matter, ſuppoſed a certain Firſt Mover, but denied a Providence, the Other vindicates thoſe ancient Philoſophers, who, he ſuppoſed, would have every thing to be corporeal, and to have made no diſtinction between the firſt Mover, and the Corporeal Univerſe. And thus, in one and the ſame Work, has he diſplayed the different Arguments both of the* Ariſtotelean *and Peripatetic Impiety, though he more largely and zealouſly cultivated the Doctrines of* Ariſtotle, *That in particular, which he has delivered in the Eighth Book of his Phyſics, and his Book,* de Cœlo & Rerum Generatione, *in which the Philoſopher pretends to have raiſed the Fabric of the Univerſe without an Architectal Providence. Nor has he inſinuated his wicked Tenets in One or Two Chapters (as* Cæſalpinus *has done) but has openly eſpouſed the whole Peripatetic Impiety; nor was he ſatisfied, like him, with deſtroying a Providence, but (which requires no very great Degree of Wit) muſt ridicule and laugh at the Notion. - - - - - But it is not worth my while, at preſent, to confute this Author, any more than* Cæſalpinus, *though he has handled the Subject much more copiouſly, and indeed delineated a compleat Syſtem of Peripatetic Impiety, becauſe, in* Ariſtotle *alone, All his Followers ſtand condemned.*” Mr *de Villemandy*, a *French* Miniſter (3), paſſes the ſame Judgment; for he looks upon *Berigardus* as a great Favourer of *Pyrrhoniſm*, and a Propagator of Impiety: “Veſtigiis ejus (Pomponatii) inſtitit Berigardus *in Circulis Piſanis* ſub ſæculi hujus initium. Quanta ab his, nonnulliſque aliis ejuſdem ordinis doctoribus, malorum ſeges in

(1) Samuelis Parker, Diſput. de Deo. &c. pag. 67.

(2) Ib ibid. pag. 68.

(3) *He was Profeſſor of Philoſophy at* Saumur, *at the Revocation of the Edict of* Nantes, *and he has been ſince Rector of the* Walloon *College* at Leyden.

" ſcientiis, ſocietate civili, & religione luxuriarit, norunt eruditi (4). —— Berigardus *in his* Circuli Piſani *trod in His* (Pomponatius'*s*) *Steps, about the beginning of this Century. The Learned know what a plentiful Crop of Evils has ſprung up, by means of theſe and the like Teachers, in The Sciences, in Civil Society, and in Religion.*" He explains himſelf more fully in another place. " Ipſorum quidem dubitationes, contendendique pruritus, eò uſque non evagantur, ut vel Divinam Providentiam, vel etiam Exiſtentiam, aperte ſummoveant; ita tamen procedunt eorum nonnulli, ut ſummovere velle videantur: utcunque ſit, ſuſpecta eſt admodum eorum religio ac fides. Cum, ex. g. *Claudius Berigardus, in Circulis ſuis Piſanis,* res omnes Phyſicas, imo & Divinas pleraſque, ex principiis Ariſtotelis ita declarat & aſtruit, ut eaſdem illas ex oppoſitis Anaximandri hypotheſibus, purum atheiſmum redolentibus, continuò impugnet ac ſubvertat; an quicquam in rebus Phyſicis ſtabile & immotum relinquit? Nonne contrà perpetuâ ſua ille libratione cunctas ſuſpendit? Deinde quò tendit aſſumpta hæc Anaximandri hypotheſis, quam Berigardus Ariſtotelicæ longè præfert, niſi eò ut in Supremi Numinis ejuſque Providentiæ locum infinitam quandam materiam, infinitis corporibus diſſimilaribus, ex ſeipſis mobilibus, conflatam, hoc eſt, in *Veri Dei* locum *Cæcam Naturam* ſubſtituat (5)? —— *Their Scepticiſm, and Itch of Diſputation, do not run ſuch lengths, as openly to ſet aſide the Providence, or Exiſtence, of* God; *yet ſome of them proceed ſo far, that they ſeem inclined to deny both: be it as it will, there is great reaſon to ſuſpect their Religion and their Faith. For inſtance, when* Claudius Berigardus, *in his* Circuli Piſani, *ſo lays down and eſtabliſhes all Phyſical Effects, and even many Divine, upon* Ariſtotle'*s Principles, as immediately to attack, and overthrow, them by the Oppoſite Hypotheſes of* Anaximander, *which ſavour of downright Atheiſm, can he be ſaid to have left any thing certain, and that may be depended upon, in Natural Philoſophy? On the contrary, does he not bring every thing into doubt by his continual Wavering? Laſtly, whither tends this Hypotheſis of* Anaximander, *which* Berigardus *has aſſumed, and prefers to That of* Ariſtotle, *but to ſubſtitute an infinite Matter, compoſed of infinite diſſimilar, ſelf-moving, Corpuſcles, in the Room of a Supream Deity, and his Providence; that is,* Blind Nature *in the Room of the* True God?" He quotes him, page 100, as having ſaid a Thing, which is full of Libertiniſm; but it is worth remarking, that the Words, which he aſcribes to him, and which are printed in *Italics,* are not to be found in his Work. Theſe are his Words. " Ex iis duci quidem notionem Virtutis cujuſdam, quæ omnia diſpoſuerit, ac ſapientiſſime regat, ſed hanc nihil aliud eſſe, quam Univerſi totius corporei vigorem, ab ipſo ſola ratione diſtinctum: cujus Univerſi ſingulæ partes, divinitatis participes, ſe ipſis miſceantur ad omnia componenda, nullo alio Intellectu ordinante, quam ſua ipſarum energia, perinde ad finem optimum tendente ac ſi ab aliqua mente dirigerentur (6). - - - - - - *Hence we deduce the Notion of a certain Virtue, which diſpoſed, and moſt wiſely governs, all things; but that This Virtue is nothing elſe but the Energy of the whole corporeal Univerſe, and is diſtinct from it only in the Order of our Ideas; that All things are formed by the Intermixture of the ſeveral Parts of This Univerſe, each partaking of Divinity, and ranged in order by no other Intellect, than their own Energy, tending as ſurely to the beſt end, as if directed by any Mind whatever.*" Mr *de Villemandy* ſhould, therefore, have told his Readers, that he did not quote the Text of *Berigardus,* but the Paraphraſe of his Thought. I have quoted That Author, in the Article RUFINUS, Remark [*C*].

(4) Petrus de Villemandy, in Scepticiſmo debellato, pag. 11.

(5) Id. ibid. pag. 28, 29.

(6) Villemandy, ubi ſupra, pag. 100. *He quotes* Berigard. Circulor. Piſanor. Parte II. Circulo 19.

BERYTUS, a maritime Town of *Phœnicia,* near Mount *Libanus,* was alſo called *Beroë* [*A*]. It was ſaid, that *Saturn* built it (*a*). It had a good Harbour, the Deſcription whereof is to be found in the Itinerary of *John Phocas* (*b*). *Strabo* ſays, that it was ruined by *Trypho,* and rebuilt by the *Romans* (*c*). It was *Auguſtus,* who rebuilt it (*d*), and made a Colony of it, which was called *Julia Felix* (*e*), and enjoyed the *Jus Italicum* (*f*). *Agrippa* led two Legions thither (*g*). It was one of the three Cities, in which the Civil-Law was publickly taught [*B*]; The other two were *Rome,* and *Conſtantinople.* There is ſome reaſon to believe, that there were more Profeſſors in *Berytus,* than in either of the other two [*C*]. The Conflagrations, Inundations, and Earthquakes, which ruined it ſeveral Times, did not hinder the Law-Schools from

(*a*) Stephan. Byzant. in voce βηρυτός.

(*b*) *See* Berkelius, in Steph. Byzantin. voce βηρυτός.

(*c*) Strabo, lib. xvi. pag. 520.

(*d*) Euſeb. in Chron. n. 2003.

(*e*) Plinius, lib. v. cap. 20. p. 574.

(*f*) Ulpianus de Cenſibus apud Scalig. Animadv. in Euſebium, n. 1003, pag. 171.

(*g*) Strabo, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *It was alſo called* Beroë.] Neither the Teſtimony of *Euſebius,* alledged by Father *Hardouin* (1), nor That of *Stephanus Byzantinus,* alledged by *William Grotius* (2), ſerve me for a Proof; for I have not found, that *Euſebius,* or *Stephanus Byzantinus,* ſay ſo. My Proofs are Thoſe, which *Scaliger* found in the Epigrams of *John Barbucalles,* on the burning of *Berytus,* and in the Forty firſt Book of the *Dionyſiaca* of *Nonnus* (3), and Thoſe, which Mr *Menage* diſcovered in the third Book of the ſame *Dionyſiaca* (4), and in an Epigram of the *Anthologia* (5), where *Bertrand* (6) would, without Reaſon, have changed the Word Βερόη into That of Βηρυτός (7).

[*B*] *It was one of the three Cities, in which the Civil-Law was publickly taught.*] In all the *Roman* Empire, there were but theſe three Cities, which were permitted to have Schools of Law. This is ſurprizing, when we conſider the Extent of That Empire; and more ſurprizing ſtill, when we think of the many Univerſities, which are at preſent in *Europe.* What a Change of Cuſtoms? The ſeven *United-Provinces,* which are but a Point in the Map, in compariſon of the *Roman* Monarchy, have twice or thrice as many Schools of Civil-Law, as there were in That vaſt State. Let us prove what ought to be proved: " Hæc autem tria volumina *(they are* Juſtinian's *Words)* (8) à nobis compoſita tradi eis tam in regiis urbibus (9), quàm in Berytienſium pulcherrima civitate (quam & legum nutricem bene quis appellet) tantummodo volumus: quod jam & à retro principibus conſtitutum eſt, & non in aliis locis, quæ à Majoribus tale non meruerint privilegium. — *We will, that theſe Three Volumes, compoſed by us, be delivered only to Thoſe of the Royal Cities* (Rome *and* Conſtantinople) *and the flouriſhing City of* Berytus, *which may deſervedly be called The Nurſery of The Law: it having been ſo conſtituted and appointed by Our Predeceſſors, and no other Places having deſerved to enjoy ſuch a Privilege.*" Theſe Words inform us, that the Predeceſſors of *Juſtinian* fixed the number of the Schools of Civil-Law to Three; but it is not known, at what time This was done. The firſt, who, in Mr *Menage*'s Opinion (10), has mentioned the School of *Berytus,* is *Gregory Thaumaturgus* (11), who lived under *Alexander Severus.* The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Euſebius* makes mention of a young Martyr, who ſuffered death under the Reign of *Maximian,* and who had ſtudied at *Berytus* (12). That School was, then, very flouriſhing (13). It was no leſs ſo, when *Zachary* of *Mitylene* wrote againſt *Ammonius*: He calls *Berytus* μητέρα τῶν νόμων, *parentem legum.* He flouriſhed in the VIth Century. His Treatiſe is in the eleventh Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum,* in the Edition of *Paris,* 1644.

[*C*] *There were more Profeſſors in* Berytus, *than in either of the other two.*] The Title *de ſtudiis liberalibus urbis Romæ & Conſtantinopolitanæ,* in the *Theodoſian* Code, and in That of *Juſtinian,* informs us, that there were but two Profeſſors of Law at *Rome,* and two at *Conſtantinople.* Now, as *Juſtinian* addreſſes the Conſtitution, *de juris docendi ratione,* to eight Profeſſors of Law, we muſt conclude, that there were four of them in the School of *Berytus.* See Mr *Menage* (14).

(1) Nam, & Berœam appellatam eſſe auctor eſt Euſebius in Chron. Harduin. in Plin. lib. v. cap. 20. pag. 574.

(2) Guil. Grotius de vitis Juriſconſ. lib. ii, cap. 6. pag. 144.

(3) Scalig. Animad. in Euſeb. n. 1713. pag. 130.

(4) Menagius, Jur. Civil. Amœnit. cap. xxiv. pag. 132.

(5) *It is in the firſt Title of the fourth Book.*

(6) Bertrand. de vitis Juriſconſ. p. 4.

(7) *Mr* Menage, *and* Will. Grotius, *as cited above, confute him.*

(8) Juſtinian. Præfat. in Digeſta de juris docendi ratione.

(9) *That is,* Rome, *and* Conſtantinople.

(10) Menag. Amænit. Juriſ. p. 133.

(11) In Oratione Panegyrica, ad Originem.

(12) Euſebius de Martyrib. Palæſtinæ, cap. 4. pag. 323.

(13) *See* Bertrand in Vitis Juriſ. pag. 5, *who quotes* lib. i, C. qui æt. ſe excuſ.

(14) Menag. ubi ſupra.

from being ſet up there again [*D*]. The Metropolitan Dignity, which *Theodoſius* the Younger granted to the Biſhops of *Berytus*, was only titular [*E*].

[*D*] *The Conflagrations,* &c. *did not hinder the Law Schools from being ſet up there again.*] For proof of this, I will give you the following Words of *Francis Baudouin*. “Berytum Syriæ urbem fuiſſe nutricem legum Ro. ait noſter. Juſt. ut & Juriſprudentiæ Eunapius vocat, & ante utrumque Nonnus multo magis. Quid igitur? Tempore Conſtantii terræ motu convulſam fuiſſe ait Cedrenus. Sed fuiſſe reſtitutam & tempore Juſtiniani noſtri floruiſſe conſtat. Cum vero Juſtinianus jam illi ſuos juris civilis libros explicandos tradidiſſet, ecce horribiliori terræ motu cum auditoribus & doctoribus abſorpta eſt. Teſtis eſt Agathias. Sed idem teſtis eſt eo caſu minime deterritum Juſtinianum fuiſſe quominus illam inſtaureret. Ergo rurſus inſtauratam eſſe quo magis ſemper extaret ſedes juriſprudentiæ. Mirum vero, ecce paulo poſt inundatione & incendio iterum vaſtatam eſſe lego. Nam id teſtatur vetus liber Græcorum Epigrammatum. Necdum tamen ceſſerunt talibus tempeſtatibus qui afflictæ juriſprudentiæ opem ferre debuerunt (15). —— Berytus, *a City of* Syria, *was called, by* Juſtinian, *the Nurſery of the* Roman *Law; by* Eunapius, *the Mother of the Civil-Law;* *and by* Nonnus, *before them both, much more. What then?* Cedrenus *tells us, it was thrown down by an Earthquake in the Time of* Conſtantius. *But we know, that it was rebuilt, and that it was in a flouriſhing Condition in the Reign of our* Juſtinian. *But no ſooner had* Juſtinian *delivered to it his Books of Civil-Law, to be explained, but it was ſwallowed up, together with it's Auditors and Doctors, by a more dreadful Earthquake.* Agathias *teſtifies This. But the ſame Author informs us, that* Juſtinian *was not in the leaſt deterred by this Accident from rebuilding it. It was therefore reſtored, that it might for ever be The Seat of Law. Yet, ſtrange to relate! I read, that it was, very ſoon after, deſtroyed by an Inundation, and Conflagration. This is teſtified by an old Book of* Greek *Epigrams. Yet theſe great Calamities did not prevent Thoſe, whoſe Duty it was, from ſuccouring the Diſtreſſed Law.*

[*E*] *The Metropolitan Dignity —— of it's Biſhop was only titular.*] *Theodoſius* the Younger, being impoſed upon by *Euſtathius*, Biſhop of *Berytus*, made this Decree (16). “Propter multas juſtaſque cauſas Metropolitano nomine & dignitate civitatem Berytum decernimus exornandam, jam ſuis virtutibus coronatam. Igitur hæc quoque Metropolitanam habeat dignitatem, Tyro nihil de ſuo jure derogetur. Sit illa mater Provinciæ majorum noſtrorum beneficio; hæc noſtro. —— *Many and juſt Reaſons moving us thereto, we decree, that the City of* Berytus, *already crowned with it's Virtues, be adorned with the Metropolitan Title and Dignity, ſaving to* Tyre *it's full Rights and Privileges. Be She the Mother of the Province, by the Favour of our Predeceſſors; This by Our Own.*” The Emperor declares, that he will not leſſen the Rights of the Metropolis of *Tyre* in any manner whatever: He did not pretend, then, that the Biſhop of *Berytus* ſtruck at any of Thoſe Rights. Nevertheleſs, *Euſtathius*, ſpurred by Ambition, uſurped Authority over many Churches, which depended on the Metropolis of *Tyre*. Complaints were made of it to the Council of *Chalcedon*, who reſtrained him within his Bounds; and the Privilege, which *Theodoſius* had granted him, was like That, which *Marcian* afterwards granted to the City of *Chalcedon*. “Chalcedonenſem civitatem, in qua ſanctæ fidei concilium geſtum eſt, Metropolis privilegia habere ſancimus, nomine tantum, ſalva videlicet Nicomedienſium civitati propria dignitate. —— *We decree, that* Chalcedon, *where was held a Council of the Holy Faith, ſhall enjoy the Privileges of a Metropolis, in Name only, that is ſaving the juſt Dignity of the City of* Nicomedia.” Conſult Father *Noris* (17).

(15) Franciſcus Balduinus, ad L. ſi pact. C. de part. ſub fin.

(16) *It is in the 11th Book of the* Code *of* Juſtinian. Tit. xxi.

(17) Noris de anno & epochis Syro-Macedonum Diſſert. 4. cap. 3, p. 400, 401. *Edit.* Lipſ. 1696.

ST BERNARD, Abbot of *Clairvaux*, flouriſhed in the XIIth Century. He acquired ſo great an Eſteem, that the whole Weight of the Church ſeemed to lie on his Shoulders, and that Kings and Princes made choice of him for the general Arbitrator of their Differences [*A*]. It is certain, that he had very great Talents, and a great deal of Zeal; but ſome pretend, that his Zeal made him too jealous of Thoſe, who acquired a great Name by the Study of Human Learning; and they add, that his mild and eaſy Temper rendered him too credulous, when he heard any ill Report of Thoſe learned Perſons. They believe, that, by reaſon of theſe Principles, he ſuffered himſelf to be too much prejudiced againſt *Abelard* [*B*]. It is difficult to imagine, that he was free from human Paſſions, when he made it his whole Buſineſs to procure Anathemas againſt all Thoſe, who appeared to him to be Heterodox: But it is very eaſy to conceive, that his great Reputation, and the Ardour, with which he ſollicited the Condemnation of his Adverſaries, impoſed upon the Judges, and made the accuſed Perſons ſink under the Weight of Thoſe irregular Proceedings. However it be, he verified the Interpretation

[*A*] *He acquired ſo great an Eſteem, that - - - - - Princes made choice of him for the general Arbitrator of their Differcnces.*] It will not be improper, upon this Occaſion, to hear *Francis d'Amboiſe*: thus he expreſſes himſelf. “Plus favoris in humilitate adeptus, quam Salomon in omni gloria ſua, ita omnes in ſui admirationem - - - - - ad famam ſui nominis, ad ſui amorem & obſervantiam, rapuit, ut ad eum totius Orbis Vota concurrerent, ut ab ejus monitis & exemplis tota res monaſtica & eccleſiaſtica pendere viſa ſit, ut ab ejus oraculis Præſules, Principes, Populi, conſilium expeterent, eumque induciarum ac pacis arbitrum agnoſcerent, & ſe ejus orationibus omnes Ordines cupiverint eſſe commendatos (1). - - - - *Having gained more Favour in his Humility, than* Solomon *in all his Glory, he was ſo generally admired and beloved, that he had the good Wiſhes of the whole World, that Monaſtic and Eccleſiaſtical Affairs ſeemed wholly to depend on his Precepts and Example; that he was conſulted as an Oracle by high and low, and acknowledged as the Arbiter both of Truces and of Peace, and that all Orders of Men deſired to be recommended to his Prayers.*

[*B*] *His Zeal made him jealous - - - - - and his eaſy Temper made him credulous - - - - - with regard to learned Men, and particularly* Abelard.] I have quoted a long Paſſage of *Francis d'Amboiſe*, in the preceding Remark: here is another ſtill longer. “Pace igitur Sancti Abbatis liceat dicere quod de eo auſus eſt Annalibus mandare ejus diſcipulus, Clarævallenſis quondam Monachus, demum Abbas Morimontanus, Otho, Epiſcopus, Friſingenſis, Leopoldi Pii Marchionis Auſtriæ filius, Frederici I. Ænobarbi, cujus vitam ſcripſit, patruus, qui quamvis Abbatem ſuum in magna habuerit veneratione, tamen ſcribit eum ex Religionis Chriſtianæ fervore zelotypum, & ex habitudinali (ſic enim loquitur) manſuetudine quodammodo credulum, ut Magiſtros qui humanis rationibus & ſeculari ſapientiæ confidenter nimium inhærebant abhorreret, & de talibus ſiniſtrum quid recitanti facile aurem præberet, juxa illud Feſti, τὰ πολλὰ γράμματα εἰς μανιαν περιτρέπει. Quo fieri potuit ut ſibi in animum induxerit quædam eſſe dicta aut ſcripta ab Abælardo quæ non eſſent, aut quæ in pejorem partem accipi non deberent (2).” - - - - - - - *Let me, therefore, by the Holy Abbot's Leave, repeat “what*

(1) Fr. Amboeſius Præfat. Operibus Abælardi præfixa.

(2) Ibid.

tation of his Mother's Dream. She dreamed, when ſhe was with Child of him, that ſhe ſhould be delivered of a white Dog, whoſe Barking ſhould be very ſonorous [*C*]. Being frighted at this Dream, ſhe conſulted an honeſt Monk, who ſaid to her, *Be of good Courage; you will have a Son, who ſhall keep* GOD's *Houſe, and bark much againſt the Enemies of the Faith* [*D*]. St *Bernard* did more, than the Prediction imported; for he barked ſometimes againſt chimerical Enemies, againſt Errors, which were either meer Trifles, or unjuſt Interpretations of the Words and Thoughts of others (*a*): And, whether he was in the right, or in the wrong, he could give the Alarm admirably, and make the Thunder of his Triumphs reſound [*E*]. He was more ſucceſsful in exterminating the Heterodox, than in the Ruin of Infidels; and yet he attacked the latter, not only with the Force of his Eloquence, but with the extraordinary Arms, likewiſe, of Prophecy. By this means he increaſed the Troops of the *Cruſade* more than can be expreſſed; but all the fair Promiſes, with which he fed them, vaniſhed in Smoke; and, when it was complained, that he had ſent a vaſt Number of Chriſtians to the Slaughter, without ſtirring out of his Country, he came

"*what has been recorded, in Annals, by a Diſciple of His, formerly a Monk of* Clairvaux, *I mean* Otho, *Biſhop of* Friſingen, *Son of* Leopold *the Pious, Marquis of* Auſtria, *and Uncle of* Frederic I. Ænobarbus, *whoſe Life he wrote; who, though he held his Abbot in great Veneration, yet writes, that he was blinded by a miſtaken Zeal for the Chriſtian Religion, and, through an habitual Mildneſs of Temper, was become very credulous; inſomuch, that he had in abhorrence Thoſe Teachers, who too confidently adhered to Human Reaſons, and worldly Wiſdom, and readily believed every Thing ill, which was reported of ſuch Perſons; according to That of* Feſtus, Much Learning hath made thee mad. *And this, perhaps, occaſioned him to take it into his Head, that ſome things were ſaid, or written, by* Abelard, *which were not, or which ſhould not have been taken in a bad Senſe.*"

[*C*] *His Mother dreamed - - - - - ſhe ſhould be delivered of a white Dog, whoſe Barking ſhould be very ſonorous.*] Her Name was *Aletha*; her Husband, the Father of St *Bernard*, was called *Teſſelinus*. "Cum mater Aletha uxor Teſſelini in utero geſtaret, ſomnio vidit præſagium futuri partus, catellum ſcilicet ſe parituram totum candidum, in dorſo ſubrufum, & clarè latrantem (3). - - - - - - *His Mother* Aletha, *the Wife of* Teſſelinus, *being with Child, ſaw, in a Dream, a Preſage of the future Birth; to wit, a little white Dog, with a reddiſh Back, and barking with a ſhrill Tone.*"

[*D*] *An honeſt Monk told her - - - - - ſhe ſhould have a Son - - - - - - who ſhould bark much againſt the Enemies of the Faith.*] I ſhall again quote *Francis d' Amboiſe*. "Cui (*Alethæ*) de illo terriculamento anxiæ & ſciſcitanti reſpondit religioſus quidam vaticinii ſpiramine afflatus: optimi catuli mater eris, qui Domus Dei cuſtos futurus, validos pro ea contra inimicos fidei editurus eſt latratus (4). - - - - Aletha, *greatly terrified, enquired of a certain Monk, who, with a Spirit of Prophecy, ſaid to her; you ſhall be the Mother of a moſt excellent little Dog, who ſhall guard the Houſe of* GOD, *and bark ſtrongly againſt the Enemies of the Faith.*" He does not deſcend to the particular Explication of the *White* and *Red*, as others do, who ſay, That the Whiteneſs of This Dog ſignified, that St *Bernard* would be mild and courteous to the Friends of the Houſe; that is, to pious Perſons: And, that the Redneſs of the Dog ſignified, that he would be wild and fierce to the Impious, and Strangers; and that he would bark continually at them (5): For it is the Property of a good Dog to careſs his Maſter's Friends and Domeſtics; and to fly with great Fury at Strangers, with continual barking, and even with biting. *In peregrinos ferus & atrox eos cauda erecta continuis latratibus, imo morſibus, interdum inſectetur* (6). *Francis d' Amboiſe*, omitting this Diſtinction of the two Colours, obſerves, that St *Bernard* confirmed the Prophecy, and ſpared no body. *Firmavit vaticinium nec enim ulli pepercit* (7). He fell upon *Abelard*, *Arnauld* of *Breſſe*, *Peter de Bruys*, *Gilbert Porretanus*, &c. In a Word, they do not do him Juſtice, who call him only a Hound, or a Maſtiff Dog; he may, in ſome ſenſe, be compared to *Nimrod*, and ſtiled, *A mighty Hunter before the Lord* (8).

A THOUGHT of *Cicero*, concerning the Dogs of the Capitol, applied to the Depoſitaries of Truth.

Give me leave to digreſs a little concerning the Dream of St *Bernard*'s Mother. It was a lucky Thought of Him, who explained it; for, in ſhort, can there be a better Symbol of Vigilance, than a Dog? Can there be a more natural Image of the Aſſaults, given to Error, as well *viva voce*, as in Writing, than the Barking of a Dog? Only we muſt take care not to carry the Compariſon too far; ſince there are but too many Perſons, in all Countries, and in all Ages, who, to avoid being called dumb Dogs, bark in Seaſon, and out of Seaſon, and bite, and tear, all who do not pleaſe them. Thoſe Dogs, that were kept at *Rome*, to guard the Capitol, were deſigned to make a Noiſe at the approach of Robbers: And, for that Reaſon, it was not thought ſtrange, that they barked in the Night, if they heard any body; for it is an unſeaſonable Time, which gives ground for Suſpicions; and, therefore, they let them bark, whether Thoſe, whom they heard go by, were honeſt Men, or Thieves; But, if theſe Dogs had barked, in the Day-time, at Thoſe who came to the Temple to pay their Devotion, They would have had their Legs broken. I borrow this from an ancient *Roman*; the Application is eaſy to be made. "Anſeribus cibaria publice locantur, & canes aluntur in Capitolio ut ſignificent ſi fures venerint. At fures internoſcere non poſſunt, ſignificant tamen, ſi qui noctu in Capitolium venerint: & quia id eſt ſuſpicioſum, tametſi beſtiæ ſunt, tamen in eam partem potius peccant quæ eſt cautior. Quod ſi luce quoque canes latrent quum deos ſalutatum aliqui venerint, opinor iis crura ſuffringantur, quod acres ſint etiam tum quum ſuſpicio nulla ſit (9)." The Public maintains you to guard the Truth; make a Noiſe, then, againſt all Comers, if you have Ingenuity enough to compare yourſelf to a Dog, who cannot diſcern any Perſon through the Darkneſs of the Night. If you are in Darkneſs, either by reaſon of your Incapacity, or becauſe Paſſions cloud your Judgment, and if you have the Honeſty to acknowledge the Obſcurity, which ſurrounds you, you ought to be excuſed; but if you pretend to the Quality of a Great Doctor, who acts only for the Glory of GOD, without any Motive of Perſonal Revenge; and, if, nevertheleſs, you involve a great Number of good Men in your Informations, your Libels, and Denunciations, you deſerve to be puniſhed; you are unworthy of your Station; you are a Dog, that falls indifferently on Friends and Foes; which muſt needs cauſe a thouſand Diſorders. You are one of thoſe *Engliſh* Maſtiffs, on which the Jeſuit *Maimbourg* once employed one of the four Parts of his Sermon (10). Many Pamphlets, ſtuffed with Lamentations, and Extracts of complaining Letters, have appeared in *Holland* within theſe few Years, as if a very conſiderable Part of the Miniſters, fled from *France*, had conſpired to introduce the moſt abominable Errors, wherever they are diſperſed (11). But, after all, not one guilty Perſon has been diſcovered, what Pains ſoever have been taken to do it. Ought ſuch Dogs, deſtitute of Diſcernment, to go unpuniſhed?

[*E*] *He could give the Alarm, admirably, and make the Thunder of his Triumphs reſound.*] I only tread in the Steps of the Sieur *d' Amboiſe*, a very good Catholic. He obſerves, that St *Bernard*'s Letters, written to the Prelates of *Rome*, and to the Pope,

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(*a*) *See Remark* [*I*], *of the Article* BERENGARIUS.

(3) Id. ibid. ex Willelmo vitæ Bernardi, lib. i.

(4) Ibid. ex eodem.

(5) *See* Philippus Cœſius a Zeſen, in cœlo Aſtronomico-poëtico. p. 256.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Fr. Amboeſ. in Præf. Apolog. ad Abælardi Opera.

(8) Geneſ. x, 9.

(9) Cicero pro Roſcio Amerino, cap. xx.

(10) *See the Preface, prefixed to the Defence of the* French *Tranſlation of the* New Teſtament. *of* Mons, *Edit. of* Cologne, 1668.

(11) *The Biſhop of* Meaux *drew great Advantages from them, in his Advertiſements. See the* Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, *May*, 1692, pag. 409, & ſeq.

came off with ſaying, that the Sins of Thoſe, who had taken up the Croſs, had prevented the Effect of his Prophecies [*F*]. There is no Impoſtor, but may ſhelter himſelf behind ſuch an Intrenchment. St *Bernard* was canonized: He is one of the greateſt Saints in the *Romiſh* Communion; and it is pretended, that he wrought a world of Miracles, both in his Life-time, and after his Death. Obſerve, that he once went up to his Neck into the Water, to free himſelf from the Temptation, into which the Sight of a Woman had led him *(b)*. The beſt Edition that we have of his Works, is That of 1690. It is the ſecond, which the learned Father *Mabillon* took care to procure. The Journaliſts of *Leipſic* have ſpoken very exactly of it *(c)*: It is accompanied with ſeveral learned Prefaces. It is acknowledged, in one of them, that St *Bernard* taught, that the Souls of the Bleſſed are received into Heaven, and into the Society of the Angels, as ſoon as they are ſeparated from their Bodies, but that they enjoy only the Sight of the Humanity of JESUS CHRIST, and not the Sight of GOD.

(*b*) Vita Bern. lib. i, cap. 3. apud Lyſerum, Tract. de Polygam. pag. 130.

(*c*) In Sect. xi, Supplementorum, Tom. I. pag. 565.

Pope, were the fitteſt in the World to prejudice, and exaſperate, them againſt *Abelard*; they mentioned nothing but Sacrileges, Lyons, and Dragons. “Legite, ſi placet, librum, quem dicit, Theologiæ, legite & alium, quem dicunt, ſententiarum, nec non & illum qui inſcribitur, Scito te ipſum, & animadvertite quantæ ibi ſilveſcant ſegetes ſacrilegiorum & errorum. - - - - Leonem evaſimus, ſed incidimus in Draconem (12). - - - - *Read, I beſeech you, his Book (as he calls it) of* Divinity; *Read another (as it is called) of his* Sentences, *and That entituled,* Know thy ſelf; *and obſerve how plentifully Sacrilege and Error ſprings up in them. - - - - We have eſcaped a Lion, but are fallen into the Claws of a Dragon.*” He was not contented to write in his own Name, but dictated ſome Letters for the Archbiſhop of *Reims*, and three of his Suffragans, in which they demanded the Thunders of the Court of *Rome*; and, when they had obtained the Condemnation of the Propoſitions, they had ſent to the Pope, they publiſhed it abroad as a compleat Victory; though, at the bottom, the Pope had pronounced nothing againſt *Abelard*'s Perſon. Their Flouriſhes, and the great Stir they made, prevented every where the Cauſe of the Accuſed from being heard. They prepoſſeſſed the Minds of every one. Theſe are the common Artifices of Caballers; I do not ſay, that others never make uſe of them. “At accuſatores potentiſſimi, tanquam albis equis triumphantes, lætum pæana cantarunt, victoriamque ſuam toto orbe diſſeminarunt; ita ut miſer ille inauditus apud probos quamplurimos male audiret, & ejus exemplaria, quæ Galliam Italiamque ſplendore colluſtrarant, tanquam horrendi criminis carmina vel voracibus rogis cremanda traderentur, vel in ſitu, ſqualore, & cinere veterum bibliothecarum latitantia putreſcerent. (13). - - - - - *But his moſt powerful Accuſers, triumphing as it were on white Horſes, ſang a joyful Pæan, and ſpread their Victory over all the World; inſomuch, that the poor Wretch was condemned, unheard, by many good Men, and his Works, which were the Ornament of* France *and* Italy, *like blaſphemous, or obſcene, Poems, were either thrown into the Fire, or rotted in old duſty Libraries.*”

(12) Amboeſius, ubi ſupra.

(13) Id. ib.

[*F*] *When he was reproached with the ill Succeſs of his Cruſade, he came off with ſaying, that the Sins of the* Croiſes *has prevented the Effects of his Prophecies.*] This is, in truth, the whole Center of his Manifeſto (14); for, if he alledges the Example of *Moſes*, to ſhelter himſelf under the inviolable Authority of ſo great a Name, it is becauſe he pretended, that the Members of the *Cruſade* were no leſs polluted with Crimes, than the Children of *Iſrael*, and that therefore both had diverted the Effects of the Promiſes. See what a modern Philoſopher (15) thought upon This.

(14) *Read the* Hiſtory of the *Cruſades, by Father* Maimbourg, lib. iv, pag. 39, & ſeq. *of* Part II, *Edit.* Holl.

(15) *The Author of* Several Thoughts on Comets, p. 779, 780.

BEROALDUS (MATTHEW) [*A*], born at *Paris*, taught the *Hebrew* Tongue at *Orleans*, in 1565. Thoſe of *Rochel* offered him an Employ in their College, in the Year 1571 (*a*). I believe he did not accept of it. He was in *Sancerre*, when the Marſhal *de la Châtre* beſieged it, a little after the Maſſacre of *Paris* (*b*); and He did the Inhabitants great Services by his wiſe and courageous Counſels [*B*]. At his leaving *Sancerre*, he retired to *Sedan*, where he read Hiſtorical Lectures. Some were offended at the manner, in which it is pretended, that he ſpoke of *Francis* I, in his Lectures [*C*]. I cannot tell at what time he was Miniſter of *Geneva* [*D*]; but it

(*a*) Colomes. Gall. Orient. pag. 45.

(*b*) *See the Hiſtory of* Sancerre, pag. 199.

[*A*] *He was called* MATTHEW.] *Theophilus Raynaud*, by Miſtake, calls him *Michael* (1). *Thomaſius*, I find, doubts, whether This be a Miſtake (2): He ſhould not have doubted of it.

[*B*] *And did the Inhabitants of* Sancerre *great Services by his wiſe and courageous Counſels.*] *D'Aubigné* obſerves this in two Places. “The *Sancerrois*, *ſays he* (3), compoſed alſo a Council, in which they found themſelves particularly happy in *Beroaldus*, formerly *Hebrew* Reader at *Orleans*. He accompanied his Counſels with Courage. - - - - - The Beſieged, being very much aſtoniſhed at this News, wanted to be ſupported by their Paſtors; but chiefly ſtood in need of the wiſe and courageous Counſels of *Beroaldus*; according to which, they reſolved to endure all the Miſeries of a Siege, and that they, who would not conſent to it, ſhould be thrown over the Walls (4).”

[*C*] *Some were offended at the manner, in which it is pretended, that he ſpoke of* Francis I, *in his Lectures.*] A Miniſter, who was then at *Sedan*, and who abjured his Religion afterwards, publiſhed what follows. “It is to be noted, that *Matthew Beroaldus*, a learned Man among them, and one of their Profeſſors, being retired from *Sancerre* to *Sedan*, was deſired, by the Preſident *la Louëtte*, and ſome others, to read ſome Lectures; which he did in the ſame Place, where they preach, and delivered a Syſtem of Chronology, which he ſaid he had made. Now, being come to the Reign of King *Francis* I, a Prince of Glorious Memory, and whom we may juſtly call the Father of Learning, and Reſtorer of Sciences, in This Kingdom of *France*; Advantages, which cannot be ſufficiently valued, and which all *Europe* felt afterwards: Being, I ſay, come to the Reign of This Great and Virtuous Prince, he ſpoke ſo impudently, and irreverently, of him, and of his moſt Illuſtrious, and moſt Chriſtian, Poſterity, that I know not one Man, breathing the Air of *France*, but would have been ſcandalized at it. The Preſident, the Bayliff, and other Magiſtrates, and all the Miniſters, reſiding then at *Sedan*, were preſent; who, if they had had a Chriſtian, and *French*, Heart, and not ungrateful for the Benefits ariſing from Learning, which That Good Prince revived, would certainly have been offended at it as well as myſelf, and would not have tolerated ſuch a Perſon. At leaſt, the Preſident, and others, who had Authority in the City, ſhould have given Notice of it to the Lord of the Place, who, being well affected to the Good of The Crown, and the King's Service, would, I am ſure, have puniſhed him according to his Deſerts. But is was ſmothered. I ſpoke of it myſelf to the Preſident, ſhewing him ſome other Faults, which the ſaid *Beroaldus* had committed in Chronology; and I exhorted him, by the Obedience, which we all owe to our Prince; and “for

(1) Theoph Rayn. de bonis & malis Libris, pag 166, & in Theol. Nat. pag. 66.

(2) Thomaſius de Plagio Literar. pag. 189.

(3) Tom. i. lib. i. ch. 9. pag. 578. ad Ann. 1572.

(4) Ibid. ch. 12, pag. 599, 600.

it cannot be queſtioned, that he was ſo; and, ſince he taught Philoſophy there, in the Year 1576 (c), there is ſome reaſon to believe, that he exerciſed the Miniſtry, there, at that time. He publiſhed a Book of Chronology, in the Year 1575, in which there is, doubtleſs, much Learning, but little Solidity. In ſtriving to do Honour to the Scripture, he loſes himſelf in a Labyrinth, which he cannot get out of. He pretends, that no other Guide is to be followed, in the Doctrine of Times, but the Writings inſpired by GOD [E]. *Scaliger* has plainly ſhewed the Inſufficiency of this Hypotheſis; but he has inveighed too much againſt The Author. *Moreri* goes too far, when he affirms, that, beſides the *Latin* Chronology, *there appeared many other Works of* Beroaldus, and that he *died about the Year* 1575, *or* 76. *La Croix du Maine*, whom he quotes, does not ſay ſo; but only, that *Beroaldus* was no longer living in the Year 1584, and that it was probable, his other Compoſitions would be publiſhed by the Care of his Son, the Sieur *de Verville*.

(c) *See Remark* [D].

"for the Honour of our Nation, to perform his "Duty in it; who anſwered me ſomewhat coldly, "that he could have wiſhed it had not been ſaid, "and that it was, in truth, a Piece of Imprudence. "Yet he made his Report of my Remonſtrance; "which incenſed them the more againſt me; tho' "without any outward Appearance of it, except a "few croſs Looks: but they waited for an Opportunity (5)." I am willing this Diſcourſe ſhould be as much ſuſpected of Falſhood, as any one pleaſes; and, if it be falſe, ſo much the better for this Dictionary; which ought principally to contain the Errors of other Books. Let this be ſaid with reſpect to a great many other Paſſages, which ſhall be quoted.

[D] *I cannot tell, at what time he was Miniſter of* Geneva.] *Beza* does not determine it; He only gives *Beroaldus* the Quality of his Colleague in the Church, which imports, as *Colomies* (6) well obſerves, that *Beroaldus* exerciſed the Miniſtry at *Geneva*. He alſo taught Philoſophy there, as the ſame *Colomies* obſerves (7), and as may be proved by the Epiſtle Dedicatory, which *Lambert Danæus* prefixed to the Treatiſe of Hereſies: It is ſaid there, that, in 1576, *Matthew Beroaldus* taught Philoſophy at *Geneva*. Here are *Beza*'s own Words: *Aliam igitur rurſus rationem iniit vir beatæ memoriæ, & meus ſuperioribus annis in hac Eccleſia collega, Beroaldus* (8). I believe *Beroaldus* went to be Profeſſor at *Geneva*, after he had been ſo at *Sedan*. *Scaliger* ſays, that *he read with great Applauſe, and was admired at* Sedan, *and at* Geneva, *where there were ſome great Men* (9).

[E] *He would have no other Guide —— than the Writings inſpired by* GOD.] In conſequence of this Maxim, he ſtruck *Cambyſes*, and *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, out of the Catalogue of the Kings of *Perſia*: *for*, ſays he, *Theſe Names appear no where in the Scripture*; — *quæ nomina, quia nunquam extant in Scriptura, è nobis ſunt prætermiſſa* (10). *Voſſius* pretends, that he is miſtaken as to the Fact; and that, if he was right in that Reſpect, he would, nevertheleſs, be much to blame in denying the Exiſtence of Thoſe Kings, under pretence that the Scripture makes no mention of them. *Scaliger* calls this manner of explaining the Times Fanatical and Prophetical (taking the laſt Word in an odious Senſe) and maintains, that, if the prophane Authors had not ſupplied us with ſome Light, the Chronology of the Scripture could never have been diſentangled. *Actum erat de Chronologia ſacra abſque exoticis monumentis foret* (11). He calls *Pareus Hierophantam Beroaldinum*.

(5) Defence of *Matthew de Launoy*, and *Henry Pennetier*, lately Miniſters, &c. pag. 32. *This Book was printed at* Paris, *in* 1577.

(6) Colomeſii Gallia Orient. p. 46.

(7) Ibid. pag. 45.

(8) Beza in Acta Apoſtol. cap. xiii. ver. 20, *where he treats of the* 450 *Years, that paſſed from* Joſhua *to* Samuel.

(9) In Scaligeranis.

(10) Beroald, lib. iii. Chron. c. 8. apud Voſſium de Scient. Mathem. pag. 233.

(11) In elencho Chronol. propheticæ, pag. 5, apud Voſſium, ibid.

BEROALDUS (FRANCIS), Sieur *de Verville*, Son of the foregoing, was born at *Paris* [A], the Twenty eighth of *April*, 1558 (a). He was a Man of Learning and Parts; but he did not make choice of proper Materials to perfect his natural Gifts. He took the pains to tranſlate *Polyphilus*'s Dream (b), and afterwards to compoſe a Piece of the ſame Stamp; it was entituled, *The Travels of Fortunate Princes*; which he called *Steganographical*. He wrote ſeveral Books of Chymiſtry, and ſeveral Tomes of Romances (c) [B], which are very tedious, and little better, than the Writings of *Nerveze*, and the Sieur *des Eſcuteaux*. Perhaps he would have done better to have continued exerciſing himſelf on the ſame Subjects, by which he appeared firſt in public. Being but Twenty two Years of Age, he publiſhed ſome *Commentaries on the Mechanics of* James Beſſon (d). He had ſcarce tried his Fortune this way, but he ran after the Philoſopher's Stone. In the Year 1583, were publiſhed *His Spiritual Apprehenſions, Poems, and other Philoſophical Works, with ſome Enquiries after the Philoſopher's Stone* (e). The Year after, he publiſhed a Poem, entituled, *The Idea of a Republic* (f).

(a) La Croix du Maine, pag. 480.

(b) Sorel Biblioth. Franç. pag. 173.

(c) Ib. pag. 177, 256.

(d) *Printed at* Lyons, *in* 1580, *and* 1581, *as* La Croix du Maine *ſays*, pag. 91.

(e) La Croix du Maine, pag. 92.

(f) Idem. pag. 480.

[A] *He was born at* Paris.] Mr *de Marolles* ought, then, to ſtrike him out of the Liſt, which he has given, of the Illuſtrious *Tourangeaux* (1).

[B] *He wrote ſeveral kinds of tedious Romances.*] He was Author of *The Adventures of* Florida, Minerva's *Cloſet*, *The Maid of* Orleans, *The Hiſtory of* Herodias, "and ſome other Works, wherein he introduces ſome Lords and Ladies, whoſe Converſations are not very ingenious; but, what is to be "eſteemed therein, is, the Sentiments of Honour "and Virtue, which are the fineſt in the World, "with many Secrets of Nature and Art, by means "whereof many extraordinary things are performed; "whereas the ancient *Romanus* referred every thing to "Magic, for want of Invention and Learning (2)."

(1) Memoirs, pag. 255.

(2) Sorel Bibl. Franç. pag. 177.

BERQUIN (LEWIS *de*,) a Gentleman of the Country of *Artois*, was burnt for the Proteſtant Religion, at *Paris*, the Twenty ſecond of *April*, 1529 [A]. He was

[A] *He was burnt, at* Paris, *the Twenty ſecond of* April 1529.] We have a Proof of this Chronology in a Letter of *Eraſmus*, dated the firſt of *July* 1529 (1). It contains an ample Relation of the Life and Death of *Lewis de Berquin*. It is expreſsly noted there, that he was burnt *decimo Calend. Majas*. This Proof would fix the Day of his Death, were it not for another Letter of *Eraſmus* (2), in which the Execution of *Berquin* is placed on the ſeventeenth of *April*, XV *Calend. Majas* (3). This Letter is dated the ninth of *May* 1529. All, that *Eraſmus* can do, is to fix us to the Month of *April* 1529; we muſt look on all the other Varieties as Miſtakes. *Mezerai* is miſtaken in the Year, and perhaps alſo in the Day: He affirms, that *Berquin* was burnt on the Twenty firſt of *April*, of the Year 1528 (4). *John Crepin*, in the Acts of the Martyrs, places the Death of This Perſon in the Month of *May*, in general, 1529. *Beza* places it on the Tenth of *November*, in the ſame Year (5), both in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and in another Work. *Frugibus nocte poſt interitum illius proxima (qui fuit undecimus dies Novembris anno Do-*

(1) *The 4th of the 24th Book*, pag. 1277.

(2) *The 48th of the 30th Book.*

(3) Bodin, Demonoman. lib. iv. cap. ult pag. 475.

(4) *In the* Diſcourſe concerning the Church, *at the end of the Life of* Henry IV.

(5) *The Night following, which was the Eve of St* Martin, *the Corn was blighted all over* France, *which cauſed a Famine, and Plague, in divers Places.* Beza Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. pag. 8.

was Lord of a Village, of which he bore the Name (*a*), and was very much eſteemed in the Court of *France*, and honoured with the Title of the King's Counſellor (*b*). He lived a good Life, and regularly obſerved the Precepts of the Church. He was a Layman, and unmarried; yet he was never cenſured, in relation to his Chaſtity. *Eraſmus*, who had learned theſe Particulars from ſome Perſons, whom he could depend upon, adds, that they had alſo informed him, that *Berquin* abhorred *Lutheraniſm* (*d*), and that the great Crime, which was found in him, was, that he openly profeſſed to hate moroſe and peeviſh Divines, and Monks, who were no leſs fierce, than ignorant (*e*). He ſpoke very ill of them publickly. This paved the way to a bloody War, that began with a Quarrel, which he had with one of the moſt violent Inquiſitors of That Time (*f*) [*B*]. It was not long before they accuſed him as an Heretic: Certain Propoſitions were extracted from a Book, which he had publiſhed; whereupon he was Impriſoned; but the Judges, finding no Crime in him, acquitted him [*C*]. The Accuſers pretended, that he had eſcaped Puniſhment by the Royal Authority; as for him, he ſaid he was not beholden to any thing but the Juſtice of his Cauſe; and he behaved as formerly. He tranſlated ſome of *Eraſmus*'s Books into *French* [*D*], and added ſomething of his own to them. Immediately, *Noel Beda*, and his Emiſſaries, began a new War; They extracted ſeveral Things out of Thoſe Books, and, having informed againſt them, as pernicious Errors, they occaſioned the Author's ſecond Impriſonment. The Cauſe being judged, ſome Monks went to tell him the definitive Sentence, which was paſſed upon him: Which was, that his Books ſhould be burnt; that he ſhould retract his Errors, and ſubmit to ſuch Satisfactions, as ſhould be preſcribed to him; and that

(*a*) Eraſmus, Epiſt. iv. lib. 24. pag. 1278.

(*b*) Id. Epiſt. 44. lib. 30. pag. 1931.

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 1279.

(*e*) Hoc ajebant in eo crimen eſſe graviſſimum, quod ingenuè præ ſe ferebat odium in moroſos quoſdam theologos ac monachos non minus feroces, quam ſtolidos. In hos palam debacchabatur, nec ſtomachum ſuum diſſimulare poterat. *Ib.*

(*f*) Guilhelmus Quernus, *or* à Quercu.

mini 1329.) in tota Gallia frigore peruſtis, & graviſſima tum fame tum etiam peſte conſequuta (6). *Spondanus* plainly ſhews, that *Beza* is in an Error, by the fourth Letter of the Twenty fourth Book of *Eraſmus*, which, being dated the firſt of *July* 1529, mentions *Berquin*'s Execution; but he is afterwards miſtaken, when he gives the Reaſon, why he thinks, that *Beza* falſified That Date (7). He ſays, It was done to make what was to be ſaid on the Judgments of God more probable. *Beza* ſays, that Heaven declared for *Berquin*, and reverſed the Sentence of the Judges, becauſe, the following Night, the Froſt ſpoiled all the Corn in the Kingdom; from whence a great Famine, and Mortality, enſued. *Judicium Sententia veluti cœlitus reſciſſa triumpharit, frugibus nocte*, &c (8). Nothing was more eaſy than to criticize *Beza* with Juſtice on this Point: For firſt, it is to diſpoſe of the particular Providence of God a little too raſhly, to ſay, that the Plagues, which deſolate a whole Kingdom, are a Vengeance for the unjuſt Death of one Man. In the ſecond place, Froſt can do but little damage to Corn, the tenth, or eleventh, of *November*. They ſow at that time, almoſt all the Kingdom over: and it is at leaſt very certain, that the greateſt Part of what is ſowed is out of danger at that time. So that, if *Beza* had, with a premeditated Deſign, falſified the Date, he would have taken care not to pitch upon the Eve, or the Day, of St *Martin*. The right Time, noted by *Eraſmus*, was much properer for his Reflexion; for Cold may hurt the Fruits of the Earth towards the end of *April*. Thus you ſee how *Spondanus* might have confuted the moral Reflexion of *Beza*. If he had criticized him from my firſt Conſideration, he would have diſarmed himſelf; for he is as much accuſtomed, as any one, to ſay, that ſuch or ſuch Evils happen as Puniſhments for This or That. One of Thoſe, who wrote againſt *Maimbourg*'s Hiſtory of *Calviniſm* (9), obſerves, that *Berquin* was executed, *the Twenty ſecond of* March, *on the Eve of St* Martin, *the Pope*, *in the Place* Maubert. What he adds of Dr *Merlin*, and which I ſhall relate below (10), perſuades me, that he copied *Beza*; only he took notice, that, the Month of *November* not being a Time, wherein Corn can receive any damage by the Cold, he ſought another St *Martin*'s Eve.

(6) Id. in Iconibus.

(7) Spondan. Annal. ad Ann. 1529. n. 14.

(8) Beza, in Iconibus.

(9) Recolles's True Hiſt. of *Calviniſm*, pag. 217.

(10) *In Remark* [*H*].

Let it not be wondered at, that the Day of ſuch a Martyrdom was not well known to the Proteſtant Writers, and that they have variouſly reported The Date of it. The Battle of *Ceriſoles*, the Death of *Antony de Bourbon*, King of *Navarre*, the *Barricades* of *Paris*, in the Time of *Henry* III, were not better dated by great Authors. See the Extract, which Mr *Bernard* gave, of a Book of Father *du Londel*, in his *News from the Republic of Letters*, page 224, of the Month of *February*, 1699.

[*B*] *He had a Quarrel with one of the moſt violent Inquiſitors.*] *Berquin* was no Coward; he muſt have had a great Courage, ſince he feared neither an *A Quercu*, nor a *Noel Beda*. He durſt, not only defend himſelf againſt them, but even attack them: *Beza* praiſes him for it. "Adfuit autem animi tanta generoſitas, ut maxime omnium tunc metuendos crabrones in ipſis eorum cavis, Bedam videlicet & a Quercu (de quibus ſcripſerat, procul illos configens, Eraſmus, Lutetiæ Betam ſapere & Quercum concionari) Matælogorum ejus ſeculi principes, in ipſo eorum ſterquilinio ſit auſus non modò utcunque laceſſere, ſed impietatis etiam accuſatos non unius anni certamine tum voce tum ſcriptis ſtrenuè exercere (11). —— *He was a Man of ſuch Courage, that he ventured, not only to attack, upon their own Dunghill, but vigorouſly to purſue, with an Action of Impiety, during a Conteſt of more than one Year, both in Speech and Writing, Thoſe moſt formidable Hornets*, Beda *and a* Quercu, *of whom* Eraſmus, *laſhing them at a Diſtance, wrote, that, at* Paris, *a Birch-Tree pretended to Learning, and an Oak to Oratory.*" See, here, what *Eraſmus* ſays, concerning the Proceſs, wherein *Berquin* was the Aggreſſor. "Non enim ſolùm promittebat ſibi abſolutionem, verumetiam victoriam eſſe in manibus, ſed malle ſeriùs aliquanto finiri cauſam, quo magnificentiùs triumpharet. Jamque mutatis vicibus, ipſam facultatem ſacratiſſimam, monachos & Beddaicos reos peragebat impietatis. Nam quædam arcana deprehenderat in illorum actis (12). —— *For he not only promiſed himſelf an honourable Acquittal, but even that he had the Victory in his Hands; but was willing that the Determination of the Cauſe ſhould be protracted, that he might triumph the more ſplendidly. And now, changing Hands, he brought an Action of Impiety againſt the moſt ſacred Order, The Monks, and* Bedaiſts: *for he had diſcovered ſome ſecret Tranſactions of Theirs.*" See the Remark [*A*], of the Article BEDA, Citation (7).

(11) Beza, in Iconibus.

(12) Eraſm. Epiſt. iv. lib. 24. pag. 1280.

[*C*] *He was accuſed as an Heretic —— but the Judges —— acquitted him.*] He was accuſed of condemning the Cuſtom, which Preachers have, of invoking the Holy Virgin, inſtead of invoking the Holy Ghost. It is ſaid, that he did not approve, that the Holy Virgin ſhould be called the *Fountain of Grace*, and that, in the Evening-Hymn, ſhe ſhould be called our Hope and our Life. He ſaid, that This was more applicable to Jesus Christ, and that the Scripture does not favour the Modern Uſage. Theſe are the Trifles, for which he was impriſoned, and in danger of being treated as an Heretic. *Ob hujuſmodi nænias ductus eſt in carcerem, reus hæreſeos periclitatus eſt. At Judices, ubi viderunt cauſam eſſe nullius momenti, abſolverunt hominem* (13). I do not wonder ſo much, that *Eraſmus* called them Trifles, as that *Berquin* was acquitted upon ſuch Opinions.

(13) Id. ib.

[*D*] *He tranſlated ſome of* Eraſmus'*s Books into* French.] Among others, *The Panegyric on Marriage* (14), *The Manual of the Chriſtian Soldier* (15), and *The Complaint of Peace*. See the Remark [*K*].

(14) Idem. Epiſt. xci. lib. 19, pag. 923.

(15) Idem. Epiſt. iv. lib. 24.

[*E*] *If*

that, if he refuſed, He ſhould himſelf be burnt. Being a Man of an inflexible and intrepid Spirit, he would not ſubmit to any thing; and he would probably have been burnt, if ſome Judges, perceiving the exceſſive Animoſity of the Accuſers, had not contrived the Matter ſo, that the Buſineſs was examined again. Many are of Opinion, that this was done at the Recommendation of the Lady Regent, Mother of *Francis* I, to ſave *Berquin*. During theſe Tranſactions, *Francis* I returned from *Spain*; and, hearing of the Danger his Counſellor was in, from the Faction of *Beda*, he wrote to the Parliament to take great care of what ſhould be done, and that he would hear *Lewis de Berquin*'s Cauſe himſelf. Some time after, The Priſoner was ſet at Liberty: This raiſed his Courage in ſuch a manner, that he was ſo bold, as to accuſe his Accuſers (*g*): He brought an Action of Irreligion againſt them, and flattered himſelf with obtaining a compleat Victory (*h*). If he had followed the judicious Advice of *Eraſmus*, he would have looked upon it as a great Triumph, not to be oppreſſed by theſe Men [*E*], inſtead of hoping to bring them to Reaſon. But if, on the one Side, he came off the worſe for having had the Boldneſs to reſiſt, to their Face, Thoſe, with whom *Eraſmus*, for very good Reaſons, adviſed him to have nothing to do [*F*]; it was, on the other ſide, a great Advantage to him; becauſe, by falling a Victim to their Hatred, he procured to himſelf the Crown of Martyrdom. He was impriſoned the third time; the Sentence pronounced againſt him, condemned him to make the *Amende Honorable* for his Errors (*i*), and to ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment [*G*]. He refuſed to ſubmit to This Sentence: He would have acknowledged, thereby, that his Opinions were erroneous; ſo that he was condemned, as an obſtinate Heretic, to be ſtrangled in the *Greve* (*k*), and afterwards burnt (*l*). He ſuffered Death with an extraordinary Conſtancy. He was about forty Years of Age. It is ſaid, that the Monk, who attended him on the Scaffold, declared, that he obſerved in him ſome Signs of Abjuration [*H*]. But ſee what *Eraſmus*

(*g*) *See Remarks* [*B*], *and* [*E*].

(*h*) *Taken for the fourth Letter of the 24th Book of* Eraſmus. *See a more exact Relation of this Trial in one of* Berquin's *Letters to* Eraſmus, *dated from* Paris, April 17, 1526, *and publiſhed by* John Fechtius, *in* Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſt. Supplemento, pag. 874.

(*i*) *See the* Acta Martyrum, *collected by* John Crepin, pag. 211, *Edit. of* 1556.

(*k*) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. pag. 7, *ſays, by Miſtake,* in the Place Maubert.

(*l*) Id. ibid. & fuſe apud Eraſmum, ubi ſupra, pag. 1278.

[*E*] *If he had followed the Advice of* Eraſmus, *he would have looked upon it as a great Triumph not to be oppreſſed by Thoſe Men.*] Few Perſons of Senſe, and who are uſed to reflect on what they ſee, or read, will think on *Berquin*'s Conduct, without applying to him the Fable of the Wolf and the Crane. He was not ſatisfied with having eſcaped out of the Hands of his Accuſers, but he would alſo have the Prize and Honour of the Victory, as a Reward of his Conteſt: Is not This to imitate the Crane, who required a Reward, after having got her Neck, whole and ſafe, from out of a very dangerous Paſſage?

Ingrata es, inquit, ore quæ noſtro caput
Incolume abſtuleris, & mercedem poſtulas (16).

You are ungrateful, after drawing your Neck, ſafe, out of my Mouth, to demand a Reward.

(16) Phædr. Fab 8, l. i.

Theſe Verſes of *Horace* may be very well applied to *Berquin*:

Cervi luporum præda rapacium
  Sectamur ultro, quos opimus
    Fallere, & effugere eſt triumphus (17).

We, like the Stag, the brinded Wolf provoke;
  And, when Retreat is Victory,
    Ruſh on, though ſure to die.

CREECH.

(17) Horace, Od. iv. l. iv.

[*F*] - - - *With whom* Eraſmus, *for very good Reaſons, adviſed him to have nothing to do.*] He had received Letters from *Berquin*, but had never ſeen him; and, fearing to be involved in the Proſecutions againſt Innovators, he was not very well ſatisfied to find his own Thoughts, with Thoſe of *Berquin* (18), in one and the ſame Book; and he exhorted the latter to be quiet, or, at leaſt, not to expoſe him to Danger. "Your Adverſaries, *ſaid he to him*, will never own the Crime, of which you accuſe them; think that *Beda* is an Hydra with ſeveral Heads; you have to do with an immortal Enemy; a Faculty, a Society, never dies; do not truſt to the Protection of the Prince. The Favour of Kings is changeable; an Informer prejudices them; the Fear they have of Churchmen, and their Deſire of being no more fatigued with their importunate Sollicitations, force them to grant them what they demand." Here are his *Latin* Words. "Crebris epiſtolis hortatus ſum, ut vel arte quâpiam ſemet extricaret à cauſa, putà curarent amici, ut prætextu regiæ legationis longius proficiſceretur: fortaſſis Theologos paſſuros ut cauſa tempore evaneſceret, nunquam paſſuros ut impietatis crimen, quod illis objiciebat, agnoſcerent. Etiam atque etiam cogitaret qualis excetra eſſet Bedda, quotque capitibus afflaret venenum: Tum expenderet ſibi cum immortali adverſario rem eſſe; facultas enim non moritur: ſimul illud cogitaret, qui cum tribus monachis belligeratur, eum cum multis phalangibus habere rem, non ſolum opulentis ac potentibus, verum etiam improbiſſimis, & in omni malarum artium genere inſtructis. Illos non conquieturos, donec ei procuraſſent exitium, etiamſi cauſam haberet meliorem quàm habuit CHRISTUS, neque plus ſatis fideret Regis præſidio. Principum enim favores eſſe temporarios, ac delatorem artibus facilè in diverſum trahi illorum affectus. Poſtremò, ut nihil horum accidat, magnos etiam Principes vel delaſſari talium improbitate, vel metu nonnunquam cogi ut cedant (19)."

(18) Berquin *tranſlated ſome of* Eraſmus's *Works into* French, *and added to them ſomething of his own.*

(19) Eraſm. Epiſt. iv. lib. 24, pag. 1280.

[*G*] *The Sentence, pronounced againſt him, condemned him to make the* Amende Honorable, *and to ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment.*] I have followed the *Acta Martyrum* of *John Crepin*; but I ſhall obſerve, wherein the Relations differ. *Beza* makes no mention of an *Amende Honorable*; and he ſays, that *Berquin*'s Books were to be burnt in the Preſence of the Author, which *Crepin* does not remark. *Eraſmus* mentions four Heads of Puniſhment; the Books were to be burnt; the Author was to recant; his Tongue was to be bored through, and himſelf to ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment (20). *Beza*, and *Crepin*, have not forgot this latter Head. *Eraſmus* adds, that the Cauſe was judged by twelve Commiſſaries; that *Budæus*, who was one of them, exhorted *Berquin*, before his Condemnation, to retract (21); that *Berquin*, having heard the Sentence, appealed to the King, and to the Pope, and that the Judges, full of Indignation on that Account, condemned him to be burnt the next Day. *Eraſmus* relates all this on Hear-ſay (22). See the Remark [*K*].

(20) Ibid.

(21) Rocolles, True Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, pag. 216, *ſays, that* Budæus, *a great Friend of* Berquin's, *uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to ſave him.*

[*H*] *The Monk, who attended him on the Scaffold, declared, That he had obſerved in him ſome Signs of Abjuration.*] A Perſon (23), whom *Eraſmus* thought worthy of Credit, wrote to him, that he asked This Monk, If *Berquin* had not acknowledged his Errors, at his laſt Breath? And that the Monk anſwered him, He had; and ſeemed to have no manner of doubt, but that *Berquin*'s Soul was in the Abode of the Bleſſed. *Eraſmus*'s Friend was near the Place of Execution, and gave him a faithful Account of it. He informed him, that no one could hear the Speech, which *Berquin* made to the People, the Archers making a great Noiſe on purpoſe to drown "it

(22) Eraſm. Epiſt. iv. lib. xxiv. pag. 1280, *and* Epiſt. xvii. lib. xxvii. pag. 1522. Epiſt. xlviii, lib. xxx, pag. 1937.

(23) *His Name was* Montius.

mus ſaid upon This [*I*]. *Beza* believed (*m*), that *Berquin* would have been, in *France*, what *Luther* was in *Germany*, if *Francis* I had done for him, what the Duke of *Saxony* did for *Luther*. It is certain, that he was a Man of great Parts, and of great Courage. *Nicholas Berauld* was one of his beſt Friends, as *Badius Aſcenſius* affirms, in dedicating the Works of *Politian* to them.

Since the firſt Impreſſion of this Article, a Book has been publiſhed, wherein the different Proceedings againſt *Lewis de Berquin* are well cleared up. I ſhall give the Subſtance of them in the laſt Remark of This Article.

it: No one cried JESUS, when the Sufferer was ſtrangled, though it be commonly practiſed towards ſacrilegious Men, and Parricides (24). If what *Beza* relates were true, we ſhould certainly find it in *Eraſmus*'s Relation: His Friend would not have kept it ſecret. *Beza* ſays, “ that Dr *Merlin*, at that Time Penitentiary of *Paris*, who went with him to the Place of Execution, could not forbear ſaying aloud to the People, after his Death, to the great Regret of his Accuſers, and Judges, that, perhaps, for above an hundred Years paſt, no one had died a better Chriſtian, than *Berquin* (25).” It is probable, *Beza*, afterwards, diſcovered the Falſhood of This; for, if he had believed the Thing to be true, why ſhould he not have placed it in his *Icones?* It is certain, that many pious Frauds are handed about in ſuch Caſes, which an Hiſtorian ought to diſtruſt.

[*I*] *See what* Eraſmus *ſays upon this.*] He freely declares, that he believed the *Franciſcan*, who attended *Berquin* on the Scaffold, told a Lie: He adds, that “ it is always their Cuſtom in ſuch Caſes. Theſe pious Frauds ſerve to maintain them in the Honour of having vindicated Religion, and to juſtify to the People Thoſe, who have accuſed and condemned Heretics.” *At ego Franciſcani dictis nihil habeo fidei, præſertim quum hoc ſit iſtis ſolenne, poſt extinctum hominem ſpargere rumores, quòd in incendio cecinerit palinodiam, quo ſimul & vindicatæ religionis laudem auferant, & multitudinis invidiam calumniæque ſuſpicionem effugiant* (26). He knew, from the firſt Hand, ſome of theſe Frauds, which had been practiſed at *Bruſſels*; and he relates them in few Words. If People were reaſonable, they would make ſuch Accuſers and Judges ſtand in awe of them; for, in ſhort, can any thing be conceived more ſhocking, when it is examined without Prejudice, than to repreſent to one's ſelf a Man condemned to the Flames, becauſe he will not violate the Faith, which he has ſworn to the True GOD? But the Authors of theſe Executions were ſo far from fearing any thing on that Account, that they became more inſolent for it; for they were in hopes to render themſelves more formidable. This was one of the Inconveniencies, which *Eraſmus* found in the Execution of poor *Berquin*. *Periculum eſt, ne Beddis ſua ſponte plus ſatis inſanientibus nimium accedat animorum* (27).

[*K*] *There has appeared a Work, in which the Proceedings againſt* Berquin *are well cleared up*] It is *A Treatiſe of the Origin of Printing at* Paris, by Mr *Chevillier*. Thus he gives an Account of Theſe Proceedings. The thirteenth of *May*, in the Year 1523, the Parliament cauſed *Lewis de Berquin*'s Books to be ſeized, *and ordered, that they ſhould be communicated to the Faculty of Theology to have their Opinion concerning them. They found upon him the Book* De Abrogandâ Miſsâ, *with ſome others of* Luther *and* Melancthon; *and ſeven or eight Treatiſes, whereof he was the Author, ſome entituled,* Speculum Theologaſtrorum. De Uſu & Officio Miſſæ, *&c.* Rationes Lutheri, quibus omnes Chriſtianos eſſe Sacerdotes molitur ſuadere; The Debate of Piety and Superſtition. *They found alſo ſome Books, which he had tranſlated into* French, *as,* The Reaſons why *Luther* cauſed the Decretals, and all the Books of the Canon Law, to be publickly burnt: La Triade Romaine; *and others. The Faculty, having examined theſe Books, judged, that they plainly contained* Luther's *Hereſies and Blaſphemies. Their Opinion is dated* Friday *the Twenty ſixth of* July, 1523, *and addreſſed to the Court of Parliament. After having cenſured each Book in particular, they concluded, that all of them ought to be burnt; that* Berquin, *having made himſelf a Defender of the* Lutheran Hereſies, *ought to be obliged to make a public Abjuration, and to be forbidden to compoſe any Book, for the future, or make any Tranſlation prejudicial to the Faith* (28). “ The Parliament ordered, that this Opinion ſhould be ſignified to him. He anſwered, in Writing, and verbally, to it, in the Preſence of the Judges. Upon his Anſwer, he was made Priſoner, the firſt Day of *Auguſt*, and, four Days after, his Sentence was read to him, which ſent him back to the Tribunal of the Biſhop of *Paris*, to be judged by him, on the Caſes reſulting from the Proceſs. The eighth of *Auguſt*, the King cauſed him to be taken out of the Priſons of the Epiſcopal Court, by Captain *Frederic*, and brought the Cauſe before his Council, where he was judged by the Chancellor, *and condemned to abjure ſome heretical Propoſitions; which he did*. Theſe are the Terms of the Regiſters of the Parliament. He was no ſooner delivered from this Danger, but he began again to utter Hereſies in his Books, and in his Diſcourſe; and, to be leſs obſerved, he retired into the Dioceſe of *Amiens*, where he offended the People, and the Clergy, in ſuch a manner, that the Biſhop was obliged to come to *Paris*, and make his Complaint to the Parliament, who cauſed him to be taken up; and he was declared a Relapſed Heretic, by the Sentence of two Counſellors of the Court, choſen to take Cognizance of the Fact of Hereſy, and inveſted with the Authority of the Holy See, by a Brief of Pope *Clement* VII, dated the twentieth of *May*, 1525, regiſtered in the Court, which the Queen Regent had obtained from *Rome*, in the King her Son's Abſence. Theſe Eccleſiaſtical Judges gave him up to the Parliament, as to the Secular Power. His Proceſs had been committed to a Counſellor. The Morning when it was to be reported, the Parliament received a Letter from the King, who was returned from *Spain*, dated the firſt of *April*, 1526, whereby he ordered the Proceedings to be ſtopped: And, at laſt, after many Letters written, he ſent a Lieutenant of his Guards, with the Provoſt of *Paris*, who took him out of Jail, kept him ſome time in the *Louvre*, and gave him his Liberty (29).” The Faculty of Divinity having cenſured *Eraſmus*'s Colloquies, the Univerſity prohibited the reading and teaching them in the Colleges. “ Then *Berquin* wrote to *Eraſmus*, that the matter ought not to be delayed any longer; that he ought to join with him; that now was the time to ruin all the Authority of the Doctors in the Church, and to cry them quite down, the Occaſion being favourable. *Nunc tempus eſſe, ut Theologis omnis in poſterum detraheretur auctoritas.* His Cauſe remained in ſuſpenſe. It conſiſted in a Sentence, pronounced againſt him by two Counſellors, Judges delegated by the Pope (which *Eraſmus* aſcribes to the Prior of the *Carthuſians*, to That of the *Celeſtins*, and to a Third, whom he does not name). It conſiſted alſo in a Reproach, which he had made to the Faculty of Theology, for having approved the impious Doctrine, as he falſly called it, of Doctor *Beda*. - - - - Puffed up with the Protection, which he had received from the Court, flattering himſelf with the vain Hopes of deſtroying the Faculty, and uttering Errors continually, he would purſue his Abſolution, contrary to *Eraſmus*'s Counſels, who adviſed him, very wiſely, to deſiſt from this Enterpriſe, and to leave the Kingdom. —— Twelve Commiſſaries were deputed to judge him; who, having found him convicted of Hereſy, cauſed him to be arreſted. They had agreed together, that his Books ſhould be burnt, that his Tongue ſhould be bored, and that he ſhould be only condemned to a perpetual Impriſonment, provided he would abjure his Hereſy. The Learned *William Budæus*, who was one of his Judges, did his utmoſt, for three Days, to perſwade him to ſave his Life, by recanting his Errors: But, not being able to conquer his Obſtinacy, Sentence was pronounced againſt him, and he was burnt at the *Grêve*, in the Month of *April*, 1529 (30).”

(*m*) Id. Beza in Iconibus.

(24) Ex Eraſmo, ubi ſupra, pag. 1277, 1278.

(25) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i, pag. 8.

(26) Eraſm. ubi ſupra, pag. 1278.

(27) Ibid. pag. 1282.

(28) Chevillier's Origin of Printing at *Paris*, pag. 176.

(29) Ibid. pag. 177.

(30) Ibid. p. 177, 178.

BERSALA [*A*] (ANNE), Daughter, and chief Heireſs, of *Wolfard de Borſelle* (*a*), and of *Charlotte de Bourbon-Montpenſier* (*b*), who were married the ſeventeenth of *June*, 1468, was the Wife of *Philip* of *Burgundy*, Son of *Antony* of *Burgundy*, Lord of *Bevres*, one of the Natural Sons of *Philip The Good*, Duke of *Burgundy* (*c*). She brought him, for her Dowry, the Lordſhip of *Vere* [*B*], and that of *Fluſhing*, and ſome others; and had one Son, and two Daughters by him. Her own Father, and her Huſband's Father, made a very great Figure [*C*]. This Lady's Merit, and ſome Paſſages concerning her Conduct, and her Miſfortunes, ſhall be the Subject of our laſt Remark [*D*]. We ſhall, there, ſee, among other things, that *Eraſmus* greatly eſteemed her.

[*A*] BERSALA.] Thus *Eraſmus* latinizes the vulgar Name BORSELLE.

[*B*] *She brought her Husband the Lordſhip of* Vere.] It is in *Zealand*, in the Iſland of *Walcheren*, and has been ſince erected into a Marquiſate. It is vulgarly called *Teer-Vere*.

[*C*] *Her own Father, and her Husband's Father, made a very great Figure.*] For it is ſaid (1), that *Wolfard de Borſelle*'s firſt Wife was *Mary, the Daughter of* James I, *King of* Scotland, *who brought him the Country of* Boncam (2); and that he was a Marſhal of *France* (3). It is more certain he was made a Knight of the Golden Fleece (4). *Lewis Gollut* places him in the Liſt, and calls him Count *de Grand-Pré*. Mr *Fabert* does the like; but I can ſcarce believe, that they are in the right; for I find, that *Antony* of *Burgundy*, Natural Son of *Philip The Good*, was made Earl of *Grand-Pré*, and of *Chateau-thierri*, by *Lewis* XI, in the Year 1478 (5), which is about the time that *Wolfard de Borſelle* received the Collar of the Order. If we had no other Proof of the Rank he held, than his Marriage with a Daughter of *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, Earl of *Montpenſier*, and *Dauphin* of *Auvergne*, third Son of *John* I, Duke of *Bourbon*, we could not doubt, but that he made a great Figure in the World. Thus much concerning the Father of *Anne de Borſelle*. Let us ſay a Word of her Father-in-law, and of her Husband. *Antony* of *Burgundy*, ſirnamed the *Great Baſtard*, was made Knight of the Golden Fleece in the Year 1456 (6). He obliged the *Moors* to raiſe the Siege of *Ceuta*; he led the Vanguard at the Battle of *Grandſon* (7), and remained Priſoner in That of *Nancy*. He entered, afterwards, into the Service of *Lewis* XI, who gave him very fine Lands, as I have already ſaid (8). *Charles* VIII granted him Letters of Legitimation in the Year 1485, and made him Knight of the Order of St *Michael*. From the Marriage of This Baſtard of *Burgundy* with *Mary de la Vieville*, contracted in the Year 1459, proceeded *Philip* of *Burgundy*, Lord of *Bevres, who was made Admiral and Governour of* Artois, *and Knight of the Fleece, at* Bruges, *in the Year* 1478. *He was alſo provided with the Government of the Earldom of* Flanders; and he married *Anne de Borſelle* (9).

[*D*] *This Lady's Merit, and ſome Paſſages concerning her Conduct - - - - - ſhall be the Subject of our laſt Remark.*] If we believe *Eraſmus*, ſhe was extreamly obliging and generous. “ Vivi pervenimus, “ *ſays he, in a Letter dated in the Month of* “ February, 1497, ad Annam Principem Verianam. “ Quid ego tibi de hujus mulieris comitate, benignitate, “ liberalitate memorem? Scio rhetorum amplificationes “ ſuſpectas haberi ſolere, præſertim iis “ qui ejus artificii rudes non ſunt. At hic me nihil “ allevare, imo re vinci artem noſtram, mihi credas “ velim. Nihil unquam produxit rerum natura aut “ prudentius, aut candidius, aut benignius (10). —— “ *I have lived to ſee* Anne, *Princeſs of* Vere. *Need* “ *I tell you of this Lady's Courteſy, Good-Nature,* “ *and Liberality? I know, Rhetoricians are uſually* “ *ſuſpected of Amplification, eſpecially by Thoſe, who* “ *are not unacquainted with the Art. But, here,* “ *believe me, I exaggerate nothing; the Subject is* “ *even too great for me. Nature never produced ſo* “ *much Modeſty, Prudence, Candor, and Humanity.*” He had but lately received a thouſand Marks of her Kindneſs and Liberality. “ Tam illa in nos benefica “ fuit - - - - tantis illa me officiis cumulavit, nullis “ a me ſtudiis provocata (11). - - - - *She was ſo* “ *beneficent to me, ſhe heaped ſo many Favours* “ *on me, unasked.*” The Year following, he wrote a Letter to his good Friend *James Battus*, who was Tutor to This Lady's only Son: See, here, in what Terms he praiſed her: “ O te beatum, ô “ ſuperis charum, ſi tu iſtos ſcopulos enavigâris: ſi “ felicitate tuâ, quæ mihi quidem ſumma videtur, “ ſine invidia frui poſſis. Quod ut fore confidam, “ dominæ virtus facit, cui ſuperos omnes propitios, “ benéque volentes eſſe, non dubito. Evenit mihi, “ mi Batte, in iſta, quod in te ſæpenumero ſolet, “ ut tum ardentiùs amare, mirarique incipiam, quum “ abſum. Bone Deus, qui candor, quæ comitas in “ ampliſſima fortuna, quæ animi lenitas in tantis injuriis, “ quæ hilaritas in tantis curis; tum quæ animi “ conſtantia, quæ vitæ innocentia, quod in literatos “ ſtudium, quæ in omnes affabilitas (12). —— “ *O happy Thou, and Favourite of Heaven, if you* “ *can ſail clear of theſe Rocks, and enjoy That Happineſs,* “ *which appears to me the greateſt poſſible,* “ *without provoking the Envy of others. That this* “ *will be your happy Lot, I cannot doubt, when I* “ *reflect on the Goodneſs of the Lady you ſerve, on* “ *whom Heaven, I am ſure, will always ſmile. It* “ *happens to me, dear* Battus, *in regard to This* “ *Lady, as it is wont with reſpect to yourſelf; I* “ *begin to love, and admire, her with the greateſt* “ *Ardor, when I am abſent from her. Good* GOD! “ *What Candor, what Courteſy, amidſt the ampleſt* “ *Fortune! What Lenity of Mind, amidſt ſuch great* “ *Injuries! What Chearfulneſs amidſt ſo many Cares!* “ *Then, what Conſtancy of Soul! What Innocence of* “ *Life! What Liberality to Men of Learning!* “ *What Affability to All!*”

I would not mention the Letter he wrote to this ſame Friend, in the Year 1500, if it did not teſtify This Lady's Liberality to the Clergy. He wiſhed ſhe would make choice of him for an Object of her Bounty, ſince the Productions of the Pen were more laſting, than the Voice of Preachers: He adds (13), that he would go into *Italy* to take his Doctor's Degree, which could not be done without ſuch Expence, as he found himſelf unable to ſupport, if ſhe did not open her Purſe for his Aſſiſtance. “ Oſtendes quanto amplius ego ſim “ meis literis decus dominæ allaturus, quam alii, quos “ alit, Theologi. Nam illi vulgaria concionantur, “ ego ſcribo quæ ſemper ſint victura. Illi indoctè “ nugantes, uno aut altero in templo audiuntur: mei “ libri à Latinis, à Græcis, ab omni gente toto “ orbe legentur. Ejuſmodi indoctorum Theologorum “ permagnam ubique eſſe copiam, mei ſimilem “ vix multis ſeculis inveniri; niſi fortè adeò ſuperſtitioſus “ es, ut religio tibi ſit in amici negotio mendaciolis “ aliquot abuti. Deinde oſtendes nihilo illam “ pauperiorem futuram, ſi ut Hieronymus jam depravatus, “ ſi ut vera Theologia inſtauretur, aliquot aureis “ adjuverit, cum tanta ex illius opibus turpiſſimè “ pereant (14). —— *You will ſhew this Lady, how* “ *much greater Honour it will be to her to be celebrated* “ *in my Writings, than in Thoſe of ſome other Divines,* “ *whom ſhe ſupports. They preach vulgar Things;* “ *I write what will live for ever. They, illiterate* “ *Triflers, are liſtened to in one or two Churches at* “ *moſt; My Works are read by* Latins, *by* Greeks, *by* “ *every Nation in the whole World. You will tell* “ *her, that there is every where great Plenty of ſuch* “ *illiterate Divines, but that many Ages ſcarce produce* “ *a ſingle* Eraſmus; *unleſs, perhaps, you make* “ *a Conſcience of lying a little to ſerve your Friend.* “ *Laſtly you will ſhew her, that ſhe will not be the* “ *poorer, if ſhe contributes a little of That Gold, ſhe* “ *is ſo laviſh of on the moſt unworthy Objects, towards* “ *reſtoring St* Jerom, *now greatly corrupted,* “ *and True Divinity.*” She found herſelf embarraſſed in the Year 1498, and even under a kind of Confinement. “ Apud dominam Verienſis oppidi res hoc “ erant loco, ut nec colloqui ſine ſummo periculo potuerim, “ nec abire ſine gravi ſuſpicione. Noſti cauſam “ Præpoſiti, qui ut nunc in vinculis eſt, ita domina “ in tutela (15). —— *The Affairs of the Princeſs of* Vere *were in ſuch a State, that I could nei-*

(*a*) Fabert. Hiſt. of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, Part I, pag. 162.

(*b*) Anſelm. Hiſt. of the Royal Family, pag. 272.

(*c*) Pontus Heuterus, Rerum Burgundic. lib. vi. pag. 7.

(1) Fabert. Hiſt. of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, Tom. I. pag. 162.

(2) *I believe it ought to be* Buchan.

(3) Anſelme, Hiſtory of Great Officers, pag. 152.

(4) Gollut, Memoirs of *Burgundy*, pag. 744.

(5) Anſelm, Geneal. of the Royal Family, pag. 221.

(6) Ibid. pag. 220.

(7) *The Year* 1476.

(8) *Above, Citat.* (5).

(9) *Taken out of Father* Anſelm, p. 220, 221.

(10) Eraſm. Epiſt. xiv, lib. iv. pag. 268.

(11) Id. ib.

(12) Id. Epiſt. xxiv. lib. iv. pag. 293.

(13) *See the 47th Letter of the 8th Book.*

(14) Id. Epiſt. xlvii, lib. viii. pag. 449.

(15) Id. Epiſt. xxiii. lib. ix, pag 482. *It is dated from* Paris, 1498. *See alſo the 25th Letter of the ſame Book.*

“ *ther converſe with her without the greateſt Danger, “ nor depart without being greatly ſuſpected. You “ know the Cauſe of the Provoſt, who as he is now “ in Bonds, ſo the Lady is in Cuſtody.*” Matters did not go better the following Year. “ Veriana “ duris Fatis premitur, ut ſublevanda potius, quam “ oneranda, videatur (16). —— *The Princeſs of* Vere “ *is greatly diſtreſſed, and ſeems herſelf to ſtand in “ need of Aſſiſtance, rather than to be farther burthened.*” But the Steddineſs of her Courage againſt ill Fortune was a fine Subject of Praiſe. See the Letter, which *Eraſmus* wrote to her in the Year 1500. I ſhall borrow but one Paſſage from it: It will inform us, that ſhe was married very young; and that, being a Widow, after an uncomfortable Marriage, ſhe would not marry again, though many Suitors offered themſelves, with great Sollicitations. “ Nam te quidem non tam in viduis, quàm in virginibus, pono: “ ſiquidem quod olim puella admodum nupſiſti, id “ quidem partim parentum autoritati, partim generi “ propagando datum: & ejuſmodi fuit conjugium, “ ut non tam ſit imputanda voluptas, quàm patientia “ ſpectata. Quod autem nunc iſta adhuc ætate virenti, & penè puellari, nulla procorum inſtantiâ “ poſſis à continentiæ propoſito divelli, quod in fortuna tam affluenti tam nihil indulges tibi, id ego “ non viduitatem, ſed virginitatem exiſtimo: in quo “ ſi, ut confido, perſeverabis, ego te, mihi crede “ audacter, non in adoleſcentularum choro, quarum, “ ut ait Scriptura, non eſt numerus, non in octoginta “ Solomonis concubinis, ſed in quinquaginta Reginis, & Hieronymo quidem, ut ſpero, approbante, “ annumeravero (17). -------- *For I reckon you, “ not among the Widows, but the Virgins; ſince you “ married very young, and That, partly in obedience “ to the Commands of your Parents, and partly for “ the Sake of Poſterity: and ſince your Marriage was “ ſuch, as muſt be conſidered rather as the Trial of “ your Patience, than the Gratification of your Deſires. Now, ſince, in the Flower of your Youth, no “ Sollicitation of Suitors can divert you from a determined State of Continency; ſince, amidſt ſuch an “ Affluence of Fortune, you ſo little indulge yourſelf; “ I eſteem you rather as a Virgin, than a Widow; “ which State if you perſiſt in, as I truſt you will, “ believe me, I ſhall reckon you, not in the Company “ of young Maids, of which, the Scripture ſays, there “ is no number; not among the fourſcore Concubines of* “ Solomon; *but among the fifty Queens, with the “ Conſent, I hope, of St* Jerom *himſelf.*”

(16) Id. Epiſt. xx. lib. ix, pag. 478. *It is dated in* 1499.

(17) Id. Epiſt. ult. lib. ix. pag. 503, 504.

I muſt ſay ſomething of her only Son *Adolphus* of *Burgundy*. He was Admiral of *Flanders, and made Knight of the Golden-Fleece, at* Bruſſels, *in the Year* 1516. Eraſmus *praiſed him for his good Qualities, and dedicated his Book of Virtue to him. He died at his Caſtle of* Bevres *in* Flanders, *the ſeventh of* December, 1540 (18). He left a Son, and two Daughters; the latter left ſome Poſterity (19); but the Son had no Children by his Wife *Louiſa de Croy*, who was Daughter of *Philip de Croy*, Duke of *Arſchot* (20). He was made Marquis of *Teer-Vere* by *Charles* V (21); and, in the Year 1546, he received the Collar of the Order of the *Golden Fleece* (22). He died in the Year 1558 (23). The ſixteenth Letter of the tenth Book of *Eraſmus* is written to *Adolphus* of *Burgundy*; *Principi Veriano.* It is dated from *London*, 1512. The ſame Year he wrote to him, from *Paris*, a very excellent Letter, which is, in ſome Editions, at the End of the *Enchiridion militis Chriſtiani.*

(18) *Father* Anſelme, Geneal. of the Royal Family, pag. 221, 222.

(19) *See Father* Anſelme, *ibid.*

(20) Id. ib.

(21) Pontus Heuterus, Rerum Belgic. lib. vi. pag. 8.

(22) Anſelme, ibid.

(23) Lud. Guicciard, Deſcript. Belgii. pag. 322.

BERTELIER (Philibert), Regiſter of the inferior Court of Juſtice at *Geneva*, where he was born, ſhould not have had a place in this Dictionary, had not his Article been proper to be the Supplement of another *(a)*; and to ſhorten That of *Calvin*, which, probably, will be very long. This *Bertelier* lived in the middle of the XVIth Century. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf only by his vile Actions; but, as he committed one, which pleaſed the Controverſiſts much, ſince it ſupplied them with ample Matter to defame *Calvin*'s Memory, this gave occaſion to his being quoted as a Perſon of Conſequence; and gave him a Figure in ſome conſiderable Writings *(b)*. He pretended, that the Republic of *Geneva* had ſent him to *Noyon*, with orders to make an exact Enquiry, there, into *Calvin*'s Life and Converſation; and that, having performed his Commiſſion, he found, that *John Calvin* had been convicted of Sodomy; and that, at the Biſhop's Requeſt, the Puniſhment of Fire was commuted into That of being branded with the *Flower-de-luce*. He boaſted to have an Act, ſigned by a Notary, which certified the Truth of the Proceſs and Condemnation. *Bolſec* affirms *(c)*, that He, and many Others, had ſeen That Act; and This is the Ground of That horrid Accuſation, ſo much ſpoken of, and which has been inſerted in many Books. The matter of Fact, whether *Calvin* was branded with a hot Iron, for the Crime of Pederaſty, is only grounded on the Authority of *Bolſec*, who affirms, that he ſaw the Act, which *Bertelier* brought from *Noyon*. We ſhall ſee, in the Article BOLSEC, that his Teſtimony is of no weight in Things, which are laid to *Calvin*'s Charge. That of *Bertelier* cannot be better; for he was an ill Liver, and againſt whom Sentence of Death had been pronounced [*A*]; and who,

(a) *That of* (Jerome) BOLSEC.

(b) *See Remark* [*D*].

(c) *In the Hiſtory of Calvin, publiſhed in* 1577.

[*A*] *He was a Perſon of an ill Life, and againſt whom Sentence of Death had been pronounced.*] Mr *Drelincourt*, Miniſter of *Paris*, will ſupply me with a Proof of this Fact, which the boldeſt Sophiſters cannot deny. He has inſerted the Extract of a Letter, which he received from Mr *Lullin*, Counſellor, and ancient Syndic of *Geneva*, in a Book, printed at *Geneva*, and licenſed by the Republic (1): Theſe are the Contents of That Extract.

(1) *The Title of it is* A Defence of *Calvin, and it was printed in* 1667, *in* 8vo.

“ In the mean time, I ſhall not refuſe, for your “ particular Satisfaction, to acquaint you with what “ I have learned, and what I can aſſure you I have “ juſt now read, in the ancient Records of our “ Council; wherein I find, that *Philip Bertelier* “ was a Native of This City, and had the Office “ of *Secretary* (which is elſewhere called *Regiſter*) “ *of the Inferior Court of Juſtice*; which Poſt is “ much below That of *Secretary of State*, which “ he is ſaid to have had; and that, being accuſed “ of Sedition and Conſpiracy againſt This State, and “ Church, he ran away, and, not appearing to anſwer for himſelf, was condemned, as being attainted, and convicted, of Thoſe Crimes, to loſe his “ Head, by a Sentence pronounced againſt him, the “ ſixth of *Auguſt*, 1555. About two Years after, “ he went to Law with a private Perſon of this “ City, in a foreign Court of Juſtice, whither he “ had fled; and, it being requiſite, for the Honour “ and Intereſt of our Republic, and of That private “ Perſon, to make This perfidious Man known, an “ Atteſtation was granted of the Judgment, given “ againſt him, in the Terms, which you ſhall ſee “ in the following Copy, dated the fifth of *February*, “ 1557. This is the true Character of *Bertelier*, “ whoſe Teſtimony is ſo much extolled in the Book “ of the late Cardinal *de Richelieu*. As for what concerns his being ſent, or deputed, to *Noyon*, to make “ a Report of *Calvin*'s Life, it is a Fact not only “ falſly ſuppoſed, and whereof no kind of Mention “ is made in our Records; but it is alſo contrary to “ all probability. For, beſides that no Envoy, or “ Deputy, was ever ſent from our City, upon public Buſineſs, who was not in a higher Station, than “ That of *Bertelier*; and that ſuch Employs are only given to Counſellors of the little Council; It is “ notorious, as you know, that we had ſome conſi-

“ derable

who, beſides, had no Party againſt him, in *Geneva*, more inexorable than *Calvin* [B]. It is no ways neceſſary, in order to confute this Accuſation, to make uſe of the juſt Exceptions, which invalidate the Teſtimony of theſe two Perſons (d). There is, in the Act itſelf, an infallible Mark of Reprobation [C]; and nothing ſurprizes me more, than to ſee ſo great a Perſon, as *Cardinal de Richelieu*, depend on this piece of *Bertelier* [D], and alledge, as his principal Reaſon, that the Republic

“ derable Perſons of *Noyon* in our City, who retired hither, with *Calvin*, ſoon after him: And, among others, a Canon, whoſe Name was Mr *Collemont*, and Mr *de Normandie*, Lieutenant-Civil of the City of *Noyon*, whoſe Family is ſtill One of the moſt conſiderable among us, and from which I am deſcended by the Mother's Side; by whoſe means, it was very eaſy to receive all the Information, which could have been deſired, without going farther. Add to this, that it is certain, This *Bertelier* was always *Calvin*'s Enemy; becauſe he had often reprimanded, and cenſured him for his vicious and ſcandalous Life; and that he had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his wicked and pernicious Deſigns. This appears by *Calvin*'s Letters to *Viretus*, and to *Bullinger*, in the Months of *September*, and *November*, 1553; in which he cries him down as a vicious and audacious Man: *Beza* repreſents, likewiſe, the wicked Qualities of *Bertelier*, in *Calvin*'s Life (2).”

Here follows the Copy of the Atteſtation of the Republic of *Geneva*, againſt *Philibert Bertelier* (3).

“We, the Syndics and Council of *Geneva*, to All Thoſe, to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, do certify, that, on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, of the Year 1555, was publickly given, and pronounced, by Sound of Trumpet, a criminal Sentence againſt *Philibert Bertelier*, and his Accomplices, named in the ſaid Sentence; by which, for the horrid and deteſtable Crimes of Conſpiracy againſt the Holy Inſtitution, and Chriſtian Reformation, and againſt this City, and the public Good and Tranquillity thereof, the ſaid *Philibert Bertelier*, as one of the Authors of the Conſpiracy, and an Enemy to this City, and to the Peace, Union, and Tranquillity thereof, has been condemned to be bound, and brought to the Place of *Champel*; there to have his Head cut off; his Body to be quartered, and his Members to be ſet up in the four moſt eminent Places round about this City, for an Example to others, who ſhall commit ſuch Crimes: This we atteſt and certify. And, therefore, we have ordered, and commanded, theſe Preſents to be given under our uſual Seal, and ſigned by our Secretary. Given at *Geneva*, the fifth of *February*, 1577.”

[B] *He had no Party againſt him - - - - more inexorable than* Calvin.] *Bertelier*, having been excommunicated, in the Year 1552, by the Conſiſtory of *Geneva* (4), made his Complaint to the Senate. The Miniſters were ſent for, to give their Reaſons for it; and both Parties being heard, the Senate confirmed the Excommunication. Eighteen Months after, *Bertelier* had recourſe again to the Senate, who, after having heard *Calvin*'s Oppoſition, pronounced, that *Bertelier* ſhould be admitted to the Holy Sacrament. As ſoon as *Calvin* heard this News, he deſired the *Syndics* to aſſemble the Senate; and, when they were met, he repreſented his Reaſons, and concluded, with an Oath, that he would rather loſe his Life, than give his Conſent, that ſuch a Man ſhould receive the Lord's Supper (5). This is what *Calvin* wrote himſelf. His Hiſtorian will tell us more of it (6). The Clamour, which was raiſed againſt the Miniſters, as if, in ſome reſpects, they had invaded the Rights of the Sovereignty, was the Reaſon, why the Council of Two hundred ordered, that the final Judgment of Cauſes of Excommunication ſhould belong to the Senate; and that the Senate might abſolve the excommunicated, as they ſhould think fit. By virtue of this Decree, the Senate granted Letters of Abſolution to *Bertelier*, which were ſealed with the Seal of the Republic. The Sacrament was to be adminiſtered within two Days, when *Calvin* came to hear of what had paſt; he ſoon reſolved what to do, and preached againſt the Contempt of the Sacrament; he raiſed his Voice, lifted up his Hands, and ſaid, that he would imitate St *Chryſoſtom*; that he would not oppoſe Force to Force, but that he would rather ſuffer himſelf to be maſſacred, than that his Hands ſhould preſent the Holy Myſteries to Thoſe, who had been judged unworthy of them: This was a Thunder-bolt, which confounded *Bertelier*'s Faction; ſo that it was not thought fit, that he ſhould preſent himſelf to the Communion. The next Day after the Sacrament, *Calvin*, accompanied by his Conſiſtory, deſired leave of the Senate, and of the Council of Two hundred, to ſpeak to the People about this Matter, for as much as it concerned the Abrogation of a Law, made by the People. This made ſo great an Impreſſion on the People's Minds, that it was reſolved the *Swiſs Cantons* ſhould be conſulted about it; and that the Decree of the Two hundred ſhould be ſuſpended; but that none ſhould ſay, that the ancient Regulations had been in the leaſt infringed. *In eam ſententiam animis non mediocriter immutatis itum eſt, ut ſuſpenſo illo Diacoſiorum decreto ſtatueretur petendum eſſe à quatuor civitatibus Helveticis judicium, nec interea præjudicium ullum fieri receptis legibus oportere* (7). By this means the Conſiſtory obtained a compleat Victory, and, in a manner, made the Senate, and the Council of Two hundred, buckle to. What would they not have done in a Democratical Country? Is it poſſible to rule over Men, who tell the People, from the Pulpit, that they had rather ſuffer themſelves to be killed, than conſent, that Holy Things ſhould be prophaned? St *Chryſoſtom*'s Example, properly alledged, is an artful way of threatning the Governemt with an Inſurrection.

[C] *There is, in the Act itſelf, an infallible Sign of Reprobation.*] No one knows when it was drawn up, or by whom, or the Names of the Witneſſes, or, in general, any of the Circumſtances, which are never forgotten, except when People fear to ſupply Thoſe with Arms, whoſe Intereſt it is to deny a Thing. What I am going to ſay, carries a much greater Force with it. If *Bertelier*'s Act had not been ſuppoſititious, there would have been, at *Noyon*, authentic and public Teſtimonies of the Trial, and Puniſhment, in queſtion; and, therefore, They would have been publiſhed, as ſoon as the Catholic Religion began to ſuffer by *Calvin*'s Means. Unleſs we ſuppoſe a continual, and more unheard of Miracle, than was ever yet known, All the Inhabitants of *Noyon* would not have kept the Secret, and ſpared the Reputation of a Countryman of theirs, who was ſo odious to them (8). I carry this Thought farther in another place (9), and therefore leave it here as it is. I add, that, if what *Bertelier* ſaid was true, he would have had his Paper, when he fled from *Geneva*; I mean, that his pretended Commiſſion would have preceded the Matter, for which he was condemned to death in the Year 1555; for it is plain, that he had not the Commiſſion, he boaſted of, after That time. But can any one believe, that, before the Year 1555, when Thoſe, who were called Heretics, durſt not ſhew themſelves, for fear of being burnt, a Deputy from *Geneva* ſhould go boldly to *Noyon*, to inform himſelf of *Calvin*'s Life? Who will believe, that, if *Bertelier* had an authentic Act of *Calvin*'s Infamy in the Year 1554, he would have kept it ſo cloſe, that the Public ſhould have no knowledge of it before the Year 1577? Was it not a Piece, which the Clergy of *France* would have bought for it's weight in Gold? But why do I loſe time in confuting ſuch a ridiculous Romance, as This is?

[D] *It is ſurprizing to ſee Cardinal* de Richelieu *depend on This Piece of* Bertelier.] “That, *ſays he* (10), which ought to paſs for an undeniable Conviction of the Crimes, imputed to *Calvin*, is, that ever ſince he was charged with This Accuſation, the Church of *Geneva* has neither proved the contrary, nor even denied the Report, which *Bertelier*, ſent by Thoſe of That City, made at *Noyon*. This Report was ſigned by the moſt eminent Perſons of the City of *Noyon*, and made with all uſual Forms of Juſtice: And by the ſame Report it appears, that That Arch-Heretic, having been convicted of an abominable Sin, puniſhable only by Fire, the Puniſhment, which he had deſerved,

“ was,

(d) *See* Rivet Cathol. Orthodox. Oper. Tom. III. pag. 8. & ſeq. *and* in Jeſuita Vapulante, cap. ii. pag. 495, & ſeq. ejuſd. Tom. *where he ſhews* Leſſius, *that, by his own Rules*, Bertelier *and* Bolſec *can be no Evidence againſt* Calvin.

(2) Drelinc. Defence of *Calvin*. pag. 148.

(3) *It is in Mr* Drelincourt's *Book*, pag. 151.

(4) *It is of him, that theſe Words of* Calvin's *Letter to* Bullinger, (*which is the* 162d,) *muſt be underſtood.* Quidam ob effrenes ſuas libidines & multa flagitia, cœnæ uſu privatus donec reſipiſceret.

A VICTORY obtained by the Conſiſtory of *Geneva*, againſt the Magiſtrates.

(5) Ex Epiſtola Calvini ad Viretum. *It is the* 154*th*, *and is dated* Septem. 4. 1553.

(6) Beza, in Vita Calvini ad Ann. 1553.

(7) Beza, ib.

(8) *In* 1551, *Public Prayers and Proceſſions were made at* Noyon, *on a falſe Report of* Calvin's *Death, to thank God for it.* Non dubito quin jam audieris me patriæ eſſe ſuperſtitem. Ita urbem mortuam lugere cogor (Calvin *ſaid this on occaſion of the Fire, which deſtroyed that City in the Year* 1552,) quæ ſuperiore anno ob falſum mortis meæ rumorem ſolennes habuit ſupplicationes, ut de Chriſto triumpharet. *Calvin*, Epiſt. 140, *dated* Decemb. 5, 1552.

(9) *In Remark* [K], *of the Article* BOLSEC, *and more amply in Remark* [U], *of the Article* BEZA.

(10) A Method to convert Thoſe, who have ſeparated themſelves from the Church, *lib.* ii, *cap.* 10, *pag.* 319.

public of *Geneva* did not undertake to ſhew the Falſhood of This Piece [*E*]. This is not a Place to examine, whether they had reaſon to make light of This Lie [*F*]. There is no Article of a Dictionary more uſeful to a Reader, than This [*G*].

“ was, by the Interceſſion of his Biſhop, commuted “ into That of the *Flower-de-luce*. And the Church “ of *Geneva*, which does not deny This Report con“ cerning *Calvin*'s Life, would not have failed to “ have done it, if they had believed, that it could “ have been done without offending againſt Truth.” Is it not ſtrange, that a chief Miniſter of State, whoſe Credit was not inferior to That of the King, ſhould depend on a blind Act, which an inconſiderable Phyſician of *Lyons* had pretended to have ſeen in the Hands of a mean Perſon? An inconſiderable private Man muſt, then, have had more credit, than Cardinal *de Richelieu*, to find out the old Records of *Noyon*? The Truth is, This Cardinal made all imaginable Enquiry into the pretended Proceedings againſt *John Calvin*, at *Noyon*, and that he diſcovered nothing (11); and yet he maintained the Affirmative on the Credit of *Jerome Bolſec*. Can ſuch a ſtrange Conduct be excuſed? Mr *Drelincourt* cannot believe, that That great Man was guilty of it, and lays all the Blame on Thoſe, who publiſhed the Book, entituled, *Methode pour convertir*, &c (12).

[*E*] ---- *And alledge, as his chief Reaſon, That the Republic of* Geneva *did not undertake to ſhew the Falſhood of this Piece.*] In the foregoing Remark, we have ſet down Cardinal *Richelieu*'s own Words: They ſhew, that he lays his Streſs on the Silence of the Republic of *Geneva*. Mr *Drelincourt* ſhews him, by ſome plain Inſtances, that there is nothing more falſe, nor more abſurd, than to pretend, that They, who ſuffer an Accuſation to be ſpread abroad againſt themſelves, give occaſion to believe, that They are convinced it is well-grounded. The firſt of theſe Examples is Cardinal *Richelieu* himſelf; “ That Thoſe, “ who could not bear his Elevation, and his Power, “ ſaid ſtrange things of him; and that ſome of Thoſe “ Things have been publiſhed, and ſome Books have “ been filled with them. Becauſe no Juridical Infor“ mation has been made to juſtify the contrary, muſt “ we therefore believe, that the Relations of That “ Illuſtrious Cardinal, and Thoſe, who honour his “ Memory, look upon Thoſe Things as certain “ Truths (13)?” *Rivetus*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*, made uſe of the like Reaſoning, in anſwer to an Objection of *Leſſius*, taken from the Silence of *Calvin*'s good Friends. “ Itane? Ergo quotieſ“ cunque libuerit infami alicui agyrtæ crimina con“ fingere in viros bonos, neceſſariumne erit libellos “ illos famoſos diſcutere, ut homines iſti, ſi tamen “ homines, qui famam aucupantur ex adverſariorum “ nomine, applaudant ſibi, quod tandem repererint “ qui ſe cum illis voluerint componere, & exiſtima“ rint talia eſſe reſponſione digna, quæ contemptu “ potius erant diluenda (14). —— *What! Shall* “ *it be neceſſary, as often as an infamous Fellow* “ *invents an Accuſation againſt Good Men, to re*“ *fute his libellous Books; and thus give ſuch Men,* “ *if they deſerve the Name of Men, who build their* “ *own Fame on the Reputation of their Adverſaries, an* “ *Opportunity of triumphing, in that they have found* “ *Perſons, who will enter the Liſts with Them, and* “ *think Thoſe Things worthy of an Anſwer, which deſerve* “ *to be refuted rather with Contempt?*” Here is a Jeſuit, who agrees perfectly with Theſe Miniſters. “ How long is it, ſince it is not allowable to be ſilent, “ without being looked upon as convicted of the “ Crimes, which are imputed to us? It does not “ appear, that This is the Opinion of the Wiſeſt, “ and of Thoſe, whoſe Example may ſerve as a Rule “ to others. Who is ignorant, how many fooliſh “ things the Enemies of *France* are uſed to publiſh “ againſt it, in their Gazettes, and Libels? Who “ does not know how many infamous and abomi“ nable Reports Mr *Jurieu* has ſpread againſt the “ Popes, and againſt the Church of *Rome*, in his “ *Parallel*, in his *Prejugez*, and in ſo many other “ Books, with which he fills the World? So that, “ if the King does not keep Perſons on purpoſe to “ confute Theſe Foreign Gazettes, in every Parti“ cular; and if none are to be found among the “ Catholics, who will loſe their Time in confuting, “ ſeriouſly, theſe idle Fancies of Mr *Jurieu*, that “ the Popes have pretended to Univerſal Monarchy; “ that, in order to it, they have occaſioned a Schiſm “ between the *Greeks* and the *Latins*; that, after“ wards, to end the Quarrel, they have ---- *&c.* “ I ſay, unleſs the King, or the Pope, take care “ to have theſe Fooleries, and Slanders, refuted, “ will not the Gazetteer of *Holland*, and Mr *Ju*“ *rieu*, have reaſon to ſay, *They dare not anſwer;* “ *there is therefore reaſon to believe, they cannot do* “ *it?* Would the Author of the *Morale Pratique* have “ condemned them upon ſuch an Account? I am “ willing to believe, he would be aſhamed to own “ it. Why, then, might not the Jeſuits neglect “ to anſwer Libels, which are, in their Opinion, “ no leſs fabulous, nor leſs deſpicable, than the Ga“ zettes of *Amſterdam*, and the Hiſtorical or Pro“ phetical Syſtems of Mr *Jurieu?* Ought they to “ be more nice in Point of Reputation, than Thoſe, “ whom GOD has placed over us? Ought they not, “ or at leaſt may they not, after Theſe great Ex“ amples, deſpiſe what concerns only their particu“ lar Honour (15)?”

[*F*] *This is not a Place to examine, whether They had reaſon to make Light of This Lie.*] Mr *Drelincourt*, and Father *le Tellier*'s, Maxim is in general very good and true; but there are ſome particular Caſes, wherein it is better not to make uſe of it. I ſhall not decide whether the Republic of *Geneva* had done better to make a public Declaration againſt *Bolſec*, in relation to the pretended Deputation of *Bertelier*. It ſeems at firſt ſight, that the Advantage, which the Catholic Controverſiſts have pretended to draw from the Silence of That Republic, ſhews, that they were in the wrong to be ſilent, I mean, not to make it appear, by a public Act, that Theſe Perſons were impudent Liars: But They, who conſider, that nothing can ſtop the Pens of a Sort of Men, and that, if you ſilence them in one Point, they will turn to ſomething elſe, will eaſily perceive, that an Act of the Republic of *Geneva* would not have ended This Diſpute. I agree to the Maxim, that, ſometimes, the beſt way to be revenged of an impudent Calumniator, is to return him no Anſwer (16). However I believe, that *Beza* did not well apply this Maxim, when he made uſe of it in relation to *Bolſec*. An Anſwer would have puffed him up with Vanity; and he would have concluded from it, that his Slanders had touched the Proteſtants to the quick, which would have filled him with Joy. I grant it: But it had been better to have let him enjoy This Pleaſure, attended with the infamous Character of a public Calumniator, with which a good Anſwer would have branded him, than to give him, and others, a Pretence to boaſt, that the Republic could not deny the Matter in queſtion. *Qui tacet conſentire videtur.* Thoſe Truths, which are called Maxims, no leſs claſh with each other, than Errors, and Truths.

[*G*] *There is no Article of a Dictionary more uſeful to a Reader, than This.*] One of the greateſt Uſes, which may be drawn from Reading, is, to learn the Weakneſſes of the Heart of Man, and the ill Effects of Prejudices in Point of Religion. Can there be a more remarkable Inſtance of it, than This? What muſt not a Man naturally be, or what will he not become, by a blind and furious Zeal for Religion, ſince a Monk, who turned a Proteſtant Phyſician, and afterwards a Popiſh Phyſician, and who was expelled two or three times, with a Brand of Infamy, from the Places where he was ſettled, no ſooner produces an Accuſation on the Credit of a Fugitive, condemned to death, upon refuſing to appear before his Judges, an Accuſation, than which none was ever worſe contrived, and worſe proved, but it is adopted, and conveyed from Book to Book; a thouſand Conſequences are drawn from it; and Authors of the firſt Rank, the great Cardinal *Richelieu* himſelf, propoſe it to the Heretics as a powerful Motive of Converſion: And all this *propter majorem Dei gloriam?* O QUANTUM EST IN REBUS INANE (17)!

THAT the Silence of an accuſed Perſon concludes nothing in certain Caſes. Some curious Examples of This.

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(11) *See the* Defence of *Calvin, by Mr* Drelincourt, p. 9.

(12) Ib. pag. 71. *See alſo* pag. 140, &c.

(13) Drelincourt, ibid. pag, 84.

(14) Rivet. Oper. Tom. iii, pag. 9, & 496.

(15) *Father* le Tellier's Defence of the New Chriſtians, Part I, pag. 25, 26.

(16) Genus ultionis eſt eripere ei qui fecit contumeliæ voluptatem. Solent dicere, miſerum me, puto non intellexiſſe! Adeo fructus contumeliæ in ſenſu & indignatione patientis eſt, *ut optime Seneca cap.* 17, *de Conſt. Sapientis. Hunc fructum quærebat Bolſecus, quem ei ademit viventi ſapientia.* Rivet Oper. Tom. III. pag. 496.

(17) Perſius, Sat. i, ver. i.

BERTRAM (Cornelius Bonaventura), born at *Thouars*, in *Poitou*, was a conſiderable Man, in the XVIth Century, for his Knowledge in the Oriental Languages. He ſtudied *Hebrew* at *Paris*, under *Angelus Caninius*, and, afterwards, at *Cahors*, with the Civilian *Francis Roaldus*. He had much ado to avoid being maſſacred, at *Cahors*, in the Year 1572; but, at laſt, he made his eſcape, and fled to *Geneva*; where, at the end of two Years, he was made *Hebrew* Profeſſor, in the room of *Rodolphus Cevalier*. He wrote ſeveral conſiderable Books, during his abode at *Geneva* [*A*], and continued to apply himſelf to his Studies, when he went to *Franckenthal*, in the *Palatinate*. He publiſhed a Book, there, in the Year 1586, entituled, *Lucubrationes Franckenthalenſes*. He left That Poſt to go to *Lauſane*, where the Magiſtrates of *Bern* offered him a Profeſſorſhip, which he exerciſed 'till his Death, which happened in the Year 1594. He was in his climacterical Year, when he died (*a*), by which we may judge, that he was born in the Year 1531. It muſt not be forgot, that he was a Miniſter, and that he exerciſed That Office in *Geneva* (*b*); where he married *Genevieve Denoſſe*, Niece of *Beza*'s firſt Wife, in whoſe Houſe ſhe had been educated from her Youth. She was very tenderly beloved by her Aunt (*c*). *Bertram* was a good Critic, as *Beza*, *Caſaubon*, and ſeveral other learned Perſons, have publickly acknowledged (*d*).

(*a*) *Taken from* Thuanus, *at the End of Book* 109.

(*b*) *See* Beza's *Preface to* Mercerus *in* Jobum, *printed in* 1573.

(*c*) Ant. Fayus, de vita & obitu Th. Bezæ, pag. 48.

(*d*) *See* Colomeſii Gall. Oriental pag. 73, 74.

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral conſiderable Books during his abode at* Geneva.] He publiſhed the *Theſaurus* of *Sanctes Pagninus*, with Additions, part whereof he took out of the Writings of *Mercerus* and *Cevalier*, and the reſt he ſupplied out of his own Stock. He publiſhed, alſo, a *Comparatio Grammaticæ Hebraicæ & Arameæ*, and a Treatiſe *de Politia Judaica*. *Thuanus* knew no more of them: He places this laſt Treatiſe above the other Books, compoſed by This Author. *Qui ex omnibus ejus operibus maxime commendatur* (1). He might have added, that *Bertram* contributed, as much as any one, to the Edition of the Commentary of *Mercerus* on the Book of *Job*. This is acknowledged in the Preface; "Cæterum "ne ſua quidem laude fraudandus Cornelius noſter "videtur, ejuſdem Merceri quondam diſcipulus & "nunc meus in hac Eccleſia Collega. Huic ſiquidem non parva ex parte debetur iſtius libri editio, "cum vix alius reperiri potuiſſe videretur, qui hæc "à Mercero minutiſſimis characteribus ac fugientibus pene literis in adverſariis deſcripta legendo "conſequeretur (2). —— *Nor muſt we deny due "Praiſe to our* Cornelius Bertram, *formerly a Diſciple of* Mercerus, *and at preſent my Colleague in "This Church; to whom we are not a little indebted "for the Publication of This Book; there being ſcarce "any other Perſon capable of decyphering the exceeding ſmall, and almoſt inviſible, Characters of* Mercerus *in his* Adverſaria." Mr *Simon* mentions another Work of *Bertram*; he ſays, that This Profeſſor, aſſiſted by *Beza*, *la Faye*, *Rotan*, *Jaquemot*, and *Goulart*, reviſed the *French* Tranſlation of the Bible in the Year 1588, and *that, being more learned in the* Hebrew *Tongue, than all thoſe, who had preceeded him, he took a great deal more Liberty in the Reformation, which he made, both in the Tranſlation, and in the Notes* (3). What Mr *Simon* ſays farther concerning This Reviſion, is not only to be ſound in his *Critical Hiſtory*, but alſo in the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary. I obſerve, that, according to *Thuanus*, the Work, entituled *Lucubrationes Franckenthalenſes* (4), was publiſhed in the Year 1586, and entituled ſo, becauſe the Author lived at *Franckenthal*. *How then*, may it be ſaid to me, *could he have a hand in the Reviſion, which was made at* Geneva, *in the Year* 1581. This is no difficulty at all. When Mr *Simon* ſays, that *another Reformation of the Tranſlation of* Geneva *was made in the Year* 1588, he intends only to mark the Date of the Impreſſion, and does not pretend, that the whole Work was done in the Year 1588. It is well known, that ſuch Reviſions commonly take up ſeveral Years. So that *Bertram* might have been the chief Director of This, though it was not printed 'till a long time after he was gone from *Geneva*. I add, that he was, particularly, *the Author of the Figures* of This Bible, and *of their Explication* (5). Theſe Words of the Preface, prefixed to This Bible, muſt therefore be underſtood of Him. "We have alſo added ſome Figures, but at the end, and out of the Body of this "Work, which may ſerve for the underſtanding of "ſeveral Paſſages, wherein a learned Perſon of our "Society, who is very well verſed in the *Hebrew* "Tongue, and in the reading of the Old Teſtament, "has been particularly concerned." Mr *Colomies* has applied them to our *Bertram* (6).

(1) Thuan. lib. 109, ſub fin.

(2) Beza in Prefat. illius Comentarii.

(3) Critical Hiſt. of the Old Teſtament, lib. ii. chap. 24. pag. 347.

(4) *To give the whole Title, we muſt add here*, ſeu Specimen expoſitionum in difficiliora utriuſque Teſtamenti loca. *In Mr* Simon's Critical Hiſtory, *and in the Supplement to* Moreri's Dictionary, *it is* Frankellatenſes, *inſtead of* Franckentallenſes.

(5) Teſſier, Elog. de Mr de Thou, Tom. II. pag. 202.

(6) In Gallia Orientali, pag. 73.

BERULLE (Peter *de*), Cardinal, and Founder of the Fathers of the Oratory in *France*, was born the 4th of *Febr.* 1575, and died the 2d of *October*, 1629 (*a*). You will find many Particulars concerning him in *Moreri*'s *Dictionary*, and in Mr *Perrault*'s *Illuſtrious Men*; but you will not find, in either of them, that he was expoſed to the Laſh of the *Carmelites* [*A*], who induſtriouſly decried him as a very diſhoneſt Man; nor that he oppoſed the Deſign, which Cardinal *Richelieu* had formed, of humbling

(*a*) Perrault's Illuſtrious Men, Part I, pag. 30, 34.

[*A*] *He was expoſed to the Laſh of the* Carmelites.] This is what I have read in a Book of the Biſhop of *Bellei* (1). "Mr *de Berulle*, being Superior of the Oratory —— was made Superior, by "Delegation and Commiſſion from the Pope, of "certain Nuns of great Piety and Edification (2), "whom he had brought from *Spain*, and introduced into *France*. The Monks of the ſame Order, "who wanted to have the Direction of Them, "clamoured loudly both at *Rome*, and in *France*. "But, failing of Succeſs (becauſe, at the Court of "*Rome*, The Direction of Nuns by Monks is held "in Abhorrence, for Reaſons, which Experience "ſufficiently evinces) they ſet themſelves to libel "him; they called him Anti-Pope, concealed Huguenot, impious Wretch, Libertine; in ſhort, they "threw the moſt ſcandalous Reflexions upon him. "They accuſed his Morals, cenſured his Doctrine, "and blackened his Reputation every way; at laſt, "Theſe Contradictions, by a wonderful Providence "of God, who can bring Good out of Evil, and "Light out of Darkneſs, gave birth to thoſe excellent Works of the State and Glories of Jesus, "and That of his Life; which dazzled the Eyes "of his Adverſaries, and ſtruck them dumb." Some of them arrived to ſuch a Pitch of Raſhneſs and Preſumption as to maintain, that the Pope could not give the Direction of Nuns to any but Monks of the ſame Order (3).

There is, among the Works of Cardinal *Berulle*, a Narrative of the Quarrel, which The *Carmelites* had with him. Their Pretence was a certain Memorial, which he had drawn up, by way of Formulary for a new kind of Vow (4). It was a Vow of Servitude to Jesus Christ, and the *Virgin Mary*. This Author did not anſwer their Writings; but he compoſed a Diſcourſe *Of the State and Glories of* Jesus, as an Apology for his Memorial. "Inſtead of Anſwer, and Reply, *ſays he* (5), "after ten Years of Patience and Silence, after three "Years of Storms and Tempeſts, raiſed in *France* and "*Italy*, by Spirits fit for this Employ, after many

(1) *The* Anti-Baſilic, *in anſwer to the* Anti-Camus, p. 141.

(2) *That is*, Carmelite Nuns.

(3) Ibid. pag. 202.

(4) *This Memorial is in the Works of Cardinal* Berulle, pag. 278, &c. *Edit. of* Paris, *in* 1657, *in* Folio.

(5) Part III *of his Works*.

humbling the Houſe of *Auſtria* [B]; nor that it was pretended, that he died by Poiſon [C]. What I ſhall ſay of the Edition of his Works will rectify an Overſight of *Moreri* [D]. I ſhall refute, likewiſe, an Error of Mr *Perrault* [E]. Cardinal *Berulle* had a Brother, a Counſellor of State, one of whoſe Grand-ſons was Maſter of the Requeſts, Intendant at *Lyons*, and afterwards Firſt Preſident of the Parliament of *Grenoble* (b). The Brother of this latter was called The Abbot *de Berulle*, and was Maſter of the Requeſts, and Prior of *St Romain du Puy*, near *Lyons*, and died about the End of the Month of *June*, 1704 (c).

(b) Mercure Gallant, *of* July, 1704. pag. 99.

(c) Ibid. pag. 100.

“ Calumnies, and ſix injurious and diffamatory Libels, induſtriouſly ſpread, even in foreign Countries; I produce This Diſcourſe in Evidence, and produce it, not to ſpeak of their Perſons, their Deſigns, their Conduct; but, to ſpeak of JESUS.”

[*B*] *He oppoſed the Deſign ---- of humbling the Houſe of* Auſtria.] He was ſeconded by *Marillac*, Keeper of the Seals, and *by ſome other Members of the Privy-Council of* Mary de Medicis (6). The Reaſons, which They alledged, againſt ſuccouring the Duke of *Mantua*, are to be found in Mr *le Vaſſor* (7), who adds; “ *Berulle*, a Man, whoſe Politics are of a Religious Turn, diſplayed them in a Council of the Queen-Mother, and ſupported them by the falſe Arguments, which his myſtical Divinity, and his Imagination, naturally lively and fertile, ſuggeſted to him in Abundance. The Keeper of the Seals liſtened to him, as to a Prophet inſpired from Heaven. *Berulle* ſpoke to him after his own Heart. —— Certain *Carmelite* Nuns of the *Fauxbourg St Jaques*, great Viſionaries, whom *Berulle*, their Director, the Keeper of the Seals, and the Queen-Mother, conſulted as Oracles, greatly applauded the Project (8). GOD had revealed to them, in their Prayers, and their Extaſies, that ſuch was his Will (9).” We ſhall ſee, in the following Remark, how This Hiſtorian excuſes his Wiſhing, that the Houſe of *Auſtria* might not be humbled.

The Political Will of Cardinal *de Richelieu* ſhews us the Partiality of Cardinal *Berulle* for *Spain*. I ſhall cite This Paſſage. “ Your Majeſty (*it is Cardinal* Richelieu, *who addreſſes himſelf to* Lewis XIII) might, by this means, have for ever freed the *Griſons* from the Tyranny of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, if *Fargis*, your Embaſſador in *Spain*, had not, at the Sollicitation of Cardinal *Berulle*, without your Knowledge, and contrary to the expreſs Orders of your Majeſty (as he has ſince confeſſed), made a very diſadvantageous Treaty, to which you at laſt adhered, to pleaſe the Pope, who pretended to have ſome Intereſt in This Affair (10).” The Abbot *Richard* cites theſe Words, in his Hiſtory of Father *Joſeph*, after having ſaid, that “ The Treaty, made by the Lord *du Fargis*, ---- was diſclaimed, becauſe he had not followed the Inſtructions of Father *Joſeph* (11).” He adds, that it was reſolved in the King's Council, to take no notice of this Fault of *du Fargis*: but that, “ inſtead of ratifying what he had done, another Project ſhould be ſent him, agreeable to which he might rectify the firſt; which The Embaſſador accordingly executed (12).”

[*C*] *It was pretended, that he died by Poiſon.*] “ He died ſuddenly, as he was ſaying Maſs ----- This Accident made it ſuſpected, by ſeveral, that *Richelieu* had poiſoned him. The Duke of *Orleans* inſinuates This in a Letter to the King. *Cardinal* Berulle, *my Couſin*, ſays *Gaſton*, *did me very great Service, in my Reconciliation with the Queen my Mother. But it proved fatal to him, ſince his Death followed ſo ſoon after* *. Is not This to carry the Malignity too far? *Berulle* was in a languiſhing Condition more than a Year. The noble Parts, in him, were found injured, and corrupted. Perhaps the Cenſorious might look upon it as the Effect of a ſlow Poiſon, ſent him by *Richelieu*, who was chagrined at his Riſe. However it be, *Berulle* was univerſally acknowledged to be a perfectly good Man. If he was out in his Politics, it was owing to the Tenderneſs of his Conſcience, and to a falſe Zeal for Religion, which made him ſincerely think, that his Opinion was more advantageous to the Good of the State, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Romiſh* Worſhip in *France*, and other Countries (13).”

Obſerve, that *le Vaſſor* neither rejects, nor adopts, the Calumny of the Cardinal's Enemies. It is a Sign he did not think it very probable.

[*D*] *What I ſhall ſay of the Edition of his Works will rectify an Overſight of Mr* Moreri.] Part of the Works of Cardinal *Berulle had been printed at different Times during his Life*; the other Part was found *among his Manuſcripts* (14). *Francis Bourgoign*, at the Requeſt of the Fathers of the Oratory, whoſe General he was, cauſed them to be collected into one Body (15). Father *Gibieuf*, who knew more of them than any other, ranged them in order, and enriched them with *Arguments and Summaries* (16). They were printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1644, in Folio; and a ſecond Edition was publiſhed at the ſame Place, in 1657, in Folio. Father *Bourgoign* (17) dedicated them to the Queen-Regent, *Anne* of *Auſtria*; and added a Preface, which is not, as Mr *Moreri* pretends, an *Abridgment of the Life* of *Berulle*, but rather an Elogy on his Piety, and a general Idea of his Works.

[*E*] *I ſhall refute an Error of Mr* Perrault.] He affirms, that Cardinal *Berulle*, having conducted the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria* into *England*, *gained there the Love and Veneration of every one* (18). Yet we read, as follows, in a Letter, which This Cardinal wrote to That Princeſs, the Twenty ſixth of *October*, 1625. “ The Duke of *Buckingham* is pleaſed to make great Complaint to the King, by his Confident Mr *Gerbieres*, who arrived ten or twelve Days after me, that I had conſpired, and attempted, in *England*, againſt his Life and Fortune (19).”

(6) Le Vaſſor, Hiſt. of *Lewis* XIII, Tom. VI, pag. 1.

(7) Ibid. pag. 2.

(8) *To wit, that which the Keeper of the Seal had formed, in raiſing himſelf on the Ruins of Cardinal* Richelieu's *Fortune.*

(9) Le Vaſſor, ubi ſupra, p. 2, 3.

(10) Political Will of Cardinal *Richelieu*, chap. i, pag. 11.

(11) Richard, Hiſt. of the Life of Father *Joſeph*, Tom. I, pag. 313. *See, likewiſe, the* true Life of Father *Joſeph*, pag. 132, *Edit. of the* Hague, *in* 1705, *in* 12mo.

(12) Ibid.

* Letter of the Duke of *Orleans*, to the King, in 1631.

(13) Hiſt. of *Lewis* XIII, Tom. VI, p. 204, 205.

(14) Francis Bourgoign, *Preface to the Works of Cardinal* Berulle.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Moreri *calls him* Bourgouin: *This is wrong: Proper Names ſhould be given without Alteration.*

(18) Perrault's Illuſtrious Men, Tom. I, pag. 34.

(19) Works of *Berulle*, pag. 861, *Edit.* Paris, 1657.

BEVERNINGK (Jerom), was one of the ableſt Men, of the XVIIth Century, for Embaſſies, and important Negotiations. He was originally deſcended from a noble Family of *Pruſſia* [A]; but he was born at *Tergou*, in *Holland*, the Twenty fifth of *April*, 1614. That Town, which boaſts, with reaſon, of having produced ſo great a Man, ſaw him in the Number of it's Counſellors, in the Year 1645; and in the Number of it's Burgomaſters, in the Year 1668. He was deputed by it, in the Year 1646, to the States of the Province, where he gave ſuch good Proofs of his Capacity, that, not long after, they employed him in Affairs of Conſequence.

In

[*A*] *He was originally deſcended from a noble Family of* Pruſſia.] His Grandfather, *John Van* BEVERNINGK, a Gentleman of *Pruſſia*, came into *Holland* in the Year 1575, with the Count *de Hohenlo*. The States gave him a Company of Foot. He was made afterwards Lieutenant-General of the Artillery. He married the Daughter of *Dirck Loncq*, Burgo-Maſter of the City of *Tergou*, and Treaſurer General of the Province of *Holland*. From This Marriage proceeded *Melchior Van* BEVERNINGK, Captain of Foot in the Service of the States General, and Commander of the Caſtles of *Argenteau* and *Dalem*. He married *Sibylla Standert*, Daughter of *Leonard Standert*, Eſq; Captain of Foot, and Governor of *Knodſenburgh*, over againſt *Nimegen*, and of *Catherine Hauſſart*, Daughter of *Francis Hauſſart*, Chamberlain to the Queen of *Hungary*. Our Mr *Van Beverningk* proceeded from the Marriage of *Melchior Van Beverningk*, and *Sibylla Standert*.

1

[*B*] *The*

In the Year 1650, the States of *Holland* deputed him, with Mr *Van Brederode*, to the States of *Utrecht*, to deſire them to be at the Extraordinary Aſſembly of the United Provinces, which was to be held at the *Hague*. In 1651, the ſame States of *Holland* deputed him to aſſiſt at That Great Aſſembly of the United Provinces. In the Year 1653, the City of *Tergou* deputed him to the Aſſembly of the States General. The ſame Year, he was ſent to the Protector, and the Republic, of *England*, in the Quality of Deputy Extraordinary: The Year following, This Character was changed into That of Embaſſador Extraordinary. He concluded the Peace between *Holland* and *England*, the Twenty eighth of *April*, 1654. During the Courſe of this Embaſſy, he had the Office of Treaſurer General of the United Provinces conferred upon him. He poſſeſſed it 'till the Year 1665; and it was his own Fault that he held it no longer; for the States General deſired him to continue in That Office, and did not conſent to the laying down his Commiſſion, 'till they ſaw, that neither their Reaſons, nor their Intreaties, could prevail upon him. He received a very advantageous Teſtimony, that they were perfectly ſatisfied with his Conduct; and they gave him, in particular, ſome Marks of the Eſteem they had for his Perſon (*a*). In the Year 1659, he had the good Fortune to contribute, with other Deputies, to the compoſing the Differences, which were raiſed in the Province of *Groningen*. It may be ſaid, that he was born for this kind of good Fortune; which appears by the many Treaties of Peace, or Alliance, which he concluded [*B*]. He was twice ſent to *Cleves*, in the Year 1666. The firſt Time, he concluded a very ſtrict Alliance with his Electoral Highneſs of *Brandenburg* (*b*); the ſecond time, he concluded a Peace with the Biſhop of *Munſter* (*c*). The Year following, being inveſted with the Character of Embaſſador, he concluded the Treaty of Peace with *England*, at *Breda* (*d*). In 1668, he was ſent in the Quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary to *Aix la Chapelle*, for the Treaty of Peace between *France* and *Spain*; which Treaty was concluded the ſecond of *May*. In the ſame Year 1668, he was nominated to go, with Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, in the Quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary to the Emperor; but the States General changed their Mind as to That Embaſſy. The States of *Holland* gave Mr *Van Beverningk* ſome Marks of their Regard for his important Services (*e*). In the Year 1671, he went to the Court of *Spain*, in the Quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary, to diſpoſe his Catholic Majeſty to a Negotiation about his Differences with *France*, and he ſucceeded in it to the Satisfaction of his Maſters. In the Year 1672, he followed the Prince of *Orange* to the Army, as Deputy of the States. After this he had a Mind to live a quiet Life, and thought he ought to be ſatisfied with the Glory he had acquired, and that he had performed all that a good Subject owes to his Country; but his Country wanted him too much to let him enjoy a retired Life. The redoubled Inſtances of the States, and of the Prince of *Orange*, obliged him, in the Year 1673, to engage himſelf in one of the moſt important Negotiations, that had yet occurred. I mean the Conferences at *Cologne*. At firſt, the City of *Aix la Chapelle* had been choſen, to negotiate the Peace between the Princes, who were then at War; but it was found more proper to go to *Cologne*. Mr *Van Beverningk* appeared there with the Character of Embaſſador Extraordinary. The carrying off of the Prince of *Furſtenberg* produced the Effect, which was expected from That bold Attempt, *viz.* the breaking off of the Conferences in relation to *France*. Nevertheleſs, the Negotiation was continued with the Allies of that Crown; and it was done with all manner of Succeſs; for Mr *Van Beverningk* brought the Elector of *Cologne*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, back again into the Alliance of the States General (*f*). He was made Curator of the Univerſity of *Leyden*, in the Year 1673. It is an Office, which is not commonly given but to Thoſe, who have ſerved their Country in great Employments. When he expected to enjoy the Repoſe, which he had ſo long wiſhed for, he found himſelf engaged in a moſt difficult Negotiation: He was ſo earneſtly ſollicited to go to *Nimegen*, in the Quality of Embaſſador Plenipotentiary from the Republic, for the General Peace, that, after having excuſed himſelf ſeveral times, he could not refuſe That important and laborious Commiſſion. The Obſtacles, which he was to overcome, cannot be expreſſed:

(*a*) *The Counſel of State preſented him with a Golden Cup, enamelled.*

(*b*) Feb. 16, 1666.

(*c*) April 19, 1666.

(*d*) July 31, 1667.

(*e*) *They made him a Preſent of a fine Set of Silver Diſhes and Plates.*

(*f*) *The Treaty of Peace with the Biſhop of* Munſter *was ſigned* April 22, 1674; *and That with the Elector of* Cologne, *the* 11*th of* May *following.*

[*B*] *The many Treaties of Peace, or Alliance, which he concluded.*] Here is a Paſſage, which, in a long Parentheſis, will ſerve as a Commentary upon theſe Words. "Monſieur *Patius* (1) being Embaſſador in *Spain*, and having, by his great Capacity, preſerved, and increaſed, in the Queen of *Spain*, and her Council, the good Impreſſions, which Monſieur *Van Beverningk* (a Man born to make Peace in the World, having given it, in *Cromwel*'s Time, and afterwards at *Breda*, to the *Engliſh*, and *Dutch*, at *Cleves* to the Biſhop of *Munſter*, at *Aix la Chapelle* to the *French* and *Spaniards*, and, lately, at *Cologne*, to the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and to the Biſhop of *Munſter*, and having not a little contributed to the Peace, lately made with *England*, and who, for that reaſon, might well be called the *Peace-Maker*) had made upon them, to oppoſe early, by juſt and effectual Means, the Ambition of the *French*; *Stoupe* does not know any other way of revenging himſelf upon him, but by Calumny, and falſly accuſing him of being an *Arminian*. He is alſo fooliſhly afraid, that, if Mr *Patius ſhould go through* Swiſſerland, *he would not come off very cheap*. I am ſure, that, if he ſhould happen to paſs by that Country, the *Swiſs*, as well the Proteſtant, as the Catholic, *Cantons*, would receive him with their uſual Civility, and with the Reſpect due to his Character, and to his great Merit, and that they would give him public Thanks for having ſo much contributed to the Preſervation of Religion, and the Liberty of *Europe*." This is to be found in an Anſwer, which was made to Mr *Stoupe*'s Letter about the Religon of the *Dutch* (2).

(1) *It ſhould be* Paets. *It is He, whom I ſpeak of in a marginal Note of the Article* SAINCTES, *Remark* [F].

(2) Pag. 234, 235. *The Title of that Anſwer is,* The true Religion of the *Dutch*. *It was printed at* Amſterdam, 1675, *in* 12mo.

preſſed: A leſs conſummate Induſtry and Experience, than His, could never have compaſſed it; for, except the *French* Embaſſadors, almoſt all the reſt made it much more ~~their~~ their Buſineſs to retard the Treaty of Peace, than to advance it. Nevertheleſs, after the taking of *Ghent*, it ſeemed, that the Peace was become, at laſt, a neceſſary Evil for *Holland*; and People were ſo ſenſible of the fatal Conſequences, which the taking of That Place might have, that they ardently deſired an end of the War. Mr *Van Beverningk* had Orders to go to the King of *France*, at his Camp of *Wetteren* (g); and, after the Reception he met with [*C*], it was no longer doubted, but that a Peace would be concluded. It was ſigned, between *France* and *Holland*, the tenth of *Auguſt*, 1678; after which, Mr *Van Beverningk* ſerved effectually, as a Mediator, to conclude That between *France* and *Spain*, the eleventh of *September*, in the ſame Year. He alſo concluded a Treaty of Peace, and of Commerce, between *Sweden*, and the States General, the twelfth of *October*, 1679. After ſo many honourable, and happy, Negotiations, he enjoyed, at laſt, That quiet Life, which he had ſo long wiſhed for. He retired to a fine Lordſhip (*h*), which he had, a ſmall League from *Leyden*, where he chiefly employed himſelf in the Culture of all ſorts of Plants, which he ſent for from all Parts of the World. But this pleaſant and innocent Occupation, ſo like That, which ſome great Princes have betaken themſelves to, after their Triumphs, and the Government of the State, did not hinder him from regarding the Common-Wealth of Learning. He exerciſed his Function of Curator of the Univerſity, with great Vigilance. He felt the beginning of his laſt Sickneſs, a little after having ſpent one Morning in peruſing the Manuſcripts of the famous Library of *Iſaac Voſſius*, which had lately been bought for the Univerſity of *Holland* (*i*). As ſoon as he was got into his Coach again, he began to ſhudder. This was the beginning of a Fever, which encreaſed daily, and of which he died, the thirtieth of *October*, 1690, at the Age of Seventy ſix Years. His Wife ſurvived him (*k*); but he had no Children by her; ſo that as he was an only Son, no Perſon remains to bear his Name, in this Country. He was buried at *Tergou*, in a Marble Chapel, which he had built. His Relations cauſed his Epitaph to be engraved on a Touchſtone. It is a fine Inſcription, which may be ſeen entire in the Remark [*D*]. It contains an Abridgment of a Life, which might fill

(g) *He arrived there* May 30, 1678.

(*h*) *The Name of it is*, Oud. Teilingen.

(*i*) *That of* Leyden.

(*k*) *She was born at* Amſterdam, May 11, 1635: *Her Name is* Joan le Gillon, *She is originally of a noble Family of* Picardy.

[*C*] *The Reception he met with from the King of* France.] See the Anſwer, which the King of *France* gave to the Letter of the States General, and the Memorial, which he ordered to be delivered to Mr *Van Beverningk*, with the ſame Anſwer. There is nothing in it, but what tends to facilitate the Advancement of the Peace; the Stile is mild and civil; and many Advances are made in it. Every Body may be convinced of it (3). There was a particular Circumſtance in This Embaſſy, which is not known, but deſerves to be ſo. It ſhews, on one ſide, the Diſtinction, with which the King of *France* regarded the Perſon, who had been ſent to him, and, on the other ſide, with what Principles of Honour, and Diſintereſtedneſs, Mr *Van Beverningk* behaved himſelf. When he came away from *Wetteren*, the King would make him a Preſent of two of his Pictures, enriched with Jewels, each of which were worth about Eight hundred Livres. It is not uſual to give two Pictures, but one only. He anſwered the Perſon, who offered him This Preſent from the King, that he thanked His Majeſty for the Honour; but that he did not think proper to accept of it. Nevertheleſs, he made a Preſent to the Bearer of the two Pictures, as if he had accepted of Them. The King's Letter to the States contains, among other things, that the Sieur *Van Beverningk's Perſon and Conduct had been very acceptable to him*.

(3) *All this is inſerted in the* 2d *Part of the* 2d *Vol. of* The Acts and Memoirs of the Negotiations of the Peace of *Nimegen*, pag. 407, *Edit.* Amſt. 1680.

[*D*] *His Epitaph may be ſeen entire in the Remarks.*] Here it is; The Lines are placed here, as they are in the Original:

Perilluſtris. ac generoſus. vir
HIERONYMUS. VAN. BEVERNINGK,
Theilingæ. Toparcha.
Senator. Judex. Conſul. Goudanus.
In. conſeſſu. præpot: ord: gen: Aſſeſſor
Idem. aliquoties. extra. ordin:
Communi. Belgicæ. Fœd: ærario. Præfectus
Lycei. Batavorum. Curator
In Hiſpan: & Fœd: Belg: finibus. regundis
Adjutor.
Legatus Wilhelmo. III. in exercitu. datus.
Weſtmonaſterium. Cliviam. II. Bredam
Aquisgranum. Bruxellas. Madritum
Coloniam. Agripp: Noviomagum:
Ad. Gall: item. Regem.
Wetteræ. Morinorum. caſtra habentem.
Cum poteſtate. res. componendi. miſſus.
Ad. Cæſarem. vero. deſignatus. Orator.
Re. niſi. perfecta. nunquam. reverſus.
De. maximi. præterea. momenti. rebus. domi
De. amicitiis. parandis
Et. fœderibus. pangendis foris,
A. Patriæ. Patribus. paſſim
Feliciter. conſultus. & adhibitus.
Natus. Goudæ. xxv. April. MDCXIV.
Mortuus. Theilingæ. xxx. Octob: MDCXC
Satur. honorum
Hoc. monumento. conditur
Cum
Optima. vitæ. fortunarum. que. ſocia
Joanna. Le Gillon
Nata. Amſt. xi. Maji. MDCXXXV
Mortua.
ΘΑΝΑΤΩ. ΠΑΝΤΕΣ. ΟΦΕΙΛΟΜΕΘΑ.

The very Illuſtrious and Noble
JEROM VAN BEVERNINGK;
Lord of Teilingen;
Senator, Judge, and Counſellor, of Tergou;
Deputy in the General Aſſembly of the States;
Sometimes Deputy Extraordinary;
Treaſurer General of the United Provinces;
Curator of the Univerſity of Leyden;
Aſſiſtant in ſettling the Boundaries of Spain, *and the United Provinces.*
Deputy of the States in the Army of William III.
Sent Plenipotentiary to
Weſtminſter, *To* Cleves *twice*, *To* Breda,
To Aix la Chapelle, *To* Bruſſels, *To* Madrid,
To Cologne, *To the* French *King*,
Encamped at Wetteren.
Appointed Embaſſador to the Emperor,
He returned not, 'till he had finiſhed his Negotiation.
Conſulted, with ſucceſs,

fill a whole Volume; and, if Mr *Van Beverningk* had taken the pains to compoſe ſome Memoirs concerning his Embaſſies, it would be the moſt inſtructive, and moſt curious Book, that could be ſeen. He always ſucceeded in his Negotiations; which is an Honour, whereof we find but few Examples among thoſe, who have had the Management of ſo many public Affairs. He was laborious and induſtrious, and never diſcouraged at any thing *(l)*. The *French* and *Dutch* Writers equally praiſe him. I could alledge many Proofs of it; but ſhall be ſatisfied with producing what Mr *de Wicquefort* [*E*], and Mr *de Saint Didier* [*F*], have ſaid of him. As for Sir *William Temple*, he ſeems to be a little vexed at the ſigning of the Treaty of *Nimegen*; but, notwithſtanding, he owns, that Mr *Van Beverningk* put a Stop to the Complaints of his Enemies *(m)*. He might have ſaid, that the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* wrote a very obliging Letter to him, in which they thanked him for the Concluſion of the Peace (*n*). They aſſured him, that they had taken much Pains with the Members of the States of *Holland*, that he might be employed in That Negotiation. They knew very well, that they ſtood in need of ſuch a Man, as He, to make it ſucceed. The Town, where he was born, ſhewed him, upon that Occaſion, how much they eſteemed him. The City of *Tergou* made him a Preſent of two Silver Handirons, in the Year 1679, in Conſideration of the laſt Treaty of Peace, and for other important Services, done to the State and the City.

(*l*) *Taken from ſome Memoirs, which came from good Hands.*

(*m*) Memoirs, pag. 417, *Edit. of the* Hague, 1692.

(*n*) *Dated* Auguſt 14, 1678.

In Domeſtic Affairs of the greateſt Conſequence,
And in public Treaties abroad,
By the Fathers of his Country.
He was born at Tergou, April 25. 1614;
Died at Teilingen, Octob. 30, 1690;
Full of Honours;
And lies buried, in This Monument,
With
The beſt Companion of his Life and Fortunes,
JOANNA LE GILLON;
Born at Amſterdam, May 11, 1635.
Died.
DEATH IS A DEBT WE ALL MUST PAY.

[*E*] *What Mr* Wiequefort —— *ſaid of him.*] "*Jerom Beverningk* is, doubtleſs, one of the ableſt "Men of the United Provinces for Negotiations. "The City of *Tergou*, which otherwiſe does not "want able Men, deputed him ſeveral times to the "Aſſemblies of the States of the Province of *Holland*, and to the Colleges of the Generality, and he "always perfectly anſwered what might be expected "from his great Ability. It was He, who, in the "Year 1654, made the Treaty with *Oliver Cromwell*, which gave Peace to the United Provinces; "but it had like to have involved them in a Civil "War, becauſe the Intereſts of the Prince of *Orange*, "according to ſome, had not been well managed in "it. The Province of *Holland* was ſo well ſatisfied "with the Service he did them at That Juncture, "that They procured him the Office of Treaſurer "General, that is to ſay, of firſt Miniſter of the "United Provinces. There is no Affair, though "ever ſo difficult, but what he can clear up, when "he will apply himſelf to it. If any one deſires "proofs of it, he need only look into the Treaty, "which he concluded at *Cleves*, with the Biſhop of "*Munſter*, in the Year 1666. Nor was He leſs "ſucceſsful in his Negotiations at *Madrid*, concerning the important Intereſts of the Provinces of the "*Netherlands*. If he did not ſucceed at *Cologne*, it "muſt be imputed to the Ill-diſpoſition of the Parties "concerned, and to the unlucky Juncture of Affairs, "rather than to his Way of managing Things. Hence "it is, that he was intruſted with the whole Negotiation at *Nimegen*; and the States made choice of "him to go, and conclude it with the moſt Chriſtian "King near *Ghent*. He is weary of ſo many Employments; ſo that, whereas others ſtrive for them, "he avoids them; chooſing rather to enjoy himſelf "in his Country Retirement, than to be troubled "with the Cares, which Buſineſs brings upon him, "and which are often no leſs troubleſome to him, "than to Thoſe, who negotiate with him. A better Pen, than mine, is requiſite to draw up Mr *Van* "*Beverningk*'s Character, becauſe, if all the Parts of "it be well examined, it will be found, that, abating "his uneven Temper, there is nothing in him, but "what is Excellent (4)."

[*F*] —— *and Mr* de Saint Didier.] Of all the Places, where this Author ſpeaks of Mr *Van Beverningk*, I ſhall ſelect but theſe three. "Mr *Van Beverningk*'s quick Return, occaſioned by this News "(5), which made him ſet out from his Houſe, to "repair to *Nimegen*, with all ſpeed, confirmed the "Conjecture of a private Agreement between *Holland* and *France*. This Embaſſador appeared to be "ſo zealous for the true Intereſt of his Country, that, "if any private Negotiation was to be expected, it "could not be by any other means (6). —— He is a "Man of a quick Wit, who knows what is beſt, and "attains to it the ſhorteſt way. He is Vigilant and "Laborious. He has been employed by the States "in ſeveral Embaſſies, and in all the Treaties, which "have been made ſince 1650; but he loves a retired "Life, and it was with ſome kind of uneaſineſs, that "he left his Country-Houſe near *Leyden*, to go to "*Nimegen* (7). ——— Mr *Van Beverningk* is a Man "of no leſs Ability, than Diſpatch (8)."

(4) Wicquefort's Treatiſe of Embaſſadors, Tom. II, pag. 443.

(5) *He means That of the Battle of* Caſſei.

(6) Hiſtory of the Negotiations of *Nimegen*, Tom. I, pag. 94, ad Ann. 1677.

(7) Ibid. pag. 187.

(8) Ibid. Tom. II. pag. 29.

BEZANITES, or **BEZANIANS**, an imaginary Sect, which never exiſted but in the Heads of ſome Makers of Catalogues of Heretics. There would be reaſon to wonder, that ſuch abſurd Writings, as Thoſe Catalogues are, have not been ſuppreſſed in their Birth, by Perſons of Authority; I ſay, there would be reaſon to wonder at it, if it were not known, that Thoſe Perſons of Authority are very often the leaſt knowing, and the moſt perſuaded of this wrong Maxim, *that one may uſe indifferently Fraud or Force againſt one's Enemy*; —— *dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirat (a)?* Theſe Perſons did not perceive, that thoſe Catalogues, being full of impertinent and notorious Falſities, were only proper to inſpire the Heretics with a very great Contempt for the Writers of the prevailing Party. They only conſidered the Advantage, which would accrue from the Heretics being thought to be divided into a thouſand Sects. However it be, if *Prateolus* may be believed (*b*), there aroſe a Sect under the Reign of *Charles* V, and under the Pontificate of *Julius* III, about the Year 1550 (*c*), which was called the *Bezanites*, or the *Bezanians*, from *Theodorus Beza*. The only Proof, that he could bring for it, would be, that he had read ſuch a Thing in a Book of *Lindanus*; for it is very true, that *Lindanus* ſays ſo (*d*); but without quoting any Body. That which is very certain, is, that

(*a*) Virgil. Æn. lib. ii, ver. 320.

(*b*) In Elencho Hæreticorum, voce *Bezanitæ*, *pag.* 93.

(*c*) *At that time* Beza *was not a Miniſter; he was only Profeſſor of the* Greek *Tongue.*

(*d*) Dubitantii Dialogo II, pag. 152.

one might boldly lay any Wager, though never ſo great, to be paid to Thoſe, who could prove, that ſome People, in the XVIth Century, made a ſeparate Sect, in the Quality of *Beza*'s Diſciples. The ſame may be ſaid in relation to a great many other Sects, which fill up the Alphabet of *Prateolus*. Perhaps the chief Reaſon, which induced him to mention the pretended Sect of the *Bezanites*, was the Deſire of adorning his Work with the Calumnies, which were publiſhed againſt *Beza* [*A*]. If, inſtead of rewarding *Lindanus*, they had puniſhed him for his Lies [*B*], he would not have been tranſcribed by ſo many Perſons, among whom a *Carthuſian* of *Germany* is, doubtleſs, the moſt ridiciculous [*C*].

[*A*] Prateolous *would not, perhaps, have mentioned the* Bezanians, *but for the deſire of adorning his Work with the Calumnies which were publiſhed againſt* Beza.] My Conjecture will appear very probable to Thoſe, who ſhall conſider, that, *Prateolus* having but five or ſix Lines to beſtow upon his pretended *Bezanites*, has filled ſeven or eight Pages with the moſt diſgraceful Things, he could find, againſt That famous Miniſter, in the Writings of *Lindanus*, *Claudius de Saintes*, and *John le Viel*. Beſides, he miſrepreſents and relates unfaithfully what he takes from them. I am going to give an Example of it. *Lindanus* had quoted *Peter Viretus*, who ſaid, that ſome Schoolmaſters took delight in repeating, a thouſand times, to their Scholars, that *a Man is happy, when he can trample upon the Fear of Death, and infernal Torments*. It is a Paſſage of *Virgil*. *Teſtatur P. Viretus lib. 2. de Miniſt. Verbi eſſe quoſdam ludimagiſtros ex illo Epicuri grege porcos, qui in ſcholis ſoleant ſuis ſæpe ſcholaſticis occinere illum vere beatum qui, uti eſt apud Virgilium,*

—— metus omnes, & inexorabile Fatum
Subjecit pedibus, ſtrepitumque Acherontis avari (1).

Lindanus adds, that *Beza* had rendered himſelf ſuſpected of the like Epicureiſm, as his Brethren of *Paris* and *Orleans* witneſs. What does *Prateolus*? He maintains, that *Lindanus* had ſaid, that, when *Beza* was Schoolmaſter, he often repeated This Paſſage of *Virgil* to his Scholars (2). Is not This to falſify an Author? Afterwards, *Lindanus*, who had quoted, hitherto, no Authority againſt *Beza*, quotes one *Fabricius* (3), who accuſes That Miniſter of having ſold his Benefices, and of loving the Fair Sex to exceſs. *Beneficia eccleſiaſtica —— publice venderet, & alienas uxores permoleret tam familiariter, ut publicus matronarum haberetur maritus.* This is ſoon ſaid; but where are the Proofs?

[*B*] *Inſtead of rewarding* Lindanus, *they ſhould have puniſhed him for his Lies.*] It is certain, that *Prateolus* has ranged a great many Sects in an Alphabetical Order, which never exiſted, and that he had no other Authority for it, than *Lindanus*. Father *Gaultier*, a Jeſuit, gives us a Liſt of theſe ſame Sects, in his Chronographical Table, on *Prateolus*'s Teſtimony. If he is not his only Author, he is at leaſt his chief Authority. An hundred Authors have ſpoken, and do ſtill ſpeak, of theſe Sects on the Credit of That Jeſuit. Obſerve the prodigious and horrible Propagation of the Fault of a ſingle Writer, I mean *Lindanus*. When one conſiders, that This Author, having been preferred to a ſmall Biſhopric, was afterwards promoted to a greater, and received great Honours at *Rome* (4), and that none of all the Superiors, to whom he was to give an account of his Conduct, cenſured him for the Boldneſs, with which he had created ſo many Sects (5); it can be no longer wondered at, that there ſhould be ſo many Liars, among Thoſe, who engage in Controverſies. If *Lindanus*'s Superiors had required him to prove, that certain Diſciples of *Beza*, diſtinct from Thoſe of *Calvin*, and from Thoſe of the other Reformers, had formed a great, or ſmall, Body, ſeparate from the other Sectaries; and if, for want of good Proofs, they had condemned him to the Puniſhment of public Impoſtors, and declared him unqualified for meddling with holy Things, they had eſtabliſhed a Precedent, which would have reclaimed all credulous, or deceitful, Writers, who report ſo many Falſities. But, inſtead of bringing him into trouble for it, they looked upon him as a valiant Champion of the Catholic Cauſe, and raiſed him more and more. Who would therefore ſcruple to calumniate Heretics? One might apply theſe Words of *Horace* to That Author:

Ulla ſi Juris tibi pejerati
Pœna, Barine, nocuiſſet unquam;
Dente ſi nigro fieres, vel uno
  Turpior ungue;
Crederem. Sed tu ſimul obligaſti
Perfidum votis caput, eniteſcis
Pulchrior multo, juvenumque prodis
  Publica cura.
Expedit matris cineres opertos
Fallere, & toto taciturna noctis
Signa cum cœlo, gelidaque divos
  Morte carentes (6).

Barine, *did Revenge o'retake,*
  And blaſt as oft as you deceive;
Were but one Nail, or Tooth, more black,
  Thy Vows I would at laſt believe:
But ſtill more fair, more bright thy Face,
  More Crowds of Lovers flock to view,
As each falſe Oath procured a Grace,
  And tempted Thee to prove untrue.
It profits thee to be forſworn
  By All that other Mortals fear,
Th' Eternal Gods, thy Mother's Urn,
  By whirling Heav'n, and ev'ry Star.

CREECH.

There is another Reflexion, which would well deſerve to be weighed. If the Queſtion had been to defame the Taylors, or ſome other Tradeſmen of an Imperial City, *Lindanus*, I believe, would not have affirmed any thing publickly, without being certain of the Fact; but, becauſe Religion, and the Glory of GOD, was concerned in it, he publiſhed all that came into his Head, without any Examination, or Remorſe. So that, if we conſider the matter well, the Zeal of Controverſiſts, inſtead of increaſing their Virtue, ſtifles the Knowledge, and all the Scruples, which might keep them in the way of Probity, in Things purely Human: QUOD NOTANDUM (7).

[*C*] Lindanus's *Lies have been moſt ridiculouſly tranſcribed by a* Carthuſian *of* Germany.] His Name is *Theodorus Petreius* —— his *Catalogus Hæreticorum* was printed in the Year 1628. See what *Hoornbeeck* ſaid of it in his *Summa Controverſ.* pag. 321.

BEZA (THEODORUS), one of the chief Pillars of the Reformed Church, was of *Vezelai*, in *Burgundy*. He was nobly born, both by his Father's and Mother's Side [*A*], the Twenty fourth of *June*, 1519. He was hardly weaned, when his Uncle,

[*A*] *He was born Noble, both on his Father's and Mother's Side.*] His Father, who was Bailiff of *Vezelai*, was called *Peter de Beze*, his Mother's Name was *Mary Bourdelot*. "P. à Beza ejus oppidi præ"fecto, & Maria Bourdelotia, utroque Dei gratia "genere nobili (utinam verò potius veri Dei cogni"tione imbuto) & integræ famæ parente natus. —— "*Born of* Peter Beza, *Bailiff of That Town, and* "Mary Bourdelot, *both, by* GOD's *Grace, of noble* "*Birth, and unblemiſhed Fame; I wiſh I could rather* "*ſay, inſtructed in the Knowledge of the True* GOD." *Beza*, who ſpeaks in this manner, in an Epiſtle Dedicatory

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(1) Lindanus, Dubitantii, Dial. ii, pag. 246.

(2) Prateol. in Elencho Hæret. pag. 94.

(3) Michael Fabricius pro Fran. Balduino.

(4) Valer. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 323, 324.

(5) *He made them out of nothing*, ex nihilo fui & ex nihilo ſubjecti; *this is what is called Creation.*

(6) Horat. Od. viii. lib. ii.

(7) *See Remark* [*O*], *of the Article* CAYET.

Uncle, *Nicolas Beza*, Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, would have him at his Houſe, where he was very affectionately educated, 'till the beginning of *December*, 1528 (*a*), when he was ſent to *Melchior Wolmar*, at *Orleans*, who had a wonderful Skill in inſtructing Youth. He lodged ſeven Years at *Wolmar*'s Houſe, who improved him wonderfully in Claſſical Learning, and inſtructed him in Religion, out of the Word of God (*b*); that is, he educated him in the Proteſtant Religion. *Wolmar* had been ſent for to *Bourges*, by the Queen of *Navarre*, to teach the *Greek* Tongue there. He left That Employment, and returned into *Germany*, his Country, in the Year 1535. Then *Beza* was ſent to ſtudy the Law at *Orleans*. This Study pleaſed him but little: He ſpent the beſt of his Time in reading good *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, and compoſing Verſes. He made ſuch good ones, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by them, in a particular manner; inſomuch that he was taken notice of and beloved by the moſt learned Men in the Univerſity of *Orleans*. He took his Licentiate's Degree, there, in the Year 1539 (*c*), and went to *Paris*, where ſome good Preferments were provided for him [*B*], which combated for ſome time the Reſolution he had taken to return to *Wolmar*, and make public Profeſſion of the Reformation. The Pleaſures of *Paris*, the Honours, which were offered him, and a great many other Snares of *Satan*, he ſays, did not choak the good Seed; he never forſook the Reſolution of renouncing Popery, though the Temptations of the World made him Irreſolute [*C*]. He had provided againſt Thoſe of the Fleſh by a Marriage of Conſcience (*d*); that is to ſay, by a Promiſe, which he made to a Woman, to marry her publickly, as ſoon as the Obſtacles, which hindered him at That Time, ſhould be removed, and, in the mean time, not to engage himſelf in the Eccleſiaſtical State. He faithfully performed Theſe two Promiſes; but a dangerous Sickneſs was neceſſary to extricate him from the Snares, which entangled him in the Mire. The frightful Image of approaching Death made him renew ſo earneſtly the Vow, he had formerly made, to profeſs the Reformed Religion, that, as ſoon as he had recovered ſufficient Health to travel, he fled to *Geneva*, with This Woman. He arrived there the Twenty fourth of *October*, 1548; and, before he reſolved upon what Courſe of Life he ſhould take, he went to ſee *Melchior Wolmar*, at *Tubingen*. The Year following, he accepted the Profeſſorſhip of the *Greek* Tongue at *Lauſanne*;

(*a*) Antony la Faye, de vita & obitu Th. Bezæ, pag. 9, *anticipates This Time, and is miſtaken; he ſays, that* Beza *was ſent, at five Years of Age, to be educated by* Wolmar, *at* Orleans. *Mr* Teiſſier, Addit. to the Elogies, Tom. II, pag. 362, *ſays the ſame thing.*

(*b*) Veræ pietatis cognitione ex Dei verbo tanquam limpidiſſimo fontè petita tu me ita imbuiſti ut, &c. *Beza, Epiſt. ad M. Wolmarum. See, below, Citation* (*e*).

(*c*) Anno Domini 1539. Cal. id. Auguſti, quum annum ætatis viceſimum eſſem ingreſſus. Id. ibid. *He reckons wrong; he was already in his 21ſt Year.*

(*d*) *See Remarks* [C] *and* [Y].

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dicatory to *Wolmar* (1), tells us elſewhere, that his Anceſtors had been rich for ſeveral Generations, and great Benefactors to the Church. “ Sum enim ego “ (ne neſcias) Dei gratia, non ex Monachis, non ex “ adulterio, vel ſtupro, ſed honeſtis avis & atavis “ prognatus; &, ne ad allegorias tuas confugias, ſcito “ Bezarum familiam, ſi forte quæcunque ante ducentos “ & amplius annos in Monachos ſuperſtitioſe largita “ eſt reciperet, tam fore locupletem quam ægre “ hodie ſeſe in ſua inopia tuetur (2). —— *You are to* “ *know, that I am not the Offſpring of Monks, that* “ *I was not begotten in Adultery or Whoredom, but* “ *am ſprung from honeſt Parents, and reputable Anceſtors*; “ *and, that you may not fly to your Allegories,* “ *know, that the Family of the* Beza's, *if it could recover* “ *what it has ſuperſtitiouſly beſtowed on Monks* “ *for Two hundred Years, and more, would be as* “ *wealthy, as it is now ſcarce able to ſupport itſelf in* “ *it's Poverty*.”

[*B*] *He went to* Paris, *where ſome good Preferments were provided for him.*] His Uncle, the Counſellor, had been dead ſeven Years (3); but another Uncle, Abbot of *Froidmont*, had no leſs kindneſs for This Nephew. He deſigned to have reſigned to him his Abbey, worth Fifteen thouſand Livers yearly Rent; which, with two other good Benefices, which *Beza* was already provided with, and which had been procured him without his Knowledge, would have put him in a very good way. “ Huc accedebat quod duobus pinguibus “ & opimis Beneficiis me alioqui macrum adoleſcentem, “ & præterea, quod vere teſtor, iſtarum “ rerum prorſus ignarum & abſentem, onerarunt, quorum “ vectigalia aureos coronatos annuos plus minus “ ſeptingentos æquabant (4).” Beſides, his elder Brother was very ill, and could not live long; the Succeſſion to his Benefices was an approaching Hope. He died ſoon after; and This Death increaſed *Beza*'s Income conſiderably. *Ex Fratris morte auctiores mihi reditus eſſent facti* (5). It is eaſy to judge, that a young Man, ſo well ſettled already, and who had ſuch great Talents, many Friends and Relations, and an uncommon Reputation, built on the Succeſs of his *Latin* Verſes, which the Public had ſeen, might promiſe to himſelf all ſorts of Preferments. “ Quumque “ mihi præter illa impedimenta, quæ antè “ commemoravi, triplicem laqueum Satanas circundediſſet, “ nempe voluptatum illecebras quæ ſunt in “ ea civitate maximæ; gloriolæ dulcedinem, quam “ ego non parvam, ex meorum præſertim Epigrammatum “ editione, ipſius quoque M. Antonii Flaminii “ doctiſſimi poëtæ, & quidem Itali, judicio eram “ conſequutus; ſpem denique maximorum honorum “ mihi propoſitam, ad quos ex ipſis aulicis proceribus “ aliquot me vocabant, incitabant amici, pater & “ patruus hortari non deſinebant; voluit Deus Opt. “ Max. ut - - - - - tandem ex his quoque periculis “ evaderem (6). - - - - - - - *And though, beſides the* “ *Obſtacles, already mentioned,* Satan *laid a triple* “ *Snare for me; to wit, the Allurements of Pleaſure,* “ *which are very great in That City; the Sweets of* “ *Fame, which I had acquired no ſmall Degree of,* “ *particularly by the Publication of my Epigrams, and* “ *in the Opinion even of the very learned* Italian *Poet* “ M. Antony Flaminius; *laſtly, the Hopes given me* “ *of the greateſt Honours, to which ſome of the Courtiers* “ *themſelves invited me, my Friends prompted,* “ *and my Father and Uncle perpetually exhorted me,* “ *to accept of; yet it pleaſed* God - - - - - - *to extricate* “ *me even out of theſe Dangers*.”

[*C*] *The Temptations of the World made him irreſolute.*] This ought to be no wonder to us. At ſuch an Age, a witty and handſome Man, who wants nothing to divert himſelf, has much ado to reſiſt Temptation. In vain did the Woman, to whom *Beza* had promiſed Marriage, put him in mind of marrying her; the Revenue of the Benefices, which he muſt have renounced, confuted all her Inſtances: One may eaſily believe what *Beza* ſays upon it. But the Force, with which He, at laſt, broke theſe Bonds, is ſo much the more admirable. “ Quum mihi & juveni & à meis otio, pecunia, rebus “ denique omnibus potius quam conſilio, abundanti, “ Satanas omnia illa impedimenta derepente “ objeciſſet, fateor me inani illarum rerum ſplendore “ & vanis blanditiis ita fuiſſe pellectum, ut me totum “ huc & illuc abripi facile paterer —— Uxorem “ mihi deſpondi, ſed clam, id tamen fateor & “ uno tantum & altero ex piis amicis conſcio, partim “ ne cæteros offenderem, partim quod adhuc “ non ſatis poſſem à ſcelerata illa pecunia quam ex “ ſacerdotiis, de quibus ante dixi, percipiebam, ut “ impurus canis ab uncto corio, abſterreri. —— Ego “ tum interea ſemper in luto hærere, inſtantibus meis “ ut tandem certum aliquod vitæ genus amplecterer, “ & patruo mihi omnia deferente, adeo ut quum “ una ex parte me premeret conſcientia, & conjux “ de promiſſo appellaret; ex altera vero perſonatus

“ Satan

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(1) *It is That of his* Confeſſion of Faith, *which he publiſhed in* Latin, *in* 1560. *See Citat.* (*e*), *of this Article.*

(2) Beza ad Claudium de Xaintes, Apologia Altera, ſub. fin.

(3) Verheiden, p. 209, *who ſays he was ſtill living, is miſtaken.*

(4) Beza Epiſt. ad Melch. Wolmarum.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

Lauſanne; and, after having exerciſed it about nine or ten Years, he returned to *Geneva* [*D*], where he was admitted a Miniſter (*e*). During theſe nine Years, he did not confine himſelf to *Greek* Lectures; he read ſome alſo, in *French*, on the New Teſtament [*E*], which were for the Inſtruction, and Conſolation, of ſeveral Refugees of both Sexes, who lived at *Lauſanne*. He publiſhed ſeveral Books during his Abode in that City [*F*]; and, before he quitted the Profeſſorſhip, which he exerciſed

“ Satan mihi placidiſſimo vulta blandiretur, & ex fratris morte auctiores mihi reditus eſſent facti, quaſi omnis conſilii inops inter iſtas animi curas jacerem (7). —— *I confeſs, I ſuffered myſelf to be eaſily carried away with the empty Show, and Allurements, of Thoſe Temptations, which* Satan *ſuddenly threw in my way, when I was young, idle, and fuller of Money, than Diſcretion.* —— *I entered into a Contract of Marriage, but ſecretly; yet with the Privacy, I muſt confeſs, of one or two of my pious Friends, partly that I might not offend the reſt, and partly becauſe I ſtill hankered after the wicked Profits of thoſe Benefices, I before ſpoke of.* —— *In the mean time I continued plunged in the Mire, notwithſtanding the Inſtances of my Friends, that I would, at length, embrace ſome ſettled way of Life, and the ready Compliance of my Uncle in every thing; inſomuch that, on the one ſide, Conſcience preſſing me, and the Lady calling me to the Performance of my Promiſe; and, on the other ſide, allured by worldly Temptations, and an Encreaſe of my Income by the Death of my Brother, I remained utterly Irreſolute and Indetermined.*”

[*D*] *After having exerciſed the* Greek *Profeſſorſhip about nine or ten Years at* Lauſanne, *he returned to* Geneva,] This is what he ſays himſelf, in his Anſwer to *Claudius de Saintes*. *Novem circiter annos Græcas literas docuiſſe* (8). *Antony la Faye* has made uſe of an even Number, *viz*. ten Years compleat; “ Inciderunt poſtea tempora, quæ Bezam ad migrandum Lauſanna, ubi DECEM annos integros hæſerat Græca docendi munere defungens, induxerunt (9). —— Beza *was, afterwards, induced to go to* Lauſanne, *where he taught* Greek TEN *whole Years*.” *Beza*, in another Place of his Books, ſays, that from *Lauſanne* he returned to *Geneva*, after ten Years ſtay there. “ Inde vero tandem, id eſt poſt annum decimum —— in hanc urbem iterum tanquam in placidiſſimum portum redii (10).” Neither He, nor *la Faye*, have judged it proper to explain all the Reaſons of his leaving *Lauſanne*: What they ſay of it does not hinder us from ſuſpecting, that there was I know not what in it, which would be fit for ſecret Memoirs. “ Inciderunt Tempora, quæ Bezam ad migrandum Lauſanna induxerunt. - - - - Beza *was induced to go to* Lauſanne (11). - - - - - Inde — partim quod meipſum cuperem Theologiæ totum conſecrare, partim alias ob cauſas quas nihil hic attinet commemorare - - - - in hanc urbem - - - - redii (12). - - - - - *I returned from thence to this City, partly that I might dedicate myſelf wholly to Divinity, and partly for Reaſons, which it ſignifies nothing to repeat here.*” His Enemies, who made Mountains of Mole-hills, publiſhed, that he had been expelled That City. See *Lindanus*, at the Hundred fifty ſecond Page of the ſecond Dialogue of of his *Dubitantius*; and *Baudouin*, in his third Anſwer, *fol.* 146. *verſo*, where he ſays, *Docuit Lauſannæ multis annis - - - - illinc turpiter atque ignominioſe pulſus.* - - - - *He taught many Years at* Lauſanne, *from whence he was expelled with Ignominy.* This is falſe; but there was ſomething, I know not, which gave occaſion to this Lie. Mr *Teiſſier* miſtook one thing for another, when he ſaid, that *Beza* exerciſed the Profeſſorſhip of Philoſophy, for ten Years, at *Lauſanne* (13).

One of my Friends (14), a famous Profeſſor at *Lauſanne*, having read what goes before, uſed all his Endeavours to help me to ſome Explanations; but his Endeavours proved vain: However, I here give you an Abſtract of his Letter, which is of ſome Moment. “ I thought I could have given you ſome Light into *Beza*'s Life, and particularly as to his leaving This Univerſity to go to *Geneva*. You intimate, that there is ſomething concealed in this matter. I know it has been reported, and even an Author, whoſe Name I have forgot, ſays, that it was becauſe he had got his Maid with Child; But, if it had been ſo, it would have been known at *Geneva*, as well as here; and he would not have gone away honourably, *Bona cum venia Ampliſſimi Magiſtratus Bernenſis*, as he ſays in his Letter to his Preceptor *Wolmar*: And, to conclude, he would not have come every Year, as he did, to *Lauſanne*, and have been ſo well received. They ſhewed him ſo much Reſpect, that the Council uſed to go out, and meet him, as our Memoirs teſtify.” I am uncertain whether the Author, meant here, be not *Reboul* (15), That ſatyrical Writer, who was beheaded at *Rome* for his Paſquinades (16).

[*E*] *He read Lectures, in* French, *on the New Teſtament.*] He made choice, at firſt, of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, and afterwards of Thoſe of St *Peter*. They were, as it were, the Seeds of That great Work, which he publiſhed ſome time after; I mean his *Latin* Tranſlation of the New Teſtament with Notes. He reviſed it ſeveral Times, and made many Corrections in it. None but Thoſe, who are ignorant of the Difficulty of ſuch a Work, will think it ſtrange, that he ſhould make ſome Alterations in each Edition. *Illas tamen aliquoties emendatas ab ipſo mirabitur nemo, qui operis difficultatem cum dignitate conjunctam, ut decet, perpenderit* (17). It is true, This created ſome Trouble to Thoſe, who had made uſe of the firſt Editions; They were always in Fear, that a new one would come out, which would overthrow what they had looked upon as certain; but, to be uneaſy at This, is to be angry with Nature, which will have our Knowlede to be very limited, and to increaſe by Degrees. Cruel Reproaches were made againſt *Beza* on this Account. “ Niſi quis ſepties tuas Novi Teſtamenti editiones emat, neſciet quid ajas aut quid neges. Memini typographum eruditum Hieronymum Commelinum hoc mihi ante decennium dixiſſe, quod crebra mutatione conſilii hoc tantum adeptus es ut plurimi nihili faciant Novum Teſtamentum litera læſum atque ſenſu flexiloquum. Et olim quidam Doctor Cantabrigienſis mihi retulit, quod Cantabrigiæ plures averſati ſunt religionem ducti per te ad credendum quod Novum Teſtamentum depravatum eſt, ſicut per Edwardum Livilejum quod Vetus ulceratum (18). - - - - - - *One muſt purchaſe your ſeven Editions of the New Teſtament, to know what you affirm or deny. I remember a learned Printer,* Jerom Commelinus, *told me, ten Years ago, that, by frequently altering your Mind, you had gained This, that many Perſons had no Dependance on Your New Teſtament. And, not long ago, a certain* Cambridge *Doctor informed me, that many at* Cambridge *diſregarded Religion, being induced, by you, to believe, that the New Teſtament is corrupt, as they had been, by* Edward Livilejus, *that the old one is very much ſo.*”

Note, that the firſt Edition of the Work of *Beza* is of the Year 1556. He publiſhed a ſecond, ten Years after, and dedicated it to the Queen of *England*. The fifth Edition came out in the Year 1598. He dedicated it again to the ſame Queen, by a new Epiſtle, and ſuppreſſed the firſt: He ſhould not have ſuppreſſed it; for it explains, at large, the Method, and Deſign, of the Author.

[*F*] *He publiſhed ſeveral Books during his Abode at* Lauſanne.] The firſt was a *French* Tragi-Comedy, entituled *Abraham*'s *Sacrifice*. *Jacomot* tranſlated it into *Latin*, in the Year 1598. Almoſt at the ſame time *James Brunon* tranſlated it into the ſame Language, at *Amſterdam*. It has paſſed through ſeveral Impreſſions. Let us ſee what *Paſquier* ſays of it. *About the ſame time,* Theodorus Beza *lived, a fine* Latin *and* French *Poet. He compoſed, in* French *Verſe,* Abraham'*s* Sacrifice *ſo much to the Life, that, in reading it formerly, it drew Tears from my Eyes* (19). *Beza* went frequently to *Geneva*, during the Vacations, to viſit *Calvin*, who exhorted him to dedicate his Talents to the Service of the Church, and who adviſed him, particularly, to

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(*e*) *Taken out of the Epiſtle Dedicatory of* Beza *to* Melchior Wolmar, *before his* Confeſſion of Faith, *which is at the end of his Works in Folio. Edit. of* Geneva, 1582.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Beza, Apologia Altera, pag. 359.

(9) Ant. Fayus, in vita Bezæ, pag. 18.

(10) Beza, Epiſt. Dedicat. ad Melch. Wolmarum.

(11) Fayus, in vita Beza, pag. 18.

(12) *See Remark* [*FF*], *of the Article* CALVIN.

(13) Beza, ubi ſupra. Addit. to Thuanus, Tom. II, pag. 363.

(14) *Mr* Conſtant de Rebecque.

(15) *See the Satire which he entituled,* Acts of the Univerſal Synod of the Holy Reformation, pag. 93.

(16) *See the Remarks on* The Confeſſion of *Sanci*, pag. 436. *Edit.* 1699.

(17) Ant. Fayus in vita Bezæ, pag. 15.

(18) Joh. Druſius in Epiſtola ad Theod. Bezam M.S. apud Colomeſium in Icone Preſbyterianorum, p. ult. *But* Colomies *is miſtaken in aſcribing this Letter to* Druſius. *See a Letter of* Sixtinus Amama, *before* Druſius'*s Book,* de Naſidæis. *I ſpeak of it in the Article* BROUGHTON, *Citat.* (11).

(19) Recherches de la France, lib. 7, cap. 7, p. 615.

exerciſed there, he made a Journey into *Germany*, with the Character of a Deputy [*G*]. He had, then, the Pleaſure of conferring with *Melanchthon.* Having ſettled at *Geneva*, in the Year 1559, he attached himſelf to *Calvin* in a particular manner, and, in a little time, was made his Colleague in the Church, and Univerſity. He was ſent to *Nerac*, at the Inſtigation of ſome Great Perſons of the Kingdom, to convert the King of *Navarre*, and to confer with him about Matters of Conſequence (*f*). This happened when the *Guiſes* had invaded the King's Authority, under the Reign of *Francis* II, to the Prejudice of the Princes of the Blood. The King of *Navarre* having ſignified, both by Letters, and by Deputies, that he deſired *Beza* ſhould aſſiſt at the Conference of *Poiſſi*, the Senate of *Geneva* readily conſented to it. No better Choice could have been made for the Good of the Cauſe. *Beza* ſpoke

(*f*) Cumque eo de rebus graviſſimis communicaret, ſed potiſſimum ut illius animo, ſi Deus aſpirare dignaretur, veræ religionis guſtum aliquem inſtillaret. *Ant. Fayus de vita & obitu Th. Beza, pag.* 21.

to finiſh what *Marot* had begun. *Beza* followed this Advice, and tranſlated, into *French* Verſe, the *Hundred Pſalms*, which remained to be tranſlated. They were printed, with the King's Privilege, in 1561. *The Tranſlation of the Remainder of the Pſalms of* David *ſhows what he could do, though he has not ſo happily ſucceeded as* Clement Marot *in his fifty* (20). After he had recovered from the Plague, he made an Ode to return thanks to God for it. It is pretended, that *Jodelle* made this Tetraſtich at that Time.

Beze fut lors de la peſte accueilli
  Qu'il retouchoit cette harpe immortelle;
Mais pourquoi fut Beze d'elle aſſailli?
  Beze aſſailloit la peſte à tous mortelle (21).

Beza *was ſeized with the Plague, when he was retouching This Immortal Lyre. But why was* Beza *attacked by It?* Beza *attacked That General Mortality, The Plague.*

A Reflexion on the Book *de Puniendis Hæreticis.*

One of the moſt remarkable Works, publiſhed by *Beza*, during his Abode at *Lauſanne*, was the Treatiſe *de Hæreticis à Magiſtratu puniendis.* He publiſhed it in anſwer to the Book, which *Caſtalio*, diſguiſed under the Name of *Martinus Bellius*, had compoſed on That important Subject, a little after the Execution of *Servetus* (22). *Caſtalio* treated the general Theſis of Toleration: *Beza* maintained, againſt him, that the Magiſtrates ought to puniſh Heretics. The Author of his Life maintains, that This Work was publiſhed very ſeaſonably to ſettle fluctuating Minds; *Scriptum utriuſque Beza tum refutavit, tempore in ſpeciem importuno, ſed re ipſa opportuniſſimo ad cohibendos levium hominum in Religione fluctuantium vagos & incertos æſtus* (23). It cannot be denied, that the Fear of Capital Puniſhment is of great Force, towards ſilencing Thoſe, who may have any Doubts to propoſe againſt the prevailing Religion, and to maintain the Unity of External Communion: But it is with the Doctrine, which authoriſes This Practice, as it is with the Invention of Bombs and Carcaſſes, and of all kinds of Machines of War. They, who make uſe of them firſt, draw great Advantages from them, and, whilſt they are the ſtrongeſt, Things go very well with them: But, when they are the weakeſt, They are deſtroyed by their own Inventions. If *Beza*'s Party had been the ſtrongeſt all the World over, and if it could have maintained it's Superiority, the Doctrine, *de Puniendis Hæreticis*, would have done great Service; It would have repreſſed the Zeal, or the ſhuffling Humour, of Innovators; but, becauſe, within a quarter of a League of *Geneva*, They were expoſed to the Caprices of the ſtrongeſt, and did not know whether God would permit the Sect of *Socinus* to prevail, It was very imprudent to maintain, that the Magiſtrates ought to inflict the Puniſhment of Death on Heretics: A preſent Advantage ought not to blind our Eyes ſo much, as to hinder us from reflecting on the Conſequences: On ſuch an Occaſion, the Maxim of *Regulus* is to be made uſe of:

Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli,
Diſſentientis Conditionibus
Fœdis, & exemplo trahenti
Perniciem veniens in ævum (24).

Wiſe Regulus *did This prevent;*
He ſcorn'd baſe Terms, which Carthage *ſent,*
Nor wou'd he e'er, by his Advice,
Tempt future Times to Cowardice.

Creech.

I do not mention the other Reaſons, which may confute this Doctrine; I dwell only on That of Expediency, alledged by the Writer of *Beza*'s Life. This Expediency is but a Trifle in compariſon of the Evil, which the Book *de Puniendis Hæreticis* produces daily; for, whenever the Proteſtants complain of the Perſecutions, which they ſuffer, the Right, which *Calvin* and *Beza* have acknowledged in the Magiſtrates, is alledged againſt Them: Hitherto we have ſeen no one, who has not come off wretchedly, as to This Objection *ad hominem.* But let us proceed to other Books, publiſhed by *Beza*, before he left *Lauſanne.* He publiſhed a ſhort Explanation of Chriſtianity, *ex Doctrina de æterna Dei Prædeſtinatione*; an Anſwer to *Joachim Weſtphalus*, concerning the Lord's Supper; two Dialogues on the ſame Subject, againſt *Tillemannus Heſhuſius* (25); and an Anſwer to *Caſtalio*, concerning the Doctrine of Predeſtination. *Beza*, at that time, had not as yet tempered his Fire, and his gay Diſpoſition, which made him let fall I know not what Railleries in his Works, which he expunged, when he publiſhed new Editions. "In his quidem *(dialogis)* poſtea quædam liberiore calamo quàm rei qua de agebatur majeſtati conveniebat ſcripta mutavit, ut & in nonnullis aliis ſcriptis, è quibus jocos aliquot (ut erat ingenio lepido & faceto dum ætate adhuc vigente eſſet) poſtquam maturior factus eſt, & δευτέρας φροντίδας in conſilium adhibuiſſet, eraſit (26)."

I expreſs myſelf thus, as a Tranſlator of the Words of *Antony la Faye*; for, if I would follow the Judgment of ſome *Lutheran* Authors, I ſhould be obliged to make uſe of Terms, which exceed Raillery. *Conrad Schluſſelburgius* pretends, that there are ſuch ſcurrilous and lewd Revilings in *Beza*'s Works, that they become Thoſe only, who have had no other School, than the Stews. What he has ſaid upon This, has been carefully gathered up by the Author of the *Calvino-Turciſmus.* I can only cite Him, not having the Book of That famous Lutheran. "Omiſſis aliis, Theodorum Bezam exempli gratia proponit, ex cujus ſcriptis, *non modo contra Papiſtas, ſed etiam Lutheranos, hoc* (inquit) *abundè poteſt demonſtrari. Et hæc adeo ſunt vera, ut ipſos Sacramentarios pigeat & pudeat futilitatum & blaſphemiarum, quas Beza ſine metu divinæ majeſtatis evomuit, ſicut ipſe Lavatherus fateri cogitur, & aliquot nobiliores Calviniſtæ apud ipſum Bezam conqueſti ſunt.* Et quanquam Beza excuſet omnia, vocans *ſanctam urbanitatem: hæc tamen urbanitas* (inquit iſte Patriarcha) *non Theologos in pietatis ſchola verſantes, ſed lenones effrontes, & ſcurras ſpurciloquos in ludo meretricio à Thaide vel Candida profuga eruditos decet. Unde haud dubiè noſter ille Beza floſculos ſuarum elegantiarum decerpſit.* Mox fortiùs urgens atque probans hoc de Bezæ maledico & elumbi in diſputationibus & ſcriptionibus charactere. *Si quis* (inquit) *de hac re ambigere velit, ille duos famoſiſſimos dialogos Bezæ contra D. Heſhuſium legat, qui certè non ab homine, ſed ab ipſo incarnato Beelzebub, exarati eſſe videntur. Horret animus blaſphemias obſcenas, & diabolico atramento tinctas, referre, quas iſte impurus convitiator & Atheus in dialogis illis, in articulo graviſſimo, blaſphemè impiè & ſcurriliter eructavit.* Certè adeo ſunt fœdæ, ut ipſe Beza paulò poſt, quo ſpecioſiùs priorem editionem ſupprimeret, ſecundam procurarit, *in qua ſeptem*

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(20) Ibid.

(21) *We ſhall examine, in the Article* JODELLE, *whether it was he, who compoſed This Tetraſtich.*

(22) Servetus *was burnt at* Geneva, *in* 1553.

(23) Fayus, in vita Beza, pag. 15. Note, *that by* utriuſque *he means* Lælius Socinus & Caſtalio.

(24) Horat. Od. v, l. iii.

(25) *The one entituled,* Κρεωφαγία, *the other* Ὄνος συλλογιζόμενος.

(26) Ant. Fayus, in vita Beza, pag. 17.

ſpoke well; he knew the World; he had a ready Wit, and much Learning. His Speech was heard with attention, till he touched upon the Real Preſence. An Expreſſion, which he made uſe of, cauſed a murmuring [*H*]. In the remaining part of this Conference, he behaved like a Man of great Capacity, and never ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized by the Artifices of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. He did not return to *Geneva*, when the Conference was ended; for, being a *Frenchman*, *Catherine de Medicis* would have him ſtay in his own Country. He preached often at the Queen of *Navarre*'s, at the Prince of *Condé*'s, and in the Suburbs of *Paris*. After the Maſſacre at *Vaſſi* (*g*), he was deputed to the King, to complain of That Action. The

(*g*) March 1, 1562.

“ *folia integra omiſit, & loca plurima expunxit quæ erant in editione priori.* Quanquam iſte bonus & gravis Superintendens, hac qualicunque caſtigatione non contentus, optat *ut non modò iſti dialogi in univerſum, ſed ſimul alia ejus omnia impia & blaſphema ſcripta, quæ ſunt plurima, abolerentur, ne à teneris, piis, & caſtis hominibus viderentur in æternum.* Sic ille (27). - - - - *Omitting others, he propoſes* Theodore Beza *as an Inſtance; from whoſe Writings,* not only againſt the Papiſts, but even the Lutherans, This (*he ſays*) may be abundantly demonſtrated. And Theſe Things are ſo true, that the Sacramentarians themſelves are tired, and aſhamed, of the Follies and Blaſphemies, which *Beza*, without Fear of the Divine Majeſty, has given vent to; as *Lavatherus* himſelf is forced to acknowledge, and ſome of the more noble Calviniſts have complained to *Beza* himſelf. *And, though* Beza *excuſes it all, by calling it* Pious Raillery; yet This Raillery *(ſays the Patriarch)* is more becoming of the Stews, than Divines, brought up in the School of Piety. And, indeed, *Beza* ſeems to have gathered the Flowers of his Elegances in the former. *Afterwards, as a farther and ſtronger Proof of This ſlanderous Character of* Beza *in his Diſputations, and Writings*; If any one *(ſays he)* is not ſatisfied of the Truth of This, let him read the two infamous Dialogues of *Beza* againſt *Heſhuſius*, which certainly appear to be the Work, not of a Man, but of *Beelzebub* himſelf incarnate. I tremble to repeat the obſcene and diabolical Blaſphemies, which This filthy Slanderer, and Atheiſtical Writer, has impiouſly and ſcurrilouſly poured forth, in theſe Dialogues, on the moſt important Article. *Indeed They are ſo foul, that* Beza *himſelf, that he might have the better Colour for ſuppreſſing the firſt Edition, procured a ſecond,* in which he omitted ſeven entire Leaves, and expunged ſeveral Paſſages, which were in the former Edition. *Though This good Superviſor, not ſatisfied with this Correction, wiſhes,* that Theſe Dialogues, as alſo all his other wicked and blaſphemous Writings, which are many in number, were entirely aboliſhed, that they might never more be ſeen by conſcientious, pious, and chaſt Men. *Thus far He.*” Remember, that this *Conrad* is a very paſſionate Writer.

(27) Gulielmus Reginaldus, in Calvino-Turciſmo, lib. iii. cap. 19, p. 671, 672. *He quotes* Conrad. Schluſſelb. in Theol. Calviniſ. lib. i. fol. 92. in Præfat. lib. iii. fol. 34, 35, & lib. ii. fol. 77, 78, 127.

[*G*] *He made a Journey into* Germany, *with the Character of a Deputy.*] This was the Reaſon of his Journey. An Aſſembly of Thoſe of the Reformed Religion was detected, at *Paris*, in the Year 1557. It conſiſted of Four hundred Perſons, whereof ſeven were burnt, and the reſt impriſoned (28). The Churches had Recourſe to ſome Princes of *Germany*, to endeavour to obtain the Lives of Thoſe poor Priſoners from *Henry* II. *Farel*, *Beza*, and *John Budæus*, Son of the great *William Budæus*, were the three Deputies, who went to the Court of the Elector *Palatine*, to That of the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, and to That of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, in the Year 1558. Theſe three Princes earneſtly recommended the Cauſe of Thoſe Priſoners; but the Court of *France* paid little Regard to Theſe Recommendations. *Beza*, as he paſſed through *Franckfort*, had the Pleaſure of ſpeaking with *Melancthon* (29). This is what *Antony la Faye* ſays; but, according to *Beza*, the Motive to This Journey was, to deſire the Interceſſion of Thoſe Princes for the Vallies of *Piedmont*, which were, then, in Poſſeſſion of the King of *France*, that is, in the Year 1557 (30). He acknowledges, nevertheleſs, in the Life of *Calvin*, that That Interceſſion was deſired for the Priſoners at *Paris*, and that it was not made in vain. “ Partim intervenientium Germanorum Principum legatione, quam ſumma celeritate Calvinus procuravit, tempeſtas illa nonnihil conquievit (31). - - - - *The Storm was ſomething appeaſed, partly by the Interpoſition of ſome* German *Princes, which* Calvin, *with great Expedition, procured.*” He finds fault with *Claudius de Xaintes*, who placed This Journey in the Year 1556.

(28) *According to* Beza, in vita Calvini, *about* 80 *were taken, and the reſt fled.*

(29) Fayus, in vita Bezæ, pag. 17.

(30) Beza ad Cl. de Xaintes, Apolog. i. Oper. Tom. II. pag. 295.

(31) Beza in vita Calvini.

[*H*] *An Expreſſion, which he made uſe of at the Conference of* Poiſſi, *cauſed a murmuring.*] The Expreſſion was This: “ We ſay, that the Body of JESUS CHRIST is as far from the Bread and Wine, as the higheſt Heaven is remote from the Earth (32).” Let us ſee, now, what the Effect of it was; and let us make uſe of *Beza*'s own Words. “ This ſingle Expreſſion (though many others, as contrary and repugnant to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, had been ſaid by him) was the Cauſe, that the Prelates began to ſtir, and to murmur, ſome ſaying *blaſphemavit*; others aroſe to be gone, not being able to do any thing worſe, becauſe of the King's Preſence: Among others, Cardinal *de Tournon*, Dean of the Cardinals, who was ſeated in the chief Place, required of the King, and the Queen, that Silence might be impoſed on *Beza*, or that He, and his whole Company, might be permitted to retire. Neither the King, nor any of Princes, ſtirred; and audience was given to proceed. Silence being made, *Beza* ſaid; I deſire you, Sirs, to hear the Concluſion, which will ſatisfy you: And then he returned to his Diſcourſe, which he continued to the end (33).” *Catharine de Medicis* ſaid, in her Letter to Mr *de Rennes*, Embaſſador of *France* at the Emperor's Court, “ That *Beza*, ſpeaking of the Sacrament, forgot himſelf, in a Compariſon, ſo abſurd and offenſive to the Ears of all the Aſſiſtants, that ſhe was near ſilencing him, and ſending all the Miniſters away, without ſuffering them to proceed any farther; but that ſhe abſtained from it, leaſt People ſhould go away imbued with his Doctrine, without having heard what ſhould be anſwered him (34).” Obſerve the *Parentheſis*, which the Hiſtorian made uſe of (35). Nothing will better diſcover the Weakneſs of Mens Minds. An old Cardinal, and many Biſhops are ſcandalized, are going away, and cry out *Blaſphemy*: for what? Becauſe they heard a Miniſter ſay, that JESUS CHRIST is not corporeally preſent in the Symbols of the Bread and Wine of the Euchariſt; for it is what That Expreſſion, *ſo offenſive to the Ears of all the Aſſiſtants*, amounts to: Can there be a worſe grounded, or more childiſh, Cauſe of Offence? When People teach, that the Body of JESUS CHRIST is preſent but in one Place at one Time, and that it is always ſeated in Paradice at the Right-Hand of GOD, They plainly maintain, that it is as remote from the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, as Paradiſe is from the Earth. Now the Prelates of the Conference of *Poiſſi* could not be ignorant, that the Miniſters teach, that the Humanity of JESUS CHRIST is always in Heaven, at the Right-Hand of GOD; and that it can be preſent but in one Place at one Time; and They could not expect, that *Beza* would not explain the Doctrine of his Party; They ſhould not, therefore, have been offended at this Expreſſion; (for once again, it adds nothing to the Doctrine of the Miniſters); or elſe They went to the Aſſembly with This Perſuaſion, that the Miniſters would betray their Opinions, and only endeavour to deceive the King. I ſee but one Thing, which can excuſe the Irritation of the Prelates. It may be ſaid, that ſome Expreſſions offend us, though they import no more, than ſome Expreſſions, at which we are not offended

(32) Beza Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. iv. pag. 516.

(33) Ibid. pag. 521.

(34) Apud Maimbourg. Hiſt. of Calviniſm, pag. 223, 224. Le Laboureur, Addit. to Caſtelnau, Tom. I. pag. 763, *produces the Queen's Letter.*

(35) (*Tho' many others, as contrary and repugnant to the Doctrine of the Church of* Rome, *had been ſaid by him.*) Beza Hiſt. Eccleſ. pag. 521.

A REFLEXION on the Offence, which the Prelates took, at the Conference of *Poiſſi*.

The Civil-War followed ſoon after; during which the Prince of *Condé* kept him with Him. *Beza* was at the Battle of *Dreux*, as a Miniſter [*I*]. During the Impriſonment of the Prince, he always kept with Admiral *de Coligni*, and did not return to *Geneva*, 'till after the Peace of 1563. He did not ſee *France* again 'till 1568, and That was in order to go to *Vezelai*, where his Preſence was neceſſary [*K*]. He had written ſeveral Books after his Return to *Geneva*; and he publiſhed others after his Return from *Vezelai* [*L*]. He returned into *France* again, in the Year 1571, to aſſiſt at the National Synod of *Rochel*, of which he was elected Moderator. The following Year he aſſiſted at That of *Nimes*, and oppoſed the Faction of *John Morel*, who deſigned to introduce a new Diſcipline. The Prince of *Condé* ſent for him to *Straſburg*, in the Year 1574, in order to ſend him to Prince *John Caſimir*, Adminiſtrator of the *Palatinate*; which ſhews, that it was well known, that he underſtood other Things, beſides Lectures, and Books. The Conference of *Mombelliard*, in

offended. For Example, the Parts, which Modeſty does not permit to name, may be denoted by modeſt Words; and yet Theſe Words ſignify the ſame thing, as Thoſe, which are called obſcene. If the latter are offenſive, it is not becauſe of the Thing itſelf, which They ſignify, but becauſe we think, that He, who uſes them, againſt Cuſtom, does not pay us That Reſpect, which Decency requires (36). Upon This Footing, The Biſhops of *Poiſſi* might be more offended at the Miniſter's Doctrine, repreſented by a Compariſon, than at the ſame Doctrine nakedly and plainly repreſented: But then, their Scandal was not grounded on a Zeal for Religion: For the Compariſon, which *Beza* alledged, is not more contrary to GOD, or to the Chriſtian Faith, than the plaineſt Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Proteſtants. It was not, then, for the Intereſt of GOD, that they were ſcandalized; but only becauſe they ſuppoſed, that the Miniſter did not pay ſufficient Reſpect to his Auditors, when he made uſe of ſuch Expreſſions. They, who would make ſuch an Apology for Theſe Prelates, would aſcribe to them a moſt criminal Vanity. What ſhall we ſay then? Is it better to ſay, that They acted like Children; that They were not offended at the Things, but at the Words? This would not be for their Honour. I am ſurprized, that ſuch a grave Hiſtorian, as *Mezerai*, durſt ſay, that This Propoſition of *Beza* was paſſionate, and offenſive; that *Beza* was aſhamed of it himſelf; that it ſtrangely offended the Ears of the Catholics; and that the Prelates trembled with Horror at it (37). It is plain, *Mezerai* thinks Theſe great Tremblings reaſonable; and he makes himſelf ridiculous by it; for it is the ſame thing, to ſay; *The Body of* JESUS CHRIST *is not preſent in the Holy Sacrament*; and to ſay, *It is at an infinite Diſtance from it.*

[*I*] *He was at the Battle of* Dreux, *as a Miniſter.*] I add This Clauſe, leaſt any of my Readers ſhould ſuſpect, that he aſſiſted there, to fight, and handle the Sword. *Claudius de Xaintes* reproaches him for it. This is *Beza*'s Anſwer. "Interfui ſane prælio, & "inchoanti & deſinenti (quidni enim hoc facerem "eo rite vocatus?) & quidem quod magis mireris "palliatus, non armatus: nec mihi quiſquam vere "vel cædem cujuſquam vel fugam objecerit (38). "- - - - - - - - - *I was indeed preſent at the Battle*; "*(and why ſhould I not, being properly called?) and,* "*which you will more wonder at, in the Habit of my* "*Order, not armed: nor can any one juſtly charge me* "*with the Slaughter of one Man, or with Flight.*

[*K*] *He went to* Vezelai, *where his Preſence was neceſſary.*] *Nicolas de Beze*, Bailiff of *Vezelai*, fled to *Geneva* for Religion, where he died, a little while after, of the Plague, at the Houſe of *Theodorus*, his Brother by the Father's Side. The latter, having a Mind to order the Affairs of the Family of the deceaſed, and to endeavour at the ſame time to ſave Part of his Eſtate, took a Journey to *Vezelai*. *Hæc fuit occaſio Bezæ Vezelios ſuos reviſendi, partim ut fratris defuncti liberis proſpiceret, partim ut nonnullas Patrimonii ſui Reliquias diſperſas colligeret, quod & fecit quantum locus, tempus, & res permiſerunt* (39). He endeavoured to perſuade a Siſter, which he had in a Nunnery, to forſake the Church of *Rome*. She was an old Nun, very obſtinate in her Religion, who would not liſten to her Brother's Remonſtrances (40).

[*L*] *He had written ſeveral Books after his Return to* Geneva; *and he publiſhed others after his Return from* Vezelai.] Soon after his Settlement in the Church of *Geneva*, he drew up a *Confeſſion of Faith* in *Latin*, which he had formerly written in *French*, to juſtify himſelf to his Father, and to endeavour The good old Man's Converſion. He publiſhed This Confeſſion in *Latin*, dedicated to his good Maſter *Melchior Wolmar*, in the Year 1560. His Pen was quiet, whilſt he followed, in the Armies, either the Prince of *Condé*, or Admiral *de Coligni*; but, as ſoon as he returned to *Geneva*, he wrote two *Anſwers*, the one to *Caſtalio* (41), and the other to *Francis Baudouin*. Afterwards, he attacked *Brentius*, and *James Andreas*, upon their Doctrine of Ubiquity; and then wrote his Book *de Divortiis & Repudiis*, againſt *Bernardin Ochinus*, who had written in Favour of Polygamy. He attacked alſo the Errors of *Flacius Illyricus*. He anſwered *Claudius de Xaintes*, *Selneccerus*, *James Andreas*, and *Pappus*, *&c.* and turned *David's Pſalms* into all ſorts of *Latin* Verſes. He publiſhed a Treatiſe of the *Sacrament*, and a Book againſt *Hofmannus*; ſome *Sermons* on the Paſſion of JESUS CHRIST, and on the Canticle of Canticles; a Tranſlation of That Canticle into *Lyric* Verſe; and an Anſwer to *Genebrard*, to whom That Tranſlation had given new Occaſion to repeat his Slanders. In 1590, he publiſhed his Treatiſe *de Excommunicatione & Presbyterio*, againſt *Thomas Eraſtus*. Some time after, he examined the Book of *Saravia*, *de Miniſtrorum Evangelii gradibus*. I omit the Titles of ſome other Books; They may be ſeen in the Liſts, which *Antony la Faye* has placed at the end of his Work, *de vita & obitu Theodori Bezæ*, from whence I have borrowed what I have juſt now ſaid. I have not met with, there, all the Productions of *Beza*'s Pen. The *Icones* of the Illuſtrious Perſons, who ſet their Hand to the Work of the Reformation (42), is not mentioned there, nor the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Reformed Churches*. This laſt Work is very curious; It extends from the Year 1521, to the Peace of the thirteenth of *March* 1563. I do not wonder, that They have not inſerted in This Liſt the ingenious, but too burleſque, Letter of *Benedictus Paſſavantius* to the Preſident *Lizet* (43). *La Faye* makes no mention of it; but, as for ſome other ſatirical or burleſque Pieces, which ſome attribute to *Beza*, he maintains, that they are miſtaken. "Dicteriis plenos libros compoſuit, Haranguam ad "Cardinalem Lotharingum, de furoribus Gallicis, "vitam Catharinæ Mediceæ, & ſimilis notæ chartas. "Atqui tam verum eſt libros illos fuiſſe compoſitos à "Beza, quàm verum eſt (quod iſti ignoranter & temerè deblaterant) ab Amirallii miniſtro ſcriptum fuiſſe librum, cui nomen eſt Matagonis de Matagonibus (44). —— *He wrote Books, full of ſatirical In-* "*vectives, The Speech to the Cardinal of* Lorrain, "*concerning the Madneſs of the* French *Nation, The* "*Life of* Catharine *of* Medicis, *and the like. And* "*it is as true, that theſe Pieces were written by* Beza, "*as it is true (which theſe Perſons ignorantly and* "*raſhly blab out) that the Book, entitled* Matagonis "de Matagonibus, *was written by The Admiral's Mi-* "*niſter.*"

Garaſſe maintains, that *Beza*, "gives himſelf, jeſtingly, the Name of FRANTOPIN, in writing "againſt Dr *de Xaintes*, in That little *Macaronic* Book, "which begins with Theſe Words; *Tu facis bene de* "*ſufficiente, Domine Magiſter noſter, poſt habere bibitum quatuor bonas fides de veſtro vino Sorbonnico, in* "*dejunando Theologaliter*, &c (45)." He attributes alſo a Book to him, entituled, *A Parallel of* Henry II *with* Pilate (46). Obſerve, that there is a great Fault in the Liſt of *Antony la Faye*: It does not mention the Date of the firſt Editions, nor when, and how many times, the Books of *Beza* were reprinted.

(36) *See the* Art of Thinking, Part I, chap. 14.

(37) Mezerai, Abridg. Chron. ad Ann. 1561.

(38) Beza, ad Claud. de Xaintes, Apolog. Altera Oper. Tom. II. pag. 362.

(39) Ant. Fayus, in vita Bezæ, pag. 48.

(40) Id. ib.

(41) *He had critized on* Beza's *Tranſlation of the New Teſtament.*

(42) *Printed at* Geneva, *in* 1580, *in* 4to.

(43) *See the* New Letters againſt *Maimbourg*'s Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, pag. 144.

(44) Ant. Fayus, in vita Beza, pag. 70, 71.

(45) Garaſſe, Doctrine Curieuſe, pag. 1022.

(46) Id. ib. pag. 1012.

in 1586, engaged him againſt *James Andreas*, a Divine of *Tubingen*. *Beza* would have had the Diſpute managed ſyllogiſtically; but he was obliged to yield to the Deſires of his Adverſary, who would not be confined to the Rules of Syllogiſms. The Succeſs of This Diſpute was as uſual [*M*]; each Party boaſted to have gained the Victory, and publiſhed an Account accordingly. *Beza* loſt his Wife, in the Year 1588; but this Domeſtic Affliction, great as it was, did not hinder him from going to the Synod, which Thoſe of *Bern* had aſſembled. The Doctrine of *Samuel Huberus*, concerning our Juſtification before God, which, he ſaid, conſiſted in an inherent Quality (*b*), was there condemned. *Beza* married again, the ſame Year, to a Widow, who ſurvived him [*N*]. The Inconveniencies of old Age began to come upon him, in the Year 1597, and obliged him to ſpeak but ſeldom in public; and, at laſt, he deſiſted altogether from it, in the beginning of the Year 1600. His poetical Vein was not ſo dried up, in the Year 1597, but that he wrote ſome Verſes, full of Fire, againſt the Jeſuits, occaſioned by the Report, which was ſpread of his Death

[*M*] *The Succeſs of the Diſpute of* Mombelliard *was as uſual.*] *Antony la Faye* aſſerts this: “Utrinque placide diſceſſum eſt ſine lite, aut amarulentiâ; ſed nullo fructu, ut fere ſemper in talibus palæſtris publicis contingere ſolet (47). —— *Both Parties retreated peaceably, without Strife, or Bitterneſs; but with no Advantage gained on either ſide, as is uſual in ſuch Kind of Public Diſputes.*” Some Gentlemen, who had left *France* for their Religion, and had fled to *Mombelliard*, gave occaſion to This Diſpute. The Count of *Mombelliard* deſired the Canton of *Berne* to name Deputies, to conſer with the Divines of *Wirtemberg*; he deſired alſo the Republic of *Geneva* to ſend *Beza* to the Conference; This he did in compliance with the Deſire of the Refugees. *Abraham Muſculus*, Miniſter of *Bern*, and *Peter Huberus*, Profeſſor of the *Greek* Language in the ſame City, were the *Swiſs* Deputies: *Beza*, and *Antony la Faye*, were the Deputies of *Geneva*. *James Andreas*, and *Luke Oſiander*, were the chief Deputies of *Wirtemberg*. Moſt of them heard only *Beza* and *James Andreas*, and ſaw but little Light in This Diſpute of ſeveral Days, becauſe it was not managed Syllogiſtically; for, when two Perſons anſwer each other, by long Diſcourſes, it is almoſt impoſſible to perceive, whether they remove the Difficulties. “Jacobus Andreas perpetua & declamatoria oratione utebatur. Quare illius veſtigiis inſiſtere Beza coactus eſt. Unde non tam facilis, expedita, aut perſpicua fuit tota illa dierum aliquot diſceptatio (48). - - - - - - James Andreas *uſed a long and declamatory Way of Speaking.* Beza *was, therefore, obliged to do the ſame. Hence it was, that This Diſpute, which laſted ſo many Days, was not at all cleared up.*” A Man is ſcarce ever worſted upon theſe occaſions, if he knows but how to prattle. The Parties agreed not to publiſh the Relation of This Conference; but, when it was known, that Letters were diſperſed all over *Germany*, which were read in the Courts of Princes, and in private Converſations, and that Theſe Letters proclaimed the Victory of *James Andreas*, and that, at laſt, the Divines of *Wirtemberg* had publiſhed the Conference with Marginal Notes; *Beza* was obliged to publiſh a Counter-Relation.

I have lately read, in a Work of *Abraham Scultetus*, that The Political Reaſons, as well on the Part of the *French* Refugees, as on that of the Count *de Mombelliard*, contributed much more to the appointing this Conference, than the Theological Reaſons. The Refugees ſent for *Beza*, becauſe they thought, that, if he conferred amicably with Dr *Andreas*, about the Controverted Matters, They ſhould live more eaſy in the County of *Mombelliard*, and that, perhaps, the Duke of *Wirtemberg* might come over to their Side. As for the Count, he had been an *Ubiquitarian* in his Youth; but, having heard *Beza*'s Sermons and Lectures, he declared freely, that he had ſeen many things at *Geneva*, and in *Swiſſerland*, of which *James Andreas* had never ſpoken a word to him, and that he had ſcarce ſeen any thing there, of what the ſame Doctor had often told him. *Genevæ, & in Helvetia, vidi multa, de quibus nihil, pauca eorum, de quibus ſæpe audivi ex D. Jacobo* (49). This was to declare, that That Perſon had not drawn the Picture of the *Calviniſts* very faithfully. From that time, the Count was more kind to the Reformed, and afforded a Retreat to Thoſe, who fled from *France* for their Religion. But, when it was repreſented to him, that the Duke of *Wirtemberg* had no Son, and that the Houſe of *Auſtria* would not ſuffer a Favourer of the *Huguenots* to inherit That Duke's Succeſſion; I ſay, when it was repreſented to him, that he had made himſelf ſuſpected, both by his Journey to *Geneva*, and by his Kindneſs to the *French* Refugees, he conſented to the Diſpute between Dr *Andreas* and *Beza*; but his Aim was not ſo much to promote the Truth, as to clear himſelf from the Suſpicion of *Calviniſm*. *Non tam ut veritati conſuleret, quam ut ſe de Calviniſmo purgaret* (50). This is what *Daniel Toſſan* replied to *Chriſtopher Pezelius*, who had aſked him the Reaſon of the Conference of *Mombelliard*. *Scultetus*, who relates it (51), was at Dinner, where This was ſaid (52). If we had a Collection of ſuch like Table-talk, as large as That, which is found in *Plutarch*'s Works, we might learn a great many curious Things from it.

[*N*] *He married again, the ſame Year, to a Widow, who ſurvived him.*] The Name of his firſt Wife was *Claudine Denoſſe*: See below the Remark [*Y*]. Their Marriage continued forty Years: The Name of his ſecond Wife was *Catherine de la Plane*, who took great Care of him as long as he lived. *Catharina Plania, Aſtenſis, Franciſci Taruffi Januenſis Vidua, quæ ei uſque ad ultimum Spiritum magno ſubſidio fuit* (53). *Patin* is miſtaken, when he ſays, that *Stephen Paſquier* wrote ſome Verſes on the three Marriages of *Beza*.

Uxores ego tres vario ſum tempore nactus,
Cum juvenis, tum vir, factus & inde ſenex.
Propter opus prima eſt validis mihi juncta ſub annis,
Altera propter opes, tertia propter opem (54).

The Meaning of Theſe Verſes is; *I married three Wives, at ſeveral times; in my Youth, in my Manhood, and in my Old-Age. I married the firſt Wife for the Delights of Love; the ſecond, becauſe ſhe was Rich; the third, that ſhe might nurſe me in my Infirmities.* But This could not agree with *Beza*, ſince he had not had three Wives. Some ſay, that *Paſquier* made theſe Verſes on himſelf (55). He, who obſerves This, is, nevertheleſs, in the Error of *Guy Patin* concerning *Beza*'s three Wives. *He married again, for the third time, at ſeventy Years of Age, and had ſent word of it to his intimate Friend* Junius, *a Dutchman* (56), *in theſe Words*; If it be a Folly to marry again at ſeventy Years of Age, I have lately committed it. *He was an old Cock, which could not break off from* Venus's *Chariot, to which he had been harnaſſed from his Youth* (57). Theſe are the Words of a credulous Monk, who is but ſeldom well-informed of what he ſays. If He, and *Patin*, had conſulted the nineteenth Book of *Stephen Paſquier*'s Letters, They would have ſpoken with more exactneſs. *Paſquier* relates, that, having heard it ſaid, that *Theodore Beza* was married again, *he wrote This Tetraſtich in Favour of the Perſon, who ſhould marry three Wives* (58). *Beza*'s ſecond Wife was wonderfully careful of him; He left her Heireſs of all his Eſtate in *Geneva*. “Eorum quæ Genevæ habebat hæredem ex aſſe inſtituit Catharinam Planiam conjugem ſuam; qua ſeneſtutem pſius ſuſtentante, & gloriam ex officiis aſſiduis erga ipſum, annorum ſeptendecim ſpatio, quærente, vivebat (59). - - - - - - - - *He left* Catharine de la Plane, *his Wife, who ſupported his old Age, and placed all her Glory in taking the greateſt Care of him, for ſeventeen Years, ſole Heireſs of his Eſtate at* Geneva.” *Beza* never had any Children (60).

[O] *He*

(*b*) De noſtra ad tribunal Dei juſtificatione per fidem, tanquam inſtrumentum quo Chriſtus juſtitia noſtra apprehenditur, profeſſus eſt ſe penitus aſſentiri, quum antea & ſcripto & verbo docuiſſe juſtitiam noſtram apud Deum eſſe qualitatem quandam patibilem in nobis inhærentem. *Fayus, in vita Bezæ, pag.* 55.

(47) Fayus, pag. 53.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Abrah. Scultetus, Narrat. Apologet. pag. 26.

(50) Id. ib.

(51) Scultet. ibid. pag. 25, & ſeq.

(52) Toſſan, *Profeſſor at* Heidelberg, *had invited* Chriſtopher Pezelius, *a Divine o* Bremen, *to dine with him, in* 1591.

(53) Fayus, in vita Bezæ, pag. 55.

(54) Patin, Letter 506. Tom. III, pag. 490. *It is the* 176*th Letter of the firſt Edit.*

(55) *St* Romuald's Chronological Abridgment, ad Ann. 1615.

(56) *He was no* Dutchman, *nor in* Holland, *when* Beza *married again.*

(57) *St* Romuald. Abridg. Chronol. p. 391. ad Ann. 1605.

(58) Paſquier's Letters, Tom. II, p. 486.

(59) Fayus, in vita Bezæ, pag. 74.

(60) Id. ib.

Death, and that, before he expired, he had made Profeſſion of the *Romiſh* Faith [*O*]. The laſt Verſes, which he compoſed, were a *Votiva Gratulatio*, to *Henry* IV, after he had been kindly received by him, near *Geneva*, in the Month of *December*, 1600 (*i*) [*P*]. He lived 'till the thirteenth of October, 1605, and preſerved his Good Senſe to the laſt [*Q*], and expreſſed great Sentiments of Piety with his laſt Breath. He was Man of an extraordinary Merit, and who did his Party very great Services [*R*]. He was

[*O*] *He wrote Verſes —— on occaſion of the Report that was ſpread of his Death —— and that he had made Profeſſion of the* Romiſh *Faith.*] They, who invented, and ſpread, this Story, were but little acquainted with the True Intereſt of Their Church. Theſe kind of Frauds may be ſpread, to ſome advantage, againſt a Sect, which has neither Authors, nor Printers; but They muſt needs be prejudicial, when they are boldly employed againſt a Church, which has a thouſand Preſſes, and Pens, in her Boſom, which let nothing fall to the Ground, and take the Ball at the firſt rebound. Was it not great Folly to imagine, that the Proteſtants would loſe ſuch a fair Opportunity of exclaiming againſt Monkiſh Impoſtures and Cheats, and to draw many thundering Concluſions from their Aſſurance in reporting a Falſhood, which was ſo eaſy to be confuted? The Miniſters of *Geneva* were not ſilent on This Occaſion. They publiſhed two Pieces, attended with all the Authenticity neceſſary to refute This fooliſh Lie: One of Theſe Pieces was in *Latin*, and the other in *French*. *Editis nomine ſuo publicis duobus ſcriptis, altero Latine (cui Beza redivivus nomen fecerunt) altero Gallice* (61). *Beza*, in a Letter to *William Stuckius*, confuted the ſame Story (62); and the Jeſuit *Clement du Puy*, who was looked upon as the Inventor of This Fable, drew a ſhower of ſatirical Verſes on himſelf in particular, and on his own Order in general, which *Beza*'s Muſes, old as they were, made very formidable (63). It was eaſy to forſee This; ſo that They were but dimſighted Perſons, as to their own Intereſts, who invented ſuch a Romance. There are raſh Perſons in all Communions. See the Article BELLARMIN, Remark [*E*].

I muſt not omit, that the Jeſuits aſſerted, that this Story was invented by the Proteſtants, to be imputed to them. See the *Scaligerana*, under the Word *Velſerus*, and the Notes on the Book, entituled, *La Confeſſion de Sanci*, wherein you will find an Abſtract of the Letter, which they publiſhed, in 1598, *under the Name of a Savoyard Gentleman*, in which *they maintained, that The pretended Letter, which was attributed to Them, about the Death, and Converſion, of* Theodorus Beza, *was a meer Impoſture of* Beza *himſelf, and the* Bezæans *at* Geneva. The Author of the Notes obſerves, that *Stephen Paſquier* had no regard to This, and that the Jeſuit *Richcome* gave out, as certain, the Story of This Miniſter's Converſion, in a Book, reprinted in the Year 1599 (64).

Obſerve, that, in 1591, there was a Report, that *Beza* was dead. This falſe News was written by a Miniſter to Mr *du Pleſſis Mornai*, who anſwered him in theſe Terms: *You have made me ſorrowful by the Death of* Beza, quam nondum certò accepi, quanquam jam olim animo præcepi. *We have loſt three or four Stars; I ſee nothing but thick Clouds over us.* This we find in the Ninty fourth, and Ninty fifth Pages of the ſecond Volume of his Memoirs.

[*P*] *He was kindly received - - - - - by* Henry IV.] Dr *Spon* reports the Speech, which *Beza* made to That Prince, and the King's Anſwer (65). Mr *de Perefixe* thought, falſly, that *Henry* IV entered into *Geneva*, and that he was harangued there by This Miniſter (66). He received the Deputies of *Geneva* at *Luyſel* (67), a Quarter of a League from St *Catharine*'s Fort, which Fort was two Leagues from *Geneva*. *Thuanus* ſays, that the King made *Beza* a Preſent of Five hundred Crowns (68).

[*Q*] *He was ſenſible to the laſt.*] His Hiſtorian makes no mention of what *Thuanus* obſerves concerning This Venerable Old Man's Memory. "Præſentium memoriam debilitata quippe mente evanidam "amiſerat, præteritorum dum ingenio valebat impreſſam ſervaverat. Itaque & totos Pſalmos Hebraice, & quodcumque caput ex B. Pauli Epiſtolis "propoſuiſſes, integrum Græce recitabat, nec in iis "quæ olim didicerat judicio carebat, ſed quæ dixerat "ſtatim obliviſcebatur (69)." The Meaning of this is, that, in divers Reſpects, *Beza*'s Memory was very good, and very bad; very good, as to Things which he had learned during the Vigor of his Mind; (for he could repeat all the *Pſalms* in *Hebrew*, and all St *Paul*'s Epiſtles in *Greek*, by heart), and very bad, as to Things preſent; for, a little after having ſaid anything, he forgot, that he had ſaid it. He continued in This Condition almoſt two Years, if we may believe *Thuanus*, who ſeems to have been furniſhed with very good Memoirs on this Head. And, indeed, *Caſaubon* affirms, that, in Point of Erudition, *Beza* ſhewed himſelf, in the latter Years of his Life, ſuch as he had appeared Twenty Years before. He diſcourſed ſo clearly upon ancient Hiſtory, that one would have thought he had juſt been reading *Plutarch*, and the like Authors. He ſpoke *Latin*, and ſometimes *Greek*, as before: But, after having amply diſcourſed on the Subject of the new King of *England*, he would, often, aſk, in the ſame Converſation, Whether it was true, that Queen *Elizabeth* was dead? "Venerandus ſenex Theodorus "Beza cum per longinquitatem ætatis factus ſit oblivioſus, adeo ut poſt frequentes de novo Rege "Angliæ ſermones ſubinde me rogaret de Regina, "an verum eſſet quod fama jactaret, illam fatis conceſſiſſe. Idem tamen in literis viſus nobis eſſe "quem ante annos viginti noveramus. Loquitur "Latine, interdum & Græce, ut antea: audivimus "de hiſtoria veteri diſſerentem è re nata luculentiſſime, ut videretur recens eſſe à lectione Plutarchi "& id genus autorum (70)." *Thuanus* was miſ-informed of the Circumſtances of *Beza*'s Death; He ſays, that This Miniſter, as he was going out to Church, was ſeized with a ſudden Convulſion, of which he died. The Truth is, that, for ſome Weeks, his Strength declined viſibly, and that there was nothing ſudden, or unexpected, in his Death. See *la Faye*, pag. 65, 66.

BEZA, it is ſaid, was the Subject of ſome Conſultations at *Rome*.

[*R*] *He did his Party great Services.*] *Leti* relates, that *Sixtus* V. cauſed two Conferences to be held, at which he was preſent, to deliberate about the means of depriving the Proteſtant Party of the great Support they had in the Perſon of *Theodorus Beza* (71). What could be ſaid more to the Honour of This Miniſter, than the repreſenting him as a Man, who made the Pope, and Cardinals, uneaſy, as to Affairs of State; for there was no Controverſy in the Caſe? *Leti* pretends, that, in the Year 1587, the Deputy of the King of *Navarre*, to the *Cantons*, made uſe of *Beza*'s good Offices, to obtain ſome Levies in their Country: That *Beza* went from Town to Town, over all the Proteſtant *Cantons*, and that he animated the *Swiſs* in ſuch a manner, that they furniſhed Prince *Caſimir* with great Sums; that the Catholic *Cantons*, ſeeing this, informed the Court of *Rome* of the great Prejudice this Perſon did to the Catholic Cauſe; that, upon This, *Sixtus* V cauſed two Conferences to be held, the Reſult whereof was, that all manner of means ſhould be employed, to oblige this Miniſter to leave *Geneva*; after which, nothing would be more eaſy than the Converſion of That City; and that the Converſion of *Geneva* would be the total Ruin of Hereſy, both in *Swiſſerland*, and *France*; that Mr *de Sales*, Biſhop of *Geneva*, being at That Time at *Rome*, was deſired to declare, in the Pope's Preſence, by what means he thought they might diſlodge This old Miniſter from his Poſt; that he declared, the only means was, to ſupply the Duke of *Savoy* with neceſſary Forces for the Conqueſt of *Geneva*; that *Beza*, not doubting, that there was a Deſign upon his Life, would take ſuch care of himſelf, that they muſt not expect any enterprize againſt his Perſon would ſucceed; that, after This Diſcourſe of Mr *de Sales*, the Deſign was laid aſide of getting rid of This Miniſter by Aſſaſſination, or by Poiſon; foraſmuch as they were informed, that his Highneſs of *Savoy* had tried all Expedients for This Purpoſe in vain.

ATTEMPTS againſt his Perſon.

I have three things to obſerve upon this Narrative. I. *Antony la Faye* does not ſay, that *Beza* made

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(*i*) La Faye, pag. 61, *ſays, in* 1599, *but is miſtaken.*

(61) Fayus, pag. 59.

(62) *See alſo the Preface of his New Teſtament, Edit.* 1598.

(63) Ant. la Faye *has theſe Verſes of* Beza, pag. 60, 61.

(64) *Taken from the Notes on* The Confeſſion of *Sanci*, pag. 421, &c. *Edit.* 1699.

(65) Spon. Hiſt. of *Geneva*, l. iii. pag. 319. *Edit. of* Utrecht, 1685.

(66) Perefixe, Life of *Henry* IV.

(67) Matthieu, Hiſt. of the Peace, lib. iv. pag. 661. La Faye *calls this Place* Elucetum; Thuanus, lib. 152, Luiſellum.

(68) Thuan. lib. 125. pag. 229.

(69) Id. lib. 134, pag. 1082.

(70) Caſaubon. Epiſt. 297, ad Scaliger.

(71) Leti, vita di Siſto V. Part II. lib. iii. pag. 262, & ſeq. *Edit.* 1686.

was expoſed to a great Number of Slanders and Calumnies: But he made both *Catholics*, and *Lutherans*, ſee, that he knew how to defend himſelf, and that he had both Teeth and Claws. He had a great ſhare in *Scaliger*'s Eſteem [*S*]. I criticize *Moreri* only in five Things [*T*]. *Mezerai* treats This Miniſter very ill; he adopts the Story for Truth, which had been ſpread, of an Accuſation of Sodomy, entered againſt *Beza*, before the Parliament of *Paris*; and another Story of his running away with *Candida*, a Taylor's Wife. This appears unworthy of a judicious Hiſtorian [*U*].

The

a Journey to *Swiſſerland*, in the Year 1587; and yet he ſeldom forgets theſe ſort of things. An Expedition like This, the Effects of which were, it is ſaid, ſo great, and of ſuch general Influence for the Good of the Cauſe, could not have been unknown to, or ſuppreſſed by, him. II. *Francis de Sales* was not Biſhop of *Geneva*, under *Sixtus* V: *Clement* VIII made him Coadjutor of That Biſhopric. III. The Diſcourſe, which is aſcribed here to This Prelate, does not agree with Theſe Words of *Moreri*; Beza, *with whom* Francis de Sales *had ſome Conferences at* Geneva, *confeſſed to him, that the Catholic Religion was the only true Religion* (72). Upon ſuch a Confeſſion, the Prelate would have adviſed The Pope to offer all manner of Dignities to This Miniſter. The Deſcription of the Care, which it was ſaid, at *Rome*, that *Beza* took of his Life, is hyperbolical. " Non faceva paſſo, ſenza un cumulo grande " di precautioni, è ſenza pigliar cento & mille miſure, non coſtumando di praticar niſſuno, ſenza " eſſer ſicuro d'un inveterata conoſcenza, ne voleva " domeſtici in ſua Caſa, della di cui fede non ne " foſſe ſicuro ultro che quei ſuo perverſi Settarii lo " cuſtodivano come ſuoi Demoni tutelari, nè uſciva " mai di Caſa ſenza haverne cinque ò ſei à lato, è " quel che importa, che per maggior ſicurezza non " metteva mai li piedi fuori della Citta (73)." The Meaning of This is; " that he never ſtirred without " the utmoſt Precaution; that he converſed with " none but his moſt intimate Acquaintance; that his " very Domeſtics were only Thoſe of his Sect; that " he never went abroad without five or ſix of them " about him; and that, for the greater Security, he " never ſet foot out of the City." But it is true, that he made uſe of Precaution. See one of his Pieces againſt *Claudius de Xaintes*. You will find, there, that They upbraided him with not daring to go out of *Geneva*, for fear of being killed, like another *Cain*, by the firſt, who ſhould meet him. *Geneva pedem non audes efferre, ne te quiſquis invenerit ut alterum Cain occidat*. He anſwered, that, if GOD called him to it, he would go any where without Fear; though he was not ignorant of the Ambuſhes, which were laid for him, and which he would avoid as prudently as he could. " Etſi mihi appoſitos à tuis illis & veneficos & ſicarios non ignoro (hæ ſunt enim artes Romanæ) " quorum etiam unus jam hic deprehenſus pœnas " dedit - - - - Interea me ſane libens domi contineo, " & veſtras inſidias quam prudentiſſimè poſſum " evito (74)."

(72) *In the Article* SALES (FRANCIS *de*).

(73) Leti, ibid. pag. 264.

(74) Beza, Oper. Tom. II. pag. 362.

[*S*] *He had a great Share in* Scaliger'*s Eſteem.*] This appears by his *Epicedium* on *Beza*'s Death. He inſerted an ill Preſage in it, which proved falſe. *Addito etiam de fato urbis in qua deceſſit omine, quod tamen hactenus eventu caruit* (75). It is ninety Years, more or leſs, ſince *Thuanus* made This Obſervation, and it has not hitherto (76) appeared, that *Scaliger*'s Preſage has been confirmed in the leaſt. It was not one of Thoſe Poetical Predictions, which are of no greater Conſequence, than Thoſe of a Fanatical Commentator on St *John*'s Revelation. Nor do I believe, that the Deſire of comparing *Beza* to St *Auguſtin*, which might have ingaged an hundred other Poets to hazard This Prediction, made *Scaliger* ſpeak in This manner. It is very probable, that, conſidering the State of Things, He feared for the City of *Geneva* the Fate of That of *Hippo*, which was taken by the *Vandals*, a little after the Death of it's Biſhop. So that it was rather a Political Conjecture, than a Poetical Rapture. The Event has proved it to be ſo; which ſhews, that the ſureſt way is not to judge at all of Things to come. *Scaliger*'s ill Preſage is This;

A FALSE Prediction of *Scaliger*.

(75) Thuanus, lib. 134. pag. 1082.

(76) *I write this in* May, 1699.

Utque Dei famulo non Hippo ſuperſtite capta eſt,
  Cum quateret Lybicas Vandalus Hoſtis opes,
Indulſit tibi ſic præſentia numinis, iſto
  Cernere ne poſſes ulteriora malo.
Atque utinam celeres rapiant procul omina venti,
  Et potius mendax finxerit iſta metus.
Sed te felicem, *&c.*

And, as, ſecure 'till holy Auſtin *died,*
Hippo, *untaken, ſtem'd the* Vandal *Tide;*
So Heav'n witholds, in Kindneſs, from Thy Eyes
Approaching Ills, and greater Miſeries.
Far may the Winds the luckleſs Omen bear;
May it be nothing but the Child of Fear;
Yet Happy Thou, &c.

There are certain Things in the *Scaligerana*, to the Diſadvantage of *Beza*; but do we ceaſe to eſteem a Man, when, for Example, we make no Difficulty to confeſs, that the many Affairs, he was concerned in, and the Multitude of Books, he compoſed, hindered him from acquiring much Learning?

[*T*] *I criticize* Moreri *only in five Things.*] I. *Beza* was not yet paſt Childhood, when he was brought to *Paris*: His Mother carried him thither, as ſoon as he was weaned. *Mater —— mariti imperio obſecuta Lutetiam uſque me* RECENS ABLACTATUM *perduxit*. *Beza* writes This to *Wolmar*. II. We ſhall ſee below (77), whether we ought to believe, *That a ſcandalous Epigram drew the Reſentment of Juſtice on* Beza *—— and that he was accuſed of a more horrible Crime*, than Fornication, and that his Debaucheries brought a Diſeaſe upon him. III. It is not true, that *Calvin* often procured important Commiſſions for *Beza*, *that he might aſſiſt at ſome Conferences againſt the* Lutherans. I do not think there were any Conferences, during *Calvin*'s Life, at which *Beza* was preſent; for the Diſpute of the Year 1557 muſt not be reckoned; Chance brought it about (78); It was but a trifling Buſineſs; They went into *Germany* upon another Deſign. IV. It is not true, that *Beza* is the Author of the Confeſſion of Faith of the Reformed Churches. The Confeſſion of Faith, which he compoſed firſt in *French*, and afterwards in *Latin*, is a different Piece from the Confeſſion of the Churches. V. *Beza* did not preſide in the Synod of *Nîmes*, in the Year 1572. The following Faults are to be imputed to *Moreri*'s Printers: They have placed *Beza*'s Birth in the Year 1619, inſtead of 1519. They have quoted *Antony Pale De vita & obitu Theod. Beze*: It ſhould be *Antony la Faye*, and *Bezæ*.

(77) *In Remark* [*U*].

(78) Beza, Apol. ad Cl. de Xaintes, pag. 295.

[*U*] *What* Mezerai *ſays, appears unworthy of a judicious Hiſtorian.*] If he had been contented to ſay, that we read, in many printed Pieces, that *Beza* was accuſed of This abominable Crime, it would be no ſtrange Thing; for he would have ſaid nothing but what is very true. Perhaps Two hundred Authors might be quoted, who, tranſcribing one another, have ſpoken of This Proceſs. *Mezerai* goes much farther; He maintains the Thing? he warrants it; and can produce no Proof for it; This may be called the Conduct of a raſh Hiſtorian. Let us ſet down his Words. " He may, without prejudice to any Religion, " very well be called a very wicked Man, and a " Soul wholly corrupted; who, like a filthy Harpy, " ſpoiled the moſt Holy Things with his malicious " Railleries; and whoſe Heart brooded nothing but " bloody, and altogether execrable, Deſigns. Neither was there any manner of Villany, wherewith " he did not defile his Youth; the Poems, whereof " he deſigned to cover the Lewdneſs with the Title " of *Juvenilia*, make ſufficient mention of it: But, " beſides, it is certain, that he fled to *Geneva*, to " avoid the Puniſhment, he deſerved, for the Sodomy, whereof he was accuſed before the Parliament of *Paris*; and that he carried his *Candida* " away with him, who was a Taylor's Wife, and " who was yet living in the beginning of This Century, after he had ſold certain Benefices, which he " had of his Uncle, and, among others, the Priory

MEZERAI criticized.

" of

The Poems, entituled *Juvenilia*, have raiſed great Clamours [*X*]. It cannot be denied, that they contained Verſes too licentious, and little becoming the Chaſtity of Chriſtian Muſes; but, if the Author's Enemies had been reaſonable, they would rather have praiſed him for the Grief he expreſſed for them (*k*), than have put an

" of *Longjumeau*; beginning, in this manner, the " Reformation of his Life, with Simony and Adul" tery (79)." Mr *Maimbourg* gives only a Paraphraſe of Theſe Words of *Mezerai*, when he drew an horrible Picture of *Beza* (80); but, inſtead of following the Example of *Mezerai*, who quotes no body, he quotes *Bolſec*, *Spondanus*, *Florimond de Remond*, *Claudius de Xaintes*, &c. Had he had better Witneſſes, he would, doubtleſs, have produced them; ſo that it is unqueſtionable, that *Mezerai* had no other Authorities, than Thoſe, which *Maimbourg* quotes. Once again, This is moſt ſhameful in ſo famous and illuſtrious an Hiſtoriographer. Truly, an Hiſtorian would write very pretty Stories, ſhould he mention all the abuſive Language, which Controverſiſts give each other, of what Religion ſoever they be. They are not to be believed in perſonal Facts, with which they reproach their Adverſaries, unleſs they ſupport them with authentic Acts; ſo that *Mezerai*, having only followed *Claudius de Xaintes*, and *Florimond de Remond*, who brought no Proofs for Their Slanders, has injured himſelf greatly with Perſons of Judgment.

The way to know whether an Accuſation be falſe.

Suffer me to make an Obſervation here, which may be of uſe in the Diſcuſſion of perſonal Facts. Several Authors have maintained, I. That *Beza* left *France*, to avoid the Conſequences of a Proceſs of Sodomy, which, they ſay, was entered againſt him, in the Parliament of *Paris*. II. That he carried a certain Taylor's Wife away with him. *Beza* has publickly maintained, that they were two enormous Calumnies; that he had lived an unblameable Life at *Paris*; and that he left it, neither out of Fear, nor for Debt, but for his Religion; and that he had never attempted his Neighbour's Wife, any more than the Kingdom of the *Indies*. *Lutetiæ inculpatè & bona integraque exiſtimatione —— vixiſſe. Inde non fuga, non clam, non vi, non metu, non ære alieno oppreſſum (quæ tu mihi falſiſſime & mendaciſſime impingis) ſed unius religionis ſtudio —— ad veram Eccleſiam juſtis itineribus ultro conceſſiſſe.* - - - - - - *Coram Deo juratus teſtari poſſum non magis unquam mihi contigiſſe ut cujuſquam uxoris pudicitiam attentarem, quam ut Indorum regnum invaderem* (81). Thus far, no Man of any Religion whatſoever is obliged to believe, that *Beza* was either innocent, or guilty; no one is obliged to believe, either that this Miniſter would not deny an infamous Crime, if he was not innocent of it; or that his Prieſt would advance a heinous Accuſation, if it were not true. The Reader, therefore, muſt ſuſpend his Judgment, 'till the Accuſation be proved: But, on the other ſide, he muſt give it for the accuſed Perſon, when he ſees, that the Accuſation remains without Proof, and chiefly in the Circumſtances, which I am going to mention. If the Fact in queſtion be of ſuch a nature, that it may be proved authentically; and, if the Accuſers want neither Good-will, nor Induſtry, it muſt be concluded, that, if they do not prove it, They are Calumniators. This is ſufficient to convict *Beza*'s Accuſers of Calumny. A Proceſs, entered againſt a Prior of *Longjumeau*, before the Parliament of *Paris*, is a Thing, which may be eaſily verified. The Accuſers, Their Attorney, Their Petition, The Commiſſion of Information, The Verbal Proceſs of the Commiſſioners, are ſettled Perſons, or Pieces, which are preſerved by public Authority; and it can never be thought, that a wretched Fellow, who flies away as faſt as he can, has Credit enough to aboliſh the Proceedings, and to ſilence the Complaints of the Party againſt him. The Taylor, whoſe Wife was ſaid to have been debauched, lived as long as the pretended Seducer; ſo that it was eaſy for him to bring his legal Depoſition. How comes it then, that ſuch a one as *Claudius de Xaintes*, and ſo many Eccleſiaſtics, who publickly accuſed *Beza*, could never produce any Vouchers, nor a formal Depoſition of This Taylor? Perhaps *Beza*'s obliging Language diſarmed them: On the contrary, he treated Them like Dogs; his Jeſts, and his ill Language, pierced them through and through; and all their Writings breathe the moſt violent Hatred. So that They had, on the one ſide, all imaginable means of coming at Proofs; and, on the other, a moſt paſſionate Deſire of finding Them; and yet they have not produced Them. From whence any equitable Perſon ought to conclude, that They are meer Calumniators.

This is the Subſtance of my whole Argument. The Thing is of ſuch a Nature, that, if it were true, legal, and authentic, Proofs would not be wanting. The Accuſers have all the Skill, and all the Addreſs, neceſſary for finding theſe Proofs: They have the greateſt Intereſt in the World in finding Them: They have not found them; It muſt, therefore, be concluded, that it is, becauſe there were none. There were none; it muſt, then, be again concluded, that the Thing in queſtion was falſe and chimerical.

I have enlarged on This Thought, becauſe it may ſerve to clear up the Uncertainties, occaſioned by ſo many raſh Writers, who tranſcribe the moſt heinous Accuſations from one another, without attempting to prove them; whilſt, on the other Hand, the Accuſed, and their Friends, do not ceaſe to cry out againſt the Calumny.

[*X*] *The Poems, entituled* Juvenilia, *raiſed great Clamours.*] They were printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1548, in the Printing-Houſe of *Jodocus Badius Aſcenſius*, by *Conrad Badius*, for himſelf, and *Robert Stephens*, with a Licence of the Parliament for Three Years. The Author's Effigies is in the ſecond Page; wherein he is ſaid to have been, then, Twenty nine Years of Age. He dedicated This Work to his Profeſſor *Melchior Wolmar*. Theſe Poems conſiſt of *Silvæ*, *Elegies*, *Epitaphs*, *Pictures*, *Icones*, and *Epigrams*. It is in vain to tell the Controverſiſts, that *Beza* produced theſe lewd Poems before he was a Proteſtant; for he himſelf contradicts Thoſe, who make ſuch an Apology for him. He acknowledges, that, from ſixteen Years of Age, he had imbibed the Knowledge of the pure Goſpel; and that, when he abjured Popery outwardly, he had long before made a Vow of that Abjuration (82). The firſt thing he returns God thanks for, in his Teſtament, is, *quod anno ætatis ſuæ 16 veræ Chriſtianæ Religionis cognitione ac luce donatus ſit* (83). *Note*, that *Morton*, having confeſſed, in the firſt Edition of his *Catholic Apology*, that *Beza*, while he was a Papiſt, was ſuch as he is repreſented; *erat, erat, ſed dum in volutabro veſtro miſer hæſerat —— dum Papiſta hircus fuit*, &c (84), has corrected This in the ſecond Edition, and maintained that *Beza* always had the Character of an honeſt Man. *Brerleius* took the Advantage of the firſt Edition (85). It is in vain, likewiſe, to have recourſe to Recrimination; for neither *Muretus*, nor *John della Caſa*, nor an hundred other Poets, who had no Reformation, nor any new Church to ſet up, were obliged to diſtinguiſh themſelves by a ſingular Virtue and Piety. The ſhorteſt way is, to place Theſe Poems of *Beza* among the Sins of his Youth, for which he asked Pardon both of God and the Public (86). It is certain, that he endeavoured to ſuppreſs them (87), as much as his Enemies endeavoured to revive them; and, if he conſented, at the Age of Seventy eight Years, to a new Edition of his *Latin* Verſes, he did not deſign Thoſe ſhould be inſerted, which gave offence. I wonder the contrary was believed (88); for not only the Authors, who are quoted, do not ſay, that Beza *gave* ALL *his Verſes, to be printed with the faireſt Characters, that were to be found at the* Stephens's; but it is certain alſo, that the Edition, which then was made, does not contain the licentious Verſes of the *Juvenilia*. Conſider well Theſe Words of *la Faye*. " Accidit ut de Bezæ poë" matis ageretur, & generoſ. D. Zaſtrizellus peteret " à Beza ſibi donari illa carmina, quæ cum ipſe, tum " Paludius, vita digna judicarent. Id quum impetraſ" ſent, Beza concedente, curavit ille in unum colli" gi Sylvas, Elegias, Epitaphia, Epigrammata, Ico" nes, Emblemata, Catonem Cenſorium, & ut ele" gantiſſimis typographii Stephaniani formis excude" rentur effecit anno 1597 (89). —— *The Diſcourſe* " *happened to turn upon* Beza'*s Poems*; *and* D. Zaſtri" ſellus *deſired* Beza *to give him thoſe Pieces, which* " *both He, and* Paludius (he was *Zaſtriſellus*'s Tutor) " *ſhould think worthy of being preſerved.* Beza *con*" *ſenting, He took care, that his* Sylvæ, Elegies, " Epitaphs,

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(*k*) *See Remark* [*X*].

(79) Mezerai, Hiſt. of *France*, Vol. III. pag. 64.

(80) Maimb. Hiſt. of *Calviniſm*, pag. 217.

(81) Beza, Apolog. altera ad Claud. de Xaintes, Oper. Tom. II. pag. 359.

(82) Epiſt. Dedicator. Confeſſionis Fidei ad Wolmarum.

(83) Fayus, in vita Bezæ, pag. 73.

(84) Morton. Apol. Cathol. Part I. lib. ii. cap. xxi.

(85) Brerleii Apol. Proteſt. p. 550.

(86) *See the Preface to his Poems, addreſſed to* Andrew Dudithius, *dated* May 14, 1569; *his Notes on* Matth. i. 19; *his Anſwer to* Claudius de Xaintes, &c.

(87) Ant. Fayus, in vita Bezæ, pag. 9, 10.

(88) Jugem. ſur les Poëtes, Num. 1336.

(89) Ant. Fayus, p. 59.

an ill Conſtruction upon the Epigram on *Candida* and *Audebert* [*Y*]: They accuſed him of having a Hand in the Murther of the Duke of *Guiſe*; This we may examine in the Article POLTROT. They have ſaid, that he wiſhed to return into the Boſom of the Catholic Church [*Z*]. It is not true, that a *Dominican* confounded him in a Diſpute [*AA*]. We ſhall ſee, in another Place *(l)*, whether *Bolſec* may be credited.

After having committed the Fault of publiſhing his *Juvenilia*, I think there was no other way left for him to avoid ſuffering for it, but to live a very obſcure Life, or very remote from Theological Diſputes; for, under what Figure ſoever he had appeared, his Enemies would have taken Advantage of This Blot, to leſſen his Reputation. He had This chiefly to fear in whatever Party he ſhould ſignalize himſelf in point of Controverſy. And it is not to be queſtioned, but that, if the ſame Arms, he made uſe of againſt the Papiſts, had been employed, by him, againſt the Proteſtants, ſome

" Epitaphs, Epigrams, Icones, Emblems, *and* Cato " Cenſorius, *ſhould be collected together, and had* " *them printed, with the moſt beautiful Types, which* " *the* Stephens'*s Printing-Houſe could furniſh, in the* " *Year* 1597." Mr *Baillet* has ſhewed his Civility, and his Equity (90).

You will find a good Juſtification of *Beza* in the Critical Miſcellanies of Mr *Ancillon* (91): He relates a fine Paſſage of Mr *Daillé* (92), whereby we learn, that the Infidels reproached the Primitive Church, that they gave their beſt Employments to Thoſe, *whom the Scandal of their Ill Lives had rendered odious and infamous among the* Pagans. Mr *Ancillon* refers us to his Apology for *Calvin, Luther, Zuinglius*, and *Beza* (93).

[*Y*] *An Ill Conſtruction was put upon the Epigram on* Candida *and* Audebert.] There is nothing ſo ill grounded, as the enormous Accuſation built on This Epigram. See the Article AUDEBERT. They who pretend, that the *Candida* of *Beza* was his Wife, are miſtaken; for *Beza*'s Wife was never with Child; and there are ſome Verſes on *Candida*'s Pregnancy in the *Juvenilia* of This Author. *Quænam illa eſt Candida? uxor mea ſcilicet, quam in meis verſiculis prægnantem ſuperis commendo, quum uxor mea nunquam etiam conceperit* (94). I have not been able to diſcover any Thing concerning *Beza*'s Wife, except that ſhe was of no high Birth; and that their Correſpondence began four Years before they left the Kingdom, and before they married in the Face of the Church. Her Husband gives a good Character of her. " Uxorem mihi ea quam illa tempora ferebant " ratione —— quatuor circiter annos ante volunta" rium meum exilium deſpondi, genere equidem im" parem, ſed ea virtute præditum mulierem cujus me " pœnitere ab eo tempore minime oportuerit (95). *Scaliger* ſays, that ſhe was the Daughter of an Advocate, and barren; and afterwards cries out, *What a fooliſh Woman* (96)! The Hiſtorian of the Husband ſpeaks otherwiſe of Her; He praiſes her for ſeveral good Qualities, and chiefly for her conjugal Affection; but it is the common Stile of Thoſe, who write the Life of a Learned Perſon; His Wife, if ever he had any, is always a Woman of great Merit, and of a peaceable Temper. The Funeral Orations of Profeſſors never omit This Topic, though The Makers of them have but too often a *Socrates* to praiſe. However it be, let us ſee the Elogy of *Beza*'s firſt Wife. " Anno 1588. menſe Aprili è vivis exceſſit Claudia " Denoſſa Bezæ conjux, cum qua conjunctiſſime & " honeſtiſſime vixerat annos quadraginta. Fuit illi " caſus hic graviſſimus: erat enim fœmina multum " laudata, ſedula, frugi, & viri ſui in primis ſtudio" ſa (97). - - - - - - - - *In the Month of* April, 1588, " *died* Claudia Denoſſa, *the Wife of* Beza, *with* " *whom he lived forty Years lovingly and ho*" *nourably. This was a very great Misfortune to* " *him; for ſhe was a Lady of great Merit, Diligent,* " *Thrifty, and particularly careful of her Husband.*" Not a word of her Family: This makes me queſtion, what *Scaliger* ſays, that ſhe was the Daughter of an Advocate: And beſides, would *Beza* have confeſſed ſo freely, that he had married beneath himſelf, if his Wife had been the Daughter of an Advocate of *Paris*? This Under-matching has ſomething in it, which I cannot unravel, and which leaves room for Suſpicion. *Beza*, as handſome as an *Adonis* (98), Polite, Learned, Witty, wanting no Money, under-matches himſelf! One of Thoſe, who have anſwered *Maimbourg*'s Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, denies, that the *Candida* of *Beza* is one *Dame Claudia, a Taylor's Wiſe*; and, among other Reaſons, He makes uſe of this; *When* Beza *ſpeaks of the Claſp, he complains, that* coërcet globulos duos rubentes, intra cæca jubet manere clauſtra; *Theſe Expreſſions*, ſays he, *of a Woman's Breaſt, do not ſuit a Taylor's Wife* (99). Who told him, that a Taylor's Wife of *Paris* might not wear a Claſp in Thoſe Days, to hide her Breaſts? This Apologiſt makes ſome minute Obſervations, which he would have done better to have ſuppreſſed.

I cannot give credit to what I have read in one of Mr *Ancillon*'s Works, which is, that *Beza*'s firſt Wiſe was *Frances de St Marcel d' Avençon, Siſter of a Biſhop of* Grenoble, *and the Widow of* Nicolas Odeuoud, *Brother of* John IV, *Firſt Conſul of the ſame City of* Grenoble, *her firſt Husband, and of* Philip de Poy, *Lord of* Fiancé. *her ſecond Husband* (100). Such an eminent Nobility cannot agree with the Under-matching, which the pretended Third Husband confeſſes ſo ingenuouſly. Beſides, Mr *Ancillon* had not well informed himſelf of what concerns *Beza*'s Marriages; He admits three of Them, and applies to them *Paſquier*'s Epigram (101), which I have ſet down in the Remark [*N*].

[Z] *He is charged with wiſhing to return into the Boſom of the Catholic Church.*] See, in the Remark [*O*], the Report, that was ſpread, of his dying a good Catholic, in the Year 1597. I have an Author to quote here, whoſe Name and Temper agree very well (102). " Did he not lately moſt humbly ſupplicate our moſt " Chriſtian King to obtain for him the Abſolution " of our Holy Father? The ſame Prince told it, two " ſeveral times, to a Prelate; and I am ſure he " would not revoke it for all the Huguenotiſm in " the World. Cry out, and murmur at it, as much " as you will. The Sieur *Corneille*, a late Miniſter, " told me, that the ſame *Beza*, adviſing him to for" ſake all their Errors, and return to the Faith of " the Catholic Church, proteſted to him, that he " would do the ſame, if he could eaſily get out of " *Geneva*. If you have a Mind to know more of it, " he will tell you the Day, the Place, and his Diſ" courſe, with ſo many Particulars, that you cannot " doubt of it, *&c.*" Thus the *Franciſcan Feuardentius* ſpeaks of *Beza*. One is amazed to ſee him quote *Henry* IV, with ſo much Confidence; as for the *Ex-Miniſter, Corneille*, his Quotation ſignifies nothing. Compare This with the Remark [*R*], towards the End.

[*AA*] *It is not true, that a* Dominican *confounded him in a Diſpute.*] *Alfonſus Fernandez* relates, in his Annals of the *Dominicans*, printed at *Salamanca*, in the Year 1617, that Father *Sebaſtian Michael*, a Religious of the Order of St *Dominic*, mortified the Pride of the *Huguenots* in *Montpellier*, and chiefly That of *Beza*, who travelled often from *Geneva* to *Montpellier*. *Rivetus* ſays, upon This, that, at the Time of This pretended Triumph, *Beza* was in his Eighty firſt Year; and that he was not in a Condition to undertake long Journeys; and that it is certain, that, neither in that Year, nor after, did he ſet Foot out of the Territories of *Geneva*. " Cum tamen certum ſit " Bezam, tum octuageſimum primum annum agen" tem, illo anno nec potuiſſe, ſi voluiſſet, Montem" peſſulanum adventare, nec ab illo tempore Geneva " exceſſiſſe, aut ſaltem fines Genevenſium (103)." I do not believe, that, in any time of his Life, This Miniſter made frequent Journeys from *Geneva* to *Montpellier*. We have ſeen (104), that They reproached him for not daring to go out of *Geneva*.

Rivetus

(l) *In the Article* BOLSEC, *Remark* [*L*].

(90) Enfans celebres, Art. 56.

(91) *In* Vol. I. pag. 386. & ſeq.

(92) *Taken from the xix Sermon on* 1 Tim. iii.

(93) *In Pag.* 398.

(94) Apolog. Altera ad Claud. de Xaintes, Oper. Tom. II. pag. 359, 360. *See alſo his Epiſtle dedicatory to his Poems.*

(95) Epiſt. Dedicator. Poëmatum. *See alſo the ſecond Anſwer to* Claudius de Xaintes, pag. 360.

(96) *In* Scaligeranis, *at the Word* Beza.

(97) Ant. Fayus, in vita Bezæ, pag. 54.

(98) *See the Deſcription* Maimbourg *gives of him*; Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, pag. 217. *It appears, by the* Scaligerana, *that* Beza *had the Preſence of a Prince.* Fuit valde pulcher ſenex - - - fuit valde præſtanti forma, ut judicaretur aliquis princeps.

(99) *See the Book, entitaled,* The true Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, pag. 171.

(100) Ancillon, Mèlange Critique, Tom. I. pag. 379.

(101) Id. ib. pag. 405.

(102) Feuardent. Entremangeries miniſtrales, Book iii. chap. 24. pag. 327.

(103) Rivetus in Jeſuita vapulante, Oper. Tom. III. p. 499. *In this Treatiſe of* Rivetus *are divers Anſwers to* Beza'*s Accuſers.*

(104) *At the end of Remark* [*R*].

ſome Reformed Writers would have thrown in his Teeth his *Audebert*, and his *Candida* [*BB*]. Among the *Roman* Catholics, He, who treated him with the greateſt Moderation, is more eaſy to be pointed out, than He, who treated him with the greateſt Anger. They, who have ſhewn ſome Moderation and Equity towards him, are but a few in Number; They, who have diſcharged the Fury of their Animoſities againſt him, are numberleſs: But I do not believe, there are many, whoſe Paſſion is ſo extravagant, as That of the Author of the *Doctrine Curieuſe*. I ſhall mention one of his Calumnies [*CC*]: It is ſo ſtrange, that one can hardly believe one's own Eyes in a Thing of this Nature. He was publickly cenſured for it by a Catholic

Rivetus did not know, that, in the Year 1601, *Beza* went to *Lauſanne* (105); he took, then, his final leave of That City.

[*BB*] *Some Reformed Writers would have twitted him with his* Audebert *and his* Candida.] We ſhould preſume too much upon the Privileges of Orthodoxy, and belie Experience, if we ſhould believe, that all Thoſe, who write in the Defence of Truth, reſiſt the Impreſſions of Reſentment in ſuch a Manner, as to ſee only, in the Writings of their Adverſaries, what Juſtice requires they ſhould find in Them. *Beza*'s Epigram on *Audebert* is, at the bottom, but a witty Conceit; It is free from the Abominations, which the Miſſionaries pretend to diſcover in it; but, to ſee this Purity in it, one muſt either be the Author's Friend, or have no Partiality for, or againſt, him; for, when once a Man is very angry, and would be revenged for the Injuries he has received from an Author, He gives a criminal Turn to his Words. The Proteſtants of the Confeſſion of *Geneva* do not doubt, but that Thoſe of the Confeſſion of *Augsburg* are Part of That True Church, which leads to Heaven: Nevertheleſs, ſome of the *Lutherans* were ſo offended, becauſe *Beza* had written againſt their Party, that they adopted the Slanders of the *Roman* Catholics, as to his *Juvenilia*. See here a long Paſſage of the *Calvino-Turciſmus*, in which we ſee the Sentiments of a famous *Lutheran* Divine. " Et quanquam Theodorus " Beza aliter de vita moribuſque Calvini ſcribat, ta- " men contra Theodorum Bezam iſti arguunt hæc eſſe " veriſſima, nec unquam *luculentur & ſolidè à Cal-* " *viniſtis refutata*. Nam quod ad Bezæ teſtimonium " attinet, *quum Theodorus Beza* (inquiunt) * *eadem* " *hæreſi, & eodem ferme peccato nobilitatus ſit, ut* " *hiſtoria de Candida meretricula (& Audeberto) te-* " *ſtatur; nemo ipſi hac in parte fidem habere poteſt.* " Nihil certè apud hominem moderatum & æquum " valere poteſt ejus quæcunque vehementiſſima licet " conteſtatio, ſi verum eſt quod juxta iſtos †, *Certò* " *conſtat Theodorum Bezam à pueritia imbibiſſe vatum* " *impudicitiam, & impudentiam, totamque æta-* " *tem explendis ſuis libidinibus & cupiditatibus,* " *ac deſcribendis ſuis amoribus, & ulciſcendis ſuis* " *rivalibus exercuiſſe, atque in meretricem lenam,* " *& cynedum transformatum eſſe. De quo item con-* " *ſtat & hoc* ‡, *quod obſcæniſſimos verſus ſcripſit* " *ad Germanum Audebertum Aureliæ, & eundem* " *tanquam Adonidem à Theodoro Beza factum eſſe* " (106). —— *And, though* Beza *gives a different* " *Account of the Life and Character of* Calvin, *yet* " *They contend, againſt* Theodore Beza, *that theſe* " *things are moſt true, and that they were never* " clearly and ſolidly refuted by the *Calviniſts*. *For,* " *as to the Teſtimony of* Beza, ſince *Theodore Beza* " *(ſay They)* was remarkable for the ſame Hereſy, and " almoſt the ſame Crime, as appears from the Story " of the Harlot *Candida* (and *Audebert*); no one can " believe him upon this Head. *And, indeed, his* " *ſtrongeſt Atteſtation can have no weight with a Man* " *of Moderation and Equity, if what They ſay be* " *true*; *viz.* It is notorious, that *Beza*, from his In- " fancy, had imbibed the Immodeſty and Impudence " of the Poets, and had ſpent his whole Life, in " gratifying his luſtful Inclinations, in deſcribing his " Amours, and revenging himſelf on his Rivals, and " that he was metamorphoſed both into a Bawd, and a " Catamite. Of whom it is likewiſe true, that he " wrote the moſt obſcene Verſes to *Germanus Aude-* " *bert*, who is deſcribed by *Theodore Beza* as another " *Adonis*." The ſame Blindneſs, which engaged *Schluſſelburgius* to write ſuch things, would have appeared in ſome Reformed Authors, if *Beza* had followed the Footſteps of *Claudius de Xaintes*, or of *Ronſard* (107); if he had been Chaplain to the Duke of *Guiſe* at the Battle of *Dreux*; if he had harangued againſt The Proteſtants at the Conference of *Poiſſi*; in a word, if he had perſecuted them by his Books, Intrigues, Sermons, Journies, &c. Let us ſay, then, that the Glory, he acquired, in maintaining the Cauſe of the Reformed, with great Zeal, cauſed his Poems to be taken notice of, which, without That, had never been exclaimed againſt: And, if it were permitted to compare Small Faults with Great Ones (108), One might remember, here, what ſhall be ſaid in another Place of *John de la Caſſa*. His *Capitolo del Forno* would have remained unknown, with ſo many other more infamous Poems, if he had not been raiſed to the Function of an Inquiſitor. To conclude, I add, that, if *Beza* had been a great Perſecutor of the *Huguenots*, and expoſed to their Libels for his *Juvenilia*, the Writers of the other Party would have maintained, that there was no harm in the Epigram upon *Audebert* and *Candida*, and that a Man muſt be given over to a Spirit of Slander, a perpetual Character of Hereſy, to, &c.

[*CC*] *I ſhall mention one of* Garaſſe's *Calumnies againſt* Beza.] " The Fourth, who was guilty of a " great Piece of Folly in relation to the Sacrament, " was *Beza*; for This Man, who had Wit enough " to make a laſcivious Epigram, though he commit- " ted childiſh Faults in the Quantity of his *Latin* " Verſes, never ſpoke of any Thing relating to Di- " vinity, without expoſing himſelf to the Deriſion of " the Learned. *George Fabricius* tells us, *In reſpon-* " *ſione ad Apologiam Bezæ*, that the ſaid Arch-Here- " tic, being at the Conference of *Poiſſi*, made a long " Diſcourſe, in the Form of a Paraphraſe, on the " Words of the Conſecration, in which he equally " ſhewed his Malice, and his Folly. *For*, ſaid he, " *Sirs, I muſt inform you, that there is an eſſential* " *Error crept into the New Teſtament, in the Words* " *of the Conſecration*; *for, whereas we read*, Hoc eſt " corpus meum; Hic eſt calix meus *, *it ſhould cer-* " *tainly be read in the Negative*; Hoc NON EST cor- " pus meum; Hic NON EST calix meus †, *and that* " CHRIST *pronounced ſo in expreſs Terms*; *but that* " *the Evangeliſts, and St* Paul, *who were our* LORD " JESUS CHRIST'*s Secretaries, have, unfortunately,* " *or through too much Precipitation, forgotten the Ne-* " *gative, as it appears often*, continues he, *in the* Pan- " dects *of* Florence, *and the* Civilians *obſerve, that* " *Thoſe, who tranſcribed them, have often forgot the* " *Negative, and, by that means, made ſome Laws* " *quite contrary to the Intention of the Founder: Thus,* " ſaid *Beza*, *the Evangeliſts, having forgotten the* " NON, *are the cauſe, that we debate, at this Day,* " *a moſt clear Truth: For, what probability is there,* " *that the Body of* CHRIST *ſhould be contained in a* " *little roundiſh Wafer? I ſay, Sirs, that* Non plùs " eſt in COENA, quàm in COENO; *He is as much in* " *the Mire, as in the Sacrament*. At this Diſcourſe, " the Doctors, and particularly *Eſpencæus*, and *Clau-* " *dius de Xaintes*, were in a manner ſtupified with " Aſtoniſhment, ſeeing the Impudence and Folly of " the Man: And *Claudius de Xaintes* to confound " him having produced the Confeſſion of *Augsburg*, " which the *Calviniſts of France* had embraced, which " has theſe Words in expreſs Terms: CHRISTI *cor-* " *pus in Euchariſtiâ* ADESSE: *Beza* anſwered, that it " ought to be corrected; that the ſame Fault was in " it, as in the Evangeliſts; and that, by changing " one Letter, it might be read ABESSE; *viz.* that " the Body of JESUS CHRIST was abſent from the " Euchariſt (109)." We ſhall ſee how This abſurd

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(105) Ant. Fayus, in vita Bezæ, pag. 19.

* Conrad. Schluſſel. Calviniſt. Theolog. l. ii. fol. 72.

† Idem. lib. 1. fol 92.

‡ Fol. 93.

(106) Gulielmus Reginaldus, in Calvino-Turciſmo, lib. ii. cap. 11, p. 274.

(107) *Remarks* [*D*] *and* [*E*], *of the Article* RONSARD.

(108) Si parva licet componere magnis. *Virgil. Georg. l. iv. ver.* 176.

* *This is my Body; This is my Blood.*

† *This is* NOT *my Body; This is* NOT *my Blood.*

(100) Garaſſe, Doctrine Curieuſe, pag. 283, 284.

Catholic Writer [*DD*]: But he was not aſhamed of it, and choſe rather to make uſe

Diſcourſe of Father *Garaſſe* was confuted by a Perſon of his own Communion.

[*DD*] *He was publickly cenſured for it by a Catholic Writer.*] I mean, by the ſame Mr *Ogier*, who wrote in favour of *Balzac*, ſome time after, and who was a very good Preacher. He did not put his Name to the Book, which he entituled, *Jugement & Cenſure du Livre de la doctrine curieuſe de François Garaſſe*, and which he publiſhed at *Paris*, in the Year 1623. However, it is certainly known, that he was the Author of it. Never was Writer ſo bore down, or cruſhed by his Adverſary, as *Garaſſe* was by Mr *Ogier*, in relation to This ſilly Story. The Cenſurer did two things: Firſt, he ſhewed, by three Reaſons, that nothing is more abſurd, than to ſuppoſe, that *Beza* ſpoke in this Manner; and, afterwards, he proved, that the Witneſs, quoted by *Garaſſe*, did not ſay what was imputed to him.

Let us ſee his three Reaſons. "Is it likely, that *Beza*, one of the chief Miniſters of the Conference of *Poiſſi*, held ſuch a Diſcourſe, as *Garaſſe* fathers upon him, and ſaid that we muſt read, *Hoc non eſt corpus meum*; ſince That curſed Corruption does not only ruin the Catholic Belief concerning the Holy Sacrament of the Euchariſt; but alſo That of the Heretics, and of *Beza*, and his own Party. Certainly, if our LORD had ſaid, *This is not my Body*; as the Catholics could not conclude the Reality of the Body from That Expreſſion; ſo the *Zuinglians* could not draw Their Signification of Body from it; and much leſs the *Calviniſts* their Flowings, Irradiations, Participations, of the Body of CHRIST, which They add to the Signification; ſince he would abſolutely have ſaid, *This is not my Body*. Add to this Conſideration, that one muſt be, not only a Beaſt, as *Garaſſe* ſays, but worſe than a Beaſt, more inſenſible than a Log, more ſtupid than a Lump of Lead, to entertain ſuch a Thought, that our Lord JESUS CHRIST ſaid, *Hoc non eſt*, &c. For *cui bono?* Wherefore ſhould he tell his Diſciples, that the Bread was not his Body, rather than any other Meat, that was on the Table; nay, rather than the Table itſelf? Beſides, What Coherence, what Conſequence, what Reaſoning is there in Theſe Words; *This is not my Body, which is given for you*; *This is not my Blood*, &c. without adding any explanatory Words, to denote which was That Body, and That Blood, which was to be given, and ſhed, for the Salvation of Mankind? As for myſelf, I own, that, though I conſider theſe Words never ſo attentively, I cannot conceive any Reaſon, or Conſequence, in Them; and I firmly believe, that one muſt be a Fool, and a Mad-Man, to be able to find any. Finally, Who will believe, that *Beza* made, at the Conference of *Poiſſi*, that fine Speech, which *Garaſſe* aſcribes to him, who preſented This Form of Confeſſion concerning the Euchariſt to the Biſhops with his own Hands? *Confitemur* CHRISTUM JESUM *in ſua ſancta Cœna nobis offerre, dare, & exhibere veram ſubſtantiam corporis & ſanguinis per operationem Spiritus Sancti*; - - - - *We confeſs, that* CHRIST JESUS, *in the Euchariſt, offers, gives, and exhibits to us the true Subſtance of Fleſh and Blood, by the Operation of the Holy Spirit*. And what follows; as may be read in the Anſwer of *Claude de Xaintes* to *Beza*'s Apology. And, though Theſe fine Words, ſo Orthodox in Appearance, vaniſh into airy Notions, and Figures; yet in what manner ſoever they be taken, they are inconſiſtent with That pretended Negative (110)."

He tells us, afterwards, of the Compariſon he made between *Garaſſe*'s Narrative, and That of the Civilian, *Gabriel* (111) *Fabricius*, whom *Garaſſe* had quoted for the Voucher of his Story. He relates, "That *Francis Baudouin*, alias *Balduin*, having deſerted the Sect of the *Calviniſts*, was, a long time, expoſed to their Calumnies, and Curſes. Beſides, - - - - - he compoſed very learned Treatiſes againſt *Calvin*'s Doctrine, and, among others, a Preface to an Edition, which he publiſhed, of *Optatus Milevitanus*, with this Superſcription *Joanne Lucanio* (112)." He adds (113); "If the Miniſters hated This Civilian much, They feared him no leſs, becauſe of his Ability, and profound Learning; inſomuch that all the Works of the Catholic Doctors, wherein any Point of their Doctrine was ſolidly confuted, were aſcribed by Them to *Balduin*. It happening, then, that Dr *de Xaintes*, afterwards Biſhop of *Evreux*, having compoſed a Book entituled, *Examen doctrinæ Calvinianæ & Bezanæ de Cœna Domini* (114); *Beza* wrote an Apology by way of Anſwer to it, wherein he furiouſly inveighs againſt *Balduin*, as the chief Author of the *Examen*. *De Xaintes* anſwered by a Reply, entituled, *Reſponſio ad Apologiam Theod. Bezæ*, &c. And, on the other ſide, *Gabriel Fabricius* undertook to defend his Maſter *Balduin*'s Cauſe, and compoſed a Libel, entituled, *Gab. Fabricii Reſponſio ad Bezam Vezeliam Eceboliam* (115), which, to ſpeak properly, is a Menyppæan Satire, wherein he diſplays *Beza* in all his Colours, never calling him by any other than a Feminine Name, treating him, as the moſt laſcivious and profligate Woman in the World, and uſing the keeneſt Strokes, that Satire can invent againſt an Enemy. It is out of This little Book, that *Garaſſe* - - - - took That Speech of *Beza*, at the Conference of *Poiſſi*, which might be tolerated, if *Fabricius* had made him harangue in the ſame manner, that *Rapin* makes Cardinal *de Pelve* diſcourſe, in the *Catholicon*. But it is ſo far from being ſo, that there is nothing that looks like a Speech in all the Book. *Fabricius* ſays only, that *Beza*, without racking his Brain with ſo many Forms of Confeſſion, Commentaries, and Explanations of this Paſſage, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, ſhould have ſaid, with the utmoſt Boldneſs, that it is an Error of the Tranſcribers, who, inſtead of *Hoc non eſt*, as the Evangeliſts wrote it, have careleſsly left out the Negative, and wrote *Hoc eſt*, &c. Here are *Fabricius*'s own Words, in the ſeventeenth Page of my Copy. *Et fortaſſe ut tandem te expedias, & tot commentariorum plauſtra faceſſere jubeas, recurres ad talem emendationem: & quia noſtri correctores dicunt in ipſis etiam Pandectis Florentinis, ſæpe deeſſe negationem, tu tali artificio ſtatim te liberes, & adverſariis os obſtruas, præſertim cum alios multos Evangeliorum locos ſimiliter ſcilicet emendaris, partim ex conjectura, partim ex manuſcriptis, ut ais, exemplaribus.* From which Words it is as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that *Fabricius* means This; *Eum qui ſemel verecundiæ fines tranſierit, naviter oportere eſſe impudentem.* - - - - *That He, who has once trangreſſed the Bounds of Modeſty, may perſevere in Impudence*: That, ſince *Beza* had the Aſſurance to corrupt the Scriptures in ſeveral Paſſages of leſs moment, He might carry his Impudence farther, and corrupt This Paſſage, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, ſubſtituting, in the room of it, *Hoc non eſt*, &c. The following Impoſture of *Garaſſe* is of the ſame Stamp, when he ſays, That *Claudius de Xaintes*, hearing *Beza* ſpeak in This Manner, produced the Confeſſion of *Augsburg*, to confound him, which has theſe Words, *Chriſti corpus in Euchariſtia adeſſe*; and that *Beza* anſwered, that it ought to be read *abeſſe*. *Garaſſe* wonders at *Beza*'s Folly; and I admire at *Garaſſe*'s Stupidity, who hopes to make his Readers believe, that *Beza*, who would never ſubſcribe to the Confeſſion of *Augsburg*, notwithſtanding all the Entreaties of the Cardinal *de Lorrain*, nor give his Opinion about That Confeſſion, made This fooliſh and impertinent Reply to Dr *de Xainctes*. - - - - The Truth is, *Fabricius* derides *Beza* according to his uſual Cuſtom: *Ubi id eviceris*, ſays he, *facile deinde efficies, quod præterea ſuſcipis, ut perſuadeas, tam fuiſſe hactenus temulentos omnes Proteſtantes*, &c. —— *When you ſhall have proved This, you will then induce us to believe, what you farther ſuſpect, that the Proteſtants have been hitherto, in general, ſo beſotted*, &c. And a little after; *Ingenua profecto & ingenioſa*

"*fuerit*

(110) Jugement & Cenſure de la Doctrine Curieuſe. chap. viii. pag. 89, 90.

(111) *And not* George, *as* Garaſſe *had ſaid, for which the Prior* Ogier *cenſures him.*

(112) Jugement & Cenſure de la Doctrine Curieuſe, p. 91.

(113) Ibid. pag. 92. & ſeq.

(114) *Printed at* Paris, *in* 1567.

(115) *Printed at* Paris, 1567, *in* 8vo.

uſe of a pitiful Shift, than to confeſs the Truth [*EE*]. I have read, ſomewhere, in his Works, that *Sturmius* affirmed, that *Beza* might truly ſay, *I believe but one thing, which is, That I believe nothing* (*m*). What Calumny is this! *Prateolus* muſt be reckoned among the Authors, who have been the moſt diligent Tranſcribers of the

(*m*) *Note, that* Beza, Apol. i. ad Claudium de Xaintes, Oper. Tom. II. pag. 294. *ſaid this of* Francis Baudouin. Vir ſane nullius fidei, ut tanquam alter Socrates verè poſſit illud uſurpare, *Hoc unum credo quod nihil credo.*

“ *fuerit illa tua emendatio, ut ubi in eorum de cœna confeſſione ſcriptum eſt corpus adeſſe, ſcribatur abeſſe. Facilem enim lapſum ebrii ſcriptoris fuiſſe, in tanta affinitate unius literulæ.* Certainly, it would be an ingenious Correction, if inſtead of *adeſſe*, as the Confeſſion of *Augsburg* has it, you ſhould read *abeſſe*; and, if you ſhould ſay, that it is an Error, eaſily crept into the Text, through the Careleſſneſs of ſome drunken *German*, by reaſon of the Affinity and Reſemblance between the two Letters, *d* and *b* (116).” You may be ſure, This Cenſurer did not forget to inſult *Garaſſe* for his Boldneſs in mentioning This Circumſtance, that *the Doctors, and particularly* Eſpencæus, *and* Claudius de Xainctes, *were ſtruck with Amazement*. He ends with a very good Reflexion. “ This way of proceeding, *ſays he* (117), is greatly prejudicial to the Converſion of Erring Souls, and particularly of Thoſe, which *Garaſſe* pretends to bring over to the Church by means of his Book. For, pray tell me, what Heretic, what Atheiſt, would truſt him, after he has been ſurprized in ſo manifeſt a Falſhood? Who will not preſume, that a thouſand Abſurdities, which he relates of ſeveral Heretical Authors, are of the ſame Stamp, and that he quotes the Ancients with as little Sincerity as the Moderns? - - - - - I have it from good Hands, that the chief Reaſon, which retained the great *Caſaubon* in the Errors, wherein he was brought up, was his having perceived the like Tricks in ſome modern Divines, which made him conceive a very bad Opinion of Thoſe, who would triumph over their Enemies with falſe Colours.”

(116) Ibid. pag. 95.

(117) Ibid. pag. 96, 97.

Errors of Mr *Ogier*.

Let us obſerve ſome ſmall Miſtakes in This Judicious Cenſurer. The Reaſon, why the Proteſtants calumniated *Baudouin*, was not becauſe he had forſaken Their Religion, and compoſed learned Works to confute Them. See the Remark [*H*] of his Article; where you will find, that he drew their Indignation upon him for having concerned himſelf with ſome Intrigues, wherein they thought there was a Deſign of deſtroying them, under Pretence of reconciling both Religions. You will find there, that they took him for the Author of a ſmall Piece, which *Caſſander* had written, and which was not a Book of Controverſy, but rather an Explication of the Duty of a good Man in the Condition the Church was then in. In ſhort, you will find there, that The Slanders preceded the Preface to *Optatus Milevitanus*. To theſe Faults of the Prior *Ogier* may be added theſe others. The Proteſtants imputed only the Anonymous Book of *George Caſſander* to *Baudouin*. It is falſe, that *Beza* looked upon him as the chief Author of the *Examen Doctrinæ Calvinianæ*, written by *Claude de Xaintes*; He was contented to ſay, that *Baudouin* had ſupplied This Doctor with ſome Things, which conſiſted much more of Matters of Fact, than Arguments.

[*EE*] *He choſe rather to make uſe of a pitiful Shift, than to confeſs the Truth.*] Firſt of all, he ſuppoſes, that the Queſtion is only, *Whether* Fabricius *ſpoke thoſe Words ſeriouſly, or by way of Irony* (118)? He confeſſes afterwards, that his Adverſary builds on the ſeventeenth Page of *Fabricius*'s Book; and then he expreſſes himſelf thus: “ Not to multiply Words in vain, I anſwer, that, not having *Fabricius*'s Book at preſent in my Poſſeſſion, to verify the Paſſage, and not being able to procure it, what Diligence ſoever I could uſe, I muſt refer myſelf to the Truth of my Extracts, which I made very punctually above twelve Years ago; by which I perceive, that Monſieur *Augier* did, out of Simplicity or Cunning, what the Miniſters do maliciouſly in the Books of the ancient Fathers; for he took one Part of the Paſſage, which was favourable to him, and dropped the other. - - - - - To prove, then, that *Fabricius* did not ſpeak ironically, and that he did not falſly accuſe *Beza* of having ſubſtituted a Negative in the ſacred Words of the Evangeliſts, he ſhews evidently, in the Sequel of his Diſcourſe, that *Beza*'s Belief was ſuch, and that he had certainly corrupted the Paſſages of the Goſpel. Theſe are his Words, which deſerve to be ſeriouſly conſidered. Ipſe Illyricus de illa explicatione & INVENTIONE Bezana loquens, vocat phantaſticam inventionem, qualis eſt amantium in Pictura & Poëſi, ut ibi ſuos amores eſſe ſomnient, ubi non ſunt. Illum abſens abſentem auditque videtque; & ita, inquiebat Illyricus, ſe cum CHRISTO in Euchariſtia Beza geſſit, ut Phædria cum Thaide apud Terentium, cum ait; Volo ut cum milite iſto præſens abſens ſies & mecum tota ſis; Ita Beza ſua illa phantaſtica & imaginoſa inventione vult ut CHRISTUS in Euchariſtia præſens & abſens ſiet, & ita ſit ut non eſſe dicatur. - - - - *The* Illyrian *himſelf, ſpeaking of This Explication and* INVENTION *of* Beza, *calls it a fantaſtical Invention, like That of Lovers, in Painting or Poetry, who fancy the beloved Object to be, where it is not. Thus, ſaid he,* Beza *dealt with* CHRIST *in the Euchariſt, as* Phædria, *in* Terence, *does with* Thais, *when ſhe ſays; Though in Company with This Soldier, I would have you be abſent, and only preſent with me. Thus* Beza, *in That fantaſtical and imaginary Diſcovery, would have* CHRIST *to be preſent in Abſence, and ſo to exiſt, as to be ſaid not to exiſt.* Monſieur *Augier* may plainly ſee by theſe Words, that *Fabricius*, whom he repreſents to us as a Buffoon, purpoſely to leſſen his Authority, did not ſpeak jeſtingly, as he ſuppoſes, but with all the Seriouſneſs, which ſuch Matters deſerve (119).” The Inſincerity, which reigns in theſe Words of Father *Garaſſe*, cannot be ſufficiently repreſented. An indigent Layman, living in a Place remote from great Cities, might make uſe of This Excuſe, *I could not procure ſuch a Book; I could not verify ſuch a Paſſage*; but, if he lived at *Paris*, and if his Honour engaged him to juſtify a Quotation, there would be reaſon to laugh at This Excuſe, and to call it a Cheat. But *Garaſſe* was, then, at *Paris*; ſo that he might eaſily have found *Fabricius*'s Book; and no Author was ever more obliged to purge himſelf from Calumny. It was therefore prodigious Confidence, and invincible Obſtinacy, to ſay, *I could not find This Book, what Diligence ſoever I uſed*. What! Shall a Jeſuit, who can be ſupplied by the Libraries of his Order, in the furthermoſt Part of a Province, with any Book he ſtands in need of, tell us, that he could not find, at *Paris*, the Work he quoted? His Adverſary could meet with it there, and does not ſay, that he uſed any Diligence to find it. Why had he not Recourſe to That Copy, if all other Helps failed him? Mr *Ogier* durſt not have refuſed him; His Refuſal would have been a Proof of *Garaſſe*'s Innocence. There is ſomething worſe ſtill; This Jeſuit took a Paſſage of *Fabricius* out of his Collections, and gave it as the Sequel of That, which his Adverſary had mentioned; I ſay, as a Sequel artificially ſuppreſſed by his Adverſary. But it appears plainly, that Mr *Ogier* ſuppreſſes nothing, and that *Fabricius*'s Words, which *Francis Garaſſe* quoted, relate to another Thing. What would have become of him, if the Reply, which Mr *Ogier* was going to make, had not been ſtopped by the Reconciliation between them? Would he have found new means to have diſpenſed with himſelf from fairly acknowledging his Calumny, Raſhneſs, Impoſture, and Impudence?

(118) Garaſſe, Apologe de la Doctrine Curieuſe, chap. xxvi. pag. 349.

(119) Id. ib. pag. 350.

I ſhall ſay it often; I ſhall not be weary of repeating it; It is very uſeful to collect Examples of the Inſincerity of Authors, and the Pieces, which it has occaſioned. It were to be wiſhed, that ſuch Men, as *Langius* and *Gruterus*, had ſpent Part of the Time they beſtowed upon *Polyanthea*'s, in making ſuch Compilations. *Garaſſe* would have often appeared in them; He was a Satirical, Hot-headed, Scurrilous, and Raſh Man, who told a Lie boldly, and denied it afterwards. It was his Intereſt, that the

the abuſive Language againſt This Miniſter. He omitted nothing of what *Surius*, and ſuch like Writers, had collected (*n*). Cardinal *Richelieu* made uſe, in his *Method*, of ſome of Their Rhapſodies. I ſhall remark againſt him [*FF*]. Let us not forget, that *Beza* was buried in *St Peter's Cloyſter, and not in the Burying-place of* Plein-palaix, *becauſe the* Savoyards *had boaſted, that they would take him up, and ſend him to* Rome (*o*). *La Faye* ſays, that This was done for ſome Reaſons, which it was not neceſſary to mention. The Feuillant *Peter de St Romuald* brings a ridiculous Charge againſt him, when he accuſes him of Rebellion, in having ſtiled Queen *Elizabeth* Queen of *France* [*GG*]. I am

(*n*) *See his* Elenchus Alphabeticus Hæreticorum, *and his* Hiſtory of the State and Succeſs of the Church, in the form of a Chronicle, *Edit.* Paris, 1583, 2 *Vol.* *in* Folio.

(*o*) Spon's Hiſtory of *Geneva.* pag. 357.

Doctrine of Thoſe, who hold, that a Man, who dies in the Service of People infected with the Plague, is a Martyr, ſhould be true. See *Theophilus Raynaud*, in the Treatiſe *de Martyrio per Peſtem.* He ſays, that Father *Garaſſe* was perſuaded, by the reading That Book, that the Crown of Martyrdom was to be obtained by that means, and was induced thereby to expoſe himſelf to the Danger of the Plague (120). He died in That Manner; and had publiſhed ſo many Calumnies, and diſcovered ſo much Knavery, that ſcarce any Thing but a true Martyrdom could expiate ſuch Crimes. Obſerve, that ſome Perſons will rather ſacrifice their Lives, than a falſe Point of Honour; *Garaſſe* would not own his Calumnies upon any Account, and made no Difficulty to ſhut himſelf up with Thoſe, who had the Plague (121).

[*FF*] *A Remark againſt Cardinal* Richelieu.] Let us firſt ſet down his Words. "*Beza*, being an Eccleſiaſtic, and in Poſſeſſion of ſome Benefices, forſook the Church of *Rome*, at the time when the Parliament ſummoned him to appear before them, about an extreamly wanton and ſcandalous Poem *, he had compoſed; but, knowing himſelf to be guilty of ſuch great Exceſs, he anſwered that Auguſt Senate only by his Flight, and retired to *Geneva* †. To learn what he was, we need no other Witneſs than himſelf, having diſcovered, by the Verſes, which he made in Imitation of *Catullus* and *Ovid*, that he had given himſelf up to an enormous and monſtrous Lewdneſs (122), for which reaſon, his own Fraternity call him The Shame of *France*, a *Simoniſt*, a Man guilty of all Vices, and even of That, which drew Fire from Heaven ‡." This is what The Cardinal ſays, in the tenth Chapter of the ſecond Book of his *Method*, pages 321, 322, of the Edition of *Paris*, 1663. Mr *Martel*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Montauban*, and at *Puylaurens*, before the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, and, ſince That Revocation, at *Bern*, oppoſes the Teſtimony of *Stephen Paſquier* againſt Theſe Words of the Cardinal, and adds, *That it is not a Frenchman, who called* Beza *a Simoniſt, and a Sodomite. It is* Coſterus, *a Flemiſh Writer and a Jeſuit. I cannot tell by what Rhetorical Figure they pretend to rank him among the Fraternity of our Miniſters* (123). As for what he ſays of *Coſterus*, he refers us to the Twenty firſt Chapter of the ſecond Book of the firſt Part of *Morton*'s Catholic Apology; where, it is certain, the *Latin* Words, quoted by the Cardinal, *Galliæ probrum, &c.* are to be found, as taken from the firſt Chapter of the third Book of One of *Coſterus*'s Works. This Cardinal, or Thoſe, who publiſhed his *Method*, cannot be excuſed for This falſe Quotation: They found it neceſſary, that the Name of a *Reformed* Writer ſhould appear next to the *Galliæ probrum, &c.* For, though it ſhould be proved, that *Coſterus*'s Words are to be ſeen in the Writings of the *Lutheran Schluſſelburgius*, it would not juſtify them; ſince it is very evident, that That *Lutheran* cannot paſs for one of *Beza*'s Fraternity. As for what remains, it muſt be confeſſed, that a Flemiſh Jeſuit was not the Firſt, who charged *Beza* with ſuch Abominations. *Coſterus* did but tranſcribe ſeveral *Frenchmen*, and by name, *Claudius de Xaintes*. A Chronological Miſtake of the Cardinal might be taken notice of: He ſays, in a Marginal Note, that *Beza* retired to *Geneva*, in the Year 1554, aged Fifty five Years (124). He ſhould have ſaid, in the Year 1548, being Twenty nine Years of Age.

[*GG*] Peter de St Romuald *ridiculouſly accuſes him of Rebellion, in ſtiling Queen* Elizabeth *Queen of* France.] "This ſame Year, 1581, *ſays he* (125), *Theodore Beza*, Miniſter of *Geneva*, publiſhed his Book, entituled, *Icones Virorum illuſtrium pietate & doctrina*, which he dedicated to *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*, ſtiling her Queen of *France*. Certainly, a *Frenchman* cannot uſe ſuch Terms, without declaring himſelf a bad Subject; for it is ſaying, that the King, his Maſter, is an Uſurper, and that the Crown does not belong to him, but to another. Can This be done in a printed Book, without Felony and Treaſon? But what better can we expect from an Heretic?" He has repeated the ſame Charge, Word for Word, in another Book (126); which proves, that he was thoroughly ſatisfied with This Remark; which, however, is childiſh, nonſenſical, and ſuperſtitious. I excuſe him Errors of Fact; ſuch as, that the *Icones* of *Beza* came out in 1581, and that they were dedicated to the Queen of *England*. It was to *James*, King of *Scotland*, that the Author dedicated Them, the firſt of *March* 1580; and it is the Year 1580, which I find marked in my Copy: But if our Feuillant is to be pardoned for ſuch Miſtakes, as Theſe, he cannot be excuſed the Error of *Right*, into which he is fallen. I confeſs, that *Beza*, in dedicating his Remarks on the New Teſtament to Queen *Elizabeth*, gives her the Title of *Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ, & circumjacentium Inſularum Regina*: but it is abſurd to pretend, that This is *felonious and treaſonable*, and that the King of *France* is thereby determined to be *an Uſurper*. For I. *Beza* ought not to be conſidered, at That Time, as a Subject of the King of *France*: he had renounced his Country for the Sake of his Religion, and had taken Shelter in foreign Lands: he was become a Citizen of *Geneva*, and actually exerciſed, there, the Office of Profeſſor, and Miniſter. II. A Private Perſon, who, in a Letter, gives Princes the Titles, which they uſually aſſume, does not ſet himſelf up as a Judge of their Pretenſions; he does but follow the Uſage, which he finds eſtabliſhed; and, when he complies with the Formulary of Subſcriptions, he does not engage himſelf to examine, whether ſuch or ſuch Titles are juſtly aſſumed, or no. I go farther, and ſay, III. that, even when we doubt whether a Prince has a Right to a Kingdom, we yet obſerve the Uſage of Subſcriptions, in an Epiſtle Dedicatory, or other Letter. *Beza*, for example, fully perſuaded, that *Charles* IX, and *Henry* III, lawfully poſſeſſed *France*, yet gives *Elizabeth* the Titles, which ſhe aſſumed in *England*. It is, therefore, the utmoſt impertinence, to conclude, that he treated the King of *France* as an Uſurper. In the IV, and laſt, place, I ſay, that Uſage, or Cuſtom, authorizes Thoſe, who give the ſame Titles to Poſſeſſors, and Pretenders, and that the Latter, 'till they have renounced their Titles, and Pretenſions, are called Kings, or Lords, of ſuch a Country, at the ſame time that the actual Poſſeſſors are acknowledged as Kings, or Lords, of the ſame Country. We have, among other Examples, the Conduct, which *France* obſerved towards *Uladiſlas* King of *Poland*, and *Guſtavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*. We were in ſtrict Alliance with the One, and even as King of *Sweden*; yet we did not ſcruple to give the other the Title of King of *Sweden*. Mr *le Laboureur* has inſerted, in his Account of *Poland* (127), a Letter, which was written by the King of *France* to King *Uladiſlas*, the Twenty fourth of *November* 1645, at the time when there was ſuch ſtrict Friendſhip between Queen *Chriſtina*, and *France*. The Subſcription of the Letter is; *To the moſt High, moſt Excellent, and moſt Mighty Prince, our dear and well-beloved Couſin, The King of* Poland *and* Sweden. A *Spaniſh* Author, who, in dedicating a Book to the moſt Chriſtian King, ſtiled him *King of* France *and* Navarre, would not, I believe, be called to an Account for it, in a Time of Amity. Nor do I think, the Grand Signior would be ſuch a *Turk*, as to puniſh a *Greek* Biſhop, who, in writting to the Duke

(120) *See Numb.* 44 *of the* Theologia antiqua de vera Martyrii notione, *at* pag. 163, 164, *of the* Apopompæus *of* Theophilus Raynaud.

(121) *See his Article, Rem.* [*E*].

* *It was an Epigram, addreſſed to a Woman, whoſe Name was* Candida.

† *In* 1554, *being* 55 *Years of Age.*

(122) *The Cardinal quotes, in the Margin, ſome Verſes of the Epigram* de Audeberto & Candida.

‡ Galliæ probrum, Simoniacus, Sodomita, omnibus vitiis co-opertus.

(123) Martel, Anſwer to the Method of Cardinal *Richelieu*, Book ii. chap. 10. p. 186, 187.

(124) *It is certainly an Error of the Preſs for* 35, *for, in the following Note,* Beza's *Birth is placed in the Month of* June, 1519.

(125) Peter de St Romuald, Abrege du Threſor Chronol. Tom. III. pag. 364.

(126) *In his* Journal Chronol. *under* Jan. 15, (1519) *the Birth-day of* Theod. Beza, *as he pretends, but he is miſtaken, and ſhould have ſaid* Jun. 24.

(127) Part I, pag. 14.

I am ſurprized, that *Balzac* quarrels with certain anonymous Perſons on the ſame Account [*HH*].

Duke of *Savoy*, ſhould call him *King of* Cyprus, or, in writing to the King of *Spain*, ſhould ſtile him *King of* Jeruſalem; and who, in caſe of an Accuſation, ſhould reply, that he had innocently followed the Uſage of Inſcriptions, without intending to derogate, in the leaſt, from the Fidelity, which he owed his Highneſs. Is there any Prince in *Chriſtendom*, who does not acknowledge Two Kings of *Navarre*; One in *France*, and the Other in *Spain*; the One only titular, the other in actual Poſſeſſion? Does This give occaſion for Complaints, or Threats? Would an *Engliſhman* be proſecuted, who, in an Epiſtle Dedicatory to *Lewis* XIV, ſhould ſtile him *King of* France, or *King of the* French, which is the ſame Thing? Are not the Kings of *France* ſo ſtiled, in *England*, not only in common Converſation, but even in Hiſtories, and Public Acts?

[*HH*] *I am ſurprized, that* Balzac *quarrels with ſome anonymous Perſons, on the ſame Account.*] I ſhall produce his Words, without refuting them; ſince That is ſufficiently done in the preceding Remark. "Let Thoſe, who have loſt Countries, flatter themſelves with Thoſe, which They retain. It may ſerve by way Amuſement, or Play-Thing, formed by the Imagination, after the loſs of eſſential Things. It would be cruelty to refuſe their Grief this light Conſolation. Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* may ſtile herſelf Queen of *France*, and the *Engliſh* may ſpeak the Language of their Miſtreſs. Let them, if They pleaſe. But I cannot allow *Frenchmen* to talk thus. It was well ſaid by a *Frenchman*, ſpeaking of King *James*, Succeſſor of *Elizabeth*; *He has certainly too much of a Name, or too little of a Kingdom; and, if the King of* France *be at* London, *whom will he ſend Embaſſadors to at* Paris? However, as it is every where the Cuſtom to ſpeak improperly, and as every Thing in the World is a Farce, This may be allowed among the reſt. But it muſt be plaid in *England*, and not in *France*, or Places under the Protection of *France*. A *Frenchman* cannot uſe ſuch Terms, without forgetting, that he is a *Frenchman*, without declaring himſelf a bad Subject, without ſaying, that the King his Maſter is an Uſurper. Publickly to degrade his Prince, to give his Crown to another Prince by a ſolemn and printed Acknowledgment, can This be done without the Crime of Felony? I think not, Sir! and, for fear of putting myſelf farther into a Paſſion, let us change the Diſcourſe (128)." I fancy he glances at *Theodore Beza*, and that *Peter de St Romuald* has only tranſcribed him.

(128) Balzac, Entret. xii. pag. 384, 385.

It will not, perhaps, be improper to remark, that *Noel Beda* had before had the ſame Quarrel with *Eraſmus*, on account of the Dedication of One of his Books to the King of *England*. See the Remark [*B*] of the Article BEDA, Citation (11).

BIBLIANDER (THEODORUS), Profeſſor of Divinity at *Zurich*, in the XVIth Century, was born at *Biſchofffſel* (*a*), near *St Gal*, in *Swiſſerland*. He was an univerſal Scholar (*b*); but he excelled chiefly in the Expoſition of the Scripture. He was Profeſſor of Divinity at *Zurich*, from the Year 1532, to 1560, and died of the Plague in the ſame City, the Twenty fourth of *September* 1564 (*c*). If any one aſks, Why his Profeſſorſhip ended before his Life? I anſwer, That it was, becauſe he ſtirred certain Queſtions, which cauſed ſome Diſturbances [*A*], in which he departed too much from the common Doctrine of the Proteſtants, about Predeſtination. To prevent the Schiſm, which might have ariſen from too long a Conteſt upon Thoſe Points, it was thought proper to declare *Bibliander Emeritus*; I mean, to treat him as a *Veteran*, and to give him to underſtand, that his Age, and his long Services, required, that, as a Reward, They ſhould grant him a quiet Life, and an honourable Diſmiſſion. I cannot tell whether he apprehended the true meaning of this Compliment, or whether it vexed him; but I know, that he left off teaching. As he underſtood the *Oriental* Languages, he ſet about a new Edition of the *Koran*, the Text of which he corrected according to the Rules of Criticiſm, by comparing the *Arabic* and *Latin* Copies together. He added to it the Life of *Mahomet*, and his Succeſſors, and an Apologetical Preface, which raiſed a great Outcry [*B*]. He publiſhed ſeveral other

(*a*) *In Latin* Epiſcopicella, *or* Epiſcopocella.

(*b*) Vir fœcundiſſimi ingenii, & Theologiæ exegeticæ *communis* in Helvetia *parens* Hottinger. in Biblioth. Tigurina, pag. 72.

(*c*) Id. Hottinger. ibid. Thuanus, Bucholcer, Melchior Adam, &c. *place his Death on the* 26th *of* November.

[*A*]. *He ſtirred certain Queſtions, which cauſed ſome Diſturbance.*] *Pantaleon* has not ſpecified Theſe Queſtions; he ſays only, They were little agreeable to the common Opinion, and that *Bibliander* loſt Part of his Authority upon That Account. *Pantaleon ſcribit ante obitum motas ab ipſo fuiſſe quæſtiones quaſdam novas & inſolentes unde auctoritati aliquid deceſſerit, ſed quales illæ fuerint quæſtiones, non addit* (1). But *Henry Alting* has not expreſſed himſelf in general Terms; He ſays, that *Bibliander* had embraced *Eraſmus*'s Errors concerning Predeſtination, and that, for this Reaſon, Thoſe of *Zurich diſcharged him from the Functions of his Office, under Pretence, that his Old-age made him unfit for it, and put* Peter Martyr *in his Place* (2). This latter Fact is not to be conteſted, under Pretence, that *Peter Martyr* was called to *Zurich* in the Year 1556, to ſucceed *Pelican*. He might have been Profeſſor at *Zurich* for ſome Years, and yet ſucceed *Bibliander*; for all Profeſſors of Divinity have not the ſame Functions aſſigned them. See, below, the Remark [*E*], at the end.

(1) Melchior Adam in vit. Theol. pag. 403.

(2) Altingii, Theol. Hiſtor. Loc. iv. apud Teiſſier, Addit. *to* Thuan. Tom. I. pag. 255.

[*B*] *He added, to the Verſion of the* Koran, *an Apologetical Preface, which raiſed a great Outcry.*] The Title of it is, *Apologia ad reverendiſſimos patres ac dominos, epiſcopos & doctores Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ, in qua rationes redduntur editionis voluminis quod continet Alcoranum & ejus confutationes, & vitas Mahumetis atque ſucceſſorum ipſius.* This Work was printed by *Oporin*, in the Year 1543, in *Folio* (3). *Bibliander* corrected the Text of the *Koran*, by comparing the *Latin* and *Arabic* Manuſcripts together, and made ſome Marginal Notes, which ſhew, or refute, the Abſurdities of That Book. This did not hinder the *Spaniſh* Inquiſitors from condemning This Edition of the *Koran*; They condemned not only the Prefaces, but the *Koran* itſelf (4). This is as clear as the Day; and yet ſome Authors ſay, that They only condemned the impious Prefaces, and the pernicious Notes, which are in *Bibliander*'s Edition. Father *Theophilus Raynaud* maintains, that the *Koran* itſelf deſerves to be proſcribed, and ſhews, that *Sanctarellus*, who ſays, that the *Index* forbids the reading of it, only becauſe of the Pieces, which *Bibliander* added to it, argued but weakly (5). I ſet down That Jeſuit's Remark ſomewhat at length, that the Reader may have a more particular Notion of *Bibliander*'s Deſign. We ſhall ſee, that This Miniſter did

(3) *Note, that the Preface of* Bibliander *was printed by itſelf, in the Year* 1638, *by the Care of* John Fabricius *of* Dantzic.

(4) *See the* Index librorum prohibitorum, pag. 765, *Edit.* 1667.

(5) Theoph. Raynaudus, Erotem. de malis & bonis libris. n. 341, pag. 200.

other Books [*C*], and compoſed a great many, which were never printed, the Manuſcripts whereof are kept in the Library of *Zurich* (*d*). He had a hand in a Tranſlation of the Scripture (*e*). I have endeavoured in vain to find out what Age he was off when he died: I give no Credit to *Melchior Adam*; and I wonder he was not ſenſible of his Error [*D*]. *Moreri* relates very ill what he takes from *Thuanus*, concerning *Bibliander* [*E*]. I am

did not think it proper, that the Books of Adverſaries ſhould be deſtroyed. “ Tractans hoc punctum “ Antonius Sanctarellus *Tract. de hæreſi, c.* 14. *dub.* “ *unico, propoſitione* 7. ait, Alcoranum per ſe non “ prohiberi, ſed ratione ſcholiorum impiorum, no- “ tarumque ac præfationum Lutheri ac Melanchto- “ nis, quibus Baſilienſis editio Alcorani, per Theo- “ dorum Bibliandrum damnatæ memoriæ ſcriptorum “ adornata, contaminatur. Hoc verè & rectè autor “ ille. Et addere æquè poterat, ipſius Bibliandri “ Apologiam, qua Alcorano patrocinatus eſt, dig- “ niſſimam fuiſſe quæ configeretur. Omnium quippè “ librorum prohibitorum indemnitati ſtudet meribi- “ bulus ille, uſque adeò, ut non erubuerit contra “ Theodoſii & Valentiniani Imperatorum legem de “ comburendis Neſtorii libris grunnire. Hæc igitur “ concedo Sanctarello. Sed addit quo everti videan- “ tur quæ ſic ſunt conſtituta; addit enim rationem, “ cur Alcoranus prohibeatur, eſſe, quia in eo agitur “ de Religione nationis, hoc tempore maximè po- “ tentis, & ad corporum voluptates patentiſſimum “ oſtium aperientis; quæ ſunt valida corruptelæ il- “ lectamenta. Hæc, inquam, ratio monſtrare vide- “ tur, Alcoranum non vetari tantùm ratione impia- “ rum Bibliandri annotationum, vel ratione Præfa- “ tionum Lutheri ac Melanchtonis, ſed per ſe ac “ ratione contextus ipſiuſmet Alcorani, quo Apoſta- “ ſiæ hami, quos diximus, apponuntur (6). - - - - - “ Antonius Sanctarellus, *handling This Point, in his* “ Treatiſe of Hereſy, chap. 14. Prop. 7. *ſays, that* “ *the* Koran *is not prohibited on it's own Account,* “ *but by reaſon of the impious Scholia, Notes, and* “ *Prefaces, of* Luther *and* Melanchthon, *which de-* “ *file the* Baſil *Edition of the* Koran, *by* Theodore “ Bibliander *of accurſed Memory. This is juſtly and* “ *truly obſerved by This Author. And he might,* “ *with equal Juſtice, have added, that the Apology* “ *of* Bibliander *himſelf, in which he patronizes the* “ Koran, *was moſt worthy of Cenſure. For This Sot* “ *pleads for the Indemnity of all prohibited Books,* “ *ſo far as impudently to arraign the Edict of the Em-* “ *perors* Theodoſius *and* Valentinian *for the burning* “ *of* Neſtorius's *Books. Thus far, then,* Sanctarellus “ *is right. But he adds, what ſeems to overthrow* “ *This Determination. For he adds, that the Reaſon,* “ *why the* Koran *is prohibited, is, becauſe it treats* “ *of the Religion of a Country, at This Time very* “ *powerful, and which opens a wide Door to corpo-* “ *real Pleaſures, the Source of all Corruption. This* “ *Reaſon, I ſay, ſeems to prove, that the* Koran *is* “ *not only forbidden on account of the impious Anno-* “ *tations of* Bibliander, *or the Prefaces of* Luther “ *and* Melanchthon, *but on it's own Account, on Ac-* “ *count of the very Text of the* Koran, *on which* “ *The Hooks of Apoſtacy, which I have ſpoken of,* “ *hang.*”

[C] *He publiſhed ſeveral other Books.*] Here are the Titles of ſome of Them: *Evangelica Hiſtoria, quam ſcripſit B. Marcus,* &c. *una cum vita Johannis Marci Evangeliſtæ collecta ex probatioribus auctoribus,* at *Baſil,* 1551. He added to it the *Protevangelium Jacobi,* for which he was cenſured. *Expoſitio vaticinii de reſtitutione Iſraëlis, de inſtauranda urbe Jeruſalem & Templo, terraque dividenda rurſus in tribus, quod ultimis octo capitibus Ezechielis legitur.* This Work was inſerted in the Commentaries of *Pelican* on the Scripture. *Purgatio ſcriptorum Joannis Oecolampadii, & Ulrici Zuinglii, qua & acta eorum obiter defenduutur contra calumniatores.* This Piece was printed before *Zuinglius's* Works. *De fatis Monarchiæ Romanæ ſomnium Vaticinium Eſræ Prophetæ explicatum non conjectatione privata, ſed demonſtratione Theologica, Hiſtorica & Mathematica. Ad Julium III Papam & cæteros Eccleſiæ Romanæ præſides conſideratio de Judæorum & Chriſtianorum defectione à Chriſto, & Eccleſia & fide Catholica: itemque de Judæorum & Chriſtianorum converſione ad Chriſtum Jeſum, & Eccleſiam Dei ſanctam & fidem Catholicam,* at *Baſil* 1553. *De ſumma Trinitate & fide Catholica,* at *Baſil* 1555. *De myſteriis ſalutiferæ paſſionis, & mortis Jeſu Meſſiæ expoſitionis hiſtoricæ, libri tres,* in the ſame Place, 1555.

[*D*] *I wonder* Melchior Adam *was not ſenſible of his Error.*] He affirms, that *Bibliander* was born in the Year 1514 (7), and that, at laſt, he died very old, in the Year 1564, *valde ſenex.* Can this be ſaid of a Man of fifty Years of Age? He adds, that his poring too much on Books had ſo weakened his Sight, that, coming one Morning into his Stove, in his declining Age, and ſeeing his Cat playing on a Table, he took her to be his Maid, and bid her good-morrow. “Ex nimiis ſtudiis ætate declivi “ ἀμβλυωπίαν contraxit. Accidit ergo ut aliquando, “ cum diluculo ſurrexiſſet, hypocauſtum ingreſſus “ feli in menſa geſticulanti, ancillam ſuam eſſe ratus, “ fauſtum fuerit diem precatus, quem felis, ut po- “ tuit, reſalutavit.” A fine Circumſtance, and moſt worthy to be tranſmitted to future Ages?

[*E*] Moreri *relates very ill what he borrows from* Thuanus] I. It is not true, that *Thuanus* places *Bibliander's* Death on the Twenty ninth of *November*: He makes uſe of this Expreſſion; VI *Kalend. Decembris*; which ſignifies the Twenty ſixth of *November.* II. It is true, that he ſpeaks of *Leo the Jew.* He made uſe of theſe Words, *Leo Judæ,* which muſt be tranſlated *Leo Juda,* or *Leo of Juda.* But it is very true, that *Bibliander* was One of Thoſe, who put the laſt Hand to the Bible of *Leo Juda,* to That Bible, which is called the *Zurich* Bible, and which was prin- in That City in the Year 1543. *Leo Juda* had advanced very far in the *Latin* Tranſlation of the Scripture when he died; and he made his Colleagues promiſe, that they would finiſh This Work. *Quem Leo Judæ inchoaverat, & moriens ut opus perſequeretur Collegis in fidem religioſe adactis tranſcripſerat* (8). Bibliander *tranſlated the laſt eight Chapters of* Ezekiel, Danile, Job, Eccleſiaſtes, *the* Songs of Songs, *and the Forty eight* Pſalms, *which remained to be tranſlated.* Peter Cholin *made the Tranſlation of the* Greek *Books, which the Proteſtants call* Apocrypha (9). It is of *Cholin* only, that *Thuanus* ſays, he underſtood the *Greek* Tongue very well. *Bibliander Chunredi Pellicani & Petri Cholini Tugienſis Græcæ linguæ peritiſſimi opera adjutus. Moreri* does not tranſlate This well by Theſe Words; Bibliander, *aſſiſted by* Conrad Pelican, *and by* Peter Cholin, *two learned Men in the* Greek *Tongue.* This is his third Fault. The fourth is much more conſiderable. *A long time after,* ſays he, *the* Spaniſh *Divines cauſed* This Bible of Zurich *to be reprinted at* Lyons, *having been reviſed by* William Roville (10). Here are *Thuanus's Latin* Words; *Hiſpani Theologi diu poſt recognitam per Gulielmum Rouillium denuo Lugduni excudendam curaverunt. William Roville* is the Printer of *Lyons,* whom Thoſe Divines employed; but it was not He, who reviſed the Tranſlation, but the *Spaniſh* Divines themſelves. Father *Simon* makes no mention of This Edition of *Lyons*; He ſays, that *the Divines of* Salamanca *cauſed* This Bible *to be reprinted in fair Characters at* Salamanca, *and made very ſmall Alterations in it* (11). It is no wonder, that honeſt Mr *du Rier,* of the *French* Academy, has ill tranſlated *Cicero, Seneca,* and *Livy,* ſince he has committed ſo many Faults in tranſlating *Thuanus.* For *Moreri* does but tranſcribe *du Rier's* Tranſlation in This Place. As for what *Thuanus* ſays, that *John Stuckius* was put in *Bibliander's* Place, This neither agrees with *Alting,* who ſays, that *Peter Martyr* ſucceeded *Bibliander*; nor with *Hottinger,* who ſays, that *Joſias Simler* ſucceeded him for a time (12); and that *Stuckius,* having been ſome time the Subſtitute of *James Ammien,* Profeſſor of Rhetoric, and Logic, was ordinary Profeſſor of Divinity, from the Year 1571, to the Year 1607 (13). It is certain,

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(*d*) Hottinger in Biblioth. Tigurina, pag. 72, 73.

(*e*) *See Remark* [*E*].

(6) Id. ibid. n. 342, pag. 201.

(7) *If this were ſo, it would have been obſerved, as ſomething very extraordinary, that he had been made Profeſſor of Divinity in the Year* 1 32; *but no one obſerves it.*

(8) Thuan. lib. xxxvi, pag. 726.

(9) Simon, Hiſt. Critique du Vieux Teſt. pag. 324.

(10) *In the Elogies publiſhed by Mr* Teiſſier, *there is* Rauville.

(11) Simon, ubi ſupra, pag. 323.

(12) Rude donatus, lampadem ad tempus vicariam tradidit D. Joſiæ Simlero. *Hotting. in Bibliotb. Tigur. pag.* 72.

(13) Id. ib. pag. 169.

I am juſt informed (*f*), that it is found, in the Proſopography of *Pantaleon*, that he lived ſixty Years [*F*], being born in 1504, and dying in 1564.

tain, that, when *Bibliander* reſigned his Profeſſorſhip, *Stuckius*, a young Man of eighteen Years of Age, was, then, in *France* (14). He was at *Paris* the Year following, where he received a Commiſſion to join with *Peter Martyr* in the Conference of *Poiſſi*. He continued a long time in *France*; afterwards he went into *Italy*; and he did not begin to have any Academical Offices at *Zurich*, before the Year 1568. Nevertheleſs, it is affirmed, in his Life, that he ſucceeded *Bibliander* in the Office of Profeſſor of the *Old Teſtament* (15). This was in the Month of *February*, 1571. *Bibliander* had been dead a long Time. No matter for That; his Office continued vacant many Years: There are many Examples of This. *Thuanus* is not ſo exact in This Point, as he ſhould have been; for all his Readers will believe, that *Stuckius* was made Profeſſor of Divinity in the Year 1564. He ſhould have told us, what Year *Stuckius* had This Profeſſorſhip conferred upon him.

[*F*] *That he lived Sixty Years.*] This we find in the *German* Edition of the *Proſopographia* (16), not in the *Latin* Edition (17) where we ſee on the contrary, that he died in the Year 1560, being about fifty Years old. *Pantaleon* diſcovered this Error, and corrected it in the *German* Edition.

The End of the First VOLUME.

(*f*) By Mr Breſler.

(14) Melch. Adam. in vitis Theol. pag. 767.

(15) Ibid. pag. 770.

(16) *Printed at* Baſil, *for* Leonard Oſſen, 1578, *in* Folio.

(17) *Printed at* Baſil, *for* Nicolas Brylinger, 1566, *in* Fol.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM